

# **Curaçao Papers**

## **Introduction**

It is appropriate for several reasons that these papers relating to seventeenth century Dutch activities in the Caribbean appear at this time. First, on July 30, 1984, Curaçao celebrated the 350th anniversary of the seizure of the island from the Spaniards. Second, 1982 marked the celebration and commemoration of 200 years of peaceful relations between the United States of America and the Netherlands. It is also appropriate that this volume of New Netherland Documents represents a cooperative effort between an American from New York and a Netherlander who has spent 30 years of his life on Curaçao. The historical bonds between New York and Curaçao reach back to 1646 when Petrus Stuyvesant received his commission from the West India Company as director-general of New Netherland, Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba and other dependencies in the Caribbean. As New Netherland is considered a precursor of New York State government, Stuyvesant's responsibilities in the Caribbean must also be viewed as an integral part of New York's colonial history. Although New Netherland permanently became New York in 1674, its bonds with the fatherland and mercantile ties to the Caribbean survived for many years.

Dutch interest in the Caribbean properly begins in 1598 when Spain closed the Iberian peninsula to Dutch shipping denying the Netherlands its source of salt. Because salt was so vital for food preservation, especially in the herring industry, a new and reliable supply had to be found. After several unsuccessful attempts to establish a salt operation on Punta de Araya and St. Martin, the West India Company<sup>1</sup> turned its attention to the Spanish-held island of Curaçao. Three weeks after the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company introduced plans for seizing the island, an expedition of six ships and 225 soldiers led by Joannes van Warbeck and Pierre le Grand<sup>2</sup> set out for the Caribbean. On the 28th of July 1634 the Dutch force sailed unopposed into St. Anna Bay. Several days of verbal sparring with the Spanish governor of Curaçao ended on the 30th of July when Van Walbeeck made his intentions clear by landing his troops. The island was soon brought under Dutch control. Although the Spaniards immediately began to plan for the recovery of Curaçao, no serious threat to this Dutch presence forty miles from Venezuela ever materialized.

In 1635 the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company was given exclusive authority over Curaçao in spite of strong objections by the representatives of the Zeeland

chamber who regarded the Caribbean region within their sphere of influence. During the same year, David Adam Wiltschut replaced Pierre le Grand as military commander on Curaçao. The Dutch continued to strengthen their position on Curaçao against possible recovery attempts from Venezuela and in the following year were strong enough to increase their holdings in the area by occupying Aruba and Bonaire. In 1638 Jacob Pietersz Tolck replaced Van Walbeeck, who was transferred to Dutch Brazil.<sup>3</sup> Under Tolck the political and military leadership were merged into one supreme command and an aggressive policy was initiated against Spanish holdings on the coasts of Venezuela and Columbia. Tolck was replaced in 1641 by Jan Claessoon van Campen who was the former director of St. Martin before its seizure by the Spaniards in 1633. Shortly after Curaçao fell to the Dutch, Van Campen was sent to the island as an expert on salt production. As commander he continued Tolck's policy of aggressive engagement with the Spaniards by attacking Trujillo in Lake Maracaibo; however, early in 1642 Van Campen died suddenly and was replaced by Petrus Stuyvesant who had served on Curaçao as commissary of stores since 1639.

Stuyvesant was no less aggressive than his two predecessors. After the Spaniards seized Bonaire briefly in October of 1642, he retaliated with an attack on Puerto Cabello on the coast of Venezuela. In the spring of 1644, despite near starvation conditions on the islands, Stuyvesant assembled a force strong enough to attack the Spanish fort on St. Martin. During the opening exchange of fire between the Dutch siege cannon and the Spanish defenders, Stuyvesant was struck in the right leg by a shot and had to be removed from action. The loss of Stuyvesant's leadership and the inability to keep the defenders from being resupplied from Puerto Rico forced the Dutch to lift the siege after four weeks and return to Curaçao.<sup>4</sup> During the first week of April, while Stuyvesant was laying siege to the fort on St. Martin, approximately 450 West India Company personnel fled to Curaçao from the Maranhao region of Brazil. This exodus was prompted by the fall of Sao Luis, the major city in the Maranhao, on the 28th of February. Most of the men in this contingent were soldiers under the command of David Adam Wiltschut, the former military commander on Curaçao. Stuyvesant must have been overwhelmed when he returned to Curaçao, minus one leg, to find 450 new mouths to feed. The islands were already short of provisions because of the expedition to St. Martin and Wiltschut had brought none with him from Brazil. Stuyvesant resolved the crisis by sending the majority of the soldiers to Willem Kieft, director of New Netherland, to assist in his campaign against the Indians. Stuyvesant's physical problem, however, could not be so easily

resolved because the tropical climate was not allowing his amputation wound to heal properly. As a result Stuyvesant's physicians recommended that he return to the more temperate climate of the Netherlands for recovery. After appointing Lucas van Rodenburgh provisional director, Stuyvesant took his physicians' advice and left for the Netherlands at the end of August 1644.

In 1646 Stuyvesant received a commission as director of New Netherland, Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba and their dependencies. Although it appears that Stuyvesant's commission brought the Caribbean islands within the jurisdiction of New Netherland, they in fact retained a semi-autonomous status. The vice-director on Curaçao still reported directly to his superiors in the chamber at Amsterdam. In addition to this there are no instances in the council minutes of New Netherland where resolutions or orders are made concerning the Caribbean islands. It is possible that Stuyvesant's commission reflected future plans for the union of New Netherland and the Caribbean which could not be implemented until a reliable communication network was established; or it may be that the colonies of New Netherland and the "Curaçao islands" were to remain autonomous, linked only by a "personal union" as embodied in Petrus Stuyvesant.<sup>5</sup>

Rodenburgh's long tenure as provisional director and vice-director came to an end when he was replaced in 1655 by Matthias Beck. Beck had served the West India Company in Brazil for about nineteen years. During his final five years there, he held the position of manager of the silver mines in Siara. When Brazil fell to the Portuguese in 1654 Beck apparently fled to the English held island of Barbados, where he met Stuyvesant in the following year. Beck accompanied Stuyvesant to Curaçao where he replaced Lucas van Rodenburgh as vice-director. While Stuyvesant was in Curaçao he drew up the instructions for Beck's administration of the islands.<sup>6</sup> Rodenburgh returned to New Netherland with the director-general where he spent his final years in retirement.

Under Stuyvesant's direction and Beck's capable administration, the Dutch islands off the coast of Venezuela became a major trading center in the Caribbean. Although the Spanish were forbidden to trade with the Dutch according to the 1648 treaty ending the Eighty Years' War, an unauthorized contact was established, especially as Curaçao developed as a center for the slave trade. Clandestine arrangements for the transfer of slaves were eventually supplanted by the intervention of Genoese merchants who served as middlemen in the transport of slaves from Curaçao to various points in the Caribbean.<sup>7</sup>

A steady trade also developed between New Netherland and these Caribbean islands. In return for building materials, provisions and merchandise, New Netherland received horses from Aruba, slaves from Curaçao and salt from Bonaire. In addition to these commodities Curaçao also became a significant source of dyewood for trans-shipment to the Netherlands. However, this potentially fruitful relationship between New Netherland and the Caribbean was suddenly broken when an English fleet captured the West India Company colony in North America in September of 1664.

## II

The manuscripts in this volume represent E. B. O'Callaghan's reorganization of the original Dutch record books marked "MM" and "NN".<sup>8</sup> According to an inventory of the records made in 1820, "MM" contained records of Curaçao from 1643 to 1664 and records of Curaçao merchants from 1655 to 1664, while "NN" contained letters from Curaçao and instructions from the West India Company to Director-General Stuyvesant.<sup>9</sup> By 1859 O'Callaghan had completed his task of rearranging the records chronologically and according to type. He also had each volume bound in leather and provided with a cover page and index. The guide to this reorganization of the archives of New Netherland was published in 1865 under the title of *Calendar of Dutch Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State Albany, New York 1630-1664*. The papers relating to Curaçao, originally books "MM" and "NN," became volume 17 of the "Colonial Manuscripts"; internally each item was numbered from 1 to 110 and arranged chronologically.

The *Curaçao Papers* comprise a wide variety of document types ranging from resolutions of council to bills of lading. Rather than representing the administrative papers of Curaçao, these manuscripts more accurately reflect Petrus Stuyvesant's papers relating to his interests and responsibilities in the Caribbean. The first distinct group of documents is the "Resolution Book of Curaçao of 1643 and 1644," marked "MM" and "No. 58" on the title page. This book was kept by Stuyvesant during his tenure as director of Curaçao. These resolutions represent administrative decisions made as a result of consideration and consensus of Stuyvesant and his councillors from 5 January 1643 to 9 November 1644. Each resolution entered in the book is followed by original signatures, except for the resolutions from 1 January 1644 to 16 April of the same year which represent the period of time when Stuyvesant and members of his

council were away from Curaçao with the expedition against St. Martin. The resolutions passed while at sea or on St. Martin were later copied in the "Resolution Book" followed by the names of each person who had originally signed these council decisions.<sup>10</sup> Stuyvesant would not have taken such a book with him on a military expedition; however, when he left Curaçao in the fall of 1644 to recover from his injury he did take the original with him to the Netherlands. In fact, the final resolution in the book was passed aboard the ship *De Melckmeit* off the coast of Ireland. Before Stuyvesant's departure he was given permission by resolution of council to have his secretary, Arnout Verellen, copy the resolution book "for their own justification."<sup>11</sup> Administrative records were often taken back to the fatherland, both for inspection by West India Company officials and for the defense of controversial actions.<sup>12</sup> In this case, however, Stuyvesant took the originals and left the copies behind. It is unclear why. Because of this, the originals of these early records of Curaçao have survived. When Stuyvesant arrived in New Netherland as director-general in 1647, he had with him the "Resolution Book of Curaçao," which until the English takeover remained among his papers relating to the Caribbean. It is most likely that Stuyvesant also had Tolck's instructions [17:1 on page 1] at this time. When Stuyvesant became director of Curaçao in 1643 he probably had these instructions copied for his own guidance and kept them in the "Resolution Book."

The next group of manuscripts (marked "NN") begins with a letter from Vice-Director Rodenburgh in 1654 to the directors in Amsterdam. This leaves a gap of ten years between the final entry in the "Resolution Book" and Stuyvesant's first letter pertaining to Curaçao. Although document No. 11, concerning the granting of land to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, carries the date 22 February 1652, it was probably copied for Stuyvesant's information when he visited the island in 1655; or it may have been sent to him directly from Amsterdam together with a copy of the "freedoms and exemptions" for Fonseca's patroonship.<sup>13</sup> Rodenburgh's letter probably also reached Stuyvesant in 1655. Although this letter from the vice-director of Curaçao to the directors in Amsterdam is dated 2 April 1654, it was not routed through New Netherland, but sent directly to the directors in Amsterdam. In the spring of 1655 it was forwarded to Stuyvesant along with 37 other papers concerning the colony in North America. Among these papers were copies of two letters from the directors in Amsterdam to Rodenburgh (Nos. 15 and 16). At this period of relations between Curaçao and New Netherland it was apparently routine for the vice-director of Curaçao to report directly to Amsterdam. The directors then would forward copies of this correspondence to New

Netherland along with copies of their letters intended for Curaçao. The April 2, 1654 letter from Rodenburgh to the directors of Amsterdam is of particular interest because it involves possible negligence on Stuyvesant's part concerning the reporting of soldiers from Brazil. The directors of Amsterdam underlined the relevant section of Rodenburgh's letter and sent it to New Netherland for explanation. This explains why an original letter to Amsterdam with Rodenburgh's signature found its way into the *Curaçao Papers*. It is unclear why more correspondence between Rodenburgh and the directors in Amsterdam does not appear in the *Curaçao Papers*; unless it was not until the loss of Brazil in 1654 that the directors in Amsterdam felt it necessary for the director general of New Netherland to take a more direct interest in Caribbean affairs.<sup>14</sup>

When Stuyvesant made his "unauthorized" voyage to the Caribbean in 1655, his major objective was to investigate the seizure of eight Dutch ships at Barbados as a result of the implementation of the English Navigation Act.<sup>15</sup> Stuyvesant also intended to visit Curaçao with the possible objective of strengthening communications between the two colonies. It is possible that Stuyvesant did not want to be surprised anymore by charges directly reaching the directors ears; charges based on situations which could be avoided by regular communications between him and the vice-director of Curaçao. Stuyvesant not only brought Matthias Beck from Barbados to Curaçao to replace Lucas van Rodenburgh as vice-director, drew up Beck's instructions, but also probably left instructions to route all correspondence to the fatherland through New Amsterdam. It is not until after Stuyvesant's 1655 visit to Curaçao that a regular correspondence begins between New Netherland and that island. Beck writes directly to Stuyvesant about matters of mutual interest. In many cases this letter serves as a cover to Beck's letter to the directors in Amsterdam which he leaves unsealed for Stuyvesant's consideration and requests that it be forwarded with the director-general's mail to patria. Before sealing Beck's letters, Stuyvesant had them copied for future reference. Thus, these *Curaçao Papers* represent two distinct time periods relating to Stuyvesant's association with the Caribbean. The first period relates to Stuyvesant's tenure as director of Curaçao, 1643-1644. The second represents the period beginning with his visit to the Caribbean in 1655 and ending in 1665 when Stuyvesant returned to the Netherlands after the loss of New Netherland to the English. The final three letters from Volkeringh and Stuyvesant's son Balthazar probably did not reach New Netherland until after Stuyvesant had sailed for patria. It is possible that they were kept with the *Curaçao Papers* to await

Stuyvesant's return two years later. It is also possible that he was never informed of them after two years' absence. Thus they remained undelivered among the records relating to Curaçao, giving us a rare glimpse of personal correspondence relating to New Netherland and Curaçao in the 17th century.

### III

Although the *Curaçao Papers* do not represent a complete archival record of Curaçao, Bonaire and Aruba, they are significant because they add to our knowledge of West India Company activities in the Caribbean in the 17th century. In addition to supplying detailed information about the management of affairs on Curaçao, particularly during Matthias Beck's administration, these papers also reveal the growing commercial relationship between the islands and New Netherland. Besides the instructions to Tolck and Beck, and the important correspondence between Beck and his superiors, Petrus Stuyvesant and the directors in Amsterdam, there are many business records such as bills of lading and manifests indicating the types of commodities being sent north to New Netherland; also, one can infer what the islands lacked by the lists of supplies which Beck requested from New Netherland and the receipts for such received items. Other items of interest and importance in the *Curaçao Papers* are the extensive collection of reports, depositions etc. relating to the seizure of the Dutch slaver *St. Jan* by pirates. There is also an informative collection of papers relating to De Ruyter's famous voyage of 1664/5 to recover losses suffered at the hands of the English Royal Africa Company.<sup>16</sup> The *Curaçao Papers* are therefore an unexpected source of information when one considers that the normal repositories of outgoing and incoming mail would be at either end of the colonial/ patria relationship. However, the unique association between New Netherland and the "Curaçao Islands" required the preservation of records at a third repository. Although the survival of these *Curaçao Papers* from New Netherland were precarious at times,<sup>17</sup> they suffered a better fate than their counterparts in the Netherlands and on Curaçao.

As stated previously, the normal reciprocal correspondence between colony and patria created two repositories for the preservation of copies of outgoing mail and originals of incoming mail. However, these repositories proved to be less secure than the one on Manhattan; both for quite different reasons. On Curaçao, the lack of suitable quarters for its

archives caused many of the early records to become food for white ants and cockroaches. The deterioration of such important archival material prompted the home government to remove all records dating before January 1, 1846, from Curaçao for storage in the Algemeen Rijks Archief in The Hague.<sup>18</sup> However, the damage had already been done to the early records, so that very little has survived in the Netherlands from the early years of Dutch occupation. The correspondence and administrative papers sent by the vice-directors of Curaçao to the directors at Amsterdam did not experience a much better fate. Rather than suffering the ravages of insects, these papers suffered from the eternal human compulsion to rid itself of burdensome materials, or more directly put, to clean house. It was first reported by John R. Brodhead on his trip to the Netherlands in the 1840s, while he was searching for early records relating to New Netherland, that the records of the first West India Company were ordered destroyed by ministerial decree in 1821.<sup>19</sup> However, inventories of records surviving from the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries clearly indicate that most of the first West India Company archives had already been destroyed before this time. The papers destroyed in 1821 were all dated later than 1674 and were for the most part concerned with financial affairs. Most likely, the majority of the records of the first West India Company had already been destroyed upon the occasion of the Company's reorganization in 1674.<sup>20</sup> Whether destroyed earlier or later is, of course, a mute point, except to show that such disregard for archival records in patria surely should excuse any neglect suffered in the colonies. The loss of the early records in these two repositories gives added significance to the survival of the *Curaçao Papers*.

It is remarkable that as important as the *Curaçao Papers* are for early Caribbean history they are relatively unknown to historians of the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles. A notable exception is Dr. A. Eckhof's two volume work on the Reformed Church entitled *De Hervormde Kerk in Noord-Amerika* (1624-1664), 's-Gravenhage, 1913. Just as remarkable is that the link to the records has existed for some time, but has remained unexploited. In G.J. van Grol's preface to his study on land policy in the Dutch West Indies<sup>21</sup> he states that he has used the records concerning Curaçao in photostat copy made available to him by Mr. J.L.M. Maduro. Mr. Maduro, however, was interested only in those parts of the records relating to the Jews of Curaçao, ignoring the rest. In Hartog's study on the history of Curaçao<sup>22</sup> appears the full text of the charter or rules and regulations for the Jewish patroonship of Joseph Nunes de Fonseca. Hartog states that they were discovered by Maduro in the *Curaçao Papers* at the

New York State Library in Albany and that Maduro had provided him with a copy. Isaac and Suzanna A Emmanuel make mention of these regulations in their book on the history of the Jews of Curaçao and even cite some paragraphs; however, they make the only mention of Maduro in a footnote and do not cite the *Curaçao Papers* as a source.<sup>23</sup> In the same footnote the authors make reference to an article by G. Herbert Cone and correctly state that in this article the patroon charter of De Fonseca was published for the first time.<sup>24</sup> Maduro himself eventually wrote an article on the Portuguese Jews of Curaçao, in which he refers to the charters granted Jan de Yllan and De Fonseca, without citing his source.<sup>25</sup> This is all to show that these authors only were aware of those parts of the *Curaçao Papers* relating to the Jews. There is no indication that more extensive use was made of the *Curaçao Papers* by any of these researchers. Not only these historians of the Netherlands Antilles but also those of the Netherlands were until recently unaware of the contents of the records now kept in the New York State Archives. Even the books that were published in the United States relating to the history of New Netherland were hardly known. This is evident in a recent survey of studies on Dutch colonial history<sup>26</sup> which mentions a handful of secondary works on New Netherland and for primary sources cites only the *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*.<sup>27</sup>

#### IV

The *Curaçao Papers* represent a unique volume in the series *New Netherland Documents*.<sup>28</sup> It is the first time that two editors have been involved in such a production, and it is the first time that the Dutch text has been published from a volume of records in the "Dutch Colonial Manuscripts." Past volumes in the series have appeared only in English translation because the cost of doubling the size of a volume by including the Dutch text was considered prohibitive. Also, they were intended primarily for American researchers. However, the *Curaçao Papers* are not just another volume in "Dutch Colonial Manuscripts" held by the New York State Archives. They also represent the earliest records of territories still administered by the Netherlands, and it was considered appropriate that the records appear in their original text, which will be required by Dutch researchers. It also seemed appropriate that a volume dedicated to Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the Dutch people appear with the Dutch text from which the English translation was made.

However, this dual-language volume has given rise to dual complications. The major problem was whether the dual language texts should also be accompanied by a dual-language scholarly apparatus, including two introductions, two sets of annotations and two indexes. Such a dual apparatus was not considered necessary, for all Dutch researchers are fluent in English. Thus for the sake of economy and a less cluttered format the decision was made to use English in all front and back matter with the exception of the headnotes and explanatory footnotes in the Dutch text. The calendar of manuscripts, which directly precedes the English translations, lists the manuscript number followed by a short description of the contents. The page number of each item is given for both the English and Dutch texts, making it possible to locate index references in the Dutch transcriptions by identifying the manuscript number in the English text and finding the page number of the Dutch counterpart in the calendar. Although the Dutch items carry headnotes to compensate for the English oriented apparatus, the English items carry only the manuscript numbers, relying on the calendar to serve as a descriptive device.

The translation adheres to the format and style of the original as much as possible. Empty brackets indicate loss in the original caused by the 1911 fire or previous damage; the amount of space between the brackets approximates the amount of loss. Material printed within brackets indicates loss in the original which has been recovered from translations made before the 1911 fire. The only source of such pre-fire translations from the *Curaçao Papers* is E.B. O'Callaghan's collection of papers relating to the slave ship *St. Jan*.<sup>29</sup>

The Dutch text follows American principles of transcription. Abbreviations have been expanded only when indicated by brackets, except for the frequently used *Comp.* which has been expanded to *Compagnie* without indication. Proper names appear exactly as they do in the original; no attempt has been made to modernize or regularize such names. Obvious scribal errors have been silently corrected. The format of the original manuscripts has been maintained as much as possible; alterations have been indicated in footnotes.

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<sup>1</sup> The West India Company was chartered on June 3, 1621 by the States General of the United Provinces for a period of 21 years. The organization of the Company coincided with the expiration of a twelve years' truce between the Netherlands and Spain. The new company's major objective was to carry on the war with Spain, which had begun in 1568; however, it was also given the exclusive rights to trade in the Atlantic region as well as in the Pacific as far as the eastern reaches of New Guinea. Its organization was modeled after the East India Company as a stock company with private investors supplying the operating capital. The nineteen directors (one of which was appointed by the States General) were organized into five chambers representing various regions or cities in the United Provinces. The majority interest, however, was shared by Amsterdam and Zeeland with eight and six

directors respectively. The West India Company's charter was extended once until 1674 at which time it was dissolved and reorganized into a new West India Company.

<sup>2</sup> Van Walbeek and Le Grand were appointed political and military commanders respectively.

<sup>3</sup> The northeastern part of Brazil was under Dutch rule from 1624-1654. In 1654 it was retaken by the Portuguese.

<sup>4</sup> For the Spanish perspective on Stuyvesant's St. Martin expedition see documents 121-130 in *Nederlandsche zeevaarders op de eilanden in de Caraïbische Zee en aan de Kust van Columbia en Venezuela gedurende de jaren 1621-1648* by Irene A. Wright and Cornelis F.A. van Dam eds. published in *Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, Werken*, derde serie, No. 64 (1935).

<sup>5</sup> See J.A. Schiltkamp, "Bestuur en rechtspraak in de Nederlandse Antillen ten tijde van de West-Indische Compagnie" in *Honderd jaar codificatie in de Nederlandse Antillen*, Arnhem 1969; also published as part 1 of the series of University of the Netherlands Antilles, Curaçao 1972.

<sup>6</sup> See 17:19 on page 71 for Beck's instructions.

<sup>7</sup> These merchants were from the Genoese trading house of Grillo and Lomelino.

<sup>8</sup> Edmund B. O'Callaghan, in his capacity as "keeper of the manuscripts" in the Office of the Secretary of the State of New York, reorganized all the Dutch record books identified by alphabetical marks, as well as numerous loose papers, into folio volumes numbered 1 through 23.

<sup>9</sup> This inventory is printed in *New York Legislative Documents*, 43rd. session, 1820, No. 2 under the title "A Catalogue of the Records in the Office of the Secretary of State of New-York, on the first day of January, 1820."

<sup>10</sup> These resolutions were published in full for the first time in the *West Indisch Plakaatboek, Curaçao Aruba Bonaire*, part 1, Amsterdam 1978, edited by J.A. Schiltkamp and J.Th. de Smidt.

<sup>11</sup> See resolution dated 23 August 1644 on page 46.

<sup>12</sup> For example, in 1654 the directors in Amsterdam report the capture of the ship *'t Hoff van Kleef* which was carrying books of monthly wages and other papers from New Netherland as well as from Curaçao (see *NYCD*, 14:263); also, many administrative papers were lost in 1647 when the ship *De Princesse Amelia* sank off the coast of Wales while carrying former director Willem Kieft back to the Netherlands (see *NYCD*, 1:262).

<sup>13</sup> See 17:12 on page 49 for this document.

<sup>14</sup> See 17:15 on page 61 for the recommendation of the directors of Amsterdam that communication between New Netherland and Curaçao be strengthened.

<sup>15</sup> Stuyvesant left for the Caribbean with three ships on December 24, 1654, arriving at the English-held island of Barbados sometime in the middle of January. His negotiations to establish trade relations with Barbados were suddenly interrupted by the arrival of Admiral Penn's fleet on January 29. Stuyvesant's trading activities were terminated by Penn because they contravened the Navigation Act of 1651 and the Dutch ships were detained until the departure of the English squadron on March 31. The directors in Amsterdam were upset when they learned of Stuyvesant's situation because he had not only undertaken the Caribbean mission without their permission but had also placed the plans for the invasion of New Sweden during 1655 in jeopardy. Stuyvesant finally reached Curaçao sometime in mid-spring where he stayed until June 24. He arrived back in New Netherland on the 11th of July in time to complete plans for the successful military action against the Swedes on the Delaware.

<sup>16</sup> For De Ruyter's journal of this expedition see *De reis van Michiel Adriaanszoon De Ruyter in 1664-1665* published by P. Verhoog and L. Koelmans as volume 62 in the Linschoten-Vereeniging series, 's-Gravenhage 1961.

<sup>17</sup> After the administrative records of New Netherland kept in the West India Company archives at New Amsterdam were turned over to the English permanently in 1674, they managed to survive a fire during the 1741 slave revolt in New York City, storage in the hold of an English warship during the Revolution, an extensive fire at the New York State Library in 1911, and years of mistreatment and neglect. Although the Dutch records have suffered some damage in the past, these 12,000 surviving

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pages remain the only comprehensive corpus of source material relating to the daily operations of the West India Company colony in New Netherland.

<sup>18</sup> By royal decrees of December 22, 1915 (Official Gazette nos. 518 and 519), July 7, 1919 (Official Gazette nos. 468 and 469), and May 12, 1930 (Official Gazette nos. 165 and 166) was ordered the transfer of all records prior to January 1, 1846 in the colonies Surinam, Curaçao and the other Dutch Antilles islands to the Netherlands, where they are stored in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (General State Archives) in The Hague.

<sup>19</sup> Brodhead states this in his report published in *New York State Senate Documents*, No. 47, February 26, 1845, page 9.

<sup>20</sup> M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, "A Survey of Archives in the Netherlands Pertaining to the History of the Netherlands Antilles," *West-Indische Gids*, XXXV, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> G.J. van Grol, *De grondpolitiek in het Westindisch domein der generaliteit*, ('s-Gravenhage, 1934-47) 3 volumes.

<sup>22</sup> Johannes Hartog, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen* (Oranjestad, 1956-64) 5 volumes.

<sup>23</sup> Isaac S. and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1970).

<sup>24</sup> See "The Jews in Curaçao" in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, X (1902): 141-58. Cone used for his article an unpublished translation by Adriaen vander Kemp. Cone not only published the patroon charter, but also several letters.

<sup>25</sup> Jossy M.L. Madura, "De Portugeesche Joden in Curaçao," in *Gedenkboek Nederland-Curaçao, 1634-1934*, (Amsterdam: 1934), pp. 69-78.

<sup>26</sup> W. Ph. Coolhaas, "A Critical Survey of Studies on Dutch Colonial History," *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographical series 4*, The Hague, 1980. Second edition revised by G.J. Schutte.

<sup>27</sup> *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*, translated and edited by A.J.F. van Laer (Albany, 1908).

<sup>28</sup> With the publication of the *Curaçao Papers* by Heart of the Lakes Publishing the old series title *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch* has been changed to *New Netherland Documents*.

<sup>29</sup> *Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam*, translated by E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1867).