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Introduction

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Introduction

Paul R. Huey

This volume is about the archaeology of Dutch sites in the Old and New Worlds. First, in its scope this volume restricts itself to the archaeology of the people in what was the 17th-century Dutch colony of New Netherland, located south of French Canada and between the Delaware River on the south and the Connecticut River to the east. Second, this volume is about the archaeology of the Old World culture of the Netherlands during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, including wreck sites worldwide of Dutch ships en route to or from the Netherlands. The colony of New Netherland lasted only from about 1614 to 1664, with a brief restoration of Dutch rule in New York in 1673 and 1674, but it had deep roots from the 16th century. Moreover, Dutch culture persisted in English New York through much of the 18th century. The archaeology of Old World Dutch sites in this broad period is therefore relevant to the colonial experience in the New World.

The colony of New Netherland existed during the great Dutch "Golden Age" of the 17th century. English and Dutch hostility through much of this period stemmed largely from England's resentment of Dutch economic superiority and control of trade. Despite wars and navigation acts, until late in the 17th century England could not free itself from dependence on the import of high-quality Dutch merchandise and the export of materials and semi-finished goods, particularly cloth, to the Netherlands. The Netherlands reached a low point, economically, in the early 1670s when France and England finally teamed up against the Netherlands, but the economic weakness of the Dutch was so costly to the English that England was forced to withdraw from the struggle. The Dutch survived, but France remained a threat and rival to the Netherlands (Israel 1990: 279-280, 293-303, 309, 340, 410).

The Glorious Revolution was a great turning point, when William, the Stadholder, became the King of England in 1689. The former rivals were now allies against France. Dutch industries had continued to expand, particularly in the manufacture of various goods such as paper, Delft ceramics, and Gouda pipes (Israel 1990: 346-354). But with William III the King of England, new industries rapidly arose in England; beginning about 1690 there was almost a "feverish interest in industrial invention," and cloth making and dyeing as well as other branches of Dutch technology were imported into England (Wilson 1966b: 186-194). The roles of producer and consumer between the Netherlands and England gradually began to be reversed. Dutch industry began to weaken in the 18th century as Dutch capitalists increasingly focused on more auspicious investments in England rather than at home. Although the Netherlands continued to maintain a vast colonial empire, Dutch economic activities became less visible and more financial, and many English economists grew concerned about the size of the debt owed to foreigners (Wilson 1966a: 17-18, 72-73). Nevertheless, with this true industrial revolution, England became a great industrial nation and supplier for the world in the 18th century.

The decline of the "Golden Age" relates to the decrease in visible products of Dutch creativity and innovation, but Dutch financial power and wealth did not necessarily diminish in the 18th century. This is apparent from the study of the material from the Van Lidth de Jeude family privy by Michiel H. Bartels, based on a paper initially presented at the meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology in Albany in 1996. The contents of the Van Lidth de Jeude privy provide an intimate look at the lives of a very wealthy, high-status Dutch family of the 18th

century. The artifacts in the privy are mostly from two periods, from 1701 to about 1740 and from about 1760 to 1778.

For the entire period, 1701–1778, the relative amounts of the ceramics from the privy are of particular interest. While certain types of ceramics and other garbage may have been disposed of elsewhere, it is clear that tin-glazed earthenware (Delftware or faience) was predominant in this privy. Curiously, it is in North American military sites of the 18th century where such high amounts of tin-glazed earthenware and porcelain also may appear. Bartels notes that in the second period of the privy, from about 1760 to 1778, there was a rapid transition to the use of English teawares, such as white salt-glazed stoneware and especially creamware. There was a new demand in the Netherlands among the wealthy for things English as well as French (Cotterell 1972: 209). For example, three privies in Nijmegen, Gelderland, from the third quarter of the 18th century had predominant amounts of creamware and other English earthenwares, in contrast to the ceramics overall from the Van Lidth de Jeude privy (Thijssen 1985: 117).

Unfortunately, relatively few 18th-century privies have been excavated in New York, the former New Netherland, with which to compare the contents of Dutch privies of the same period. One excavated privy, however, had almost exactly the same quantitative distribution of ceramics as the Van Lidth de Jeude privy. This was the Lucas van Vechten privy of about 1745 to 1760 that was discovered in the city of Albany, New York; it had only relatively more white salt-glazed stoneware and, of course, no creamware. Fruit remains in both the Van Vechten and the Van Lidth de Jeude privies included blackberry, raspberry, grape, plum, and cherry, while elderberry and blueberry were present in the Van Vechten privy but not in the other. Walnut remains were present in both privies, but only the Van Vechten privy had hickory nut and acorn remains. The Van Vechten privy apparently was emptied and cleaned regularly, and no evidence of parasite eggs was found in the soil analysis (Bonhage-Freund, Raymer, Cohen, and Reinhard 2002: 1, 43, 44, 48). The Van Vechten privy was located at the rear edge of the lot owned by Lucas van Vechten near the

Albany waterfront on the Hudson River (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. 1987: Map 12; Klinge and Rosenswig 2002: 9.2). Born in 1724, by 1755 he was captain of a sloop carrying goods between New York and Albany. After 1760, while still continuing as a sloop captain on the river, he also ventured far westward to trade with the Indians for furs. His brother-in-law was Stephanus Schuyler, owner of the valuable Schuyler Flatts farm north of Albany. Lucas owned a number of slaves, inherited in 1750 from an uncle, and the tax records show that in the 1760s his property was assessed at a higher level than that of most of his neighbors (Bielinski 2002; Christoph 1987: 110; Christoph 1992: 48, 55; Pelletreau 1896: 308; Sullivan 1921a: 862; Sullivan 1921b: 754–755).

One remarkable characteristic of the Van Lidth de Jeude privy assemblage is the large number and high visibility of diverse children's and gender-specific artifacts. Not only are there children's shoes but also a toy wooden boat, a wooden ball, a pewter jumping jack, a doll's head, and doll's dishes. Artifacts that can specifically or most likely be identified with women in the household include small brass sewing scissors, a worked ivory needle case, a bobbin for lace making, whalebone corset ribs, an ivory tiara, a gold filigree ear ring, a silver pendant, intact fans with elaborate ribs, and letter seals that distinguished unmarried women from other adults. In contrast, gender-specific adult artifacts are generally absent or not recognized from colonial American sites, with the exception of the occasional discovery of items such as a bodkin, sewing scissors, or fan fragments. In searching for direct evidence of women in the archaeological record, American archaeologists have had to accept the fact that almost entirely "artifacts in themselves do not seem to be simple markers of ... ethnicity or ... gender" (Stine 1992: 106). Instead, American historical archaeologists have had to move beyond looking at the artifacts themselves and to identify the activities of women through theoretical cultural perspectives (Seifert 1991: 2).

Fan ribs, a lace fragment, needle cases, and sewing scissors, however, are among the artifacts that have been found at a few American sites. A lace fragment was recovered in Boston

from the privy of Katherine Naylor, who died in 1716 (MacQuarrie 2004). Excavation of a trash midden at Mount Vernon, home of George and Martha Washington, produced fan fragments and scissors (Marsh 2003; Pogue 2004). Excavations along Arch Street in Philadelphia near the home of one of the wealthier inhabitants of a block developed between 1766 and 1770 yielded bone fan ribs and jewelry fragments (Roper, Scharfenberger, and Pipes 1997). In Maryland, ivory fan ribs, scissors, and jewelry fragments were found in the pre-1780 fill of a well at Oxon Hill Manor (Hurry 2004). A carved bone needle case and fan rib fragments were excavated from an extensive pre-1780 midden at Clermont, the 18th-century home of the wealthy Livingston family overlooking the Hudson River in New York. These artifacts may be associated with Margaret (Beekman) Livingston (Wentworth 1994: 291, 305, 316). Fans, especially, may have been representative of great wealth and status. The *Portrait of a Woman with a Fan* by Frans Hals of about 1640 in The National Gallery in London depicts a woman in elegant attire, and an elaborately dressed aristocratic Mexican lady holds a fan in the *Portrait of a Lady* by Miguel de Herrera painted in 1782, in the Franz Meyer Museum in Mexico City.

The Bartels article ends with a useful explanation of the Deventer System, developed in 1989, which provides a code for every excavated object representing its fabric, shape (such as vessel form), and type number. It is possible a similar system could be developed based on English names, and the two systems might be linked together. It would have advantages in the analysis of assemblages similar to the advantages of using the Kidd and Kidd system for beads. For American archaeologists, the weakness of the Deventer System as it is presently designed is its failure to distinguish the various types of "industrial" ceramic wares, especially those categorized as "industrial whiteware."

The history of the Dutch in New York after 1664 through the remaining colonial period followed a course that curiously paralleled that of the Dutch in the Netherlands. Soon after the English took New Netherland in 1664, the new governor, Richard Nicolls, warned that serious problems would result

from the loss of Dutch trade, "by which also many thousands of His Matyes subjectes in Virginia Maryland and New England were furnisht with necessaries, and will not know how to live without speedy care be taken from England." As for Delaware Bay, the Dutch had lost "the whole trade of Tobacco; whereat our neighbours of Maryland are ill pleased, whose affections are much brib'd by their trade with the Dutch" (O'Callaghan 1853: 69). Peter Stuyvesant, the former Dutch director-general, explained that the inhabitants of New Netherland did not resist the English attack in 1664 because of English promises "of unobstructed trade and navigation, not only to the King's dominions, but also to the Netherlands with their own ships and people" (Jameson 1967: 464). The generous terms of surrender allowed the continuation of Dutch trade, and in 1667, at Stuyvesant's request, free trade with the Dutch with three ships was extended for another seven years. While there was already growing English concern about incursions of the French from Canada into the new province of New York, the Dutch were allowed to continue their religion, customs, and property rights laws (O'Callaghan 1853: 164-167).

Dutch New Yorkers maintained close ties with the Netherlands through the 18th century. Those who learned the English language continued to speak and write in Dutch but also read English books about the Netherlands. "Henderick Onderdonck Merchant at Hemstead Harbour," for example, proudly inscribed his name on the last page of *A Description of Holland* published in London in 1743 (FIG. 1). Hendrick Onderdonck (1724-1809), possibly a great grandson of Adriaen Vanderdonck, married an English wife and moved to Hempstead Harbor on Long Island in 1752 (Gerry 1971: 29; Robison and Bartlett 1972: 169). Some merchants inherited or continued to own property in the Netherlands. Widow Johanna de Bruyn of New York owned houses in Amsterdam in 1709, for example, and Albany silversmith Jacob C. Ten Eyck inherited from his grandfather property along the north side of the Leidsegracht in Amsterdam in 1739 (Pelletreau 1894: 52; Van Strijen 1739). Family ties with the Netherlands were important. Elizabeth, a

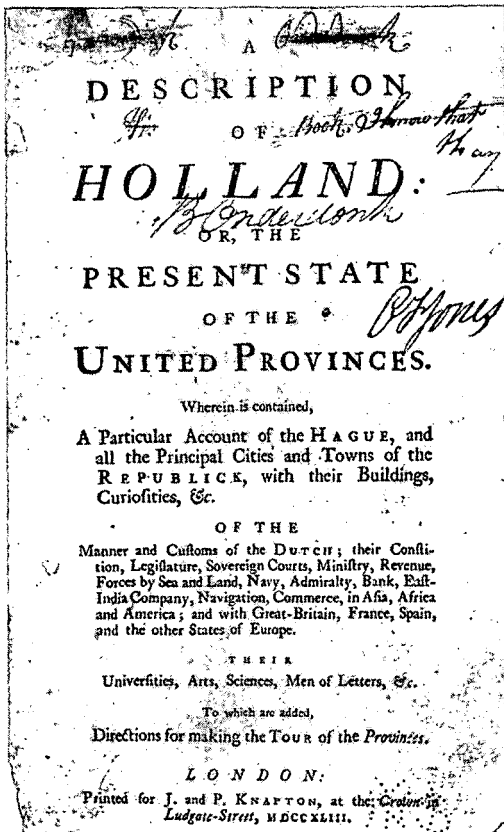


Figure 1. Title page of *A Description of Holland: or, the Present State of the United Provinces* published in London in 1743 and owned by Hendrick Onderdonck (1724–1809), a merchant of Hempstead Harbor on Long Island (New York State Library).

daughter of Hendrick van Rensselaer of Crailo, received a letter in 1753 written in Dutch from a cousin in the Netherlands who wrote “let this alliance never be lost sight of through failure of correspondence, but remain steadfast in order to reap the pleasant fruit of an upright and steady friendship.” He thanked her for the gift she had sent him, a beaver skin, “though of little use here.” In return, he sent her a “case with a colored china tea-set” (Van Rensselaer 1888: 31–32).

In addition to legal trade, there was smuggling of Dutch goods to New York (Matson 1998: 148–149, 206–211, 260), and beginning in the 1680s, thousands of Palatine settlers arrived in Pennsylvania on ships from Rotterdam and Amsterdam by way of English ports. Some Palatine settlers also arrived in

Nova Scotia from Rotterdam (Anon. 1751). Much earlier in Nova Scotia, some of the first settlers of Acadia had come from areas in France, such as the Poitou-Charentes region near La Rochelle, where Dutch engineers under contract were undertaking vast drainage and land reclamation projects between 1600 and 1660. The French settlers in Acadia used technology learned from the Dutch engineers to dyke and reclaim the salt marshes that surrounded the Bay of Fundy (Butzer 2002; Wilson 1968: 80). Dutch goods imported in the 18th century ranged from pipes made in Gouda to brass kettles for the Indian trade and printed books. At least half of the clay pipes retrieved from the French occupation layers in the King’s Bastion of the Fortress of Louisbourg are Dutch (Walker 1971: 117). Great libraries such as that of Robert “King” Carter in Virginia included a number of books in French and in Latin published in Amsterdam (Williams n.d.). In New York, William Johnson imported kettles from Amsterdam, but he disliked the Dutch and complained the kettles were “the Dearest, & worst made up of any ever come to these parts” (Sullivan 1921a: 347).

The Dutch Reformed churches of New York and New Jersey continued to be governed and guided by the Classis of Amsterdam, providing another close tie to the Netherlands through most of the 18th century. In addition, the Classis of Amsterdam regulated the German Reformed churches of Pennsylvania and reported churches for them as well. Of a sample of 32 Dutch family Bibles from New York and New Jersey published between 1680 and 1741, only four were published in Amsterdam, and 28 were published in Dordrecht (Robison and Bartlett 1972). The Dordrecht edition of 1741 was the most popular, with six examples. The Dordrecht Bibles followed the officially approved resolutions of the Synod of Dordrecht held in 1618 and 1619, and the Dordrecht edition of 1741 included a printed resolution dated November 26, 1737, authorizing its publication, each copy signed individually by Jeronimus Karsseboom, Secretary of the City. In 1754, a serious division occurred within the Dutch Reformed Church in New York when an assembly declared itself inde-

pendent of the Classis of Amsterdam, but in 1771 articles of union were agreed upon at a general convention in which the Reformed Church of New York fully submitted to the "counsel and advice" of the Classis (Hastings 1905: 3751, 4208-4218).

The shadow of world war fell over the English colonies, including New York, in 1689, and the Dutch inhabitants of Schenectady were among the first victims of this war with the horrible massacre that occurred in February 1690. Terror spread throughout much of the colony, but there was also terror far across the Atlantic. Early in 1691 the French attacked, heavily bombarded, and soon captured the town of Mons in the southern Netherlands near the French frontier. In June the French bombarded the town of Liège, causing fire and destruction, while in New York farmers east of Schenectady who ventured north of the Mohawk River to cut hay were suddenly attacked and killed or captured by Indians from Canada. Robert Livingston wrote from Albany that "the people here are very timorous.... People are extream afraid to goe into the woods." In August, Albany was a "place full of disorder, the people ready to desert it; about 150 farms deserted and destroyed by the French and late disorders" (O'Callaghan 1853: 783-784, 795).

The war lasted until 1697 but settled nothing, and with England and the Netherlands again as allies, war with France resumed in 1702. In 1704, however, the Netherlands lifted its ban on trade with France, while meanwhile the combined Dutch and British forces under Marlborough won great victories in Flanders and Bavaria. The Dutch at Albany also wanted to keep their trade with Canada open, despite the war, and by 1703 there was an uneasy neutrality between New York and Canada (Israel 1990: 384; O'Callaghan 1855: 745). The war ended in 1713, and trade between the Albany Dutch and Canada steadily increased, alarming officials in both places. New York passed a law in 1720 prohibiting the sale of any trade goods to the French, but illicit trade continued (McIlwain 1968: lxvi).

War with France resumed in 1744, and outside of Albany a traveler "found the poor people there in great terror of the Indians, they

being apprehensive that they would begin their old trade of scalping" (Hamilton 1971: 72-73). News arrived in 1745 that France had also declared war on the Netherlands (Sullivan 1921a: 36), and soon some of the worst fears of the Dutch New Yorkers were realized. In November French and Indians surprised, attacked, and destroyed the Schuyler settlement at Saratoga, and this event began a long agony of fear and terror in the Hudson Valley. Raiding parties from Canada "frequently murdered and carry'd off the Poor Inhabitants, treating them in the most Inhumane and Barbarous manner, by which means the Lately Populous and Flourishing County of Albany is become a Wilderness" (Lydekker 1968: 59). Almost incessant attacks by French and Indians began in the spring of 1746, and the victims were mostly Dutch farm families living on their farms. Hundreds were taken to Canada or brutally killed.

The walled town of Albany, or the few fortified and garrisoned farmhouses such as Crailo and the Schuyler Flatts, were the only safe places. People living in Albany, such as Lucas van Vechten, were afraid to venture anywhere outside the Albany stockade wall. When six people were attacked and killed directly across the river from Albany within plain sight, observers could only watch helplessly from the wall (Drake 1870: 98). Violent death seemed to be an everyday occurrence. One Albany resident, a cooper named Isaac Staats, owned a copy of the Dutch 1741 edition of *Vertrouwingen der gelovige ziele, tegen de verschrikkingen des doodts* ("Consolations of the Faithful Soul, Against the Abominations of Death") by Charles Drelincourt, a French Protestant divine, published in Amsterdam (Drelincourt 1741).

There were worrisome rumors at New York in 1746 that the French were "not only in Possession of all Brabant and Flanders, but have actually penetrated into Holland, and have taken Breda, and Bergen op Zoom" (Anon. 1746). It was not until 1747, however, that the French attacked Bergen op Zoom, located only 56 miles from Tiel. Terrified and plundered residents fled northward from Bergen op Zoom as the besieged city fell to the French after a bloody battle. Civilians were "put all to the sword" (Anon. 1747; Thompson

1962: 6). The war ended in 1748, but war resumed in the 1750s as the Seven Years War. The Netherlands declared itself neutral in 1756, wishing to avoid further invasions from France and unwilling to jeopardize trade. David Hume observed in 1758 that the Dutch "make not such a figure in political transactions as formerly; but their commerce is surely equal to what it was in the middle of the last century" (Mossner 1963: 288).

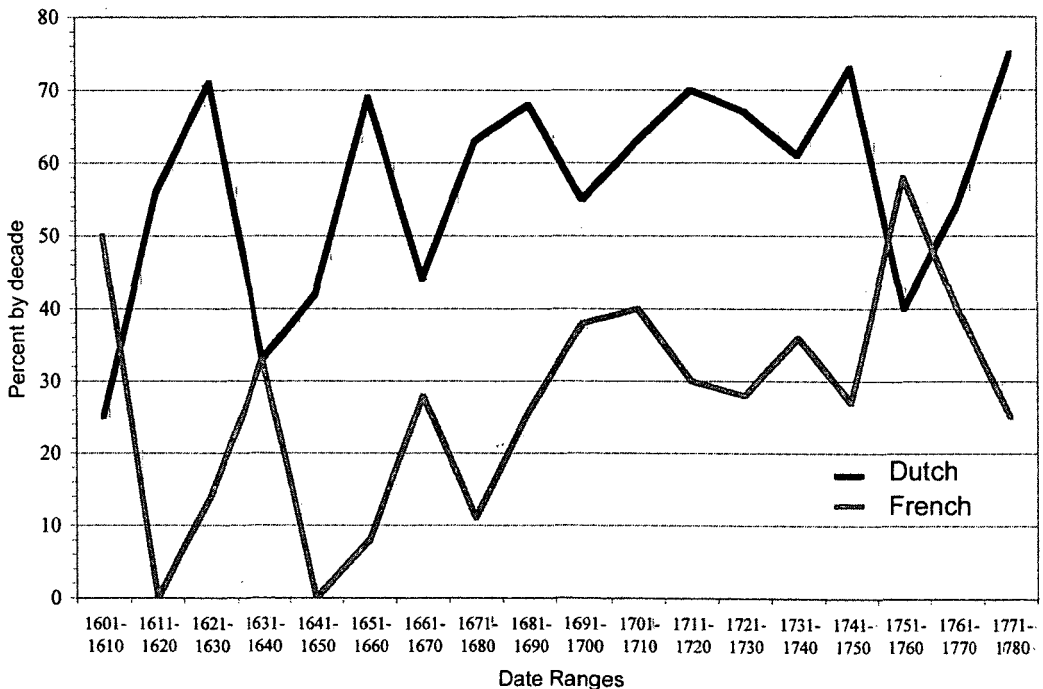
New York was deeply involved in this war, which finally defeated the French in Canada. Again, Dutch farmers living in the region around Albany were ambushed and killed or carried away, but again "the Germans and Dutch" were suspected "of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Enemy, by means of the Indians" (Anon. 1756; Sullivan 1922: 723). During the war, meanwhile, British privateers captured numerous Dutch ships carrying French property. The importance and advantages to the Dutch of their trade with France during this wartime period is reflected by the numbers of books translated from other languages into French that were published in

the Netherlands for the French market, in contrast to those that were translations into Dutch presumably for home consumption. Analysis of a sample of more than 525 books translated from other languages and published in the Netherlands from 1601 to 1780 shows a remarkably consistent inverse relationship between the two variables. For the first and only time since the beginning decade of this period, the percentage of translations into French actually exceeded the percentage of translations into Dutch that were published during the 1750s. This may also reflect the popularity of French as a second language in that period (FIG. 2).

After 1760, with England clearly victorious, the popularity of English manufactured goods quickly exceeded that of any others. The Dutch were already enjoying wealth from their lucrative trade, and as early as 1734 it was claimed that

the old severe and frugal Way of Living, is now almost quite out of Date in *Holland*; there is very little to be seen of that sober Modesty in Apparel, Diet, and Habitations as formerly.

Figure 2. Graph of Dutch and French translations published in the Netherlands from 1601 to 1780. (Sample size is 527 volumes.)



Instead of convenient Dwellings, the Hollanders now build stately Palaces, have their delightful Gardens and Houses of Pleasure, keep Coaches and Sleas.... Nay, so much is the Humour of the Women altered, and of their Children also, that no Apparel can now serve them, but the best and richest that France and other Countries affords... (Anon. 1734; Cotterell 1972: 208–209).

Other nations depended on the Dutch carrying trade,

whereas the *Dutch*, having no such dependence, import all from abroad at the best hand, and for fear of miscarriages, keep vast stores of every thing; by which they are able to serve all the rest of *Europe* that are necessitous, and by making them pay their own price, have become the rich and flourishing people we now see them (Griffiths 1751[?]: 261).

So popular were English goods that spurious items marked "London" were often actually produced in the Netherlands. As early as 1698 an English translation of the New Testament published in 1698 by "Charles Brill" in "London" was printed probably in Amsterdam. In 1740 Mandeville's *La Fable des abeilles*, a French translation, was published in "Londres" but was actually published in Amsterdam, and in 1768 Baron d'Holbach's *La Contagion sacrée*, which was claimed to be a translation, was published in "Londres" but actually in Amsterdam. Many controversial or banned authors used not only London but also "Amsterdam" as places of publication as a ruse to avoid persecution, but there are other examples of counterfeit English goods in this period as well. A breech-loading flintlock sporting gun marked LONDON and made about 1740 was probably made at Liège, and a double-barreled flintlock pocket pistol of about 1750 marked SEGLAS, LONDON, with false London proof marks, was also made at Liège (Blair 1962: pls. 412, 475). An unusual Liège pistol of about 1780 has its lock signed C. BAUDUIN and barrel marked SEGLAS LONDON, while a much earlier, probably authentic pistol is signed SEGALLAS LONDINI with a crowned IS, probably for Israel Segallas, a London maker in 1702 (Lander 2004). Evidently Liège makers used variations of his name to take advantage of its popularity. Even watches were counterfeited in the Netherlands, marked with fictitious names and "London." One such watch,

made about 1760, has the misspelled signature SMIHT LONDON (Cuss 1968: 40; Stewart, Holland, and Coggeshall 1917: 19).

David Macpherson recorded that by 1765 "formerly we ate all our meat off plates made at Delf in Holland: now the Dutch generally use our Stafford-shire plates. And it is pleasing to observe, that almost all the other alterations are favourable to the British manufactures" (Macpherson 1805: 430). By 1778, according to a French writer describing the Netherlands, "the Town of Delft has had the reputation for fayence: today one sees on tables almost only the fayence of England, Rouen & other foreign factories. The Town of Delft is so to speak a dead city." The transition from Delftware was thus nearly complete. The 1778 book was written in French and was published "A Londres," but it was probably published in Amsterdam. An English reviewer described an advance copy of the book as "4to. 2 vols, 1778. London—as the Title-page tells us, though we don't believe it" (Accarias de Serionne 1778: 271; Griffiths 1777: 550). Dutch sympathy for the American cause resulted in war between the Dutch and the English beginning late in 1780. The war went badly for the Dutch, and in 1781 there began the Patriot movement, an effort to reform and democratize the Netherlands. Imported creamware from Staffordshire and from Leeds was decorated with enameling to promote the Patriots' revolutionary cause (FIG. 3), and later, ironically, English creamware was enameled in 1787 with designs celebrating the defeat of the Patriots and the victory of their opponents (Towner 1965: 38).

The gardens depicted on the Castello Plan of New Amsterdam include a variety of elegant gardens at an earlier date than what has been considered probably the first monumental appearance in the colonies of a formal garden, which was at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg in 1694 (Kornwolf 1983: 95). The Dutch gardens analyzed by Richard Schaefer and Meta Fayden Janowitz emphasize symmetry and a strong sense of control over nature. Through most of the 17th century, gardens in England were generally derived from these Dutch as well as French prototypes. Dutch garden techniques only increased in popularity in England with the



Figure 3. Royal pattern creamware saucer, made probably in Leeds, Yorkshire, and enameled to promote the Patriot cause in the Netherlands, from 1781 to 1787. The saucer measures 6.75 in (17.1 cm) in diameter (private collection). Other English creamware plates of feather-edged pattern also have exactly the same enameled picture and inscription. The somewhat cryptic inscription might be translated as "Liberty bent a great bow in order to obtain freedom. But who on high lives in freedom makes earthly freedom lively."

accession of William and Mary in 1689 (Newton 1976: 197; Rorschach 1983: 1). The first College of William and Mary building at Williamsburg, so often attributed to Sir Christopher Wren, in fact embodied many typically Dutch architectural details that are completely alien to any other building known to have been designed by Wren (Monkhouse 1968: 36–37). Beginning about 1710, Governor Alexander Spotswood laid out the Palace gardens at Williamsburg in a formal, symmetrical manner, with a Dutch-inspired "canal" and typically Dutch room-like garden areas (Martin 1991: 41, 50–51). The rise of gentility and fashion in the 18th century in England and her colonies occurred primarily after 1690 with the reign of William and Mary, but it was the result of English emulation of Dutch culture which, in turn, had borrowed heavily from France (Carson 1994: 523, 549, 570–574, 616, 635, 688).

Soon, however, in England there began a reaction against rigidly symmetrical garden designs, and picturesque "landscape gardens" emphasizing nature became increasingly fash-

ionable (Newton 1976: 206–211; Rorschach 1983: 1). By 1750 a similar trend was underway in the Netherlands, but it was on a much smaller scale and more restrained. Although there is evidence that colonial Americans might also have started building picturesque gardens, surviving maps suggest that few such gardens existed in the colonies until after the American Revolution. There was, after all, already an abundance of nature in North America. A glance at the Ratzen and Montresor maps of the environs of New York City surveyed in the 1760s shows a number of formal, symmetrical gardens entirely reminiscent of those shown on the Castello Plan. Maps of this period showing the outskirts of other American cities from Boston to Mobile also show the continued influence of Dutch classical design in gardens. The maps of London published by John Rocque in the 1740s, on the other hand, show some gardens of the old, formal style and others that were picturesque, with winding walks (Cummings 1983: 132; Kornwolf 1983: 96–99; Martin 1991: 131; McLean 1983: 137; Reps 1965: 80, 156). A map of Albany, New York, drawn in 1794 shows the Georgian mansion of Philip Schuyler outside the city with a formal garden consisting of rectangular beds south and southwest of the house. Excavations there have revealed the edges of the beds exactly as located on the 1794 map and have indicated the garden was constructed in that manner about 1780 (Feister 2003: 86–89).

The significance of cloth and textiles throughout history can hardly be overstated. The manufacture of cloth was a major factor in the difficult economic relationship between the Netherlands and England in the 17th century, but unfortunately cloth remains are rarely uncovered in archaeological contexts. Yet, the lead seals that are often found can provide a wealth of information about the bales of cloth to which they were once attached. Combining the evidence from cloth seals found in the Netherlands and in America, Jan M. Baart in his article has provided new insights into their meaning and interpretation. Textiles and rum were probably the most significant items of merchandise for the fur trade with the Indians. As with other merchandise, the goods produced in England in the 18th century became

very popular. By 1725 woolen "strouds" made in England had increased in demand over the woolen duffels that had been imported from the Netherlands, and the Indians who purchased them were very selective. Moreover, the Indians could purchase such goods much more cheaply from the English and Dutch traders of New York than from the French in Canada, and this was a "key factor in both the fur trade and in the struggle to control the continent of North America" (Norton 1974: 12). Some Amsterdam merchants, meanwhile, continued to provide New York merchants with strouds at even lower prices than the English could (Matson 1998: 146-147, 210, 272, 377; Norton 1974: 31, 89; O'Callaghan 1855: 84).

Gerald de Weerd's article on the shipwreck timbers found in 1916 at the future site of the World Trade Center is another example of how the study of archaeological remains in the Netherlands applies to research on artifacts uncovered in New Netherland. When the charred timbers were found during subway construction, they were in a layer of "charcoal along with a Dutch double-headed axe, a length of chain, a cannonball, trade beads, clay pipes, and some blue-and-white pottery sherds" (Cantwell and Wall 2001: 151). From this evidence and from later study, it was concluded that the ship was the *Tijger*, which burned in January 1614. More research remains to be done on the timbers that were attributed to the 17th-century *Tijger*. De Weerd, however, observes that the World Trade Center wreck was from a ship no more than 60 feet in length and of about 44 tons burden, whereas the original *Tijger* was on a regular trading expedition and therefore was most likely a typical merchantman and considerably larger. The Dutch transatlantic merchant ships of the first half of the 17th century were consistently of larger size. While the World Trade Center wreck probably was not a regular transatlantic Dutch merchant ship, other ships that were less than 60 feet could certainly sail across the Atlantic. Capacity for provisions would have been the critical factor for such a voyage, however. A ship of such light construction and low tonnage as the World Trade Center wreck would probably have been limited to river and coastal trade or perhaps voyages to the West Indies. This is

consistent with Governor Dongan's carefully worded statement in his report on New York in the 1680s, although for English ships entirely different formulas were used to describe tonnage and length:

There are about nine or ten three Mast Vessels of about eighty or a Hundred Tuns burthen, two or three Ketches & Barks of about forty Tun; and about twenty Sloops of about twenty or five and twenty Tunn belonging to the Government—All of which Trade for England Holland & the West Indies except six or seven Sloops that use the river Trade to Albany and that way (O'Callaghan 1853: 398).

After 1700, as New York became increasingly sophisticated and luxury-oriented, the expanding coastal and West Indies trade offered important access to many types of exotic goods that had previously not been available (Matson 1998: 183-184). John Thurman, who built the new market house in the Crown Market in 1771, the next year joined a controversial effort calling for provincial paper money with the value of New Jersey currency set above that of New York's in order to benefit internal trade (Matson 1998: 304, 435).

The final two items in this volume provide an overview of post-medieval archaeology in the Netherlands and of the development during the past twenty years of archaeology at pre-1664 New Netherland sites. The article on the archaeology of New Netherland sites began as a paper presented on June 6, 1997, at the Conference on New York State History held at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York. While important projects at pre-1664 Dutch sites occurred on Manhattan with the Stadt Huys and Broad Street projects before 1985, since then most of the research at Dutch sites has occurred elsewhere, with the exception of the discovery of the windmill site on Governors Island. Important progress has been made in every one of the goals and objectives proposed in 1985. The annotated bibliography, moreover, provides a sense of how post-medieval archaeology has developed in the Netherlands.

The annotated bibliography includes brief summaries or abstracts of information relating to the archaeology of sites in the Netherlands as well as of Dutch shipwrecks abroad from the 16th through the 18th centuries. More than 375 reports, articles, or other publications are

listed. The archaeology of post-medieval Dutch culture developed along two parallel paths that eventually converged. Myra Stanbury has documented how as early as 1840 the men of the *HMS Beagle*, when they found the beams of a very old wreck and other artifacts, assumed they had found the wreck sites of the *Batavia* and the *Zeewyck*. Separate from the interest in shipwrecks, art historians became interested in German stoneware and Dutch faience, or Delftware, in the second half of the 19th century. David Gaimster notes that information about significant examples of German stoneware excavated in the Netherlands was published in several articles between 1852 and 1879. Albert Jacquemart and Henri Havard meanwhile began extensive research to identify the marks and makers of Dutch faience (Havard 1878; Jacquemart 1868, 1873). By 1878, it was lamented, there was still only partial success in answering the basic questions:

Who and what were the original faience-makers of Delft? When and how did they learn the marvelous art which to-day makes their old blue as well as their variegated ware rank among the most precious objects in the choicest and most noted collections of the civilized world? (Sykes 1878: 15).

Only by beginning with the excavation, study, and identification of examples of Dutch majolica as the predecessor of faience could these questions be answered.

The discoveries of Dutch majolica in 1902 during canal widening in Delft and later during World War I with work in Rotterdam was only a beginning in the recognition of this important ceramic type. An important article by Adriaan Pit, an art historian, in 1909 clearly described Dutch majolica. Ferrand Hudig, better known as an expert on glass, made the next important contribution in 1926 with the study of majolica from additional excavations. Although a major collection of ceramics was rescued and preserved during the rebuilding of Rotterdam following World War II by Daniel G. van Beuningen, attention shifted increasingly to underwater archaeology. In 1927 artifacts from the Dutch man-of-war *Brederode* sunk in 1658 were retrieved, and the wreck of the *Zuytdorp* was discovered. However, attention also now focused on ships

and shipwrecks as the Zuiderzee, renamed the IJsselmeer, began to be drained during World War II. After 1960, with discoveries of wrecks elsewhere such as the *Vergulde Draeck*, *De Liefde*, and the *Batavia*, there began a major effort to locate, catalogue, and study Dutch East India Company wrecks.

Finally, in 1972, the growing need for urban archaeology resulted in the appointment of Jan Baart as Amsterdam city archaeologist. Large-scale excavations in Amsterdam of entire blocks of 17th- and 18th-century house sites began in advance of new construction during the 1970s and 1980s, and large numbers of reports and articles began to be published. Other cities also appointed city archaeologists.

For the first time in the history of Dutch archeology such sizable excavations dared to tackle such "recent" sites. Although occasionally, during other projects, many 17th- and 18th-century sites were also documented, and material was retrieved, archeological excavation projects usually disregarded anything later than the middle ages. The inspiration for these new investigations, which in the Netherlands got the name "archeology of Recent Times," came from America and England (Baart 2001).

A major landmark was the publication in 1977 of *Opgravingen in Amsterdam* by Jan Baart and his team. Copies of this popular reference book on Amsterdam excavations and artifacts are currently very scarce. Now out of print, it is still considered "the bible" on this subject, and copies sell for more than \$170 each.

The rapid development of post-medieval archaeology in the Netherlands after 1971 coincided with new archaeological discoveries of colonial Dutch sites in New York and a renewed focus on the documents from the Dutch period there. Historians began to realize that perhaps there had been an over-emphasis on the English colonial period, and "in the 1970s...a wave of new translations and new research began to set the facts straight" (Fabend 2002: 59). There was a growing reaction against the scholarly tendency to treat the American colonies in isolation. British historian Trevor Burnard observes that

a simplistic reading of the historiography since the mid-1960s would see the 1970s and 1980s as characterized by the rise of social history and Annales type history in particular and the 1990s into the twenty-first century as primarily

influenced by works that want to expand the geographical scope of early America as far as possible and that are as sensitive to place as to gender or race (Burnard 2004: 28).

Post-medieval archaeologists in the Netherlands and historical archaeologists in America have many mutual interests and much to gain from frequent communication. Both groups face many of the same difficulties, issues, and challenges. There have been budget cuts, and one has the impression from the annotated bibliography that there was a temporary slump in the number of post-medieval publications in the Netherlands between 1998 and 2003. Now, however, more information is available than ever before, and much of this is because of the miracle of the Internet. With further research and publications, it will become increasingly clear that the Dutch share with the English much that became the cultural heritage of the American colonies.

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