



de Halve Maen

Journal of The Holland Society of New York
Fall 2015

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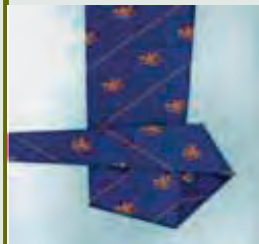
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de Halve Maen

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The Holland Society of New York was organized in 1885 to collect and preserve information respecting the history and settlement of New Netherland by the Dutch, to perpetuate the memory, foster and promote the principles and virtues of the Dutch ancestors of its members, to maintain a library relating to the Dutch in America, and to prepare papers, essays, books, etc., in regard to the history and genealogy of the Dutch in America. The Society is principally organized of descendants in the direct male line of residents of the Dutch colonies in the present-day United States prior to or during the year 1675. Inquiries respecting the several criteria for membership are invited.

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Cover: *Adriaen Block's map of his 1614 expedition to North America. It is the first map to use the term New Netherland*

Editor's Corner

AT THE END of World War I, French historians Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch were among the first to recognize the role historians play in creating nation-building myths. Developing upon their work, early twenty-first century scholars acknowledge that myths are powerful factors in affirming identity. Norwegian historian Linn Sollied Madsen wrote in 2012, "Few things are as effective as a good myth when it comes to uniting a people or building a nation." Madsen goes on to say, "myths emerge all the time, especially when it comes to our search for an identity as a people or a nation."

This issue of *de Halve Maen* explores two popular perceptions about New Netherland: that the Dutch recognized their relations with the Natives as being one of two parallel sovereignties, and that it was the English and not the Dutch who introduced democratic institutions into New Netherland.

In the issue's lead essay, Dr. William Starna takes a look at early relations between the Dutch and Iroquoian peoples. According to Starna, the historic record of an "ancient covenant" between the Natives and a Dutchman by the name of "Jacques" first appears in the 1670s. Starna identifies Jacques with Jacob Eelckens, supercargo on the voyage of the *Fortuyn* to the Hudson River Valley in 1613–1614 and commander of Fort Nassau near present-day Albany in 1615–1616. From 1614 to 1618 the New Netherland Company oversaw the fur trade, which indeed centered on Eelckens's person. Exchanges between Natives and Dutch, Starna writes, were "complex and potentially volatile affairs marked by mutual suspicion and unease." Social relations had to be established through agreements in order for trade to take place.

Three centuries later, Starna notes, the record of such agreements took a new twist. In 1968, Lawrence G. Van Loon, a physician living in Hawaii and a Holland Society Member, published an article on, he claimed, the discovery of an April 1613 treaty establishing Dutch-Indian relations. The treaty, Van Loon stated, was written on two pieces of hide in Dutch and had been concluded at Tawagonshi near Albany. Van Loon, however, never produced the original treaty, only a photostat copy. The discovery naturally caught the attention of historians, who quickly questioned its authenticity.

In 1987, Van Loon's treaty was definitively determined to be a fake and reference to it largely faded from historical discourse. Nonetheless, in 2012, Starna notes, a group calling itself "Neighbors of the Onondaga Nation" launched a campaign to commemorate the 400th anniversary of this "first treaty" between the Iroquois and the Dutch. To bolster their claim, the Neighbors referred to a Native tradition of a two-row wampum belt that allegedly represented the covenant between two equal peoples. Starna reveals in these pages how

the two-row wampum came into existence and became connected with the Tawagonshi Treaty. In the process, he demonstrates the role of myth building as an expression of political expediency, adaptation, and the struggle of groups to define their power and authority.

Brecht Cornelisse similarly reminds us how myths influence national identity. In popular Anglo-American history, the story of New Netherland is written as an unsuccessful struggle by incompetent Dutchmen against despotic West India Company directors. Historians came to assume that only the English understood democratic traditions and "were more experienced with representative bodies or provincial assemblies." Although the West India Company was formed to trade and not to settle, Cornelisse tells us, the "lack of a local representative framework became a problem when New Netherland was in crisis." He thus explores the origin and development of a New Netherland representative body, the *Landdag*, within a Dutch historic context.

To better understand this body, Cornelisse compares the New Netherland *Landdag* with representative practices in the Dutch Republic and its other colonies. He finds that its development was not based on a fixed Dutch model, but was nonetheless set in the minds of New Netherland's inhabitants from the beginning and adapted for their colonial arena. "Its members," he notes, "experimented to discover how the *Landdag* could be used as a political instrument." Though not fully mature at the time of the English conquest, Cornelisse suggests that given enough time the New Netherland *Landdag* would have developed into a provincial assembly "somewhat resembling the laudable Government of our Fatherland." Thus, consideration of the representative body's very existence, he writes, "is indispensable for a better understanding of the history of the Dutch colony of New Netherland and its influence in the development of colonial New York."

Marc Bloch wrote in *The Historian's Craft*:

"A historical phenomenon can never be understood apart from its moment in time. This is true of every evolutionary stage, our own and all others. As the old Arab proverb has it: "Men resemble their time more than they do their fathers."

The study of New Netherland, as with the study of all past cultures, is not only a constant process of revising our understanding of that past but its place in shaping our identity in the present.



David William Voorhees
Editor

A Fake Treaty, the Two Row Wampum, Oral Traditions, and Shared Histories in New Netherland and Colonial New York: The View from 1614.

by William A. Starna

Right: Len Tantillo, “Fort Nassau, 1614,” courtesy of the artist.

Below right: Mohawk man, from Johannes Megapolensis, Een kort ontwerp van de Mahakvase Indiaenen (1651 edition).

THE YEAR 1614 marks the building of Fort Nassau on Castle Island and the beginning of the regular engagement of American Indians and the Dutch in the Hudson Valley. To this place, packing furs to exchange for European goods, came Mahicans from around the fort, Munsees from farther downriver, and Mohawks from their large towns west of the Schoharie. Within three years Fort Nassau is abandoned, replaced by Fort Orange in 1624. In 1630 the first purchase of Indian lands around Fort Orange is made, followed by the founding of Rensselaerswijck, which settled any question about a Dutch foothold in the region.

From 1614 to 1618 the trade in furs was overseen by the New Netherland

William Starna is Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the State University of New York, Oneonta. A longtime student of the Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples of eastern North America, Starna is author of From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600–1830 (2013), among numerous other works. This paper was originally presented at the 37th Rensselaerswijck Seminar in Albany in 2014.



Company. The role Fort Nassau played in this trade, and indeed, in Indian-Dutch relations, revolved principally around the person of one Jacob Jacobsz Eelckens, the surrounding Mahicans, and the Mohawk Iroquois. Although Eelckens’s on-and-off presence in New Netherland is documented from the time of Fort Nassau through to 1633, he is first mentioned by Iroquois people themselves—the *kanuhsyú:ni* “the people of the extended house”—at a conference held in Albany in 1678. Addressing colonial authorities, Onondaga headmen spoke of a “Govr called Jacques” who, they maintained, was in New Netherland at the time the Iroquois entered into an “ancient covenant” with the Dutch.¹

The “Govr called Jacques” was Jacob Jacobsz Eelckens, supercargo on the 1613–1614 voyage of the *Fortuyn* and commander of Fort Nassau in 1615–1616. Moreover, it was this same Eelckens who had forged and maintained a serviceable level of profitable relations with the Indians who traded at Fort Nassau. Indeed, Eelckens was again remembered by Iroquois headmen at a 1689 treaty, who declared he had come “with a Ship into their Waters,” receiving them as brethren. The headmen went on to claim that the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onon-



dagas had asked Eelckens to establish himself in their country, drawing also the Cayugas and Senecas into a “General Covenant.”²

The so-called covenant with Eelckens that the Iroquois recalled in the 1670s and 1680s is undoubtedly connected to the trade he had conducted at Fort Nassau. As was the case for Indians in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys and elsewhere in the region, the exchanges they entered into were complex and potentially volatile affairs marked by mutual suspicion and unease. Under such circumstances, for trade to take place, a social relationship first had to be established among the in-

¹ Daniel K. Richter, “Rediscovered Links in the Covenant Chain: Previously Unpublished Transcripts of New York Indian Treaty Minutes, 1677–1691,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 92 (1982): 48.

² Richter, “Rediscovered Links,” 49, 76, 81. For a confirmation of and an extended discussion on Richter’s findings, see William A. Starna, “Retrospecting the Origins of the League of the Iroquois,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 152 (2008), 3: 279–321.

terested parties. That is, it is unlikely that trade could have been carried out between the Indians and Eelckens and his crew without some sort of an agreement—a kind of commercial understanding—and its necessary protocols.³ Moreover, this agreement signaled the genesis, the founding, of the Iroquois League or Confederacy, which became operational in the 1620s. However, it is at this point where things become complicated.⁴

In 1968, after some wrangling with the Holland Society over its authenticity and an offer to sell made to the State of New York, Lawrence G. van Loon, a physician living in Hawaii, published what he claimed was an April 1613 treaty. Written in Dutch on two pieces of hide, Van Loon reported, the treaty had been concluded at Tawagonshi, near Albany. The parties to this alleged treaty, the original of which has never surfaced, were four Mohawk chiefs and two Dutchmen: Hendrick Christiaensen and our own Jacob Eelckens. Van Loon's publication obviously caught the attention of historians, one of whom was convinced by the story while others voiced skepticism. There was nothing heard from Iroquois leaders, scholars, or spokespersons.⁵

In 1987, Van Loon's "treaty" was determined to be a fake. Scholars troubled by the treaty were generally relieved to learn of the finding. The single response from the Iroquois community was a 1990 essay by Richard Hill, which asserted that present-day Iroquois chiefs believed the

relationship between Native people and Euro-Americans had been spelled out in an early seventeenth-century treaty with the Dutch. This treaty, "often called the 'Silver Covenant Chain,'" Hill said, was also known in Iroquois oral tradition as the "Two Row wampum belt." The phrase "silver chain" is in the text of Van Loon's fake treaty. "Until recently," Hill explained, "the Two Row wampum was the only evidence of [this] early agreement"—the so-called Tawagonshi treaty.⁶ Furthermore, Hill continued, according to oral tradition, the two row wampum symbolized the terms of that treaty. One of the two parallel lines of beads found in the two row belt signified the sovereign status of the Dutch while the other that of the Iroquois, suggesting an ever separate but equal status for both sovereigns. The metaphor of an Indian canoe and a sailing ship on adjacent but never intersecting courses completes the symbolism of the two row belt.⁷

Hill went on to state that the Tawagonshi treaty did not find its way into the hands of the Iroquois chiefs until 1978—a decade after Van Loon's article—at which time they publically announced its "discovery." In 1984, goes the story, the chiefs assigned a delegate to carry the document to the Netherlands for further study. None of these activities can be independently verified. Again, Van Loon's original has never been seen. It exists only in photostat form, a fact an Onondaga chief relayed in a phone call with the editor of *New York*

History in 1987.⁸

Setting aside entirely the finding that Van Loon's document was a fake, Hill nonetheless insisted that an examination of its contents in the context of "Iroquois oral teaching" remained of paramount importance. This statement echoes that of Van Loon, who said of the treaty: "If it be genuine, or if it is not, will make little difference so far as the contents are concerned. The matter of the contents," Van Loon maintained, "which have a definite historic validity," he said, was what his article was all about.⁹

However, tying the fake 1613 Tawagonshi treaty—Van Loon's document—to the claim that there was an early seventeenth-century treaty between the Dutch and the Iroquois is of recent vintage, obviously traceable to Van Loon's publication in 1968 and the treaty's "discovery" by present-day Iroquois chiefs in 1978. The same can be said about claims that the confirmation of this treaty was signaled by the two row wampum belt, alleg-

³ Throughout this paper a distinction is drawn between the meanings of "treaty" and "agreement." The "agreement" that Eelckens is said to have made with the Indians with whom he traded does not rise to the level of a "treaty." An agreement is commonly regarded as an understanding or arrangement between two or more parties. Covenant, as it appears in the colonial records, is an agreement between parties to do or refrain from carrying out certain acts (OED). A treaty, on the other hand, is a compact made between sovereigns or otherwise autonomous political bodies or entities. It would bear the signatures of authorized commissioners and then be ratified by the supreme powers of each state (*Black's Law Dictionary*).

⁴ Starna, "Retrospecting the Origins of the League." On Eelckens, see Simon Hart, *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company: Amsterdam Notarial Records of the first Dutch voyages to the Hudson* (Amsterdam, 1959), 54-55.

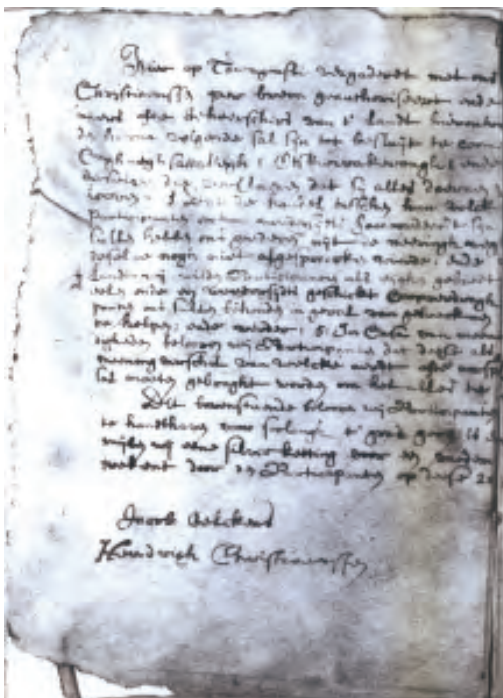
⁵ L. G. van Loon, "Tawagonshi, the beginning of the treaty era," *The Indian Historian* 1(1968), 22-26. For differing first views on Van Loon's treaty, see Ted Brasser, "Mahican," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15, Northeast*, Bruce G. Trigger, ed. (Washington, D. C., 1978), 202; Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies* (New York, 1984), 54; Francis Jennings and William N. Fenton, eds., *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History* (Woodbridge, Conn., 1985), 1.

⁶ Charles T. Gehring, William A. Starna, and William N. Fenton, "The Tawagonshi Treaty of 1613: The Final Chapter," *New York History* 68 (1987), 4: 373-93. For the response from the Iroquois community, see Richard Hill, Sr., "Oral Memory of the Haudenosaunee: Views of the Two Row Wampum," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 7 (1990): 21-30, quotes from 21.

⁷ The best analysis and history of the two row wampum is Kathryn V. Muller, "The Two Row Wampum: Historic Fiction, Modern Reality" (master's thesis, Université Laval, 2004).

⁸ The chief was Irving Powless. Wendell Tripp, personal communication, 1987.

⁹ Hill, "Oral Memory," 23; Van Loon, "Tawagonshi," 24.



Second page of photostatic copy of an agreement between four Iroquois chiefs and Jacob Eelckens and Hendrick Christiaensen dated April 21, 1613, also known as the Tawagonshi treaty. The location of the original is unknown and the only person to have seen it was Dr. Van Loon. Lawrence Gwyn Van Loon Collection, SCI16677, New York State Archives, Albany.

Portrait of a Munsee believed to be from the lower Hudson. Wenceslaus Hollar, “Unus Americanus ex Virginia” (print, 1645).



edly known to the Iroquois as the “Silver Covenant Chain.” And here stands a fatal anachronism, one of several found in Van Loon’s fictitious text: Evidence for the existence of a “silver chain,” or a specific mention of a silver chain, used in any context including that of the historically known “Covenant Chain,” is not found in the extensive Dutch, English, or French records until the 1670s and later. What is more, there is no mention of or allusion to a two row wampum belt.¹⁰

Nothing more was heard of the fake 1613 treaty for more than two decades. Then, in 2012, it rose from the ashes like a Phoenix when a group calling itself Neighbors of the Onondaga Nation, in partnership with the Onondaga Nation, launched a campaign to commemorate the 400th anniversary of what they alleged was the first treaty between the Iroquois and “European settlers.” Posted on the organization’s website is a statement on the treaty by former Cornell historian Robert Venables. Attached to his statement is a typescript dated April 2009 of the identical text Van Loon had fabricated along with a “new” translation by persons identified only as “Dutch friends of the Onodnagas” [sic]. Also on the website is a letter and an article referencing the treaty by Jon Parmenter, another Cornell historian, both of which contain misrepresentations of fact and of the work of others. Last is a list of “talking points” on the history of the two row wampum prepared by Richard Hill, two of which are of interest. First, that a “reading” of the two row wampum reveals that the initial encounter between Mohawk Iroquois and the Dutch took place in 1613 and includes in its mes-

sage a summary of this event. And second, as Hill put it, “wampum represents [the Iroquois] interpretation of the agreements that took place,” an understanding “that we have inherited from our ancestors, which is not subject to debate.”¹¹

In the introduction to a collection of essays honoring historian David Henige is found his rather cogent perspective on doing history. Henige maintains that historical hypotheses can be broken down into three categories: ‘X transpired’; ‘X did not transpire’; and ‘We do not know if X transpired.’¹² With this clarity of thought in mind, a closer look at the swirl of smoke around the fake Tawagonshi treaty and its alleged association with the two row wampum is in order.

To recap, the document purporting to be a 1613 “treaty” between Mohawk chiefs and the Dutchmen Eelckens and Hendricksen is a fake. The silver chain mentioned in that document is an anachronism, a metaphor not recorded until the 1670s. Also found in the text is “sewant,” a word, the equivalent of wampum, routinely used by the Dutch. However, this too is an anachronism. Sewant is from Pidgin Delaware, a contact language that did not develop until the 1620s. Finally, there is no evidence that wampum belts were a part of Native material culture or were otherwise found in the region before the 1630s. Thus, based on our current understanding, it is not possible to connect something called the two row wampum to a “treaty” that some claim took place in 1613.¹³

Given its asserted importance, it remains that there is nothing in the extensive, two-century record of Dutch,

English, and French colonial administrations, judiciaries, militaries, missions, or others, that resembles anything of what has been claimed about the two row belt’s principles and purpose. Whether described in physical form or in ideology, the two row wampum belt is not to be found in the documentation produced in the colonies or in Europe.¹⁴ Furthermore, if a treaty had been entered into with the Dutch in 1613, commemorated by the two row wampum, one would expect that the Iroquois would have exhibited the belt, or at least extolled its principles of parallel sovereignties, to the English at their succession to New York colony. However, there is nothing in the council proceedings held in Albany or elsewhere during this period or afterwards to suggest that any

¹⁰ “Chain” in a political or diplomatic context first appears in the documentary record in 1656, “Covenant Chayn” in August 1677, and “silver chaine” in May 1690. A chain of “the most precious metal, we shall keep this covenant chain bright and shining” is mentioned in 1683. See Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, 73 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1896–1901), reprinted facsimile, 36 vols. (New York, 1959), 43:107–109; Lawrence H. Leder, ed., *The Livingston Indian Records, 1666–1723* (Gettysburg, PA, 1956), 45; E. B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York: Procured in Holland, England, and France by John R. Brodhead*, 15 vols. (Albany NY, 1853–1887), 3:712; A. J. F. van Laer, trans. and ed., *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady, 1680–1685*, 3 vols. (Albany, 1932), 3:363. For discussions on the evolution of the silver chain, see Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 145–71, and Richard L. Haan, “Covenant and Consensus: Iroquois and English, 1676–1760,” in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell (Syracuse, 1987), 41–57.

¹¹ See the links “Two Row History” by Rick Hill, “Two Row Translation and Context” by Robert Venables, and “Analysis of the Two Row” by Jon Parmenter at <http://honorthetworow.org/learn-more/history/>, accessed Sept. 10, 2015. Hill recently qualified his position on the two row wampum, offering a new, interestingly accommodative take: “I spoke in July at the Troy [New York] festival on the Two Row and I made the point that the actual treaty with the Dutch and the making of the Two Row wampum occurred later [than 1613]. However, the first real contact we [the Iroquois] had with Dutch traders took place in 1613, thus the commemoration [of the 400th anniversary of the treaty and two row].” Letter to the Editor, *Syracuse Post Standard*, Aug. 16, 2013.

¹² Paul S. Landau, “How Do You Know?: An Introduction to David Henige,” in *The Power of Doubt: Essays in Honor of David Henige*, ed. Paul S. Landau (Madison, Wisc., 2011), 5.

¹³ See Charles T. Gehring and William A. Starna, “Revisiting the Fake Tawagonshi Treaty of 1613,” *New York History* 93 (2012), 1:95–101.

¹⁴ A different view, one marred by presentisms, a disingenuous conflation of the Covenant Chain of alliances with the two row wampum, and the faulty logic of appositive proof, is found in Jon Parmenter, “The Meaning of Kaswentha and the Two Row Wampum Belt in Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) History: Can Indigenous Oral Tradition be Reconciled with the Documentary Record?,” *Journal of Early American History* 3 (2013):82–109.

such actions took place. One would also expect that the treaty and belt would have been presented at each and every council held with the English when the Iroquois had reason to believe that the alleged principles of the two row were violated. The same would have been the case at meetings with the estimable Sir William Johnson, or with representatives of the neighboring English colonies, or with the governments of New France, later British Canada. Finally, there were many opportunities when it would have been in the Iroquois' interests to present and explain the belt's significance through to the end of the French and Indian War, and obviously, at the 1783 Treaty of Paris ending the Revolution. Yet the record is silent.¹⁵ But there is an answer to the question of how the two row wampum came into existence. And it comes as an expression of political expediency, adaptation to changing circumstances, and Native genius.

The first known recorded account of a belt exhibiting two separate and distinct rows of beads is from an 1864 New York newspaper story. Among the belts Iroquois chiefs were carrying to Washington, where they planned to discuss treaty matters, was a "white wampum with two parallel lines running through it, signifying," the article said, "the ever existence, side by side, of the institutions of the red men and the pale faces in a state of peace." No further description was offered. It is important to add here that there are belts in collections or described in the historical record dating from the eighteenth century that exhibit similar features but are called "road" belts. They too signified peace, where the diplomatic "road" or "path" between the parties was considered open and free of obstructions.¹⁶ A second belt mentioned in the news story had "a white man on one end, an Indian on the other, connected by a straight path ever open between them."¹⁷

This second belt, or a duplicate, said to represent a covenant, was displayed at a general council of the Six Nations on the Grand River, Ontario, in 1870. These were loyalist Iroquois who had relocated to Canada after the Revolution. The belt was said to represent the Six Nations and the British government at the time of their first treaty, both of whom, it was said, "stand on their own rules." Another belt, called the "check Wampum," given by the British to confirm their understanding of the treaty, described in metaphor the principles behind the two row as follows:

"They [the British and the Six Nations] were each to have their own way; not hurting their customs or rules, or regulations . . . the Indian had his bark canoe . . . the British have his large vessels" went the reading. This theme of a canoe and ship—that is, two sovereigns on parallel courses—was repeated in an 1872 petition and again in 1917, when the belt was mentioned by name: "The two row wampum belt treaty," the petition began, "signifies [that] two separate government[s] shall exist," listing the Iroquois nations as one government and the British nation as the other, both to be independent "forever."¹⁸ It is important to emphasize that in none of these councils are the Dutch or a treaty with the Dutch mentioned.

Despite claims for an early seventeenth-century origin—tied to the fake Van Loon treaty or to an alleged but unverified other compact with the Dutch—these late nineteenth-century descriptions are the first evidence for a two row wampum and its message of two independent sovereigns. Moreover, the two row appears—or better said—presented itself as a political innovation at a critical time in the history of the Six Nations Reserve.

Since the 1850s the Six Nations community has faced the question of whether it would govern itself through a system of hereditary chiefs or an elected council. Complicating matters were efforts by the Canadian government to intervene in the reserve's governance. Intent on maintaining its traditional governing procedures while dealing with internal disputes and the interference of Canadian authorities, the Six Nations Council struggled to define its sphere of power and authority—the reach of its sovereignty, if you will. One example of how this was accomplished was by codifying its laws and producing, in written form, a constitution of the League of the Iroquois, thus demonstrating to Canada tangible evidence of a Six Nations' government.¹⁹ Another example, of course, is the two row wampum. Employing this device and its explicit message of separate sovereigns, the Six Nations asserted that it was a sovereign entity, a sovereign nation, distinct from the Canadian government and exercising jurisdiction over its people. Finally, the frequent communication that went on between the Six Nations Reserve and Iroquois communities in New York State during the mid to late-nineteenth century, explains the presence here in New York of

the two row wampum and its message as first reported in the 1864 news account

For Iroquois nations in New York today, the two row wampum and its associated ideology, initially through the use of Van Loon's fake treaty and now oral history claims to an early agreement with the Dutch, has found its way into contemporary political discourse, both at the federal and state levels. Yet, however real and important to Iroquois people its symbolic or political message is, the two row wampum does not have the standing of a treaty, nor is it of consideration in legal proceedings.

But to return to 1614 and Fort Nassau, Jacob Eelckens, and the Indian residents of what would become New Netherland, including the Mohawk Iroquois, there is this. The Tawagonshi treaty remains a fake. No historical evidence has been discovered for an early agreement made between the Dutch and the Iroquois. Furthermore, it is impossible to link claims for a two row wampum to this distant past. However, a case can be made for a late nineteenth-century emergence of the two row along with its expressed principles and ideology. In the end, once the smoke is cleared, it is possible to get the history of past events right, a history, it is important to emphasize, that is shared by Native and non-Native alike.

¹⁵ I am indebted to George Hamell for his insights on the non-appearance and lack of mention of the two row belt in the historic record.

¹⁶ See Francis Jennings and William N. Fenton, eds., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League* (Syracuse, 1985), 121. For a reasoned and balanced discussion on the relationship between the two row wampum and path or road belts, see Darren Bonaparte, "The Disputed Myth, Metaphor and Reality of the Two Row Wampum," *Indian Country Today*, August 9, 2013. <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/08/09/disputed-myth-metaphor-and-reality-two-row-wampum>, accessed September 29, 2015.

¹⁷ See clipping from an unidentified New York City or Long Island newspaper dated c. 25 Mar. 1864, in the author's possession, from the files of George Hamell. See similar stories printed in *The Brooklyn Eagle*, vol. 74, no. 72, p. 2, 5th column, 25 Mar. 1864, and *The New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1864, p. 5. I thank George Hamell for furnishing copies of these items.

¹⁸ See *The General Council of the Six Nations and Delegates from different Bands in Western and Eastern Canada. June 10, 1870* (Hamilton, Ont.: Printed at the Spectator Office, 1870), 9; Chief William Jacobs to Joseph Howe, 11 May 1872, National Archives of Canada, RG 10, vol. 1862, file 239; The petition of the Six Nations Clanmothers to King George V, 31 Jan. 1917, Library and Archives of Canada, RG 10, Indian Affairs, vol. 6767, file 452-15, pt. 1

¹⁹ See Sally M. Weaver, "Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15, Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 525-36.

“For the best interest of the country,” the *Landdag* of New Netherland: development of a provincial assembly (1649–1664)

by H. Cornelisse

“Peter Stuyvesant and the Cobbler,” Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

“As Peter Stuyvesant had a singular inclination to govern his province without the assistance of his subjects, he felt highly incensed on his return to find the factious appearance they had assumed during his absence. His first measure therefore was to restore perfect order, by prostrating the dignity of the sovereign people in the dirt.”



ACCORDING TO Washington Irving, the government of New Netherland, in the person of Petrus Stuyvesant, did everything it could to exclude the inhabitants from any participation in policy making. In this story, Stuyvesant took a huge silver watch out of his pocket and asked the assembly orator to repair it. The frightened man replied that he was just a poor cobbler and that there were skilled men whose business it was to attend to those matters.

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“Why harkee master of mine,” cried Peter, “. . . dost thou pretend to meddle with the movements of government—to regulate and correct and patch and cobble a complicated machine, the principles of which are above thy comprehension?”¹

Irving's colorful story illustrates the conventional view of New Netherland's governance: an unsuccessful struggle by incompetent Dutchmen against despotic directors.² Any Dutch efforts to obtain representative governance remain obscure. In a recent historical overview of colonial New York, Richard Middleton and Anne Lombard state that the assembly of 1683, nineteen years after the English takeover, was New York's first assembly and the English took the lead in this development because they were “more familiar with such institutions.”³ In doing so, they overlook an important development in the preceding Dutch period, the attempts to create a representative body known in

Dutch as *Landdag* (plural, *Landdagen*; literally “day of the country”).⁴

¹ Washington Irving, *A History of New York, from the beginning of the world to the end of the Dutch dynasty*, by Diedrich Knickerbocker, in *The Library of America, Washington Irving, History, Tales and Sketches* (New York, 1983), 669–72.

² Further development, a discussion whether the English or the Dutch were the people who brought democracy to America. Langdon G. Wright, “Local government and central authority in New Netherland,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 57 (1973), 6–29, 7; Simon Middleton, “Order and Authority in New Netherland: The 1653 Remonstrance and Early Settlement Politics,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 67 (2010), 1: 31–68, 31–32.

³ Richard Middleton and Anne Lombard, *Colonial America, A History to 1763* (Malden, Mass., 2011), 145–47.

⁴ The existence of the *Landdag* was mentioned in 1859 by John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York. First Period. 1609–1664* (New York 1859), 573. Over one hundred years later Morton Wagman explored the topic in “The Struggle for Representative Government in New Netherland” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1969). For more recent scholarship see Jaap Jacobs, *New Netherland. A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden/ Boston, 2005), and “To favour this new and growing city of New Amsterdam with a court of justice.” The relations between rulers and ruled in New Amsterdam,” in G. Harinck and H. Krabbendam, eds., *Amsterdam-New York. Transatlantic Relations and Urban Identities Since 1653*, 17–29.

This essay explores the origin and development of the New Netherland *Landdag* as representative government within both the Dutch historic context and local circumstances, and its implications on the development of representative government in colonial New York.

The political context of the New Netherland *Landdag*: When the West India Company (WIC) settled New Netherland, its methods of governing were executed in military fashion. The Company was formed to trade, not to settle. This situation became complicated when the Company sold large tracts to investors known as patroons, with full rights to establish independent courts, and established rural settlements, inhabited by free civilians instead of company employees, separate from the WIC's trading posts.

The lack of a structured local representative framework became problematic when New Netherland was in crisis. In 1640 a war between the Dutch and Indians threatened to erase the colony. In an attempt to recover provincial control, Company director Willem Kieft realized that he needed broad support and summoned all heads of families together to discuss the colony's situation. This became the first general gathering of the colony's representatives and resulted in the creation of an advisory council, the Twelve Men (after a reform, Eight Men).⁵

From the outset this advisory council did not serve the director's interests. At the end of 1644, the Eight Men wrote a complaint about Kieft's government to the Amsterdam chamber of the WIC. As a result, the chamber sent a report to the WIC governing board, the Heren XIX, suggesting governmental reform.

Further, as the respective Colonies are allowed by the 28th article of the Freedoms to delegate one or two persons to report their state and condition to the Director and Council, at least once a year, so are we of opinion that the said delegates should, moreover, assemble every six months, at the summons of the Director and Council, for mutual good understanding and the general advancement of the public welfare, to aid in advising them, besides, upon all affairs relating to the prosperity of their Colonies, the conciliation of the Indians and neighbors, the maintenance of the

Freedoms and Privileges, the removal of all abuses and the support of the laws and statutes.⁶

The freedoms to which this statement refers was the WIC policy, stipulated in the Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629, in which the patroonships (private colonies) and settlements not situated on Manhattan were granted "the liberty to appoint a Deputy, who shall give information to the Commander and Council . . . of all things relating to his Colonie."⁷ Bear in mind that only the patroonships were included, because no local governments had yet been established. In a charter of Freedoms and Exemptions designed in 1640, the establishment of local governments was included, but their power limited because "the Company reserves unto itself all large and small tythes [etc.], retaining the supreme authority, sovereignty and supremacy."⁸ In 1644 only the English villages of Newtown and Hempstead were excluded from the centralized government (see Table 1). Thus, in theory, the suggested six-monthly assembly contained only the director and his council and the deputies of Rensselaerswijck (the only patroonship at that time). Yet, this statement should have laid the basis of an assembly or a *Landdag*, in which all the settlements were represented.⁹

The reform of government did not improve the situation. The Company replaced Kieft with Petrus Stuyvesant as director in 1647. Stuyvesant also installed an advisory body. Nine men were chosen from eighteen men nominated by the people. Three men were chosen from the merchants, three from the burghers, and three from the farmers. All lived in the area of Manhattan. Stuyvesant like Kieft had difficulty in maintaining his authority over the assertive Nine Men. A conflict arose in 1649 when the Nine asked permission to discuss the problems concerning the surrounding English colonies in a meeting of all the inhabitants and Stuyvesant proposed to invite the English too. This would have been the first general meeting of all the settlements that could be called a *Landdag*. The Nine, however, wished to keep the English out of it, and as a result Stuyvesant refused permission for a meeting of the Manhattan inhabitants alone. The Nine persisted and Adriaan van der Donck, one its members, presented a petition on their behalf. Stuyvesant imprisoned him. In this situation the first

Table 1: Establishment of Courts of Justice in New Netherland

<i>Year established</i>	<i>Name</i>
1642	Middelburgh (Newtown)
1644	Heemstede (Hempstead)
1645	Vlissingen (Flushing) 's Gravesande (Gravesend)
1646	Breuckelen (Brooklyn)
1652	Beverwijck (Albany)
1653	New Amsterdam (New York)
1654	Amersfoort (Flatlands) Midwout (Flatbush)
1656	Oostdorp (Westchester) Rustdorp (Jamaica)
1660	Haerlem (Harlem)
1661	Boswijck (Bushwick) Wiltwijck (Kingston) Bergen New Utrecht
1664	Staten Eylandt (Staten Island)

Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 152 (Table 3.1).

real *Landdag* was called. On March 4, 1649, Stuyvesant proposed "to summon two deputies from each colony and village in New Netherland to hold a *Landdag* to deliberate on the highly necessary delegation for the best interest of the country in general."¹⁰

Following Van der Donck's release from confinement, a delegation was sent to the Netherlands to present a remonstrance and a petition to the States General. The petition contained sharp criticism of the colonial government and requested the establishment of a suitable civil government, "such as your High Mightinesses shall consider adapted to this Province, and somewhat resembling the laudable Government of our Fatherland."¹¹ But the Dutch authorities, neither the States General nor the Heren XIX, had any intention to reform the government again. After several years of delay, they did grant permission to create a civil government in New Amsterdam, which was installed on February 2, 1653.¹² The provincial

⁵ Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 135–40

⁶ Edmund B. O'Callaghan, John Romeyn Brodhead, J. B. Carr and B. Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, 1969), 1: 154 (hereafter cited as *DRCHNY*).

⁷ *DRCHNY* 2: 253–57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 119–23.

⁹ Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 141.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 141–46.

¹¹ *DRCHNY* 1: 259–61.

¹² See Jacobs, "To favour this new city."

Table 2. Participating Settlements.

Landdag	Rw	New	Hem	Flus	Gra	Brk	Bev*	NA*	Amf	Mid	West	Jam	Har	Bos	Wilt	Berg	NU	St
1649: 3/8	?	?	?	?	?		?	?										
1653: 9/11	?	?	?	?	?		?	?										
11/26		X		X	X			X										
11/27 (Illegal)		X	X	X	X			X										
12/9-13 (Illegal)		X	X	X	X			X										
1654: 5/30					X	X		X	X	X								
1663: 7/6					X	X		X	X	X			L			L	X	
11/1-3	L?					X	L?	X	X				X	X	L?	X		
1664: 4/10-12	X					X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
4/15-16	X					X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
4/22	?					?	?	?	?	?			?	?	?	?	?	?

Rw: Rensselaerswijk, New: Newtown (Middelburgh), Hem: Hempstead (Heemstede), Flus: Flushing (Vlissingen), Gra: Gravesend ('sGravesande), Brk: Breuckelen, Bev: Beverwijk, NA: Nieuw Amsterdam, Amf: Amersfoort, Mid: Midwout, West: Westchester (Oostdorp), Jam: Jamaica (Rustdorp), Har: Haarlem, Bos: Boswijk, Wilt: Wiltwijck, Berg: Bergen, NU: Nieuw Utrecht, St: Staten Eiland (in order of establishment)

* Before Beverwijk was founded (1652) the local populace was possibly represented by officials from Fort Orange, just like the population of Manhattan could only be represented by officials from Fort New Amsterdam or by the Nine Men when there was still no local court established (Nieuw Amsterdam: 1653)

? : presence unrecorded, but possible

X : presence recorded

- : presence without official delegation (no local government)

L : participation by letter

government remained unchanged.

Nevertheless, the events of 1649 created precedent. The *Landdag* became the official platform for discussion between the director-general and local magistrates. It would not, however, develop without another escalation of conflict. In the end of 1653 a *Landdag* was held without the knowledge of the director-general. At this meeting a remonstrance was written again heavily criticizing the Company. Because the English initiated this remonstrance while the Republic was at war with England, Stuyvesant dismissed the *Landdag* and told the assembly not to meet again.¹³

Following 1653 much changed. New Netherland rapidly developed into a settler colony (see Figure 2). Between 1653 and 1664 the number of local courts increased



Figure 2: New Netherland in the late 1660s (Jacobs, New Netherland).

from seven to seventeen (see Table 1). Yet, no regular organized provincial meetings were held. It was almost ten years before an official *Landdag* again gathered in 1663. According to Jaap Jacobs it took so long because of the bad experiences in 1653.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Stuyvesant was not that determined. His resolute reaction in 1653 did not mean that the various settlements had no opportunity to discuss issues with each other, as in 1654 (see Table 2). Morton Wagman suggests that there was no real need to hold general discussions as no provincial-wide problems arose. The colony knew several peaceful years in the 1650s. This changed in 1658, when troubles erupted with the Esopus, reaching a violent climax in June 1663 with an Indian raid on Wiltwijck. In that year the English also caused a crisis on Long Island. To make a proper defense of New Netherland, in July 1663 a general meeting of all the settlements became necessary.¹⁵ After this date and until the English takeover in 1664 several *Landdagen* were held (see Tables 2 and 3).

The Landdag as a Dutch tradition:

The petition that Adriaan vander Donck wrote in 1649 represented the thinking of several inhabitants of New Netherland when it asked to establish a *borgerlycke* (public or civil) government. The petitioners referred to the institutions of their neighbors, the colony of New England. In that colony, they stated, government was based on the people’s ability to choose their own officials and therefore have a voice in the central government.¹⁶ There is, however, no reason to look for an English example of the *Landdag*, as they asked to establish a government “some-

what resembling the laudable Government of our Fatherland.”¹⁷

Although no real effort was made, neither by the WIC nor the States General, the political development of New Netherland should be understood in the light of this request. When the *Landdag* was created, a Dutch model would have been in the minds of the colonial government and the inhabitants. The use of the term “*gemeene Lantsdagh*” in a document written in 1663 describing a general meeting of the English colonies is remarkable, as it implies the establishment of the term in the Dutch colonial mindset at that time.¹⁸ Rather than looking to the English, the Dutch were viewing events in the terms of their own country.

A single “Dutch model,” however, did not exist. The Dutch Republic was characterized by many differences in methods of governing between the provinces. Each province claimed to be an independent sovereignty, as, in fact, did each city. This situation was rooted in the medieval period, when the provinces were ruled by autonomous counts, dukes, and overlords, who granted many privileges and freedoms to the different cities. The provinces only united with the Dutch Revolt in the late sixteenth century, when they bound

¹³ See Middleton, “Order and Authority.”
¹⁴ Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 167.
¹⁵ Wagman, “Struggle for Representative Government,” 240–43.
¹⁶ Wright, “Local Government and Central Authority,” 20-21.
¹⁷ *DRCHNY* 1: 259–61.
¹⁸ “heeft sich den E: Heere Directr: Genrl Petrus Stuyvesant selfs in persoon ao: 1650: getransporteert tot Herfort opde gemeene Lantsdagh vande Colonijen van N: Engeland,” *NYSA NYCM* vol. 10, part 2, 287 [6 september 1663].

themselves together to fight Spain and the king was officially renounced. The provinces were only united in a joint meeting of all the provinces, the States General, while the individual provinces strengthened their own autonomy.¹⁹ As a result, no clear institution for the Republic as a nation developed and the provincial differences remained. If something new had to be created in New Netherland, the colonists had numerous examples to choose from.

The most influential province was Holland, and New Netherland was strongly dependent on the economy and politics of Holland. When the city of New Amsterdam was created, the model of Holland's chief city, Amsterdam, was used.²⁰ However, the political and topographical situation of Holland was completely different from that of New Netherland. Many cities dominated Holland's political arena, while a nobility represented the countryside. Some cities even represented their surrounding countryside. The countryside, therefore, had little influence and rural villages no direct voice at all.²¹

As we will see, the New Netherland *Landdag* was strongly tied to the countryside, a situation unlike that in the province of Holland. The provincial assembly, the *Staten van Holland* (Estates of Holland), was a meeting of only the cities and a small group of noblemen. Eighteen cities each had one vote while the nobility combined had one vote. The situation was more or less the same in the province of Zeeland, where the cities also dominated the single voice of the nobility.²² The province of Utrecht was unique, because it was not only the cities and the nobility that had one vote, but also the clergy.

The nobility and the countryside were the most influential in the governments of the northern and eastern provinces of the Republic.²³

It is in the northern and eastern parts of the Republic where we find *Landdagen* that could be models for New Netherland. In the province of Gelderland the meeting of the *Staten* was also known as the *Landdag*. The *Landdag*, however, was not as important as the *Staten in Holland*. Gelderland was divided into three quarters: Nijmegen, Zutphen, and Arnhem (Gelderland originally counted four quarters, but the quarter of Roermond remained in hands of Spain). These quarters acted like independent countries and the general meetings within each quarter were seen as more important. The balance of power between the nobility and the cities in the quarters was equally divided.²⁴ Each quarter appointed six deputies, three from the cities and three from the nobility, to represent the quarter on the *Landdag*. During this *Landdag* the deputies discussed matters of national importance along a *Landschapstafel* (table of the country) (see Figure 3.). As the most important task of the deputies was to defend the interests of their quarters, the *Landdag* remained a weak body.²⁵

In the *Landdag* of Overijssel the nobility were more powerful. Forty nobles participated, each having a vote against only three cities.²⁶ The cities were also easily outvoted in Friesland, where originally the cities had no voice in the provincial meetings, also called *Landdag*. Friesland was divided in three *goën* (districts): Oostergo, Westergo and Zevenwolde, like the quarters of Gelderland. Every *go* was divided in *grietenijen*

(local governments). However, because of the contribution of the cities during the war for independence, it was decided at the end of the sixteenth century that the eleven cities could participate as a fourth district. Decisions were first taken by deputies from every *grietenij* or city on the meetings of the individual *goën* or districts. On the *Landdag* each district had only one vote.²⁷

In the province of Groningen, the *Landdag* existed on two different levels. The provincial *Landdag* only counted two votes, one from the city of Groningen and one from the *Ommelanden* (literally: surrounding lands, the countryside of Groningen).²⁸ The *Ommelanden* had its own *Landdag*. The *Ommelander Landdag* was a meeting of different nobles, landowners, and deputies of different *kerspelen* (local governments or parishes). Because the composition of this meeting was complex, many conflicts arose about the regulations. And, while the structure of the *Ommelander Landdag* was democratic, in that a major part of the community of the countryside had a voice in the meeting, the nobility was able to strengthen its influence.²⁹ Yet, because the *Ommelanden* had only one vote on the provincial *Landdag*, the city of Groningen remained dominant.

In the province of Drenthe, the only province without cities or representation in the States General, the *Landdag* was solely a meeting of the countryside.

¹⁹ M. Prak, *Gouden Eeuw, het raadsel van de Republiek* (Nijmegen, 2002), 184-85.

²⁰ Jacobs, "To favour this new city," 20.

²¹ R. Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der Republiek*, uitgegeven door Dr. H.T. Colenbrander (Den Haag 1980), 80, 230-31.

²² Prak, *Gouden Eeuw*, 189.

²³ A. Th. van Deursen, "Staatsinstellingen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1579-1780," in D. P. Blok, ed., *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 5 (Haarlem 1980), 350-87.

²⁴ F. Keverling Buisman, "De bestuurlijke organisatie van het gewest Gelre (1543-1795/1798)," in F. Keverling Buisman, O. Moorman van Kappen, F. W. J. Scholten, *Van Hertogdom Gelre tot Provincie Gelderland, hoofdstukken uit de geschiedenis van Bestuur en Bestuursinrichting van Gelderland 1339-1989* (Nijmegen 1990), 53-74, see especially 62-64.

²⁵ Keverling Buisman, "De bestuurlijke organisatie van het gewest Gelre," 67-69.

²⁶ Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, 251-52.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 247-48.

²⁸ Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, 254.

²⁹ W. J. Formstra, "Jonkers en boeren op de Ommelander landdag in de eerste helft der achttiende eeuw," in W. J. Formstra, *Geschiedenis tussen Eems en Lauwers, Groninger Historische Reeks* 4 (Assen 1988), 115-41.

Table 3. List of general meetings of the different settlements of New Netherland.

Date	Place	Initiator	Discussion topic	Source
1649: 8 March	Church New Amsterdam	Stuyvesant	Petition	<i>NYHM</i> 4, 583 (427// <i>DRCHNY</i> 1, 352)
1653: 11 September	?	New Amsterdam	Taxation	Gehring, <i>Correspondence</i> , 3-4/ <i>RNA</i> 1, 117/ <i>LO</i> , 149
26 November	City Hall New Amsterdam	Stuyvesant	Defense (pirates) I	<i>NYHM</i> 5, 84 (152)
27 November (illegal)	City Hall New Amsterdam	New Amsterdam	Defense (pirates) II	<i>NYHM</i> 5, 85 (153)
9 or 10 - 13 Dec. (illegal)	City Hall New Amsterdam	New Amsterdam	Remonstrance	<i>NYHM</i> 5, 86-103 (154-157, 159, 160-189)/ <i>RNA</i> 1, 140
1654: 30 May	City Hall New Amsterdam	New Amsterdam	Defense (English)	<i>NYHM</i> 5, 140-141 (257-258)/ <i>RNA</i> 1, 201
1663: 6 July	Fort Amsterdam	Stuyvesant	Defense (Indians)	<i>NYSA NYCM</i> 10:2, 177, 179-180
1-3 November	City Hall New Amsterdam	New Amsterdam	Remonstrance and delegation	<i>NYSA NYCM</i> 10:2, 351-352, 355, 357, 365-367.
1664: 10-12 April	City Hall New Amsterdam	Long Island/ New Amsterdam	English Attack/ Remonstrance	<i>NYSA NYCM</i> 10:3, 71-72, 107-108, 151, 153-154
15-16 April	?	?	Remonstrance I	<i>NYSA NYCM</i> 10:3: 183
22 April	Fort Amsterdam	Stuyvesant	Remonstrance II	<i>NYSA NYCM</i> 10:3: 181, 183-185



Figure 3: The deputies of the different quarters of the province of Gelderland on the Landdag gathered around the Landschapstafel (Keverling Buisman, "De bestuurlijke organisatie van het gewest Gelre," 55.).

The *Landdag* was based on *kerspelen*, similar to the *Ommelander Landdag*, but the *Landdag* of Drente was a composition of six *dingspelen*.³⁰ A *dingspel* was an institution of justice, in which juridical matters between the different landowners or *kerspelen* were discussed in the so called *hagelsprake* (court).³¹ The nobility of Drente had one third of the votes in the *Landdag*, the other two were divided by the six *dingspelen*. Each *dingspel* had in fact only one third of a vote. Consequently, the different *dingspelen* had to be unanimous to have any influence at a provincial level. It was even more difficult for every individual *kerspel*, or landowner, to have a voice on the general meeting. Therefore, the different *dingspelen* and the local *kerspelen* were viewed as more important than the provincial *Landdag*.³²

To conclude, in the Dutch Republic a *Landdag* was largely a northern and eastern institution. According to Van Deursen, a *Landdag* was a social event in these regions, a meeting of provincial aristocrats. While the provincial assemblies of Holland and Zeeland frequently met, the *Landdagen* only met once or twice a year.³³ Local affairs were more important and it could be stated that a *Landdag* only gathered when the States General needed input in national matters, such as taxation. A *Landdag* was really a matter of the countryside, a gathering of overlords and farmers. However, no *Landdag* was created out of different deputies from local settlements, as in the New Netherland *Landdag*. The country-

side was always represented by a group of nobles or a city, or united in a district with only one vote (or even less, like the *dingspelen*). The New Netherland *Landdag* resembled the *Landdagen* discussed above, but it adjusted to the situation of the colony and was therefore unique.

Let us now turn to the practices in other Dutch colonies. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) introduced a *Landdag* on the island of Formosa (present-day Taiwan). In 1624, the VOC built a trading post on Formosa, the fortress of Zeelandia, but saw economic opportunities in the trade in deerskins from the island's interior, so it was decided in 1636 to gain control over the whole island.³⁴ The island, however, was already populated by native peoples who lived in several small towns, while the Dutch only lived in and around the fortress of Zeelandia. In order to maintain their authority over the natives, the VOC established a *Landdag*; a gathering of deputies from the native towns.³⁵ Caspar Schmalkalden, a German who traveled around the world in 1642–1652, visited Dutch Formosa and wrote about its *Landdag*:

In order to hold authority and discipline under the inhabitants, the noble Company have nominated in every village some appointed persons from their own nation as captains to which the others have to be submissive. And also to prevent that those captains abuse their function, every year a *Landdag* of the country is organized on a set time, on which the captains and elders from all

the villages, even from where they have complains, have to be present.³⁶

Each *Landdag* followed a standard sequence of events. The governor entered the meeting in a military procession after which the deputies from the native villages could take their seat. The governor opened with an address in which the Company's policies were pointed out. Then the authority of the past year's elders was transferred to the new year's elders, followed by a court in which local matters were discussed. Thereafter a second address followed and the *Landdag* ended in a banquet in which Dutch and natives participated in a party of eating, drinking, and dancing until deep in the night.³⁷

The Formosa *Landdag* was therefore more ceremonial than political. According to Andrade, the ceremony was designed to further the VOC's rule on Formosa:

Its most important purpose was to impress the natives with the awesome power of the Dutch, to capitalize on the glory the Company had already gained for itself through its spectacular military victories.³⁸

The VOC made a show of it. The parade of soldiers in their best uniforms demonstrated the Company's might, while

³⁰ J. Heringa, "De samenstelling van den Landsdag: volmachten van kerspelen of van dingspelen?" in *Ons Waardeel, tweemaandelijksche uitgave van de Drentse Historische Vereniging, vereniging voor geschiedenis en genealogie jaargang 7* (1987), 6: 182–84.

³¹ I. H. Gosses, *De organisatie van bestuur en rechtspraak in de landschap Drente (tot den tijd der Republiek)* (Groningen, 1941), 174–75.

³² F. R. H. Smit, "Bestuursinstellingen en ambtenaren van de landschap Drente 1600 tot 1750," in *Drentse Historische Studïën* 8 (1984), 8–183, 42–43.

³³ Van Deursen, "Staatsinstellingen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden," 383.

³⁴ T. Andrade, "Political Spectacle and Colonial Rule, The Landdag on Dutch Taiwan, 1629–1648," *Itinerario* 21 (1997), 3: 57–93, 60–61.

³⁵ Andrade, "The Landdag on Dutch Taiwan," 68–69.

³⁶ "Damit aber auch unter den Inwohnern eine Ordnung und Disziplin gehalten würde, hatte die Edl. Compagnie in allen Dörfern gewisse Personen aus ihrer Nation zu Capitains verordnet, welchen die anderen Nachbarn mußten untertänig sein. Und damit auch solche Capitains ihr Amt nicht mißbrauchten, wurde [alle] Jahr zu gewisser Zeit ein Landtag auf Provincia gehalten, auf welchem die Capitains und Ältesten aus allen Dörfern, auch wer sonst etwas zu klagen oder fürzubringen hatte, erscheinen mußten." C. Schmalkalden, *Die wundersamen Reisen des Caspar Schmalkalden nach West- und Ostindien 1642–1652. Nach einer bisher unveröffentlichten Handschrift bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Wolfgang Joost* (Leipzig 1983), 146.

³⁷ Andrade, "The Landdag on Dutch Taiwan," 71–72.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 72.

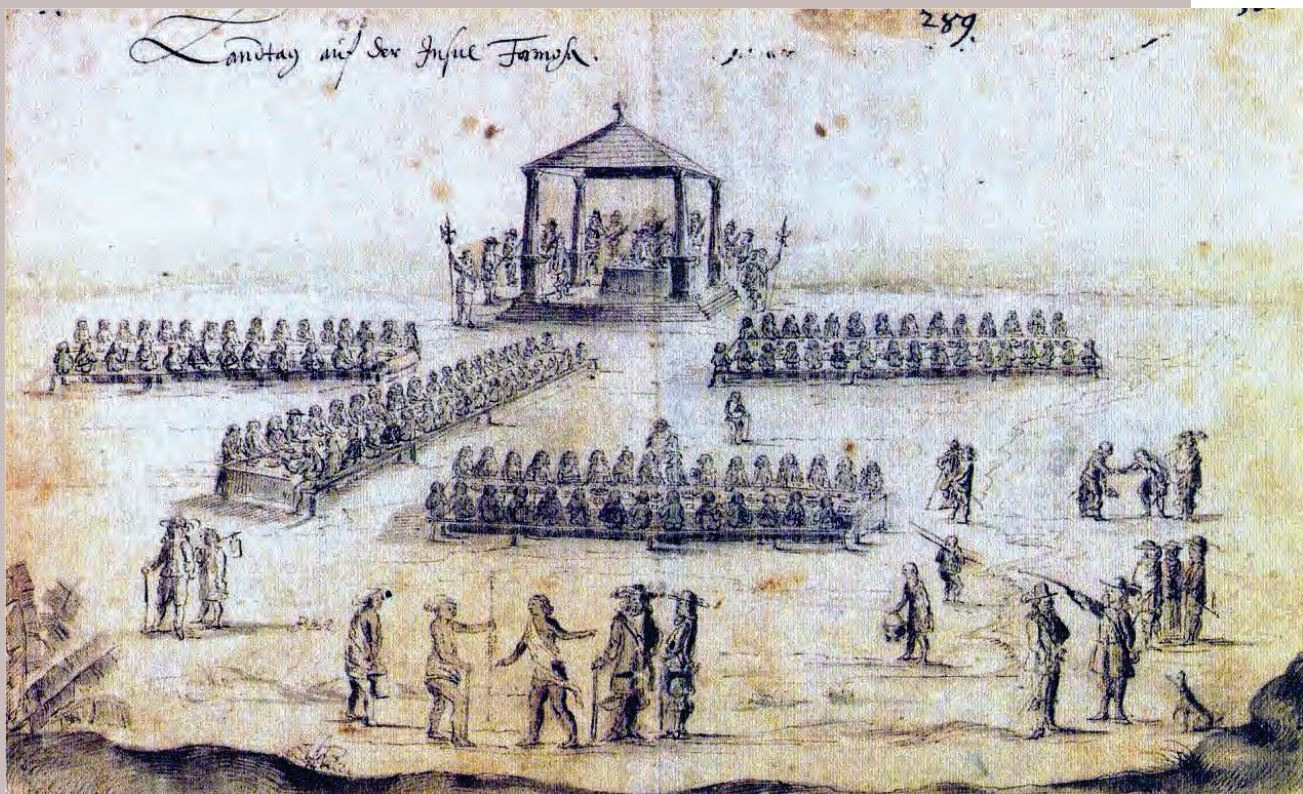


Figure 4: “Landtag auf der Insel Formosa,” drawing by Caspar Schmalkalden. In the back the governor is seated in a garden house, surrounded by guards, while the deputies from the different villages are seated on the long dining tables (Schmalkalden, *Die wundersamen Reisen*, 147).

the governor and the council were seated in a separate high place, surrounded by armed soldiers. The wide social distinctions between ruler and subjects is clearly evident in a drawing of the *Landdag* made by Schmalkalden (see Figure 4).³⁹ The captains of the natives were also bound to the VOC by giving them symbols of authority; according to Schmalkalden, a “Regiments rod”: a stick “covered with silver on top and bearing the sign of the Company.”⁴⁰ And, finally, the closing feasting and dancing was more ritual or cultural than a political debate.

In Brazil, the most important West India Company colony, a general meeting of deputies was mentioned in 1640, shortly after the Dutch conquest of Portuguese Brazil. To maintain good relations with the Portuguese settlers, Johan Maurits van Nassau Siegen, the Dutch governor-general, called an assembly of deputies from the various districts, called a *Landdag* by Van Kampen.⁴¹ Little, however, is known about this *Landdag*, while later developments in the colony made the establishment of a colonial assembly in Brazil difficult. Nevertheless, it seems that Johan Maurits van Nassau Siegen used this *Landdag* to bind his Portuguese subjects closer to the Dutch government, as the VOC did on Formosa. We

can assume then that in Dutch colonies *Landdaggen* were used as instruments to control conquered territories rather than as a representative body of residents. To understand how the *Landdag* was applied in New Netherland we need to look at its organization and proceedings.

The New Netherland *Landdag*: In New Netherland, *Landdaggen* were called when situations required province-wide actions. In the report of the Board of Accounts written in 1644, it was stated that “delegates should, moreover, assemble every six months, at the summons of the Director and Council.”⁴² Although the basis was laid for a frequently held assembly, it was never organized that way. As noted above, the *Landdag* was not held annually but when required. In the first years the host was often the director-general and his council. On March 4, the director-general was of the opinion that it was necessary to hold a “lant dach,” whereupon each colony and village in New Netherland was summoned to send two deputies.⁴³

Each *Landdag* was announced in a similar manner. On October 29, 1663, it was summoned as follows; “so Your People are hereby requested to send just before next Thursday, the first of the next

month of November, two representatives from Your People’s villages, all provided with full power of attorney”⁴⁴ A New Amsterdam court record of September 9, 1653, shows how delegates were chosen. Each member of the bench nominated two of his colleagues, after which the two with the most votes were elected as deputies.⁴⁵ How this was done in other settlements is unknown, but we expect by a similar process.

Who was permitted to join the different meetings? Unfortunately the council minutes provide no information as to who was invited to the first official

³⁹ Ibid., 72–73.

⁴⁰ *ein Stock oben mit Silber beschlagen und der Compagnie Zeichen darauf.* Schmalkalden, *Die wundersamen Reisen*, 146.

⁴¹ “eene soort van landdag” (a sort of *landdag*): N. G. van Kampen, *Leven van beroemde Nederlanders: sedert het midden der zestiende eeuw*, vol. 2 (Haarlem, 1840), 255.

⁴² DRCHNY 1: 154.

⁴³ NYHM 4: 583 (427) (Gehring transcribed the text as *land dach*, but the original is *lant dach*).

⁴⁴ *oversulcx word[en] U.L. bij desen gerequiseert tegens donderdach naestkoomende sijnde den eersten vande aensta[ande] maent Novembris twee gecommiteerden uij[t] U.L. dorp alhier te willen senden met behoorlijke volmacht voorsien.* NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 355.

⁴⁵ B. Fernow, ed., *The records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 anno domini*, 7 vols. (Baltimore 1976), 1: 117 [hereafter cited as *RNA*].

Landdag held on March 8, 1649, while in a statement made by a witness, only “the people” are mentioned.⁴⁶ However, it seems probable that only villages with local government were invited. When different villages gathered in a *Landdag* without the knowledge of the director-general and council on December 12, 1653, Stuyvesant reacted that some of the villages (Midwout, Amersfoort, and Breuckelen) “have neither court nor jurisdiction, consequently they are unqualified to send any commissioners.”⁴⁷ Actually, the director-general had taken in consideration to grant these villages a court of justice, just a few weeks earlier, “so that on all future occasions, together with Fort Orange and the others, there would be sufficient votes against [the English].”⁴⁸

This means that the first *Landdag* of 1649 consisted of a rather small group of people. In that year only the director-general and the council and the villages of Middelburgh (Newtown), Heemstede (Hempstead), Vlissingen (Flushing), and Gravesend could be present, while only Fort Orange and the court of Rensselaerswijck represented the northern part of the colony.⁴⁹ Although in 1653 a reference was made to settlements on the South River, these settlements were probably not represented, because local courts had not yet been established.⁵⁰

As more villages received local courts, delegations to the *Landdag* increased (see Table 2). Not every *Landdag* counted all settlements. At the *Landdag* held in November 1653, for example, only delegates from the council, New Amsterdam, and the villages on Long Island attended. It is possible this was because of the discussion topic was the defense of the coast.⁵¹ It is also possible that it was due to the season, as it was stated that “at this time of year were not able to wait for advice from Fort Orange, Rensselaerswijck and the South River, because the ships are ready to depart.”⁵²

Fort Orange (later Beverwijck) and Rensselaerswijck were probably never present during the winter months, as the frozen river made travel nearly impossible.⁵³ Stuyvesant thought it

more expedient, owing to the unsuitable time because of the approaching winter and because it is hardly possible for the delegates of the colony of Rensselaerswijck and the village of Beverwijck to sail down the river and up again

before the winter, if for the present the magistrates of the neighboring villages and hamlets were convened and if whatever might be proposed or advised by them . . . were communicated in writing.⁵⁴

It is not known whether the northern settlements used this possibility, but others did, namely on July 6, 1663, when the villages of Harlem and Bergen (New Jersey) sent no delegates “but have sent their opinion in a letter to the lord director-general.”⁵⁵ In the Bergen letter it is recorded that the invitation was indeed read to the whole community (*gemeente*) after which a general decision was made about the matter.⁵⁶

It is remarkable that the northern settlements were not present during the first years the *Landdag* was organized (except perhaps in 1649 and once in 1653). Participation in a *Landdag* was not obligatory, so it is possible that the government of Rensselaerswijck was unwilling to attend any general meeting. At least, they tried not to be involved in some matters, as the WIC’s Amsterdam Chamber wrote to Stuyvesant in 1653: “We are not pleased with the assertion of the authorities of the Colony of Rensselaerswyck, that even in time of need and war they are not obliged to assist.”⁵⁷ It would be 1663 before an invitation is known and to 1664 when the presence of the northern colonies is supported by the records (see Table 2).

The first *Landdagen* were dominated by the English villages, but during the last meetings, in 1663 and 1664, the assembly was completely Dutch. In a proposal to hold a *Landdag* in 1664, the English villages were evidently excluded, as the request mentions only “the respective Dutch villages,” and the director-general’s official list of invited settlements contains no English villages.⁵⁸ It was not necessarily due to ethnic exclusion, for in January 1664 all the English villages on Long Island were taken over by force by the English Captain John Scott, and since the magistrates appointed by the Dutch government were expelled, none of the villages were able to send delegates to the *Landdag*.⁵⁹ The same happened in May 1654. The English villages were ignored because

it has been sufficiently proved by their utterances and actions, that although

under oath of allegiance to us, they would fight rather against, than for us and therefore the Director-General and Council have unanimously concluded to pass them in silence and not to call upon them either for the repairs or for the defense, that we may not ourselves drag the Trojan horse within our walls.⁶⁰

In these years relations between the Dutch and English nations were hostile, but in the peaceful year of 1663 most of the English were absent again. Only the English village of Gravesend was present once, on July 6, so the English seem to have been invited. Did the English no longer react to the Dutch invitations? Whatever was the case, the *Landdag* became a Dutch matter.

Although the first *Landdagen* were initiated by the director-general, local governments also organized a *Landdag* (see Table 3). However, they had to ask permission from the director-general and the council. An illustration is that after the *Landdag* of November 26, 1653, the delegates of New Amsterdam and the English towns met again the next day, November 27, but the delegates of the council, Cornelis van Werckhoven and La Montagnie, were not invited. The assembly decided

⁴⁶ *DRCHNY* 1: 352.

⁴⁷ *NYHM* 5, 94 (167).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 85 (152).

⁴⁹ According to Stuyvesant, Breuckelen could not be represented in 1653, although a local court had been granted in 1646. Probably the court was not yet functioning in 1653, as would happen in Harlem, which though granted a court in 1658 was not established until 1660, when a required minimum of twenty to twenty-five families was achieved (Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 155).

⁵⁰ *NYHM* 5, 86 (153).

⁵¹ See Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 165.

⁵² *NYHM* 5: 86 (153).

⁵³ J. Venema, *Beverwijck: a Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652–1664* (Hilversum 2003), 176.

⁵⁴ A. J. F. van Laer, *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, being the letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630–1643, and other documents relating to the colony of Rensselaerswijck* (Albany 1908), 785.

⁵⁵ *NYSANYCM* vol. 10, part 2, 189 (“*Die vande durpen Haerlem, nogh Bergen hebben geen gecommiteerdens gesonden, maer hebben haere meeninge missive den heere Direct: Generael toegesonden.*”).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 191 (the letter of Harlem has not been found).

⁵⁷ Charles T. Gehring, ed., *Correspondence, 1654–1658* (Syracuse, 2003), 4.

⁵⁸ *NYSANYCM* vol. 10, part 3, 71, 145.

⁵⁹ Martha Dickinson Shattuck, “The Dutch and English on Long Island, an uneasy alliance,” *De Halve Maen* 68 (1995), 4: 80–85; *NYSANYCM* vol. 10, part 3, 185.

⁶⁰ *DRCHNY* 14, 270.

thereupon to meet again on December 10. The court of New Amsterdam started to prepare the next meeting on Saturday the 29th, and wrote a letter to the director-general who was requested “to summon commissioners from the respective Dutch villages and settlements to appear on the appointed day.”⁶¹ Stuyvesant responded in a long letter that “it was by no means the intention of the director-general and council that subjects bound to the authority . . . should be allowed to enter with one another into a defensive and offensive alliance without the knowledge or order of their government,” but nevertheless allowed the mayors to organize an assembly, however, “in the presence of two deputies [of the council].”⁶² And so, on December 8, an invitation was sent to different villages with the director-general’s knowledge.⁶³

Things did not work out right. How the meeting proceeded is unknown, but a remonstrance was written on the 11th, when no council delegates were present.⁶⁴ Stuyvesant declared the assembly illegal because it had contradicted “the orders and decisions made by the director-general and council at the request of the mayors and schepens,” namely to gather in presence of the delegates of the council.⁶⁵ Further, in a letter to the Dutch villages on Long Island he wrote that “the mayors and schepens of this city have in our name invited delegates from your villages and told you that it was done with our consent and approval. We hereby declare that it was not so.”⁶⁶ Therefore, the assembly was told “not to address the director-general and council anymore under the name and title of *lants vergaderinge* [meeting of the province].”⁶⁷ After these words it is not hard to imagine a Washington Irving-like scene of Stuyvesant showing a big silver watch, but it was actually the assembly who was wrong by following the incorrect procedure, because the assembly was told not to meet again “in such a form and manner.”⁶⁸ Moreover, Stuyvesant’s reaction is understandable as any independent act by the inhabitants could be seen as rebellion, especially since it was initiated by the English while the Dutch were at war with England.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, after ten years had passed it was still possible for New Amsterdam to organize a *Landdag*, of course only after it was requested politely to the director-general:

Since sheriff, mayor and schepens of this city [of New Amsterdam], because of the dangerous situation of the country, . . . had requested to call some delegates from the surrounding villages, to gather and assembly in the way of a *Landdag*, . . . this reasonable and sensible request we could not, nor we would not reject.⁷⁰

It was not just New Amsterdam that initiated a *Landdag*. In a document possibly written on March 18, 1664, or somewhat earlier, the villages of Amersfoort, Breuckelen, Midwout, and New Utrecht wrote to the director-general requesting him to “announce a meeting of all the delegates from the respective Dutch villages on Long Island.”⁷¹ However, the villages did not organize the *Landdag* they had proposed (a local *Landdag*). New Amsterdam probably thought it was important to include all the villages and sent a similar request, but now including the northern settlements of Rensselaerswijck, Beverwijck, and Wiltwijck. Consequently, the *Landdag* was held in the city hall of New Amsterdam.⁷² Nevertheless, it was the villages on Long Island who had made up the agenda to get the organization of the *Landdag* started. This is a significant illustration of the self-consciousness of the local villages.

The proceedings of the meeting: The first *Landdag* was held in the church of New Amsterdam, other meetings also took place in Fort Amsterdam (see Table 3, page 54).⁷³ After a New Amsterdam city council was established in 1653, it became possible to hold the *Landdag* in the New Amsterdam city hall.⁷⁴ In fact, most of the meetings were held here. These meeting places seem self-evident because in Fort Amsterdam the director-general and the council gathered, while in the city hall the courts were held. These choices were probably also made for pragmatic reasons, as a large number of delegates needed to be accommodated. On April 12, 1664, the largest known *Landdag* was held. After this meeting each representative signed a remonstrance individually, which resulted in a list of twenty-four men, not including the council delegates.⁷⁵

Discussions were led by a chairman appointed for the session, probably by the *Landdag*’s initiator or host, that is to say, Stuyvesant or his delegates, or the

mayors of New Amsterdam. The chairman was important as on November 26 the English were dissatisfied with the representatives of Stuyvesant as chairman, after which the meeting could not proceed.⁷⁶ The *Landdag* of April 10, 1664, began with a dispute between the delegates of New Amsterdam and Rensselaerswijck over the correct hierarchy: the patroon of Rensselaerswijck claimed (unsuccessfully) the role of chairman (*de voorsittinge*) as the representative of the oldest colony. Jeremias van Rensselaer wrote to his brother, “under protest we sat without special order.” But he wanted to improve this matter because he asked his brother “to discuss this further with the honorable Company.”⁷⁷ Such debates over hierarchy also occurred in the *Landdagen* of the Republic, for example in the meeting of the delegates from the quarters of the province of Gelderland.⁷⁸ Discussions were recorded by skilled clerks. For example, documents were often written and undersigned by Johannes Nevius,

⁶¹ *NYHM* 5, 85 (153), 86 (154).

⁶² *Ibid.* 5: 87–89 (156–57).

⁶³ *Ibid.* 5: 90 (159).

⁶⁴ Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 166.

⁶⁵ *NYHM* 5: 94 (167).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 5: 103 (186).

⁶⁷ “van opdien naem en tijtel als Lantsvergaderinge ofte gecommiteerdens geen adres meer aen dr. grl. en raden te maecken,” *NYHM*. 5: 101 [180].

⁶⁸ “in soodanige soort ende manier niet meer te vergaderen,” *NYHM* 5: 101 [181].

⁶⁹ Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 166.

⁷⁰ “Alsoo schout, borgemeesteren en schep[enen] deser steeede ons, uijt consideration van[den] dangereuse gelegentheit des lants, [] versocht hebben dat uijt de omleggende dorp[en] eenige gecommiteerdens in forme van een Landdach mochten beroepen ende vergade word [], welck h[] reedelijck en billijck versoeck niet hebben kunnen noch te willen weijgeren,” *NYS*A NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 355 (November 1, 1663).

⁷¹ *NYS*A NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 71–72.

⁷² *NYS*A NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 107–108, 145.

⁷³ *DRCHNY* 1: 352; *NYS*A NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 190.

⁷⁴ *NYHM* 5: 79 (142–43).

⁷⁵ *NYS*A NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 154, 165–66, see for the complete list of names E. B. O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland; or New York under the Dutch* (New York, 1855), 506.

⁷⁶ *NYHM* 5: 84 (152).

⁷⁷ A. J. F. van Laer, *Correspondence of Jeremias van Rensselaer (1651–1674)* (Albany, 1932), 353.

⁷⁸ Keverling Buisman, “De bestuurlijke organisatie van het gewest Gelre,” 68. The council of New Amsterdam also faced quarrels about the correct procedure. According to Jaap Jacobs this was “an essential way of delineating power in the seventeenth century.” Jacobs, “To favour this new city,” 24.

the municipal secretary of New Amsterdam.⁷⁹

To conduct discussions in orderly fashion, delegations were provided with the discussion topic in order to prepare themselves at home.⁸⁰ On October 29, 1663, the mayors and schepens of New Amsterdam arranged the *Landdag* for November 1, for which they chose two delegates, and provided them with three points containing the opinion of the council.⁸¹ It was also possible to address opinions by sending letters, as Harlem and Bergen did on July 6, 1663.⁸² When instructions were not sufficient, delegates were given the possibility to consult with their home community. At the same meeting the “delegations requested several days of time to consult the inhabitants of their respective villages more closely, and promised to send a brief answer by letter, after which the meeting was dismissed.”⁸³

At home the delegates discussed the matter with their community, and, after everyone had given advice, a final statement was prepared to be sent to the director-general. In this case the military court had proposed to form volunteer militias, but the inhabitants of Amersfoort refused to make a list of volunteers and only promised to do their best to assist other villages in need, while the inhabitants of Breuckelen stated “that they are willing to protect their neighbors on Long Island as much as possible, but are not able to hold several men for that purpose because the village is too poorly populated.”⁸⁴ After which the original idea was proved impossible and declined. This was the only known meeting in which such a procedure was followed and although only two letters have survived, they provide a beautiful example of the interaction between central authority and local government.

The New Netherland *Landdag*, its meaning and legacy: The development of an institution such as the *Landdag* took several years and, as it was not based on a fixed model, the institution had to set in the minds of the inhabitants of New Netherland first. Just as the meeting had to develop their own rules and traditions over the years, it also needed to determine their position in the colonial political arena. Its members experimented to discover how the *Landdag* could be used as a political instrument. At the beginning it was not clear what activities the *Landdag*

should develop at all.

The first *Landdag* oddly differs from later ones because of a dramatic twist. On March 4 Director-General Stuyvesant consulted with his council to discuss Adriaan vander Donck’s petition to send a delegation to the Netherlands. Vander Donck was confined and Stuyvesant needed to decide what to do. After this meeting, Stuyvesant thought it necessary to discuss this matter again at a *Landdag*, the first official one, on March 8, 1649.⁸⁵ Before the meeting began, Stuyvesant presented a writing to the council and asked them whether or not the documents should “be read to the entire commonalty when met.”⁸⁶ It is probable that Stuyvesant intended to consult the *Landdag* about Vander Donck, however there was no debate.

The meeting proceeded as a dispute between Stuyvesant and Cornelis Melijn, one of the former Eight Men.⁸⁷ Melijn was one of the two members who had libeled Kieft in a letter to the Amsterdam Chamber in 1647, and found guilty of lese majesty. He was sentenced to seven-years’ banishment. However, Melijn complained to the States General, after which he gained the right to appeal the sentence. In January 1649 Melijn returned from the Dutch Republic, and at the *Landdag* he proudly presented a letter from the States General in which the director-general was ordered to either return to the Republic in person or send a representative to defend the sentence passed on Melijn.⁸⁸

After this unexpected turn, a debate ensued, but it is unknown what role the delegates of the *Landdag* played in the event.⁸⁹ The dispute between Stuyvesant and Melijn interrupted the whole discussion about Vander Donck, so it is unclear what Stuyvesant wanted the *Landdag* to do. Did he only wish to hear advice on how to handle Vander Donck, like a grand jury in preparation for a trial? On March 4, Stuyvesant stated that he wanted to remove “all differences and disputes [and] to deliberate on the highly necessary delegation for the best interest of the country in general.”⁹⁰ Was this an attempt to bond the inhabitants of the colony and to give them a voice to express their opinion about the matters Vander Donck at first wanted to petition on his own account? However, neither the first nor the second possibility could occur.

The second known *Landdag* was held several years later on September 11, 1653.

During that meeting “their deputies and the delegates of the respective colonies and courts of New Netherland enacted, published and posted divers ordinances and regulations touching the great and excessive dearness of all sorts of merchandize.”⁹¹ This implies the *Landdag* was involved in decision-making about taxation, or, at least, that Stuyvesant was not able to order new taxes without consulting the settlements. However, the power to construct new ordinances was soon restricted by the Company. On March 12, 1654, the Amsterdam Chamber wrote to Stuyvesant:

The resolutions adapted by Your Honor at the convoked assembly (*Lantdach*) [of September 1653] have appeared to us singularly strange and unexpected, and still more strange the publication thereof, without waiting for our advice or approbation. . . . To prevent this in the future, we have resolved to command, that you shall act strictly in accordance with the laudable customs and ordinances of this city [of Amsterdam] (sent you heretofore), at least in so far as the nature and condition of the country and its inhabitants may admit.⁹²

Six weeks later the next *Landdag* was held. A pirate named Thomas Baxter was looting along the New Netherland coast. The settlements on Long Island were suffering large losses, in Amersfoort ten or

⁷⁹ Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 350.

⁸⁰ For instance: NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 355.

⁸¹ *RNA* 4, 325.

⁸² NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 189.

⁸³ “De gecommiteerdens versochten eenige daegen [tijt] omme de saacke nader met de ingesetenen ider in sijn respectieve durpe te overleggen belovende haere antwoorde in’t corte schriftelijck over te sende, waermeede de vergaderinge is gescheijden,” NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 190.

⁸⁴ “datse wel gewillich sijn soo veel het mogelijk is haer nabuieren te beschermen hier op’t Lange Eiland, [m]aer tot de mannen daer toe te houden het selvige niet kunnen doen alsoo de plaets swack van volck is.” NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 193, 195.

⁸⁵ *NYHM* 4: 580–83 (426–27).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 4: 584 (428).

⁸⁷ *DRCHNY* 1: 352.

⁸⁸ Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 142–46.

⁸⁹ *DRCHNY* 1: 352.

⁹⁰ *NYHM* 4: 583 (427).

⁹¹ *NYHM* 5: 78 (141).

⁹² Gehring, *Correspondence*, 3–4; E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Laws and ordinances of New Netherland, 1636–1674* (Albany, 1868), 149–50 (Dutch reference to *Lantdach* by O’Callaghan).

twelve horses were stolen. On the 24th it was decided to hold a meeting “to deliberate with the other deputies for the reputation and greater security of the country and its good inhabitants upon some effective remedies and means to prevent and stop these incursions, of which deliberations they will give us a report with all due speed.”⁹³

The delegates gathered in New Amsterdam’s city hall on November 26 and, after the *Landdag* began, Stuyvesant’s representatives proposed that the delegates “should give their advice respectfully as to how and by what means these robbers can be stopped.” But instead of giving advice, the English delegates began to complain about the colonial government and refused to debate in presence of the representatives of Stuyvesant as chairman.⁹⁴ As a result, the delegates gathered without the representatives of the council and wrote a remonstrance in which the colonial government was criticized. Stuyvesant declared the *Landdag* illegal and dismissed it without taking any actions against Baxter.⁹⁵

In May 1654, shortly after the end of first Dutch-Anglo War, it was reported that six war ships had arrived in Boston. Stuyvesant consulted the mayors and schepens of New Amsterdam about new taxation and other proposals in order to bring the coast in a state of defense. New Amsterdam’s mayors and schepens wanted to consult the other members of the country, but possibly because the coastal defenses had to be urgently organized, the northern settlements were not invited (or unwilling to participate), while the English villages were not trusted and excluded.⁹⁶ Thus, there were no other settlements to consult than the small Dutch villages. Perhaps because the assembly was too small, it accomplished nothing.

All the meetings were called by Stuyvesant to consult with the deputies and develop strategies to tackle serious issues, but none of these meetings had practical results. And, because all the initiatives taken by the different deputies were nullified, the development of a *Landdag* seemed pointless. Everything changed in 1663. In that year the threat did not come from the English but from Indians. A Dutch settlement in the Esopus area was attacked by native tribes in September 1659 resulting in the first Esopus War. Although a peace treaty was signed in July 1660, relations between the Dutch and the Esopus Indians remained strained. Stuyvesant ordered

the Dutch to live close together in a new village protected by a palisade, which was named Wiltwijck. A second village soon arose, Nieuw Dorp. In June 1663, the Indians broke the peace, burned down Nieuw Dorp, and attacked Wiltwijck.⁹⁷ Stuyvesant initiated a meeting to discuss some measures to protect the inhabitants. He thought it was wise to travel in the company of three to five men, each well suited with proper arms. Further, he wanted “in every village, each in relation to their size and possibility, 8 10 or 12 capable persons will be held as guards, so when it is necessary a reasonable force of men will be ready to assist and help the one or the other village when it is in need.”⁹⁸

Again, at this *Landdag* only New Amsterdam and several villages from Long Island were present, but some efforts were made. Haarlem and Bergen promised immediately to keep eight men ready to be called in times of need.⁹⁹ The other deputies thought these measures were essential, but the population of their settlements had not yet had the opportunity to discuss the matter and select volunteers. So the deputies asked for some respite to consult their communities and promised to respond in writing. It is not known whether or not the measures were executed, because only two letters have survived. The villages of Amersfoort (New Amersfort) and Breuckelen (Brooklyn) promised to do their best when other villages were in trouble, but neither the one or the other was willing to make a list of volunteers or to hold a group of men ready.¹⁰⁰ Here it is clear that Stuyvesant was not able to impose his will on the delegates of a *Landdag*.

Six months later in October 1663, Indian relations were still unresolved. Further, the Dutch were again concerned about an English threat. The mayors and schepens of New Amsterdam had spoken to Stuyvesant several times about the

dangerous situation and condition of the country, both with regard to the dangerous war with the barbarous Esopus nation and their followers and the threatening advance and approach of the neighbors together with the mutinous revolts of some English subjects which have already taken place, and for the prevention of further inroads to solicit not only advice but also deeds and assistance, which truly are most urgently required and

necessary.¹⁰¹

The mayors and schepens proposed therefore to hold a *Landdag*, a proposal Stuyvesant was pleased to submit.

A *Landdag* was announced to be held on November 1. Almost all the Dutch settlements were present except for Rensselaerswijck, Beverwijck, and Wiltwijck, which had been requested to attend as the mayors wrote that “especially also from the hamlet of Beverwijck and the colony of Rensselaerswijck some delegates should be convened and called together.”¹⁰² Stuyvesant, however, foresaw that the delegates of these settlements could encounter trouble traveling due to winter weather and added a note suggesting they communicate in writing.¹⁰³ It is unclear whether such letters were written. However, the patroon of Rensselaerswijck was given an important position.

During the *Landdag* it was decided to write a remonstrance to the WIC directors. Jan Baptist van Rensselaer, patroon of Rensselaerswijck, and Johannes van Brugh, former New Amsterdam schepen, were appointed as commissioners. Both men were in the Netherlands at that time and thus able to deliver the remonstrance in person. But to make their effort more secure, a second delegation was appointed in the person of Cornelis Steenwijck, former New Amsterdam schepen (see Figure 5).¹⁰⁴ As a result, numerous writings had to be produced in the name of the delegations of the *Landdag*. On November 10 a list was made of the papers sent to the Netherlands. It contained a copy of the petition presented by the court of New Netherland to the director-general and the

⁹³ NYHM 5: 79 (142–43).

⁹⁴ NYHM 5, 84 (152).

⁹⁵ Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 165–66.

⁹⁶ NYHM 5, 138–39 (254–56); RNA, 200–201.

⁹⁷ Dingman Versteeg, trans., Peter R. Christoph, Kenneth Scott, Stryker-Rodda, eds., *Kingston Papers 1661–1675 (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch)* vol. 1 (Baltimore, 1976), xi.

⁹⁸ “in ider durp elck nae sijn groote en gelegentheit 8: 10: a 12 bequame personen gelijssel en gereeet wierden gehouden om de gelegentheid sulcx verijsschende een taemelijcke trouw gereeet te hebben ende te houden tot adistentie en hulp van’t een oft’t ander durp ‘twelcke in noot mochten wesen,” NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 179.

⁹⁹ NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 189.

¹⁰⁰ NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 193, 195.

¹⁰¹ Van Laer, *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*, 784.

¹⁰² Ibid.; NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 355.

¹⁰³ Van Laer, 785.

¹⁰⁴ NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 361–63.



Figure 5: Cornelis Steenwijck (1626–1684), one of the commissioners appointed by the Landdag (New-York Historical Society, photo by author).

council and the resolution thereupon, the remonstrance, a letter from the delegates to the two commissioners, a copy of a letter to the WIC directors, the commission of Jan Baptist van Rensselaer and Johannes van Brugh, and a letter from the city of New Amsterdam. The letters were undersigned: “Your honors’ willing servants and affectionate friends, the delegates to the *gemeene Landts vergaderingh* [general provincial assembly] held within this city of Amsterdam in New Netherland,” and authorized by one of the mayors of Amsterdam and the secretary.¹⁰⁵

This was the first *Landdag* to make a concerted independent effort. Stuyvesant’s suggestions were rejected, after which the *Landdag* developed its own strategy. The remonstrance it produced was a bitter complaint and a request for help, but more important, it was written in the name of a representative body, clearly protecting the interests of the colony’s inhabitants. The *Landdag* now truly represented the will of the people. The remonstrance stated that the WIC, by publishing the Freedoms and Exemptions, had bound themselves to offer New Netherland’s inhabitants “reasonable protection, peaceable use and enjoyment of the bona fide property of the lands and whatever thereunto appertained which they

selected settled and occupied.” This meant that the company should defend the inhabitants against all enemies, and, further, that the directors of the WIC should

endeavor, with the high and mighty Lord States General . . . to work out and secure commission and patent, in due form, whereby your real and legitimate jurisdiction over this province and its territories could be shown, demonstrated and justified. And afterwards, effectively obtain, through the aforesaid lords states, from his royal majesty of England, an absolute and definitive settlement of the boundary with his subjects, the English Nations, our neighbors here and the ratification and approbation thereof.¹⁰⁶

The *Landdag* therefore stated that “this Province [of New Netherland] ought to be reinforced by a requisite number of good soldiers and the means thereunto required. The aforesaid being the principal and universal foundation on which (next to God) rest and stand the tranquility, preservation and security of this Province and its inhabitants. Nevertheless they, the remonstrants, have, to their innermost grief and pain, found themselves woefully frustrated and disappointed both in the one and the other.”¹⁰⁷

The WIC directors received this remonstrance in January 1664 and redirected it to the States General. The States discussed it on January 21 and took it into serious consideration.¹⁰⁸ Two days later a resolution was declared in which the boundaries of New Netherland were officially confirmed. It was promised to write a letter to the English villages on Long Island to summon them to remain under the obedience of the Dutch Republic and to complain about the matter at the court of the King of England.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, an order went to the towns on Long Island:

Therefore, we . . . have resolved hereby well and strictly to charge you that in case you, forgetful of your plight, should have repaired under the government of the English, to return again under our allegiance as soon as you have received these presents.¹¹⁰

Altogether not a small accomplishment for the *Landdag*, as its remonstrance was recognized by the highest authority of the

Dutch Republic. But all the claims and demands made by the States General were not supported by armed force and no soldiers were sent to defend the inhabitants of New Netherland, which was the principal goal of their remonstrance.¹¹¹

Meanwhile, the situation in New Netherland worsened. The Dutch not only faced an enemy from the west, as the Esopus War was still going on, but also from the east. The English from Connecticut were eager to annex the English villages on Long Island and commissioned Captain John Scott to form an army. In January 1664 he arrived with a small army on Long Island and claimed it in the name of the Duke of York. The English villages chose to become independent under Scott as president until the Duke or the King established a government.¹¹² In the meantime, Stuyvesant received disturbing messages that Scott was threatening the Dutch villages. Amersfoort, Breuckelen, and Midwout desperately wanted to resolve the problem and proposed a meeting on Long Island. Shortly thereafter New Amsterdam proposed to hold a general *Landdag* as the situation had drastically changed since the previous one held five months earlier in November. As a result, a *Landdag* was organized on April 10 with all the Dutch settlements present, even the northern ones.¹¹³

The delegates wrote a critical reflection on the last *Landdag* and the reaction from Patria. They asked whether the States General and the WIC directors were able to prove “as clear as the sun in the afternoon” that they had done everything they could to protect the inhabitants of New Netherland and to maintain the colonial army. The delegates thought they had not, because,

¹⁰⁵ Van Laer, 788.

¹⁰⁶ *DRCHNY* 2, 477 (NYS NYCM vol. 10, part 2, 369)

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 478.

¹⁰⁸ *DRCHNY* 2, 224–26.

¹⁰⁹ *DRCHNY* 2, 227.

¹¹⁰ *DRCHNY* 2, 228–29.

¹¹¹ Although in *DRCHNY* 14: 547 reads: “strengthened by the soldiers now sent,” in the original (NYS NYCM vol. 15, 121 (3)) is written: “supported by the sent soldiers” (“*gestijft door de gesondene Soldaten*”), and because there is no other evidence that more troops were sent over in that period, probably only the soldiers who were already in the colony were meant (see also Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 54–55).

¹¹² Shattuck, “The Dutch and English on Long Island,” 85.

¹¹³ *DRCHNY* 2, 401–409, 480 (January), 480–83 (February); NYS NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 71–72, 107, 145, 153.

as was stated, all the taxes paid by the inhabitants were not used to the benefit of the colony. Therefore, they wanted to send another request for help.¹¹⁴

Stuyvesant responded that they were not called to write a remonstrance all over again, “but to speculate with a unanimous advice how this province and good inhabitants itself should defend and protect, both against the vicious neighbors and the wild barbarians.”¹¹⁵ He had several suggestions: if the inhabitants would contribute once more, in money or a volunteer militia, recruited out of one fifth or one sixth of the population, the war against the Indians would be over within a year. Further, he suggested that the English threat was nothing more than words.¹¹⁶ He knew that the remonstrance requested by the *Landdag* would have no use at all, that there was no assistance coming and that New Netherland was expected to fix the problems on its own. On February 2 he had received a letter from the directors in which he was ordered “to deliver immediately the letters to the village on Long Island and the mainland, publish the patent, sending at the same time such military force, as you have there, to depose the Magistrates, appointed by the English and reinstate the former, after which you shall leave the soldiers in the said villages as garrison, to prevent the people of Hartford from returning and repeating their proceedings.”¹¹⁷

As a result, April 12 was spent by exchanging letters between Stuyvesant and the *Landdag*. The delegates of the *Landdag* asked Stuyvesant to declare their request invalid because they were afraid that it would be interpreted to their disadvantage, which was permitted.¹¹⁸ However, one of the letters was enclosed with a record of different points discussed by the *Landdag*, and the delegates had still no other idea than sending a request for help, stating that not even a stuiver was spent on the protection of the province, nor on the support of the troops. The tax income was only spent for the benefit of the Company itself, and if was otherwise, then the delegates wished to see some proof. The inhabitants had already paid, now the Company had to act.¹¹⁹ Stuyvesant held his own opinion. He still doubted that writing a new remonstrance would have any effect and thought that there was no other option than organize an army on his own charges. He urgently asked the delegates to take it in consideration,

because without contributions it would be impossible to “keep the almost sinking ship of New Netherland floating and thus be forced to decrease more than one half of the army we still have in service, what the consequence will be the deputies can slightly judge for themselves.”¹²⁰

On April 15, the deputies definitely decided to write a remonstrance and Stuyvesant approved to meet again.¹²¹ A week later, the deputies gathered at the *Landdag* in Fort Amsterdam to discuss the matter, but probably no remonstrance was written.¹²² On the other hand, also no contributions or volunteer armies seem to be provided. The only document touching this matter is a letter written by Stuyvesant to the directors of the WIC, four days later. In this letter he described the precarious situation, explaining why he could do nothing at all. In the matter of fact, he asked for help and therefore followed the advice of the different delegates of his subjects:

We hope to accomplish more by keeping our promise and using persuasion, than by hostile opposition; anyway it will place the country people in less danger. . . . Considering our present force, the situation of affairs and the unsafe position, in which we still find us as regards the savages, we deem it best to await further developments or more help and succor and remain on the defensive, for they can bring into the field ten, if not twenty, against one of ours.¹²³

Help, however, did not come, but the outcome can be considered a political victory for the *Landdag*'s deputies.

Conclusion: Historians have assumed that it was the English population who struggled to get represented in an assembly in New York and took the lead in government reform. It was always believed that the English understood a “democratic” tradition and were more experienced with representative bodies or provincial assemblies. However, the development of the Dutch *Landdag* deserves serious consideration.

The New Netherland *Landdag* was a Dutch institution adapted from the homeland. Though the *Landdag* existed in many different forms in the Republic, it is hard to find a specific model for the New Netherland *Landdag* as it developed. It would seem logical to view the New Netherland *Landdag* as an instrument of the Company government, but it soon

became an instrument of the people. After 1654, as the settlements able to participate in it increased from ten to eighteen, it was no longer dominated by the director-general and his council or by English settlements. The *Landdag* became a broad assembly of deputies from all over the colony representing (almost) the entire Dutch population. The representation of the delegates is therefore most important and, as in the Netherlands, was symbolized by a hierarchical seating order.

After 1663, the director-general, the WIC directors, and the Republic's government took the delegates of the *Landdag* more seriously. The *Landdag* were able to appoint different delegates to remonstrate at home and achieved attention from the States General. Although neither the Company nor the States sent real aid to the colony, the delegates of the *Landdag* must have felt an increasing recognition. If Director-General Stuyvesant made an effort to control them, he was unable to ignore them, and ultimately he failed to implement his own plans. In fact, in a letter to the Heren XIX, Stuyvesant had to ask for help because the *Landdag* had left him no other option. If given enough time it is possible that the New Netherland *Landdag* would have developed into a real provincial assembly “somewhat resembling the laudable Government of our Fatherland.”

The New Netherland *Landdag* matured only during the final years of the Dutch period, but consideration of its existence is indispensable for a better understanding of the history of New Netherland and its influence in the development of colonial New York.

¹¹⁴ NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 147–48.

¹¹⁵ “maer om met ee[n]paerigh advijs op behulpmiddelen [e]speculeren waerdoor dese provintie ende goede ingesetenen des selfs mochten, beijde tegens quaatwillige naebuere[n] en wilde barbaeren, gedefendeert ende beschermt worden.” (NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 147).

¹¹⁶ NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 149–51.

¹¹⁷ DRCHNY 14, 547.

¹¹⁸ NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 153–55, 157–61.

¹¹⁹ NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 158. This almost sounds like a Dutch version of the phrase: No taxation without representation.

¹²⁰ “het bijnae sinkende schip van Nieu Nederlant booven water te houden en sulcx genootsaackt sijn de noch in dienst hebbende militie meer dan op de helft te vermind[eren] wattet gevolch sal sijn konnen de gecom[mitteer]dens lichtelijck oordeelen.” (NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 161).

¹²¹ NYSA NYCM vol. 10, part 3, 163–66.

¹²² At least none appear to have survived. NYSANYCM vol. 10, part 3, 181, 183.

¹²³ DRCHNY 14, 547.

Book Review

Francis J. Sypher, editor and translator, **Liber A of the Collegiate Churches of New York, Part 2, Baptisms 1639 to 1697; Members 1649 to 1701; Marriages 1639 to 1701** (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2015).

LIBER A IS the oldest volume in the archives of Manhattan's Collegiate Churches, officially known as The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York, part of the Reformed Church in America. Francis J. Sypher is the archivist of the Collegiate Churches, and his transcript and translation of Part 1 of Liber A, containing records of the Consistory, the Royal Charter of 1696, and other documents, was published in 2009.

In Part 2 Sypher has created a completely new transcription and translation of the earliest baptismal, marriage, and membership records of the Collegiate Churches' predecessors, the Dutch Reformed Church in the fort and its 1693 successor the Garden Street church. The records cover baptisms 1639–1697, marriages 1639–1701, and members 1649–1701. They have long been essential sources for genealogists, biographers, and historians who are attempting to reconstruct families that lived in or near Manhattan Island in the seventeenth century. Some historians have also found these records a goldmine for demographic studies.

Most of this 854-page volume is devoted to these records. They are preceded by a 52-page introduction in which Sypher describes the rites and customs associated with baptism and marriage in the Dutch Reformed churches and community, as well as the requirements for church membership. He notes that there are no death or burial registers before 1724, but the membership records in Liber A sometimes provide dates of death or note removals to other churches. The dates in the marriage records may be those when the intention to marry was recorded and not when the marriage actually took place, a distinction often overlooked in works that utilize these records.

The introduction also includes a very detailed explanation of Sypher's methodology in interpreting the records. He

explains that the handwriting is quite consistent, for it is all that of one man. The original records before 1682 no longer exist, and those for that period in Liber A were copied from the originals by Domine Henricus Selijns (1639–1701), to whose memory this new volume is dedicated. As far as possible the layout of the records as presented here resembles that used by Selijns.

Following Sypher's transcriptions are seventy-one pages of notes, some of which provide additional information on individuals named in the records, although he advises that "it is beyond the scope of this edition, except in occasional instances," to annotate these personal names. On the other hand, he has attempted in his notes to identify almost every place name in the marriage or membership records, names which reflect the amazing diversity of New Amsterdam's population. The difficulties posed by some of these place name identifications means that they "must often be regarded as provisional interpretations," a very wise warning.

The earlier transcriptions and translations of these records were published in several parts by The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society (NYG&B), beginning in 1874 in their Record and later also in their Collections series. The NYG&B publications are now widely available, in print, film, or online. Sypher points out some places where he and the NYG&B compilers read records differently, but for the most part he agrees with the NYG&B readings. There were some notations in the records that NYG&B

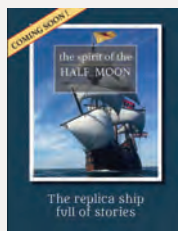
either printed in Dutch without translation or omitted altogether, sometimes to avoid offending Victorian sensibilities. All of these notations are translated in full in this version. Researchers will also note some typographical differences, for example NYG&B's *y* is shown here as *ij*, and *ú* as plain *u*, the mark used to distinguish *u* from *n* in handwriting being irrelevant in printed text.

Thorough use of the NYG&B versions requires checking multiple indexes or relying on online searches. For his volume Sypher has created a single 124-page index to personal names, and a six-page index to place names, prefaced by an explanation of the methodology behind the indexes. These two indexes are going to be extremely useful. NYG&B's volume of baptisms does not index the names of the children, but they are all indexed here, followed by their fathers' names, which will make finding a baptism much easier. The place name index, which has not been attempted before, makes it possible to quickly identify multiple settlers from a given location.

This volume is the result of an enormous amount of painstaking work, which is beautifully presented. Having all the seventeenth-century records in one volume, with a single index, will greatly simplify research. Liber A of the Collegiate Churches of New York, Part 2 should become the preferred source for citing these records.

—Harry Macy, Editor
The NYG&B Record
1987–2006

Spirit of the Half Moon



THE NEW NETHERLAND Museum's book, *Spirit of the Half Moon*, is in galley proofs with plans to be released in time for the gift-giving season of 2015. It is a celebration of the people whose lives have been touched by the unique replica ship, *Half Moon*. The book is richly illustrated with hundreds of color photographs and organized into twenty-three chapters.

The New Netherland Museum plans to self publish the book and is seeking further support for printing and distribution. Visit the New Netherland Museum website at <http://www.newnetherlandmuseum.org/> or museum shop at <http://emporiumofnewnetherlandmuseum.org/products> for more information about the book and a multiple choice on how you can help. All proceeds are for the educational foundation and are tax deductible.

Here and There in New Netherland Studies

Prominent Dutch Americans

FEW ARE AWARE that there is a website where one can find biographical profiles of many prominent Dutch Americans New Netherland's founding to the present day. But such a website exists. C. Carl Pegels, former professor State University of New York at Buffalo's School of Management, has compiled and written minute biographies of over 350 Dutch Americans and placed them online. Entries include not only such famous personalities as three United States Presidents, but also those who served in the United States Congress for perhaps one session and were never heard of again. As the list begins with sketches of the first immigrants who arrived in 1624, it is not surprising that many of those listed are no longer with us. But that does not diminish the important imprint they left.

A few of the well known names include Roosevelt, Van Rensselaer, Schuyler, Van Cortlandt, Vanderbilt, Frelinghuysen, and Fonda. Others of note were developers of new ideas such as Edison, the Wright Brothers, and Lee De Forest. Then, of course, there is author John Updike, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, newscasters Walter Cronkite and Tom Brokaw, and five Nobel Laureates. Not surprising is that many of those listed were members of the Holland Society of New York.

To access the biographies go to newnetherlandinstitute.org and click on Dutch Americans. Access is free.

Early Modern Global History Seminar

ON JANUARY 13, 2016, the Early Modern Global History Seminar at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, will present a workshop on "The Dutch Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century." Beginning at 1:00 pm in the university's Edward B. Bunn, S. J. Intercultural Center (ICC), there will be two sessions with two presenters each, including the New Netherland Institute's

Fulbright student, Joris van den Tol, who will speak on his research "Permeability of power: the duality of structure and colonial lobbying in the Dutch Atlantic." At 4:30 pm Harvard Professor Tamar Herzog will give a lecture on "Did European Law Turn American? Territory, Property, and Rights in an Atlantic World." In addition, on January 29 Dagomar Degroot will present a paper on "Climate Change and the Dutch Wars of Independence, 1564-1648"

Please register via Suze Zijlstra at sz394@georgetown.edu. Participants in the workshops are expected to read the papers that will be circulated in advance.

New Netherland Praatjes

THE NEW NETHERLAND Institute has produced four podcasts hosted by best-selling author Russell Shorto. Entitled "New Netherland Praatjes" (Dutch for 'chat'), the audio series consists of conversations with historians, archaeologists, and other experts on New Netherland and the world of the seventeenth-century Dutch. The first episode, released on April 24, features New Netherland Research Center Director Dr. Charles Gehring, the second episode, released on June 12, features archaeologist Dr. James Bradley, and the third, released on August 10, features historic interpretation fine artist Len Tantillo.

The most recent episode is an interview with historian Susanah Romney, whose book *New Netherland Connections: Intimate Networks and Atlantic Ties in Seventeenth-Century America* received the 2014 Annual Hendricks Award. Romney challenges the assumption that state actors and trading companies were predominantly responsible for the perpetuation of New World colonies. The companies and the governments generated the documents and are therefore easiest to know about, Romney argues in the interview, but "it seems more likely that all the small-scale connections that individuals were making across the ocean really added up to something that was a lot weightier than

just what the companies were doing or just what the colony governments were doing."

Future episodes are expected to feature scholar Jeroen DeWulf and New Netherland Research Center Associate Director Dr. Janny Venema.

One can subscribe to the series via iTunes, or listen to individual episodes. For further information go to: <http://newyorkhistoryblog.org/2015/10/19/new-netherland-praatjes-podcast-launched/#more-16337>

Historic House Demolition Spurs Film Project

TINA TRASTER REPORTS on an August 4, 2015, New York History blog, "Blink and another house is bulldozed." The Lent House, located in Orangetown, Rockland County, New Jersey, was an important and exceedingly rare example of a New World Dutch sandstone-walled house. The house was built in 1752 for Abraham Lent, a colonel during the American Revolution, and is linked to Abraham de Ryck, one of the earliest settlers in New Amsterdam. Fifteen years ago it was purchased for commercial use, and although eligible for National Register of Historic Places listing, no application was ever made. Instead, sitting on a one-acre parcel adjacent to Orangeburg Commons, a shopping center built by New York-based RD Management in 2012, it was ripe for development.

For nearly a year it was hoped that a small group of activists would come up with roughly \$50,000 to disassemble the house and move it to another location, but Save The Lent House could not raise the money. Despite efforts to halt demolition until proper permits were obtained—including reviews for historic and cultural impacts—and while advocates sought legal action, developers quickly and quietly bulldozed the historic Dutch structure

To read Traster's full report go to: <http://newyorkhistoryblog.org/2015/08/04/historic-house-demolition-spurs-film-project/#more-15965>.

Society Activities

Niagara Frontier Branch Meeting

ON WEDNESDAY, September 16, 2015, the Niagara Frontier Branch of the Holland Society of New York held its annual dinner meeting at the Saturn Club in Buffalo, New York. The annual meeting is an occasion in which Members, Friends, their families, and guests have an opportunity to socialize as well as deepen their understanding of their New Netherland ancestors. The Niagara Frontier Branch encompasses a large geographic area including western New York State and parts of southern Ontario, Canada.

The meeting's guest-speaker was Nancy Knechtel, professor of Fine Arts at Niagara County Community College. Her PowerPoint presentation, entitled "A Walk through the Golden Age: Dutch Artists, Museums and Canal Houses," gave a fascinating window into aspects of seventeenth-century Dutch life and how that culture resonates in the present day.

In addition to the guest-speaker, two former national Holland Society Presidents attended, Colin Lazier and Charles Zabriskie Jr. Prior to Dr. Knechtel's talk, past Presidents Lazier and Zabriskie addressed the attendees about Society activities.

Members and guests attending the Niagara Frontier Branch meeting were Henrietta Jockin, Colin Lazier and his wife, Barbara, Wayne Maybee and his wife, Katie, John and his wife Rebecca, David



Niagara Frontier Branch Meeting at the Saturn Club in Buffalo, New York.

Quackenbush, Adrian Quackenbush and his wife, Molly, Nancy Knechtel, Thomas Schofield, Scott Van Buskirk, Glenn Van Buskirk, T. J. Van Deusen, Ted Van Deusen, Vandy Van Deusen, Charles Zabriskie Jr. and his wife, Star, and Connie Constantine.

Holland Society Trip to the Netherlands

NINETEEN MEMBERS AND Friends of the Holland Society of New York and their spouses arrived in Amsterdam on Saturday, September 26, for a very special visit to the Netherlands. The weather was beautiful the entire week, which is

quite a feat in the rainy Low Countries, especially in the fall season.

On the first day the group assembled to visit the Van Gogh Museum under the enthusiastic expert guidance of art historian Anneke Krijgsman. The museum, housing the world's largest collection of works by Vincent van Gogh, presents all stages of the artist's creative life from the dark paintings of his early period in the Netherlands to the chaotic and bright paintings of his last days in France. Following the tour, the group enjoyed a sunny boat ride through Amsterdam's canals while dining on typical Dutch sandwiches [*broodjes*] consisting of warm meatballs with mustard.

The next morning the group visited the masterpieces at the honorary gallery of the Rijksmuseum, including works by Vermeer and Rembrandt's famous "Night Watch." Following lunch, the group visited a gentleman's canal house from the Van Loon family, which still shows the splendor of the Golden Age and has remained largely intact. "Restaurant de Nissen," a former seventeenth-century warehouse on the Rokin, served traditional Dutch fare to cap the day.

One of the highlights of the trip came on Tuesday with a visit to the Half Moon replica ship, currently at the Westfries Museum in the city of Hoorn. Westfries Museum Director Ad Geerdink personally welcomed the group and treated them to a fabulous lunch and a trip back in time to



Art historian Anneke Krijgsman presents the history of de Waag on the Nieuwmarkt in Amsterdam.

seventeenth-century Hoorn with an Oculus rift 3D experience. An added honor was to have the ship's owner, Dr. Andrew Hendricks, in attendance.

On Wednesday the group moved to the charming Carlton Ambassador Hotel in The Hague. The day began with a tour of the recently renovated Mauritshouse Museum, which has an astonishing number of masterpieces for a relatively small museum, from Vermeer's "Girl with the Pearl Earring," Fabritius's "The Goldfinch," and, especially interesting for the doctor's in the group, Rembrandt's "The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp." An elaborate luncheon consisted of authentic Dutch cuisine, including fresh choquettes [*kroketten*], soup, and famous chocolate sprinkles. After touring the Binnenhof [Inner Court] of The Hague, the center of Dutch democracy, and catching a glimpse of Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte entering the building under heavy security, the group explored the center of The Hague. The big surprise of the day was an afternoon visit to the Panorama Mesdag Museum, a cylindrical painting showing the seaside scenery of Scheveningen. The group was able to go behind the scenes and learn about the optical illusions behind this painting. Mr. Mesdag built the museum before painting the cylindrical masterpiece.

The next day the group visited the Prinsenhof, former residence and site of the murder of William the Silent, and the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft. In the afternoon they received a demonstration at the Candelaer Delft Blue factory and enjoyed the bustling market. That evening the group enjoyed a traditional Indonesian rice table of enjoyable flavors

The following two days were a once-in-a-lifetime experience as the group was the



Top left: Herring and bread celebration, Leiden.
Top right: Panorama Mesdag Museum, The Hague.
Bottom left: At tasting of the herring, Third of October Association President Michiel Zonneville, Holland Society President Dr. Robert Schenck, Katwijk Mayor Jos Wienen, and Leiden Mayor Henri Lenferink.

honorary guest of Leiden's Third of October Society for Leiden's festivities celebrating the liberation of that city from the Spanish siege in 1574. The first day included an impressive opening of the celebration with youngsters performing complicated acrobatics and concluded with the eating of the traditional *hutspot* (stew)—legend has it the Spanish retreated from the city so quickly that they abandoned a kettle of brewing stew. The next day began with a church service in the Pieterskerk, best known today as the church of the Pilgrim Fathers. Several American hymns were song to honor the Holland Society gathering and the royal domine mentioned the Holland Society in his welcoming words. After a hearty *hutspot*

lunch the group was treated to honorary balcony seats with champagne to watch the yearly parade. The main highlight was the participation in the parade of Holland Society President Dr. Robert Schenck and his wife Marcia Whitney-Schenck, Treasurer John Nevius, and Trustee Dr. Andrew Hendricks riding in one of the two golden coaches in the Netherlands. The other gold coach is presently used by the King and Queen; very good company indeed. As an added honor, the Third of October Society announced that each President of the Holland Society would become an honorary member and invited to attend the yearly festivities.

On this high note the 2015 Holland Society visit to the Netherlands concluded. It was a huge success; the enthusiasm of art historian Anneke Krijgsman made each museum come alive with her expertise, open arms welcomed the group everywhere, the food was excellent, the hotels comfortable, and, above all, rain stayed away the entire week.

The group included Dr. Robert R. Schenck and Marcia Whitney-Schenck, Richard and Sally Polhemus, Phillip and S-K Keirstead, Jim and Mary Hotaling, James and Michele Polhemus, John Lansing and Wilma ("Billie") Jean Wegler, Nicholas and Chay Veeder, Gerrit and Brenda Lydecker, Andrew Hendricks, John Nevius and Frederick ("Rick") C. Barrett, Jr.

Holland Society President Dr. Robert Schenck, his wife Marcia Whitney-Schenck, Treasurer John Nevius, and Trustee Dr. Andrew Hendricks riding in the golden coach during Leiden's October Third Celebration.



In Memoriam

Leslie Van Wagoner Cooper

Holland Society of New York Life Member Leslie Van Wagoner Cooper died on March 3, 2015. Mr. Cooper was born on April 4, 1922, in Paterson, New Jersey, son of Irving B. Cooper and Sarah Merse-lis Van Wagoner. Mr. Cooper claimed de-scent from Claes Janszen van Purmerendt, a cooper (*cuyper*) by trade, who came to New Netherland from Purmerende in Holland about 1655 and settled in what later became Bayonne, New Jersey. Mr. Cooper joined The Holland Society in 1990.

Mr. Cooper attended grammar school in Paterson, New Jersey, and graduated in 1939 from Ramsey High School. Follow-ing graduation he was employed by New Jersey Bell. In 1942 Mr. Cooper enlisted in the United States Army. After eighteen months of training at Officer Candidate School in Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, he received a commission as a 2nd lieu-tenant and assigned to the 3112th Signal Service Battalion. His unit was sent to Europe in 1944 and was assigned to the Advance Section Communications Zone. The 3112th participated in five campaigns from D-Day in Normandy to the Battle of the Bulge in the Ardennes. France awarded the unit the Croix de Guerre.

Following his discharge in March 1946 as a 1st lieutenant, Mr. Cooper rejoined the Bell System as an equip-ment engineer with Western Electric and a technical writer for Bell Labs. He attended the American Institute of Banking, the Newark College of Engi-neering, and Rutgers University. Mr. Cooper earned a Bachelor of Science and a Masters of Business Education from New York University.

Mr. Cooper married Virginia Rose Marron at the Ridgewood Country Club, Paramus, New Jersey, on November 5, 1947. The couple had five children: twins Leslie Francis and Sally Ann, born February 15, 1949, Karen Elizabeth, born March 12, 1950, Diane Catharine, born December 25, 1953, and Michael Joseph, born September 25, 1955. His son Michael predeceased him in an ultra-light plane accident at the age of thirty-one.

Mr. Cooper served over forty-two years with Bell Labs in various positions. He lived in Glen Rock, New Jersey, while raising his five children. When Bell Labs closed their New York laboratories, he was transferred to Murray Hill, New Jersey, and the family relocated in 1965 to Mountainside, New Jersey. In antici-pation of retirement he and his wife moved in 1983 to Watchung, New Jersey. At the time of his retirement in 1984, he was Financial Statistic Supervisor with Bell Labs. Mr. Cooper also served on the board of directors of the Paterson Vehicle Com-pany for many years before its liquidation in 1966.

In addition to his membership in The Holland Society, Mr. Cooper was a mem-ber of The Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Rockland Historic Society, the North Jersey Gun Club, the Glen Rock Athletic Association, the Bell Labs Pioneers of America, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Knights of Columbus, the Holy Name Society, in which he served as a president, and the New Providence Amateur Radio Club-WA2KXT. A former member of the Dutch Reformed Church of Paterson, New Jersey, he joined the Roman Catholic Church. He was a Lector and Eucharistic minister in both St. Catherine's Church and our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church. His principal recreations included tennis, golf, bowling, and jogging, receiving over thirty awards and medals in these various sports. He was a member of the Westfield, New Jersey, Tennis Club and the Echo Lake Country Club.

Mr. Cooper's survivors include his wife of sixty-seven years, Virginia, children Leslie Francis Cooper, a member of The Holland Society since 1979, Sally Ann Cooper Chardos, Karen Elizabeth Cooper McAuley, and Diane Catharine Cooper von Nessi, twelve grandchildren, and twenty-one great-grandchildren. Funeral services were held on Saturday, March 7, 2015, at Higgins Home for Funerals in Watchung, New Jersey, followed by a Mass of Resurrection at St. Mary's Stony Hill Church, Watchung. Interment was in Fairview Cemetery, Westfield, New Jersey.

Douglas Arthur Buys

Holland Society of New York Member Douglas Arthur Buys died suddenly on June 19, 2015, in Boston, Massachusetts, at the age of sixty-one. Mr. Buys was born on October 1, 1954, in Beacon New York, son of Douglas Charles Buys, a Holland Society Member, and Gertrude Barbara Smith. Mr. Buys claimed descent from Jan Cornelis Buys, who arrived in New Netherland from Bunickin, Utrecht, about 1648. Mr. Buys joined the Holland Society in 1971.

Mr. Buys attended public schools in Beacon, New York. He graduated from Beacon High School in 1972. While in high school he studied music theory at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, being in that time the youngest student to attend Vassar. He was subsequently spon-sored by the French government to study with the Casadesus family and Nadia Boulanger in Paris and at the American Conservatory of Music of Fontainebleau, France. Mr. Buys received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the Juilliard School as a scholarship student of Rudolf Firkusny.

Mr. Buys appeared in recitals and with orchestras in the United States and Europe, most notably in a two-piano repertoire with Firkusny. Concerts took him to summer festivals in California and Vermont, and he taught and gave master classes and recitals at Humboldt State University, San Francisco Conservatory, and University of Idaho. In 1988, Mr. Buys received the Presidential Certificate for Excellence in Teaching at a National Press Club ceremony with Vice President George H. W. Bush. Mr. Buys taught mu-sic theory in New England Conservancy's College in Boston from 1995 and piano in the Conservancy's Preparatory School and School of Continuing Education from 1980 through his death in 2015.

Information regarding his funeral or interment has not been received.

Richard Relyea Hasbrouck

Holland Society of New York Life Member Richard Relyea Hasbrouck passed away peacefully on August 16,

2015, at his home in New Paltz, New York, at the age of eighty-seven. Mr. Hasbrouck was born on October 2, 1927, son of Walter Hasbrouck and Lois Relyea. He claimed descent from Jean Hasbrouck, one of the original patentees of New Paltz, who came to New Netherland in 1673 from Calais France via Mannheim, Germany. Mr. Hasbrouck joined The Holland Society in 1953.

From 1946 to 1948 he served in the United States Army, rising to the rank of Sergeant, serving with field artillery. He served in Japan during its occupation, earning the Japanese Occupation and the Victory Medals.

Mr. Hasbrouck graduated from Champlain College in 1952. After graduation he was employed by the Central Hudson Gas and Electric Corporation in Poughkeepsie, New York.

Mr. Hasbrouck was an active life time member of the New Paltz Reformed Church, where he sang in the choir, taught Sunday school, and served as both an Elder and church historian. He was Cub master of Cub Scout Pack 172. He served a term as Commandant of the Brannen-van den Berg VFW post 8645. On the grounds of his family home he created Hasbrouck Field, which served the New Paltz Baseball Association for nearly thirty years.

Mr. Hasbrouck married Maureen Adrian. The couple had four children: Thomas Ralyea, Heidi V., Christopher John, and Paul Adrian. His wife Maureen predeceased him. Mr. Hasbrouck married Vivian Guiglotto.

Mr. Hasbrouck is survived by his wife, Vivian, children Thomas Hasbrouck of New Paltz, Heidi Hasbrouck of New Paltz, Christopher Hasbrouck, and Paul A. Hasbrouck, step-sons Michael Guiglotto of Highland, New York, and Brian Fenwick of San Francisco, California, ten grandchildren, and five great-grand-

children. Services were held at Copeland Funeral Home, New Paltz, New York, on Thursday, August 20, 2015, followed by burial in Lloyd Cemetery with full military honors.

Harold Brewster Vroman

Holland Society of New York Life Member Harold Brewster Vroman passed away on September 20, 2015, in Plattsmouth, Nebraska, at the age of nine-two. Mr. Vrooman was born on September 5, 1923, on the family farm in Fulton, Schoharie County, New York, son of Myron Vroman and Ida M. Brewster. He claimed descent from Hendrick Meese Vrooman who came to New Netherland in 1664 from Leiden, Holland.

Mr. Vroman graduated from Middleburgh Central School in 1942. He received a Bachelor of Science in 1948 and a Master of Science in 1953 from Cornell University. Cornell employed him in research in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. He served in the New York State Extension Service as an Agricultural Agent, Tompkins County.

From 1953 to 1965, Mr. Vroman worked for the Beacon Milling Company in Cayuga, New York, in poultry feed research. During this period he resided in Auburn, New York. In 1965 he accepted a teaching position at S.U.N.Y Cobleskill, and moved to Cobleskill, New York. He advanced to full professor, and in 1988 retired as a professor emeritus.

Mr. Vroman traveled extensively. He was instrumental in establishing a World Travelogue organization at Cobleskill. He was active in the Cayuga and Schoharie Counties chapters of NYSARC, an organization serving people with developmental disabilities, serving on its board of directors, on numerous committees, and as president. Mr. Vroman was also active in the Schoharie County Historical

Society, serving on the board of directors. He worked to support the Old Stone Fort Museum Complex in Schoharie, New York. For many years he was a member of the Cobleskill Rotary Club. He was a member of the Northern New York Hiking Club of the Long Path Hiking Trail. He was a leader in the establishment of the Vroman Nose Preservation Corporation to preserve the nature of a prominent geological feature in the town of Fulton, New York, for which he was Executive Director for many years.

Mr. Vroman married Marian Ruth Vroman in Guilderland Center, New York on September 22, 1951. The couple had three sons, Jay Richard Vroman, born January 21, 1953, David Bruce Vroman, July 17, 1955, and Theodore (Ted) Thomas Vroman, born August 15, 1961. Marian Ruth Vroman died on May 26, 1975. He married for his second wife Doris Mau in Cobleskill, New York, on January 1, 1978. She predeceased him on September 24, 1996. His son, David Bruce Vroman, also predeceased him on July 2, 1991, at the age of thirty-five

Mr. Vroman was a former member of the Dutch Reformed Church in Middleburgh, New York, and Zion Lutheran Church of Cobleskill, New York. At the time of his death he was living with his son Ted in Plattsmouth, Nebraska.

Mr. Vroman is survived by his sons Jay Richard Vroman of Edison, New Jersey, and Theodore T. Vroman of Plattsmouth, Nebraska, stepchildren Colleen Hadsell O'Brien of Broadalbin, New York, Cherie Hadsell Wessels of Springhill, Virginia, and Walter J. Hadsell of Cobleskill, New York, four grandchildren, twelve step-grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren. Services were held at Palmer and Shaylor Funeral Home, Middleburgh, New York, on September 26, 2015. Interment was in the family plot in Middleburgh Cemetery.



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* In memoriam

THE BENEFACTOR'S SOCIETY continues to grow through both Society Members and friends and families who wish to remember a deceased relative who enjoyed their Society membership. As the son of the late Charles Zabriskie, who raised me in a household surrounded by mementoes and warm discussions about his Holland Society meetings, the annual dinner in Manhattan, and historic moments in Dutch and New Netherland history, I am honored to add his name *in memoriam* to the List of Benefactors and see my father living among the contributors to our great Society.

Wishing all Holland Society Benefactors, Members, Friends, and their families a warm and joyous Christmas season,

— Charles Zabriskie, Jr.
Past President

