

Annals of New Netherland

The Essays of A. J. F. van Laer

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Preface

A. J. F. van Laer is now best known for his translations of the Colonial Manuscripts; work done before the disastrous State Library fire of 1911. The first four volumes of the New York Historical Manuscript series, now called New Netherland Documents still stand as a model translation of seventeenth-century Dutch. Van Laer accomplished this work during his tenure as Keeper of Manuscripts at the New York State Library. Following the fire, however, Van Laer suspended his translations of these archival records of the Dutch colony of New Netherland. The trauma of the fire, during which he witnessed the destruction of over two million books and damage to the Colonial manuscripts, seemed to contain his drive to provide historians with reliable translations. It would be almost a decade before he would take up the translator's pen again.

Plans to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the construction of Fort Orange in 1924 didn't seem to generate the same excitement as the 1909 Fulton-Hudson celebration. This latter event even inspired the Dutch to construct a replica of the *Halve Maen* to participate in the festivities. Although there was no replica of the fort, the anniversary did inspire Van Laer to resume work on providing the public with information about New Netherland. The anniversary prompted his translation and publication of the Court Minutes of Fort Orange in two volumes, and the Court Minutes of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady in three volumes. In addition to these scholarly publications Van Laer was also inspired to write a series of essays relating to the history of New Netherland for dissemination to the secondary schools of New York.

The ten essays were originally published in *The University of the State of New York, Bulletin to the Schools*, Volume 10, 1923-24. The Bulletin, which was issued monthly during the school year by the State Education Department, was sent without charge to all schools and educational institutions of the State. Unfortunately such publications are ephemeral. Even the New York State Library does not own a complete run of this publication, which began in 1914. It was just by accident that the present translator stumbled across these concise and well-written pieces.

The republication of these essays represents the beginning of a new series, which will lay before the public instructive but entertaining pieces relating to our Dutch heritage. Van Laer's essays are appropriate in this role because they will inform the reader, in short form, about the background of the West India Company and its colony which began the Dutch experience in America.

The publication owes its existence to the Consulate General of the Netherlands in New York City, directed by Consul General Bob Hiensch, who developed the idea for the series and set aside funds to cover expenses.

The text of the essays is published as it was in the original Bulletin. I have used endnotes sparingly to comment on certain statements in the text, which may require elaboration for present-day readers.

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Albany, New York
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Essays relating to New Netherland

by A. J. F. van Laer

1 Background of the Settlement of New Netherland

The settlement of New Netherland forms an interesting chapter in the history of the extraordinary expansion of trade and colonial enterprise which marks the progress of the United Netherlands during the first half of the seventeenth century. This expansion of trade was the result partly of the geographical location of the Netherlands and partly of the political conditions of the surrounding countries. Situated midway between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, the Dutch people had from an early date carried on an extensive trade between the countries of northern and southern Europe. The war with Spain temporarily interrupted this trade, but with the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 the chief danger to Dutch shipping was removed and a new era of commercial development commenced.

Various circumstances then combined to give a fresh impetus to commercial enterprise. The fall of Antwerp in 1585 forced thousands of its most industrious citizens to seek a refuge in the northern provinces and caused the world trade of that ancient city to be transferred to Amsterdam. The seizure in the same year of all Dutch ships in the harbors of Spain and Portugal compelled Dutch merchants to seek out new routes of trade and, in order to obtain the indispensable salt for the herring fishery to visit first the Cape Verde islands and soon after the coasts of Africa and Brazil. Meanwhile, the Baltic trade rose to unprecedented heights; Dutch merchants rapidly supplanted the English in the Muscovy trade; large quantities of lumber were imported from Norway to supply the numerous shipyards which built more ships than those of all the other countries of Europe combined; and owing to the business relations of the Portuguese and Spanish Jews who had fled to Amsterdam an extensive trade was carried on with the Levant. In the midst of these enterprises expeditions were sent out to find a northeast passage to the Indies. These efforts failed, but in 1597 Cornelis Houtman returned from a successful voyage to Java by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Immediately a number of companies were organized to carry on the profitable East India trade. The destructive competition of these companies led in 1602 to the organization of the Dutch East India Company under whose auspices Henry Hudson in 1609 made his voyage of discovery of the Hudson river.

2 Exploration of New Netherland from Hudson's voyage to the Dutch West India Company

The Dutch East India Company, chartered in 1602, was the first of the three great Dutch trading companies, the other two being the Northern Company of 1614 and the West India Company of 1621, which in less than half a century built up a colonial empire comparable to the British Empire of the present day. On January 8, 1609 the Dutch East India Company engaged the services of Henry Hudson, an Englishman who had been in the employment of the English Muscovy Company, to seek a passage around the north of Nova Zembla and across the polar region to China and India. The contract provided that Hudson, after having reached the northern coast of Nova Zembla, was to proceed eastward until he could sail south to the latitude of 60 degrees, when he was to return immediately and to report to the company.¹

The company placed at his disposal a yacht of about 80 tons burden, called the *Halve Maen* (*Half Moon*), on which he set sail from Amsterdam on April 4, 1609. He doubled the North Cape of Norway on May 5th and thence directed his course along the north coast of Nova Zembla, but, finding the sea full of ice, presently changed his plans and, in disregard of his instructions, turned westward toward America where on July 18th he anchored in a harbor on the coast of Maine. From there he sailed southward as far as Chesapeake Bay, then passed northward along the coast to Sandy Hook, which he approached on September 1st, and finally on September 12th entered the Hudson river. On September 19th the *Half Moon* reached her northernmost anchorage, in latitude 42° 40', opposite the northern end of the city of Albany. From this point Hudson sent a small boat to explore the river farther north, in the hope of finding a passage to the Pacific. Being disappointed in this, he weighed anchor on September 29th and started down

stream. On October 2d *the Half Moon* came to anchor near Castle Point, Hoboken. On October 4th she passed out to sea and on November 7th she arrived at Dartmouth, England, whence, after being detained for some time, Hudson went to Holland to make his report to the East India Company.

As soon as the results of Hudson's voyage became known, Dutch merchants sent out vessels to secure the advantages of the valuable fur trade and to make further explorations, which in 1614 led to the formation of the New Netherland Company. The charter of this company gave to certain merchants of Amsterdam and Hoorn the exclusive right to make four voyages during the term of 3 years, commencing on January 1, 1615, to the region between the 40th and 45th degrees of latitude, then for the first time designated as New Netherland. The charter expired on January 1, 1618, but voyages continued to be made to New Netherland, while negotiations were in progress to establish a general West India Company on the basis of the plans advocated by Willem Usselinx since 1592. This company was chartered on June 3, 1621, shortly after the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and the Netherlands. The company thereby obtained for the period of 24 years the monopoly of trade to the entire coast of North and South America, to the western coast of Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope and to all the islands and places from the Cape westward to the eastern end of New Guinea.

The main purpose of the company was to weaken the power of Spain, to capture its ships and by attacking its colonies to divert the war from the territory of the Netherlands. Such a purpose, with its uncertain prospects of gain, offered little inducement to investors. As a result, the final organization of the company was delayed until the fall of 1623 when a capital of a little over seven million guilders, or about three million dollars, was subscribed. The company immediately made preparations to send out a fleet under Admiral Jacob Willekens to attack the Portuguese-Spanish possessions in the Bay of All Saints. This fleet, composed of twenty-three ships and three yachts, sailed about the end of December 1623 and on May 9, 1624 captured San Salvador.ⁱⁱ

Meanwhile, the opportunities for trade were not neglected. As early as June 1623 three ships were sent to the West Indies. Other ships followed and by November 1623 fifteen ships had been sent out. Only one of these ships is known to have come to New Netherland, namely, the Mackerel, a yacht of 50 tons, which in company of the ship Pigeon, bound for Guiana, sailed from the Texel on July 16th and arrived in the Hudson river on the following December 12th.

3 The Organization of the Dutch West India Company

It has been shown in the preceding essay that the yacht Mackerel was the first vessel that came to New Netherland under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company. Its arrival, therefore, on December 12, 1623, marks the date on which the company took possession of the territory that is included in the present State of New York and prepared the way for the permanent settlement of this territory which took place the following May. This settlement was undertaken, not by the company as a whole, but by the Chamber of Amsterdam, one of the local boards of managers which was given immediate charge of the affairs of New Netherland. Before proceeding, therefore, with the account of the settlement, it may be well to glance for a moment at the organization of the company, so as to make clear the relation of this chamber to the general board of

directors.

The charter of the West India Company was modeled on that of the Dutch East India Company. This company was the result of the combination of a number of small but independent companies which were located in different parts of The Netherlands and which were engaged in a ruinous competition in connection with the East India trade. To bring about the combination of these companies it was necessary to take account of the bitter rivalries which existed between the different centers of trade and hence to adopt a form of organization which would allow for considerable local freedom of action. The result was a company which in many respects resembled a modern trust and which, while it served to eliminate competition, to restrict output and to regulate prices, left the actual conduct of the business in the hands of a group of local boards.

In accordance with this system the government of the West India Company was vested in five chambers or boards of managers, of which one was located at Amsterdam and the others had offices in the principal cities of Zeeland, the Maas region, the northern part of the province of Holland, and the provinces of Friesland and Groningen. General control over the affairs of the company, under the supervision of the States General, was exercised by the Assembly of the Nineteen, a board composed of eighteen delegates chosen by the various chambers and one representative of the States General, who met at irregular intervals for the first 6 years at Amsterdam and thereafter for periods of 2 years alternatively at Amsterdam and Middleburg. The principal chamber was that of Amsterdam, which had contributed four-ninths of the capital of the company and which consequently was entitled to eight delegates in the general assembly. It was to this chamber that from the first the affairs of New Netherland were committed, while that of Zeeland was chiefly interested in the trade to the coasts of Guinea, Guiana and Brazil, and the other chambers each had their own particular field of enterprise. Each chamber had its own board of directors, and its own offices, warehouses, ships and crews, and within certain limits had complete control over the conduct of its business. The Assembly of the Nineteen, however, decided how many ships each chamber should send out and when and where its products should be sold, the profit and loss accruing therefrom being distributed over the entire company. The Assembly of the Nineteen, therefore, was not a central office with branches in various cities of The Netherlands, but an administrative council which decided on broad questions of policy and guarded against wasteful methods of doing business. This supervision of the business of each chamber by the general assembly was an important feature of the organization of the company, for the reason that most of the directors were merchants who themselves supplied the necessary equipment and trading goods to the company and consequently were apt to consider their immediate personal gain rather than the general profit of the company.

From the foregoing it appears that the records of the Amsterdam Chamber, and to a less extent those of the Assembly of the Nineteen, must have been of great importance for the history of the State of New York. Unfortunately, these records, together with some of the earliest records of New Netherland, which at different times had been sent to Holland, were in 1821, after having been much damaged by vermin and dampness, sold for wastepaper by order of the minister of the colonies.ⁱⁱⁱ As a result of the destruction of these original records our knowledge of the events connected with the first settlement of New Netherland is exceedingly limited and almost entirely confined to what may be gleaned from contemporary printed sources. One of the most important of these sources

is the *Historical Account of All the Most Remarkable Events which Have Happened in Europe, etc.*, a semiannual chronicle of events in all parts of the world, which was published at Amsterdam from 1622 to 1632 by Dr Nicolaes van Wassenaer. A copy of this rare and interesting work is in the New York State Library.

4 The Permanent Settlement of New Netherland

The State of New York is about to celebrate the 300th anniversary of its settlement by the Dutch.^{iv} The date of this settlement has long been a matter of controversy, most of the earlier and well known historians having stated that the first permanent settlement in New Netherland was made in 1623, and some of the more recent writers having held that this settlement took place in 1624. Nearly all writers, however, agree that the first settlement was made by the colonists who came over on the ship *New Netherland*, which was sent out by the Dutch West India Company shortly after the organization of this company. Nicolaes van Wassenaer, who is our principal authority in this matter, says of this vessel: The West India Company being chartered to navigate these rivers, did not neglect so to do, but equipped in the spring a vessel of 130 lasts [260 tons], called the *Nieu Nederlandt*, whereof Cornelis Jacobsz May of Hoorn was skipper, with a company of thirty families. Mostly Walloons, to plant a colony there. They sailed in the beginning of March, and directing their course by the Canary Islands, steered towards the Wild Coast (Guiana), and gained the west wind which luckily [took] them in the beginning of May into the river called, first Rio de Montagnes, now the River Mauritius [Hudson river], lying in 40½ degrees. He found a Frenchman lying in the mouth of the river, who would erect the arms of the King of France there, but the Hollanders would not permit it. Forbidding it by commission from the Lords States General and the Directors of the West India Company; and in order not to be frustrated therein, with the assistance of those of the Yacht *Maeckereel* which had lain above, they caused a Yacht of two guns to be manned, and conveyed the Frenchman out of the river, who would do the same thing in the South river [Delaware river], but he was also prevented by the settlers there.

This statement occurs under the marginal date of April 1624 and by many historians has been taken to mean that the ship *New Netherland* arrived in May 1623. This, however, is an error, as shown by the reference to the yacht *Maeckereel*, or *Mackerel*, which, as we know from other sources, sailed from Holland in July 1623 and therefore could not have "lain above," meaning near the site of the present city of Albany, in May 1623. Moreover, from a record which within recent years has come to light in Holland, we know that on November 3, 1623, Adriaen Jorissen Thienpont, skipper for Pieter Boudaen Courten, one of the directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the company and a private trader to New Netherland, appeared before the Assembly of the Nineteen and declared that they still had in the Hudson river some trading goods, two sloops and some people. He therefore requested permission to make ready a yacht to trade their merchandise and bring home their people. The assembly refused to grant this request, but decided that a ship should be equipped by the Amsterdam Chamber, which might "take with them five or six families of the colonists in order to make a beginning of settlement there and on that occasion bring back the goods secured in return for their merchandise and their people." On March 28, 1624, the Assembly of the Nineteen ratified a set of regulations for the colonists who were to embark on the ship *New Netherland*. The fact therefore is well established that this ship sailed in 1624. The

question, however, whether it brought over the first permanent colonists is not so easily determined.

Kiliaen van Rensselaer, in a memorial presented by him to the West India Company in 1633, makes the explicit statement that “sundry colonists, as early as 1623, had been conveyed thither with instructions to dwell there as free persons and to carry on trade.” Similar statements occur in the 1630 edition of Johannes de Laet’s *Nieuwe Wereldt* [New World], and in documents relating to New Netherland of 1644, 1647 and 1649. To reconcile these statements with the facts set forth above, we must assume that they relate to the sailing of the yacht *Mackerel*. This yacht must apparently be identified with a ship which arrived at Amsterdam from New Netherland in August 1624 and which according to the Dutch historian Baudartius “had conveyed some families from Holland thither.” It is probable, therefore, that this yacht brought over some who selected a suitable site for the settlers who were to follow and that the “thirty families, mostly Walloons,” who came over on the ship New Netherland, under the command of Cornelis Jacobsen May, formed the first fully equipped and officially organized company of colonists who came to New Netherland.

According to Wassenaer, these colonists consisted mostly of Walloons, that is, French-speaking Protestants from the southern provinces of what is now the kingdom of Belgium and part of the departments of Ardennes, Aisne and du Nord, in France. These people had fled to Holland on account of religious persecution. Many of them lived at Leyden, where the Pilgrims temporarily resided before coming to America. They wished to find a place where they could preserve their language and traditions and make a living more easily than in overcrowded Holland. In 1622 they therefore petitioned the provincial States of Holland to emigrate to the West Indies, a generic term then used for the whole of the American continent. It is to them that the resolution of November 3, 1623, refers as the colonists of whom five or six families might be taken along “to make a beginning of settlement there.” To these Walloons belongs, in part the credit of having first subdued the wilderness and planted civilization in the territory of this State.

5 The Settlement of Albany

In the previous article it was related that the ship New Netherland, under the command of Cornelis Jacobsen May, with thirty families, mostly Walloons, arrived in the Hudson river in May 1624. Wassenaer says that “the ship sailed up to the Maykans, 44 leagues, and they built and completed a fort named ‘Orange’ with four bastions, on an island, by them called Castle island.” Wassenaer here confuses Fort Orange with an earlier fort called Fort Nassau, which was built by Dutch traders in 1614 on Castle island, now called Van Rensselaer or Westerlo island, but which was abandoned in 1617. Fort Orange was located a little farther north, on the mainland, on the site of the steamboat square in the city of Albany.

No list of the colonists who came over on the New Netherland has been preserved, but it is believed that two of them were Joris Rapalje, or Rapelye, and his wife Catelina Trico, a native of Paris,^v whose daughter Sarah Rapelye, born in 1625, was the first white female child born in New Netherland.

On February 14, 1685, Catelina Trico, then about 80 years of age, testified before Governor Thomas Dongan:

That she Came to this Province either in the yeare one thousand six hundred and

twenty three or twenty four to the best of her remembrance and that four Women Came along with her in the same Shipp, in which ship the Governor Arian Jorissen Came also over.

Three years later, in an affidavit made on October 17, 1688, before William Morris, justice of the peace, the same deponent declared:

That in ye year 1623 she came into this Country wth a Ship called ye *Unity* whereof was Commander Arien Jorise belonging to ye West India Company being ye first Ship yt came here for ye sd Company; as soon as they came to Mannatans now called N: York they sent Two families & six men to harford River & Two families & 8 men to Delaware River and 8 men they left att N: Yorke to take Possession and ye Rest of ye Passengers went wth ye Ship up as farr as Albany which they then Called fort Orange.

Although in these affidavits Catelina Trico gives the date of her arrival as 1623 or 1624, the name of the ship as the *Unity* and the name of the commander as Arian Jorissen, it is generally assumed that she refers to the arrival of the ship *New Netherland*, for the reason that no ship by the name of *Unity* is known to have come to New Netherland at that time and that in a report of the board of accounts of the West India Company, of 1644, it is stated that the company, in their ship *New Netherland*, conveyed thither “divers Colonists under the direction of Cornelis Jacobsz. Mey, and Adriaen Jorissz. Tienpoint.”

Catelina Trico also stated:

There were 18 families aboard who settled themselves att Albany & made a small fort; and as soon as they had built themselves some hutts of Bark: ye Mahikanders or River Indians, ye Maquase, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cayougas & Sinnekes, wth ye Mahawawa or Ottawawaes Indians came & made Covenants of friendship wth ye sd Arien Jorise their Commander Bringing him great Presents of Bever or oyr Peltry & desyred that they might come & have a Constant free Trade with them. . . . That she lived in Albany three years all which time ye Sd Indians were all as quiet as Lambs & came & Traded with all ye freedom imaginable, in ye year 1626 ye Deponent came from Albany & settled at N: Yorke where she lived afterwards for many years and then came to Long Island where she now lives.

These statements regarding the Indians are somewhat misleading. When the Dutch arrived in New Netherland both sides of the Hudson river in the vicinity of Fort Orange were held by the Mahicans, or River Indians, who were Algonquins. These Indians were constantly at war with the Iroquois, divided by the Dutch into Maquas, or Mohawks, and Senecas, who occupied the Schoharie valley and western New York. The names “Oneidas,” “Onondagas” and “Cayugas” were not recognized before 1634 and not in common use until after 1674. At the time to which Catelina Trico refers there was no way for the Ottawas to reach Fort Orange.

In 1626 the Mahicans asked help of the Dutch against their powerful enemies, the Mohawks. Wassenaer gives a graphic account of the encounter, as follows:

It happened this year, that the Maykans, going to war with the Maquaes, requested to be assisted by the commander of Fort Orange and six others. Commander Krieckebeeck went up with them; a league from the fort they met the Maquaes who fell so boldly upon them with a discharge of arrows, that they were forced to fly, and many were killed, among whom were the commander and three of his men. Among the latter

was Tymen Bouwensz., whom they devoured, after having well roasted him. The rest they burnt. The commander was buried with the other two by his side. Three escaped; two Portuguese and a Hollander from Hoorn. One of the Portuguese was wounded by an arrow in the back whilst swimming. The Indians carried a leg and an arm home to be divided among their families, as a sign that they had conquered their enemies.

Shortly after the arrival of Peter Minuit, in 1626, Manhattan Island was purchased from the Indians and chosen as the seat of government. In order to strengthen the settlement on this island and perhaps also because Fort Orange was no longer considered a safe place of residence, it was decided to remove the families to Manhattan. Under date of November 1626, Wassenaer writes:

There being no commander, Pieter Barentsen assumed the command of Fort Orange by order of Director Minuit. There were eight families there, and ten or twelve seamen in the Company's service. The families were to leave this year--the fort to remain garrisoned by sixteen men, without women--in order to strengthen with people the colony near the Manhates, who [meaning the Indians on Manhattan Island] are becoming more and more accustomed to the strangers.

Again, under date of October 1628, he says:

There are now no families at Fort Orange, situated higher up the river among the Maikans. They have all been brought down. Five or six and twenty persons, traders, remain there. Bastiaen Jansz Crol is vice director there; who has remained there since the year 1626, when the others came down. Fort Orange continued to be used as a trading post until long after the period of Dutch occupation. In 1630 Kiliaen van Rensselaer, one of the directors of the West India Company, bought land from the Indians in the vicinity of the fort and established a colony named Rensselaerswijck. In 1652, the principal settlement of this colony was taken out of the jurisdiction of the patroon and called Beverwijck. It was this later settlement which developed into the city of Albany.

6 The Settlement of Manhattan Island

The date of the settlement of Manhattan island is one of the disputed points of New Netherland history. Some writers take the view that the settlement dates from the arrival of the ship *New Netherland*, in May 1624, when, if we accept Catelina Trico's statements as applying to this ship, some people were sent to the Connecticut and Delaware rivers and "8 men they left at N. Yorke to take Possession," while the rest of the passengers went up the river as far as Albany. Most recent writers, however, hold that this taking possession does not constitute settlement in the proper sense of the term and that no formal settlement was made on Manhattan island until 2 years later, when Peter Minuit arrived in New Netherland and purchased the island from the Indians. It has also been suggested that a beginning of settlement may have been made in 1625.

Cornelis Jacobsen May, the first director of New Netherland, who came over in 1624, apparently returned to Holland in the fall and left the colony in charge of Adriaen Jorissen Thienpont, the commander at Fort Orange. May was succeeded by Willem Verhulst, who seems to have sailed in January 1625 on the ship *Orange Tree*, which on account of storm was obliged to seek shelter in the harbor of Plymouth in England, and was there detained on February 7th. The following April the company sent out three ships with 103 head of live stock and the necessary farm implements and supplies. These ships were accompanied by a fast sailing yacht and carried six completely equipped families

and a number of single persons, so that in all forty-five new colonists were brought to New Netherland. With these settlers, or possibly earlier, in company of Verhulst, came over Cryn Fredericksz, an engineer and surveyor, who was to stake out a fort and to lay out the principal settlement as soon as a suitable site had been selected by the director and the council. Just where Verhulst and the newly arrived colonists took up their residence is not known. Wassenaer, under date of November 1626, says:

The cattle were, on their arrival, first landed on Nut Island [Governor's Island], three miles up the river, where they remained a day or two. There being no means of pasturing them there, they were shipped in sloops and boats to the Manhates, right opposite the said island. Being put out to pasture here, they thrive well, but afterwards full twenty died. The opinion is that they had eaten something bad from an uncultivated soil. But they went in the middle of September [1625] to meadow grass, as good as could be desired.

The colony is now established on the Manhates, where a fort has been staked out by Master Kryn Frederycks, an engineer. It is planned to be of large dimensions. The ship which has returned home this month [November] brings samples of all sorts of produce growing there, the cargo being 7246 beaver skins, 675 otter skins, 48 mink, 36 wildcat, and various other sorts; many pieces of oak timber and hickory.

The counting-house there is kept in a stone building, thatched with reed; the other houses are of the bark of trees. Each has his own house. The Director and Koopman [chief commercial agent] live together; there are thirty ordinary houses on the east side of the river; which runs nearly north and south. The Honorable Pieter Minuit is Director there at present; Jan Lempou schout [prosecuting officer]; Sebastiaen Jansz. Crol and Jan Huych, comforters of the sick, who, whilst awaiting a clergyman, read to the commonalty there, on Sundays, texts of Scripture and the commentaries. François Molemaecker is busy building a horse-mill, over which shall be constructed a spacious room sufficient to accommodate a large congregation. and then a tower is to be erected where the bells brought from Porto Rico [captured at the sack of San Juan de Porto Rico, in October 1625] will be hung.

This interesting description of the settlement is based on information which was received by the ship *The Arms of Amsterdam*, which left New Netherland on September 23, 1626 and arrived at Amsterdam on November 4th. This ship also brought over the news of the purchase of Manhattan island from the Indians. The original letter to the West India Company announcing this purchase is lost, but another letter written from Amsterdam on November 5th, by Pieter Schaghen, the representative of the States General in the Assembly of the Nineteen of the West India Company, whereby the news of the purchase was communicated to the States General, has been preserved. A translation of the text of this important letter, which has been called the "certificate of birth" of the city of New York, is as follows:

High and Mighty Lords:

Yesterday, arrived here the Ship *the Arms of Amsterdam*, which sailed from New Netherland, out of the River Mauritius, on the 23rd September. They report that our people are in good heart and live in peace there; the Women also have borne some children there. They have purchased the Island Manhattes from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders [meaning trading-goods to the value of about \$24];^{vi} 'tis 11,000 morgens [22,000 acres] in size. They had all their grain sowed by the middle of May, and reaped

by the middle of August. They send thence samples of summer grain; such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is: 7246 Beaver skins, 178½ Otter skins, 675 Otter skins, 48 Minck skins, 36 Wildcat skins, 33 Mincks, 34 Rat skins. Considerable Oak timber and Hickory.

Herewith, High and Mighty Lords, be commended to the mercy of the Almighty.

Your High Mightinesses' obedient,

(Signed) P. Schaghen

In Amsterdam, the 5th November A°. 1626

Received 7th November, 1626.

The address was as follows:

High and Mighty Lords,

My Lords the States General

at the Hague.

It will be noticed that the letter does not give the date of the purchase. It is generally assumed that this purchase took place shortly after May 4, 1626, when Peter Minuit arrived in New Netherland and succeeded Willem Verhulst as director of the colony.

As already, stated, most recent writers hold that no settlement was made on Manhattan island until the arrival of Peter Minuit. The letter of Pieter Schaghen, however, states that "They had all their grain sowed by the middle of May." This seems to indicate that some farms must have been in existence on Manhattan island before the arrival of Director Minuit.^{vii} Moreover, it is probable that Cryn Fredericksz soon after his arrival in the spring or summer of 1625 staked out the fort, and consequently that a beginning of settlement was made in that year. On this point, however, no definite information is at present available.

7 New Netherland under Peter Minuit

With the advent of Peter Minuit and the establishment of a permanent settlement on Manhattan island, other sources of information regarding New Netherland besides Wassenaer begin to appear, so that it is possible to get a more definite idea of the conditions which prevailed in the colony.

Among the most important of these sources are two letters of the Rev. Jonas Michaëlius, the first minister in New Netherland, written from Manhattan island shortly after his arrival in the colony.

The first of these letters, dated August 1628, was sent to Joannes Foreest, a prominent citizen of Hoorn, who at onetime was a director of the West India Company. In it Domine Michaëlius gives an account of his long and perilous voyage and the death of his wife and then describes the settlement on Manhattan island, as follows:

“A new fortress is in course of construction, not so much for protection against the savages, whom we with God’s help need not fear so much from this time on, as against enemies from abroad. They are meanwhile beginning to build new houses in place of the hovels and holes in which heretofore they huddled rather than dwelt. They are also cutting wood and erecting another mill for the purpose of exporting to the Fatherland whole cargoes of timber fit for building houses and ships. And for building purposes there is greater lack of laborers than of materials. For besides many kinds of good timber, there is here clay for the making of bricks and tiles, though rather poor; but the quarry stones, not far away, are better for our use, and there are large quantities of oyster shells to burn for lime. The promise of the Lords Masters to grant me 6 or 7 morgens [12 or 14 acres] of land to support myself in place of freeboard, which otherwise would be my perquisite, is worth nothing. For their Honors themselves knew perfectly well that neither horses nor cows nor laborers are to be had here for money. And this is the first item of the bill; time will show what else will follow. Thus we lead a hard and sober existence like poor people.”

As to the people, he writes:

“Some Directors and Heads, by bad management, have rather kept back than helped the people and the country, and many among the common people would have liked to make a living, and even to get rich, in idleness rather than by hard work, saying that they had not come to work; that as far as working is concerned they might as well have staid home, and that it was all one whether they did much or little, if only in the service of the company. Such expressions were the burden of the song one heard all day long. And this sort of people are all, in course of time, reshipped home as useless ballast.”

This description of the character of the first colonists is certainly not very flattering, but hardly surprising, in view of the fact that Holland was then entering upon a period of unprecedented prosperity, so that it was difficult to induce the right sort of people to emigrate to a wild and distant country. Happily, there is another side to the picture, as shown by an extract from the second letter, dated August 11, 1628, which was addressed to the Rev. Adrianus Smoutius, one of the members of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church at Amsterdam, as follows:

“At the first administration of the Lord’s Supper which was observed, not without great joy and comfort to many, we had fully fifty communicants--Walloons and Dutch; of whom, a portion made their first confession of faith before us, and others exhibited their church certificates. Others had forgotten to bring their certificates with them not thinking

that a church would be formed and established here; and some who brought them, had lost them unfortunately in a general conflagration, but they were admitted upon the satisfactory testimony of others to whom they were known, and also upon their daily good deportment, since we can not observe strictly all the usual formalities in making a beginning under such circumstances.”

“We administer the Holy Sacrament of the Lord once in four months, provisionally, until a larger number of people shall otherwise require. The Walloons and French have no service on Sundays, otherwise than in the Dutch language, for those who understand no Dutch are very few. A portion of the Walloons are going back to the Fatherland, either because their years here are expired, or else because some are not very serviceable to the company. Some of them live far away and could not well come in time of heavy rain and storm, so that it is not advisable to appoint any special service in French for so small a number, and that upon an uncertainty. Nevertheless, the Lord’s Supper was administered to them in the French language, and according to the French mode, with a discourse preceding, which I had before me in writing, as I could not trust myself extemporaneously.”

It appears from this extract that the Walloons at that time formed a considerable part of the population of the settlement, which according to Wassenaer, in 1628, was about 270.

The government of New Netherland then consisted of the director general and council, who exercised executive, legislative and judicial functions. Manhattan island was from the first reserved to the West India Company and was administered and exploited for the benefit of the company, not a foot of land being then owned by any of the colonists.

The first secretary of the colony was Isaack de Rasière, who like Minuit was of Walloon extraction and who arrived in July 1626. He soon fell out with the director and returned to Holland in 1628. He was succeeded by Johan van Remunde, who according to Kiliaen van Rensselaer slandered many persons behind their backs, and who likewise quarreled with the director, with whom he was summoned home in 1631. They sailed early in 1632 on the ship *Eendracht* [Unity], which was held up for 4 months in Plymouth, England, but finally arrived in Holland in the summer. With them, on the same ship, returned the Rev. Jonas Michaëlius, who in England seems to have been allowed to leave the ship and to proceed to Holland, where on March 4, 1632, he appeared before the Consistory of Amsterdam. According to Symon Dircksz Pos, a member of the Council of New Netherland, Michaëlius had been very active in stirring up trouble between the director and the secretary, so that later, in 1637, when he applied for permission to return as minister to New Netherland, the West India Company would not accept his services but appointed the Rev. Everhardus Bogardus in his stead.

Minuit was succeeded as director general of New Netherland by Wouter van Twiller, who sailed for his post on the ship *Soutberg* in July 1632 and arrived at Manhattan in April of the following year. Between the departure of Minuit and the arrival of van Twiller, Bastiaen Jansen Krol, the former comforter of the sick and commander of Fort Orange, held the office of director general of New Netherland.

8 The Establishment of the Patroonships

The ineffectual management which characterized the first attempts at settlement in New Netherland must be ascribed partly to the fact that the colonization of this province played but a minor part in the operations of the company, which during the first decade of its existence were largely centered on the conquest of Brazil.

In 1627 Admiral Piet Hein with a fleet of nine ships and five yachts manned with 1675 sailors and soldiers, made two unsuccessful attacks on the Spanish fleet in the Bay of All Saints, in an effort to regain possession of San Salvador, which shortly after its capture in 1624 had been retaken by the Spaniards and Portuguese. In 1628 he captured the Spanish plate fleet near Matanzas, on the north coast of Cuba, laden with silver, indigo, hides, pearls, gold, Campeachy wood and sugar, valued at more than eleven million guilders. The company immediately declared a dividend of 50 per cent and turned its efforts in the direction of further conquest, to the neglect of legitimate trade and agricultural colonization. In 1630 Admiral Loncq with a fleet of 52 ships and 13 sloops succeeded in capturing Olinda and Pernambuco or Recife, thereby laying the foundation for the occupation of Brazil, which remained in the possession of the Dutch West India Company until 1654.

Meanwhile there was a steady demand for the agricultural development of the colony of New Netherland. It appears that there were two factions in the board of directors of the West India Company, one advocating colonization and the other favoring the exploitation of the country for the purposes of trade. Among the leaders of the first faction were such men as Kiliaen van Rensselaer, Samuel Blommaert, Michiel Pauw, Johannes de Laet and others whose names are well known in New Netherland history. When the company refused to agree to their plan of colonization, they offered to undertake it at their own expense, provided the company would grant them certain concessions. These concessions were embodied in a document known as the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which after prolonged negotiations was finally adopted by the company and ratified by the States General on June 7, 1629.

This charter provided in substance that members of the company who within 4 year, from the date of registration should plant in New Netherland a colony of fifty adults should be acknowledged as patroons and be authorized to administer justice within the limits of their respective colonies, to establish therein a form of local government, and to enjoy such privileges of hunting, fowling, fishing and milling as then prevailed in the semifeudal manors of the fatherland.

In accordance with the terms of this charter Samuel Godyn and his associates on June 19, 1629 registered the colony of Swanendael on the west side of the Delaware river; Albert Coenraets Burgh on November 1st a colony on the east side of the same river; Samuel Blommaert on November 16th a colony on the Connecticut river; Kiliaen van Rensselaer and his associates on November 19th a colony on both sides of the Hudson river above and below Fort Orange, which was, called Rensselaerswijck: and Michiel Pauw on January 10, 1630 a colony near Hoboken, which he named Pavonia.

Of these various colonies or patroonships, that of Rensselaerswijck was the only one that survived the period of Dutch occupation of New Netherland. All the others were either abandoned, or sold to the West India Company shortly after the first attempts at settlement had been made. For this reason, and because the main settlement of the colony of Rensselaerswijck afterwards became the city of Albany, the history of this colony is of particular interest.

9 Fort Crailo, "The Home of Yankee Doodle"

A bill introduced in the Legislature by Assemblyman Henry Meurs and recently signed by the Governor^{viii} provides for the acceptance by the State of New York as a gift from Mrs Alan Hartwell Strong of Philadelphia, of the building known as Fort Crailo, in the city of Rensselaer, and for the preservation by the State of this interesting old house as an historic monument. A bronze tablet, which was placed on the building in 1886 by the Albany Bicentennial Committee, states that it is "Supposed to be the Oldest Building in the United States and to Have Been Erected in 1642 as a Manor House and Place of Defense Known as Fort Crailo." This date, 1642, carries one back to the early days of the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck, when a small settlement was made on the east side of the Hudson river in the "Greenen Bosch," afterwards corrupted to Greenbush, opposite Fort Orange, now Albany.

As early as August 4, 1639, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the first patroon, wrote to his agent, Arent van Curler, that he was sending over a wooden model of a church and that it was his definite intention that this church be put on the east side of the river, "opposite Castle Island, north of the small grove and south of the farm of Gerrit de Reux, deceased." He further stated that "Near this church ought to be built also a dwelling for the minister and one for the sexton and this at the least expense." The Rev. Johannes Megapolensis, the first minister of Rensselaerswijck, arrived in the colony on August 13, 1642. Van Curler, in accordance with the patroon's instructions, contracted to have a house built for Domine Megapolensis on the east side of the river, but the builder having failed to fulfil his contract another house, belonging to Mary Adriaensen, which was built of oak, was purchased for him. In 1643 Van Curler wrote to the patroon that he intended to build another house in the Greenen Bosch,^{ix} 34 feet long and 19 feet wide, which "will be large enough for the first 3 or 4 years to preach in and can afterwards serve for the sexton or for a school."

In 1661 mention is made of a farm called Crailo. This farm belonged to Johan Baptist van Rensselaer, but at that time was used by Jeremias van Rensselaer, who in 1658 had succeeded his brother as director of the colony. The farm was named after the patroon's estate near Huizen, in Holland, which was purchased by him in 1628. In the Rensselaerswijck manuscripts the name of the farm is variously written Cralo, Kraelo, Crailo, Crayloo and Krayloo, corresponding to the modern Dutch form "Kraailoo," which means Crows' Woods.

The name "Fort Crailo" first occurs under date of 1663, in connection with the digging of a well. O'Callaghan, in his *History of New Netherland*, 2:476, states that at the time of the massacre by the Indians at the Esopus, in June 1663, the out-settlers of Rensselaerswijck "fled for protection to the fort called Cralo, erected on the patroon's farm at Greenbush, where they held, night and day, regular watch and ward." This fort was apparently not the brick house now known as Fort Crailo. but, according to a letter from Vice Director La Montagne to Stuyesant, dated June 29, 1663, a little fort or protection which they hastily built in the Greenen Bosch (*een fortien off bescherm dat sy daer maecken*; translated in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, 13:264, as "a little fort or fortification, which they build there"). The fact, however, that the resolution establishing the night watch is dated "in Greene Bos in the colonie Rensselaerswijck this 12th June, 1663" shows that the court of the colony must have sat

at that time in Greenbush, presumably in the house on the Crailo farm, which in a letter from Jeremias van Rensselaer to his mother, dated July 20, 1668, is referred to as “a convenient dwelling house” (*een Bequame woon Huijs*). In a letter of April 13, 1666, special mention is made of the fact that during the freshet of April 7th-8th, which carried off the patroon’s house on the west side of the river and some forty other houses and barns in Albany and the colony, the house on the farm in Greenbush was not injured.

Upon the death of Jeremias van Rensselaer, in 1674, his brother, the Rev. Nicolaes van Rensselaer, who succeeded him as director of the colony, took possession of the Crailo farm. Nicolaes van Rensselaer died on November 12, 1678. His widow afterwards married Robert Livingston and through this marriage the Crailo farm came into the latter’s possession, although Johan Baptist van Rensselaer, or his heirs, still had an interest in it.

On June 19, 1685, Peter Delanoy, attorney for Richard van Rensselaer, sole executor of the estate of his brother, Johan Baptist van Rensselaer, late of Holland, deceased, entered into an agreement with Robert Livingston in regard to “A Certaine Bowry or ffarm within and being parte of the said Colony lyeing att Green bush within the said County,” whereby it was decided that Robert Livingston was to remain in possession of said farm until May 1, 1686, when, in consideration of the payment of 800 schepels of good merchantable winter wheat, he was to yield it up to the other party. On June 1, 1704, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the son of Jeremias, deceased, who shortly before had become lord of the manor of Rensselaerswijck, released to his brother, Hendrick van Rensselaer, a large tract of land known as Claverack, together with “a Certain Farm Called Green Bush within the said Manor on the East side of Hudsons river.”

In view of the preceding facts it is interesting to see what basis there is for the supposition that Fort Crailo was erected in 1642. The house is an L-shaped brick building, two stories high with an attic having dormer windows under the roof. The two wings of the building were evidently erected at different periods, the western wing, which faces the Hudson river and which forms the “fort” proper, being the older part of the building, and the other wing, which faces the north, being added at a later date. In the foundation walls in the cellar there are two stones, upon one of which are crudely carved the letters “KVR,” and the date 1642, while upon the other stone appear the letters “APOLENSIS,” forming the last part of the name “Megapolensis.” The obscure location of these stones taken in connection with the fact that the building as it stands today lacks all the characteristics of a seventeenth century Dutch house, seems to disprove, rather than to prove, that the building was erected in 1642. It is stated that Hendrick van Rensselaer, shortly after he came into possession of the farm in Greenbush, built on it a substantial house. This may have been an entirely new house, or an extension of the house which had been built by Jeremias van Rensselaer in 1660. In either case, it is possible that in the foundations were used materials that came from an older house, perhaps, in view of the markings on the stones, from the very house that was occupied by Dominie Megapolensis during his residence in the colony from 1642 to 1649. At all events, it is probable that the front part of Fort Crailo must be identified with the house that was erected or remodeled by Hendrick van Rensselaer in 1704, and that the rear extension of the house, which on the east side of the north door bears the monogram “IVR” and on the west side the date 1762, was added at that time. Whatever may be the exact date, or dates, of the erection of Fort Crailo, the building is an interesting landmark,

whose history and associations reach back to the date that has been ascribed to it. It is interesting to note that in a letter of 1688, Maria van Rensselaer, the widow of Jeremias van Rensselaer, refers to the fact that Governor Dongan, who had spent the winter in Albany, "during the summer occupied her house in the country." This can hardly have been any other house than Fort Crailo. The same year Governor Andros came to Albany and may have been entertained at Fort Crailo. At a later date many distinguished guests are said to have visited Fort Crailo, among them Washington, Lafayette, Hamilton, General Philip Schuyler, Daniel Webster and Harrison Grey Otis.

The tradition which connects the house with the origin of "Yankee Doodle" goes back to 1758, when General James Abercrombie and his staff stopped at the Greenbush manor house on their way to Fort Ticonderoga. On this staff was Surgeon Richard Shuckburgh, whose derision is said to have been excited by the motley costume of the American recruits straggling in from the country and who thereby was inspired to compose the song, while sitting on the edge of the well in the rear of the house.^x

10 Social Conditions in New Netherland

The population of New Netherland, although predominantly Dutch, contained many foreign elements. Father Jogues wrote in 1646 that Director Kieft informed him that eighteen different languages were spoken among 400 or 500 men of different sects and nations who resided on Manhattan island and in its environs. This statement is borne out by the records. Of the 200 white men and women who were married in the Dutch Reformed Church of New Amsterdam between 1639 and 1649, about 50 per cent came from Holland or were born in New Netherland, 27 per cent came from England and Scotland, 13 per cent from Sleswick-Holstein and Germany, 5 per cent from the Scandinavian countries, and the remaining 5 per cent from Flanders, the Walloon provinces, France, Italy, Portugal and Moravia. On the eastern end of Long Island the population was almost exclusively English, while at Beverwijck and Wiltwyck the number of English settlers was very small and that of colonists from Sleswick-Holstein and East Friesland much larger than generally supposed. This lack of common origin resulted in pronounced individualism which has left its mark on the history of the State.

Most of the early colonists were farmers, traders or mechanics. Practically all crafts were represented, but manufacturing for commercial purposes, especially weaving, was prohibited by the articles for the colonists of 1624 and article 29 of the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions.

Brick kilns were established by the Dutch West India Company and by the patroon of the colony of Rensselaerswijck at an early date, thus showing the fallacy of the popular notion that all the old Dutch houses in the State were built of brick imported from Holland. Brick was sent over as ballast, but as the sailing vessels of that day were very small, it is doubtful if enough brick was imported to build the necessary chimneys.

A special trade of which frequent mention is made in the records is that of *lademaeker*, or gunstock maker. The reason for this is that locks and gun barrels were imported separately and fitted in this country with stocks, for which suitable wood was available in the colony.

In the seventeenth century the guilds still flourished in the Netherlands and minute regulations prevailed as to wages, hours of labor, the qualifications of masters and journeymen, the number of helpers or apprentices one was allowed to employ, and other

matters which were designed to prevent unfair competition. While the settlements in New Netherland were too small to have a fully developed guild system, many of the rules and restrictions that prevailed in the mother country were followed in the colony.

The usual hours of labor were from 5 or 6 a.m. to 8, from 8.30 to 12, and from 1 p.m. to 7 in summer and with similar intermissions from 7 a.m. until 5 p.m. in winter. Wages were high for that period, but low as compared with the present scale, 30 stivers, or 60 cents, a day, being considered a fair wage for a carpenter or mason. Apprentices were indented for a term of 2 or 3 years. They received no pay, but in return for their services were furnished board and clothing and taught a trade.

Being under contract, such apprentices were practically at the mercy of their masters, so that their lot was not always a happy one.

Although life in the early days was primitive and full of hardships for those who had been accustomed to different surroundings, it had its compensations. Many persons who had fled to Holland from religious persecution, or who had been impoverished by the long war with Spain or the Thirty Years War, soon prospered after their arrival in the colony and became substantial citizens.

The fur trade was from the beginning the principal source of revenue of the Dutch West India Company and the most lucrative business of the colonists. This trade centered at Beverwijck and was closely regulated by ordinances, which among other things forbade the sale of guns and ammunition and intoxicating liquors to the Indians and prohibited the sending of runners into the woods to intercept the Indians in order to despoil them of their furs or to gain an unfair advantage over other traders. The temptation to carry on such profitable but illicit trading proved too strong for many colonists and brought them into frequent collision with the authorities.

One of the worst features of the civilization of that day was the administration of justice. Contrary to our modern practice to exempt the defendant from giving evidence that may tend to incriminate him, the criminal procedure of that period aimed to extort a confession from the person against whom charges had been brought. Without such confession there could be no conviction and once a conviction was secured there was little chance for appeal. The defendants were not represented by counsel and as a rule were helpless in the hands of a crafty or venal prosecutor, who was paid out of the fines imposed by the court. If the offense was of a serious nature and the evidence warranted the suspicion that the defendant in spite of his denial was guilty, the court ordered him to be put to the torture in order to obtain a confession. Cases are on record in which torture was applied in the colony, but crimes of violence were comparatively rare and on the whole the administration of justice seems to have been less harsh than that which at that time prevailed in most countries of Europe.

Foreign travelers who visited the Netherlands in the seventeenth century were as a rule favorably impressed by the charitable institutions which existed everywhere. John Evelyn but voiced the general sentiment when, in 1641, after a visit to the home for decrepit soldiers and sailors at Amsterdam, he wrote:

Indeed for the like public charities the provisions are admirable in this country, where, as no idle vagabonds are suffered (as in England they are), there is hardly a child of 4 or 5 years old, but they find some employment for it.

The smallness of the settlements in New Netherland made the existence of charitable institutions unnecessary, but proper care was taken of the afflicted and the

indigent by the deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church. In the beginning these deacons also had charge of the supervision of orphans, but in 1653, when New Amsterdam became a city, special orphanmasters were appointed by the court, whose duty it was to see that guardians were appointed and that in case of a second marriage of either parent, proper provision was made for the maintenance and education of the minor children.

Schools existed at an early date and absolute illiteracy seems to have been rare among the colonists, as the records show but comparatively few cases of people who could not write their names.

The usual festivals were Shrove Tuesday, Easter Monday, Amsterdam *Kermis* or Fair day (September 22d), Saint Nicholas or Santa Claus eve (December 5th) and New Year's day. Card playing, dancing, bowling and target shooting were common amusements, but the most favorite sport was *kolven*, a game which is generally referred to as golf, but which in fact corresponded more closely to hockey. In 1659 this game was so popular at Beverwijck that the magistrates had to forbid its being played in the streets, on account of the danger to passengers and the damage done to the windows.

Endnotes:

ⁱ Hudson was following in the wake of the Dutch explorer, Willem Barentsz, who had been commissioned in 1596 to find a northeast passage to China. He and his crew were forced to winter over on Nova Zembla when their ship was frozen in by ice. The Barents Sea carries this Dutch explorer's name who died while attempting to return to Amsterdam.

ⁱⁱ The Bay of All Saints and the city of San Salvador are in Brazil. The Portuguese recaptured San Salvador in 1625.

ⁱⁱⁱ Most of the records were disposed of after the reorganization of the WIC in 1674; financial records were kept for auditing purposes until they too were disposed of in the nineteenth century.

^{iv} Van Laer was anticipating the construction of Fort Orange in 1624 and the first settlement of colonists.

^v The notion that Trico came from Paris has recently been corrected; she came from Pri in the province of Namur in what is present-day Belgium. A clerk apparently had confused her pronunciation of Pri with Paris.

^{vi} The value of \$24 is misleading, as it represents the conversion rate of *f*60 when the document containing the figure was first translated in the nineteenth century. The trade goods would have amounted to a considerable sum, considering that most of the items were probably metal, a material the natives were unable to produce, and the natives at this time assumed that the gifts were given for rights to use the land, not perpetual ownership.

^{vii} Minuit arrived on May 4, 1626, enough time to plant seed on ground previously cultivated by the natives.

^{viii} Alfred E. Smith

^{ix} Greenen Bosch is Dutch for Pine Bush or Woods; later the English mistook Greenen for Green, giving rise to the local placenames Green Bush and Green Island.

^x For the latest research on the origins of Yankee Doodle consult *America's Song* by Stuart Murray (Bennington, 1999).