Dutch Colonial Fortifications in North America 1614-1676

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Contributions to the Atlas of Dutch North America 1

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Introduction

This report is a quick-scan of colonial fortifications occupied, built or, in a few instances, planned, in the Dutch colony of New Netherland and elsewhere in North America between 1614 and 1676. An earlier list of fortifications, published in the *Report Identification Mission Atlas of Dutch America* (New Holland Foundation, 2012) provided the starting point. Even so, changes have been made to the list, as some fortifications were added and others omitted as further information was collected. Another, more important change is the order in which the fortifications are listed. The thirty defensive structures described in the 2012 preliminary survey broke down into two categories (A: forts and blockhouse; B: stockades and other perimeter defence structures). In this report I have employed a categorization according to geographical regions, as this format better suits the ways in which the defensive works related to each other in the mind of their builders and the order in which the fortifications were erected. The first region consists of New Amsterdam and vicinity. The second region encompasses the Delaware River Valley and Bay and includes Swedish-built structures that were subsequently taken over by the Dutch. The third region comprises the forts built in the mid and upper Hudson River Valley, including part of the Mohawk River. A fourth category is included to provide a home for defensive structures that do not belong in the regions outlined above.

This report aims to provide only a quick-scan and therefore the description of the objects and sites is limited in scope, with the focus primarily on material aspects and less on strategic and operational objectives or military use. It is based on seventeenth-century archival material, mainly the Dutch records in Albany, New York City, and The Hague. As the older publications of Dutch (and in some cases Swedish) sources are often flawed in the translation of technical terms, the original language has been included in the annotation when the original document or a copy thereof could be consulted without extensive research trips. Information from later sources (i.e. dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth century) has only been included when it was readily available. The same applies to archaeological findings and reports. A full interdisciplinary analysis of colonial fortifications in New Netherland thus remains to be written. Hopefully financial support for such a project will be forthcoming at a later time.

Finally, this report has benefited considerably from the input of Oscar Hefting, Hans van Westing, Craig Lukezic, Diana Wall, Anne-Marie Cantwell, Joel Grossmann, Joe Diamond, and especially Paul Huey, Janny Venema and Charles Gehring. Many thanks!

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I. New Amsterdam and Vicinity

Manhattan and the surrounding area formed the center of New Netherland from the 1620s onwards. The first colonists, mainly Walloons, initially settled on Governors Island and relocated to the southern tip of Manhattan Island where Fort Amsterdam was constructed within a few years. The village around the fort developed into New Amsterdam, necessitating further fortifications in subsequent decades. As the population of New Netherland increased, Dutch and English colonists settled on Long Island, Staten Island, and across the Hudson River in what is now New Jersey. In order to ward off hostilities by Native American groups, the colonists reinforced many of the villages by building fortifications, mostly palisades and blockhouses. This development accelerated after the 1655 Peach War. Fort Amsterdam, the colonial headquarters of the Dutch West India Company, was intended to be the Dutch mainstay against attacks by other European powers, but its state of repair and lack of provisions, as well as its location amid a population center, diminished its defensive potential. The dilapidated condition of Fort Amsterdam was a major argument in favour of surrendering New Amsterdam to the English in 1664.

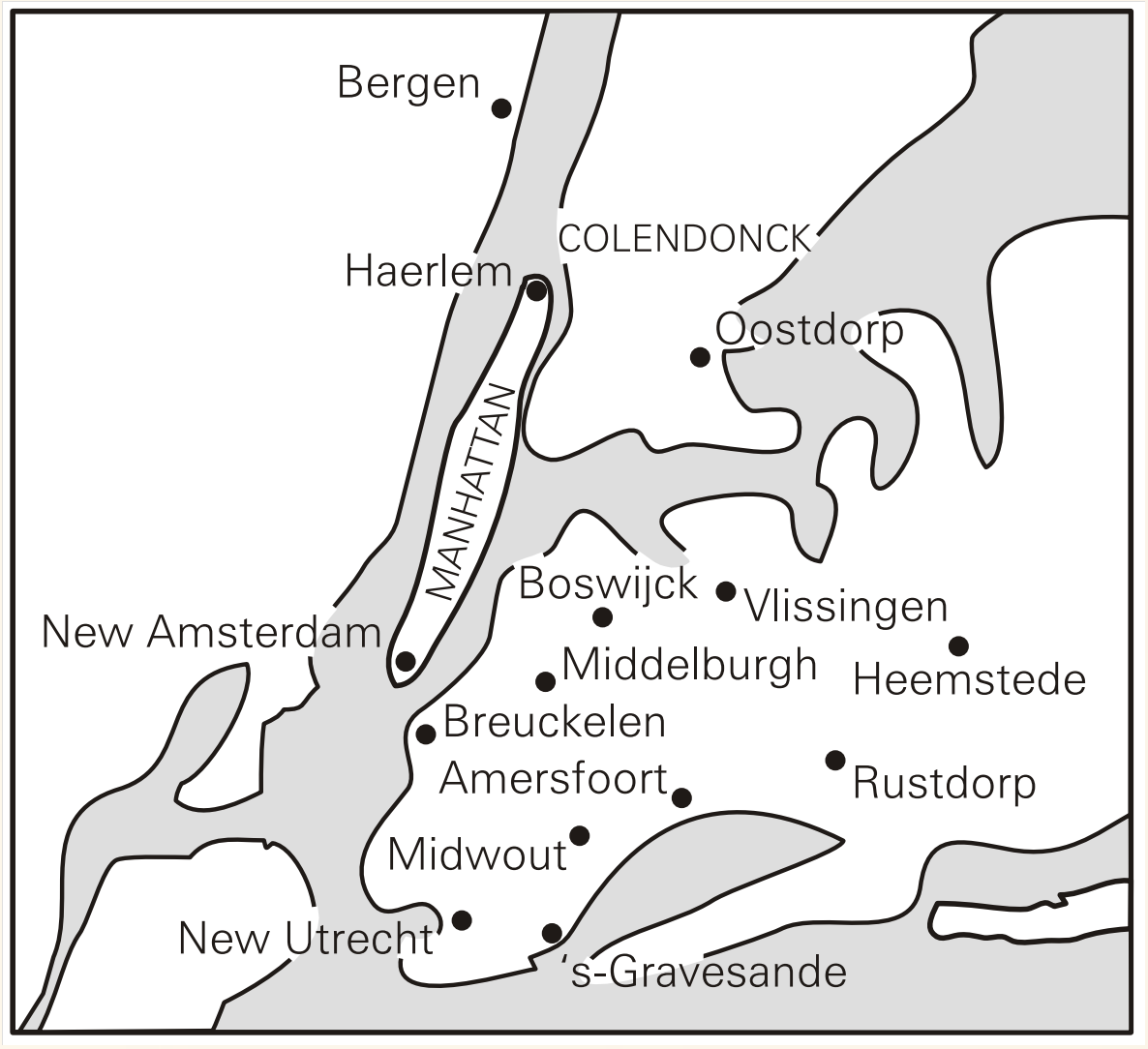

Fig. 1. New Amsterdam and vicinity.

Nooten Eylandt/Governors Island — 1623/1624

The island the Native Americans called "Pagganck" ("nut trees")[1] is one of the locations where colonists under the jurisdiction of the Dutch West India Company first settled in 1623/1624. While little first-hand information is available about the activities of the colonists, the instructions for Willem Verhulst, drawn up in Amsterdam in January 1625, refer to a "fort on Noten Island."[2] This makes it likely that the settlers erected a defensive structure, probably a blockhouse, in order to defend themselves after the ocean-going ships had departed for Europe. A possible location for a small fort was near the wind-powered sawmill that is depicted on the 1639 Manatus map (fig. 2) in the northwestern corner of the island.[3] Presumably this fort fell out of use when the colonists moved to Manhattan soon afterwards. Considering the subsequent use of Governors Island, especially in the nineteenth century, it was considered unlikely that traces could be found. But in the late twentieth century, subsurface testing in the northeastern corner of the Governors Island National Historic Landmark district identified structural remains of what could be either the sawmill or a defensive structure.[4] Yet this location does not agree with the 1639 Manatus map. An alternative location for the original Dutch fortification is the center of the original island, as suggested by Oscar Hefting and Hans van Westing after visual inspection in 2012.[5] Thus the remains of the first Dutch fort could be buried under Fort Jay, which dates from the late eighteenth century. Further research, using eighteenth-century documentation and for instance including a geophysical survey of the open area around Fort Jay, is required.

Fig. 2. Governors Island, detail of Johannes Vingboons, *Manatvs gelegen op de Noot Riuier,* ca. 1639. Library of Congress, G3291.S12 coll .H3 Vault : Harr vol. 3, map 12.

1 Jannelle Warren-Findley, *Governors Island, National Monument, New York, New York: Historic Resource Study.* National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior: 2006, p. 4. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/gois/gois_hrs.pdf (accessed 17 October 2014).

2 "fort op t' Noten eylant;" A.J.F. van Laer trans. & ed., *Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626, in the Henry E. Huntington Library.* San Marino: The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1924, p. 48; F.C. Wieder, *De stichting van New York in juli 1625. Reconstructies en nieuwe gegevens ontleend aan de Van Rappard-documenten.* Werken Linschoten-Vereeniging 26: 's-Gravenhage 1925, p. 125.

3 *Governors Island Historic District Designation Report.* New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Designation Report (18 June 1996), p. 6.

4 Holly Herbster, "A Seventeenth Century Dutch Windmill on Governors Island," invited paper delivered at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Symposium sponsored by the Professional Archaeologists of New York City (PANYC) in association with The Museum of the City of New York, May 6, 2007, Museum of the City of New York, New York N.Y.

5 *Report Identification Mission Atlas of Dutch North America,* p. 14.

Fort Amsterdam — 1625/1626

Fort Amsterdam was the headquarters of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland. Located at the southern tip of Manhattan, it controlled access to the Hudson River and was a palpable symbol of the Company's rule over the colony. Yet despite the wealth of documentary and visual information on Fort Amsterdam, its beginnings are shrouded in mystery. The two main areas of uncertainty are first, the year of construction and second, the shape and size of the fort. First, as many consider the construction of the fort to be the founding moment of New York, the lack of documentary evidence pointing to a single year is particularly vexing and is preferably overlooked.[6] The instructions issued to engineer and surveyor Crijn Fredericxsz[7] in April 1625 ordered him and others in charge to take up "the construction of the fort, which is to be called Amsterdam."[8] In 1626, some kind of fortification was apparently in place: secretary Isaac de Rasière reports in his letter to the Amsterdam directors that he arrived on 28 July 1626 "before Fort Amsterdam."[9] A relatively simple fortification could be constructed in four months,[10] so construction of Fort Amsterdam may have started either in July-October 1625 (i.e. before the winter of 1625/1626) or in April-July 1626, presuming that the New York winters were not conducive to construction work. The latter option is the likeliest, as it seems doubtful that the construction of the fort had begun prior to the purchase of Manhattan, which is generally assumed to have taken place in 1626.[11] Regardless, in both scenarios the short construction time does not align with the instructions and that is where the second question – the shape and size of Fort Amsterdam – comes into play. The Amsterdam directors specified the construction of a large five-pointed fortified settlement (a pentagon with a diameter of almost 300 metres in a square of 565 by 450 metres), surrounded by an outer moat (*ringhsloot*) of eight metres wide. Within this area all colonists would have their lodgings, and it would encompass public buildings as well as a central market square of about 28 by 47 metres.[12] These instructions were not fully executed as planned as the bedrock on the location of choice was too close to ground level for a deep ditch to be dug, and elevations made building a fortification of the suggested size an impossible task.[13] It is likely that soon after 1626, director Minuit and his councillors decided to build a much smaller four-pointed fort. Reports from 1628 indicate that the colonists on Manhattan were

> building a fort there, to be named after Amsterdam, having four bastions upfront and constructed on

6 Jaap Jacobs, *Op zoek naar Nederlands New York. Een historisch reisboek.* Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom, 2009, pp. 33-37.

7 According to Frans Westra, "Lost and found: Crijn Fredericx," *de Halve Maen* 71 (1998), pp. 7-16, Crijn Fredericxsz was Quiryn Fredericksz van Lobbrecht and in later years served as a qualified military engineer in the army of the Dutch Republic. In some publications and websites, it is suggested that the Dutch East India Company in 1620 asked the English architect Inigo Jones to design a fortification for Manhattan. The reference for this is to be found in an article by architectural historian Hugh Morrison in the *Architectural Record*, August 1945, p. 146. The article does not contain documentary evidence, which consists of a letter purportedly in the possession of Colin Johnston Robb, architect of Loughgall, County Armagh, Ireland, who was however not known for being trustworthy. Until the original letter comes to light, the involvement of Inigo Jones is not corroborated and remains doubtful.

8 "by de hant doen nemen de fortificatie volgende het concept No C twelck ghenaemt sal werden Amsterdam." Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland,* 152; Wieder, *De stichting van New York,* p. 155.

9 "voor t' fort Amsterdam;" Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland,* p. 175; Wieder, *De stichting van New York,* p. 162.

10 Westra, "Lost and found: Crijn Fredericx," p. 11.

11 The purchase of Manhattan is first mentioned in the so-called "Schagen Letter" from 1626, which is sometimes called the 'birth certificate' of New York. Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009, p. 31. Later evidence that the purchase took place in 1626 is a reference in a document of 1670, which notes that the island was "bought and paid for 44 years ago." Victor Hugo Paltsits ed., *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York. Administration of Francis Lovelace 1668-1673.* 2 vols. Albany: the State of New York, 1910. I thank Charles Gehring for this reference.

12 Document E in Wieder, *De stichting van New York* and Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland*.

13 Jaap Jacobs, "'The Great North River of New Netherland'," *Hudson River Valley* Review 30 (2014), pp. 2-14, at p. 6. See also P. Meurs, "Nieuw-Amsterdam op Manhattan 1625-1660," in P.J.J. van Dijk, ed., *Vestingbouw overzee: militaire architectuur van Manhattan tot Korea.* Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1996.

the outside entirely with stone, as the ramparts crumbled away like sand, and are now to be more substantial.[14]

The reference to crumbling ramparts suggests that the original five-pointed fort consisted of earthworks. The earliest-known depiction of Fort Amsterdam is the so-called Hartgers View (fig. 3), first published in 1651 by Joost Hartgers in Amsterdam, but presumably dating from much earlier. The engraving shows a completed five-pointed fort of impressive size and in all likelihood reflects an imaginary situation, suggesting that someone in the Dutch Republic rather than in the colony made it.[15]

Fig. 3. *t' Fort nieuw Amsterdam op de Manhatans.* ("Hartgers View"), depicting Manhattan in the 1620s. Joost Hartgers, comp., *Beschrijvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, Nieuw Engelandt, en d' Eylanden Bermudes, Berbados, en S. Christoffel.: Dienstelijck voor elck een derwaert handelende, en alle voort-planters van nieuw Colonien. Met kopere Figuren verciert* t' Amsterdam: by Joost Hartgers, Boeck-verkooper op den Dam, bezyden 't Stadt-huys, op de hoeck vande Kalver-straet, inde Boeck-winkel, anno 1651, p. 21.

14 "bouwende aldaer een Fort dat de naem voeren sal van Amsterdam, met vier puncten voor aen, t'eenemael van buijten met steen opghewrocht, mits de Wallen santachtigh nedervielen en nu bestandicher blijven souden;" Nicolaes van Wassenaer, *Historisch verhael alder ghedenck-weerdichste geschiedenisse, die hier en daer in Europa, als in Duijtsch-lant, Vranckrijck, Enghelant, Spaengien, Hungarijen, Polen, Sevenberghen, Wallachien, Moldavien, Turckijen en Neder-Lant, van den beginne des jaers 1621 ... tot octobri, des jaers 1632, voorgevallen syn.* Amstelredam: Ian Evertss Cloppenburgh en Jan Janssen, 1622-1635. 21 vols., vol. 16, fol. 13v (October 1628). For this and other quotations from Van Wassenaer I have made use of the transcription of Eric Ruijssenaars, Tom Weterings, and Judith Brouwer, for which many thanks. J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909. Reprint New York: Barnes & Noble Inc., 1967 (hereinafter *NNN*), p. 88. De Rasière also suggests that the building of a small fort was in progress in 1628: "t' Begonnen fortien Nieu Amsterdam Is geleyt op eenen punt Responderende overt noten Eeijlandt." Likewise Michaëlius: "Men is besich met een forteresse te bouwen van goede berghstenen, die n[iet] verde van hier by menichten leggen." Kees-Jan Waterman, Jaap Jacobs & Charles T. Gehring eds., *Indianenverhalen: De vroegste beschrijvingen van Indianen langs de Hudsonrivier (1609-1680).* Zutphen: Walburg Pers 2009, p. 45, 72.

15 I.N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498-1909.* New York: Robert H. Dodd, 6 vols., 1915-1928, 1: pp. 133-136. Stokes and others have suggested that the view has been reversed, employing the argument that the fort was located on the west shore, and not on the east shore. But that presumes that the later four-pointed fort was built on the same location as the planned five-pointed fort, which may not necessarily have been the case. See also Meurs, "Nieuw-Amsterdam op Manhattan 1625-1660," p. 27.

The small four-pointed fort under construction in 1628 may have been more or less completed by 1635. Enslaved blacks, owned by the West India Company, carried out most of the work. They also built a "large house" and "the guard house," presumably located in the fort.[16] Although the information from 1628 indicates the plan was to build the entire fort in stone, later documentation suggests that only one of the four points was completed that way. The rest of the fort consisted of wooden palisades and earthen bulwarks. As a result, the fort required repairs throughout its existence. In 1636, director Wouter van Twiller complained to his superiors in Amsterdam:

> As to our fort, it falls entirely to ruin, as it is built up of wooden palisades, which at present are completely rotted. It is very necessary that it be entirely built in stone (as it was begun), as the palisades cannot stand more than three or four years at the most, which would put your honours to excessive expense. And if Your Honours decide so, then it will be necessary to pay attention to this when sending people and necessities, in which case the men doing such work must be paid extra, like it is done at Pernambuco and in other places, because that way the men are kept in proper obedience and to their bounden duty.[17]

When Van Twiller's successor, Willem Kieft, arrived in 1638, he found the fort in a bad state. According to depositions made at his request,

> Fort Amsterdam [was] wholly and entirely dilapidated, so that people could go in and out of said fort on all sides, with the exception only of the stone bastion; all the cannon off the gun carriages.[18]

The use of the singular is evidence that at this point in time only one of the points had actually been constructed in stone.[19] Yet this is contradicted by the description provided by the French Jesuit Isaac Jogues, who visited New Amsterdam in 1643:

> This fort [..] is called Fort Amsterdam; it has four regular bastions, mounted with several pieces of artillery. All these bastions and the curtains were, in 1643 but terraces, most of which had crumbled away, so that one entered the fort on all sides. There were no ditches. For the garrison of the said fort, and another that they had built still further up against the incursions of the savages, their

16 Arnold J.F. van Laer, trans. & ed., *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1638-1642.* New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 1. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974, (hereinafter *NYHM* 1), pp. 112-113 (22 March 1639; original lost).

17 "Aengaende ons fort vervalt geheel inde gront doordien het met houten pallessaden is opgeleijt, die jegenwoordich geheel verrott sijn, soude seer nootsaeckel. wesen het geheel in steen (als het begonnen is) opgehaelt wiert doordien de pallessaden boven de 3 a 4 Jaren t' hoochst niet connen staen, het welcke Ue excessive oncosten soude causeren, en Ue daertoe geresolveert sijnde soude noodich sijn het senden vant 't volck ende andere nootwendigheden daer op te letten, in welcken gevallen soodaniche luyden daer aen werckende extraordinaris moste beloont werden, gel. in parnamb. ende op andere plaetsen geschiet, omdaer door de luyden in behoorl. gehoorsaemht: ende schuldige plichte te houden;" Dutch National Archives, The Hague (hereinafter Nat. Arch.), archive 1.05.01.01 Old West India Company (hereinafter OWIC), inv.nr. 51, doc. 28 (24 August 1636); A.J.F. van Laer, ed. & trans., "Letters of Wouter van Twiller and the Director General and Council of New Netherland to the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch West India Company, August 14, 1636," *New York History* 50 (1969), pp. 44-50.

18 *NYHM* 1: p. 131 (16 April 1639; original lost). From the transcription of Van Laer: "t' fort Amst. gans ende geheel vervallen heeft gevonden, dat men van alle kanten in ende uyt dito fort conde gaen, behalven alleen de steenen punt, alle de stucken uyt de roo paerden." http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/files/8213/5110/4053/RegisterofPSVol1Transcript.pdf (accessed 8 March 2014).

19 Cf. Paul Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", Eric Klingelhofer ed., *First Forts: Essays on the Archaeology of Proto-colonial Fortifications.* Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010, pp. 141-168, herein p. 153.

> enemies, there were sixty soldiers. Within the fort there was a pretty large stone church, the house of the Governor, whom they call Director General, quite neatly built of brick, the storehouses and barracks.[20]

The deposition drawn up at the request of Kieft asserts that the director's house inside in the fort was in need of repairs too. An ordinance of 1644 makes clear that the dilapidation affected the morals of some of its inhabitants: it was considered necessary to promulgate a prohibition "to throw out ashes and other filth within the fort" or "to make water within the fort."[21] In later years it became customary to clean Fort Amsterdam on Saturdays.[22]

The war with the Native Americans in the 1640s made clear to the West India Company that an upgrade of the fortifications was in order. Although Director Kieft pointed out the advantages of improvements and the bad condition of the fort, the authorities in the Dutch Republic very likely balked at the projected costs:

> For a better defence against the enemies, as well as to maintain the respect of the [European] neighbours, it would be useful to construct Fort Amsterdam (which is now so dilapidated that one can walk into it over the walls without using the gate) in stone, which according to the estimate of the director would only cost twenty to twenty-five thousand guilders.

Instead, the directors of the West India Company chamber Amsterdam thought it best if the repair of Fort Amsterdam was to "be effected in an appropriate manner and with the least expense, with good clay and firm sods." Director Kieft was advised to make use of his soldiers to carry out the work.[23]

The inability of the Amsterdam chamber to allocate funds to the construction of fortifications in New Netherland hampered the state of repair of Fort Amsterdam up to the takeover by the English in 1664. As a consequence much of the expenses to keep the fort in a reasonable condition had to be supplied by the colonial government in New Netherland. This was not an easy task. The West India Company soldiers argued that construction work was not part of their brief and refused to undertake it, unless separate compensation was forthcoming. In all likelihood Company slaves carried out the bulk of the work, assisted by convicts sentenced to hard labour.[24] The colonial government also attempted to raise funds from the local community.

20 "Ce fort qui est a la pointe de l'isle enuiron 5 ou 6 lieues de l emboucheure s appelle le fort d'Amsterdam, il a 4 bastions reguliers munis de plusieurs pieces d'artillerie. Tous ces bastions et les courtines n'estoient en l an 1643 que de terasses qui la pluspart etoient tout éboulées at par les quelles on entroit dans le fort de tous les endroits, il n y auoit point de fossez, il y auoit pour la garde dudt fort et d un autre qu ils auoient faict plus loing contre les incursions des sauvages leurs ennemis 60 soldats, on commencoit a reuétir de pierre les portes et les bastions. Dans ce fort il y auoit un temple basty de pierre qui etoit assez capable — le logies du Gouuerneur qu ils appelent le directeur Gñal basty de brique assez gentiment, les magazins et logements des soldats;" Reuben Gold Thwaites ed., *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1689. The Original French, Latin and Italian Texts, with English Translation and Notes,* 73. vols. Cleveland: Burrow Bros Co, 1896-1901, 28: p. 104-106; NNN, p. 259.

21 "de assche ende andere vuijlicheijt int fort neder te smijten;" "binnen t fort haer water niet te laten;" New York State Archives (hereinafter NYSA), New York Colonial Manuscripts (hereinafter NYCM) 4: p. 191 (7 June 1644; Arnold J.F. van Laer, trans. & ed., *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch. Vol. 4. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974 (hereinafter *NYHM* 4), p. 222).

22 "(gelijck wij ingewoonte hebben dat Saterdags de fortresse Amsterdam wort opgeruijmt en schoon gemaeckt);" NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 72, p. 9 (ca. 1 October 1659; Charles T. Gehring, ed. & trans., *Delaware Papers (Dutch period). A Collection of Documents Pertaining to the Regulation of Affairs on the South River of New Netherland, 1648-1664.* New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vols. XVIII-XIX. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1981, p. 168).

23 "Ten derden dat tot beter defensie tegens de vijanden, als oock om 't respect bij de nabuuren te behouden dienstigh waere het Fort Amsterdam (t welck nu soo vervallen leijt datmen sonder de poort te gebruijcken over de wallen daer in loopt) ten eersten van steen op te maecken, t welck naer gissinge bij den Directeur maer 20 off 25 duijsent guldens soude costen;" "dat het selve bequamelijck ende met de minste kosten van goede cleij, aerde ende vaste sooden sal konnen geschieden;" Nat. Arch, archive 1.01.02 States General (hereinafter SG), inv.nr. 12564.30A (15 December 1644; E.B. O'Callaghan & B. Fernow, trans. & ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York.* 15 vols. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Company, 1853-1883 (hereinafter *DRCHNY*) 1: pp. 152-153).

Within a few months of his arrival in New Amsterdam 1647, Director General Petrus Stuyvesant introduced a new excise on wine, brandy, and liquors. The income was intended to defray the costs of several public buildings, including the fort. The description provided in the ordinance echoes the earlier laments of Van Twiller and Kieft, with the walls providing little obstacle to man or beast.[25]

In discussing options with his councillors in August 1647, Stuyvesant put forward the question what kind of building material should be used to improve the fort: "with sods, as the directors order, with stones, as it was first begun?" To director general and council, who benefited from local knowledge, it was obvious that the option preferred by the Amsterdam directors would in fact be more expensive:

> If the fort is to be repaired and rebuilt as it ought to be, that is, all around with stones and mortar, by which means alone it can be hereafter maintained, the soil hereabout not being suitable for building up the fortress with sods, unless every year new and nearly as large sums be expended thereon, it will require a considerable sum of money in wages alone, both in laying and hauling the stone and burning the lime.[26]

A year later, nothing had been done as yet, but as director general and council still hoped to start the work, the discussion focused on how the fort "ought to be formed, in its old shape with four points, or enlarged to five?"[27] Four, the answer was, presumably because retaining the existing shape would be less expensive and the defensive capabilities would remain intact during construction. Even so, the failure to improve the fort, partly because the colonial community argued it could not contribute, was used as an argument against the West India Company by some of its opponents. At the same time, the fort suffered from hogs, sheep, goats, horses, and cows, which the colonists allowed to roam free on the ramparts. In June 1650, director general and council tried to keep animals away by threatening to fine their owners. Yet the multiple repeats of this edict suggest that little heed was paid.[28]

In November 1651 Stuyvesant admitted that indifferent progress had been made over the last two summers. The Company's enslaved blacks and other servants had not been able to achieve much, as a large part of the available work force had been employed in constructing Fort Casimir on the South River. Meanwhile, the fiscal had been negligent in fining the owners of roaming

24 For instance NYSA, NYCM 4: p. 300 (3 July 1647; *NYHM* 4: p. 382).

25 NYSA, NYCM 4: p. 303 (4 July 1647; *NYHM* 4: p. 388).

26 "met sooden gelijck de Ed: heeren bewinthebberen ordonneren ofte met steen gelijck het eerst begonnen is;" "dat de forteresse soo die gerepareert, ende opgemaeckt sal worden, als het behoort dat is Rontom in steen ende calck geleyt, door welcke middel sy alleen int volgende can onderhouden worden, sijnde d'aerde hier ontrent niet bequaem, t'fort met sooden op te setten, ten ware men alle Jaren weder nieuwe en by cans Even groot oncosten daer aen deede sal deselve vereyschen een merckelijcke somme van penningen alleen aen Arbeyts loon, soo van metselen als steen te halen ende calck te branden;" NYSA, NYCM 4: pp. 328-329 (26 August 1647; *NYHM* 4: pp. 428-429).

27 "Alsoo met Goodes hulpe noch Iets aent fort hoopen te beginnen, hoe de Raaden verstaen t'selve geformeert te worden, of in sijn oude postuyr met 4 pointen ofte in 5 vergroot." NYSA, NYCM 4: p. 415 (9 September 1648; *NYHM* 4: p. 563).

28 [Adriaen van der Donck], *Vertoogh van Nieu-Neder-Land, Weghens de Gheleghentheydt, Vruchtbaerheydt, en Soberen Staet desselfs.* 's-Gravenhage: Michiel Stael, 1650, p. 33: "Het Fort daermen onder schuylen sal/ en daer so het schijnt noch alle de authoriteyt van daen komt / leyt als een Molshoop / of een vervallen Schans / daer is niet een Affuyt op / of daer staet niet een stuck Canon in behoorlijcke Ropaerden/ of op goede Beddinghe / men heeft van eersten af/ gheroepen datmen het repareren soude / met vijf puncten legghen / en Royaels maken / de Gemeens-Mannen zijn oock aenghesproocken om Penninghen daer toe / doch sy excuseerden het / om dat de Gemeente seer arm was / yeder een was oock vol miscontentement ende vreesden dat den Directeur indien hy hem eens op zijn Fort verlaten mocht / veel wreder en straffer wesen soude / tusschen desen is het blyven steecken." New York City Municipal Archives (hereinafter NYCMA), Old Dutch Records (hereinafter ODR) 1, p. 23 (27 June 1650; Berthold Fernow ed., *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini.* 7 vols. New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1897, repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1976 (hereinafter *RNA*), 1: p. 16).

animals, which continued to do damage to the bulwarks.[29] It is therefore surprising that the Amsterdam directors in April 1652 expressed their happiness upon learning that Fort Amsterdam was mostly in a good defensive condition. It is likely that letters from director general and council had conveyed the impression that the plan to rebuild the fort in stone had already been carried out.[30] When the First Anglo-Dutch War broke out, the directors quickly ordered their man in New Amsterdam to put Fort Amsterdam, Fort Orange, and Fort Casimir, in proper defensive states, so as to be able to defend themselves against attacks from the surrounding English colonies.[31] Director general and council thereupon took various defensive measures, for instance "repairing and strengthening the fort, the old moat be dug up and fortified with gabions."[32] They also planned "to build some new inner lines of fortifications, so that one can be protected by the other and, if necessary, we can retreat from one to the other." To carry out this work, diggers and excavators were hired at two guilders a day.[33] Willem Beeckman was appointed as overseer of brush and woodchoppers to make gabions."[34] Whether all these plans were actually carried out is unclear, as soon afterwards, just when an English attack appeared imminent, news of peace in Europe arrived.

By 1656, new repairs to the fort were considered necessary. At the repeated request of Stuyvesant and his council, the Amsterdam directors recruited three masons "to expedite the walling in of the fort" and send them over to New Amsterdam.[35] Soon after Bartholomeus van Schel and the other masons arrived in New Amsterdam, they began to complain that their salary of fourteen guilders a month was not sufficient as prices in New Amsterdam were quite high, much higher than in Amsterdam. They especially complained of "the heavy work and the wear and tear to their clothes." In their request, they described their task as "to complete the stone wall around the fortress."[36] This suggests that the existing earthworks were not removed immediately, but that the stone wall was erected outside of the existing perimeter. After their request was granted, work progressed steadily. In July 1659, Stuyvesant reported to Amsterdam that if the masons kept up their work, one end of the fort would be ready next summer. The next task would be to make carriages for the guns. Stuyvesant informed the directors that these could be made in the colony, except for the iron parts, which had to be imported from the Dutch Republic.[37]

An anonymous English description of New Amsterdam indicates that the building works were completed in 1661:

> … and a Fort foursquare, 100 yards on each side, at each corner flanked out 26 yards. In the midst

29 NYSA, NYCM 5: pp. 20-21 (15 November 1651; Charles T. Gehring, trans. & ed., *Council Minutes 1652-1654.* New York Historical Manuscripts Dutch, vol. 5. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1983 (hereinafter *NYHM* 5), pp. 13-14).

30 NYSA, NYCM 11: doc. 53, p. 20 (4 April 1652; Charles T. Gehring, trans. & ed., *Correspondence 1647-1653.* New Netherland Documents Series, vol. XI. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000, p. 155).

31 "in behoorlijcke defenderinge;" NYSA, NYCM 11: doc. 71, p. 3. (6 August 1652; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653,* p. 183).

32 "dath neffens de reperatie ende verseeckeringe vande fortresse opgegraven ende met schans corven besett worden de oude Gracht;" NYSA, NYCM 5: p. 268 (13 June 1654; *NYHM* 5: p. 144).

33 "andere nieuwe affsnijdinge ende bin[ ] te maecken om d'eene uijtd' andere te [beter?] te connen defendeeren. Ende bij noot van d'een[e naer?] bij d'andere te connen retijreren: welcke [ ] noodich sijn hoe eer eer hoe beter begonnen [ ];" (transcription corrected by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); NYSA, NYCM 5: p. 278 (14 June 1654; *NYHM* 5: p. 147).

34 "Opsiender vande Rijs ende houthackers tot schanschorren;" NYSA, NYCM 5: p. 285 (16 June 1654; *NYHM* 5: p. 150); Charles Gehring, "An Undiscovered Van Rensselaer Letter", *de Halve Maen* 54 (1979), No. 3, p. 13, 28.

35 "t ommeuren des forts ten spoedigst doen voortgaen;" NYSA, NYCM 12: doc. 69, p. 3 (22 December 1657; Charles T. Gehring, trans. & ed., *Correspondence 1654-1658.* New Netherland Documents Series, vol. XII. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003, p. 156); NYSA, NYCM 12: doc. 45, p. 5 (19 December 1656; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* p. 106): "de fortresse aldaer met een klipsteenen muyr werde omsingelt."

36 "swaer werck en het veel verslijten van cleederen;" "omme de steenen muer omde fortresse te voltrecken;" NYSA, NYCM 8: pp. 776, 788-789 (19 March 1658).

37 NYSA, NYCM 13: doc. 17, p. 23 (23 July 1659; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 443).

of the East and westside is a gate opposite to the other; the walls are built with lime and stone, and within filled up with Earth to a considerable breadth for planting guns, whereon are mounted 16. guns. In this Fort is the Church, the Governors house, and houses for soldiers, ammunition, etc.[38]

This report aligns to some extent with how Fort Amsterdam is depicted on the Castello Plan (fig. 4). Yet there are some differences as well, such as the number of guns. While the 1661 description lists sixteen guns, the Castello Plan depicts only twelve. It should be taken into account that the Castello Plan, while based on a survey made in New Amsterdam around 1660, was made by Johannes Vingboons in the second half of the 1660s for the purpose of adorning the walls of one of the dwellings of the Archduke of Tuscany. It is unlikely that the Archduke would be enthralled by a truthful depiction of the muddy village that New Amsterdam was. Thus Vingboons, who had never been to the New World, created an image that showed European civilization in all its glory domesticizing the New World. While the Castello Plan contains some elements that shed light on the state of New Amsterdam, it should not be interpreted as truthful in all its details.[39]

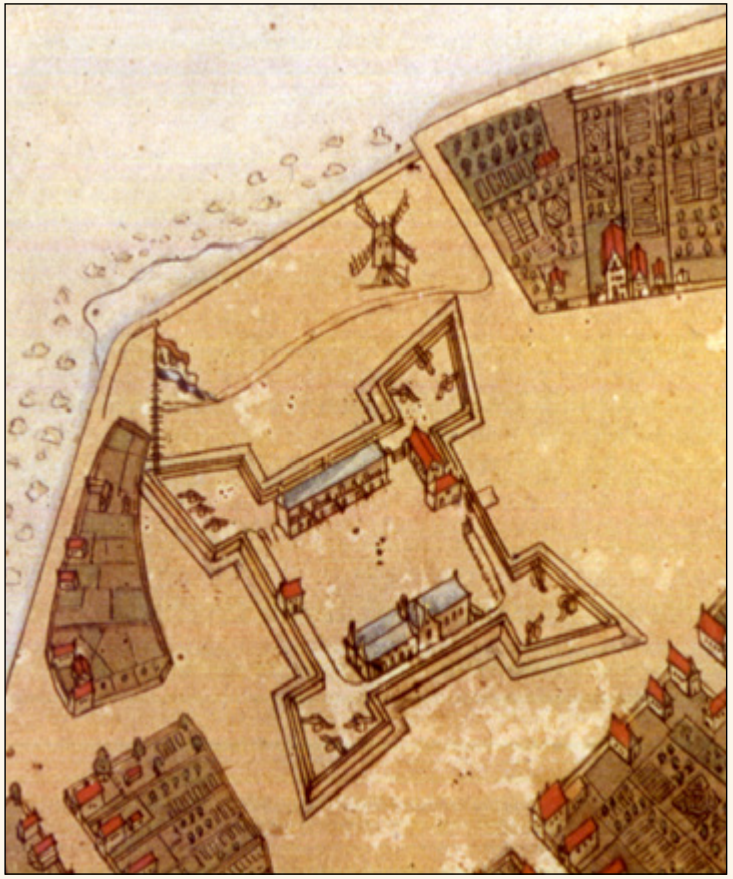

Fig. 4. Fort Amsterdam, detail of Johannes Vingboons, (the "Castello Plan"), 1665–1670, depicting 1660. Museum of the City of New York, gift of the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, Italy, 49.150.

38 Royal Society, London (hereinafter RS), Classified Papers, vol. 7i (Architecture, Ship-building, Geography, Navigation, Voyages, Travels), doc. 8 (hereinafter Cl.P/7i/8) (September 1661; *NNN*, p. 422).

39 Martine Gosselink, *New York New-Amsterdam: The Dutch Origins of Manhattan.* Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Nieuw Amsterdam/Nationaal Archief, 2009), p. 123; Jacobs, "'The Great North River of New Netherland'," p. 7; cf.

Despite the efforts of Stuyvesant, Fort Amsterdam was in a bad state when the English frigates arrived in 1664. A deposition made two years later gives an unfavourable assessment of the condition as well as the location of the fort:

> It is notorious and manifest that the fort is, of itself, very weak, and, in regard to its situation, incapable of being defended very long, as houses have been built almost all around it, which must first be burnt or pulled down, to the ruin and detriment of the poor citizens. In addition to the above, it is also to be noted that the ground to the north on the *Here wegh* [Broadway], scarcely a pistol shot from the fort, is much higher than the curtain walls and bastions of the fort; so much so, that the battery platforms, and in some places, the square can be seen from it. Moreover, the walls of the front in some places were not above eight or ten feet high, and without ditch or palisades, so that scaling ladders could at once be brought to the wall.[40]

After taking over New Netherland in 1664, the English changed the name of Fort Amsterdam into Fort James, after the Duke of York. It was eventually demolished in the summer of 1790. The debris was used as landfill.[41]

While the construction of the Alexander Hamilton U.S. Custom house on the location of Fort Amsterdam from 1902 to 1907 at first sight appears to make archaeological research unlikely to be successful, it should still be considered a distinct possibility that remains of earlier buildings are still in situ. Overlays of historic maps on the modern topography[42] suggest that the footprint of the Custom House does not completely cover the original location of the fort. The south-eastern bastion is partly on the location of Bridge Street, whereas both western bastions and part of the parade ground are located on State Street. While ground disturbances due to sewer and road construction are to be expected, chances are that structural remains will be discovered. Remains of Fort Amsterdam and its successors may also be found under the basement of the Custom House, depending on the construction method used.[43]

Staten Island — 1641

The outbreak of hostilities with the Native Americans in the early 1640s necessitated establishing

40 "dit is het kennelijck en blijckelijck dat de fortresse in sigh selfe seer onsterck & ten aensien van de situatie niet lange gedefendeert conde werden, als sijnde rontom bijcans met huijsen betimmert, die alvoren tot ruine & bederf van de arme borgers hadden moeten verbrant ofte afgebroken worden ook staet behalven het voorverhaelde te notere[n] dat het landt noortwaert, op de here wegh qualijck een pistool schoot van het fort gelegen, veel hoger is als de gardijnen & bolwercken des forts, ook so datmen van daer de voetsolen op de battrijen & op sommige plaetsen het pleijn des forts konde sien; behalven dit waren de muren des forts op enige plaetsen niet boven de 8 a 10 voeten hoogh en sonder dat graft off palissaden, so datmen daadlijck de storm leren aen de wal conde brengen." Nat. Arch., SG, inv.nr. 12564.57 (7 March 1666; *DRCHNY* 2: pp. 474-475).

41 Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 155.

42 Stokes, *Iconography*, 2: plate 87.

43 Joan H. Geismar, 17 *State Street: An Archaeological Evaluation Phase 1 Documentation*. New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1986, pp. 4-5; Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", pp. 155-157.

some kind of defensive structure on Staten Island, in order to defend the few colonists who lived there. In 1641, the colonial government decided to build "a small redoubt at as little expense as possible" for that purpose.[44] It is unlikely that the plan was carried out, as there are no further references to it throughout the 1640s.

In 1656, following the 1655 Peach War, new plans for a fort emerged. Hendrick van der Capelle, absentee patroon of Staten Island, ordered captain Adrian Post "to erect a fort on said island pursuant to the order sent over, into which he and [the colonists] can retire in case of another such hostile attack on the part of the Indians."[45] This suggests that Van der Capelle furnished captain Post with specific instructions as to how the fort was to be built. Yet the plan appears to have been aborted when the danger of Indian attacks abated. Further colonization of Staten Island stalled until the issue of ownership was resolved. From 1661 onwards the island was settled under the direct jurisdiction of the West India Company and efforts to defend the island were again taken up. In 1662, the colonists were protected by a small garrison of six soldiers and a year later the Amsterdam directors urged Stuyvesant to take proper care of the defence of the mouth of the Hudson River, although they later admitted that their instructions were based on incorrect information.[46] Nevertheless, in April 1664, Stuyvesant reported back that the problem had to some extent been taken care of: both New Utrecht and the as yet unnamed village on Staten Island

> were previous summer against an attack by wild barbarians provided with suitable blockhouses which are built by putting beam upon beam and for their better defence are each furnished with two or three light pieces, of which one or two are stone pieces; the hamlet on Staten Island, being the weakest and too far to be assisted in time, is enforced with ten soldiers for its greater safety.[47]

When explaining why the fort on Staten Island quickly surrendered when the English arrived later that year, Stuyvesant supplied some more details. In 1667 he clarified that

> Staten Island [..] is situated two full miles from the fort [i.e. Fort Amsterdam]. It is inhabited only on the south side, behind the range of hills, and consequently out of sight of the fort, by ten to twelve men only indifferently able to bear arms, who, in order to be protected against a sudden attack of the barbarians (in the midst of their houses, which are lightly constructed from straw and clapboards) about a year ago erected a small and light wooden blockhouse, about eighteen to

44 "een cleyn Redoutjen te maken met de alderminste costen soo doenlijck is;" NYSA, NYCM 4: p. 101 (12 September 1641; *NYHM* 4: p. 120).

45 "een fort volgens overgesonden ordre te leggen daer in hij mit dieselve jn cas van gelijcke vijantlicke [ ]nt[ ]ten der wilden, soude cunnen retirieren;" Nat. Arch., SG, inv.nr. 12564.42 (4 October 1656; *DRCHNY* 1: p. 638).

46 NYSA, NYCM 14: doc. 64, p. 5 (15 July 1662; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 223); NYSA, NYCM, 15: doc. 7, p. 5 (26 March 1663); NYSA, NYCM 15: doc. 12, p. 2 (16 April 1663; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 525); NYSA, NYCM 15: doc. 97, p. 1-2 (20 January 1664; *DRCHNY* 2: p. 218).

47 "sijn voorleden somer tegens den aenval van de Wilde Barbaren, versien van bequame blockhuijsen van balck op balck en tot desselfs meerdere verseeckeringe elck met 2 a 3 lichte stuckjes daeronder elck een a 2 steenstuckjes, en de bijeenwooninge opt staaten Eijlant als de swackste, en het varste om tijtlijck gesecondeert te worden gestijft met 10 soldaten tot desselfs meerdere verseeckeringe" (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); NYSA, NYCM 15: doc. 121, p. 3 (26 April 1664; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 546).

> twenty feet square, and borrowed from a certain Cornelis Steenwijck a light piece shooting a one-pound ball and one from director and council a little iron <stone> piece; its garrison consisted of six old soldiers, unfit to join the others against the Indians. The aforesaid blockhouse and hamlet is located within sight of Najeck, where the frigates lay at anchor, not a mile from the ships and it was therefore impossible to come to its assistance or to take the guns away from there, unless one could have faced the English with an equal force of ships.[48]

At the end of the eighteenth century the location just behind Signal Hill was used for other fortifications, which gradually developed into the complex now named Fort Wadsworth. The village, later named Oude Dorp (Old Town), was located a few hundred meters to the south, at South Beach, probably close to Ocean Avenue.[49]

New Amsterdam Perimeter Defences — 1653

In March 1653, when the news of the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War arrived in New Amsterdam, director general and council met with the newly instituted city government of burgomasters and *schepenen* to discuss improvement to the city's defences. The meeting decided "to fence off the greater part of the city with an upright stockade and a small breastwork, so as to be able to draw all inhabitants behind it in time of need and defend as much as possible their persons and goods against an attack."[50] A joint committee was set up to supervise the work. After some discussion about costs, the committee decided upon "palisades of twelve or thirteen feet."[51] A few days later, when carpenters came in to hear the conditions upon which the work was to be carried out, the specifications had been drawn up in detail:

> The palisades must be 12 feet long, 18 inches in circumference, sharpened at the upper end and be set in line. At each rod a post 21 inches in circumference is to be set, to which rails, split for this use shall be nailed one foot below the top.
> The breastwork against it shall be 4 feet high, 4 feet at the bottom and 3 feet at top, covered with sods, with a ditch 3 feet wide and 2 feet deep, 2 ½ feet within the breastwork. The length of the ground, to be lined with palisades is 180 rods, the end of the rods being the last of the money. Payments will be made weekly in good wampum.[52]

48 "dattet Staten Eijlandt twe goede mijlen weeghs is gelegen vande fortresse, 't welck hierboven geen schoot weeghs genoemt wordt, is alleen aende suijdt sijde achter het gebergte, en dienvolgens uijttet gesicht vande fortresse, bewoont van 10 a 12 soo en soo weerbare mannen, die om tegen de barbaren, voor een subiten overval beschermt te sijn (int midden van haer huijsen, die van stroo en klapborden licht waren opgetimmert) omtrent een jaar geleden, een kleijn en licht houten blockhuijs, omtrent 18 a 20 voeten vierkant, daar opgemaekt hadden, en van enen Cornelis Steenwijck geleent een licht stuckjen, schietende een ll eijsers, en een kleijn eijsere <steen> stuckjen van Dr: en Raaden, en tot besettinge van dien 6 oude soldaten, onbequaem de andere tegens de Wilden te volgen; leggende t voorss blockhuijsje ende bijeenwooninge in't gesichte van Najeck, waer de fregatten ten ancker lagen, geen mijle weeghs vande schepen aff, en daerom onmooghlijck om gesecondeer[t] te werden, ofte het schut vandaer te voeren, ten ware dan, dat men de Engelschen met egale macht van schepen het hooft hadde connen bieden;" Nat. Arch., SG, inv.nr. 12564.57 (29 October 1666; *DRCHNY* 2: p. 443).

49 Margaret Lundrigan, *Staten Island: Isle of the Bay.* Charleston S.C.: Arcadia, 2004, p. 15.

50 "t' meestendeel vande Steede [te] beheijnigen met opstaende palisaden ende een cleijne borstweeringh, om bij tijt van noot alle d' Jnwoonde[ren] daer binnen te trecken, ende soo wel mogelijck is [ ] persoonen en goederen tegens een aenvall te def[enderen];" NYCMA, ODR 1, p. 95 (13 March 1653; *RNA* 1: p. 66).

51 "palisaden van 12 a 13 voet;" NYCMA, ODR 1, p. 99 (15 March 1653; *RNA* 1: p. 69).

52 d' palisaden lanck 12 voette, dick int rond 18 duym [ ] van palisaden d' toppen gespitst en op een lijnne geseth [ ] op t elcke roede een pael van 21 duym [ ] aen d' riggels daer toe de klooven een voet vande [ ] der palisaden sullen gespeijckert worden.
Een borstweringh daer tegen, hoogh 4 voet onde[ ] vier voet ende boven 3 voet met soden opgeset, we[lcke] met een grip van 3 voet breet ende 2 voet diep [ ] grip 2 ½ voet binnen d' borstweeringh sal comen de lenghte dat af te setten is sal sijn ontrent 180 [roeden] t' eijnde vande roede ist eijnde gelt.
d' betal. sal geschieden weeckel. in goet sewant;" NYCMA, ODR 1, p. 103 (17 March 1653; *RNA* 1: p. 72).

The commissioners included a drawing of what they envisioned in the margin (fig. 5). This plan however turned out to be far too expensive, and only a few days later the commissioners thereupon decided to use planks (*plancken*) instead. Even so, a fence of 2340 feet of nine planks high required 1404 planks as well as 340 posts, for a total of over three thousand guilders.[53]

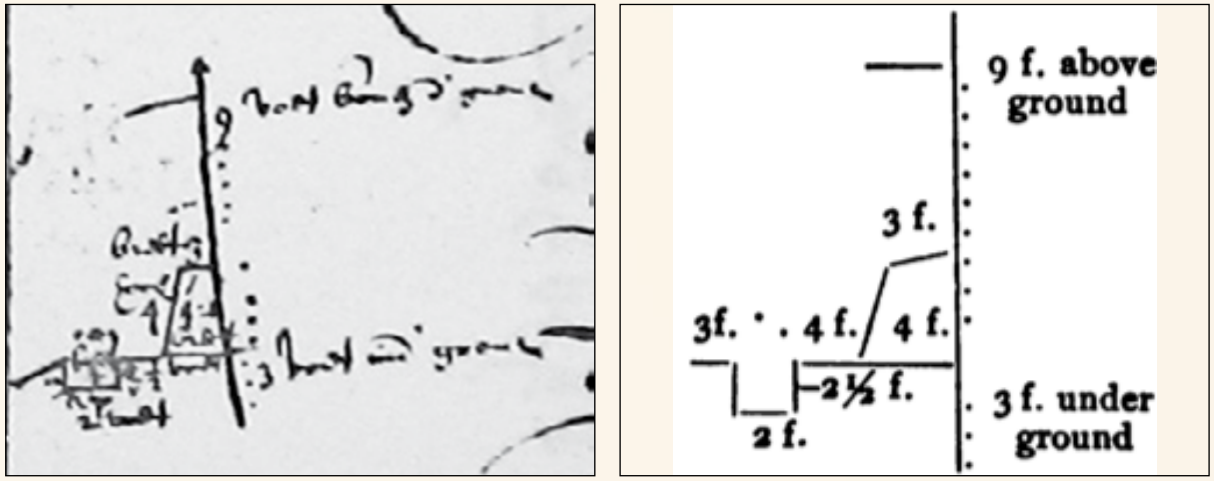

Fig. 5. Drawings of the planned, but not executed version of a palissade on the north edge of New Amsterdam. NYCMA, ODR 1, p. 103 (17 March 1653; *RNA* 1: p. 72).

A month later, director general and council, upon hearing new rumours from New England, in a joint meeting with the city government decided to add a ditch to the defence works on the northern edge of the city. It is sometimes asserted that enslaved Africans built the wall[54], but they formed only a part of the labour force. All inhabitants were called upon to dig a moat or a canal (*graft*) from the East River to the North River, which was to be four to five feet deep and eleven to twelve feet wide, sloping inward slightly toward the bottom. At the same time, the carpenters were urged to complete the work on the palisade. By early July, the palisade had been completed both along the northern edge as well as along the Strand at the East River. The city gate at the side of the East River was very likely also constructed at this time.[55]

Predictably, the planks at the north end palisade did not last very long. Nor did the defences along the East River withstand the winter weather. By the spring of 1654, the city government of New Amsterdam witnessed "to their sorrow the dilapidated state of the works erected last year, consisting of walls of earth and palisades along the river" and asked the inhabitants the villages of Breuckelen, Midwout, and Amersfoort, across the river, to supply them with new palisades.[56] It is unlikely that this suggestion was greeted with much enthusiasm. Although some repairs were carried out, the wrangling over the expenses continued, but to the great relief of the New Netherland colonists, news of peace in Europe arrived later that summer.

New measures to improve the city's defences were agreed upon only when the Indian attack of 15 September 1655 instilled urgency into the city fathers. On 20 September 1655, the city

53 NYCMA, ODR 1, p. 104 (20 March 1653; *RNA* 1: p. 173).

54 http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2013/02/slavery_in_new_york_wall_street_was_built_with_african_help.html (5 February 2013, accessed 7 July 2015). Cf. Christopher Moore, "A World of Possibilities: Slavery and Freedom in Dutch New Amsterdam," Ira Berlin & Leslie M. Harris eds., *Slavery in New York*. New York: The New Press, 2005, pp. 29-56, at p. 51, who without reference to sources erroneously asserts that Company slaves constructed the palisade of logs.

55 NYSA, NYCM 5: pp. 120-123 (20 April & 12 May 1653; *NYHM* 5: pp. 69-70); NYCMA, ODR 1, pp. 123-124 (28 July 1653; *RNA* 1: pp. 90-91); Gehring, "An Undiscovered Van Rensselaer Letter", p. 28.

56 "tot haer leet wesen siende het vervall der opgerichte wercken bestaende in aerde wallen en palisaden langs de revier laestleden Jaer;" NYCMA, ODR 1, pp. 214-215 (23 March 1654; *RNA* 1: pp. 177-178).

government determined "that the aforesaid erected works shall be heightened with planks of five to six [feet] high, nailed horizontally to the side of the palisade."[57] In collaboration with director general and council, burgomasters and *schepenen* decided upon a 'voluntary' subscription, for which purpose all inhabitants of the city were assessed.[58]

In 1656, Stuyvesant again needed to remind the city government of its duty to keep the defences in good order. Mindful of the situation in the Dutch Republic, the burgomasters and *schepenen* replied that the burden of fortifying a "frontier place" (*frontierplaetse*) like New Amsterdam should not exclusively be born by the city's inhabitants. In their view, the costs should be defrayed from the general revenue (*gemeene lants middelen*).[59] Despite continuing discussions like these, some additional work was done to strengthen the outer defences. This included a prohibition to build houses within a cannon shot from the city walls[60] as well as the planned construction of new defence works consisting of a double row of palisades, with two or three openings which could be closed by night, both for reasons of security and to prevent smuggling.[61] According to Stokes, the palisade was by 1660 furnished with two stone bastions, named Hollandia and Zeelandia.[62] These, however, are mentioned for the first time in 1691,[63] and the names instead suggest that the stone bastions were constructed during the Dutch rule of 1673-1674, after a joint Zeeland-Holland naval force had retaken the city, or during Leisler's Rebellion. These bastions were torn down in 1699 and the stones were re-used in building the new City Hall.[64] Stokes's assertion is also at odds with the Castello Plan (fig. 6), which does

Fig. 6. Johannes Vingboons, *Afbeeldinge Van de Stadt Amsterdam in Nieuw Neederlandt* (the "Castello Plan"), 1665–1670, depicting ca. 1660. Museum of the City of New York, gift of the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, Italy, 49.150.

57 "dat de voorige gemaeckte wercken met planken van 5 a 6 hoogh sullen opgehaelt worden tegens palisaden op sijn cant aengespijckert;" NYCMA, ODR 1, pp. 399-401 (20-30 September 1655; *RNA* 1: pp. 363-365).

58 Jaap Jacobs, *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America.* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005, pp. 330-333.

59 NYCMA, ODR 2, pp. 4-7 (4 & 8 September 1656; *RNA* 2: pp. 161-164).

60 "dat niemand sal vermogen te timmeren binnen het canon schoot van deeser stede wallen;" NYCMA, ODR 1, p. 48 (1 October 1657; *RNA* 1: p. 32); NYSA, NYCM 8: p. 961 (30 August 1658).

61 NYSA, NYCM 8: pp. 879 (25 May 1658), 947-948, 955-958 (19, 22, 26 August 1658).

62 Stokes, *Iconography,* 4: p. 201.

63 *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1880.* New York: New-York Historical Society, 1881, pp. 403-404.

64 E.B. O'Callaghan, comp., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York. Part II. English manuscripts, 1664-1776.* Albany: Weed, Parsons & Company, 1866, p. 271 (18 August 1699); *Minutes of the Common Council of New York 1675-1776 in Eight Volumes.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1905, vol. 2, p. 82 (18 August 1699).

not depict two but five small points along the wall, as well as a half moon structure at the side of the East River, and a bastion at the side of the Hudson River. Even though the information on the Castello Plan should be interpreted with caution, the existence of points is confirmed by the anonymous 1661 "description of the towne of Mannadens":

> The land side of the towne is from the Northwest corner unto the North E. gate 520 yards and lyeth neer N.W. and S.E. having six flankers at equal distance, in four of wh[ch] are mounted 8 guns.[65]

If this description is trustworthy, then the defence at the north side had been improved considerably within a short time. Yet the plans put forward by Stuyvesant in the same month suggest that this was not the case. The director general desired further repairs with sods to the palisades as well as the construction of a forward star-shaped sconce at Maiden Lane. Both corners at the North and East River were to be fortified with a hornwork of horizontally positioned logs. The elevations on the shore of the North River, which could provide shelter to landing forces, had to be levelled and a proper palisade erected. Stuyvesant wanted a battery on the north side of the city as well as on the little cape (*t Capsken*) at the south point. As funds were scarce and the need arguable, it is unlikely that any start was made to execute these plans.[66]

By early 1664, the need to improve fortifications was much more urgent. The New Amsterdam city government suggested building a stone wall (*steene muer*) strengthening the East River city gate with a bulwark (*bolwerck*), and erecting a closed palisade (*dichte geslooten palissaden*) along the East River from the city gate down to the roundel (*rondeel*) in front of the City Hall. Down to the little cape another palisade would provide protection, while the cape itself required a water fort (*water fort*). Along the North River palisades were also required to prevent enemy forces from landing. Through a loan on its citizens, New Amsterdam was able to raise a total of *f* 27,500. Making use of the labour of West India Company soldiers (who were required to do guard duty only one day out of three), the city government very likely made some progress over the summer. As it was, the improved fortifications were not put to the test when the English frigates arrived later that year.[67]

65 RS, Cl.P/7i/8 (September 1661; *NNN*, p. 423).

66 "een sterres[chans?] op de hoogthe ontrent het Maegdepa[edtje];" "een hoorenwerck van balck op ba[lck];" "een behoorlijcke posten heijnige pallissaet aen pallissaet;" "een subtantiele en bequa[eme] batterije opt Capsken" (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 793 (22 September 1663).

67 NYSA, NYCM 10-3: pp. 81-84 (21 February 1664); NYCMA, ODR 4: pp. 337-340 (24 February 1664; RNA 5: pp. 29-33), p. 443 (9 September 1664; *RNA* 5: pp. 107-108); Jaap Jacobs, "Soldiers of the Company: The Military Personnel of the West India Company in New Netherland," Herman Wellenreuther ed., *Jacob Leisler's Atlantic World in the Later Seventeenth Century. Essays on Religion, Militia Trade, and Networks by Jaap Jacobs, Claudia Schnurmann, David W. Voorhees, and Hermann Wellenreuther.* Münster: LIT Verlag, 2009, pp. 11-31.

New Amsterdam City Hall — 1654

On 13 June 1654, when an English attack on New Amsterdam seemed imminent, director general and council decided that in addition to strengthening other fortifications, "the City Tavern is to be ensconced with a small rampart and breastworks, upon which 2 or 3 light artillery pieces are to be placed."[68] As news of the Treaty of Westminster, agreed upon in Europe on 15 April 1654, reached New Amsterdam on June 16, it is not likely that plans for such a fortification were implemented straightaway. The Castello Plan shows only five trees and two fences at the location, although that may be the result of Vingboons adding detail to the original map that was sent over. The 1661 English description of New Amsterdam, however, mentions "the Stat-house, before w^{ch} is built a half moon of stone, where are mounted 3 smal bras guns, tho it be large enough to mount 8 guns on it."[69] In 1671, a fortification was still in place at this location, as one of the magistrates was charged to supervise "the Managem^{t} in Repairing of the half moon before the state house."[70] The construction is depicted on the so-called Labadist General View of circa 1679.[71] Presumably the last remnants were removed once landfill and new buildings obstructed the line of sight to the East River and made a fortification at this location obsolete.

Oyster Bay — 1655

Establishing a fort on the north shore of Long Island would create a Dutch military presence at the boundary between New Netherland and New England as determined at the Hartford Treaty in 1650. Director general and council first suggested a fort on Long Island in a letter to the Amsterdam directors during the First Anglo-Dutch War. In reply, the directors agreed with the plan "to erect a small fort or even only a small redoubt or blockhouse on Long Island."[72] The Peace of Westminster did not take away the urgency, on the contrary. In early 1655, New Netherland authorities had to act against English encroachments west of the boundary line. Yet subsequent plans for a fort at Oyster Bay, the location of choice, were slow to materialize, because it required extensive consultations between the authorities in New Amsterdam and their superiors in patria. In April and May 1655, the Amsterdam directors instructed director general and council again "to determine our boundaries by the erection of a fort, wherever you thought best and most

68 "de stadts herberge met een Clijnwerckje ende borstweeringe te beschansen ende op de selve 2 a 3 lichte stucken te planten;" NYSA, NYCM 5: p. 268 (13 June 1654; *NYHM* 5: p. 144).
69 RS, Cl.P/7i/8 (September 1661; *NNN*, p. 421).
70 NYCMA, Original Records of the Common Council, vol. 6, p. 78 (16 July 1671; *RNA* 6: p. 315).
71 Stokes, *Iconography*, 1: pl. 17, pp. 224-230.
72 "fortien, ofte alware het slechts een reduyte of houte wambais;" NYSA, NYCM 12: 3, p. 4 (18 May 1654; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1648*, p. 10).

convenient." For this purpose, they sent to New Amsterdam "a consignment of goods which you will find necessary to make a fort." Unfortunately, the specification of these goods is not extant.[73] Subsequent references make it doubtful whether they were sent at all. In September 1657, the Amsterdam directors indicated that the financial situation of the Amsterdam chamber was such that they could not support the plans. Any funds would have to be supplied by the West India Company authorities in New Netherland, even though the Amsterdam directors agreed "that erecting a wooden fort or small fortress [would] serve to determine our limits on the extreme boundaries against those of New England."[74]

Continued wrangling with the English colonists about the interpretation of the stipulations of the Hartford Treaty prevented progress being made. In early 1659 the Amsterdam directors ordered Stuyvesant to proceed "with the erecting of the aforementioned wooden fort on the extreme boundaries and on the Oyster Bay."[75] Stuyvesant and his councillors objected to this: they pointed out that the difference of opinion about the exact location of the place called Oyster Bay in the Hartford Treaty was at the root of the problem. Before building "a fortress or a wooden fort," this issue needed to be resolved. Director general and council warned that using the location suggested by the directors would mean that the English town of Huntington would fall under Dutch jurisdiction. In their opinion, this would meet with immediate opposition and thus cause further complications.[76] They kept on delaying into 1660, arguing that they lacked "the necessary means, especially carpenters [to build] a redoubt or wooden fort at the Oyster Bay." In addition, director general and council expressed doubt as to whether erecting a fort would actually achieve the aim of stopping English encroachments and preventing smuggling. A well-equipped yacht might be better, they thought.[77]

The directors grew impatient and became annoyed with what they considered procrastination in New Amsterdam. In their opinion, employing a yacht was too expensive and there was no need to wait for carpenters to arrive from the Dutch Republic as other fortifications and buildings inside forts had also been constructed without them. By this time the directors had also given up hope of obtaining approval of the Hartford Treaty by the new English government.[78] Director general and council used this information to further delay the building of a fort at Oyster Bay. In July 1661, they reported they had postponed the construction of the fort, as they awaited the result of Anglo-Dutch negotiations in Europe.[79] By this time the Amsterdam directors were really getting angry. In their reply of 27 January 1662, they pointed out that while they had informed New Amsterdam of

73 "onse limiten aldaer te determineren met het leggen van een fortresse ter plaetse daer Ue best ende bequaemst sullen oordelen;" "sijn sendende parthije behoeftigheden tot het maecken vande fortresse gerequireert;" NYSA, NYCM 12, doc. 22, pp. 5-6 (26 May 1655; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* pp. 59-60).

74 "Dat het leggen van een houte wambuis ofte cleijne fortresse diende tot determinatie van onse limiten op de uijtterste grensen tegen die van nieu Engelant;" NYSA, NYCM 12: doc. 66, pp. 1-2 (15 September 1657; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* p. 147).

75 "met het leggen vant voorss houte wambuijs op den uijttersten grensen ende op de oesterbaij ver te gaen;" NYSA, NYCM 13: doc. 1, p. 10 (13 February 1659; *DRCHNY* 14: pp. 429-430).

76 "van een fort ofte houten wambuis;" NYSA, NYCM 13: doc. 17, p. 8 (23 July 1659; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 440).

77 "een redoute ofte houten wambuijs ontrent oesterbaeij [..] gecauseert door mancquement van [..] hulpmiddelen voornaemelijck bequaeme timmerlieden;" NYSA, NYCM 13: doc. 96, p. 6 (23 April 1660; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 469)

78 NYSA, NYCM 13: doc. 125, p. 1 (20 September 1660; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 481).

79 NYSA, NYCM 14: doc. 30, p. 1 (21 July 1661; *DRCNHNY* 14: p. 503).

the Anglo-Dutch negotiations, they had not countermanded their previous order. Director general and council thus ought to have proceeded with building of this fort, as well as others. It is quite possible that in reaction to this final order, a fort was in fact constructed at Oyster Bay, although the records do not provide a definite answer and no remains have been located.[80]

Fort Massapeag (Oyster Bay)— 1656

In March 1656, about six months after the Indian attack on New Amsterdam, Director General Stuyvesant entered into a peace agreement with the Massapequa Indians, represented by sachem Tackpausha. Article six ran thus:

> The governor doth promise Betwixt this date and Six monthes to build A howse or A forte upon such place as they shall show upon the north-side. And the fort or howse shall be furnished with Indian trade or Comodities. And the Sachem doth promise, that in this place Such people as shall thereon be placed by the Governor shall live in safety from him or any of his Indians.[81]

No further documentary records exist of Fort Massapeag until 13 July 1696, when "ye Indians Land upon Massipeague or ffort Neck at ye south of Oysterbay," and "ye Old ffort" at "ye Head of ye Meadows on sd. Neck" are mentioned in a deed. A year later the Indian lands here were sold. Excavations conducted in 1934-1935 uncovered various objects and shell middens, suggesting wampum was produced at the location. Further excavations by Ralph S. Solecki revealed "EB" white clay pipe stems, brass mouth harps, copper arrow points, glazed stoneware sherds and other objects that suggest Fort Massapeag was dominantly a Contact Period Native American site. No artifacts postdating 1700 were found, suggesting that, consistent with the deed of sale, the site was abandoned after the land was sold in 1697.[82] When the site was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1993, the Statement of Significance indicated that "The fort's size, shape, and method of construction suggests the fortified trading post and frontier refuge ordered built by Dutch authorities in 1656."[83] This suggestion is based on Solecki's findings, especially on its style ("earthworks quadrangular with two corner bastions [..], surrounded by a six-foot-wide ditch," size ("only one hundred feet to a side"), and location (low ground, easy access to coastal traffic, entrance facing shore).[84]

80 NYSA, NYCM 14: doc. 43, pp. 1-2 (27 January 1662; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 508).

81 Benjamin D. Hicks ed., *Records of the Towns of North and South Hempstead, Long Island,* N.Y. Jamaica, N.Y.: Long Island Farmer Print, 1896, vol. 1: p. 44.

82 Robert S. Grumet, *Historic Contact : Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995, pp. 224-226, asserts that no documentary records pertaining to Fort Massapeag exist prior to 13 July 1696.

83 http://tps.cr.nps.gov/nhl/detail.cfm?ResourceId=2154&ResourceType=Site (accessed 14 May 2014).

84 Anne-Marie Cantwell & Diana diZerega Wall, *Unearthing Gotham. The Archaeology of New York City.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 135-138; Carlyle S. Smith, "A Note on Fort Massapeag," *American Antiquity* 31 (1954), pp. 67-68; http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/18-7/18-7-7.pdf (accessed 14 May 2014); John Rather, "A National Landmark Nobody Knows About," *New York Times,* 8 May 2005; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Massapeag_Archeological_Site (accessed 14 May 2014); Ralph S. Solecki, "Indian Forts of the Mid-17th Century in the Southern New England-New York Coastal Area," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*: Vol. 22 22: Iss. 1, Article 5 (1993); Ralph S. Solecki & Robert S. Grumet, "The Fort Massapeag Archaeological Site National Landmark," *The Bulletin: Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association* 108 (1994), 18-28.

's-Gravesande (Gravesend, Brooklyn) — 1656

Like other villages in New Netherland, Gravesend was ordered to construct a palisade after the attack on New Amsterdam of September 1655 had given rise to fear for further Native American hostilities. In April 1656, the magistrates of Gravesend, who had earlier applied for and were granted a small garrison, reported that they had "enclosed their village with palisades." To reinforce the village further, they asked to be provided with three or four cannon and munitions of war. After deliberation, director general and council allowed them the use of two pieces, as well as fifty pounds of powder and twelve balls of four pound each.[85] The palisaded area lies between Van Sicklen Street, Village Road North, Village Road East, and Village Road South and according to Paul Huey, it is very likely that these stockades can be located.

Midwout/Amersfoort (Flatbush/Flatlands, Brooklyn) — 1656

Midwout and Amersfoort, two Dutch villages on Long Island, followed Gravesend's example in May 1656. After pressure from director general and council, the combined court of the villages ordered the owners of houses and lots to furnish palisades.[86] Unsurprisingly, keeping the defences in a good condition proved to be a difficult task for the two villages. In February 1660, in an attempt to strengthen the defences of the villages on Long Island, director general and council ordered the magistrates to assign a portion to each inhabitant with the instruction to inspect it every fortnight and undertake repairs when required.[87] The center of Midwout was located at the intersection of what now are Flatbush and Church avenues. Amersfoort was located about four kilometres to the south, at the intersection of Flatbush Avenue and Kings Highway. In both cases, the exact whereabouts of remnants of the palisade (if extant) needs to be ascertained.

Bergen (Jersey City, New Jersey) — 1660

Especially during First and Second Esopus Wars, the colonists on the west bank of the Hudson River considered themselves to be in a dangerous location.[88] It is therefore likely that soon after

85 "haer durp rontom met palissaden hadden affgeset;" NYSA, NYCM 6: p. 357 (10 April 1656; Gehring, *Council Minutes 1655-1656,* p. 296).

86 NYSA, NYCM 6: p. 296 (22 February 1656; Gehring, *Council Minutes 1655-1656,* p. 236); NYSA, NYCM 8: pp. 15-16 (26 May & 3 June 1656).

87 NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 99 (26 February 1669; E.B. O'Callaghan, trans., *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland,* 1636-1674. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Company, 1868, pp. 373-374).

88 NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 705 (4 August 1661); NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 763-764 (5 September 1661; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 207), p. 765 (5 September 1661; O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances*, p. 403; NYSA, NYCM 10-2: p. 149 (21 June 1663), p. 168 (30 June 1663; DRCHNY 13: 268), p. 389 (15 November 1663; O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances*, p. 449).

the foundation of the village of Bergen and its incorporation the decision was made to erect a palisade to defend the inhabitants against attacks by Native Americans. The new village was laid out in the customary shape of a rectangle with cross street, which encompassed the area now known as Bergen Square: Vroom Street, Van Reypen Street, Newkirk Street, and Tuers Avenue, and presumably the defence works enclosed that area. An ordinance of early 1662 refers to the completion of "a land gate and fence," but unfortunately the original is too damaged to ascertain whether the original Dutch word being used is *hek* or *palisaden*.[89] Two years later the villagers requested permission to build at "every gate a defensive blockhouse," which was very likely also intended to provide a shelter for militia members charged with guard duty. Director general and council praised the zeal of the local magistrates and emphasized that absentee owners of lots were also "bound to assist in making the fortifications in question."[90]

Breuckelen and New Utrecht (Brooklyn) — 1660

The villages of Breuckelen and Nieuw Utrecht were first palisaded after director general and council in February 1660 sent councillor Nicasius de Sille to Long Island to implement defensive measures there. The timing was no coincidence: New Netherland was still involved in the First Esopus War and with spring near and the rivers becoming unfrozen, the chance of Indian raids even to Long Island was increasing.[91] A new village, located on the East River near the ferry within sight of Fort Amsterdam, was to be fortified with a blockhouse (*een blockhuijs tot haer defentie*).[92] But for the colonists living near the Waelebocht (Wallabout Bay) further east that location was inconvenient, not least because of the lack of suitable wells. Yet their request for a similar construction was denied.[93] There are no references relating to the upkeep of these fortifications.

The 1660 ordinance for the enclosing of New Utrecht provides a few details that very likely also apply to the fortification works at Breuckelen. The inhabitants "shall collectively set palisades around their village in a proper manner," with the absentee landowners fined six guilders per day unless they provided a substitute. In the middle of the village "a suitable blockhouse" was to be built, along with a gristmill, and a well. Trees outside the village had to be removed to provide good views.[94] Yet it is likely that the blockhouse was not built until the summer of 1663, as Stuyvesant reported in early 1664.[95]

89 NYSA, NYCM, 10-1: p. 50 (28 January 1662; O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances,* p. 424).

90 "Ieder poorte een defensive Blockhuysie;" "gehou[den] sijn de bewuste versterckinge te helpen maecken;" NYSA, NYCM 10-3: p. 73-74 (21 February 1664; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 361).

91 NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 78 (23 February 1660; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 457).

92 NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 522 (1 March 1660; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 494).

93 NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 547 (3 March 1661; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 494-495).

94 "dat sij een samenderhandt haer durp sullen af pallassaden soo daer behoort;" "een bequaem blockhuijs;" "omdat men van verren sal konnen uijtsien;" NYSA, NYCM 9: pp. 79-82 (23 February 1660; O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances,* pp. 370-372).

95 NYSA, NYCM 15: doc. 121, p. 3 (26 April 1664; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 546).

Gemoenepa (Communipaw, Jersey City, New Jersey) — 1661

Gemoenepa, now a section of Jersey City called Communipaw, was first settled in the 1630s. In 1658, the farmers living there petitioned for an exemption from tenths, which was granted on the condition that they would form a village.[96] Three years later the villagers, who had not yet been granted lower jurisdiction and thus lacked authority to arrange matters themselves, asked director general and council to determine how they should palisade (*affpalissaderen*) their village. In reply, the colonial authorities provided them with details: to enclose the village the palisades had to be "of appropriate thickness and length, to about six to seven feet above ground level."[97] The villagers procrastinated, but the outbreak of further hostilities with the Esopus Indians in 1663 made improving their defences more urgent. They again received permission from director general and council "to enclose [the village] with long palisades."[98] It is presumed the village extended from what is now Communipaw Avenue on the north to the Bay Shore House on the south.[99]

Navesink (Middletown, New Jersey) — 1664

In early 1664, director general and council resolved to send a scouting party to the banks of the Navesink River, just south of Sandy Hook, in order to choose a proper place for a redoubt or blockhouse (*een reduijt* or *houten wambuijs*). Their action was a response to rumours that English settlers from Gravesend were about to purchase land there, even though it had already been bought a month earlier by representatives of the Dutch colonial government. Director general and council intended to place a small garrison at Navesink as well.[100] Considering the developments in New Netherland later in 1664, it is unlikely that these plans ever came to fruition.

96 NYSA, NYCM 8: p. 649-650 (22 January 1658).
97 "van bequaeme dickte en lengte sijn, ontrent 6 a 7 voeten boven de gront;" NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 521 (10 February 1661).
98 NYSA, NYCM 10-2: p. 133 (18 June 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 252)
99 http://www.getnj.com/jchist/22.shtml (accessed 8 December 2014).
100 NYSA, NYCM 10-3: p. 28 (28 January 1664; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 356).

II. Delaware River and Delaware Bay

The Delaware River, or South River as the Dutch called it, remained a sparsely inhabited area for a long time after the Dutch first sailed on the river in 1615.[101] Contested by Native American, Dutch, English, and Swedish inhabitants, traders, settlers, and colonists, it was a battleground on which adventurers sought to make a quick profit. Until 1638, neither the Dutch nor the English established a permanent presence on the Delaware. As sources for the early decades are very scarce, few details as to the construction or even the use of the fortifications established before ca. 1640 are available. Even the exact building dates or locations of early forts cannot always be established with certainty. After 1638, sources become more abundant, and apart from providing more details on the forts themselves, they also shed light on the rivalry between the Dutch and the Swedes. Over the years, these two colonizing European powers engaged in a game of chess, selecting locations for new forts with the aim of outmanoeuvring the other. The conflict ended in 1655, when Director General Petrus Stuyvesant led an expeditionary force to the Delaware River and captured the Swedish forts and settlements. The area remained under Dutch control until 1664, when English forces commanded by Sir Robert Carr conquered this part of New Netherland.

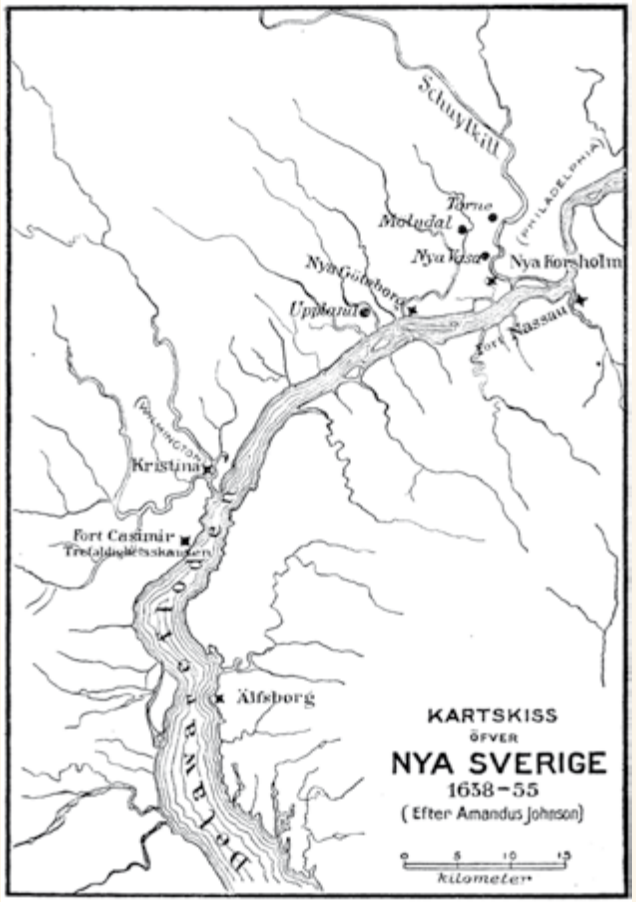

Fig. 7. Delaware River and Delaware Bay with the location of Swedish forts.

101 Jaap Jacobs, "Early Dutch Explorations in North America," *Journal of Early American History* 3 (2013) pp. 59–81, at 66-67.

Fort Wilhelmus (Burlington Island, New Jersey) — 1624

In April 1624, Nicolaes van Wassenaer reported: "They also placed a fort which they named 'Wilhelmus' on Prince's Island, heretofore called Murderer's Island; it is open in front, and has a curtain in the rear and is garrisoned by sixteen men for the defence of the river below."[102] Although the two islands mentioned by Van Wassenaer do not occur on early maps, an anonymous map of ca. 1630 provides the name "Willems Rivier" for the upper reaches of the Delaware. On this basis, C.A. Weslager presumed that Fort Wilhelmus was located on this river, even though Van Wassenaer's information is immediately preceded by a reference to the building Fort Orange on the Hudson River.[103] Other sources indicate that the Walloon families arriving in New Netherland in 1624 were spread out over four locations, one of which is named as "the High Island, situated about 25 miles up the South River, below the first falls." This island (identified as Burlington Island) is considered to be the location of Fort Wilhelmus, which was intended to be the main headquarters of New Netherland.[104] For about two years, a fortification served to protect a small group of colonists, consisting of two families and eight men, before the settlers were moved to Manhattan in 1626 in order to better withstand a feared attack by Native Americans. An additional argument in favor of abandoning Fort Wilhelmus was that the Delaware River froze solid during the winter, leaving the outpost inaccessible and isolated.[105] Also, Fort Orange was much more important to the fur trade, even though the Hudson River froze solid as well. In 1630, a Dutch sailor who visited the site of Fort Wilhelmus testified

> that upon an Island neare the falls of that River and neare the west side thereof the said Company some three of fouer yeares afore had a trading house where there were three or four familyes of Walloons the place of the settlem[t]. he saw and that they had been seated there he was Informed by some of the said Walloons themselves When they were returned from thence.[106]

In the 1890s, Charles Conrad Abbott conducted excavations on Burlington Island. The 196 artifacts he unearthed are now part of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Listed under the provenience "Dutch Trader's House," they include shards of pottery roof tiles, red pottery pipe fragments, metal nails, glass fragments, glass beads, as well as faunal remains, and artifacts of Native American make.[107] There is some doubt as

102 "Op het Princen Eylandt, te vooren het Moordenaers Eylant genaemt, legghen sy mede een Fort dat Wilhelmus by hen geintituleert is, van vooren plat, achter met een Gordijn en by sesthien Man bewaert tot defensie van de Revier beneden;" Van Wassenaer, *Historisch verhael*, vol. 7, fol. 11v (April 1624); *NNN*, p. 76.

103 C.A. Weslager, *Dutch Explorers, Traders and Settlers in the Delaware Valley 1609-1664.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961, pp. 59-61; Bea Brommer et al., *Grote Atlas van de West-Indische Compagnie = Comprehensive atlas of the Dutch West India Company. I, De oude WIC 1621-1674 = The old WIC 1621-1674.* Voorburg: Asia Maior, 2011, pp. 62-63.

104 "het hooghe eylant, gheleghen ontrent 25 mylen opwaerts inde Zuyt riviere beneden de eerste aff val;" Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland,* p. 51; Wieder, *De stichting van New York,* p. 125.

105 Charles T. Gehring, "New Netherland: The Formative Years, 1609-1632," in Cornelis A. van Minnen, Hans Krabbendam, Giles Scott-Smith supervisory eds. *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations.* Amsterdam: Boom Publishers, 2009, pp. 74-84.

106 E.B. O'Callaghan ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New-York.* 4 volumes. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co. Public Printers, 1849-1851, 3: p. 32. A letter from 1655, i.e. twenty years later, suggests that the trading post was "provided with palisades and battlements." Dingman Versteeg, trans., Martha Dickinson Shattuck, ed., *New Netherland Papers, C. 1650 -1660 From the Collected Papers of Hans Bontemantel, Director of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company, Held by the New York Public Library.* Albany: New Netherland Institute, 2011, p. 29. Considering the source and the context, this information not be taken at face value. Cf. C.A. Weslager, *Dutch Explorers, Traders and Settlers in the Delaware Valley 1609-1664.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961, p. 122, and Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 151.

107 https://www.peabody.harvard.edu/collections, search entry "Dutch Trader's House" (accessed 21 May 2014).

to whether these finds, for which a mid seventeenth-century dating has been suggested, are connected with the 1620s fort on the lower end of the island, or rather with a 1650s trading house, when it was known as Matinnekonk Island.[108] Later, in the twentieth century, Burlington Island was used as a sand and gravel quarry, which created a large lake in the middle of the island. Even so it is possible that remains of Fort Wilhelmus have survived on the southernmost tip of the island.

Fort Nassau (Gloucester City, New Jersey) — 1627

In November 1626 Nicolaes van Wassenaer reported that "those of the South River will abandon their fort, and come hither," meaning to Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan. In 1909, Jameson and others assumed that Van Wassenaer referred to Fort Nassau as well as to Fort Wilhelmus.[109] But it is unlikely that Fort Nassau had already been built at that time. Replying to a letter by the directors, secretary Isaac de Rasière in late September 1626 wrote to Amsterdam that the suggestion to build a "small fort" on the South River was "not just necessary, but imperative." The three reasons supplied by De Rasière provide an insight into the functions such a fort was to serve:

> First, to keep possession of the river, in order that others may not come there ahead of us, and do it themselves. Secondly, because having a fort there, one could draw all the trade on this river there. Thirdly, because the Indians there say that they are afraid to hunt on winterdays, as they are always harassed by war with the Minquaes, and, if a fort were there, one might see if they could be reconciled.[110]

Although De Rasière had been in New Netherland less than two months, and thus may not have been fully familiar with all details of the colony, it is unlikely that he would have replied in this vein if a fort to replace Fort Wilhelmus had already been present on the South River. It is equally unlikely that Fort Nassau was constructed in the remaining months of 1626.[111] Isaac de Rasière does not indicate that building a fort on the South River was underway or imminent. Concentrating the Walloon settlers on the south point of Manhattan Island would have meant all available labourers were required to construct lodgings for the colonists, while at the same time Fort Amsterdam may have been under construction. The absence of any mention of Fort Nassau or another fort on the South River in De Rasière's letter deserves, in my opinion, more credence than

108 Richard Veit & Charles A. Bello, "'A Unique and Valuable Historical and Indian Collection': Charles Conrad Abbott Explores a 17th-Century Dutch Trading Post in the Delaware Valley," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 15 (1999), pp. 95-123, at pp. 99-102.

109 "Die van de Zuyt Revier sullen haer Fort verlaten en comen herwaerts;" Van Wassenaer, *Historisch verhael,* vol. 12, fol. 38r (November 1626); *NNN*, p. 84.

110 "een fortjen;" "niet alleen noodich is maer moet wesen;" "Eerstelyck om de possessie vande riviere te houden op dat anderen niet voor ons daer en komen ende selver doen; ten tweeden om datmen daer een fort zynde den gantschen handel uyt dese riviere souden konnen daer trecken; ten derden om dat de wilden aldaer seggen sy winterdach niet en durven jaeghen, door dien sy altyt met oorloghe vande Minquaes ghequelt worden, ende daer een fortjen zynde mochtmen sien oftmen haer konde vereenighen;" Wieder, *De stichting van New York,* p. 170; Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland,* pp. 208-211.

111 Cf. Weslager, *Dutch Explorers,* p. 59; Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 157.

Van der Donck's much later and less reliable statement that runs as follows:

> At the same time that the forts were laid out on the North and Fresh rivers, since the year 1623, Fort Nassau was erected upon this river, which, in common parlance, is called the South River. But it was the first of the four, and was built with the same object and design as all the other, as hereinbefore related. It lies on the east bank, but it would after all have done as well on the west bank, fifteen leagues up the river.[112]

Writing in 1649, i.e. twenty-five years after the fact, Van der Donck mistakenly uses the name Fort Nassau to indicate Fort Wilhelmus, an error he makes earlier in his tract as well.[113] This is all the more understandable, as Van der Donck never travelled down to the South River in person. His mistake is indicative of the extent to which the exact chronology of the early years had been forgotten by this time. Later documents are additional evidence of this.[114]

On the whole, the most likely scenario is that Fort Nassau was constructed *after* De Rasière wrote his letter. As construction during the winter is unlikely, spring 1627 is the earliest possible time. A location was selected south of former Fort Wilhelmus, opposite present-day Philadelphia, but on the east side of the river, "about one half great mile" from "Mantaes Hoeck."[115] Fort Nassau was supposedly erected at the place where Big Timber Creek flows into the Delaware River.[116] This was not a good location, as most of the fur trade took place with Native Americans living on the west bank. During the following years, Fort Nassau appears to have been used for the most part as a seasonal trading post. Thus it was only manned during the summer months by a limited number of soldiers and abandoned during winter. This obviously made Fort Nassau vulnerable to English colonists from Virginia, who coveted the fertile soil along the Delaware River. In 1635, a group of Englishmen led by George Holmes arrived. They apprehended the Dutch official there, captured a West India Company ship, and took possession of the fort. According to New Netherland director Wouter van Twiller "they are now present in the same river beside us to trade and set up plantations, doing everything with great threats to chase us away with force and arms."[117] Van Twiller sent out a bark with soldiers to pick up the English intruders. As David de Vries reports, the bark arrived back at New Amsterdam on September 1st:

> While I was taking my leave of the governor, the bark of the Company arrived, which brought

112 "Ter selver tijt als op de Noort en varsche Revier de Forten ghelecht zijn, zedert den jare 1623. Soo is oock op deze Revier diemen inden ghemeenen omme-gang de Zuyt-Revier noemt oock gheleght het Fort Nassau, doch het was het eerste vande vier, tot den selfden eynde en insichte als sy alle ende hier vooren verhaelt is, het Fort leyt aende Oost-Wal, soude immers soo wel aende West-Wal ghepast hebben, vijftien mylen op de Revier." [Adriaen van der Donck], *Vertoogh van Nieu-Neder-Land, Weghens de Gheleghentheydt, Vruchtbaerheydt, en Soberen Staet desselfs.* 's-Gravenhage: Michiel Stael, 1650, pp. 18-19; *NNN*, p. 313.

113 *NNN*, p. 304.

114 Jacobs, "'The Great North River of New Netherland,'" p. 9; Weslager, *Dutch Explorers,* p. 58. This includes David Pietersz de Vries. His remark about families having lived at Fort Nassau, included in his narrative of events in 1632, is most likely a later interpolation based on Van der Donck's error. David Pietersz. de Vries, *Korte Historiael ende Journaels Aenteykeninge van verscheyden voyagiens in de vier delen des werelts-ronde, als Europa, Africa, Asia ende America gedaen.* H.T. Colenbrander ed. Werken Linschoten-Vereeniging vol. 3. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911, p. 157; Albert Cook Myers ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware 1630-1707.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, p. 18.

115 "Mantases hoeck sijnde een plaetse omtrendt een groote halft mijl beneeden het afgebroocken fort Nassouwe;" NYSA, NYCM 19: doc. 29 (26 May 1662; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-164,* p. 271).

116 See http://gloucestercitynews.typepad.com/clearysnotebook/2007/02/history_of_fort.html (accessed 24 June 2014) and http://www.nj.searchroots.com/Gloucesterco/fortnassau.htm#Location (accessed 24 June 2014) for a discussion on possible locations.

117 "Insgelijcken de Suijtrevier denwelcke mede door de Engelschen schuijlende onder die van Virginia is ingenomen en soecken deselfde bij forma als bij die vande Noort te behouden gelijck voor weijnich dagen gebleecken is dat sij onse commies aldaer mette carravelle gesonden hebben geapprendeert ende 1 1/2 ettettemael gehouden en sijn iegenwoordich neffens ons inde selffde reviere om te handelen ende plantagien te maecken allet doende met groote dreijgementen om ons met gewelt ende wapenen te veriagen." Nat. Arch, OWIC, inv.nr. 50, doc. 32 (20 August 1635; Jaap Jacobs, "A Troubled Man: Director Wouter van Twiller and the Affairs of New Netherland in 1635," *New York History* 85 (2004), pp. 213-232, at p. 230).

> fourteen or fifteen English with it, who had taken Fort Nassau from our people, as our people had no one in it, and thought to guard it with sloops; but they found that they had to take possession of it again, or else it would be lost to the English.[118]

The incident spurred on Van Twiller who proceeded to reinforce Fort Nassau and had a house built in it to enable soldiers to stay on during the winter. As he wrote in 1636: "The house on the South River is already under cover. I am at present busy to send four iron pieces thither to keep possession of the same."[119] In all likelihood this was the same house referred to in 1639: "A large house was built in Fort Nassau." The same document specifies that by this time the fort was "in decay."[120] Despite its bad state, Fort Nassau remained the only Dutch outpost on the Delaware, with first Jan Jansz van Ilpendam and later Andries Hudde in command.[121]

Andries Hudde was in charge of Fort Nassau from 1645 onwards. His report, dating from about 1648/1649, is one of the prime sources on events on the Delaware River. Although the report contains numerous details on Dutch-Swedish interaction, it provides little information on the material aspects of Fort Nassau or any of the other Dutch forts: "The fortifications and garrisons of the honorable Company" were omitted, as they were sufficiently well known.[122] Fort Nassau continued to function as the main Dutch basis on the Delaware for a few more years. When Director General Stuyvesant visited the Delaware River in July 1651, he ordered the destruction of Fort Nassau, as well as Fort Beversreede, making the newly-built Fort Casimir the mainstay of Dutch power in the south of New Netherland. The Company directors in Amsterdam had to rely on Stuyvesant's judgment. When they learned the news, they replied: "we can say little about whether the demolition of Fort Nassau was so prudently handled. Indeed, no one could make a claim on it and whether the Swedes shall understand the same regarding the newly constructed fort named Casemirus, only time will tell."[123]

Swanendael (Lewes, Delaware) — 1631

In 1631 thirty-two colonists settled on what is now Lewes Creek near Cape Henlopen with the intention to engage in whaling and cultivating tobacco. Within a year, Native Americans attacked the fledgling patroonship, killing all colonists. David Pietersz de Vries, whose few lines are the

118 "Terwijls ick mijn afscheydt nam vande Governeur, soo arriveerde alhier de Barck vande Companie, dewelcke veerthien a vijfthien Engelse mede brachte die het Fort Nassou inghenomen hadde van ons Volck, also ons Volck daer niemand in hadden, ende meynden 't met Sloepen te bewaren, maer bevonden datse het weder besetten moesten, ofte souden 't anders vande Engelse quyt-geweest hebben." De Vries, *Korte Historiael,* p. 219; *NNN*, p. 195; Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 157.

119 "thuijs inde Suijtrevier is all onder dack ben tegenwoordich doende van vier ijsere stucken derwaerts te senden." Nat. Arch., OWIC, inv.nr. 51, doc. 27 (14 August 1636; Van Laer, "Letters of Wouter van Twiller," p. 46).

120 *NYHM* 1: p. 110 (22 March 1639; original lost).

121 NYSA, NYCM 4: p. 234 (4 September 1645; *NYHM* 4: p. 282), p. 333 (20 September 1647; *NYHM* 4: p. 436).

122 "de fortificatie en besettinge vande de E: Compe ;" NYSA, NYCM 18: 1, p. 3 (ca. 1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-164*, p. 2).

123 NYSA, NYCM, 11: 53, p. 18-19, partly burned (4 April 1652; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653,* p. 155).

main source, refers to a small fort *(fortjen)* and a house *(Huys)*, "encircled with a palisade instead of a parapet."[124]

The location of this fort is supposed to be on Pilottown Road, near the twentieth-century De Vries monument. Yet the first archaeological search in 1952 initially failed to provide a positive identification.[125] A ca. 1630 map (fig. 8) suggests that a square-shaped palisade with two points surrounded the house.[126] Even though the fort is drawn out of scale and the map should not be interpreted as an accurate representation, it still provided important guidance to the further explorations, as archaeologists searched for the bastion closest to the Lewes Creek, called "Bloemmaerts Kil" on the map. In the following years, over two hundred separate postholes and molds were uncovered. While some of these may have resulted from the construction of the 1630s palisade, others are evidence of the posts of a much later farmer's fence. Several fragments of glazed redware, white earthenware, and glass, as well as pieces of glass bottles were found, but these all date back to the eighteenth century. The only artifacts possibly indicative of the early Dutch settlement found in 1954 were yellow Dutch bricks, presumably used in building the house inside the stockade.[127] Further research in 1964 discovered what archaeologist C.A. Bonine considered the remains of the south point of the palisade. According to him, the traces of charcoal found in the subsoil along the postmold lines correspond with De Vries's statement that the palisade was "mostly burned" during the attack.[128] While Bonine has little doubt about the exact location of the Swanendael settlement, the archaeological findings of the 1950s and 1960s are nowadays considered inconclusive, casting doubt on the location as well. It seems likely that what Bonine and others excavated were the remains of a battery shown on a 1773 map.[129]

Fig. 8. Swanendael. Detail of map presumably made by Pieter Heyes, ca. 1630. Nat. Arch., map collection, 4. VEL 518.

124 "ons Fortje;" "het fort;" "ons Huys dat gedistruweert was, vonden 't wel rontom met Pallisaede in plaets van Bostweeringe beset, maer was meest verbrandt;" De Vries, *Korte Historiael,* 148, 154-155.

125 C.A. Bonine "Digging at the De Vries Site Renewed," *The Archeolog: Newsletter of the Sussex Archeological Association* 6 (1954); C.A. Bonine, "Archaeological Investigation of the Dutch 'Swanendael' Settlement under DeVries, 1631-1632," *The Archeolog: Publication of the Sussex Society of Archaeology and History, Delaware* 8 (1956), pp. 1-17.

126 Nat. Arch., map collection, 4. VEL 518; http://hetverhalenarchief.nl/newyork/samuel-blommaert (accessed 24 June 2014); De Vries, *Korte Historiael*, opposite p. 154; Brommer, *Grote Atlas van de West-Indische Compagnie,* 1: p. 63. Brommer assigns the map to skipper Pieter Heyes, whereas Bonine considers De Vries the likely maker.

127 Bonine, "Archaeological Investigation of the Dutch 'Swanendael' Settlement."

128 C.A. Bonine, "The South Bastion of the DeVries Palisade of 1631 (7S-D 11)," *The Archeolog: Publication of the Sussex Society of Archaeology and History, Delaware* Vol. 16-2 (1964), pp. 13-19.

129 Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 161.

In some of the secondary literature, the fort at Swanendael is called "Fort Oplandt." This is based on a nineteenth-century misreading of a phrase in the account of De Vries about the massacre of 1631, which killed "two and thirty men, who were outside the fort *on the land* to do their work."[130] The location Uppland or Oplant mentioned several times in later Dutch records is located much higher on the Delaware River, just west of Tinicum Island.

Fort Christina/Altena (Wilmington, Delaware) — 1638

When Peter Minuit arrived on the Delaware River in March 1638 and founded the New Sweden colony, the first fortification he established was Fort Christina on the Minquas Kill. Presumably he was familiar with the geography of the Delaware through his years as director of New Netherland in the 1620s and 1630s and selected the location based on the existing trade routes with the Native Americans. According to Acrelius, writing over a century later, another argument for choosing the west bank for a "fortification" was "because of the Dutch," as they had already settled on the east bank, i.e. at Fort Nassau.[131] Fort Christina was located at about two miles from the Delaware River, which led Amandus Johnson to suggest it was Minuit's intention to avoid a direct confrontation with the Dutch, at least for the time being. It was a good location, as it had a good landing and was surrounded by marshland except on the north-eastern side, where a small strip of dry land provided access. Fort Christina was set up as a standard European-style fort: a square with four points. Three of the points were furnished with guns. The fort was built with palisades and earth. This is understandable as speed was required, but Minuit may have remembered the problems with the earthworks at Fort Amsterdam ten years earlier. He had brought over a quantity of bricks, but these were most probably used to construct a fireplace and oven in the dwelling house inside the fort. Another building, also constructed with logs, likely served as a magazine. By autumn 1638 the fort was ready. It was solemnly named Christina by firing a salute.[132]

After Minuit's demise in the Caribbean, Peter Hollander Ridder was eventually appointed as his successor. Arriving in New Sweden in early 1640, he found Fort Christina in poor condition, with the walls falling down in places, proving again the difficulties involved in maintaining earthwork defences in North America. Ridder ordered repairs to the breaks in the walls and also mended the existing ramparts. In his opinion, improvements such as lengthening the walls on the

130 "twee- en dertig Man, die buyten het Fort waren op Landt om haer werck te doen;" De Vries, *Korte Historiael,* p. 148.

131 "Fästningswerk;" "at ware ur wägen för de holländste;" Israel Acrelius, *Beskrifning om de swenska forsamlingars forna och narwarande tilstand : uti detsakallade Nya Swerige, sedan Nya Nederland, men nu for tiden Pensylvanien, samt nastliggande orter wid alfwen De la Ware, Wast-Yersey och New-Castle county uti Norra America.* Stockholm: Tryckt hos Harberg & Hesselberg, 1759, pp. 9-10; Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* pp. 61, 86-89.

132 Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664*. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Comp, 1911, 1: p. 192-193. Johnson refers to documents in the Swedish Riksarkivet in Stockholm, but unfortunately does not provide the original language being used. I have not been able to include a trip to Stockholm in my research for this report. G.W. Kernkamp, "Brieven van Samuel Blommaert aan den zweedschen rijkskanselier Axel Oxenstierna, 1635 - 1641," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 29 (1908), pp. 3-196, at p. 163.

landside and heightening those on the waterside were necessary, but as he required permission from Sweden for this, it is unlikely that any further work was done. Within Fort Christina, Ridder had three new houses built after the two old houses had been moved to the east side of the fort. An interesting observation of Ridder concerned the location of Fort Christina. To his mind, a new fort had to be built to control the river and expand New Sweden's power. Ridder also asked his superiors for more guns, as well as powder and shot.[133]

When David Pietersz de Vries sailed up the South River in 1643, he also visited Fort Christina:

> The 19th, I sailed with the governor [Johan Björnsson Printz, who had replaced Ridder nine months earlier] down to the Minckquas-Kil, where their first fort was, with some houses inside, where they carried on their trade with the Minquas Indians; our ship came down the river also. In this small fort there were some iron guns.[134]

Printz had ordered several repairs to be carried out on Fort Christina, but these were likely limited in extent, as he also proceeded to erect several other forts. It is likely that this expansion forced him to reduce the garrison at Fort Christina.[135] A year later, in 1644, Fort Christina was commanded by Johan Papegoja, who had three soldiers at his disposal, as well as a trumpeter, a constable, and a marshal-provost, but presumably could also draw upon others employed by the New Sweden Company if the need arose.[136]

A report by West India Company official Andries Hudde reveals that the Dutch, the main rivals of the Swedes in hegemony of the Delaware River, were well informed of the condition of Fort Christina. According to Hudde, the Swedish fort was

> situated a good half-mile up the stream and is surrounded by marshy ground, except on the northwest side where it can be approached by land and on the southwest side where the stream flows past. It is reasonably strong but can be made stronger. It has no fixed garrison but is, nevertheless, reasonably well supplied. It is the headquarters for trading and also the place where the chief official keeps his residence.[137]

By this time, Fort Christina was no longer the seat of government of New Sweden, as Printz had moved his headquarters to Fort Nya Gothenborgh further up the river. Johan Classon Risingh, who arrived as the new governor in 1654, reversed this decision.

133 Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* p. 197.

134 "Den 19 dito voer ick met de Governeur weder de Rivier af naer de Minckquas-Kil toe, daer haer eerste Fort was, met eenighe Huysen daer in, daer sy haer handel dreven met de Minckquas-Wilde; ons Schip quam mede de Rivier af. In dit Fortjen lagen eenige ysere Stucken;" De Vries, *Korte Historiael,* p. 273; Myers, Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, p. 28.

135 Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* p. 307.

136 Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, pp. 110-112.

137 "dit fort leijt een groot halft [mijl op] de kil [en] rondtom [met] moeraschegie grondt [p. 2] wtgeseijt aende n: w: sijde daer men te lande can bijcoomen en aende s:w: daer het de kill heeft, is redelijck sta[rck] doch starcker te maken. Dit fort heeft geen vaste beset[tinge] van volck doch is gelijck wel reedelijck versien, en is de hooftplaets vanden handel, alwaer den Commis oock sijn resi[dentie] houdt." NYSA, NYCM 18: 1, p. 1-2 (ca. 1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 1).

A map made by Per Mårtensson Lindeström (fig. 9) gives an indication of what Fort Christina looked like at this point in time. Lindeström was a Swedish engineer, who had attended the University of Uppsala, specializing in mathematics and fortifications. After a stay of three years in New Sweden, he returned to Europe and in later life prepared his manuscript entitled "Geographia Americae eller Indiae Occidentalis beskrijffningh," which was not published until the twentieth century. In New Sweden, Lindeström was commissioned to survey the fields near Fort Christina and divide them into plots. It must have been at this time that he produced a map that included Fort Christina. It shows how close the fort was to the creek.[138]

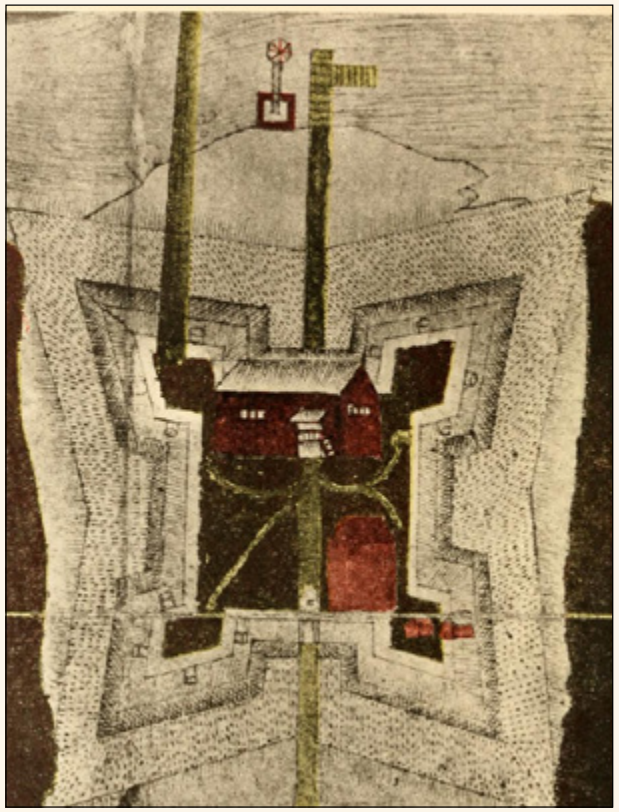

Fig. 9. Fort Christina. Detail of map by Per Lindeström, *Christina Skantz,* ca. 1654.

Risingh had great plans for Fort Christina and its surroundings. In June 1655 he reported that he expected additional buildings to be constructed when more colonists arrived. He planned to have these built "in the form of a city, where it seems best to place the staple town, since a port can be made and the place can be fortified against attack." As to the fort, he wrote:

> Fort Christina was built up last autumn with good ramparts of turf, on two sides where it had mostly fallen down. In the spring it was surrounded by palisades, so that one can dwell there securely against the attack of the savages. Yet one side is greatly dilapidated, which like the aforementioned is made of turf. This I have in mind to mend as soon as the hay and the grain have been harvested, with which the people are now occupied.[139]

138 http://history.blogs.delaware.gov/category/archaeology/page/2/ (accessed 25 June 2014); Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* p. 518-519.

139 "Sielfwe Skantzen Christina wart I höstas på 2 sijdor medh god walltorf vpbygd, ther han mäst war förfallin, I wåår wart han medh Pallisadar runtom beslutin, att för the willdas ahnfall kan man ther säker boo, Åhn förfaller en sijda mächta, hwilken som the förre, ähr giord af Rietetorf, then iagh ähnar och låta förfärdiga, så snart höö och säd ähr bergatt ther medh the nu reeda ähro befatte;" Amandus Johnson, "Director Johan Rising's Report to the Commercial College, Dated at Christina in New Sweden, June 14, 1655," *German American Annals,* new series vol. 8 (1910), pp. 87-93, at p. 92; Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 164.

Risingh may have dwelt secure against attacks by the Natives, but Fort Christina surrendered quickly when the Dutch arrived in force in September 1655. Director General Stuyvesant received instructions not to maintain Fort Christina, but to keep only three or four soldiers there to ensure it remained in Dutch hands. Fort Casimir was to be the main West India Company stronghold on the Delaware[140]

This changed when the Amsterdam directors granted Fort Casimir and the surrounding area to the city of Amsterdam as the New Amstel patroonship. Fort Christina, now renamed Fort Altena (although the old name was still used at times), became the main fort of the West India Company. The Amsterdam directors provisionally ordered Stuyvesant to occupy it with eight to ten soldiers, with the aim to protect the Company's Swedish subjects and to instil fear in potential enemies, both Native and European.[141] Later the garrison was raised to fifteen or sixteen soldiers commanded by a corporal or a sergeant.[142]

There are a few indications that repair work was being carried out at Fort Altena between 1655 and 1664, for which bricks made at Fort Orange were used. It is unclear, however, whether the bricks were used to reinforce the fort itself or the buildings in or around it.[143] In March 1660 the danger of an attack by the English in Maryland necessitated some repairs to the fort. Willem Beeckman, who had been appointed vice-director at the South River in 1658, asked Stuyvesant whether the batteries should be repaired with sods or beams.[144] A month later he reported that they were "busy fitting the fortress with gabions and shall cut the decayed points down obliquely."[145] It is worth reminding that Beeckman had been in charge of making gabions in New Amsterdam four years earlier. It is likely that further attempts to reinforce Fort Altena were made in 1664. Fort Christina/Fort Altena is presumed to be located in what is now Fort Christina State Park on E. 7th Street in Wilmington, Delaware. The site is a National Historic Landmark and features the Fort Christina Monument. However, recent archaeological probing suggests that the park is located on filled-in wetlands rather than on the actual site of Fort Christina. The existence of any remains needs to be ascertained.[146]

Fort Mecoponacka/Upland (Chester, Pennsylvania) — 1641

The area between the modern Chester and Ridley Creeks at Chester, Pennsylvania, was settled in

140 NYSA, NYCM 12, doc. 36, p. 3 (13 March 1656; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658*, p. 84).
141 NYSA, NYCM 12, doc. 45, p. 8 (19 December 1656; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658*, p. 108).
142 NYSA, NYCM 12: doc. 66, p. 4 (15 September 1657; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658*, p. 149).
143 NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 46 (5 September 1658; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664*, p. 128), doc. 47 (7 October 1658; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 130).
144 "soden of balcken; NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 82, p. 2 (15 March 1660; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 190).
145 "Wij sijn doende de fortresse met schanschoren te besetten sullen de vervallen punten schuijn afsteecken;" NYSA, NYCM 18: doc.84, p. 2 (28 April 1660; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 196).
146 William J. Chadwick, *Geomorphologic Assessment Fort Christina Park, Wilmington, Delaware.* Prepared for Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover, Delaware, by John Milner Associates, Inc., West Chester, Pennsylvania, November 2012. I thank Craig Lukezic for providing me with this reference.

1641 and called Upland, presumably after a place of that name in Sweden. According to Johnson, a blockhouse was built on an elevated place here, with Christer Boije in charge.[147] In 1643, Printz reported of Upland and Schylenkyll (Schuylkill): "these two places are now open, yet strong wooden houses are built upon them with small stone-cannon."[148] Yet five years later, Campanius describes Meconopacka or Upland as "an unfortified place," although he does add "there was a fort built there some time after it settlement. It is good even land along the river shore."[149] Acrelius, writing much later, probably bases himself on Campanius when he states that this Swedish settlement was located "upon the river shore, on the same plan, with some houses and a fort."[150] The exact location of the fortification is unknown and the existence of remains would need to be ascertained.

Fort Nya Gothenborgh (Essington, Pennsylvania) — 1643

In 1643, Johan Printz moved the capital of New Sweden to Tinicum Island, higher up on the Delaware River, where he built his manor house, called Printzhof. Nearby, on a high point facing the river, Fort Nya Gothenborgh was constructed of "hemlock beams, laid one upon the other," armed with four small brass cannon, and garrisoned with eight soldiers and two gunners. It is presumed that the storehouse was located on the land side of the island[151] A year later, Printz said of 'Tinnakongh', as the island was often called, that, like Fort Christina, it was "also in like manner made so strong that those who are therein need not fear for any savages, even if they were several thousands."[152] But a different enemy took Printz at unawares. According to Andries Hudde's 1645 report,

> Tinnekonck [was] an island enclosed on the side opposite the river by streams and thickets. Here, where the governor Johan Prints, has his residence, was located a fairly strong fort built of pine beams laid one upon the other (but this fort burned down on 5 December 1645 along with everything nearby).[153]

According to Printz, the fire was started through the carelessness of one of the gunners. He had the fort rebuilt the next year.[154]

147 Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* p. 307.
148 Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 99.
149 Thomas Campanius Holm, *Description of the Province of New Sweden, now Called, by the English, Pennsylvania, in America, Compiled from the Relations and Writings of Persons Worthy of Credit, and Adorned with Maps and Plates.* Philadelphia: McCarty & Davis, 1834, p. 80.
150 "på strand sidan, en jåmn plan med några hys och en Stants;" Acrelius, *Beskrifning om de swenska forsamlingars forna och narwarande tilstand,* p. 39; Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 68.
151 Fort and manor house were located at what is now Governor Printz Park, at Taylor Avenue and 2nd Street. The stone foundations of Printzhof were excavated in 1937, 1976, and 1985 and the park was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1961. http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NHLS/Text/66000661.pdf (accessed 18 December 2014); Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* p. 305-306; Marshall Joseph Becker, "Ethnohistory and Archaeology in Search of the Printzhof; The 17th Century Residence of Swedish Colonial Governor Johan Printz," *Ethnohistory* 26 (1979), pp. 15-44.
152 Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 99.
153 "tinnekonck, twelck een eijlandt is en wart met killen en krupel-bos vande revier-kant achter van beslooten, alwaer de Goevern: johan prins sijn residentie heeft, leijt een redelijck starck fort, van greene balc[ken] op malcanderen leggende gemaeckt (doch dit fort met al[les] datter bij staet is den 5 decem: 45 affgebrandt);" NYSA, NYCM 18: 1, p. 2 (ca. 1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers* 1648-1664, p. 2).
154 Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, p. 326; Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 121-122.

Few details are available on Fort Nya Gothenborgh after it was rebuilt. When the Dutch conquered New Sweden some plundering took place on the island, but whether this affected the fort is uncertain.[155] The Company directors renamed the island "Cattenburch," after one of the islands in the recent extension of their city.[156] The name did not stick, and in the documents after 1655 the island Tinicum is mentioned at times, without however any reference to a fort.

Fort Elfsborg/Elsenburgh (Salem, New Jersey) — 1643

The Swedes constructed this short-lived fort, called Elsenburgh by the Dutch, in 1643 on the orders of the newly arrived governor Johan Printz. Its location was chosen in order to neutralize Dutch Fort Nassau. In order to do so, it was constructed further south on the Delaware River, where the Varkens Kill (present-day Salem Creek) enters into Delaware Bay. When David Pietersz de Vries visited the Delaware in 1643, he dropped anchor before the fort and "sailed landward, to the fort, which was not quite completed; it was made in the English fashion, with three points close by the side of the river and there lay six or eight metal pieces on it, of twelve pound iron."[157]

A year later, in 1644, Johan Printz reported that "Elfsborg [was] now (especially on the one side) [..] so secure that there is no need to fear any attack (if it is not entirely too severe)." At this point in time, the fort had a garrison of 16 men, commanded by Sven Sküte.[158]

According to the report by Andries Hudde, Fort Nya Elfborg was "ordinarily garrisoned with twelve men and a lieutenant; four twelve-pounders, both iron and brass, and one *pots-hooft* [an artillery piece fashioned from iron instead of being cast]." It was "constructed of earthworks." The purpose of the fort was to control access to the river, keeping it closed to all except Swedish ships. As Andries Hudde reports, several of the Company yachts coming from Manhattan were fired upon from the fort. No fatalities ensued, which suggests the fort's location and the reach of its guns were not sufficient to achieve its intended purpose.[159] The fort was nicknamed Fort Myggenborgh (Fort Mosquito) as the nearby swamp made the insects a veritable pest. Many soldiers on the fort succumbed to malaria.[160] After Fort Casimir was built on the other side of the Delaware in 1651, the Swedes abandoned Fort Nya Elfsborg. By 1655, "the fortress of Elfsborg [..] lay in ruins."[161]
The original site is offshore at Elsinboro Point, four miles southwest of Salem near the Fort Elfsborg-Salem Road (County Highway 625), where two historic markers are located. In 2012 an

155 NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 18, p. (29 October 1655; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664*, p. 44).
156 NYSA, NYCM 12: doc. 45, p. 8 (19 December 1656; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* p. 108).
157 "ende voeren aen Landt in 't Fort, dat noch niet heel volmaeckt was, worden die Engelse wijs gemaeckt, met drie Punten dicht op de kant vande Rivier, en daer laghen ses a acht Metalen Stucken op van twaelf pond ysers." De Vries, *Korte Historiael,* p. 273; Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 27-28.
158 Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 99, 112-113, 120.
159 "ordinarij beset met 12 man en een luytenant 4 stucken soo iser als metael van 12 ₤ iser: i pots-hooft;" "met eerde is opgeworpen;" NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 1, p. 1 (1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664*, p. 1).
160 Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 68.
161 "fästningen Elfsborg som tå låg förfallet;" Carl David Arfwedson, *De Colonia Nova Svuecia in Americam Borealem Deducta Historiala.* Upsaliæ: excudebant Regiæ Academiæ Typographi, [1825], p. 23; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* p. 582.

unsuccessful search was undertaken to locate remains. As Craig Lukezic suggests, changes in the landscape, for instance as the result of storms or floods, have been extensive, making it possible that the site of Fort Elfsborg is now covered by the river.[162]

Fort Nya Vasa (Philadelphia) — ca. 1643

In the early 1640s, the Swedes built a blockhouse on a tributary to Darby Creek, which empties into the Delaware River. Its presumed location is in Philadelphia's Kingsessing neighbourhood, near Cobbs Creek Parkway and Greenway Avenue. In his 1648 report, Andries Hudde does not provide the Swedish name, but he does give some information as to the location:

> A little way beyond this fort [Fort Nya Korsholm] runs a stream [Schuylkil] that extends to the forest (this place is called Kinsessingh by the Indians). It was a steady and permanent place of trade for us with the Minquas, but the Swedes have now occupied it with a fortified house [Nya Vasa]. A half-mile further through the woods Governor Prints has built a mill on the stream [Kwarn Kill (now Cobb's Creek)] that flows into the sea a little south of Matinnekonck, and has built a fortified house [Molndal] on the other side of this stream directly on the trail of the Minquas. This place is called Kakarikonck by the Indians. Consequently there are no places open to attract these Minquas. He has likewise monopolized the trade with the River Indians because most of them go hunting that way and cannot easily come through without passing his place. With regard to his manpower: at the most it consists of about 80 or 90 men, freemen as well as servants, with whom he must garrison all his posts.[163]

As Hudde's report was compiled in 1647 or, most likely, 1648, Nya Vasa must have in existence earlier. In 1643, Printz reported of Upland and Schylenkyll (Schuylkill): "these two places are now open, yet strong wooden houses are built upon them with small stone-cannon." Myers asserts that this "evidently" refers to "Wasa, or Nya Wasa, at Kingsessing."[164] He may well be right, although the first use of that name for the location comes from Acrelius, writing over a century later. According to Acrelius, this place, and some others, "which are marked upon the oldest maps, were places laid out and planned, but did not get established under the Swedish administration."[165] Despite this confusion, it is clear that a fortified house, later called Nya Vasa, was built in the early 1640s.

162 http://www.jerseymanmagazine.com/elfsborg.php (accessed 19 December 2014). For an extensive description of the site and previous attempts to find remains of the fort, see Susan Eidson, "An Historiograph of an Early Fort in the New World: Fort Elsborg, Salem County, New Jersey, including an Examination of the Geography, History and Politics of the Region" (MA Thesis California State University Dominguez Hills, 2001), p. 58-92; personal communication Craig Lukezic, 7 July 2015.

163 "Vorder een weijnigh dit fort verbij loop een kil tot [ ] vaste bos (welcke plaetse genaempt wart kinsessingh bij de wilden) dat een gestadige en vaste handel plaet[s] voor d'onsen is geweest met de minqasen, doch is nu vande sweede gepossedeert met een starck huijs, verder het bos duer een halft mijl, heeft de gov: prints een mulen geleijt, op een kil soo een weijnigh bij s: matinnekonck in see loopt, en over dese kil een vast huijs recht op het pat der minqasen, en wart dese plaete bij de wilden genaempt kakarikonck, soo dat geen plaetse op [ ] sijn tot vttreckinge der selfder minqasen, gelijck oock de meeste cracht, vanden handel der revierse wilden genoechsaem in handen heeft, door dien de meeste [ ] darwaerts gaen jagen, en conen niet wel doorcomen of moeten sijn plaetse passeeren;" NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 1, p. 1 (1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 1). Identification of places taken from Dr. Gehring's annotation.

164 Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 99.

165 "Gripsholm, Nya Wasa &c, som på de åldste Chartor stå tesnade, woro orter utlagde, och tillåmnade, men under Swenst Regering aldrig I stånd somne;" Acrelius, *Beskrifning om de swenska forsamlingars forna och narwarande tilstand,* p. 39; Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 68.

Fort Beversreede and Fort Nya Korsholm (Philadelphia) — 1647/1648

The relations between the Swedes and the Dutch shifted from uneasy coexistence to outright rivalry when both nations decided to focus on the Schuylkill River and built fortifications there in proximity to each other. As Andries Hudde reported:

> With regard to the Schuylkil, which is land purchased and owned by the honorable Company, he [Printz] has destroyed the honorable Company's timber and built a fort [Nya Korsholm] there. It is situated on a most convenient island [Province Island] at the edge of the stream, and is enclosed on the west side by another stream; on the south by southeast and east sides by thickets and marshland. It is located about a gunshot from the mouth of the stream on the south side. Fine grain is raised on this island. This fort can cause no obstruction to the river, but the stream can be controlled by it and this stream is the only way remaining for trade with the Minquas; without which trade this river is of little importance.[166]

Presumably the building materials consisted of the "large quantities of pine logs," which had been lying in the Schuylkill throughout the winter.[167] A similar building method had been used for Fort Nya Gothenborgh (see above). In April 1648 Hudde was informed by Native American sachems that the Swedes had already built several buildings on the Schuylkill. As they invited him to do likewise, he quickly contacted Stuyvesant in New Amsterdam. After obtaining permission Hudde proceeded to build a Dutch fortification, called Fort Beversreede, next to the Swedish Fort Nya Korsholm that had been built in 1647.[168] An exchange of protests with the Swedish commander lieutenant Måns Nilsson Kling ensued, but nevertheless Hudde pushed on with the work. He surrounded the house with palisades (*palisaden*) against Swedish attempts to destroy it, as they had done with a previous West India Company house downstream. Hudde adds: "I have erected a fort so that he might not also come here to do the same."[169] Later in 1648 the Swedes "built a house in front of Fort Beversreede, whereby the entrance to this fort was virtually closed off."[170] Later that autumn, one of the Swedes at night "to deride us pulled the palisades of Fort Beversreede apart and broke through them," which suggests that the fortification was not as sturdy as Hudde would have liked.[171]

Fort Beversreede was abandoned when the Dutch built Fort Casimir. Johnson assumes that

166 Wat aengaet de schuijlkil dat des E Comp. gecofte ende nae possesdeerde landerijen sijn, heeft hij de E. Comp: t [ ] geruijneert, en der jn plaetse een fort geleijt, sijnde op de [ ] seer bequaem eijlandt op de kandt van dese kil, ende haer [ ] S, S:O, ende O: sijde met krupelbos en valleij landen, ende lijt ongeveer een roer schoot de kil in, aende suijt sijde vand[e] kil, wart schoon kooren op dit selfde eijlandt geboudt met dit fort can de revier geen schade geschieden mae[r] de kil can dan daer meede gedwongen werden [ ] is dese kil de eenigste plaetse soo is over gebleven tot den handel der minquaes, sonder welcke handel dese revier van cleijne consideratie is;" NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 1, p. 2 (1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 1). Identification of places taken from Dr. Gehring's annotation.

167 "macht van greenen balcken;" NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 1, p. 14 (1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664*, p. 9).

168 Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 121. This indicates that Fort Beversreede was built in 1648, not earlier, as is sometimes suggested. Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 100, suggests that Fort Nya Korsholm was built on the site of an attempted English settlement.

169 "wt oorsaecke alsoo de sweede voor desen het huijs soo de E: Com. voor desen voor jnde schuijl-kil heeft gehadt heeft geruijneert en daer een fort geleijt, hij het selfde hier oock niet quame te beginnen" ; NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 1, p. 16 (1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 10).

170 "de sweet een huijs heeft geset voort fort bevers-reede waer meede de toeganck tot het selfde fort genoechsaem geslooten hielt;" NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 1, p. 16 (1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 11).

171 "als tot hoon bij naght de palisades vant fort [be]vers reede met force van malcan: geruckt en daer door gebroocken;" NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 1, p. 16 (1648; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 11).

Fort Nya Korsholm was also abandoned in 1651, at the same time as Fort Nya Elfsborg. As the concentration of Swedish forces was a likely reaction to the building of Fort Casimir by the Dutch, Johnson's suggestion seems quite plausible. Native Americans burned down the abandoned Fort Nya Korsholm a few years later.[172]

Fort Casimir/Trefaldighet/New Amstel (New Castle, Delaware) — 1651

The struggle between New Sweden and New Netherland over control of the Delaware reached a critical phase when Dutch director general Petrus Stuyvesant made a voyage there in July 1651 and selected a location for a new Dutch fort, which was to replace Fort Nassau and Fort Beversreede. Stuyvesant first purchased all the land south of Fort Christina down to Bombay Hook (*Boomtjes hoeck*) from the Native Americans and ensured that the transaction was agreed upon in a format agreeable to European law for the purpose of likely legal and diplomatic wrangling between the Dutch Republic and Sweden. Then Stuyvesant selected "a reasonably suitable place [..] about a mile from the Swedish Fort Christina" to build a "fortress named Casimier," which was furnished with "people and ammunitions of war, according to circumstances."[173]

It has been suggested that Petrus Stuyvesant named the new fort after Count Ernst Casimir van Nassau-Dietz, stadholder of Friesland from 1620-1632 (i.e. during Stuyvesant's early years there).[174] There is no direct documentary evidence to support this suggestion, although it is worth pointing out that on the 1631 map one of the rivers is named "Graef Ernst's rivier," probably a reference to the same nobleman. Another possibility is that the fort was named after the Polish king John II Casimir Vasa, who in 1649 clashed with Cossack and Tartar forces in the Battle of Zboriv. In some Dutch publications of 1650 his effort was hailed as a struggle between European and non-European (i.e. heathen) forces. In that case the naming of the fort can be interpreted as an expression of European solidarity against the danger of a Native American attack.[175] Yet without further evidence we can only echo the Amsterdam directors, who in 1652 wrote: "For what reason this fort is so named has not been revealed to us," even though their remark makes clear that the name originated in New Netherland.[176]

In reply to Stuyvesant's actions, the Amsterdam directors showed some apprehension and suggested erecting "some fortifications on the east bank opposite this fort." The decision was left to

172 Johnson, *Swedish Settlements,* pp. 331-332, 497-498; Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", pp. 163-165.

173 "een plaetse redelijck bequaem [..] ontrent een mijl van het sweedse fort Christina;" "fortresse genaemt Casimier;" "met volck en ammunitie van oorlogh nae gelegentheijt beseth sijnde." Nat. Arch., SG, inv.nr. 12582 (24 January 1656; *DRCHNY* 1: p. 590); New Castle, Delaware Community History and Archaeology Program, "Where was Fort Casimir? Historical and archaeological evidence from the 1986 Heite report" http://nc-chap.org/chap/casimir.php (accessed 23 April 2014); Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 158.

174 Delaware Federal Writers' Project, *Delaware: A Guide to the First State.* New York: Viking Press, 1938, p. 26.

175 Thijs Weststeijn, "Samuel van Hoogstraten, the First Dutch Novelist?," in Thijs Weststeijn ed., *The Universal Art of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (1627-1678): *Painter, Writer, and Courtier.* Amsterdam University Press: Amsterdam, 2013, pp. 183-207, at pp. 194-195.

176 "wat redenen dit fort alsoo wort genaemt, is ons niet geopenbaert;" NYSA, NYCM, 11: 53, p. 19 (4 April 1652; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653,* p. 155).

director general and council, who were warned to take "good care that no strongholds be erected at any time on any islands near the Manhattans" by any enemies of the West India Company.[177] The misgivings of the Amsterdam directors were well-founded. When the First Anglo-Dutch broke out in the summer of 1652, they ordered the authorities in New Amsterdam to put Fort Casimir, as well as Fort Amsterdam and Fort Orange, "in proper defensive states," while also sending ammunition.[178] Nevertheless, the new Swedish commander Johan Risingh, immediately upon his arrival on the Delaware River at the end of May 1654, decided to take Fort Casimir, "the fort erected at the Sandy Point," as he called it.[179] Upon spotting the Swedish ship, the commander of Fort Casimir, sergeant Gerrit Bicker "hoisted the Prince's flag on said fort," and sent out a scouting party. After receiving news of the identity of the ship and the intentions of the crew, Bicker was in despair: "What should I do? There is no powder." According to some later reports, Bicker's wife had used the available powder to trade with the Native Americans. Risingh sailed his ship up to the fort and then sent out a sloop with twenty to thirty armed soldiers. Bicker awaited the Swedish soldiers outside the fort, "in front of the gate," which had been left open. Next Bicker, without giving any orders to his men, accompanied the Swedes into the fort where they divided themselves, "some to the bastions or bulwarks of the fort," while the others easily overpowered the garrison of ten or twelve soldiers.[180] Fort Casimir was renamed Fort Trefaldigheten (Fort Trinity), after Trinity Sunday, which in 1654 was May 31, the day it was captured. Most of the West India Company soldiers were subsequently shipped to New Amsterdam, but some of them, including sergeant Bicker and most of the freemen, decided to stay and took an oath to the new Swedish governor.

In retaliation, the Dutch authorities in New Amsterdam later that year seized a Swedish ship that had entered the bay of the North River by mistake. As Risingh proved unwilling to evacuate Fort Casimir, director general and council proceeded with the formal confiscation of the Swedish ship. Of course, Stuyvesant and his council also informed their superiors. The Amsterdam directors expressed great astonishment at the taking of Fort Casimir by the Swedes and were outraged by the behaviour of Gerrit Bicker. They concluded that he had conducted himself "very faithlessly, even treacherously" and had to be apprehended. The directors also asked for all conveyances and title deeds, as well as other authenticated documents and papers that could strengthen the case for the West India Company's ownership of the Delaware. In a private letter, they indicated to Stuyvesant their intention to take revenge and drive the Swedes from the river. For this purpose, they hired the warship *Waegh*, which sailed for New Amsterdam at the end of May 1655.[181]

177 "hoochnodich soude sijn aende Oostwal tegens over dit fort eenige sterckte te maecken;" "goede opsichte te doen houden, datter ontrent de Manathans op eenige Eijlanden niet te eniger tij[t] eenige vasticheden worden opgeworpen;" NYSA, NYCM, 11: 53, p. 19 (4 April 1652; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653,* p. 155).

178 "in behoorlijcke defenderinge;" NYSA, NYCM 11: 71, p. 3 (6 August 1652; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653,* p. 183).

179 "het fort opde santhoeck geleijt;" Nat. Arch, SG, inv.nr. 12582.9 (27 May 1654 o.s.; *DRCHNY* 1: p. 606).

180 "de Prince Vlagge van gemelte fortresse liet waijen;" "wat soude ick doen, daer is geen Cruijt;" "voor de poort des forts;" "verdeijlden haer eenige terstont naede poincten ofte bolwercken des forts;" Nat.Arch, SG, inv.nr. 12582.9 (July 1654; *DRCHNY* 1: pp. 601-606).

181 "het schandelyck overgeven van des kompagnies fortresse opde Zuytriviere, en de geweldige en vijantlycke usurpatie vande Sweden aldaer;" "seer trouwelooselyck, jae verraderlycken;" NYSA, NYCM 12: 13, p. 1 (16 September 1654; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658*, pp. 36-37); NYSA, NYCM, 12: 17, p. 7 (23 November 1654; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658*, p. 42); NYSA, NYCM, 22, p. 4-5 (26 May 1655; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* pp. 58-59).

In the meantime, Swedish governor Johan Risingh had of course proceeded to strengthen Fort Trinity. Soon after capturing it, Risingh wrote to Sweden that he was in great need of "cannon, iron as well as brass cannon." This specifically applied to Fort Trinity, "where the cannon which the Hollanders left are mostly useless." As he did not yet know whether the captured guns would eventually be restored to the Dutch Republic, Risingh had "borrowed four fourteen-pounders from the ship and placed them in an entrenchment before the fort, the better to sweep the river straight across."[182] In June 1655, Risingh reported to Europe:

> Commandant Schute is diligently working on Fort Trinity, where already two bastions with curtain walls are ready, as also a fine rampart on the waterside in front of the fort. He is hurrying the work forward with speed.[183]

All these Swedish efforts were of little avail. The Dutch expedition that sailed from New Amsterdam in 1655 consisted of four yachts, a galliot, a flute, and the warship *Waegh*, which had 36 guns. The smaller ships had about four guns each. The ships carried some 300 soldiers, divided into six companies. The force that Stuyvesant had assembled was vastly superior to anything Risingh could field and New Sweden was quickly conquered.[184]

The Amsterdam directors were satisfied with the 1655 takeover of New Sweden, although they would have preferred a less formal capitulation agreement. According to them such written contracts were unnecessary. Even so, they wrote, "You will have the aforesaid Fort Casimir properly taken care of and be in charge of it, but little attention need be paid to Fort Christina, where you will leave only 3 or 4 men to live there as garrison and to keep it in our possession."[185] Stuyvesant appointed Jan Paul Jacquet as commander of Fort Casimir. His instructions provide interesting details concerning the daily life inside Fort Casimir. Jacquet was entrusted with the keys of the fort and the magazine when he was present. He was solely responsible for deciding the watchword. Jacquet was instructed not to allow soldiers to absent themselves from the fort during the night, nor would the Swedes residing around the fort be allowed in except with the vice-director's permission. Neither Swedes nor Indians were to be allowed to frequent the fort and take note of its defensive state. His tasks included maintaining a proper state of defence of Fort Casimir and to supervise the "training exercises and guard duty" of Company servants. Jacquet had the power to discharge soldiers if they wished to start a farm, but he had to enforce the condition that they

182 "Oss äro här Stycken, så Jernstycken som Metallestycken för nöden;" "hwarest the stycken som hollenderne lemnade, åro mästedeelen odugse;" "Wij hafwe therföre länt 4 14 pundige af Skippet, och sättia them vndher itt retranchement för Skantzen och altså theste bättre att bestryka Elven alt twert öfwer;" Sprinchorn, *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Historia,* 99; Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* 147.

183 "Commendant Schuten låter och warkert arbete på 3faltigheetz Skantz, therpå reeda 2 bastioner med Courtinen färdige ähre, så och itt wackert bolwärke på Siösijdan vthanför Skantzen; han drijfwer thet wärket med fortgångh foort;" Johnson, "Director Johan Rising's Report to the Commercial College," p. 92; Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* p. 164.

184 Jaap Jacobs, *Petrus Stuyvesant. Een levensschets.* Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009, pp. 79-89.

185 "het voorss. fort casimier sullen Ue naer behooren doen versorgen en beswaren, doch het fort Cristina weijnich aentrecken, latende alleen tot de besettinge ende om de possessie te houden een man 3 ofte 4 daerin logeren;" NYSA, NYCM 12: 36, p. 3 (13 March 1656; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* p. 84).

would help defend the fort if required. The 1655 instructions warned Jacquet not to grant lots along the marsh side of the fort, "between the kill and the aforesaid fort, or behind the fort," as this land was to be reserved for "reinforcements and outworks."[186]

Soon after Jacquet's appointment, the West India Company directors in Amsterdam decided to transfer part of their possessions on the Delaware to the city of Amsterdam, in order to found a patroonship there under the name of New Amstel. It took some time for the city colony to make a proper start. Upon his arrival on 25 May 1657 Jacob Alrichs, vice-director of New Amstel, received the keys from vice-director Jan Paul Jacquet and took formal possession of the fort. Reporting to his superiors after the winter, he complained about its poor condition:

> The fortifications and all the buildings are in a very ruinous condition, whereby from the want of a storehouse, etc., I now find myself considerably inconvenienced. In order to unload the goods I, moreover, put up a tent, but in consequence of unsettled and rainy weather, have been obliged to arrange matters here as well as one can, not as one would want to. The house is covered with oak shingles that are so shrunk, drawn up, and in part rotten, that scarcely a dry spot can be found when it rains. And as there was no place for the powder, and only from eight to ten kegs in the house, I have thought it best to have a powderhouse constructed under the southeast bastion of the fort for the greater security of about 36 or 40 kegs.[187]

Although Alrichs tried his best, he found himself unable to repair the fort and improve other buildings according to his wishes. Lack of building materials initially hampered his efforts, while the outbreak of diseases and the lack of provisions made staying alive difficult enough. During the summer of 1658, Alrichs distributed bricks that he had ordered from Fort Orange to the colonists for building chimneys, but he does not seem to have strengthened the bastions with them.[188] After Alrichs himself succumbed to illness, command of the city colony passed on to Alexander d'Hinojossa, who took little care of the fortifications. According to one report, d'Hinojossa stripped the fort of its palisades and used them as fuel for his brew-kettle.[189] It is hardly surprising that the fort was in a bad condition when the English arrived in late 1664. Even so, d'Hinojossa and his troops refused to surrender. Thereupon Sir Robert Carr ordered a company of foot to land, while he himself stayed on board of his ship:

186 "magasijn;" "doen onderhouden in behoor[lijcke] defensie;" "goede ord[re] ende discipline houden op haere tochten [ende] wachten;" "[ ] achter de fort[resse];" "tot versterckinge en [ ] vande fortresse" ; NYSA, NYCM 6: p. 185-189 (6 December 1655; Gehring, *Council Minutes 1655-1656,* pp. 157-160).

187 "doch de fortificatie ende alle t gebou seer vervallen, waermede mij nu vrij geincommodeert bevinde, als ooc door gebreck van een magasijn als anders, hebbe voorts tot het lossen der goederen een tent opgeslagen, doch bij buijich ende regenachtich weder, hebbe het hier moeten stellen, soo men kan ende niet als men wilde, t huijs is met geklooft eijkenhout gedeckt, twelck soo gekrompen getrocken, ende ten dele verrot is, dat als het regent qualijck een droge plaets te vinden, ende vermits geen plaetse tot het cruijt, als alleen tot acht of tien vatien int huijs waer, so hebben goet geacht een kruijthuijs onder de suijdoost punt vant fort doen maken, tot ontrent 36 oft 40 vaties om sulcx in de meeste seekerheijt te connen bewaren;" Stadsarchief Amsterdam (hereinafter SA), arch. 5028 (archief van Burgemeesters; stukken betreffende verscheidene onderwerpen, hereinafter AB), inv.nr. 541 (Handel 4, Nieuw-Nederland, stadskolonie: rekeningen), sub dato (8 May 1657; *DRCHNY* 2: p. 10).

188 NYSA, NYCM 18: doc. 46 (5 September 1658; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664*, p. 128).

189 NYSA, NYCM 19: doc. 34 (8 June 1662; Gehring, *Delaware Papers 1648-1664,* p. 279).

the foot company being landed vnder the comand of lieut Carr & Ensigne Stocke, without demurring vpon any Difficulty stormd the ffort & gaind it without the losse of a man, though the Dutch fired three Volleys upon them, of the Dutch only thirteene were wounded, and three since dead; within the Fort a considerable Cargo is found, & some part plunder'd.[190]

190 John Carter Brown Library, Codex Eng 2, doc. 19, p. 2 (26 October 1664).

III. Middle and Upper Hudson River Valley

The Hudson River and its tributary the Mohawk River provided seventeenth-century Dutch traders and colonists with an excellent highway into the hinterlands that are now called upstate New York.[191] Seagoing ships were able to sail up the river to about the location of modern Albany, which developed into a hub for the fur trade between European merchants and settlers and Native peoples, primarily the Iroquois. Fort Nassau and Fort Orange became the first Dutch forts to be erected in this area. As the colonist population increased, other fortifications, including blockhouses and palisades, were erected at several places along the river, for instance at Wiltwijck (Kingston), Beverwijck, and Rensselaerswijck.

Fig. 10. Johannes Vingboons, *Noort Rivier in Niew Neerlandt*. Library of Congress, G3291. S12 coll .H3 Vault : Harr vol. 3, map 13.

191 Timothy J. Shannon, "Avenue of Empire: The Hudson Valley in an Atlantic Context," in Jaap Jacobs & L.H. Roper eds., *The Worlds of the Seventeenth-Century Hudson Valley.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014, p. 67-84.

Fort Nassau (Albany) — 1614

In an attempt to put its fur trade on a secure footing, the New Netherland Company in 1614 established "a redoubt or small fort [..] with a small garrison" on the Hudson River.[192] Johannes de Laet, writing about ten years later, supplies the following description:

> The small fort was established here in the year 1614 on a small island on the west bank of the river [..]. This small fort was made in the form of a redoubt, surrounded by a moat of eighteen feet wide; it was furnished with two cast iron and eleven stone pieces and a garrison of ten or twelve men.[193]

This information concurs to some extent with two remarks on the 1614 map of New Netherland:

> The Fort of Nassau is wide 58 feet square within the walls, the moat is 18 feet wide. [..] The house is 36 feet long and 26 wide in the fort.[194]

Even though the accuracy of De Laet's description is subject to doubt, the reference to "the form of a redoubt," "walls," and a "moat of eighteen feet wide" suggest that the outer works of Fort Nassau consisted of earthworks of a simple shape, without protruding points or bastions. There is no reference to a palisade or stockade and while that should not be interpreted as proof of its absence, it makes it unlikely that the perimeter defence of Fort Nassau consisted of a vertical wooden structure, as has been proposed by Len Tantillo.[195] Assuming that the moat (*gracht*) was filled with water and was not a dry moat or ditch (*greppel*), a direct connection to the Hudson River is a conceivable option. In that case, it is likely that Fort Nassau was constructed on the bank of the river and that the side facing the river remained exposed, especially if the two cast guns were located in a position that allowed a clear field of fire over the river. The proximity to the river made Fort Nassau vulnerable to flooding. Nicolaes van Wassenaer reported in 1624 that

> for the safety of the traders, they built a castle (Fort Nassau on an island at 42 degrees, on the north side of the River Montagne, now called Mauritius). But as the nation there was somewhat discontented with that, and not easy to live with, the builders let it fall into decay [..;] the interior [..] is very swampy, great quantities of water running to the river, overflowing the adjoining

192 "Redoute ofte fortjen [..] met een kleyne besettinghe;" Johannes de Laet, *Nieuvve wereldt : ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien wt veelderhande schriften ende aen-teeckeninghen van verscheyden natien by een versamelt / door Ioannes de Laet, ende met noodighe kaerten ende tafels voorsien.* Leyden: In de druckerye van I. Elzevier, 1625, p. 84. It has been argued that Fort Nassau was established earlier, but see the arguments against this in Van Claef Bachman, *Peltries or plantations. The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland 1633-1639.* Baltimore, Londen: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969, p. 11-12.

193 "T'fortjen was hier ghelegt inden jare sesthien hondert ende veerthien op een Eylandeken aen de West-wal van de rieviere [..]. Dit fortjen was ghemaeckt in forme van een Redoute, met een gracht van achthien voeten wijt omcingelt: daer laeghen twee gotelingen op ende elf steen stucken, ende thien oft twaelf man in besettinghe." De Laet, *Nieuwe wereldt,* p. 88.

194 "Fort van Nassouwen is binnen de wallen 58 voeten wijdt in 't viercant, de gracht is wijdt 18 voeten;" "thuijs is 36 voeten lanck en 26 wijt Jnt fort." Nat. Arch., 4. VEL 520; Brommer, *Grote Atlas van de West-Indische Compagnie,* 1: p. 43. For a slightly different translation, see William A. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600-1830.* Lincoln & London: Nebraska University Press, 2013, p. 34.

195 http://www.timesunion.com/local/article/Centuries-old-question-mdash-where-was-Fort-5767896.php (accessed 20 March 2015).

country, which was the cause that Fort Nassau frequently lay under water and was abandoned.[196]

Van Wassenaer does not specify in which year Fort Nassau was abandoned, but Moulton asserted that it happened in 1617, while O'Callaghan preferred 1618 probably on the basis of Stuyvesant's letter of 1660, referred to below.[197] There is no convincing documentary evidence for either suggestion, even though both years are frequently referred to in popular historiography and on websites.

If the precise chronology of Fort Nassau is uncertain, so is its location. Fort Nassau was constructed on Castle Island (*Casteels Eyland*) but the exact location is difficult to pinpoint, as the evidence is contradictory. On the 1614 map of New Netherland, a small mark in the middle of the island may indicate its location, but on a later Vingboons map a larger mark can be discerned on the north point of the island. Yet on the ca. 1632 "Gillis van Scheyndel Map" a farmhouse (Welysburg) is located on the north point.[198] These discrepancies are probably due to inaccuracies in cartography as well as to changes in the island's topography as frequent flooding caused erosion and sedimentation. A flood in April 1640 covered Castle Island with water four feet deep, as the river rose to twelve feet higher than its regular level.[199] The floods that severely damaged Fort Orange in 1647/1648 and 1666 very likely also hit Castle Island.[200]

Even so, remains of Fort Nassau were still extant in 1660, as Petrus Stuyvesant would have his colleagues in New England believe:

> In the year 1615 they constructed a small fort, from which an island near Fort Orange bears the name of Castle Island and of which the monument can still be shown. Three years later, this small fort was damaged by a great flood and ice floes and in time became dilapidated.[201]

While many details in Stuyvesant's letter, writing forty-five years post factum, should be treated with caution, it indicates that the Dutch origin of the fort, as well as its location, if not its name, was still known in 1660.

Twenty years later, the mists of time had further obscured Fort Nassau. Jasper Danckaerts noted in his diary on Sunday 28 April 1680:

> In the afternoon, we took a walk to an island upon the end of which there is a fort built, they say, by

196 "men heeft tot seeckerheydt van de Handelaers een Kasteel ('t Fort Nassou, op een Eylandt op 42 Graden aen de Noort-zyde van de Revier Montagne, nu Mauritius ghenaemt) ghebout: maer also de natie wat mis-ghenoeghens daer in hadde en niet wel by te woonen is, soo hebben die bouwers dat laten vervallen;" "dat seer morassich is, veel waters nae de Revier toe-settende: en het by-legghende Landt over stortende, 't welck oock eenighsins oorsaeck gaf, dat het Fort Nassou, dickwils onder water stont, en verlaten wierdt;" Van Wassenaer, *Historisch verhael,* vol. 6, fol. 144r (February 1624); *NNN*, p. 67-68.

197 Joseph W. Moulton, *History of the State of New-York.* 2 vols, New York, 1824-1826, p. 346; E.B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland, or New York under the Dutch.* New York: D. Appleton & Company, 2 vols., 1st ed. 1846-1848, 2nd ed., 1855, vol. 1, p. 78.

198 Nat. Arch., 4. VEL 519; Library of Congress, G3291. S12H3 vault: Harr. vol. 3, map 13; New York State Library, Van Rensselaer Manor Papers, "Map of Renselaerswyck by Gillis van Scheyndel, 1631-1632;" Brommer, *Grote Atlas van de West-Indische Compagnie,* 1: p. 43-47.

199 De Vries, *Korte Historiael*, p. 238; *NNN*, p. 195.

200 NYSA, NYCM 4: 404 (11 August 1648; *NYHM* 4: p. 550).

201 "tot wiens verseeckeringe inden Jaare 1615 sij een fortje geleijt hebben waervan een eijlant ontrent het fort orange noch de naem van het Casteels eijlant behout, en de monumenten noch getoont connen werden welck fortje van een hooge watervloet en ijsgangh drie jaeren daer na beschadight Is metter tijt vervallen" (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); NYSA, NYCM 9: p. 168 (20 April 1660; *DRCHNY* 14: p. 466).

> the Spaniards. That a fort has been there is evident enough from the earth thrown up and strewn around, but it is supposed that the Spaniards came so far inland to build forts, when there are no monuments of them to be seen elsewhere and down on the sea coasts, where, however, they have been according to the traditions of the Indians. This spot is a short hour's distance below Albany, on the west side of the river.[202]

While remnants of the fort were still discernible in 1680, it is likely that flood erosion gradually removed them. On May 22, 1833, the *New York Evening Post* carried an article about a devastating flood of what was then called Patroon's Island. The flood "swept every vestige of vegetation of its surface" and "the entire surface of the soil is washed away to the depth of several feet." The newspaper reported that "Human skeletons, buried after the Indian manner, in a sitting posture, have been exposed" by the flood, but there is no reference to any remains of Fort Nassau. This omission increases the likeliness that at this point in time, almost 220 years after its construction, few if any traces of Fort Nassau remained.[203]

On the basis of documentary evidence then, it is impossible to locate Fort Nassau with certainty on either the middle section or the north end of Castle Island. This makes it difficult to determine where to start an archaeological investigation, which may not even yield a result. Apart from earlier floods, the 1833 flood, purportedly removing a considerable portion of the topsoil, may also have washed away the sub-surface remainders of the fort, with the possible exceptions of a stone or brick foundation of the dwelling house and the traces of a dugout moat or well. Even if an excavation turned up such traces on Castle Island, it may well be impossible to determine whether they pertain to Fort Nassau from the 1610s or to the farm from the 1630s. In sum, the subsequent development of Westerlo Island, as it was called in the nineteenth century, into an airfield and, later on, the Port of Albany-Rensselaer, as well as the filling in of Island Creek and the construction of a railroad make it unlikely that the exact location of Fort Nassau will ever be established or that remains will be uncovered.

202 "Des namiddaghs gingen wij wandelen na een Eijland op welckers eynd dat een forteresse gelegen heeft, soomen seght bij de spaenjaerden gebout, datter een fortresse gestaen heeft blijckt klaer genoegh aen de omgeworpen en opgehoopte aerde, maer t'is niet te dencken dat sij soo diep int land souden fortressen gaen maken hebben, daer men geen monument elders en selfs beneden aan de see daer van men het daer sij nochtans geweest sijn, na het seggen der wilde. Dese plaets is ontrent een kleijn uurtie beneden Albanij op de west sijde der rivier." Brooklyn Historical Society, journal of Jasper Danckaerts, p. 161 (29 april 1680); Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson ed. *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts 1679-1680.* 1st ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913; 2nd ed. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1941, repr. 1959, p. 215.

203 *New York Evening Post,* May 22, 1833. I thank Paul Huey for bringing this newspaper article to my attention. See also Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 140-143.

Fort Orange (Albany) — 1624

After a few years of intermittent and itinerant trade by private merchants, the West India Company assumed control of New Netherland. One of its first measures was to send over a group of colonists, which upon arrival was divided over four locations. As Catalyn Trico testified over sixty years later,

> y^e^ Rest of y^e^ Passengers went w^th^ y^e^ Ship as farr as Albany which they then Called fort Orangie [..] there were about 18 families aboard who settled themselves att Albany & made a small fort; and [..] built themselves some hutts of Bark.[204]

Although Trico's memory may have failed her in some respects, she had first hand knowledge, unlike Johannes de Laet who referred to Fort Orange in the 1633 Latin edition of his book on the New World:

> The fortress, however, which we call Orange, sits on an island close to the left bank, on the side where a nation of barbarians lives which they call *Maquaes* [Mohawks].[205]

De Laet conflates Fort Nassau and Fort Orange, as Fort Orange was certainly not constructed on an island.[206] Yet this view, in which Fort Orange is interpreted as the successor to Fort Nassau, sometimes on the same location, sometimes further upstream, appears in other documents as well. It is conceivable that De Laet's information came from the same source as used by Van Wassenaer, who provides a few more details:

> This having been done, the ship sailed 44 miles up to the Mahicans, they raised and completed on an island, called Castle Island by them, a fort with four points, which they called Orange.[207]

Van Wassenaer's information establishes the shape of Fort Orange, i.e. a four-pointed European style fort, but its size remains unspecified in the early sources. Research by Paul Huey indicates that the rectangular interior area of the fort measured almost fifty meters, while the outside dimensions were less than 55 meters from north to south.[208] In 1626, the fort had a garrison of

204 E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New-York.* 4 vols. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co. Public Printers, 1849-1851, p. 32.

205 "Castellum autem hoc, quod *Auriacum* dicimus, insulæ insidet, quæ sinistræ ripæ adjacet, ubi natio quædam barbarorum habitat, quos *Mackwasios* vocant, Manhikanis qui dextram ripam è regione tenent insensissimi." Ioanne de Laet, *Novvs Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis Libri XVIII.* Lvgd. Batav.: apud Elzevirios, 1633, p. 73.

206 *NNN*, p. 47.

207 "Dit bestelt wesende is het Schip opghevaren tot 44. mijlen aen de Maykans, hebben op een Eylant by haer t' Casteels Eylant, een Fort met 4. punten, Orangie ghenaemt opgeworpen en voltoyt;" Van Wassenaer, *Historisch verhael,* vol. 7, fol. 11v (April 1624); *NNN*, p. 75.

208 Paul Huey, "Archeological Excavations in the Site of Fort Orange, a Dutch West India Company Trading Fort Built in 1624," Boudewijn Bakker et al. eds, *Nieuwnederlandse studiën. Een inventarisatie van recent onderzoek. New Netherland Studies. An Inventory of Current Research and Approaches. Bulletin KNOB* 84 (1985), p. 68-79, herein p. 73.

Fig. 11. Fort Orange. Detail of "Gillis van Scheyndel Map". New York State Library, Van Rensselaer Manor Papers, "Map of Renselaerswyck by Gillis van Scheyndel, 1631-1632".

Fig. 12. Fort Orange. Detail of map by Johannes Vingboons, *Noort Rivier in Niew Neerlandt.* Library of Congress, G3291.S12 coll .H3 Vault : Harr vol. 3, map 13.

just fifteen or sixteen soldiers, as the Walloon families had been removed to Manhattan after the death of commander Daniël van Krieckenbeeck and three of his men at the hands of the Mohawks.[209]

For the 1630s, sources on Fort Orange are scarce. On the ca. 1632 "Gillis van Scheyndel Map" of Rensselaerswijck (fig. 11), Fort Orange is indicated by a four-pointed enclosure, surrounded by what appears to be a moat or a ditch. The Vingboons map of the Hudson River of ca. 1639 (fig. 12) in addition shows a red square inside the fort, which could either be a building or indicate the parade ground. However, both maps were drawn up by cartographers in the Netherlands, without first-hand experience in the New World, and the symbols used to indicate the location of Fort Orange are most likely standard and should not be interpreted as factual representations of the fort.[210]

It is likely that during the 1630s and 1640s Fort Orange's earthworks, even though the points were reinforced with wooden stakes, suffered the same kind of erosion as those of Fort Amsterdam. French Jesuit Isaac Jogues, who visited New Netherland from Canada in 1643, did not think much of the fort, but does provide further details:

209 Van Wassenaer, *Historisch verhael,* vol. 12, fol. 38r (November 1626), vol. 16, fol. 13v (October 1628); *NNN*, p. 74, 87; Gehring, "New Netherland: The Formative Years, 1609-1632."

210 Library of Congress, G3291. S12H3 vault: Harr. vol. 3, map 13; New York State Library, Van Rensselaer Manor Papers, "Map of Renselaerswyck by Gillis van Scheyndel, 1631-1632;" Brommer, *Grote Atlas van de West-Indische Compagnie,* 1: p. 43-47.

> A small, unsuitable fort called Fort Orange, built with posts, with four or five pieces of Breteuil cannon, and as many swivel guns. This has been preserved and is maintained by the West India Company. This fort was formerly on an island in the river; it is now on the mainland, towards the Hiroquois, a little above the said island.[211]

Jogues's remark that the fort was "basty de pieux" was translated by Thwaites as "built of logs." This translation suggests a horizontal use of beams, reminiscent of the style used in New Sweden. However, "pieux" also means "posts" or "stakes" and that indicates vertical use in the form of a palisade instead. It is conceivable that the curtains of Fort Orange were built vertically, in the form of palisades, while the points were constructed with horizontal beams.[212]

Even though Jogues considered Fort Orange to be "small," it was still large enough to contain several buildings. The 1639 overview of construction carried out under the directorship of Wouter van Twiller lists several buildings:

> A handsome, large house with a flat roof and lattice work was built by Dirck Cornelisz van Wensveen. Also eight small houses in said fort for the people.[213]

The small houses most likely were the lodgings of the common soldiers, with the larger house providing accommodation for the higher officials. By 1647, master carpenter Jean Labatie obtained permission to build a house inside the fort, and also to brew beer there.[214]

Allowing private persons to erect houses inside the fort had benefits for the Company as well. During the winter of 1647/1648, Fort Orange was "almost entirely washed away by high water," but the state of the West India Company's finances did not permit the necessary repairs. After an inspection in July 1648, director general and council therefore decided to allow the building of private houses, "against the wall, run up with stone 12 feet high." The authorities were careful to confine private ownership to the built structure and retained ownership of the ground.[215] Other measures taken in 1648 reveal more details of Fort Orange, for instance that it was surrounded by "a dry moat." The plan for repairing the fort included surrounding "it with a wall of stone, instead of timber, so as to avoid the annual expense and repairs." A start had already been made with by quarrying local stone, but the extent to which the plan was put into effect remains uncertain.[216] While building houses inside Fort Orange was allowed under specific conditions, private houses

211 "Premierm[t] un meschant petit fort nommé le Fort d'orenge basty de pieux avec 4 ou 5 pi[e]ces de canon de Breteuil et autant de pierriers que la Compag[e] de West-indes s'est referué et que elle entretient. ce fort étoit autressois dans vne Isle que faict la Rivière, maintenant il est en terre ferme du costé des Hiroquois un peu au dessus de la d[te]. Isle;" Thwaites, *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries,* vol. 28: p. 110; *NNN*, p. 261-262.

212 Jacob P. Dunn, "The Meaning of 'Tassinong'," *Indiana Magazine of History* 11 (1915), p. 348-351.

213 *NYHM* 1: p. 110 (22 March 1639; original lost).

214 NYSA, NYCM 2: 157e (15 June 1647; *NYHM* 2: p. 408).

215 "bijna geheel door hooch water is wech gespoelt;" "aende wal 12 voet hooch met steen opgetrocken;" NYSA, NYCM 4: 404 (11 August 1648; *NYHM* 4: p. 550).

216 "aende drooge graft vande forteresse;" "in plaetse vande houten deselve om de Jaerlijckse oncosten ende reparatien voor te comen met een muijr van clipsteen te omsingelen;" NYSA, NYCM 4: 420-421 (2 November 1648; *NYHM* 4: p. 572-573).

outside the fort, however, presented a different problem for director general and council. Down on Manhattan, the field of fire of the guns of Fort Amsterdam was in several places blocked by houses. Little could be done to relieve this problem, as it would entail demolishing a large part of the budding town. At Fort Orange the situation was quite different and the colonial government therefore considered the building of houses under the walls of the Company's Fort Orange to be intolerable. Brant van Slichtenhorst, the director of Rensselaerswijck, was warned several times to desist and his refusal to do so was a contributing factor in the escalation of the conflict between Rensselaerswijck and the West India Company, which finally resulted in the foundation of the town of Beverwijck in 1652. Simultaneously, erecting buildings was prohibited within 600 paces or 250 Rhineland rods of Fort Orange, "approximately the range of a *goteling's* shot."[217]

While the directors in Amsterdam approved of these measures, they were concerned about the defensive condition of New Netherland during the First Anglo-Dutch War. In 1652, they ordered director general and council to take care of this without delay, singling out Fort Orange as one of the fortifications that required repairs.[218] Efforts to carry out these orders were, predictably, hampered by lack of funds, as well as by the continuing animosity between the new court of justice of Fort Orange and Beverwijck and the court of justice of the patroonship Rensselaerswijck. In May 1653 director general and council therefore ordered

> the inhabitants of the fort and village [..] to assist the people of the colony after the fort has been put in proper order; reciprocally, those of the colony shall construct the redoubt or blockhouse.[219]

This suggests that the repair work ordered in 1648 had not yet been completed in 1653. In 1654, a flood again damaged Fort Orange.[220] High water was not the only danger to the fort. Like Fort Amsterdam, Fort Orange's bastions were favourite feeding grounds for domesticated animals. Hogs especially could do devastating damage, as indicated by a warning to keep them off the bastions on pain of forfeiture. It seems unlikely that such measures were wholly effective.[221]

At the very least, the walls of Fort Orange protected the building inside the fort against high water. During the 1650s a new guardhouse and a courthouse were built, both in brick, and at considerable expense. The courthouse was a strong and substantial house, founded upon two cellars with a stone foundation. The first story was divided into three spaces, including a kitchen of 16 by 21 feet. The upper level was divided into two rooms, the courtroom and an office, each 21

217 "voort gaet met timmeren onder des Comps. fort orangie;" NYSA, NYCM 4: 412 (23 August 1648; *NYHM* 4: p. 557-558); "een gootelingh schoot" (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); NYSA, NYCM 5: p. 25-27 (5 March 1652; *NYHM* 5: p. 18-19); Jaap Jacobs, "Dutch Proprietary Manors in America: The Patroonships in New Netherland," L.H. Roper & Bertrand Van Ruymbeke eds., *Constructing Early Modern Empires: Proprietary Ventures in the Atlantic World.* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007, p. 301-326.

218 "ende jnsonderlijk het fort Orangie;" NYSA, NYCM, 11: 53, p. 19 (4 April 1652; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653,* p. 155); NYSA, NYCM 11: doc. 71, p. 3. (6 August 1652; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653,* p. 183).

219 "de redoute ofte het block[huijs];" NYSA, NYCM 5: p. 128 (28 May 1653; *NYHM* 5: p. 72).

220 Albany County Hall of Records (hereinafter ACHR), B Deeds 2 1654-1680, p. 59 (November 1654; Charles T. Gehring & Janny Venema, trans. and eds., *Fort Orange Records, 1654-1679.* New Netherland Documents Series. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009, p. 44-45).

221 "de punten deses forts;" ACHR, Court Minutes of Fort Orange (hereinafter CMFO) 1652-1656, p. 55a (10 Juni 1653; Charles T. Gehring, trans. & ed., *Fort Orange Court Minutes 1652-1660.* New Netherland Documents Series, volume XVI, part two. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990, p. 57).

feet square. The house was also furnished with an attic in which powder and ammunition could be stored. The total costs far exceeded the original estimate of about *f* 1200-1400 and this led to an audit of the accounts of WIC official Johannes La Montagne, who at that time was in charge of Fort Orange.[222]

By June 1660, just after hostilities with the Esopus Indians had erupted again, Fort Orange was considered beyond repair. The bad state of the fort brought the West India Company in disrepute, La Montagne reported indignantly, as it reflected upon his person as well. The courts of Beverwijck and Rensselaerswijck together with La Montagne had decided to let the old houses stand for the time being and focus on "repairing the bastions at the least expenses and with the greatest speed." La Montagne had made a start with the work:

> the posts and part of the outside covering are provisionally ready and the burghers offered to turn out daily eight to ten men, but plancks for the platforms and sills with rails for anchors, spikes and especially two carpenters are still needed.[223]

A week later La Montagne regretfully reported that his plans, which would have put the fort in as good a state of defence as he had ever seen it and that only in eight days for just five hundred guilders, had to be postponed. He also encountered problems in redistributing Fort Orange's guns. Stuyvesant had ordered some of the ordnance to be sent down the river, but La Montagne pointed out that he had neither men nor money at his disposal to load the guns aboard a yacht. He also warned Stuyvesant that Fort Orange would be left without much firepower: La Montagne only had eight guns at his disposal, two per bastion, as well as a twelve pounder, which however had never been mounted. Three of the guns were claimed by the Rensselaerswijck patroonship for use in their fortification at Greenbush and if Stuyvesant would take four, then Fort Orange would be left with just two guns. There would of course still be the three small guns that in 1656 had been transported from Rensselaerswijck to Beverwijck and placed in the church.[224] But the magistrates of Beverwijck claimed that Stuyvesant had granted them ownership of these guns for the defence of their town's palisade and therefore La Montagne did not want to take control of these three guns without explicit orders.[225] As it was, the hostilities with the Native Americans remained confined to the Wiltwijck area and the defences of Fort Orange were untested, which was probably just as well.

222 Paul R. Huey, "Fort Orange Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark," *The Bulletin Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association* 114 (1998), p. 12-23, herein p. 15; A.J.F. van Laer, trans. & ed., *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck 1652-1656.* Albany: The University of the State of New York, 2 vols., 1920-1923, 1: p. 10-11; NYSA, NYCM 9: 221ff (4 September 1660).

223 "oude huijsen ende krotten te laten staen ende de punten als vooren slechts op te maecken tot wel de minste kosten ende den meesten spoet;" "de posten ende een deel schalen bij provisie klaer leggen ende de burgers gepresenteert hebben 8 a 10: mannen alle dagen bij beurten omgaende[.] dit dient noch geforneert plancken tot beddinge ende gronthouten met richels tot anckers, spijckers ende 2 timmerluijden vooral" (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); NYSA, NYCM 15: doc. 28, p. 1 (23 June 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 258-259).

224 It is possible that these three guns were the same as the six-pounder, five-founder, and three-pounder, which Fort Orange had borrowed from Rensselaerswijck in 1650. See A.J.F. van Laer, trans. & ed.), *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck 1648-1652.* Albany: University of the State of New York, 1922, p. 128, 178, 186-188.

225 NYSA, NYCM 15: doc. 35, p. 1 (29 June 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 264).

In 1664, when New Netherland was taken over by the English, Fort Orange was renamed Fort Albany. During the brief Dutch reconquest of 1673-1674, its name was Fort Nassau. Despite the continuing efforts to repair it, in 1675 the fort was in such a bad condition that the English governor Edmund Andros decided to abandon it and build a new fort, later named Fort Frederick, on the hill (now Capitol Hill) overlooking the town and further away from the river. The new location had several advantages: there was no danger of damage by floods and the new fort was directly astride the way to Schenectady, which was the overland fur-trading route to the river. The new fort was built over a natural spring, which guaranteed a supply of fresh water in case of a siege.[226] The choice of location also indicates that, in addition to defence against Native American and French adversaries, the new fort could serve as a citadel, from which the English authorities could point their guns towards the city in order to keep the largely Dutch population under control. After the American Revolutionary War, Fort Frederick was dismantled.

Remains of the abandoned Fort Orange remained visible throughout the eighteenth century. The subsequent development of Albany, including the construction of a bridge across the Hudson River in 1932, destroyed most of the site. Plans for a new bridge and a highway along the river in the 1960s spurred on archaeological testing and during the winter of 1970/1971 the remains of part of the moat and counterscarp were excavated, as well as parts of the brewery of Jean Labatie and other houses. The excavation yielded several objects that shed light on life in an early colonial outpost of the Dutch overseas empire and makes Fort Orange one of the very few New Netherland fortifications on which much information is available.[227]

Fig. 13. Beeren Island. Detail of map by Johannes Vingboons, *Noort Rivier in Niew Neerlandt.* Library of Congress, G3291.S12 coll .H3 Vault : Harr vol. 3, map 13.

Rensselaersstein (Beeren Island) — 1643

In late 1643, in reaction to the outbreak of hostilities between colonists and Native Americans in the Lower Hudson Valley, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, patroon of Rensselaerswijck, decided to establish a fortified place to which his colonists could retreat in time of need. For this purpose he selected Beeren Island (now called Barren Island, although no longer an island, south of Coeymans, on the Hannacrois Creek), renaming it Rensselaersstein (fig. 13). Beeren

226 Charles Gehring, personal communication, 7 July 2015.
227 Paul Huey, "Archeological Excavations in the Site of Fort Orange;" Paul R. Huey, "Aspects of Continuity and Change in Colonial Dutch Material Culture at Fort Orange, 1624-1664." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1988; Huey, "Fort Orange Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark; " Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 143-151.

Island constituted the southern border of the patroonship and, with the recent opening of the fur trade to private traders in mind, Van Rensselaer also conferred upon the island the staple right of Rensselaerswijck, thus forcing private ships to break bulk there for inspection and the payment of tolls. In this way, Van Rensselaer asserted the rights of his patroonship, but it was likely to put him on a collision course with both the West India Company and private traders. At the same time, Van Rensselaer appointed Nicolaes Coorn to be commander (*wachtmeester*) of Rensselaersstein.[228]

Coorn sailed from Amsterdam in September 1643 on the *Wapen van Rensselaerswijck*, which also carried a large amount of ammunition and equipment for the planned fortification, including two iron three-pounders, one cannon of 1310 pound, gun carriages, carriage wheels, tackle blocks, forty cannon balls of five and six pounds, cartridge paper, cylindrical brushes, cartridge sticks, a large ammunition chest, two hundred pounds of lead and shot, three hundred pounds of powder, eighteen muskets, five firelocks, two pistols, eighteen spears, sixteen broadswords, six entrenching tools, and twelve shovels and spades, for a grand total of *f* 1904:18:8.[229] When the *Wapen van Rensselaerswijck* arrived in New Amsterdam in March 1644, its military cargo did not go unnoticed. New Netherland *fiscaal* Cornelis van der Hoykens, tasked with defending the Company's rights, quickly got wind of Van Rensselaer's plans "to erect a fortress" on Beeren Island. In the opinion of Van der Hoykens, Beeren Island was outside of the limits of the patroonship and he considered Van Rensselaer's attempt to erect a fortress there (which could command the river and thus shut off the West India Company's Fort Orange) an attack on the prerogatives of the Company. The fiscaal's official protest was met with a counter-protest by Coorn, who warned Van der Hoykens not "to frustrate the intended design" on Beeren Island. Both men thus having duly defended the rights of their respective masters, Coorn was allowed to ship all his equipment and personnel upriver.[230]

Although no information is available as to what the fortification may have looked like, there is no doubt that Coorn established himself on Beeren Island. A few months later, private trader Govert Loockermans sailed down the Hudson from Fort Orange in the yacht *Goede Hoope*. When the yacht passed Beeren Island, Nicolaes Coorn called out to Loockermans, ordering him to strike his flag. When asked for whom, Coorn replied: "For the stapleright of Rensselaerswijck." Loockermans was not impressed: "I strike for no man except the Prince of Orange and the lords that I serve." Coorn thereupon fired a canon, with the shot going through the mainsail and damaging some of the rigging. Loockermans cried out: "Fire, you dogs; may the Devil take you!"

228 Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, Van Rensselaer Bowier manuscripts (hereinafter VRB mss), no. 27 (26 August 1643; A.J.F. van Laer, trans. & ed., *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, being the letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and other documents relating to the colony of Rensselaerswyck.* Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908 (hereinafter *VRBM*), p. 680-682).

229 Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, VRB mss, no. 28 (10 September 1643; *VRBM*, p. 706-707).

230 "aldaer een forteresse te maken;" "t voorgenomen disseijn;" NYSA, NYCM 2: 100 (18 March 1644; Arnold J.F. van Laer, trans. & ed., *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1642-1647.* New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 2. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974 (hereinafter *NYHM* 2), p. 202-204).

The second shot missed completely. The third shot hit the Prince's flag, about a foot above the head of Loockermans who held the flag in his hand. The *Goede Hoope* sailed on without firing back only for the crew to make depositions in New Amsterdam later, so that Coorn could be sued for damages.[231]

Later references to Rensselaersstein indicate that the West India Company directors in Amsterdam took a dim view of what they regarded as the illegal usurpations of Rensselaerswijck. The fortification is described as "a certain house named Rensselaersstein," which may suggest it was built as a blockhouse. An inventory dated 1652 of the papers and goods of the patroon's house in Rensselaerswijck lists "a few stones retrieved from Rensselaersstein," which suggest that the fortification at Beeren Island was abandoned and dismantled, probably when Nicolaes Coorn succeeded Adriaen van der Donck as *schout* of Rensselaerswijck and moved north to the main part of the patroonship in 1646.[232]

Redoubt at the Fifth Kill — 1653

The founding of Beverwijck in 1652 did not take away the need to provide for fortifications to protect colonists living north of the new village. Most, if not all, of those living there were tenants or employees of the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck. As relations between the court of Rensselaerswijck and the court of Fort Orange and Beverwijck were strained, intervention by higher authority was required. In May 1653, director general and council reiterated their previous order to

> the inhabitants of the fort and village [..] to assist the people of the colony after the fort has been put in proper order; reciprocally, those of the colony shall construct the redoubt or blockhouse.[233]

According to Jan Baptist van Rensselaer, this was "a redoubt on the Fifth Kill for the protection of the grist mill."[234] It is unknown whether the planned fortification was carried out as planned.

231 "voort stapelrecht van Renselaerswijc;" "[Ick] strijck voor niemant alsde prins van Orange en den heeren daer Jck onderstaen;" "schiet ghij honden dat U de duijvel hael;" NYSA, NYCM 2: 117 (5 July 1644; *NYHM* 2: 231-233), p. 231-232), 120 (16 July 1644; *NYHM* 2: 241-242), 129 (7 October 1644; *NYHM* 2: 260).

232 "bij seecker huijs [genaemt] Renselaers ste[ijn];" NYSA, NYCM 11: doc. 29b, p. 7, 13-14 (21 March 1651; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653*, p. 107, 110-111), doc. 77b, p. 1 (17 January 1653; Gehring, *Correspondence 1647-1653,* p. 200); "10. Eenige steenen van Rensselaerssteyn bekomen, ende liggen op de plaets;" Gelders Archief, Rechterlijke Archieven kwartier Veluwe, inv.nr. 438, 7, doc. K "Inventaris van al de goederen [..] bij den directeur Slechtenhorsts apprehensie @ 1652 op 't comptoir ende in beware van de ionge heer patroon Rensselaer verbleeven sijn" (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); Janny Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer (1586-1643): Designing a New World.* Hilversum: Verloren, 2010, p. 265.

233 "de redoute ofte het block[huijs];" NYSA, NYCM 5: p. 128 (28 May 1653; *NYHM* 5: p. 72).

234 Gehring, "An Undiscovered Van Rensselaer Letter", p. 28.

Beverwijck (Albany) — 1654

Beverwijck was created in 1652, when the West India Company asserted its jurisdiction to the area within 3,000 feet of Fort Orange, thus carving a new village out of the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck.[235] As there were no fortifications in the area other than Fort Orange, which was in a bad condition, a number of structures were built in the ensuing years, including a guardhouse, a blockhouse church, and a palisade.

One of the first buildings to be constructed was a guardhouse (*kortegaard*), which is first mentioned in the records in 1654 and was likely built some time earlier. It was strategically located near the entrance to Beverwijck from the north. Although no details are known, both its location and the fact that it was also used as a prison, suggest that the guardhouse may have been a stronger construction than a regular house. However, its main function was to provide cover for the men on guard duty against the elements.[236]

In 1655, plans were drawn up to construct a blockhouse in Beverwijck. Jan Baptist van Rensselaer, director of Rensselaerswijck, in a letter back to Amsterdam doubted whether it would be much use for him and others living outside of the town. In the aftermath of the Peach War downriver, the colonist living upstream were quick to renew their friendship with the Mohawks, but they did not solely rely on good relations:

> We will seek to fortify ourselves as much as is possible, as we have already repaired the dilapidated fort, which was almost washed away by high water. We are also building a blockhouse in the village, but this can by no means keep our farms, horses and livestock safe or defend them and will only serve to defend our bodies and lives.[237]

In 1656 a square blockhouse of unknown size was built. Internally, it had a heavy wooden structure (*gebinten*) to provide extra support for the ordnance, which, according to Venema, were "mounted behind loopholes in the overhanging balconies," i.e. at the upper level. The magistrates of Beverwijck brought in three light pieces, which had previously been positioned in the patroonship. The fortified building, which was also used as church, was located at the intersection in the middle of Beverwijck, with views along the roads leading north, west, and south. It was replaced by a stone building in 1715.[238]

235 Jacobs, "Dutch Proprietary Manors in America."

236 Janny Venema, *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664.* Hilversum: Verloren, 2003, p. 81; Janny Venema ed. & trans., *Deacons' Accounts 1652-1674: First Dutch Reformed Church of Beverwyck/Albany, New York.* Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1998, p. 14.

237 "sullen ons soo veel soecken te fortificeeren als t' mogelick is, gelyck rede het vervallene fort dat door 't hoge water ten naeste bij wech geloopen was wederom opgemaeckt hebben, maecken oock een blockhuys in de bijeenwoninge doch can dit onse bouwerye geensins nochte peerden ende beesten bewaren off defenderen, maer can alleen dienen tot defensie van ons lijf ende leven;" Gelders Archief, Rechterlijke Archieven kwartier Veluwe, inv.nr. 438, 7, letter of Jan Baptist van Rensselaer to the patroon and directors of Rensselaerswijck, 29 November 1655 (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); Venema, *Beverwijck,* p. 81-82.

238 Gehring & Venema, *Fort Orange Records; 1654-1679,* p. 86-88; Venema, *Beverwijck,* p. 81-82, 84-85. NYSA, NYCM 15, doc. 35, p. 2 (29 June 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: 264).

Although the blockhouse-church provided the colonists with some protection in case of an attack by the Indians, it did not constitute a perimeter defence, as Jan Baptist's remark highlights. The outbreak of war with the Esopus Indians in 1659 provided the impetus to build a stockade,

> made of posts and planks, to wit, eight boards high, with seven bastions to protect the curtains, which [fence] shall surround the greater part of the village, the length of its circumference being 250 rods.[239]

Like the perimeter defence of New Amsterdam, the stockade at Beverwijck was constructed with horizontal planks, rather than with vertical rods. With a height of eight boards, the Beverwijck defence was slightly lower than the nine boards of New Amsterdam. Three weeks after the work was begun, the Beverwijck magistrates observed that while the palisade protected the village on the landside, the side of the river remained open. They therefore ordered owners of gardens on the river to build a fence of posts and planks, from seven to eight feet high, at the back of their property. A rough undated draft in the New York States Archives is very likely a sketch of the planned stockade of 1659. It is likely that the 1659 stockade had fallen into disrepair by 1670. In November of that year, the local authorities received instructions from the governor in New York to set off the entire circumference of Albany, as Beverwijck had been renamed, with "straight oaken posts, eleven feet long, the least of them to measure eight inches across at the thin end." This suggests a vertical palisade, rather than a construction of horizontal planks. A few years later, when the outbreak of King Philip's War necessitated extra vigilance, it was decided

> to close openings [in the stockade] around the city with palisades, to close the portholes on the bastions on the inside and the outside with thick planks, and to nail tight the [three] unnecessary gates.[240]

'A stone fort' (Kinderhook) — ca. 1654

In his 1914 history of Kinderhook, Edward A. Collier wrote:

> It is of record that at a very early period there was built, probably by the Patroon, a stone fort south of Stockport creek; and that north of it and near its mouth stood the house of Abraham Staats. This,

239 "met posten ende plancken ende dat van acht plancken hoogh met 7 punten om de gordijnen te bevrijden die sal besingelen de meeste part vande durpe in sijn sircomvolantie off ommegangh groot 250 roeden"; ACHR, CMFO 1658-1659, p. 193-194 (4 November 1659; Gehring, *Fort Orange Court Minutes 1652-1660,* p. 466); Venema, *Beverwijck,* p. 93-97.

240 ACHR, CMFO 1658-1659, p. 199 (24 November 1659; Gehring, *Fort Orange Court Minutes 1652-1660,* p. 469); NYSA, Land Papers, vol. 1, fol 58; Brommer, *Grote Atlas van de West-Indische Compagnie,* 1: p. 47; Venema, *Beverwijck,* p. 28, 93-97; A.J.F. van Laer trans. & ed., *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady 1668-1685.* Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1932, vol. 1, p. 203-204, vol. 2, p. 38.

> burned by marauding Indians in 1664, was soon thereafter rebuilt and is possibly the old house near Stockport Station. Whether only the roof and interior of the first dwelling were burned, and the present massive stone walls, three feet in thickness, were parts of the original house is unknown. That in digging in the cellar a few years since a massive grain jar was unearthed gives a degree of plausibility to the latter view.[241]

Despite Collier's assertion that the existence of this fort "is of record," no documentary or archaeological evidence of a seventeenth-century fortification, stone or otherwise, at this location has come to light.

Wiltwijck (Kingston) — 1658

In the 1640s and 1650s, a small number of colonists had settled in the Middle Hudson River Valley, in an area along the river just south of the Catskill Mountains, where the Esopus Creek and the Rondout Creek had created fertile floodplains. The first settlement was located on the flood plain and surrounding areas that offered little natural protection.[242] In 1658, increasing tensions with the Esopus Indians spurred on the concentration of the settlers in a single location, which could then be fortified with a stockade (*palissaden*). Director General Stuyvesant selected a good location:

> The staked-out settlement comprises a circumference of about 210 rods, being planned on a location which by nature is properly defensible and which can, if needs be, at an appropriate time be encircled on three sides with water, and which can be enlarged, if the circumstances of present and future inhabitants demands so, as can be seen in the enclosed design.[243]

The inhabitants and the soldiers that Stuyvesant had brought with him began the work of digging a ditch or furrow (*grep*), cutting palisades and hauling them to the selected location with six or seven wagons. The description of the work being carried out stipulates that the palisades were sharpened and put upright, indicating a perimeter defence of vertical rods. The reference to the digging of a *grep* is ambiguous, as this word can indicate either a ditch or a shallow furrow. Considering that Stuyvesant wanted the work to be completed quickly, it is unlikely that a full moat (i.e. a deep,

241 Edward A. Collier, A History of Old Kinderhook from Aboriginal Days to the Present Time; Including the Story of the Early Settlers, Their Homesteads, Their Traditions, and Their Descendants; with an Account of Their Civic, Social, Political, Educational, and Religious Life. New York, London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1914, p. 44.

242 Joseph E. Diamond, *Archaeological Excavations at the Matthwis Persen House, Kingston NY.* Kingston: County of Ulster, Department of Buildings and Grounds, 2004, p. 6.

243 "de affgesteecken bijeenwooninge in sijn circuit ontrent 210 roeden behelsende sijnde op een uijter natueren behoorlijck defensieve plaets begreepen, die ter gelegener tijt de noot sulcx vereijschende aen drie cante met waeter can omcingelt en vergroot worden, als de gelegentheijt vande Inwoonders present en toeco[mend] sal vereijschen, gelijck uijt bijgevoechde ontwerp can gesien worden" [p. 12]. Unfortunately, the design is no longer extant. NYSA, NYCM 12: 85 (30 June 1658; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* p. 187-197), 81 (31 May 1658; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* p. 179).

broad ditch as an extra line of defence outside of the palisade) was dug out. Stuyvesant's report indicates that the colonists did the digging and the soldiers constructed the stockade and this also suggests that the *grep* refers to a narrow trench in which the logs were erected.[244]

The construction of the stockade of Wiltwijck is one of the very few cases in New Netherland in which detailed information about the construction process, as opposed to the planning, is available. The building of the stockade started on 1 June 1658. Stuyvesant had divided his sixty soldiers into three squads (*esquadre*) of twenty men, of which one assisted the colonists in hauling logs, while the other two sharpened and erected the palisades. For the purpose of building a guardhouse (*corteguarde*), Stuyvesant acquired 160 hemlock boards (*greenen plancken*) of five and six inches thick. By 12 June, the west and south sides of the stockade had been completed, despite the rain hindering the workers. Over the next three days, the east side was constructed, while carpenters built a guardhouse of 23 by 16 feet in the north-eastern corner. On June 17 and 18, the north side was palisaded. Stuyvesant noted that it was difficult at this location, as it could not be done in a straight line. By June 20, all four sides of the stockade were completed. The only remaining work was to plug a few openings in places where tree-roots had prevented digging a trench.[245]

The 1658 palisade served the village well when hostilities broke out again the following year. In some documents relating to the First Esopus War (1659-1660), during which the stockaded village withstood an eight-day siege, it is referred to as "the fortress" (*fort*). It had at least two gates, as at some point in time a group of soldiers was ordered to exit through one gate (*poorte*) and return through the other. Another detail that emerges is the presence of some ordnance (*stucken*), presumably light swivel guns.[246] The stockaded village served as the headquarters for a garrison of 73 soldiers commanded by ensign Dirck Smitt, who made three sorties from Wiltwijck during the winter of 1658-1659 before a peace agreement was agreed upon in the summer 1659.[247]

Two years later, Wiltwijck's population increase necessitated an expansion of the stockaded area. In May 1661, thirteen lots were granted to new settlers, on the condition that they would enclose it on the outside with "good, stout and suitable palisades."[248] Some inhabitants did not do so immediately, while others made openings in the palisades, so as to exit the village quickly. In November 1662, the authorities tried to increase security by ordering the colonists to close the openings with palisades or doors that could be properly locked, in which case the keys had to be deposited at the guardhouse every night.[249]

The defences of the village seemed to have been kept in a reasonable condition, but did not

244 The geology of the area make the existence of a moat unlikely and the archaeological excavations have not yielded any evidence for it. See Diamond, *Archaeological Excavations at the Matthwis Persen House,* p. 19-20.
245 NYSA, NYCM 12: 85 (30 June 1658; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* p. 187-197), 81 (31 May 1658; Gehring, *Correspondence 1654-1658,* p. 179).
246 NYSA, NYCM 13: 36-39 (22-29 September 1659; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 114-117).
247 NYSA, NYCM 9: 137 (25 March 1660; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 152); NYSA, NYCM 13: 79 (28 March 1660; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 153-154), 80 (29 March 1660; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 154-155).
248 "met goede dicke ende bequame pallissaten"; NYSA, NYCM 9: 596 (2 May 1661; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 195).
249 NYSA, NYCM 10-1: 276 (27 November 1662; *LO* p. 433).

prevent an Indian attack in June 1663. Under the pretext of trade, a large group of Esopus Indians entered the village in broad daylight, only to suddenly attack the colonists. Eighteen inhabitants were killed and a large number was captured before the Indians were driven off. According to Thomas Chambers, who took the lead, "the burnt palisades were immediately replaced by new ones, and the people distributed, during the night, along the bastions and curtains to keep watch." Yet other sources suggest that Chambers exaggerated the speed of repairs.[250]

The 1658 stockade was built on a promontory bluff overlooking the Esopus Creek and floodplains to the north, located at the northeastern edge of what is now the Kingston Stockade District. This is what Stuyvesant meant when he remarked upon the location being "by nature [..] properly defensible."[251] Stuyvesant's report indicates that the 1658 stockade had a circumference of ca. 210 rods, either the *Rijnlandse roede* of 3.767 meters or the *Amsterdamse roede* of 3.68 meters. This means the circumference of the 1658 stockade was about 775 meters, its boundaries being Clinton Street to the east, North Front Street to the North, John Street to the south, and cutting through the current block between Wall Street and Crown Street to the west. The 1661 expansion added thirteen lots and moved the western perimeter defence to the current location of Green Street. Further expansion, this time to the south, took place in 1669-1670 and 1676-1677, extending the southern boundary of the village to current Main Street (see fig. 14).

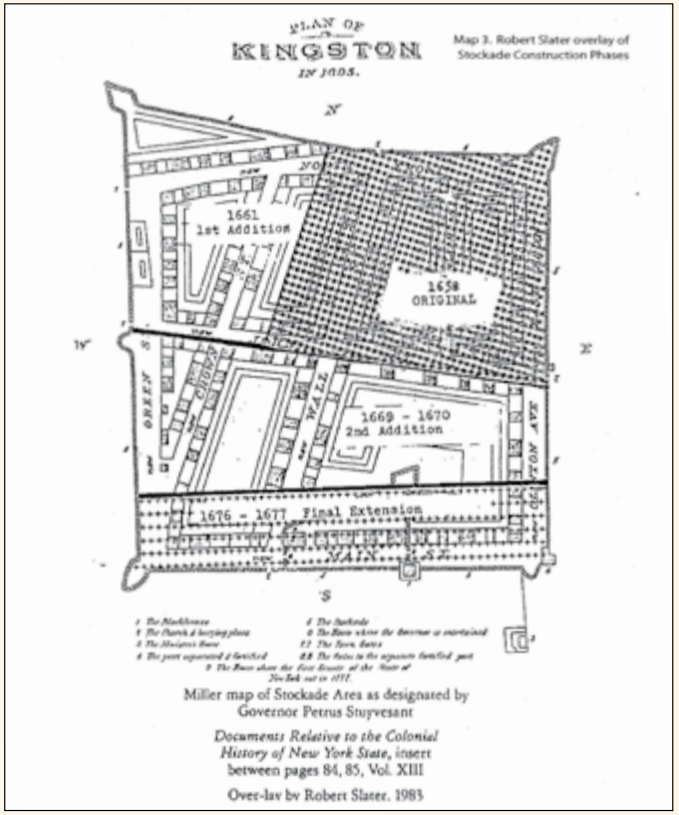

Fig. 14. Wiltwijck Stockade Expansion Phases. Map by Robert Slater. Joseph E. Diamond, *Archaeological Excavations at the Matthwis Persen House, Kingston NY.* Kingston: County of Ulster, Department of Buildings and Grounds, 2004, map 3.

250 "de verbrande pallisaden wierden daedlijck met nieuwe pallisaden vervult, ende het volck tegens de nacht langs de punten ende gardijnen, omme te waecken, verdeelt" (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); NYSA, NYCM 15: 21 (10 June 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 245), 26 (20 June 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 256-257); Fried, *Early History of Kingston,* p. 61-63; Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter,* 152-153; Dingman Versteeg (trans.), Peter R. Christoph, Kenneth Scott, Kenn Styker-Rodda (eds.), *Kingston Papers. Volume I Kingston Court Records, 1661-1667.* New York Historicial Manuscripts: Dutch. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1976, p. 74.

251 See note 243.

The stockade area of Kingston has been the subject of seven archaeological investigations, during some of which evidence of the fortifications was uncovered. Remains of the 1658 stockade were discovered in 1970 and 1971 during an excavation on the eastern side of Clinton Avenue in front of the Senate House, i.e. the northeastern part of the stockade. Postmolds were found at a depth of 33.2 to 45.72 cm and indicate that the palisades varied considerably in size (7.62 to 33.2 cm), which is interpreted as a sign of frequent repairs. Photographs of the excavation suggest that the palisades were not placed in a ditch and subsequently backfilled, but were excavated and pounded in. However, during the investigation of the Matthwis Persen House a section of the 1661 palisade was excavated, which did show the use of a trench and backfill to erect the posts. Finds also included a burn layer from the attack of 7 June 1663 and cannonballs from a four-pounder gun, which may also have been used in 1663, though probably not during the attack but afterwards.[252]

Rondout (Kingston) — 1660

After the peace of 1660, a house (*huys aent strandt*) was constructed on the Rondout Creek, near the place where ships coming in from the Hudson River found a suitable anchorage. The construction was presumably located at about a distance of four kilometres ("a march of one hour and half"[253]) from the village, on the north bank of the Creek, in the area where streets called Dock Street, Rondout Landing, and East Strand Street indicate the maritime background. It is possible, although more research is required, that the 'house' (later on usually called the redoubt (*reduyt*)) was connected to Wiltwijck by what now (and perhaps still) is called Broadway, as this seems to have been the quickest road between the two places.[254]

In the wake of the Indian attack of June 1663, the redoubt played an important role as a communication hub. Although only a few soldiers manned the redoubt, the Esopus Indians did not attack it. The day after the Indian assault, a group of ten horsemen galloped from the village to the redoubt, carrying a letter calling for help, which was immediately sent on to New Amsterdam with a yacht.[255] During the war against the Esopus Indians in the following months, the redoubt continued to be manned by a small garrison and served as a conduit for communication and transport of goods between Wiltwijck and the Hudson River, both for colonists and Indians from neighbouring groups, such as the Wappingers.[256]

252 Diamond, *Archaeological Excavations at the Matthwis Persen House,* p. 21-24, 41-42, 44, 51-52, 76-78, 101-102, photographs 2, 4, 8, 17, 18, fig. 12.

253 "ontrent anderhalff uijr marcheerens"; NYSA, NYCM 13: 50, p. 4 (29 October 1659; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 125).

254 NYSA, NYCM 13: 136 (13 December 1660; DRCHNY 13: p. 190-191); Fried, *Early History of Kingston,* p. 43. Schoonmaker states that a fort at the mouth of the Rondout Creek was already built in the 1610s. There is no evidence for this and it seem rather unlikely. Marius Schoonmaker, *The History of Kingston, New York, from its Early Settlement to the Year 1820.* New York: Burr Printing House, 1888, p. 3.

255 NYSA, NYCM 15: doc. 26 (20 June 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: 256).

256 Waterman, Jacobs & Gehring, *Indianenverhalen*, p. 149; NYSA, NYCM 10-2: p. 421 (8 December 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 312-313).

Fort (Greenbush) — 1663

The outbreak of the Second Esopus War provided a new impetus for fortifications in the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck. At the end of June 1663, Johannes La Montagne reported to Stuyvesant that the patroonship claimed three of the guns at Fort Orange, "to place them at the Green Bush in a little fort or fortification, which they build there."[257] It is likely that this refers to the location now known as Crailo State Historic Site, but the documentary evidence does not allow pinpointing the site. Recent excavations between the front of the 1740s house to the street and under the sidewalk along the street revealed evidence of a deep trench that could have been a stockade trench. Seventeenth-century artefacts were found, but the archaeological evidence is as yet inconclusive.[258]

Nieuw Dorp (Hurley) — 1664

In 1662, a number of colonists settled west of Wiltwijck in a hamlet that was indicated as "Nieuw Dorp" (New Village). They quickly met with enmity of the Esopus Indians who disputed their ownership of some of the land. In April 1663 the villagers asked Director General Stuyvesant for a small garrison, in anticipation of the building of defence works, an indication that these had not been erected as yet.[259] Two months later, the village was attacked. After the conclusion of peace with the Esopus Indians in May 1664, Stuyvesant ordered three to four hundred hemlock planks for the construction of a stockade at the new village in the Esopus, but it is not clear from the documentary record whether they were actually delivered and put to use. It must be considered unlikely, as there is no mention of a village at the location until Hurley was resettled and named in 1669.[260]

Schenectady — 1671

Surprisingly, the village of Schenectady does not seem to have been palisaded until some fifteen years after it was founded, even though it was regarded as the north-eastern frontier of New

257 "om int greene bosch te setten op een fortien off bescherm dat sij daer maecken" (transcription by Janny Venema, New Netherland Research Center); NYSA, NYCM 15: doc. 35, p. 2 (29 June 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 264).

258 Lois M. Feister & Paul R. Huey, *The History and Archaeology, 1974-1994, of Crailo State Historic Site, Rensselaer, New York*. Division for Historic Preservation, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Peebles Island, Waterford, N.Y., 2012, p. 16-45; Paul Huey, personal communication, 10 May 2015.

259 NYSA, NYCM 10-2: p. 87-88 (7 April 1663; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 242-243).

260 NYSA, NYCM 15, doc. 124, p. 1 (7 May 1664; *DRCHNY* 13: p. 382).

Netherland and, subsequently, New York. Whenever fears of a French invasion surfaced, plans were drawn up to equip the village with some form of defence. In 1671, Governor Francis Lovelace communicated to local officials

> that the Inhabitants of that place [Schenectady] putt themselves into some posture of Defence by keeping out Schouts and making some Block house which may give some Check to the Enemy, [in] case hee should presume to advance into his [Roya]ll Highness Dominions.[261]

There is no documentary evidence that these orders were adhered to, but a blockhouse had apparently been constructed by 1675. When in late 1675 the outbreak of King Philip's War threatened to involve the settlers on the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, the council of war at Albany ordered the commissioners and *schout*

> to have the blockhouse in your village surrounded with palisades as a place of refuge, to retreat thereto in time of need. And if you think that the blockhouse surrounded with palisades is not sufficiently capable of defence, you may freely come to us here and you shall be welcome.[262]

261 Peter R. Christoph & Florence A. Christoph eds., *Book of General Entries of the Colony of New York, 1664-1673. Orders, Warrants, Letters, Commissions, Passes and Licenses Issued by Governors Richard Nicolls and Francis Lovelace.* New York Historical Manuscripts: English. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982, p. 430.

262 Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady 1668-1685,* vol. 2, p. 39.

IV. Other Regions

The majority of seventeenth-century Dutch fortifications in North America were constructed along the Delaware and Hudson River. Only a small number are located along other waterways, either on the fringes of New Netherland, or in other parts of North America. In most cases, these fortifications were erected as part of initial attempts at colonization or conquest, which rarely progressed beyond the stage of a fixed point of contact and were mostly of short duration.[263]

'Dutch Fort' (Branford, Connecticut) — 1610s-1620s

In the summer of 1998, dr. John Pfeiffer, at that time a visiting lecturer in archaeology at Wesleyan University Connecticut, discovered the remains of what he concluded was a fort-like structure near the shore of the Long Island Sound. The remains were located in the yard of a house owned by Chet and Angelica Bentley on Linden Avenue in the Indian Neck area of Branford, Connecticut. Taking a 1761 reference on map by Ezra Stiles as his starting point, Pfeiffer tentatively identified the fortification as a Dutch fort or trading post, built between 1616 and 1623. While other archaeologists, including Connecticut State Archaeologist Nicholas Bellantoni, expressed cautious optimism and stressed the need for further research, Pfeiffer was convinced he was correct. During the 1998 excavation season, a structure was uncovered, which Pfeiffer believed to have been built within the fort, made from clay, sand, and shell. The walls may have been "100 feet apart, 10 feet high, and made from logs stacked on top of each other" with a bastion in each corner. Some of the artefacts uncovered (two pieces of flint and an arrowhead) suggested to Pfeiffer that the Dutch site could be on top of another, prehistoric, site, used by Native Americans.[264]

Pfeiffer and his team returned to the site in 1999 for further research. They uncovered shell beads, musket balls, glass beads, as well as six shards of an unknown ceramic type. The excavations also provided further insight into the structure's architecture. According to Pfeiffer, it was square-shaped, with each side being between 70 and 100 feet long, and surrounded by a moat-like ditch.[265] During 1999, a Dutch historian conducted archival research in the Netherlands at the request of Pfeiffer in an attempt to find documentary indications of a Dutch presence at the excavation site in Connecticut. While no conclusive evidence was uncovered, the historical context of Dutch activity

263 Donald W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America; A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History: I. Atlantic America, 1492-1800.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986, p. 67-68.

264 William Weir, "Archeaological Dig In Branford Raises Settling Questions", *Hartford Courant,* 10 July 1998 (http://articles.courant.com/1998-07-10/news/9807100410_1_archaeologists-dutch-settlement (accessed 10 June 2015)).

265 William Weir, "Findings Suggest Site Was Dutch Settlement", *Hartford Courant,* 29 July 1999 (http://articles.courant.com/1999-07-29/news/9907290139_1_trading-post-excavation-bentley-property (accessed 10 June 2015)); Current Research, *SHA Newsletter, A Quarterly Publication of the Society for Historical Archaeology,* Winter 1999, p. 23 (http://www.sha.org/documents/newsletter_archives/1999Winter.pdf (accessed 10 June 2015).

in the area between 1611 and 1626 makes it a distinct possibility that there was a Dutch presence, most likely of a seasonal nature, on the north shore of the Long Island Sound.[266] As in the case of Fort Ninigret (see below) and Fort Shantock, this is not sufficient to warrant the conclusion that a fortified structure on the site was built by the Dutch. John Pfeiffer reiterated his findings in a 2000 web publication, "Bentley Locus and Other Dutch Settlements in Branford, Connecticut", which unfortunately is no longer accessible. He has since moved on to other projects.

Fort Ninigret (Charlestown, Rhode Island) — 1620s

Located at Fort Neck Road in Charlestown, Rhode Island, lies the site of Fort Ninigret, a site that has become a *lieu de mémoire*, where remembrance and symbolism mix with history and archaeology.[267] Named, probably in the late nineteenth century, after a sachem of the Niantic Indians, Fort Ninigret was in all likelihood a trading post erected on a location first inhabited by the Niantics, affiliated with the Narragansetts. At various points in time, Dutch, Portuguese, and Native American traders have been suggested as its builders.[268]

According to Goodwin, researching the site in the 1930s, the construction measured two hundred feet square and appears to have been a five-sided fortification, with three bastions. The archaeological finds included European trade items, which could be of Dutch origin.[269] Later excavations, carried out by Bert Salwen and Susan N. Mayer in the 1970s[270], also produced Dutch artefacts, including a cast copper alloy ferrule, possibly from a sword scabbard that is identical to one found off western Australia in the wreck of the Dutch East India ship *Batavia* sunk in 1629.[271]

While the presence of Dutch trading goods that can be dated to the early seventeenth century is intriguing, it is in and of itself insufficient to presume that the Dutch built Fort Ninigret. On the contrary, the research carried out by Salwen and Mayer strongly suggests that Fort Ninigret was "a seasonally occupied fortified stronghold and trading center" built in the early seventeenth century by the Niantic Indians on a location of earlier Native American occupation.[272] This conclusion is corroborated by nearby finds. Close to the location of the fort, at the Ninigret Burial Hill, human remains with associated funerary objects have been excavated in the early twentieth century. Under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, these were in 2003 and 2006 offered to the Narrangansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island for repatriation.[273]

266 Jaap A. Jacobs, "A 'Dutch' Fort at Branford, Connecticut; Some Possible Origins", unpublished report, July 1999.

267 Patricia E. Rubertone, "Memorializing the Narragansett: Place-Making and Memory-Keeping in the Aftermath of Detribalization," Patricia E. Rubertone ed., *Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008, p. 195-216.

268 Samuel Greene Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,* vol. 1. 1636-1700. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1859; http://www.dightonrock.com/pilgrim_chapter_10.htm (accessed 16 June 2015); William B. Goodwin, "Notes Regarding the Origin of Fort Ninigret in the Narrangansett Country at Charlestown," *Rhode Island Historical Society Collection* 25 (1932), p. 1-16.

269 Goodwin, "Notes Regarding the Origin of Fort Ninigret", p. 5.

270 Bert Salwen & Susan Mayer, "Indian Archaeology in Rhode Island," *Archaeology* 30 (1978), pp. 57-58.

271 Paul R. Huey, "The Archaeology of 17th-Century New Netherland Since 1985: An Update," *Northeast Historical Archaeology,* vol. 34 (2012), issue 1 (From the Netherlands to New Netherland: The Archaeology of the Dutch in the Old and New Worlds), p. 95-118, herein p. 101.

272 Bert Salwen & Susan Mayer, "Indian Archaeology in Rhode Island," *Archaeology* 30 (1978), pp. 57-58.

273 http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/fed_notices/nagpradir/nic0738.html (accessed 16 June 2015); http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/fed_notices/nagpradir/nic0888.html (accessed 16 June 2015).

House the Hope (Hartford, Connecticut) — 1633

While it is likely that early fur traders, such as Adriaen Block and Cornelis Hendricksz, also explored the Connecticut River, there is no proof they established a permanent presence. Noticing English interest, the West India Company sent Jacob van Curler to purchase land there and to establish a trading post on the river in order to support its claim to the area. In June 1633 Van Curler began building "the trading house named the Hope"[274], but this did not stop English colonists from developing similar plans as a group under the leadership of William Holmes started a settlement a little further upstream, thus cutting off the fur trade route. Protests to and fro were issued, insults exchanged, and injuries inflicted, with neither side willing to budge for two decades.[275]

While the building is called a "fort" in some of the Dutch documents, little information is available as to what it actually looked like. William Bradford described it as a "slight forte", with "2 peeces of ordnance".[276] According to a protest drawn up in 1642, i.e. nine years later, it consisted of a blockhouse, furnished with a garrison and ordnance. In 1641, the English surrounded the house with a fence of palisades, in order to stop the Dutch from accessing land claimed by them. This suggests that a perimeter fortification had not been constructed earlier.[277] By 1647, the House the Hope was reported to be in need of repair. Despite being outnumbered on the Connecticut the Company officials in New Amsterdam decided to maintain it in order to keep up the honour of the West India Company.[278] The end of House the Hope came in 1653, during the First Anglo-Dutch War. Captain John Underhill, who had served the English as well as the Dutch in the Old World as well as the New, walked up to the house and wrote "upon the cottage dore of the Dutch lands in Capitall Letters:

> Hartford this 27th June 1653: J John Vnderhill by virtue off commission, and according to act of Parliament seised this house the Hope, with all ye appurtenances therevnto belonging as such goods belonging to the West indian company of Amsterdam."[279]

The exact location of the House the Hope is obscure in some of the early documentary sources. A letter from 1634, one year after the Dutch and English began their rivalry suggests that they were on opposite sides of the river:

274 "t handel huijs genaemt de hoop"; Nat. Arch., SG, inv.nr. 12564.49, litt. B (8 June 1633; *DRCHNY* 2: p. 139-140).
275 Nat. Arch., SG, inv.nr. 12564.49 (1633-1655; *DRCHNY* 2: p. 140-163); Richard S. Dunn, James Savage & Laetitia Yeandle, eds., *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649.* Cambridge, Mass., London: Belknap Press, 1996, p. 92;
276 Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 161.
277 "met een blockhuijs Guarnisoen ende geschut versien"; NYSA, NYCM 4: p. 119 (3 April 1642; *NYHM* 4: p. 139); "besetten ons huijs met palisaden"; NYSA, NYCM 4: p. 94 (6 June 1641; *NYHM* 4: 111).
278 NYSA, NYCM 4: p. 288 (6 June 1647; *NYHM* 4: 365).
279 Massachusetts Historical Society, Winthrop Papers, reel 8, 12 April 1665.

> The Governor this spring sent some Englishe to plant upon the river of Connecticutt, whither the Dutch last yeare encroached. Soe the Englishe lye on the one side and the Dutch on the other side of the river.[280]

The writer of this letter, who had not visited the Connecticut River personally, misinterpreted the information that had been relayed to him, mistaking the creek that ran between the Dutch fortification and the English settlement Hartford for the Connecticut River. The description by David Pietersz de Vries of 1639 is more reliable:

> On the 9th of the same I arrived with the yacht at the House the Hope, commanded by one Gijsbert van Dijck with fourteen or fifteen soldiers. This redoubt stands upon the flat land on the side of the river, and to the side of it a creek runs toward the high woodland, from which a waterfall comes that makes this creek, where the English have against our will started to build a small town.[281]

The creek De Vries refers to is the Park River, nowadays subterranean. It is presumed that House the Hope was located on what was formerly known as Dutch Point, on the north side of Park River. However, according to Paul Huey, it may a bit further south, at the junction of Whitehead Highway and Interstate 91, where nineteenth-century maps show a landing site. It is possible that the work carried out in 1940 on Park River by the Army Corps of Engineers left part or all of the location of House the Hope unscathed.[282]

Block Island (Rhode Island) — 1649/1650

Block Island was named after Adriaen Block, who explored the area in the 1610s and provided the information for two early maps, drawn up in the Dutch Republic. It is likely that Block used the island as a base during his expeditions, but neither the documentary record nor archaeological investigations provide solid information. In 1649 or 1650, Kempo Sybada, probably an Italian from Livorno who had served as pilot on the Dutch privateering ship *La Garce,* established a trading post about a mile from Fort Island, where a Native American settlement was located. Sybada used William Baker and his wife Mary as his local agents. It is possible that they inhabited a small

280 British Library, Additional Ms. 64908, fol. 152r, letter of Emmanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, 23 August 1634. I thank Martine van Ittersum, University of Dundee for this reference. Downing resided in England at this time and in all likelihood received his information from his brother-in-law John Winthrop Sr, who was in Massachussetts. Winthrop had not traveled to the Connecticut River himself and probably relied on letters or reports by William Holmes and others who settled on the Connecticut in late 1633.

281 "Den 9 dito arriveerde ick met het Jacht aen het Huys de Hoope, alwaer een Gijsbert van Dijck commandeerde met veerthien a vijfthien Soldaten. Dese Reduyt staet op 't vlacke Landt op de kant vande Rivier, ende aende zijde loopt een Kil tegens het hooghe Boschlandt aen, alwaer een Val uyt komt loopen die dese Kil maeckt, daer de Engelsen teghen onse danck een Steedjen begosten te timmeren"; *NNN*, p. 203.

282 Personal communications Paul Huey, November 2014, suggesting 41.75976, -72.6660 as the exact location. "The site is today under the junction of Interstate 91 and Whitehead Highway in Hartford, and the Park River runs underground through a culvert." Huey, "Dutch Colonial Forts in New Netherland", p. 163.

blockhouse, perhaps surrounded by palisades. During the First Anglo-Dutch War, an English privateer, Edward Hull, seized Sybada's ship and captured Baker and his wife, transporting them to the mainland, thus ending Sybada's venture and starting years of litigation.[283]

Fort Pentagouet (Castine, Maine) & Fort Jemseg (Jemseg, New Brunswick, Canada) — 1674

Fort Pentagouet was a fortification, built in 1625 in Castine, Maine, which served as the capital of the French colony of Acadia. A map of ca. 1670 depicts it as a standard four-pointed fort, located in the Penobscot River estuary, along the coast, near the confluence of the Bagaduce River and the Penobscot River.[284] In 1674, Jurriaen Aernoutsz, captain of the frigate *Vliegende Paert van Curacao,* attacked the fort. As the garrison consisted of just thirty men, they quickly surrendered. Aernoutsz sailed on to Fort Jemseg, a trading post located on the east bank of the Jemseg River in what now is New Brunswick, and also captured that fort. Returning south, Aernoutsz sold the guns (*tout le canon*) of Fort Pentagouet in Boston to governor John Leverett of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Before interested parties from New York, such as Cornelis Steenwijck and John Rhoade, could enforce the Dutch claim, the English briefly took possession before the area returned to French rule. Most of the documents related to the Dutch attack on Acadia deal with the aftermath and contain little detail about the capture of Fort Pentagouet and Fort Jemseg or of the material condition of the fortifications. It is clear however that the activities of the Dutch forces during their brief stay were mostly of a destructive nature.[285]

283 Kevin A. McBride, "The Source and Mother of the Fur Trade: Native-Dutch Relations in Eastern New Netherland", Laurie Weinstein ed., *Enduring Relations: The Native Peoples of New England.* Westport, CT, London: Bergin & Garvey, 1994, p. 31-51, herein p. 36. I thank Charles Gehring for this reference.

284 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fort_de_Pentagouet_en_1670.jpg (accessed 22 June 2015).

285 New-York Historical Society, Cornelis Steenwijck Papers, folder 1, doc. 2 (27 October 1676), doc. 3 (11 September 1676); Nat. Arch., arch. Nieuwe West-Indische Compagnie (1.05.01.02), inv.nr., 333, fol. 135 (21 October 1678); J. Watts de Peyster, *The Dutch at the North Pole and the Dutch in Maine.* New York: New-York Historical Society, 1857, p. 45-59, 73-76; Francis Champernowne, *The Dutch Conquest of Acadie, and Other Historical Papers.* Ed. Charles Wesley Tuttle & Albert H. Hoyt, Boston: University Press, 1889, p. 127-159, 341-399; John Clarence Webster, *Cornelis Steenwyck: Dutch Governor of Acadie. A Paper Read at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in Ottowa, May 22-23, 1929.* S.l.: privately printed, 1929; Alaric Faulkner, "Pentagoet: A First Look at Seventeenth Century Acadian Maine", *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 10 (1981), p. 51-57.

Appendix 1: List of Fortifications

I. New Amsterdam and Vicinity

Nooten Eylandt/Governors Island — 1623/1624

AMH ID	
Modern name fort	Governors Island
Historical names fort	Nooten Eylandt, Nutten Island
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	Presumably abandoned when the colonists moved to Manhattan where Fort Amsterdam provided protection
Toponym	
Modern name	Governors Island
Historical names	Nooten Eylandt, Nutten Island
Municipality	New York City, Manhattan Borough
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	ca. 40°41'29"N 74°0'58"W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1623/1624
Owners	West India Company
Original function	Protection against external attacks
Relation to nearby objects	Presumably abandoned when the colonists moved to Manhattan where Fort Amsterdam provided protection
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	Manatus Map
Old photos	n/a

Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	
Significant materials	
Owner actual	
Administration	National Park Service
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	To be ascertained
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	National Monument
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland*, 48. Wieder, *De stichting van New York*, 125.
Secondary sources	Warren-Findley, *Governors Island*. New York Landmarks Preservation Commission Designation Report (1996)
Oral sources	
Archaeological sources	
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Amsterdam — 1625/1626

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Amsterdam
Historical names	Fort Amsterdam
Category defence work	Fortress
Relation to other defence works	Main defensive structure for New Amsterdam, in connection with a redoubt in front of the Stadhuis and the perimeter defence.
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Amsterdam
Historical names	Fort Amsterdam
Municipality	New York City, Manhattan Borough
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	ca. 40°70'42"N 74°01'37"W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1625/1626
Owners	West India Company
Original function	Protection against external attacks
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	Manatus Map, Castello Plan
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	
Significant materials	initially earthwork bastions, later reinforced with stone walls
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	

Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	to be ascertained
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	National Monument
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See annotation
Secondary sources	See annotation
Oral sources	
Archaeological sources	
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Staten Island — 1641

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Wadsworth
Historical names	"blockhouse," Flagstaff Fort, divided up into several smaller units
Category defence work	Blockhouse
Relation to other defence works	Small structure to defend the village against Native American attacks
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Wadsworth
Historical names	Fort Wadsworth, Flagstaff Fort
Municipality	New York City, Staten Island
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	ca. 40°36'18"N 74°03'24"W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1663
Owners	local community
Original function	Protection against external attacks
Relation to nearby objects	defence of the Narrows, along with a blockhouse at New Utrecht opposite
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	18 or 20 feet square, constructed of beams
Significant materials	beams
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	National Park Service

Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	to be ascertained
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	National Recreation Area unit
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See annotation
Secondary sources	See annotation
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

New Amsterdam Perimeter Defences — 1653

AMH ID	
Modern name	Wall Street
Historical names	"langs de Wall"
Category defence work	Perimeter defence
Relation to other defence works	Main perimeter defence structures of New Amsterdam, in connection with a redoubt in front of the Stadhuis and Fort Amsterdam.
Toponym	Wall Street
Modern name	Wall Street
Historical names	"langs de Wall"
Municipality	New York City
State	New York
Address	Wall Street, New York, New York
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1653
Owners	New Amsterdam city government
Original function	defence against English attack
Relation to nearby objects	Main perimeter defence structures of New Amsterdam, in connection with a redoubt in front of the Stadhuis and Fort Amsterdam.
Architect(s)	n/a
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	n/a
Images	Castello Plan
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	n/a
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	n/a

Administration	n/a
Contact person administration	n/a
Remains	No
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	n/a
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	very limited
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	

New Amsterdam City Hall — 1654

AMH ID	
Modern name	New Amsterdam City Hall / Stadt Huys Block
Historical names	stadts herberge, City Tavern
Category defence work	Redoubt
Relation to other defence works	Part of the defence works of New Amsterdam, which also included Fort Amsterdam and a palisade on the north side of the town.
Toponym	
Modern name	Stadt Huys Block
Historical names	
Municipality	New York City
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	Not on the website
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1654
Owners	
Original function	defence against amphibious landing from East River
Relation to nearby objects	Part of the defence works of New Amsterdam, which also included Fort Amsterdam and a palisade on the north side of the town.
Architect(s)	unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	Castello Plan, Labadist General View
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	n/a
Significant materials	n/a

Owner actual	n/a
Administration	n/a
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	See secondary sources
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	See secondary sources
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	
Dangers	
Possibilities for archaeological research	n/a
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	See secondary sources
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Oyster Bay — 1655

AMH ID	
Modern name	Oyster Bay
Historical names	Oyster Bay
Category defence work	Blockhouse
Relation to other defence works	Intended as boundary defence
Toponym	
Modern name	Oyster Bay
Historical names	Oyster Bay/Oesterbaai
Municipality	
State	New York
Address	n/a
Coordinates	n/a
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	n/a
Owners	West India Company
Original function	boundary demarcation
Relation to nearby objects	n/a
Architect(s)	unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	n/a
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	n/a
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	n/a
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	n/a
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	n/a
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	n/a
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Massapeag (Oyster Bay)— 1656

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Massapeag
Historical names	“Massipeague or ffort Neck”
Category defence work	fortification
Relation to other defence works	None
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Massapeag
Historical names	
Municipality	Oyster Bay, Nassau County
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	40°52'0"N 73°32'0"W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1656
Owners	
Original function	
Relation to nearby objects	None
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	N/A
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	
Date of inventory	
Short description	
Significant materials	
Owner actual	Garvies Point Museum
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Yes
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	
Current function	
Legal protection / status	National Historic Landmark, National Register Number 9300610 (1993) (http://tps.cr.nps.gov/nhl/detail.cfm?ResourceId=2154&ResourceType)
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	
Archaeological sources	
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

‘s-Gravesande (Gravesend, Brooklyn) — 1656

AMH ID	
Modern name	Gravesend
Historical names	‘s Gravesande/Gravesend
Category defence work	fortification
Relation to other defence works	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Toponym	
Modern name	Gravesend
Historical names	‘s-Gravesande/Gravesend
Municipality	New York, Borough of Brooklyn
State	New York
Address	
Coordinates	40°59'82"N 73°97'05"W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1656
Owners	Gravesend
Original function	defence against Native American attacks
Relation to nearby objects	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes. Testing has been done in search of evidence of early occupation, but this was very limited and no Dutch artifacts were found.
Images	
Old photos	
Date of inventory	
Short description	
Significant materials	
Owner actual	

Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	
Restorations	
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	
Archaeological sources	
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Midwout/Amersfoort (Flatbush/Flatlands, Brooklyn) — 1656

AMH ID	
Modern name	Flatbush
Historical names	Midwout/Midwood
Category defence work	palisade
Relation to other defence works	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Toponym	
Modern name	Flatbush
Historical names	Midwout/Midwood
Municipality	New York, Borough of Brooklyn
State	New York
Address	
Coordinates	ca. 40°39'0"N 73°57'33"W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1656
Owners	Midwout/Amersfoort
Original function	defence against Native American attacks
Relation to nearby objects	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	
Images	
Old photos	
Date of inventory	
Short description	
Significant materials	
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website

Remains	
Restorations	
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	
Archaeological sources	
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Bergen (Jersey City, New Jersey) — 1660

AMH ID	
Modern name	Bergen (Jersey City)
Historical names	Bergen
Category defence work	palisade
Relation to other defence works	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Toponym	
Modern name	Bergen (Jersey City)
Historical names	Bergen
Municipality	Jersey City
State	New Jersey
Address	
Coordinates	ca. 40.72942°N 74.06594°W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1660
Owners	Jersey City
Original function	defence against Native American attacks
Relation to nearby objects	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	Jersey City
Administration	Jersey City
Contact person administration	Not on the website

Remains	To be ascertained
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Breuckelen and New Utrecht (Brooklyn) — 1660

AMH ID	
Modern name	Brooklyn/New Utrecht
Historical names	Breuckelen/Nieuw Utrecht
Category defence work	palisade/blockhouse
Relation to other defence works	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Toponym	
Modern name	Brooklyn/New Utrecht
Historical names	Breuckelen/Nieuw Utrecht
Municipality	Brooklyn
State	New York
Address	
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1660
Owners	Brooklyn
Original function	defence against Native American attacks
Relation to nearby objects	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	Brooklyn
Administration	Brooklyn
Contact person administration	Not on the website

Remains	To be ascertained
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Gemoenepa (Communipaw, Jersey City, New Jersey) — 1661

AMH ID	
Modern name	Communipaw
Historical names	Gemoenepa
Category defence work	palisade
Relation to other defence works	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Toponym	
Modern name	Communipaw
Historical names	Gemoenepa
Municipality	Jersey City
State	New Jersey
Address	
Coordinates	ca. 40°42'53"N 74°4'2"W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1661
Owners	Jersey City
Original function	defence against Native American attacks
Relation to nearby objects	part of a wave of building palisades after September 1655
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	Jersey City
Administration	Jersey City
Contact person administration	Not on the website

Remains	To be ascertained
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Navesink (Middletown, New Jersey) — 1664

AMH ID	
Modern name	Middletown
Historical names	Navesink
Category defence work	blockhouse
Relation to other defence works	
Toponym	
Modern name	Middletown
Historical names	Navesink
Municipality	Middletown
State	New Jersey
Address	
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1664
Owners	Middletown
Original function	defence against English intrusions
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	Middletown
Administration	Middletown
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	To be ascertained
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

II. Delaware River and Delaware Bay

Fort Wilhelmus (Burlington Island, New Jersey) — 1624

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Wilhelmus
Historical names	Fort Wilhelmus
Category defence work	Fortress or blockhouse
Relation to other defence works	One of the four initial locations of Dutch settlement in North America
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Wilhelmus
Historical names	Fort Wilhelmus
Municipality	Burlington, Burlington County
State	New Jersey
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	Not on the website
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1624
Owners	West India Company
Original function	Protection against external attacks
Relation to nearby objects	In 1626, Fort Wilhelmus was abandoned. Soon afterwards Fort Nassau further to the south was erected.
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	
Short description	
Significant materials	Dr. Charles C. Abbott collection

Owner actual	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Mass.
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	n/a
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	
Archaeological sources	See above
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Nassau (Gloucester City, New Jersey) — 1627

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Nassau
Historical names	Fort Nassau
Category defence work	
Relation to other defence works	Fort Casimir
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Nassau
Historical names	Fort Nassau
Municipality	Gloucester City
State	New Jersey
Address	
Coordinates	near the point where Big Timber Creek reaches the Delaware River
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	ca. 1627
Owners	West India Company
Original function	to maintain a Dutch presence on the Delaware River and conduct trade
Relation to nearby objects	Fort Nassau was the basis from which Fort Beversreede was erected and was abandoned when Fort Casimir was built.
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	Gloucester City

Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	The existence of any remains needs to be ascertained.
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	Unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Swanendael (Lewes, Delaware) — 1631

AMH ID	
Modern name	Swanendael
Historical names	Swanendael
Category defence work	blockhouse with palisade
Relation to other defence works	n/a
Toponym	
Modern name	Swanendael
Historical names	Swanendael
Municipality	Lewes
State	Delaware
Address	Pilottown Road
Coordinates	38.775°N 75.1394°W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1631
Owners	Swanendael patroons
Original function	defence against external enemies
Relation to nearby objects	n/a
Architect(s)	unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	See above
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	n/a
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	Lewes
Administration	unknown
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Yes
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	See above
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Christina/Altena (Wilmington, Delaware) — 1638

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Christina
Historical names	1638-1655 Fort Kristina
Category defence work	1655-1664 Fort Altena, Fort Altona
Relation to other defence works	Fortress
Toponym	Part of a network of Swedish forts on the Delaware
Modern name	
Historical names	Fort Christina
Municipality	Fort Christina, Fort Altona
State	Wilmington
Address	Delaware
Coordinates	Fort Christina State Park, E. 7th Street
Ordnance Survey	39°44'13.64" N; 75°32'18.46" W
Year of first construction	
Owners	1638
Original function	State of Delaware
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	Fort Casimir
History	unknown
Reparations/restorations	See above
Archaeological research done	n/a
Images	Yes
Old photos	See above
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	
Significant materials	See above
Owner actual	
Administration	unknown
Contact person administration	unknown
Remains	Not on the website

Restorations	Very likely
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	n/a
Dangers	unknown
Possibilities for archaeological research	No
Possibilities for restoration	Yes
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	n/a
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	See above
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	See above
Quotes	
	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Mecoponacka/Upland (Chester, Pennsylvania) — 1641

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Mecoponacka
Historical names	Fort Meconopacka/Upland
Category defence work	Fortress
Relation to other defence works	Part of a network of Swedish forts on the Delaware
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Mecoponacka
Historical names	Fort Meconopacka/Upland
Municipality	Chester
State	Pennsylvania
Address	
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1641
Owners	Pennsylvania
Original function	
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	
Short description	See above
Significant materials	
Owner actual	unknown
Administration	unknown
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Possibly

Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	unknown
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	See above
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Nya Gothenborgh (Essington, Pennsylvania) — 1643

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Nya Gothenborgh
Historical names	Fort Nya Gothenborgh
Category defence work	Fortress
Relation to other defence works	Part of a network of Swedish forts on the Delaware
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Nya Gothenborgh
Historical names	Fort Nya Gothenborgh
Municipality	Tinicum Island
State	Pennsylvania
Address	
Coordinates	ca. 39°51'39.8"N 75°18'11.35"W
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1643
Owners	Pennsylvania
Original function	
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	
Short description	See above
Significant materials	
Owner actual	unknown
Administration	unknown
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Possibly

Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	unknown
Dangers	No
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	See above
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Elfsborg/Elsenburgh (Salem, New Jersey) — 1643

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Elfsborg
Historical names	Fort Elfsborg, Fort Elsenburgh, Fort Älfsborg, Fort Myggenborgh (Fort Mosquito)
Category defence work	Fortress
Relation to other defence works	Part of a network of Swedish forts on the Delaware
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Elfsborg
Historical names	Fort Elfsborg, Fort Elsenburgh, Fort Älfsborg, Fort Myggenborgh (Fort Mosquito)
Municipality	Salem
State	New Jersey
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	Not on the website
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1643
Owners	New Sweden
Original function	Cutting off Dutch Fort Nassau
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	na/
Archaeological research done	
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	
Owner actual	unknown
Administration	n/a

Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	To be ascertained
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Nya Vasa (Philadelphia) — ca. 1643

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Nya Vasa
Historical names	Fort Nya Vasa/Fort Nya Wasa
Category defence work	Blockhouse
Relation to other defence works	Part of a network of Swedish forts on the Delaware
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Nya Vasa
Historical names	Fort Nya Vasa/Fort Nya Wasa
Municipality	Philadelphia
State	Pennsylvania
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	Not on the website
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	ca. 1643
Owners	New Sweden
Original function	monopolizing Indian trade
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	
Owner actual	unknown
Administration	n/a
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	To be ascertained

Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Beversreede and Fort Nya Korsholm (Philadelphia) — 1647/1648

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Nya Korsholm, Fort Beversreede
Historical names	Fort Nya Korsholm, Fort Beversreede
Category defence work	Blockhouse with palisades
Relation to other defence works	Part of a network of Swedish and forts on the Delaware
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Nya Korsholm, Fort Beversreede
Historical names	Fort Nya Korsholm, Fort Beversreede
Municipality	Philadelphia
State	Pennsylvania
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	Not on the website
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1647/1648
Owners	New Sweden/New Netherland
Original function	monopolizing Indian trade
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	n/a
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	
Owner actual	unknown
Administration	n/a
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	To be ascertained

Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	No
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Casimir/Trefaldighet/New Amstel (New Castle, Delaware) — 1651

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Casimir
Historical names	1651-1654: Fort Casimier / Casemirus / Casimirus / Casamier
Category defence work	1654-1655: Fort Trefaldighet, Fort Trinity
Relation to other defence works	1655-1664: Fort Casimir
Toponym	Fortress
Modern name	Intended to outflank Fort Christina
Historical names	
Municipality	Fort Casimir
State	1651-1654: Fort Casimier / Casemirus / Casimirus / Casamier
Address	1654-1655: Fort Trefaldighet, Fort Trinity
Coordinates	1655-1664: Fort Casimir
Ordnance Survey	New Castle
Year of first construction	Delaware
Owners	Not on the website
Original function	39°39'42" N; 75°33'32" W
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	1651
History	West India Company
Reparations/restorations	Outflanking Fort Christina
Archaeological research done	Fort Christina
Images	
Old photos	See above
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	Yes
Significant materials	
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	n/a
Contact person administration	See above

Remains	n/a
Restorations	
Current condition	
Current function	Not on the website
Legal protection / status	To be ascertained
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Safe
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	Yes
Primary sources	n/a
Secondary sources	Yes
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	See above
Quotes	See above
	n/a
	See above
	Not on the website (temporary)

III. Mid and Upper Hudson River

Fort Nassau (Albany) — 1614

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Nassau
Historical names	Fort van Nassouwen
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	Fort Orange
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Nassau
Historical names	Fort van Nassouwen
Municipality	Albany
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1614
Owners	New Netherland Company
Original function	Fur trading post
Relation to nearby objects	Fort Orange
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website

Remains	To be ascertained
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	Safe
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	See above
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Orange (Albany) — 1624

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Orange
Historical names	Fort Orangie, Castellum Auriacum, Fort d'orenge
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Nassau
Historical names	Fort Orangie, Castellum Auriacum, Fort d'orenge
Municipality	Albany
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1624
Owners	West India Company
Original function	Fur trading post
Relation to nearby objects	Fort Nassau
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website

Remains	Yes
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	Safe
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	See above
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Rensselaersstein (Beeren Island) — 1643

AMH ID	
Modern name	Rensselaersstein
Historical names	Renselaers ste[ijn], Rensselaerssteyn
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	
Toponym	
Modern name	Rensselaersstein
Historical names	Renselaers ste[ijn], Rensselaerssteyn
Municipality	Coeymans
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1643
Owners	Rensselaerswijck
Original function	Enforcing stapleright
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Unknown
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	Unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	See above
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Redoubt at the Fifth Kill — 1653

AMH ID	
Modern name	Redoubt at the Fifth Kill
Historical names	Redoubt at the Fifth Kill
Category defence work	Redoubt
Relation to other defence works	
Toponym	
Modern name	Redoubt at the Fifth Kill
Historical names	Redoubt at the Fifth Kill
Municipality	Albany
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1653?
Owners	Rensselaerswijck
Original function	Defence against Native Americans and English
Relation to nearby objects	Beverwijck
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Unknown
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	Unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	No
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Beverwijck (Albany) — 1654

AMH ID	
Modern name	Beverwijck
Historical names	
Category defence work	Guard house, blockhouse-church, stockade
Relation to other defence works	Redoubt at the Fifth Kill
Toponym	
Modern name	Beverwijck
Historical names	
Municipality	Albany
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1654
Owners	West India Company
Original function	Defence against Native Americans and English
Relation to nearby objects	Redoubt at the Fifth Kill
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Yes
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	Unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	No
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

‘A stone fort’ (Kinderhook) — ca. 1654

AMH ID	
Modern name	Kinderhook
Historical names	
Category defence work	n/a
Relation to other defence works	
Toponym	
Modern name	Kinderhook
Historical names	
Municipality	Kinderhook
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1654?
Owners	unknown
Original function	
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	n/a
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	n/a
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	n/a
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	n/a
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Wiltwijck (Kingston) — 1658

AMH ID	
Modern name	Kingston
Historical names	Wiltwijck
Category defence work	Stockaded village
Relation to other defence works	Rondout
Toponym	
Modern name	Kingston
Historical names	Wiltwijck
Municipality	Kingston
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1658
Owners	
Original function	defence against Native Americans
Relation to nearby objects	Rondout
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	Yes
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Yes
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Rondout (Kingston) — 1660

AMH ID	
Modern name	Rondout
Historical names	Reduyt
Category defence work	Blockhouse
Relation to other defence works	Wiltwijck
Toponym	
Modern name	Rondout
Historical names	Reduyt
Municipality	Kingston
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1660
Owners	
Original function	defence against Native Americans
Relation to nearby objects	Wiltwijck
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	Unknown
Owner actual	
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Unknown
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort (Greenbush) — 1663

AMH ID	
Modern name	Greenbush
Historical names	
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	
Toponym	
Modern name	Greenbush
Historical names	
Municipality	Rensselaer
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1663
Owners	Rensselaerswijck
Original function	defence against Native Americans
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	Unknown
Owner actual	New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Likely

Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Nieuw Dorp (Hurley) — 1664

AMH ID	
Modern name	Hurley
Historical names	Nieuw Dorp
Category defence work	Stockade
Relation to other defence works	
Toponym	
Modern name	Hurley
Historical names	Nieuw Dorp
Municipality	((xx
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1664?
Owners	n/a
Original function	defence against Native Americans
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	n/a
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	n/a
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	n/a
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	No
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Schenectady — 1671

AMH ID	
Modern name	Schenectady
Historical names	Schenectady
Category defence work	Blockhouse, palisade
Relation to other defence works	
Toponym	
Modern name	Schenectady
Historical names	Schenectady
Municipality	Schenectady
State	New York
Address	Not on the website
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1671
Owners	Schenectady
Original function	Defence against Native Americans and French
Relation to nearby objects	
Architect(s)	
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Unknown
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	n/a
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Unknown
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	Unknown
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

IV. Other Regions

'Dutch Fort' (Branford, Connecticut) — 1610s-1620s

AMH ID	
Modern name	'Dutch Fort'
Historical names	n/a
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	n/a
Toponym	
Modern name	n/a
Historical names	n/a
Municipality	Branford
State	Connectiut
Address	Linden Avenue (not on the website)
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1610s-1620s
Owners	
Original function	Trading post
Relation to nearby objects	n/a
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	See above
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website

Remains	Yes
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Ninigret (Charlestown, Rhode Island) — 1620s

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Ninigret
Historical names	n/a
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	n/a
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Ninigret
Historical names	n/a
Municipality	Charlestown
State	Rhode Island
Address	Fort Neck Road (not on the website)
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1620s
Owners	
Original function	Trading post
Relation to nearby objects	n/a
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	See above
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Yes
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

House the Hope (Hartford, Connecticut) — 1633

AMH ID	
Modern name	House the Hope
Historical names	"the trading house named the Hope", "Fort Hope"
Category defence work	Blockhouse
Relation to other defence works	n/a
Toponym	
Modern name	House the Hope
Historical names	"the trading house named the Hope", "Fort Hope"
Municipality	Hartford
State	Connectiut
Address	Whitehead Highway, Interstate 91
Coordinates	41.75976, -72.6660
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1633
Owners	
Original function	Trading post
Relation to nearby objects	n/a
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	No
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	See above
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website

Remains	Yes
Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Block Island (Rhode Island) — 1649/1650

AMH ID	
Modern name	Block Island
Historical names	n/a
Category defence work	Blockhouse with palisade?
Relation to other defence works	n/a
Toponym	
Modern name	Block Island
Historical names	
Municipality	
State	Rhode Island
Address	n/a
Coordinates	
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1649/1650
Owners	
Original function	Trading post
Relation to nearby objects	n/a
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	See above
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Possibly
Restorations	n/a

Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Pentagouet (Castine, Maine) — 1674

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Pentagouet
Historical names	Fort Pentagouët
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	n/a
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Pentagouet
Historical names	Fort Pentagouët
Municipality	Castine
State	Maine
Address	Perkins Street
Coordinates	44.384758, -68.803178
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1625
Owners	
Original function	Protection against Native American and European enemies
Relation to nearby objects	n/a
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	See above
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Yes

Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Yes
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Fort Jemseg (Jemseg, New Brunswick, Canada) — 1674

AMH ID	
Modern name	Fort Jemseg
Historical names	Fort Jemseg
Category defence work	Fort
Relation to other defence works	n/a
Toponym	
Modern name	Fort Jemseg
Historical names	Fort Jemseg
Municipality	Jemseg
State	New Brunswick, Canada
Address	
Coordinates	45.46672, -66.75601
Ordnance Survey	
Year of first construction	1659
Owners	
Original function	Protection against Native American and European enemies
Relation to nearby objects	n/a
Architect(s)	Unknown
History	See above
Reparations/restorations	n/a
Archaeological research done	Yes
Images	
Old photos	n/a
Date of inventory	n/a
Short description	See above
Significant materials	See above
Owner actual	n/a
Administration	
Contact person administration	Not on the website
Remains	Yes

Restorations	n/a
Current condition	n/a
Current function	n/a
Legal protection / status	Unknown
Dangers	n/a
Possibilities for archaeological research	Unknown
Possibilities for restoration	n/a
Actual photos	n/a
Primary sources	See above
Secondary sources	See above
Oral sources	n/a
Archaeological sources	n/a
Keywords	
Quotes	Not on the website (temporary)

Appendix 2: Fortifications by State

Connecticut	
'Dutch Fort' (Branford)	IV
House the Hope (Hartford)	IV
Delaware	
Swanendael (Lewes)	II
Fort Christina/Altena (Wilmington)	II
Fort Casimir/Trefaldighet/New Amstel (New Castle)	II
Maine	
Fort Pentagouet (Castine)	IV
New Jersey	
Fort Nassau (Gloucester City)	II
Bergen (Jersey City)	I
Gemoenepa (Jersey City)	I
Fort Wilhelmus (Burlington Island)	II
Fort Nya Elfsborg/Elsenburgh (Salem)	II
Navesink (Middletown)	I
New York	
Nooten Eylandt/Governors Island	I
Fort Amsterdam	I
Staten Island	I
New Amsterdam Perimeter Defences	I
New Amsterdam City Hall	I
Oyster Bay	I
Fort Massapeag (Oyster Bay)	I
's-Gravesande (Gravesend, Brooklyn)	I
Midwout/Amersfoort (Flatbush/Flatlands, Brooklyn)	I
Breuckelen and New Utrecht (Brooklyn)	I
Fort Nassau (Albany)	III
Fort Orange (Albany)	III
Rensselaerstein (Beeren Island)	III
Rondout (Kingston)	III
Wiltwijck (Kingston)	III
'A Stone Fort' (Kinderhook)	III
Beverwijck (Albany)	III
Schenectady	III
Fort (Greenbush)	III
Nieuw Dorp (Hurley)	III
Pennsylvania	
Fort Mecoponacka/Upland (Chester)	II
Fort Nya Gothenborg (Essington)	II
Fort Nya Vasa (Philadelphia)	II
Fort Beversreede and Fort Nya Korsholm (Philadelphia)	II
Rhode Island	
Fort Ninigret (Charlestown)	IV
Block Island	IV
New Brunswick (Canada)	
Fort Jemseg (Jemseg)	IV