HARTGEN
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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION REPORT

Inventory King William's and King George's Wars Battlefields: 1689-1697 and 1744 to 1748

Public Copy-ARPA 1979 (Section 470hh) Compliant

US Route 4
Town of Saratoga
Saratoga County, New York

HAA 4642-81
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MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

SHPO Project Review Number: 11PR07828
Involved State and Federal Agencies: National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program
Phase of Survey: Documentation and Inventory (non-phased, non-compliance based study)

LOCATION INFORMATION

Location: Town of Saratoga
County: Saratoga
State: New York

SURVEY AREA

Length: 6233 ft (1907 m)
Width: 1460 ft (445 m)
Number of Acres Surveyed: 257 acres
7.5 Minute Quadrangle Map: *Schuylerville*

Report Authors: Matthew Kirk, Elise Manning-Sterling, Walter R. Wheeler, and Tracy Miller
Date of Report: June 2015

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The historical documentation and archeological inventory report is focused on a Study Area just south of Fish Creek along the Hudson River in the Town of Saratoga. The rich alluvial flats attracted Native Americans for millennia and later intrepid Dutch, French, and English traders, farmers, and settlers eager to take advantage of the area's potential for commercial trade and agricultural production. Situated in a contested frontier area between colonial New York and New France (later Canada), the Study Area served as a focal point of conflict for nearly a century. The current study, while providing a broad historical context, focuses more particularly on two major colonial wars: King William's War[1] (1687-1698) and King George's War[2] (1744-1748). During this time, at least five armed engagements of varying sizes occurred within or immediately near the Study Area, with numerous others in the general vicinity. The study utilizes the historical record to identify potential areas of archeological resources associated with the two wars and their related battles. By leveraging data from LIDAR remote sensing, geomorphology, and military terrain analyses, among other sources, the study identifies areas that warrant future archeological study in order to more clearly identify and define these resources upon the landscape. The ultimate goal of this study, and potential future studies, is to protect, preserve, and interpret valuable archeological resources within and around the Study Area.

Detailed archeological research designs are proposed from each of the five battles thought to have occurred in the Study Area. The site of Fort Clinton, a King George's War English outpost that served as the focus of four major battles, bears considerable potential for future studies. The fort has been identified and partially excavated by amateur archeologists for years.

Overall, the archeological recommendations are based on the fact that there has not been any professional archeological investigation at the Fort Clinton site, and those surveys that have occurred were focused on structural remains and not the associated battles. Even though no formal excavations have been conducted at the site, significant amounts of cultural material have been produced, and now preserved at the Saratoga National Historical Park curation facility.

To that end, additional archeological research should consist of the full analysis and comparative work on the existing Fort Clinton collection, and detailed comparisons with others similar colonial sites in New York State.

Archeological fieldwork can help to better define the location and boundary of the battles that occurred around the fort. These efforts should include some combination of ground-penetrating radar, resistivity, metal-detecting, and other remote sensing techniques, along with systematic surface reconnaissance and limited excavations in the form of shovel tests or narrow hand-excavated trenches. From this initial information, more precise archeological methods can be generated concerning the associated battlefields and archeological deposits. Until a clearer understanding of the artifact distribution within the study area is made, it is recommended that archeological excavation be limited in size and depth, as a means to help protect and preserve significant deposits and features.

To protect the site, both in the long-term and short-term, consideration must be given to the property currently in private hands. Ideally, the site should be purchased and placed under an archeological easement to stop

[1] Part of a larger conflict known as the War of the League of Augsburg in Europe, and in the North American theatre called King William's War

[2] Also part of a larger conflict in Europe referred to as the War of Austrian Succession, and in the North American theatre called King George's War.

further degradation to the site by unauthorized excavations, metal-detecting, and collecting. In addition, further deep plowing of the Fort Clinton site also poses a risk to the remaining archeological deposits.

The preservation of the site is best accomplished by leveraging community participation and involvement in the process. An initial effort will consist of public talks, a brochure on the value and potential of the sites, and engaging stake-holders and policy-makers. After these initial efforts, and additional archeological study, it will be critical to create an action plan that identifies potential resources and funding for site preservation. The Study Area contains a wealth of important historical and archeological resources worthy of additional study and preservation, revealing the complex story of the colonial settlement of New York and Canada.

TABLE *of* CONTENTS

Introduction 1
Project Information 1
Study Area and Description 1
Purpose and Intent 1
Methodologies 2
Mapping and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) Analysis 5
Historic Overview and Perspectives 5
Introduction 5
Native American Perspective 6
Precontact Background 6
Paleo-Indian and Archaic Period 7
Early, Middle and Late Woodland Periods 8
Contact Period 9
Summary 13
French Perspective 14
The Economics 14
The Politics 15
Military and Early Settlement Systems 16
Religious Aspects 17
Summary 19
Dutch and English Perspective 19
Economics 19
The Politics 20
Religious Aspects 22
Military System 22
Summary 23
The Beginning of European Native American Conflict 23
King Philip's War (1675-1678): A Prelude to the French and Indian Wars 28
Post-War Conflicts 29
King William's War (1689-1697) 30
Interwar Period (1698-1702) 39
Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) 41
Interwar Period 47
King George's War (1744-1748) 54
The First Battle of Saratoga: November 1745 58
1746 "Continued Depredations" 64
The Second Battle of Saratoga: February 1747 70
The Third Battle of Saratoga: April 1747 72
The Fourth Battle of Saratoga: June 1747 74
The Denouement of Saratoga 78
The Post War Account of Pehr Kalm 82
French and Indian War (1754–1763) 83
Forces at Fort Hardy 84
The Interwar Period 85
Revolutionary War (1776-1783) 86
Late Eighteenth Century 87
Settlement of Saratoga and the Borderlands 90
The Livingston Family 90
Early Land Patents 91
Schaghticoke 92
Dellius Patent 93

Early European Settlers 93
The French Patents in the Contested Borderlands 95
Fortifications in the Colonial Wars 96
Dutch Styles 96
French styles 97
English styles 99
Forts in the Upper Hudson River Valley 99
Fort Hunter (1711) 101
The Forts at Saratoga 102
Fort Vrooman (1689-1690) 102
Fort Burnet (Mount Burnet) (1721–1730s) 103
Fort Saratoga/Fort Clinton (1739-1747) 104
Evolution of the Landscape 107
Topography 107
Geomorphology 107
Current Conditions and Site Reconnaissance 109
KOCOA 110
Key Terrain 111
Observation Points and Fields of Fire 112
Cover and Concealment 113
Obstacles 114
Avenues of Approach and Retreat 115
Summary 116
Identification of Potential Military Archeological Features on the Landscape 116
King William's War (1689-1697) 117
King George's War (1744-1748) 117
Previous Archeological Investigations 119
Archeological Excavations at Fort Clinton in the 1960s 119
Archeological Excavations at Fort Clinton in the 1980s 120
Recommendations 126
Recommendations for Further Archeological Research 127
Recommendations for Archeological Fieldwork 128
Potential for Community Involvement 128
National Register Eligibility 128
Fort Clinton 128
King George's War Battlefields 128
Recommendations for Site Preservation 129
Short-term 129
Long-term 129
Summary and Conclusion 130
Bibliography 132

MAPS

PHOTOGRAPHS

APPENDIX 1: Table of institution and collections consulted

APPENDIX 2: Inventory of Fedory collection at Saratoga National Historical Park recovered from Fort Clinton and its environs

APPENDIX 3: OPRHP Site Form, Originals and updates Fort Saratoga/Clinton (A091-16-0010, 0006)

APPENDIX 4: Tri-fold brochure

APPENDIX 5: GIS/CAD/GPS data (cd format)

APPENDIX 6: Archeological Research Designs

Map List

Map 1. Project Location (USGS 2014)
Map 2a. Study Area Map (NYSITS 2011)
Map 2b. Study Area Map (NYSITS 2011)
Map 3. Mohawk Settlements West of Saratoga, c. 1658-1666 (Hartgen 2014)
Map 4. Mohawk Settlements and Early Forts, 1690-1699 (Hartgen 2014)
Map 5. Principal English and French Fortifications, c. 1700-1748 (Hartgen 2014)
Map 6. Chemin des Iroquois (Jean Bourdon c. 1646)
Map 7. Colden 1726 (from a copy by Holland 1757)
Map 8. Popple 1733
Map 9. Crown Collection 1755
Map 10. Anonymous 1757
Map 11. Plat map of Saratoga Patent (Bleeker 1750)
Map 12. Historical Land Patents (Beers 1866)
Map 13. Loring 1756
Map 14. Library of Congress 1758
Map 15. Johnson 1830
Map 16. Geil 1856
Map 17. Beers 1866
Map 18. Soil Map (USDA NRCS 2006; USGS 2014)
Map 19. Geomorphology Map (Hartgen 2014, De Simone 2014, NYSITS 2011)
Map 20a. LiDAR Map (NPS 2013; NYSITS 2011)
Map 20b. LiDAR Map (NPS 2013; NYSITS 2011)
Map 21. KOCOA Analysis Map (Hartgen 2014, USGS 2014)
Map 22. Viewshed from Schuyler House (Hartgen 2014, USGS 2014)
Map 23. Viewshed from US Route 4 (Hartgen 2014, USGS 2014)
Map 24. First Battle of Saratoga, November 1745 (Hartgen 2014, USGS 2014)
Map 25. Second Battle of Saratoga, February 1747 (Hartgen 2014, USGS 2014)
Map 26. Third Battle of Saratoga, April 1747 (Hartgen 2014, USGS 2014)
Map 27. Fourth Battle of Saratoga, June 1747 (Hartgen 2014, USGS 2014)
Map 28. Artillery Range from Fort Clinton (Hartgen 2014, USGS 2014)

Photo List

Photo 1. View from Route 4 of the active agricultural fields along the Hudson River towards Fort Clinton and the northern end of the Study Area. The man-made drainage is visible in the left background, and former Champlain Canal is just beyond the tree line in the foreground.

Photo 2. View of former Champlain Canal (to the left), wetlands, and a modern drainage system along the western side of the Study Area.

Photo 3. A man-made east-west aligned drainage near its confluence with the Hudson River (visible in the background). The drainage may have followed a natural system, but has been straightened and deepened over the years to protect this valuable farm land from flooding,

Photo 4. An east-west aligned farm access road that provides aces to two separate properties, one to both and the other to the south. The man-made drainage is visible to the left. The treeline adjacent to the Hudson River is visible in the background.

Photo 5. The relatively flat and open agricultural fields directly south of the man-made drainage and farm access road. An extensive wetland is located beyond the fields at the treeline in the far distance.

Photo 6. A view of the interior of the wetlands located at the southern end of the project area.

Photo 7. The slightly rolling topography of the agricultural fields located at the southern end of the Study Area. A small island is located in the Hudson River just beyond the tree line to the east (right) of the frame.

Photo 8. View of wetlands near the old Champlain Canal at southern end of the Study Area.

Photo 9. A natural levee or berm identified at the southern end of the Study area, likely created by the scouring and redeposition of soils by the Hudson River, which is constricted in this area by a narrow island in the middle of the channel.

Photo 10. A view of a berm located at the southern end of the Study Area.

Photo 11. A view of a pit feature identified at the southern end of the Study Area.

Photo 12. A view of an extensive wetland just east of the old Champlain Canal at the southern end of the Study Area. The former canal towpath is evident in the right background.

Photo 13. A view of the eastern side of wetland below the former the Champlain Canal.

Photo 14. The location of the Fort Clinton site is on the slight rise to the right, the Hudson River is beyond the hedgerow.

Photo 15. Photo shows close-up view of Fort Clinton. Stones, bricks, and other artifacts are evident on the plowed ground surface.

Photo 16. A fragment of Native American pottery (Point Peninsula-type) found on the ground surface of the Fort Clinton site.

Photo 17. The raised berm (likely a dead furrow) located between the Fort Clinton site and the bank leading down to the Hudson River. Stones removed from the Fort Clinton site are evident on the top of the berm and along the river bank.

Photo 18. A close-up view of structural stones from the Fort Clinton site located on the top of the berm.

Photo 19. Stones and brick from the Fort Clinton site have eroded out of the bank of the Hudson River, while others may have been intentionally thrown over the bank to keep the field free of large debris.

Photo 20. Erosion along the bank of the Hudson River near Fort Clinton, a portion of the fort may have already been lost due to the effects of erosion over the years.

Photo 21. Photo shows imported stone fill located on the river bank directly south of the man-made drainage, to armor the bank from continued erosion.

Photo 22. The raised sod cap from a recent shovel test excavation north of the Fort Clinton site in a recently fallowed field. No 18th century material was recovered from the excavations (Christine Valosin p.c.).

Photo 23. Right, SARA-00387: SARA 27782, a sample of lead musket balls that have all have been dropped and not fired. Three have sprues. All are .69 caliber; possibly from a British land pattern musket, also known as a Brown Bess, which is a .75 caliber gun, recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown location. Left, SARA-00387:SARA 27774, a sample of large round iron shot, all 1" diameter used as case shot. Found northwest of Fort Clinton.

Photo 24. SARA-00387: SARA 27616, 27615, 27613 and 27598 (left to right). A variety of well-worn gun flints all recovered from Site 3 in Fort Clinton. The three flints on the left were likely quarried from French flint mines, and the grey flint on the right from English mines. The English army used both French imported flint and domestic flint in the 18th century.

Photo 25. SARA-00387:SARA 27715, a brass trigger guard fragment likely from the back of the plate. This is apparently French in style because of the flaring evident at the bottom. Provenience within Fort Clinton is not specifically known.

Photo 26. SARA-0038:SARA 27476, a brass butt plate, possibly from a French trade gun. Screw hole offset from the center. Hand-engraved with an ornate design known as a "flaming torch" and what appears to be the number "24". Recovered near Site #2 (the original southeast blockhouse of Fort Saratoga and the southeast blockhouse for Fort Clinton), outside the fort.

Photo 27. SARA-00387: SARA 27388-93, a sample of the 18th centruy hand-made bricks from Sites 3 and 4 , west of and possibly inside the stockade, near the northeast blockhouse. Bricks were likely used to build the chimneys of the barracks and officer's quarters.

Photo 28. A sample of nails from the SARA-00387. All hand-wrought, both "T-headed" nails and roseheads. All appear to be burned and annealed.

Photo 29. SARA-00387: SARA 27426, the broken rim of a large iron kettle or cooking pot (left). SARA-00387: SARA 27408, an iron kettle lug that supoorted a handle. One of many domestic items recovered from the fort.

Photo 30. SARA-00387:SARA 27431, the iron leg of a large kettle or cooking pot. Fragment possibly found at Site 1 or Site 3 within Fort Clinton.

Photo 31. SARA-00387:SARA 27411, an iron pintle for a window shutter. The pintle consists of two pieces with a pin afixed onto the spike, potentially from Site 6, the southwest blockhouse of original Fort Saratoga, burned in November 1745.

Photo 32. SARA-00387: SARA 27438, a steel strike-light, used for starting fires with the use of a flint. These were common trade items in the 18th century. Unknown provenience within Fort Clinton.

Photo 33. SARA-00387: SARA 27471, a small cast bronze or brass bell fragment incised line on outside surface. Unknown provenience within Fort Clinton.

Photo 34. SARA-00387, SARA 27700, two fragments of what was possibly a 3-inch artillery shell perhaps for a 3-1/2 inch mortar. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, possibly from Site #3.

Photo 35. SARA-00387; SARA 27658 (right), an ornate brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief consisting of floral and foliate designs with rounded corners. Recovered from Fort Clinton, between Site 4 and 2. Right, SARA-00387: SARA 27654 and 6, fragments of a brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief of parallel lines recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site 1 or Site 2.

Figure List

Figure 1. An engraving based on Champlain's accounts and rendering of the 1609 battle between French forces and Iroquois warriors, perhaps near present-day Crown Point. The battle started a vicious cycle of recriminations between the French and Iroquois that continued well into the 18th century, source http://www.p12.nysed.gov/ciai/chf/images/champlaindrawing.gif. 24

Figure 2. "The Third Fight with the Iroquois" as drawn by Champlain in his later accounts (c. 1610), source http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Sorel#mediaviewer/File:Battle_of_Sorel.png 25

Figure 3. Map of the route of Tracy in 1666 and the French fortifications along the Richelieu River connecting Lake Champlain with the St. Lawrence River. These forts were the principal marshalling areas for forays into colonial New York until the construction of Fort St. Fredrick on Lake Champlain about 1731. (source http://www.cmhg.gc.ca/cmh/image-68-eng.asp?page_id=53)..... 26

Figure 4. The Indian Fort at the Flatts from a late 17th-century sketch, depicting a European-style fortification with Mohawk longhouses (Courtesy of Colonie Town Historian) source http://instruct.neric.org/schuyler/nativeam.htm 30

Figure 5. A depiction of the short-lived patent granted to Rev. Dellius along the west shore of Lake Champlain just north of Saratoga. The patent was later vacated but stifled development of the area until the second quarter of the 18th century (Smith 1885)..... 41

Figure 6. A close-up of the 1777 Gerlach map (a copy of the original by H.C. Degeling), depicting the Schuyler estate (circled) just before being destroyed during Burygone's final encampment at Victory Woods. The former location of Fort Clinton is along the Hudson River and indicated by an arrow. 85

Figure 7. A circa 1711 plan of Fort Hunter as drawn by Colonel John Redknap on behalf of Governor Robert Hunter. The plan likely provides a near-contemporaneous model for Fort Clinton. The wooden palisade (or picket) surround the fort which features four protruding blockhouses (presenting a star-shaped design) at the corners and a likely barrack in the middle (Moody and Fisher 1989:2). 102

Figure 8. Lewis Evans map of the English colonies in 1749, and reprinted as 1752. Fort Clinton, labeled as "Saretoga" but clearly denoted as a "fort", see inset. Below is part of the legend that gives credit to the maps produced by Nicholas Schuyler, John Lydius, Cadwallader Colden, and others. It appears Evans never visited northern New York but relied heavily on the draft of the maps that other produced..... 106

Figure 9. A view of the excavations at Fort Clinton in 1960 with the property owner, Polley E. Germain, standing atop of exposed foundation stones the excavations were undertaken by Anthony Sassi, Jr., Percy Dake, and Harry Haven (The Saratogian 1960). 121
Figure 10. A schematic sketch of the excavations undertaken by Ed Fedory in the 1980s. In all, six sites focused on each of the blockhouses or bastions were idenfitied. The collection, however, includes materials from across the fort and even the nearby fields..... 122

Table List

Table 1. Contacts and interviewers conducted for the Historical Documentation study. 4
Table 2. Potential resources for future research not fully investigated during the current study. 5
Table 3. Various colonial conflicts in the North American theatre between 1628 and 1763 (name of conflict in European theatre in parenthesis)..... 6
Table 4. Inventory of supplies provided to Mount Burnet by Captain Edmund Blood, 1726. 51
Table 5. A list of the action that occurred in and around Saratoga between 1745 and 1748. Action suspected or known to be within the Study Area is highlighted..... 55
Table 6. The order of battle for the first attack of Saratoga, November 1745. Only French participants listed as it appears no English colonial forces were in garrison at the time..... 60
Table 7. List of prisoners taken from Saratoga during the first French attack in November 1745. 62
Table 8 Workers identified in the re-building of the fort at Saratoga, later renamed Fort Clinton (O'Callaghan 1861:803-804). 64
Table 9. Order of battle for the Fourth Battle at Saratoga, June 1747..... 75
Table 10. Construction and evolution of Fort Saratoga/Clinton as evidenced in the historical record. 105

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION REPORT

INTRODUCTION

The New York Natural Heritage Trust (NHT) was awarded a grant from the National Park Service as part of the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP). The purpose of the grant is to undertake a battleground analysis related to the colonial wars in and around the frontier settlement of Saratoga, near modern-day Schuylerville, New York. The Historical Documentation and Inventory directly relates to the periods of the King William's (1688–1697) and King George's Wars (1744–1748) when a series of battles and skirmishes occurred between French and Native allies and English settlers and later colonial forces. While much has been researched concerning the last of the "French and Indian Wars"[3], the Seven Years' War, and the battles related to the American Revolution in and around Saratoga, relatively little has been undertaken concerning these earlier periods of conflict. Further, recent donations of archeological collections to the National Park Service suggest that remnants of Fort Clinton, a King George's War-era fortification, likely exist within the study area. An earlier fortification in the form of a stockade house, known as Fort Vrooman, may also lie within the study area, but, to date, no direct archeological or historical documentation exists to verify the hypothesis.

PROJECT INFORMATION

The study area comprises 257 acres, of which 46 acres are owned by the NPS, and 211 acres are privately held. This area includes the probable sites of Fort Vrooman and Fort Saratoga, later known as Fort Clinton, as well as the fledgling community of Saratoga. The study area was the likely location of five battles during King William's and King George's Wars, and the site of previous and subsequent military and civilian occupations.

Study Area and Description

The study area is situated in the modern-day Town of Saratoga, between the Hudson River to the east, and US 4 to the west (which also closely parallels the former Champlain Canal), and bracketed by NPS property to the north and a cluster of homes to the south. The study area includes the agricultural and fallow lands of two local farmers, as well as part of the Schuyler Estate parcel owned by the NPS. Most of the land at the northern end of the study area is currently in agricultural use or open fields with edges of trees and hedges. The southern end of the study area is a mixture of wetlands and secondary forest growth, not likely used for agriculture due to frequent folding, poor drainage, and eroded topsoil. A more thorough description of the study area and its topography and geomorphology is presented below.

PURPOSE AND INTENT

The purpose of the study is twofold. The first purpose is to assess the study area for archeological signatures related to King William's and King George's Wars by utilizing a variety of resources including historical documentation, modern topographic conditions, previous archeological studies, geomorphology, and other relevant data sets. These data will be implemented to clarify the location of the battlefields, and begin the process of locating, identifying, and documenting historical and archeological features on the battlefield. The study presented here summarizes this diverse collection of information and presents a research design and

[3] Many non-historians tend to group these colonial conflicts into a general conflict termed the French and Indian Wars. In reality, these were a combination of regional and international conflicts that often have different names depending on the theatres of conflict. The Seven Years' War, as called in Europe, is known as the "French and Indian War" in the North American theatre.

recommendation to effectively continue the documentation process through additional archeological fieldwork and study.

The second purpose of the study is educate and inform the public about this important aspect of the history of the Saratoga region, and to provide a greater context and understanding of the historical trajectory of the later battles of the American Revolution. Hartgen proposes a number of public outreach efforts, including assisting with the documentation process; dissemination and availability of redacted reports removing sensitive archeological information; public presentations at a variety of venues for the benefit of local residents and neighbors and the NHT and other stakeholders, policymakers, and other statewide and national organizations; and finally, creating and disseminating tri-fold brochure highlighting the importance and opportunities that these resources present for the NPS, the State of New York, the Saratoga community and the visitors who frequent the area.

These efforts are intended to help galvanize public attention and support concerning the need for long-term and short-term protection of the battlefields and their surroundings.

METHODOLOGIES

The Historical Documentation study provides a foundation for preliminary identification of significant historic and archeological resources, potential future archeological fieldwork, and preliminary recommendation for site planning and preservation. To that end, various resources were consulted to compile the known history of the Study Area. The study included contacting a broad range of professional and amateur historians, archivists, librarians, and other researchers to identify potential sources of information. Much of this effort was undertaken by Hartgen's researcher, Jennifer Geraghty, and architectural historian, Walter R. Wheeler.

A brief table of those contacted with respect to the development of the Saratoga region is presented below (Table 1). Of particular note, a concerted effort was made to locate individuals associated with excavations at the Fort Clinton site undertaken in the 1960s and 1980s. Ed Fedory (Fedory 1978-1979, 1980, 1980-1981, 1982, 2005), one of the most recent excavators at Fort Clinton, unfortunately declined to be interviewed or to provide information directly to Hartgen staff. Information about his efforts at the site were kindly provided by the Saratoga National Historical Park, where he has recently donated a significant portion of his collection and related documentation of his excavations.

The Saratoga National Historical Park also kindly allowed Hartgen to examine their extensive files from previous research conducted within and around the Study Area, prepared and collected by staff and interns over the past several years. The files provided a wealth of information and largely serve as the framework from which the current study was developed.

In addition to the NPS, a number of other institutions were consulted, either through in-person visits to inspect records and collections, or via on-line searches of their collections. The consulted institutions are presented in Appendix 1. Among the more useful included the Albany County Hall of Records (ACHOR), the New York State Archives in Albany, and the vast collection of historical newspapers now available through a variety of databases online. Also useful were the *Records of the Albany Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1678-1755: An Integrated Digital Database*, hosted by Cornell University. The database contains Peter Wraxall's 18th-century calendar of the papers (inventory of minutes), as well as digitized original minutes that were converted to microfilm in the mid-20th century. Also, a key find for better understanding Fort, or Mount, Burnet and its role in the evolution of Saratoga forts came from Governor Burnet's personal and official papers, of which only a handful currently exist and are available online.

Given the vast array and diaspora of primary records from the colonial period of New York, it was not possible to examine every repository, collection, database, or research guide, but our effort was to track potentially significant sources wherever they might lead. Several sources of information were particularly valuable to this study, and are clearly worth additional scrutiny (Table 2). Among these are the *New York Colonial Council Minutes* that exist in microfilm at the New York State Archives. Although a calendar of the minutes had been compiled (Fernow and Van Laer 1902), our experience suggests that the editors failed to fully report many small details

concerning Saratoga in the calendar's abstracts. This vast collection of material is difficult to analyze as portions of the materials were partially or wholly destroyed in the 1911 State Capitol fire. Also the *Albany Council Minutes*, on file at the Albany County Hall of Records, appears to be another fruitful avenue of additional research, especially concerning the development of Saratoga and Schaghticoke at the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century.

Fortunately, many colonial manuscripts and papers related to the history of New York have been transcribed and published through the 19th and early 20th centuries. The *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York; Procured in Holland, England and France*, produced by John Brodhead and edited by E.B. O'Callaghan,[4] were published in a series of 12 massive volumes and were particularly useful sources of information. Many of the documents were collected from overseas and translated in English when appropriate. As will be evident, these and similar compilations were an essential part of the documentary research. Similar compilation of the documents of the Colonial State Papers in England, often associated with the Lords of Trade, have been produced over the years and are now largely available online.

Pehr Kalm's (1772) account of the area shortly after King George's War is also a valuable, if problematic, source of information, since his work was geared towards observations on the environment and ecology of North America. His intended audience was largely limited to literate Swedes in his homeland, who likely had little understanding of the geography, politics, and conflicts of North America. His account of the Saratoga area (and much of the upper Hudson River valley) is interspersed with short essays on local plants and animals, as well as cultural practices and habits. Also, there has not been an attempt at a modern translation of the original Swedish account resulting in a continued reliance on an outdated English version. A study of Kalm's original notes with the published version and a new English translation would be a valuable contribution to the colonial history of North America. We have included Kalm's accounts of the Saratoga area, but caution its use, especially where it conflicts with other primary sources of information.

Secondary sources were also consulted as part of the research including the works of notable historians Brandow (1900), Stone (1875) and Sylvester (1876). These works provided valuable leads back to the original source material. However, since they often did not directly cite their sources, other pieces of information are difficult, if not impossible, to verify with primary resources. This is not to suggest that these capable historians were incorrect; indeed they had access to material now currently unavailable. Where there is conflicting information, especially with regard to the location of various forts and the movement of troops, we have leaned on the primary documents and noted where Brandow (1900), Stone (1875), and Sylvester (1876) had additional information that we could not readily substantiate.

Finally, the original writings presented in the report from documents, manuscripts, and newspapers are transcribed as they largely appear. With the exception of minor modifications to spacing, the spelling and punctuation has been retained. Within the text, proper names have been corrected to their common modern spelling, but left as presented in transcriptions and direct quotes.

[4] By convention, I have cited these texts as O'Callaghan and the date of publication throughout, as well as the volume number and page number. I believed this to be the least intrusive into the text and easiest way for subsequent researchers to find the material.

Table 1. Contacts and interviewers conducted for the Historical Documentation study.

Name	Affiliation	Date Contacted	Contact Method
Christina Rieth, Ph.D.	New York State Museum	January 2014	Phone conversation and email
Carolyn Weatherwax	New York State Archaeological Association	December 2013	Phone conversation and email
Marilyn Sassi	Schenectady County Historical Society	January 2014	Personal interview, phone conversation and email
Shirley Dunn	Historian, Author, specializing in the history of the Mohicans	February 2014	Personal interview, phone conversation and email
Major John Grodzinski, Ph.D.	The Royal Military College of Canada	January 2014	Email
Chris Fox	Fort Ticonderoga	February 2014	Phone conversation and email
George Hamell	Rock Foundation, Rochester Museum & Science Center	April 2014	Email
Robert Lord	Avocational Archeologist	April 2014	Personal interview and phone conversation
Jim Brady	New York State Military Museum and Veterans Research Center	March 2014	Phone conversation
Abraham Parish	Yale University	December 2013	Phone conversation and email
Fred Bassett	Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library	February 2014	Email
Thai Jones	Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University	February 2014	Email
Lindsay Turley	Manuscripts, Museum of the City of New York	February 2014	Email
Friar Dominic McGee	Mohawk-Caughnawaga Museum and Tekawitha Shrine		Personal interview and phone conversation
Lauren Roberts	Saratoga County Historian	March 2014	Email
Barbara Anderson	Washington County Historian	March 2014	Email
Patricia Dolton	Greenwich Town Historian	March 2014	Email

Table 2. Potential resources for future research not fully investigated during the current study.

Repository	Location	Resource
Columbia University	New York	Samuel Vetch Papers
Museum of the City of New York	New York	Letter book of Samuel Vetch 1709-1712
Albany County Hall of Records	Albany	Albany Common Council Minutes (microfilm)
NYS Archives	Albany	New York Colonial Council Minutes (on microfilm, some destroyed in 1911 fire)
Societe Historique de Montreal	Montreal, QC	
Archives des Soeurs de Grises	Montreal, QC	
Archives du Seminaire de Saint-Sulpice	Montreal, QC	
Societe Historique de Quebec	Quebec, QC	
Societe Historique de Quebec	Quebec, QC	
Societe Litteraire et Historique de Quebec	Quebec, QC	
Biblioteque et Archives Nationales Du Quebec	Montreal, QC	
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, MI	George Clinton Papers, 1697-1760

Mapping and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) Analysis

This study required Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping to aid in the analysis of historical maps, KOCOA analysis, and study area viewsheds. Geo-referenced historical maps and historical documents were useful resources in the mapping of potential feature locations in the study area. In addition, environmental and geomorphological information was used to reconstruct the landscape during the time periods being studied. GIS layers were created to define historical features on the landscape.

A GIS viewshed analysis assisted in the KOCOA study. This analysis employed elevation data from LIDAR remote sensing data sets provided by the NPS to determine which parts of the surrounding landscape were visible from particular locations in the study area. The GIS data utilized for this study is presented in electronic format in Appendix 5.

HISTORIC OVERVIEW AND PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

The story of Saratoga and its place within the broader trajectory of the colonial history of New York prior to the Revolutionary War is multifaceted, reflecting the ever-shifting political, economic, religious, and cultural landscape of the region. The participants in the events at Saratoga each carried their own sets of agenda, depending upon their allegiance and affiliation. The following section provides a brief overview of the groups involved in the contested space of Saratoga throughout the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries. This is not to say that members of each group were all the same, nor does it imply that these groups remained static in their perceptions and actions through time. Since the archeological record at Saratoga consists of an amalgam of Native, French, English, and even Dutch material, it is necessary to address the motivations and interests of these groups both individually and with respect each other.

In this discussion, we will use the name "Iroquois," a term used by their enemies and adopted by the French. In their own language the Iroquois call themselves the Haudenosaunee. Similarly, the Mohawk were also referred to as the "Maquas," but in their own tongue they were the Ka Nee-en Ka. "Mahican" (today the preferred spelling is Mohican) is phonetic variation of the land these Algonquian-speaking people inhabited along the Hudson River. The term "Algonquian" may have derived from native people along the east coast of modern Canada.

Table 3. Various colonial conflicts in the North American theatre between 1628 and 1763 (name of conflict in European theatre in parenthesis).

Date	Name of the War
1626-1628	Mohawk-Mohican War
1637	Pequot War
1638-1648 (Iroquois-Huron) 1650-1656 (Iroquois-Neutral/Erie) 1663-1673 (Iroquois-Susquehannock) 1660-1666 (Iroquois-French) 1683-1689 (Iroquois-French)	Various Beaver Wars
1675-1676	King Philip's War
1689-1697	King William's War (War of the League of Augsburg)
1702-1713	Queen Anne's War
1739–1748	War of Jenkins' Ear
1744-1748	King George's War (War of Austrian Succession)
1756-1763	French and Indian War (Seven Years War)

Native American Perspective

Precontact Background

Despite the dramatic landscape changes wrought on upstate New York following the retreat of huge glacial ice sheets at the end of the Pleistocene and the beginning of the Holocene about 12,000 years ago, the climate and environment stabilized relatively quickly in geologic terms. From other nearby archeological excavations (Brumbach and Bender 1986; Funk and Walsh 1988; Walsh 1997), we know that precontact people roamed through the area shortly after deglaciation, largely taking advantage of many different types of resources. The repeated use of the area by precontact groups speaks to a rich and varied environment to which their lifestyles were particularly well-adapted. By 6000 B.C.E. (the Middle Archaic period), the environment of Saratoga and much of upstate New York, including its flora and fauna, resembled that of today (Funk 1976:232). Extensive pollen studies of bogs and marshes in the Susquehanna River Valley, suggest the forest predominately contained hemlock, with lesser amounts of beech, birch, and oak intermixed with pockets of other pine and deciduous species (Starna and Funk 1994:52). Living within and amongst the forests were many animals, and the archeological record indicates that Native Americans hunted as many as 36 separate species for food or fur (Starna and Funk 1994:54), but by far the most common was the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*).

The area along Fish Creek (several hundred feet north of the Study Area) is known to be archeologically rich in precontact material. Robert E. Funk (1976) conducted extensive excavations, culminating in an analysis of precontact peoples within the Hudson River Valley. From his experience, Funk highlighted the area of Fish Creek, stating:

> In precolonial times the supply of fish in the creek must have been truly fabulous, especially during spring runs of shad and herring, which were still plentiful in the early 19th century. Artifactual and other traces of Indian occupation are nearly continuous along the full length of the creek (Funk 1976:27).
>
> The Victory Woods study area, which lies nearly adjacent to the current study area on the uplands opposite US 4, is situated on Fish Creek, not far from its confluence with the Hudson River, and provides a good representative sample of potential archeological material for the study area and the region at large. Due to its proximate location and similar setting, the precontact finds at Victory Woods stand as a good example of precontact contexts that could be expected in the current study area. Another excellent example is the recent work conducted

by Black Drake[5] (2003) for the Schuylerville sewer project and water treatment plant. These excavations produced a number of precontact archeological features that provide data on the environment and subsistence practices of Native peoples in the area. Relevant information from these studies are included in the discussion below.

Paleo-Indian and Archaic Period

Although previous groups of Native Americans lived and hunted in the Fish Creek and upper Hudson River Valley when the environment was much different and more tundra-like (Aston 1994; Funk and Walsh 1988; Levine 1989), sustained and growing populations of people did not become common until about 6000 B.C.E. Their presence in the area is evidenced by a projectile point style known to archaeologists as a "Stanly-type" point (see Fogleman 1988:16 for full description). An example was found recently in an archeological study at Victory Woods in sandy soils re-deposited by British and German soldiers as they quickly erected earthworks to defend themselves during the Revolutionary War (HAA 2007). What we know about Native peoples at this time is largely derived from inference of archaeological materials at other similar and contemporary sites (Cross 1999; Dincauze 1976; Snow 1977; Starbuck and Bolian 1980 among others).

Since there is no other direct evidence of material from this time period in the excavations at Victory Woods, it is likely the Native Americans associated with the Stanly point lived elsewhere, likely closer to the Hudson River or Fish Creek and used the thickly forested hills of Victory Woods as part of a much larger landscape from which to hunt and gather resources. Exactly where these groups resided is still a mystery, as examination of an extensive collection of projectile points picked up along Fish Creek by avocational archeologist Louis Follett, conspicuously lacked Middle Archaic-period material (Tannebaum 1980:65). Despite the fact that the collection contained over 4,500 projectile points, none were similar to that of the Stanly point from Victory Woods. A similar collection amassed by amateur archeologist Nelson Bennett during the early 1900s came from a broad stretch of the upper Hudson River. In this collection, numerous Middle Archaic points were identified by a later archaeologist (Levine 1989:8-9). Unfortunately, exact locations where these points were found are unknown, and to date no extensive archeological investigation have been performed on sites with Middle Archaic components in this portion of the valley.

During the Late Archaic period (circa 4000 to 1500 B.C.E.) more frequent visits to the region were made by precontact people. Snook Kill material was also found at Victory Woods, and indeed is relatively common throughout the Fish Creek drainage, as evidenced in the Follett collection (Tannebaum 1980:Table 1). The term "Snook Kill" was coined by William A. Ritchie to describe a particular style of projectile point distinctive for its pronounced asymmetrical shoulders and relatively narrow base (Ritchie 1971:47). The name derives from the type-site located upon the eponymous creek less than 10 miles north of Fish Creek and the current study area (Ritchie 1969:91-98). The site occupies a similar environment to that of Victory Woods and the study area, described by Ritchie as "two-fifths of a mile from the Hudson…" situated on "…some four acres of a sandy terrace, lying at an approximate elevation of 25 feet above the creek level" (1969:91). Without the benefit of radiocarbon dates, and minimal excavations on the site, Ritchie (1969:98) postulated a Late Archaic origin which has been confirmed by later archeological analyses, which date the Snook Kill material in the Hudson Valley to about 1500 B.C.E. (Funk 1976:259). Ritchie postulated that Snook Kill people relied heavily on hunting large game with spears and lived in small bands composed of nuclear families (Ritchie 1965:136).

At Victory Woods, narrow archeological excavations uncovered a portion of a precontact lithic workshop, likely associated with the Snook Kill period. Many lithic workshops, likely from the Late Archaic period, are found

[5] Currently only the Phase II report is available at OPRHP

throughout the Saratoga region. Much of the chert from Victory Woods appears to be from a Devonian-aged stone, likely from the Normanskill formation. Nearby sources include the Flately Brook quarry on the east side of the Hudson River, less than five miles to the south (Holland and Ashton 1999). However, this mineral could be from any number of local sources, as chert is commonly embedded in the predominate bedrock locally known as Snake Hill "shale" (Ritchie 1969:11) (English, et al. 2006). As subsistence strategies changed towards fishing and later agriculture, the production of stone tools declined in importance, and the production of pottery for storage and cooking increased. This is witnessed in the artifact assemblage of sites in the Saratoga region, especially in the later Woodland periods (circa 100 B.C.E. to C.E. 1600).

Early, Middle and Late Woodland Periods

There is some limited evidence of Early Woodland material in the Saratoga area based on projectile points recovered from local collections; however, there have been no systemic excavations of such a site. Matthew Kirk discussed the inadvertent findings of an Early Woodland Middlesex burial in the Town of Easton opposite the current study area on the east bank of the Hudson River. The small cemetery, known as the Barton site, was uncovered during the construction of a new house (Kirk 1998). Ritchie conducted limited salvage excavations at the site and recovered copper beads, red ochre, conch columella shell beads, and Adena-type projectile points. The material was part of a significant assemblage of grave goods associated with at least six burials. Based on the artifact assemblage, the site is directly related to a broader set of similar sites in the Mohawk and Hudson River valleys from this time period. The people of these sites were involved with a system of long-distance trade that brought copper, exotic chert, red ochre, and tropic shell beads into the region around 500 B.C.E. to C.E. 100 (Kirk 1998:68). Black Drake's excavations along Fish Creek near Fort Hardy also uncovered evidence of Early Woodland settlement in the form of projectile points and archeological features.

The native groups of Saratoga at this time may or may not have been the ancestors of those inhabiting the area in the 17th and 18th centuries. Yet, this complex of non-local goods suggests a strong trading economy, and the desire for copper goods, exotic materials, and seashells, similar to the copper trade kettles, glass beads, and wampum of the historic periods, has a long history in this area. When Europeans arrived in the Northeast, there already existed a robust trade network that extended back 1,500 years in the Saratoga area. Thus, historical trade based on beaver and other fur was not a novel experience for Native Americans, but it was grafted onto preexisting systems of trade and beliefs that were to be dramatically changed. The engagement of Native groups in the later beaver trade with Europeans was not predicated on the economic models of the Old World, but on their own cultural systems that gradually changed through time.

Archeological investigations at the Winne's Rift (Brumbach and Bender 1986) and Schuylerville sites (Brumbach 1978), located near the study area along several rapids of Fish Creek produced a wealth of data relative to the settlement of the area during the Middle and Late Woodland periods. Brumbach and Bender (1986:1) suggest that runs of anadromous fish (a fish that ascends rivers from the ocean to breed), such as shad, alewife, and herring, were a principal draw for people of the Middle Woodland period. So extensive were the runs that some archeologists have speculated that precontact people built an extensive fish trap along Fish Creek (Brumbach 1986:39). In addition, eel (a catadromous fish that returns to the ocean to spawn in the fall), sturgeon, and many other species were extensive in the creek and nearby Hudson River and provided an excellent source of food for precontact people in the area (Brumbach 1986:44-45).

As these populations grew, there was concomitant growth in horticulture. As a result, Native American settlements moved along Fish Creek to the richer alluvial flats, such as the current study area, where corn and other cultigens could be easily grown and away from the creek rapids where fish could be more easily caught. A prime example of this is Winne's Rift, where a large, year-round permanent village flourished during the Late Woodland, or after about 1150 C.E. As will be discussed, the Saratoga area is situated along the historical boundary of the Mohawk and the Mohican, two Native American groups with distinct sets of cultural and social traits. Brumbach and Bender (1986:5) postulate that despite the similarities in pottery styles to the Mohawk, the Winne's Rift material is likely more closely associated with the Mohicans.

Unfortunately, the archeology is largely equivocal when it comes to the attribution of the Native artifacts of the Saratoga area. What is clear, however, is that the resource-rich Saratoga area was frequently visited by Native peoples through the historical period. The availability of chert from nearby rock outcrops to produce stone tools; the fish runs up the Hudson River into Fish Creek and Saratoga Lake; the natural transportation corridors afforded by the tributary system and nearby Lake George and Lake Champlain; as well as the fertile soils and arable land of the area, all contributed to attract Native groups to the area for millennia.

Exactly which groups were occupying the Saratoga area before the arrival of Henry Hudson is not clear. By the 1630s, however, after the Mohican were battered by the Mohawk in the early part of the Beaver Wars, the land appears to have been strongly controlled by the Mohawks. As a result, the Mohicans largely abandoned their traditional territory on the west side of the Hudson River and focused settlement on the east side of the river. The Mohawk continued to stay in their large, defensive villages in the Mohawk Valley, mostly west of the Schoharie Creek, but began to use the areas around Saratoga to supplement their large and growing hunting and fishing grounds. A French Jesuit priest, Father Isaac Jogues, visited the area in the 1640s. He believed the fishing camps he viewed were seasonally occupied by Mohawk groups (Brumbach and Bender 1986:6). Father Jerome Lalemant in 1646 later described Father Isaac Jogues' third and final journey into Mohawk country just prior to being martyred by an angry mob who accused him of witchcraft after the tribe was beset by a series of droughts and disease. He wrote:

> They arrived, on the eve of the Blessed Sacrament, at the end of the lake which is joined to the great lake of Champlain. The Iroquois name it Andiatarocté, as if one should say, 'there where the lake is shut in.' The Father named it the lake of the Blessed Sacrament. They left it, the day of that great Feast, continuing their way by land with great fatigues, for they had to carry on their backs their bundles and their baggage; the Algonquins were obliged to leave a great part of theirs on the shore of the lake. Six leagues from this lake, they crossed a small river which the Iroquois call Oiogué; the Dutch, who are located along it, but lower down, name it the River van Maurice [later the North River and eventually Hudson River]. On the first day of June, their guides, overcome by their burdens and the toil, turned aside from the road which leads to their villages, in order to pass by a certain place called in their language Ossaragué [likely Saratoga and Fish Creek]; this spot [according to the Father's report] is very remarkable as abounding in a small fish, the size of the herring. They were hoping to find some assistance there; and indeed they were loaned some canoes to carry their baggage as far as the first settlement of the Dutch, distant from this fishery about eighteen or twenty leagues (Thwaites 1898:49-51).

The scale of fishing along the upper portion of the Hudson River is hinted at in later Jesuit writings. Francois-Joseph Bressani, an Italian Jesuit missionary to New France, related the events of 1644, which were later documented in 1653. Bressani recalled his capture from near Fort Richelieu and his subsequent forced march to Mohawk territory in the early spring:

> On the fourth day, which was the 15th of May, — about the 20th hour, being still fasting, we arrived at a river where about 400 Barbarians were assembled for fishing; being already apprised of our arrival, they then came to meet us (Thwaites 1899:61-62).

Whether his numbers are inflated for dramatic effect or not, the fact that a large number of Native Americans (Mohawk, Mohican, or both) were gathered along the shore of the upper Hudson River to collect the spring fish runs suggest both the magnitude of the fish population and the importance of the Saratoga area for subsistence. Bresanni was taken captive to compensate a Mohawk woman who had lost a loved one in the Huron wars (part of the Mourning Wars discussed below). Eventually, he was ransomed to the Dutch in Albany and returned to New France to finish out his term as a missionary.

Contact Period

"The Iroquois had been fighting long before there ever was a fur trade," Starna and Brandao succinctly note (2004:741). This fact is important to acknowledge in understanding the political and social milieu into which

Europeans arrived in the 16th and 17th centuries. The brutal warfare that pitted Iroquoian groups against the Algonquin groups, and at times involving intra-group conflict, often confused and frustrated early European explorers, traders, and settlers. As a result of their own naiveté and misunderstanding, westerners were quickly co-opted by Natives to unwittingly assist in their age-old conflicts. One of the earlier and most famous of these affairs was Samuel de Champlain's raid against the Mohawk in 1609 on behalf of Algonquian groups and the Huron, a rival Iroquoian group.

Little did Champlain realize he had stepped into a conflict that dated back at least a century. Worse yet, Champlain rekindled a fire between these groups that would end in the near annihilation of several Canadian native groups. These events are discussed in more detail below.

The relations between European settlers and Native Americans in the St. Lawrence River valley provides a well-documented example of how these dynamics played out early on in the Contact period. Archeologically, there is evidence of vibrant and populous groups of Iroquois who inhabited the St. Lawrence Valley between about 900 and 1535 C.E., when Jacques Cartier visited the St. Lawrence Valley and documented several groups living in this area. By the time Samuel de Champlain arrived; the St. Lawrence Iroquois were no longer living upon the eponymous river. Recent archeological evidence suggests that the St. Lawrence Iroquois were removed by their bellicose cousins to the south. This trajectory likely started about 900 C.E., accelerated about 1400 C.E. and reached its dénouement around the time of Cartier's arrival to the region (Jamieson 1990:83). Shortly afterwards, the Iroquois dispersed the few groups that remained. These refugee groups sought shelter among relative Iroquoian groups to the north and west among the Huron-Petun, eastern Iroquois, Abenaki, and some Algonquin tribes (Starna and Brandao 2004:726). The dispersal of the Iroquois, as Jamieson has termed it, resulted in a no-man's land along the St. Lawrence River. By Champlain's arrival in 1603, , the Iroquois claimed the St. Lawrence River, Richelieu River, Lake Champlain, and Lake Ontario as their own. It is likely the acceptance of these refugee groups into the neighboring tribes ignited the later wars of the Iroquois with the Huron-Petun and Algonquians that Champlain witnessed in the early 17th century. In summary, the wars of the northern tribes were well underway before sustained European settlement began. The arrival of the Dutch, French and English altered the dynamics of the warfare, but it was not a result of "trade wars" for European goods that fostered these events, as long has been supposed.

The date of the formation of the League of the Iroquois, Iroquois Confederacy, or the Five Nations as they were known is not clear. Robert Kuhn and Martha Sempowski (2001) have argued for a date between 1590 and 1605 C.E., based on archeological evidence. It is likely, however, that an earlier, smaller confederacy may have formed during the wars preceding the arrival of Cartier, and therefore was in place during the 15th century. The Five Nations, composed of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, proved to be a formidable entity in the 17th century, not just for other Native groups but for the emigrating European populations as well. The group was hardly monolithic in its composition, perspectives, and actions. Each tribe jockeyed both within the confederacy and with other groups to promote their own interests. As the Mohawk were the most prominent group of Iroquois to affect the settlement and archeology of the Saratoga region, they will the focus of the discussion. As practical, and where the historical record allows, we will try and distinguish the Mohawk from the more generic term Iroquois.

By about 1609, one estimate is that the Mohican population ranged between 2,000 and 3,000 people (Bradley 2007:37) in a series of villages along the Hudson River and with trading and kinship ties extending from Lake Champlain to Manhattan, with perhaps the majority living near present-day Albany in what the Mohicans called *Paupautanwuthyauk*, the place of the council fire. Others place the population at 12,000 (Miles 2002:4). By comparison, the Mohawks were able to support a more centralized and nucleated population of about 5,000 (Bradley 2007:38). The native populations suffered tremendously from new diseases brought by the Europeans and increasing intensity and deadliness of colonial warfare.

In concert with their League allies to the west, the Mohawks increasingly entered traditional Mohican territory in the upper Hudson River Valley and at times challenged the Mohicans for political control. Their increasing dominance in the region had a detrimental impact on the Mohicans, who, it could be argued, suffered a subsequent series of missteps.

The first of these missteps occurred in 1626 when the Mohicans convinced the Dutch, who had established a permanent trading post in Albany around 1614, to assist them in an attack against a Mohawk trading party. The raid took place just south of Fort Orange near the Normanskill Creek. Daniel van Crieckenbeeck, the fort's commanding officer, and three of his men, along with a number of Mohicans, were subsequently killed by the waiting Mohawk contingent, who were unsurprised by the group's movements (Starna and Brandao 2004:731). Starna and Brandao (2004:731) argue that the Dutch were caught up in a regional struggle that had little to do with trade as previously supposed. The attack led the Dutch in Albany to distance themselves from the former commander and the Mohicans for a period of time. Within a few short years, the Mohicans sued for peace (Dunn 2009:51). This short, but important, conflict shaped the events of the Hudson River valley for years to come. Although the upper Hudson Valley was the traditional home and territory of the Mohicans for thousands of years, after the war the Mohawks further solidified their new position of dominance. Starna and Brandao (2004:734) have argued that the war between the Mohawks and Mohicans resulted from the Mohawks' intention to travel safely through western New England and the territory of the Sokokis, allies of the Mohicans, to reach New France. More than likely, the war was the tail end of a long simmering dispute that the Dutch fort commander had inadvertently helped to settle, although not in the way he envisioned.

Mourning Wars

The battles between the Iroquois and neighboring groups has been termed the "Mourning Wars" and are described as "a cultural mandate to replace deceased relatives" which involved long-distance raids on rival nations "to produce captives to either adopt or ritually torture" (Parmenter 2007:39). An important distinction between European-style warfare and that of the northeastern Native groups was the premium placed on captives to replace lost tribal members. Therefore, in battle these groups sought to ambush and capture the enemy rather than kill them on the battlefield. Further, the use of ritual torture was a means of inflicting terror on neighboring groups in an effort to limit retaliatory efforts. However, the "Mourning Wars" inspired a series of ceaseless raids or blood feuds between the groups. Parmenter (2007) notes that a fundamental shift occurred during the Mourning Wars, as native groups tried to adapt to the new warfare styles brought by the Europeans. He ties this shift to 1676 , during King Phillip's War (1675–1678), when the English armed the Mohawk with 600 guns and employed them as a mercenary force against Metacomet and the New England Algonquians involved with a large-scale uprising (Parmenter 2007:42). Throughout the 18th century, however, the Iroquois limited violence against their brethren who later settled in New France, with an "ethic of mutual non-aggression" (Parmenter 2007:48). This unofficial policy of avoiding direct conflict served as an endless source of frustration for both the French and, later, the English, who felt their allies were unreliable in battle. In part, the transition from intertribal warfare to colonial warfare for the Iroquois paralleled their waning influence on the fur trade, as it moved further west and north. In the face of declining numbers of furs, they were left to barter their services as soldiers to obtain guns, blankets, and other tools from their colonial trading partners.

Trade Goods

Early on in the 15th and 16th centuries, Native American trade was driven by ideologically valuable or "symbolically charged" items such as wampum, copper, and quartz, which were later replaced or supplemented by glass and shell beads, copper pots, and brass (Gehring and Starna 2009:20). As discussed, these items have a long history of importance to Native groups in the upper Hudson River valley. This type of trade was fundamentally different from the European perspective of the day (and our modern conception) of an economically driven system of exchange. The Native trade system has been defined as "trading in metaphors" where shell, crystal and copper were thought to be an insurance of long life and immorality through resuscitation, well-being, and success (Hammell 1983). This is particularly true of wampum, where the symbolic value to Native groups far outweighed the perceived economic value to Europeans. The evidence of this is the gradual creation of elaborate wampum belts, derived from earlier strings of wampum that were used, particularly by the Iroquois, in treaty relations. These symbolically charged items were the foundation of confirming new social relationships both within groups (i.e. dowries and bride wealth) and between groups (Pena 1990:38). As such, wampum served a function beyond that of a substitute for cash or a simple commodity as envisioned by early European traders (Bradley 2007:76-77). Additional details of the re-purposing of European trade items

by the Iroquois into more culturally significant material cultural can be found in James Bradley's work, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois* (Bradley 1987).

Throughout the 1630s and 1640s, Fort Orange drew both Iroquois and "French Indian" traders due to the availability of wampum that the French lacked in Canada (Starna and Brandao 204:733). French Indian traders were often disappointed when Fort Orange lacked wampum for trade. In part, wampum was more valuable as heavier items such as kettles and bulkier items like cloth were more difficult to transport over long distances. As a result, wampum was the preferred trade good for long-distance exchanges since they could be used locally to trade for other items. This trade dynamic changed, particularly as guns, lead, and gunpowder grew in importance to Native groups later in the 17th century. However, the desire for wampum helps to explain why New Netherland and, later, New York were able to attract French Indian traders to the area from New France who did not have access to the wampum being produced along the New England sea coast. This established a pattern of movement along the Hudson-Champlain waterways by Native American traders who worked to obtain a variety of goods from both the traders of Quebec, Montreal, and Albany. This pattern persisted throughout the 18th century, often regardless of colonial wars and conflicts. Restrictions to movements along this corridor were the result of Native conflicts. The inability for the Dutch and French to increase trade in their respective colonies was a "by-product of the long standing Indian animosities" (Starna and Brandao 2004:740). These conflicts were the source of unending frustration to the Europeans who wished for an open market where all Native groups had access to trade. However, the frustration of perceived restrictions on travel drew the colonial powers into native conflicts and exacerbated the pre-existing conflicts, rather than solving them as they had hoped.

Native Settlement along the Hudson

As discussed, prior to Henry Hudson's arrival there is a rich archeological record of native settlement along Fish Creek, Saratoga Lake, and the Hudson River in the vicinity of the study area. Principal Mohawk settlements were located to the west in the Mohawk River valley. These large, palisaded villages featured numerous longhouses on easily defensible hillsides. The archeological evidence suggests that these fortified villages largely predate the 17th century, suggesting endemic warfare existed before the European arrival (Funk and Kuhn 2003). The village sites changed throughout the 17th century as a result of French incursions and the burning of numerous villages. The villages, however, always remained in the Mohawk Valley, with the exception of a brief time in 1693 when a Mohawk fortified village was established at Schuyler Flatts along the Hudson River just north of Albany.

Mohican settlement occurred primarily in small dispersed villages that appear to have moved frequently across the landscape. After the Mohawk-Mohican Wars of the 1620s, the Hudson River valley was largely abandoned, especially on the west side, and utilized by the Mohawks as hunting and fishing grounds.

European settlement started in Schaghticoke in 1707 and by 1720 about 12 families had established farms in the area (Sylvester 1880:439). This number continued to increase over time, especially as the land was vacated by native settlers. At the same time the Mourning Wars had transformed into larger-scale colonial wars, in 1676 the English invited refugee populations from New England to settle among the Mohicans near modern-day Schaghticoke. It is unclear if the Mohawks or the Mohicans were consulted on this invitation (Dunn 2009:52; Grumet 1995:168), but the settlement represented the first major village established along the upper Hudson River since the 1620s. This settlement, located just nine miles southeast of the study area, also had a profound effect on the European settlement of the Saratoga patent, as allied Native groups served as the eyes and ears for the English colonial government and offered a small measure of protection for the incipient settlement there.

The Schaghticoke settlement consisted of displaced Mohicans and New England Algonquian refugees including Pequot, Wampanoag, and others from King Phillip's War (Dunn 2009:52). Although the Dutch knew the Mohicans as a culturally distinct group they termed "Mahikanders," after the influx of new refugees these groups were most commonly referred to as the "River Indians" by Dutch and English traders and colonial officials (Dunn 2009:52-53; Fitch 1870:385-390). By 1685, a large contingent of displaced Abenaki also settled

in the Schaghticoke area. These smaller groups, more friendly with the French to the north, served as a vital source of information and supplies for New France (Grumet 1995:169).

A condolence speech by a Mohawk Sachem to the English at Albany just after the French raid of Schenectady in 1690, provided some insight into the relationship of the Mohawk and River Indians at the time.

> The Scabkok (Schaghticoke) Indians in our Opinion are well placed where they are to the Northward of Albany they are a good Out guard they are our Children and we shall take Care that they do their Duty But you must take Care of the Indians below the Town place them nearer the Town so as they may be of most Service to you (Colden 1727:199-12).

The speech suggests that the Natives at Schaghticoke were partially controlled by the Mohawks, while the River Indians to the south were not as closely associated with the Mohawks.

The Schaghticoke settlement extended several miles along the Hoosick River, however no detailed description of their community exists. The settlement probably "consisted of several scattered hamlets made up of bark, logs, and wooden frame houses" (Grumet 1995:168-169). Warfare in 1702 forced many to move from the growing town, and upon their return in 1713, Albany merchants had claimed much of the land for themselves. Fearing continued French aggression in the area, the Schaghticoke Indians asked Governor Robert Hunter for a fort in 1710, likely similar to the one being built in Mohawk country at the mouth of the Schoharie Creek (also known as the Lower Castle).

The importance of this buffer population between New France and Albany is evidenced by the gifts of guns, lead, and gunpowder by Governor Hunter to the River Indians in 1714 (Dunn 2009:53). The depredations engendered by the near continuous wars with France in New York, however, took its toll on the Schaghticoke population. By 1736, most had moved to Stockbridge, Massachusetts to join a Presbyterian mission established by John Sargeant (Frazier 1992). The burning of Fort Clinton by the English in 1747 at Saratoga was particularly galling to the local Natives who felt betrayed.

A sachem of the Mohawks declared to the New York colonial government at Albany in 1754:

> You burnt your own Forts at Seraghtoga [speaking about the burning in 1747], and run away from it. It was a shame & a scandal to you. Look about your country and see; you have no fortifications abut you—no, not even in this City. Tis but one step from Canada hither; and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors (Brodhead 1855:870).

The speech above was attributed to Hendrick Theyanoguin, a Mohawk chief and close ally of Sir William Johnson, but likely also expressed the sentiment of the River Indians at Schaghticoke, for at this time many were exiting the area, including a large group between 1753 and 1754 who moved into New France (Sylvester 1880:21).

Summary

Native views of warfare, material culture, and territory had a profound effect on the events of the 17th and 18th century. As it relates to Saratoga, the land along the Hudson was contested territory after the 1620s between two rival groups, the Mohawk and Mohicans. Historical accounts suggest the Mohawk continued to rely heavily on the area for hunting and fishing. When the Saratoga patent was sold by the Mohawk in 1683, a few Mohican sachems were on hand. They were also paid, as "in old times, it was their land, before the Maquas [Mohawks] won it from them" (cited in Dunn 2009:55). By the 17th century, it appears that settlement in the Saratoga area was seasonal in nature. Not far to the south, refugee Algonquian peoples established a settlement that also drew the interests of settlers in Albany, particularly after the beginning of the 18th century.

The vacuum left behind by war between the Mohawk and Mohicans was eventually filled with European settlers, first intrepid French traders and later Dutch and English scions looking to create farms and mills to support the burgeoning population of Albany and to create wealth and power for themselves.

French Perspective

Following the exploration and unsuccessful attempts at initial colonization of the St. Lawrence River valley by Jacques Cartier in the 1540s, the area of what would later be known as Canada remained largely unsettled by Europeans until the early 17th century. Samuel de Champlain arrived in 1608 with the intent to establish a new colony centered around the St. Lawrence River valley, to be called "New France," following a series of earlier explorations and fur-trading expeditions. Champlain, by trade a soldier and sailor, worked on behalf of financiers and politically connected backers. By 1609, he was in the employ of the *Compagnie des Marchands* (Traders' Company). As a result, the settlement of New France stemmed from economic interests in establishing a fur trade. Many of Champlain's early actions, including mapping and establishing outposts were done to increase the potential financial success of the company.

As a soldier, Champlain quickly jumped into the wars of friendly natives in the St. Lawrence River valley. Having been the subject of endless conflict with the Iroquois to the south, the St. Lawrence groups (mostly Algonquian to the east) eagerly drew Champlain and the French into the conflict. Champlain was equally eager to oblige by engaging in battle at Lake Champlain and in subsequent attacks. The resulting battle of Lake Champlain and successive attacks are detailed below. Suffice it to say here, Champlain's early effort to fight the Iroquois, justified under the pretext of improving the fur trade in the St. Lawrence valley, set into motion over 150 years of conflict, misunderstanding, and mistrust.

The Economics

The action of the French colonial government in relation to the Iroquois, primarily, and later the Dutch and English, derives from a complex mixture of economic policy, local and foreign political instability, and military interventionism all with deep religious undertones. Earlier on during the 17th century, the French sought to obtain as many furs as possible to satiate the incredible demand in Europe. To this end, the French tried to entice as many Native traders to New France as possible. From a purely economic perspective, as the number of potential traders increased, the larger resulting supply would result in a deflation of the price in North America, despite the demand in Europe. By driving down the cost in obtaining furs, the trading companies were able to maximize their potential profit. Reduced costs included enhanced safety and security, which created an incentive to maintain peaceful relationships with Native tribes. At its foundation, the economic and, subsequently, political and military policies of New France sought to maximize the amount of furs available to French traders and to reduce the competition from other European colonial interests. Regardless of the larger geopolitical events on the continent, New France found itself in a constant battle for economic supremacy in northern North America.

According to Peckham:

> Attempts at peace by the Iroquois were often rejected by French authorities, who felt that any reconciliation between the Iroquois and their Huron allies could divert the fur trade to Fort Orange. The French developed allegiances with the Abenakis of Maine, Montagnais of Acadia, Micmacs of Nova Scotia, and later the Great Lakes tribes of the Ottawa, Chippewa, Potowatomi, Miami, Sauk, and Fox (1964:18).

Although agricultural interests would later grow in importance, the fur trade remained the heart of the New France economy throughout the 17th and mid-18th centuries. As a result, many of the later military decisions and settlement strategies undertaken by the government and people of New France can only be understood through that prism.

As time passed, the colonial traders of North America grew more and more dependent on each other. The economic interconnection between New France and what later became New York became evident during King William's War when French traders near Saratoga were temporarily imprisoned by the British. It is clear from the historical records associated with these events that traders in Albany and Montreal had established enduring relationships (Lunn 1939:62-63).

Much to the consternation of the New York colonial government, this trade increased following Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) and lead to the colonial government enacting laws and constructing forts in an effort to deter this trade. During King George's War, the scale of trade among belligerents reflected "the growing importance of the French West Indies and the volume of agricultural surpluses in Great Britain's North American colonies" (Truxes 2008). "Flag-trucing" or trade with the enemy under the "guise of sea-borne prisoner-of-war exchanges" licensed by the government became widespread during King George's War (Truxes 2008).

In summary, although war made exchanges cumbersome between New York and New France they did not end them (Truxes 2008). Thus, in time, the local economic interests of the colonists were often at odds with those of the homeland. This led to a messy political situation, that was especially more acute in the English colonies. As for New France, the monarchy established a system of colonial control more amenable to the interests of the home country.

The Politics

As a colonial settlement, New France sought to protect its economic and political interests, especially from other European powers with whom they were frequently at odds. As the colonial interests were largely peripheral to those of the mother country, the colonial settlements suffered from the whims of internal and external political events beyond their control. These included frequent changes in governance, both in terms of structure and personalities, as well as policies.

From the early 17th century to the end of the French and Indian War in 1758, just four kings ruled over France: Henry IV, Louis XII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV (Figure 1). This provided relatively remarkable stability in colonial New France, especially in comparison to the English rule of its North American colonies. By the 1620s, Cardinal Richelieu, advisor to the French king, created the Company of One Hundred Associates to bring the economic potential of the colony under more direct and local royal and religious control (Peckham 1964:9). By the 1660s, the French king assigned an army garrison to the colony and brought the governor under the direction of the French military. The new structure was formalized with a constitution and the revocation of the charter of the Company of One Hundred Associates in 1663 (St John Williams 1997:9), thus usurping the authority established by Richelieu. In addition, the French government created a Sovereign Council composed of a Governor, Bishop, and Intendant whose role was primarily concerned with internal civil affairs. In part, the Intendant served as a check to the power of Governor, and often these two offices stood at odds; at other times, the Governor and Intendant switched roles. After the creation of the Sovereign Council, the Governor served directly at the pleasure of the King and saw to the defense and foreign relations of the colony. As a result, the Governors of New France turned their attention more squarely on the Native Americans and colonies of English to the south after many of their other duties were assigned to the Intendant.

After 1712, New France which had sprawled from the Atlantic seaboard to the Louisiana coast was divided into administrative regions: Canada, Newfoundland, Acadia, Hudson Bay, and Louisiana. The colony of Canada was further divided into three administrative districts, Québec, Montréal and Trois-Rivieres. Traditionally, the Governor General of Canada served as the head of Québec as well. Thus the governance structure became increasingly complex by the time of the Seven Years' War.

This rise in government complexity in New France can be correlated with increasing population and the circumscription of the colony through English encroachment along the Atlantic seaboard, Hudson Bay, and along the Great Lakes and Mississippi River beginning in the early 17th century. In 1621, King James I gave Sir William Alexander a land grant he called Nova Scotia. Thus began England's attempts to establish an economic foothold in northern part of North America. Sensing potential profits in the fur trade, London merchants funded an expedition into the Canadian interior in 1627 and took Québec City and Port Royal and established Cape Breton under the direction of the Kirke brothers (Peckham 1964:12). These gains in the Canadian interior were only temporary, however, as the English king, Charles I, sold the conquests back to France in 1632. However, the Kirke brothers' and English government's hold on Nova Scotia remained firmly entrenched.

Military and Early Settlement Systems

The colony of New France was more closely held by the crown than the English colonies were by their own. By 1663, the Governor and Intendant reported directly to France as members of the Sovereign Council and by the end of the decade the Council was placed under the administration of the newly created Ministry of the Marine. By 1660, Montreal was established as an outpost of New France with a fort and 40 houses and 150 people under constant threat from hostile Iroquois, a common situation for some of the colony's larger settlements. Realizing the precarious position of this settlement, just four years later the French government forbade agricultural settlement up-country from Montreal, preferring to keep the population nearby the established fort systems. Even as late as 1716, the government refused to provide land grants in the region west of Montreal. Settlement of this area was further hampered by resistance to Huguenot emigration. Improvements to the military and a new system of land granting that institutionalized military service and class provided France the opportunity to expand beyond these beleaguered settlements.

In 1663, the French population of Canada was a mere 2,500 as compared to 80,000 in the English's thirteen North American colonies (Bellico 2010:12). Therefore, raising a militia from the local population proved exceedingly difficult for the French. As a result, French regulars were utilized to provide initial military support to the fledging colony. After the political realignment of 1663, the king ordered over 24 companies of 15,000 Carignan Regiment under Colonel de Salieres to sail to New France to provide for its defense. Once on the continent, the division split into garrisons at Québec city, five companies at Fort Sorel under Captain Sorel, and smaller detachments further upstream under Captain Chambly (Peckham 1964:10). These companies were responsible for the initial construction of Fort Chambly, Fort Saint-There, Fort Saint-Jean, and, later, Fort Sainte Anne. Thus began a concerted effort to defend and protect the valuable travel routes along the St. Lawrence and Richelieu rivers to the trade center at Québec. The soldiers did not stay sedentary for long, and were quickly utilized to muster an offensive against the Iroquois in 1666.

By 1680, 600 more regulars were stationed in Canada, further fortifying and defending the St. Lawrence and Richelieu rivers. The growing local population and the French regulars proved to be an effective fighting force, especially when combined on the battlefield. In 1686, 800 additional regulars along with 1,000 Canadian militia, and 300 Indians mounted raids in western New York against the Seneca with considerable success. They also employed *coureurs de bois*, or "forest adventurers," and later relied more heavily on militia as the population of New France grew and companies could be raised within the colony (Peckham 1964:5).

From 1666 to 1691, Louis XIV had an "exceptional" Minister of Defense in Marquis de Louvois who reorganized the army to great effect. During his tenure, de Louvois updated military equipment by replacing pikes and bows with muskets and bayonets, issued uniforms to soldiers, and attached artillery units to the army. Soldiers were trained to march in step and theoretically received regular pay. De Louvois also established a corps of engineers, who built new barracks to end billeting (Peckham 1964:8).

This early influx of professionalized French soldiers placed loyal, competent, and trained fighters in strategic locations along the wilderness frontier of New France. These new settlers served as an important buffer for the trade centers in the interior. In 1674, inducements were made by the King and chief minister Jean Baptiste Colbert for immigration and permanent settlement. The first major effort was made by the recently disbanded Carignan regiment, whose service had largely ended by 1668. In all, almost 30 officers and over 400 soldiers remained to settle, enticed by a combination of money and land grants, while six other Carignan companies returned to France. Thus, nearly 500 new settlers appeared in New France around 1670. To help bolster the prospects of a sustained pioneer population, between 1665 and 1673 over 1,000 *filles de roi*, or "King's Daughters", were sent to Canada. These women were often dowerless or illegitimate women with little hope for a bright economic future in France, who could be persuaded to take a chance in the New World (Peckham 1964:10).

The land grants issued to the retired soldiers were given by the King, as the colony land was technically his to use and dispose of as he saw fit. The institution mimicked French feudalism, except the habitants or settlers were "virtually free of the feudal service and taxes" typical in the Old World (Peckham 1964:9). A sort of enhanced land grant, called a *seigniorie* was offered to retired officers of the Carignan companies if they stayed

and settled, providing a nucleus of experienced leaders for the expansion of French occupation along the St. Lawrence River valley (Peckham 1964:9). The promise of the seigniories assured that settlers pledged loyalty to the King. As landholders, this new class could then rent to tenants, charge tenants a fee for milling wheat or other grains, impress tenants into military service, and act as local magistrates and judges. Skilled artisans paid seigniories for the privilege of working within a land grant, which provided order to settlement and a means for landowners to raise additional capital (Peckham 1964:11). This new institution closely allied the settlement system with the military system, as the seigniories provided a structure to the provincial militia. Military service was extracted from the tenants as a duty owed to the landowner and the landowner owed to the king (Peckham 1964:27).

Although more permanent settlement continued to be largely restricted to the St. Lawrence and upper Richelieu Rivers in the later 17th and early 18th centuries, explorers continued to establish smaller trading centers to the west. In 1678, Robert de la Sale discovered Niagara Falls where he built a fort and explored the vast American bottom all the way to Louisiana. Thus began a concerted effort by the French to retain terrestrial claims with trading posts, missions, and fortification. These outposts were modest indeed, and "usually consisted of three or four log buildings surrounded by a palisade" (St John Williams 1997:5).

Religious Aspects

In addition to the inherent tensions between investors in New France and the government and military system, the articulation of the Roman Catholic Church with these groups further complicated matters. The diverse religious factions in the colony included the Catholic hierarchy of bishops and clergy, the proselytizing groups of The Society of Jesus, Sulpicians, and Ursuline Order of Nuns, among others. Each group vied for influence within both France and the new colony, and viewed strict religious order as the best policy to maintain social order. One of the most important for this discussion was the Society of Jesus, Jesuit missionaries who spent considerable time among the native tribes seeking to convert them to Catholicism. The Jesuits were "highly independent" and largely took orders directly from Rome rather than the secular government of France and New France (Corbett 2002:58).

In the process, the Jesuits won both the esteem and hatred of various native groups and created new factions within the Native populations that drove the movement of people and allegiances to colonial governments. Initial Jesuit efforts were focused on the native groups of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, especially the Huron to the west. The Iroquois drew the ire of both the Jesuits and the New France government by kidnapping, torturing, and killing missionaries. Among the more famous Jesuits was Father Isaac Jogues, who was captured by a Mohawk raiding party while on a mission to Huron country in 1642. He was led back to Mohawk country and severely tortured, and eventually ransomed by Arendt Van Curler and Reverend Jan Megapolensis, a Lutheran pastor from nearby Albany. Jogues's travels through Mohawk country provide some of the first written accounts of the inner workings of the Iroquois by the French. Jogues returned to the Mohawk in 1646 only to be killed shortly thereafter (Coolidge 1989:18-19)(Hunt 1940:85-6).

Undeterred, many Jesuits thought the conversion of the Iroquois to Christian ideals would pacify the groups and endear them towards the French and their geopolitical goals. Father Simon LeMoyne and others tried to establish missions in Mohawk territory between 1654 and 1661 with little success (Coolidge 1989:20) (Corbett 2002:59). Lemoyne instead established a mission with a blockhouse and bastion on shores of Onondaga Lake, just west of the Mohawk heartland in New York State, named Sainte Marie du Lac Gannentaha. It was short-lived and abandoned by 1658 (Tyrell 1959:32). The demise of Lemoyne's mission marked the beginning of a period of turmoil and change within the Mohawk Nation especially, as Christian converts were driven out by traditional leaders and headed north. A large number of refugee families coalesced into a new community in New France and become collectively known to colonists as "French Indians." Between 1667 and 1668, they settled near La Prairie and called it Kentake (Corbett 2002:65). The village was later known as Kahnawake (also referred to as the Caughnawaga settlement) and moved many times in the area before settling more permanently in 1716 (Corbett 2002:65). Kateri Tekakwitha, one of the most famous of the Mohawk converts and canonized as a saint by the Catholic church in 2012, arrived around 1677 with a large group of refugees. The settlement and mission moved to Sault Saint Louis in 1719.

Nearly a decade later, after the devastating assault of the Carignan on the Iroquois, the Jesuits once again tried to establish missions with each of the Five Nations in New York. They were all abandoned by 1687 after the Denonville expedition angered the Iroquois and the Jesuits were expelled. The Jesuits and New France government continued to be undeterred. During a visit by Peter Schuyler, then mayor of Albany and Godfrey Dellius, a prominent Protestant minister in Albany, to Governor Frontenac in the summer of 1698:

> The Jesuits and lay-fathers called on us and said that they hoped to pay us a visit at Albany shortly and that they wanted to send their missionaries again among our Indians. We begged them not to trouble themselves so far, as our Indians are under the care of Dr. Dellius who is under the Bishop of London, to whose diocese they belong. (Fortesque 1905:309-310)

Despite their protests, the English in Albany had little interest in proselytizing, and Dellius in particular spent more time amassing a land grant than administering the faith to the natives.

At the request of the Iroquois, in an effort to restore peace and trust between the two nations, a mission was re-established at Onondaga and another among the Seneca in 1702 by the Jesuit fathers Jacques de Lamberville, Julien Garnier, and Francois Vaillant de Gueslis. De Gueslis apparently made routine visits to Mohawk territory, as in March 1690 he fled from a village site upon word he would be detained. In his haste he left behind many personal belongings, which were inventoried by the city elders in Albany which included many trade goods, small bibles, liturgical items, a number of carpentry tools, and three pairs of ice creepers (Christoph 1991:111).

These missionaries had the effect of holding the Iroquois neutral in the next war between France and England. The New York government grew increasingly uneasy with the French missionaries among the Iroquois, particularly the Mohawk, and, in 1709, the remaining missionaries were forced out of New York until 1748. The Sulpician priest, François Picquet, established the Presentation mission on the St. Lawrence River near the French post of Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg, New York, with the design of drawing off the last remaining Catholic Indians from among the Iroquois. Other Mohawk (and Iroquois groups) moved westward towards other villages such as Fort Frontenac (modern-day Kingston, Ontario) established in 1673 (Adams 1986). Unlike the missions closer to Montreal, the archeology of these settlements suggests they retained traditional lifeways well into the 18th century (Adams 1986:19).

As converted Catholic Mohawks moved northward, a political power vacuum was filled with traditionalists and pro-English Mohawk and thus the remaining members of the group inexorably moved closer to the political allegiance of the English (Corbett 2002:33). The French Indians and remaining Mohawks in New York were increasingly co-opted by both colonial governments. Most importantly, these groups acted as conduits to send messages and, as diplomats, they reported on the movement of natives and colonists alike, and provided a measure of reassurance against attack (Corbett 2002:62).

The contentious relationships between the Catholics and Protestants in Europe often spilled over into colonial affairs. Each side mistrusted the others and portrayed the other without faith. Additionally, the missionary efforts of the Jesuits on behalf of New France created a major rift in the Mohawk Nation that both the French and English tried to exploit to their own profit. The French utilized the Kanawake settlement and their relationship with the Mohawk as justification for their territorial claims to Lake Champlain and to Wood Creek, a narrow, winding watercourse that connected Lake Champlain to Lake George. Similarly, the agreement that colonial New York held with the Iroquois provided them justification for the same territory (Corbett 2002:73).

Despite the efforts to leverage the Iroquois on both sides into military partnerships, the Europeans were systematically thwarted by the non-aggression stance that the Mohawks took amongst themselves after the beginning of the 18th century. This unspoken agreement and intentional deception frustrated and angered their colonial partners who had hoped to manipulate them for their own gain (Corbett 2002:73).

Summary

In the run-up to King William's War, the French experienced a prolonged period of political stability, with just four sovereigns ruling over nearly a century and a half. The French capitalized on this stability and were able to react to a rapidly changing geopolitical situation accordingly. This period was marked by increasing pressure on New France by encroachments from the English on all sides, but the French were able to appropriate men and materiel to meet this challenge. During this period, the French professionalized and reorganized their colonial military and focused on trading missions into the frontier, instead of permanent settlements that were bound to fail. These trading missions continued to penetrate south down the Champlain and Hudson Valleys into places like Albany, where economic ties would play into the geopolitical conflict soon to come. French Catholic missionaries continued to attempt proselytization among the various native groups, but this interaction served to complicate the political situation between the natives, the French, and the Dutch and later English.

Dutch and English Perspective

The Dutch enjoyed a relatively short period of colonial control before ceding their colony to the English. These two countries shared close economic, political, religious, and cultural ties. The Dutch culture and language remained strong in the Hudson River valley, well after the English affected a bloodless takeover of New Netherland in 1676. Overnight, the territory became New York, but the cultural transition was much slower, and not truly evident until after the Seven Years' War ended in 1759. Because of the lag in cultural transition, Dutch colonial institutions and policies continued to have an effect on the geopolitical trajectories at work during the 17th century and early 18th century.

The Saratoga area typifies the larger economic, social, political and cultural processes at work in New York throughout this period. The land was obtained through a complex mixture of royal grants, purchases, and labor investment by wealthy fur traders and merchants from the Albany area. These influential men were by descent both English and Dutch. Although the land was targeted for development for the purposes of agricultural production, milling and fur-trading remained a central part of the area's economy up until the American Revolution. To protect their economic interests and land holdings, the patentees were often central figures in colonial affairs including governance, defense, and diplomatic negotiations both with New France and the Native Americans. The legacy of Dutch colonial rule and cultural ties had a lasting effect in the region's economy, politics, religion, and military that factored into the simmering conflicts during the period in the Saratoga area.

Economics

Colonization of what became New York was driven by the fur trade, much like that witnessed in New France to the north. While the French colony remained overwhelming committed to the effort well into the 18th century, the Dutch and English colonies grew increasingly reliant on agricultural and extractive industries such as lumbering and milling. As a result, the New York economy diversified and became stronger more quickly than New France. This helped to support a larger number of settlers, and the English colonies as a whole quickly became more populous than New France.

Although first explored by an Englishman, the Hudson River valley was settled by Dutch traders involved with a large concern known as the Dutch West India Company (WIC). Sanctioned by the Dutch crown, the company was granted near total control over the management and civil administration of the colony. By 1614, only four years after Hudson's initial exploration, the company erected Fort Nassau on Castle Island in what would become modern-day Albany. Small and prone to flooding, the fort was replaced with the larger and more robust Fort Orange in 1624.

With Fort Orange came more pioneers and traders and the number of recorded fur pelts doubled from 5,000 in 1624 to 10,000 in 1631 (Bellico 2010:11). After initial conflicts, trade for the company expanded dramatically again after a peace treaty with the Mohawks was negotiated in 1643 (Bellico 2010:12). Shortly thereafter, the Dutch traders began to trade guns with the Mohawks, dramatically altering the relationship of the two, as the government of New France was reluctant to arm their Native trading partners (Given 1994). In an effort to

induce settlement of the colony's interior, the WIC offered large land grants, particularly along the Hudson River to wealthy investors. One of the only successful Patroonships, as they came to be known, was that of Killian Van Rensselaer. His land holdings surrounded Fort Orange and the growing city of Albany and extended along both the east and west sides of the Hudson River to near the modern-day border of Saratoga County. Under this Patroonship, land was primarily rented to tenants or sold to other wealthy investors. The Patroonship effectively restricted other smaller investors in Albany from buying land in the immediate vicinity. As a result, some, like the Saratoga patentees, needed to search in more remote locations in the upper and lower Hudson Valley for valuable farmland to develop.

In 1664, the Dutch authorities capitulated to English forces in a prelude to the Second Anglo-Dutch War. The Dutch temporarily regained control of New Netherland in 1673, but formally ceded the territory back to England as part of the 1674 Treaty of Westminster which ended the Third Anglo-Dutch War.

The Politics

In contrast to New France, the political turmoil witnessed within the colonial territory of England was quite dramatic. In the time between 1600 and 1765, France had four directly related kings in power. In England, this period was interrupted in 1649 when Charles I was removed by Parliament, tried for treason, and executed. In 1653, parliamentary rule of England ended when Oliver Cromwell was named Lord Protectorate. Following the English Civil War was a period of continued political dissention marked by a rapid turnover of monarchs and institutional religious turmoil. While this did not necessarily destabilize the country, it had a perceptible effect in the colonies, where locally administrated governmental bodies exhibited similar volatility.

Most settlement in the English colonies was initially directed by stock companies or properties, but by 1700 nearly all were under royal supervision. The king appointed a governor, but the colonial administration was largely handled by elected officials, and Connecticut and Rhode Island even elected their own governor (Peckham 1964:13). To help coordinate and ensure the administration of England's colonial interests across the globe, Charles II in 1675 instituted a bureaucratic entity called the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Foreign Plantations. This small governing body was replaced with a more robust group, the Board of Trade and Plantations, in 1696. Most of the information concerning colonial New York in the late 17th through the mid-18th century is contained in the archives of the Board, as they frequently corresponded with the governor and other politically connected individuals concerning virtually all aspects of internal and external affairs. In this manner, the monarch, through the Board's articulation with the Privy Council, could be kept abreast of New York's colonial affairs.

The inherent difficulties in protecting a large territory with smaller provincial governments from foreign invasion are best summarized by Peckham (1964:14):

> The thirteen self-governing colonies showed neither unity not zeal for the common cause, each governor, representing the crown, had to consult his elected assembly. Each refused to provide the troops, required by the English commander in chief…and each colony haggled over the necessary supplies, and transport.

This is not to say that the colonies could not cooperate when their political, economic, and strategic interests overlapped. Massachusetts and Connecticut worked together during King Philip's War; Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut mounted a small army to take Louisburg from New France; and New Jersey was an important ally to New York during King George's War providing men and materiel to the New York frontier including at Saratoga.

To better secure its colonial interests in New York after the takeover from the Dutch, in 1674 England recruited an independent company of regular soldiers consisting of 100 privates, two drummers, six non-commissioned officers, an ensign, and two lieutenants. The company was largely divided between Albany and New York, and represented the first English regulars to be stationed in America (Peckham 1964:15). However, the troops served little more purpose than as garrison units within the two principal forts in the colony. Trouble for the English colonial experiments evolved as "[w]ithin the space of 25 years there was a continuous line of 13

English colonies, with no political tie save a common allegiance to the English crown…" (St John Williams 1997:7) and even more troubling, little or no integration of military affairs. This was a major failing of the king, Charles II, and symptomatic of a country wearied by a civil war and frightened of a strong military.

The early English government maintained the status quo in New York, as the newly appointed governor, Edmund Andros, confirmed Dutch settlers' land claims and allowed them to continue to practice their own religion. The Dutch settlers, accustomed to rule under companies, now had an opportunity to shape and participate in a new political process.

Between 1683 and 1688, Thomas Dongan (a Catholic who rose in fortune after the restoration of Charles II and his successor James II) rose to become the provincial governor of New York. He is credited with starting the first elected representative government of the colony. In 1684, Dongan declared English sovereignty over the Iroquois and licensed fur expeditions into French territory (Bellico 2010:16). The French retaliated with a raid led by Denonville against the Seneca in 1687, burning five towns and their crops and rebuilt the old French fort at Niagara to better defend the western border. The Iroquois retaliated in 1688 and laid siege to Montreal in the Lachine Massacre (Peckham 1964:21). These events marked the beginning of a renewed period of near constant warfare between the Iroquois and the French, which helped to align the Iroquois, and especially the Mohawks, closer to the English. The colonial government responded by creating a number of treaties and appointing special liaisons or Indian Agents to improve diplomatic and economic relations.

In an attempt to consolidate the colonial governments, James II created the dominion of New England from the New England colonies and New York and New Jersey in the beginning of 1686. Edmund Andros was appointed the governor, but only for a short period of time. By the end of 1688, Andros was replaced as governor as a result of the Glorious Revolution occurring in England at the time and the return of the Protestant monarchy of King William III and Queen Mary II. The return of a Protestant to power set into motion a series of future conflicts with Catholic rulers in Europe, especially in France.

The shift in monarchs also had a profound effect on the North American colonies. Governor Andros, who had moved to Boston to oversee the newly enlarged Dominion of New England, had many political enemies jealous of his ties with the Dutch traders of New York, where his power base remained. With the ouster of James II in the Glorious Revolution, several small rebellions erupted in America. In Boston, Andros was immediately deposed and a new governor, Simeon Bradstreet, arose to bring order. Similarly in New York, Jacob Leisler (a German immigrant and New York militia captain in New York City) led a revolt against the Lieutenant Governor of New York, Francis Nicholson. The Leisler Rebellion, as it came to be known, pitted the smaller traders and farmers of New York against the landed wealthy families, in particular Robert Livingston and Peter Schuyler, two of the more influential people in the development of the Saratoga region, especially as it relates to the initial fortification of Saratoga with Fort Vrooman. With the end of Andros's tenure, the wildly unpopular Dominion of New England reverted back to their previous political status as individual colonies.

Leisler can be described in modern political terms as a populist, who focused on the safety of the New York colony. Following the rebellion, he immediately took charge to improve the colonial defenses, especially after the 1690 raid of Schenectady. He convened the first intercolonial conference in an effort to galvanize English efforts against French Canada which resulted in a failed attempt to take Québec. Leisler's bid to lead New York ultimately failed, however, when King William III appointed Benjamin Fletcher as Governor. Until his arrival however, Henry Sloughter served as acting Governor and Major Richard Ingoldsby as Lieutenant Governor. Leisler and several of his cohorts were eventually hanged for treason, and the landed gentry of the colony, including Livingston and Schuyler, returned to prominent positions within the colonial government.

Queen Mary died in 1694, leaving William III to rule alone for the next eight years. Benjamin Fletcher continued as governor until 1697, when Lord Bellomont (Richard Coote) was appointed for a short period of time due to his untimely death. Bellomont, due to his sympathies for Leisler and his allies, alienated many of New York's wealthy, especially the Livingston and Schuyler families. Due to their close ties with Native American trading partners, diplomacy between the English colonial government under Bellomont and the Iroquois suffered. After Bellomont's death, John Nanfan directed an interim government that was able to negotiate with the Iroquois. Between 1701 and 1710, New York fell under a period of relatively lax leadership.

Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, directed an uneventful governorship and then four acting governors (including Schuyler) served as interims. In 1711, Robert Hunter was appointed the new Governor, a post which he held for the next decade, bringing about a period of renewed strength in the office.

With the Acts of Union in 1707 under Queen Anne (1702–1709), New York became a colony of Great Britain as opposed to England alone and set into motion the immigration of many Scots into New York. It also helped to propel Scottish administrators into the colonial government such as Governor John Montgomerie in 1727. Ironically, shortly afterwards virtually all of the governor's appointments in New York were born in the colony. This brought about a more provincial outlook for the administration of New York that sought to further its own economic and political interests, rather than that of the crown and English parliament. Subsequent appointed governors included William Cosby (1732–1736), George Clarke (1736–1743), and George Clinton (1743–1753), with several other acting governors in between.

Following the death of Hunter in 1720, Schuyler once again assumed the post for an interim period. William Burnet, served in the position nor the next eight years. Burnet became generally despised in New York due to his attempt to restrict trade between New York and French Canada. Burnet was the appointee of King George I (1714–1727), a royal of German descent who was the closest living relative to Anne, and not a professed Catholic. He was succeeded by his son George II, who ruled until 1760, whose reign marked the longest tenure of an British monarch in nearly a century.

Religious Aspects

The fractional nature of intercolonial affairs is due, in part, to the competing religious/economic nature and interests of the colonial grants. Maryland was established as a Catholic colony. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania each had a distinctive Protestant bent in many ways dissimilar to each other. New York in many ways lacked the religious zeal and fervor evident in the political systems of other colonial governments. During the Dutch and early English periods, the Dutch Reformed Church was the principal religious institution in the colony. Although interested in Native American communities, the church never fully invested in a systematic effort in evangelizing. John Dellius, the pastor of the Albany church, did work closely with the Mohawk. His efforts appear to be have been self-serving however, as he was later accused of fraudulently obtaining the deed to lands north of Saratoga and along the Mohawk River. In the early 18th century, Queen Anne, after entertaining four local Indian chiefs, promised the support of the Anglican Church to the Mohawks, who witnessed the successful effort of the Jesuits in drawing off tribal members to Canada.

New York's population grew increasingly diverse with an influx of settlers from New England and other colonies, and so too did its religious institutions. As a result, the proselytizing efforts of the French Jesuits largely went unchecked in New York until the beginning of the 18th century, as there was little concerted efforts by the English government to convert the Natives to Christianity.

Military System

At the beginning of the 17th century, the English army back home relied on raising militia forces in each county organized under a lord lieutenant (Pelham 1964:11). Not until Charles I and the rebellion in Scotland was there much of a standing and well-organized English army. Colonial forces began organization in Massachusetts, as early as 1638, with the Military Company of Massachusetts, later the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston (Peckham 1964:26). These forces were composed of pikemen and musketeers and each town was required to have a company who elected their own officers with the governor as commander-in-chief, a tradition that largely continued throughout the colonial period.

A new model for the English army emerged from the English Civil War in 1645 under the command of Oliver Cromwell (Pelham 1964:11). At this time, the army was composed of ten regiments, who were outfitted with red uniforms and provided with pay. Charles II later significantly reduced the army since it was more closely allied with the Parliament. As a result, England could do little to offer military support for the colony, other than offer the protection of its naval forces.

James II, Duke of York, ordered Major Edward Andros in 1686 "to provide for the defense of the frontier without unduly harassing the colony's Dutch inhabitants." Andros fulfilled his obligations by enlisting the help of Robert Livingston (Kierner 1992:15). These efforts still remained limited in their scope and effect. James II, assisted Andros after he became governor of the Dominion of New England by providing several Independent Companies with 200 soldiers as well as officers (Peckham 1964:15).

By 1689, the Independent Companies that helped to garrison the forts of North America were disbanded, largely as a result of the Glorious Revolution and the Boston and Leisler Rebellions. With the coronation of William III and Mary II, the Independent Companies were re-established in 1690. This time two were stationed in the colony of New York, one in New York City and the other in Albany. By 1694, this increased to four Independent Companies of around 50 men each, which increased to 100 men between 1701 and 1714. After 1707, the British Army, now composed of English, Welsh, and Scottish elements, grew in size and competence under the leadership of George I and, later, George II. In the North American colonies prior to the French and Indian War (Seven Years' War), militia units served as the basis for defense and occasional expedition against Canada. Militia units were raised at the town, county or colony level but few ever left the confines of their home territories. As a result, overall command and control of forces and the ability to organize an effective counter-attack by the English colonies was virtually non-existent. A number of unsuccessful (and a few successful) attempts were made throughout the first half of the 18th century, but these were cumbersome affairs that often left disenchantment among both the rank and file and the leadership. The safety and security of the colonies and the direction of military forces were the principal tasks of the various governors. Due to the lack of English or British regulars, the colonies relied heavily on their Native American allies for tactical and strategic support against the French.

Summary

The Dutch tenure during this period before the wars was short, but after the English takeover, the Dutch continued to influence the course of local politics and the regional economy. The English political structure in the New World was much different than that of the French. While the French enjoyed a period of leadership stability, the English were experiencing political turmoil both in the colonies and at home. This turmoil trickled down into many aspects of English colonial management, including the military, colonial government, and trading. The English also shied away from a concerted religious conversion effort (perhaps due to the recent effects of the civil war that pitted Catholics against Protestants) among their native neighbors, allowing the French to exert their influence through Jesuits and other missionaries well into the interior of New York.

The Beginning of European Native American Conflict

The first significant battle in New York between the French and Iroquois occurred less than 70 miles north of Saratoga in 1609 in what is today the Town of Crown Point on Lake Champlain. The event is significant for several reasons. First, it demonstrated the willingness of the French to fight on behalf of their Native allies, and the extent to which they were able to penetrate deep into the Champlain Valley at an early date. Secondly, the French developed an early understanding of the geography of the Champlain Valley and the strategic importance of the region. This knowledge of the area likely shaped much of the actions of the colonial government throughout the 17th century.

The Battle of Lake Champlain, as it later came to be known, involved an attack on a group of Mohawk warriors. Samuel de Champlain personally led the expedition with a group of Montagnais, Algonquin, and Huron in an effort to bolster his personal prestige among his allies (Starna and Brandao 2004:727). For the Native Americans, the battle is clearly part of a protracted and expansive conflict between the Iroquois and their neighbors. The French likely had little understanding of this and engaged in the battle thinking it would end the overall conflict, but instead it simply enflamed the situation.

The battle was fought on a cape at the west side of the lake near present-day Crown Point. Champlain had hoped to surprise the Mohawk contingent, but they were aware of French war party's approach. As a result, the Mohawks "began to fell trees with poor axes...and barricaded themselves well." The following day Champlain used arquebuses and killed two Mohawk leaders and injured a third while several others were also

killed and 10–12 prisoners were taken (Bellico 2010:10). The battle marked the first time the Mohawks faced firearms in battle. The confusion caused by the firearms likely had a more dramatic effect on the enemy than the effectiveness of the weapons themselves. The Mohawks, however, regrouped and continued to press the French and their allies.

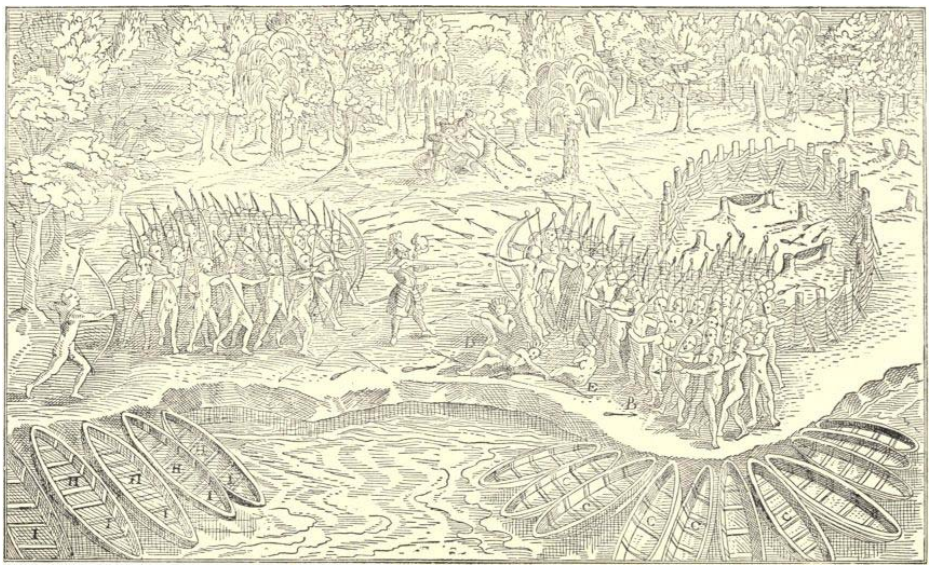


Figure 1. An engraving based on Champlain's accounts and rendering of the 1609 battle between French forces and Iroquois warriors, perhaps near present-day Crown Point. The battle started a vicious cycle of recriminations between the French and Iroquois that continued well into the 18th century, source http://www.p12.nysed.gov/ciai/chf/images/champlaindrawing.gif.

Less than a year later, a large group of Mohawk warriors made their way to Lachine near modern-day Montreal. The Mohawks constructed a temporary fort, likely similar to the one at Crown Point, with 100 warriors. The action drew the attention of Champlain who wasted little time attacking the fort with his Montagnais and Algonquin allies. The skirmish had little tactical or strategic outcome for either party.

On October 10, 1615, Champlain and the Huron attacked the heartland of the Iroquois and laid siege to an Oneida and Onondaga castle (called a fort by Champlain). Archeologically, this was long thought to be the Nichols Pond site in Madison County, New York, but extensive analysis of the collection by Pratt (1976) has demonstrated that this was not the site. Champlain forces built a "cavalier" or movable platform to fire volleys into the village, and then tried to set fire to the settlement but was unsuccessful. After four days with a number of injured including himself, Champlain retreated back to Canada (Tyrrell 1959:24). The action again demonstrates Champlain's resolve and ability to attack the Iroquois deep within New York's interior (Figure 2).

The subsequent governor of New France did not share Champlain's resolve, and throughout the rest of the 17th century, the colony focused on negotiation and diplomacy with the Iroquois. When this failed, smaller skirmishes were inevitable. However, large-scale, preemptive coordinated attacks did not occur again until later in the century. In the meantime, the Iroquois continued to fight with their neighbors as part of the broader Mourning Wars. Included within these conflicts was the Mohawk-Huron War of 1640s and the Beaver Wars with the Mohican. To help consolidate their gains, on July 14, 1645, the Mohawks agreed to "commit no act of hostility against the Huron" or other French allies (Bellico 2010:13). This ushered in a period of relative peace in New York between New France and the natives.

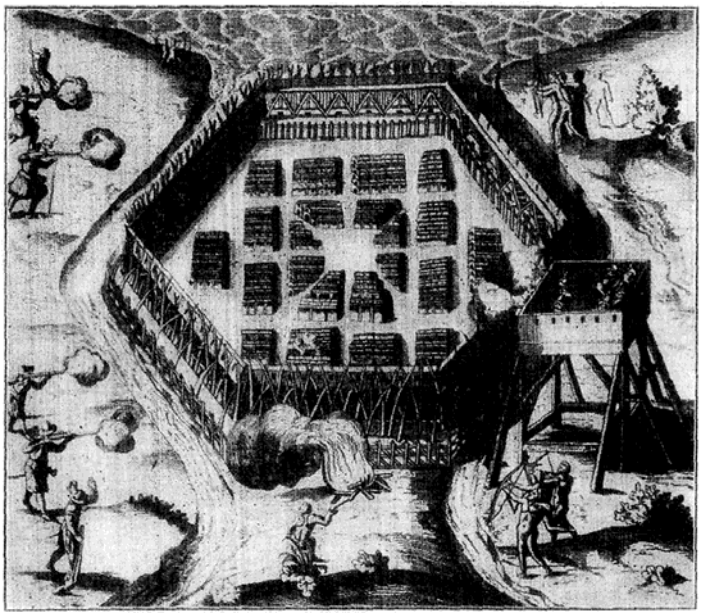


Figure 2. "The Third Fight with the Iroquois" as drawn by Champlain in his later accounts (c. 1610), source http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Sorel#mediaviewer/File:Battle_of_Sorel.png .

The Iroquois in 1665 signed a new peace agreement with the French, but the Mohawk did not participate. In November 1665, an Onondaga, Oneida, and Seneca delegation led by Garakontie started peace negotiations and returned a prisoner, Charles LeMoyne, as a good-faith gesture (Varney 1991:39-41). The irate French government lashed out at the Mohawk in a preemptive strike (Bellico 2010:15). Daniel de Remy de Courcelles, the new governor-general of New France, led a punitive expedition to neutralize potential Mohawk aggression (Varney 1991). Since the Mohawk do not appear to have taken a threatening posture towards European settlers, the attack was likely an attempt to protect French-allied natives who were overtly or indirectly threatened by the Mohawk who were still waging a series of mourning wars against their enemies.

The attack was led by Marquis de Tracy, Alexandre de Prouville (c. 1596–1670), who was appointed Lieutenant-General of New France, 1664. Tracy commanded the Carignan-Salieres Regiment and left New France after the war. The commanding officer of the Regiment, raised directly from France, was Henri de Chastelard de Salieres. The Carignan-Salieres Regiment originated from the Piedmont of France. The unit originally had 1,200 soldiers, which was reduced to a total of 400 men spread out over eight companies just after the Thirty Years' War. Another 600 men were added in attachments of 12 companies from other French units. A force of about 450 men in all was deployed to New France during the period of 1664–1668, while small garrison forces remained behind. Many of the regiment men in New France helped to fortify the colony's frontier and stayed behind after the Regiment was disbanded in order to take advantage of the colony's settlement incentives. Between 1665 and 1666, the regiment built Fort Chambly, Fort Sainte-Therese, and Fort Saint-Jean (Figure 3). These fortified settlements served mostly as supply stations and were originally thought to be wooden palisades with barracks and central buildings and infrequently were used as staging areas for expeditions into New York for decades to come (Coolidge 1989:22-23).

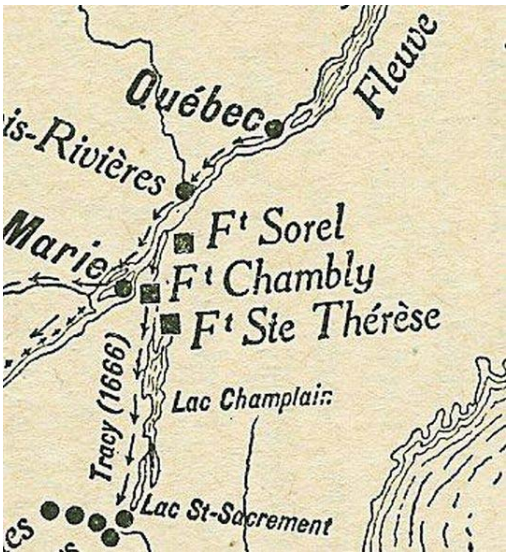


Figure 3. Map of the route of Tracy in 1666 and the French fortifications along the Richelieu River connecting Lake Champlain with the St. Lawrence River. These forts were the principal marshalling areas for forays into colonial New York until the construction of Fort St. Fredrick on Lake Champlain about 1731. (source http://www.cmhg.gc.ca/cmh/image-68-eng.asp?page_id=53).

On January 30, 1666, a detachment of 500 French regimental soldiers, Indian allies and 200 volunteers began for Mohawk territory. The volunteers may have had the snowshoes necessary for the winter excursion, but the soldiers, unfamiliar with winter warfare in North America, likely did not (Varney 1991:45; Coolidge 1964:26). Algonquian scouts, deemed critical to the eventual success of the mission, did not arrive until the return trip. While the expedition's route is not clear, the excursion likely passed near Saratoga following Lake Champlain to Wood Creek, and across the Hudson River. They may have used the Chemin des Iroquois passing west of Saratoga Lake and into the Mohawk Valley, although this route was not without risk.

By whichever route, the detachment arrived three weeks later near Schenectady in search of the Mohawk villages. The French attacked a small European settlement (likely mistaking it for a Mohawk village) and killed three Dutch women and a Metis boy and took prisoners. Nearby Mohawk warriors who were visiting Schenectady attacked the retreating French column. In all, four Mohawk, ten French officers, five soldiers and one volunteer were left dead, and six Mohawk, three French officers, and one volunteer were wounded (Varney 1991:50).

The Schenectady mayor, alerted to the attack, made his way to the French position and demanded the full retreat of French soldiers and return of the prisoners. The French agreed and in return bought provisions from Schenectady merchants. Their Algonquian guides arrived just about at this time to shepherd them back to Canada in two weeks. Along the way, the rear guard was harassed by Mohawk warriors who seized on the opportunity. Provisions failed along the way and a "cache" of food left at Isle La Motte was pillaged by the Mohawk (Coolidge 1989:27). As the campaign ended, the French noted that almost 400 men had died (Varney 1991:45). The bedraggled force returned to Fort St. Louis in the beginning of March 1666. These events again testify to the willingness of New France to strike deep into enemy territory. Yet, the French still needed to overcome logistical hurdles to utilize such a large force, over a great distance, in the winter months.

In the interim, on March 16, 1666, a Seneca peace party arrived, followed by sporadic Mohawk ambushes and attacks (Varney 1991:59). Seneca talks with Tracy ended with a treaty of friendship in May of 1666, and a request for Jesuit missionaries. In July of 1666, a small contingent of Oneida arrived in Montreal with two prisoners, a six-year old and a surgeon (less several fingers). The Oneida returned with Father Thierry Beschefer, an emissary to help with diplomacy in the relations between the Mohawk and Onondaga, while Tracy held four Oneida as collateral for the priest's safe return (Varney 1991:60).

Angered by these events, the Mohawk attacked a French fatigue party near Fort Saint Anne, located at the northern end of Lake Champlain, one of New France's most advance positions, killing seven soldiers, including two officers and quartermaster, and taking several more captive. One of the dead was a captain in the Carignan-Salieres Regiment, a nephew of Viceroy Tracy (Bellico 2010:15). Needless to say, this did not sit well with Tracy.

Tracy sent Giullame de Couture as a delegate to Albany to convince the newly established English government to rein in the Mohawk. Behind him was a column of troops that included 100 soldiers, 200 volunteers, and Indians led by Saurel (Sorel) (Varney 1991:62). Couture was successful in returning the prisoners from Fort Saint Anne and in bringing Mohawk chief Canaqueese (also known by the nom-de-guerre of the "Flemish Bastard") and others sympathetic to the French to return to Canada. Canaqueese appears to have been of mixed decent of Dutch and Mohawk parents, spoke multiple languages, and led previous efforts for diplomacy between the Mohawk and Dutch and the French in 1654.

Peace negotiations were troubled with several fits and starts and frequent skirmishes. On July 12, 1666, a tentative treaty was enacted with the Mohawks, which was briefly interrupted after one of chiefs at the talks boasted of killing Tracy's nephew. He was summarily executed by the French (Coolidge 1989:33). This ushered in a second round of reprisals. The Mohawk asked again for peace on September 5, 1666, but Tracy was determined to strike again in order to limit Mohawk aggression (Coolidge 1989:33).

Tracy and his troops and Native allies likely moved south from Canada into Mohawk territory through the "chemine des Iroqouis" (Map 6). Dean Snow and Donald Rumrill have utilized archeological analysis to pinpoint the raided Mohawk villages. Although there is some disagreement over which villages they were, both agree the villages were situated on the south side of the Mohawk River west of Amsterdam. Snow (1995) identified the sites as Freeman (at the time referred to as Kaghnuwaga or Andraque), Horatio-Nellis, Mitchell, and Allen (see also Snow et al. 1996:xix).

Two other settlements of note included the Printup site, which Snow identifies as the later incarnation of the village of Ossernenon. The other site, the Bauder site, was likely where Father Isaac Jogues was martyred (Snow 1995:367). Shortly after Jogues was taken captive during a Mohawk raid in New France, the Huron were all but destroyed by the Mohawk. A refugee settlement was established on the north side of the Mohawk River for the Huron, likely at the Jackson-Everson site after about 1657 (Snow 1995:361).

With the reduction of the Huron, the French Jesuits once again set their sights on Iroquois country. A large number of Jesuit rings and other trade items, perhaps from the visits of Jerome Lalemant between 1659 and 1660 (Snow 1995:362) or Lemoyne in 1655 (Rumrill 1985:17), suggest that the Printup site witnessed intense French missionary work (Snow 1995:369). The Jesuit missionary work before 1666 attests to the concern felt in New France over the military power and influence exerted by the Iroquois over neighboring Native tribes. However, the lack of progress with respect to diplomacy and proselytizing led to the Prouville de Tracy attack of 1666.

In September 1666, Tracy and Courcelles led another expedition into Mohawk territory with nearly 1,300 soldiers, volunteers, and Indian allies (Bellico 2010:16). The contingent traveled on 300 bateaux (Bellico 2010:16) and stopped near present-day Ticonderoga, where a small fort had been built, in order to rest and re-supply. From there, the French army dragged two small cannons and the rest of the force overland to the south. By this time, the Mohawks were well aware of the army's advance and fled (Coolidge 1989:34-35). Tracy found the Mohawk villages virtually abandoned, burning and looting at least four Mohawk villages around October 17, 1666. The nearby English and Dutch traders at Schenectady and Albany offered virtually no assistance to the Mohawk. In all, 100 "great cabins" filled with corn were destroyed and the Mohawk were forced to replace their provisions and build new settlements as winter was fast approaching. The Mohawk eventually requested peace negotiations and accepted missionaries from New France (Coolidge 1989:42). Tracy and Courcelles immediately sent Fathers Fremin and Jean Peyron to Mohawk country and others to the Oneida settlements in the fall of 1667. A period of intense French influence over the Mohawk followed, resulting in the eventual resettlement of many Mohawk in New France including the influential Canaqueese. Throughout

this difficulty for the Mohawk, the English government offered small gestures of assistance with grants of corn and other food stuffs, while the French contingent returned unmolested to Canada (Coolidge 1989:36).

During their return trip, the French left a garrison of 60 troops at Fort Sainte Anne (Bellico 2010:16). The troops were poorly provisioned and contracted scurvy, but eventually the fort was properly supplied. The advance post at Fort Anne was abandoned after 1671 following a sustained period of peace between the Mohawk and French.

These events again underscore the ability of the French to mount large-scale, organized forays into New York, from which they gained an intimate knowledge of the landscape and settlements of the region. The soldiers and volunteers became increasingly familiar with new, untapped agricultural lands of the Champlain lowlands and scouted the locations of future trading outposts that could draw Indian traders further into the French sphere of influence. Their actions also had the effect of disrupting Mohawk villages, pressuring the tribe to (at the very least) adopt a posture of neutrality against the French colonists and their Indian allies.

KING PHILIP'S WAR (1675-1678): A PRELUDE TO THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

In part, King Philip's War derived from the efforts of the Mohawk to extend their political and economic hegemony across New England. In 1664, the Mohawk conducted a series of devastating raids among the Mohicans in and around Albany, and as far to the east as Massachusetts to strike at the Pocumtuck, a powerful tribe situated along the Connecticut River Valley (Coe 2006:17). As a result of the raids, the remaining Pocumtuck were forced to sell large tracts of land including the area of what later became the modern-day town of Deerfield, Massachusetts.

The humiliating defeat and loss of land fueled enmity towards the English settlers of the Deerfield area. Anger boiled over in 1675 when a combination of Indian forces conducted a series of attacks against English settlements starting in Deerfield. The native coalition was led by an allied tribe of Wampanoag under the direction of Metacomet, or Metacom, known to the European settlers as "King Philip."

King Philip and his warriors waged a ruthless campaign against the Europeans, destroying dozens of villages and killing hundreds. The fighting spread to nearby Rhode Island, where uneasy settlers distrusted the Narragansett Indians, who were largely uninvolved to that point. Many Narragansett were subsequently killed in the Great Swamp Massacre in December 1675. In Connecticut, a fragile peace was maintained with local natives largely allied with the English colonial government. As a result, much of the fighting focused in eastern Massachusetts.

Understanding the difficult position that he found himself in, King Philip tried, largely unsuccessfully, to leverage the assistance of New France through his allies in Maine. In addition, he sought the assistance of his former enemies, the Mohawk. In part, the Mohawk turned a blind eye to the plight of the Wampanoag due to the political pressures exerted by New York Governor Andros who engaged the Iroquois in the Covenant Chain. The terms of agreement with Governor Andros required that the Iroquois warriors engage against the Wampanoag with the incentive that the Iroquois would be supplied with English ammunition. Jon Parmenter (2007) has identified this as a key turning point in Mohawk warfare, when the group participated directly in fighting other native groups at the behest of the English, outside of the more traditional "mourning wars" of fighting for blood retaliation that was common in native internecine warfare.

To further complicate matters, an enraged Wampanoag war party struck an isolated group of Mohawk. The Mohawk responded with devastating attacks against groups allied with King Philip; some of whom had gathered in nearby Schaghticoke in New York and other groups situated across much of western Massachusetts (Mandell 2010:109). As stated by Daneil Mandell "the beginning of the end for Metacom's uprising was Mohawk intervention on behalf of the colonists" (Mandell 2010:108). It is unlikely that the Mohawk were motivated simply by their political obligations to the English alone. Their involvement was likely influenced by a combination of old grievances and potential political and economic opportunities within the region, especially considering that the Wampanoag controlled much of the flow of shell used for wampum production (Mandell 2010:108; Starna and Brandao 2004).

Quickly losing his base of support, King Philip and many of his remaining warriors, were eventually tracked down by colonial forces and their Indian allies in August 1676 (Mandell 2010:124-127). Smaller skirmishes, especially in Maine, continued through 1677, but, by and large, the war had ended with the death of King Philip. Many remaining Indians, on the losing end, moved northward and the east (Mandell 2010:130-134).

Colonial interests collided in Maine immediately following the war as New York's Governor Andros, cognizant of the military and political vacuum along the east coast, took control of Fort Pemaquid in southern Maine. The fort stood on land technically granted to New York in 1664, but ostensibly controlled by Massachusetts until the war. Once again the Mohawk threatened to intercede on behalf of the English, and the remaining hostile Indian groups sued for peace, which was formalized in the Casco Treaty of 1678 (Mandell 2010:134). In the meanwhile, the English erected a substantial new fort at Pemaquid, called Fort Charles, to consummate their territorial claim (Bradley and Camp 1994:8). The fort was later destroyed in a French-supported Indian raid in 1689 and rebuilt by the governor of Massachusetts in 1692 as Fort William Henry.

Several other important consequences to the later colonial conflicts occurred during King Philip's War. First, although the support was minimal at first, the war resulted in growing interest by New France in supporting native groups willing to help suppress English colonial expansion. This trend was evidenced shortly after the war in 1677, when a renegade band of Narragansett and Pocumtuck attacked a settlement in Hatfield and carried the captives back to New France (Coe 2006:18). New England officials pleaded with Governor Frontenac for the return of the captives, which he secured. However, the natives were never punished and remained unmolested in Canada to attack again in the future. Further, in 1688, Governor Denonville sent out a war party to Northfield, Massachusetts, even though England and France were technically at peace (Coe 2006:18).

For the Saratoga region, an important consequence of the war was the establishment of the Schaghticoke reservation that featured a mixture of predominately Algonquian people, who could serve as an important buffers, intermediaries, and spies for the English, who were looking to expand further up the Hudson River from Albany. The Schaghticoke settlement grew over time as other refugee groups from New England moved westward, such as the Pennacook groups from Maine in 1687 (Grumet 1995:167). This growing Native American enclave at Schaghticoke, a diverse polyglot community, would come to have more influence over the broader European settlement of the area.

Post-War Conflicts

In 1687, Governor Denonville of New France led a large contingent of over 3,000 rangers, natives, militia in a series of raids on several Seneca villages. The force landed in Irondequiot Bay on Lake Ontario and moved toward the Seneca village of Gannagaro in modern-day Town of Victor. Ambushed by Seneca and nearly routed, Denonville pushed on and burned villages near Honeyoe Falls and Mendon Pond (Tyrrell 1959:37).

An outflow of Iroquois, who had converted under the influence of the Jesuits, fled the Mohawk Valley and villages to the west and joined with other refugee groups to settle along the St. Lawrence in Kahnawake and Kanesatake. These "French Indian" groups after 1684 forged their own alliances with New France similar to the Covenant Chain of the English and New York Iroquois. Jon Parmenter (2007) argues that despite their differing alliances the two related groups resisted direct confrontation throughout the next sixty years and often used subterfuge to display support for their European allies while protecting their kindred. This would eventually lead to extreme frustration on the part of both the English and French who felt they could not completely trust their Native allies in times of need. The predilection of the two groups to avoid intertribal conflict was part of a systematic and intricate political balancing act the groups utilized to advance their own agendas vis-à-vis the European colonialists (Parmenter 2007:76).

Following the Tracy attacks of 1666, the Mohawk moved their settlements to the north side of the St. Lawrence River, consolidating into two principal villages at White Orchard (Tionondogue) and Veeder (Caughnawaga) (Snow, et al. 1996:xix). These large village centers would supply many of the fighters for the Mohawk participation in engagements in New England during King Philip's War. Later, these would be the target of a subsequent French raid in 1693 by Governor Frontenac.

Frontenac's raids in 1693 sent the Mohawk seeking temporary refuge near Albany. They established a large European-style fortification with an amalgam of native longhouses and European-style structures at Schuyler Flatts on the estate of Peter Schuyler, who inherited the estate after his father, Philip, passed away (Grumet 1995:167). The Flatts were located about four miles north of the city on the west bank of the Hudson River (Figure 4). Peter would become the leading figure in the settlement and fortification of the frontier in and around Saratoga. In 1684, Peter was appointed Lieutenant of a "troop of horse" for the city (Reynolds 1906:84).

By 1696, the Mohawk returned to the Mohawk Valley to settle into two principal villages that would become known as the Upper and Lower Castles. The Lower Castle would later include Fort Hunter and an Anglican chapel.

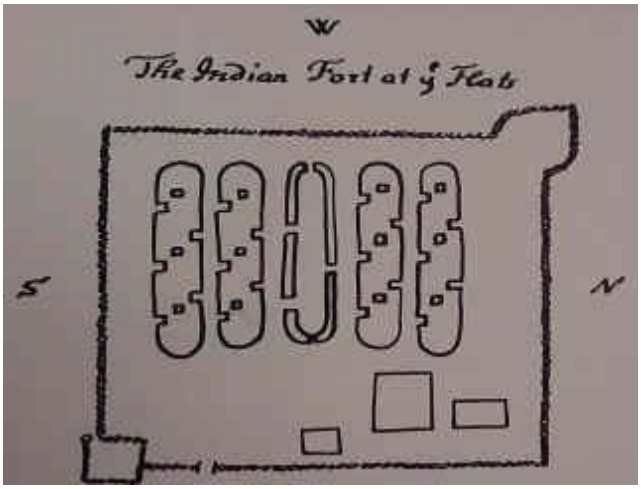


Figure 4. The Indian Fort at the Flatts from a late 17th-century sketch, depicting a European-style fortification with Mohawk longhouses (Courtesy of Colonie Town Historian) source http://instruct.neric.org/schuyler/nativeam.htm .

KING WILLIAM'S WAR (1689-1697)

As alluded to earlier, two important geopolitical events led to King William's War. The Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the subsequent Leisler revolt had profound influence on the political structure of New York. The War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697), or the Nine Years' War, marked the beginning of the French and Indian Wars in North America. Meanwhile, on the continent, Sweden, Spain, Austria, Holland and England (largely Protestant countries with Protestant leaders) joined to fight France in May 1689.

As an offshoot of these conflicts occurring in Europe, a proxy war between the colonial interests of France and England subsequently played out on the North American continent. New France fought a two-front war with attacks to the north against English interests along Hudson Bay and to the south in New York (Crouse 1954:40). In essence, little changed in the disposition of the French towards the settlers in New York, except that now their forces clearly targeted both Native Americans and Europeans. France's years of experience in military engagement in the region proved invaluable in their efforts to attack English colonies, especially in New York.

By 1689, Fort Sainte Anne had largely been abandoned, and the southernmost military outpost of the French was situated at Fort Chambly at the rapids of the Richelieu River, approximately 19 miles east of Montreal. This undoubtedly left many small farms and trading outposts created by intrepid entrepreneurs exposed south of the fort within the Champlain Valley.

The northernmost English settlement was at Saratoga, which was completely undefended but under the watchful eye of the River Indians who were settled in nearby Schaghticoke. Little is known of the settlement at Saratoga this time, yet from the Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany it is clear that the area was thinly populated with traders trying to siphon off trade with French Indians from Albany. These entrepreneurs undoubtedly spoke French and native languages and operated outside of the purview of both

the English and French colonial governments. In 1687, the Mohawk and English were in negotiations to have a "Priest" established at Saratoga for the benefit of the Iroquois (Fortesque 1901:328). This suggests that the Mohawk were, at least seasonally, staying in the Saratoga area at this time. These settlements appear to have been partially disrupted by Terry's attacks against the Seneca (Christoph 2002:82).

In April 1689, the news of the French declaration of war against England finally reached New York, setting off jitters across the colony. Unsettled by French traders so near to Albany, the local government issued a warrant for the detention of Rene Poupar (LaFleur), Pierre De Garmo (Villeroy), and Francois de la Fortune. It is clear from subsequent documents that other people were settled in the Saratoga area, but these particular individuals were detained due to their French heritage. Two days later, Lafleur and Villeroy were brought before the council, questioned, and further detained until witnesses could be produced to vouch for their activities. In the meanwhile, an additional resident, Anthony Lespinard was detained.

The arrests of the French traders probably had more to do with internal political intrigue at Albany, than the defense of the frontier at Saratoga. One of the key figures at the time, was Captain Gervais Baxter, then the military commander at Albany. Baxter ascended to captain following a trip to England in 1684–1685 during a time of political upheaval both in England and the New York colony (Baxter 1913:28). His involvement in Albany political life is evidenced by his witness to a land deed of Robert Livingston for a purchase near the Roeliff Jansen Kill in early 1685 (Early Records of the City and County of Albany: Land Deeds 1678-1704: 283). Even more important for its direct association with the contested Saratoga area, Baxter and interpreter Aernout Viele witnessed the signing of the deed between Cornelius Van Dyck, Jan Jansen Bleeker, Pieter Schuyler, and Johannes Wendell and the Mohawk sachems for "Sarachtogoe" in July 1683 (Pearson 1916:195-197). Baxter's role in the political machinations surrounding Saratoga were not always clear, but his direct involvement was irrefutable.

Baxter eventually got caught up in the political instability that began in England during this time and rippled across the ocean to the colonies. When Albany received its charter as a city by colonial governor Dongan in 1685, a new political apparatus was put into place. Baxter remained politically allied with the governor until Dongan's retirement in 1688. The new Governor of the Dominion of New England, Edmund Andros, re-appointed Baxter as commander at Albany (Reynolds 1906: 116).

The ascent of the Protestant monarchy of William III and Mary II in 1688 led to the ouster of Andros and his lieutenant governor and the New York and Albany political structure became embroiled in an era of uncertainty and instability. When Leisler assumed control of New York City in June of 1688, his new administration slandered Baxter, a Catholic, as a "papist" for his ties to the old administration, yet he still controlled the forces in Albany (Christoph 2002:228; Van Rensselaer 1909:384). In May 1690, in an attempt to ascertain the strength of the four companies in New York, Edmund Andros reported the status of the forces that included Captain Baxter and Captain Anthony Brockholes, both now stationed in New York City and listed as Roman Catholics. By this time, Lieutenant Sharpe and Ensign Bradford had assumed command of the forces at Albany. Baxter was likely forced out of Albany by Mayor Peter Schuyler and a small cadre of Albany residents placed in charge (Fortesque 1901:272; Van Rensselaer 1909:384). The fort at Albany was described a few years earlier (1687) as "made of pine trees fifteen feet high: it mounts nine guns" (Fortesque 1899:326).

While Baxter felt the effects of the new political regime, fear of war with New France increased as information that the French were planning an attack on Albany enflamed the city's residents (Reynolds 1906:167). Writing in September 1689, Leisler expressed his concern over the frontier and the political machinations in Albany:

> The said Indians [Mohawks] have open warre with the french and their Indianes and have for certiane kild and taken prisoners above 500 french men women and children-they give quarters but to very few but torture them as their customary way, the city of Albany suffers the late King James souldiers there to keep the fort by themselves and are payed with faire words, there is brought a letter to me by one of the old souldiers directed to him by the commander of the said fort [Peter Schuyler?], he offers him a sergeants place and desires him to list for the service of King William and Queen Mary soe many souldiers as he can get of Major Brockhouse and Capt. Baisters [Baxter's] companies both rank papists, and to send them to

> him, but by 2 or 3 at the tyme, which is very suspicious, I have done all the diligence imaginable, to Joine Albany to us… (Christoph 2002:287-288).

The events leading to the arrests of the French traders also concerned John Sage and William Boyen, two soldiers from the Independent Company stationed in Albany. According to documents, while the two soldiers were patrolling or reconnoitering around Saratoga, they asked French-speaking inhabitants for assistance in the form of snowshoes, sleds, bread, French money, and an axe in an effort to flee to Canada. The soldiers were under the command of Baxter at Fort Frederick in Albany, who was suspended shortly afterward and eventually sent to New York City. This intriguing affair appears to hint at suspicion of Baxter's allegiances and some of his men, especially considering his Catholic sympathies. By calling the four Frenchmen to Albany, colonial officials may have been trying to discern whether Baxter and his guard were intending to assist the French, or to desert the fort at Albany in light of the Glorious Revolution. The detained French traders posted bond shortly afterwards and were ordered not to venture north of the city (O'Callaghan 1853:Vol. III:49).

Little is known about the incarcerated French traders or the basis of the suspicion of Albany's leaders. Rene Poupard, also known as La Fleur, was likely born in France in 1650 and emigrated to Quebec City by 1665. He moved to Fort Chambly between 1679 and 1684, and eventually relocated to New York. Afterwards, he settled in Stillwater, near Saratoga (Schuyler 1885:109).

Villeroy, alias Pierre de Garmo, or "Pieter the Frenchman," principally lived in Albany starting as early as 1665 (Munsell 1871:114). According to research by Stefan Bielinski, de Garmo became a respected citizen of the city, despite being a Roman Catholic. De Garmo, like other Albany merchants, took advantage of the trade opportunities in and around Saratoga and, as a result, was looked upon with suspicion by both the colonial French and English officials (Colonial Social History Project 2014).

Also arrested was Anthony Lespinard, a resident of Albany and a baker who was renowned for his willingness to serve both colonists and natives. His son went to Jesuit school in Canada and may have had ties to both New France and New York colonial governments. Due to his unique position, in 1687, Lespinard and Jean Rosie were sent by Governor Dongan to Montréal to bring word of a treaty between France and England back on the continent (Burke and Starna 1991:122). Ironically, he and Rosie, along with Dirck Van der Heyden, and Fredrick and Naning Harmsen (the latter formerly prisoners in Quebec) were examined on their return and suspected of keeping illicit communications with New France (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:54) In January 1689, Mayor Peter Schuyler appointed Lespinard "viewer of corn" (Reynolds 1906:116).

Also mentioned in the court case, is "Matthyias," likely Mattheus Bovie, a Schenectady-based trader identified as a "Frenchman" in several court cases from the 1680s. Of the more interesting cases involving Bovie, includes his affair with the slave of Jacob Sanders by the name of Pey. Bovie unsuccessfully tried to purchase the freedom of the slave in order to flee to New France. Following his failure to secure her freedom, he threatened to poison himself, the female slave and their two children. Likewise, he was accused of trying to elope to New France with Francyn (apparently later killed in the Schenectady raid of 1690), a slave belonging to Jacob Staets. Bovie was described in the court papers as "a vagrant fellow with no settled location" but may have resided near Stillwater in 1690 with his bride Cathrina Barrois (Van Laer 1932:527) (Rootsweb 2014).

Besides the Frenchmen, the city official also deposed John Van Loon, another Albany trader and avowed Roman Catholic, (Christoph 2002:84-85) and Cornelia Vrooman, likely the wife of Bartel Vrooman. Also mentioned in the records is "De Chene," presumably another Francophone who lived in his house at Stillwater.

The court records and other documents confirm that these French-speaking merchants capitalized on the Saratoga area as an important trading area. Each of the defendants in the 1689 detention case lived more or less permanently in Albany. Besides the occasional instance of social misbehavior, there is little evidence that these individuals, or others, were anything more than entrepreneurs operating along the frontier for their own profit. All of this suggests that in early 1690s, the Saratoga region was heavily frequented by Albany traders, and that some individuals, including citizens of New France, had started to settle more permanently in the area.

Back in Albany, concerns over a French incursion grew regardless of the city's efforts to bring in potential collaborators. Captain Jonathan Bull arrived from Connecticut in early May 1689, as an emissary from the

newly formed colonial government of the Dominion of New England. The New England colonies were concerned about the disposition of the Iroquois and sought to renew their earlier covenants. Bull also brought new rumors of a potential French attack. Both the mayor and fort commander (still Baxter at this time) declined to inform the populace of Albany fearing it "wolde make them run all madd" (Reynolds 1906:117).

By July, news of Leisler's rebellion had reached Albany, but the citizens were generally unwilling to acknowledge his authority. Yet, due to concerns about potential French attack, the city government asked Leisler for 100 men and ammunition to protect the city (Reynolds 1906:118). During this time of political instability, Leisler was attempting to consolidate his political power in New York City and hold his position, and he was either unable or unwilling to help defend Albany. On August 13, 1689, Leisler wrote to the governor at Boston that at "Scharachtoge [Saratoga]…there are six or seven families all or most rank French papists that have their relations at Canada and I suppose settled there for some bad designe and are lesser to be trusted there in conjunctione of tyme than ever before the bad creatures amongst us gives me great occupatione" (Christoph 2002:261).

The concern for the New York frontier was justified, especially in light of the Mohawks' raid on Fort Remey (Fort Lachine) on the outskirts of Montreal. The French lost 24 inhabitants in the attack, and another 70 were taken prisoner. The events set off a series of reprisals from both sides while diplomatic efforts between the two continued. In September, word arrived in Albany from Harme Janse Van Bommel (Knickerbacker) that five French Mohawk were captured by New York Mohawk along Lake Champlain "who were bound hither to doe micheefe, & that severall French were seen upon the Lake" (Coolidge 1989:49). In response, the city sent Captain Wendell and six of his men to Saratoga to interrogate the captives.

In November, Leisler sent his emissary Jacob Milborne and 100 soldiers to assume control of the fort at Albany. Mayor Schuyler refused to admit Milborne's men into the stockade with a veiled threat of force from nearby Mohawks, forcing Milborne to return to New York City, but not before leaving his men with local merchant Joachim Staats. Two days later, Captain Bull returned to the city with his own force of New Englanders to help secure Schenectady and Albany from the French.

On November 4, 1689, while attending a convention of governing officials called by Leisler at Albany, Robert Livingston offered a bond to pay for the repairs of the Fort at Albany and he was also given the charge of the people that lay at "Sarachtoge" as he was one of the principal investors of the newly created patent. By the end of the year, Leisler established a new government in Schenectady, but Albany, bolstered by the new security of Captain Bull's New England militia, remained wary of Leisler's intentions. Two significant events, however, quickly changed the situation. The first was an attack at Saratoga and the second the French attack of Schenectady. Coupled with these incidents, Leisler's command of the military forces in New York City provided him critical leverage to change the political situation in Albany. Among those who were now on the outside looking in were Robert Livingston and Peter Schuyler.

In September of 1689, word reached Albany that an attack at Bartel Vrooman's farm at Saratoga by "ye Indians" had resulted in a number of deaths. It is unclear who was killed or exactly where the Vrooman property was located[6]. The local government at Albany met to discuss this new incident and its implications for the defense of the city. The elders recommended the construction of a number of new fortifications at various centrally located farmsteads both north and south of the city. North of the city, the elders decided to construct a "fort made about ye house of Bartel Vroman at Sarachtoge" and to relocate a fort at Halfmoon, a town southwest of the Saratoga study area, surrounding the farmstead of Harme Lievese. In addition a small garrison of 12

[6] George W. Schuyler (1885:126) identifies the Vrooman farm on the Wendell lot south of Fish Creek and the Schuyler estate. It is unclear how he made that determination.

men and some Indians of "Skachkook" [Schaghticoke] were stationed at the Vrooman farm for 12 days following the raid. South of the city, new forts were proposed at Papscannee Island in the Hudson River and others at Kingston, Kinderhook, and along the Roeliff Jansen Kill.

The fort at Vrooman's farm was constructed to protect the other family farmsteads in the area, possibly including the Dubison[7] family who was living on Lot 3, the farm of Symon Janse Post, and the farm of Fransorra, a reputed Frenchmen (Schuyler 1885:99, 108). Particulars about the Vrooman raid are unclear, including who exactly attacked the farm and how many families had settled in the vicinity of the fort by the autumn of 1689. Little is also known about how and when the fort was constructed. The Albany garrison at Saratoga was led by Lt. Jochem Staats along with Robert Sanders, and Egbert Teunise, all supporters of Jacob Leisler and later property owners in the Saratoga area. These soldiers likely stayed to help defend the fort through the early portion of the winter.

The second pivotal incident occurred in the early days of 1690, when the French mounted a large-scale raid on Schenectady, although their stated objective was Albany (Peckham 1964:28-30). In all, over 2,000 Canadians and equal number of natives[8] (Day 1978:789) set out from Montreal under the Command of Captain Jacques le Moyne de Ste. Helene. Assisting him were Lt. D'Aillebout de Mantet, La Marque de Montigny, and François de Bienville (Crouse 1954:55). At the time, the town was defended by a wooden palisade and a blockhouse protecting a relatively small settlement of about 40 inhabitants. Lieutenant Enos Talmadge commanded a small garrison of 24 men (Crouse 1954:58).

The French expeditionary force was able to evade the Indian and soldier scouts in and around Saratoga, and struck the town virtually without warning in the early morning hours of February 8, 1690. Schenectady was destroyed and the French and their Indian allies killed 60 people seeking refuge in the village, including 11 slaves. The French took 27 prisoners including Captain Johannes Teller, Arnout Viele (an important Indian translator), five slaves, and three soldiers of Captain Bull's company. The French leveled the settlement and set the town on fire destroying 63 houses and the Dutch Reformed Church. On their return north from their resounding victory, the French paused at Captain Sander Glen's house, likely to purchase supplies, on the opposite shore of the Mohawk.

The Albany militia quickly came to aid its sister town. Captain Bull and 50 of his New England contingent detached from Albany to scout the situation and find Mohawk allies. Four days later, Albany directed another 100 men to assist Captain Bull, but the deteriorating weather greatly hindered their advance. As a result, Dirck Wessells, the mayor of Schenectady, was forced to follow the retreating French soldiers with a small force of about 100 men, including Mohawk and Schaghticoke fighters, who had set out through Saratoga where an additional 40 Mohawk men under Chief Lawrence (Jannetje the Indian) were waiting to meet the French party (O'Callaghan 1849:Vol II:88). Wessells and his allies overtook the party near Lake George and were able to kill several troops and take 15 prisoners. The prisoners were subsequently tortured by the Mohawk in their villages (O'Callaghan 1853:Vol III:716).

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[7] Dubison first appears in the historical record in 1686, paying a fine through Anthony Lespinard for carrying on a secret "correspondence" with the French. It was later deemed necessary by the Albany Common Council to bring Dubison before Peter Schuyler, the mayor, as it was "dangerous to let such as person to live at Sarachtioga…" (Albany Common Council Minutes 1686-1695: Vol 3:32).

[8] By this time, the French were utilizing Natives from as far as northern Ontario to assist, likely involved were the Nipissing, who provided the French strong support in the King George's War as well, even though they carried on a brisk trade at Albany (Day 1978:789-90).

In response to the raid, the Albany city government asked Robert Livingston to seek aid from New York City and Massachusetts. In the meanwhile, nervous Albany residents started to flee southward, expecting a French raid on the city itself. Colonial officials tried to allay fears and induce residents both to rebuild Schenectady and stay in Albany.

In March 1690, Captain Jacobus De Warm and Dirk Braat from Fort Orange in Albany were ordered to leave for Crown Point with 20 Mohawk and 17 soldiers to set up a watch post for a possible invasion from the Champlain Valley (Christoph 2002:110; Coolidge 1989:59). While stationed there, they built a small stone fort at Chimney Point and remained for a month. Subsequently, Captain Arent Schuyler (brother of Peter) was sent to Otter Creek in Vermont by way of Crown Point with nine English soldiers and Schaghticoke and Mohawk men under the command of Chief Lawrence. This detachment included those most familiar with the northern territory, including Arent Schuyler, Casper Teller, Rut Teunissen, David Kettlehuyn, Daniel Brad, Thomas Sjeer, Willem the Indian, and Hendrick Jansen van "Saragtoge" (Christoph 2002:105-106). The group was given permission to provide a smaller detachment for advance scouting. Eventually, a party made it to Fort Chambly near Montreal, where they killed two Frenchmen and took a prisoner (Crouse 1954:62).

Afterwards, Schaghticoke families were asked to settle on an island near Albany for mutual protection (Christoph 2002:94-95). In early part of May 1690, the government at Albany instructed the local forces to concentrate at Schenectady, Niskayuna and Halfmoon, all located along the Mohawk River. These actions appeared to leave the Saratoga area largely defenseless at this point in time, and the fort earlier constructed around the Vrooman farm was likely abandoned, creating a no-man's-land in the region. By the end of May, a small detachment under Ensign Symon Van Nes was sent from Albany to patrol the areas between "Sarachtoge" and the "carrying place" (modern–day Fort Edward) to watch for the movement of French troops (Christoph 2002:151). Attention on defending the Saratoga region was diverted during the summer of 1690, as the colonial government concentrated its efforts on rebuilding the fort and town at Schenectady.

Through the spring and summer of 1690, the French capitalized on the momentum gained at Schenectady and continued their assault against English interests on multiple fronts. One incident occurred in March, when 50 Canadians and Indians under Captain Francois Hertel de Rouville set out from Trois Rivieries to attack Salmon Falls in modern-day Maine, located about 13 miles north of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The small war party killed 34 in that settlement of palisaded and fortified houses, and took another 54 prisoners.

The colonial government under Leisler held an intercolonial conference in New York City in April 1690. Participants included the Massachusetts Bay colony, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York. The colonial parties agreed to retaliate with a major expeditionary force with a land advance north along the Champlain lowlands to Montreal, and a naval force sailing from Boston to take Quebec City. Rhode Island later offered money and Maryland offered 200 men for the joint military enterprise, but Virginia refused to participate due to Leisler's political tendencies. Coolidge speculates the Mohawk were influential in the English decision to retaliate, in order to guarantee protection of the northern borderlands (Coolidge 1989:60).

In total, a force of 855 men was proposed for an attack on Canada. The political infighting that characterized this period of colonial governance even bled into the intercolonial negotiation for the attack. Leisler wanted to command the expeditionary force, but instead nominated his friend and political ally, Milborne. The colonial partners were not comfortable with the arrangement and instead nominated Major Fitz-John Winthrop, former British officer and son of the Connecticut governor. Milborne was provided another role, but his later incompetence as commissary led to the end of the expedition (Peckham 1964:35). A smallpox outbreak and indifference from colonial partners led to a reduced force that finally set out from Albany on July 30. It is likely the expedition constructed a number of fortified way stations along the way, and probably utilized the former Vrooman farm at Saratoga.

Major Winthrop's journal describes the march northward:

> Aug. 1. Early in the morning I followed the army and quartered for the night at a place called Stillwater, so named because the water passeth so slowly as not to be discerned, yet at a little distance above and below is disturbed and rageth as in a great sea, which is occasioned by great

> rocks and great falls therein. We made our way north and north-by-east. Aug. 2. We marched forward and were overtaken by a post with letters from the Governors of Boston and Connecticut, signifying the readiness of the fleet to sail towards Canada, and quartered this night at a place called Saratogo, about fifty miles from Albany, where is a blockhouse and some of the Dutch soldiers (Fortesque 1904:112-125).

The Dutch soldiers at Saratoga were likely volunteers led by Dirck Wessels (Schuyler 1885:373).

The main body was able to advance to Wood Creek near Whitehall at the southern end of Lake Champlain (Peckham 1964:35). Here, the force found Peter Schuyler, recently returned from a diplomatic mission among the Onondaga to secure their support. Peter Schuyler assisted the expedition by constructing bark canoes near Wood Creek. By this point, it became clear that the expedition lacked credible leaders familiar with the terrain and the enemy and progress faltered. From Wood Creek, a small force with knowledge of the local terrain detached from Winthrop and headed north. The force led by Captain John Schuyler, the brother of Peter and later mayor himself, and Captain Johannes Sanders. Glen left on August 31 with 29 soldiers and over 1,000 Indians and advanced to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, where de Warm had recently constructed a small stone fort. Earlier in the year, Captain Abraham Schuyler (cousin of Peter) had reconnoitered the area and provided city officials with intelligence of an Abenaki village near the outlet of Otter Creek into Lake Champlain.

A week later, Winthrop returned to Albany with the rest of the force and he was promptly arrested by Leisler for "cowardice." However, Schuyler and Glen eventually made their way to La Prairie, just outside of Montréal, where during a raid they killed six men, took 19 prisoners, shot 150 cattle, and burned 16 houses plus barns and hayricks. The French had scouted Schuyler and his forces, and laid in wait thinking they would attack Montreal. Instead, Schuyler found the settlement of La Prairie practically undefended and attacked, exacting a quick victory (Christoph 2002:160-162; Coolidge 1989:62).

The small force was able to retreat unmolested and, according to their subsequent account, returned to the "little rapids above Saratoga" (later location of Fort Burnet) on August 29, and by the next day were back in Albany. Schuyler and Glen had made the most of an otherwise disastrous expedition led by Winthrop.

The naval expedition against Quebec City had little more in the way of success. The English were emboldened by an earlier attack on Port Royal, Acadia, led by Sir William Phips of Boston (Peckham 1964:30-1). Along with 700 men, they sailed north on May 6, 1690 in 14 ships. The lightly garrisoned French fort under Captain Meneval surrendered to Phips on the 19th of March without incident.

The force returned to Boston and prepared for a larger effort. Sir Phips and Major John Walley finally left for Quebec in August, finally arriving with the fleet in October 1690. Little was affected except the killing of St.-Helene who led the Schenectady raid earlier that winter (Peckham 1964:370). In the end, both sides exchanged prisoners and the English retuned to Boston.

The beginning of 1691 brought the end of the Leisler Rebellion, as Major Richard Ingoldsby arrived in New York to seize control of the fort. However, without direct word from the king or new governor, Leisler remained firm. The appointment of Governor Sloughter, Leisler's replacement, was already underway, however, he did not make it to New York until March. By the end of May, Leisler and his associate Milbourne were executed for treason. However, many of his supporters and sympathizers remained, and would influence the political environment of New York for years to come.

With the arrival of Governor Sloughter, and new instructions from the Lords of Trade, the prosecution of the war against France turned decidedly more provincial in extent. With the permission of the new governor, Peter Schuyler raised his own force to attack Montreal in an effort to accomplish what Winthrop was unable to achieve a year earlier. Sloughter provided Schuyler with 100 soldiers and 300 Mohawk and Mohican fighters, with the promise of reinforcements from the Seneca (O'Callaghan 1853:Vol. III:217). Schuyler left from the Saratoga area on June 26, 1691, making his way to Wood Creek (Coolidge 1989:63) (O'Callaghan 1853:Vol. III:800). After constructing birch bark canoes, the expedition paddled north through Lake Champlain.

Schuyler and his men were able to move largely undetected through Lake Champlain. As a result, they attacked exposed settlements along the Richelieu River; destroying 16 houses and slaughtering 150 cattle. A large French force of 800 men led by Lt. Gov. Louis Hector de Callieres and Sieur de Saint-Cirque responded to the attack (Pell 1974). The ensuing battle occurred just south of Montreal in La Prairie, but the French were caught off guard as Schuyler's men engaged during a driving rainstorm. The French force retreated into the safety of nearby Fort Chambly, with little loss to Schuyler and his men (Peckham 1964:40; Pell 1974). The short battle is detailed in Schuyler's journal, later printed and widely distributed (O'Callaghan 1853:Vol III:800-805).

A rear guard assault led by Valrennes on Schuyler near the rapids of the Richelieu, where the English canoes were stored, led to the loss of another 43 French, with another 25 soldiers wounded. Schuyler's force narrowly repulsed 280 French soldiers and eventually broke through their ranks to affect a retreat up the Richelieu River to the lake (Pell 1974). In all, Schuyler estimated a loss of 38 souls from his party, while inflicting well over 200 casualties on the French (O'Callaghan 1853:Vol. III:804-805).

The overall effect of Schuyler's expedition was probably not widely felt, except to hold in check any large-scale French reprisal for a short period of time. In December 1691, several Mohawk and Oneida, seeking revenge for their losses during the Schuyler expedition, attacked Fort Chambly again. Although they were initially successful at freeing two captives taken at Schenectady and killing several French Mohawk, nearly the entire group was lost during a counterattack near Otter Creek (O'Callaghan 1853:Vol. III:814-816).

By the end of the year, Governor Sloughter was dead, and the colony once again became politically destabilized. Lt. Governor Richard Ingoldsby temporarily filled the position until the arrival of the new governor, Benjamin Fletcher, in 1692. Ingoldsby was placed in command of the fort at Albany by Fletcher in an effort to maintain peace and order along the frontier. At the same time, Fletcher once again sought the support of the Iroquois and especially the Mohawk for assistance (Peckham 1964:45), although their appetite for war was greatly diminished with the loss of so many warriors on Lake Champlain the previous winter.

Meanwhile, the French continued their three-pronged approach to war with the English colonies. In February 1692, the town of Wells, Maine, was struck by a raiding party of Indians and French soldiers. In all, 48 colonists were killed and a remarkable 73 prisoners taken back to Canada (Peckham 1964:42). The remainder of the year witnessed little additional action, however, as the French were already planning their next move, an attack into the heart of New York.

The French attack came once again in the dead of winter, February 1693. Governor Frontenac chose winter attacks since they believed that most of the Mohawk warriors would be in their villages, as they typically directed their attacks during the summer when the vegetation provided maximum cover (Snow, et al. 1996:231). Frontenac ordered a force of between 600 and 700 men to attack Albany, in an effort written about by both the French and English. Jean Bochardt de Champigny, Sieur de Noroy et de Verneuil memorialized the French expedition in "An Account of the Military Operations in Canada Against the English and the Iroquois Since the Month of November 1692", and Peter Schuyler produced an account of the English reaction in his "Report on the French Attack of the Mohawk Villages," both reprinted in Snow, Gerhing, and Starna 1996.

The assault force was commanded by Lieutenants Nicolas d'Ailleboust de Manthet, Augustin Le Gardeur de Courtemanche, and Robutel de La Noue. They abandoned hope of an attack on Albany after the escape of one of their prisoners, John Baptist van Eps, a captive from the Schenectady raid in 1690, while on the march southward (Coolidge 1989:65). Instead, they changed course, steering westward towards the Mohawk Valley. The French force split up into three marauding parties in order to attack separate villages simultaneously. The attack was a great success for the French, as three Mohawk villages were destroyed, 20 warriors killed, and another 280 prisoners taken captive.

The nearby English settlements rushed to the aid of their Mohawk allies. Details of the initial pursuit are provided by Colonel Nicholas Bayard and indicate the general state of confusion of the English forces (Snow, et al. 1996:222-224). Eventually, Peter Schuyler and Ingoldsby led a party of 275 colonists and an equal number of Indians, mostly Oneida, in pursuit of the retreating French. Schuyler subsequently provided a detailed account of his involvement in the counterattack (Snow, et al. 1996:225-230).

The French intended to take as many prisoners of women and children as possible from the Mohawk to "augment their own villages" (Snow, et al. 1996:232). The English pursuit, however, forced the gradual release of most of their prisoners to hasten the French retreat, including Arent Viele's son, who was captured three years earlier in Schenectady (likely taken on the expedition as a guide). But, the main body of the French forces was still encumbered with a number of prisoners and supplies. On February 17, 1693, Schuyler and Ingoldsby were able to engage the main body of the French force at the Battle of Wilton[9]. The French and their Indian allies constructed a temporary wooden fort that was later besieged by Schuyler, who also hastily constructed a fort nearby (Snow, et al. 1996:228 and 233). During the night, the French escaped from their perilous position and struggled back to New France without the advantage of many of their supplies that they abandoned at Wilton. In all, eight French Indian warriors were killed along with 30 militia and a commander, de Lanoue, was badly wounded (Coolidge 1989:66).

The attack forced Governor Fletcher to recall troops from New York City to Schenectady to help bolster the village's defenses (Peckham 1964:46). At the same time, the English worked feverishly to re-supply their Mohawk allies with food and shelter. The French, on the other hand, tried to leverage their remaining prisoners into a sustainable peace treaty with the Mohawk.

In the spring of 1693, the French sent Indian scouts to discern the movement of the English and perhaps take several prisoners (Snow, et al. 1996:234). The scouting party managed to kill six Englishmen near Niskayuna and take one captive, a Frenchmen formerly held captive by the English. Other small incursions into Mohawk territory followed the Niskayuna raid but "did not find an opportunity to strike a blow" (Snow, et al. 1996:235). The Mohawk warriors who were the targets of the raids were not in the Mohawk valley and were instead striking against a French flotilla of canoes bearing pelts from the west.

By 1694, it appears that both sides grew increasingly wearied by the conflict. Fort Pemaquid, built by Sir William Phips in 1693 and garrisoned by Captain Converse and his ranger forces, kept things relatively peaceful along the sea coast for a period of time until Sieur de Villieu at Penobscot hit Oyster Bay (Durham, New Hampshire) in July 1694 with 250 Indian allies and destroyed twelve fortified houses.

Intermittent fighting continued while talks and exchanges of prisoners continued throughout the rest of the year. In June 1695, there was a small skirmish on Isle La Motte on Lake Champlain between the Mohawk and French, and in September Sieur de la Durantaye with 200 Canadians drove back a band of Mohawk near Boucherville (Coolidge 1938:68).

In 1695, Governor Frontenac, now quite aged, personally led an attack into the heart of Iroquois country in an attempt to finally break the confederacy. His expedition arrived near Lake Onondaga, near modern-day Syracuse, New York, only to find that their approach had been seen. All of the Onondaga villages had already been burned. Not to be dissuaded, Frontenac and his force turned east and fell upon several Oneida villages, which they attacked and burned (Tyrrell 1959:38). The Oneida sued for peace, but Frontenac insisted they moved to Canada (Peckham 1964:50), which they declined. The Frontenac raid constituted the last major offensive of the war in New York.

At Pemaquid, Fort William Henry was destroyed in the summer of 1696 by the French following a well–executed and coordinated attack that included French and Indian foot soldiers and naval vessels (Bradley and Camp 1994:11). Colonel Wolfgang William Roemer helped to rebuild the fort in 1699 and was directed out of New York (where he was assisting Schenectady and Albany, and New York City rebuild their fortifications) to

[9] The town of Wilton is located in Saratoga County, about 12 miles northwest of the study area.

renew his efforts in New England, but the new fort at Pemaquid was not built until the 1730s when a new defensive outpost, called Fort Frederick was constructed.

The war ended in Europe on September 30, 1697, when the Treaty of Ryswick was signed, but due to delays in communication the fighting continued in portions of New York until December and as late as February 1698 in northern Canada. Abram Schuyler carried news of the treaty to Canada on behalf of his father. Peter Schuyler and Pastor Godfrey Dellius returned prisoners to Quebec in April 1698 in an effort to help secure peace for the Iroquois who had suffered badly as a result of the war. Frontenac, however, declined the peace overtures and return of Iroquois prisoners. After the death of Governor Fletcher, new Governor Bellomont wanted all prisoners returned and sent Captain John Schuyler to Quebec in September with a threatening letter. Frontenac died shortly afterwards and was replaced by Lieutenant Governor Callieres who released the remaining Iroquois prisoners in an effort to restart the peace process.

All told, King William's War left 650 dead in the English colonies, including 84 in Albany County. After accounting for emigration and other war-related population attrition, there was a population loss of almost 25%. The Iroquois fared far worse, losing anywhere from 650 to 1,300 people from war, disease, and starvation (Peckham 1964:53). The destruction of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid was the single greatest strategic victory in the war for the French, but, despite their attempt to destroy or pacify the Iroquois (especially the Mohawk), little was accomplished. Although the Saratoga frontier was temporarily abandoned with the end of the war in 1697, traders and farmers gradually returned to the area under the careful eye of the principal landowners, including the Schuyler and Livingston families. In addition, those who had served and fought in the area were able to assess and acknowledge its value first-hand. As a result, a new era of land purchases and land grants emerged at the conclusion of the war.

INTERWAR PERIOD (1698-1702)

A brief era of relative peace followed King William's War between France and England, but, small-scale conflicts between the two colonies and especially between native groups and the European colonists continued. In the interwar period, important events helped to shape the nature of settlement in Saratoga and its role in coming conflicts. During this time, new land patents and grants continued to be negotiated for the lands around Saratoga and defensive preparations along the border between Canada and New York were bolstered.

In the early autumn of 1698, the English contemplated the defense of the borderlands with review of the area and outlying forts by Colonel Wolfgang Roemer, who among other tasks designed the new Fort Frederick at Albany. Roemer claims to have not personally seen any of the fortifications in the Saratoga area following the war, but "gathered the seven farms and the fort made in Leisler's time were utterly ruined during the war" (Headlam 1908:68-79). His recommendations for Saratoga included "a small palisade fort with a small stone tower in the middle" (Headlam 1908:68-79).

In response to the intelligence provided by Roemer, Lord Bellomont, the recently appointed governor of New York, wrote:

> Pray also let Colonel Romar be sent out again, for I have a high opinion of his honesty, and I shall do my best that neither he nor anyone else shall "make a hand of building those forts." It is wonderful to me that he is recalled when he has scarce had time to view the frontiers, and had made yet no report home of their condition. If such forts are built and well garrisoned the French will never make any impression in the province, and it would be the surest way of securing the Five Nations to us, for they are as sensible of our weakness as we are. Good forts as retreats for them and for us would animate them and engage them to us. There have been formerly two or three forts more advanced towards Canada than Albany and Senectady, but in my opinion they are superfluous. If these two places were fortified it would be enough. They are well situated, Albany for covering the provinces from attack from the side of Canada, Senectady for doing so likewise in part and for covering the Indians, being commodiously seated on the Mohawk River and far more pleasantly than Albany. When I speak of the advanced forts as superfluous, I mean, of course, in time of peace. In time of war it would be

> most necessary to fortify Canestagione (Niskayuna) and the Half-Moon with sod-works and stockades; but that can be done upon occasion (Fortesque 1905:500).

From this letter, it appears that the English colonial government was content to invest in the fortification of the principal settlements of Albany and Schenectady with several smaller outposts just to the north along the Mohawk River, but east of the Mohawk Indian settlements. Little is mentioned of the more northerly settlements in and around Saratoga. It is unclear exactly how quickly traders and farmers retuned to the area once the war had ended.

On the other hand, the French recognized the need to better protect its borders from incursion, especially from the Mohawk. Part of the answer was to engage the Mohawk and other neighboring native groups in trade. To that end, in 1700, French Canadians established a trading post at Pointe a la Chevelure near Crown Point (Coolidge 1989:115). This outpost was not truly fortified until 1730 or 1731 however, under Sieur Hertel de la Fresniere and M. de la Corne with a small garrison of 20–30 soldiers. Yet, the outpost served an important purpose: to watch the frontier and gather useful intelligence about the defense and movement of the nearby English colonists. By the start of the 18th century, Chimney Point was a permanent trading post for the French and further south at Wood Creek near Whitehall, Petit Sault of the Riviere du Chicot was a temporary outpost under consideration for permanent settlement (Coolidge 1989).

Just prior to the close of the war in 1696, a Dutch minister from Albany, Godfrey Dellius, received a substantial patent north of Saratoga that extended to Split Rock, north of Crown Point. The patent measured 70 miles by 12 miles in size encompassing nearly 537,600 acres of land, and was secured from the Mohawk while he was working as a missionary among the group. The patent was confirmed by Governor Fletcher, immediately infuriating many of the nearby wealthy landholders, such as the Colden family. They objected on the grounds that the land was not clearly Mohawk, and may have been Mohican, and thus illegally obtained. Secondly, they successfully argued to the Board of Trade that the patent was far too generous. Apparently, Fletcher looked to reward Dellius for helping to keep the Mohawk allied with the English; however, extravagant land patents such as these naturally devalued the neighboring patents and threatened their monopoly on the trading corridor (Figure 5).

Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingston were more sanguine about the grant as they had developed a relationship with Governor Fletcher (Runcie 1969:205). Schuyler, in particular, had little objection to the patent, as he was one of the signatories to the deed obtained from the Mohawk. It seems that Schuyler and Dellius had developed a strong personal and professional relationship over the course of King William's War. Further complicating many of these matters was the fact that the new governor was sympathetic to the Leisler rebellion, and many supporters of the movement once again found opportunities in the new colonial government. The revocation of the Dellius grant was likely tied to the anti-Leislerian sentiments of Dellius, Schuyler, and Livingston. Robert Livingston sailed to England in 1696 to persuade the ministry to make the Indian secretary of the province a permanent official position with a salary and remained the dominant figure in New York Indian affairs until his retirement in 1721 (Hamilton 1975:7).

The patent was subsequently withdrawn in 1699 by Governor Lord Bellomont, who decided that the patent was never developed by Dellius and thus voided. Dellius was thus deposed from the church as well in May 1699, and retuned to Holland after petitioning his case in England. After a brief interim appointment, Dellius was succeeded by Reverend John Lydius. His son, John, would take great interest in the development and settlement of the area north of Saratoga and became known for the development of the Great Carrying Place, today Fort Edward (Munsell 1850:82-88, 95). The revocation of the Dellius grant appeared to have stifled settlement in the Saratoga region following King William's War.

Due to provisions placed in the Albany city charter, the city was given control of the area of Schaghticoke, although the purchase was not formalized until 1707. By 1698, Peter Schuyler bought of Taspelalet, a Mohawk sachem, all his land on the east side of the river, at same time that Hendrick Van Rensselaer bought a six-square mile tract in the same area. Due to the charter, however, Schuyler passed his patent to the city in 1699 after local uproar (Schuyler 1885:100).

As the next colonial war loomed, New France helped to assure relative peace along its border with New York by treating with the Iroquois in the "Great Peace of Montreal." Battered by the experiences of King's William's War, the Iroquois readily agreed to neutrality with New France while still retaining the confidence of the English.

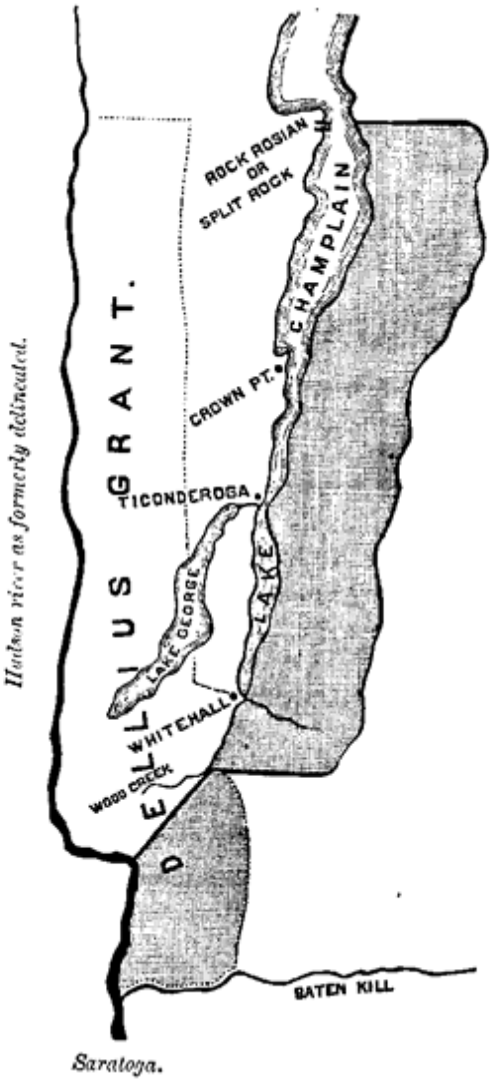


Figure 5. A depiction of the short-lived patent granted to Rev. Dellius along the west shore of Lake Champlain just north of Saratoga. The patent was later vacated but stifled development of the area until the second quarter of the 18th century (Smith 1885).

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR (1702-1713)

Largely as a result of the neutrality assured by the Iroquois in the Great Peace of Montreal, much of Queen Anne's War was fought outside of New York in the colonies of New England (Peckham 1964:60). The conflict, also known as the War of Spanish Succession, pitted England against France and Spain and forced the English colonies to fight a two-front war on the north and south. At the outset of the war, Governor Bellomont was replaced by Queen Anne's cousin Lord Cornbury, which once again fueled political instability in New York during a period of conflict.

The French concentrated their attacks along the Maine coast with Indian allies coming principally from the Abenaki. One of the most notable events of the war was a raid in 1704 on Deerfield, Massachusetts, which had been sacked previously in 1676 and 1694. Under Captain Rouville with Abenaki and French Mohawk

forces, the expedition inflicted extensive damage to the small settlement of 270 inhabitants, including the death of 38 villagers and capture of 111 people (Peckham 1964:62-3). Many of the prisoners were eventually settled among the Iroquois at the village of Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) (Demos 1994). Most were ransomed or returned except for Eunice Williams whom was adopted by a Mohawk French community.

The New England colonies were irritated by the lack of military support offered by their sister colony in New York. Despite the best efforts of Peter Schuyler, no help could be procured from the Iroquois to assist in raids in New France. Even more galling to those in New England was the fact that Albany merchants continued to trade with Canada and plundered goods from the New England seacoast "turned up in Albany shops" (Peckham 1964:65).

To secure the borders for the coming war, the New York Colonial Assembly provided funds for the construction of a fort for the Schaghticoke Indians. It is unclear whether the fort was ever constructed however, as by the middle of the summer, the Schaghticoke left their homes to settle among the Mohawk (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:182 and 186). In Albany, it appears that Colonel Schuyler in 1704 presented two belts to the French Indians in Canada in an effort to secure their neutrality in the war. The Indians apparently deferred to the French governor who warned them against traveling along the Lake Champlain corridor as it was "only a path for souldiers and no others." Intelligence from the Onondaga warned of an impending winter attack by the French and the possibility of spies near "the hout Kills by the Little Falls" (Wood Creek and the Battenkill) (O'Callaghan 1855a:1163-1164).

By 1705, Mr. Congreve wrote to the Lords of Trade to discuss the posture of the defenses in New York. The forts at New York City, Albany, Schenectady, and various forts at "Nestigaune [Niskayuna], Sarachtogue [Saratoga], and Kinderhook" were "not in order" (O'Callaghan 1855a:1128). However, the residents of these areas were said to be willing to support their repair by raising money and men. In Albany, over 250 troops were proposed to be posted in and around the city, at Schenectady another 100, and smaller detachments at forts in Niskayuna, Saratoga, and Kinderhook, as well as Halfmoon and along Lake Champlain. Congreve suggested a force of 40 men to garrison Saratoga and Niskayuna (O'Callaghan 1855a:1128), suggesting the relatively small size of the fortification in those areas.

Largely exposed to predations from New France, and without the help of logistical support from other colonies, Massachusetts tried to negotiate for peace unsuccessfully with New France in 1705. A new series of destructive raids began anew along the Massachusetts frontier in 1708. Accompanied by a small force, Rouville attacked Haverhill, Massachusetts, a small settlement of 30 houses, with 150 people guarded by 30 militia and defended with a wooden palisade. The raid left 16 dead and another three captives taken back to New France.

Motivated by the new deadly attacks in Haverhill and Deerfield, Robert Livingston's son-in-law Samuel Vetch tried to organize a New England-based attack on Quebec City and Montreal. This grand endeavor drew the support of the new governor of New York, Lord Lovelace. The Albany contingent consisted of a task force of 1,500 with assistance from Lt. Governor Ingoldsby, while a naval expedition under the guidance of Samuel Vetch prepared to invade Quebec City from Boston. Colonel Francis Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, was nominated to lead the assault force, despite the fact that he had little practical military experience (McCully 1954).

By the end of 1708, the French had already received intelligence from their Native spies that a major English expedition was in the planning phase (O'Callaghan 1855b:Vol. IX:816). The Governor of New France, de Vaudreuil, was confident in his assessment of the situation and declared that "I shall be on alert respecting all

the movements they may make, and I have now two trusty Indians in Orange [Albany][10]"(O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol V:819). By the spring, his spies reported that "the English were collecting arms, provisions, and moccasins at Orange [Albany]" (O'Callaghan 1855b:Vol. IX:824).

To help ensure the success of mission, the English government sought the assistance of the Iroquois for support and intelligence. In the early spring, the Indian Commissioners at Albany retained three Schaghticoke Indians to scout the overland passage to Quebec on behalf of Vetch and Nicholson. The three were accompanied by Dirk Ten Broeck "above Sarraghtoge Past all ye Christian settlements" from whence they were to travel alone (Leder 1956:205). A day later, three Mohawk were retained to scout the passage to Montreal.

Further effort was organized by the Schuyler family to entreat with the Iroquois. Despite the fact that Peter Schuyler had already made overtures to the French professing a lack of enthusiasm for the coming war, and trying to persuade the Iroquois to remain neutral (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:818), a letter from Schuyler to the governor of New France was declined, as Schuyler could not assure the safety of the eastern portions of the colony (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:825). The correspondence clearly indicates Schuyler's concern that the war would jeopardize the economic relations that Albany and eastern New York enjoyed with Montreal. The English government worried about Schuyler's influence over both the traders in Albany and the Native Americans, and his unwillingness to fight the French. According to the governor of New France, "Peter Schuyler received a letter from Queen Anne to the effect that were he disposed to side with the French, he was to withdraw forthwith to them, but if he would be faithful to his party, she would appoint him Chief of the land expedition" (O'Callaghan 1855b:Vol. IX:835-6). Schuyler had managed to position himself as the central figure of the Nicholson expedition, and despite his apparent misgivings, eventually assisted the English in preparations for the assault.

Abraham Schuyler, Peter's brother, was sent to the Onondagas, where he forced Father Lamberville, a Jesuit missionary, to leave the New York colony. Another Jesuit priest, Father Mareuil, was taken by Schuyler back to Albany as prisoner (O'Callaghan 1855b:Vol. IX:828-32). Peter Mareuil was freed the following May in exchange for Barent Staats, a nephew of Peter Schuyler and a French prisoner (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:838). Once back in New France, Mareuil precipitated a rumor that the Iroquois had contaminated the drinking water at Wood Creek to prevent the English invasion, a claim later reported by others. Although disease and sickness prevailed in the camp, there is no evidence of contaminated drinking water. Father Mareuil, and the French government, were keen to exploit any hint of division between the English and the Five Nations (Campeau 1974).

Despite efforts in the early spring by the Schuylers, it was not until July when the expedition was well underway that all but the neutral Seneca nation pledged support. The military pact was formalized by an elaborate ceremony of song and dance featuring the various tribal sachems hand-in-hand with Colonel Nicholson, Colonel Schuyler, Colonel Matthews, and Colonel Whitings, and the presentation of many gifts.

The marshalling point for the expedition was Albany, the northernmost substantial settlement of the Hudson-Champlain corridor. The troops moved slowly up the Hudson River building the necessary supporting fortifications, supply depots, and canoes as they advanced. At the vanguard of the army was Colonel Peter Schuyler, who was responsible for choosing the appropriate fortifications for the troops that followed. Schuyler left Albany on June 1, 1709 (Bellico 2010:21). At least three substantial forts were constructed, including Fort Nicholson at the Great Carrying Place (later Fort Edward), Fort Schuyler along Wood Creek near modern-day Fort Ann, and the third at Stillwater, named Fort Ingoldsby (Bellico 2010:21; McCully 1954:448; Peckham

[10] The French in Canada often continued to call Albany "Orange"-after Fort Orange- long after Dutch rule had ended.

1964:69). There is conflicting evidence of another possible fort on the east side of the Hudson, described by Kalm in 1749 and later historians (Brandow 1900; Stone 1875). This may be a confusion with Fort Burnet as will be described in more detail below.

Our best understanding of the posture taken by the force is obtained from French intelligence recorded in the fall of 1709 during a planned counter-offensive and a brief account of the expedition within the Robert Livingston papers, who served at the time as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. According to Marquis de Vandreuil, the French did not intend to wait for the assault, but rather "it being my design to go as far as Lake Champlain to meet them" (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:838). As part of this strategy, the French intended to take as many prisoners as possible to interrogate them and learn of the strength and intent of the enemy. In the late spring of 1710, the New France Governor General sent the Governor of Montreal, de Ramezay, to Lake Champlain to reconnoiter (McCully 1954:454). On May 8, 1710, advanced groups of French and English detachments skirmished near Winooski Point near the north end of the lake in Vermont, resulting in the killing of several Native warriors on both sides. Due to the loss of several Native allies, a party of French and Indians exacted revenge in July of that year by attacking Deerfield, Connecticut.

Unfortunately for the French, a British force of over 100 English, Dutch, and Mohican soldiers overwhelmed an advance scouting party and apprehended the French governor's nephew at Crown Point at the southern end of Lake Champlain. But, the remainder of the French party continued on and landed further south. During an early skirmish with the British, the French forces killed 30 enemy troops and captured two men during the British retreat.

Several of the named captives from this engagement, and others, included Lieutenant Barent Staats (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:838-840), Ensign Samuel Whiting (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:835), and Carl Rolantes (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:837), who was captured near Crown Point in August. Each was interrogated by the French. Lieutenant Staats was captured near Fort Nicholson and described himself as a relative of Peter and John Schuyler by marriage. He provided the most detailed of the information recorded by the French (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:838). He was later exchanged for Father Marieul in 1710 (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:842).

Staats provided information on the three newly constructed Forts Schuyler, Nicholson, and Ingoldsby. Between Stillwater and Fort Nicholson was a fortified house (presumably in or near Saratoga based on the description as being four leagues below Fort Nicholson), and a fortified magazine located another league beyond, presumably at the Dove Cote (these are based on the assumption of 4.69 km per league which seems consistent with the known distance between Fort Edward and Fort Ann).

Fort Schuyler appears to have been the largest and best garrisoned of the three main forts. The French reported 1,150 English troops and another 800 Native Americans encamped around the fort, which contained an additional 350 troops inside. At Fort Nicholson, there reputedly were seven companies of regular troops (over 700) from "Old England" with another 50 artificers, and 170 "Inhabitants," presumably militia troops. At the fortified house, which was likely that of Peter Schuyler, 40 men were stationed to patrol the "convoys." The Stillwater fort [Ingoldsby] was garrisoned with 70 men (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:837).

Carl Rolantes provided additional details, describing Fort Schuyler at the "Forks" of Wood Creek about ten leagues above "Little falls (sic) on the way to Orange." The Little Falls were located just north of Schuylerville near the confluence of the Hudson and Battenkill Rivers. At the fork, the English constructed a redoubt and store house and had already fashioned 100 canoes with intent to build many more. In all, more than 1,600 men were encamped there under the command of John Schuyler. Two other forts to the south were strongly garrisoned. The first, according to Rolantes, was four leagues to south (Fort Nicholson), and the other 14 leagues further (Fort Ingoldsby). The third was well-armed with nine brass pieces which were to be moved to Fort Schuyler. Rolantes also provided operational details, by stating that Peter Schuyler had orders not to pass the Little Falls until the fleet sailed from Boston (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:837).

Livingston's papers not only describe the forts, but also the logistical and political challenges associated with forging an army from several different colonies. The remoteness of the forts proved most troublesome in

providing provisions to a substantial force. Materiel was moved from Albany northward by horseback and cart and then by bateaux and canoe. The rapids above and below Stillwater forced an arduous portage that eventually strained the horses and forced supplies to be carried by hand.

Livingston also described the first major fortification north of the city at "Half Moon" where a store house and commissary with one officer and 18 men were stationed. At Stillwater or "Laflours" was Fort Ingoldsby with a storehouse and commissary. The fort is reputed to have been constructed by the engineer Colonel John Rednap, under the supervision of Colonel Schuyler (McCully 1954:448). Colonel Rednap likely designed the construction of all of the forts and significant defenses for the expedition. He also apparently drew the ire of many of the colonists, who grumbled at his pay (O'Callaghan 1855b:Vol. IX: 836 and 839)

The garrison at Fort Ingoldsby was led by Captain Munson of the regiment raised from Connecticut. To the north was the "First Carrying Place" located just north of the Battenkill. Here were "two bad Rifts and Steep Showls, that men are forced to wade up to their Armpits to Drag the Canoes along" (McCully 1954:448). The portage of "700 paces" was guarded by two officers and 33 men. The second portage at modern-day Fort Miller was guarded with two officers and 34 men.

Fort Nicholson was constructed to defend the "Great Carrying Place" at Fort Edward. Robert Livingston reported the portage was guarded by Lt. Col. Riggs, a member of the Independent Company stationed in Albany, and upwards of 95 men. The fitness of the army assembled from the different colonies by Nicholson was questioned in the Livingston account. Livingston seemed to have little confidence in the troops, aside from the local militia who were familiar with the terrain and the hardships of frontier life.

Nicholson's detachment suffered from setbacks and poor morale. The listless army languished along Wood Creek, as the French continued to harass them with detachments from Fort Chambly. Nicholson's restive army suffered from isolation, lack of provisions, and flagging horses. Further unease was bred by Native American forces who were "always Carowsing and naver Satisfied" (McCulley 1954:452). The Seneca neutrality declaration, despite later diplomatic efforts by Captain Abraham Schuyler, set some of the forces on edge. Compounding matters, the once-promising cooperation offered by the Mohawk and others in early July evaporated under the hot, dry summer sky. The few Natives that remained were lightly armed with bow and arrows and ineffective firearms.

The Livingston account was written on the 16th of August and foreshadowed the impotent results of the expedition. By August 12th the government at Albany sensed the expedition had lost steam, and began efforts to proposition Nicholson for assistance in the coming months. To guard against a potential French counter-attack, Albany's residents wished for the three Saratoga forts to remain garrisoned throughout the winter, the forts in Albany and Schenectady repaired, and the city defenses enhanced as well. For additional safety, 200 Native scouts were suggested to be retained on pay to patrol between Fort Nicholson and the city (Leder 1956:214) (Robinson and Leder 1956:214).

By the end of August, it was clear that Vetch would never reach Quebec in time to be of service to Nicholson and his expedition to Montréal. Unknown to Vetch and Nicholson, England had diverted its resources intended for the expedition in the New World for the Continental theatre. By October, the formal word from the Queen was received in New York and the expedition fizzled to a halt. At the end of the month, the French sent small detachments to engage the English in Lake Champlain as a feint to a larger attack. Following this incursion, Nicholson almost immediately left New York, leaving the colony largely to fend for itself in the coming winter. His remaining troops abandoned their positions and retreated southward burning the forts, store houses, canoe and bateaux, and all other useful items along the way to prevent them from being utilized by the French (McCully 1954:443). According to the Governor General of New France, "some Indians afterwards assured us that the enemy had burnt their forts and bateauxs" (O'Callaghan 1855: V:842) and all that remained was some unburnt pork and dried codfish (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:847). As feared, Albany and the northern settlements were largely left defenseless in the winter of 1709–1710.

The perilous proximity of the frontier to his own personal lands led Colonel Peter Schuyler along with Colonel Nicholson to sail to England in December of 1709 with four sachems to personally plead with the Queen for

support to attack Port Royal the following year. The sachems included King Hendrick, a prominent warrior from the Mohawk tribe (Hamilton 1975:6), and Etowaukaum, or Nicholas, from the Mohican tribe at Schaghticoke (Dunn 2009:67). The delegation also included Major David Pigeon and Captain Abraham Schuyler.

The French became aware of the voyage in the late winter when Native scouts twenty five leagues from Albany at Little Falls engaged two Englishmen who informed them of Peter Schuyler's departure to England (O'Callaghan 1855b:Vol. IX:843). The French believed that Schuyler's trip indicated a newly strained relationship between Albany and the English colonial government. Unease concerning the French winter encampment at Fort Chambly and the work to create a stone fort led the Mohawk to abandon some of their own settlements and move to the relative safety of Schuyler Flatts, near Albany (O'Callaghan 1855b: Vol. IX:851).

Nicholson and Schuyler and the sachems were quite a sensation in London. The Queen offered support not only for a renewed expedition but also for missionaries to be established in Mohawk territory (Snow 2007). While Schuyler was in England, however, there appears to have been few military advances along the frontier with one exception. Captain Hunter assisted the Schaghticoke Indians to construct a "stockado fort" all with the "hope [it] will be a means to draw back their Indians to come and settle among them." This is likely a reference to the fleeing of the Schaghticoke after the English burned their defenses in 1709. In addition to the fort and the small garrison provided by the governor, several English families from Albany had settled in the area the year prior under the impression that land would be secured by the Nicholson expedition. The vulnerable settlement was attacked by French-sympathizing Natives in 1710 and several English settlers, including members of the Daniel Kettlehuyn family, were killed and taken prisoner (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:245-246).

After having returned from their trip abroad, Vetch and Nicholson led a successful attack on Port Royal in September of 1710. As a reward, Vetch was named Governor of Nova Scotia, a new English colony along the coast of New France.

The Onondaga nation was under intense pressure from the French to remain neutral during Queen Anne's War. An Onondaga delegation had asked the Governor General of New France not to harm Peter Schuyler for the previous assaults as he and "the Dutch had been forced by the English to take up arms against" the French (O'Callaghan 1855b:Vol. IX:853). Eventually, the Onondaga bowed to the pressure from New France and allowed the French to erect a blockhouse and missionary near their settlements. Having heard of the French plan, Colonel Schuyler left for Onondaga territory in May 1711 shortly after his return from England. Once there, he destroyed the fort and chapel.

By 1709, largely as a result of the failed Nicholson expedition, the military stores of the colony were nearly depleted. Many of the Native allies of the British complained bitterly during this time of the growing expense of powder (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:228). In November 1709, Governor Hunter requested an additional 600 firelocks and bayonets to arm the garrisons left along the frontier, along with the proper ammunition and shot (O'Callaghan 1855c: Vol. V:113). During the next year, Hunter spent most of his time organizing the settlement of the German Palatines along the Hudson River, and the development of naval stores from New York lumber. However, with the return of Schuyler and Nicholson and promises of support from the Queen, his attention turned to the next proposed wave of military expeditions.

Nicholson subsequently tried to organize a second assault on Montréal from Albany in 1711. Vetch was to attack Quebec from Port Royal (modern-day Annapolis, MD) with assistance of the Royal Navy. By August of 1711, Francis Nicholson returned to Albany with preparation for the assault well underway, largely under the guidance of Governor Hunter. By this time, Hunter was busy finding carpenters to build bateaux at Albany, retaining Colonel Redknap as an engineer, amassing men and commanders, and gathering provisions from across the various colonies (Shaw and Slingsby 1955:258-261). In addition, with the assistance of Peter and Abraham Schuyler, Governor Hunter secured the commitment of a number of Schaghticoke, River Indians, and members of the Iroquois Five Nations. In return for the Five Nations' support, he promised to build

fortifications and missionaries and supply them with blacksmiths after the expedition (O'Callaghan 1855c: Vol. V:271-273).

The expedition did not leave Albany until nearly the end of August 1711. During this time, the shuffling of men and supplies up the Hudson though Saratoga to the carrying place is detailed in the diary of Rev. John Buckingham, who estimated a force of over 600 natives and many more colonial troops. He and his men were tasked with driving cattle to Saratoga or "the first carrying place" at the falls near modern-day Northumberland. His men encamped a little above the falls on the west side of the river, "at the upper end of it, about a mile from the first carrying place" (perhaps the fields north of Fish Creek, later known as Fort Hardy) (Buckingham 1916). The diary makes no mention of storehouses or fortifications at that time.

Nicholson carefully noted the passage of express posts between Albany and Boston for news of the departure of the fleet. By October 1711, word reached Albany that the fleet met with disaster along the shoals at the mouth of the St Lawrence River and the naval assault had failed (O'Callaghan 1855c: Vol. V:277). The army Nicholson assembled was once again stranded at the southern end of Lake Champlain. An even greater disaster was the anger of the Native troops gathered to attack Canada. To appease their disgruntled allies, Hunter agreed to construct forts in Mohawk country immediately, and in Onondaga territory that coming spring (O'Callaghan 1855c: Vol. V:279).

A truce signed in August 1712 ended the hostilities and the war concluded with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. All intentions aside, it is unlikely that any substantial fortifications were constructed in the short period of time that Nicholson and his army advanced from Albany and then retreated upon news of the fleet's mishap. The frontier north of Albany was likely guarded by little more than a few fortified houses, including perhaps one owned by Peter Schuyler in Saratoga, and the small garrisoned fort in Schaghticoke.

INTERWAR PERIOD

Governor Hunter remained committed to fortifying the frontier against further French incursion, but suffered as a result of the lack of tax revenues from the colonies that suffered under the weight of new taxes from the previous war. As a result, the frontier remained largely undefended. In 1716, Governor Hunter hoped to entice the Board of Trade to provide funds for a new fort on the frontier. He sent a map with plans to construct a fort at the Great Carrying Place, formerly Fort Nicholson "because of the uncontravertable title, the ready and ease communication with the other Forts, and the neighborhood of Pine Woods and Mast Woods" (O'Callaghan 1853c:Vol. V:479). This fort apparently never came to fruition. In 1718, Hunter again stated to the Lords of Trade "… with relation to extending our Frontiers I think that people may be usefully employ'd there but there must be in the first place a Fort or two as well to cover them" (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:510).

During the autumn of 1719, Governor Hunter was recalled to England and, according to Peter Schuyler (now acting Governor), with him went the best map of the New York frontier. The new governor did not arrive in New York until the spring of 1720. During this time, Schuyler and other government officials worried about the French and their construction of a new fort and trading house at Niagara. Citizens of Albany were particularly afraid that the new French settlement would siphon trade away from the settlement. In the spring of 1720, Mynderse Schuyler and Robert Livingston, Jr. sent out to Seneca country in an effort to convince the Seneca to remove the French outpost. Upon inquiry from the Lords of Trade, the former Governor Hunter enumerated the forts of colonial including one as New York, Albany, Schenectady, and Fort Hunter (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:556). No mention is made of any fortifications north of Albany, nor at Schaghticoke.

Schuyler continued throughout most of his life to serve as an Indian commissioner and as a member of the provincial council. However, by 1714, he was noted as suffering from an infirmity that prevented his participation in the commission (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol.V:475). He was acting governor of New York from July 1719 to September 1720 and therefore no longer present at the commissioners' meetings. In a strange turn of affairs, likely as the result of a propaganda campaign against him by his political enemies, he was dismissed from the council by the new governor, William Burnet (Pell 1969). Unbeknownst to Schuyler, Burnet was quietly petitioning the Lords of Trade for his removal from the Indian commission as well. He wrote for

the favor "to dismiss two persons from His Majesty's Council namely Peter Schuyler & Adolphus Phillips (Philipse)" (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:578). He offered several reasons for the dismissal related to his time as acting governor after the removal of Governor Hunter. Burnet accused Schuyler of making alterations in the affairs of the governor's positions (usurping power) and threatening the dissolution of the Assembly. Further, Burnet accused Schuyler of granting several tracts of land contrary to the king's instructions, although which lands remained unspecified. Finally, Burnet expressed frustrations at Schuyler's political maneuvering in Governor Hunter's absence and he expressed fear of Schuyler succeeding him as the acting governor. Left unsaid in the letter was Burnet's deep concern over Peter Schuyler's active trade with the Canadians in "Indian goods."

Burnet proposed to nominate Cadwallader Colden and James Alexander in their stead and Robert Livingston, Jr. as Sect. of Indian Affairs (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:579-80). Working with Colden and others, Burnet sought to cripple the political influence of the Schuyler family and other influential Albany traders by aiming at the heart of their economic power: trade with Canada. As one of his first official actions, he worked with the Assembly to pass an "act of a publick nature and consequence as to prohibit all trading with the province with the French for Indian Goods…This trade was so much practiced by the leading men here that the Assembly could never be brought to prohibit it until now." With Schuyler removed from the Assembly, and by August 1721 the Indian Commission as well (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:281), Burnet and his allies worked to further isolate Schuyler and his friends. Shortly after his dismissal from the Indian commission, the Assembly further proclaimed its intent to stop the trade from "Sarattogue to Canada (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:281).

In a letter to the Lords of Trade in 1720, Burnet stated that the new Assembly provided funds to repair the fortifications and "build new ones" and that "next spring …set to work to renew the Fortifications which are quite decayed both at Albany Schoenectade & fort Hunter, which are only wooden forts, whereas the French have several Stone Forts" and "likewise to build a new Fort at Niagara & a small one at Onondaga" (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:576).

What Burnet did not mention was his intent to build a fort just north of the Saratoga patent to patrol the trade between Albany and Canada. This location was known as the first carrying place, located near the mouth of the Battenkill River into the Hudson River, and just outside of the northernmost patent at the time, which also happened to belong to Peter Schuyler. In the autumn of 1720, Burnet persuaded the colonial Council to appropriate funds for the deployment of a "guard of 20 men to be stationed at Saratoga to enforce the act to prohibit the trade to Canada" (New York Colonial Council:Vol. 13:14). It appears that the raising of the force and construction of a fort, however, was delayed for almost a year. Impetus for the fort finally came in August when word reached the governor that the French had designs to construct a fort on Wood Creek. He sent a detachment of 300 men to march to "prevent the fort from being built" (New-England Courant 1721). The troops likely helped to construct the fort, both to check the advance of the French and to control illicit trade.

In September 1721, the Assembly authorized the construction of a "blockhouse…at Saratoga for stopping trade to Canada" garrisoned by an officer and twenty men (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:281). It appears that much of the effort was directed by Philip Livingston with assistance from Johannes Schuyler and others (O'Callaghan 1866:467, 476, 478, and 480). Unfortunately, many of the papers related to this period of the construction of what later became known as Mount Burnet or Fort Burnet were lost in a devastating fire in 1911 that claimed many of the archives held at the New York State Capitol (Brandow 1900:28). To assist with the efforts of maintaining and operating the forts, without the services of the Schuyler family, the assembly also provided an Indian interpreter by the name of "Mrs. Montour" (perhaps Isabelle Montour, a metis who later married an Oneida chief) (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:281) and later, in 1723, Charles Burns was retained as an interpreter (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:293).

To further ensure the success of the new fort, the governor sent his enemies out of the area on various "missions." In September of 1721 Burnet instructed Captain Peter Schuyler, Jr. to travel to the Niagara frontier in an effort to persuade Indians to trade in Albany. He also sent Abraham Schuyler to the Seneca on a diplomatic mission to help close the French trading outpost in Niagara. Although important tasks for the colonial government of New York, they also conveniently removed the greatest threats to the newly imposed trade embargo.

Burnet had hoped to stop all trade between French Canada and New York, but quickly realized this was nearly impossible. To soften the embargo, the act was later clarified to prohibit the trade of "Indian goods," which implied items used by the French to trade for furs. Among the most common items at the time were red cloth shrouds, primarily imported from England. Since these items were difficult to obtain from France, Canadian traders obtained these valuable items from Albany, largely in exchange for furs. This trade between the two colonies helped to bring furs into New York and eventually England (Lunn 1939).

In June 1723, Governor Burnet declared to the Lords of Trade, "I now flatter myself that the most difficult part is over, since the very Traders of Albany who were fond of Trading to Canada, generally confess their error…" (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:685). However, residents of Albany and New York traders were by this time writing to the Lords describing the detriments of the new act on the colonial economy. By July 1724, the Lords of Trade request information from the new governor on the decline in trade as reported by the New York merchants (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:707-9). Despite the growing concerns of the new acts, Burnet continued his campaign of suppression of trade with Canada and New France.

In the meantime, Peter Schuyler passed away in February 1724, leaving his estate to his brother John (Johannes) Schuyler, Sr., who continued the Schuyler legacy, albeit to a lesser extent, in the fur trade and in colonial government affairs. Without a direct heir, however, the echoes of Peter Schuyler's influence over New York politics eventually waned.

Members of the Schuyler and Wendell families, both prominent Albany-based clans, continued to engage in the newly illegal trade through this period. In October of 1724, Lieutenant Blood[11] (Rylands 1899; Sejourne 1967), the commander at Mount Burnet notified the Indian Commissioners at Albany of the detention of Nicholas Schuyler (nephew of Peter) and Jacob Wendell (son of Harmanus), who with another unnamed accomplice and 20 to 30 Natives were apprehended with 58 strouds on the waters to Canada. The strouds, coarse woolen sheets used to make blankets, were confiscated and branded with the king's seal and subsequently taken away from the Lieutenant and his company "by force" (Wraxall 1915: xxiv-xxv). Charles Buckley, the Sergeant at Mount Burnet, told Wendell he was "sorry to See him there who Replyed if it had not been for his father he had not been there" (Wraxall 1915:xxv). Harmanus Wendell and Nicholas Schuyler were again detained by the Albany sheriff in the spring of 1725. Schuyler escaped while obtaining provisions for his detention in the sheriff's house. In November 1727, the charges against both men were dropped in consideration of payment of a £100 fine.

To prevent others from continuing in the trade, Burnet forced numerous Albany traders to swear an oath abiding by the new act (Wraxall 1915:xxxiv-v). Of those noted, Jacob Wendell, Nicholas Bleeker, Harmanus Bleeker, Hendrick de Ridder, Jonhaniss van Bergh, Nicholas Schuyler, Daniel Fort, Dirck Ten Broeck, John Peyster, Phillip Verplanck, Jacob Glen, Johnanis Myndertze, and Samuel Doxsie took the oath while John Schuyler, Philip Schuyler, and Cornelius Cuyler each refused. Due to their refusal, John and Philip Schuyler (and later Cornelius Cuyler and Goosen Van Schaick) were remitted to the sheriff until they each paid a fine of £100 to "be applyied towards the building and repairing such of the fortifications of this colony," most likely especially intended for Mount Burnet (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs 1723-1759:43-46)(Lincoln 1894:838-839). The names provided above were familiar to the Saratoga area as many were or later became

[11] Edmond Blood: c. 1690-1747 Grandson of Colonel Thomas Blood (who attempted to steal the British Crown Jewels), raised in Northern Ireland and life-long military man in the Independent Company who spent virtually his entire career in colonial New York. Mustered into New York in 1710. His inventory provides a glimpse into the material culture of an officer at the time. He served as the basis for a fictional character in Charlotte Lennox's novel of colonial America based on her own experiences in Albany.

landowners in the area. It is assumed that many of these individuals were already seasonally active in to the area while trading with the natives and French.

Mount Burnet apparently had an intended chilling effect on the trade between colonial entrepreneurs as well as the Natives. An Onondaga trader to Albany in July 1723 grumbled about the "weeds and stumbling blocks" barring travel to Albany for trading and desired free and safe passage for native trader. The commissioners, sensing that the new forts were undue obstructions declared that the governor "caused to the two houses to be built upon the hill for your conveniency" (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:48-49). It is unclear if this explanation assuaged the common fears of the traders, but the exchange indicates a growing concern among city officials about the forts and their role in the embargo.

Word of trouble eventually reached the ears of the Lords of Trade, who obtained a written affidavit from traders John Groesbeck and Dirk Schuyler in the winter of 1724–1725 (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:743-44). According to the documents:

> Groesbeck was informed by the Traders there [at Albany] that when the Indians about two years since were going to Albany to carry their Furrs in order to buy Indian Goods & they were fired upon by a Guard from a Blockhouse belonging to the Government of New York called Mount Burnett for which they said they would be revenged…

The report further documented the rising price of beaver furs due to the prohibition on trade with the French. It appears the soldiers at Mount Burnet were taking a more aggressive stance against the illicit trade than the Indian Commissioners had admitted. The situation continued to simmer into the spring and summer of 1725 when a solider by the name of "Williams" was taken prisoner from Mount Burnet and removed to Canada. While in custody of the Kanawake Indians, the soldier was killed, presumably by unrelated Indians and a French Iroquois named "Castleoro." Concerned over the implications and potential reprisals, the Kanawake immediately sent several sachems to Albany on a diplomatic mission (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:141).

The chorus of change for the trade acts continued to grow. After the deposition of John Groesbeck and Dirck Schuyler in the winter of 1724–1725, the Lords of Trade launched an inquiry into the trade prohibition act (O'Callaghan 1855c: Vol. V:743). John Peolquin reported to the Lords that many of Albany's traders including Peter Schuyler complained of the acts and that the fur trade had suffered dramatically (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:750) The Lords' inquiries continued by trying to ascertain the extent of the decline of the fur trade by questioning traders, merchants, and furriers in England. The evidence was mounting that the acts were stifling the trade and driving up the cost of furs. Burnet was beginning to realize the acts were in trouble, and with it his governorship. As a result, Burnet turned to the western part of the state to try and siphon trade from the French along the Great Lakes, abandoning his attempts to patrol the trade along the Hudson-Champlain corridor. By 1727, Burnet began the construction of Fort Burnet in Oswego to provide cover for the Iroquois from the French and their trade along Lake Ontario. It was hoped the new fort and trading post would help to direct furs back to Albany.

Meanwhile, Mount Burnet had started to fall into disrepair, and the Colonial council approved a paltry sum of £10 for its repair in the autumn of 1725 (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:300; New York Colonial Council:Vol. 15:16). In May of 1725, the Council appointed Cornelius Cuyler and Hendrick de Ridder to conduct repairs at Albany and Saratoga (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:298; O'Callaghan 1866:494). In addition, it seems that Captain Blood, commanding officer, also took it upon himself to furnish materials and supplies for the fort (Blood 1726). He later sent Governor Burnet an accounting of the expenses in 1726 he had incurred at "Saraghtogue" (Table 1. He was not paid until August 1728, likely through the personal account of the governor by way of Philip Livingston. In the meantime, Blood complained repeatedly for payment (Blood 1727/8) until the governor directed payment to Blood lately at "Mount Burnett near Saractoga" (Burnet 1728).

A contemporary account of the fort at Mount Burnet comes from Theodore Atkinson, a commissioner traveling to Montreal on behalf of the colonial government of New Hampshire (Atkinson and The Society of Colonial Wars 1907). Atkinson traveled to Albany where he was hospitably treated by Colonel John Schuyler,

Jr. Schuyler provided him with Native scouts and the commander at Albany, Captain Holland, also provided an escort. Making his way north along the Hudson, Atkinson arrived at Saratoga on February 6, 1725, leaving from Schuyler Flatts and being received at the elder Colonel John Schuyler's "farm." The next day he was received by Captain Blood "[visiting] us from his Block House which is about 1 ½ miles of (sic)." On their way north of the carrying place, they stopped at "fort Burnet Cap. Blood comanre" alternating between walking on the iced-over river and on land at the falls and open areas (Atkinson and The Society of Colonial Wars 1907:26-29). There was no mention of the Saratoga area on his return trip.

Table 4. Inventory of supplies provided to Mount Burnet by Captain Edmund Blood, 1726.

Item(s)	Amount
Paddles	7
Setting poles	6
Rope	
planks	20
"fetching from the mill to Stillwater"	
"to bringing from Stillwater to Saraghtogue"	
nails	12 pounds
"mending canoes"	
Tallow and tar	
planks	40
"mending the chimney"	
Paddles	4
Setting poles	4
Paddles	2
Rope	
"Fetching the canoe"	
Chain	
"To Jacob Beckman"	

Coupled with the Colden and Holland map of 1725, it appears Mount Burnet was situated about 1.5 miles north of Fish Creek and just north of the Batten Kill on the east side of the river. The fort was situated just north of the patent of Saratoga, and did not require the blessing of the shareholders of the patent, many of whom were illegally trading goods with Canada. The fort, likely situated on a prominence, hence the name "Mount Burnet" may have been along the falls of the river near modern-day Northumberland. As discussed later, this fort on the east side of the river appears to have confounded and confused later historians, especially with respect to later Fort Clinton and earlier Fort Saratoga.

In an attempt to save what little he could from the trade prohibition in October 1726, Burnet enacted a tariff on trade goods as "the combination of the people of Albany evade the laws…and screen one another from being discovered in their illegal practises" (O'Callaghan 1855c:Vol. V:781). The law was quickly unraveling and soon even the hopes of collecting the duties were abandoned by the colonial government.

Life along the New York frontier was further complicated by Father Rasle's War, also known as Grey Locks' War between 1723 and 1726. This short conflict consisted of intermittent fighting between the Abenaki and English, mostly in Massachusetts (Demos 1995:170). Father Sebastien Rasle (or Rale) was the head of a series of Jesuit frontier missions along the Acadia-Maine border. Rasle worked to foment Native sentiment against English advances that led to a series of skirmishes between the two. He was killed during an English raid in 1724. Afterwards Grey Lock, an Abenaki chief and Catholic convert, and Abenaki sympathizers continued a series of reprisal attacks along the Connecticut River from their village on the east side of Lake Champlain. The events led to the construction of Fort Dummer in Vermont in expectation of French retaliation (Peckham 1964:85). Used as a base of operation, Fort Dummer helped to limit future Abenaki raids and eventually led to an uneasy peace treaty, although Grey Lock was never a party to the negotiations.

As the tumult eased, at least one group from Canawaga in Canada sought to relocate into the borderlands of New York. "Schenondo" and a party of some 60 individuals looked to the Indian Commissioners to provide

provisions while they relocated into New York. The commissioners were eager to assist and suggested that the groups settle between "Still Water and Saratoga" in the early winter of 1728. Once established the commissioners promised them pork and corn, and the "finder's fee" for Schenondo included a blanket, four pounds of powder, 20 pounds of shot and lead, a keg of rum, corn, and a coat and shirt for him and his son (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:211).

In August 1727, Burnet was removed as governor and replaced by John Montgomerie (O'Callaghan 1855c: Vol. V:838). It appears that the small garrison from the Independent Company formerly at Mount Burnet was moved westward to Oswego, and the attempt to regulate the Canadian trade through Saratoga largely ended. It is assumed that Mount Burnet was abandoned at about this time, as the historical record is largely silent regarding any further activity there. While the English pulled back from the frontier, the French-Canadians sensed an opportunity to advance, especially, with the death of Peter Schuyler. By November 1730, the Commissioner of Indian affairs wrote to Governor Montgomerie with information about French plans to build fort at Crown Point (New-England Weekly Journal 1731). Up to this point, the furthest south the French had pushed was Colchester Point at the mouth of the Winooski near Burlington, previously just an Abenaki village with a missionary outpost and small village by 1730. The settlement was besieged by sickness and reestablished in 1736, and by 1741 the French built a stone chapel (Coolidge 1989:101; Hill 1995).

The fortification of Crown Point began in earnest around 1731 when the French retook Chimney Point on the east side of the lake and constructed a new stone fort with a stockade 100 feet square with bastions. The new fort was garrisoned with a small detachment consisting of two officers and 30 men (Hill 1995:38). The fort (unofficially known as Fort de Pieux) spurred the development of a small settlement known as Hocquart, and the French established their first significant outpost within what would later straddle the border of Vermont and New York.

Word of the French Canadians fort and settlement spread quickly to the great alarm of the New York Provincial government. Governor Cosby writing to the Duke of Newcastle in December 1733 stated:

> the most effectual way to extend our settlements is to erect Forts in places more advanced towards Canada and so as to have a line of forts between that part of Hudson's River that lyes near the Lake which leads to for Chamblie in Canada and the fort at Oswego… I would start by…building one Fort between Albany and the new French Fort on this side of the lake… (O'Callaghan 1855a:V:972).

The situation would grow even more worrisome as a contingent of French regulars under the direction of Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Lery started the construction of a more significant stone fort on the west side of the lake at Crown Point. This star-shaped fortification would later be named Fort St. Fredrick (initially Fort Beauharnois, after the land patentee) and served as a strategic location from which the French would launch a series of withering attacks against the British colonialists in the coming wars. After a substantial redoubt was built after 1736, which later served as the central citadel, a larger garrison raised to man the fort (Coolidge 1938:119). By 1739, a windmill was built to serve the growing community and a small redoubt with mounted cannons rose around the fort, while perhaps 600–800 residents were settled in the area (Palmer 1886 [1992]: 50). After the fort was erected, the French monarchy issued several land grants to help solidify the French claims and bolster their presence in the region.

Despite the fact that the French fort and settlement were contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, the British were largely powerless to evict the French. Much diplomatic effort was spent trying to convince the Iroquois to take action, but they, too, were averse to confronting the French. The new Governor of New York, George Clarke, in the winter of 1738 continued to sound the alarm to the Lords of Trade:

> …the French have also a very strong fort to the West of Crown Point…built in the year 1736 (sic) for a retreat when the French at any time should come to disturb or annoy our frontiers (O'Callaghan 1855a:Vol. VI:126).

The situation continued to grow worse for the British as news spread that the French were not content to be limited to their settlements at Crown Point. Governor Clarke, writing to Lords of Trade on September 16, 1738, stated:

> …if they [the French] possess themselves of the Wood Creek not far from which they built the strong Fort mentioned in the letter at the Crown Point about fifteen years ago [the reference to this date is unclear], they will become Masters of that part of the Country….

Further information was provided by the Indian commissioners to the governor at the same time:

> Captain Cornelius Cuyler returned from Canada, who informed us that he had heard the French have a design to settle several families on the Wood Creek about ten miles from our settlements next spring; that the Governour of Canada has sent several farmers there among which was Ilber (perhaps Jacques Leber, de Senneville), to view the land last fall and this summer as far as fort Anne (O'Callaghan 1855a:Vol. VI:131) [see also (O'Callaghan 1855:VI:146)].

The attempts to rebuff the French advancements by the British ranged from the absurd and grandiose to the more practical. One of the more absurd attempts proposed by Governor Clarke amounted to little more than telling the French to go away. According to the Governor:

> …the [French] Intendant, with forty bateaux and four Frenchmen in each bateau, was going from Canada to Crown Point in order to settle some French families along Wood Creek. I would by any means prevent them, and at present I know none better than that you [the Indian Commissioners] send a man or two to take a formal possession of those lands by making a hut and erecting a flag thereon, instructing them if any of the French come thither to inform them that those lands belong to the King of Great Britain, that they were above forty years ago purchased from the Indians by HM's subjects and granted to them, and to forbid the French to make any settlements thereon, representing to them that if they make any such attempt it would be an open infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two Crowns… (June 14, 1739) (Davies 1994).

Although aggressive efforts to start settling the frontier began as early as 1734, it was not until 1737 that Captain Lachlan Campbell visited New York with the intent to bring Scottish highland families to settle in return for substantial land grants, at little or no cost, for each family as promised by Governor Clarke. Upon their arrival in 1739, however, the Governor anxious to raise revenues for the province demanded full price for the grants. Campbell and the Governor sought the assistance of the Assembly to raise the necessary funds, but both were unsuccessful. The governor reported the bad news to the Lords of Trade:

> …between the French fort at Crown Point and Albany where I intend to settle some Scotch Highland families who came hither last year, having promised to give them lands gratis. Some of them went about three weeks ago to view the lands but are not yet returned, but I doubt when they are informed of the designs of the French they will be discouraged. It is the interest of the province in general, and more particularly of the people of Albany, to encourage those Scotch to settle there by giving them some assistance for they are very poor; yet I find no disposition in the Assembly to do it (O'Callaghan 1855a:Vol. VI:145).

As a result, Campbell and the emigrants set out for Cuba. Likely as a result of request for payment, the poor condition of the land, and the threat of French incursion without the protection of any English fortifications.

It was within this context that the borderlands at Saratoga were once again fortified by the English. Although the greatest concern was the settlement of Wood Creek, without a supporting community, the provincial government likely believed that constructing and garrisoning a fort at Wood Creek was untenable. Colonel Schuyler, working with excess funds provided for the forts at Schenectady and Albany, proposed to the General Assembly that a "Fort at Sarachtoga" be constructed with the surplus (New-York Weekly Journal 1739), to

which the assembly appears to have agreed as they provided £500 towards the effort (New-York Weekly Journal 1739).

By the end of the 1739, Governor Clarke informed the Lords of Trade of this success with the Assembly to better guard the frontier, partially taking credit for the fort at Saratoga:

> I got them (the Assembly) to make provisions for fortifying the Province... a new fort in the Mohawk Country, and another at Sarachtoga (O'Callaghan 1855a:VI:151)…Nov 30 1739. The fort in Mohawk territory had become a matter of necessity as in the winter of 1740 rumors were circulating that 700 French and Indians were pushing through Mohawk country, forcing a number to seek shelter at Oswego (*Boston-News-Letter* 1740).

This is likely the first time since the abandonment of Mount Burnet that the Saratoga area was covered under the protection of a substantial fortification. Yet, the new fort languished for want of a permanent garrison. According to the governor, despite having four Independent Companies in New York there were not enough troops for Saratoga and "….on the first rupture another fort 40 miles from Albany [Saratoga] must be garrisoned" (O'Callaghan 1855a:VI:222). Problems with the manning and maintenance of the fort remained a recurring theme for the colonial government over the next five years, until the fort was destroyed and a substantial new fort rebuilt.

Throughout this period, Saratoga continued to be developed for farmland and mills by the Schuyler family. Johannes's son Philip J. Schuyler lived at Saratoga in 1739 and appears to be managing the lands on behalf of his father Colonel John (Johannes) Schuyler. When Philip filed his will in Albany at the time as he was already in poor health. His father, also in poor health at the time, desired to leave him the gristmill at Saratoga, "my farm at Saratoga with ½ the saw mill with all the nergoes… also ½ of my undivided 1/7 of my lands in the patent of Saratoga" (Albany County Abstract of Wills 1741:Vol. 28:134-135; Schuyler 1885:239).

The will also provide details concerning the familial, political, and economic alliance of the frontier at the time, as his daughter Catalentie was the wife of Cornelius Cuyler (whom he named executor). He left her his Dutch kast. The succession of the Saratoga estate, however, was thrown into disarray after Philip predeceased Colonel John Schuyler in King George's War. Johannes died not long after the murder of his son.

Part of the problem with fortifying the frontier concerned the colonial and home government's preoccupation with the War for Jenkins's Ear between Spain and Britain (1739–1748). Although mostly concluded by 1742, this war redirected funds, personnel, materiel, and attention away from the threat of New France upon the borders of New York and New England. As a result, the British were largely unprepared for the war in the North American theatre, for which the French had been anticipating for years.

KING GEORGE'S WAR (1744-1748)

English and Dutch settlement north of Saratoga remained rather sparse in the run-up to King George's War. One of the few settlements north of Saratoga was in present-day Fort Edward, or the Great Carrying Place, where John Henry Lydius established a small trading outpost. His settlement was an attempt to solidify the tenuous claim that his family made on the defunct Dellius patent, as his father replaced Dellius as the pastor of the English church in Albany. John Henry eschewed the church and concentrated on the lucrative, but still illicit fur trade with Canada. By 1727, he married a French Indian woman by the name of Genevieve Masse and lived in Montreal for a period of time (Rogers 2013). Exactly when Lydius established his trading outpost at Fort Edward is somewhat unclear, but by 1730 he was expelled from New France and became at least a part-time resident at Albany. While in Albany, Lydius began a concerted effort to purchase Indian lands in and around the Wood Creek and Lake Champlain area. His attempts to convert these purchases into rightful deeds through colonial officials were largely unsuccessful. Undeterred, he continued to buy and sell land, much to the consternation of the natives, the colonial government, and defrauded purchasers. Despite his unorthodox approach, Lydius probably did more to increase the English settlement of area in the face of French incursion than the colonial government or any other investor. By 1745, he constructed a sawmill at Fort Edward and encouraged a small settlement (Rogers 2013) that included his son, Martinus, and David Vanderheyden (son of

Rachel Ketelhuyn) as well as various servants and tenants (*Boston News-Letter* 1745). His house, like other substantial residences along the frontier, appears to have been fortified, thus garnering the name "Fort Lydius."

To the south in Saratoga was a more substantial settlement of nearly 30 families, largely dispersed along the rich alluvial flats of the Hudson River. The Schaghticoke community, slightly further to the south and east, also consisted of a concentration of farms and a dwindling number of natives. The Lydius outpost and the Saratoga and Schaghticoke settlements thus formed the nucleus of the northern extent of sustained English occupation of the Hudson-Champlain lowlands just prior to the outbreak of King George's War.

King's George War typically refers to the North American theatre of operation of a multi-faceted and rather complex European conflict. In reality, the war was an extension of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), which pitted Protestant-leaning countries against Catholic-leaning countries. Ostensibly a conflict concerning the rise of Maria Theresa, Queen Regent of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria to the throne, the war was in reality about political alliances and economic interests, both colonial and domestic. With the War of Jenkins' Ear largely resolved by 1742 between Spain and England, France and England slowly engaged in a separate conflict. Although the conflict simmered for several years, war between France and England was not formally declared until March 1744.

Table 5. A list of the action that occurred in and around Saratoga between 1745 and 1748. Action suspected or known to be within the Study Area is highlighted.

Action	Date	Notes	Known Prisoners
First Battle of Saratoga	November 20-22, 1745	Many prisoners taken	See Table 5
Woman found dead	January 1746?	Between Saratoga and Crown Point	
Attack at Schaghticoke	April 1746?	Harme Van Vetchen killed	
Schenectady attack	May 3, 1746?	Simon Grocha killed, prisoner taken	
Albany/Menands attack	May 3, 1746?	Matthyus Vandenberg farm	
Kinderhook raid	May 3, 1746?	Farms of Teunis Van Sluyck and Peter Vosburgh	
Schenectady Raid	May 3, 1746?	William Teller (Vedder)	
Attack of fishing expedition from Fort Clinton	May 13, 1746	William Norwood killed, German-speaking prisoner taken	
Norman's Kill attack	May/June 1746	12 prisoners, two killed	
Capture of out-scouts	June 1746?	Robert Dunbar	
Albany attack	June 1746	Opposite side of river, six killed	
Hoosick/Sancroix	June 1746	60 houses and barns burned	
Kinderhook Raid	June 1746	Prisoners taken	Son of John Vosburgh and daughter of Isaac Teunis Van Deusen
Postal carrier taken	July 1746	Robert Dusenbury	
Fort Massachusetts attacked	August 1746		Thomas Mason and John Wilson, scouts from Saratoga
Attack at Saratoga	September 1746	Four killed, four prisoners taken	
Attack at Saratoga	September 1746/October 12?	Capt. Hart and Langdon lost 16 men (killed and prisoners)	Cornelius Farrell James Curry and Philip Schofield
Attack of convoy along military road	October 1746	Several drivers killed	
Out-scouts taken	November 1746	Johnathan Hagadorn and John Fort	

Action	Date	Notes	Known Prisoners
Second Battle of Saratoga, attack of wood-cutting party	February 22, 1747	Six killed and four prisoners taken	Patrick Harrow, Mat. Vosburgh, possibly John Larmont, John March, Benjamin Mayhew, and Benjamin Cox
Out-scouts taken and killed	March 1747		
Third battle of Saratoga, Herbin attack	April 7 or 13, 1747	Nine English killed, six taken prisoner	Philip Marten, of Philadelphia
Kinderhook/Schodack raid	April 10, 1747	Same French party, burned farm of John Van Alstine, killed two, seven prisoners and the farm of Peter Vosburgh and Matthew Van Deusen, another seven prisoners taken there	Son (Jacob) and daughter (Andries Huygh), and grandchild of Peter Vosburgh, daughter and grandchild (Abraham) of Jan Gardinier, slave of Jan Van Alstine, and slave of Bata Van Duesen, Anna Van Alen, Peter Van Alen, Maria Schott, Elizabeth Bloom, Elizabeth Van Duesen
Canajoharie Raid	April 27, 1747	One prisoner	
Fourth Battle at Saratoga, St.-Luc attack	June 1747	37 English prisoners, and 15 killed	Lt. Joseph Chew, Henry Smith, Thomas Harlow, James English, Martin Winyard, Robert Active, Thomas Archer, Samuel Sayers, Benjamin Blackford, Daniel Kelly, and Philip Kelly
Short siege, Rigaud	July 17-20, 1747	One English wounded	
Albany attack	August 1747	One dead, three captives	Possibly Anna Cloet Deborah Springer of Saratoga, and Andrew Sconce
Schodack Raid	August 13, 1747	Four prisoners taken	Abraham Van Valkenburgh, his son, son-in law, and grandson
Saratoga skirmish	August 10, 1747?	One or two killed, one prisoner on wood cutting party	
Fort Clinton at Saratoga destroyed	October 5, 1747		
Raid at Kinderhook	October 19, 1747?	Captain Robinsons' Company of nineteen men attacked while obtaining provisions, one killed and three wounded	
Schenectady raid, Beukendal massacre	May 1748	20 killed, 13 prisoners taken 0	Isaac Truax, Ryer Wemp, Johan Seyer Vroman, Albert John Vedder, Frank Canner, Harmanes Hagedoorn, William DeGraef, Nicholas Viele

Despite the threat posed by Fort St. Fredrick at Crown Point, the expressed interest in the French of settling the southern extent of Lake Champlain, and the eminent threat of a global conflict, the New York provincial government proved to be unwilling or unable to act decisively in protecting their borders. The government's best hope, it seemed, rested with the aid of the Iroquois. Therefore, much of New York's efforts prior to the war dealt primarily with Native diplomacy.

The principal players of the English included the Indian Commissioners at Albany led by Phillip Livingston with assistance from Colonel John Schuyler and other wealthy merchants and landowners along the border, John Henry Lydius, and a rising star among the Iroquois, Sir William Johnson. Johnson helped to serve the interest of the New York governor and Lords of Trade in the face of independent actors like Lydius and the parochial Indian Commissioners.

Colonel Schuyler appears to have led the construction of a new fortification at Saratoga in the fall of 1739. Acting upon a directive of the Indian commissioners with appropriations from the Assembly, Schuyler notified his superiors of excess funds from the reconstruction of the stone forts at Schenectady and Albany that could be re-apportioned to Saratoga. Schuyler asked the commissioners for "a proper Place to build a Fort at Saratoga" (Pennsylvania Gazette 1739). This appears to have had the support of the governor who wrote to Adolphe Philipse, the speaker of the assembly, that the fort at Saratoga would cost about £500, and a fort in Mohawk County about £800. Perhaps without a clear sense of direction, Colonel Schuyler took it upon himself to build the fort on his own property along the alluvial flats at the river's west side, not far from his own home. Despite its construction, the Indian Commissioners at Albany complained to the governor in the fall of 1743 that the "Fort at Saratoga remains ungarisoned" (Wraxall 1915:232).

Although constructed around 1739, a permanent garrison was not installed at Saratoga until the summer of 1744, when Governor George Clinton ordered a detachment to be stationed there (O'Callaghan 1861:847). However, much of the governor's concerns still lie in the safety and security of Oswego (*Boston Post-Boy 1744*). The conditions at the fort in Saratoga were poor at best. Two officers complained to Governor Clinton in the summer of 1744 urging repair of the fort. Clinton, in turn, requested the help of the Indian Commissioners to assist with the repairs (O'Callaghan 1861:858). They denied the governor's request, citing the need for special appointments from the council (O'Callaghan 1866:570). By September, however, the Council authorized the payment to Dirck Ten Broeck for "sundrys and worksmanship done at the Garrison at Saraghtoga" (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:412).

Prior to the outbreak of war, the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, and others in the English colonial government were consumed with tamping down rumors within the Mohawk community that the Albany settlers had plans to destroy the Mohawk as part of a large land-grab (O'Callaghan 1855a:VI:294-295). The blame for the rumors has been variously placed by Mohawk and English alike on Abraham Cuyler, Philip Livingston Jr., and Nicholas Bleeker. The English suspects were each former members of the Indian Commission, who resigned as Lydius, William Johnson, and the governor moved to undermine their authority (apparently as a result of suspicion of the allegiance of these culturally Dutch families) (O'Callaghan 1855a:VI:286). In short, the rumors tore at the fabric of both the Dutch political class in Albany and the Mohawk, who were themselves divided on the issue of neutrality in the coming war. The internal conflicts of the English and Mohawk governments left the frontiers woefully unprepared for the French who were busily amassing Indian allies and supplies to attack the New York and New England outposts.

Further rumors of an imminent French attack, terrified the Mohawk community and many of the members fled especially from the Upper Castle who did not have the support of an English fort like Fort Hunter at the Lower Castle. Dean Snow believes that false rumor was planted by Theyanoguin (or Hendrick Peters), a Mohawk chief, to leverage support from the English (Snow 2007:243). Later that summer, Conrad Weiser, frontier diplomat and rival to William Johnson, visited sachems at the Upper Castle to try and calm the settlement and reassure them of English support. The sachems later met with Governor Clinton in Albany that October but he made little headway with the Iroquois, and suspected that they already "struck a deal" with the French. Governor Clinton's political ally, William Johnson, worked closely with Theyanoguin after Wiesler failed to produce results. However, in 1746, Hendrick went to Montréal to meet with the French governor in his own diplomatic effort. Apparently their overtures were not well received as on his return trip they attacked

French carpenters at Isle la Motte. Eventually many of the Mohawk came to side with the English, perhaps due to the efforts of William Johnson. The larger body of the Iroquois confederacy, however, remained committed to neutrality. As a reward for efforts with the Mohawk, Johnson was rewarded by the governor with an appointment later in the war as colonel of the "New Levies."[12]

By 1745, Boston newspapers reported on the British attempts to consolidate naval superiority along the North Atlantic coast (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:3-19). In response, the French concentrated their efforts on bolstering defenses at Louisburg, modern-day Cape Breton Island off Nova Scotia, and the last of the great French port bastions.

The First Battle of Saratoga: November 1745

During the fall of 1745, the French prepared a large force of 300 French and an equal number of Native allies to attack either the New England frontier or Albany. Upon their arrival to Fort St. Fredrick, the party's leader, Monsieur Marin, altered the plans due to snow along the passes towards New England and headed south. The force moved to hit the fort at Saratoga, foregoing the opportunity to attack Albany (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:38-39, and 76-77).

Several accounts of the battle can be pieced together to provide an overall sketch of the action. Richard, a Schaghticoke (or New England) Indian's account provided the English version of battle, which appeared in the Boston News-Letter in December 1745. He was also deposed by the Indian Commissioners in Albany (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:65). The French version was recorded by M. Marin in an account found in the Schuyler papers at the New York Public Library entitled *Journal of Marin's Expedition Against Saratoga 1745* (Schuyler Papers).

Marin set out from Fort St. Fredrick on November 20, 1745, with a force of "22 officers, 23 cadets, 6 volunteers, 235 inhabitants, 90 Abenaki, 100 Iroquois-equal number from the Sault [Caughnawaga] and the Lake [Lake of Town Mountains]-23 Nisissings, 16 Huron" for a total of about 520 men (Schuyler Papers: Reel 41:10).

Richard reported he was hunting in the vicinity of the carrying place at Fort Edward on November 26 with a small party of other Schaghticoke Indians. During the day, his companion was captured by Caughnawaga Indians and a Frenchman (Boston News-Letter 1745), identified as Monsieur de Bailleul in the Marin report. That night Richard's companion led a party of French to his cabin. The party consisted of five French (Mssrs Lery, Bailleul, de Selle, Langy, de Niverville, and Jumonville) and 12 Abenaki warriors. Another French party apparently captured two scouts, Jonathan Hagadorn and Captain John Fort, near Fort Ann shortly before the battle as well (Drake 1870:86-87).

During his captivity, Richard learned that the French party had initially set out for New England, but turned to the west due to deep snow drifts. The French contingent split up, sending one group to attack the Schaghticoke and the other to Saratoga. For reasons unknown to Richard, the army merged again and set upon Saratoga.

An earlier French detachment led by Skenonton (likely a Huron chief) had already seized John Lydius and David Vanderheyden's houses, taking captive Lydius' son (aged 12 at the time), three out-scouts, two other "white men" and an Indian. Another New England Indian named Cockensenet (also described as "old Cohconshawit" in another letter) was killed at Lydius' house (American Weekly Mercury 1745:118; Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society 1911). For the moment, the captives were detained at Lydius' home with

[12] The new levies were enlisted men from various colonials pressed into service, often young and inexperienced, and generally uninterested in military service.

a guard of 20 men under the command of Sergeant de la Prairie, having been laid low by poison ivy (Schuyler Papers: Reel 41:16). Also remaining behind was the French chaplain, Father Francois Picquet.

Marin ordered the remainder of the men to move forward in two bodies on the morning of November 27, one by land under the command of M. de St. Pierre and another by canoe led by Marin himself. Along the route, the French attacked another house on the west side of the Hudson River occupied by a small family of seven. About six miles north of the fort, M. de la Colombiere detained a wagon carrying flour led by a husband and wife. Colombiere took one of the horses for himself and charged an Abenaki to take the prisoners back to Lydius' house. Before leaving, however, the woman reported that the fort was occupied by a detachment of nearby 200 soldiers. For the remainder of the day, the two detachments tried to regroup under the efforts of M. Beauvais (Schuyler Papers: Reel 41:17). Eventually, they camped near an island and waterfall, perhaps near former Fort Burnet. A detachment of French, Abenaki, and Nissipings continued down the east side of the river while the main body advanced along the west side throughout the night.

During the evening, the force happened upon Philip J. Schuyler's[13] sawmill and house. The French had hoped to wait until dawn to attack, but the Native allies rushed forward in attack and quickly seized a mill hand and slave. A fight ensued amongst the Natives and St. Ours and Marin's son over possession of the slave prisoner. As the fight continued, the French overtook a blacksmith's house south of Fish Creek, where a 12–14-year old child was killed. Monsieur Beauvais then found Philip J. Schuyler's house, having been previously acquainted, and asked by him to surrender. Schuyler responded by firing his musket several times and shouting that Beauvais was a dog that he intended to kill. Beauvais returned fire and killed Philip instead. Philip's body was reportedly mutilated by the Native allies and much of the home pillaged and destroyed. Although perhaps exaggerated, by the time the news reached England, the newspapers declared that the French had "most inhumanly murder'd Col. Schuyler, jun. ripping open his Body, pulling out his heart, and cutting off his head" (Derby Mercury 1746).

The French described Schuyler's house as brick with loop holes on the ground floor and a cellar. The house contained a small store of lead and powder, and was maintained by several servants, but the house was left unguarded by English troops or their allies. The fort was "quite a considerable distance from the houses" and "[the French] found no one inside" (Schuyler Papers: Reel 41:19-20).

The French believed that the attacks at the Schuyler mill and house alerted the soldiers at the fort who quickly abandoned their stronghold (O'Callaghan 1858a:X:76). However, it is more likely that the fort was not garrisoned at the time. In the early autumn, Governor Clinton ordered a small detachment from the Independent Company to Saratoga at the request of the Albany government. Clinton expected Albany to have made sufficient repairs to the fort to make it habitable. The detachment was composed of Sergeant Convers, Corporal **, David Mahany, William Schaw, Benjamin Schaw and seven other privates (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. VI:374-375). According to later testimony at an inquiry, the fort lacked a well and oven, the roof leaked, the floors were unfinished, and there was no way to keep powder, clothing, equipment, or men dry within the

[13] Philip J. Schuyler was the son of Johannes Schuyler born in December 1695. By this time he outlived his wife Margaret Cuyler (brother of Cornelius), had no children, and being that he was in poor health he penned a will in 1741. The will indicated he had two female slaves, and he wished for his estate to be divided among his nephews John and Philip Schuyler and John and Philip Cuyler. His full interest in the Saratoga Patent was not realized however, although he was named in his father's (Johannes) will to receive the mills and lands at Saratoga he perished two years before his father. As a result, it appears the estate devolved to Johannes' daughter Margarita, who married her cousin Philip Schuyler. Thus Colonel Philip Schuyler came into possession of the bulk of the Schuyler family estate (Schuyler 1885:239-240).

blockhouse. Captain John Rutherford, commanding the Independent Company at Albany, complained to Colonel Schuyler and the Indian Commissioners concerning the state of the fort to no avail. According to his testimony, he ordered the withdrawal of the detachment, perhaps as early as May 1745, but not after two of the company's best men had already deserted (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759; O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. VI:377). At best, there may have been a small garrison of local militia, volunteers, or nervous settlers who took shelter at the fort, but when the French arrived, there were no trained soldiers.

Marin had the fort and surrounding settlements burned including all the houses, barns, and stables; as well as four mills, with stockpiles of more than 10,000 planks and joists, and all of the cattle and crops within 15 miles of the fort. The barns were described as full of wheat, "corn" (buckwheat perhaps), and maize. The French believed that many of the area's traders had already left to spend the winter in Albany, or else their attack would have had greater effect. Colonial newspapers reported that the apple orchards were also destroyed, and that over £15,000 in damages were sustained (New-York Evening Post 1745).

The prisoners numbered about 100, including men, women, children and African slaves. About 12 others were killed or burned in their houses. Richard and the other earlier captives were kept at the carrying place under a detached guard of about 100 men. By noon of November 28, the marauders began to return with additional captives, continuing until nightfall. The captives were moved upstream of Lydius' house where they spent the night. The captives overheard the enemy plan for their escape northward to Crown Point where a large garrison remained at the fort, suggesting the prisoners were to be killed if the enemy pursued. The next morning after a march of about two miles, Richard and three other Schaghticoke escaped leaving behind approximately 60 other prisoners (*Boston News-Letter* 1745).

The prisoners (see Table 7) were given to the Natives and taken to the settlement at St. Francis Xavier du Sault mission (Caughnawaga) and Becancour (a settlement between Quebec and Montreal), and the remainder left in the hands of the French who took them to Quebec (O'Callaghan 1858a:X:38 and 76). By the spring, the English began to ransom the prisoners, moving them to Quebec where the governor paid the ransom fees. Among the prisoners noted to have made it to Quebec, but later perished, were Lawrence Platter, who was among the first to die there of an outbreak of disease in October 1747 (Drake 1870:282), Gratis Vanderveriske (Drake 1870:284), Martha Quackenbush (a "girl")(Drake 1870:285), Jacob and Isaac (his son) Quackenbush (Drake 1870:290). The first group to return from captivity included Jacob, John, and Fredrick Fort, Richard Crawley, John Hemstrait, John Clute, Richard Vanderheyden, Hartwright Quackenbush, Garret and Mary Vanderberck, Isaac Powderkirk, Killian (de) Ryder and James Schoolcraft who all arrived in Boston in August of 1747 (New-York Gazette 1747a). Other captives, perhaps an apocryphal story, included a mixed family of a black father and Native mother and their young son, Lewis Cook. The family stayed in Canada at the conclusion of the war (Hough n.d.).

Table 6. The order of battle for the first attack of Saratoga, November 1745. Only French participants listed as it appears no English colonial forces were in garrison at the time.

Rank	French	Notes
Captain/Colonel	M. Marin, Sr.	1692-1753: Career military man, fur trader in Wisconsin. After war went back to Wisconsin, then commanded forces in Ohio, died in theatre in part from his overzealous nature (Eccles 1974b).
Lieutenant	M. de la Colombiere (son of de la Corne): 4th brigade	
Lieutenant	M. de St. Pierre: right brigade	1701-1755: Trader, colonial military commander, interpreter, fought in Chickasaw wars, served on Wisconsin frontier before King George's War, assigned to Fort St. Fredrick in 1741, fought in raids on Mohawk Valley 1747, fought against Washington in Ohio valley in Seven Years War and died at the Battle of Lake George (Caput 1974).
Lieutenant	M. Jacques-Pierre Daneau De Muy, left brigade	1695-1758: Served in Louisiana in 1710, Michigan in the 1720s, and served as an out-scout at the beginning of

Rank	French	Notes
		the King George's War. Participated in raid on Deerfield and took Reverend John Norton captive (Macleod 1974).
Lieutenant	M. Francois-Josue de La Corbe Dubreuil, center	1710-1753: Career military man served on western frontier, operated out of Montreal between 1745-50, died of illness contracted after the war (Russ 1974a).
Lieutenant	M. de Lorimer, center	
Sergeant	M. la Praire	
	M. Beauvais	
	M. Marin, Jr.	
	M. de St. Ours	1699-1747: Career military man, outscout to Albany in 1695 with Indian allies, returned with four captives, 1708 expedition against New England, led party to oppose possible Nicholson raid in 1710, involved in fur trade in Midwest (Russ 1974b).
Scouts	M. de la Corne, (Jean-Francois) de Courtemarche	
	Bouat	
Cadets/Ensign	M. Bailleul	
	M. Jean-Baptiste-Philippe Testard de Montigny	1724-1786: life-long military man who began his career on the New York frontier, after spending time in Michigan. Led more than 30 raids on New York and Connecticut frontiers. After serving admirably in the Seven Years War he relocated to France (Armour 1979).
	M. de Selle	
	M. (Alexis or Jean-Baptist) Langy	
	M. Louis Legardeur de Repentigny*	1721-1786: Life-long military man began his career in operations along the New York frontier from Crown Point. Left for France after the Seven Years War and later became governor of Senegal (Taillemite 1979).
Other:	M. Niverville	
	M. Joseph Coulon de Villiers Jumonville	1718-1754: career military man, Wisconsin, Chickasaw wars, 1746 Acadian frontier, then in upstate NY, distinction of being one of first killed in the Seven Years War in North America (Eccles 1974a).
Military Engineer	M. Joseph Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery	1721-1797: Between 1742 and 1748, served as an engineer at Fort St. Fredrick, after fighting in the Chickasaw wars. Participated in capture of Fort Massachusetts (Thorpe 1979)
Chaplain	Father François Picquet (Sulpician)	1708-1781: Founder of Fort de la Presentation in Ogdensburg in 1749, at the time missionary at the Lake of Two Mountains in Oka, Quebec, where he earned the title "Apostle to the Iroquois" (Lahaise 1974)

*from his memoir (Centre de Archives d'Outer-Mer-France Vol.272:MSS0162)

One of the first to arrive at the razed fort was John Lydius with a company of 12 volunteers, who found that the enemy destroyed his house and "were drunk at my House" after consuming his provisions. While searching about "the ruins of that Miserable Object" he located evidence of the enemy's tracks. According to Lydius there "was not as much as a fowl alive even my apple trees the enemy hath destroyed" (Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society 1911:116-117).

Word of the French attack at Saratoga spread like wild fire through the English colonies and beyond (American Weekly Mercury 1745; Derby Mercury 1746; Pennsylvania Journal 1745). The Indian Commissioners at Albany immediately sent out dispatches to the Iroquois to inform them of the attack and to beg for their assistance as out-scouts and warriors. However, many of them declined to become further embroiled in the war (Wraxall 1915:242). By January of 1746, however, the Mohawk offered a small detachment of warriors to stay at the

"rebuilt Fort at Seragtogha" (Wraxall 1915:244). More formal invitations were sent out shortly afterwards to the remaining Iroquois nations by the Indian Commissioners through the interpreter Arent Stevens with an inducement of £20 for every male French prisoner and £10 for every scalp. However, the other Five Nations members were reticent to engage the French (Wraxall 1915:244-245). The Colonial Assembly enacted a law in February authorizing such activity "to commence and be in force from the commencement of that inhumane practice of scalping begun by the enemy lately at Saratoga" (Lincoln 1894:541). Despite the rhetoric, it appears scalping had been common practice well before the French raid at Saratoga.

Table 7. List of prisoners taken from Saratoga during the first French attack in November 1745.

Prisoner	Disposition	Citation
Lawrence Platter	Died of disease in captivity, October 1747	Drake 1870:282
Gratis Vanderveriske (Vanderverick), Jr.	Died of disease in captivity	Drake 1870:284
Martha Quackenbush (a "girl")	Died of disease in captivity	Drake 1870:285
Jacob Quackenbush (father)	Died of disease in captivity	Drake 1870:290
Isaac Quackenbush (Jacob's son) 20 years old	Died of disease in captivity	Drake 1870:290, Calder 1935
Jacob Fort	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
John Fort	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Fredrick Fort	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Richard Crawley	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
John Hemstrait	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
John Clute	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Richard Vanderheyden	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Hartwright Quackenbush	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Garret Vanderberck (father of Gratis)	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Mary Vanderberck (mother of Gratis)	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Isaac Powderkirk	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Killian (de) Ryder	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
James Schoolcraft	Returned to Boston August 1747	New-York Gazette 1747a
Martha Quackenbush	?	Calder 1935
James Prince (Price) a 14 year old boy	?	Calder 1935
Unnamed Quackenbush daughter, nine years old	?	Calder 1935
80 or so others unaccounted for		

In the meantime, the colonial government scrambled to re-fortify the frontier, especially as it left Albany particularly vulnerable to a surprise attack. In fact, there is archeological evidence that the city erected a waterfront stockade in 1745 to help further protect it from a French assault (Hartgen 2002). The governor in December 1745 requested funds and troops to rebuild the fort at Saratoga, as well as a more substantial, stone fortification at the Carrying Place (New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:66; O'Callaghan 1861:905). Once again the Assembly demurred. This set into motion a period of political discord in colonial New York that pitted the governor against the Assembly, the Indian Commissioners, the residents of Albany, and many other traders reliant on the French and their Native allies for their livelihood, most notably Robert Livingston. The Lords of Trade were so vexed by the political machinations of the colony they ordered an inquiry after the war, which was detailed in their account of the problems, *Abstract of Evidence Book* (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. IV:639-703).

A court of inquiry was established at Albany on December 11, 1745, to ascertain the reason for the loss of Saratoga. The garrison just before the raid was commanded by Captain Hubert Marshall with troops under the command of Captain Thomas Clark, Lieutenant John Lindsey, Lieutenant John Marshall, and Stephen Eastwick. The governor, having assigned a detachment of regulars to the fort including a sergeant, corporal and ten privates in 1744, also requested that the fort be repaired to accommodate his troops alongside the

militia. By 1745, the fort was largely unfinished and uninhabitable (O'Callaghan 1855a:Vol. IV:374-375). Testimony to the facts was provided by Sergeant Convers, David Mahany, William Schaw, and Benjamin Schaw, all present at the fort along with Captain Rutherford and Lieutenant Edmund Blood who had visited the fort. Lieutenant Blood urged Captain Rutherford to recall his men from the moldering fort, but the troops remained until the spring (O'Callaghan 1855a:Vol. IV:375). The depositions strongly suggest the fort was abandoned by both regulars and militia when attacked by the French.

The governor gleefully scolded the Assembly and laid the complete blame for the condition of the Saratoga fort on their shoulders. Upon his learning of the loss of Saratoga, Clinton immediately wrote an open letter to the Assembly; "of such like misfortunes I have given you repeated warnings, and as to what heed you have given them I leave to your own serious reflection…" (Pennsylvania Gazette 1745b).

Finally, after several letters from Colonel Philip Schuyler[14], the Indian Commissioners, and the Albany government, the General Assembly was persuaded to act and provided £150 to rebuild Saratoga (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:649) (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:350 and 351). Still, there was great reluctance on the part of the local militia to leave the confines at Albany and venture to rebuild Saratoga. This was neatly summarized by Captain John Rutherford, who traveled to New York City to petition the Assembly not to pass an act compelling to Albany militia to garrison the frontier due to the unpopularity of the proposed action (O'Callaghan 1861:924). Rutherford spoke from his own experiences, as in February of 1745 he sought the return of five deserters from his Independent Company who were raised from the Philadelphia area (Pennsylvania Gazette 1745a). Further complicating matters for the New York government was the abandonment of Hoosick and other frontier settlements at the same time (New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:67).

Despite the difficulties presented, Colonel Schuyler worked feverishly to complete the repairs to the fort, starting just before the close of 1745. The work conducted at the fort was undertaken by a small cadre of workers, later enumerated in the Assembly papers for compensation. However, Colonel Nicholas Schuyler complained of the lack of support from the militia and Indian allies in providing cover for the fort during construction (New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:70). The situation appears to have been rectified by the Indian Commissioners who entreated the Mohawk to send 40 men to the fort (New York Colonial Council:Vol 21:73).

To Governor Clinton, the re-construction of the fort at Saratoga was a necessary step in the larger scheme to reduce Crown Point and the threat of continual French expeditions into the heart of New York. Writing to the Lords of Trades in November 1745, Clinton declared

> I have been endeavoring to set on foot a scheme to engage the Province therein for the reduction of a fort at Crown Point…I received an Account the 19th inst: by express from Albany, that a party of French and their Indian allies had cut off a settlement in the province called Saragtoge, about fifty miles from Albany, and about twenty houses with a fort (which the Publick would not repair) were burned to ashes, thirty persons killed and scalped, and about sixty taken prisoners"(O'Callaghan 1855:VI:228).

He again asked the Assembly for more funds, which had previously voted an "inconsiderable sum towards building a small Fort in the Frontiers to be garrisoned by some militia." Many of the militia retired from the

[14] Philip Schuyler was born in 1696 to Peter Schuyler and was known locally as the "Colonel." He managed the family's farm north of Albany in the flatts, he is the subject of Anne Grant's memoirs in the 1740s. He appears not to have had any interest in the Schuyler lands at Saratoga.

fort due to a smallpox outbreak, compounding staffing problems further. The governor continued to press the Assembly, to no avail, in the early part of 1746 decrying their "voting £150 for building a Fort in the frontiers burnt down by the Enemy" as inadequate (O'Callaghan 1855: Vol. VI:308).

The French continued to press even deeper into New York. On November 27, 1745 the large detachment of French forces attacked Fishkill and Woodstock, about 90 miles south of Albany and "cut off" up to 200 militiamen stationed there (O'Callaghan 1858: Vol. X:647). The action effectively prevented significant reinforcements from moving northward to help protect Albany and the Saratoga frontier.

1746 "Continued Depredations"

In January 1746, Captain Nicholas Schuyler[15] informed the Assembly that the "Fort at Saraghtoga goes on with success" (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:73). Nicholas was likely the engineer for the construction of the fort and was trained as surveyor (Schuyler 1885:312-316). Life in the border area remained difficult, as numbers of enemy scouting parties roamed the area, even venturing near Schenectady. Out-scouts from the fort found a woman between Saratoga and Crown Point scalped, her identity unknown (Pennsylvania Journal 1746a).

Table 8 Workers identified in the re-building of the fort at Saratoga, later renamed Fort Clinton (O'Callaghan 1861:803-804).

Name	Task/material	Sum (Pounds, shillings, pence)	Notes
Waldron Cloet	Work	8,9	
Dirck Vander Heyden	Work	28,9	
Cornelius Cuyler	Provisions to laborers/garrison	37,3,5	
Nicholas Schuyler	Work/material	18,18	
Patrick Mackarty	Work	3,9	
Abraham Dow	Axes and handles	2,18	
Robert Barret	Work	6,6	
Johannes Coenradt Myer	Work	1,8,6	
Hendrick Milton	Work	8,0,6	
Luycas Wessells	Carpenter	3,17	14 days, 5 shillings and six pence per diem
Jacob Abrahams	Cutting timber wood	0,19,6	
Thomas Valkenburgh	Work	2,5	
Ephraim Moow	Carting timber and fire wood	5,17	For garrison in January 1746
John Mackintosh	Carpenter	5,18,3	21 days, 5 shillings and six pence per diem
Colonel John Schuyler	Sledding material	2,14	6 days

Colonel Philip Schuyler appears to have been the driving force behind the construction of what would become known as Fort Clinton, the rebuilt and enlarged Fort Saratoga. Schuyler personally oversaw the re-construction

[15] Nicholas Schuyler was previously detained for illicit trading during the time of Fort Burnet in 1724. He was the only son of Philip Schuyler, Jr., born in 1691 and died in 1748. He was surveyor and engineer and likely helped to construct Fort Clinton.

and advanced money for workers, materials, and supplies. At the same time, he was likely engaged in rebuilding the family's nearby mills and farmhouses destroyed during the French attack as well.

Command of the new fort, however, fell to Lieutenant Sybrant Van Schaick for the first portion of the year until a garrison could be supplied by the governor (O'Callaghan 1861:809). The fort appears to have been largely reconstructed by May 1746, as a meeting was held in the garrison at the fort to discuss the fortifications of the frontier. It appears there had been a larger plan set forth by the governor to construct six blockhouses or forts north of Albany at Halfmoon, Stillwater, Saratoga, Fort Miller, the Carrying Place, and Fort Ann. However, the difficulties encountered at Saratoga, and the wariness of the citizens of Albany County to bear the expense and men seem to have made that impractical (O'Callaghan 1855a:Vol. VI:650). The governor ordered the militia to man the fort at Saratoga, but it was not until June 1746 that the Assembly made a formal act to provide 30 men for the post (O'Callaghan 1855a:Vol. VI:650). Again, the Mohawk were also asked to provide men for the defense of Saratoga, they agreed on the condition that the government would construct a fort to guard the Upper Castle and install hinges for the gates of the Lower Castle (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:352).

Unfortunately, the repairs made in the winter of 1745 at Saratoga appear to have been temporary in nature. By June 1746, the governor was receiving reports on the poor state of the fortifications and the need for major repairs. Creating further panic was the relentless attacks on many of the frontier farms including the burning of the house of Samuel Creiger (near Schenectady) and several farmhouses at Niskayuna. When the property could not be destroyed the French allies were content to take captives, such as two men from the plantation of Myndert Wimple (Wemple) just south of Albany (Boston Evening-Post 1746b).

At this time, the fort was commanded by Jacob Ten Eyck (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:353). But his ability to discern the movements of the French and their allies was greatly hampered, when Robert Dunbar who was described as a "remarkable outscout" was taken prisoner at the carrying place. The capture cast a pall over the frontier as his "loss [was] very much lamented…" (Boston Evening-Post 1746b). Dunbar, despite an attempt to escape, would later die in captivity in Quebec.

According to French accounts, the winter of 1745–1746 was spent largely lying in wait at Fort St. Frederick at Crown Point (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:32-35). By the spring, however, smaller detachments of Ottawa and Iroquois from Sault St. Louis were sent from Montreal to Albany (during which several residents were killed and other taken prisoner). Ontassago, a chief of the group at Sault St. Louis, scouted the encampment at Saratoga, but no advances were made. French documents of the time indicate a pattern of small-scale expeditions of French Native allies striking out in small parties of between 10 and 40 warriors. These small raids, over 27 in all, often targeted rural farmsteads around Boston and Albany (Hamelin and Roy 1979). The taking of scalps and prisoners was designed to strike fear into the heart of settlers who dared to venture beyond the protection of larger cities.

To assist the garrison at Saratoga, the Indian Commissioners at Albany entreated with the Mohawk, who sent a small contingent of 12 men to assist the fort at Saratoga in March (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:352; New York Colonial Council:Vol 21:80). It is unclear how long the Mohawk warriors remained at the fort or what practical support they provided, as the frontier remained dangerous to English settlers. However, the French continued to reconnoiter the fort at Saratoga, monitoring the movement of troops and Native scouts. On April 20, 1746, a party of 14 French Iroquois commanded by Ontassago, son of a sachem, made several scouting expeditions to Saratoga at the end of April and into May (Drake 1870:36).

The Indian Commissioners reported on "the Barbarous Murder & Scalping of a principal Farmer at Schaahkook" that occurred at the end of April (Wraxall 1915:246), which was likely the first raid undertaken by Ontassago and his warriors. The farmer was later identified as Harme Van Veghten (Vechten) who also owned and operated a sawmill along the Hoosick River (Bielinski 2014; O'Callaghan 1866:576).

Pressure on Fort Clinton and the Albany countryside continued into the spring and summer (Drake 1870:98-99). In a letter from an Albany gentleman to a friend in New York City, the author declares " Sir, Every letter

you receive from me this summer, I fear, will be filled with shocking accounts of burnings and murders committed by the Indians" (Boston Post-Boy 1746b).

On or about May 3, 1746, the French struck the home of Simon Grocha (Groot or Grote) just outside of Schenectady with a body of 70 French and Native allies (Boston Post-Boy 1746b). The Natives were likely the same group led by Ontassago. Simon Grocha, along with a boy and two of his brothers, were murdered and scalped, and a prisoner taken, later discovered to be John Grote-who eventually died in Quebec (Drake 1870:282; New-York Gazette 1747d). Shortly afterwards, the party attacked another farm belonging to William Teller, burning two barns (Boston Post-Boy 1746b). Nearby, a slave of Glen Sanders was harassed by French Indian allies and nearly taken captive. Through his own cunning he was able to steal his potential abductor's gun, and chase the enemy away. Not only did the French strike near Schenectady in May, but they also approached Albany, burning the barn of Matthys Vendenberg in Menands just north of the city "opposite colonel Schuyler" (Boston Post-Boy 1746b).

Despite mobilizing nearly 100 men under the command of Major Glen from Schenectady and another 70 men under the command of Major Collins from Albany, the enemy was never found (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:86)(Fernow and Van Laer 1902:354) (Boston Post-Boy 1746b). It is likely that same group moved south to attack Kinderhook, as shortly afterwards the farms of Tunis Van Slyck and Peter Vosburgh were raided. The cattle were killed and the house and barns burned, but many inhabitants were saved by retiring to a fort built by the community at their own expense (Boston Post-Boy 1746b).

The same roving group of French and Native allies likely retired northwards towards Crown Point, pausing along the way to scout the fort at Saratoga. A report in a Boston newspaper described a small skirmish outside the fort around May 13, 1746:

> From Albany Tuesday last 3 men from garrison at Saraghtoga were fishing near fort, they were surprised by a party of Indians, who killed one of them a son of William Norwood, and took another of them prisoner, a German who used to live with col. John Schuyler, while a third made an escape to the fort (Boston Post-Boy 1746a).

These chilling actions by the French and their allies had the desired effect, as by late spring of 1746, Peter Wraxall himself toured the frontier and reported on the devastation:

> For upwards of 70 miles along the Hudsons River I was a Witness of an almost total desertion from all the Settlements…the grain within 4 miles of Albany was left unreaped & the lands uncultivated: such an universal Terror doe the Barbarity of a few Indians Inspire" (Wraxall 1915:246).

Soon a flight ensued from the countryside into the palisaded city of Albany, where residents felt a relative sense of peace. The Indian Commissioners writing to the Council in New York City commented:

> Many of the farmers seek shelter in Albany, whose leaders continue to petition the governor and Assembly for men, money, and support (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:86).

Word of the roving band of French and Native allies spread and created unease, even among the English troops. Acting upon the information received from the frontiers, the Assembly Council advised the governor to place 200 troops at Saratoga with 50 Indians, 30 at Kinderhook, 50 at Niskayuna, 170 between Albany and Schenectady with four captains and eight lieutenants with all the necessary materiel (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:354). By the end of the summer the Assembly attempted to assist the garrison at Fort Clinton by providing warrants to Philip Schuyler and Edward Collins for supplying provisions (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:356). Their ability to effectively provision the fort, however, was later questioned and the problems at the fort appear to have continued largely unabated.

Considerable tension could be sensed among the inhabitants in and around Albany County, as the English military was virtually helpless to stop the incessant small party attacks by the French and their native allies. The terror created by the French's guerilla warfare is palpable in a letter published in May 1746 from an anonymous Albany resident. The author writes:

> We are in such continual alarms, that I have not had no time to write you sooner, and could rejoice could I now write on a better subject; but all around us is nothing but desolation, fire, murder, and captivity. Since the 21st of April 18 persons have been killed and taken, of which four are negroes, which, with our loss at Saraghtoga, is 199 persons, besides houses and barns burnt, and cattle kill'd and destroyed without number. We are almost on continual duty, which with the constant lamentations of women made widows, and poor children made fatherless, by our merciless enemy, makes a city a place loudly calls for pity and assistance (Boston Evening-Post 1746a).

In early June, the author noted that six persons were killed within sight of the city, on the other side of the river, two of which were black slaves (Drake 1870:98-99). This raid was likely undertaken by a party of eight Iroquois who left Crown Point around May 27 (Drake 1870:38). Food supplies within the city started to dwindle as nearby farms were abandoned and stores burned. Along the Norman's Kill, eight miles west of city, a contingent of 14 armed men took a wagon to reap corn from a deserted farm. All but two were taken captive by the French Indians, two other escaped and made it back to the city, one wounded in the shoulder (Boston Evening-Post 1746a; Drake 1870). These raids appear to have been the work of a party of 18 Nepissings (Natives from northern Ontario) that left Crown Point around June 3 (Drake 1870:38).

At Saratoga, an English out-scout was taken prisoner at the end of June 1746 by a party of 27 Iroquois led by Sieur Carqueville and his cadet, Sieur Blein (Drake 1870:40; O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:34). Further raids were executed along the Hoosick River where 60 houses and barns were burned. A raid in Kinderhook resulted in the capture of the son of John Vosburgh and daughter of Isaac Teunis Van Deusen (Pennsylvania Journal 1746b).

Throughout this period of increasing French infiltration beyond the frontier surrounding Albany, problems persisted at the new fort at Saratoga. The militia stationed at Saratoga under Jacob Ten Eyck and Sybrant Van Schaick had grown restive (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:353) as Native allies passed through the territory. The commanders indicated they had "scarce enough men to keep the garrison" (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:92). The Council also authorized back pay for 100 militia since December 15, 1745, when construction of the new fort began, extending into May of 1747 (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:125). Despite the promise of pay, the attitudes of soldiers at Saratoga grew increasingly dissatisfied. The New York council received three letters in short succession from Ten Eyck, the commanding officer at the fort, Van Schaick, and a copy of a letter from Colonel Schuyler and Major Collins to the Governor. Ten Eyck and Van Schaick asked to be transferred from the fort due to the "mutinous" nature of the garrison. The unease of the soldiers was likely a result of the large numbers of enemy troops noted traveling through the area, largely unmolested (New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:92). By the summer of 1746, the Assembly looked to further strengthen the frontier by suggesting that 200 men from the Independent Companies men be stationed at Saratoga including the militia currently stationed there (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:354; Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:102). In addition, the Council advised the Governor to construct a "cover" in the fort at Saratoga under the direction of Colonel Philip Schuyler (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759). It is unclear whether this directive was ever followed. In the meantime, the Commissioners of Indian Affairs tried to entreat the Mohawk to send 50 men to assist at Saratoga, but were pessimistic over the outcome (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:109). Regardless, the threat of Mohawk involvement may have had a palpable effect by striking fear into the French Native allies as many were reluctant to attack Saratoga that year due to perceived movements of Mohawk in and around the fort and carrying place (COL C11A 85/fol. 190-6 Letter 15 September 1746).

Although Philip Schuyler and Edward Collins were instructed to pay for provisions supplied to Saratoga garrison, it appears that no work on the fort itself was undertaken in the spring and summer of 1746 (Fernow

and Van Laer 1902). The situation at the fort grew increasingly worse during the summer, Lieutenant Ingoldsby wrote to the Council in New York City advising them of the conditions. As a result, the Council formed a committee to investigate and prepare an estimate for the potential expenses (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:112).

Hampered by their efforts to shore up the failing fortifications and garrison at Saratoga and defending against the unpredictable French guerilla tactics, the English did not venture much beyond Saratoga. The only incident of note regarding an English offensive maneuver was an account of three Mohawks who were able to infiltrate Crown Point and kill an officer and another person in the "garden" at Fort St. Fredrick (Drake 1870:124). As a result of the English's failure to leave their defensive positions, the French capitalized by felling trees and blocking the route within Wood Creek to canoe traffic. The stalling tactic was accomplished with a large force of 400 Natives under the command of a French detachment headed by Lieutenant De Muy (Drake 1870:40; O'Callaghan 1858a:X:34). Their activities appear to have been misinterpreted as the construction of a new fort reported by Lydius to the Council in May 1746 (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:353).

Construction at the new Fort Clinton in Saratoga continued under the English, despite near continuous harassment from the French. At Fort St. Fredrick, a large garrison of nearly 100 soldiers under the direction of Captain Denoyes, continued to exert pressure when possible. With the assignment of François-Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, however, in the summer of 1746, the French amplified their offensive effort. On August 19 1746, Rigaud lead a daring and devastating attack against Fort Massachusetts, in Deerfield, Massachusetts (Hamelin and Roy 2003) (O'Callaghan 1858a: Vol. X: 35 and 65). The fort had been depleted due to severe sickness among the troops (Coe 2006:32). The French surrounded the fort and laid siege for the better part of the day while the beleaguered garrison desperately hung onto the fort. By noon the next day the English were forced to surrender. The commander, Sergeant Hawkes, tried to secure favorable terms and sought for the prisoners to be held solely by the French. Although the majority of the 56 prisoners (O'Callaghan 1858a: Vol. X:77) were eventually taken to Quebec, some were turned over to the Natives (Coe 2006:33). The fort and much of the surrounding landscape was laid waste by the French. To add insult to injury, the French returned the prisoners by way of Saratoga, following a path likely along the Battenkill and then north through Wood Creek and eventually Crown Point. Despite being slowed by wounded soldiers and prisoners of women and children, the French party was never spotted by the English along the way (Drake 1870:265-266).

Afterwards, the French sent a small contingent to Saratoga under the command of Monsieur de Montigy (Monsigin?) (Drake 1870:127). The party scouted the fort and witnessed little activity, but just before departing, a small detachment of soldiers were seen carrying clay to the fort for the new chimneys. The French surprised the group and overtook eight of the 20 men before they could take shelter in the blockhouse. Of the eight, four were killed and four were taken prisoners from the militia commanded by Captain Schuyler. (O'Callaghan 1858:Vol. X:35)(Baudry 1888:101). Schuyler attempted a daring rescue attempt with the remaining troops of the garrison. At the time, it was speculated that if Schuyler had been cut off the fort, he may have fallen into enemy hands (Drake 1870:127).

Reports in newspaper from September 1746 describe the incident:

> We learn from Saragtoga, that the Indians have lately killed 4 men and taken 4 more prisoners, belonging to the independent companies quartered there, Capt. Schuyler who commands the militia posted here went out to their assistance, but he had like to have been cut off and with difficulty made his retreat to the fort, the enemy being so numerous, that they kept the field, and it's thought that had they succeeded in cutting off Capt. Schuyler's retreat, they would have taken the fort (Boston Evening-Post 1746c).

Throughout the summer, the distractions of fort construction and maintenance allowed the French to move about relatively freely through the English frontier. The autumn brought more of the same types of guerrilla tactics against the garrison at Fort Clinton. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported from the frontier that "Indians have killed and taken 16 men at Saratoga, about a mile from the fort, belonging to Capt. Langdon's and Capt. Hart's company" (Pennsylvania Gazette 1746).

The French kept constant watch on the fort, at the end of November sending a scouting party of three cadets, M. Saint-Blein, L'Evervanche, and Langy, (Baudry 1888) and some Natives to determine if the reinforcements provided to the fort earlier that summer were still present. Apparently, the new troops were encamped around outside the fort throughout most of the summer. But by the autumn, the fort had been enlarged by "more than one-half" and the troops were once again housed within the fort. In addition, a large storehouse was erected nearby. The garrison's strength was estimated at 300 men at this time (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:89).

The English were desperate to attack Fort St. Fredrick in order to take pressure off of the frontier settlements, but knew that it would take a tremendous effort in terms of men and materiel (O'Callaghan 1858a: Vol. X:44). One of the leaders trying to get New England to assist in the efforts was John Lydius, however there appeared to be little support for such an endeavor that would deprive the eastern colonies of fighting men. Efforts to launch an offensive were also tripped up by intelligence victories for the French. In July 1746, the French took an Albany postal carrier prisoner on his way to Saratoga (O'Callaghan 1858a: Vol. X:51-52). The man, named Robert Dusenbury, was eventually transported to Montreal for additional questioning. The letters carried by Dusenbury were a small trove of intelligence that provided information that a small army of 13,000 English soldiers had amassed and were departing for Saratoga where 600 troops were now stationed en route to Fort St. Fredrick. The army was provisioned by ships from England recently landed in Albany. Provisions and men were to be carried north with new canoes being built at Albany and "Menade" (likely Menands, near Schuyler Flatts) (O'Callaghan 1858a: Vol. X:52 and 55). Independent of Dusenbury's letters and testimony, French out-scouts reported that 300 officers had reported to Saratoga along with six new 18-pound cannons (O'Callaghan 1858a: Vol. X:55).

During the early autumn, a Frenchman enlisted in an English company of foot under the command of Captain Tiebout in Albany had deserted and set forth to join the French at Crown Point. The deserter got lost on the way and, clearly unfamiliar with the territory, ended up in "scharatoga, thinking it had been Crown-Point" (Boston Evening-Post 1746c). Here he was intercepted by Captain Schuyler, who understood French, and discerned that he was attempting to pass information along to the French concerning the movement of English troops. Captain Schuyler had the man escorted back to Albany by a detachment of Native allies to be imprisoned as a traitor (Boston Evening-Post 1746b).

In response to the troop build-up in and around Albany, the French increased their troop numbers at Fort St. Fredrick and continuing to monitor the movement of the English through their out-scouts (COL C114 89/fol. 280-283) (Centre de Archives d'Outer-Mer-France Vol.272:MSS0162). In October 1746, M. de Repentigny by order of the Governor of Montreal set out with a patrol of 100 Frenchmen and Native allies throughout northern New York, burning two villages and capturing several prisoners. While reconnoitering the road between Albany and Saratoga, perhaps near Halfmoon, they observed a party of "fusilleers" likely led by Captain Livingston guarding wagonloads of materiel, troops, and officers. The convoy consisted of a guard of about 150 men at its head, with a small gap separating several wagons from the main group. Repentigny convinced a number of his Native allies to attack the lagging wagons, and killed several of the drivers (O'Callaghan 1858a: Vol. X:75). Reports by Repentigny himself of the skirmish vary. In one account, three officers were killed along with 20 soldiers and three prisoners taken. In another account, he describes the killing of two men and the wounding of another (Centre de Archives d'Outer-Mer-France Vol.272:MSS0856) (Baudry 1888:101). The French also continued to harass the English by taking out-scout prisoners. In November, Jonathan Hagadorn

and John Fort[16] (Fort 1923) were taken captive near Fort Ann and both later died in captivity at Quebec City (Drake 1870:286 and 288; New-York Gazette 1747f).

The Mohawk were finally effectively brought into the war to help spread terror throughout the Canadian countryside. The Mohawk were largely spurred on by Colonel Johnson. In the fall of 1746, the Mohawk struck along the northern shore of Lake Ontario killing eight and taking another eight prisoners back to Albany (Drake 1870:135).

In December 1746, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, heeding the call of New York for help in securing the frontier, sent a contingent of troops to Saratoga to spend the winter (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:362; New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:215), under the conditions that they be provided "as good Quarter, as the place provides," and well as payment for necessary travel expenses (Minutes of the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany 1723-1759:Vol. 21:215).

By the beginning of 1747, however, a withdrawal from the borderlands by the English had already begun. Captain Nicholas Schuyler and his troops were re-positioned to Albany (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:368). Shortly afterwards, Governor Shirley received word from Governor Clinton concerning the status of forces of the joint colonial enterprise:

> small pox and distempers rage at Albany and in other parts of frontier, the garrison at Saratoga is not free from it and would make the junction of both armies not only at Saratoga, but in any part of the frontier near Albany extremely dangerous to the health of the New-England troops (Pennsylvania Gazette 1746/7).

As such, Shirley recalled the troops, but not after he and Clinton had ordered "large Cannon, Shot & heavy carriages to be carried to Saratoga whilst snow is on the ground" (Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society 1911:7).

The larger forces stationed at the fort quickly depleted the supplies secured by Schuyler and Collins the previous year, and by March 1747 the dwindling forces offered complaints concerning the lack of firewood (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:363; New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:125). The Council of the Assembly asked for the Colonel and Major to account for their lack of action and the lack of supplies for the fort considering they were provided a warrant to provide such services (New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:231). To investigate the problems, the Assembly council called several witnesses to testify including Hendrik Lansing, a "rider of provisions", Adrian Quackenbos (Quackenbush), a sledman, and Anthony Van Schaick, Jr., concerning the delivery of firewood (O'Callaghan 1866:582). It appears their depositions satisfied the council, as no further inquiry into the matter was made.

The Second Battle of Saratoga: February 1747

The absence of ready firewood may have played into incidents that developed into the Second Battle of Saratoga in February 1747. Captain Livingston relieved the former commander at the fort, Nicholas Schuyler, by March

[16] John Fort: grandson of Jean La Forte (Liberte) a French Huguenot who originally settled in Canada and then along the frontier of Albany. The family, likely French speakers, settled throughout the borderlands. His uncles Abraham and Johannes were also prisoners in the war, as was his cousins Simon. The family paid a heavy price for their knowledge of the borderlands and willingness to serve on behalf of the English colony [Fort 1993 (1923)].

1747 (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:363; O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:96). Just before, as Captain Livingston was set to return to the garrison at Albany, the French set out to strike the fort. According to the account of the Second Battle of Saratoga in the Pennsylvania Journal:

> 22 February part of 12 of forces from the garrison at Saraghtoga (at which place there are six companies posted) going out for fire-wood in the morning, and adventuring too hastily without the usual guard appointed one of them happened to step a little out of the road, when an Indian met him and told him he was his prisoner, and the Indian going to take off his belt to bind him, he being a stout fellow shov'd the Indian down in the snow then took up his hatch and was going to knock him on the head but another Indian approached, he was obliged to take to his heels crying out the enemy is upon us; both of the Indians fired at him, one of which shot through the skirt of his coat, and the other his heel, while the whole party of Indians immediately fired upon the rest of the Company, four of whom they kil'd outright, carried off four more prisoners, wounded three more, two of whom is thought mortally, and only one got off unhurt. Parties were immediately sent in quest of them, but believed to no purpose, except to alarm the other garrisons of the danger (Pennslyvania Journal 1747a).

Thirty Frenchmen and Natives killed six English soldiers, including an officer, and took four captives. French accounts suggested another 15 took flight and abandoned their arms. An examination of the prisoners revealed that the fort sported 12 cannons, six 18-pounders and six eight-pounders, with a garrison of 300 men placed there for defensive purposes. Reportedly, there were 100 bateaux built at the fort and another 600 awaiting in Albany, likely designed for an attack on Crown Point. The French also learned of the sickness (likely small pox) that was devastating the population at Albany and Saratoga where "a great many died this winter" (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:93). The garrison was running low on provisions and disgruntled by lack of pay, despite the best efforts of the Assembly (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:95). The officer who had been killed in the skirmish was carrying a small cache of correspondence that also provided useful information to the French (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:96). According to a letter from Captain Livingston, all of the soldiers at the fort were ill and only about 100 were fit for any duty. The men were in want of "every succor," and the fort itself was in the "worse condition that can possibly be imagined" (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:363; O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:96). Also stationed at the fort was a detachment under the command of Captain Trent with "new levies" raised for an expedition against Canada. The detachment was awaiting new clothes that had recently arrived in Albany. The commanders in Albany were still considering a major expedition, but continued to dither while waiting for materiel, men, and money (O'Callaghan 1858a:vol. X:96). Both the men and officers at Saratoga had wished to be on the offensive rather than sitting idly by as the French and their allies roved about the countryside, which likely added to the demoralization of troops. The mood among the troops was deep and dangerously pervasive, and sometimes manifested in intra-personal violence. On June 23, 1748, Thomas Anderson was executed for the attempted murder of an officer while being punished. Before the sentence was carried out, he also confessed as "he was going to Saraghtoga" he shot a soldier, later presumed by his commanding officers to have been killed by the French (New-York Gazette 1748a). In the fear and frenzy created by the French and Native allies, little attention was paid to the crime, which likely would have never come to light without the perpetrator's confession.

Following the short battle, by June, several of prisoners taken at Saratoga had made their way to Quebec City from Montreal, with more expected in the future (Drake 1870:293). Fortunately for the prisoners, many were released in August 1747 from the Quebec jail, when the number of prisoners increased dramatically and the French no longer wished to house and feed them. Word reached Albany by the end of July that the Canadian government wished for the prisoners to be redeemed (at a price, of course) so that they may be sent back to the English colonies (New-York Evening Post 1747a).

The Third Battle of Saratoga: April 1747

On April 13, 1747, a skirmish very similar to the Second Battle between the English and French at Fort Clinton was reported by Captain William Trent[17] of Pennsylvania (Goodman 1871:57-58) and under separate cover by Captain Livingston to Colonel Marshall (Drake 1870:142; Fernow and Van Laer 1902:363; New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21: 238). These accounts also mark the first time the fort is referred to as "Fort Clinton." While a party of men was sent out from the fort to cut wood, French and Native out-scouts attacked, killing four, wounding two, and likely taking two others prisoner. The French were led by Lieutenant Fredrick-Louis Herbin[18] (identified as Sherbine in articles) (Vallieres 2014) Centre de Archives d'Outer-Mer-France Vol.87:15). Several accounts, largely based on the same letter from one of the commanding officers at Saratoga, also subsequently appeared in newspapers detailing the skirmish (Boston Evening-Post 1747; Boston News-Letter 1747b; Pennsylvania Journal 1747a).

Captain Trent with a party of "new levies" went with Lt. Proctor on a detail north of the fort escorting troops forward (Colden 1920:370-371). The waters of the surrounding swamp were of "considerable height from flood" and instead the detachment chose to cross the swamp "where Capt. Schuyler's house stood" in order to get to the other side (Boston News-Letter 1747b; Drake 1870:142). Presumably they were trying to access the military road on the west side of the Hudson River. As soon as they came to the Ten Broeck farm they were ambushed; presumably between the fort and the Schuyler house. The detachment was screened from the ambuscade[19] by a "small rising ground within 40 yards of the road" and the French fired a withering volley on Proctor's men, immediately killing eight and wounding others (Boston News-Letter 1747b).

The enemy's strength was estimated at about 60 men and confirmed by Herbin's account. Captain Trent and Lieutenant Proctor's troops held ranks and retuned the volley, which may have had greater affect if so many of their guns did not misfire. The skirmish lasted an hour after ammunition was exhausted and Captain Trent and his men retreated into the nearby swamp "below a bank, behind some trees" (Colden 1920:370) where some soldiers fired as many as 16 volleys to keep the enemy at bay. One account in a letter from John Rutherford to Cadwallader Colden places the defensive positon 1.5 miles from the fort, but this seems inaccurate (Colden 1920:370). Captain Livingston, upon hearing of the engagement, sent two parties from the fort to assist their beleaguered comrades (Boston News-Letter 1747b).

The first under Ensign Braat moved to prevent the enemy from advancing and engaging in hand-to-hand combat. The Braat detachment did not cross the swamp but fired from "the other side of the water" keeping the French from advancing down the hill. The support troops only suffered a single causality under the command of Captain Hart. At the same time, Lieutenant Johnson and Lieutenant Hall led another detachment around the swamp to out-flank the French—instead they happened upon their encampment some two miles from the attack (Colden 1920:370). The movement took too long, but the party was able to briefly engage the French during their retreat, wounding one and taking another, Julian Fortian, prisoner (Boston News-Letter 1747b), while the rest of the French party disbanded leaving their baggage behind (Colden 1920:370)

In all, the English lost nine men, with another nine were wounded and six missing, most likely from the initial volley of the French. Herbin reported 12 killed and three prisoners for the French (Centre de Archives d'Outer-

[17] William Trent, 1715-1787, raised a company out of Lancaster Pennsylvania and appointed Captain by Governor Thomas, company returned in December 1747, alter served in the Seven Years' War in western Pennsylvania (Goodman 1871).
[18] Lieutenant Herbin was a career military man, born to an officer in 1711 and enlisting into service by the age of 16. He later served as commandant of Fort Saint-Fredrick in 1758 (Vallieres 2104).
[19] Military term for an attack from an ambush or surprise position.

Mer-France Vol. 87:15) In their haste while departing their camp, the French and their allies left behind an array of material including "one scalp of our own people's which they (the enemy) dropped, 5 kettles, 23 deer skins, 12 blankets, 19 Indian shoes, 15 knives, 3 looking glasses, 1 gun, 1 pistol, 5 lbs powder, 4 lbs ball, several bags of meal, bread, chocolate, paint, etc." The author of the account described the cache as a small "recompense" for our loss (Boston News-Letter 1747b).

The officer described the difficulty in combating the French who utilized "their unmanly lurking way of fighting" to blunt the activities of the garrison. For maximum effectiveness, he estimated that 400 men would be needed to garrison the fort, while there was half that number at the time (Boston News-Letter 1747b). However, fresh troops could only do so much, as the officers at Saratoga continued to turn mutinous for lack of pay (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:364)

Following their attack at Saratoga, the French proceeded to Kinderhook, south of Albany, where they surprised a working party of eleven men, killing two and taking the rest captive (Drake 1870:142). They continued a path of destruction through the countryside burning a house and barn belonging to John Van Alstine (Boston News-Letter 1747a).

The conditions at Saratoga in the spring of 1747 continued to plague the best intentions to reinforce the garrison, as Colonel Roberts reported to the council that the troops demanded to be immediately replaced or to desert the fort (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:364; New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:240 and 242). The council recommended the governor provide immediate payment and allowances to induce the "new levies" to remain at the fort. Word had spread about the poor conditions at Saratoga to other troops as well. Captain Alburtis Tiebout's company of volunteers, two companies at Schaghticoke, and detachments of men from Halfmoon and Niskayuna all refused to march to Saratoga to relieve the garrison (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:364; New York Colonial Council:Vol. 21:243). To assist the situation, the New York government appealed to Massachusetts and Connecticut for assistance. In the meanwhile, Colonel Nicholas Schuyler, and his local militia, were ordered to move from Albany to Saratoga, and the Rangers from Kinderhook were also ordered to the frontier (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:364). By the end of July however, New York was becoming increasingly preoccupied with sending scouting parties from Saratoga to Fort Massachusetts to assist with the continuing trouble in that area (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:364).

The Assembly and Governor sought a company of rangers to be employed along the frontier to assist in scouting the movement of the French and their allies. In April 1747, Andrew Lambert Hough and Johannes de Wanderlaer were appointed rangers for northern Albany county, with the new commission of Captain and Lieutenant, respectively (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:364). Even Massachusetts understood the importance of rangers and pressured the colonial government of Connecticut to provide 100 troops to scout between "the Fort at Sarahtoga and Massachusetts Fort & back, for a few months during the summer season" as a means to secure its western frontiers (Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society 1911:68).

The movement of New England troops to the frontier appears to be a tactic in the larger strategy of the Governor in raising a significant force to thwart the French at Crown Point. In early May 1747, the governor set forth his most coherent and detailed plan for the execution of the war and presented it to the General Assembly. First, however, he bemoaned the fact the frontier communities were no longer willing to shoulder the burden of providing intelligence to the colonial government. "While last in Albany I could not persuade any to range the woods for less than 3 shillings a day and provisions, though it was to defend themselves, their near relatives, neighbors, and their estates…" the governor declared (New-York Gazette 1747g). In a response to the growing chorus of critics to the governor, he explained in broad terms the factors contributing to the lack of progress in utilizing the new levies on the frontier, including sickness at Albany and elsewhere, lack of sufficient provisions, and distractions caused by continued maintenance and upkeep of the Saratoga fort. The governor also stated several of his efforts, including sending parties of new levies as scouts, while Native allies continued to harass the French and the establishment of a camp at the carrying place to accommodate 500 troops for defense as well as a magazine and stores for a future expedition (New-York Gazette 1747g). The new levies, according to the governor, were utilized in a variety of manner to secure the frontier, including being stationed at the Mohawks' Upper Castle and Lower Castle, Schenectady, Niskayuna, Halfmoon,

Schaghticoke, as well as the main garrisons at Saratoga and Albany (New-York Gazette 1747g). Despite the pressing need, however, no other small forts were erected due to lack of funds from the assembly.

As for Saratoga, the governor's impression of the fortification and garrison there had clearly begun to sour, as implied by his portent of actions in the coming months:

> though, by all information, which I had of that place, is the most disadvantageously situated that anything of the kind can be, as it cannot serve for any of the purposes which I had in view by the fortified camp at the carrying place. And is so over looked by hills covered with woods, that enemy's skulking parties can discover every motion in the fort. By the lowness of the ground, the watery swamps round it, it has always been unhealthy, and has brought on a continued sickness in every garrison that has been placed in it. The event has, on too many occasions, proved the truth of these things(New-York Gazette 1747g).

Increasing pressure on the colonial government to bolster the frontier defenses and the series of small skirmishes at the Saratoga fort characterized the run-up to the Fourth Battle of Saratoga during the summer of 1747. French intelligence, contrary to the governor's statement, suggested that the English had abandoned their forts and were starting to mass in and around Albany for a major expedition (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:98). Yet the defensive posture within New York remained largely static even after the third attack on Saratoga. The French were sufficiently concerned that reinforcements were sent to Crown Point, and despite the obstacles placed in and along Wood Creek by M. de Rigaud the previous fall, the French were considering alternatives to checking a possible advance along the "great carrying place" (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:99), including a greater effort to undermine the frontier post at Saratoga.

The Fourth Battle of Saratoga: June 1747

The French continued to harass the garrison at Fort Clinton, sending an advance scout of about 50 men to Saratoga in early June in a prelude for a more significant expedition (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:109). By this time, desertion among the ranks left the fort lightly garrisoned, but the fort itself appears to have remained relatively stout despite its physical inadequacies.

Between about June 18 and 30, 1747 (the French accounts record June 23 to 30 and the English June 18 to 23), M. de la Corne St.-Luc[20] (Tousignant and Tousignant 1979), operating out of Crown Point, assembled a sizable French expedition of both Native allies and French military regulars (Baudry 1888:103; O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:132). The regulars were led by M. de Carqueville, and Ensign Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Ours Deschaillons, Junior along with a smaller detachment of twenty French militia and 200 Native allies. Also of note on the expedition was Lieutenant Herbin who had been on "frequent expeditions" to Saratoga, including the second battle. He likely provided critical intelligence to the party that assisted St.-Luc in his successful attack. Included among the forces was a young Charles Deschamps De Boishébert et De Raffetot[21] (LeBlanc 1979), who was

[20] Luc de la Corne (La Corne St.-Luc): 1711-1784, merchant, trader, and officer in the French regular army, also served as an Indian interpreter as he was known to speak five different languages. After the successful engagement during King George's War, he took part in the massacre at Fort William Henry and commanded troops throughout the Champlain Valley during the Seven Years' War. He later served with Burgoyne at Saratoga (Tousignant and Tousignant 1979).

[21] Deschamps de Boishebert et de Raffetot, Charles: 1727-1797, career military man, served on New York frontier 1745-5, then later in Acadia, in the Seven Years' War served in Ohio valley, then the remainder of his career along the maritime regions (LeBlanc 1979).

just starting his military career and later provided a narrative of the expedition (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X: 78-79) along with St.-Luc himself at the conclusion of the war (La Corne de Saint Luc 1747).

Three days after setting out from Fort St. Fredrick, the party crossed over the Hudson River to the west side. St-Luc's Abenaki allies expressed concern about moving out in the open along the flood plain of the river. They suggested an ambuscade from the little island in front of the fort, but St.-Luc ordered them to go directly to the fort and to stay together as a unit. Upon nearing the fort, the commander deployed M. de Carqueville with seven Indians to scout the movements of the English troops (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:78).

Moving about undetected, St.-Luc's men happened upon a provisioning party of about 40 to 50 men fishing in what was described as a little river "on the side of fort," likely Fish Creek. St.-Luc offered his double-barrel musket as a reward to the contingent for the first English prisoner taken, since he did not have a string of wampum (La Corne de Saint Luc 1747:11). However, the provisioning party returned to the fort before the French could engage. M. de Ours found a place to cross the river unnoticed by the English sentries seen patrolling the road, likely upstream of the falls along Fish Creek. From there upon the hills, the detachment could observe the fort on the floodplain below (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:78).

The remainder of the force forged the creek "a half a league above" the fort on June 29. The war party watched and waited but saw no movement within or outside of the fort. St.-Luc sent a scouting party south along the road to Albany, which returned fearing they had been detected (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:78).

Table 9. Order of battle for the Fourth Battle at Saratoga, June 1747.

Rank/title	French		Rank/title	English
Governor of Montreal	Mons. De Rigaud Vaudrieul		Governor New York	George Clinton
Colonel	La Corne de St.-Luc		Commander of Independent Companies at Albany	Captain John Rutherford
First Lieutenant	M. Carqueville		Captain of garrison	?
Second Lieutenant	M. St.-Ours		Captain	Hart*
Third Lieutenant	M. Herbin		Captain, Indep, Co. PA.	William Trent*
Major	M. Langy		Lieutenant	Joseph Chew
Major	M. Langy		Lieutenant	Proctor*
Major	M. Simblin		Lieutenant	Hall*
Major	M. Godefroy		Lieutenant	Johnston*
Chaplain	Two Raimbaut brothers		Ensign	Braat*
Militia/regular troops	125		Militia/Regular Troops	300-400 including Henry Smith, Thomas Harlow, James English, Martin Winyard, Robert Active and Thomas Archer
Militia officers	Four unnamed, perhaps Raffetot			
Natives	79		Natives	Unknown

*mentioned in April engagement and presumed to still be part of Fort Clinton garrison.

Sensing he was losing time, St.-Luc created a ruse by posting seven Natives in an ambush on the Hudson River "within eighty paces" of the front of the fort (La Corne de Saint Luc 1747:13) The group would then induce the garrison out of the fort through force or trickery. The ambush party returned to St.-Luc declaring that they had been detected and the plan could not be executed (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:79 and 112). According to

the English accounts, French allies attempted to trick the garrison into opening the fort's gates, but without success. An account printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported:

> We are informed that a French Indian came yesterday before the fort, fired his gun, and threw it down, shewed great signs of discontent; whereupon he was taken into the garrison and examined; but after he had been some time there, he made an attempt to escape over the stockadoes, upon which he was secured and put into irons (Pennsylvania Gazette 1747).

The English version is partially confirmed by other French accounts of a native discharging his gun near the fort (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:112).

After the first ruse failed, deliberation between the French and Natives as how to proceed continued. Eventually a party of Iroquois, Abenaki, and Nipissing (comprised of about six warriors) agreed to undertake another attempt at an ambush. The party was told that if large numbers of English forces left the fort, the remainder of the French detachment would advance and engage (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:79). St.-Luc asked the ambush party to lead the English forces into a trap at the north end of the field by dropping equipment and feigning injury (La Corne de Saint Luc 1747:15).

On the morning of June 30, the French were finally able to launch a more sustained assault, when two English soldiers leaving the fort were fired upon. A larger party then left the fort to the aid of the initial two. At this point, the French ambush party retreated and St.-Luc brought the main body forward (likely moving south from their position on a small rise north of the fort and just south of Fish Creek). Over 100 English formed into lines under two lieutenants (one of whom was Lieutenant Chew) and four or five other officers (Drake 1870:147). The English utilized a "wheel" movement to approach the former French ambush, seemingly unaware of the main body. The detachment marched through "a fine meadow" following along the edge of the river (La Corne de Saint Luc 1747:15). When the British detachment came within range, St.-Luc ordered the French to fire (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:79).

The French fired forth a withering volley that immediately left four of the five forward English officers dead (New-York Gazette 1747e). According to English accounts, Lieutenant Chew[22] (the only officer to survive the initial volley) was taken prisoner along with 37 other men, while 15 other soldiers had been killed (Krugler 1979) (Pennsylvania Gazette 1747). Chew later fumed over the poor performance of his troops, who although "overmatch'd…some threw away their pieces, without ever firing them: others fired once and ran off" (New-York Gazette 1747e). Chew estimated the strength of the enemy at about 320, and received fair treatment at the hands of M. St.-Luc. He and the other prisoners were first taken to Crown Point, then Montreal and eventually to Quebec City. He along with Henry Smith, Thomas Harlow, James English, Martin Winyard, Robert Active and Thomas Archer, all levies from Maryland and captured at Saratoga, were returned to Boston within two months of capture (New-York Gazette 1747a).

Undeterred, the British staggered but returned volley and were quickly provided cover from artillery within the fort in the form of grape shot and eleven cannon shots (La Corne de Saint Luc 1747). Although the artillery caused confusion among the French and Indians, several parties advanced towards the fort fighting by hand. During the rush, several English soldiers ran into the river and others were set upon by the Natives. No more than 25 English soldiers were able to re-enter the fort, upon which another 150 came out to assist without

[22] Joseph Chew, 1720s-1798: born in Virginia and spent most of his life in the military and Native American relations likely due to his association with Sir William Johnson and his family. Later served for the British during the American Revolution and resettled in New Brunswick (Leighton 1979).

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advancing beyond the gates (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:112). The English effectively left the field to the French and the engagement ended without pursuit from Fort Clinton's garrison (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:79).

After collecting the plundered arms, St.-Luc ordered his troops to withdraw a safe distance from the fort while he tarried with a small scouting party about 200 yards from the fort (just outside of musket range and too close for artillery) to watch the movements of the enemy troops (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:79) (La Corne de Saint Luc 1747; New-York Gazette 1747b). The remainder of St.-Luc's party collected bounty from the field and quickly returned to their encampment about nine leagues (about 40 miles) above the fort likely along Lake George.

The French reported a slightly different tally from the English, suggesting 28 or 29 British killed and 41 or 45 taken prisoner, and another 20–30 fled or were drowned (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:79 and 112). The prisoners were quickly escorted to Crown Point, and rumor spread through the garrison that a larger body composed of 4,000 men was at the "great carrying place" with detachments determined to return with field pieces to lay siege to the fort. The garrison reported that the French, although equipped with hand-grenades and "cohorns" did not avail themselves of the weapons and instead tried to set the block houses on fire "with burning punk on the end of their arrows" (Pennsylvania Gazette 1747).

The French appear to have remained near the fort, forcing the garrison to stay within the gates until reinforcements arrived: a " great number of men are encamped on the other side of the Fish-Kill, and that M. le Core lies on this side of Sarghtoga, to intercept succors that may be sent to reinforce the garrison" (Pennsylvania Gazette 1747).

The fort was described by the narrator as "150 feet long by one hundred wide" with six redoubts or barracks, four in the angles and two in the center of the curtain walls. It appeared to the French that the fort was doubled in size since the Marin attack and strengthened with revetments (rabetted), perhaps with entrenchments fortified with logs or gabions (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:79).

After the skirmish it became increasingly clear that the colony did not have the men or resources to adequately defend Fort Clinton in Saratoga. In the immediate aftermath, more troops were sent forward to Saratoga to help protect it from further French harassment. Among them were the "New Jersey Blues" led by Colonel Peter Schuyler[23] (Krugler 1979). The *Pennsylvania Journal* reported:

> We have advice that Col. Peter Schuyler with his regiment, was arrived safely at Saraghtoga, and that the French withdrawn before the fort, and 'tis thought are gone back to Crown Point, or to a fort they are said to have built at Wood Creek… all our forces that remain, are in good health and high spirits, and long rather to go against the French, than be thus destroyed, piece-meal (Pennsylvania Journal 1747b).

Similar sentiments of the precarious situation of Fort Clinton were expressed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

> Col. Peter Schuyler is now to go with his regiment to keep that garrison. I hope he may get there safe, tho' many people are apprehensive that he will be cut off by the way and think a

[23] Peter Schuyler, 1710-1762, born in New Jersey, grand uncle to General Philip Schuyler (1733-1804). His lone accomplishment during the King George's war was relieving the fort at Saratoga. He fought with distinction in the Seven Years' War until he was captured and sent to Canada while there he served as an important advocate for other prisoners in Canada, negotiating and financing releases and exchanges (Krugler 1979).

> much greater force is necessary. We are in short, in the most deplorable situation imaginable, and is shocking to think in what this affair must terminate (Pennsylvania Gazette 1747).

By the middle of July, desertion was growing among the ranks of levies raised from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland in part due to the lack of pay (21 months' worth). By this time, perhaps nearly half of all the new levies had left the frontier. French scouts reported the garrison at Saratoga was reduced to about 150 men, and the fort at Halfmoon had already been deserted (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:113).

M. de Rigaud[24] (Hamelin and Roy 1979) set out from Crown Point to destroy the remaining forces at Saratoga. Arriving about the 17th of July and spending about three days around the fort, his detachment eventually withdrew. Rigaud noted that the garrison did not leave the fort and without cannons to fight the fort's artillery it could not be taken without siege. Further complicating matters, his Native allies heard rumors of Mohawk warriors in the area, and appear to have been nervously lying in wait (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:115). Newspaper accounts suggest that Colonel Schuyler, still commanding the garrison at the fort, estimated the enemy's strength at 500 men, but "received no Harm from them, excepting one being wounded in the arm; but they killed many of the Enemy, and suppose they still lay near them…" (New-York Evening Post 1747b).

The Denouement of Saratoga

In mid-summer of 1747, it was clear to the colonial governments that the safety of the frontiers in both New York and New England depended on the reduction of Crown Point, as a base from which the French and their allies could operate. Despite efforts to raise a significant army to undertake the task over the course of the following two years, the expedition was never operationalized. However, Saratoga and the New York frontiers partially benefitted from the efforts to mount an attack at Crown Point, as men and materiel were positioned in the area in advance of the proposed assault.

Attention to pressuring Fort Clinton quickly waned during the summer and the French turned their focus eastward. At the end of July, the governor ordered scouting parties to be sent from Saratoga to Fort Massachusetts, temporarily diverting resources (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:365).

Colonel Johnson continued to range the woods of the frontier as directed by the Governor to assess the enemy's movement and their strengths, especially around Crown Point. In August, Johnson returned to Albany to coordinate with Colonel Roberts and Colonel Marshall concerning the intelligence he had received. Johnson's scouts reported the construction of six log houses around the fort for the purpose of sheltering a group of about 40 Native allies. More disconcerting was the assembly of 500 to 600 men on an island in the southern end of Lake George, from which daily forays were dispatched into English territory. Johnson wrote "I fear, e'er long (they will) kill Abundance of our People, burn and destroy all the grain Houses, & c. which will entirely ruin the People" (New-York Gazette 1747c).

To blunt the French attacks, Johnson was able to leverage the support of the Mohawk, Seneca, and other Iroquois. Up to this point, they had tried to remain neutral, but in the closing year of the war many Iroquois warriors grew anxious to join the fray. Johnson tried to persuade the Albany military leaders to provide 300

[24] Francois-Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, 1703-1779: Career military man and administrator. Son of governor, frequently traveled back and forth to France, promoted to Major 1741 due to his financial and political ties, commander at Fort St. Fredrick after 1746, led raid on Fort Massachusetts, sat in wait in 1747 with 780 men at Crown Point waiting for British attack that never materialized (Hamelin and Roy 1979)

men to accompany his 300 Native warriors on an expedition to the borderlands in order to capitalize on the newfound interest in military involvement (New-York Gazette 1747c).

The New York papers were buoyed by the idea of a joint military operation: "let us therefore be no more amused with present Dangers, but rationally turn our Thoughts to future Security" (New-York Gazette 1747c). Despite the optimism provided by Johnson and his warriors, trouble was looming on the frontier. Word had started to spread of the large party of French and Natives operating out of Lake George. The garrison at Fort Clinton now was composed largely of "new levies," inexperienced and often completely unfamiliar with the wilderness. Facing a continued lack of consistent pay and provisions, the forces along the frontier once again grew restive.

The French continued their pressure with a two-pronged attack into New York in mid-August. A detachment of Natives from St.-Luc's party at Fort St.-Fredrick left destined for Albany and Saratoga. The Albany-bound contingent actually pushed further south about nine miles to Schodack. The raid struck Abraham Van Valkenburgh's farm, where one person was killed and four people were taken prisoners (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:122). Among the prisoners were Abraham himself, his son, son-in-law, and grandson (New-York Weekly Journal 1747). Later newspaper accounts also list Jacob Vosburgh, Andries Huygh, and Abraham Gardinier, all of Schodack, as prisoners later released by their Native captures (New-York Gazette 1748c)

The Saratoga foray returned after killing two (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:122). The Saratoga raid hit a wood-cutting party that had set across the river near the fort. The remainder of the French forces fired up to "500 shots" at the fort to little effect. The fort responded with a brisk cannonade that wounded a number of the enemy forcing them to retreat from the field (New-York Weekly Journal 1747).

Defense of Albany was paramount at this point in time for the English colonial government. Colonel Marshall, previously stationed at Colonel Schuyler's house on Schuyler Flatts, was re-positioned to the east side of the river to monitor movement of the enemy. The colonel's house was palisaded and defended with over 100 men, which aside from Saratoga represented the northernmost defense made by the English (O'Callaghan 1861:974).

Word began to leak that the garrison at Fort Clinton was no longer tenable. Colonel Peter Schuyler, then in command of the post along with his New Jersey forces were running short of provisions, and asked the Assembly for relief. The governor warned the Assembly that failure to act to provide necessary support would lead to his orders for a withdrawal. The Assembly urged the governor to post troops gathered for the potential expedition to Canada at Saratoga, or 100 men from the four Independent Companies at Albany for which supplies could be obtained. But the Assembly seemed reticent to provision the troops of New Jersey any further (New-York Gazette 1747d). Colonel Schuyler attempted to hold his troops together by paying them and providing them with supplies with his own account, incurring a debt of "thousands" of pounds. Ironically, many of his men deserted not to return home, but instead enlisted in the New York companies since there was a greater likelihood of being paid (Pennsylvania Journal 1748).

Colonel Roberts reported to Governor Clinton on September 23, 1747, that the forces at Fort Clinton had deserted (O'Callaghan 1866). Two days later, the Council received word that Saratoga has been deserted by the new levies (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:367).

By October 14, Fort Clinton was burned by the English and the cannons and troops removed to Stillwater (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:367; New York Colonial Council:Vol 21:276). The governor and Assembly could not agree to terms by which the fort would be provisioned, and it was sacrificed "lest ….fall into enemy hands" (New-York Gazette 1747d).

The Pennsylvania Journal reported the surprising turn of events:

> From Albany we learn forces posted at Saraghtoga abandoned a fortnight ago, and after setting it on fire, retreated with all canon and stores to Albany (Pennslyvania Journal 1747b).

The destruction of the fort appears to have been as equally surprising to the French. M. DeVillers while patrolling along the borderlands with a detachment of 70 French and Native allies set out a scouting party led

by Ensign Hertel Beaubassin with three Natives. Upon hearing the destruction of the fort, DeVillers advanced with the larger contingent. He estimated the fort was burned about three weeks earlier. Rummaging through the ruins, he noted that 20 chimneys were still standing within the remnants of the fort. The cannons had clearly been removed as judged by the large wheel ruts left behind. However, in their haste the English left behind a small cache of hand-grenades and 12–14 pounds of shot. The fort was estimated to stand 150 feet long by 140 feet wide with a palisade about two feet thick (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X: 147-148).

The remainder of the party appears to have struck near Kinderhook around October 24, 1747. A small detachment stationed at Kinderhook under the command of Captain Robinson with a sergeant and 18 men were ambushed while collecting provisions from a nearby farm owned by Dirk Van Slyke. The party of about 40 French and Native allies exchanged several volleys and tried to out flank the detachment while it returned to quarters. The second round of volleys affected only minimal damage, as Robinson's men only suffered one death and three other casualties. Several of the enemy appeared to have been killed and taken from the battlefield (Boston Gazette 1747).

Problems along the English frontier continued to be exacerbated by desertions. By November, the levies at the Mohawk and Canajoharie castles and at Colonel Johnson's fort also deserted (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:367). This must have been a particularly bitter pill for Johnson, who worked tirelessly to bring the Mohawk into the war, just as the colonial armies were dissipating, leaving the frontiers as exposed and vulnerable as ever.

Not only were the frontiers in danger, the fortified towns of Schenectady and Albany now hung in the balance. Without sufficient out-scouts and advanced defensive outposts, the towns, now swollen with refugees from the countryside, blindly awaited attack. Further difficulties were reported in February 1748, as there was no powder at Albany to assist in its defense (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:368). By March, several of few remaining out-scouts from Albany were taken or killed (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:368).

In early May, the French were able to act with impunity after Beaubassin returned with a small detachment of 11 Abenaki and three Canadians having discovered the loss of Saratoga. The detachment found the countryside surrounding Albany largely abandoned. As such, they torched 30 houses, three small abandoned forts, and one mill (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:159).

Towards the end of May, the French launched what turned out to be a final assault on the area, an incident today referred to as the Beukendaal or Poependal massacre. Farmers Daniel Toll and Dirk Van Vorst were fetching horses from their pasture outside of Schenectady. There they were set upon by a large force of French (40 in all) and Native allies (250 to 260 men), killing Toll and taking Van Vorst prisoner temporarily (New-York Gazette 1748a). This aroused the nearby city of Schenectady and its garrison of levies quickly sprang into action. Despite the English being heavily outmanned, they were able to dislodge the larger French force but not without significant causalities. Twelve residents were killed in the action including: Daniel Toll; Frans Vanden Bogart, Jr.; Jacob Glen, Jr.; Daniel Van Antwerpen; J.P.V. Antwerpen; Cornelius Vielen, Jr.; Adrian Van Slyke; Peter Vroman; Klaas A. De Draef; Adam Conde; Johan A. Bradt; and Johan Marines (New-York Gazette 1748b). Another five were missing and presumably taken captive: Isaac Truax, Ryer Wemp, Johan Syer Vroman, Albert John Vedder, and Frank Conner. In addition, the Regiment of Lieutenant Darling from Connecticut lost seven levies and the lieutenant himself, with another five missing in action (Drake 1870:169; New-York Gazette 1748a). To pursue the fleeing French party, Captain Chew (having been redeemed from Canada) set out with his regiment of levies and 200 Natives allies, but seemingly to avail (Boston Post-Boy 1748).

The colonial government still toyed with the idea of a major expedition against Crown Point. However, by this time it appeared that the end of hostilities between France and Britain was not far in the future. By the end of May 1748, the New York Assembly petitioned the Canadian government for the exchange of prisoners (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:368). On August 9, 1748, information concerning a formal cessation of hostilities reached New York and colonial government, who in turned passed the information along to the Canadian authorities to prevent any further unnecessary bloodshed (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:371). By the end of August, word of the cessation of hostilities reached Montreal through various English channels to the government

(O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X:177). The 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended war, after a congress in Aril and formal signing in October.

Following the war, Cadwallader Colden wrote about the troubles along the frontier. Following its initial destruction in 1745, Colden suggests the fort was "only enlarged & added some new wooden bastions to an old fort." Like Governor Clinton, Colden did not think highly of its location, as "most disadvantageously situated that any place could be for defence in a low unhealthy bottom every where surrounded by hills from whence the men on the parade could be seen to the soles of their feet" (Colden 1937:25). It is no wonder that in the next conflict, the Seven Years' War, the seat of Saratoga's defense would be moved to a new location north of the Fish Creek

THE POST WAR ACCOUNT OF PEHR KALM

In the period following the war, there remained an uneasy peace between New France and New York. The war had settled little between the two adversaries on the North American continent. The English colonies' greatest victory, the taking of Louisburg on the Cape Breton coast, was reversed at the Treaty of Aix Chapelle and New France could one again easily threaten the seaboard from a convenient position and overturn British gains made in Acadia.

In the immediate aftermath of King George's War, Pehr (Peter) Kalm, typically known as a Swedish "naturalist," wrote a travelogue of his journeys in North America destined for publication in Europe. Between the summer and fall of 1749, Kalm paints a stark picture of the landscape of the upper Hudson River valley ravaged by war, interspersed by descriptions of flora and fauna, climate, and geology. As such, Kalm does not present a truly chronological narrative of his journey, and portions of his journal are clearly pastiches of various experiences tied together. Therefore, his account of the Saratoga area should be taken as a broad-brushed painting and not one meant to be analyzed in fine detail. Likely, there are inaccuracies and errors in his account, as will be discussed.

After largely disparaging Albany and its inhabitants, Kalm writes of his journey northward along the Hudson beginning June 21, 1749, on his way to see the French fort at Crown Point. Kalm's baggage was rowed up the river on canoe while he traveled along the road on the west side of the river. Just outside of Albany, Kalm described many cultivated fields, especially on the west side of the river, planted with wheat, maize, and peas. The next day he made his way past the Cohoes Falls, choosing to travel in the canoe rather than over the rough roads. After stopping at a Native village, likely Mohican, in search of a guide, he continued northward (Kalm, et al. 1772:280-282).

After the recent war, Kalm describes a landscape where virtually all of the houses were burnt and destroyed and many of the returning inhabitants "were forced to ly under a few boards which were huddled together" (Kalm, et al. 1772:283). He described the typical farmstead as lying close to the river on small hills, or on the high ground, and surrounded by large fields of maize. In addition, each house had a "kitchen garden" and orchards (Kalm, et al. 1772:284-285).

The houses were typically wood-framed with brick nogging (unburnt bricks) placed in the walls for insulation. The exteriors were clapboarded with wood shingles for a roof. Often, the house also had a cellar. The last houses that remained from the war lay about halfway to Saratoga from Albany, all of the rest between there and Saratoga were burned out (Kalm, et al. 1772:285). Near Saratoga, Kalm encountered a couple of Natives traveling by canoe and found that while once the landscape surrounding Saratoga were characterized by maize fields and pastures, nearly all were fallow due to French raiding parties.

Kalm continued by describing the former fort at Saratoga, presumably Fort Clinton, but a closer examination of his account suggests that he was actually describing Mount Burnet. The wooden fort, Kalm stated, was "situated on a hill on the east-side of the river Hudson," a location which more squarely resembles Fort Burnet rather than Fort Clinton. Of the fort, he described it as palisaded and square, with officers' quarters at the corners and a timber barrack (blockhouse) at the center. Kalm went on to recount the episode of the Fourth Battle of Saratoga in June 1747 when the French tried to lure the garrison out into the open through an elaborate artifice.

Kalm suggested that there was an "island in the river, near Saratoga much better situated for a fortification" (Kalm, et al. 1772:290) Apparently, he did not see the ruins of Fort Clinton lying between the two islands in the river just south of modern-day Schuylerville. Kalm also described Fort Nicholson as "not so much a fort, as a magazine to Fort Anne" and Fort Anne "built in the same manner as the forts Saratoga and Nicholson" (Kalm, et al. 1772:294 and 304). All were wooden with log palisades, square in outline with officer barracks at the corners. Fort Anne was situated on a small rising ground, and Kalm claims the burned palisade posts were still visible following a fire in 1711 that destroyed the fort (Kalm, et al. 1772:304).

Kalm's account indicates that revenge attacks in the borderland continued into 1749. Along the way to Crown Point, Kalm was escorted by French and English troops to protect his group from French-allied Natives seeking revenge for the death of their brothers in the war. Kalm was struck by the danger that still lurked in the borderlands, as both French and English tried to nurture an unsteady peace. The English could not keep the borderlands protected, in part because of the French fortification at Crown Point. The fort provided a convenient waystation for Native allies to raid English territory, a practice eagerly fostered and tolerated by the French colonial government.

In the years following King George's War, the Schaghticokes were among the greatest victims of the undefended New York borderlands. In 1754, Odank and Missisquois natives raided the Hoosick Valley destroying homes, farms, and crops forcing many to flee to the safety of Albany. The Natives established a conference by which it was decided that over fifty Schaghticokes would return with the groups to Canada. The decision to leave also took into account frustration with land grabs, general mistrust of the colonial authorities, and a recent incident involving confrontations between slaves and Natives (Corbett 2002:162-163). Previously, Schaghticokes had migrated eastward to Stockbridge where a missionary town had been established around 1738. While several Mohican families likely remained behind, this last major migration greatly diminished the Mohican presence in the Hoosick Valley and further exposed the New York settlers to French and Native allied aggression. After multiple forced removals, the Mohicans coalesced as a federally recognized tribe in northern Wisconsin and retain today a strong cultural identity and connection to their homeland in eastern New York.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR (1754–1763)

By 1754, once again France and Great Britain were at war, and once again the borderlands of New York played a critical role in the North American theatre of the war. The major difference in this conflict than the last, is that the British decided not to rely solely on colonial troops for the fighting, but brought several regiments of regular troops into the fray to assist in places like Louisbourg. Although the French scored a major victory in 1757 with the capture and destruction of Fort William Henry at the top of Lake George, the French were not able to hold the position. As a result, the English gradually rebuilt a line of fortification along the Hudson in advance of planned major assault on Crown Point and the end of the French threat to the New York frontier.

Fort Clinton was replaced by Fort Hardy, which was conceived as a part of the larger series of installations built by the British army. It was more of a supply depot than a major defensive feature, as it was poorly situated below the same hills as Fort Clinton. It was constructed in stages from 1755 to 1757 and was located on the Hudson River at the mouth of Fish Creek. The new fort guarded a ferry crossing and was named for Sir Charles Hardy, governor of New York (New York Military Museum 2006). Fort Hardy was never attacked during the Seven Years' War, and was abandoned once peace returned in 1763. Five barracks buildings still standing at Fort Hardy were used as late as 1771 as homes by local residents (Strach 1986).

Colonel Phineas Lyman was originally stationed at Saratoga at the outbreak of the war, beginning in 1755 with his force of over 1,000 Connecticut militiamen. Among the soldiers was Seth Pomeroy who described the scene in Saratoga in the summer of 1755 as rich agricultural lands with a large number of cattle and horses. At the end of July 1755, a detachment was sent "to the fort at Saratoga to search for cannon balls, and they dug up about 1,100 shot and brought them to our camp which was above a mile above the old fort" (Trumbull 1902:262). There was little mention of the new Fort Hardy in Pomeroy's account, suggesting that the fort was initiated shortly after the old fort was looted for shot and cannon balls. Pomeroy and his regiment continued toward Crown Point but were repulsed by the French, and having fallen sick he returned quickly to Connecticut without much mention of Saratoga (Trumbull 1902).

An anonymous plan of Fort Hardy from c.1758–1760 reprinted in Strach (1986) depicts the fort in its early years of use, titled "Plan of Saratogha [sic] 36 miles N by E from Albany." The plan reveals that the fort was composed of two distinct elements: a small walled district located immediately adjacent to the Hudson River containing several buildings, and a large surrounding earthwork with a bastion to the west that extended almost to the line of the road, and lay above the "low marshy ground" north of Fish Creek. The description of this earthwork says, "Line made in the summer 1756[?]." The plan suggests that Fort Hardy was constructed in two phases, with the central portion built in 1755 and extended in 1756.

Colonel James Montressor's engineer's report of 1757 (Brandow 1901:71-72), then still a major, indicated the fort was reconstructed and a previous blockhouse or stockaded fort (likely a temporary fort built at the beginning of the war) was torn down. On May 23, 1757, Montressor paid Ensign Webb of the 48th regiment for work done at Saratoga. In addition on June 24, he visited Saratoga where he examined a French prisoner and directed that a storehouse must be built "on the point," and raised 3 or 4 feet from the ground (possibly for floods). After the British defeat and loss of Fort William Henry in early August 1757, Montressor oversaw the work at Saratoga from August 19 to September 14. He described a sawmill dismantled by the remainder of the provincial troops that were under the command of Colonel Fry (captured at Fort William Henry) and the militia. The works at Saratoga were reconstructed using stone, logs, facine, ditches, wood shingles, cut lumber, and bricks from Fort Edward. Montressor describes the rooms for officers at Saratoga being 16 feet by 14 feet and 220 feet of running barracks with brick foundations and chimneys for soldiers. A provision shed or two were built to cover 2,596 barrels of flour. In early November of 1757, Lord Loudoun, Commander in Chief of British forces in America, was in Saratoga and according to Montressor's journal "was excessive angry at Saratoga in not finding as he said a Store house ready built." Montressor's journal does not describe the origin of this blockhouse because it was known to have been built as a temporary structure, and his responsibility was to replace it with something more permanent.

In summary, based on the various accounts, a hypothetical timeline for Fort Hardy can be proposed. Colonel Lyman built a temporary fort in 1755, which was expanded with earthworks in 1756, reconstructed in brick and stone in 1757, and utilized as a waystation for the 1758 campaign as a camping ground for 16,000 troops (Brandow 1901:74-75). Fort Hardy, with its extended earthworks, may have been "in ruins" in 1771, but still had usable structures built of brick and stone inhabited by local townspeople for many years later.

Forces at Fort Hardy

As a waystation in a better organized British military defense system, Fort Hardy saw a number of regiments and battalions pass through. Although Fort Hardy was located outside of the study area, considering the large influx of troops, especially during the 1758 campaign, it is likely the study area was utilized as auxiliary space, hosting camp grounds, mustering grounds, marshaling yards, and other tasks associated with provisioning and maintaining a large fort, such as Fort Hardy.

In 1756, Lieutenant Colonel Burton of the 48th regiment was stationed at Saratoga, along with other units that passed through Saratoga to be sent elsewhere as needed (Rogers 2002:54). In the late summer of 1756, according to the memoirs and official correspondence of General John Stark, Captain Robert Rogers was directed to wait upon Lt. Col. Burton at Saratoga. At Saratoga, Rogers met Captain Richard Rogers of Mohawk with "Stockbridge Indians in company," likely with former residents of the Schaghticoke settlement who knew the territory well.

Historical maps of Fort Hardy indicate an "Encampment of the 60th Regiment." The 60th Regiment of Foot, or the Royal American Regiment, was active during the 1758 Crown Point campaign with its 1st and 4th battalions. The 60th Regiment of Foot was raised in 1755 as the 62nd Regiment, and then designated the 60th Regiment in February 1757. The 1st and 4th Battalions often served together, with the 2nd and 3rd Battalions serving elsewhere. All four battalions participated in the attack on Montreal in 1760 (Fort Ticonderoga 2000; Summers and Chartrand 1981:43). A detachment of a possible scouting company of Connecticut provincials were in Saratoga in the middle of September 1757 (Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society 1911:373). The 2nd Battalion of the 42nd Regiment was in Saratoga in early August of 1759 preparing to convoy supplies and artillery to Oswego according to Montressor's journal.

A map of the fort and its environs depicts the Schuyler sawmill just below the hill at Victory Woods (Stevens et al. 2007:39). The map suggests the land may have been timbered for the mills, despite the fact the mill was not operational during the construction of the fort (Stevens et al. 2007:31).

The Schuyler family increased their land holding in 1768 by purchasing over 4,000 acres along the creek from the heirs of Robert Livingston (Stevens et al. 2007:32). Within the next few years, the British decommissioned Fort Hardy and dismantled the buildings, although apparently much of the defensive earthworks were still

extant during the Revolutionary War (Stevens et al. 2007:31). As later explained by General Philip Schuyler to Charles and Thomas Carroll and Benjamin Franklin on route to Canada for a clandestine diplomatic mission, the Schuyler family leased their holdings to tenants for a tenth sheaf of the grain they raised (Ketchum 1997:23). The farmland likely included all of the fertile lands along Fish Creek and the Hudson.



Figure 6. A close-up of the 1777 Gerlach map (a copy of the original by H.C. Degeling), depicting the Schuyler estate (circled) just before being destroyed during Burygone's final encampment at Victory Woods. The former location of Fort Clinton is along the Hudson River and indicated by an arrow.

THE INTERWAR PERIOD

With the retreat of the British armies from the New York frontier following their successfully invasion of French Canada, life along the former borderlands turned in a new prosperous direction. As the threat of French and Native attacks were eliminated, new investment and development in and around Saratoga was possible. By 1765, Schuyler was actively engaged in making his Saratoga estate an active and profitable enterprise, largely by trading for local products at his mill. These include wheat from Thomas Foster, who lived on the Batten Kill, flax from Mr. Fost who lived near the same stream, as well as hemp, buckwheat and corn from John McCarty (BV Schuyler account book, Philip J. Schuyler, 1764-1774, NYHS). Schuyler was, in exchange, selling rum, cloth, blankets, and other notions—jack knives, tea, some hardware. His records also indicate he provided salt, molasses, and tobacco to local settlers. He appears to have run the estate as much as a local store as well as a sawmill and farm. Schuyler, however, maintained a close trade with Albany, sending sawn wood and local animal products to that city in exchange for goods re-sold in the local market. It appears that a fulling mill was completed in 1768 along Fish Creek, but whether it was owned by Schuyler or not is unclear.

As later explained by General Philip Schuyler to Charles and Thomas Carroll and Benjamin Franklin en route to Canada for a clandestine diplomatic mission, the Schuyler family leased their holdings to tenants for a tenth sheaf of the grain they raised (Ketchum 1997:23). The farmland likely included all of the fertile lands along Fish Creek and the Hudson.

The lands formerly owned by Thomas Livingston in the Saratoga Patent, were largely sold off by 1770. All were described as:

> a fine growing Country, where there is already a good Neighbourhood and plentiful Supplies, as well as a Market for all Manner of Country Produce. If any Farmers upon the Sea Coast are desirous to move up Hudson's River, 'tis probable that they cannot purchase any Lands to a greater Advantage than these at the intended Vendue abovementioned… (New-York Gazette 1770)

A farm, likely on the Vly lot, which was below Schuyler's and adjacent to the present-day battlefield, was described as follows in 1771:

> A tract of land with all the buildings and improvements thereon, in the county of Albany, called the Great Vley; being part of a lot number fifteen, in the patent of Saraghtoga, and contains one hundred and thirty acres of meadow, and three hundred and fifty acres of upland, or thereabouts, all lying together. This farm lies about twenty seven miles from Albany, between Still-Water and Saraghtoga, on the public post road that leads to Canada; the quality of the land as good as almost any in the country, and the farm itself well known, having supplyed [sic] the army during the last war, with great quantities of hay, and lies upon the west side of Hudson's River, a fine growing neighbourhood [sic] and a well settled part of the country; the distance from the farm to the river being no more than to admit of the before mentioned road, which is the only one that leads to Saraghtoga, Fort Mill[r], Fort Edward, Lake George, and so into all parts of Canada. Any person inclining to purchase the same before the day of sale, may apply to William Bayard or Joseph Reade, in New York, or to Peter Silvester, Esq., in Albany (New-York Journal 1771).

The advertisement, although grandiose in prose, suggests the area surrounding the battlefield was a thriving agricultural community that had survived and prospered following the Seven Years' War.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1776-1783)

By the Revolutionary War, Philip Schuyler had largely rebuilt the farms and mills destroyed during King George's War. By this time, there were no less than thirteen buildings on the Schuyler estate (Figure 6), including a main house with two attached dependencies, three mills (saw, flax, and grist), dwellings for slaves or hired hands, barns, hayricks, storage and threshing barns, and other storage sheds (Tantillo 2012). In addition on the north side of Fish Creek was a small fortification and, to the south of the Schuyler estate, the Dutch Church, perhaps built about 1771 (Brandow 1900:339). To the east of the farm was an enclosed "kitchen-garden" of notable size and beyond were cultivated fields. The fields appeared to end near the study area, and the location of former Fort Clinton (Figure 6), demarked by a copse of trees, was fallow.

Unfortunately, the Schuyler estate would once again come to ruin in the midst of war during Burgoyne's occupation of Victory Woods during his retreat from Bemis Heights (Ketchum 1997:414-415). In late September 1777 as the British army forded the Hudson River to follow the road on the west side on their southward push to Albany, his army briefly stopped in Schuylerville forcing the residents to flee the area. General Burgoyne pushed southward from St. John's as part of larger scheme to divide the states in part by controlling the Hudson Valley. Burgoyne's army consisted of British regulars, American loyalists, and French Canadian militia draftees, augmented with battalions from the German states of Hessen-Hanau and Braunschweig, along with support of North American Indian nations, primarily Algonquian.

Following the bruising days of intense fighting and his eventual defeat by the Americans led by General Gates near Bemis Heights and Freeman's Farm, Burgoyne retreated back to Schuylerville. While the Schuyler estate largely survived Burgoyne's southward advance, the British torched the buildings during the withdrawal over Fish Creek.

By October 9, a portion of Burgoyne's army occupied the heights above Saratoga including Victory Woods. According to the Specht Journal, Major General von Riedesel's troops forded the creek and along with Lord Balcarres and Brigadier-General Hamilton and the remnants of Fraser's brigade "crowned and thus dominated the heights on which they stood" (Journal 2004:93). The Americans were quickly closing on the beleaguered British and German regiments. Although the British supply lines were taxed, the troops themselves commanded a defensive posture that was stout, especially the main body lying near Victory Woods. Eventually the heights were strengthened with field pieces. The position was so strongly held, that after General Burgoyne burned Philip Schuyler's house he took refuge on the flats immediately below, but eventually moved his headquarters within the safety of the growing earthworks. By this time Burgoyne's army had dwindled to less

than 6,000 soldiers (Stevens et al. 2007:64) while the American forces were growing and almost tripled that of their enemy.

The American forces gathered on the south bank of Fish Creek, in the vicinity of the Schuyler house and grounds. The British forces were arrayed on the north side, with pickets placed near the creek and the main force further north, and Burgoyne's headquarters at Victory Woods. The Americans, however, believed the majority of the British army had retreated to Fort Edward. As such, the Americans sent over an advance party, led by Brigadier General John Nixon, followed by forces under Brigadier John Glover to the area of Fort Hardy. One of John Nixon's regiments detached a party under the command of Captain Nathan Goodale, which encountered the British picket and sailors at the boats very close to the site of the old fortified center of Fort Hardy. The picket consisting of 35 British soldiers surrendered without combat. When the fog lifted following the capture, the main forces of the British army were within range to fire cannons and muskets on the American forces near the creek. The American forces stopped their advance and withdrew back across Fish Creek.

The Study Area during the Burgoyne campaign was likely the site of encampments both by the massive British army as it pushed southward and later the Americans who took up positions south of the creek to besiege Burgoyne at his position at Victory Woods. There were no large battles within the Study Area, however small arms skirmishes were likely common within the Study Area during the Revolutionary War.

Late Eighteenth Century

Although Burgoyne had been defeated at Saratoga, tensions between Loyalist and American forces still remained high in the area, creating a sense of uncertainty and fear among the residents. It was not until well after the war that land claims, forfeited by former Loyalists who removed to Canada, were properly sorted out. By the 1790s, there was a new influx of settlers and farmers drawn to the rich soil and agricultural potential of the area, as well as other investors seeking to capitalize on the water power and natural travel corridors.

The study area largely remained agricultural following the end of the 18th century with some agricultural use persisting to the present day. The area was described in 1825 by a traveler:

> Along the river, the alluvial flats are principally a stiff argillaceous loam, and the river hills have the same kind of soil, more or less mixed with sand or gravel. The timber on these lands is oak, hickory, chesnut, & c.; on the loamy plains, beech, maple, ash, elm and butternut; and on the sandy loam, white and yellow pine (Gilpin 1825:228).

The rich soils proved to be profitable for continual cultivation, perhaps being periodically recharged by flood waters from the Hudson River and nearby Fish Creek, as well as several smaller drainages. By and large, there have been minimal changes to the overall character of the study area since the 17th century, with one major exception: the Champlain Canal.

The original Champlain Canal was built between 1817 and 1823 simultaneously with the first iteration of the Erie Canal. The goal of the canal system was to take advantage of New York's unique geography and create an inexpensive means of shipping to increase western trade and settlement. The Hudson River is the only river that cuts through the central portion of the 1,500-mile (2,400 km) Appalachian Mountain Range, providing a natural corridor from the Atlantic Ocean along the river valley through the Hudson Highlands to lands north and west of the mountains. The Erie Canal was built to extend navigable waters from the Hudson River in Albany west along the natural corridors in the vicinity of the Mohawk River Valley, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, and the Oneida, Seneca, and Oswego Rivers. Likewise, the Champlain Canal was constructed to extend navigable waters north from Albany along the Hudson Valley to Lake Champlain. New York's canal system successfully provided transportation by boat between New York City on the Atlantic Ocean, Whitehall on Lake Champlain, Oswego and Rochester on Lake Ontario, and Buffalo on Lake Erie.

Despite initial controversy over its construction, the canal system ushered in an economic boom across New York that shaped the state's history. During the two decades immediately following the canal system's completion, the state's population increased by 77%. Major cities along the canal saw astronomical population

rises in Albany (167%), Utica (330%), Syracuse (507%), Buffalo (769%), and Rochester (1,244%) (Willis 2005:518).

The Champlain Canal extended between its intersection with the Erie Canal at "Juncta" in Cohoes north to Whitehall on Lake Champlain spanning a distance of 66 miles (106.2 km). It also included a navigable feeder canal with access to Glens Falls. Products from extractive industries from the Adirondack Mountains such as iron ore, building stone, lumber, and paper were typical cargo for boats on the Champlain Canal. The canal was originally 40 feet (12 m) wide and 4 feet (1.2 meters) deep. Sections of the canal were improved in the 19th century, but the planned enlargement of the entire canal was never fully completed.

The 19th-century Champlain Canal was abandoned after the construction of the Barge Canal between 1905 and 1918, although the canal's economic impact began to wane following the proliferation of railroads in New York. The barge canal replaced the old Erie Canal by channelizing the Mohawk River and other rivers in western New York and replaced the old Champlain Canal with the channelized Hudson River. The Champlain Canal was listed on the National Register in 1976.

Within the study area, the canal dramatically altered the landscape and natural drainage channels. The prism was excavated to at least 4 feet deep and its associated tow path and prism walls required extensive modification of the landscape including cutting and filling, the leveling of nearby lands, and the creation and management of nearby drainage to regulate water flow into and out of the canal system. The excavation of the canal has been known to impact many of the archeological and historical resources that existed in and around Saratoga.

During its construction, the local newspaper were filled with sensational accounts of dramatic finds near the study area:

> At the south is seen the spot on which the dwelling and mills of Gen. Schuyler once stood, now rendered highly pleasant by the numerous improvements of his grandson….In excavating the earth for the Northern Canal, on the Saratoga battle ground, a number of human bones were discovered. On visiting the spot last week, we learnt that six human skeletons had been dug up, some of which were in an entire state of preservation.—Among this number was one, found near the place of surrendry, which was supposed to have been the remains of an officer, from the circumstance of the regular position in which it was laid, and the complete existence of the hair, which was done up in a club, as it was denominated, and as the fashion existed in the days of the revolution. Many of the bones found are supposed to have been buried during the old French war, there having been at that time a British fort near the spot. Besides these remains, there have also been discovered traces of forges, and numerous implements of war (Schoharie Observer 1820).
>
> Reaching the creek, we passed it on floating timber, resting against the mill dam, and my companion remembered that his regiment passed the mill pond in the same manner, and at the same place, as they advanced to attack the British lines, as has been related; and continuing our route along a road on the right bank of the creek, we came to the salient point of a hill near Schuyler's house, where a picket, of which he was one, was attacked by a party of the British, in the night of the 10th of October…Proceeding thence to the meadow, near fort Hardy, and looking over the ground where Burgoyne piled his arms on the 17th of October, we returned to our quarters, where we were shown several cannon balls, taken from the ground, in excavating the canal (Boston Monthly Magazine 1826).
>
> In excavating the earth for the Champlain canal, which passes a few rods west of this Fort (Fort Hardy), such numbers of human skeletons were found as render it highly probable, this was the cemetery of the French garrison. About 20 or 30 rods west of the aqueduct for the canal over Fish Creek, stood Gen. Schuyler's mills, which were burned by order of Gen. Burgoyne. Gen. Schuyler's dwelling house also, and his other buildings standing on a beautiful area a little south east of the mills on the south side of the creek suffered the same fate—mills have been rebuilt and are now in operation at the same place where the former stood. The

> son of Gen. Schuyler now lives in a house erected on the site of the former dwelling of his father,--a covered bridge across the creek adjoining the mills (Hampshire Gazette 1828).

Although the canal was excavated primarily in the low-lying areas along the Hudson River, protected from its flood waters, it also impacted nearby road systems, often situated on the higher ground. The former 18th-century military road, now known as US Route 4, is likely to have been altered from its original alignment to accommodate the canal prism, access to and from the canal, and its related water management systems, such as drainage features near the southwest corner of the study area. Further alterations and realignments are evident from 20th-century road building, which favored road construction techniques designed for automobile traffic over horse and cart.

After the canal was completed in the Saratoga area, life along the rich alluvial flats returned to agricultural pursuits. A visitor traveling from the south to Fish Creek in the autumn of 1827, described the lands in the study area as "a beautiful, well cultivated interval of alluvial land on the west side of the Hudson—every thing from Albany to this place wears the appearance of wealth and comfort"(Hampshire Gazette 1828)

The local landowner Philip Schuyler passed away in 1804, after serving in the New York and US Senates between 1780 and 1798. Despite his foray into politics, Schuyler remained devoted to improving and maximizing his estate in Saratoga, while primarily living out of his mansion in Albany. After the elder Schuyler's death, the Saratoga estate passed to his grandson, Philip Schuyler II, who was only 16 years old at the time. He moved into the estate house after his marriage in 1811 and remained there for the next 25 years, maintaining and improving the nearly 3,200 acres he inherited. In addition, he was an avid supporter and financial investor in the Champlain Canal and other industrial endeavors in the Saratoga area and likely stood to benefit directly from the construction of the canal. Reeling from severe financial losses during the Panic of 1837, however, Schuyler was forced to liquidate his assets. By the beginning of 1839, the Schuyler estate was sold to Colonel George Strover, a veteran of the War of 1812 (Phillips 2003:40-43).

The Strover family occupied the house and estate until about 1948, when they sold the house to the National Park Service, and other agricultural parcels were sold elsewhere. By and large, the study area has remained in agricultural service. In the 20th century, there have been relatively minor modifications to the landscape in the form of drainage features and roadways.

During excavations from a gravel bank located near the Schuyler mansion on the Strover land in the late 19th century, other artifacts attributed to the November 1745 raid were unearthed. The Schuylerville Standard reported:

> Some two weeks since we referred to the fact that while Assistant Superintendent Sarle's men were loading gravel from the bank back of the Strover mansion, they came upon the remains of this old cellar wall of the Schuyler house, which was burned by the French and Indians, in 1745; Mr. Sarle has kindly consented to let the wall remain as he found it and already hundreds of people have visited the spot Many valuable relics have also been found. The romantic history of the burning of this place at that time is quite well known to all. The French and Indians had made their way down from Canada in the late fall, and at this time Saratoga was the farthest northern English settlement. They pounced upon the sleeping hamlet in the early morning, fired the houses, barns, outbuildings, etc., killed many of the settlers and took a large number of prisoners. The old house belonging to Schuyler was burned with the inmates, including Schuyler, who refused to surrender. Another account states that he was shot by a French officer. In any event the walls recently unearthed belonged to the old Schuyler mansion which was burned by the French and Indians 150 years ago (Schuylerville Standard 1895).

A later account of the provenance of some of the artifacts from the site were discussed upon their donation to the local historical society. The writer seems to suggest the finds were located "east" of the extant Schuyler house, likely describing the earlier house, and not one belonging to C.A. Marshall as attributed in an earlier article. The letter read:

> To the Editor of The Saratogian: (April 20, 1915)

> In regard to the old lock and key to which reference is made in the Saturday Saratogian and which I turned over to Captain McNair to be added to the County historical collection: your statement does not give proper historical significance to the relic. Your account refers to it as having been found In the cellar of the edifice which stood a few feet east of the present edifice the residence of C. A. Marshall; when in fact, it was found in the remains of the cellar of the edifice which stood several rods east of the present edifice, said-edifice having been mimed by the Indians in 1745. Charles H. Sarle, then section superintendent for this section of the Champlain canal, was superintending the excavating of the west bank of the canal when the workmen came upon the remains of the cellar of the first Schuyler mansion. In the cellar were found remains of domestic utensils of various sorts which had evidently fallen into the cellars when the edifice was consumed. The lock in question was evidently from an inner door. The key is in the lock and the bolt shut, evidently as a precaution or in defense. The Schuyler mansion which stood a few feet east of the present Schuyler mansion-the residence of Mr. Marshall was the second Schuyler mansion and was burned by the British in 1777, it then being the residence of General Schuyler, who for various reasons had become unpopular with the followers of King George III. The authenticity of the sacred (?) relic which I turned over to Capt. McNair on Friday is beyond question. Besides those engaged in the work at the time were a few spectators of whom I was one and saw the article with others unearthed. Mr. Sarle-a warm personal friend of mine, who was familiar with some of my weaknesses, immediately upon its discovery, handed it to me, saying, substantially, "Here, take this; It is from the first Schuyler mansion." I venture this statement in your columns believing the facts therein contained will be of interest, besides establishing the historical significance of the relic. (Webster 1915).

In terms of archeology, aside from the construction of the canal along the west side of the Study Area, the project has remained free of major landscape alterations. The canal may have not only disturbed the land but also the hydrography of the area, creating new wetlands or allowing older wetlands to dry and disappear. As result, the modern wetlands can be used only to approximate the historical ones that may have shaped the battles of King William's and King George's Wars. Fortunately, the remainders of the Study Area has largely been agricultural fields since after the Revolutionary War, and the landscape retains excellent overall integrity.

SETTLEMENT OF SARATOGA AND THE BORDERLANDS

As previously discussed, the settlement of Saratoga has been an ongoing process for thousands of years, mostly featuring seasonal visits and more temporary settlements focused on the local natural resources. More permanent settlement of the area occurred with the purchase and granting of the Saratoga Patent in 1686 by a small cadre of wealthy and well-connected investors (Pearson 1916:195-199). It seems likely, however, that formal purchase of the land occurred well after its value as a trading outpost and rich agricultural lands had been established by both Natives and adventurous Europeans. An oblique reference in a deposition of a converted Mohican in 1687, suggests there was a settlement there of about eight families who were to be supplied with a "priest" from New France (Christoph 1993:82). It is unclear how long or exactly where these families lived after the formal sale of the land.

The Livingston Family

Of particular note in the development of the Saratoga patent are the Schuyler and Livingston families. The intimate relationship of multiple generations of the Schuyler family with the early history of Saratoga has been well documented above. Of no less importance is the influence of the Livingston family who have been described as "among the most successful of America's early entrepreneurial families" (Kierner 1992:4).

Politically, the Livingstons were one of New York's most active and influential families during the colonial period. The family traces their lineage to Robert Livingston, a Scottish emigrant to colonial New York in 1674. He married Alida Schuyler, daughter of Philip P. Schuyler, and widow of Domine Nicholas Van Rensselaer, heir to the vast Rensselaerwyck Manor. By 1686, Livingston himself, without the help of his wife, was granted

160,000 acres in the Hudson Valley by Governor Dongan, which later became known as Livingston Manor (Kierner 1992:5).

Robert Livingston lived principally in Albany and worked with Governor Andros to secure the borderlands in the 1670s by negotiating with Native allies, the French, and other colonial governments, particularly the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Kierner 1992:13 and 15). In 1680, Livingston "began to extract compensation for his services," requesting and receiving Governor Andros's permission to buy 2,000 acres of Indian land on the east side of the Hudson River (Kierner 1992:23). The patent was granted on November 4, 1684, the same day the 180,000-acre patent in Saratoga was issued to Livingston and the two Schuyler brothers (Kierner 1992:25).

These patents and the later larger Livingston Manor patents were likely tied to Robert and Alida dropping claims on Rensslearwyck from her late husband, and as a way to secure political support for the new Governor Dongan (Kierner 1992:25). With the patents in hand, Livingston provided his services "as frontier mediator and government creditor" especially during the French wars between 1680–1713 (Kierner 1992:28) and used his ties to the Indians in the fur trade as well.

Livingston was one of the leading anti-Leislerians, as he had much to lose with the rise of new political order. The Anti-Leslerian Albany Convention sent him in 1690 to New England to get support against a French attack. Fearing for his life, he stayed in exile in New England for a year while his enemies drummed up charges against him (Kierner 1992:30). With the installation of a new Governor, Livingston returned in 1691 and was on hand for Leisler's execution.

During King William's War, Livingston acted as a victualer of the Albany forces and helped maintain Albany garrison, often on extension of credit to the governor (Kierner 1992). Despite default on debts to the colonial government, Livingston continued to extend credit to Governors Sloughter, Fletcher and Cornbury. In 1694 and 1695, Livingston traveled to England to seek redress for debts, and also likely to tout his assistance to the colonial government and importance in the political and economic life of the colony.

Liesler's supporters saw a brief revival in 1701–1702 with the election of a new legislature, but their threat to the status quo was largely ended by Governor Cornbury in 1702 when the Assembly was turned out. During Queen Anne's War, Livingston worked with Governor Hunter to build up naval stores using Palatine emigrants who later settled on his manor lands in the mid-Hudson Valley.

Livingston forged a strong friendship with the new governor, William Burnet, unlike the Schuyler family, who maintained a contentious relationship with the new administration. Allied with Governor Burnet, Livingston made a bid to eliminate trade with French Canada in an effort to isolate and deprive New France of potential Indian allies in distant and remote areas of North America (Kierner 1992:45). This prohibition led to years of illicit and illegal trade between Albany and Montreal which ended in 1729 with repeal of the law (Kierner 1992:46). Ironically, while Robert Livingston led the charge to stop illicit trading, his sons John and Philip were openly involved in the newly illegal French trade. John Livingston served as soldier in Queen Anne's War, and his son, Philip, learned French and engaged with French Canadian traders (Kierner 1992:52-53), After John's early death, Philip became principal heir to the family's fortune, and he worked openly against the laws his father supported (Kierner 1992:55).

In 1721, Philip was granted the family estate at Clermont along with 13,000 acres in the southwest corner of the manor, largely as a reward for thwarting an Indian plot to massacre inhabitants of Albany (Kierner 1992:57). Another brother, Gilbert, a notorious ne'er-do-well, was supported by his father after he sold half of his Saratoga holding to satisfy Gilbert's debtors, although the land was intended as his inheritance (Kierner 1992:59). The codicil of 1722 gave the remainder of the Saratoga land to five siblings including his daughters Joanna (Van Horne) and Margaret (Vetch) who each received a 1/5 share.

Early Land Patents

The Saratoga Patent (Map 11) consisted of 170,000 acres situated along the Hudson River from near the Anthony Kill at the modern–day village of Mechanicville to just north of Schuylerville near the mouth of the

Battenkill River. The original investors included Peter Schuyler, Jan Janse Bleeker, Dirck Wessels, Johannes Wendel, Robert Livingston, David Schuyler, and Cornelius Van Dyke. The land was purchased from Mohawk and Mohican rights-holders in July 1683 and the patent was bestowed in November 1684. The warrant for the land was verified again in 1708 (Stevens, et al. 2007:78; Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864) after a dispute emerged between Cornelius Viele and the Saratoga patentees (Albany Common Council Minutes 1686-1695:Vol. 3A: no page).

Another large nearby patent, known as the Hoosick Patent was granted in 1688. This patent included a large section of land north of the Rensselaer manor, and east of Saratoga, not including the Schaghticoke. Earlier in 1676, Governor Andros invited refugees from King Phillip's War to settle along the Hoosick River in an effort to populate the area with sympathetic Native allies to act as a buffer for newly planned farms and settlements on the frontier (Corbett 2002:89). Corbett also asserts that Governor Dongan obtained an apportion of the Saratoga Patent from Livingston in an effort to lure the Kanawake (56 warriors and 100 women and children) from Canada to settle in the patent., however the negations failed over the issue of religious freedoms (Corbett 2002:73). Again in 1728, Governor John Montgomery also tried to lure Kanawake settlers to Saratoga with 50 warriors and their families. The settlement of the new patents north of Albany were often intimately tied to Native American settlers. Their penchant for hunting and collecting and trading over a wide area provided more sedentary European settlers with critical information concerning the movement of enemy Natives and later French expeditionary forces. As such, they were viewed by earlier settlers as critical partners and neighbors in frontier settlements.

Schaghticoke

The Schaghticoke tract provided both an area of dislocated Mohican settlers, and an important revenue stream for the city of Albany. The land was officially purchased from the Mohawk in 1677 and was later designated as an Indian reserve for converted Mohawk and Mohican refugees. Governor Andros planted a white oak as a symbol of the enduring peace of friendship of the English with the amalgamated group that later became known as the "River Indians" and a covenant chain that would be repeated with the Mohawk about a year later. The River Indians were led by sachem Soquon and warrior Maquon who lived near Halfmoon. Maquon was killed in Albany in 1702 by black slaves and the event caused strained relationships between the natives and colonial government (Niles 1912:86). By 1685, sachem Sadochquis returned from Canada to reside in the Schaghticoke reserve (Corbett 2002:91).

In 1686, the Dongan charter, as part of the formal incorporation of the city under new English rule, gave Albany the right to purchase land along the Hoosick River. The city did little to improve the tract, and in the meantime much of the land was purchased by Hendrick Van Rensselaer and Robert Sanders in efforts to siphon trade from Canada through the Hoosick River valley (Corbett 2002:97). The Van Rensselaer claim was eventually bought out by the city in 1699, which cleared a path to settlement and development at the direction of Albany city leaders.

Despite the abdication of several leaders, the River Indians continued to live at Schaghticoke through the early 18th century. By 1702, they had nearly 100 warriors at their disposal and, in 1703, the New York colonial government agreed to construct Fort Schaakhook to assist with the settlement's defense (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:182). Grace Greylock Niles suggests the fort was built in 1703 built by Robert Livingston at the Great Meadow, at a cost of £80 with a watchtower and stockades and a church built in the town one year later in 1704 (Niles 1912:86).

It is unclear if the fort was ever built, as by the end of the summer of 1703 many River Indians left the settlement to live among the Mohawk (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:186). This movement largely resulted from the threat of French-allied Algonquian groups who had been persuaded to help pacify the New York frontier. A 1704 informal peace between the Kanawake (Iroquois) and Odanak (a converted Algonquian group) mission Indians helped to put the River Indians at ease and allowed them to return to their lands. However, such agreements frustrated the English who remained concern about Native allegiances (Corbett 2002:104).

In 1707, the City's common council minutes detailed the sale and leasing of lands at Schaghticoke. Originally, it was decided that eight major "plantations" would be sold at about 50 acres of lowland and five acres of upland. However, the interest was apparently so high that additional farms were sold in the years following (Weise 1899:544-545). The income generated from the sales and leases were critically important to providing funds for the defense of the city, especially in the decades to come. The native settlements nearby immediately began to feel the pressure exerted by the new settlers. In 1708, many River Indians were no longer traveling to Albany due to debts owed to city merchants, many of whom were lessees and land owners in Schaghticoke.

Like the Mohawks to the west, in 1709, the River Indians asked then Governor Hunter for a fort for protection. The Mohawks received a fort, but not the River Indians. During Queen Anne's War, the Mohawks asked that the River Indians join their depopulated villages in the Mohawk Valley, probably to bolster defenses.

The Missisquoi settlement, near modern-day Swanton, Vermont, started around 1713 and by the late 1740s the French established a missionary there. These Algonquian-speaking Abenaki people largely sided with the French, but maintained close ties to the Mohican and River Indians. The peace kept between the Abenaki and River Indians also frustrated the English.

Between 1726 and 1733, splinter groups moved out of Schaghticoke and settled near Whitehall. The move was largely precipitated by the loss of farming and hunting lands that were quickly claimed by new settlers from Albany. The refugee group of about 400 people were led by Keeperdo, or "Hoosic Abraham," and Queen Esther, who later moved west and north. By the 1740s, white land grabs and depopulation from military conflicts left the area largely abandoned much to the dismay of Sir William Johnson and his secretary Peter Wraxalll (Corbett 2002:106).

Throughout the French and Indian wars, the Schaghticoke natives were considered vital to helping protect the frontiers. Often acting as out-scouts and warriors in co-ordination with colonial troops, time and again their participation in the various colonial wars was vital for the English interests. Since the Mohawk and other Iroquoian groups wavered in their allegiance from time to time in the conflict, the River Indians were seen as dependable and trustworthy allies. The settlement of Saratoga would have been much delayed without the Schaghticoke native settlements to provide a measure of cover and protection to intrepid farmers and traders who lived and worked in the area.

Dellius Patent

Among the first to purchase lands north of the Saratoga patent were David Schuyler and Robert Livingston, Jr. in August 1693, who purchased 50 acres in and around what would later become the village of Schuylerville (Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864:61-62, and 76). In 1703, Sampson Broughton purchased the immense Kayaderosseras Patent to the west of the Saratoga patent (Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864:65). This patent was contested by the Mohawk, however, and remained largely unsettled until around 1761.

After the Dellius patent was voided by Governor Bellomont in 1699, the lands north of Saratoga were once again available for purchase and settlement. John Schuyler and Robert Livingston, Jr. purchased about 800 acres of the former tract centered on Fort Nicholson and extending along the road to the carrying place at Fort Ann (Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864). This land would later be contested and purchased by William Kettelhuyn in 1737 (Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864:230 and 232). During the 1740s, John Schuyler purchased many of the unclaimed lands north of Saratoga on the east and west sides of the river including several islands within the Hudson River channel (Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864:208, 232, and 234).

Early European Settlers

The earliest known European settlers to the Saratoga area were largely French-speaking traders who resided most of the year in Albany, and stayed in the Saratoga, typically in the summer, to trade. Although there were undoubtedly others, the historical records suggest at least four principal traders operating in Saratoga towards the end of the 17th century: Rene Poupar (LaFleur), Pierre De Garmo (Villeroy), Jen-Baptiste Poitier (Dubisson)

and Luc Poupart (la Fortune) (Valosin n.d.). Anthony Lespinard[25], a baker and trader, may have also had dealings within the Saratoga region as well as Jean la Forte (Liberte), a Huguenot trader who lived in Niskayuna (Albany Common Council Minutes 1686-1695:Vol. 3:23). That is not to suggest that traders of other ethnic backgrounds were not operating in and around Saratoga, as well. Many traders were polyglots at this time and could speak English, French, Dutch, and various dialects of Native languages. These French traders may have had an advantage as they may have had previous personal and professional relationships with traders while in New France, which many had spent considerable time at. Their frequent settlements at and around Saratoga may have helped facilitate this trade and kept it out of the watchful eye of the colonial authorities and jealous traders. For the most part, until conflict erupted between New France and the colony of New York, these traders were left to their own devices.

With the development of the Saratoga Patent, there was a push not only to establish trading centers but also to permanently settle the rich agricultural lands along the Hudson River with farms. The farms could help to provide subsistence to the trading outposts, and surpluses could be sold to the residents of Albany who were dependent on hinterland farms for food. The investors within the Saratoga patent could have quickly divided/parceled the lands for sale, but instead largely used the land for their own purposes, especially the Schuylers who appear to have traded, farmed, and milled on their portions of the patent. Keeping the land closely held by these families suggests something of the perceived value of the location both in terms of farming and trading.

One of the first known farmers in Saratoga, who was not one of the patent holders, is Bartel Vrooman (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2010:13-15). He is known due to the tragedy of a French and Native attack on Saratoga on August 20, 1689. The historical records suggest three persons were killed at his farm, but it is unclear if he was one of the victims. It seems unlikely that he was, as the Albany Common Council sent Lieutenant Jochem Staats to investigate, who:

> Resolved that there be a fort made about ye house of Bartle Vrooman at Sarchtoge & Twelve men raised out of ye Two Companies of ye City& 2 companies of ye County to lye there upon pay who are to have 12d a day besides Provisions and some Indians of Skachkook to be there with them. (O'Callaghan 1858b).

It is unclear if and how long this "fort" may have been survived. It is possible "Fort Vrooman," as it has come to be known, was utilized in 1690 as a waystation by the Winthrop and Johannes Schuyler expedition which included a party of 515 men from New York, Connecticut, and Maryland as part of a bid to invade Canada (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2010:16).

Three years later, mention was made of "sundry payments on account of the officers and men at Albany, and Indians at Saratoga" in the papers of the Lords of Trade in England (Fortesque 1901:717-731). How long the farm and fort remained on the landscape is unknown, as is its precise location. The evidence suggests that permanent structures, such as houses, barns, and the like, were being built by the end of the 17th century in and around Saratoga despite the threat of French invasion and the enmity of the Natives.

Another earlier settler, Daniel Kettlehuyn, settled across the river and south of Saratoga in the Schaghticoke tract in about 1707. His story is instructive as to nature of the settlement of the region. He along with his

[25] Lespinard appears in the Albany Common Council minutes as early as 1686, providing a funeral for another Frenchman in Albany by the name of Monsieur Lalway, who died in his home while traveling from Canada. Lespinard seems to have had close ties with merchant and traders from Canada (Albany Common Council Minutes 1686-1695:Vol 3:23).

brother and a small cadre of Albany and Schenectady farmers such as Dirck Van Vecthen, Johannis Harmense Visher, Johannis De Wandleaer, Jr., Barent Gerritse, Corset Vedder, Lewis Veile, Johannse Knickebocker settled in large farms along the rich land of the Hudson (Weise 1899).

Daniel was active in the protection and defense of his new farmstead and briefly served with Colonel Ingoldsby during the failed attack on Canada in September and October 1711 led by Colonel Nicholson. At the end of October 1711, an altercation with a French-allied Native led to an attack on Daniel and Johannes Bradt, his brother-in-law. Bradt was killed and, fearing that other Natives would soon be there, Daniel ran to Albany for help. In the meanwhile, his brother and his family barricaded themselves into their farmhouses. A party of French Natives returned and killed Daniel's infant and sister-in law and took his wife, sister, and nephew captive, along with a slave boy. All were eventually taken to Canada. In April 1712, Daniel Kettlhuyn traveled to Canada with M. Bonvenier, a recently redeemed French prisoner to find his captured wife and family (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:246). By the end of the summer, he returned with all of the prisoners and established a new farmstead a short distance away from his previous farm, which was burned and destroyed during the attack. He remained an investor in the area and purchased several large tracts in and around Hoosick in the early 1730s (Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864:205-206)

The incident underscores the risks of living on the frontier during this time period, but it also provides the first mention of African slaves and their role in helping to clear and settle the borderlands. Many slaves would be killed and taken prisoner over the next several decades as part of the colonial wars (Corbett 2002:113-117; Thurston 1876:9). These individuals, against their own will, were unfortunate casualties and victims of the wars, often times mentioned, but not by name, in the accounts of the incidents that occurred in the hinterlands of Albany.

Daniel Kettlehuyn's brother, William, also settled in the Saratoga area. He purchased a large patent north of the Battenkill with Philip Livingston, co-owned a sawmill on the Battenkill with Cornelius Cuyler, and lands within the Saratoga patent (Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864:195 and 204). William filed his will in 1734 when he described himself as "of Saraghtoque," but the will was not proved until 1748 (Pelletreau 1896:175-176). He and Cuyler purchased a large tract together from the Natives and warranted by the Governor in 1728 (Weise 1899:533). They subsequently divided the tract into two parcels, Cuyler taking the southernmost portion (750 acres) and Kettlehuyn the northernmost (850 acres)(New York Colonial Council:Vol. 16:106; Weise 1899) (see Map 12).

Kettlehuyn's tract within the Saratoga patent consisted of various parcels including one north of "Fish Creek" that he purchased from Cornelius Van Dyke, and a larger parcel that he and Killaen De Ridder purchased from Van Dyke (Thurston 1876; Weise 1899). It appears De Ridder eventually came to be sole owner of this tract.

The French Patents in the Contested Borderlands

By and large, French occupation of the Champlain Valley remained north of Crown Point, through the first and part of the second quarter of the 18th century. Trying to secure their tenuous foothold in and around Crown Point, the French began to issue land grants in July 1734 to Sieur Contrcouer, Jr., Sieur de Beauvais, Sieur de la Periere, Sieur Douville, Sieur Robart, and Raimbault. All of the patents were subject to forfeiture without investment or settlement. All of the patents, but that of Coutercouer and Rimbault, were reunited with King's land in 1741 and essentially surrendered (Palmer 1866:52). This meant that only two of the patent holders could muster settlement on the lands necessary to retain it Settlements were established at the mouth of the Great Chazy River northwest of Isle La Motte and Windmill Point, across from Rouses Point on the New York shore of the lake, but were abandoned shortly afterwards. The only permanent settlements established on Lake Champlain by the French were at Crown Point and Ticonderoga and in the patents associated with Hocquart and Alainville issued in 1743 and 1745. Until after King George's War, the French colonial government had little success in attracting settlers to the area, especially those much beyond the sight of the fortifications that they had built.

FORTIFICATIONS IN THE COLONIAL WARS

The colonial fortifications of North America evolved from architecture and practices developed in the Old World. These fortifications in part can trace their lineage back to medieval times, and before. However, with the advent and common use of gunpowder and cannons in warfare around the 15th century in Europe, fortifications were dramatically altered to provide sufficient protection from cannonade, in terms of building materials, forms and styles, and ichnography, or ground plan (Robinson 1977:7).

Among the more important inventions following the advent of guns and cannons was the use of bastions in fortifications. Their utility in protecting a fortified position was demonstrated by Francesco di Giorgio Martini and Michele Sanmichel, Italian engineers (Robinson 1977:8). Bastion spacing depended on small arms fire and their effective range, which at that time was about 200–240 yards. The amount of interior space "enceinte" necessary therefore is reflected in the shape of the fort. As a result, smaller forts tend to be square with four bastions and larger forts tend to be pentagonal with five bastions. However, the pentagonal fort was not typical until late in the Seven Years' War, as seen in the construction of Fort Pitt, Fort Ontario, and Crown Point (Robinson 1977:39).

Many colonial forts were also influenced by the influential designs, theories, and practices of Sebastien le Prestre Vauban (1632–1707), a French military engineer. In his career, he oversaw the construction of 33 new forts and over 300 upgrades to previously existing forts across Europe. He also helped to plan and directed 50 sieges, all the while learning the strengths and weakness of enemy forts (Robinson 1977:10).

His systems of design included three principal components: bastions with tenailles (or outworks) before the curtain wall (palisade); separated bastions with a tower bastion for command and control; and outworks, towers, and secondary sets of flanks. His forts tended to be square with four bastions, like most of the forts common in colonial America at the time (Robinson 1977:23). Colonial forts were rarely designed by engineers and, even when they were, they were often copies from existing plans with minor variation due to local topographic conditions. These colonial forts were often made of earth, logs (both horizontal and vertical), stone, and, less commonly, brick.

Dutch Styles

Dutch fortifications in the early colonial period initially followed the old "Italian system" of small fort construction modified so that the flanks of the bastions met the curtain walls at right angles instead of into "lobe-like" projections (Huey 2010:137). Colonial Dutch defenses included "forts, redoubts, fortification walls (entrenchments), canals, sluices, dikes, and bridges (also moats)" (Haviser 2010:171). Some of the fort building style in the New World stemmed from the work of Simon Stevin, who served as the primary military engineer for the Dutch in the 16th century. His work culminated with his 1594 publication "The Art of Fortification" in which he developed the "Old Netherlands Style" (Haviser 2010:171).

A feature common to the Old Netherlands Style was a series of elevated sand and shell ridges between trenches and water-filled moats in primarily quadrilateral (4-star) and pentagonal (5-star) forts (Haviser 2010:172). DeCorse (2010:27) suggests that the Dutch in the 17th century relied extensively on brick in fortification construction along the West Coast of Africa. However, the practice did not seem to catch on in North American colonies.

One of the first fortifications built in New York was Fort Nassau in 1614, which was constructed in modern-day Albany on an island in the Hudson River channel. Johannes DeLaet wrote at the time that the fort was built in the form of a redoubt, surrounded by a moat eighteen feet wide, mounted with two pieces of cannon and eleven small swivel guns, and hosting a garrison of ten to twelve men (Gehring and Starna 2009:21). Given that the Dutch military was ousted by the English in 1684, there may have been some vernacular retention of that style of fortification in New York, especially through the end of the 17th century.

French styles

The French found many challenges to the construction of military fortifications that protected their claimed territories in the New World. The French, and other European military fortifications, were based on the protection of resources that were not typically found in Europe, such as trading posts, missions and frontier settlements. The French were also hindered in the construction of fortifications in the lack of infrastructure such as roads, quarries and mines, the presence of unfamiliar landscapes, such as thick and old growth forests, as well as the 'perennial lack of financial resources and labor" (Pendery 2010) A further challenge was wrought by the new political circumstances where they had acquired both European and Native enemies, who utilized drastically different military tactics. The father of French fortification, Jean Errard (1554-1610), emphasized the use of local terrain in his 1600 treatise, *La Fortification Reduicte en Art et Demonstre* (Pendry 2010:42). The French embraced this concept, and its influence is evident in their fortifications which incorporated many strategic landscape features into construction design.

The earliest French forts were constructed to protect early settlements, such as Quebec City, and trading posts on the maritime frontier. A number of early French forts were constructed along the Acadian frontier during the Acadian Civil War of the 1640s (Pendry 2010:58). Many of the early fortifications were constructed primarily of timber that was easily acquired, with some limited use of stone work. The structures within the fort perimeter were often simple wooden buildings which were protected by palisades and earthworks. After just a few short years, many forts were reconstructed – building new structures and fortifying others with masonry work.

In 1673, Fort Frontenac was established in Kingston, Ontario on a narrow peninsula overlooking a small sheltered bay. The fort was originally encircled by a wooden palisade, but only two years later, the fort was partially rebuilt using local stone. In 1695, the whole fort was rebuilt in masonry work. Sometime during these reconstructions, the state of the Fort was reported as:

> Three quarters of it are of masonry or hardstone, the wall is three feet thick and twelve high. There is one place where it is only four feet, not being completed. The remainder is closed in with stakes. There is inside a house of squared logs, a hundred feet long. There is also a blacksmith's shop a guardhouse, a house for the officers, a well, and a cow-house. The ditches are fifteen feet wide. There is a good amount of land cleared and sown around about, in which a hundred paces away or almost there is a barn for storing the harvest. There are quite near the fort several French houses, an Iroquois village, a convent and a Recollet church (Finnigan 1976:38).

In the early 18th century, the French built a ring of smaller forts overlooking the St. Lawrence River which protected the City of Montreal (Chartrand 2005:37-44). Built between 1729 and 1730, these 30 forts were built primarily of wood, with some stone structures and earthworks. The forts were manned by detachments of regulars and militia.

In 1755, in the early years of the French and Indian War, the French began construction of Carillon (later, Fort Ticonderoga), a fort located on a strategic promontory overlooking Lake Champlain, which would guard the water route linking the French-held Richelieu River with the British-held Lake George and Hudson River to the south. The King's engineer for the project was Michel de Lotbiniere, who was given the commission by his aunt's husband, New France's Governor Vaudreuil. The young engineer was also the son-in-law of Monsieur de Lery who drafted one of the most valued French military manuals of the period. De Lotbiniere oversaw the completion of an imposing Vauban-style four-bastion fortification with two demi-lunes constructed of stone, earth and wood. Steven Pendery (2010:41) sees local influences on the design of French fortification in the New World, as with other European designs. Defense against European and Native threats in the New World were inherently different than those in the Old World. There was also the need to protect people and resources not typically found in Europe, such as trading posts, missions, and frontier settlements. The lack of reliable infrastructure such as roads, quarries and mines also helped to dictate the types of fortification that could reasonably be built, coupled with the "perennial lack of financial resources and labor" (Pendry 2010:42). Jean Errard (1554–1610), known as the father of French fortification, emphasized the use

of local terrain in his publication of *La Fortification Reduicte en Art et Demonstree* in 1600. With this volume, materiel, men, and topography became the driving forces behind the types of French fortification built in the New World, more so than design or engineering principles.

After Champlain's death, Governor Montgagny had engineer Jean Bourdon created a square fort with corner bastions in Quebec City, but it was abandoned by 1660. The French started the gradual process of fortifying settlements on the upstream portions of the St. Lawrence River during the mid-17th century. In 1634, Trois-Rivieres was fortified, but it was not fully palisaded until 1650. The first fort in Montreal, Fort Ville-Marie, was constructed in 1642 with four regular bastions perhaps added by Bourdon in 1645. Montreal was protected by the river and a ring of smaller surrounding forts (30 in all) for added protection (Chartrand 2005:37-44). Most of these out-forts were initially wooden but some also included masonry stone, and many were rebuilt in stone in 1729–1730 (Chartrand 2005:43). These forts were often manned by detachments of regulars and militia. After 1666, the French then began a series of fortifications up the Richelieu River towards Lake Champlain. Their history and construction details are beyond the current scope of the study, but two of the southernmost forts are worthy of additional discussion.

Fort Sainte Anne was built by Captain de la Motte (Pierre de Saint Paul, Sieur de la Motte-Lussiere) on the eponymous island in Lake Champlain in 1666. The fort measured 144 feet long and 96 feet wide with a double log wall and four bastions (Coolidge 1964:30, Bellico 2010:15). The fort was situated well-beyond French supply lines and was abandoned by 1671. The site of Fort Sainte Anne was subsequently purchased by the Roman Catholic diocese of Burlington. Accounts of the site in the late 19th century described it as "lozenge shaped" and partially excavated by treasure seekers in the spring of 1896. Numerous fireplaces were found as well as a brick oven. The foundations of some buildings measured 16 by 12 feet while others were 16 by 32 feet in size (Crockett 1909:48-49).

Later excavations were conducted by Reverend Joseph Kerlidou and many of the artifacts from that excavation were placed in a shrine built later on the island. While many of the artifacts have subsequently been lost, his field notes were preserved at St. Michael's College in Vermont (Desany 2008). Recently, Hartgen completed limited excavations of a Contact-period hearth near St. Anne's Shrine and recovered French gunflints and lead scrap as well as Madison-style chert projectile points common used by Native Americans during the 16th and 17th centuries (Hartgen 2015).

Fortification of a strategic position on the shore of Lake Champlain likely began at Fort de Pieux on the east side of the lake in Vermont, with a small wooden fort and garrison of about twenty men, built by the French in 1731 (Hill 1976:37-8). Construction of the larger, more impressive fortification that would become known as Fort St. Fredrick started three years later on the west side of the lake, immediately adjacent to the later British fort at Crown Point (Starbuck 1999:164-165).

Fort St. Fredrick grew over the years, in time becoming the most important of the forward French installation on its southern border with the English colonies. The fort eventually supported a four-story masonry citadel or watch-tower, numerous quarters for troops, officers, and Native allies, a massive powder magazine, armory, bakery, and even a windmill on the lake for grinding wheat and other grains supplied by a small agricultural settlement established around the fort. In this advanced position, the French were well outside of their ability to easily provision the fort and relied heavily on this local settlement to produce the food and goods necessary to keep the fort occupied on a continual basis. The cantonment of the fort was surrounded by a stone wall, nearly square with six bastions to protect the parapet. In all, within the fortification was nearly an acre of land that could protect and hold 80 to 100 men (Starbuck 1999). The fort defended the region until the British brought forth a 12,000-man army during the Seven Years' War to finally destroy the threat of French incursion at the head of Lake Champlain. Like the British did at Fort Clinton, the French destroyed the fort rather than allow the materiel and fort to be useful to the advancing British army.

At the end of King George's War, Fort St. Fredrick would prove to be a formidable bastion of French defense. A report on the artillery armament prepared for Governor Clinton in 1749 indicated the fort sported an impressive armament of two six-pounders, 17 four-pounders, three two-pounders, 18 swivel guns, and a grenade mortar (O'Callaghan 1858a:196). Due to the distance from the English forts within the Hudson River

valley, Fort St. Fredrick was never seriously threatened by the English during King George's War. One of the few attempts occurred in April 1747 when Colonel Johnson detached a small group of Natives under the command of Walter Butler, Jr. to Crown Point. About half a mile below the fort, the English and Natives were able to ambush a small provisioning party form the fort's garrison. The French suffered nine fatalities and six other troops were wounded. Interestingly, Butler's ambush near Fort St. Fredrick may have been identified archeologically by Hartgen as part of private development project south of the fort along the lake in 2006 (Sterling 2010:24). This investigation proves the utility of metal-detecting surveys at military sites and suggests how discrete military maneuvers can be discerned from the larger landscape.

After several decades of haphazard and undirected avocation archeology at Crown Point proper, the Historic Field Services Bureau of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Parks, embarked on more formal and regulated excavation at Fort St. Fredrick in the mid-1970s. Many of the excavations have been led by Paul Huey and Lois Fester.

These two nearest French fortifications likely were too far north to produce an influence upon the style and methods of fortification on the English frontier. Both represented special situations, one being largely temporary in nature, and the other conceived as a major, long-term installation. These French forts have been archeologically investigated to a greater or lesser degree and offer the opportunity for comparative analysis of the forts once located in and around Saratoga.

English styles

Colonel Wolfgang Roemer, a Dutch engineer by training, who remained along the colonial frontier between 1697 and 1704, represented the first attempt by the English Crown to standardize and improve the colonial defenses. Colonel Roemer may have had a hand in the design of forts around 1703 for Niskayuna and Halfmoon and perhaps preparation for the proposed fort at Schaghticoke (Fernow and Van Laer 1902:182). During his relatively short stay in America, Roemer had a large influence on building traditions and his plans for improving the forts especially in Albany and New York were only marginally improved upon over the course of the next half century by the likes of Colonel John Redknap[26] in the 1710s. The Seven Years' War ushered into America a new cadre of well-trained and experienced military engineers who vastly improved the colonial defenses. Before this, engineering was undertaken by self-trained and self-motivated individuals, especially in New York, such as Nicholas Schuyler, who may have been responsible for the design of Fort Clinton. Schuyler had little practical experience and no formal training and likely relied on imported text from France and Italy that detailed the "art" and practice of military engineering. English treatises and translations of treatises, such as those by John Muller, Marshal Saxe, Guillame Le Blond, and others, were not widely available in America until after the Seven Years' War. Of the few widely available treatises in the early 18th century was *Introduction a la Fortification* published by French cartographer Nicholas Fer in 1693 (Hart 2010:3).

Forts in the Upper Hudson River Valley

Instructive for the investigation of the Saratoga forts is the study of the physical layout and type of fortifications, earthworks, and military structures reported to have been located at Saratoga and at other strategic British military installations along the Hudson River. Many of the descriptions about fortifications in the region were written by soldiers, travelers and settlers during the wars in the 18th century and into the 19th century.

[26] Redknap designed Fort Hunter in the Mohawk Valley, and as will be discussed, his plans likely served as a model for Nicholas Schuyler when designing Fort Clinton.

In 1709, a British force of 1,500 soldiers along with 600 Mohawk warriors, cut a road through the forest which began at Schuylerville on the east side of the river, and extended northward to Fort Edward, and then following Wood Creek to Whitehall (Fitch 1848:896). Along this road, three forts were constructed – Fort Ann, Fort Nicholson and Fort Saratoga.

Fort Ann, the northernmost of these fortifications, was erected on the west side of Wood Creek, about a half mile south of the town of Fort Ann. Fort Nicholson was built at the start of the Great Carrying Place, possibly on the same site as later fortifications of Fort Edward. Saratoga was located on a hilltop in Easton, across the river and opposite from Schuylerville. These forts are described as "constructed wholly of timber and were similar to the other stockade fortifications of the country at that period – affording an effectual defence against any attack of musketry, but incapable of withstanding artillery" (Fitch 1848:896).

By the time of King George's War, it was reported that Fort Ann and Fort Nicholson were quite dilapidated, and though the government was urged repeatedly to fix them, they were allowed to fall into further disrepair (Fitch 1849:904). A description of Fort Ann in 1776 indicated that it was a simple picket fort without ditch or earth embankment. It was square and enclosed approximately half an acre's space which was manned by a garrison of between 50 to 100 men. The fort contained a single wooden clapboard barracks, one story high, sixteen feet wide and thirty or forty feet long (Adler 1983:101).

Fort Miller, located at the second Carrying Place on the river was constructed in 1711 in a manner which utilized the terrain to provide natural defensive features. It was described as having storehouses which were built "upon the flat on the west side of the river at the head of the falls. This flat is protected upon three of its sides by the river, which curves around it in a form to that of a horse shoe. About one-third of the remaining side is covered by a lagune or narrow bay which makes off from the river" (Fitch 1848:911). A timber and earth covered parapet with a "deep fosse" in front was located on the flats, and extended from the bay to the river. A blockhouse had also been built on the western bluff overlooking the flats which was said to have made this the "strongest position of any of the carrying-places along the river" (Fitch 1849:912).

Fort Edward, located on the east side of the Hudson on the north side of the mouth of Fort Edward Creek, was an irregular quadrangular form with bastions at three of the angles, the fourth angle being effectually protected by the river. Constructed in 1754 of timber and earth, the ramparts were 16 feet high, 22 feet thick and were mounted with six cannons. Structures within the fort were supplemented by the storehouses and barracks located on Rogers Island (Fitch 1849:911). A 1788 account of Fort Edward describes it as "quite perfect, though dilapidated" (Adler 1983:128). Three of the four blockhouses were still standing as outposts on the surrounding hills. One was located on the other side of the river, west of the dam, and another located southeast of the fort. The third was located on the hill north of the village, and "was standing in excellent condition – it was built of squared timber, the corners dovetailed together and roofed with boards and perforated with portholes large enough to run out the muzzle of a cannon" (Adler 1983:128).

Fort Hardy, built in 1757, was described as a "large barrack on the north side of the mouth of Fish Creek, with a very deep ditch on its west and north sides over which was a drawbridge." Two barracks, not very large, but well-built, with brick chimneys were located on the outside of the perimeter ditch to the south. Several accounts indicate that these barracks became houses and apartments relatively soon after their construction. One woman related that in 1767, she was born in "Schuylerville in the barracks there in sight of General Schuyler's residence" (Adler 1982:8). In 1771, the barracks on the interior of the fort was occupied by a Dutch family, while several "emigrant families occupied one of the barracks" on the outside of the ditch (Adler 1983:12-13). These three barracks buildings were considered to be the "best of any that were to be seen hereabouts". The barracks had brick chimneys, which were a great rarity, so far in the country as this" (Fitch 1849:912). Since many of the North American colonies were defended by Independent Companies, the regular English and, later, British armies had little direct influence on fortification designs, which created a high demand for the assistance of military engineers. Colonial officials repeatedly bemoaned the lack of well-trained engineers to help construct, manage and improve the colonial defenses. By and large, the colonial English forts were vernacular styles likely

reflecting a broad range of European philosophies, mixed with New World materials, labor forces, conditions, and threats.

Fort Hunter (1711)

Preparations for Fort Hunter at the confluence of Schoharie Creek with the Mohawk River were begun in 1711 for the benefit of the neighboring Mohawk community (Figure 7). Although a fort had been long planned for this location, it came to fruition due to the influence of the governor and Colonel Nicholson, who were trying to leverage Mohawk support for a planned invasion of Canada. In addition, Colonel John Redknap had been retained by the provincial government to assist with the expedition. His initial plan of the proposed fort survives and provides critical details concerning colonial fortification in the early 18th century (Moody and Fisher 1989). The plan included four blockhouses about 24 feet square, 2.5 stories high and connected via a flanking wall 100 feet in length. The wooden flanking wall (palisade or "picket" as Redknap describes it) is mounted with angled spikes to prevent scaling. Further description of the planned fort suggest that the blockhouses were to be equipped with double loop-holes, "bedsteads and benches for twenty men," a centrally disposed chimney and fireplaces, and scaffolding along the curtain wall five feet wide to connect each blockhouse. A chapel, also 24-foot square and one-story high was planned for the center of the fort for the benefit of the neighboring Mohawk community (O'Callaghan 1855c).

According to the *Calendar for Colonial Land Papers*, Nicholas Schuyler was actively mapping the area around Fort Hunter in 1714, and appears to have been the Deputy Surveyor between then and 1748, when he died (Weeds and Parsons & Co. 1864:115). In April 1711, Nicholas, then 19 years old, accompanied his uncle, Peter, to Onondaga country where a French blockhouse was under construction. They returned to Albany by July, after convincing the Onondaga to stop the French from building the fort, at about the time Redknap began his plans for Fort Hunter and another fort in Onondaga country. It is possible that Nicholas Schuyler apprenticed under Redknap in the art of surveying and engineering while he was in Albany in the summer and fall of 1711 (Reynolds 1906:182-184), perhaps with the intention that he would return to Onondaga to assist with the construction of an English blockhouse there.

Fortunately there has been a spate of recent archeology at Fort Hunter in addition to that undertaken by the Charles Fisher and Kevin Moody of the Bureau of New York State Historic Parks (Moody and Fisher 1989). After the flood waters of Hurricane Irene and Tropical Storm Lee in 2012 exposed a portion of Fort Hunter at the Schoharie Crossing State Historic Site, Michael Roets, an OPRHP archeologist, has been engaged in documenting, excavating, and working to preserve the remaining elements of the fort. His work is in the preliminary stages and a formal report of the state's work has yet to be produced. When completed however, the architectural elements and artifact assemblage will provide an important point of comparison with the materials from Fort Clinton.

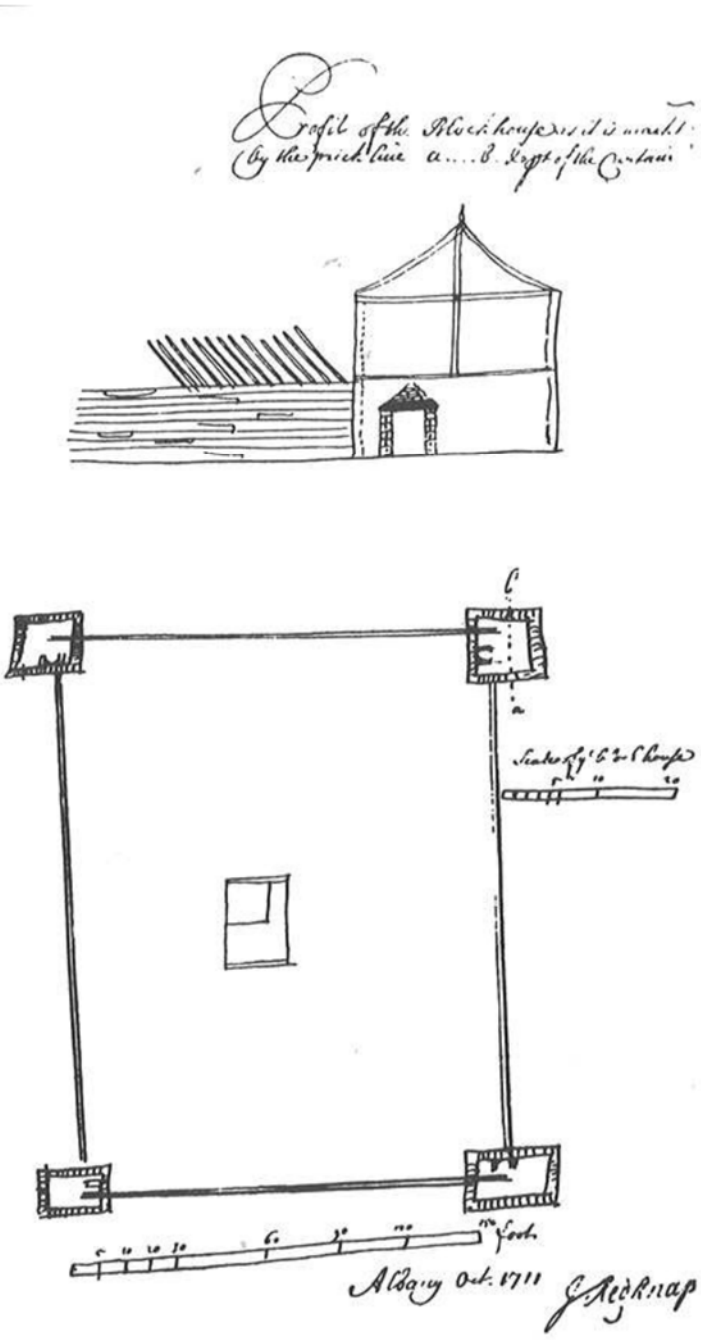


Figure 7. A circa 1711 plan of Fort Hunter as drawn by Colonel John Redknap on behalf of Governor Robert Hunter. The plan likely provides a near-contemporaneous model for Fort Clinton. The wooden palisade (or picket) surround the fort which features four protruding blockhouses (presenting a star-shaped design) at the corners and a likely barrack in the middle (Moody and Fisher 1989:2).

THE FORTS AT SARATOGA

Fort Vrooman (1689-1690)

Based on what little is known about Fort Vrooman, perhaps even the term "fort" is hyperbole. More likely, the outpost as described in historical accounts was a fortified farmstead surrounded by a wooden palisade. Its exact location on the landscape is unknown today. We know even less about Bartel Vrooman, the farmer and

namesake. It is likely he was a tenant farmer or lessee from one of the principal owners of the Saratoga patent, but whether he was farming on Schuyler or Livingston land is yet unclear. The fortification was created in response to a French and Native attack on Saratoga in 1689, a prelude to a far more serious and deadly attack on Schenectady the following year. At least three people were killed in the assault on Vrooman's farm. By 1689, it is likely that in addition to the seasonal traders who fluctuated in and out of Saratoga (including Albany Dutch, English, French Canadians, and numerous Native groups), there was a small but growing numbers of permanent settlers farming the land. The fort likely provided a safety net for this small agricultural village.

Although the historical record is largely silent on the exact condition and location of Fort Vrooman, some insight can be gleaned from later accounts, the landscape and topography, and recent archeology. In 1749, while traveling north along the Hudson River valley, Pehr Kalm described the farmsteads as typically lying close to the river on small hills, or on the high–ground, and surrounded by large fields of maize. In addition each house had a "kitchen garden" and orchards (Kalm, et al. 1772:284-285). Within the study area, there are several elevated knolls, near and north of the later Fort Clinton that may lend themselves to the location of an early farmstead, as described by Kalm. These locations may have value for a homestead since they were elevated above any potential floods, and may have also served as a defensive feature to provide observation from these isolated and vulnerable farmsteads.

Recent archeology on Van Schaick Island in northern Albany County near the confluence of the Mohawk River and Hudson River also provides some insights. A small house or structure, dating from about 1640 to 1720 was recently unearthed, very close to the west shore of the Hudson River. The structure is currently interpreted as a traders' outpost, which had evidence of a substantial wooden palisade surrounding the structure. The artifact assemblage included a lead bale seal with a date of 1663, numerous trade pipes, a glass trade bead, and a Native American pipe (in the style of a European kaolin pipe) made of local clay (Adam Luscier p.c.).

The archeological feature was almost certainly associated with the initial occupation and use of the island by the Van Schaick family. The structure is not situated on a knoll per se, but along a gradual slope that provided easy and open access to the Hudson River. In fact, a 20th century boat launch is still located in the vicinity. Depending on whether Vrooman was more interested in farming or trading may help to dictate where his homestead and fortifications may have been located. It is recommended that reconnaissance for the fort initially focus on these elevated knolls and near access points of the Hudson River, especially at the northern end of the Study Area.

Fort Burnet (Mount Burnet) (1721–1730s)

Accounts regarding Fort, or Mount, Burnet are helpful in clarifying the location of the numerous forts in and around the Saratoga study area during the first half of the 18th century. The idea of a fort on the east side of the Hudson River has been perpetuated since Pehr Kalm's account, and was recounted in numerous secondary histories such as Brandow (1900), Thurston (1876), Sylvester (1878), and others. Parkman also confused the issue by declaring that in 1710–1711:

> Nicholson went up to Albany, whence, with about fifteen hundred men, he moved up the Hudson, built a stockade fort opposite Saratoga, and another spot known as the Great Carrying place. This latter he called Fort Nicholson-a name which it afterwards exchanged for that of Fort Lydius, and later still for that of Fort Edward…He built another fort, which was afterwards rebuilt and named Fort Anne (Parkman and Levin 1983:429-430) .

Based on the Colden maps, and descriptions from Lieutenant Blood and Governor Burnet, it appears Fort Burnet was situated "above" and opposite Saratoga along the east side of the Hudson River. Further, the fort was said to be sited on a small hill or knoll, likely along what was known as the "first carrying place," a falls and rapid just upstream of the confluence of the Hudson River and Batten Kill. The fort was built in 1721 and may have lasted until the 1730s at which time it was no longer needed, as its defined purpose had little to do with defense and more with stopping illicit trade with Canada.

To date, archeological evidence of Fort Burnet has been elusive. In the 19th century, Sylvester (1878:407) reported evidence of burials, musket balls, and guns on the hills opposite Northumberland on the Finney farm. The farm at that time was situated just east of the falls on the Hudson River in the town of Greenwich, just below the Fort Miller Bridge (see Levy's 1855 Atlas of Washington County for details).

When a fort was needed in anticipation of King George's War, a new construction closer to the settlements and farms of Saratoga proper was proposed. During the early 1740s, Colonel John Schuyler secured the necessary funds for building a fort from the Assembly and documents suggest he was negotiating the location of the fort shortly afterward. It is likely that Schuyler advocated for a new fort closer to his estate. His arguments appear to have eventually prevailed and the location of the first carrying place and the former Fort Burnet were abandoned.

Fort Saratoga/Fort Clinton (1739-1747)

With the threat of the onset of war, new fortifications were contemplated along the Hudson River to defend the northern frontier. By this time, it is likely that Fort Burnet had long been abandoned, as the policy of attempting to stop illicit trade with Canada had been proven to be ill-advised and unenforceable. As a result, a new location could be selected, one that provided greater protection for the settlement at Saratoga and one built for military purposes rather than policing activities. It is likely that Fort Burnet was set along a hill near the Hudson River portage to monitor and stop traders as they crossed over the first carrying place. Further it was sited outside of the Saratoga patent lands, likely for political and economic reasons.

Fort Clinton, as discussed in more detail below, was situated to monitor the movement of troops along the Hudson River and to command both sides of the river in case the French moved by land (Figure 8). Its location was likely selected by Colonel John Schuyler in coordination with Nicholas Schuyler, then Deputy Surveyor for the state of New York. Key to its location was likely its proximity to the Schuyler estate along the Fish Creek, and perhaps other smaller farmsteads located along the alluvial flats. Aside from the Vrooman farm, at least one other farmstead in the vicinity is known from the historical record. The Ten Broeck farm was described by an unnamed officer at the battle (likely Peter Schuyler) as lying on a small rise between Fort Clinton and the Schuyler house (Pennsylvania Journal 1747a). The fort may have also provided cover for farms on the east side on the De Ridder patent (former Van Dyke lands), and other farmsteads located further south near Coveville.

Based on the Fedory (1979 and 1980) archeological survey and historical records, the first iteration of the fort was likely 100 feet square with four bastions or blockhouses placed at the corners in 1739 (see Table 10). The design may have been similar, or exactly the same, as Fort Hunter. The fort was plagued by poor construction and commanding officers and garrison troops complained endlessly concerning the inadequate conditions of the fort, including unfinished floors, leaking roofs, and the lack of wells and ovens. By November of 1745, the first iteration of the fort was largely destroyed by the French after it was burned and plundered. While the fort was reconstructed during the fall and winter of 1745–1746, it is not clear if any of the earlier could be reused. Judging from the rapid mobilization to reestablish the defenses, it is likely that no substantial changes were made and the fort was simply repaired to a point that it could be re-occupied and garrisoned.

While the second iteration of the fort likely followed the footprint and plans of the original, the larger garrison force introduced later in 1746 required an expansion and improvement to the fort. Exactly when this happened is a matter of some speculation. Most likely, the expansion occurred when there was a significant garrison to provide cover from the construction, and when there was a need to increase the footprint of the fort to house the larger garrison. Following this line of logic, the fort was likely increased in the late summer and early autumn of 1746.

At this time, the footprint of the fort appears to have been increased by "one-half," expanding from 100 feet square to a rectangular-shaped 150 feet by about 100 feet. As part of the expansion, the former blockhouses were left within the curtain wall, creating a rectangular plan with six bastions, four in the corners and two along the sides, exactly as described by the French after the fourth battle at Saratoga in August 1747. In addition, it appears the fort was supported by a large detached storehouse and was "rabetted," likely meaning that the fort

was protected with an outer defensive work of entrenchments and angled rampart walls, but it is uncertain as to the exact meaning.

Shortly afterwards, the entire fort was burned and destroyed by the English as they retreated southwards to the protection of Albany and Schenectady. The French reported the fort to stand 150 feet long by 140 feet wide with a palisade about two feet thick (O'Callaghan 1858a:Vol. X: 147-148). The palisade may refer to the rampart walls (revetments), and the size may be an error, as the fort actually appears by this description to be more square than rectangular, as evidenced in later archeology and earlier accounts. Also at this time, twenty chimneys were still standing in the fort, suggesting there were a sizable number of quarters in the fort for troops and officers. There was no mention of a storehouse or magazine, despite the fact that some munitions were left behind.

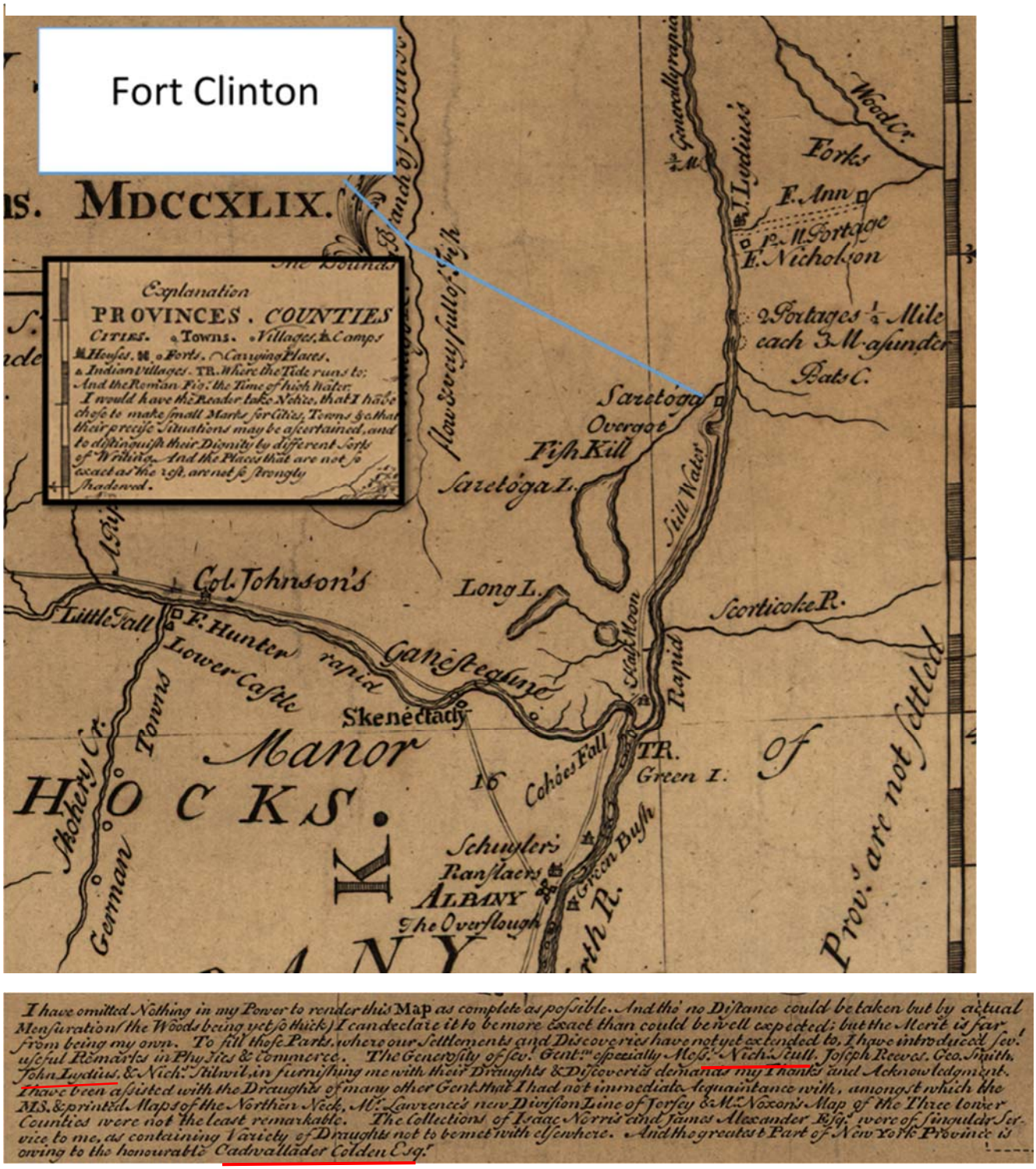
None of the historical accounts, or archeology to date, mention other important components of an 18th-century fortification. There was no mention of stables, gardens, latrines, moats, a well, of other defensive outworks such as redans. Also curious is the fact that no cemetery is mentioned. At least 65 troops were killed at Saratoga, not including the local residents who died in the first raid. In addition, the loss from smallpox and other infectious diseases must have been quite great, especially considering the accounts of poor living conditions and drainage. As such, there must have been a sizable cemetery near the fort.

Given the number of canoes and bateaux that traveled to and from the fort, it also seems likely there may have been docks, wharves, or other waterfront features, but the historical record is silent on these potential features as well. Nor is there documentation of middens or garbage dumps from the large number of troops that were at the site. Perhaps, much of the waste was thrown into the nearby river and washed away.

Table 10. Construction and evolution of Fort Saratoga/Clinton as evidenced in the historical record.

Date	Description	Details
1739	First constructed	Presumed 100 feet square with four corner bastions
1744	Fort conditions described as "poor"	
Spring 1745	Fort lacked oven, adequate well, floors of barracks never laid, roofs leaked	
Autumn 1745	First fort at Saratoga destroyed	
Winter 1745/Spring 1746	New fort rebuilt	
Spring 1746	30 soldiers garrisoned / fort in "poor" state	
Summer 1746	New "cover" to be built at fort, warrants for construction	
Autumn 1746	Fort increased by "more than one-half," large storehouse erected nearby	300 men. Six, 18-pound cannons within fort.
Winter 1746	Influx of New England troops	Additional artillery sent to fort on sleds.
June 1747	French describe fort as 150 feet by 100 feet with six barracks, four at corners and two in center, with entrenchments	
October 1747	English destroy fort after abandoning it	
November 1747	Nothing left but 20 chimneys standing, fort was estimated to be 150 feet long and 140 feet wide with wooden palisade two-feet thick.	

Figure 8. Lewis Evans map of the English colonies in 1749, and reprinted as 1752. Fort Clinton, labeled as "Saretoga" but clearly denoted as a "fort", see inset. Below is part of the legend that gives credit to the maps produced by Nicholas Schuyler, John Lydius, Cadwallader Colden, and others. It appears Evans never visited northern New York but relied heavily on the draft of the maps that other produced.



EVOLUTION OF THE LANDSCAPE

Topography

The topography and geomorphology of the landscape is an important component for reconstructing the settlement and military history of the Study Area. Geomorphology simply refers to the natural processes that help to shape the topography of an area. These process include erosion, deposition of material from floods, wind, and slope wash. The shape of the modern landscape is affected by its underlying bedrock geology, glacial advances and retreats in the distant past, and modern wetlands, streams, and rivers. To provide a sense of how the modern landscape has evolved to its current condition, a brief review of the geomorphological processes of the Study Area is presented below as examined by David De Simone, a local expert on the geomorphology of the upper Hudson River valley. A more extensive description of the modern landscape, through the eyes of archeologists is presented in the subsequent section. These data are then combined into a KOCOA analysis, or a study of the landscape in terms of its effects on military tactics and maneuvers. The KOCOA analysis provides archeologists a better sense of the opportunities and constraints presented by the historical landscape as a means to focus potential fieldwork and reconnaissance efforts.

Geomorphology

The Study Area is located on the Hudson River floodplain as shown on the 1991 topographic map (Map 1). Higher elevations in the study area occur along the river's edge with generally lower elevations toward the west side, which indicates the presence of a former flood channel. The higher floodplain elevations slightly exceed 90 feet above sea level while the lower elevations are slightly less than 80 feet above sea level. The old Champlain Canal can be seen on the 1991 map of the study area along the west edge of the parcel parallel to US Route 4. The canal was constructed within this lower-lying area, referred to here as the West Channel, which can be characterized as a linear depression in the landscape paralleling US Route 4. The West Channel extends well beyond the limits of the study area, continuing northward to the Fish Creek junction and thence northward through Schuylerville where the channel is a water-filled portion of the old Champlain Canal. To the south, the West Channel ends at "The Cove," an abandoned meander loop of the Hudson River.

Soils maps produced by the United State Department of Agriculture's Natural Resources Conservation Service lists three different sediment types represented by the three soils present within the study area (Map 18). The eastern portion of the parcel along the Hudson River consists of Tioga fine sandy loam (Tg) a sand- and gravel-based soil that develops on floodplain sediment. This sediment correlates with the higher elevations in the study area and represents a natural levee of the Hudson River. The evidence suggests that this area was once the core of a former island within the ancient river channel. The upper approximately 2 feet of this sediment is fine sand that overlies a fine sand and gravel sediment at depth. This stratigraphic sequence indicates that more recent, lower energy flooding has overtopped the natural levee, filling in parts of the old channel.

The central portion of the study area consists of Teel silt loam (Te), which developed on approximately 2.5 feet of silt that overlies a slightly coarser silt to fine sand facies, a geological term for a sediment or mineral's general character that forms under specific sedimentation conditions, reflecting a particular environment or process. This sediment represents a lateral facies change from the higher energy sandy levee sediment to the east. This facies change indicates the central portion of the parcel accumulated silt in an overbank setting west of the levee. The 2 feet of silt in the eastern area and the 2.5 feet of silt in the central area suggests a wedge of silt deposition on the modern Hudson River floodplain from lower energy floods that did not cover the levee with sand (Map 19).

The western portion of the parcel is Limerick silt loam (Lm), a poorly drained soil typical of wetlands. This silt occupies the West Channel and connected depressions that reach into the central area of the parcel. These regions of wet ground are likely flooded more frequently than the remainder of the parcel.

LIDAR imagery reveals the topography with gray shading to enhance elevation differences (Maps 20a and b). These data help to reveal a geomorphological origin and history of the parcel. The northern approximately 40% of the parcel extending to a southern limit just south of Schuyler Street reveals a more mature stage of

development of a land area inferred to be the southern tip of a larger island that extends beyond the parcel to the north. The land elevation is generally higher versus the remainder to the south. This is especially noticeable along the levee of the Hudson River which is higher in the north than it is in the south. The only wetlands are in the West Channel.

Contour lines are oriented nearly parallel to the river and to the levee. The maturity of the floodplain here indicates it was higher and drier land versus land to the south. Consequently, human use most certainly favored this northern segment and cultural materials, including the possible location of Fort Clinton, should be more likely here. Lands to the south would have been lower and wetter and more frequently flooded than this northern segment.

The southern segment of the parcel is demonstrably lower and appears distinctly different in its form than the northern segment. The higher lands suitable for human use are confined to the levee. That levee is progressively lower and less well developed, less mature, further to the south. Opposite the island in the Hudson River south of the fort, the levee appears immature and low in elevation. In addition, the central portion of the parcel in this southern segment appears very different versus the same area in the northern segment. The contours reveal thin fingers of higher ground separated by linear depressions. These can be seen in both the contours and in the shading on the LIDAR imagery. The parcel here appears "corrugated" with NE-SW oriented fingers of higher land between areas of lower land. This appearance suggests the mode of origin of the southern segment was different than that of the northern segment and reveals its immature stage of development as a portion of the floodplain.

These fingers of higher land represent splays of sediment deposited when floods overtopped the levee. It is fairly typical to see this "corrugated" land especially when the sediment splays occur downriver from an obstruction such as an island. The ongoing extension of the levee and the sediment splays to the south has blocked the West Channel at its southern end just up-river from The Cove.

A review of historical maps offers additional evidence for the landscape history of the parcel. The 1758 map shows a distinct island at the mouth of Fish Creek with a channel to the west of the island that is narrow versus the main Hudson River channel to the east. This narrow West Channel was likely more of a flood channel of the primary Hudson River channel and may even have been former distributary channels of Fish Creek at its junction with the Hudson River. The small island in the Hudson River opposite the mouth of Fish Creek on the 1758 map is the same island that today is just north of this creek junction. Fish Creek has migrated in the past 250 years well south of Fort Hardy. Both the 1830 and 1900 maps show the parcel as fully part of the floodplain. By 1900, the junction of Fish Creek with the Hudson appears the same as it is on the 1991 map.

The data gleaned from the topographic map, historical maps, soils map and LIDAR imagery together suggest a history of the development of the parcel. The northern segment originated as an island as shown on my interpretive map. This was the island on the 1758 map and the parcel was on the southern end of the island. The higher land along the Hudson River levee represents the most likely location for Fort Clinton. Southwest of a possible location of Fort Clinton is a curved narrow sub-channel that is connected to the West Channel. This sub-channel separates the southern end of the main island from a small shoal. Boat traffic along the river may have made use of the West Channel and the sub-channel.

Floods extended the island southward through the 18th and 19th centuries. The levee built southward in a manner somewhat analogous to the extension of a sand spit on a barrier island. Floods also overtopped the building levee and deposited splays of very fine sand and silt from the levee southwestward toward the West Channel. Some splays of fine sediment reached all the way across the West Channel and began to isolate it from the rest of the Hudson River. By the turn of the 20th century, sufficient deposition from floods extended the levee far enough south to join it with the curvature of the river above The Cove. The West Channel and connected low-lying areas silted in with floods through the 20th century. These floods may have increased in frequency after the construction of the Champlain Canal with its locks that maintain the Hudson River at a modest flood stage. These frequent floods deposited a wedge of silt atop the levee and across the entire northern and southern segments of the floodplain. These more recent sediments may represent some of the silt described in the soils bulletin as a 2 to 2.5-foot thick layer of silt atop slightly coarser sediment across the entire parcel.

In summary, the interpretive map depicts the hypothesized evolution of the parcel as it enlarged from being the southern tip of an island in the Hudson River. The island lengthened southward by depositing a levee but also southwestward with fingers of sediment as splays beyond the levee.

Eventually, the deposition joined the island to the mainland at its southern end near The Cove. The West Channel has slowly silted in and become a wetland adjacent to US Route 4. The West Channel facilitated the location and construction of the old Champlain Canal. The new Champlain Canal with its series of locks that seasonally maintains river level at a flood stage for shipping has contributed to frequent floods of low energy on the floodplain that have resulted in the deposition of a silt layer atop pre-canal deposits. This process of aggradation along the Hudson River has been aided by the nearly 1ft rise in global sea level since 1700 AD. This sea level rise is largely anthropogenic and most of this rise has occurred since approximately 1850 due to the increasing rate of accumulation of CO2 and CH4 in the atmosphere.

The higher and older levee of the island in the north and adjacent shoal, West Channel and the sub-channel have the highest probability for excavations and construction associated with Fort Clinton and human use that might include boat traffic along the river related to the fort.

Current Conditions and Site Reconnaissance

Hartgen archeologists made two separate site visits to the Saratoga study area on December 11 and December 16, 2013. The two walkovers were conducted to study the topography and identify natural and man-made landscape features. Several days prior to the first site visit, a light dusting of snow had fallen, but it did not hinder visibility of the plowed ground surface. The reconnaissance survey began on the raised terrace traversed by US 4 adjacent to the Fort Clinton historical marker and the dirt access road leading to a farm. From this vantage point, it was possible to view the lower river terrace comprised primarily of plowed agricultural fields, and the treeline adjacent to the Hudson River (Photo 1). Walking down the slope on the farm access road, landscape features included open water and wetlands which extended into the woods bordering the western edge of the property (Photo 2). These wetlands are associated with the no longer extant Champlain Canal, which was previously located within the treeline to the west, and the West Channel described by DeSimone. A deep man-made channel, aligned east-west had been created to drain these wetlands into the Hudson River (Photo 3).

The lower terrace was comprised primarily of level, plowed agricultural fields which extended north to the study area and property boundary line and east to the edge of the terrace landform adjacent to the Hudson River (Photo 4). The fields extend approximately 500 feet south of the man-made channel (Photo 5). Further to the south, the topography within the project area changes dramatically. The southern portion of the project area is dominated by a large expanse of wooded wetlands along the western two-thirds of the parcel (Photo 6). The eastern portion of the project area is comprised of irregularly shaped open agricultural fields, the contours of which are determined by the location of wetlands. The plowed fields in this area exhibit slightly rolling terrain with several small slightly rounded knolls present (Photo 7).

The southern third of the study area is comprised of wooded wetlands (Photo 8). There were several earthen berms and one large pit identified along the eastern side of the project area, near the Hudson River (Photos 9–11). On the western side of the project area in this southern extent, the previous alignment of the Champlain Canal is represented by an earthen berm and channel (Photos 12–13).

The Fort Clinton archeological site is located on a very slight rise on the plowed terrace, adjacent to the Hudson River and situated several hundred feet north of the man-made channel (Photos 14–15). During the site visit, several stones and artifacts were noted in the vicinity of the Fort Clinton site, including brick fragments, rusted metal, and one piece of Native American pottery (Photo 16). Directly adjacent to the surface artifacts, and located within the thin eastern treeline and raised berm, a pile of stones is present which likely represents structural stone from Fort Clinton which was plowed up and subsequently removed from the field by farmers (Photos 17–18). This raised berm, which extends along the length of the file, is present within the thin treeline which separates the plowed field from the slope down to the river. The plowed field lies several feet higher than the level of the river. Stones and bricks were noted at the side of the river, presumed to be portions of

the Fort Clinton site which have eroded out of the river bank, or were tossed over by farmers as they were plowed from the field (Photo 19). There were several areas where there was level terrain directly adjacent to the river, but these areas, as well as the sloping river bank, have evidently been eroded over time (Photo 20).

Along the riverbank just south of the man-made drainage, there was evidence of recently deposited cobble fill which is surmised to have been placed to combat erosion (Photo 21). In the field several hundred feet north of the Fort Clinton site, shovel test locations from a recent survey by URS for the EPA/GE Hudson River PCB dredging project were evident by frozen sod caps that extended above the plowed ground surface (Photo 22).

KOCOA

The topography, terrain, and other landscape features, both natural and manmade, often help to shape the particular events that occur when making decisions about the placement of military fortifications on the landscape, and during the implementation of military raids. Careful analysis of landscape and field conditions in view of military incursions can greatly assist archeologists in their efforts in reconstructing battlefield events (Map 21).

The terrain of the study area is relatively flat with little internal relief and few topographic landmarks to guide the investigation. However, as noted by Governor Clinton and Cadwallader Colden towards the end of King George's War, the fort was situated in a valley which made it completely visible to the enemy from all the hills that surround the study area on both sides of the river.

A GIS analysis of the viewshed both from the fort and into the fort provides insight into the geographical advantages and drawbacks of the fort's location along the river (Maps 22 and 23). Leaving foliage and vegetation out of the equation, aside from the area directly behind two islands located north and south of the fort, its location provides an excellent vantage point to watch movement up and down the river. The fort was also provided with moderate visiblity of the surrounding terrain on both sides of the river. Taking into account the visibility from the top of the 2.5-story blockhouses at the corners, this viewshed along the river is enhanced, especially in the areas most immediately adjacent to the fort.

The fort was completely exposed to the military road, or modern-day US Route 4, that paralleled the west side of the river. Without vegetation, virtually the entire alluvial flats within the study area are visible from the road. Even greater visibility is possible from higher along the slope of the hill to the west that leads up from US Route 4 to a height of about 225 feet above sea level. This would have provided not only an excellent view of the fort, but also of any enemy movement along the military road, such as foraging or scouting parties returning to the fort.

There is little information in the historic record, unfortunately, concerning trees or other vegetation and cover. Given that the alluvial flats along the river were eagerly farmed since about 1689, it is likely that most of the river terrace was cleared of trees. St.-Luc during the final assault on Fort Clinton in August 1747 watched an English detachment march through "a fine meadow" following along the edge of the river (La Corne de Saint Luc 1747:15). The meadow was likely fallowed fields left abandoned after the initial destruction of Saratoga in November 1745, as farming would have been a dangerous activity in this exposed position. It is possible that the steeply sided hills along the river valley in and around Saratoga were left forested. If so, the trees would have provided cover for the French and their allies should they have chosen to observe the fort in the open fields below.

Taking into account these variables, along with other modern topographic features, an analysis of the general conditions of the battlefield at Saratoga can be undertaken. More particular discussion is devoted to each of the four battles following, and a hypothetical reconstruction of the movements and conditions of the battlefield are presented on a series of maps, in an attempt to locate significant battlefield features that might be the subject of future archeological investigation.

The battlefield terrain was analyzed using the KOCOA method devised by the United States military. For centuries, military scholars have observed guiding principles concerning the landscape when planning battles. More recently, the United States military has created a formula to better understand and discuss some of these guiding principles concerning the landscape when planning the placement of military installations, and during the implementation of military forays and raids. KOCOA is an acronym that stands for Key Terrain, Observation Points and Fields of Fire, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles to Movement, and Avenues of Approach and Retreat. By evaluating historic landscape elements with these criteria, it may be possible to better interpret historic documentation of accounts of the battle and raids. In addition, this information can aid in interpreting the location of battles and fortifications within the study area.

Key Terrain

Within and immediately surrounding the study area, four specific areas of Key Terrain are present: the Hudson River and its islands; the elevated knolls on the alluvial flats; the raised terrace between the flats and the hillsides on the west side of the river, and the mouth of Fish Creek into the Hudson River.

Hudson River and Hudson River Islands

The location of Fort Clinton on a terrace overlooking the river is significant. The fort was not only reliant on the river as a water source, but it also served as a natural travel corridor and an observation point which allowed views up and down river to the islands and the river ford and possible bridge location to the north. The islands created a natural narrowing of the river which could be strategic for reconnaissance and channeling/localizing enemy forces approaching by the waterway. The Hudson River provided a measure of protection to Fort Clinton, preventing a direct foot assault from the east. An amphibious assault could have been undertaken, but the fort's commanding position at the top of a steep river bank would have made such an assault challenging. Further, the field view from the east side of the fort would have provided ample opportunity to observe such an assault well in advance of landfall and disembarkation.

Elevated Knolls on Alluvial Terrace

Fort Clinton is located on a small slightly elevated knoll overlooking relatively flat topography adjacent to the river. Today, the previous location of the fort is indicated by artifacts on the plowed ground surface, and the presence of stones along the raised treeline separating the field from the river. The raised ridge bordering the field and overlooking the Hudson River is most likely a result of building up with rocks, etc., and the removal and run off of soil from the field.

There may have been more topographic relief on the alluvial terrace before centuries of farming and land clearing contributed to a flatter, more uniform surface. It is quite possible that the floodplain had been cleared of trees by early settlers or earlier by Native Americans. A mid-18th-century traveler's account noted that at this time most of the farms, or cleared lands, north of Albany were located immediately along the river (Fitch 1849:904). Near Saratoga, he noted that "[i]nsulated tracts had been cleared, turned into cornfields and meadows before the war, but were now wholly unoccupied….It is observed that the flats here were mostly cleared and had a good soil; and that the mills built before the war had been very profitable, timber being so abundant" (Fitch 1849:906).

Additional small knolls are located along the river bank in the northern portion of the study area. These landscape features are potential candidates for the earlier Fort Vrooman/Fort Schuyler or other logistical areas or features associated with the battles. These knolls were investigated in the field and through GIS viewshed analysis to determine if they would have been more or less advantageous terrain for the location of a fort or other features. The viewshed analysis of the three knolls north and one south of Fort Clinton suggested that views from these locations may have been inhibited by the nearby islands and the slight curve in the Hudson River adjacent to the study area. A viewshed analysis of the Fort Clinton site confirms that this was the most advantageous position for providing views north, up river, and a relatively shorter distance south, down river.

Raised Terrace between Alluvial Terrace and Hill Slopes

A slender terrace, located between the Hudson River floodplain (to the east) and the relatively steep hill slopes (to the west), is a natural travel corridor, and the present location of US 4. It is believed that this would have also been the location of a military road in the early historic period. Historical maps as early as 1758 show a road along this corridor. The road was likely located along the terrace as wetlands and streams were likely to have been located at the foot of the slope along the edges of the alluvial flats, as evidenced on the 1756 Loring map (Map 13).

The Mouth of Fish Creek at the Hudson River

The mouth of Fish Creek and the falls on the creek invited historic settlement, and provided the waterpower needed for the many early mills established at this location. Military installments were established in this strategic location near the falls, which occurred near a portage or carrying place and the natural ford in the Hudson River, to monitor travel through the area and to protect the civilian settlement of Saratoga and Schuylerville. The location of Fort Clinton may have been determined by the previously established industrial activities and farmsteads.

Fish Creek also likely provided important food sources for the garrison at Fort Clinton, as observed by Marin in his attack in 1746 when the French observed a large fishing party wading in the stream. Despite the opportunities presented by the creek, however, it also provided an important avenue of approach and retreat for the French. From Fort Clinton, it is not possible to observe the movement of troops along the lower portion of the bed of Fish Creek, especially if the water was low. As such, the French likely continually utilized the valley as a screen to approach the fort relatively unnoticed. Also, from a position along the banks of the creek it was possible to reconnoiter the fort without detection for a significant period of time.

Observation Points and Fields of Fire

Fort Clinton itself provided the English with supremacy in the battlefield, as it stood as a key observation point and commanding position on the lower alluvial terraces for both small arms fire and artillery. Therefore, late in 1747, is known to have been complimented with six-pound and eighteen-pound cannons that could fire both canister and solid shot.

Given the relatively open nature of the alluvial flats, the English could effectively fire the six-pounders on the enemy along both shores of the Hudson River and virtually all of the large island south of the fort. The range included only the northern half of the study area with grape shot, and most of the southern end of the study area with solid shot.

The eighteen-pound cannons, with their significantly longer range, could easily fire both grape and solid shot within the entire study area. In addition, they could command both of the islands north and south of the fort, and the hillsides along both the east and west flanks of the river valley, as well as the entire mouth of Fish Creek. However, from the fort, the cannons could not provide cover to any settlement further south near the Cove.

Small arms were limited to a range between 100 and 200 yards along the perimeter of the fort. The loop holes in the blockhouse would have allowed for "enfilade" along the curtain wall, should the enemy make it to the fort's perimeter. The sloped revetments or ramparts would have likely helped to prevent a direct assault. The sloped or angled walls of the ramparts would have allowed small arms fire onto an attacking enemy, thus preventing the enemy from using the walls as a shield. A trench along the back of the ramparts would have also allowed defenders to protect the fort from the exterior. However with a covered way or sally port into and out of the fort, this may not have been a viable option.

Once outside of the fort and on the battlefield, the landscape provided the salient points of observation and fields of fire for both sides in the conflict. Since the French were not able to leverage artillery support in their attacks on Saratoga, the discussion focuses solely on small arms fire. Should the French, however, have been

able to bring artillery to bear in any of the battles Fort Clinton would certainly have been bombarded and likely would have capitulated, as the hillsides west of the fort would have given the French a commanding position from which to fire.

Hillsides

The hillsides west of the military road and US Route 4 held some advantages for the French. Small arms fire would not have been able to reach the fort from any of these elevated positions. However, any English westward advance towards the hillside or any travelers along the military road would have been fully exposed to small arms fire. From a vantage point along the hillside, a small enemy force could have easily controlled the military road preventing advance and retreat.

Elevated terraces

The elevated terraces near the fort would have also provided an ideal position to observe the movement of forces into and out of the fort and a place from which small arms fire could be directed. Four principal terraces have been identified within the study area. The first is the location of Fort Clinton, and would not have provided any advantage to the French. The second is located immediately to the south of the fort, near a modern drainage system. It is possible this modern feature expanded and improved a natural drainage feature. If that is the case, the associated terrace would have been ideal for the French, providing an associated avenue of approach and retreat largely shielded from the view of the fort. Its proximity to the fort, however, would likely have rendered the terrace of little use to the advancing enemy, as it would have been well exposed to small arms fire from the 2.5-story bastions of the fort and artillery shelling. The third and fourth terraces and a fifth terrace just outside of the study area north of the fort would have been better suited for the enemy's approach. The terraces not only provided key observation points and angles of fire, but the backside of the terraces also provided concealment and cover for positioned enemy troops. The fifth terrace, the largest and northernmost of the landforms, likely played a major role in the Herbin and St-Luc attacks of 1747.

Southern Island

The large island in the Hudson just south of the fort, would also have been an ideal observation point for the French. From this position, it would have been possible to watch the English garrison around the south side of the fort, while covered and concealed along the western shore of the island. From this position, however, small arms would have little effect except for engaging forces along the immediate shore line of the Hudson River on the west side.

Cover and Concealment

Forest Cover

There are several historic documents which attest to the presence of thick forests located south of Schuylerville. In 1779, a traveler along the Hudson River wrote "The woods between Glens Falls and Fort George were the most dark, doleful and dangerous I ever saw….an enemy might anywheres have darted upon us out of the thick woods and murdered us without any change for our escape" (Adler 1983:87). Similarly, a retired soldier wrote, "From Glens Falls to Fort George, it was all woods and an enemy might at any moment start out from behind the trees along the road and be upon us without a moment's warning" (Adler 1983:99). During King George's War, many of the military details from Fort Clinton were captured or killed when on patrol outside the confines of the fort, including the 1747 French and Indian ambush made between the fort and Fish Creek. In 1745, the building of six blockhouses at Saratoga was considered "a work of much peril, as Indians were constantly lurking in the woods, to cut off every person found apart from his comrades" (Fitch 1849:904).

The exact location of the forest cover around Fort Clinton however is not clear. It is likely that provisioning parties would have cleared the area immediately around the fort, beyond the defensive outworks quite quickly. This may have included the nearby islands. Without trees it would have been easier to monitor the islands and denied the opportunity for cover of the enemy. As a result, the area around the fort would have been a

patchwork of open meadow and trees, as the surrounding trees were intentionally removed for the fort and haphazardly removed thereafter for firewood. It is assumed there was forest on the steeper hill slopes on the east and west side of the river and perhaps along the banks of Fish Creek.

Hudson River

The Hudson River shoreline and its islands offered terrain for cover and concealment for the French and their allies. This is especially true of the steep west shore of the Hudson River, as it provided some measure of cover from observation of the English within Fort Clinton. Also, the east side of the island south of the fort, and the south banks of the Fish Creek would have provided more distant points of cover for the French.

Wetlands /Elevated terraces

The wetlands or low marshy areas in and around the study area may have also served as some measure of concealment for the French. The north and west side of the elevated terraces within the floodplain may have also served as cover from enemy troops. The French were known to have used both the wetlands and elevated terraces in combination to conceal themselves from advancing enemy troops, especially in the case of St.-Luc's attack and the capture of Lt. Chew's troops during the Fourth Battle of Saratoga in 1747.

Obstacles

Although the landscape may have contained man-made obstacles in the form of mantelet, chevaux-de-frise, abbattis, and other wooden defensive outworks, there is almost no mention of these features in the historical record. The sole exception is the wooden rampart that was possibly built around Fort Clinton in the summer of 1747. Regardless, there may have been other naturally occurring obstacles on the battlefield landscape.

Wetlands, Streams, Creeks, and the Hudson River

Fort Clinton was effectively situated on an island. The combination of wetlands and drainages to the west and south, Fish Creek to the north, and the Hudson to the east, provided a natural moat, which is best seen on the 1758 map of the Study Area (Map 14). The wetlands to the west and south filled in the West Channel described as part of the geomorphological landscape. This would have provided a natural barrier to potential attack from the south and west and while it would not have stopped a potential French assault, it definitely would have slowed them down. In addition to the wetlands, a series of natural levees and the rolling topography in the southern end of the study area would also have been a significant obstacle to a direct assault. As a result, virtually all of the battlefield action appears, from the historical record at least, to be focused at the northern end of the Study Area, as the French forged Fish Creek and used its valley for concealment along with the backside of a line of several small terraces.

While the wetlands created a natural barrier to slow a French assault from the south, it also became an obstacle for quick and easy troop movements by the English soldiers in that direction. The need to cross the drainages and swamps where bridges or natural fords were located made the movement of English troops into and out of the area highly predictable. As described in the 1747 eyewitness accounts of the Third Battle of Saratoga, the rising waters in the swamp forced the Fort Clinton garrison to travel northward past the Schuyler house to gain access to the roadway near there, instead of directly accessing the road to the west. In this way, the wetlands made a barrier which channeled the British garrison along a specific route, at the end of which the French were lying in wait.

Portions of the project area were extensively altered during the construction of the Champlain Canal in the early 19th century, which may have drastically changed the area's natural hydrology. Often, the study of early topographic maps helps in determining the amount and type of land alteration made to modern landscapes. However, because the Champlain Canal was a major construction undertaking predating any detailed topographic maps, it is unclear how this feature affected the natural landscape of the 17th and 18th centuries. Despite the complications from canal construction, it is clear from the geomorphological study and historical

accounts that wetlands and drainage were a major limiting factor in troop movements into and out of the fort and the study area during a battle or daily maneuvers.

Avenues of Approach and Retreat

The Military Road and US Route 4

A military road traversed the study area, roughly along the same route as modern-day US Route 4, probably dating to the first trading excursions by Europeans in this region. The present-day location of US Route 4 is situated on a natural, narrow terrace situated between the Hudson River floodplain to the east and the steep hillsides to the west. This natural travel corridor would have been a likely location for a road linking the major settlements along the west side of the river. The 1747 eyewitness accounts of the Third Battle of Saratoga by Fort Clinton soldiers indicates the presence of a road that was located up the hill from the Schuyler house and adjacent wetlands. The soldier's account shows how the surrounding wetlands limited direct access to the fort from the road, but also how the road remained exposed to effective attack by the French. In order to circumvent the high waters of the swamp, the returning detachment had to travel north to the Schuyler farm, where "[a]s soon as they came to Mr. Tenbrook's[27] Farm, a party of 60 French and Indians, who lay in Ambush behind a small rising Ground within 40 Yards of the Road fired a Volley on Proctor's Party, killed 8 on the spot and wounded several others" (Boston News-Letter 1747b). This demonstrates that while the road provided an easier and drier point of access to the fort, it still was exposed to attack by the French from the flanking hillsides to the west and other small rises surrounding the Schuyler farm.

The road was part of a longer system of roads paralleling the Hudson River connecting Albany and other major settlements with farms along the valley, like the Schuyler estate. It is not clear how far to the north the road continued during King William's and King George's Wars. A map dated c. 1756 by Captain Joshua Loring clearly shows a road or trail established along the floodplain extending to the north, likely to connect with the recent completed Fort Miller on the west side of the river (Loring 1756). Historic documents indicate that a military road built in 1709 linked Saratoga with Fort Edward to the north: "From opposite Schuylerville, a road was cut, up the east side of the river to Fort Edward and thence by way of Wood Creek to Whitehall, a distance of forty miles through a heavy forest" (Fitch 1849:906). This road may have provided a relatively easy crossing of the Hudson River over an island in the center of the channel to the east side and eventually northward to Wood Creek. It is likely there was something of a road on both the east and west side of the river above Saratoga during the entire 18th century, but its scale and level of maintenance is not known. Detailed descriptions of roads and trails are not discussed in the historic record until after King George's War and Pehr Kalm's travels.

Exactly which roads the French utilized to advance to Fort Clinton from Fort St. Fredrick is not clear. The KOCOA analysis suggests, however, that once in proximity to Fort Clinton, the French would have crossed the river and advanced south through modern-day Schuylerville and over the Fish Creek, where they would have been afforded a measure of cover.

Hudson River

The Hudson River was vital as an avenue of approach and retreat by bateaux and canoe. Fort Clinton was likely situated in its location to ensure that large groups of troops and materiel could not be floated down river.

[27] Likely the farm was situated on the lot then owned by Dirck Wessels Ten Broeck

As such, it effectively served to stop the advance and retreat of the French through the Hudson River in this area. The French typically avoided the water in this area, instead preferring movement along paths and roads.

Summary

The KOCOA and geomorphological analyses of the study area shed additional light on some of the historical accounts of Fort Clinton and the nature of the military engagements during King William's and King George's Wars. Fort Clinton suffered from poor troop morale and retention based on the historical documents, most of which could be attributed to poor living conditions, the unfinished state for the fort, inadequate provisions, and the unchallenged, effective advances of the French and their allies. The geomorphological investigation of the study area suggests that, even before the construction of the Champlain Canal, this location was circumscribed tightly by the wetlands, steep hillsides, and the ancient West Channel, a low-lying flood channel, all of which effectively isolated Fort Clinton on an island. While the fort's position was effective for monitoring traffic along the river and the military road, it was fully exposed to scouting parties who could monitor activities within the fort or the surrounding floodplain from nearly all directions. This meant that any foraging or scouting parties heading out of the fort could easily be cut off if the French were watching. Easy points of egress to the fort were also limited by the surrounding terrain. This implies that the fort was likely oriented to the north towards the Schuyler estate, but also suggests that British troop movements were predictable and vulnerable. The exposed nature of the fort and the geomorphology combined to make Fort Clinton a miserable and terrifying place for British troops facing a relentless, nearly invisible French attack and soggy existence on the Hudson River floodplain.

Identification of Potential Military Archeological Features on the Landscape

The KOCOA analysis provides a baseline for combining the historical accounts with the actual landscape in order to determine potential archeological features and landscape elements associated with the battle. This, in turn, helps to narrow down the focus of subsequent field reconnaissance efforts. The goal of the French with respect to Saratoga was very clear from their actions, at least during King George's War: destroy Fort Clinton. Fort Clinton was the northernmost of the British frontier defenses and by commanding the upper Hudson River, French forces from Fort St. Fredrick would have open access to northern New York and western New England, and the heart of Iroquois territory. The French had a hard enough time provisioning their southernmost outpost at Fort St. Fredrick, so it is likely that the French did not intend to occupy Fort Clinton. The British fort also offered a direct threat to the French position at Fort St. Fredrick as an obvious mustering point for a major advance aimed at driving the French out of the lower Champlain Valley.

Despite its "poor condition" and likely inadequate design and materials, the various iterations of Fort Clinton were sufficient to keep the French from undertaking a significant campaign through the upper Hudson River valley. The garrison posed enough of a threat to keep the French from mounting a sustained endeavor on some settlement like Albany that would have required large number of troops and complex logistics for food and supplies. Without artillery to break open the fort, the French were not able to directly attack the fortification. Further, a sustained siege with a large number of troops was unfeasible in part due to the lack of French regulars, as Native allies were often unwilling to engage in siege-type warfare. Although located within the frontier, Fort Clinton was in close enough proximity to Albany and Schenectady that reinforcements could be quickly mobilized to break any efforts at a prolonged siege. In recognizing the limitations posed by Fort Clinton, the French either waited for small parties of British troops to leave the fort or lured them out with trickery and deception. Once outside of the fort, these smaller contingents were exposed to monitoring and attack from all sides by the French.

Instead of an artillery attack or siege, the French chose "maneuvering warfare," a modern military concept developed in response to Middle East warfare, but also with a long history throughout the world and North America. Maneuvering warfare consists of engaging an enemy with small, rapidly moving forces that could strike quickly and melt away into the wilderness. By sending small and repeated waves of detachments from Fort St. Fredrick, the French largely mimicked the effects of a prolonged siege without the inherent drawbacks. While the French forces were not waiting *en masse* right outside the gates, their near constant presence within a

tight radius of the fort created the psychological effect of a siege. These small parties struck at British detachments from the fort escorting troops or materiel, or attacked provisioning parties while they were vulnerable on the march. By stressing the garrison within the fort with these raids, as well as their supply lines, the fort hoped the English would abandoned the fort at untenable. Based on the historical accounts of desertion and mutiny and complemented by the adverse conditions offered by the topography and hydrology, this method seemed to have the desired effect. These small precisely targeted waves of raids, attacks, ambushes, and short battles left the English command and control structure confused and ineffective. The English colonial government, in part due to financial and political restrictions and instability, could not mount an effective counter-campaign until the closing months of the war, once Iroquois forces could be deployed against French positions. As such, throughout most of the war, the English colonial government did not provide a comprehensive objective to the garrison at Fort Clinton. By default, the English commanders at the fort were forced to maintain a defensive position at the fort, reserving the garrison and troops within the fort merely for protection. Without a clear mandate for action or a definitive offensive objective, the troops and commanders at Fort Clinton grew restive. The effects were exacerbated by the effective French campaign of maneuvering warfare. Through persistent pressure, the French finally succeeded in arresting the threat from Fort Clinton.

King William's War (1689-1697)

During King William's War, it is believed that a small raid occurred on the Vrooman farm, which eventually led to it being fortified (palisaded) and garrisoned with a small detachment of English troops from Albany and Schaghticoke Natives. The military engagement was likely limited, and the frontier settlement was quickly overrun by French and Native allies. The archeological footprint of the skirmish is likely extremely limited and easily confounded with many of the later engagements within the area.

King George's War (1744-1748)

During King George's War, the primary military encounters in the Saratoga area were focused on the Schuyler estate and associated settlements and Fort Saratoga/Fort Clinton. The most significant event was the 1745 First Battle of Saratoga in which a force of 500 French and Indian allies from Fort St. Fredrick attacked the village, burning 30 houses, several mills, and the fort as well as killing, scalping, and capturing soldiers and residents. The event can be characterized more as a raid than a battle as English military forces never engaged the French in any organized fashion. Militia and regular forces, if any were present, had abandoned the fort and allowed the French unencumbered access to the battlefield. As a result, Monsieur Marin's men and his Native allies were not constrained by the landscape and English defenses. Their movements over the battlefield were likely wide-ranging and haphazard. Their advance would have been from the north, first attacking the Schuyler estate and then continuing south to the fort, and further south to other settlements. By taking the estate first, this would have provided them additional cover on their advance towards the fort, as well. A hypothetic model of Marin's movements to the south is presented in Map 24.

A series of short skirmishes in 1746 likely did not extend into the study area and are not discussed in more detail here. These include the May 1746 attack on a fishing party in Fisk Creek, an attack on a small party collecting clay for chimneys in September 1746, and an October 1746 raid on Captains Hart and Langdon's men about one mile from the fort.

The Second Battle of Saratoga in 1747 was a skirmish located outside of the fort along the military road, likely to the west. The exact location of the engagement is not clear in the historical records. Without the artillery or superior numbers to directly confront the fort, the French were content with "hit and run" engagements. The battle may have been located along the modern US Route 4 corridor, immediately west of Fort Clinton. The exact location of the skirmish is unknown, nor is it known how the French managed to engage the English detachment. Presumably, they hid along the wooded roadside for cover and concealment. The attack likely happened near the fort in an effort to "draw out" more of the garrison so they could be engaged, but this is speculative without corroborating archeological evidence (Map 25).

The Third Battle of Saratoga featured Lieutenant Herbin's attack on the fort in April 1747. Herbin surprised a small British provisioning detachment north of the fort. The French troops, likely anticipating the movements

of the English, ambushed the detachment as they crossed over a small ridge near the Ten Broeck farm. Herbin and his troops were concealed on the north side of the hill and along a wetland swelled by recent rains. Captain Trent and Lieutenant Proctor's troops marched northwestward towards the ambuscade. After the first volley from the initial skirmish line, the English troops likely moved eastward and northward to the protection of the nearby marshes and river bank. While pinned along the wetlands, a second skirmish line developed along the left flank east of Herbin's position.

Captain Hart and Ensign Langdon led a group of reinforcements from the garrison, who quickly approached the French position. A third skirmish line developed largely along the original line between the French and Captain Trent and Lieutenant Proctor. A third detachment of English troops, commanded by Lieutenant Johnston and Lieutenant Hall pushed northwest of the French to outflank their position on the west. Sensing their position was no longer tenable, the French retreated northward, likely crossing the Fish Creek immediately north of their concealed position. While Herbin retreated, the English did not actively pursue the French and instead limped back to the safety of the fort. A potential reconstruction of the French position, the movements of the English detachments, and the resulting skirmish lines that developed are presented on Map 26.

The fourth and final battle at Saratoga occurred in June 1747. In many ways, this was the most effective and sustained French attack on Fort Clinton. Like all of the skirmishes and battles before, this event was a tactical draw. However, the demoralizing effects of the maneuvering warfare undertaken by the French reached its height with St.-Luc's attack. The battle occurred over several days and during the entire affair the French had complete control of the battlefield. The relatively large French force of over 200 troops were outnumbered by the English, but they maintained tactical advantage over the English. Although the French failed to dislodge the garrison, and attempts to burn the fort down were unsuccessful, the battle paid dividends for the French by the end of 1747. Without clear support from the English colonial government and acknowledging the results of this withering siege, manning the fort at Saratoga was no longer possible. The battle allowed the French to score a strategic victory over the English in the fall, when the English abandoned and destroyed the fort.

St.-Luc's approach to the fourth battle began with reconnoitering in and around the fort, followed by an eventual advance to roughly the same position taken up by Herbin in the spring. Utilizing his native troops, St.-Luc was able to draw out a sizable detachment from the garrison who were neatly led into the ambuscade. The first skirmish line is represented by an attack on a small British party just outside of the fort (Map 27). Lieutenant Chew and a detachment of nearly 100 men marched along the edge of river, turned to the west and were immediately greeted by a volley from St.-Luc and his main body concealed on the northwest side of an elevated terrace. Lieutenant Chew's advance over the battlefield dissolved as many of the men ran back to cover in the fort or were killed or captured by the French.

The English were able to bring their artillery to bear (Map 28), firing both solid shot and canister onto the enemy position. The effects were likely minimal as St.-Luc's main body had already begun to chase the fleeing English. As the English and French engaged in close combat, the artillery fire was no longer effective and likely ceased.

Like the Herbin attack, the English sent forth a detachment but they stayed close to the fort providing minimal cover for the retreating English forces. The secondary detachment never fully engaged the French and swiftly retreated to the cover of the fort. By this time, the French were likely well dispersed across the battlefield and in such proximity to the fort that English artillery could be utilized. The French likely stayed outside of the range of small arms fire and tarried along the battlefield for a period of time. While most of the French troops retreated northwards, St.-Luc remained behind for a period of time, likely re-occupying his initial position to reconnoiter the movements of the troops within the fort.

Summary

Most of the action within the study area was associated with the Third and Fourth Battles of Saratoga in 1747. Both occurred primarily in the northern extent of the study area between the fort and Fish Creek. Evidence of the second battle may likely be found along the former military road along the western extent of the study area,

following the modern route of US Route 4 and the Champlain Canal. Due to the later disturbances associated with the road and canal, evidence of the second battle may be difficult to find today.

Evidence of the First Battle may likely be found scattered throughout the study area, but there is no indication from the historical record that the French and English were actively engaged around the fort before it was burned. Several other skirmishes that occurred in 1746 were near the fort, but each was likely well outside of the study area and not analyzed in detail here.

Previous Archeological Investigations

Archeological Overview of Fort Clinton

The documentary and map research conducted for this project has highlighted the fact that specific details about the location of all but one of the Saratoga forts is elusive within the period of study. While this makes the definite identification of the other fort sites more difficult, the advantage will be that when identified, the sites may be better preserved because of their anonymity on the landscape.

Fort Clinton is the only Saratoga fort built or utilized during King William's or King George's Wars whose location is known. Its location was originally suggested by Brandow (1900:49). Since avocational military history enthusiasts positively identified the site in the 1960s, there have been a number of avocational surveys and excavations conducted here. A number of these investigations, including surface collections, metal detector surveys and excavations were conducted by Edward Fedory between 1978 and 1982. To date, no professional archeological investigations have been conducted at Fort Clinton. At the nearby Schuyler house, archeological investigations were conducted by John Cotter and Edward Larrabee in 1958 and 1959, and David Starbuck between 1985 and 1987 (Starbuck 1999:85 and 1987).

In order to attain a better understanding of Fort Clinton and its archeological potential, available archeological data was examined. This investigation focused on the study of artifact collections and field notes from the avocational excavations, metal detector surveys and surface collections. The further study of these collections and documents, including a recently taped interview with Ed Fedory, will allow specific recommendations for future research which can further our understanding of the site.

Archeological Excavations at Fort Clinton in the 1960s

There are many details about Fort Clinton that were acquired from previous studies which can help in guiding future archeological research at the site. Initial investigations were undertaken by Anthony Sassi, Jr., then 19 years old along with Percy Dake and Harry Haven (The Saratogian 1960) (Figure 9). Their investigations discovered a significant portion of what was likely the southeast bastion of the fort in 1960. The artifacts, photographs and other documentation from those excavations have not been found. Unfortunately, Anthony Sassi passed away several years ago in 2006. An interview recently with his widow was not able to produce any relevant information concerning the excavations at Fort Clinton. The excavations also drew the attention of Robert Lord, then curator at Fort William Henry. The owner of the property at the time of the excavations, Polley E. Germain, was considering selling the parcel.

During a recent interview, Robert Lord indicated he had considered purchasing the property in an effort to create a historic interpretive park similar to that at Fort William Henry. In need of significant artifacts to furnish the potential museum and park, Lord rented a mine-detector (large metal-detector) to sweep the field in search of important finds. When the detection failed to produce a large assemblage of material, Lord turned his attention to other ventures and passed on the property. However, his name later surfaced in an article in the NYSAA Bulletin suggesting he had a continued interest in exploring and developing the property (Hayes 1960). Lord also indicated that Louis Follett had also undertaken some excavations at the site.

The same article suggested that Harry Havens of the Morgan Chapter of the NYSAA conducted limited excavations. Havens believed that Fort Clinton measured approximately 135 feet by 165 feet, enclosing a warehouse and four barracks, with 12-foot high wooden palisades connecting the blockhouses. He identified

two flat fieldstones approximately one foot below the ground surface, possibly representing a fireplace hearth. Havens continued excavating and uncovered "what appeared to be a low wall or foundation 30 inches wide, about 18 inches high, by 24 feet long with two 12 foot return walls leading over the river bank. The river had washed away the rest of the foundation". He surmised that this was a 24-foot square stone foundation wall from one of the four blockhouses which made up the rectangular-shaped log fort (Hayes 1960).

It is possible the Morgan Chapter and/or others continued excavations at the site through the 1960s, however, there are no records of these activities. The Morgan and Auringer–Sealy Chapters of the NYSAA were both contacted in an effort to locate possible records associated with excavations at Fort Clinton, however, to date none have been identified.

Archeological Excavations at Fort Clinton in the 1980s

Fedory's excavations provide similar details about the blockhouse foundation walls (Figure 10). In a recent interview, he indicated that the four foundations of the earlier fort were substantially built stone walls, measuring 18–24 inches wide and two feet high. The intact stone foundations were located approximately two feet beneath the plow zone. He indicated that the northwest blockhouse foundation sat at a slightly higher elevation under the soil, so that the farmer had to plow around the stonework. (NPS email memo 4/5/2012).

Solid stone floor features were identified in the two of the blockhouses in a location designated "Site 6" by Fedory, from which he inferred that this was the site of the original four blockhouses before the fort was burned, rebuilt and enlarged. The newer blockhouses that were constructed the year after the fire when the fort was enlarged were not believed to have solid stone floors (Fedory 1978-80:10/7/79).

Stone foundations, blockhouse walls, and floors were identified, as well as other structural features, including a possible drainage feature, brick chimney bases and remnants of the wooden stockade. Excavations were conducted at the northeast blockhouse site, which was thought to contain the fort's magazine. During excavation, an attempt was made to pierce the western wall, but this was unsuccessful as the majority of the foundation interior was filled with large stones. It was hypothesized that the stones not only provided a base for proper drainage, but also prevented the enemy from digging a tunnel under the blockhouse in order to blow it up (Fedory 1978-80: 12/2/78).

At Site 6, the remains of a brick chimney were identified approximately 12 feet from the northeast corner of the blockhouse foundation. Bricks were found to a depth of 3 to 3.5 feet below the ground surface. Also identified in this area were the remains of the stockade wall which was comprised of a line of rotting upright logs (Fedory 1978-80:10/7/79). From these excavation notes, we are able to elicit information concerning the approximate depth and possible composition and alignment of features.

The Fort Clinton site was initially reported to the ORPHP by Richard Allen, a local historian, in 1968. He named the area "sites of old colonial fort," and the area was designated as A09-16-0006. Several years later, in 1972, Paul Huey also submitted a site form for Fort Saratoga (Fort Clinton), likely from the results published in the NYSAA Bulletin. Although ostensibly the same sites, the OPRHP designated Fort Saratoga (Fort Clinton) as A091-16-0010. An updated site form is presented in Appendix 2 for both site numbers.



SUBWAY TO HISTORY — Polley E. Germain stands atop the stone wall uncovered on his land on the banks of the Hudson about half-a-mile south of Schuylerville. The wall is believed to be a part of the battlements of famous Fort Clinton, built in 1745, burned at the order of Governor Clinton in 1747.

Figure 9. A view of the excavations at Fort Clinton in 1960 with the property owner, Polley E. Germain, standing atop of exposed foundation stones the excavations were undertaken by Anthony Sassi, Jr., Percy Dake, and Harry Haven (The Saratogian 1960).

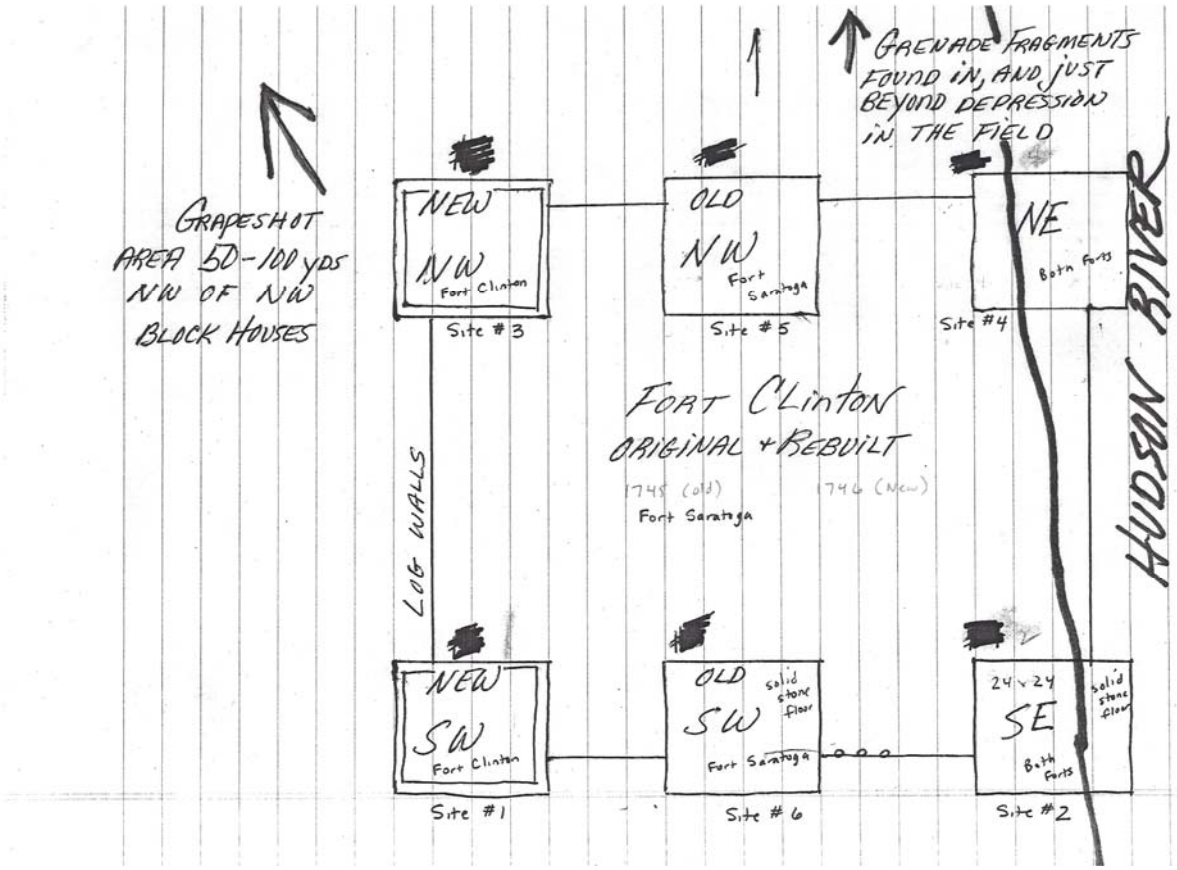


Figure 10. A schematic sketch of the excavations undertaken by Ed Fedory in the 1980s. In all, six sites focused on each of the blockhouses or bastions were idenfitied. The collection, however, includes materials from across the fort and even the nearby fields.

Fort Clinton Collections

The Fort Clinton artifact assemblage presently in the collections of Saratoga National Historical Park was studied by the principal investigators on December 10, 2013. This assemblage was collected by Ed Fedory during his investigations of the site between 1978 and 1982. According to his field notes, he conducted the majority of his work at Fort Clinton. He identified several of the blockhouses, each of which was designated as a distinct site. The excavations were identified by site, and often by the location of a wall within a blockhouse site. The SARA 390 artifact collection was comprised primarily of military and potentially military-related artifacts, with some outstanding examples of 18th-century military accoutrements. The collection contained several high-quality buckles and buttons, as well as knife blades, musket balls, case shot, gun flints, a frizzen or pan, a bayonet, rosehead nails, and a horseshoe. Only a few of the artifacts contained provenience information, and those were only very general in nature. This collection is small, and because of the paucity of provenience data, it is considered to have limited archeological use beyond providing a sense of the types of artifacts likely present in the study area.

The investigations conducted range from simple surface collection to intensive metal detector survey and large scale excavations. One description of site excavation suggests the type of impact to the site soils and stratigraphy that might be anticipated when the Fort Clinton site is professionally investigated in the future: "A large hole was dug though the frozen ground and excavated to a depth of between 4.5 and 5 feet. Area measuring approximately 4' x 7' was excavated, leaving the upper 14" of frozen ground above as a ceiling" (Fedory:1979; 1/21/79).

The excavations conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s produced a wide variety of artifact types, including military ordnance and accoutrements, structural material, personal items, food remains, bottles, and ceramic

wares. An analysis of the two separate reports comprising the field notes written by Fedory – *Excavations at Fort Clinton, Schuylerville, NY 1978-79* and *Excavations at Fort Clinton, Schuylerville, NY 1980-81, 1982* – indicated the range of material that was encountered in the excavations, which included musket balls (Photo 23), case shot (Photo 23), bird shot, gun flints (Photo 24), musket and scabbard parts (Photo 25 and 26), structural material – including fire reddened bricks (Photo 27), wood, and rosehead nails (Photo 28), as well as animal bones, bottle glass, pipestems and ceramics. Ceramic types in the collection include red slipware, delft, Rhenish stoneware, white-salt glazed stoneware, and "Canton ware" (porcelain), all typical of the eighteenth century, as well as later wares such as porcellaneous ware and pearlware.

The types of artifacts identified and collected from the site strongly indicate its significance in producing a wide variety of artifacts associated with an 18th-century military installation on the frontier, as well as later artifacts attributable to the 19th-century agricultural use of the land. The descriptions of excavations indicated that Fort Clinton contains a number of intact structural features and produced a wealth of cultural material present at the site. More importantly, it indicates the potential of the site to produce additional significant data in the future, when professional archeological investigations are conducted.

For a number of reasons, which will be detailed below, the present SARA collection from the Fedory excavations can be viewed as representing the general history of the area, but is not considered to be solely representative of the Fort Clinton site. While the collections has its drawbacks, it still stands as the only collection positively attributed to the site. The artifact collection does not appear to comprise the total amount of excavated material described from these excavations. There is little provenience information, and it is unclear from what Fort Clinton site or context this collection can be attributed.

The Fort Clinton artifact collection was studied in reference to the artifact catalog, which was created by a researcher with interest in military history and domestic sites of the 18th century. Because the catalog was prepared by a researcher with a focus on the military history of the area, the resulting catalog may contain an unintentional bias toward military function. There were a large number of artifacts which could easily be attributed to the domestic occupation and agricultural use of the land. For instance, there were many pieces of flat copper sheeting that were cataloged as kettle fragments, but these items could be attributed to a number of other functions other than part of an 18th-century kettle.

The collection is limited in the type of artifacts and materials it contains, which may indicate a bias in collecting artifacts during fieldwork. For instance, there are few architectural or structural remains which would suggest the type of construction and features present. Fedory had identified several of the brick chimney features at the site. While there are some examples of brick represented in the collection, there are only a few whole bricks, and no samples of mortar or stones.

Faunal remains, which would indicate the composition and preferences in the meat diet, are similarly represented by only few specimens. Study of Fedory's notes suggests that this sampling bias was a result of focus towards military-related items. In the notes describing excavations at Site 4 (6/2/79), he writes "Several bones undoubtedly from animals were also found within this layer." But, when the artifacts recovered from the test pit were itemized, no faunal materials were mentioned - only a .69 caliber musket ball, one swan shot, a rum bottle fragment and several clay pipe fragments were collected. The focus on artifacts is also indicated by a write up of Site 1, where it was noted that the exterior of the south and west walls were fully excavated, as these areas "proved good in artifact content."

The collection is also heavily weighted to the presence of metal artifacts, which is likely attributable to the use of metal detectors on the various surveys. The metal artifacts collected are comprised primarily of whole or identifiable military items or tools, such as a chisel, gouge, hook, blade, bolt, ferrule, knife, butt plate, barrel, bayonet, sword, as well pot and kettle fragments (Photos 29 and 30), pintels (Photo 31), pins, a strike-a-light (Photo 32), a bell fragment (Photo 33), buttons, and whole rosehead nails. The lack of fragmentary metal scraps and partial nail fragments, which often comprise a large portion of historic archeological assemblages, also suggests a strong selection bias during the collection of specific or whole artifacts. There were however several fragment of mortar shells (Photo 34), and more ornate everyday objects such as shoe buckles (Photo 35), and the like.

Many of the artifacts exhibited fire-reddening or melting, which is attributed to the burning of the fort in 1745 and again in 1747. The gunflints in the site collection are unusual in that most are small, broken, and burnt pieces of low-grade, inferior flint or chert, with only a few examples of classic whole 18th-century gunflints. It is likely that some of the artifacts cataloged as flints are actually lithic debitage from Native American toolmaking.

The ceramics collected from the site represent a mix of 18th-century and 19th-century wares. The majority of the ceramics are very small fragments, which implies that many of the ceramics were recovered from the plowzone, where decades of plowing broke the fragments into smaller pieces. More complete or intact fragments may be recovered in deeply buried contexts or intact features. It is unclear whether all of the ceramics were collected, or just a sample taken from specific locales. The ceramic collection represents a wide period of time, but the artifacts do not suggest a date for the site earlier than the mid-18th century. Essentially, the age and composition of the collection does not suggest that this may have been the location of the earliest known Saratoga fort, Fort Vrooman.

At present, the lack of provenience and context for the artifacts is one of the weakest attributes of the collection. The collection would be more valuable if the artifacts could be linked to specific features or a unique soil layer in a unit/trench excavation in order to provide it with context. It may still be possible to elicit important information from these artifacts, if there were maps, profiles and/or artifact catalogs created during the 1979-1982 excavations and surveys which can tie the artifacts to specific features and locations on the landscape. While there are limitations to the Fort Clinton collection, there is still information that can be learned from the study of the artifacts, as well as from the descriptions of excavations and surveys written by Fedory.

Other Archeology

In 1991, Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. undertook a cultural resource survey of the southern extent of the Study Area in advance of a proposed topsoil mine (never developed). The study included an intensive surface reconnaissance and later backhoe trench excavations and unit excavations. The survey identified two loci of precontact archeological deposits, principally on the surface; named HAA #637. The deposits extended to a depth of nearly 70 cm in some locations, suggesting that older Native American deposits may be buried by more recent flood activity. The artifacts suggest that intense occupation of the area occurred between the late Middle Woodland period and Late Woodland period (c. 500 to 1600 C.E.) (Hartgen 1991). Unfortunately, the survey did not include systematic metal-detecting or shovel tests that may have helped to better identify deposits associated with King William's and King George's Wars. However, it appears fairly unlikely that large, expansive deposits or features associated with colonial wars are located in this portion of the Study Area.

In 2011 and 2012, The Louis Berger Group (2012 and 2013) conducted Section 110 archeological research within the 100-year flood plain of the Hudson River, on Saratoga National Historical Park lands. Their study area in 2012 was situated at the park's main entrance on the east side of US Route 4 (well south of the current Study Area). The archeological methods included the excavation of 100 shovel tests and five backhoe trenches. In all, four archeological sites were identified including two possible 18th-century battlefield features, and a possible buried historic roadway. The features were possible redoubts or entrenchments associated with the British occupation of the area during the American Revolutionary War, although an exact correlation was not possible as the features lacked artifacts to help with dating.

In 2012, The Louis Berger Group continued the Section 110 study with the investigation of the Schuyler Estate property of the Saratoga National Historical Park and the "Battlefield South Unit," located south of the main entrance to the park. Within the current Study Area, at the very northern end in the NPS parcel, the team excavated 25 shovel tests and three backhoe trenches. The tests were placed based on the results of a metal-detecting and conductivity survey conducted by NPS staff earlier that year.

The excavations revealed a varying plowzone from 40 to 80 cm in thickness, suggesting some recent alluvium on the northern end of the property. A dispersed assemblage of Native American and later historic artifacts were recovered from the tests. Virtually all of the historic artifacts were determined to be 19th century or later in date. The earliest historic artifact may have been a potential gun flint made from local material. Among the

Native American artifacts was pottery from the middle and late portions of the Late Woodland period (1000-1600 C.E.). Stones were observed eroding out of the river bank in the very northeast corner of the project area. There was no artifacts to help date the structural remains, however. No archeological sites were identified within the Study Area as the artifacts were not concentrated in such a way as to indicate sustained occupation either during precontact times or the historic period.

These studies, while providing useful information, were not specially designed to account for the potential battles that may have taken place on the properties. Systematic metal-detecting surveys are more appropriate for locating such archeological deposits. The studies did indicate however that the historic plowzone is deeper in more low-lying areas, and variable throughout the study area. This may make metal-detecting surveys more problematic as their effectiveness decreases with deep. On the positive side, deeply buried plowzones may still retain many more artifacts than the more shallow ones, as modern collectors and relic hunters have not likely been able to access these sediments.

Archeological Excavations at Contemporaneous Military Sites

The study of military sites contemporaneous with the Saratoga forts, such as the Fort Edward Royal Blockhouse Site, Fort Hunter, and Fort Ticonderoga, and professional excavations conducted at these sites, can be extremely instructive as far as determining the type and composition of features which could potentially be present at Fort Clinton. The excavations conducted by Hartgen at the Fort Edward Royal Blockhouse site (2001–2002) and Fort Ticonderoga (1999–2006) provide excellent comparative data and artifact collections.

The Fort Edward Royal Blockhouse was constructed in 1758 on a high bluff on the west side of the Hudson River as part of the larger British defensive complex at Fort Edward and Rogers Island. The portion of the Royal Blockhouse site which contained the blockhouse structure had been heavily disturbed by backhoe prior to the archeological excavations. Despite this fact, archeologitsts retrieved a great amount of significant data, which allowed the site to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places and become a Preserve of the Archaeological Conservancy. Like the Royal Blockhouse site, it is quite possible that, despite previous disturbance at the Fort Clinton site, potentially significant archeological data and historic information can be uncovered.

The excavations conducted at the Royal Blockhouse site identified a number of military features, including the 24-foot square blockhouse and cellar hole, the structural remnants of the wooden post blockhouse, earthworks, an intact garbage midden, and evidence of the 1709 military road which led from Saratoga to Fort Edward. The artifacts recovered from the blockhouse site area included brick, mortar, nails, window glass, ceramics, lead shot, pipe fragments, bottle glass, gun flints, bone, and wood as well as Native American material, including lithic debitage, fire-cracked rock, and pottery.

A garbage midden was identified at the Fort Edward Blockhouse site, situated on the terrace below the blockhouse. The location, shape and alignment of the midden feature suggest that the refuse from the blockhouse was put to a functional use. The garbage was not simply tossed over the edge of the ravine, but was instead transported down to the lower terrace and spread out to create a protective earthwork. The midden contained a large concentration of 18th-century artifacts, including food refuse, domestic and military items, and structural materials. Within the one-meter square unit excavated, the midden was found to contain a large amount of structural material, including brick, mortar, window glass, and wrought iron nails, and domestic artifacts, including food serving wares, bottle glass and pipe stems. Ceramics in the midden consisted of tin-enameled glazed ware (English delft), English white salt-glazed stoneware, and porcelain. Archeologists also uncovered several military artifacts including ordnance, lead-casting sprues, musket balls, and lead buck shot (swan shot), as well as personal artifacts and Native American material, including lithic flakes and pottery.

A high percentage of the midden assemblage was comprised of faunal material, which indicated that a large part of the meat diet was composed of pig, along with other medium sized animals, like deer, sheep/goat, and cow. Many of these bones showed evidence of butchery, including axe cuts and knife marks. Bird and fish bones were also recovered, as well as "garbage" snails which were attracted to decomposing food, and are often found in association with archeological food remains.

Fort Ticonderoga was originally named Carillon by the French, who, in 1755, began construction of this imposing stone fortification overlooking Lake Champlain. The archeological investigations at Fort Ticonderoga included excavations within various Fort structures, including the Parade Ground, East Barracks, French Ovens, Southeast Bastion, Northeast Bastion, the East *Terre-plein*, South *Terre-plein*, North *Demi-Lune* and *Glacis*. The Fort Ticonderoga excavations also produced a large number of faunal remains, including a feature comprised of a thick layer of pig metapodials. This faunal material was used to help fill a linear trench excavated through the clay subsoil in order to build a stone and mortar French drain.

The Royal Blockhouse and Ticonderoga sites identified a number of structural deposits, including construction work surfaces, which contained prodigious amounts of structural debris. Most intriguing, was the identification of features which provided information on the original preparation of the ground surface prior to the construction of the fortifications. At Fort Ticonderoga, there is evidence that the ground was stripped of topsoil and then burned of extraneous organics. This was done in order to create a more stable clay work surface. A thin lens of burned soil was identified directly above subsoil. The burned surface was identified throughout the East Flank and found to contain very rich faunal deposits, midden features and work surfaces.

British engineers and soldiers were sent to the Royal Blockhouse site in 1757 in order to survey the landform, clear the land and build a substantial wooden blockhouse surrounded by earth and wood fortifications, construct outlying earthworks, and build a road and bridge that would allow transportation and communication between the blockhouse outpost and the larger military complex at Rogers Island and Fort Edward. Archeological investigation of the site revealed that after the removal of trees from the site, the remaining stumps and vegetation were burned off. The blockhouse fortification, including the perimeter ditch and exterior slope, were staked out in a circular form. The areas proposed to contain the perimeter ditch and blockhouse cellar hole were removed and used to build up the outer berm and exterior slope.

Potential for Further Comparative Archeological Study

The Fedory collection from Fort Clinton provides the most important information to date concerning the former fort, its construction history, occupation, and the associated battlefields. A more formal analysis of the collection including spatial analysis would be beneficial to additional fieldwork that might be undertaken in the future. It appears based on Hartgen's cursory examination, that the collection is largely associated with the mid-18th century and tied directly to the short period of occupation at the fort between 1739 and 1747. There is little evidence of earlier materials associated with Fort Vrooman, the campaigns of the late 17th and early 18th century, or other trading or faming settlements within the present collection. The collection contains not only military items but domestic materials associated with the garrison of the fort. Analysis of the collection would also benefit from comparison with the numerous other English military sites recently excavated in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. Further, it may be possible to tie the collection to known historical inventories like that of Captain Edmund Blood. In advance of the administration of Blood's will, an estate inventory was undertaken and filed with Albany County. The inventory from 1746–1747 provides an intimate look into the material culture of an officer from one of the English Independent Companies who served along the borderlands. Within his inventory, his military gear and camp equipage, such as sword, lead balls, gun, and powder horn are clearly evident. Despite serving along the frontier, Blood also enjoyed some of life's refinements such as a large amount of silverware, gold buttons, a nutmeg rasp, coffee pots, Chinese porcelain, silk clothing, and powdered wigs. Coupling the existing archeological data of Fort Clinton with comparative examples and the historical data in a formal material culture analysis would likely be a fruitful first step in better understanding Fort Clinton and providing the National Park Service with vital information to better conserve and interpret the Fedory collection.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations for future archeological research are primarily focused on the known site of Fort Clinton since the other fort locations are unknown. However, other military sites may be located during different phases of the proposed testing, including metal detector and geophysical studies. Many of the recommendations are based on the fact that there has not been any professional archeological investigation of the Fort Clinton

site. Even though no formal excavations have been conducted at the site, there have been avocational excavations and surveys which have produced significant amounts of cultural material and some structural information about the Fort.

Recommendations for Further Archeological Research

Further research should include study of documentation and artifact collections from the avocational studies and excavations at Fort Clinton, including

- Fedory collections and documentation from Fort Clinton, Saratoga
- Collections and documentation from other collectors such as Anthony Sassi, Percy Dake, and the various NYSAA chapter avocational excavations.

In the northeast, there have been a number of professional archeological investigations conducted at late 17th- and 18th-century French and English military sites, including forts, blockhouses, encampments and skirmish lines. Most recently, work at Fort St. Fredric, Chimney Point, Fort Edward, and St. Croix Island which identified numerous intact deposits, features and structures, may be well positioned to contribute to the research of Fort Clinton. The research, data, and collections from these sites and earlier professional excavations, can provide comparative material and greater context in which to study Fort Clinton and the other Saratoga battle sites. A sample list of pertinent archeological sites is presented here to demonstrate the variety and wealth of data available for comparative study:

- Fort Carillon/Fort Ticonderoga – French and British Occupations (Hartgen)
- Royal Blockhouse at Fort Edward (Hartgen)
- Fort Miller (URS n.d.)
- Rogers Island (Hartgen, Starbuck)
- Fort Edward (Hartgen, Starbuck)
- Fort William Henry (Starbuck)
- Flat Site (Hartgen)- 1747 skirmish site, identified on the western shore of Lake Champlain, south of Fort St. Fredrick
- Fort St. Fredric (Huey, Feister and Fisher) (Starbuck)
- Fort Penobscot (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987)
- Fort Hunter (Mike Roets, OPRHP) – On the Schoharie Creek at the confluence with the Mohawk River; identified 150 foot square fort with a 24 foot square blockhouse and curtain wall associated with the 1712 fort
- Fort Edward, British encampment (Nancy Davis, NYS Museum) – Identified features from the British encampment at Fort Edward, including fireplaces, latrines, perimeter trenched and refuse pits
- Chimney Point (Pointe-à-la-Chevelure) (University of Vermont) — Identified a stone wall and H-shaped chimney base associated with the 1731 French fort
- Saint Croix Island, Maine (1604) (Pendry 2012)
- Fort Saint Jean (1666) (Laval, Ferland and Beaupre 2014) – outpost by Carignan-Salieres Regiment, abandoned and re-occupied in 1748 as a supply depot for Fort St. Fredric and Fort Carillon

These previous archeological studies along with existing historical records provide a large database from which more thorough analyses and examination of the existing Fort Clinton collection can be undertaken. These analyses and studies should be completed in advance of additional fieldwork to assist in the development of more refined research questions. These research questions can in turn be utilized to select and guide the proper archeological techniques and methodologies employed to further understand the Study Area.

Recommendations for Archeological Fieldwork

As previously discussed, the archeological excavations of the Fort Edward Royal Blockhouse structure were conducted after the site had been heavily disturbed by backhoe prior to the archeological excavations. Despite the previous disturbance, there was a large amount of data which was retrieved which allowed the Nature Conservancy to place the site on the National Register of Historic Places. Likewise, it is quite possible that despite any previous disturbance at the Fort Clinton site, significant information can still be elicited. Because of the importance of this site, which has the potential to produce significant research data, archeological testing is recommended. The site lends itself to a number of different testing methodologies which may include:

- Systematic Walkover Reconnaissance Survey on the plowed terrace landforms and along the riverbank to determine whether any other sites are present within the Study Area.
- Geophysical Testing, possible including ground-penetrating radar in the vicinity of Fort Clinton. Resistivity studies should also be conducted in coordination with the ground-penetrating radar.
- Other Remote Sensing Techniques may be used based on the results of the initial geophysical fieldwork, especially a systematic metal-detecting survey. Systematic metal detecting surveys may be able to identify the archeological signature of firefights or skirmishes, including firing lines indicated by the presence of small arms ordnance, and personal items lost during battle.
- Additional excavations: These should be limited to field-verifying the results of the geophysical and remote sensing studies, and to determining the depth of the various plowzones to assess the effectiveness of the various remote-sensing techniques employed.

Potential for Community Involvement

The possibility of future archeological testing of the Fort Clinton site and other portions of the project area provides an excellent opportunity for community involvement. When formulating the testing strategies for the site, it is possible to incorporate an element of local participation, where community members could work side by side with professional archeologists in metal detector survey or systematic surface artifact identification and/or collection.

The Saratoga forts and battlefield sites are of great interest to many local residents. The development of archeological field methodologies that include the local community would allow local residents the chance to be involved in the discovery of archeological deposits and features which can impart more detailed information about the area's military history. The participation in systematic archeological surveys would also promote the importance of detailed documentation, including provenience information, as well as illustrate the great value of site preservation. Providing an opportunity for community involvement is likely the best source of long-term protection for the site, especially as neighbors become invested in the care and interpretation of the site.

National Register Eligibility

Fort Clinton

The Fort Clinton site represents a unique resource of an English fortification that was occupied for a relatively short period of time between 1739 and 1747. The site encapsulates two or three iterations of the fort over time as it was burned, rebuilt, and eventually expanded. Although the integrity of the site has been comprised by avocational archeological excavations over the years, enough of the site and the resulting collections remain to provide a sizable database from which additional research is still not only possible but likely informative. The site remained in agricultural use after the fort was abandoned and destroyed and remains so today. As such, areas that were not excavated in previous years are likely highly intact and retain excellent integrity.

King George's War Battlefields

The battlefields associated with Fort Clinton, and potentially Fort Vrooman, have yet to be fully evaluated through archeological testing. It appears highly likely that intact deposits associated with the four battles of

Saratoga during King George's War lie within the Study Area. There is also the possibility that other skirmishes or engagements between the French and English are also within the Study Area. Other deposits from King William's War are less likely to be located within the Study Area. Evidence of other military activities from the late 17th and 18th centuries are also likely to be scattered throughout the Study Area, such as the Schuyler expedition of 1690, the Nicholson expeditions of 1710 and 1711, and the like may also be evident within the Study Area. Only through archeological study and reconnaissance might these activities be isolated and defined upon the broader landscape.

Recommendations for Site Preservation

In anticipation of additional archeological study, it is important to protect the current integrity of the Fort Clinton site and various battlefields through a combination of short-term and long-term preservation and protection measures.

Short-term

Most immediately, agricultural activity should limited, with the consent of the current landowner, in the immediate vicinity of the fort. Most especially, plowing for corn, beans, and other types of crops should be discontinued in favor of hay fields or other grasses that do not require extensive plowing. If plowing continues, it is recommended that stones and brick and other large artifacts found in the field remain in place. Presently, structural stones are piled up on the embankment between the field and the river.

Agricultural activities in the remainder of the Study Area, in suspected locations of battlefield deposits, are less of a threat to archeological resources as the area has been heavily plowed in the past. Archeological studies have indicated that plowing of these types of resources are more likely to move artifact up and own in the soil column rather than across long, horizontal distances. Ideally, all the fields should no longer be plowed but this might not be feasible considering the agricultural richness and value of the bottom land.

Access to the Fort Clinton site and associated battlefield should be strictly limited, and surface collecting and metal detecting activities halted. To this end, the site and field should be posted and local law enforcement agencies notified of the intent to restrict access to the site.

Long-term

The Fort Clinton site and associated battlefields are best protected through the purchase in fee or establishment of a permanent easement on the land. The National Park Service, owners of nearby historic properties, the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (OPRHP), Scenic Hudson, Saratoga LAND, and the Archeological Conservancy, should be encouraged (individually or collectively) to purchase or manage the land now in private hands in perpetuity for the long-term preservation and protection of the sites.

The success of long-term preservation depends on mobilizing public support and interest in the site. To that end, this project has developed a tri-fold brochure for public distribution to explain the value of these important historic resources and the need for further protection and management. In addition, a series of public talks, aimed at both the general public and policy-makers are proposed. Additional outreach in the form of social media and web-based information may also be generated. As these efforts are aimed at the immediate future, attention should also be given to more lasting outreach efforts that keeps the issue visible in the public eye. The exact form of this effort should be determined by the various stake-holders as the project advances.

Finally, additional archeological research should be undertaken to more thoroughly examine the Study Area for deposits associated with the four battles at Fort Clinton during King George's War. These fieldwork effort can provide the basis of a site boundary and eventually boundary justifications for a nomination of the property(ies) to the National Register of Historic Places. Listing on the National Register, will also help to provide an additional measure of site protection. In the meantime, the State Historic Preservation Office should be encouraged to design the fort site as National Register-eligible, to afford it a measure of short-term protection

in the regulatory process for environmental and historic evaluation during Section 106, Section 14.09, and local SEQRA reviews.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study sought to provide a broad context for the events and archeological resources at Saratoga during King William's and King George's Wars. Especially at Saratoga, these important colonial conflicts have generally been overlooked due to later events of the Seven Years' War and American Revolution, which admittedly had a profound influence on the modern landscape of the upper Hudson River valley. However, the roots of these later military events can clearly be traced back to the earlier colonial wars. Only through careful study and examination of these conflicts can the meaning and reasons behind the eventual British conquest of Canada and later defeat of Burgoyne be fully grasped.

The study also aimed to provide a perspective on the stated or perceived goals and ambitions of the various groups involved in the conflicts including the French government of New France, the colonists, the Catholic Church, and their Native American allies. Similarly, the report studies the fractious nature of the English colonial governments and how their actions often clashed, not only with New France, but with each other and their residents. The Iroquois nations also played a pivotal role in the colonial wars, however, they too were fractured along complex political, religious, and economic lines. Viewed as the most powerful Native force in eastern North America, their varying and shifting allegiances with the French and English often swayed the outcome of these regional conflicts.

Against this backdrop, the early history of Saratoga was explored with an eye towards modeling the potential archeological signatures associated within the area in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries. Particular attention in the study was given to the King William and King George's Wars, during which there were several important battles fought at and near Saratoga. The report included extensive research at local and regional archives, interviews with experts and amateur historians, as well as archeologists. The study also included the process of connecting seemingly disparate pieces of historical information into a coherent narrative of the events in and around Saratoga. Earlier historians, to greater and lesser successes, have tried to similarly weave a narrative of these conflicts. Where many of these earlier attempts, especially 19th-century histories, have lacked in citing the colonial records upon which their interpretations were based. This current study worked to tie the narrative directly to the historic record upon which the interpretations were based. Historical newspapers, colonial government minutes such as the Indian Commissioners at Albany, the New York Assembly Colonial Council, and the Albany Common Council, along with French and English state papers provided valuable and rich sources of data.

The later history of Saratoga was also explored with an eye towards understating the changes to the landscape that might have affected potential earlier archeological resources in the Study Area. By and large, the rich bottom land along the Hudson River stayed in agricultural production, largely helping to keep archeological sites and resources intact. Among the most intrusive events within and along the Study Area was the creation of the Champlain Canal. The construction and later maintenance of the canal likely destroyed a number of archeological deposits in the immediate vicinity. But more importantly, the canal also likely dramatically changed the hydrology of the area, disturbing and disrupting the natural flow of streams and small drainages.

To better understand the potential effects of the canal and the Hudson River on the Study Area, a geomorphological assessment was also conducted. Coupled with a site visit and detailed GIS analysis of LIDAR, topographic maps, and historical maps, a detailed account of the landscape within the Study Area was generated. This served as the basis for helping to refine and further model the various battlefields within the Study Area. Utilizing KOCOA military analysis, the influence of the landscape as a factor in military tactics and maneuvers within the battlefield was explored. These variable were then analyzed in light of the historical record that documented four of the known battles at Saratoga during King George's War. Returning to the GIS, these analyses were spatially modeled; resulting in a series of maps that help to predict the location of various events within each of the battles on the landscape, specifically within the Study Area.

The report concludes by exploring the ways in which additional archeology can assist in better understanding the Fort Clinton and battlefield sites, which in turn can assist in better management and protection of the various archeological/historical resources both within and adjacent to the Study Area. Additional archeology should focus on non-destructive methods and techniques. Among the first steps should be a more thorough analysis of the existing archeological collection generated from amateur excavations at the Fort Clinton site in the 1960s and 1980s.

Additional archeology within the Study Area might also include ground-penetrating radar, resistivity studies, metal-detecting, and the like, especially focused on the Fort Clinton site. A preliminary research design from additional archeological fieldwork is presented. Finally, both short-term and long-term measures to ensure the preservation and protection of the fort site and allied battlefields are suggested. Public awareness and involvement is the key to the successful protection of the site. Leveraging such support through various public and private institutions and agencies will be essential if the site is to be acquired or protected through permanent easements.

The early history of the Saratoga region is largely underrepresented in current historical interpretations of the area. The Fort Clinton site and associated battlefields provide concrete, tangible, and physical links to that history through its archeological resources. The management, protection, and eventual interpretation of these sites will help to provide a better context and understanding for the historical resources associated with the Seven Years' War and American Revolution (that are already well-represented locally).

The early colonial history of Saratoga represents dynamic period of time, when diverse people of varying tongues, social backgrounds, religious affiliations, and ethnic persuasions were struggling to co-exist politically, socially, and economically. These struggles were framed and shaped by both by local politics and geo-political events half way around the world. Clearly these stories, when told within the lens of common human experiences, can resonate with the modern community of Saratoga, and beyond. Fully unlocking the potential of these histories for the public at large will require effort and coordination. This study, hopefully, will provide a solid foundation from which the next the next pieces of site protection, preserve, and interpretation can be placed.

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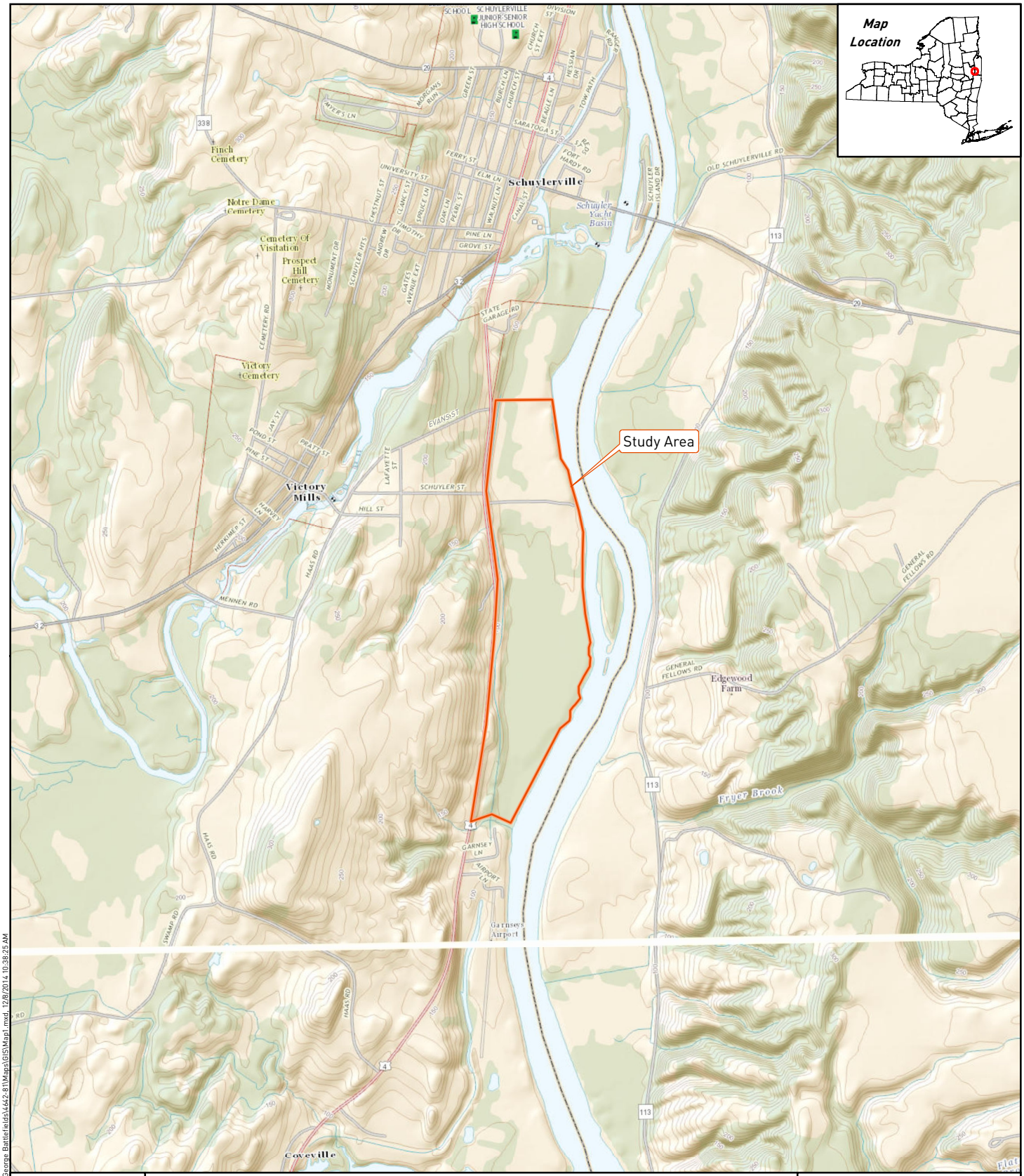
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MAPS



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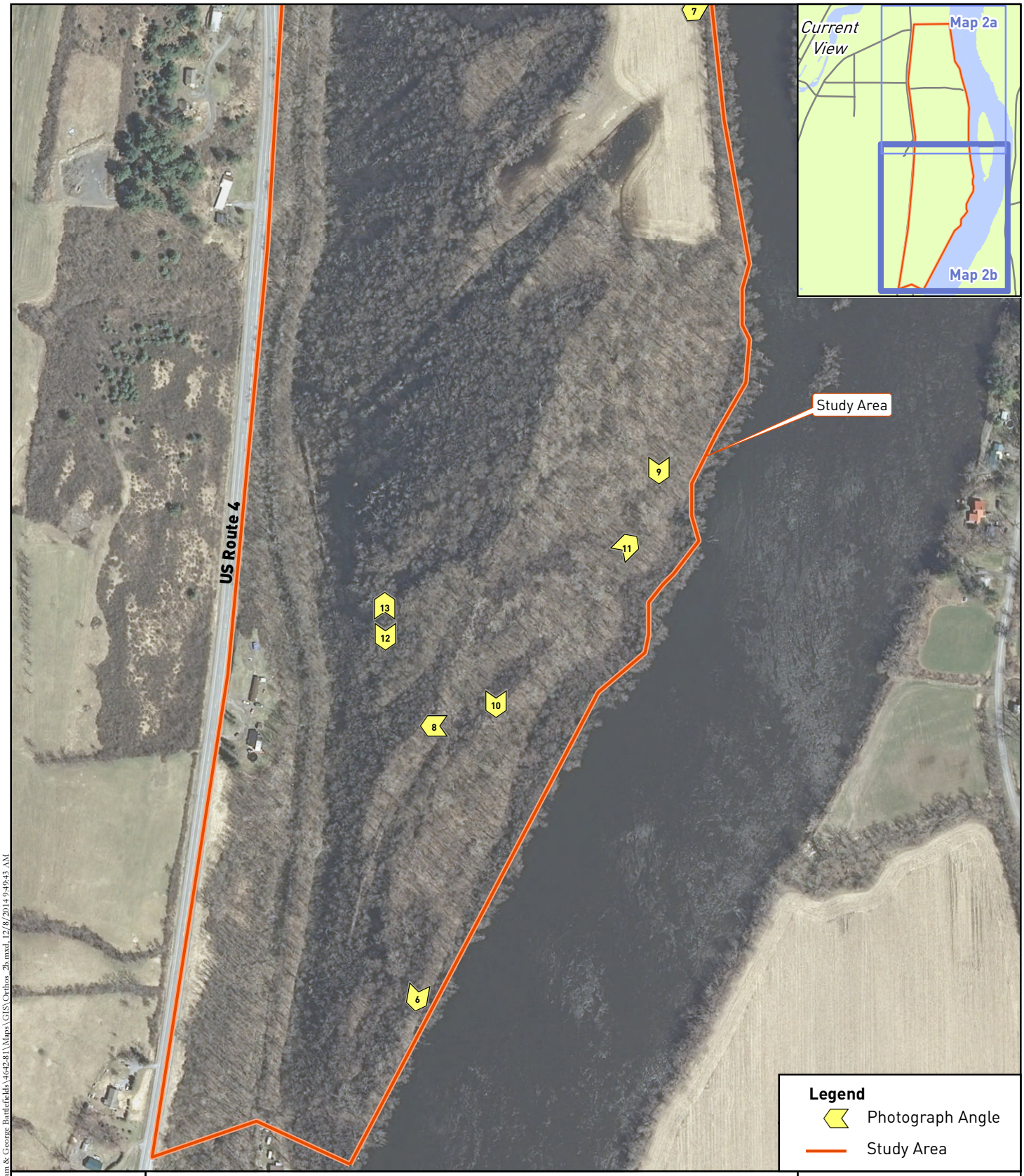
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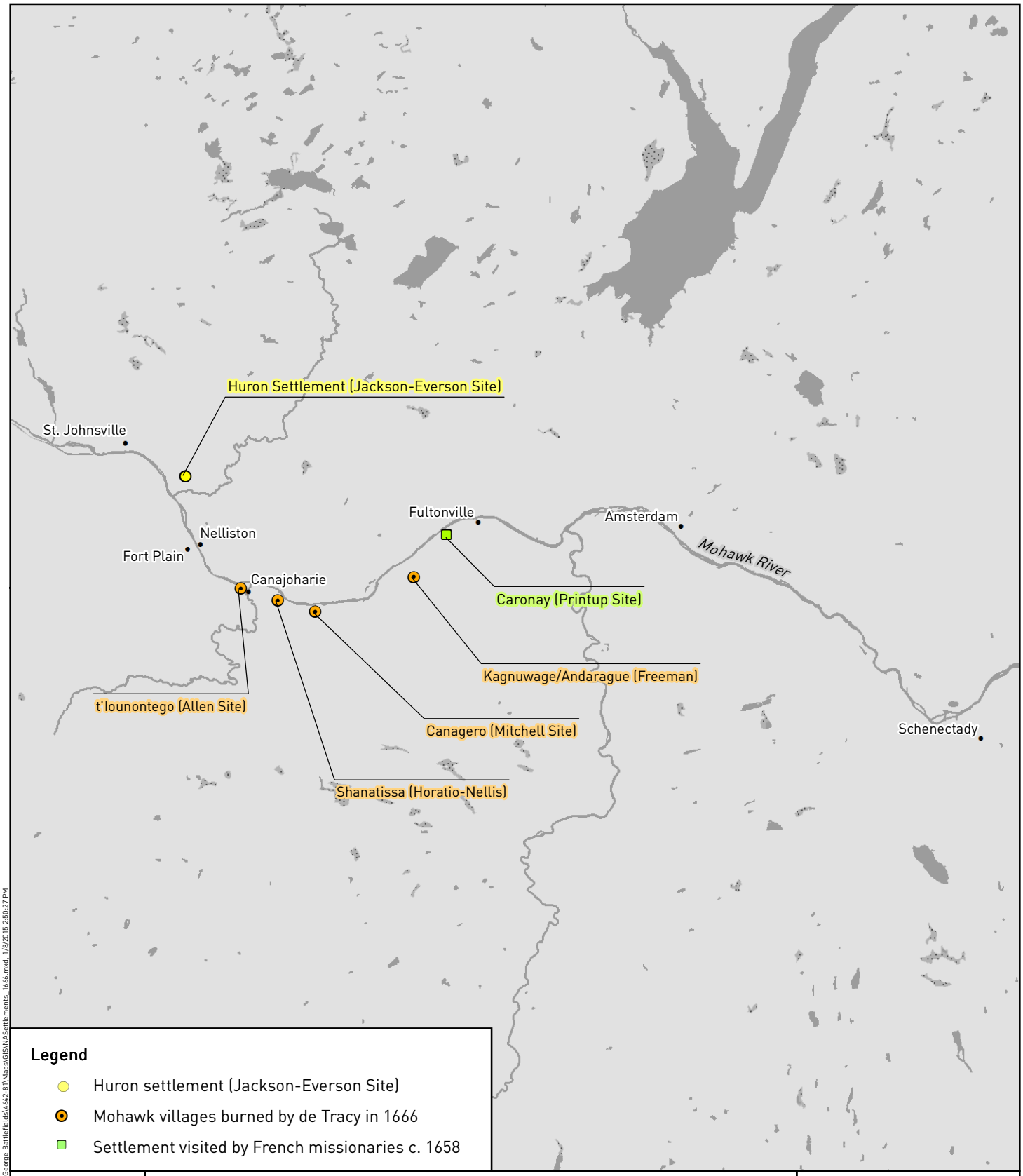
Map 1

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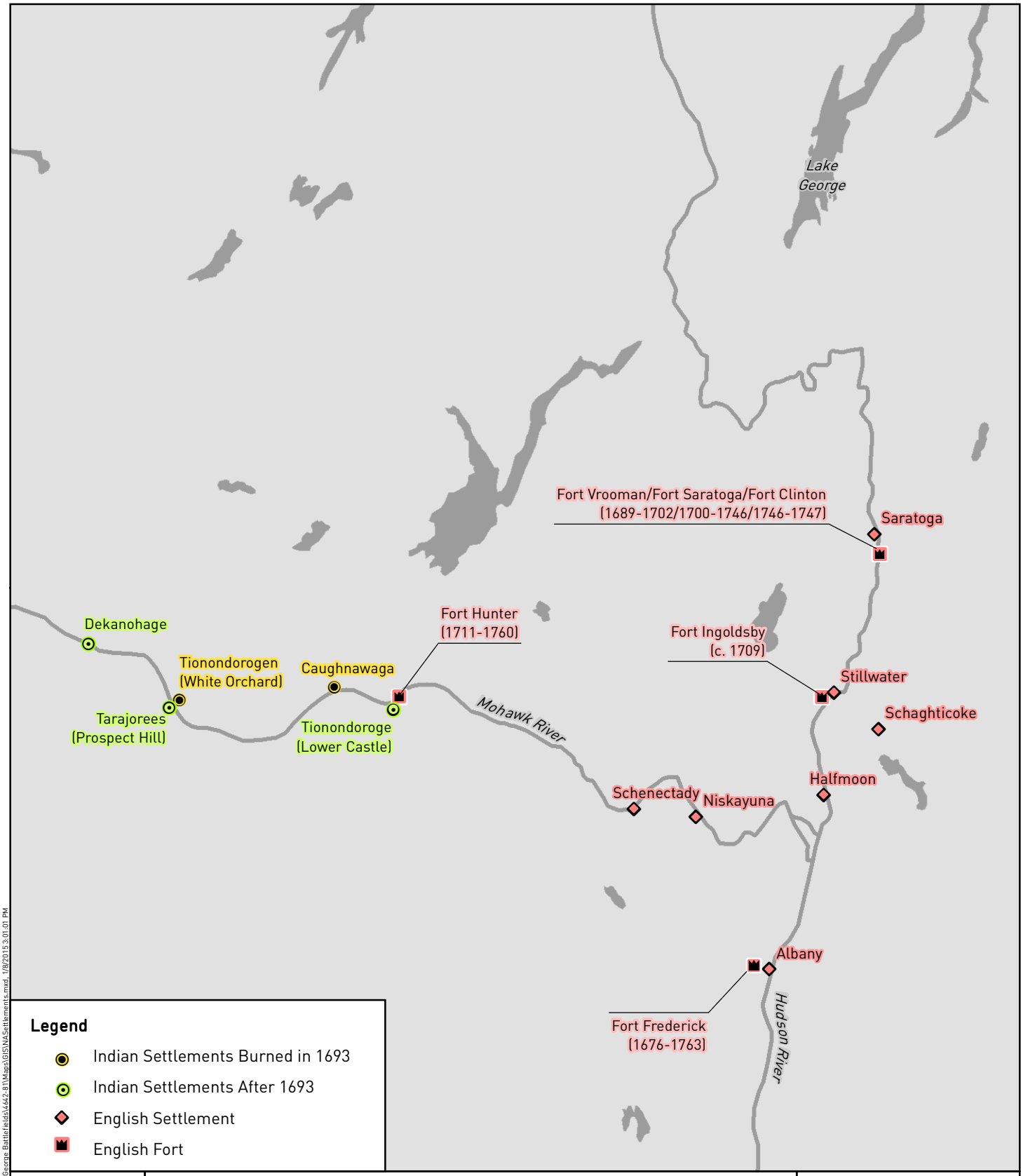


Mohawk Settlements
West of Saratoga, c. 1658-1666
(Hartgen 2014)

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Map 3

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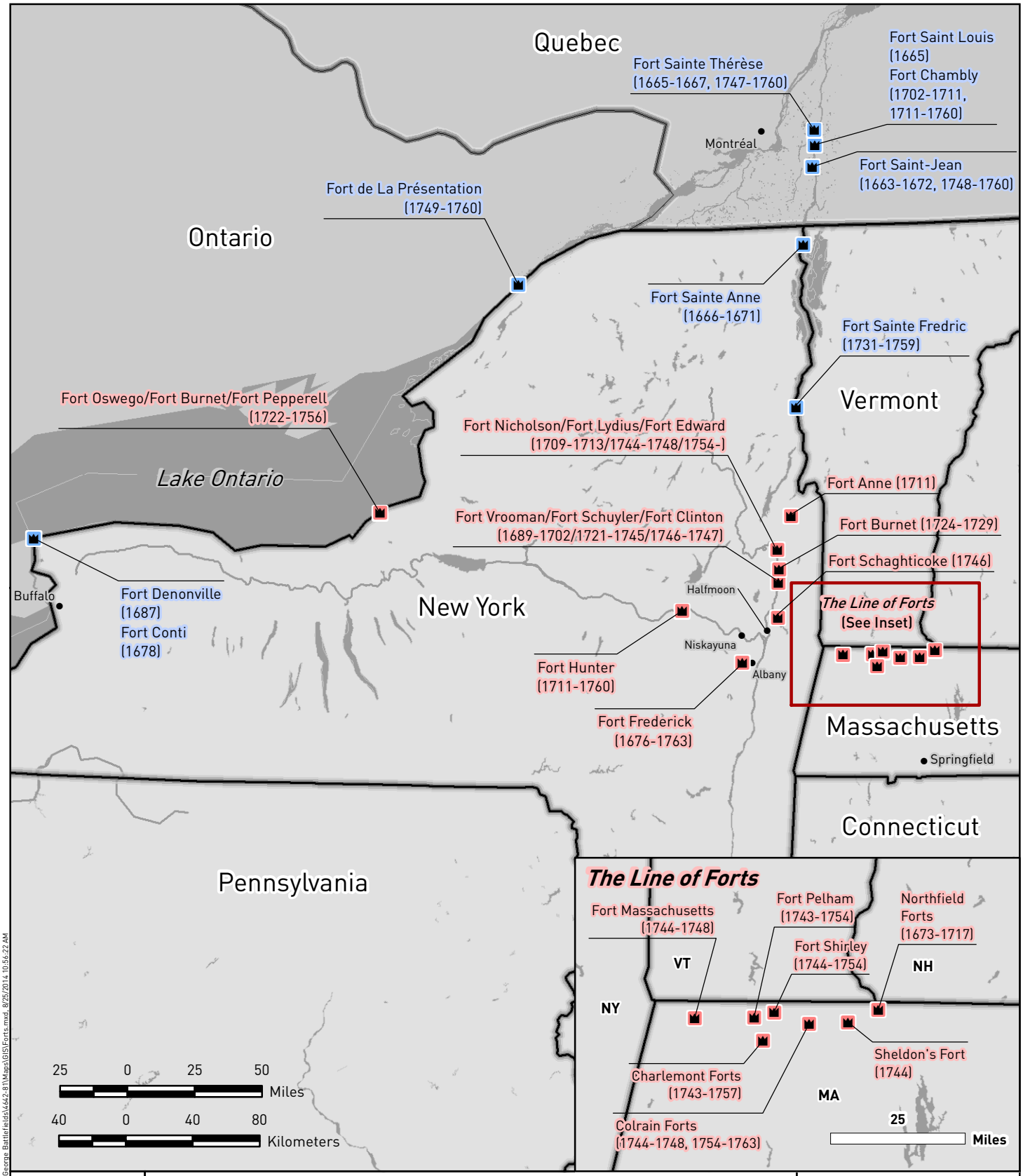


Mohawk Settlements and Early Forts, 1690-1699 (Hartgen 2014)

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Map 4

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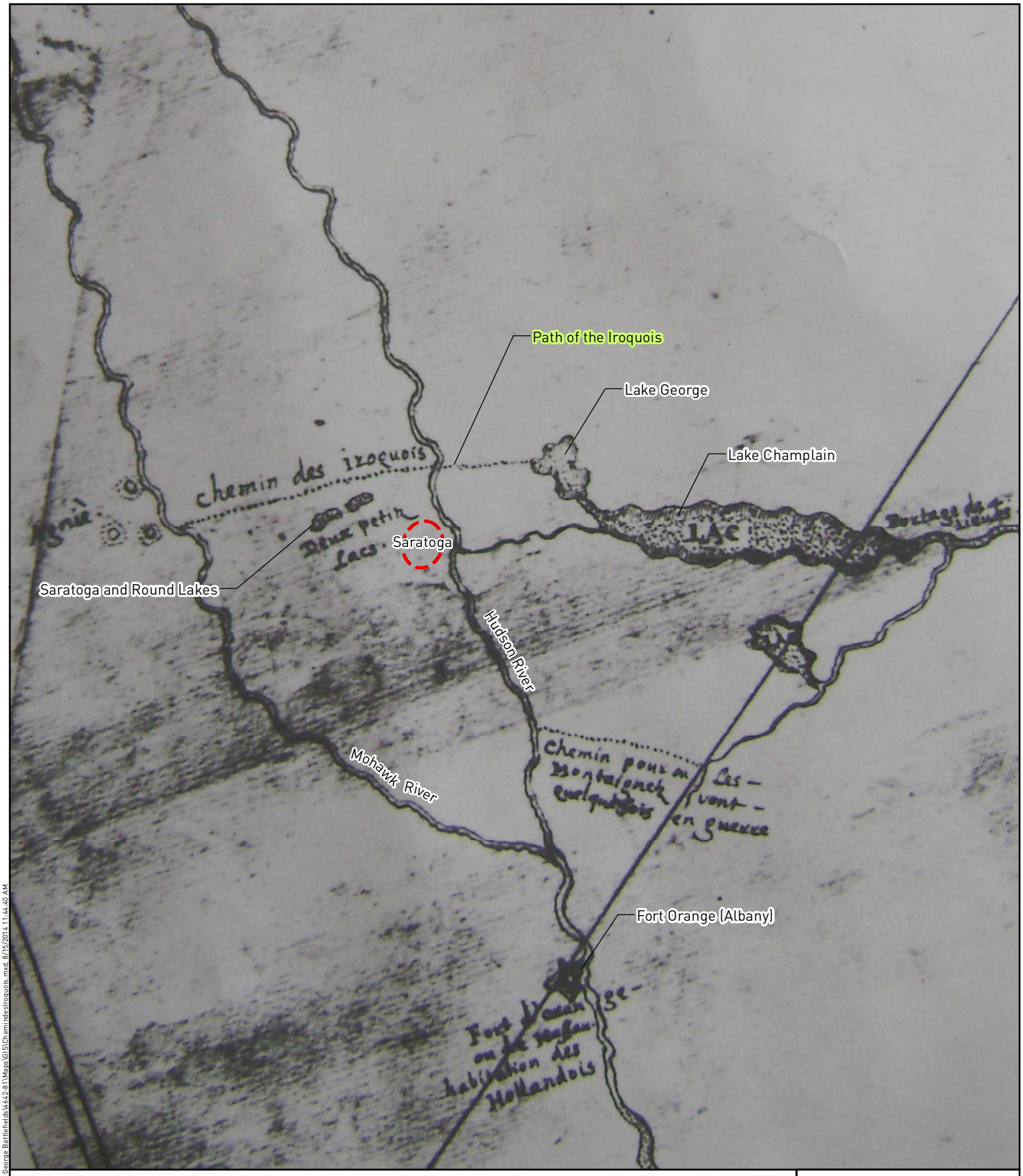


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Principal English and French Fortifications,
c. 1700-1748 (Hartgen 2014)

HARTGEN
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Map 5



Chemin des Iroquois
(Jean Bourdon c. 1646)

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Map 6

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Note: Scale is approximate.

Colden 1726
(from copy by Holden 1757)

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Map 7

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Popple 1733

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Map 8

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Note: Scale is approximate.

Crown Collection 1755

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Map 9

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Loring 1756

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Map 13

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Library of Congress 1758

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Map 14

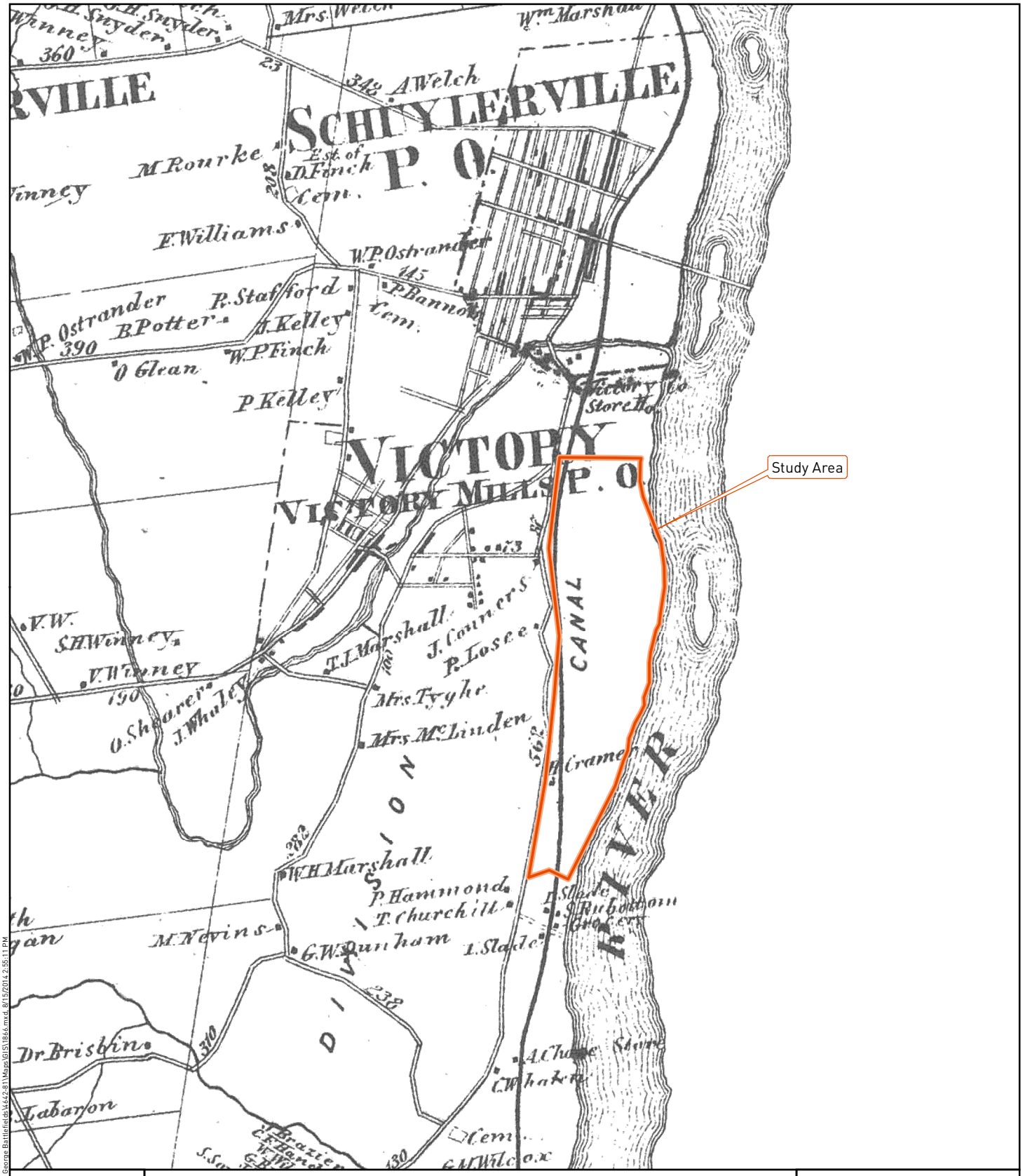
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Map 16

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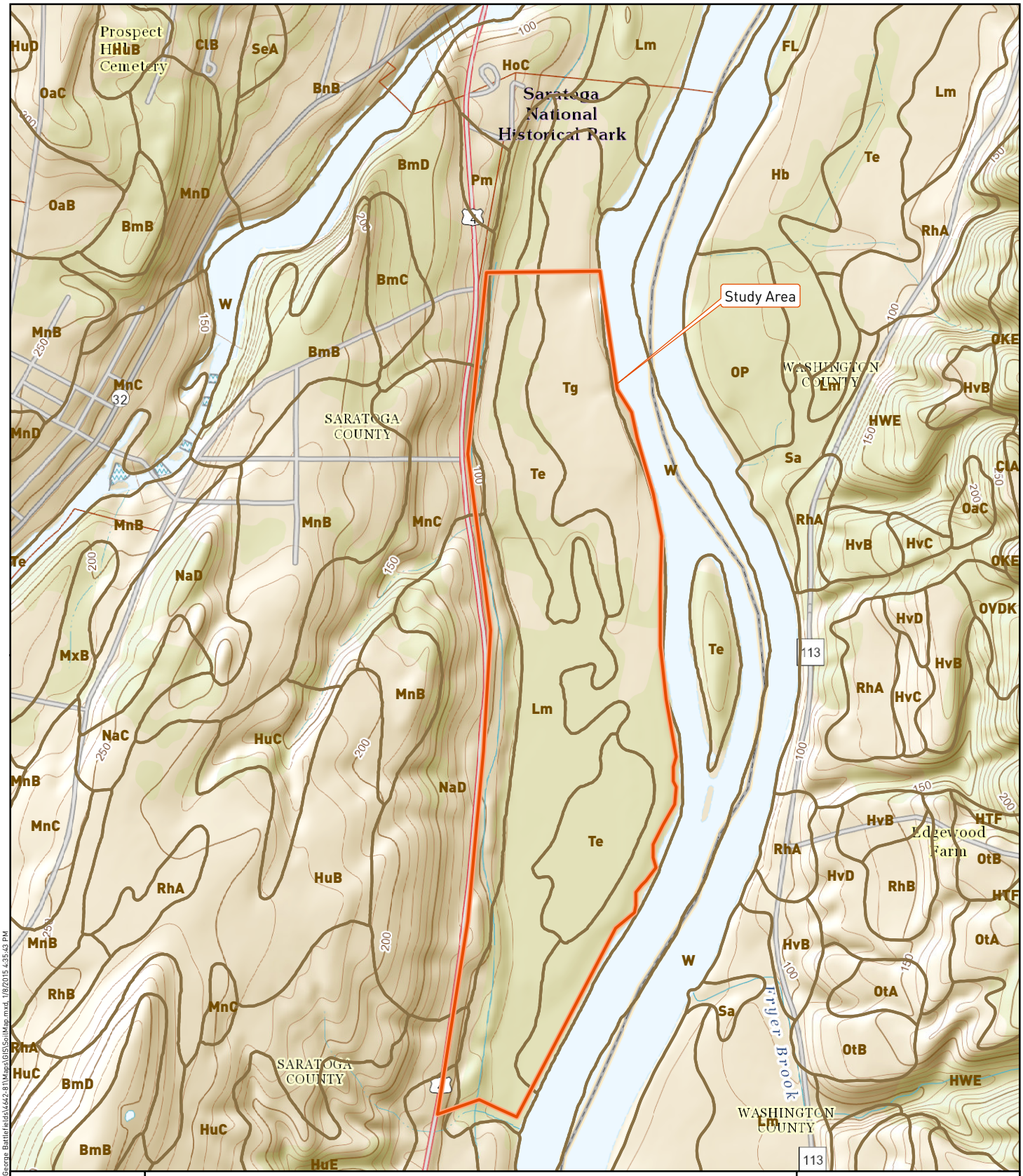
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Beers 1866

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Map 17

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Soil Map
(USDA NRCS 2006, USGS 2014)

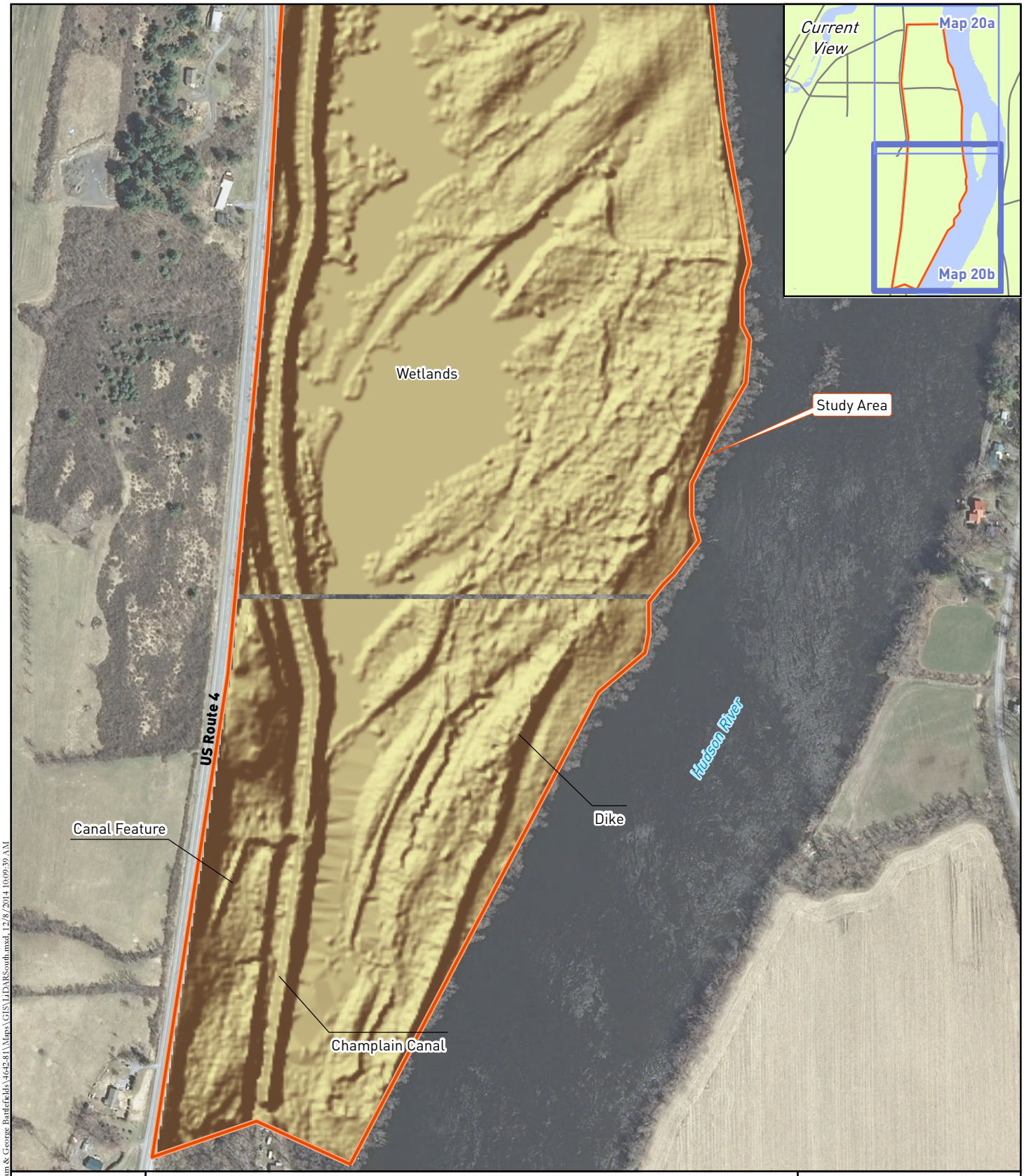
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Map 18

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LiDAR Map
(NPS 2013, NYSITS 2011)

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Map 20b

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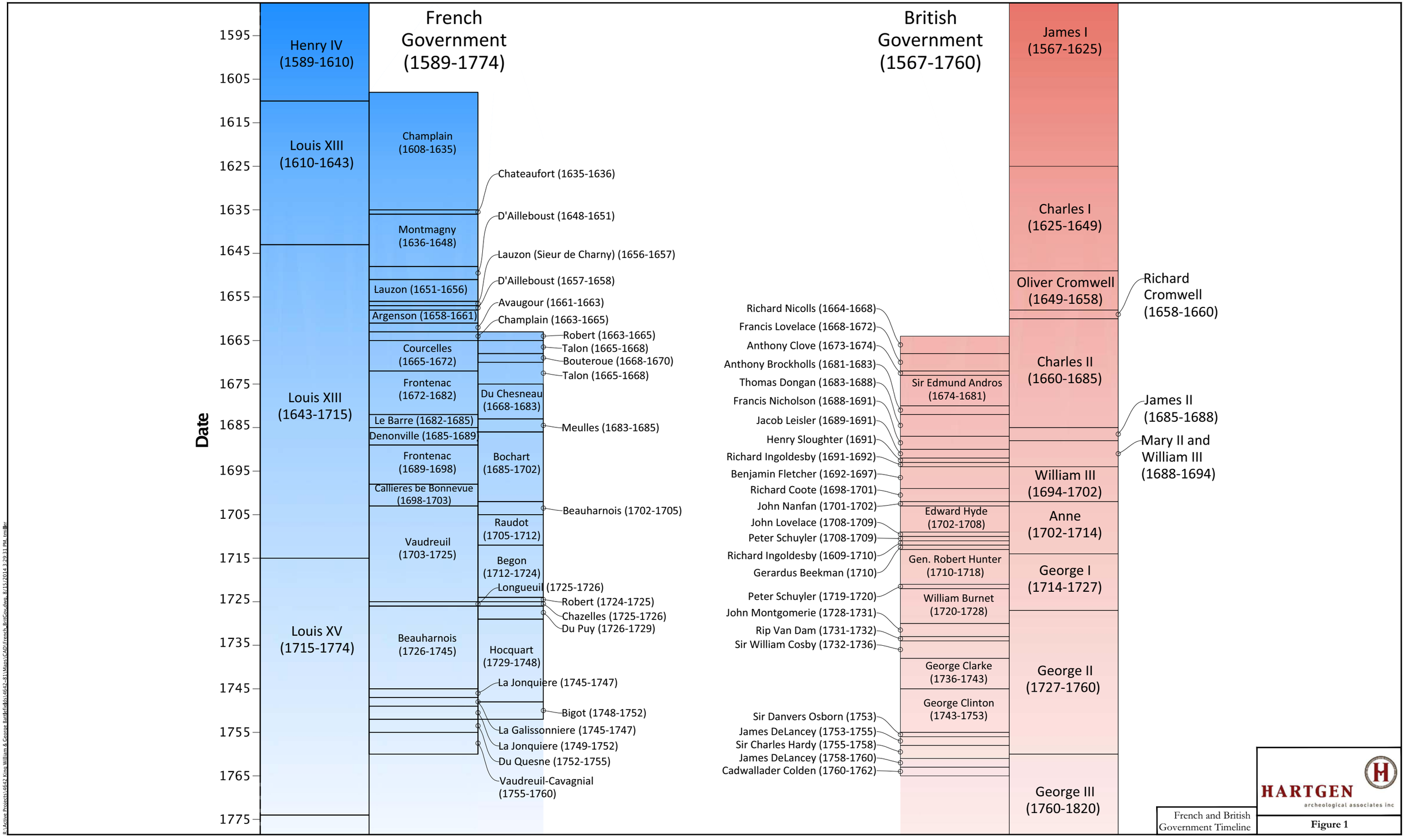
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FIGURES



French and British Government Timeline

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Figure 1

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PHOTOGRAPHS



Photo 1. View from Route 4 of the active agricultural fields along the Hudson River towards Fort Clinton and the northern end of the Study Area. The man-made drainage is visible in the left background, and former Champlain Canal is just beyond the tree line in the foreground.



Photo 2. View of former Champlain Canal (to the left), wetlands, and a modern drainage system along the western side of the Study Area.



Photo 3. A man-made east-west aligned drainage near its confluence with the Hudson River (visible in the background). The drainage may have followed a natural system, but has been straightened and deepened over the years to protect this valuable farm land from flooding,



Photo 4. An east-west aligned farm access road that provides aces to two separate properties, one to both and the other to the south. The man-made drainage is visible to the left. The treeline adjacent to the Hudson River is visible in the background.



Photo 5. The relatively flat and open agricultural fields directly south of the man-made drainage and farm access road. An extensive wetland is located beyond the fields at the treeline in the far distance.



Photo 6. A view of the interior of the wetlands located at the southern end of the project area.



Photo 7. The slightly rolling topography of the agricultural fields located at the southern end of the Study Area. A small island is located in the Hudson River just beyond the tree line to the east (right) of the frame.



Photo 8. View of wetlands near the old Champlain Canal at southern end of the Study Area.



Photo 9. A natural levee or berm identified at the southern end of the Study area, likely created by the scouring and redeposition of soils by the Hudson River, which is constricted in this area by a narrow island in the middle of the channel.



Photo 10. A view of a berm located at the southern end of the Study Area.



Photo 11. A view of a pit feature identified at the southern end of the Study Area.



Photo 12. A view of an extensive wetland just east of the old Champlain Canal at the southern end of the Study Area. The former canal towpath is evident in the right background.



Photo 13. A view of the eastern side of wetland below the former the Champlain Canal.



Photo 14. The location of the Fort Clinton site is on the slight rise to the right, the Hudson River is beyond the hedgerow.



Photo 15. Photo shows close-up view of Fort Clinton. Stones, bricks, and other artifacts are evident on the plowed ground surface.



Photo 16. A fragment of Native American pottery (Point Peninsula-type) found on the ground surface of the Fort Clinton site.



Photo 17. The raised berm (likely a dead furrow) located between the Fort Clinton site and the bank leading down to the Hudson River. Stones removed from the Fort Clinton site are evident on the top of the berm and along the river bank.



Photo 18. A close-up view of structural stones from the Fort Clinton site located on the top of the berm.



Photo 19. Stones and brick from the Fort Clinton site have eroded out of the bank of the Hudson River, while others may have been intentionally thrown over the bank to keep the field free of large debris.



Photo 20. Erosion along the bank of the Hudson River near Fort Clinton, a portion of the fort may have already been lost due to the effects of erosion over the years.



Photo 21. Photo shows imported stone fill located on the river bank directly south of the man-made drainage, to armor the bank from continued erosion.



Photo 22. The raised sod cap from a recent shovel test excavation north of the Fort Clinton site in a recently fallowed field. No 18th century material was recovered from the excavations (Christine Valosin p.c.).



Photo 23. Right, SARA-00387: SARA 27782, a sample of lead musket balls that have all have been dropped and not fired. Three have sprues. All are .69 caliber; possibly from a British land pattern musket, also known as a Brown Bess, which is a .75 caliber gun, recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown location. Left, SARA-00387:SARA 27774, a sample of large round iron shot, all 1" diameter used as case shot. Found northwest of Fort Clinton.



Photo 24. SARA-00387: SARA 27616, 27615, 27613 and 27598 (left to right). A variety of well-worn gun flints all recovered from Site 3 in Fort Clinton. The three flints on the left were likely quarried from French flint mines, and

the grey flint on the right from English mines. The English army used both French imported flint and domestic flint in the 18th century.



Photo 25. SARA-00387:SARA 27715, a brass trigger guard fragment likely from the back of the plate. This is apparently French in style because of the flaring evident at the bottom. Provenience within Fort Clinton is not specifically known.



Photo 26. SARA-0038:SARA 27476, a brass butt plate, possibly from a French trade gun. Screw hole offset from the center. Hand-engraved with an ornate design known as a "flaming torch" and what appears to be the number "24". Recovered near Site #2 (the original southeast blockhouse of Fort Saratoga and the southeast blockhouse for Fort Clinton), outside the fort.



Photo 27. SARA-00387: SARA 27388-93, a sample of the 18th centruy hand-made bricks from Sites 3 and 4 , west of and possibly inside the stockade, near the northeast blockhouse. Bricks were likely used to build the chimneys of the barracks and officer's quarters.



Photo 28. A sample of nails from the SARA-00387. All hand-wrought, both "T-headed" nails and roseheads. All appear to be burned and annealed.



Photo 29. SARA-00387: SARA 27426, the broken rim of a large iron kettle or cooking pot (left). SARA-00387: SARA 27408, an iron kettle lug that supoorted a handle. One of many domestic items recovered from the fort.



Photo 30. SARA-00387:SARA 27431, the iron leg of a large kettle or cooking pot. Fragment possibly found at Site 1 or Site 3 within Fort Clinton.



Photo 31. SARA-00387:SARA 27411, an iron pintle for a window shutter. The pintle consists of two pieces with a pin afixed onto the spike, potentially from Site 6, the southwest blockhouse of original Fort Saratoga, burned in November 1745.



Photo 32. SARA-00387: SARA 27438, a steel strike-light, used for starting fires with the use of a flint. These were common trade items in the 18th century. Unknown provenience within Fort Clinton.



Photo 33. SARA-00387: SARA 27471, a small cast bronze or brass bell fragment incised line on outside surface. Unknown provenience within Fort Clinton.



Photo 34. SARA-00387, SARA 27700, two fragments of what was possibly a 3-inch artillery shell perhaps for a 3-1/2 inch mortar. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, possibly from Site #3.



Photo 35. SARA-00387; SARA 27658 (right), an ornate brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief consisting of floral and foliate designs with rounded corners. Recovered from Fort Clinton, between Site 4 and 2. Right, SARA-00387: SARA 27654 and 6, fragments of a brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief of parallel lines recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site 1 or Site 2.

APPENDIX 1

Repository	Location	Collection	Resource
New York State Library	Albany, NY	Crown Maps	
		Van Rensselaer Manor papers	
		Winthrop Family Papers (microfilm)	
		North America CO 5, Colonial Office, America and West Indies, original correspondence, etc., 1606-1807: series 1, CO 5/65-82, 225, Indian Affairs, 1760-1784 (microfilm)	
			Benjamin Starbuck Ledger of debit-credit accounts: manuscript, 1728-1808
		Simon Deridder Papers 1763-1890	
		New York Colonial Council Minutes (microfilm)	
Connecticut Historical Society	Hartford, CT	French and Indian War Papers, 1743-1763	Correspondence 1750-1755
		French and Indian War Papers, 1743-1763	Correspondence 1758-1759
		French and Indian War Papers, 1743-1763	Journal of Benadum Gallup 1757-1759
		French and Indian War Papers, 1743-1763	Journal of Benjamin Hayward 1757
		French and Indian War Papers, 1743-1763	Journal of Christopher Comstock 1758-1759
			John Barnard Jr. Diary, 1756
American Antiquarian Society	Worcester, MA	American Historical Newspapers	Boston Evening Post, Dec 7, 1747
		American Historical Newspapers	Boston Evening Post, Oct 27, 1746
		American Historical Newspapers	Boston Gazette, Nov 26, 1745
		American Historical Newspapers	Boston Post Boy, July 6, 1747
		American Historical Newspapers	Boston Post Boy, Jan 5, 1747
		American Historical Newspapers	Boston Post Boy, Oct 27, 1746
		American Historical Newspapers	Boston Post Boy, Sept 22, 1746
		American Historical Newspapers	NY Weekly Journal, Oct 1, 1739
		American Historical Newspapers	Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct 23, 1746

Repository	Location	Collection	Resource
		American Historical Newspapers	Pennsylvania Journal, May 29, 1746
		American Historical Newspapers	Pennsylvania Journal, Nov 28, 1745
		American Historical Newspapers	The Boston Weekly Newsletter, April 16, 1747
		Indian Papers 1620-1895	
			Albertus Van Tessel Account Books, 1739-1749
			John Woods Diaries, 1777
Yale University Libraries	New Haven, CT	On-line catalog examined	
New York State Military Museum and Veterans Research Center	Saratoga, NY	Spoke with Jim Brady; no relevant resources	
Massachusetts Historical Society	Boston, MA	French and Indian War Orderly Books 1758-1760 (microfilm)	David Holmes (Company of the Third Connecticut Regiment), 4 June 1758-12 May 1759
		French and Indian War Orderly Books 1758-1760 (microfilm)	John Thomas's Regiment of Massachusetts Provincials 7 August-29 August 1760
			Journal of Mrs Benjamin Whitwell, 1812 (microfilm)
			Charles Sumner Diary, 1829
			Elise Charlotte Otte Diary, 1843 (microfilm)
		John Thomas Papers, 1747-1776	John Thomas Diary, 1760 (microfilm)
		Ebenezer Wild Diaries, 1776-1792	Ebenezer Wild Diary, 1776 (microfilm)
Harvard University Libraries	Cambridge, MA	Jared Sparks Collection of Historical Documents (Houghton Library)	Series I: Papers of New York and Virginia 1740-1776
Massachusetts, Secretary of the Commonwealth's Office, Archives	Boston, MA	Massachusetts Archives Collection	Colonial Records 1638-1720
		Massachusetts Archives Collection	Colonial Records- 1721-1768
		Massachusetts Archives Collection	Military Records 1692-1699
		French Historical Documents	Index (In English)
Schenectady Historical Society	Schenectady, NY	Historical Manuscripts Collection	Military Documents
Archives du Seminaire de Quebec, Les Musees do la Civilisation	Quebec, QC	On-line catalog examined	

Repository	Location	Collection	Resource
Biblioteque et Archives Nationales Du Quebec	Quebec, QC	On-line catalog examined	
Societe Historique de Quebec	Quebec, QC	No on-line catalog	
Societe Litteraire et Historique de Quebec	Quebec, QC	On-line catalog examined	
Archives des Soeurs de Grises	Montreal, QC	No on-line catalog	
Archives du Seminaire de Saint-Sulpice	Montreal, QC	No on-line catalog	
Biblioteque et Archives Nationales Du Quebec	Montreal, QC	On-line catalog examined	
Societe Historique de Montreal	Montreal, QC	No on-line catalog	
Cornell University Library	Digital On-line Database	The Records of the Albany Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1678-1755: An Integrated Digital Database	
Huntington Library	San Marino, CA	Map Collection	
Mohawk-Caughnawaga Museum and Tekawitha Shrine	Fonda, NY	Map Collection	
Albany County Hall of Records	Albany, NY	Albany Common Council Minutes (microfilm)	

APPENDIX 2

Accession #	Catalog #	Object, Object(NOM)	Description	Measurements	Material	Condition	Site Name
SARA-00108	SARA 387	PRINT, PHOTOGRAPHIC	Photograph of Schuyler House mounted on cardboard. Below photo:"W.H. Baker, 448 Broadway, Saratoga Springs". On back in advertising design:"Studio of WM. H. BAKER ARTIST & PHOTOGRAPHER IN OIL WATERCOLOR AND CRAYON. 448 Broadway, Saratoga Springs, NY" On back in ink "Schuyler Mansion Schuylerville, NY Aunt Carrie From Cornie Oct. 1883."		PAPER(PHOTOGRAPHIC)	COM/GD	MRS. ALVIN A. BROWNELL, SR.
SARA-00387	SARA 27387	LOG	Piece of what could be the fraise, picket or abattis - part of the defensive works at Fort Clinton, Saratoga, NY. Not identified as to where this artifact was found. Light brown wood, in good condition. Wider on one end and tapers to a point. Several knots that surround the piece indcating branching. Likely made from a small circumference tree or branch. Excavated by amateur archeologist, Ed Fedoryszyn, at Fort Clinton site between 19.. and 19..	23" L x 2-1/4" w x 1-1/2" d	WOOD	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27388	BRICK	Red brick fragment, possibly from a fireplace at Fort Clinton. Brick likely made on site. Fragment of a red brick, indicative of local manufacture. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Clinton. Not certain where the stockade was in relation to the blockhouse, so the location of the fireplace as being inside or outside the stockade is unknown. Brick appears to be a standard kiln fired brick.	2.9" long x 2.1" wide x 1.9" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27389	BRICK	Red brick fragment, possibly from a fireplace at Fort Clinton. Brick likely made on site. Fragment of a red brick, indicative of local manufacture. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton. Brick appears to be a standard kiln fired brick.	3.8" long x 2.2" wide x 1.9" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27390	BRICK	Blackened red brick fragment from a possible fireplace. Dark red and black hard brick, likely made on site. Approximately one half of a dark red, blackened brick. Blackened surface sould have resulted from the kiln firing indicating that this brick was a clinker, or possibly from the burning of the fort. Cracking evident also possibly from the fire. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	4.7" long x 3.6" wide x 1.6" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27391	BRICK	Bright orange brick fragment from a possible fireplace. Orange and very soft and crumbly; lightweight "samel", likely made on site. A "samel" is a brick not fired properly in the kiln. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	3.8" long x 3.6" wide x 1.6" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27392	BRICK	Red brick fragment from a possible fireplace. Red and hard with some blackening, possibly from firing in the kiln (which would mean that it is known as a "clinker"), or from the burning of the fort. Likely made on site. Only a fragment. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	5.5" long x 3.7" wide x 1.6" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27393	BRICK	Red brick fragment from a possible fireplace. Red and hard with minor blackening, possibly from firing in the kiln (which would mean that it is known as a "clinker"), or from the burning of the fort. Likely made on site. Only a fragment. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Clinton. Not certain where the stockade was in relation to the blockhouse, so the location of the fireplace as being inside or outside the stockade is unknown.	4.0" long x 2.4" wide x 1.7" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27394	BRICK	Orange brick fragment from a possible fireplace. Orange and soft "samel", only a fragment. Samels were not fired long enough in the kiln and they are characteristically too soft. Likely made on site. Only a fragment. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	4.7" long x 4.3" wide x 1.8" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27395	BRICK	Large orange and red brick fragment with some blackening, from a possible fireplace. Blackening possibly from the burning of the fort. This brick is larger than the other brick artifacts from this collection. It is hard, and appears to have had normal firing in the kiln. It was likely made on site. Only a fragment. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton. The large size of this brick is similar to bricks used in early 18th century house in Claverack for the fireplace hearth there. This brick is much larger than the other bricks found at the fort site in this collection.	8.75" long x 4.4" wide x 2.3" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27396	BRICK	Fragment of a soft, lightweight orange brick known as a "samel". "Samels" were not fired properly in the kiln. It was likely made on site. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	3.7" long x 4.0" wide x 1.8" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27397	BRICK	Fragment of a hard red and black brick known as a "clinker". "Clinkers" were fired under high heat in the kiln. It was likely made on site. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	3.8" long x 2.5" wide x 2.0" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27398	BRICK	Fragment of a soft orange colored brick known as a "samel". "Samels" were not fired long enough in the kiln. It was likely made on site. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	3.6" long x 3.9" wide x 1.8" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27399	BRICK	Fragment of a red brick, normally fired. End piece of brick with one jagged edge. Numerous cracks, possibly from the heat of the fort's burning. End piece with three formed sides. Based on its dimensions, this brick was a large brick, possibly from a hearth. It was likely made on site. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	4.2" long x 3.6" wide x 2.3" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27400	BRICK	Fragment of a brick, hard, blackened with some orange; a "clinker". End piece of the clinker - fired in the hottest part of the kiln. Blackening possibly from the burning of the fort. It was likely made on site. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	3.3" long x 3.7" wide x 1.8" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27401	BRICK	Fragment of a brick, hard, blackened with some orange; a "clinker". Some glazing evident. Very cracked. Part of a clinker - fired in the hottest part of the kiln. Blackening possibly from the burning of the fort. It was likely made on site. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	3.1" long x 3.6" wide x 1.8" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27402	BRICK	End fragment of a brick, hard, blackened with some orange and red; a "clinker". One jagged edge. This brick is a bit wider than the others. Part of a clinker - fired in the hottest part of the kiln. Blackening possibly from the burning of the fort. It was likely made on site. Possibly part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #4, west of and possibly inside the stockade near the Northeast Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga / Fort Clinton.	2.4" long x 4.8" wide x 1.9" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27403	POT	Iron cooking pot leg with possible decorative element at the foot, or at least rounded. Likely part of artifacts gathered by Fedoryszyn at his Site #6, the location of the Old Southwest Blockhouse from Fort Saratoga (burned November 1745) from a surface hunt.	3.6" long x 2.6" wide x .8" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27404	BOLT	Flat head bolt with attached square nut. Apparently affected by the burning of the fort as there is what appears to be melted material attached to the nut and bolt.	2.1" long x .9" wide x .9" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27405	SPIKE	Large iron "T" head spike that is broken. Likely part of the artifacts collected at Site #6, the Old Southwest Blockhouse from Fort Saratoga (burned November 1745).	3.5" long x 1.1" wide x 1.1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27406	PINTLE	Large iron pintle with pin missing and broken at about 1/2 inch along the shank. According to Fort Michilimackinac book, it is Type I, series B, for windows and shutters.	1.9" long x 1.1" wide x 1.3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27407	HOOK	Small iron hook, likely a drag rope hook from a small caliber cannon. T-shaped end and the other end is broken.	1.8" long	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27408	KETTLE	Iron kettle rim lug for hooking the handle into. To remove the kettle from the fire.	2.1" long	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27409	GOUGE	Hand-forged iron gouge, broken. Distinctive in that the metal is folded over to hold a wooden handle. Broken in the gouge area. Nail hole to secure wooden handle tapers down to the gouge. This style dates to c. 1700.	4" long x 1.6" diameter	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27410	BLADE	Blade from a pocket knife, possible Dutch. Blade is different from most pocket knives in that it has a flat top from the tip. It is very similar to an artifact pictured in "Swords and Blades of the American Revolution". The shape and dimensions are similar to a Dutch Knife made c. 1740, which is consistent with Fort Clinton's time frame. This knife blade was recovered from Fedoryszyn's "Site 1", and identified by him as a surgical knife, based on identification of a similar knife found at Fort Stanwix. In close proximity was a pocket knife handle. A study of blade styles indicates that this style was called a "hunting knife".	4.1" long x .9" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27411	PINTLE	Iron pintle for a cupboard, window or shutter. Based on Fort fort Michilimackinac classification for a Series B, type 1 pintle. Two pieces with pin soldered onto the spike. Complete pintle, small size likely used to hold a shutter in place. Likely from Fedoryszyn's Site #6, the Old Southwest Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga, which was burned in November 1745.	3.8" long x 1.4" high at pin x .8" wide	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27412	KETTLE	Iron kettle rim lug for hooking the handle into for the purpose of removing the kettle from the fire. In fair condition; bent.	2.2"	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27413	LOCK	Small piece of iron with curvature, broken on one side and with a drilled hole near the bottom. In examining 18th c. period locks, this could be a fragment of a lock, or it could be a fragment of a hinge.	1.5" long x 1.2" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27414	FERRULE	Iron ring used to attach metal to wood. Fedoryszyn recovered this ferrule at Site #1. Small hole where it was attached to the wood handle is evident. The weld is also evident. Variety "B" according to the Fort Stanwix collection categorization.	1.7" diameter x 1" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27415	KETTLE	Curved iron leg likely for a pot or kettle. Unknown where it was collected from the site. Appears to be broken on bottom part.	2.1" long x .7" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27416	PIN	Iron fragment, appears to be a linch pin fragment. Two prongs (would have been a slotted piece); broken. Small broken piece of iron with two prongs, dimensions match with the top part of a linch pin artifact discovered at Fort Stanwix. Used to maintain wheels. Possibly from Site #5 identified by Fedoryszyn as "unidentified iron object".	1.2" long x .8" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27417	STAPLE	Staple, likely for a shutter hook. Staple with additional wear at the top of the loop, possibly indicating use with a shutter hook. Nearly identical to an artifact at Fort Michimilimackinac. Unknown where this was recovered; it may have been from Site #6, which was the old Southwest Blockhouse of Fort Saratoga, burned in November 1745.	3.1" long	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27418	METAL FRAGMENT	Thin metal object, possibly brass or bronze, curved edge on top, could be a lock keeper.	2.1" long x 1.3" wide	METAL (BRASS)	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27419	BLADE	Small iron blade that tapers to a sharp edge that is much deteriorated. This is likely a plane blade as there is no striking surface associated with wedges. Used to finish wood.	2.2" long x 1.4" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27420	BUCKLE, KNEE	Square iron knee buckle with hook intact. Rounded corners. Unknown where recovered. Similar to Fort Michimilimackinac Class I, Series A, Type 1 knee buckle.	1.1" square	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27421	BUCKLE, KNEE	Square iron knee buckle frame, squared on bottom and rounded on top. Unknown where recovered. Missing hook.	1" long x 1" wide	IRON	INC/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27422	BUCKLE, SHOE	Rectangular iron shoe buckle frame with rounded corners. Unknown where recovered. Missing hook or hookds. Large size.	1.9" long x 1.4" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27423	BUCKLE, SHOE	Medium sized square shoe buckle frame that is broken on one side. Rounded corners. Unknown as to where in the fort site that this was recovered.	1.3" square	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27424	FERRULE	Broken large iron ferrule, or ring. No visible holes, broken at the weld. This was damaged and is bent. Perhaps broken when the tool was in use. Unknown where this piece was recovered.	1.9" long x 1.1" diameter	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27425	BARREL	Broken iron piece of what appears to be a musket barrel. Tapers slightly. Dimensions indicate that this is possibly from a fowler; unknown where it was recovered except that it was noted that it was found on a September 1978 surface hunt on the fort grounds.	2.6" long x .8" diameter x .6" interior diameter.	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27426	KETTLE	Broken rimmed piece of iron, possibly from a kettle or cooking pot.	3" long x 2.7" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27427	WIRE, BARBED	Small segment of 9th century style barbed wire fencing with teeth.	2.7" long x 1.4" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27428	WOOD FRAGMENT	Wood artifact remnant, possibly a Native American weapon or tool. Appears to have been gouged out for a purpose; also charred from fire. Slightly curved with an apparent gouged area opposite a knot. Possible wear just below the knot. Whole piece of wood; charred. Unknown where this artifact was recovered; possibly from Site #3, which is the northwest blockhouse from Fort Clinton, built 1746 and burned in 1747.	10-3/8" long x 1.8" wide	WOOD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27429	WOOD FRAGMENT	Wood fragment, worked to a point on one end. Possibly the top of a picket. Too small to be part of the stockade. Knots on the surface around it. Possibly from Site #3, the new northwest blockhouse, part of Fort Clinton, built 1746 and burned 1747.	8.5" long x 2.7" wide at widest point.	WOOD	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27430	BOARD	Very charred piece of a board, possibly a floor board from Fort Clinton. Likely found at Site #3, the new northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton, built 1746 and burned in 1747.	1.8" long x 2.6" wide	WOOD	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27431	POT	Iron leg to what appears to be a large kettle or cooking pot. Similar artifact in the Fort Stanwix collection. Hole in upper part of the leg, not certain of the purpose for this hole. Fragment possibly found at Site #1 or Site #3.	3.8" long x 3.2" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27432	HAMMER	Iron medium sized hammer head, broken where the handle attached to it. Fragment possibly found at Site #1 or Site #3.	2.8" long x 1.2" wide x .9" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27433	AX, BELT	Iron or steel small belt axe. Very small size; has the shape of a trade axe, so it could possibly be Native American. This belt axe was not mentioned in Fedoryszyn's notes because it was recovered during a surface hunt within the confines of the fort site.	3.5" long x 1.8" wide x 1.2" deep (at the cheeks)	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27434	BRICK	Red brick with mortar still attached. Fired hot, very hard, "clinker". Mortar on all six sides. Must have been part of a thick wall and on the interior. In 1703 bricks in the New York colony were required to be 9 inches long, 4-1/4" wide and 2-1/2" deep. In length, this brick conforms to the Dutch "Drielingen" brick indicating only a partial compliance with the legal specifications. Drielingen measurements are: 6 to 7-1/2 inches long, 3 to 4 inches wide and 1-3/8 inches deep. Unknown where this brick was recovered.	7.5" long x 2.5" deep x 3.9" wide	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27435	STONE	Small piece of shale with plaster. Unknown where this was recovered. Most likely this was part of a wall, possibly a home, where the stone was plastered. The stone is likely local in origin.	4" long x 3" wide x 1.8" deep	PLASTER	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27436	BRICK	Hard brick (clinker) that was fired hot. Unknown where this brick fragment was recovered. Similar to the dimensions of a drielingen, or a Dutch brick, except that it is not known how long this brick originally was before it was broken.	6.5" long x 3.9" wide x 2.1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27437	BRICK	Large red brick, evenly fired, broken on one end. The dimensions appear to indicate that this brick met the English 1703 standard. It is not known where this brick was recovered. It is too small to be a Dutch "moppen".	8.5" long x 4.3" wide x 2.3" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27438	LIGHTER	Oval shaped piece of steel, used for starting fires with the use of a flint. These were common trade items in the 18th century. Appears to be Series B, type 1 oval, per the Fort Michimilimackanac guide, dating from ca. 1715-1781. Unknown where this piece was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	3.2" long x 1.4" wide	STEEL	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27439	NUT	Square iron nut for bolting objects. Unknown where this piece was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.7" square x .3" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27440	SWIVEL	Oval iron sling keeper as well as the screw that attached the keeper to the musket's stock. Unknown where this piece was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	2" long x 1.9" wide	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27441	KETTLE	Iron pot fragment, from an iron cooking pot or skillet. Recovered from the Fort Clinton site, likely from Site #3 or Site #6.	2.1" long x 1.3" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27442	KETTLE	Triangular shaped iron pot fragment, from a large iron cooking kettle. Recovered from the Fort Clinton site, likely from Site #3 or Site #6.	1.7" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27443	KETTLE	Large, thick triangular shaped iron pot fragment, from an iron cooking kettle. Recovered from the Fort Clinton site, likely from Site #3 or Site #6.	3" long x 1.8" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27444	KETTLE	Large, rectangular shaped iron pot fragment, from an iron cooking kettle. Recovered from the Fort Clinton site, likely from Site #3 or Site #6.	4.2" long x 2.8" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27445	KETTLE	Small diameter iron kettle fragment. Leg or handle from a small pot or kettle, most likely used for cooking purposes. Recovered from the Fort Clinton site, likely from Site #3 or Site #6.	1.9" long x .4" wide (diameter)	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27446	KETTLE	Triangular shaped small iron kettle fragment. Recovered from the Fort Clinton site, likely from Site #3 or Site #6.	.8" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27447	GOUGE	Small iron gouge, likely for a carpenter's finishing work. Unknown where this piece was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	3.1" long x .5" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27448	KETTLE	Small irregular iron fragment likely from a large cooking kettle. Likely recovered from Site #3 or Site #6.	2" long x .5" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27449	KETTLE	Small cylindrical iron fragment likely from a cooking kettle. Possibly part of a leg or a handle.	1.4" long x .4" diameter	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27450	SWORD	Fragment of a steel sword blade or knife blade with part of the tang. Thick on the top and tapers to a sharp edged blade; partial tang on one end. Broken on both ends. One end is bent. Recovered from Site #3 or Site #6.	4.8" long x 1.1" wide x .2" deep (tapers to .1")	STEEL	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27451	KETTLE	Small copper or brass broken piece, likely from a kettle. (Trade Kettle?) Unknown where this piece was recovered.	1.1" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	COPPER -- BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27452	KETTLE	Rectangular iron fragment, small, curved outward on one side, similar to the lip of a kettle. This piece was likely from a large iron kettle. Probably recovered from Site #3 or Site #6.	1" long x .9" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27453	KETTLE	Oval iron fragment, small, possibly from a small kettle. Slightly curved in shape. Probably recovered from Site #3 or Site #6.	2.5" long x .9" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27454	KETTLE	Rectangular shaped thick iron fragment, likely from a large kettle. Probably recovered from Site #3 or Site #6.	1.6" long x 1.2" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27455	KETTLE	Small rectangular shaped thick iron fragment, likely from a large kettle. Probably recovered from Site #3 or Site #6.	1.4" long x .9" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27456	DISH	Rectangular fragment, possibly pewter, broken. Could have been part of a dish. Unknown where this piece was recovered.	1.5" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	PEWTER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27457	KETTLE	Rectangular small thin iron fragment from a small kettle. Likely recovered from Site #3 or Site #6.	1.9" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27458	KETTLE	Triangular shaped thin copper or brass fragment probably from a small kettle. Partial hole inside where handle may have been. Likely recovered from Site #3 or Site #6.	.8" long x .8" wide	COPPER -- BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27459	STAPLE	Square rod staple (rod from nail making) with rounded top. Used to hold latches or hang items from the ceiling. Wear at the top of the staple indicating either a latch or an item was hung from this artifact. Unknown where this was recovered, but likely site was Site #1, Site #3, Site #4 or Site #6.	2.5" long x 1.1" wide x .3" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27460	STAPLE	Square rod staple (rod from nail making) with rounded top. Top was flattened prior to bending. Used to hold latches or hang items from the ceiling. No sign of wear at top. Likely recovered from Site #1, Site #3, Site #4 or Site #6.	2.4" long x .9" wide x .4" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27461	SHELL, ARTILLERY	Small iron fragment likely from a mortar shell or possibly from a grenade. The circumference of the shell may have been three inches, based on the curvature of the fragment. Likely recovered from a surface hunt on the Fort Clinton site, between sites 1, 4, and 5.	1.2" long x .9" wide x .5" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27462	LOCK	Small oval shaped iron fragment of a lock with an intact latch mechanism. Recovered at Site #2, the original southeast blockhouse of Fort Saratoga and subsquently reused as the southeast blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	2.5" long x .9" wide x .6" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27463	KETTLE	Small rectangular fragment of copper or brass, most likely from a kettle. Has rivet. This fragment was likely from where the handle was attached to the kettle.	2.2" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	BRASS -- COPPER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27464	METAL FRAGMENT	Curved shaped brass or copper metal fragment (sheet) with rivets. Attached to something; possible cover for a lock mechanism. Curved on top and flat on the bottom. Recovered at Site #6, the original southwest blockhouse of Fort Saratoga.	1.7" long x 1.5" wide	BRASS -- COPPER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27465	BOWL	Possibly a bowl? Two small strips of iron banding, welded together. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.9" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27466	KETTLE	Broken and twisted small fragment of pewter?, possibly a kettle fragment. Small, thick, with a hole for a possible handle. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	1.5" long x .8" wide x .3" deep	PEWTER	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27467	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular fragment of iron with a weld making it thicker on one end. May have been a tool, possibly a chisel or a gouge. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	1.7" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27468	LEATHER FRAGMENT	Leather circle with a slit at center. Could be the back of a button or a concentrator for a bellows. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	1.4" diameter x .9" long slit	LEATHER	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27469	CHISEL	Iron tool, possibly a chisel. Has a tang for a wooden handle which is no longer extant. It is not banded on the sides and does taper to what appears to be a squared end. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	5.6" long x .7" wide	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27470	KNIFE	Large kitchen knife with bone handle. Iron blade. "type 3" per "Casemates and Cannonballs" reference book. Kitchen knife with separate bone handle, recovered at the Northwest Blockhouse site at Fort Clinton.	11" long with handle x .9" wide	IRON --BONE	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27471	BELL	Small cast bronze or brass bell fragment, curved indentation and incised line on outside surface. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.5" long x 2.1" wide x .2" deep	BRONZE -- BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27472	HANDLE	Long iron drawer handle with cotter pin on one side with the other broken off. Similar to Type A in the Fort Michimilimackanac collection. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	5" long x .3" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27473	KNIFE	Fragment of an iron kitchen knife. Rounded on end. Curved blade. Broken on one end. Recovered at the site of the Southwest Blockhouse at Fort Clinton.	4.7" long x 1.3" wide	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27474	FERRULE	Metal (possibly brass) ring with wood on inside. Small ferrule. Likely recovered at the site of the Southwest Blockhouse at Fort Clinton.	.6" circumference x .3" deep	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27475	BAYONET	Small T-shaped iron fragment, rounded on one end and flat on the other end. Broken on both sides. A close examination indicated that it may be from an English socket bayonet, c. 1740 as it matches well with the artifact in "Swords and Blades of the American Revolution". Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	1" long x .8" wide x .5" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27476	PLATE	Brass butt plate, possibly from a French trade gun. Screw hole offset from the center. Hand-engraved with an ornate design known as a "flaming torch" and what appears to be the number "24". Recovered on a surface hunt near site #2 (the original southeast blockhouse of Fort Saratoga and the southeast blockhouse for Fort Clinton), outside the fort. The design is French according to "Firearms on the Frontier" by T.M. Hamilton. this is likely a French trade gun piece. The southeast blockhouse was close the the river's edge, and is today partially submerged.	2.5" long x 1.1" wide x .2" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27477	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.4" long x .7" wide at head x .4" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27478	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.5" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27479	NAIL	Bent rosehead nail with a sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.4" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27480	NAIL	Bent rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.2" long x .4" wide at head x .6" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27481	NAIL	"T" head nail with a flattened point, slightly bent. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.4" long x .5" wide at head x .6" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27482	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.4" long x .6" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27483	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.6" long x .6" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27484	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a broken flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27485	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Yellow accretion (soil?) on one side. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .4" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27486	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.9" long x .6" wide at head x .4" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27487	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Slightly bent. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .5" wide at head x .4" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27488	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4.1" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27489	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.9" long x .6" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27490	NAIL	Bent rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .5" wide at head x .4" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27491	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.9" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27492	NAIL	T-Head nail with a sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.9" long x .6" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27493	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27494	NAIL	Bent rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27495	NAIL	Bent rosehead nail with a sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered. Red coloration (oxidation) throughout.	3.7" long x .6" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27496	NAIL	Slightly bent rosehead nail with a flattened point. Point is broken. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered. Some red coloration (oxidation).	3.9" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27497	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a broken flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.7" long x .5" wide at head x .4" deep at head	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27498	NAIL	Bent rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.7" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27499	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.9" long x .6" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27500	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Slightly bent. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4.1" long x .5" wide at head x .5" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27501	NAIL	Nail fragment with a sharp point. Bent at a 90 degree angle; broken, no head. Twisted. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	1.2" long x .3" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27502	NAIL	Small nail fragment with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	1.4" long x .2" wide x .1" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27503	NAIL	Small nail fragment with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	1" long x .2" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27504	NAIL	Nail fragment with a flattened point. Bent. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.8" long x .3" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27505	NAIL	Twisted and bent nail fragment with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.1" long x .3" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27506	NAIL	"L" Head nail used as a finishing nail, sharp point, small size. Iron. Recovered from Site #2.	1.7" long x .2" wide x .1" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27507	NAIL	Large rosehead nail, appears to have been deliberately twisted. Has a sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4.4" long x .6" wide x .5" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27508	NAIL	Rosehead nail fragment. Bent at a 90 degree angle, broken at the point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	1.4" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27509	NAIL	Rosehead nail with sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.2" long x .6" wide x .4" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27510	NAIL	Rosehead nail with sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.2" long x .6" wide x .5" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27511	NAIL	Rosehead nail with sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.2" long x .6" wide x .4" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27512	NAIL	"T" head nail with sharp point. Iron. Badly corroded. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3" long x .7" wide x .6" deep	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27513	NAIL	Rosehead nail with sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3" long x .55" wide x .45" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27514	NAIL	"T" Head nail with sharp point. Iron. Bent at 90 degrees in two places forming a hook. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.6" long x .7" wide x .4" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27515	NAIL	"T" Head nail with sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.9" long x .4" wide x .4" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27516	NAIL	"T" Head nail with sharp point. Head is broken, making it look like an "L" nail. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.6" long x .3" wide x .3" deep (at head)	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27517	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .5" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27518	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.9" long x .6" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27519	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.9" long x .5" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27520	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .6" wide (at head) x .4" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27521	NAIL	Rosehead nail with sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4.1" long x .5" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27522	NAIL	Slightly bent rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4" long x .5" wide (at head) x .6" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27523	NAIL	Slightly bent rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4" long x .5" wide (at head) x .6" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27524	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.9" long x .6" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27525	NAIL	Slightly bent rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4.2" long x .5" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27526	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4" long x .5" wide (at head) x .4" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27527	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4.1" long x .6" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27528	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4" long x .4" wide (at head) x .4" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27529	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Bent in the middle. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.6" long x .6" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27530	NAIL	Broken rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .5" wide (at head) x .4" deep (at head)	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27531	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Virtually no corrosion. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.7" long x .5" wide (at head) x .4" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27532	NAIL	"T" Head nail, meant to be a rosehead nail, but the head was flattened. Broken but flattened point. Curved throughout length. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .6" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27533	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .5" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27534	NAIL	Rosehead nail, bent in the middle, with a flattened point. Iron. About 2/3 of the nail is very corroded. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.5" long x .6" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27535	NAIL	Rosehead nail with a flattened point. Iron. About 1/2 of the nail is very corroded. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.8" long x .6" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27536	NAIL	Small "T" head nail, likely was meant to be a rosehead nail but the head was flattened. Sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.7" long x .4" wide (at head) x .3" deep (at head)	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27537	NAIL	Rosehead nail, large, slightly bent, with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4.4" long x .6" wide (at head) x .5" deep (at head)	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27538	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	4.3" long x .5" wide (at head) x .6" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27539	NAIL	Small rosehead nail with sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.4" long x .3" wide (at head) x .3" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27540	NAIL	Small rosehead nail with sharp point. Iron. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	2.3" long x .4" wide (at head) x .3" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27541	NAIL	Rosehead nail with flattened point. Iron. Very corroded. Unknown where this artifact was recovered.	3.6" long x .4" wide (at head) x .3" deep (at head)	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27542	BOLT	Small bent bolt fragment of the head. Possibly recovered from Site #1.	1.8" long x 1" diameter of head	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27543	BUCKLE	Square buckle fragment, iron. Broken on one side, very corroded. From the Fort Michimilimackanac "Archeological Perspective", this buckle is categorized as a "series A, Type 1" iron rectangular frame buckle. Unknown where it was recovered.	1.3" long x 1.2" wide	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27544	ASSEMBLY, LATCH	Small iron latch bar catch (?), round bar, catch is angled. Unknown where it was recovered.	2.0" long x .5" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27545	LEAD	Small "Y" shaped piece of melted lead. Could be from window caulk or could be a lead sow from the making of musketballs, or could possibly be a melted musketball or sprew. Unknown where it was recovered.	1" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	LEAD	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27546	KETTLE	Six fragments of what appears to be a copper or brass kettle. Found in a surface hunt in the vicinity of the fort. .1: roughly rectangular in shape, folded over onto itself. .2: triangular shaped with two holes and center bent upwards. .3: small triangular shaped. .4: tiny oval shaped .5: tiny triangular shaped .6: tiny irregular shaped	.1: 2.8" long x 1.9" wide x .3" deep. .2: 2.5" long x 2.2" wide x .1" deep. .3: 1.1" long x .8" wide x .05" deep. .4: .5" long x .3" wide x .02" deep. .5: .6" long x .4" wide x .02" deep. .6: .5" long x .2" wide x .04" deep.	COPPER -- BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27547	BONE, FRAGMENT	Animal bone fragment, triangular shaped. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.6" long x .4" wide x .4" deep	BONE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27548	FLINT	Gray fragment of a Type 1, wedge shaped gun flint (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Indicated as originating in England (English classification). Broken on the side, was likely originally larger in size. Variety A: gray. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	1.2" long x .6" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27549	FLINT	Small broken wedge shaped Type 1, Variety A gun flint, classified as English in origin. Broken on side and top. (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.7" long x .8" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27550	FLINT	Small broken wedge shaped Type 1, Variety A gun flint, classified as English in origin. Broken all around. (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.7" long x .5" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27551	FLINT	Wedge shaped gun flint, Type 1, Variety A gun flint, classified as English in origin. (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.9" long x .1.1" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27552	FLINT	Gray gun flint fragment, wedge shaped, Type 1, Variety A gun flint, classified as English in origin. (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	1.1" long x .7" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27553	FLINT	Rounded, gray gun flint, wedge shaped, Type 1, Variety A gun flint, classified as English in origin. (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Classified by Fort Stanwix (Casemates and Cannonballs) as Dutch. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	1" long x 1.3" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27554	FLINT	Small gray gun flint, wedge shaped, Type 1, Variety A gun flint, classified as English in origin. Series C. (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.8" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27555	FLINT	Broken small gray blade gun flint, Type 3, Series A gun flint, classified as English in origin. (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.7" long x 1.1" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27556	FLINT	Broken small gray gun flint, Variety A, Series C (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Broken on all sides. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.7" long x .7" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27557	FLINT	Broken small gray gun flint, Variety A, Series C, Type 1 (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Broken at the edge. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.9" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27558	FLINT	Broken wedge-shaped gray gun flint, Variety A, Series C, Type 1 (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.9" long x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27559	FLINT	Fragment of a wedge-shaped gray gun flint, Variety A, Series C, Type 1 (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.5" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27560	FLINT	Wedge-shaped small gun flint with rounded edge. Variety B, Series C, Type 1 (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.8" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27561	FLINT	Small gray gun flint with rounded edge. Variety A, Series C, Type 1 (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.7" long x .8" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27562	FLINT	Small, thin wedge-shaped gun flint. Variety A, Series C, Type 1 (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	.9" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27563	FLINT	Large wedge-shaped gun flint. Irregular bed, rounded edge. Variety A, Series C, Type 1 (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known.	1" long x 1.2" wide x .5" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27564	FLINT	Wedge-shaped gun flint. Irregular bed, rounded edge. Variety A, Series C, Type 1 (per Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton site; specific location not known. Edge broken.	.8" long x 1" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27565	FLINT	Fragment of a gun flint. Rectangular piece of flint, broken all around. Cannot identify the type, but likely was a wedge-shaped flint. Difficult to determine where the edge was located on the piece.	.7" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27566	FLINT	Series C, Type 1, Variety A wedge-shaped gun flint (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Classification). Small, gray, with a broken edge.	.8" long x .8" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27567	FLINT	Small wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Brown in color. Broken between heel and edge. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Classification).	.4" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27568	FLINT	Small gun flint fragment that is likely from a wedge-shaped gun flint. Appears to be Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Classification). Gray, broken at the heel. Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.4" long x .9" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27569	FLINT	Wedge-shaped gray gun flint. Appears to be Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Classification). Gray, broken at the heel. Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.9" long x .9" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27570	FLINT	Wedge-shaped dark gray gun flint. Very short and thick with flat face with a dramatic angle to the edge (close to 90 degrees). Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Classification). Gray, broken at the heel. Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.8" long x .8" wide x .5" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27571	FLINT	Small gun flint fragment from the center of a gun flint. Evident face and bed and some sloping, possibly indicative of the angle to the edge. Likely from a wedge-shaped gun flint, but not enough remains to confirm that. Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.8" long x .6" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27572	FLINT	Small gray gun flint fragment that appears to be from the edge of a gun flint. The bed, face and edge are evident in part. Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.4" long x .5" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27573	FLINT	Small gray wedge-shaped gun flint fragment broken near the edge with the heel remaining. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.8" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27574	FLINT	Small gray broken fragment of a gun flint. Broken near the heel. Appears to be from a wedge-shaped gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.5" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27575	FLINT	Intact, gray, wedge-shaped gun flint with a rounded edge. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.7" long x 1" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27576	FLINT	Small gray fragment of the edge of a gun flint. Face and bed evident as well as part of the edge. Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.4" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27577	FLINT	Intact, gray gun flint, wedge-shaped. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.8" long x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27578	FLINT	Large, three-segment, gray gun flint, wedge-shaped. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.9" long x 1.6" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27579	FLINT	Small fragment of the edge of a gray gun flint. Portions of the face and bed are evident. Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.6" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27580	FLINT	Fragment of a gray gun flint. Broken around three sides. Appears to be from the middle of the gun flint. Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	1" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27581	FLINT	Thick, gray wedge-shaped gun flint, double lobed. Appears to be intact. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.6" long x 1.1" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27582	FLINT	Gun Flint fragment. Heel only. Broken in middle with no edge. Series A, Type 2 blade (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.6" long x .8" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27583	FLINT	Small gray wedge-shaped gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.8" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27584	FLINT	Small gray wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Broken at edge with heel and middle area bed and face remaining. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	1" long x .7" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27585	FLINT	Small gray broken wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.9" long x .5" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27586	FLINT	Large gray wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.9" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27587	FLINT	Small gray wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	.9" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27588	FLINT	Large gray wedge-shaped gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	1.1" long x 1.6" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27589	FLINT	Large, thick, black broken gun flint fragment, wedge-shaped. Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Unknown where this was recovered from the Fort Clinton site.	1.1" long x 1" wide x .6" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27590	FLINT	Small, unclassifiable flint fragments, possibly from gun flints. Unknown where these were recovered from the Fort Clinton site.		FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27591	HOOK	Small iron latch, could be from a window, door, or a piece of furniture (most likely furniture). Elaborately made with a small knob for ease of lifting from the eye. Recovered at Fort Clinton site #2.	1.5" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27592	COIN	Very worn halfpenny coin with a faint image on obverse of King William III visible. (Coin's original state would include the king's head facing right on the obverse with "GVLIELMVS TERTIVS", and on the reverse: Britannia emblem with "Britannia" and the date. William III was on the throne between 1689 and 1702, but these coins were produced between 1695 and 1701.	1.1" diameter	COPPER	COM/FR	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27593	COIN	Found on a surface hunt of Fort Clinton. Worn but legible halfpenny coin with a faint image on obverse of King William III and Queen Mary visible along with "GVLIELMVS ET MARIA". Obverse has emblem of Britannia, which is worn. The date of the coin is not visible. In the joint reign of William III and Mary II (1688–1694), the production of bimetallic tin/copper halfpennies continued in 1689, 1690, 1691 and 1692. However the tin coinage was becoming increasingly unpopular because the public did not feel that there was any intrinsic value in the coins and also the corrosion problem had become apparent; even worse, lead counterfeits had started to appear. Just before the queen's death from smallpox in 1694 a copper halfpenny, weighing 9.1–11.7 grams with 28–31 millimetres diameter was reintroduced. The contract for the new coins stipulated that the copper used should be English and the blanks struck at the Mint. It is noticeable that Charles II's Swedish copper halfpennies have toned to a dark red colour, while the William and Mary halfpennies tone to black, presumably because of different impurities in the copper. The obverse inscription read GVLIELMVS ET MARIA, while the reverse reads BRITANNIA (with the date beneath Britannia in 1694). The 1689–1692 coins have the edge inscription NVMMORVM FAMVLVS with the date.	1.1" diameter	COPPER	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27594	COIN	Worn but readable halfpenny coin, the "II" is clearly visible as well as some other letters in "Georgius II Rex". With some examination, the "REX" can be discerned, and it is widely spaced like the "young" George II image coins which have the ribbon at the neck. No date as only the "17" is discernable. Unknown where on the Fort Clinton site this coin was found.	1.1" diameter	TIN	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27595	COIN	Worn, bent, but readable George II halfpenny coin. "Young George" image with ribbon in hair at neck and the date "1739". With some examination, the date can be discerned. Unknown where on the Fort Clinton site this coin was found.	1.1" diameter	COPPER	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27596	COIN	Worn but readable George II halfpenny coin. "Young George" image with ribbon in hair at neck and the date "1734" and the widely spaced "REX". With some examination, the date can be discerned. Recovered at Fort Clinton, site #4.	1.1" diameter	COPPER	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27597	COIN	Completely worn corn. Likely an English or Colonial halfpenny based on its size.	1.1" diameter	COPPER	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27598	FLINT	Large gray gun flint, black at the heel. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Broken at the edge. Wedge-shaped. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1.2" long x 1.5" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27599	FLINT	Wedge-shaped gray gun flint, black at the heel. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1.2" long x 1.2" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27600	FLINT	Large gray wedge-shaped gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1.1" long x 1.3" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27601	FLINT	Broken gray wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	.8" long x 1.2" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27602	FLINT	Small gray wedge-shaped intact gun flint. Flint is thick. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	.7" long x 1" wide x .5" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27603	FLINT	Small, triangular dark gray wedge-shaped gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	.8" long x 1" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27604	FLINT	Small gray blade gun flint. Series A, Type 3 blade (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1.1" long x .9" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27605	FLINT	Black wedge-shaped gun flint. Object is thick. Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.9" long x 1.1" wide x .5" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27606	FLINT	Broken gray wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Object is thick. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.6" long x 1" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27607	FLINT	Round, wedge-shaped black gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.9" long x .9" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27608	FLINT	Broken gray wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Broken at the edge. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	.8" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27609	FLINT	Broken dark gray wedge-shaped gun flint fragment. Small, thin fragment, broken at the edge. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	.7" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27610	FLINT	Oval shaped worked piece of flint, likely Native American object; perhaps a broken point or flint tool or knife. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1.3" long x .9" wide x .5" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27611	FLINT	Dark gray, wedge-shaped intact gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1" long x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27612	FLINT	Gray, wedge-shaped intact gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1.1" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27613	FLINT	Series A, Type 3 blade gun flint, brown and translucent. (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3. Object broken.	.8" long x 1.1" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	INC/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27614	FLINT	Series C, Type 1, Variety C gun flint (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Brown, not translucent, wedge-shaped. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	.9" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27615	FLINT	Series C, Type 1, Variety C gun flint (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Brown, opaque, wedge-shaped. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1" long x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27616	FLINT	Brown gun flint, or flint used to start fires; Series A, Category 1 (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Possibly a fragment. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	1.3" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27617	FLINT	Wedge-shaped, gray with some green and brown, gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety A (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Possibly a fragment. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #3.	.7" long x 1.1" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27618	FLINT	Small, black, wedge-shaped gun flint. Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.7" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27619	FLINT	Small triangular-shaped blade gun flint. Series A, Type 3 (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.6" long x 1" wide x .1" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27620	FLINT	Small black fragment of a gun flint with only the heel remaining of a wedge shaped flint; Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.6" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27621	FLINT	Small black gun flint; wedge shaped, Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.9" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27622	FLINT	Small black gun flint fragment, wedge shaped, Series C, Type 1, Variety B (Fort Michimilimackanac Archeological Categorization). Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.7" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27623	FLINT	Stone, apparently worked, appears to be shale and not flint. Possibly Native American. Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.7" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	FLINT	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27624	STONE	Rectangular pebble of shale with circular depression in center, possibly man-made. Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.8" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	STONE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27625	GLASS	Small triangular fragment, or sherd, of broken glass. Two smooth sides. Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.4" long x .3" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27626	STONE	Small white quartz pebble, triangular, with evidence that it may have been worked, likely by Native Americans. Flat on bed with areas on face that are angled and smoothed. Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.7" long x .4" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27627	STONE	Small white quartz pebble, generally rectangular. Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	1" long x .7" wide x .3" deep	GLASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27628	CHARCOAL	Small piece of cinder; glassy on one side. Object had been subjected to high heat. Probably created during the fire of Fort Clinton. High temperatures created this object. May have been mortar from the masonry. Glassy on one side and pumice-like on the other. Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	1" long x .8" wide x .5" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27629	CHARCOAL	Green glassy surface on one side. Pumice-like material on the rest of the object. Subjected to high heat; likely from the burning of Fort Clinton. May have been mortar from the masonry. High temperatures created this object. Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.7" long x .5" wide x .4" deep		FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27630	CHARCOAL	Black glass formed in one corner of the face or top and glass formed on much of the bed or bottom; pumice-like on side. Subjected to high heat; likely from the burning of Fort Clinton. High temperatures created this object. Recovered from Fort Clinton, exact provenience unknown.	.7" long x .5" wide x .2" deep		FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27631	BUTTON	Small round two-piece pewter button with a broken iron eye apparently soldered to the button through two holes. Plain, with no decorative elements. Series B, Type 2 (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #2.	.6" diameter x .2" thick	PEWTER --IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27632	BUTTON	Large brass two-piece button with soldered brass wire forming the eye. Series B, Type 3 (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.3" diameter x .2" thick	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27633	BUTTON	Large brass two-piece button with soldered brass wire forming the eye. Series B, Type 3 (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.4" diameter x .2" thick	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27634	BUTTON	Medium sized brass two-piece button with soldered brass wire forming the eye. Well-made. May date from the 19th century. "Extra" and "Colour" engraved on the back of the button. Research indicates that this is likely a button made at the Kendrick Company of London, England. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" diameter x .3" thick	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27635	BUTTON	Plain, convex brass two-piece button with soldered brass wire forming the eye. Wire soldered only on one side and bent over to form the eye. Convex crown. Series B, Type 3 (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" diameter x .4" thick	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27636	BUTTON	Small, one-piece cast brass button with elaborate floral design on front. Crimped edge. Drilled shaft or eye. Series A,Type 3, Variety 2 (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience, possibly Site #1.	.6" diameter x .2" thick	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27637	BUTTON	Two-piece brass button, engraved with an American Eagle and eight stars and the word "Best". Plain face, soldered brass wire eye on back. This button is mid-19th century; may be military. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" diameter x .1" thick	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27638	BUTTON	Two-piece brass button, machined, large, with an iron eye soldered to back. This button dates from the 19th century. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" diameter x .2" thick	BRASS --IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27639	BUTTON	Two-piece brass button, small, machined, plain, with an iron eye soldered to back. This button dates from the 19th century. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" diameter x .2" thick	BRASS --IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27640	BUTTON	Two-piece brass button, large, machined, plain, with an iron eye soldered to back. This button dates from the 19th century. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" diameter x .3" thick	BRASS --IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27641	BUTTON	Convex pewter (white metal) or silver two-piece button with floral design on face, crimped front, brass cast back and drilled eye. Cast. Hollow between the back and front as there is a small chip out of the crimping. Series I, Type 3, Variety 2 (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #6.	.6" diameter x .4" thick	PEWTER -- BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27642	BUTTON	Two-piece cast brass button. Flux joined. Small convex face soldered to cast back with a drilled eye. Face has small floral design in center. Design consists of a center flower surrounded by shell-like scallop shaped petals. Series C (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #5.	.5" diameter x .4" thick	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27643	BUTTON	Two-piece plain brass button. Plain. Convex with face segmented into pie shaped wedges. Appears to have had an eye that was iron and soldered to the back, which is now completely missing. Recovered from Fort Clinton.	.7" diameter	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27644	BUTTON	Medium sized two-piece brass button. Machined. Eye broken. Iron eye soldered onto back. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" diameter x .3" deep	BRASS --IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27645	BUTTON	Large machined two-piece brass button. Broken on one side. Iron wire eye also broken. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" diameter x .3" deep	BRASS --IRON	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27646	BUTTON	Small mushroom-shaped one-piece button, cast lead or other white metal. Series A, Type 1 (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Fort Michimilimackanac and Fort Stanwix have indicated that these may be civilian buttons. Recovered from Fort Clinton Site #2.	.6" diameter x .5" deep	METAL	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27647	BUTTON	Small two-piece brass button, convex, plain face with iron wire eye soldered on back. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" diameter x .3" deep	BRASS --IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27648	BUTTON	Two-piece brass button, broken, with brass wire eye on back. Series B, Type 3 (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Broken in two places along edge. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" diameter x .4" deep	BRASS	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27649	BUTTON	Cast one-piece brass button,wreath design on face, symmetrical. Dots around the face. Eye is broken. Mold seam visible. Series A, Type 1, Variety Z (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Broken in two places along edge. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" diameter x .1" deep	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27650	BUTTON	Plain, large two-piece brass button, machined. Iron eye soldered on back is broken. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" diameter x .3" deep	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27651	BUTTON	Large one-piece pewter or other white metal button, eye on back is broken. Very damaged. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #6.	.9" diameter x .2" deep	PEWTER	COM/FR	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27652	BUTTON	Plain brass two-piece (possibly gilt) button. Engraved on back "Orange Treble" and "London". The eye is sheared off. Was iron; possibly iron wire. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" diameter	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27653	BUTTON	Small plain brass two-piece button. Machined. Iron wire eye on back that is broken. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" diameter x .2" deep	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27654	BUCKLE, SHOE	Fragment of a rectangular brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief of parallel lines in a series of layers. Rounded corners. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #1 or Site #2.	.5" long x 1.7" wide x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27655	BUCKLE, SHOE	Fragment of a rectangular brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief of parallel lines in a series of layers. Rounded corners. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #1 or Site #2.	.7" long x 1.7" wide x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27656	BUCKLE, SHOE	Fragment of a rectangular brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief of parallel lines in a series of layers. Rounded corners. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #1 or Site #2.	.7" long x 1.7" wide x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27657	BUCKLE, SHOE	Two fragments from a rectangular brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief of notches along the sides with a shell pattern at the rounded corners. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.6" long x 1.2" wide x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27658	BUCKLE, SHOE	Ornate brass rectangular brass shoe buckle. Molded, with a relief consisting of floral and foliate designs with rounded corners. Recovered from Fort Clinton, from a surface hunt between Site #4 and Site #2.	.5" long x 1.4" wide x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27659	BUCKLE, SHOE	Brass rectangular curved brass shoe buckle with angled corners. Triple framed, with iron hook, brass pin. Molded, with relief consisting of parallel lines. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #4.	1.7" long x 1.1" wide x .2" deep	BRASS --IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27660	BUCKLE, SHOE	Small fragment of the pin post of a shoe buckle. Brass, molded, with relief consisting of an oval geometric design with foliage on each end. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.2" long x 1.2" wide x .2" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27661	BUCKLE, SHOE	Small pewter fragment of the pin post of a shoe buckle. Molded, with relief consisting of parallel lines. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #6.	.3" long x 1.3" wide x .2" deep	PEWTER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27662	BUCKLE, SHOE	Small pewter fragment of a shoe buckle. Rectangular, rounded corners, molded, with relief consisting of parallel lines. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #6.	.9" long x 1.3" wide x .1" deep	PEWTER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27663	BUCKLE, SHOE	Rectangular brass buckle fragment with rounded corners, molded, with relief consisting of parallel lines that curve across the object. Recovered from Fort Clinton,unknown provenience.	.3" long x 1.8" wide x .2" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27664	BUCKLE, SHOE	Rectangular brass buckle fragment with rounded corners, molded, with relief consisting of notches. Pin post hole visible. Recovered from Fort Clinton,unknown provenience.	1" long x 1" wide x .2" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27665	BUCKLE	Small iron buckle fragment, rectangular with rounded corners, molded, with relief consisting of parallel lines on a curved surface. Recovered from Fort Clinton,unknown provenience.	.4" long x 1.3" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27666	BUCKLE	Long, thin brass buckle fragment with rounded corners. Recovered from Fort Clinton,unknown provenience.	.2" long x 2.3" wide x .2" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27667	BUCKLE	Small square brass buckle fragment with rounded corners. Pin post visible. About half of the buckle remains. Recovered from Fort Clinton,unknown provenience.	1.2" long x 1" wide x .2" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27668	BOLT	Finely made square iron bolt, machined. Possibly dating from the 19th or 20th centuries. Very precisely made with perfectly square head and shaft. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #2.	3.5" long x 1.2" wide x 1.2" deep. Shaft is .5" square.	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27669	METAL FRAGMENT	Melted copper or brass oval-shaped fragment. Melting possibly occurred during the burning of the fort. Recovered from Fort Clinton, provenience unknown.	2.8" long x 1.4" wide x .5" deep	COPPER -- BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27670	ORNAMENT	Cone shaped sheet brass object - broken cone. Bent in the middle about 100 degrees and flattened. It appears that this may have been a tinkler cone in the process of being made as it is cut in half, but it also might have been simply a large cone. Tinkler cones were used on the clothing of Native Americans. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #1.	1.8" long x 1.8" wide x .7" deep	BRASS	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27671	KETTLE	Fragment of a kettle rim, copper or brass, folded over. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #1.	3.2" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	COPPER -- BRASS	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27672	KETTLE	Small rectangular brass or copper kettle fragment. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #1.	1.6" long x 1" wide x .001" deep	COPPER -- BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27673	KETTLE	Large iron kettle leg. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #6.	2.9" long x .9" wide x .7" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27674	BOLT --NUT	Iron "T"-head bolt with a square nut attached at bottom. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	2" long x .7" wide x .7" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27675	METAL FRAGMENT	Small cylindrical iron object with two asymmetrical hooks. Unknown function. Broken. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .5" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27676	HINGE	Large iron object, broken, with eye. Possibly a hinge fragment, Type 3 Hinge (Casemates and Cannonballs reference book). Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #2.	4.2" long x 1.9" wide x .5" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27677	KNIFE	Small broken iron pocket knife blade with hole in tang where it attached to handle. The edge is tapered sharp with the back of the blade flat and wider. Broken near the point. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #6. See "Swords and Blades of the American Revolution".	3" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27678	METAL FRAGMENT	Possibly a 19th century table knife fragment? Rectangular iron fragment, rounded on one end but not taperred to an edge. Broken on the other end. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2.4" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27679	HASP	"U" shaped iron object, broken, with rectangle in center. Likely a fragment of a hasp. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.7" long x 1.4" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27680	KNIFE	Knife blade fragment, complete with tang, but broken at the tip. Not similar to any battle or hunting knives. Appears to be a table knife. Design is similar to one common in the late 17th century (See: A Guide to Arifacts of Colonial America). Recovered from Fort Clinton site, possibly found at Site #1.	4.6" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27681	LOCK, DOOR	Iron cover plate with what appears to be a key hole, although partial. Cover plate is broken. Rectangular with distinctive cut resembling a key hole. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.8" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27682	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular iron object with two rivets. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2.4" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27683	SPEAR	"Arrow Head" shaped spear point, possibly from a halberd. Too small and too flat to be just from a spear, thus likely from a halberd. A check of "Swords and Blades of the American Revolution" points strongly toward it being from a "trade halberd". The dimensions match up and the dates match as well. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	3.1" long x 1.3" wide at arrowhead base x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27684	KEY	Iron fragment of a "Type 3" key ("Casemates and Cannonballs" reference book). "L" shaped, appears to have a diamond shaped pin. Also appears to be broken in place where bow was attached to pin. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27685	STAPLE	Large iron staple with rounded corners. One prong bent inward. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2.5" long x 1.9" wide x .3" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27686	HOOK	Iron door, window or shutter hook. Small, similar to ones found at Fort Michimilimackanac (See "An Archeological Perspective") Right angled point, looped to form "eye". Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.7" long x 1" wide x .2" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27687	HASP	Rectangular iron hasp, hinged, broken. Bent and broken at the slot. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, possibly from Site #2.	3.2" long x .7" wide x .2" deep at the hinge	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27688	SWIVEL	Iron musket swivel, or sling swivel. One side is broken. Drilled hole where it attaches to musket. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2.1" long x 1.3" wide x .1" deep at the hinge	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27689	GOUGE	Small gouge, iron, tapered sharp end, a tang for inserting into a handle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	3.7" long x .2" wide x .1" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27690	NAIL	Headless nail, iron, shaft rounded then changed to squared as it tapers down after 2-1/2 inches. Possibly used as a peg for hanging items. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	4.6" long x .3" wide x .3" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27691	PICK	Hollow cylinder on top, tapers to a point. Appears to be a vent pick. Likely had a wooden handle, no longer extant. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, recovered at either Site #6 or Site #4.	3" long x .4" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27692	PICK	Classic design vent pick with "butterfly" handle on both wings. Narrow tapered shaft, iron. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, recovered at either site #6 or site #4.	3.1" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27693	HOOK	Iron scabbard hook, broken in front where it attaches to a belt. Plain. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, Site #3.	2" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27694	BOLT	Iron, rectangular, notched on top. Possibly a lock bolt. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	3" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27695	BAYONET	Small triangular piece of a bayonet. Iron. Appears to taper slightly. Too small a piece to say with any certainty. This is 1/2" on all sides, making it possible to be from a bayonet dating from circa 1700 to 1750. There are examples of this type of blade from French, German, Dutch and American origin (see "Swords and Blades of the American Revolution; George Neuman Collection, pp. 40, 44, 45). Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.5" long x .5" wide x .5" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27696	BAYONET	Small broken iron fragment, possibly from a bayonet lug. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1" long x .8" wide x .5" deep	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27697	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular fragment of iron. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27698	SHELL, ARTILLERY	Three 3-inch artillery shell fragments. Recovered from a surface hunt. Three pieces comprising about one half of a 3-inch artillery shell. The three fragments range from large to medium to small. When put together, they measure out as a three inch diameter. Given that shells mirror the diameter of the mortar they are fired from, this was probably fired from a 3-1/2 inch mortar. (See: LeBlond where the mortar bore is 5-6 inches larger than the shell. 5 or 6 lines is 1/2 inch. "Treatise on Artillery". Recovered from Fort Clinton site, surface hunt with a metal detector.	3" diameter x .5" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27699	SHELL, ARTILLERY	Two fragments of what was possibly a 3-inch artillery shell. If this was a 3-inch shell, then it was fired by a 3-1/2 inch mortar. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, possibly from Site #3.	large piece: 2.7" long x 2.4" wide x .4" deep. small piece: .9" long x 1.1" wide x .4" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27700	SHELL, ARTILLERY	Two fragments of what was possibly a 3-inch artillery shell. If this was a 3-inch shell, then it was fired by a 3-1/2 inch mortar. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, possibly from Site #3.	Long piece: 2.1" long x 1" wide x .3" deep. Rectangularl piece: 1.7" long x 1.4" wide x .4" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27701	METAL FRAGMENT	Three iron bars welded together. They fan out on one end. Tapers to the other end where there is an "eye". Appears to be broken on the fanned out end. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience	6.5" long x 1.1" wide x 1.5" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27702	SPRING	Frizzen spring that matches those of the British Land Pattern Muskets (also known as "Brown Bess"). This spring also has its mounting screw. Possibly recovered from Site #2. This would have been from a 1730 Pattern or a 1730/1740 Pattern Long Musket (The Brown Bess).	1.9" long x 1.4" wide (at mounting screw) x .4" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27703	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular, notched iron object (fragment); bent at the notch, curved inward. Possibly a fragment from a tool, such as a shovel, where it attaches to the wood. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	3.7" long x 1.3" wide x .5" deep	IRON	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27704	KNIFE, DINNER	Rectangular brass or copper fragment of a dinner knife. Straight top edge, rounded tip, tapers to blade, broken before tang. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from a surface hunt.	3.2" long x 1" wide x .1" deep	BRASS -- COPPER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27705	KETTLE	Large iron kettle leg. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	2.7" long x 1.1" wide x .8" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27706	HANDLE	Curved iron door handle, with decorative element - a raised area - in center. Broken on both ends. Could be a cabinet or chest handle. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #6.	3.7" long x .5" wide x .4" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27707	FERRULE	Round iron ferrule, two attachment holes at 180 degrees apart, with a rosehead nail as the attachment nail. Type 3, Variety C from "Casemates and Cannonballs" reference book. Nail has a sharp point. Ferrule is a band welded together. Recovered from Fort Clinton, possibly from Site #6.	1.6" diameter x .5" deep. Nail is 2.2" long.	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27708	FILE	Rectangular iron file fragment with a square heel. Tang appears to be tapered, grooves appear to be about 40 per inch. Appears to be a Type 2 metalworking file as described in "Casemates and Cannonballs". Broken. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	3" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27709	PINTLE	Two-piece iron pintle, rounded shaft where pin and shaft come together. Shaft tapers to a point. Pin rounded. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	3" long x .9" wide x 1.9" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27710	RAZOR	Small bladed object that resembles a razor. Tapered to a blade. Not wide enough to be a knife or sword. Thick top that tapers to a blade. Iron. Could also be a pocket knife blade, but it does not taper to a point like a knife would. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	3.4" long x .5" wide x .2" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27711	FERRULE	Rectangular iron ferrule, two attachment holes. Nothing similar found in researching other archeological collections of the 18th century. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.7" long x 1.5" wide x .7" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27712	METAL FRAGMENT	Small broken iron cylindrical artifact, grooved like a screw on the outside, hole drilled through. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.7" long x .6" diameter	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27713	METAL FRAGMENT	Square curved piece of iron, fragment from something but is not identifiable. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	2.3" long x 2.2" wide x .3" deep	IRON	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27714	FERRULE	Large ferrule, iron, circular, welded, thick strip of iron formed into a circle. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	2.5" diameter x 1" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27715	GUARD, TRIGGER	Brass trigger guard fragment. Generally rectangular with flared end. Fragment of an elongated trigger guard plate. This piece, because of its shape, is likely from the back of the plate. This is apparently French because of flaring and there is a similar piece from a French trade gun seen on p. 12: "Firearms on the Frontier". Broken on both ends. Likely found on a surface hunt. Appears to be Type D Trade Gun of French manufacture - see "Colonial Frontier Guns", p. 49. Type D guns date from 1730-1765.	2.1" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27716	SWIVEL	Small brass swivel for a sling. Broken. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.9" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27717	HARP, JEW'S	Iron Jew's Harp (Mouth Harp, Jaw Harp), with missing vibrator. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, found at Site #2, the southeast blockhouse for both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton.	2.7" long x 1.5" wide x .3" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27718	KEY	Large iron key. Plain blade, no notches, curved with simple handle and pin. Possibly for a door. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	5.1" long x .8" wide x .3" deep	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27719	BOTTLE	Partial bottom of a round, dark green glass bottle with kick and pontil scar visible. Two fragments. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	Large fragment: 2" diameter x .9" deep. Small fragment: .6" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27720	BOTTLE	Dark green glass bottle neck with a flat, smooth lip. Possibly French. Could be part of a flask. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	.9" diameter x 1.8" long	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27721	BOTTLE	Dark green glass triangular-shaped fragment from a bottle, possibly a round bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.3" long x .9" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27722	BOTTLE	Dark green glass triangular-shaped fragment from a bottom of a bottle. Kick and pontil scar remain. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.9" long x 1.4" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27723	BOTTLE	Two small light blue glass fragments of a bottle neck. One fragment is the lip of the bottle; both are from the neck. Very thin glass. Possibly a cruet or pharmaceutical vial. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	triangular fragment: .6" long x .5" wide. Rectangular fragment: .8" long x .5" wide.	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27724	BOTTLE	Four light green glass bottle fragments. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27725	BOTTLE	Three green glass bottle fragments. One fragment is ribbed. Identification of the bottle is not possible. The pieces are related by color alone. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27726	BOTTLE	Three light green glass bottle fragments. Identification of the bottle is not possible. The pieces are related by color alone. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27727	BOTTLE	Nine green glass bottle fragments that are probably from the same bottle. The pieces have an identical color and swirl pattern. Two pieces are from the neck and the swirl pattern extended up the neck. None of the pieces appear to fit together. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27728	BOTTLE	Seven glass bottle fragments that have been burned. All fragments show evidence of exposure to high heat. All appear to have a blue coloration. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27729	BOTTLE	Green glass bottle fragment that appears to have been exposed to high heat. Pockmarked on one side; some blue coloration. It has what appears to be three pieces of fabric adhering to one side. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .9" wide x .1" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27730	BOWL	Thick, large curved lip of a glass bowl. Very large - probably too large for a bottle. Black glass. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2" long x 1.8" wide x .3" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27731	BOTTLE	Glass bottle fragment, dark green glass, severe kick similar to examples of Dutch bottles or French wine bottles. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1" long x 2.2" wide x 1.6" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27732	BOTTLE	Two pieces of dark green to black glass bottle fragments. They possibly come from the same bottle because the coloration and curvature are identical. Signs that they were subjected to high heat. Both pieces have a distinct pontil mark that also point to their relationship. Pieces appear to be from a very large bottle with a deep kick. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	large piece: 2.6" long x 4.7" wide x .5" thick. Small piece: 2.5" long x 1.3" wide x .4" thick	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27733	BOTTLE	Nine fragments of dark green to black glass of similar color and texture. Don't appear to be able to be pieced together. From a bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27734	BOTTLE	Fifteen fragments of light green glass whose color and thickness possibly indicate that they are related. Two fragments indicate that this may have been a square bottle; possibly a pharmaceutical bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27735	BOTTLE	Twenty-seven fragments of an olive green glass bottle. Round shaped, possibly related to one another because of color, thickness and shape. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27736	BOTTLE	Four fragments of a dark green glass bottle. Smooth. One piece possibly from a bottle neck. Related by color, texture and shape. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27737	BOTTLE	Six fragments of a black glass bottle. Multi-colored patina on the surface indicating degradation in the soil or exposure to high heat. Possibly from the same bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27738	BOTTLE	Dark green glass bottle fragment. Part of the bottom of a bottle with a deep kick. Some multi-colored patina on this piece. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2.4" long x 1.4" wide x .3" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27739	BOTTLE	Dark green glass bottle fragment. Has the same shape as 17th century bottles for pharmaceuticals or 18th century square bottles (ref: A Guide to the Artifacts of Colonial America; Casemates and Cannonballs). Tapers inward from the top, similar to 17th c. bottles or square bottles. Most bottles of the period taper outward. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.3" diameter x .6" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27740	BOTTLE	Green glass bottle neck fragment. Broken where the bottle begins to widen and broken just before the lip. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2.1" long x 2.2" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27741	BOTTLE	Two fragments from the bottom of a large bottle, possibly an English wine bottle from the 1750s. The pieces fit together to form about half of the bottom of the bottle. Steep kick. (ref: A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America). Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	long piece: 3.9" long x 2.1" wide x .4" deep. short piece: 2.7" long x 2.9" wide x .4" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27742	BOTTLE	Fragment of a green glass bottle neck, broken piece containing a partial lip. Possibly from a c. 1755 English wine bottle. (ref: A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America). Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	lip: .9" long x 1" wide x .4" deep. neck: 1.1" long x .9" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27743	BOTTLE	Fragment of a glass bottle neck, broken at the lip. Contains about half of the lip. Straight and smooth. Possibly from a pharmaceutical bottle as these tended to have simple lips. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	.8" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27744	BOTTLE	Two pieces from the bottom edge of a glass bottle, appears to have a severe kick, similar to French wine bottles. Dark green glass. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	large piece: 1.6" long x 2.2" wide x .2" deep. small piece: 1.6" long x 1.8" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27745	BOTTLE	Small triangular shaped piece of a broken glass bottle. Curvature suggests that this is a fragment of a bottle shoulder. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	large piece: 1.6" long x 2.2" wide x .2" deep. small piece: 1.6" 1.7" long x .9" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27746	BOTTLE	Small dark green glass bottle neck fragment with a partial lip. Simple lip. Possibly from a pharmaceutical bottle (ref: A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America). Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience	1" long x .9" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27747	BOTTLE	Twenty-eight fragments of dark green glass bottle. Same color, texture and curvature; they may come from the same bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27748	BOTTLE	Dark green glass fragment of the bottom of a bottle. Possibly having a moderate kick. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.8" long x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27749	BOTTLE	Seven very dark green glass fragments from a bottle. Textures vary, but categorized by color and curvature and thickness. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27750	BOTTLE	Triangular shaped, curved green glass fragment from a bottle. Textured. Possibly from the shoulder of a bottle. Thick. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.5" long x 1.4" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27751	BOTTLE	Light green glass square bottle fragment. Sides are at 90 degree angles, indicating that this is possibly from a square bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.5" long x 1" wide x 1.1" deep x .1" thick	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27752	BOTTLE	Nine light green glass bottle fragments. Related by color, thickness and shape. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27753	BOTTLE	Very thick, green glass square bottle fragment. Triangular shaped fragment; possibly from the bottom of the bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.4" long x .8" wide x .4" deep. (tapers to .2" deep)	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27754	BOTTLE	Five thick green glass bottle fragment; nearly opaque. Categorized by thickness, color, opacity. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27755	BOTTLE	Green glass bottle lip with some neck attached. Lip appears to be similar to bottles dating from 1733 and 1734 (ref: A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America). Related to English wine bottles. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.3" diameter x 1" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27756	BOTTLE	Triangular shaped green glass bottle fragment, from a square bottle. Triangular piece with sides at 90 degree angles. Possibly from a pharmaceutical bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.8" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27757	BOTTLE	Eleven green glass bottle fragments, categorized by color, texture, curvature and thickness. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27758	BOTTLE	Green glass bottle lip fragment, possibly from an English wine bottle dating 1730-1755 (see: A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America). About half the lip remaining. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.6" long x 1" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27759	BOTTLE	Twenty light green glass bottle fragments, categorized by color, thickness, curvature and texture. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27760	BOTTLE	Triangular shaped amber glass fragment. From a bottle. Shows the width of one side of the bottle and has parts of the two adjoining sides. There was enough of one side to show the angle of the sides, so that the bottom profile of the bottle could be drawn. That is how it was determined that this was a Ten-sided Bottle. Research shows that these bottles possibly contained mineral water, a popular drink in the late 18th century. This would have been imported from England. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27761	BOTTLE	Five light green glass bottle fragments. These could probably be matched with other fragments cataloged in other batches from the Fort Clinton collection. Two thin pieces fit together; two others match in color and thickness. Final piece is a glass chip that matches the color of the two pieces that fit together. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27762	BOTTLE	Square shaped bottle fragment, green, possibly from a square bottle. Possibly pharmaceutical bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27763	BOTTLE	Green glass fragment, sides at 90 degrees, indicating that this might possibly be from a square bottle. Possibly pharmaceutical bottle. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.3" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27764	BOTTLE	Triangular shaped blue-green glass bottle fragment. Thick. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.4" long x 1.1" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27765	BOTTLE	Four green glass bottle fragments. Appear to be damaged, possibly by heat. Multi-colored patina on some areas; mottled surfaces. Two pieces appear to fit together. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27766	BOTTLE	Gold colored glass fragments from a bottle. Two pieces appear to fit together. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27767	GLASS	Clear glass fragment of the foot of a stemmed drinking glass. The foot is folded over. Dirt has been trapped in the fold. This style of foot was common from the late 17th to the early 18th centuries (ref: Glass in Early America). Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2.4" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27768	GLASS	Triangular shaped fragment of clear glass, simple rounded foot not folded over. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.4" long x 1.2" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27769	GLASS FRAGMENT	Triangular shaped, round bottom, purple or rose tint (exposure to sun caused the manganese content in the glass to turn purple). Clear glass fragment bottom of a bottle or drinking glass. Flat bottom and round walls. Perhaps a glass tumbler. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.7" long x 1" wide x .4" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27770	GLASS FRAGMENT	Arc-shaped rose tint (exposure to sun caused the manganese content in the glass to turn color). Clear glass fragment of a bottle or drinking glass. Curved slightly, thin. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	1.5" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27771	GLASS FRAGMENT	Eleven clear glass fragments, based on color and thickness, these fragments were categorized together. Some are curved while others are not. Possibly from a bottle. Not window glass. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27772	BOTTLE	Ten broken light green glass bottle fragments. Grouped together by color. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.		GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27773	DECANTER	Small broken fluted clear glass fragment, possibly from a decanter. (ref: A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America). May not be from the Fort Clinton era. Recovered from Fort Clinton site, unknown provenience.	2.2" long x 1.2" wide x .2" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27774	SHOT, CASE	Twelve large round iron shot, all 1" diameter iron balls used as case or grape shot. Found northwest of Fort Clinton.	1" diameter	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27775	SHOT, CASE	Iron fragment found with grapeshot northwest of the Fort. This piece is flat on two sides and appears to be a piece of an old tool or a spike that was added to the case or canister shot fired from the fort. Found northwest of Fort Clinton.	1.2" diameter	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27776	SHOT, CASE	Six large round iron shot, 1.1" in diameter, found northwest of Fort Clinton. Grapeshot.	1.1" diameter	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27777	SHOT, CASE	Seventeen large round iron shot (grapeshot), .8" in diameter, recovered northwest of Fort Clinton.	.8" diameter	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27778	SHOT, CASE	Four large iron shot, round, .9" in diameter, recovered northwest of Fort Clinton. Grapeshot.	.9" diameter	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27779	BALL, MUSKET	Eight .55 caliber musket balls (alternately known as 28 calibre). These musket balls appear to be French. This size ball would be used in a Fusil de Chasse (Hunting Musket), which is a type of French Trade Gun. These were possibly fired into Fort Clinton from the French raiders (1746 or 1747). Per documentation from the period, we know of at least one person who was firing a fusil de chasse during the engagement - St. Luc de la Corne (see "Colonial Frontier Guns"; "Casemates and Cannonballs", "Indian Trade Guns", and "Firearms on the Frontier".) It is not known where these musket balls were found, but possibly by the fort.	.55 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27780	BALL, MUSKET	Twelve lead musket balls, .58 caliber. Possibly French that would have been fired from a .63 caliber trade gun, possibly a French "Type C", "Type D" or an early English Trade Gun. (ref: Colonial Frontier Guns). Most likely, because this is ammunition for a trade gun, this was used by a Native American, fired from a Native American's gun. Some balls display a sprue. There was at least one "Type C" trade gun that was used at Fort Clinton based on a recovered butt plate with a flaming torch design that was on "Type C" trade guns. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown location.	.58 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27781	BALL, MUSKET	Ten lead musket balls, .63 caliber. One with a sprue, possibly associated with a French "military" musket of .69 caliber (see: "Colonial Frontier Guns"). Possibly used by a French soldier, from the Troupe de la Marine. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown location.	.63 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27782	BALL, MUSKET	Nineteen lead musket balls. Three with sprues. All .69 caliber; possibly from a British Brown Bess, all of which are .76 caliber guns. These musket balls may have been fired FROM Fort Clinton. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown location.	.69 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27783	BALL, MUSKET	Two small size lead musket balls. These would have been used with a .56 caliber trade gun, such as a Dutch 17th century trade gun, or a "Type G" English trade gun, or a "Type D" French trade gun. Used by a Native American. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.53 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27784	BALL, MUSKET	This .55 caliber lead musket ball hit something. Impact mark on one side. Red coloration in the impact mark area. This ball was possibly fired by a Fusil de Chasse. We have documentation that there was at least one Fusil de Chasse at this battlefield, carried by St. Luc de la Corne. Used by a soldier in the Troope de la Marine; possibly St. Luc de la Corne. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.55 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27785	BALL, MUSKET	One lead musket ball, .63 caliber. This musket ball hit something. It is flat on one side. This was possibly fired from a standard French military musket. There is red coloration at the point of impact. Needs further scientific analysis to determine what it might have hit. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.63 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27786	BALL, MUSKET	One lead musket ball, .53 caliber. This musket ball hit something twice; possibly a ricochet. Possibly fired from a Dutch 17th century trade gun; a "type D" French trade gun, or a "type G" English trade gun. Used by a Native American. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.53 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27787	BALL, MUSKET	Lead musket ball, .53 caliber, that hit something. Flattened on one side. Possibly fired from a Dutch 17th century trade gun, a "Type D" French trade gun, or a "Type G" English trade gun (ref: "Colonial Frontier Guns") Used by a Native American. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.53 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27788	BALL, MUSKET	Lead musket ball, .63 caliber, that hit something. Flattened on one side. Fired from a standard issue .69 caliber French musket. Used by a French soldier, troope de la marine. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.63 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27789	BALL, MUSKET	Lead musket ball, .53 caliber, that hit something. Flattened on one side. Possibly fired from a Dutch 17th century trade gun, a "Type D" French Trade Gun, or a "Type G" English Trade Gun (ref: Colonial Frontier Guns). Used by a Native American. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.53 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27790	BALL, MUSKET	Lead musket ball, .53 caliber, that hit something. Flattened on one side. Possibly fired from a Dutch 17th century trade gun, a "Type D" French Trade Gun, or a "Type G" English Trade Gun (ref: Colonial Frontier Guns). Used by a Native American. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.53 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27791	BALL, MUSKET	Possibly a .63 caliber lead musket ball, extremely distorted after having hit something. Very flattened on one side. If it was a .63 caliber ball, then it was probably fired from a standard issue French musket. (French soldier from the Troope de la Marine). Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown site.	.63 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27792	BALL, MUSKET	.63 caliber lead musket ball that is oddly shaped in that it is seven-sided. A band encircles the circumference of the musket ball. Possibly a unique solution to windage. This ball also appears to have struck something, as it is flat on one side. Found northwest of Fort Clinton. This caliber indicates that it was associated with a standard issue French musket. (French soldier from the Troope de la Marine). Recovered from Fort Clinton, northwest of the fort.	.63 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27793	BALL, MUSKET	One handmade lead .58 caliber musket ball. Seven flat sides. Not round. One side flattened further because this ball hit something. Fired from a .63 caliber trade gun, a French "Type C" or French "Type D" or an early English trade gun. Likely used by a Native American. Recovered from the Fort Clinton site; unknown where this was actually found.	.58 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27794	BALL, MUSKET	.69 caliber lead musket ball, nearly flattened. Possibly fired from a Brown Bess musket. Definitely hit something. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.9" diameter	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27795	METAL FRAGMENT	Oval shaped hollow lead object. Possibly a hollow musket ball? Not rounded like a musket ball. Could be lead waste. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.8" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27796	METAL FRAGMENT	Hollow square shaped lead object, unidentified. Not rounded. Could be lead waste. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.9" long x .7" wide x .4" deep	LEAD	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27797	BALL, MUSKET	Very pitted and deteriorated .69 caliber lead musket ball. Appears to have sprue attached. Flattened on one side from hitting something. Possibly associated with a Brown Bess musket. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.69 caliber	LEAD	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27798	BALL, MUSKET	Very pitted .69 caliber lead musket ball with sprue attached. Possibly associated with a Brown Bess musket. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.69 caliber	LEAD	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27799	BALL, MUSKET	Lead .53 caliber musket ball. Associated with a .56 caliber trade gun; possibly a 17th century Dutch trade gun or a "Type D" French trade gun, or a "Type G" English trade gun (ref: "Colonial Frontier Guns"). Used by a Native American. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.53 caliber	LEAD	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27800	BALL, MUSKET	Lead .63 caliber musket ball, associated with a .69 caliber standard issue French musket. Pitted and damaged. Possibly fired. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.63 caliber	LEAD	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27801	BALL, MUSKET	Lead .55 caliber musket ball. Pitted and damaged. This caliber ball is associated with a fusil de chasse, a French hunting musket. We have documentation that at least one fusil de chasse was present during the battle, owned by St. Luc de la Corne. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.55 caliber	LEAD	COM/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27802	BALL, MUSKET	A very flattened lead musket ball. Difficult to determine caliber due to its condition, and it is not known where this was found. Given the severe impact and the current diameter, this ball may have been fired from a French musket. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.725" diameter x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27803	BALL, MUSKET	A very flattened lead musket ball. Difficult to determine caliber due to its condition, and it is not known where this was found. Given the severe impact and the current diameter, this ball may have been fired from a French musket. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.7" diameter x .4" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27804	BALL, MUSKET	Lead musket ball, .69 caliber. Flattened on one side. Possibly fired from a Brown Bess Musket. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.69 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27805	BALL, MUSKET	Very flattened lead musket ball, unable to determine the caliber, but given the current diameter, it is possibly related to a French musket. Appears to have an impact image on the flattened side. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.7" diameter x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27806	BALL, MUSKET	Lead musket ball, .63 caliber that apparently hit something. This caliber means that this was possibly fired from a standard issue French musket at .69 caliber. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.63 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27807	BALL, MUSKET	Flattened lead musket ball. Flattened and pitted on one side. Ball is too distorted to determine a caliber. Given its current size, it is likely that it is a French musket ball. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.63" diameter	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27808	BALL, MUSKET	Flattened and distorted lead musket ball that was apparently wedged into something, as it is curled up on two opposite sides. Unknown what caliber, but its current dimensions point to it being a French musket ball. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.65" long x .55" wide x .4" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27809	METAL FRAGMENT	Melted lead with a dome similarly shaped to a musket ball, possibly a melted musket ball. Possibly melted in the fire at the Fort when it was burned down. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.8" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27810	METAL FRAGMENT	Melted lead with a dome similar in shape to a musket ball. Possibly melted in the fire at the Fort when it was burned down. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.2" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27811	METAL FRAGMENT	Pitted, rectangular shaped melted piece of lead. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.9" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27812	METAL FRAGMENT	Melted lead with a dome that is similarly shaped to a musket ball. Possibly melted when the fort was burned. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.5" long x .7" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27813	METAL FRAGMENT	Melted lead round object; possibly a musket ball. Possibly melted when the fort was burned. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.8" long x .7" wide x .4" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27814	METAL FRAGMENT	Round lead object that appears to have had impacts on two sides. Unable to determine the caliber, if it was a musket ball. Too deformed. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.9" long x .8" wide x .6" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27815	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular lead object with a possible sprue. Possibly waste from a musket ball casting. This would indicate that some casting was being done at Fort Clinton. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.9" long x .5" wide x .2" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27816	METAL FRAGMENT	Possibly a .69 caliber lead musket ball (associated with a Brown Bess) that has been partially melted. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1" long x .8" wide x .5" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27817	METAL FRAGMENT	Flattened, melted lead musket ball of an undetermined caliber. Domed piece of lead, indicating that it was likely a musket ball. Pitted on one side. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1" long x .7" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27818	METAL FRAGMENT	Domed piece of lead, indicating that it was likely a musket ball. Melted. Caliber cannot be determined. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.3" long x .8" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27819	METAL FRAGMENT	Melted musket ball, domed, caliber cannot be determined. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.7" long x .8" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27820	METAL FRAGMENT	Small lead object, likely waste from casting process. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.9" long x .5" wide x .2" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27821	METAL FRAGMENT	Domed melted lead object, likely a musket ball, caliber undetermined. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.3" long x .7" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27822	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular shaped, pitted lead object. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.2" long x .9" wide x .4" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27823	METAL FRAGMENT	Partially melted lead musket ball. Possibly the remnant of a .53 caliber musket ball (associated with a Dutch Trade Gun c. 1680, a "Type D" French trade gun, or a "Type G" English Trade Gun (ref: "Colonial Frontier Guns"). Pitted, partially melted. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.9" long x .53" wide x .5" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27824	METAL FRAGMENT	Melted lead musket ball. Domed; caliber cannot be determined. Possibly melted when the fort was burned. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .9" wide x .4" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27825	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular, pitted piece of lead. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.9" long x .6" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27826	METAL FRAGMENT	Triangular shaped flat piece of lead. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.9" long x .5" wide x .2" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27827	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular piece of lead with some pitting. Surface is rough, which may indicate that some other metal or masonry is layered on the surface. Recovered from Fort Clinton site; unknown provenience.	.7" long x .4" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27828	METAL FRAGMENT	Oval flat piece of lead, possibly used as a pencil. Found outside the Fort perimeter.	1.25" long x .9" wide x .1" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27829	METAL FRAGMENT	Oval piece of pewter. Could have been a fragment from a plate. Unknown where found.	1" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	PEWTER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27830	CAME	Strip of lead, possibly used as a window came. Curled into something resembling a bow. Unknown where this was found. (see: "Beneath the City" for a picture of a similar lead strip).	1.4" long x 1.2" wide x .5" deep	LEAD	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27831	shot	Buckshot, .40 caliber. Nine pieces. Possibly English / American as the French calibers were different. Unknown where they were found. These were all cast. (ref: "Colonial Frontier Guns").	.40 caliber	LEAD	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27832	shot	Eleven pieces of buckshot, .38 caliber. Possibly English / American as the French calibers for buckshot were different. Unknown where they were found. (ref: "Colonial Frontier Guns").	.38 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27833	shot	Seven pieces of buckshot, .33 caliber. Possibly English / American as there is no documentation of the French using this caliber. Unknown where they were found. (ref: "Colonial Frontier Guns").	.33 caliber	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27834	shot	One piece of lead buckshot. Flattened on one end from hitting something. Unable to determine caliber. Unknown where found.	.5" long x .4" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27835	FERRULE	Ferrule, thick lead, not soldered, oval opening. Found at Fort Clinton, Site #3.	.9" long x .9" wide x .7" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27836	LEAD	Rectangular lead bar with cut. This lead bar was used to make musket balls. Found at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .4" wide x .4" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27837	BALL, MUSKET	Musket ball, flattened from hitting something very hard causing three ripples in the lead and completely flattening it on one side. Sprule. Found at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" diameter x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27838	METAL FRAGMENT	Rectangular lead object with one rounded corner. Gouge on one side. Found at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .4" wide x .3" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27839	SINKER	Fishing sinker, lead, square with hole in the middle. Found at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27840	SINKER	Possibly a fishing sinker. Triangular lead piece. Could also be jewelry for Native American trade (ref: Pouchot Journal), where it is documented that men in Canada would wear lead weights from their ears in order to elongate their ear lobes. Because this is more ornate than other fishing sinkers, this may be for use as jewelry. Found at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .5" wide at base x .4" deep at base	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27841	SINKER	Possibly a fishing sinker. Triangular lead piece. Could also be jewelry for Native American trade (ref: Pouchot Journal), where it is documented that men in Canada would wear lead weights from their ears in order to elongate their ear lobes. Because this is more ornate than other fishing sinkers, this may be for use as jewelry. Found at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.2" long x .5" wide at base x .4" deep at base	LEAD	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27842	DAGGER	Tang, ferrule and partial blade of a dagger. Broken blade. Tang round, notched with a "T" shaped cross piece. Possibly a 19th century dagger. Tang is cast, cylindrical, with small hole at end and notched. Blade and tang cast. Two pins cast with tang forming a cross piece. Appears a bit too sophisticated for the 18th century. Ferrule is pewter. Found at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.9" long x .6" wide x .4" deep	IRON --PEWTER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27843	TACK	Round tack head, brass, pin broken off. Possibly a 19th century piece. Found at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" diameter x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27844	GUARD, TRIGGER	Plain brass trigger guard fragment. Not English. Possibly from a French military musket. Found at Fort Clinton, surface hunt, unknown location.	1.8" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	BRASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27845	RING	Small brass ring or ferrule. Purpose unknown. Recovered at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" diameter	BRASS	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27846	NAIL	Small iron rosehead nail. Recovered at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.4" long x .3" wide at head x .2" deep at head	IRON	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27847	HANDLE	Possibly pewter, handle from a fork or spoon. Bent, rounded on end, broken. Recovered at Fort Clinton, recovered on a surface hunt near site #3.	3.2" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	PEWTER	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27848	HANDLE	Possibly pewter, handle from a fork or spoon. Bent, rounded on end, broken. Recovered at Fort Clinton, recovered on a surface hunt near site #3.	2.3" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	PEWTER	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27849	METAL FRAGMENT	Oval metal fragment, possibly pewter, unknown purpose. Recovered at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .4" wide x .4" deep	PEWTER	FRG/FR	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27850	BALL, MUSKET	1/4 of a musket ball. Soldiers would cut the musket ball with a knife part way through so that it would break apart when fired. This one did break apart. It is a fragment of what is likely a .69 caliber musket ball, associated with a Brown Bess (English). Recovered at Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.69 caliber (1/4 of that)	LEAD	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27851	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with truncated heel. On the right side of the heel is the letter "D" with a crown above it. On the left side of the heel is the letter "T" with a crown above it. Broken at bowl and at stem. Only the heel remains with the initials. Because of the crown, it appears to be of English manufacture. The crown is unique. 5/64" hole diameter. Recovered at Fort Clinton; unknown provenience.	.4" long x .6" wide x .5" deep. 5/64" hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27852	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. Charred from a fire, possibly when the fort burned down. Possible markings on the bowl are unreadable. Severe angle for the bowl. Recovered at Fort Clinton; unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .9" wide x .4" deep.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27853	PIPE, TOBACCO	White clay pipe stem and partial bowl fragment. No heel; no markings. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .6" wide x .8" deep.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27854	PIPE, TOBACCO	White clay broken bowl with a fairly long stem fragment. No heel; no markings. 60 degree angle. 4/64" hole. Angle and hole width consistent with mid-18th century. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	2.4" long x .4" wide x .8" deep.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27855	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Mostly stem; broken just where it broadens into a bowl. Appears to have no heel. Not enough bowl left to measure the angle; possibly a 27 degree angle, making it older. Angles get more severe closer to the 19th century. Hole measures 6/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" long x .3" wide x .5" deep.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27856	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Only a small part of the bowl where it attaches to the stem remains. Hole measures 4/64". No heel. 52 degree angle. Measurements of hole and angle consistent with mid-18th century pipes. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.3" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27857	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. 5/64" diameter hole. 40 degree angle. No maker's mark. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27858	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. 4/64" diameter hole. 54 degree angle, consistent with mid-18th century pipes. No maker's mark. Some charring on surface, possibly from the burning of the fort. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .3" wide x .7" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27859	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Very small. No heel. 6/64" diameter hole. 40 degree angle, consistent with early 18th century pipes. No maker's mark. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.4" long x .4" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27860	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe heel, truncated. Only part of the bowl remains. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.5" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27861	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. 40 degree angle. 5/64" hole. Likely dates from the early 18th century. No maker's mark. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.5" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27862	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. 40 degree angle. 5/64" hole. Likely dates from the early 18th century. No maker's mark. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27863	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. 43 degree angle. 4/64" hole. Charred. Based on the angle, it should be early 18th century, but the hole diameter suggests mid-to-late 18th century. No maker's mark. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27864	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. 42 degree angle. 4/64" hole. Based on the angle, it should be early 18th century, but the hole diameter suggests mid-to-late 18th century. No maker's mark. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27865	PIPE, TOBACCO	Three clay pipe stem fragments. 5/64" diameter hole. Appear to fit together. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	5/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27866	PIPE, TOBACCO	Ninety-eight clay pipe stem fragments, all having a 5/64" diameter hole. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	5/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27867	PIPE, TOBACCO	Forty clay pipe stem fragments, all having a 4/64" diameter hole. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	4/64" diameter hole. Various lengths	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27868	PIPE, TOBACCO	Five clay pipe stem fragments, all having a 6/64" diameter hole. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	6/64" diameter hole. Various lengths	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27869	PIPE, TOBACCO	Six pieces of a broken clay pipe. Cannot classify the stem, as there is not a hole that can be measured accurately. Possibly some bowl fragments as well. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27870	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe stem fragment, glazed black. This is not a color cited by Hume in "A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America", and there is nothing else like this in the Fort Clinton Collection. The hole is 6/64" diameter, making this very early 18th or late 17th century. Recovered at Site #5 per associated documentation (note in the bag). Preliminary research indicates that black glazed pipes date from the 17th century, and the hole diameter helps to confirm that. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #5.	6/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27871	PIPE, TOBACCO	Fifty-five pipe stem fragments, all having 5/64" diameter holes. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #5.	5/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27872	PIPE, TOBACCO	Twenty-seven pipe stem fragments, all having 4/64" diameter holes. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #5.	4/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27873	PIPE, TOBACCO	Eight pipe stem fragments, all having 6/64" diameter holes. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #5.	6/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27874	PIPE, TOBACCO	Four clay pipe fragments, likely from stems. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #5.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27875	PIPE, TOBACCO	Four clay pipe fragments that fit together constituting the end, or mouthpiece, of a clay pipe. Two segments have already been glued together by the collector. The diameter of the hole is 5/64". These pieces were recovered at Site #6. This would be a short-stemmed pipe of about 6-1/2 inches long. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27876	PIPE, TOBACCO	Small clay pipe fragment with raised lip on one end. Broken on the other end. Hole diameter is 5/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27877	PIPE, TOBACCO	Twenty-seven clay pipe fragments, all having hole diameters of 5/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27878	PIPE, TOBACCO	Twenty-three clay pipe stem fragments, all having hole diameters of 4/64". This indicates that Site #6, where these were recovered, was, as Mr. Fedoryszyn speculated, the "new" part of the Fort, as there is less of a prevalence of earlier pipes at this site. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6. Also, the large number of 4/64" diameter pipes moves the date range for these particular size pipes back to at least 1745.	4/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27879	PIPE, TOBACCO	Seven clay pipe stem fragments, all having hole diameters of 6/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	6/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27880	PIPE, TOBACCO	Two small clay pipe fragments. Cannot be dated. One is a stem fragment, but not enough of the hole remains to measure. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27881	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe stem and bowl fragment with heel that is truncated. On the left is a "T" with a crown, and on the right is a "D" with a crown. The hole is 5/64" diameter. This artifact needs more research, as the crown may be French. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. .7" long x .4" wide x .7" deep at bowl and heel.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27882	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe fragment with broken stem and broken bowl. No heel. 5/64" diameter hole. No markings. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 1.3" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl and heel.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27883	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe fragment broken at the stem and at the bowl. No heel. 5/64" diameter hole. 55 degree angle. No markings. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. .8" long x .3" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27884	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe fragment broken at the stem and at the bowl. No heel. 5/64" diameter hole. 50 degree angle. No markings. (According to "Casemates and Cannonballs", the more acute the angle, the more recent the pipe). Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 1.3" long x .3" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27885	PIPE, TOBACCO	Mostly stem fragment with a small amount of the bowl. No heel, no markings. Not enough of the bowl remains to measure the angle. 5/64" diameter hole. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 1.9" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27886	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe stem and bowl fragment. 57 degree angle bowl. No heel, no markings. Hole diameter 5/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 1.6" long x .3" wide x 1" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27887	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe stem and bowl fragment. 52 degree angle bowl. No heel, no markings. Hole diameter 5/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 1.1" long x .3" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27888	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe stem and bowl fragment. 52 degree angle bowl. No heel, no markings. Hole diameter 5/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 1.2" long x .4" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27889	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe stem and bowl fragment. 50 degree angle bowl. No heel, no markings. Hole diameter 5/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 1" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27890	PIPE, TOBACCO	Pipe stem and bowl fragment. 53 degree angle bowl. Floral marking, but only partially there; not able to identify the maker. Design is facing rear (toward the smoker). No heel. Hole diameter 5/64". Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 1.8" long x .3" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27891	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 70 degree angle. There is an "R T" stamped on the bowl, facing the smoker The "R T", although indicating that this pipe was made by one of three Robert Tippets, may have been made by someone else, as the last documented Robert Tippet died in 1720. This pipe with its acute angle and the 4/64" hole diameter, indicates manufacture at a later time. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. .8" long x .3" wide x .9" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27892	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, 62 degree angle. There are four markings in a circular pattern located on the top of the stem. There is a visible "S" on the right, and what appears to be a laurel and crown on the bottom. Maker unidentified. No heel. Very worn on the top. 4/64" diameter hole. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 1.4" long x .3" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27893	PIPE, TOBACCO	Two clay pipe stem and bowl fragments, glued together. 48 degree angle. No markings. 5/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 2.2" long x .3" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27894	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 50 degree angle. No markings. 5/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	5/64" diameter hole. 2" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27895	PIPE, TOBACCO	Two clay pipe stem and bowl fragments, glued together. 58 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 2.2" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27896	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Not enough of the bowl left to get a measurement of the angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 1" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27897	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 48 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 2.3" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27898	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 48 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Appears to be a partial maker's mark on the bottom; forms an "X" shaped stamp. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 1.3" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27899	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Not enough bowl left to measure the angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 1.5" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27900	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 47 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. .8" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27901	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 55 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 1.3" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27902	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 55 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 1.6" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27903	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 50 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 1.1" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27904	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 63 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. A good portion of the bowl is intact. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. 1.4" long x .3" wide x .7" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27905	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 47 degree angle. No markings. 4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	4/64" diameter hole. .8" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27906	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Not enough bowl to get a measurement for the angle between the bowl and the stem. No markings. 6/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6	6/64" diameter hole. 1.8" long	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27907	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 43 degree angle between the bowl and the stem. No markings. 6/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	6/64" diameter hole. .8" long x .4" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27908	PIPE, TOBACCO	Two clay pipe stem and bowl fragments, glued together. 45 degree angle between the bowl and the stem. No markings. 6/64" diameter hole. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	6/64" diameter hole. 3.5" long x .4" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27909	PIPE, TOBACCO	134 white clay pipe bowl fragments. Sherds. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27910	PIPE, TOBACCO	Sixteen gray clay pipe bowl fragments. Sherds. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27911	PIPE, TOBACCO	Three black clay pipe bowl fragments. Sherds. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27912	PIPE, TOBACCO	Twelve brown clay pipe bowl fragments. Sherds. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27913	PIPE, TOBACCO	Eight orange clay pipe bowl fragments. Sherds. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27914	PIPE, TOBACCO	Multi-colored clay pipe bowl sherd. Triangular shaped. Appears to have been in a fire, perhaps when the fort was burned. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27915	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 45 degree angle bowl to stem. No heel. Little to no stem. Orange in color. Appears to have a rose mark with a possible crown above it. Similar to Dutch design from 1625-1645. Hole diameter indicates an 18th century manufacture, possibly Dutch. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.5" long x .3" wide x .8" deep. 4/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27916	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 65 degree angle bowl to stem. This has a maker's mark, but it is not legible. It appears to have a "T": in the design. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.9" long x .3" wide x .8" deep. 4/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27917	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 50 degree angle bowl to stem. 6/64" diameter hole. No markings. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .3" wide x .8" deep. 6/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27918	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 53 degree angle bowl to stem. 4/64" diameter hole. No markings. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.3" long x .3" wide x .6" deep. 4/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27919	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. 50 degree angle bowl to stem. 5/64" diameter hole. Markings on bowl, but they are faint and cannot be interpreted. Appears to be floral in design. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.2" long x .3" wide x .8" deep. 5/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27920	PIPE, TOBACCO	Two clay pipe bowl fragments. Fragments have been glued together. There appears to be some faint markings, but they cannot be interpreted. There is a hole where the bowl attached to the stem. 5/64" diameter hole. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .3" wide x .6" deep at bowl. 5/64" diameter hole	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27921	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Appears to have a rose mark similar to an artifact at the Memorial University of Newfoundland collection. They date this type of mark to 1670-1690. The hole diameter of 6/64" of this fragment also points to this time period (1680-1720). The angle between the bowl and the stem is 30 degrees, which, according to "Casemates and Cannonballs" reference book, is indicative of an early manufacturing date for this pipe. All indicators point to this being a 17th century pipe stem and bowl fragment. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .4" wide x .7" deep. 6/64" diameter hole.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27922	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with maker's mark "R TIPPET" inside a circle. There is also an incised "T" next to the relief "R TIPPET". This is likely a clay pipe made by Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27923	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with maker's mark "R T" stamped on bowl. This could be a clay pipe made by Robert Tippet I or Robert Tippet II; most likely it was Robert Tippet II, which would date its manufacture to between 1678 and 1722. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27924	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a very faint maker's mark, which is too difficult to interpret. Raised circle, broken in half. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27925	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a possible maker's mark in corner. Cannot be interpreted. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27926	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with raised marking within a circle; not enough there to be able to interpret. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27927	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with "R T" incised on it. The lettering is less ornate than the other "R T" pipe bowls in this collection, and it may be from Robert Tippet I. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27928	PIPE, TOBACCO	Triangular shaped clay pipe bowl fragment with a partial cartouche. Unknown what it symbolizes. It is very worn. Beneath the cartouche is a face and what appears to be curved sun rays coming from the face. (This is similar to depictions of Louis XIV, the "sun king" in other genres). Possibly a French pipe, as a literature review of Dutch and English maker's marks did not reveal a similar mark. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27929	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a partial cartouche maker's mark which cannot be determined. Most of it is broken away. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27930	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a fragment of a cartouche maker's mark consisting of a shield containing three roses. Beneath is a possible fleur de lis with possible letters "G C". Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .3" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27931	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a partial maker's mark that might be "R C" (ref: Colony of Avalon collection; Memorial University of Newfoundland). This "R C" was Richard Cole or Roger Clare. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .3" wide x .05" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27932	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment, with small section of the maker's mark cartouche that contains the letter "T". Possibly from one of the Tippets, Robert I or Robert II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.4" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27933	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment, with very worn maker's mark that cannot be read. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.5" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27934	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment, with a maker's mark that contains the letter "P". Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27935	PIPE, TOBACCO	Small clay pipe bowl fragment, with a maker's mark that is not readable. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.4" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27936	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with an incised partial letter (maker's mark) that is not legible. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .4" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27937	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a cartouche (maker's mark) with "R TIPPET" on it. This type of cartouche was done by Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27938	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a partial cartouche (maker's mark) with the letters "E" and "T" visible. This type of cartouche was done by Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.4" long x .3" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27939	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a cartouche (maker's mark) which is so worn that it is no longer legible. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27940	PIPE, TOBACCO	Triangular shaped clay pipe bowl fragment with no marks. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27941	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with no marks. About half intact. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .6" wide x .5" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27942	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a maker's mark that is too worn to read, and only partially there. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27943	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a partial cartouche with the letters "P", "E", and "T" remaining. This type of mark was used by Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.5" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27944	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with the letters "R T" incised. The particular style of the letters is attributed to Robert Tippet I. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .3" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27945	PIPE, TOBACCO	Small clay pipe bowl fragment with a decorative edge, probably from the rim of the bowl. Similar in design to one found on the top edge of a clay pipe bowl made in Virginia in the Colony of Avalon artifact collection. These pipes may have had a "D K" maker's mark on them. The maker is unidentified. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #2.	.7" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27946	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with partial cartouche maker's mark. Cannot discern the marking inside the cartouche. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27947	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with partial cartouche maker's mark. An "R" and a "P" are visible inside the cartouche. The design is recognizable as one used by Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27948	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with partial cartouche maker's mark. Cannot discern markings inside the cartouche. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27949	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with cartouche maker's mark. Letters "I B" indicate the maker, who is unidentified. Similar pieces in the collection of the Memorial University of Newfoundland are attributed to a Bristol, England maker. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #2.	1" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27950	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with maker's mark "R T" incised. This could be either Robert Tippet I or Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27951	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with an incised partial maker's mark. Cannot be read. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27952	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a cartouche containing the "R TIPPET" maker's mark. This mark is attributed to Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27953	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a cartouche containing the "R TIPPET" maker's mark. This mark is attributed to Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27954	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a cartouche containing the "R TIPPET" maker's mark. This mark is attributed to Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27955	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Bowl at 52 degree angle. This artifact consists of two pieces glued together with an "R" visible. Likely an "R T" maker's mark on the bowl. The dates associated with the 5/64" diameter hole place this as being made by Robert Tippet II. Tippet II died in 1722, thus narrowing the date range that this pipe could have been manufactured. No heel. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .6" wide x .9" deep at bowl. 5/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27956	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with a partial "R TIPPET" maker's mark. This style of mark is attributed to Robert Tippet II. The mark is a cartouche. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27957	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with very worn maker's mark that is still recognizable as "R TIPPET". This style of mark is attributed to Robert Tippet II. The mark is a cartouche. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27958	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with incised maker's mark "R T". This mark could be attributed to either Robert Tippet I or Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27959	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with incised maker's mark "R T". The maker's mark is smaller and more simple in style than the other pipe marks. This may be an early Robert Tippet I pipe. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27960	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with incised maker's mark "R T" along with a partial cartouche. Because of the cartouche, this may have been made by Robert Tippet II. Two fragments glued together. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.2" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27961	PIPE, TOBACCO	Two clay pipe bowl fragments glued together with a partial cartouche with "R TIPPET" inside. This style of maker's mark is attributed to Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.2" long x .7" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27962	PIPE, TOBACCO	Small clay pipe bowl fragment with a cartouche with "R TIPPET" inside. This style of maker's mark is attributed to Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27963	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with incised "R T" and a partial cartouche with "R TIPPET" inside. This style of maker's mark is attributed to Robert Tippet II. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.2" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27964	PIPE, TOBACCO	Twenty clay pipe bowl fragments, no markings evident. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #4.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27965	PIPE, TOBACCO	Nearly intact clay pipe stem and bowl. No heel. The bowl has an incised "R T" as well as a cartouche with "R TIPPET" inside of it. Seventy degree angle, 5/64" diameter hole in stem (which dates it between 1720 and 1750). The cartouche design is attributed to Robert Tippet II who died in 1722. This likely narrows the manufacture date to a two year window: 1720-1722. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #4.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27966	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. Sixty degree angle. No heel. No maker's mark. 5/64" diameter stem hole. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #4.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27967	PIPE, TOBACCO	Two clay pipe bowl fragments. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27968	PIPE, TOBACCO	Intact although cracked clay pipe bowl with a broken stem. Sixty-five degree angle. No heel. There is a cartouche with "R TIPPET" inside of it. 4/64" diameter hole. The maker's mark indicates a 1678-1722 time period for manufacture, but the hole diameter usually means it was made between 1750 and 1800. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	1.5" long x .8" wide at bowl x 1.5" deep at bowl	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27969	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe bowl fragment with an incised "T". Unidentified maker, as there are several maker's who used a "T" as part of their mark. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	.8" long x .5" wide at bowl x .1" deep at bowl	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27970	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. Sixty degree angle. 5/64" diameter stem hole. No markings. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	1" long x .6" wide at bowl x 1.1" deep at bowl	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27971	PIPE, TOBACCO	Clay pipe stem and bowl fragment. No heel. Sixty-two degree angle. 5/64" diameter stem hole. No markings. Recovered from Fort Clinton, Site #6.	1" long x .7" wide at bowl x .6" deep at bowl	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27972	CRUCIBLE	Unglazed heavy stoneware crucible fragment. Base and a small portion of the walls of the vessel remain. Very small size. Was likely used for melting precious metal such as silver or components to make metal such as bronze. Round flat bottom and sides that flare out. Some red staining on outer walls may have been from exposure to high heat. A few small black accretions on inner walls. Recovered from Fort Clinton, but not known exactly where this piece was found or if it was found with other metal objects. It would have been used in an oven, so it is likely that his was found near one of the chimney remains. The presence of this crucible at Fort Clinton may indicate that there was either a silversmith on the site, or some other type of metal smith, making brass or bronze parts for the repair of guns and other equipment.	1.5" diameter of base x 1.1" high	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27973	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Sherd of English White Stoneware, triangular, plain, bottom of a tea cup or bowl with a the remnant of a small circumference foot ring. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .9" wide x .3" deep. Base of this bowl would have been 1-1/4" in diameter when it was intact.	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27974	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Sherd of English White Stoneware, rectangular, plain, thick on the bottom (.15") and tapering to the edge (.05") over over the space of .7". This would likely have been part of a saucer. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1.1" long x .7" wide, and betweeen .15" to .05" thick.	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27975	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Sherd of English White Stoneware, tea cup or bowl fragment. Very thin, plain. Triangular shaped. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27976	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Sherd of English White Stoneware, tea cup fragment with a partial lip. Very thin, plain. Rectangular shaped with one pointed end. The wall is very straight indicating that this is from the top part of a cup. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	1" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27977	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Sherd of English White Stoneware, bowl fragment. Plain, rectangular shape. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" long x .5" wide x .1" deep, tapering to .05"	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27978	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Sherd of English White Stoneware, tea cup fragment. Straight wall descending from the lip, indicating that this was part of a tea cup. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .3" wide x .05" deep (does not taper)	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27979	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Sherd of English White Stoneware, bowl or cup fragment. Cannot be determined from the sherd what it might have come from. It is likely not a saucer fragment as there is no curve or shape indicating that. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.9" long x .5" wide x ..1" deep, tapering to .075"	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27980	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Ten English White Stoneware bowl, saucer, or cup fragments. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.		STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27981	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware tea cup fragment. The wall is straight and includes part of the rim, indicating that this is part of a tea cup. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .3" wide x .075" deep (does not taper)	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27982	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware bowl or cup fragment that has a pattern of banding which likely was near the top of the piece, with two thin bands around one thicker band. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .5" wide x .075" deep (does not taper)	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27983	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware cup fragment with a partial edge. The wall is straight; this was likely from a tea cup. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .4" wide x .075" deep tapering to .050" at lip	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27984	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware tea cup fragment with edge and straight wall. Thin bodied, slight orange peel glaze indicative of stoneware. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.4" long x .5" wide x .1" deep tapering to .050" at lip	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27985	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware very small square sherd, probably a tea cup. Partial lip. Thin bodied. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.2" long x .3" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27986	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware sherd, probably from a bowl or cup. Partial lip. Thin bodied. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27987	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware sherd, probably from a cup. Partial lip. Thin bodied, curved slightly at the edge or lip. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .3" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27988	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware sherd, probably from a cup or a bowl. Thin bodied. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27989	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Delft sherd. Tin glazed earthenware. Glaze has flaked off in spots. Not certain whether this was Dutch or English Delft. It was likely some sort of tableware, such as a plate. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	EARTHENWARE -Tin Glaze	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 27990	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Delft sherd. Tin glazed earthenware. Glaze has flaked off in spots. Piece is heavily charred, having been burned in a fire, and the entire surface is gray with some of the white glaze evident at the edge of the sherd. Perhaps burned when the fort was burned. Not certain whether this was Dutch or English Delft. It was likely some sort of tableware, such as a plate. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.8" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	EARTHENWARE -Tin Glaze	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27991	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware dish fragment. Evidence of scratching in the glaze on the convex dome shaped portion of the sherd, possibly from utensils being used for eating. Fine bodied ware. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27992	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware dish fragment. Fine bodied ware. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.6" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27993	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware dish fragment. Fine bodied ware. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27994	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware dish fragment. Fine bodied ware. Recovered from Fort Clinton, unknown provenience.	.7" long x .3" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27995	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English white stoneware pot or cup fragment with a portion of an incised band decoration which would have been located near the rim of the piece. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	.8" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27996	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Light colored creamware dish footring fragments; two pieces, glued together. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	2.1" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27997	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Creamware, fragment of a base of a 4" diameter mug or tankard. Flattened footring, late in style period for creamware. Light colored. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1.5" long x .6" wide x .6" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27998	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Twelve light colored creamware fragments, found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 27999	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Seventeen tin-glazed earthenware English Delft fragments, most with blue painted designs, found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28186	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Tin glazed earthenware, English Delft, cup and saucer fragments, with unusual blue painted floral designs consisting of a row of flowers with stems and two leaves. Possibly made in Bristol, England. Seven fragments, found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28187	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Tin glazed earthenware, 18th century Dutch Delft, made before 1750. Seven plate or saucer fragments with stylized cobalt blue painted tulip motif. Four of the fragments have been glued together. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28188	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Tin glazed earthenware, possibly Dutch Delft, made before 1750. Fragment of a foot ring. Decoration in blue done in panels, but is not Wan-Li design. Fragment is badly burned, likely from the burning of the Fort. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28189	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Tin glazed earthenware, English Delft, made before 1750. Fragments are glued together. This is the base (foot ring and partial sides) of a small tea cup. Cobalt blue painted lines along bottom edge of cup, which is glazed white. Glaze completely missing from inside of cup. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28190	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Tin glazed earthenware, English Delft, made before 1750. Three fragments of the base of a small tea cup are glued together. Partial foot. This is the base (foot ring and partial sides) of a small tea cup. Cobalt blue painted lines along bottom edge of cup, which is glazed white. Small cobalt blue design painted in bottom center of cup. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28191	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Three fragments of tin glazed earthenware, Delft, made before 1750. Badly burned; glaze appears dark blue. Two pieces are glued together. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28192	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Four fragments of tin glazed earthenware, English Delft, made before 1750. Plain, no blue decoration on these fragments. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28193	ARTIFACT REMNANT	One fragment of tin glazed earthenware, English Delft, made before 1750. Appears to be a rim sherd from a jar. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1.2" l. x .4" w. x .2" d.	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28194	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Seven fragments of earthenware, unidentifiable as far as origin or function. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28195	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware tea cup fragment; base with a partial foot The foot would have been 2 inches in diameter if it had been completely intact. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1.1" long x 1.1" wide x .3" deep at foot	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28196	ARTIFACT REMNANT	English White Stoneware dish fragment; possibly from a cup. Fragment has a thin molded band motif. The fragment, itself, is triangular in shape. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	.4" long x .3" wide x .1" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28197	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Nine English White Stoneware dish fragments. Several of the fragments appear to have been from cups. Several have incised and molded bands. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28198	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Ten whiteware dish fragments. These fragments may be ironstone, or another type of whiteware dating from the 19th century. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28199	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Porcelain fragment, glazed white with hand-painted cobalt blue linear pattern consisting of two thin lines over a thicker line, with another thin line below that. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1.3" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	PORCELAIN	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28200	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Three porcelain fragments, unidentified in origin. White glazed, undecorated porcelain plate foot fragments. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		PORCELAIN	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28201	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Eleven Chinese Export Porcelain fragments. One has red glaze decoration (Imari). White glazed, with cobalt blue painted decoration. These pieces date from the last half of the 18th century, likely from the 1770's. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		PORCELAIN	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28202	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Five pearlware cobalt blue transfer-printed fragments. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28203	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Three green shell-edge pearlware plate fragments. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28204	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Five pearlware plate fragments, different cobalt blue painted designs on white ground. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28205	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Four transfer-printed pearlware plate fragments, two sepia transfer prints and one blue transfer print on white ground. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28206	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Five pearlware fragments, varying designs in cobalt blue on white ground. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28207	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Seven slipware fragments, lead-glazed earthenware of varying colors from orange-yellow to dark red to reddish brown. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28208	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Glazed black stoneware fragment. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1.2" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28209	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Five earthenware fragments. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1.2" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28210	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Five earthenware fragments that were burned. Two pieces glued together. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1.2" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28211	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Burned earthenware fragment, rectangular shape, probably burned during the burning of the fort. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	.8" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28212	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Two burned earthenware fragment, probably burned during the burning of the fort. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28213	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Twelve Jackfield-type glazed earthenware fragments, 18th century. Black glaze over red paste body. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28214	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Four unidentified earthenware sherds, burned. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28215	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Twenty-one Jackfield-type glazed earthenware sherds. Black glaze on one side over red paste. Also known as "black ware". Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28216	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Triangular shaped earthenware basal sherd. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1" long x 1.1" wide x .1" deep (tapers to a point)	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28217	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Yellow ware lip fragment of a dish or bowl, undecorated, likely early 19th century. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	.7" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28218	PIECE, GAME	Round, man-made game piece, or checker, made from a ceramic fragment. Buff-bodied slipware fragment (a "dot") that was shaped into a round game piece, probably for checkers. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	.7" diameter x .1" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28219	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Two buff-bodied slipware plate fragments, glued together, with combed slip forming zig-zag lines. Dark brown slip ground. This plate may have been made earlier than the Fort time period. It has a dimpled lip so this may have been a pie plate or pan. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	3.5" long x 1.7" wide x .3" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28220	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Twenty-five ceramic fragments, some glued together, of buff-bodied slipware. Probably part of a posset pot. Dot pattern. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28221	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Eight ceramic fragments, some glued together, of buff-bodied slipware base of a posset pot. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton. One piece appears too thick for the posset pot, and may belong with SARA-28219.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28222	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Fifty-two buff-bodied slipware ceramic fragments. Posset pot fragments. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton. One piece appears too thick for the posset pot, and may belong with SARA-28219.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28223	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Thirty-one buff-bodied slipware ceramic fragments. Posset pot fragments. Some of the decoration was combed into a zig-zag pattern. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28224	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Two slip-decorated red earthenware fragments from a plate or a platter. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28225	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Five fragments of English refined redware mug. Parts have been glued together. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28226	ARTIFACT REMNANT	One square shaped redware fragment of a lip. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	.9" long x .9" wide x .3" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28227	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Seventeen Rhenish Salt-glazed Stoneware fragments, gray and blue with sgraffito leaves. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28228	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Six buff-bodied earthenware mug fragments, mottled lead glaze. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.		EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28229	FLOWERPOT	Triangular shaped unglazed red earthenware flowerpot fragment. Found at Site #3, the Northwest blockhouse of Fort Clinton.	1.5" long x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	EARTHENWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28230	PIPE	Forty-nine clay pipe stem fragments, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems have bore diameters of 5/64". Some pieces have been glued together; the pieces were counted separately.	5/64" hole diameters	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28231	PIPE	Thirty-six clay pipe stem fragments, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems have bore diameters of 4/64". Some pieces have been glued together; the pieces were counted separately.	4/64" hole diameters	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28232	PIPE	Sixteen clay pipe stem fragments, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems have bore diameters of 6/64". Some pieces have been glued together; the pieces were counted separately.	6/64" hole diameter	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28233	PIPE	65 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 5/64".	5/64" hole diameter; 1.2" long x .4" wide x .8" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28234	PIPE	45 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 5/64". No heel. Not much of the bowl remains.	5/64" hole diameter; 1.3" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28235	PIPE	45 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 5/64". No heel. Not much of the bowl remains.	5/64" hole diameter; 1.3" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28236	PIPE	45 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 5/64". No heel. Not much of the bowl remains.	5/64" hole diameter; .9" long x .4" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28237	PIPE	45 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 5/64". No heel. Not much of the bowl remains. Blackened from a fire.	5/64" hole diameter; 1.4" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28238	PIPE	55 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 5/64". No heel.	5/64" hole diameter; 1.7" long x .4" wide x .7" deep at bowl	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28239	PIPE	50 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 4/64". No heel. Not much of the bowl remains.	4/64" hole diameter; 1.2" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28240	PIPE	No angle measurable, clay pipe stem and bowl fragments glued together, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 4/64". No heel. Very little of the bowl remains.	4/64" hole diameter; 2" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28241	PIPE	45 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragments glued together, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 4/64". No heel. Very little of the bowl remains	4/64" hole diameter; 1.6" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28242	PIPE	65 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragments glued together, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 4/64". No heel.	4/64" hole diameter; 1.8" long x .4" wide x .7" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28243	PIPE	55 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 4/64". No heel.	4/64" hole diameter; 1.4" long x .6" wide x .8" deep at bowl	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28244	PIPE	45 degree angle, clay pipe stem and bowl fragment, recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4. Stems has a bore diameter of 6/64". No heel. Very little of the bowl remains.	6/64" hole diameter; 1.1" long x .3" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28245	PIPE	Conical shaped pipe stem tip, unusual in that it has a severe taper; recovered at the site of the Northeast Blockhouse (of both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #4.	.5" long x .3" wide x .2" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28246	PIPE	40 pipe stem fragments, some glued together, with 5/64" diameter holes. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse Fort Clinton, known as Site #3.	5/64" diameter holes	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28247	PIPE	23 pipe stem fragments, some glued together, with 4/64" diameter holes. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3.	4/64" diameter holes	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28248	PIPE	Seven pipe stem fragments, some glued together, with 6/64" diameter holes. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3.	6/64" diameter holes	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28249	PIPE	One 55 degree angle clay pipe bowl with stem fragment, with 5/64" diameter hole. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel.	5/64" diameter hole; .7" long x .3" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28250	PIPE	One 60 degree angle clay pipe bowl with stem fragment, with 5/64" diameter hole. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel.	5/64" diameter hole; 1.2" long x .4" wide x .5" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28251	PIPE	One 53 degree angle clay pipe bowl with stem fragment, with 6/64" diameter hole. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. Broken in half. Unknown if it had a heel as that is the missing section.	6/64" diameter hole; .8" long x .5" wide x .4" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28252	PIPE	One 52 degree angle clay pipe bowl with stem fragment, with 6/64" diameter hole. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel.	6/64" diameter hole; 1.3" long x .4" wide x .6" deep at bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28253	PIPE	Stem tip from a Native American clay pipe; red clay with black mineral inclusions. Hole diameter is 6/32" or 12/64". Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. Possibly Pre-Contact.	.9" long; cylindrical 7/16". Diameter tapers to 5/16" diameter at tip.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28254	PIPE	45 Clay pipe bowl fragments. No maker's marks. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28255	PIPE	Cartouche on a small bowl fragment; magnified examination shows the cartouche as one done by Robert Tippet II. Fragment is rectangular in shape. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3.	.4" long x .5" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28256	PIPE	Clay pipe bowl fragments, incised. One fragment has the partial letter "T"; incised marks with a "T" are attributed to Thomas Dormer. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3.		CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28257	PIPE	Found on a surface hunt within the confines of the Fort after the field was plowed at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. 6/64" diameter hole. Pipe has a heel and on the sides of the heel are stamped the letters "W" and "T". This is attributed to William Thomas. The artifact is blackened by fire, perhaps one of the fort fires.	1.4" long x .5" wide x 1" deep at bowl. 6/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28258	PIPE	5/64" diameter hole. The bowl has a cartouche with a partial letter "W". Unknown who the maker is. Two pieces glued together. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. Pipe has a heel.	1.5" long x .7" wide x 1.4" deep at bowl. 5/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28259	PIPE	5/64" diameter hole. The bowl has a partial cartouche with the letter "P". The design indicates a pipe made by Robert Tippet II. Two pieces glued together. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel.	2.2" long x .6" wide x .8" deep at bowl. 5/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28260	PIPE	5/64" diameter hole. Intact bowl, stem broken. Bowl contains a cartouche with "RTIPPET". This is attributed to Robert Tippet II. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel.	2.6" long x .7" wide x 1.6" deep at bowl. 5/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28261	PIPE	6/64" diameter hole. Simple "RT" mark that appears to be associated with Robert Tippet I. Partial cartouche, with only a "P" visible. The "RT" is stamped. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel.	1.5" long x .8" wide x 1.4" deep at bowl. 6/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28262	PIPE	5/64" diameter hole. Cartouche with "R TIPPET" associated with Robert Tippet II. Five fragments glued together. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel.	1.9" long x .7" wide x 1.4" deep at bowl. 5/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28263	PIPE	5/64" diameter hole. Cartouche with "R TIPPET" and stamped "RT" associated with Robert Tippet II. Bowl intact. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel.	1.7" long x .8" wide x 1.5" deep at bowl. 5/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28264	PIPE	Cartouche with "R TIPPET" associated with Robert Tippet II. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel. Unable to measure hole diameter.	1.9" long x .7" wide x 1" deep at bowl	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28265	PIPE	Cartouche with "R TIPPET" and stamped "R T" associated with Robert Tippet II. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3. No heel. 5/64" hole diameter.	2.5" long x .8" wide x 1.7" deep at bowl. 5/64" hole diameter.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28266	PIPE	Six pipe bowl fragments glued together. "R TIPPET" cartouche and a stamped "R T" on the bowl. Possibly made by Robert Tippet II. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3.	1.6" long x .8" wide	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28267	PIPE	5/64" hole diameter. Three pieces glued together. No heel. Bowl has "R TIPPET" cartouche and a stamped "R T". Possibly made by Robert Tippet II. Bowl intact. Recovered at the site of the Northwest Blockhouse of Fort Clinton, known as Site #3.	2.3" long x .8" wide x 1.5" deep at bowl. 5/64" diameter hole.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28268	PIPE	Triangular shaped pipe bowl sherd. Unknown where found. No markings.	1" long x .4" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28269	PIPE	5/64" diameter hole. Charred from a fire, likely the burning of the fort. Two fragments glued together. No heel. Unknown where found. No markings.	1.9" long x .7" wide x 1.5" deep at bowl. 5/64" diameter hole.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28270	PIPE	5/64" diameter hole. Four fragments glued together. Heel. Very little of the stem remains beyond the heel. Unknown where found. No markings.	1.4" long x .8" wide x 1.8" deep at bowl. 5/64" diameter hole.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28271	PIPE	4/64" diameter hole. No heel. Unknown where found. No markings.	2.2" long x .7" wide x 1.4" deep at bowl. 4/64" diameter hole.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28272	PIPE	6/64" diameter hole. Heel. Unknown where found. No markings. Seven pieces glued together.	1.5" long x .9" wide x 1.4" deep at bowl. 6/64" diameter hole.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28273	PIPE	Clay pipe bowl, found at the site of the Southeast Blockhouse (both Fort Saratoga and Fort Clinton), known as Site #2. Stamped on the bowl are the initials "I W" (unidentified maker). Stem is missing, so the piece is difficult to date as there is no hole to measure. The bowl is intact.	2.1" long x .9" wide diameter of bowl.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28274	PIPE	6/64" diameter hole with "W T" stamped on sides of heel; attributed to William Thomas. Heel present. Found at the site of the Southeast Blockhouse (both forts), known as Site #2. Four fragments glued together.	2.8" long x .8" wide x 1.6" deep at bowl. 6/64" diameter hole.	CLAY	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28275	PITCHER	52 fragments of a large stoneware jug or pitcher. Tan salt glaze with cobalt blue swirls design - possibly a pomegranate design, made by the Kemple Potters; possibly originated in New Jersey. Interior is unglazed except for glaze on interior of neck part way down. Interior surface is grooved from being turned on the wheel. All pieces appear to have come from the same vessel. Fragments are glued together. Found at the site of the Old Northwest Blockhouse, Fort Saratoga, known as Site #5. 8" circumference at center of vessel.		STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28276	PITCHER	52 fragments of a large stoneware jug or pitcher - possibly the same jug as SARA-28275. Tan salt glaze with cobalt blue swirls design - possibly a pomegranate design, made by the Kemple Potters; possibly originated in New Jersey. Interior is unglazed except for glaze on interior of neck part way down. Interior surface is grooved from being turned on the wheel. All pieces appear to have come from the same vessel. Fragments are glued together. Found at the site of the Old Northwest Blockhouse, Fort Saratoga, known as Site #5. 8" circumference at center of vessel.		STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28277	DISH	Five salt-glazed stoneware vessel fragments; 19th century. Glazed on exterior gray/tan and Albany slip glazed on interior. Unknown where found.		STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28278	DISH	Square shaped stoneware vessel fragment, cobalt blue decoration on gray glaze on exterior with Albany slip on inside surface. Possibly recovered from the site of the Old Northwest Blockhouse, Forts Saratoga and Clinton; known as Site #5.		STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28279	DISH	Four stoneware vessel fragments, 17th or 18th century. Possibly recovered from the site of the Old Northwest Blockhouse, Forts Saratoga and Clinton; known as Site #5.		STONEWARE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28280	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Limestone pebble, burned, unknown where found. Possibly burned in fire at fort.	1.3" long x .7" wide x .6" deep	STONE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28281	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Limestone pebble, rectangular. Unknown where found.	1.4" long x .8" wide x .2" deep	STONE	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28282	ARTIFACT REMNANT	Small cylindrical shaped cinder, possibly remnant from a blacksmith. Unknown where found.	.6" long x .3" wide x .3" deep	COAL	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28283	WINDOWPANE	Triangular sherd of window pane glass, burned, possibly from fire at the fort. Unknown where found.	.6" long x .3" wide x .1" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28284	WINDOWPANE	Rectangular sherd of window pane glass,green in color, unknown where found.	.9" long x .5" wide x .5" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28285	GLASS	Square shaped glass fragment, possibly from a drinking glass or a wine glass, unknown where found.	.5" long x .4" wide x .05" deep	GLASS	FRG/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28286	Tool, flint	Square shaped utilized flint tool flake made from Normanskill chert, possibly from the Middle Woodland period. Shaped on three sides. May have been a multiple use tool. It shows signs of having been used. Native American. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1" long x 1" wide x .2" deep, tapers to two edges.	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28287	POINT, PROJECTILE	Native American point, for arrow or spear, large with two faces, broken while in use. Made from Normanskill chert. Possibly from Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	2.5" long x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28288	BLADE, FLINT	Rectanguler shaped flint knife blade fragment. Made from Normanskill chert. Possibly from Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1" long x .6" wide x .1" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28289	POINT, PROJECTILE	Flint projectile point fragment, triangular shaped, biface tip, made from Normanskill or Coxsackie chert. Possibly from Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28290	DRILL, FLINT	Flint drill base, triangular shape, Onondaga Chert. Possibly from Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.2" long x 1.1" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28291	POINT, PROJECTILE	Triangular shaped quartzite Madison Projectile Point, possible Late Woodland Period. Iroquoian. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	.9" long x .9" wide x .3" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28292	POINT, PROJECTILE	Large triangular flint? Madison Projectile Point, possible Late Woodland Period. Iroquoian. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.8" long x 1.6" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28293	KNIFE, FLINT	Flint Knife, possibly Fort Ann / Helderberg Formation flint. Appears to be intact. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	2.5" long x 1.3" wide x .4" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28294	KNIFE, FLINT	Broken Biface Flint Knife, Normanskill Chert, possible Madison type from Late Woodland Period. (Iroquoian). Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.5" long x .9" wide x .2" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28295	KNIFE, FLINT	Biface Flint Knife, Normanskill or Coxsackie Chert, possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	2.3" long x 1.2" wide x .5" deep	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28296	POT	Native American clay pot fragment, everted lip, cord-wrapped and stick incised decorations. Burned food residue on inside surface of pot. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.4" long x 1.2" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28297	POT	Cord-impressed Native American clay pot fragment, possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	.6" long x .8" wide x .1" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28298	POT	Triangular shaped Native American clay pot fragment, everted lip, incised decoration, possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.4" long, tapering x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28299	POT	Triangular shaped Native American clay pot fragment with fabric impressed decoration; possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.1" long, tapering x .8" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28300	POT	Native American clay pot fragment with incised chevron pattern decoration; possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	.6" long, tapering x 1" wide x .3" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28301	POT	Native American clay pot fragment with incised decoration and a full-height collar. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.9" long, tapering x 1.5" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28302	POT	Native American clay pot fragment with light incised lines decoration. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.5" long, tapering x 1" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28303	PIPE, Clay	Native American clay pipe fragment with incised decoration. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.2" long, tapering x .5" wide x .75" outside diameter; .5" inside diameter.	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28304	POT	Native American clay pot fragment with incised decoration. Partial shoulder of a pot with a strong collar. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	.9" long x 1.2" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28305	POT	Native American clay pot fragment with fabric-impressed decoration. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	.8" long x .6" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28306	POT	Native American clay pot fragment with weak incised decoration and weak shoulder. Partial collar. Large sherd. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	2.4" long x 2.1" wide x .4" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28307	POT	Native American clay pot fragment with weak incised decoration. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28308	POT	Six Native American undecorated clay pot fragments. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28309	POT	Native American clay pot fragment, incised decoration. Rough surface, not uniform. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.1" long x .6" wide x .4" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28310	SPECIMEN (UNWORKED)	Unformed clay (not made into any type of vessel). Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.1" long x 1" wide x .5" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28311	BLADE, FLINT	Native American flint tool for multiple purposes. Bi-facial. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1" long x 1" wide x .2" deep (tapers)	FLINT	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28312	POT	Native American cord-impressed clay pot fragment. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	.8" long x 1" wide x .3" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28313	POT	Native American clay pot fragment with stamped decoration (decorated with a round object that was wheeled across the surface). Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28314	POT	Native American clay pot fragment. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.4" long x 1.2" wide x .3" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28315	POT	Twenty-one Native American clay pot fragments, undecorated. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.		CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28316	POT	Four Native American clay pot fragments, glued together. Notched, everted lip. Late Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.8" long x 1.4" wide x .3" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28317	POT	Eight Native American clay pot fragments, fabric-impressed decoration. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.		CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28318	POT	Thirty-two Native American clay pot fragments, some glued together. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.		CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28319	POT	Thirty-four Native American clay pot fragments, some glued together. Rocker-stamped decoration. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.		CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28320	POT	Native American clay pot fragment. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.3" long x .9" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28321	POT	Native American clay pot fragment, cord-impressed. Collar fragment. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.5" long x 1.4" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28322	POT	Native American clay pot fragment, cord-impressed. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	1.2" long x 1" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28323	POT	Native American clay pot fragment, notched collar base fragment. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	.8" long x .7" wide x .2" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28324	POT	Two Native American clay pot fragments, fabric-impressed. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.		CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28325	POT	Native American clay pot fragment, incised, notched lip collar base. Late Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	2" long x 1.3" wide x .3" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28326	POT	Native American clay pot fragment, incised, and cord incised; no collar. Late Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	2.1" long x 1.7" wide x .3" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28327	POT	Native American clay pot fragment, lightly incised. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Unknown where found at Fort Clinton site.	2" long x 2.3" wide x .3" deep	CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

SARA-00387	SARA 28328	BONE, FRAGMENT	Animal bones, collected at the site of Fort Clinton (exact provenience unknown). Possible turtle vertebrae; two pig tusks, and a metatarses (leg bone) from a medium-sized bird, such as a pheasant or chicken. These animals were possibly consumed for food.		BONE	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28329	POT	Thirteen Native American clay pot fragments; some glued together. Four may have fabric-impressed decoration. Nine are undecorated. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Recovered at Fort Clinton site, exact provenience unknown.		CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton
SARA-00387	SARA 28330	POT	Sixteen Native American clay pot fragments; undecorated. Some glued together. Possibly Middle Woodland Period. Recovered at Fort Clinton site, exact provenience unknown.		CLAY	COM/GD	Fort Clinton

APPENDIX 3

Type: Military
Theme: Military and political
#7

ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY FORM

NEW YORK STATE HISTORIC TRUST
OFFICE OF PARKS AND RECREATION
ALBANY, NEW YORK (518) 457-3753

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

UNIQUE SITE NO. A091-11c-0010
QUAD. _____
SERIES _____
NEG. NO. _____

REPORTED BY: Paul R. Huey

YOUR ADDRESS: _____ TELEPHONE: _____

ORGANIZATION (if any): New York State Board for Historic Preservation

DATE: November 1, 1972

* *

1. SITE NAME: Fort Saratoga (Fort Clinton)
2. COUNTY: Saratoga TOWN/CITY: Saratoga VILLAGE: _____
3. LOCATION: Site is a flat close to the Hudson River, west of the river - now a cornfield. Just south of Schuylerville.
4. PRESENT OWNER: _____
5. OWNER'S ADDRESS: _____
6. DESCRIPTION, CONDITION, EVIDENCE OF SITE: Fortification

☐ STANDING RUINS ☐ CELLAR HOLE WITH WALLS

☐ SURFACE TRACES VISIBLE ☐ WALLS WITHOUT CELLAR HOLE

☐ UNDER CULTIVATION ☐ EROSION ☐ UNDERWATER

☐ NO VISIBLE EVIDENCE ☐ OTHER Apparently extensive, exterior remains of the fort still exist. The fort has not been totally excavated, and never reconstructed or otherwise destroyed.

7. COLLECTION OF MATERIAL FROM SITE:

☐ SURFACE HUNTING BY WHOM _____ DATE _____

☐ TESTING BY WHOM _____ DATE _____

☐ EXCAVATION BY WHOM _____ DATE _____

☐ NONE

PRESENT REPOSITORY OF MATERIALS: _____

_____

8. PREHISTORIC CULTURAL AFFILIATION OR DATE: _____

Type: military
Theme: military and political
#7

ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY FORM

NEW YORK STATE HISTORIC TRUST
OFFICE OF PARKS AND RECREATION
ALBANY, NEW YORK (518) 457-3753

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

UNIQUE SITE NO. A091-16-0006
QUAD. Schuylerville
SERIES
NEG. NO.
Slide # 1196

REPORTED BY: Richard S. Allen

YOUR ADDRESS: _____ TELEPHONE: _____

ORGANIZATION (if any): _____

DATE: February, 1968

* *

1. SITE NAME: Sites of old Colonial forts
See also building/structure file.
2. COUNTY: Saratoga TOWN/CITY: Saratoga VILLAGE: _____
3. LOCATION: 1 mi. south of Schuylerville, on flats east of U.S. 4 toward Hudson River.
4. PRESENT OWNER: P. Germain
5. OWNER'S ADDRESS: R.D. Schuylerville, N.Y. 12871
6. DESCRIPTION, CONDITION, EVIDENCE OF SITE: sites only military

☐ STANDING RUINS ☐ CELLAR HOLE WITH WALLS

☐ SURFACE TRACES VISIBLE ☐ WALLS WITHOUT CELLAR HOLE

☐ UNDER CULTIVATION ☐ EROSION ☐ UNDERWATER

☐ NO VISIBLE EVIDENCE ☐ OTHER Present use - farm land. Physical Condition - fields only. Some archaeological work has been done in recent years by individuals.

7. COLLECTION OF MATERIAL FROM SITE:

☐ SURFACE HUNTING BY WHOM _____ DATE _____

☐ TESTING BY WHOM _____ DATE _____

☐ EXCAVATION BY WHOM _____ DATE _____

☐ NONE

PRESENT REPOSITORY OF MATERIALS: _____

_____

8. PREHISTORIC CULTURAL AFFILIATION OR DATE: _____

History of Saratoga Co., N.Y.; N.B. Sylvester (1878)
Clipping file on "Early Forts"

9. HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION OF SITE:
Constructed 1689 - 1746. Builder - various. Original use - protection of settlements.
Site of a succession of local colonial forts, built for protection prior and during the French and Indian Wars:
Fort Vrooman 1689
Fort Saratoga 1702 (rebuilt 1721 on new site)
(There was also another "Fort Saratoga" on the East side of the Hudson River in the 1700's)
Fort Clinton 1746

10. POSSIBILITY OF SITE DESTRUCTION OR DISTURBANCE:

11. REMARKS:
N.Y. State Education Dept. iron marker - 1927.

12. MAP LOCATION

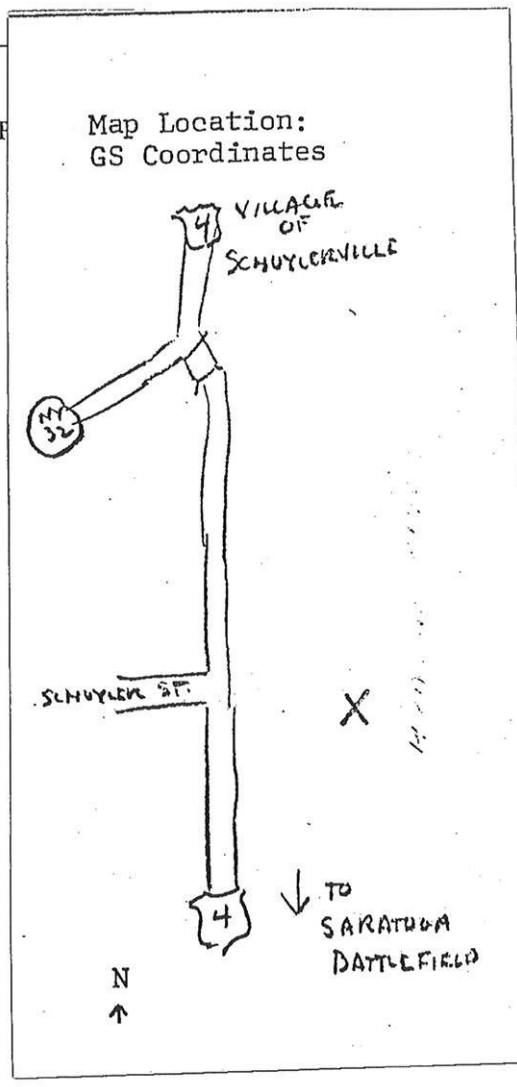
7 ½ MINUTE SERIES QUAD. NAME: _____

15 MINUTE SERIES QUAD. NAME: _____

U.S.G.S. COORDINATES: _____

D.O.T. COORDINATES: (if known) _____

ATTACH SKETCH, TRACING OR COPY OF MAP



SOURCE OF MAP:

13. PHOTOGRAPHS (optional)

(ATTACH)

16. 1196 A091-16-0006 ✓ 1196

NEW YORK STATE HISTORIC TRUST
STATEWIDE SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

1. Name (Common and Historic) SITES OF OLD COLONIAL FORTS

Location 2. SARATOGA (County) 3. SARATOGA (Town) 4. _____ (Village or City)

5. Address or Location 1 MI SOUTH OF SCHUYLERVILLE, ON FLATS EAST OF U.S. 4 TOWARD HUDSON RIVER

6. Type SITES ONLY 7. Subject or Theme MILITARY

8. Date of Construction 1689-1776 9. Architect (If Known) _____

10. Builder (If known) VARIOUS

11. Original Owner _____

12. Original Use PROTECTION OF SETTLEMENTS

13. Present Owner P. GERMAIN (Name)
R.D. SCHUYLERVILLE, N.Y. 12871 (Address)

14. Present Use FARM LAND

15. Physical Condition FIELDS ONLY. SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK HAS BEEN DONE IN RECENT YEARS BY INDIVIDUALS

16. Surveys N.Y. STATE EDUCATION DEPT IRON MARKER 1927

17. Future Action OF MINOR IMPORTANCE. NOTHING THOUGHT NECESSARY

18. Surveyed by Roland S. Allen 2/68 (Date Surveyed)

DSP-23

History and Significance:

SITE OF A SUCCESSION OF LOCAL COLONIAL FORTS, BUILT FOR PROTECTION PRIOR AND DURING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS;

FORT VROOMAN 1689

FORT SARATOGA 1702 (REBUILT 1721 ON NEW SITE)

(THERE WAS ALSO ANOTHER "FORT SARATOGA" ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE HUDSON RIVER IN THE 1700'S)

FORT CLINTON 1746

Sources of Information:

HISTORY OF SARATOGA CO. N.Y.; N.B. SYLVESTER (1878)

CLIPPING FILE ON "EARLY FORTS"

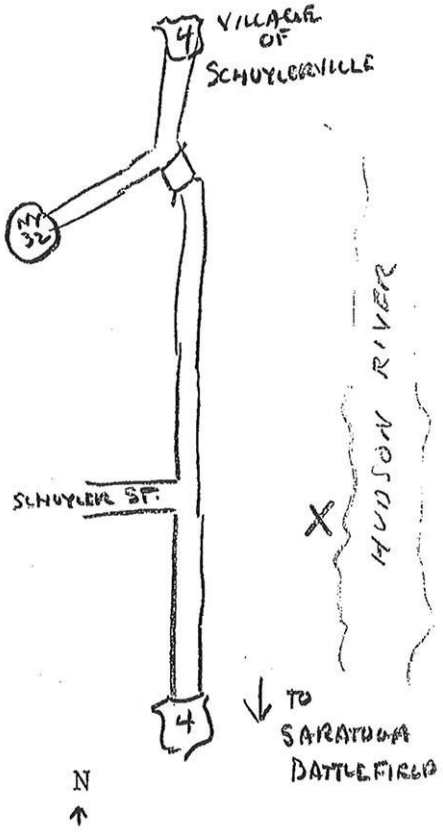
Photograph: Date

2/68

Direction of View

EAST

Map Location:
GS Coordinates



9. HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION OF SITE:
NYSAA Bulletin; No. 20, November, 1960, pp. 16-19.
John Henry Brandow, Old Saratoga.

10. POSSIBILITY OF SITE DESTRUCTION OR DISTURBANCE:

11. REMARKS:
Built as a Colonial British fort on the Northern frontier: scene of the famous massacre of 1745.

12. MAP LOCATION

7 ½ MINUTE SERIES QUAD. NAME: _____

15 MINUTE SERIES QUAD. NAME: Schuylerville

U.S.G.S. COORDINATES: _____

D.O.T. COORDINATES: (if known) _____

ATTACH SKETCH, TRACING OR COPY OF MAP

SOURCE OF MAP:

13. PHOTOGRAPHS (optional)

(ATTACH)

NEW YORK STATE HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY FORM

NYS OFFICE OF PARKS, RECREATION & HISTORIC PRESERVATION
(518) 237-8643

Bernadette Castro
Commissioner

For Office Use Only--Site Identifier

Project Identifier: King William and King George's Wars Battlefields, Historical Documentation Report

Your Name: Matthew Kirk — Date: June 2015
Organization (if any): Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. — Phone: 518.283.0534
Address: 1744 Washington Ave. Ext.
Rensselaer, NY 12144

1. SITE IDENTIFIER(S): Fort Saratoga/Clinton (c. 1739-1747)(updated)
2. COUNTY: Sarartoga

One of the following:
CITY
TOWN: Saratoga
INCORPORATED VILLAGE
UNINCORPORATED VILLAGE OR HAMLET

3. PRESENT OWNER: William Boyce
Address: 109 General Fellows Road
Greenwich, NY 12834

4. SITE DESCRIPTION (check all appropriate categories):

Superstructure: ☐ complete ☐ partial ☐ collapsed ☒ not evident
Foundation: ☐ above ground level ☒ below ground level ☐ not evident
☐ structural subdivisions apparent ☐ only exterior walls evident
☒ buried traces detected
List construction materials (be as specific as possible):
Brick, nails, stone
Grounds: ☒ under cultivation ☐ previously cultivated ☐ never cultivated
☒ floodplain ☐ pastureland ☐ woodland ☐ upland ☒ sustaining erosion
Soil Drainage: ☒ excellent ☐ good ☐ fair ☐ poor
Distance to nearest water from structure (approx.): 10ft
Elevation:

5. SITE INVESTIGATION (append additional sheets, if necessary):

Surface Collection: Date(s) ☐ Site map (submit with form*)

Subsurface: Date(s)
Testing: ☐ shovel ☐ coring ☐ other Test size
Number of tests (Submit plan of tests with form*)

Excavation: Unit size Number of units
(Submit plan of units with form. Submission should be 8 ½" by 11", if feasible)

Investigator: Matthew Kirk

Manuscript or published report(s) (reference fully):
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION REPORT
Inventory King William's and King George's Wars Battlefields: 1689-1697 and 1744 to 1748
US Route 4, Town of Saratoga
Saratoga County, New York
HAA 4642-81
American Battlefield Protection Program Grant #GA-2255-12-014

Present repository of materials: Saratoga National Historical Site

6. SITE INVENTORY (append additional sheets, if necessary)

a. Date constructed and occupation period 1739-1747

b. Previous owners, if known _____

c. Modifications, if known _____

7. SITE DOCUMENTATION (append additional sheets, if necessary):

a. Historic map citation(s) with present location of original, if known

see report

b. Representation in existing photography

1) Photo date _____ Where located _____

2) Photo date _____ Where located _____

c. Other primary and secondary source of documentation (reference fully):

see report

d. Persons with memory of site

1) Name _____ Address _____

2) Name _____ Address _____

8. LIST OF MATERIAL REMAINS other than those used in construction (be as specific as possible in identifying object and material):

See report for inventory of materials collected in the 1980s now housed at the Saratoga National Historical Park

If prehistoric materials are evident, check here ☒ and fill out prehistoric site form.

9. MAP REFERENCES: Map or maps showing exact location and extent of site must accompany this form and be identified by source and date. Keep this submission to 8½" x 11", if possible.

USGS 7.5 Minute Series Quad Name USGS Schuylerville

For Office Use Only--UTM Coordinates _____

10. PHOTOGRAPHY (optional for environmental impact survey): Please submit a 5"x7" black and white print(s) showing the current state of the site. Provide a label for the print(s) on a separate sheet.

This page has been redacted from the report to comply with ARPA regulations.

NEW YORK STATE PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE INVENTORY FORM

NYS OFFICE OF PARKS, RECREATION & HISTORIC PRESERVATION
(518) 237-8643

For Office Use Only--Site Identifier

Project Identifier King William and King George's Wars Battlefields, Historical Documentation Report

Your Name Matthew Kirk Date June 2015
Organization (if any) Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. Phone 518.283.0534
Address 1744 Washington Ave. Ext.
Rensselaer, NY 12144

1. SITE IDENTIFIER(S) Precontact site at Fort Saratoga/Clinton (c. 1739-1747))
2. COUNTY Sarartoga
One of the following: CITY
TOWN Saratoga
INCORPORATED VILLAGE
UNINCORPORATED VILLAGE OR HAMLET
3 PRESENT OWNER William Boyce
Address 109 General Fellows Road
Greenwich, NY 12834

4. SITE DESCRIPTION (check all appropriate categories):

X Stray Find	Cave/Rockshelter	Workshop
Pictograph	Quarry	Mound
Burial	Shell Midden	Village
X Surface Evidence	Camp	X Material in plow zone
Material below plow zone	Buried evidence	Intact Occupation floor
Single component	Evidence of features	Stratified
	Multicomponent	

Location

X Under cultivation	Never cultivated	Previously cultivated
Pastureland	Woodland	X Floodplain
Upland		X Sustaining erosion

Soil Drainage: excellent X good fair poor
Slope: flat X gentle moderate steep
Distance to nearest water from site (approx.) 10 ft
Elevation:

5. SITE INVESTIGATION (append additional sheets, if necessary):
Surface--date(s): site walkover no material collected
Site map (Submit with form)
Collection

Subsurface--date(s):
Testing: shovel coring other unit size
no. of units (Submit plan of units with form)

Excavation: unit size no. of units

Investigator: Mathew Kirk

Manuscript or published report(s) (reference fully):
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION REPORT
Inventory King William's and King George's Wars Battlefields: 1689-1697 and 1744 to 1748
US Route 4, Town of Saratoga
Saratoga County, New York
HAA 4642-81
American Battlefield Protection Program Grant #GA-2255-12-014

Present repository of materials none collected

6. COMPONENT(S) (cultural affiliation/dates):

Late Woodland

7. LIST OF MATERIAL REMAINS (be specific as possible in identifying object and material):

Native American pottery fragments scattered on ground surface with the site of historic Fort Saratoga/Clinton (c. 1739-1747)

If historic materials are evident, check here and fill out historic site form

8. MAP REFERENCES

USGS 7.5 Minute Series Quad. Name USGS Schuylerville

UTM Coordinates

9. Photography

APPENDIX 4



The King William's and King George's Wars battlefields today. Photo courtesy of Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc.

Future Research and Preservation

The Natural Heritage Trust hopes to preserve both the sites of Fort Clinton and Fort Vrooman and their related battlefields. To assist with these efforts, additional historical and archeological research is planned. Through a combination of comparative research, geophysical survey techniques, metal detecting, and excavations, archeologists can learn much more about these battlefields from the colonial wars. The ultimate goals of these studies are to:

•promote the long-term protection of these resources,

•increase public awareness of their historical value,

•and, to integrate these important stories into the larger interpretative narrative of the area.

Saratoga's military importance began over 100 years before the American victory in 1777, and the stories of those who lived, fought, and died on the Saratoga borderlands remain to be discovered today.

Disclaimer

This material is based upon work assisted by a grant from the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

...you burnt your own Forts at Seraghtoga, and run away from it. It was shame & a scandal to you...Tis but one step from Canada hither; and the French may easily come and run you out of doors.

Mohawk sachem, 1754

Cover image: "A Map of Pensilvania, New-Jersey, New-York, and the Three Delaware Counties." *Lewis Evans, 1749. Image from the Library of Congress. Fort Clinton was located just below "Saretoga." Watermark image: An iron key from the Ft. Clinton Site-SARA 00387-22771. Photo courtesy of Hartgen and Saratoga Historical National Park.*

Natural Heritage TRUST
Supporting Parks, Conservation, Recreation and Historic Preservation

HARTGEN archeological associates inc

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



SARATOGA BEFORE 1777

The Archeology and History of King William's (1689–1697) and King George's Wars (1744–1748)-American Battlefield Protection Program Grant

#GA-2255-12-014



An engraved French brass butt plate for a musket collected from the Ft. Clinton site, SARA 00387-27476. Photo courtesy of Hartgen and Saratoga Historical National Park.

Saratoga's Other Battlefields

The historic landscape of Saratoga is known for the Revolutionary War. The area's rich farmlands, advantageous trading location, and proximity to a large native village at Schaghticoke attracted many English and Dutch, and even French traders, in the late 17th century. But, it also drew the attention of the wary government of New France to the north who feared encroachment from the south. The flats south of Fish Creek and modern-day Schuylerville witnessed skirmishes and pitched battles during King William's (1689–1697) and King George's Wars (1744–1748). The Natural Heritage Trust received a grant from the American Battlefield Protection Program of the National Park Service to learn more about the history and archeology of this contested landscape.

...the fort at Saraghtoga goes on with success...

Captain Nicholas Schuyler, 1746

King William's War and Fort Vrooman

During the late 17th century, Saratoga was a frontier populated with Dutch and English farmers and Native Americans, along with a scattered population of French traders. These isolated outposts had little protection from the raiding parties of Native Americans and French that swept through the area.

The families who received titles to land in the Saratoga area mostly lived in Albany and south. To maintain the lands, the owners leased out parcels or induced tenants to work the land. One of these farmers was Bartel Vrooman, whose house was attacked in September 1689. Several individuals were killed. In response, Albany officials elected to erect a "fort made about ye house of Bartel Vrooman at Sarachtoge." The fort was later garrisoned with a detachment of soldiers and Native allies, which appears to have prevented further attacks at the end of the 17th century.

...all around us is nothing but desolation, fire, murder, and captivity.

Anonymous, Boston Evening Post, May 1746

King George's War and Fort Clinton

The British later replaced the fortified house with a stockaded outpost first called Fort Saratoga and later Fort Clinton between 1739 and 1747. Several skirmishes and battles took place near the fort between 1745 and 1747, as part of an ongoing campaign in the Hudson River valley. As a strategic point on the river between the frontier and Albany, Fort Clinton was a crucial link in British defenses. The French and their allies repeatedly attacked the fort's work parties and supply trains. The British eventually abandoned and torched their own fort in July 1747, deeming its continued defense untenable.



French and English (right) gunflints collected from the Ft. Clinton site, SARA 00387-76135. Photo courtesy of Hartgen and Saratoga Historical National Park.

Documenting History and Archeology

Historical data collected for the project showed the tenuous position of the New York colonial military at the fort. Records suggest the fort was poorly sited, underfunded, hastily constructed, and garrisoned with colonial troops who frequently abandoned the post. Poor health among the soldiers and low morale vexed the commanding officers. However, before it was burned, the fort served as a focal point for a complex political and economic struggle along the borderlands that included Europeans, Native Americans, and even enslaved Africans.

Non-professional archeology took place on the site in the 20th century. The excavations located a variety of military items, Native American artifacts, and architectural debris from the destroyed fort. Much of this material is now housed at the Saratoga National Historical Park. But there are more resources from the colonial wars that need to be documented, recovered, interpreted, and preserved.

APPENDIX 5

APPENDIX 6

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

SARATOGA STUDY AREA

King William's War (1687–1698)

The Raid on Fort Vrooman, September 1689

In September 1689, French soldiers and their Native allies descended on the fortified farmstead of Bartel Vrooman, likely located south of Fish Creek in the vicinity of the Schuyler estate. A number of settlers were killed in the raid and the Vrooman farm was at least burned. Following the raid, the city of Albany provided funds for the fortification of the farm and for a small garrison. This fortification likely served as a measure of protection for the Vrooman family as well as several neighboring farming families. Little is known about the particulars of this battle or the exact whereabouts of the Vrooman farm. During the summer of 1690, a failed English expeditionary force to Montreal from Albany likely encamped in the vicinity, possibly using the farmstead as a defensible waystation or headquarters.

Statement of Purpose

Further research into King William's War in the Study Area will initially focus on the September 1689 raid and the possible use of the site as an encampment by the Winthrop expedition in the summer and fall of 1690. The purpose of this research would be to determine the location of the Vrooman farmstead and the later fortified house. The KOCOA analysis suggests that the farmstead may be located on the elevated terraces along the rich alluvial flats of the Hudson. A small series has been identified in the central and northern portions of the Study Area. These might serve as focal points for initial/limited archeological reconnaissance efforts.

Target Survey Coverages and Estimates

Given that the fortified farmstead and location of the raid in 1698 is unknown, a broad-based archeological survey to locate areas of potential interest is recommended. The survey may include the following components:

- Intensive, systematic surface reconnaissance, especially in the central and northern portions of the Study Area that are currently being plowed. Material culture that would beneficial to the identification would be trade items such as reworked lead, copper, and brass, glass and ceramic trade beads, shell beads, and the like. Domestic material such as Dutch and English 17th century ceramics, tin-glazed earthenware, lead-glazed earthenware, borderwares, and the like would also be important diagnostic markers.

- Metal-detecting survey, to search for evidence of 17th-century domestic and military material.

- Limited shovel testing, at close intervals of less than 3-meters may also help to positively identify the location of the farm, fort, and raid should evidence be discovered n surface reconnaissance and metal-detecting.

It is likely that nearly all of any potential site related to King William's War deposits would remain intact following an initial reconnaissance survey, and potential disturbance from archeological excavation by a small percentage of the overall site.

Regulations and Requirements: NAGPRA and ARPA Procedures

Currently, the Study Area is a combination of NPS land and private property. All archeological should following the NYAC guidelines for archeological research. Archeological study on NPS land will follow the appropriate

NAGPRA and ARPA requirements and guidelines. An ARPA permit will be required for any archeological study on NPS land.

Historical accounts of King William's War place Native Americans from several different tribes, bands, and ethnicities with both the English and French, as well as within neutral and non-military settlements within the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. It is possible that Native Americans were killed in the engagement and human remains may be found as a part of any archeological survey. As such the OPRHP unanticipated discoveries plan should be followed, in addition to NAGPRA requirements. The final archeological work plan should include a detailed protocol and contact list in advance of the fieldwork.

Recording the Historic Property Boundary

Identifying the limits of any site related to this battle will focus on two elements of the property. First, by identifying and defining the limits of any domestic or architectural artifact scatters or features related to the Vrooman farmstead. This will be accomplished by identifying sheet middens, wooden palisades, architectural features, other related artifact scatters. Once the farmstead is positively identified, the second step will focus on identifying military-related artifacts pertaining to the raid. These resources, based on the limited contemporary documentation of the incident, are likely to be very limited and may consist of small skirmish lines both within the farmstead in the immediate vicinity. The site boundaries would include a core and periphery. The core will likely include the farmstead and related agricultural structures, and its surrounding fortification likely a wooden palisade. The periphery will include material related to the September 1689 raid. Artifacts will likely include lead shot, French military buttons, and accoutrements, and the like.

Related deposits from the King William's War will be evidence of the Winthrop expedition. Depending on the length of the stay and the investment in the former Vrooman farmstead as a waystation, the English forces may have established their own infrastructure, such as cooking features, latrines, and shelters. Recording the boundary of this historic property will being by searching for any evidence of this reported encampment and finding the limits of sheet middens and features pertaining to its tenure in the study area.

Defining Features and Core Resources

Defining features pertaining to the September 1689 skirmish may include the following:

- Wooden palisades typical of other fortified farmsteads from the 17th century.
- Domestic architectural features.
- Domestic sheet middens associated with the Vrooman farmstead.
- Skirmish lines inside and outside of the Vrooman defenses.

Defining feature pertaining to the Milborne encampment in the summer of 1690 may include the following:

- Military feature typical in a temporary encampment, such as latrines, sheet middens, and temporary shelters.
- British military artifacts and domestic items typical of the late 17th century.

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

SARATOGA STUDY AREA

King George's War (1744–1748)

First Battle of Saratoga, November 20–22, 1745

During November 1745, the French launched a large offensive under the command of Marin. Having been turned back from New England due to inclement weather, the French and Native force turned to the west and south to raid Albany. On the way, the French crossed the Hudson River at the Carrying Place (Fort Edward) and marched down the west side of the river to the Schuyler manor and Fort Clinton. The large force overwhelmed Schuyler at his home, and what few troops were in and near Fort Clinton fled. Allowing the French detachment to move through the area unmolested capturing many men, women and children, including a number of Schuyler's enslaved laborers. At this time, Fort Clinton was poorly provisioned, probably unfinished and already in disrepair, and thinly garrisoned. The British soldiers holding the fort, seeing the French easily overwhelm Schuyler's farmstead, abandoned the fort to the French. Returning to the fort later, the British reported that the French and their allies had burned the crops and farmsteads and plundered the fort. Although there was likely a short skirmish at Schuyler's manor north of the study area, there are not known to be any significant engagements around the fort.

Statement of Purpose

Archeological fieldwork for the first Battle of Saratoga, should likely use the remains of the first Schuyler house and Fort Clinton as touchstones (or the northern and southern brackets) for identifying battlefield deposits. The study can help to establish the condition, size, and state of the original fortification before it was plundered and burned by the French. The effects of the French raid on the structure of the fort are important in helping to understand how the fort was reconditioned or rebuilt in the winter and spring of 1746.

Target Survey Coverages and Estimates

The reconnaissance of the fort is best approached through a combination of remote-sensing techniques including ground-penetrating radar, resistivity and conductivity, and metal–detecting. The study area for this battle is fairly broad beginning at the Schulyer settlement along fish Creek and extending south to the fort (and likely beyond to other nearby farmsteads where livestock was killed and captives taken). Within the currently defined study area, the focus is likely at Fort Clinton in the northernmost portion of the study area near the Schuyler farmstead. Limited shovel tests or unit excavations may also help to field-verify the results of the remote sensing, and provide information about the depth of the various plowzones that occur throughout the Study Area.

Regulations and Requirements: NAGPRA and ARPA Procedures

Currently, the Study Area is a combination of NPS land and private property. All archeological should following the NYAC guidelines for archeological research. Archeological study on NPS land will follow the appropriate NAGPRA and ARPA requirements and guidelines. An ARPA permit will be required for any archeological study on NPS land.

Historical accounts of King George's War place Native Americans from several different tribes, bands, and ethnicities with both the English and French, as well as within neutral and non-military settlements within the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. It is possible that Native Americans were killed in the engagement and human remains may be found as a part of any archeological survey. As such the OPRHP unanticipated discoveries plan should be followed, in addition to NAGPRA requirements. The final archeological work plan should include a detailed protocol and contact list in advance of the fieldwork.

Recording the Historic Property Boundary

The First Battle of Saratoga appears to have stretched several miles in length as the French raided numerous houses north and south of the Schuyler estate and Fort Clinton. The full extent of the battlefield is unlikely to remain unknown. However, as Fort Clinton was the focus of the French raid, defining its original size and shape will provide a "core" of the battlefield and help to understand the evolution of the fort and its role in the later battles of the war. Further testing along the northern end of the Study Area (and perhaps into the Schuyler farm parcel) will also be beneficial to understanding the battle.

Defining Features and Core Resources

The core resource of the battle is considered to be the original fort and its associated outworks. Fedory has provided a possible interpretation of the fort based on his limited excavations. More detailed and thorough reconnaissance of the fort will likely provide a more nuisance and detailed description of the original fortworks.

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

SARATOGA STUDY AREA

King George's War (1744–1748)

The Second Battle of Saratoga, February 1747

Following the loss of the fort to the French, the British rebuilt Fort Clinton and expanded its footprint. The British may have also addressed a number of the inadequacies of the fort raised by soldiers and officers alike. The second battle was a short skirmish, in which a small party of French and Native allies overtook a provisioning party on the road outside of the fort (likely US Route 4) and took a number of prisoners. While the battle was a minor engagement, information gleaned from prisoners illustrates some details of the fort at that time. The French learned that the British had several artillery pieces established at the fort and the region was suffering from smallpox, including several of the men in the fort garrison. As a result of the battle, six British were killed, several were captured, and many of the retreating party discarded their gear in the field on their way back to the fort.

Statement of Purpose

The focus of archeological fieldwork for the second battle of Saratoga should be on identifying archeological deposits associated with this small engagement. Since the exact location of the skirmish is not known, focus should be placed along US Route 4, where the modern road is thought to parallel the historic military road. If archeological deposits can be positively associated with this battle, the purpose of the work would shift to analyzing those resources and applying them to our limited knowledge of the second battle. Finding intact evidence of the battle within the Study Area may be difficult however, as the Champlain Canal may have destroyed the archeological record, better opportunities to locate intact deposits likely lie outside of the Study Area on the west side of Us Route 4.

Target Survey Coverages and Estimates

A field reconnaissance combining shovel testing, metal-detecting, and surface survey should be used to search for evidence of the second battle. Besides the fort and the road, there are no known landscape features associated with this engagement. Since the accounts of the battle place the participants along the road, survey coverage should focus on the US Route 4 corridor. The target survey area comprises the entire length of US Route 4 adjacent to the study area, an area about 6,200 feet long and 200 feet wide, covering about 28 acres (not including the disturbance associated with the Champlain Canal). Through the use of limited excavations and surface survey, archeologists would be able to cover the entire target area, but the limited scale of the excavations would leave the site relatively intact. Depending on the likelihood of buried plowzones in this vicinity, shovel testing could precede metal-detecting.

Regulations and Requirements: NAGPRA and ARPA Procedures

Currently, the Study Area is a combination of NPS land and private property. All archeological work should following the NYAC guidelines for archeological research. Archeological study on NPS land will follow the appropriate NAGPRA and ARPA requirements and guidelines. An ARPA permit will be required for any archeological study on NPS land.

Historical accounts of King George's War place Native Americans from several different tribes, bands, and ethnicities with both the English and French, as well as within neutral and non-military settlements within the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. It is possible that Native Americans were killed in the engagement and human remains may be found as a part of any archeological survey. As such the OPRHP unanticipated discoveries plan should be followed, in addition to NAGPRA requirements. The final archeological work plan should include a detailed protocol and contact list in advance of the fieldwork.

Recording the Historic Property Boundary

Based on what little is known about the second battle of Saratoga, the archeological deposits associated with the resource should be fairly small. Defining the historic property boundary of this engagement will rely on the identification of artifacts associated with that battle. The historic property boundary would likely be defined by the limits of a scatter of small arms ammunition and military artifacts discarded by the British in their retreat.

Defining Features and Core Resources

The core resource for the second battle will consist of the scatter of small arms ammunition associated with the skirmish. Defining features associated with the battle are likely limited to the military road or US Route 4. If a deposit is found that can be associated with the battle, then archeologists will be able to identify other landforms that might stand as defining features. These may include landforms that provided cover and concealment and points of observation for the French and Natives and obstructions barring the path of the British back to the fort once they came under fire. The fort would also stand as a defining feature for the historic property, but only a secondary resource since it was not directly involved in the battle.

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

SARATOGA STUDY AREA

King George's War (1744–1748)

The Third Battle of Saratoga, April 1747

The third battle occurred on April 13, 1747, when a small British provisioning party gathering firewood led by Captain Trent and Lieutenant Proctor was overtaken by French and Native troops. Four British soldiers were killed and two were captured. This engagement began much like the second battle with a small skirmish in an exposed position outside of the fort. Shortly after that, the British sent a detachment led by ensign Braat to cover the stranded party. The British engaged the French force, standing at about 60 men, and eventually ran to cover in the swamp. Two more contingents, led by Lieutenant Johnston and Lieutenant Hall, were sent from Fort Clinton to outflank the French on their right, who were screened from the fort by a low rise within 40 yards of the road. One of the parties found the French encampment, well outside of the Study Area, which the French abandoned, leaving behind supplies, ammunition, and personal effects. The remaining two parties engaged the French and drove them away from the fort. Historical accounts state that the waters surrounding the fort were unseasonably high and the British decried the "unmanly lurking way of fighting" adopted by the French in their harassment of the frontier fort. No artillery was mentioned in accounts of the battle. A number of British men were killed in the initial foray and a French soldier was captured.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study would be to identify archeological resources associated with this relatively large engagement north of the fort. The KOCOA analysis has identified certain landscape features which likely provided cover and concealment for the French and the accounts of flooding likely limited the possible movements of the British. The study would test these areas to determine what evidence of the battle remains in the study area. Additionally, the KOCOA analysis suggests that this battle and the fourth, deciding battle, were likely overlapping in the study area. Another purpose of the study, therefore, would be to determine if archeological contexts from the two battles can be separated.

Target Survey Coverages and Estimates

A field reconnaissance combining shovel testing, metal-detecting, and surface survey should be used to search for evidence of the third battle. Target areas would focus on potential high ground features that provided cover for the French and the avenues of approach for the British. These areas may be tightly circumscribed due to the accounts of high water during the third battle. The target survey area would cover a broad area extending north from the fort to the northern border of the Study Area, including the field of fire from both the fort and the high ground. This area covers about 25 acres, bounded on the west by wetlands, south by the fort, east by the Hudson River, and north by the study area's northern boundary. A metal-detecting survey, followed by shovel testing and surface collection, should be able to detect artifacts associated with the battle. In low-lying areas, there may be buried plowzones that have been silted over by seasonal flooding. These areas may require shovel testing to test the efficacy of the metal-detecting in depressed areas. At the reconnaissance level, it is likely that the majority of the site will remain intact following the survey.

Regulations and Requirements: NAGPRA and ARPA Procedures

Currently, the Study Area is a combination of NPS land and private property. All archeological should following the NYAC guidelines for archeological research. Archeological study on NPS land will follow the appropriate NAGPRA and ARPA requirements and guidelines. An ARPA permit will be required for any archeological study on NPS land.

Historical accounts of King George's War place Native Americans from several different tribes, bands, and ethnicities with both the English and French, as well as within neutral and non-military settlements within the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. It is possible that Native Americans were killed in the engagement and human

remains may be found as a part of any archeological survey. As such the OPRHP unanticipated discoveries plan should be followed, in addition to NAGPRA requirements. The final archeological work plan should include a detailed protocol and contact list in advance of the fieldwork.

Recording the Historic Property Boundary

Recording the full extent of the third battle may be impossible, since accounts suggest that the British engaged the French to the north of the Study Area. Therefore, for the purposes of the study, identifying the historic property boundary will focus on determining to what extent small arms combat took place within the Study Area. This would help to determine how much cover the British were afforded before fully engaging the French ambuscade. A historic property boundary would be largely determined by identifying a field scatter of small arms ammunition associated with this battle and tying landscape features to skirmish lines and other features.

Defining Features and Core Resources

The core resources within the study area would consist of any potential field scatter associated with the battle and, depending on the extent of the field scatter, the fort itself. Defining features within the Study Area would likely be limited to the low-lying wet areas that restricted the British advance and any cover that was afforded them when reinforcements arrived to the aid of Trench and Proctor. Unless there were temporary shelters and defensive features in this field, it is unlikely that there were any major defensive outworks in this part of the Study Area.

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

SARATOGA STUDY AREA

King George's War (1744–1748)

The Fourth Battle of Saratoga, July 1747

The decisive fourth battle of Saratoga was the largest engagement during King George's War and involved a full-scale French assault on the fort and the only documented use of British artillery. As the large force of over 200 French and Native soldiers approached for the north, a small French detachment happened upon a British fishing party of 40–50 men. After the fishing party returned to the fort, the French moved across Fish Creek near a set of falls, northwest of the fort where the floodplain could be monitored. Other scouts from the main detachment set off down the military road (US Route 4) to monitor the fort from a slightly elevated position.

After a few days of watching the fort and trying to lure the British out of the fort and open the gates, the French finally risked a full assault on June 30, 1747. The French fired upon two British soldiers outside of the fort, which brought out a body of 100 British soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Chew. While a small party of Native retreated from the daring assault in front of the fort, the British advanced in formation under Lieutenant Chew. Eventually the small Native party led the British directly into the French ambuscade. St.-Luc brought his main force out from cover and fully engaged the surprised British party. Several British officers were killed and, according to Chew's published accounts, many of the remaining British soldiers discarded their gear and retreated to the fort. British artillery attempted to cover the retreat, but only 25 men from the original detachment made it back. Another 150 British troops supported the retreating troops, but none advanced much beyond covering fire of the fort. Accounts state that some of the British, being pursued by Native soldiers, fled to the east into the river. Despite the threat of artillery fire, some of the French and Natives were able to engage in hand-to-hand combat during the British retreat.

The British suffered heavy casualties during the fourth battle and even heavier damage to morale and support for the mission. Not long after the fourth battle, the British left Fort Clinton after intentionally burning the buildings.

Statement of Purpose

The fourth battle of Saratoga led to many fatalities, a disorderly retreat, the only documented use of artillery during combat at Fort Clinton, and the eventual abandonment and burning of the fort. As such, this engagement is likely to have the clearest, densest archeological signature of any of the five known engagements in the study area. The purpose of any archeological research into the fourth battle would include determining which archeological contexts are related to the battle, including features and field scatters especially in relation to the fort.

Target Survey Coverages and Estimates

A field reconnaissance combining shovel testing, metal-detecting, and surface survey should be used to search for evidence of the fourth battle. Target areas would focus on potential high ground features that provided cover for the French and the avenues of approach for the British. The target survey area would cover a broad area extending north from the fort to the north border of the study area, including the field of fire from both the fort and the high ground. This area covers about 25 acres, bounded on the west by wetlands, south by the fort, east by the Hudson River, and north by the Study Area's northern boundary. A metal-detecting survey, followed by shovel testing and surface collection, should be able to detect artifacts associated with the battle. In low-lying areas, there may be buried plowzones that have been silted over by seasonal flooding. These areas may require shovel testing to test the efficacy of the metal-detecting in depressed areas. Based on accounts of a disorderly retreat, there may be elements of the fourth battle found in the river or wetlands as well. At the reconnaissance level, it is likely that the majority of the site will remain intact following the survey.

Regulations and Requirements: NAGPRA and ARPA Procedures

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Historical accounts of King George's War place Native Americans from several different tribes, bands, and ethnicities with both the English and French, as well as within neutral and non-military settlements within the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. It is possible that Native Americans were killed in the engagement and human remains may be found as a part of any archeological survey. As such the OPRHP unanticipated discoveries plan should be followed, in addition to NAGPRA requirements. The final archeological work plan should include a detailed protocol and contact list in advance of the fieldwork.

Recording the Historic Property Boundary

Perhaps the most important element to defining the historic property boundary will be artillery field scatters. Artillery artifacts in the field presumably will point to positions of the French troops, whether monitoring the fort in concealment, or on their chase after the retreating British troops. Once these positions are determined, archeologists can perhaps place Chew's wheel maneuver on the field in relation to the French positions indicated by artillery fire. It is expected that the historic property associated with the fourth battle will match that of the third battle, based on historic accounts of the battle and a likely French approach from the north. The overall larger French force and the nature of their offensive techniques, however, suggests that elements of the fourth battle may be found further to the south as detachments may have spread down the military road to approach the fort from the west. It may also be difficult to separate archeological contexts associated with the third battle from the fourth battle.

Defining Features and Core Resources

The core resources associated with the battle are the field scatter or small arms fire and artillery as well as the burned remains of Fort Clinton, which was abandoned, although belatedly, as a direct result of the French assault. Defining features of the fourth battle would include landforms that provided the French with cover and concealment and observation points and possible avenues of approach for both sides. Determining which landscape features pertain to the fourth battle may rely on the identification of artillery artifacts.