

RESOURCES

UNITS I & II

Sources of Information Haystacks, N.Y. 1724-1794

Letter, Hannibal S. to Mother in Germany, dated 1728.

Deed to land purchased 1732, Frederick R.

Will, deeding contents of house John R. I to John R. II.

Letter, dated 1864, Iola J., about her grandmother's stories as a child in Haystacks.

Business inventory from general store, 1748-1749.

Historian, Renyld S. , Studies of Haystack, N.Y., written 1944.

Journal Entry, Robert P., June 10, 1900 recalling great-grandfathers story.

Encyclopedia Article, town of Haystacks, N.Y., 1964 edition.

Map of town, prepared 1736.

Court Records, 1765-1766.

Will, Hannibal S.

Journal entry, Henric T., August 15, 1764.

Tombstone epitaphs, P. family, 1782.

Doctor's records, 1754-1757.

Magazine article, "Life in an Early Town," February, 1988.

Biography of Iola J., Pioneer of Haystacks, N.Y.

What are Primary Documents?

Primary sources are original materials which have not been filtered through interpretation, condensation, or, often even evaluation by a second party. Primary sources can include manuscripts, oral histories, some rare books, and documents such as broadsides, photographs, maps, certificate and posters. Such material can be published, however emphasis is on unpublished, often hand-written sources. A secondary source is information about primary or original information which usually has been modified, selected, or rearranged for a purpose or an audience. The neat distinction between primary and secondary sources is not always apparent. A journal article is usually a primary source if it represents original thinking or a report on a discovery; but the same journal may include secondary materials which are reports or summaries of findings of others.

Examples Of Primary Documents And Where To Find Them

Manuscript collections are the most important and extensive source of primary documents. They can include personal papers of an individual, family or company, including diaries, letters, wills, genealogical information, financial records and memorabilia. Records deposited in an institution other than the one that created them are also primary documents and include such items as reports, minutes, financial records and correspondence.

You can find manuscript collections in the attics and basements of individuals and companies, but also in public repositories such as libraries (New York State Library, McKinney Library of Albany Institute, Albany Public Library), archives (New York State Archives, Albany County Hall of Records, Albany County Courthouse) and museums or historical societies. Individual institutions can also have their own libraries, archives and museums; or they can donate their papers to public institutions. For example, First Church in Albany has its own history room and storage vault where its records dating back to the seventeenth century are preserved.

Personal or private documents are more likely to be found in libraries and museums, while government records will turn up in archives. For example, the New York State Archives holds seventeenth-century Dutch records of the government of New Netherland, but seventeenth-century records for the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck are held by Manuscripts and Special Collections of the New York State Library because they are considered private not government documents.

Maps are primary documents that have some of the characteristics of ephemera but differ in that they were created to serve as an accurate guide to a particular area. That is, they were intended to serve as an historical record documenting a particular geographic location at a particular time. Early maps may be elaborate affairs decorated with fancy borders, nautical designs, engravings of buildings, and other decorative embellishments. Most repositories which have manuscripts will also have a map collection. The New York State Library has an extensive collection of old maps. The McKinney Library holdings include city maps of Albany showing railroad lines, the ship canal and basin. Albany County is the place to trace land transactions on maps.

Photographs, engravings, and drawings are an excellent source of primary information for the historical researcher. They are essentially a copy medium. The first step is to copy reality—a street scene, a sports event, a ceremonious occasion, a construction site. Through photographs and other illustrative materials it is possible to ascertain how a city celebrated through pictorial records of pageants, special events, and festivals and to document architectural changes in neighborhoods. McKinney Library's collection includes photographs of steamships, bridges, trolley cars, and trains and many glass plate negatives. The New York State Library picture holdings include graphics and photographs from all eras of New York State history.

Ephemera is another important term requiring definition because it appears frequently in conjunction with discussions about primary and secondary sources. Maurice Rickards, who founded the Ephemera Society in London in 1975, broadly defines ephemera as “any ‘non-book’ printed matter, principally of paper, designed in the main for short-term use, often implicitly for disposal.” This can include anything from admission tickets to reward notices, tax forms to advertising. Ephemera is a fragment of social history, a reflection of the spirit of its time, which is not expected to survive, but which can prove to be very useful in research. They are the transient minor documents of everyday life. Some examples of ephemera are broadsides, maps, letterheads, tradecards, tickets, postcards, certificates, rewards of merit or promotion. Most ephemera date from the nineteenth century.

A History of the Dutch Records

Today there are in the New York State Archives about 12,000 handwritten manuscript pages of official government records created by the Dutch government from 1624 to 1674. Other archives hold even more Dutch records, such as Albany County Hall of Records' books of Beverwijk Court Minutes or various churches which hold baptism, marriage, and deacon's records. Usually these ancient documents are recognized for the important evidence of human activity and history they contain, and they are properly stored and their condition monitored.

The story of what has happened over the past 300 years to the manuscripts now held by the New York State Archives is a fascinating one. During the Dutch period (1624-1664 and 1673-1674) most documents were kept in the fort at Manhattan. Copies were sent to the West India Company in Amsterdam, and often several copies were sent via several ships to insure at least one actually arrived. However, in 1674 when the Dutch finally relinquished all claim to New Netherland, the West India Company was reorganized and a thorough housecleaning of its archives was done. the oldest records were sold to rag pickers as scrap.

The English took over New Netherland in 1664 and renamed it New York. The Dutch briefly recaptured the area in 1673, but the English took over for good in 1674. Under the English the manuscripts were still kept in the fort at Manhattan. In 1688 Gov. Andros moved his government to Boston for his short-lived "Dominion of New England," and naturally the records were taken along. When Andros's "Dominion" failed, the records were sent back to New York City. Some manuscripts may have been lost during these moves.

During the 1741 "Slave conspiracy" when rioting slaves set fire to the fort, manuscripts were thrown out the windows to keep them from being burned. There are eyewitness accounts of papers blowing down the streets of New York City. Who knows what was lost at this time?

During the American Revolution government documents were stored by the British in the holds of two warships (the *Duchess of Gordon* and the *Warwick*) which were anchored in New York Harbor. It was at this time that water and rodent damage occurred. When Albany became the capital of New York State, the government documents were sent up the Hudson and kept in the office of the Secretary of State until 1881. They were transferred to the New York State Library but stored in the State

Capitol until the new Education Building was finished. The documents were still in the Capitol when the 3-day State Capitol Fire occurred in 1911. The Dutch records were stored in the Capitol on wooden shelves close to the floor. They were on lower shelves than the English records because they were not used as often as the English records. The fire burned through the floor above and burned the English records first. The burning English records mixed with water from the firefighters hoses and fell on top of the Dutch records, forming a paper mache cocoon. When Arnold Van Laer (who was the historian at that time) broke through the paper shell, he found most of the Dutch records intact, but with varying degrees of damage. Only Vol. 1 was completely destroyed because ironically it was on Van Laer's desk at the time of the fire. He had just finished a new translation of the volume and was planning to check his work. The attached photocopies of documents show varying degrees of damage.

Outline for 4th Grade Social Studies Unit on the New Netherland Project

by Nancy Zeller

Staff member of the New Netherland Project,
NY State Library, Albany

Goal of this unit: to make students aware of where authors of history books get their information while providing information on the New Netherland Project

- I. Pose the question to students: "Where do the authors of our Social Studies textbook get their information?"
 - A. Information on Indians & how they lived comes from archeology and artifacts- because that's pre-history, i.e. before written records.
 - B. Information on the Dutch colony of New Netherland comes from documents
 1. Kinds of Documents: (Elicit from kids) Letters (private & official), official records of government (court minutes, council minutes, land deeds, wills), business records (accounts, rental records for the patroonship, inventories)
 2. Tell briefly **History of the Dutch records**
 - a. Dutch period 1624-1674: Most kept in fort on Manhattan; copies sent to West India Company in Amsterdam; WIC reorganized in 1674 & many papers destroyed then
 - b. English takeover in 1664 & again in 1674: papers kept in fort on Manhattan until Gov. Andros moved them to Boston in 1688 for his "Dominion of New England"
 - c. Returned to fort in New York City where some were lost in the 1741 "Slave Conspiracy"-thrown out of fort to keep them from being burned in fire set by rioting slaves-eyewitness accounts describe papers blowing down street
 - d. American Revolution: Government documents stored aboard two war-ships (*Duchess of Gordon* and *Warwick*) in New York Harbor; **water and rodent damage**
 - e. To Albany when it became capital of New York
 1. Kept in office of Secretary of State
 2. Transferred to NY State Library but stored in State Capitol until Education Building was finished; the 3-day **1911 State Capitol Fire**.
 - a. Dutch records stored on wooden shelves close to floor, below records, because not used as often
 - b. English records fell on top of Dutch during fire & formed a cocoon; when they broke through the cocoon, they found all the Dutch records with varying amounts of damage.
 - C. Only Vol. 1 completely destroyed because it was on translator's desk at time of the fire; other volumes burned to varying degrees (show sample documents).

Letter from Stuyvesant to Gildersleeve

My dear friend

Your letter from the 15th of June
and the information that you are
the first person to have been
your promise of sending the
note to the 15th of June for the
about the 15th of June; as the
unhappy for the 15th of June
at the 15th of June of the 15th
we proposed for the 15th of June
the 15th of June and the 15th of June
we in our 15th of June the 15th of June
is our promise for the 15th of June

Respectfully
Yours
J. Stuyvesant

Richard Gildersleeve in
the name and bee haalfe of the towne of
Hempstead this 25 of July 1657

To the Right worshipfull *Peeter Stuisant* Governor-General of the New
Netherlands at his howse *foort Amsterdame* these presents.

Stuyvesant's Answer.

Lovinge frinds

Your letter send By Mister *Semins* and his information have given vs full
satisfaction so that wee sal rest in your promisse off hundred skepels off wheat for
the present year; about the continuauncy of mister denton amonghst you we sal vse
al endevs we ken jff hee ken nott bee perswaded jou most locke for an other
Abel and Godley men weer vnto wee on our scyde sul contribu waht leys in our
poure, soe Affter me & C

Sent to Hemsteed July 29, 1657

(Regularized Modern English)

Loving friends,

Your letter, sent by Mr. Simmons, and his information have given us full satisfaction, so that we shall rest in your promise of hundred schepels of wheat for the tenths (10% tax) for the present years. About (concerning) the continuance of Mr. Denton among you, we shall use all endeavors we can. If he cannot be persuaded, you must look for another able and godly man, toward which we, on our side, shall contribute what lays in our power.

Thus according to me etc.

Vocabulary List
Letter from Petrus Stuyvesant
to Richard Gildersleeve

17th Century

wee

skepels

tentes

sal

vse

jff

hee

bee

perswaded

locke

weer

sul

seyde

Modern English

we

skipples - dry measure
equals about 3/4 of a
bushel of wheat

tenths (a 10% tax)

shall

use (v was often used
instead of u)

if

he

be

persuaded

look

where

shall

side

fold here

Outline of Difficulties Inherent in Using Seventeenth Century Documents

I. The work of the New Netherland Project

A. Goal is to translate and publish the 12,000 pages of surviving handwritten manuscript

B. Problems involved

Hand out English letter Stuyvesant to Gildersleeve, 1A, 1B, 1c; don't tell kids it's written in English; have students attempt to read.

1. Handwriting styles change; we write differently today than 300 years ago
2. Spelling conventions change; English spelling not regularized until 18th century
3. Different individuals have different handwriting and spelling; some clerks were drunk or suffering from mental breakdown

Tell kids the transcription of this letter is on the back; point out unusual spelling and way letters are written differently; really make a point that seventeenth century English is difficult to read.

Hand out Dutch document #2

C. Additional problems, because NNP deals with records written in 17th Century Dutch

1. Language — documents are written in 17th century Dutch—not many people can read it, not even native Dutch speakers; like trying to read handwritten Shakespeare
2. Dutch spelling began to be regularized in 16th century & most clerks were trained, but there are individual dialects. Some clerks impaired by drink (which caused sloppy handwriting) or paper shortage (tiny handwriting, writing in margins and between lines)
3. Condition of documents—fire, water, rodent damage (rats on ships); when NNP can't figure out what's missing, NNP shows missing information in empty braces []; involves a lot of educated guessing and historical research to translate
4. One-way correspondence or missing complementary records
 - a. We have West India Company letters to Stuyvesant, but not his answers
 - b. Complementary records referred to in other documents (Such as: Copybook of Petitions, Book of Resolutions, Letterbooks).

II. Conclusions. Emphasize that even when a trained scribe (as with Dutch documents) is writing, there are still problems.

- A. Most historians have been unable to read the Dutch records; their knowledge of New Netherland is limited by lack of source material
- B. Question what is written in textbooks about New Netherland; often based solely on what the conquering English had to say, not on original Dutch documents.
- C Textbooks are written by ordinary people; information in textbooks is only as good as the research the authors have done.

Bill of Lading for a Ship's Cargo

[illegible]

Sioux Falls

Transcription

Ick ondergeschreven Dirck Jansen van Oldenburch schipper naest Godt van mijn scheepien genaempt den Nieu Nederlantschen Indiaen, tegenwoordich reysvaerdich leggende binne de haven vant eylandt Curaçao omme te seylen naer N. Nederlandt bekenne mitsdeesen vanden E. Heer Visdirecteur Matthias Beck Voor reeckeninge vande Ed. Comp. ontfangen te hebben thien stuckes gesunde slaaven ofte neegers mans personen, dewelcke aenme en beloove te leveren naer behouden en salvo arrivement met mijn voors. schip in N. Neder-landt aen den E. Heer Directeur Generael & Raeden aldaer. Desten oirconde hiervan drey allensluydende quitanties gepasseert,waervan d'een voldaeen sijnde, d'ander van geender waerden.Curaçao in't fort Amsterdam, den 31en augusti Anno 1660

Dierck Jansen

I, the undersigned Dirck Jansen van Oldenburch, skipper, next to God, of my ship named *Den Nieuw Nederlantschen Indiaen*, presently lying within the harbor of the island of Curaçao, ready to sail to N. Nederlandt, hereby acknowledge to have received from the honorable lord vice-director Matthias Beck for the account of the honorable Company, ten healthy slaves or male Negroes, which I accept and promise to deliver, after the safe arrival of my aforesaid ship in N. Nederlandt, to the honorable lord director-general and councillors there. In testimony hereof, three identical bonds have been executed, of which the others are invalid when one is satisfied.

Curaçao in Fort Amsterdam, 31 August 1660.

Dierck Jansen

Lower Case Dutch Letters

Seventeenth Century Handwritten Dutch Alphabet

$$2 \sim 4 \sim \infty \text{ u (occasionally open)}$$

١٢٥٦

$$e \quad c \quad r \quad \mathcal{L}(u_2) =$$

• १ २ ३ ४ ५ (final position)

உருவம்

fff

589729

h f f f f (afuc = 0.8) P 3 E

1/3 c

к х х х х х х

2 6 2

44

n n y-outend

○ ㄹ ㄷ

þ y r e þ

97

T X Y Z z x y z

$$= f(r \times 16 \text{ ps} - \delta(\text{final position}) / t$$

cc t f z

u/v 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

2/22 (96) 30

v v6 7c 8b 2w 34 2e

2 3 4

۱۳۴۷ ۲ ۴۷۳۴ ۴۷

278

Upper Case Dutch Letters

Seventeenth Century Handwritten Dutch Alphabet

A A A A
 B B B B
 C C C C
 D D D D
 E E E E
 F F F F
 G G G G
 H H H H
 I I I I
 K K K K
 L L L L
 M M M M
 N N N N
 O O O O
 P P P P
 Q Q Q Q
 R R R R
 S S S S
 T T T T
 V V V V
 W W W W
 X X X X
 Y Y Y Y
 Z Z Z Z

Paper Making in the 1600s

Rags were collected from the town people. These rags were brought to the paper mill. the workers, rag pickers, would separate the cotton rags, linen rags, and jute or hemp. The separated rags would be rolled into balls, and soaked with water; the rags would be soaked for 6 to 8 weeks to allow the rags to separate. When they were broken down they would be placed into **vat holes**. Here they would be beaten down and grounded by a **hammer** until the fibers were fully separated, the hammer would be lifted up and down either by hand or by water wheel. The **pulp** was then washed and stored in chests called **stocks**. The craftsmen would dip a bucket in the chest filled with stock and pour into a large vat. The vatman held a frame strung with a screen or **mold**.

Holding the mold underwater, up to his arms, he would scoop up the wet fibers. He would then take the mold, evening out the fibers until it formed a crisscross sheet.

Another workman called a coucher, would pick up the mold and allowed it to drain the water from the fibers. He would then flip the mold over, laying the wet paper flat on a felt cloth.

A usual day saw a vatman and a coucher dip and flip 144 sheets separated by felt, these 144 sheets made up one **post**. 480 sheets equaled a ream or bundle of papers.

The water was squeezed out as much as possible. A layboy or layman removed it from the press. Each piece of paper was removed from its felt. They were pressed again without the felt. When the pressing was finished, the paper was picked up in **spurs** of 4 or 5 sheets and taken to a room to hang and dry.

When the paper was completely dried, it had to have its surface hardened so it would not spread. The paper maker **burnished** or polished the paper with an agate or stone which was run over the pages. The paper could also be treated with gelatin and water to **size** the paper. (Gelatin was a glue made from boiling hides, hooves, and bones of animals.)

Once the glazing was finished, the paper was ready to be used, the edges were then trimmed and evened off.

Even though it was a dark uneven color, the paper was still very strong and durable.

Vocabulary

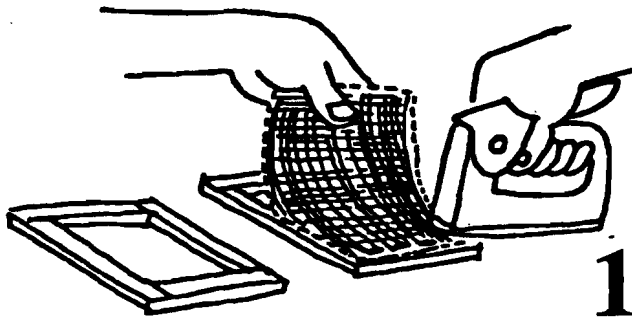
- | | | |
|------------|----------|------------|
| 1. coucher | 6. spur | 11. hammer |
| 2. felt | 7. stock | 12. press |
| 3. layman | 8. vat | 13. pulp |

Papers from Vegetable Fibers

You need: wood for frames (8 six inch strips will do)
staple gun
iron

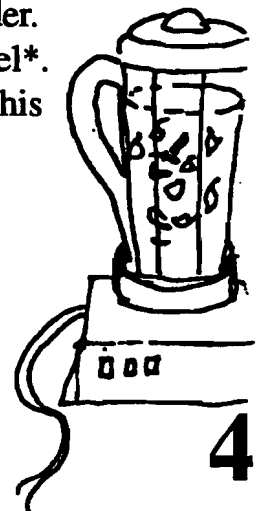
screen 6" x 6"
sponge
blender

Make the wooden frames the same size.
(Any size that fits in a dishpan.) Put a
piece of window screen on one frame.



1

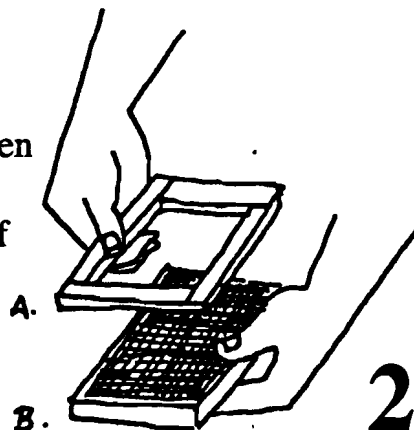
Put cut fibers into a blender.
Add: 1 torn up paper towel*.
Fill blender with water. This
is called **SLURRY**.



4

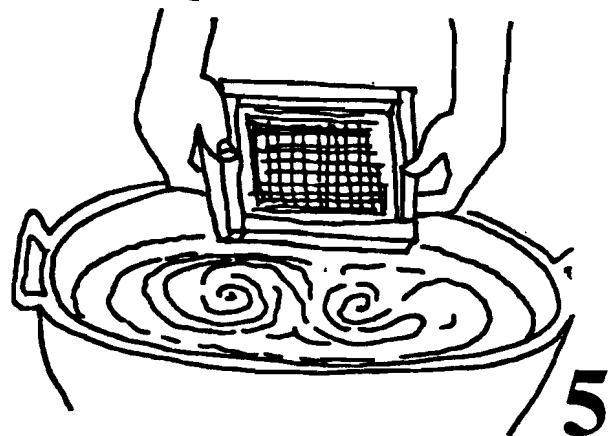
*or napkin, paper bag,
newspaper, tissue

A. = deckle
B. = mold
Hold mold screen
side up, with
deckle on top of
mold.



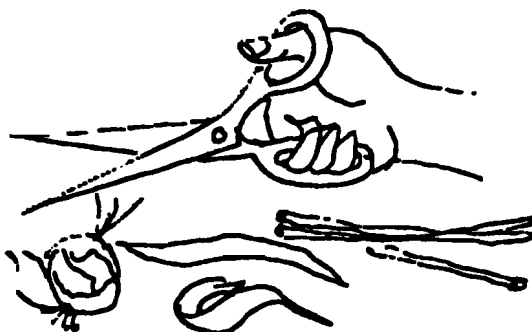
2

Pour slurry into dishpan full of water. Dip
A. and B. into pan.



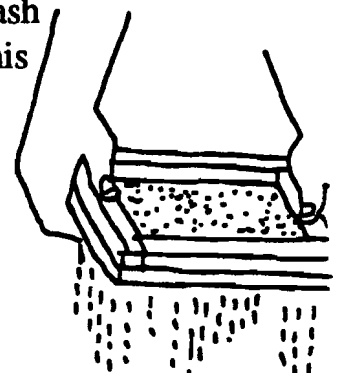
5

Cut all dry vegetable fibers into bits. You
can use: dry corn husks, onion skins, wood
shavings, weeds, straw, bark, etc.

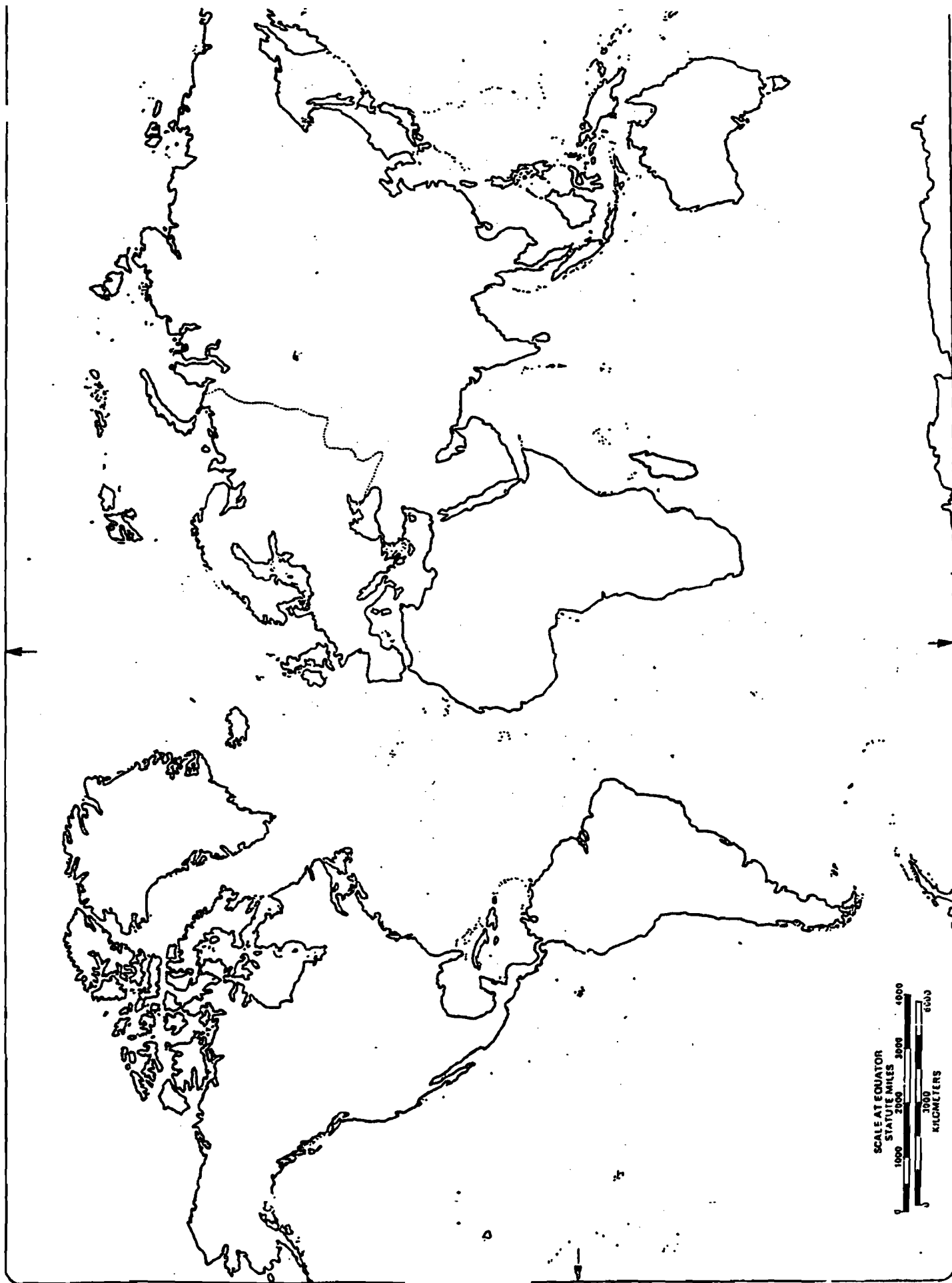


3

Raise frames up horizontally so water can
drain, leaving mash
on the screen. This
is called a **WET
LEAF**.



6



THE DUTCH SETTLEMENT IN THE NEW WORLD
 that became NEW YORK following the plan sent
 October 6, 1664 by GOVERNOR PETER STUYVESANT
 to the WEST INDIA COMPANY IN HOLLAND with di-
 ctates concerning persons, places and affairs
 until the year 1697
 Translated by Manning Jones in 1946 at
 the University of Toronto

No. 757 or 2

Joseph

1000

— 20 —

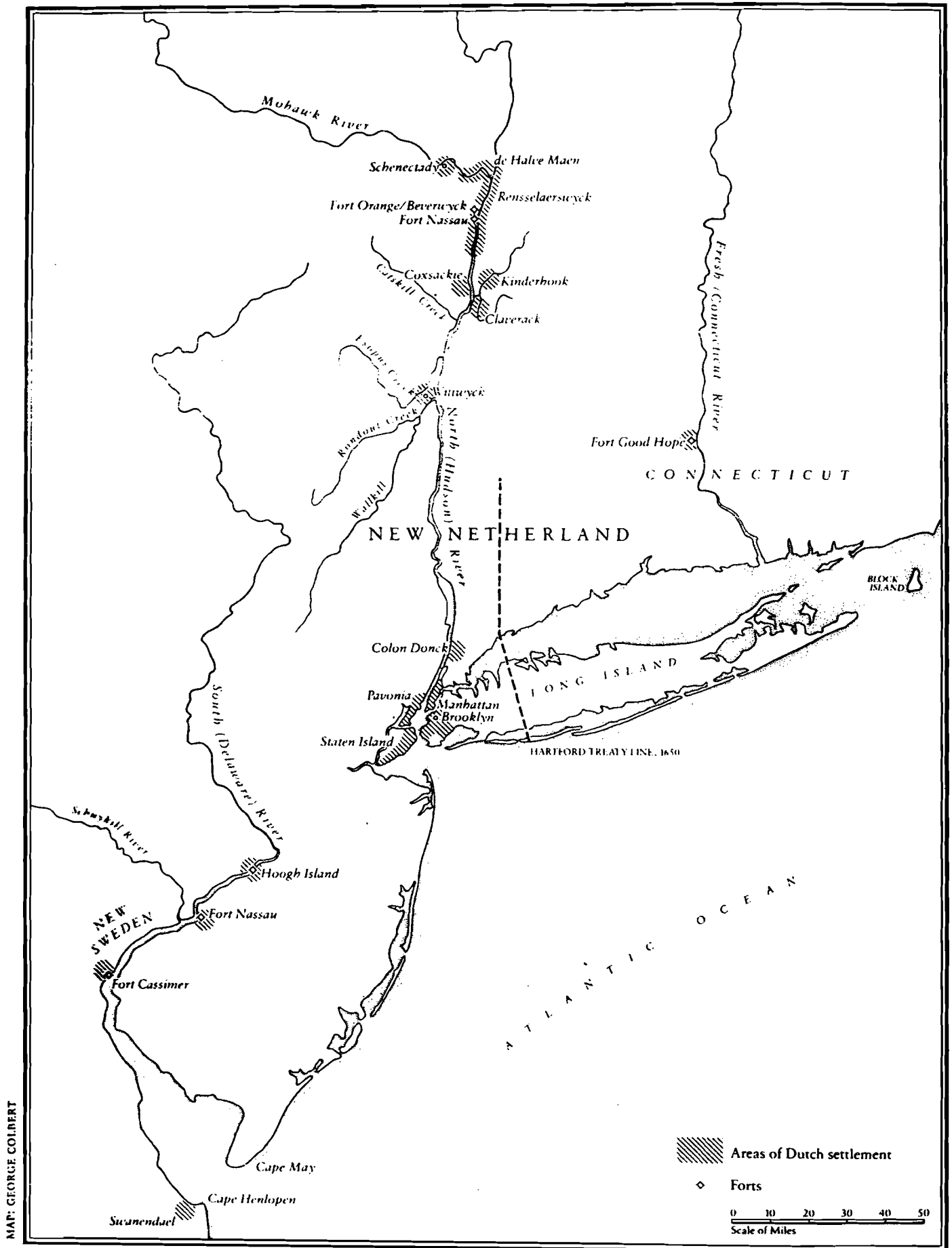
卷之四

THE GREAT DOCK

De A D T R 126 R

Lesson 1/Unit II

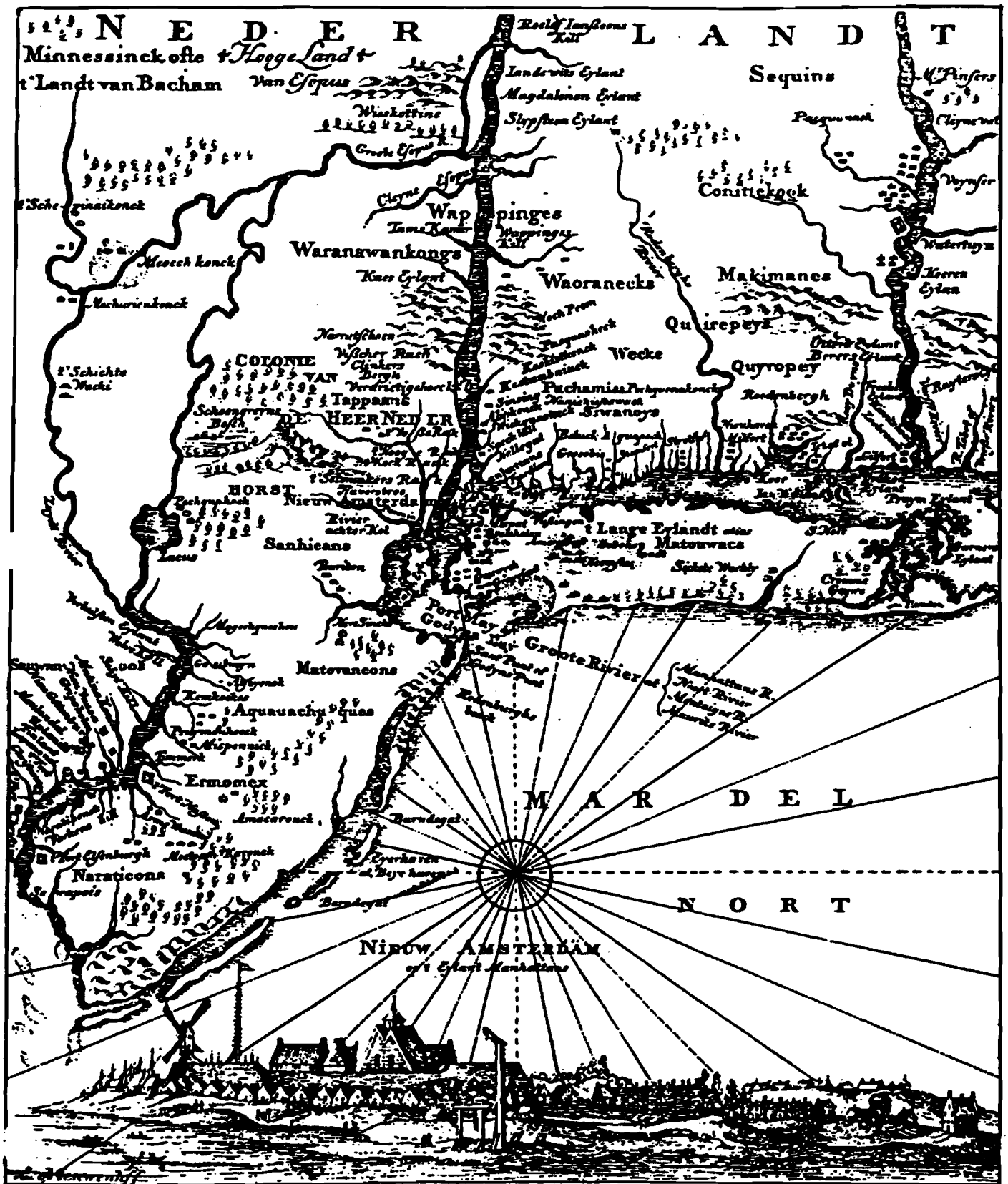
Castello Plan



*Reprinted with permission of the Albany Institute of History and Art's, "Remembrance of Patria"



Anonymous watercolor of New Amsterdam after its surrender to the English.
Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague.



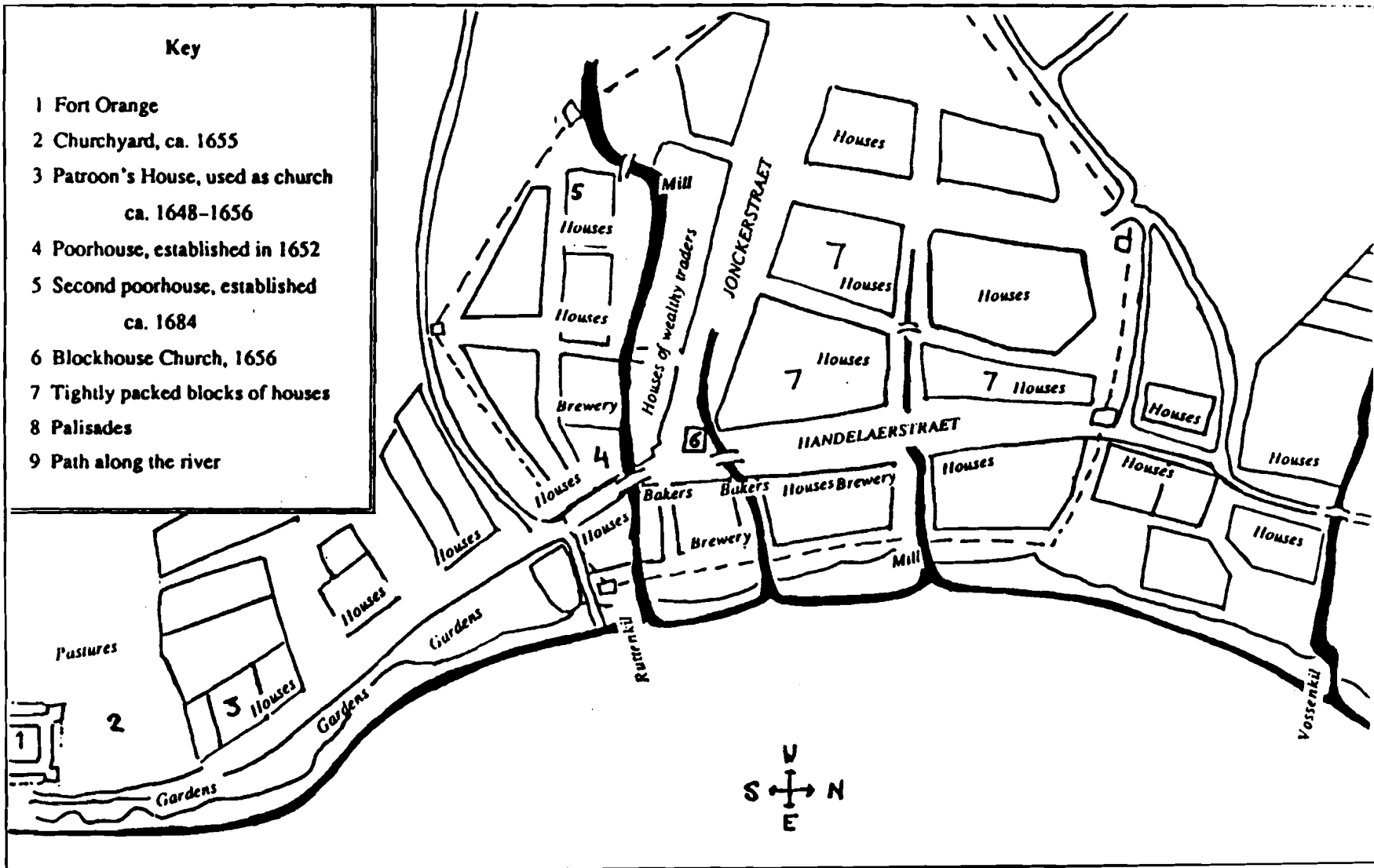


Fig. 3. Beverwijck, ca. 1656, based on Römer Map, 1698
and research of the New Netherland Project.

Janny Venema
New Netherland Project

THE DUTCH AND AMERICA

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The College of Fine Arts
University of California, Los Angeles**

UNIT II/Lesson 3

GOLDEN AGE DUTCH CARTOGRAPHY AND MAPS OF AMERICA



The supremacy of the Dutch in map-making began in the early 17th century, at the time of the Netherlands' exploration and settlement of America. Because of this, many of the earliest, most beautiful, and most accurate maps of America were those printed in Holland. These maps of the New Netherland colony were much influenced by the Dutch ideals of beauty, order and commercial value and they, in turn, shaped the image of the new land for other European colonial powers and for the new Americans themselves.

The way to this Dutch pre-eminence was paved largely in Flanders by the work of Gerhard Mercator (1512–1594) and Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). Mercator contributed much to the scientific growth of cartography by inventing several projections including the one which bears his name, and in striving to make exact surveys where others had merely made approximations. His work set a new standard of cartographic accuracy. Ortelius, an Antwerp map-seller and publisher, created the first atlas, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, in 1570, and with it created a great demand for atlases of the world. In the process he set a new ethical standard for the publishing trade by listing the names of all those whose works he had consulted in its publication. These masters were followed by others whose work helped to expand the map-appreciating public and who presided over the mapping of the New Netherland colony until its surrender to the English in 1664.

Boudewijn Bakker notes that before and during the cartographic advances of the 17th century, maps were usually much less abstract than those we see today. Usually, if the area to be depicted was not very large, a birds-eye view or slanting projection was used. This projection enabled the artist to describe the general shape of the landscape and also to portray the important landmarks of the scene three-dimensionally. Despite the rapid spread of trigonometric measurement which allowed for greater accuracy, this slanting projection continued to be used for landmarks in otherwise orthogonally projected maps. Such maps often had great decorative value since the standard of topographical drawing in the Netherlands was very high.¹

A less technically demanding topographical view was that of the city profile or portrait of a city. Bakker fur-

ther notes that this approach had a long tradition and that, “. . . even the early navigators were in the habit of drawing profiles of the coastlines they saw as a guide for future voyages.”² This perspective became extremely popular in Holland among a variety of artists; such views were often added to the borders to enrich an orthogonal map of a region, and many prominent Dutch painters used this urban landscape as subject matter.

At the beginning of the 17th century the center of map production shifted from Antwerp to Amsterdam.³ Little is known about the operation of most of the major map publishing houses but, perhaps as a result of the strength of the crafts guilds, they seem to have formed around groups of working engravers. As the workshops grew, however, the tasks performed within them became both expanded and more specialized.⁴ Family printing-publishing houses like those of Hondius, Jansson, and Visscher controlled every aspect of map publication: papermaking, engraving, typesetting, printing, hand-coloring and binding.⁵ It is possible that engravers were engaged to execute different areas of map design and that no individual would carry out an entire work. To Verner, this would partially explain why many maps are not signed by the engraver.⁶

The character of map production would have been very different had engraving on copper not succeeded woodcut as the most common medium. Copper engraving had many substantial advantages: 1) copper plates could be larger than woodblocks, allowing the map-maker to include more detailed information; 2) the fineness and flexibility of the engraved line allowed for more precision in the image; 3) copper plates were more easily altered, and they could be re-engraved to show new information or simply to give the map a new look; and 4) the longer life of copper plates brought down the cost of printing the individual copy, making maps more widely available.⁷

Because of the high cost of the copper plates used for maps and charts, they constituted the most important inventory of any printing house. They were passed from father to son and, upon the break-up of the family business, were sold to other publishers for reprinting. It was common for Amsterdam printers to use a competitor's map to fill out portions of a new atlas, merely changing

the cartouche or other decorative features of the maps. Lloyd Brown describes the common practice with regard to these plates:

Because of the high cost of copper and its amazing adaptability when doctored by an expert, many map plates had long and checkered careers. They were bought, begged and stolen; they were patched, spliced, added to, erased and otherwise altered until their original owners would not have recognized them. In some cases such alterations were legitimate, and were made because a plate was sold, but more often because a zealous printer wished to give the impression that he was offering an entirely new publication.⁸

This sort of plagiarism went on continually despite the nominal "privilege" or "octroi" that was intended to protect the publisher. Claims of infringement were routinely exchanged by the major Amsterdam printing firms of Hondius-Jansson and Blaeu.

Although mapmakers sometimes aroused the ire of their colleagues, they were usually very practical men who worked both for prestige and profit. The costs of creating a completely new map were high because of the expense and the unreliability of travel, and because of the difficulty of obtaining accurate geographical information. Therefore it was often expedient for publishers to cooperate with each other and to share information and plates when it would have been expensive or impossible to make new ones.⁹

Trade in engraved plates was also international. The beauty and accuracy of the Dutch plates was unrivalled in the 17th century. It was the custom for sea pilots returning from a voyage to turn over their corrected maps and charts and other observations to the official cartographer of the States-General, who would update the existing maps with the information provided him.¹⁰ Given the wide range of Dutch economic interests, this practice insured that Dutch maps generally reflected the most advanced knowledge available. Holland also boasted the most skilled engravers in Europe, and these men turned the factual information into magnificent presentations replete with decorative cartouches, costumed figures, sea-monsters and other wild life, as well as full-rigged ships at sea. As a result of this, maps and atlases published in the Netherlands were widely imitated abroad. The influence of Dutch maps on English map production, especially on the work of John Seller, has been noted by several scholars. Samuel Pepys, the 17th century diarist and secretary of the Admiralty, was a map enthusiast and collector. Helen Wallis quotes him in a recent essay:

Seller's maps are at the best but copies of the Dutch, with such improvements as he could make therein by private advice upon the observations of single men . . . They say that even Seller's new maps are many of them

little less than transcripts of the Dutch maps, some of them even with papers pasted over and names scratched! Seller had bought worn Dutch plates for old copper and refurbished them.¹¹

Pepys was describing his reactions to Seller's then new sea atlas, *The English Pilot*, issued in 1669, but Pepys was also known to have complained bitterly about the dependance of other English cartographers, such as Moses Pitt, John Thornton and John Friend, upon Dutch printed and manuscript charts.¹² The decorative impulse of Dutch maps is thought to have especially influenced the work of John Speed.¹³

Some other important Dutch cartographers are worth mentioning here. Among them is Jodocus Hondius (1563-1611), who acquired the plates for Mercator's *Atlas Cosmographicae*. Rumold Mercator had brought out the first edition of the atlas and had died soon afterwards. Hondius added as many as fifty other plates and re-issued the atlas under Mercator's title.¹⁴ The great success of this volume inspired Hondius to re-engrave the plates in miniature and publish the first pocket atlas in 1607, the *Atlas Minor*. After his death, the firm was run by his son Hendrick and Hendrick's brother-in-law, Jan Jansson. The pair continued the elder Hondius' entrepreneurial tradition until Hendrick's death in 1651.

Although the Hondius-Jansson atlases were very popular throughout Europe, their fame was superseded by the work of Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638), a surveyor and cartographer. Blaeu appears to have been an unusually talented man in an age when men of skill were involved in all areas of political and commercial life. His work in the field of cartography was not limited to the publication of the work of others. His early studies with the great Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe trained him in the use and construction of precision instruments and he began his career as a seller of astrolabes as well as a maker of maps and globes.¹⁵ His success can be measured in part by the references made in period documents to the commissions he received from the States-General of the Netherlands (in 1605, 1608 and 1623) and from the Dutch East India Company, which in 1633 made him the head of their department of hydrography.¹⁶ Blaeu's cartographic output was, however, rather uneven. It seems inconsistent with his keen interest in science that he would sometimes draw maps without parallels or meridians, and few of his maps were laid down on a Mercator projection. At the same time his sea charts were reputed to be the most accurate available.¹⁷ Brown attempts to resolve this apparent conflict by observing that Blaeu was probably a "shrewd businessman" who was content to create two sorts of maps; one for official, navigational purposes, and the other, often brightly colored, for home decoration. The decorative maps are now considered some of the most beautiful maps of the early period.

Blaeu also made technical contributions to the industry by making substantial improvements to the design of the printing press and by uniting under one roof some of the best craftsmen of the day in the production of his maps.¹⁸ A fire in the Blaeu family workshop in 1672, a year before the death of Blaeu's son and successor, Joan Blaeu, destroyed much of the shop's store of engraved plates. Those that survived were sold in Amsterdam, and continued to appear in works published by others for many years.¹⁹

Visscher was another prominent family of map publishers that worked into the first years of the 18th century. The patriarch, Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652), was a skilled draughtsman as evidenced by a number of pen drawings after nature attributed to him.²⁰ Visscher was also a very productive printmaker who created a variety of images—historical prints, town views and maps—but his specialty evidently was town profiles and cityscapes. Much of his output consisted of separate sheet maps which were not bound into atlases, hence few have survived.²¹ What we do know of his work however, indicates work of very high quality, similar in character to that of Blaeu.

One of the most significant developments of the early 17th century was the great increase in the production of separate maps, some of folio size and others made up of several sheets intended for use as wall decoration.²² In fact, Bakker observes a “. . . rapid increase in the production of every kind of topographical material in the years around 1600. . . .” He goes on to say that: “It has been suggested that the demand for topographical prints expressed the growing self-confidence of the citizens of Holland, who were proving successful in their resistance against Spanish domination.”²³ It would seem natural that feelings of nationalism should express themselves in an interest in the urban landscape, since Holland's middle and upper-class populations were primarily centered in her cities. Topographical prints would certainly have appealed to the rising, commercially based middle-class, who perhaps could not afford to acquire or commission paintings of similar scenes. The production of topographical prints seems to have preceded townscape painting and the popularity of these prints may have directly influenced the change of motif in painting from rural scenes to urban scenes after 1650. Walter Liedtke notes that in this period, following the wars and immigrations from the South, there was an urge to build a distinctly Dutch culture.²⁴ This urge is reflected in the four important books of topographical descriptions of Amsterdam that appeared after 1660, all of which were richly illustrated. The great investment that these publications represented would have been justified only if their sale could reasonably have been assured. Bakker relates the development of a market for topographical prints with “. . . the sudden blossoming of the painted

cityscape in the same years.”²⁵ This increase in topographical activity occurred at the same time as the enormous economic and spatial expansion of the city of Amsterdam.²⁶

We have discussed above the extreme vulnerability of separate maps and multiple sheet maps not bound into books and atlases. Because of this vulnerability, many that were published during the period of their greatest popularity have been lost. It is fortunate, then, that the Dutch interior painters, notably Jan Vermeer of Delft (1632-1675), Nicolaes Maes (1634-1693), Jacob Ochtervelt (1634-1682) and Michael Van Musscher (1645-1705), took such an interest in depicting characteristic Dutch domestic interiors decorated with maps. Vermeer's work is especially significant not only in documenting how the maps were displayed in homes, but in providing the only pictorial record of maps that would have been otherwise lost.²⁷ Maps by some of Holland's most celebrated cartographers appear in no fewer than seven of Vermeer's paintings. A map of Holland and West Friesland by Blaeu, using plates engraved by van Berckenrode, published about 1629, was used in three of Vermeer's works; *The Soldier and a Laughing Girl* of about 1657, *Young Woman in Blue* of 1662-64, and *The Love Letter* of about 1670. Other maps used by Vermeer include the map of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands by Huyck Allard from plates originating early in the 17th century, a map of Europe published about 1613 by Jodocus Hondius and another map of the Netherlands by Nicolaus Visscher (son of Claes Jansz Visscher), which appeared about 1652.

Since most of the above maps were published substantially earlier than the works in which they appear, we may infer that these particular maps, and perhaps others like them, so rich in decorative value, either retained their popularity well beyond their issue dates or that the demand for them made their later reissue profitable. This may also have been true for Blaeu's decorated sea charts and Hondius' celestial and terrestrial globes, which appear in other works by Vermeer.

A prime source of pride for Dutch nationals in the 17th century was the establishment of a wide-ranging foreign trade. Forced by Spain to seek an alternative to the usual route to the Spice Islands (via the southern cape of South America), Dutch navigators followed the route pioneered by the Portuguese nearly two centuries earlier via the coast of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. From this beginning, the Dutch established a stronghold in the Far East. To insure a full share of profits from eastern expeditions, the Dutch government founded the Dutch East India Company in 1602 to regulate trade and to present a united front to other foreign trade powers.²⁸

The Dutch intrusion into North America came in 1609 when the English navigator, Henry Hudson, sailed

under a Dutch commission into what is now known as the Hudson River. The information that Hudson brought must have pleased the Directors of the Dutch East India Company; fur-bearing animals were plentiful in the forests of North America. Hudson himself, however, never returned to Holland to deliver the news. He was detained in England and persuaded to reenter the service of a consortium of English companies and independent merchants in order to pursue further explorations on their behalf.²⁹ There is scant evidence of any other voyages to America by the Dutch after Hudson's sailing in 1609 until the voyage of Adriaen Block in 1613.³⁰ This is one of the three voyages thought to have been made by Block, who may have had some financial interest in the firm which sponsored his voyage. In 1614 Block drew a map of the coast of North America stretching roughly from Newfoundland to Virginia. The original of this map, drawn in gold and colors on vellum, is now in the collection of the National Archives in The Hague. Although some decorative features were included, the map can be distinguished as a mariner's chart by the attention to details of coastline and rivers and the presence of meridians. The map is significant in that it is the first to show Manhattan as an island (fig. 1).

From about 1613 until 1621, the area charted by Block was explored by a number of independent Dutch companies which effectively controlled the trade in fur with their mother country. By 1621, Holland's old adversary Spain was reaping great wealth from her colonies in the New World, and the States-General of the Netherlands was looking for a way to do Spain damage should the uneasy truce between the two countries expire. It decided to form the Dutch West India Company to "... choke off the life strength of Spain at its roots."³¹ The policy of the Company as written by the Directors in Amsterdam became "... whatever the political pressures of the moment dictated."³²

Thomas Condon notes that, coupled with the political objectives of the Company, there was a desire on the part of the Directors to make the Company a source of profit through the sale of furs, as well as to provide additional jobs for sailors and others involved in maritime occupations. The goals of the Company with respect to New Netherland, her claimed territory in North America, were the exploitation of native raw materials and native populations and the establishment of a successful commercial empire similar to that of the Dutch East India Company. He describes the charter of the West India Company as having made only passing reference to the issue of transplanting Europeans to the area within the Company's control. The settlement of New Netherland in the period from 1623-1629 appears to have been neglected, and is often described as such by historians, but it was never the expressed intention of the Directors to plant Dutch culture there.³³

The fur trade had by 1625 proved promising enough to commission a survey for the building of a fort in an area central to the whole of New Netherland.³⁴ The place chosen was Manhattan Island, located in the heart of the Dutch territory. Condon makes it clear that those who settled Manhattan Island were intended to populate the support station established there for the use of the Company fur traders. Farms, and the families to work them, were also necessary because it was impractical to ship foodstuffs from Europe. All emigres to the colony were considered employees of the Company and the strict discipline imposed on the settlers reflected this quasi-military arrangement.³⁵ Once in New Netherland, however, the settler often forgot his allegiance to the Company and began to trade privately with Indians and other fur dealers, creating competition for the Company from within its own ranks. This situation brought about higher market prices at home, cutting into the Company's possible profits.³⁶

Despite much controversy in Amsterdam, the means agreed upon to improve the viability of the colony was a charter by the West India Company called the "Freedoms and Exemptions Act" of 1628. The provisions of the new charter allowed private development of specific areas within the colony under the condition that the developer provide fifty settlers to be shipped to the colony.³⁷ Such "patroonships", according to Condon, were not intended to create a feudal system in America, but rather to reduce the Company's expenses in maintaining the colony.³⁸ Of the patroonships granted after the act was passed, only the patroon of the Company Director, Kilian van Rensselaer, Rensselaerswyck, was held until the transfer of the colony to the English. The comparative success of Rensselaerswyck was due mainly to the shrewdness of van Rensselaer himself. He diverted livestock and personnel from the Company's settlement at Manhattan to supply his patroon, which weakened the agricultural structure of New Amsterdam. A clear record of this weakening can be found in the Vingboons map of 1639, which shows that none of the Company farms were in operation at that time. (Fig. 2). Johannes Vingboons held, at this time, the post of cartographer to the Dutch West India Company.³⁹

New Netherland was proving to be a financial liability to the West India Company by 1639, but the Company was not about to abandon it.⁴⁰ It continued to support it out of the profits of the Company's other colonies in the New World and continued to look for ways to make New Netherland more defensible by increasing its population. Pressure from the large English population to the North and South of New Netherland gave the problem additional importance. About this time the Company devised a plan to divest itself of control of the fur trade and to allow independent fur traders to operate in New Netherland. The policy was aimed at shifting from

"... direct commercial participation to ... commercial regulation ...".⁴¹ Instead of supporting the whole of the colony, the Company would only be responsible for paying the few employees in New Amsterdam who would oversee the Company storehouses and engage in trade. Profit to the Company would come in the form of tariffs placed on goods sold to the settlers. But instead of attracting farmers who could strengthen the colony, open fur trading encouraged the emigration of rootless privateers who were a source of further disorder.

An ad-hoc group called the "commonality" formed itself in New Amsterdam in 1642. Composed mainly of young, ambitious men who had recently arrived in the colony, the commonality contributed to creating social order in New Netherland and ultimately in uniting public opinion against the Company. This group was also alternately called the "Twelve", the "Eight" and the "Nine", depending on the number of its members.

Among its members was Augustine Herrmann, the son of a Prague merchant. Herrmann was apparently an able draughtsman. I. N. Phelps Stokes, in his six volume *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, attributes a view of New Amsterdam to Herrmann.⁴² (Fig. 3) This may be the view referred to in the records of the colony housed in Albany:

This map was sent to Holland by the Burgomasters and Schepens to be engraved; but it is now lost. A perspective view of New Amsterdam, sketched by Augustine Heermans in 1656, was added, which, having been also affixed to Vander Donck's map of the province, has come down to us.⁴³

Herrmann also drew an important map of Virginia and Maryland.⁴⁴ In view of Herrmann's position in the colony and his skill in drawing, it is not unreasonable to assume that he would have been commissioned to draw maps of whatever areas needed to be documented.

Herrmann's view of about 1650 records a New Amsterdam that is substantially larger than the village of 300 that existed in 1629. The population increase (including many non-Dutch settlers) was encouraged both by the relaxing of the restrictions on the fur trade and also by the Company's offer of free passage.⁴⁵ The pressure of this new, sudden population increase was felt particularly in the areas of Staten Island, New Jersey and Westchester, which up to this time had been very sparsely settled. As a result a series of Indian wars had erupted in the area; the lack of adequate defense for the colonists was blamed on the Company, as were most of the other problems which the colony faced. The question of public expenses and who was to pay for them persisted until New Netherland's final days in 1664.⁴⁶

In 1653, the commonality acquired the right to form a municipal government, a right it had long desired. By this time there remained only eleven years until the English

took New Netherland. Condon points out that in the 1640's a base had been created through the struggles of the commonality from which, having sufficient time, could have emerged "... a distinctive society in New Netherland."⁴⁷

Stokes lists some twenty-five Dutch maps and views that were made of New Netherland and New Amsterdam depicting the period of Dutch domination. The publishers or engravers can be identified for most of these maps, but the authors are usually unrecorded. Some of the maps that have survived are richly decorated with figures and cartouches (e.g. The Jansson Prototype), but despite the attention to decorative detail, the original intention of the maps was unquestionably documentary. (Fig. 4) Whether or not the colony was flourishing, the Dutch West India Company would have wanted visual evidence of its state. Evidence of commissions for maps, surveys and plans is extant, and in each case their purpose is to document something considered to be of value. Once the map passed into the hands of the publisher, however, it could be adorned and sold for decoration in Amsterdam shops. In this way the Dutch maps of America served two distinct functions: one mercantile and the other aesthetic.

Maureen B. McGee

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NOTES

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4. Richard J. Wattenmaker, Introduction, *Opkomst en Bloei van de Nederlandse Stadsgezichten in de 17de eeuw*, p. 263.

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6. J. A. Akker, "Maps, Books and Prints", p. 73.

7. Walter A. Leidtke, "Pride in Perspective—The Dutch Town-Plan", *Connoisseur* 200, April 1979, p. 269.

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12. William Loring Andrews, *New Amsterdam, New Orange, New York* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1897), p. 18.

13. Thomas J. Condon, *New York Beginnings—The Commercial History of New Netherland* (New York: New York University Press,

1968), pp. 12-13. Condon describes the voyages of Adriaen Block in this section.

31. Ibid., p. 31.

32. Ibid., p. 32.

33. Ibid., pp. 56-67. Condon here discusses the motivations for the founding of the Dutch West India Company.

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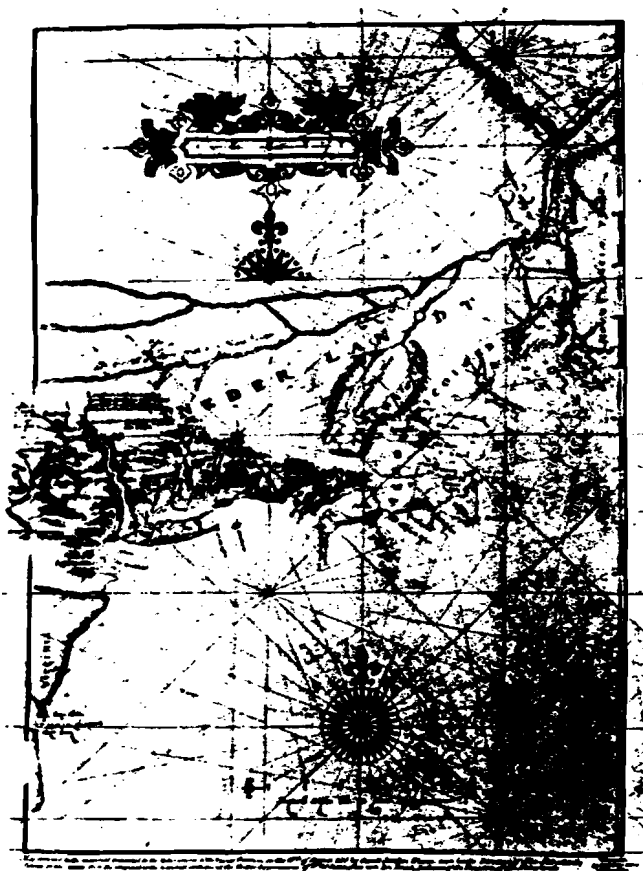


Fig. 1
Adriaen Block
*Figurative Map of New
Netherland*
1914
Chromolithograph
10 7/8" x 7 1/2"
Courtesy, Museum of the
City of New York



Fig. 2
Anonymous
*Manatus Gelegen op de
Noot Riuer*
(The Manatus Map or Ving-
boons Survey—Harrisse
Copy)
Issues: c. 1670; Depicts:
1639
26 5/8" x 18 1/4"
Reproduced from I. N.
Phelps Stokes, *The Iconog-
raphy of Manhattan Island*
1498-1909, New York, 1915

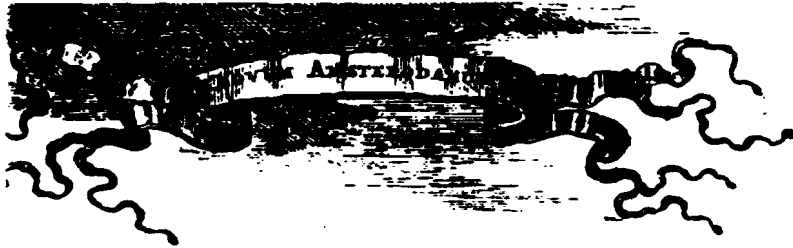


Fig. 3
Engraving after Augustine
Herrmann
Novum Amsterodamum
(The Montanus View)
Issued: 1671; Depicts:
c. 1650
6 3/8" x 5"

Reproduced from I. N.
Phelps Stokes, *The Iconog-
raphy of Manhattan Island*
1498-1909, New York, 1915



Fig. 4
Artist Unknown
*Belgii Novi Angliae Novae
et Partis Virginiae Novis-
sima Delineatio*
(The Jansson Prototype)
Issued: c. 1660; Depicts:
1647-51
Engraving
20 1/4" x 17 3/8"

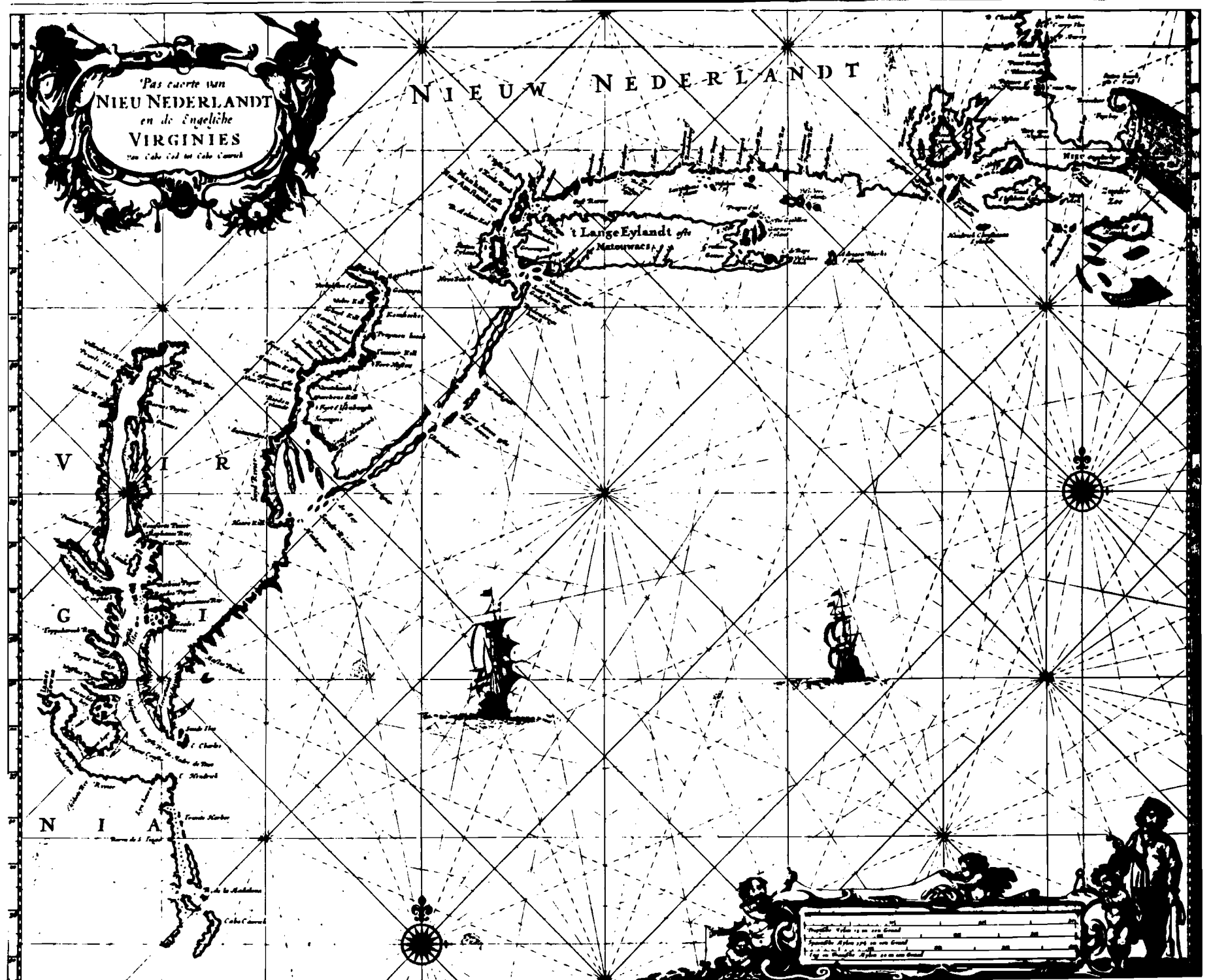
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Phelps Stokes, *The Iconog-
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1498-1909, New York, 1915

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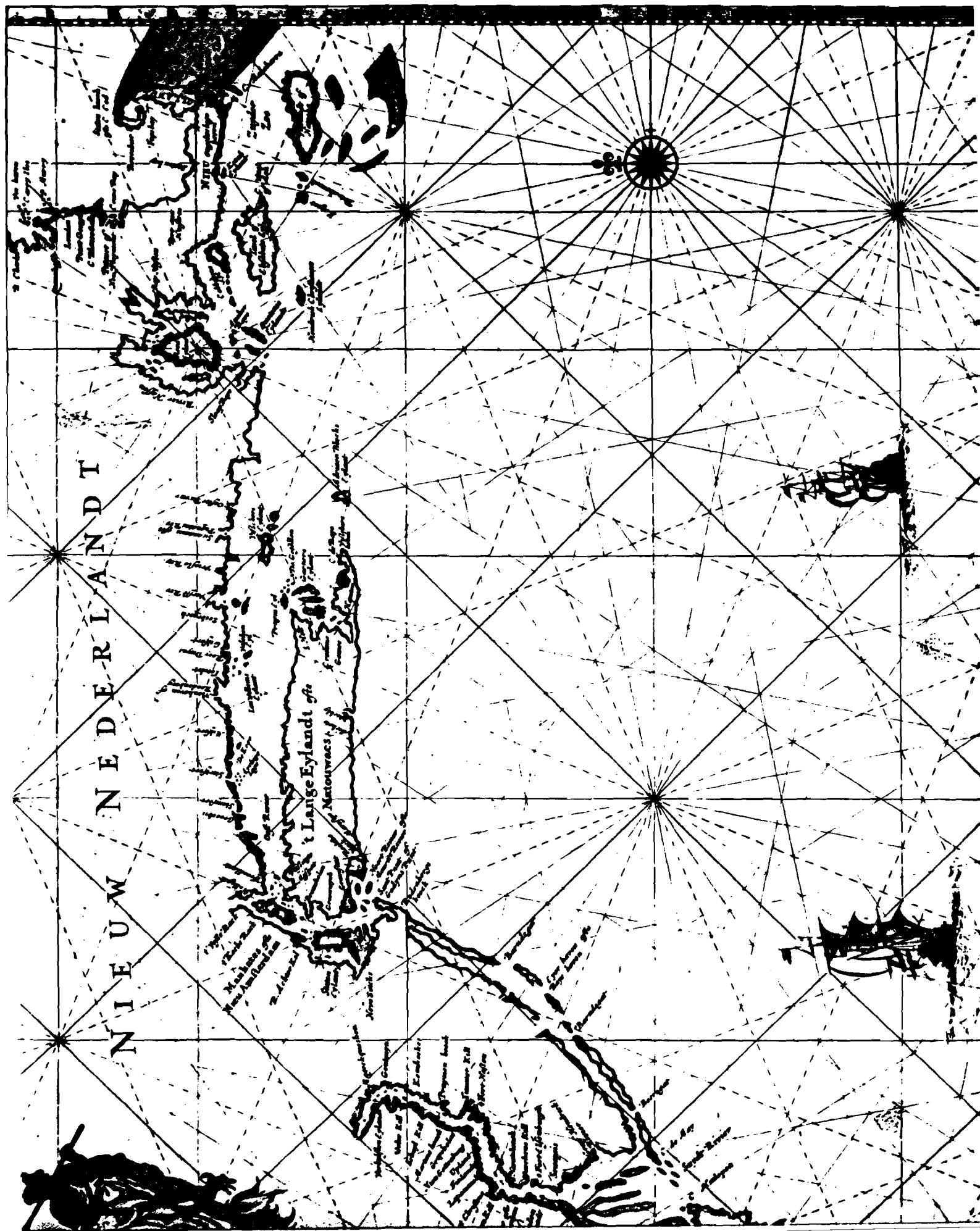
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GOOS Mariner's Map of New Netherland (whole map)



1. c. 50.

1. c. 50. / Hooghe Mogende Heeren



Gek is gelyk t'begin twaapen van Amsterdam
aankomst ende is ds 23^e septem. uyt Nieuw Rijk
lant gelyk uyt de Nieuw Mauritius. rapporten
dat ons volck dat klot is in veldweg L. 23
gans Neondag gelyk oor kuddes atank gelyk
gelyk t'lant mankater van de veld gelyk, voor
de veld van 60. gul. is groot 11000 meeg.
gelyk alle kots gelyk met gelyk, ende gelyk
augusto gelyk. dat van gelyk in veld
van gelyk kots, als tarw, havy, gelyk, gelyk
bouwtyt. kunnig, boontjies in veld.

Het Cargeloen van t'afz schip is

7246 kots veld
178 $\frac{1}{2}$ kots veld
675. kots veld
40. kots veld
36. Cargeloen veld
33 kots
34 kots veld.

Wiel gelyk veld, in veld gelyk.

Gelyk in veld

Hooghe Mogende Heeren, uyt ds Demogel
in veld kots.

In Amsterdam den 5^e novem d' 1626.

(Zwe Moo: Moo: Dienstwillighe

P. Schagen

Hoogh Moghende Heeren,

Hier is gisteren 't schip 't Wapen van Amsterdam
aangekomen ende is de 23e September uyt Nieuw
Nederlandt geseyld uyt de rivier Mauritius.
Rapportereren dat ons volck daer kloec ende
vreedigh leven, haer vrouwen hebben ook
kinderen aldaer gebaert.

Hebben 't eylant Manhatten van de wilden
gekocht
voor de waerde van 60 gulden, is groot 11000
morgens.

Hebbende alle koren half Mey gezayt ende
half Augustus gemayd. Daarvan zendende
monsters van zomer-koren als tarwe, rogge, gerst,
haver, boekweyt, kanariezaet, boontjes en vlas.

Het cargasoen van 't voorgezegd schip is:

7246 bever vellen

178 1/2 otter vellen

645 otter vellen

48 minks vellen

36 boskat vellen

33 mincks

34 ratte vellekens

Veel eyken balcken en noten hout

Hiermede Hooghmoghende Heeren, zijt de
Almogende in genade bevolen.

In Amsterdam, den 5e November
anno 1626

Uwe Hoo. Moo. dienstwillighe

P. Schagen

My Lords,

Yesterday the vessel the Arms of Amsterdam
arrived here which left New Netherland on the
River Hudson on the 23d of September.

We would like to report that our people there are
very energetic and that they are living in peace.

Their wives have also given birth to children there.

We have bought the island, which covers 11,000
acres, from the savages for the amount of sixty
guilders. We have sown grain about the middle of
the month of May and have reaped it in the middle
of August. We will send samples of corn, wheat,
rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed beans
and flax. The cargo of the above mentioned ship
consists of:

7246 muskrat skins

178 1/2 otter skins

675 otterskins

48 weasel skins

36 skins of wild cats

33 weasels

34 rat skins

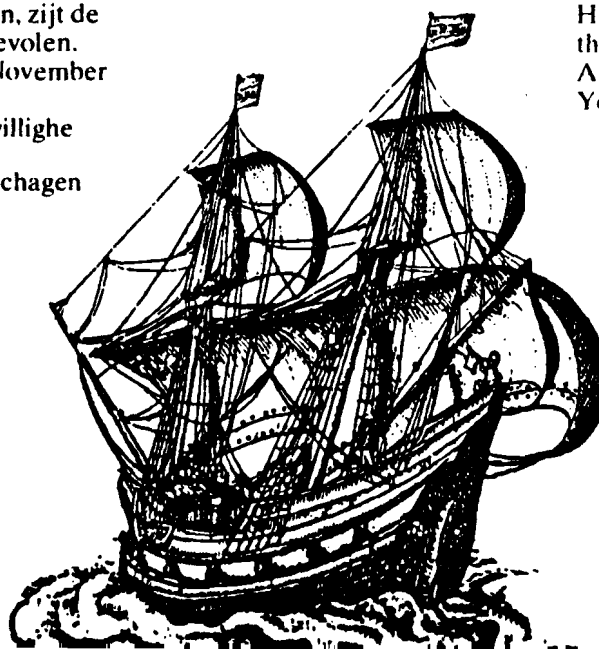
many oakbeams and wood
from nut trees.

Hereby my Lords, be commended to
the grace of the Almighty God,

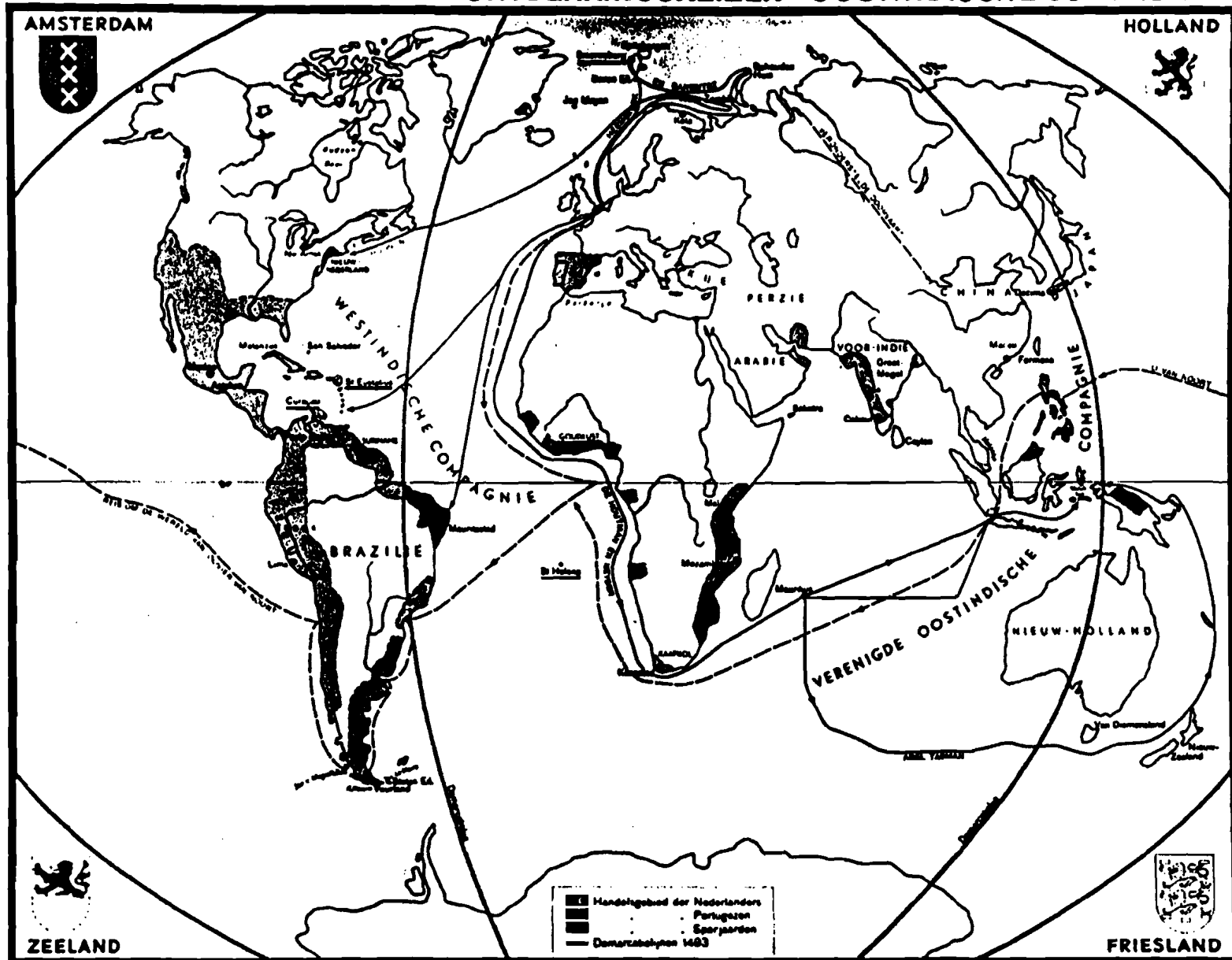
Amsterdam, 5 November, anno 1626.

Your honourable and faithful servant,

P. Schagen



WESTINDISCHE COMPAGNIE ONTDEKKINGSREIZEN OOSTINDISCHE COMPAGNIE



Background Information

Dutch Seafaring and Founding of New Netherland

The story of New Netherland begins in Europe where the Dutch fought an Eighty Years War of Independence (1568-1648) from the vast Hapsburg Empire of Spain. This War of Independence, the first of its kind, disrupted the evolving Dutch trade and supply routes, particularly with the East Indies and China. Spain, later joined by Portugal, controlled these sea routes with armed ships-of-war. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by a joint English-Dutch navy helped to slow the growth of the Hapsburg power. The Netherlands, commonly called Holland after her largest seafaring province, and England, both sought alternative trade routes to the East Indies and China by means of a defensible northern route. Therefore, the earliest voyages of the Dutch were commercial in nature.

In 1602 the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC) was founded. The success of the company led to the founding of the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609 and the Amsterdam Stock Exchange in 1611. Also in 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman, was hired by the Dutch East India Company to find a northeast passage to the Indies and China. In *De Halve Maen* (Half Moon) Hudson explored the mid-Atlantic region of the United States. Although Hudson did not find his alternate trade route, he established a large area to be pursued for commercial venture.

During this time the Netherlands and Spain called a truce and there was to be no more fighting with arms. Instead the Dutch were to wage a trade war. They competed with the Spanish in the New World, opening up settlements in former Spanish territories and encouraging piracy on the open seas.

In 1621, the Dutch West India Company (Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie or GWC) was founded to regulate the merchant trade with Brazil, the West Indies and Nieu Nederlandt.

The company did leave men to protect their rights and trading posts, but actual settlements did not occur until 1624. These first colonists were brought in to provide food, timber, and skills for the trading company.

In 1625-6, it was decided to have a more permanent presence. Peter Minuet bought Manhattan Island and created a settlement there. A more detailed and scholarly publication, "Liver Turcx Dan Paus", with background information follows.

Liver Turcx dan Paus:

The Revolt of the Netherlands and the Rise of the Companies

Charles Gehring

Three major political and economic powers dominated northwestern Europe in the sixteenth-century: England, France, and the Hapsburg Empire. Among these powerful forces arose a nation that won its freedom from the Hapsburg Empire after an eighty years' war; successfully defended itself against the extra-territorial designs of France, and developed a seaborne empire that would compete with England in every corner of the world. Jonathan Israel in his recent book, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*, states:

"Except for Britain after around 1780, no one power in history ever achieved so great a preponderance over the processes of world trade as did the Dutch, for a century and half, from the end of the sixteenth down to the eighteenth century. That any one nation, or state, particularly one lacking the early start and past imperial grandeur of the Iberians, Venetians, French, and English, should have achieved so prolonged, and constantly renewed, a capacity to dominate the world economy is, in itself, sufficiently amazing. But what makes it still more astounding is that at the time of its maritime and commercial greatness the Dutch Republic was the smallest of the major European states in territory, population, and natural resources."

The Low Countries or the Netherlands occupied the northwestern-most territory of the Hapsburg Empire's European possessions. They had come under the control of the Hapsburg through a series of royal marriages designed as political alliances to strengthen and augment the empire. During the fifteenth century the seventeen provinces that constituted the Low Countries were acquired by the dukes of Burgundy by either marriage, purchase, or bequest. The marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, to Maximilian Hapsburg brought the Low Countries into an empire that would soon circle the globe. By the time Charles V abdicated his throne in favor of his son Philip and his brother Ferdinand in 1556, possessions of the Hapsburg Empire extended from Europe to the Americas to the Far East.¹ Although the Netherlands formed but a small

corner of this vast empire its location was ideal for warehousing goods from the Mediterranean, the Americas, and the Far East and distributing them to the British Isles and the Baltic region. In addition to its pivotal position between Scandinavia, Great Britain and the Mediterranean, three major river systems, the Rhine, Maas [Meuse], and Scheldt, which represent significant watersheds for France and Germany, converge in the Netherlands before emptying into the North Sea. While subjected to the dynastic politics of the Hapsburgs, the Netherlands not only developed a merchant class that controlled most of the Baltic trade and a significant amount of the Mediterranean trade, but also provided seamen for service aboard Spanish ships throughout the world; experience that would serve the Dutch well in its eighty years' war against the empire.²

The Dutch revolt against the empire was caused by a complex set of social, religious, political, and economic issues. In simplified form the revolt was in reaction to two Hapsburg initiatives: an attempt to establish a central control and authority in the Netherlands to the detriment of local privileges, and the establishment of the inquisition to suppress the Protestant heresy. The cerebral issue was perceived as an attack on the ancient rights and privileges of every political entity in the Netherlands. The emotional issue was seen as an attempt to suppress the religious threat to the Roman church by the reformed religion of John Calvin. Both issues were ideal for Philip II to pursue. Unlike his father he had no affection for the Netherlands. He viewed these northern provinces merely as a fattened cow to be exploited. A centrally controlled Netherlands was to provide economic and human resources for Philip's political agenda.³ As a devout Catholic he viewed the reformed movement in the North as a disease that had to be stamped out before it spread. Philip's inability to deal compassionately with these forces in the Netherlands; his inability to view the Dutch as nothing but hostile heretics, led to the establishment of a new country, a new people, and a new world-trading power.⁴

The revolt began in 1568 more as an attempt to redress certain grievances than as an independence movement (as did our own American revolution). The Dutch side was led by a crafty member of the nobility, William the Silent of the House of Orange Nassau.⁵ For sixteen years he was the heart and soul of the revolt. During his leadership the northern provinces formed themselves into a political alliance. This 1579 Union of Utrecht was a defensive pact that still held the Spanish king as sovereign, although some proclaim it to be the foundation of the Dutch Republic. Prince William also promoted the Act of Abjuration in 1581, which has been called the Dutch declaration of independence. At the assembly in the Hague delegates from the United Provinces abjured their oath of allegiance

to the king. The preamble read:

"Let all mankind know that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered, not a prince, but a tyrant. As such, the Estates of the land may lawfully and reasonably depose him, and elect another in his place."

Three years after this emotional scene in the Hague, at which the delegate from Friesland dropped dead from a heart attack, William of Orange fell victim to an assassin's bullet at his home in Delft.⁶

The first phase of the revolt lasted 39 years until the Truce of 1609. During this time thousands of Protestant refugees fled northward. When Antwerp, the major commercial center and port in the Low Countries, was captured and sacked by Spanish soldiers, there was a massive exodus of wealth, talent, and human energy. In 1585 the Dutch responded by blockading the Scheldt River, denying Antwerp its access to the sea. As Antwerp declined in importance and economic power, Amsterdam rose.

Although the Dutch were now fighting for independence, they were also struggling for economic survival. No longer a part of the Hapsburg commercial empire, the Dutch provinces were forced to seek their own markets, and secure and maintain their own trade routes. For years the Baltic trade or "mother trade" as the Dutch fondly and accurately called it, was the backbone of their commerce. Goods from all over the world were brought to the Netherlands where they were warehoused, sometimes reprocessed, and shipped on to the Baltic in exchange for grain and timber. For example, Portugal brought in spices from the Far East and salt from the Iberian Peninsula. The exotic appeal of the former brought it into great demand in the Baltic, while the latter was necessary for the flourishing Dutch herring industry. After the herring spawning grounds shifted from the Baltic to the North Sea around 1400, the Dutch developed a preservation method that gave them an advantage over competitors. By immediately gutting the herring and preserving them in a brine solution, Dutch herring boats could stay at sea longer in order to maximize their catches. However, this pickling process required a steady supply of salt. When Portugal was united with Spain in 1580 Dutch access to both the spices of the Far East and the salt of Lusitania was threatened.⁷

Dutch merchants responded to the challenge by establishing their own markets in the Far East and finding new sources for salt. The latter led the Dutch into the Caribbean where they fought with Spanish interests for control of the numerous salt producing islands, while the former resulted in direct conflict with the Portuguese in the Far East

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for control of the spice markets. Companies were formed by merchants and commercial interests in various Dutch cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam to finance trading ventures to the Far East. In 1599 Jacob van Neck of the Far Lands Company return with four ships loaded with spices. Investors received 100% return on their capital; when four more ships came into port the return increased to 400%. There was no lack of capital for such potentially dramatic returns on investment. Two years later fourteen fleets totaling 65 ships left for the Far East. The competition became so fierce that not only was it leading to bloodshed but was also driving up the prices; price fixing by monopolistic control of the product was basic to the merchantilistic system of maximizing profits. This fierce rivalry led to the formation of the VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) or East India Company in 1602. Rather than having many private interests competing with one another to the detriment of all, one monopoly was formed in which all could participate as shareholders, and in which profit would not be diminished by competition.⁸

The VOC was formed as a joint-stock trading venture. Chartered by the States General of the Netherlands, the VOC had a trading monopoly from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to the Strait of Magellan; most of the world, except for the Atlantic region. It had the power to raise its own armies and navies, make alliances with local sovereigns within its sphere of operations, and, if necessary, had the power to make war and peace in defense of its interests. Company shares were traded on the Amsterdam stock exchange; investors represented a broad spectrum of society—from prosperous merchants to bar maids. Within one month of announcing its intentions, the VOC was able to raise six and one half million guilders in operating capital. The company was governed by a board of directors, seventeen in number, who represented the interests of the six chambers centered at Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen. The monopoly was granted for 21 years and was an immediate success. Portuguese colonies in the Far East were soon under intense pressure from VOC fleets. By mid-century Portuguese trading interests in the Spice Islands, the Indonesian Archipelago, Ceylon, Formosa, and Japan had been replaced by the VOC. Although the Dutch were enjoying great success acquiring Portuguese possessions and establishing a commercial empire in the Far East, the trading fleets still had to pass through hostile waters. Heavily-armed ships reduced cargo space, decreasing profits; potential loss to hostile forces increased marine insurance premiums; armed convoys also ate away at profits. All of these detrimental forces to successful trade drove both the English and the Dutch in the sixteenth century to find a northern route to the Far East. The lure of this theoretical route was driven by the ancient notion of symmetry in nature: if the world's land

masses allowed for a southern route to China, there should also be a comparable northern route.⁹ English attempts to find a northern passage by Sir Martin Frobisher, John Davis et al., and the Dutch mariners such as Willem Barentsz and Jacob van Heemskerck all failed.¹⁰ It is in this context that Henry Hudson ended up sailing west while searching for the legendary northern route to the east.¹¹

In 1607 and 1608 Hudson had made two northern voyages for the English Moscovy Company. Both failed to discover the "passage to Cathay." His experience and enthusiasm, however, attracted the attention of the VOC. Hudson was given command of the Dutch-built pinnace *Halve Maen*. His instructions were to sail northeast, more or less in the wake of Willem Barentsz, in search of the elusive northern passage. After encountering adverse weather conditions and dangerous ice floes his crew expressed a near-mutinous desire to sail in safer waters. Contrary to VOC instructions Hudson turned his ship about; heading: south by southwest.¹²

The year was 1609. A significant year for several reasons. In the Netherlands it saw the founding of the Bank of Amsterdam, and was the beginning of the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain. According to Barbara Tuchman: "[the bank was] the heart that pumped the bloodstream of Dutch commerce."¹³ The truce, on the other hand, marked the end of the first phase of the revolt of the Netherlands. Stalemate in Spain's attempt to retake the seven northern provinces had caused exhaustion, which led to this tacit recognition of the existence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. While the bank facilitated and regularized the exchange of foreign currencies, instilling trust in the security of loans and deposits; the Truce allowed Dutch ships to leave port and range about the world, expanding and consolidating its commercial interests with little fear of opposition from its hereditary enemy. For New York 1609 is important for one event: the arrival of Henry Hudson. A half century of Dutch contact with Native Americans was about to begin.

1. The so-called father of the Hapsburg dynasty was Charles I, king of Spain, and Charles V, holy Roman emperor. When failing health forced him to abdicate his throne in 1556, Charles V chose Willem the Silent, prince of Orange-Nassau to support him during his farewell address. To his son Philip went the Spanish crown, holdings in Italy, and the Netherlands; to his brother Ferdinand went the imperial office of emperor and the Hapsburg lands in Central Europe.
2. For the Netherlands' place in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe see

especially Ferdinand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, two volumes, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972). A significant factor in the extraordinary Dutch success at sea was the development of the fluyt ship, sometimes called a flyboat or flute. It was sturdily built and had a large cargo capacity. A simplified rigging allowed it to be sailed by a crew 20 percent smaller than ships of equal tonnage. Interchangeable parts allowed them to be turned out quickly and economically by an assembly-line procedure. These parts could also be stockpiled at various repair facilities around the world.

3. Charles was born in Ghent and educated among the Flemish nobility. He spoke Dutch and had a native affection for the land and people. When he assumed the crown of Spain as Charles I, he arrived with a large Flemish retinue who had little esteem for the Spaniards. Charles's son Philip, on the other hand, was born in Spain and totally devoted to Catholicism. His obsession with stamping out Protestantism led him to regard the Netherlands as conquered provinces rather than constitutional entities, and to regard the Dutch as enemies rather than dissatisfied subjects.
4. A popular quote proclaims: "God created the heavens and earth, and the Dutch created the Netherlands." It can also be said that the Dutch created themselves as a distinct cultural entity. The distinctive Dutch character was forged in the crucible of common purpose and struggle caused by the eighty years' war with Spain.. See Simon Schama's, The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987) for an analysis of the common elements that constitute Dutch culture. See also William Shetter's The Pillars of Society: Six Centuries of Civilization in the Netherlands (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971).
5. The house of Orange derived its name from a small principality in France just north of Avignon. The family also owned extensive property in Hesse-Nassau and in the Netherlands. William was born in 1533 in Dillenburg. He was raised a Lutheran, but at the age of eleven converted to Catholicism in order to inherit lands from a Catholic cousin; he later reconverted to the Reformed religion. Religion among the nobility was often driven more by political forces than by conscience. His standing with Charles V is evident by his position of chief attendant at the emperor's abdication. As chief negotiator at the peace of Cateau-Cambreses, he handled himself with such a guarded tongue that the French called him *le taciturne*; hence the appellation William the Silent. See C. V. Wedgwood's William the Silent: William of

Nassau. Prince of Orange 1533-1584 (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1944) for a concise biography of this central figure in the Dutch revolt.

6. For works on the Dutch revolt see: Pieter Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands 1555-1609 (London: Williams & Northgate Ltd, 1932; paperback by Cassell History, 1988); Geoffrey Parker, The Dutch Revolt (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977).
7. See Charles R. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire: 1600-1800 (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1965); D. W. Davies, A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961); also Charles Wilson's Profit and Power: A Study of England and the Dutch Wars (London: pub???, 1957); and Jonathan I. Israel's, Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
8. For a discussion of the rise of the trading companies see Ferdinand Braudel's Civilization & Capitalism 15th-18th Century, three volumes (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979)
9. For a discussion of the classical concept of the shape of the world see A. Torayah Sharaf's A Short History of Geographical Discovery (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1967); see especially 32ff for Aristotle's influence on geography.
10. Explorers were attracted to the idea of a northwest passage by such legends as Fretum trium fratrum. per quod Lusitani ad Orientem et ad Indos et ad Moluccas navigare conati sunt (Strait of the Three brothers through which Portuguese attempted to sail to the Orient and the Indies and the Moluccas), which enticed navigators with the promise of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific at 40 degrees. See Samuel Eliot Morison's The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1971) for a discussion of the various searches for and tales surrounding the northwest passage. Willem Barentsz (after whom the Barents Sea is named) accompanied an expedition in 1596 to discover a passage along the northern coast of Siberia to the Far East. When the Dutch ship was frozen in the ice at Nova Zembla, Barentsz and his crew were forced to spend the winter there under extreme hardship. Barentsz died as he and the remainder of the crew were preparing to attempt a return to Europe. After more incredible adventures and hardship the crew eventually made its way back to Amsterdam to tell the tale. See Reizen van Willem Barents. Jacob van Heemskerck. Jan Cornelisz

SURFACE DRIFTS AND CURRENTS OF THE OCEANS

