

Christian Gellinek

**The Beginning of
German Immigration in
North America during
the Thirty Years War**

»Those Damn' Dutch«

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Dedicated to our Friesian forefathers,
including the Tychsens from Tondern,
who sometimes risked their lives at sea
according to the old Friesian motto
»Lewer duad iis slaav«
(I had lief be dead than a slave)

In memoriam Heiner Junk
1947 – 1996

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Preface

Generations of Lübeck-born citizens when travelling to Munich in Bavaria, would find themselves pretty much in a foreign country¹ there. According to the mock-serious German writer Thomas Mann, an outlandish *kauderwelsch*² sounding language is spoken there, which cannot easily be understood at first by North Germans. This strange "foreignness" would be felt to have roots in the past centuries back. In a 1934 law code novella, regulating passport matters, promulgated in High German, the new government tried to sweep these cumbersome differences under the rug. Former nationality identifiers such as "Bavarian", "Lübeck Hansard", and so on, were replaced by "German". Only as of the beginning of the Third Reich would a Hansard travel to Bavaria as German among Germans within Germany. This little known historical fact puts a cautionary note on the general topic of German immigration to North America in any century. For it is harder to find a Hansard or a Bavarian in American immigration records than an Englishman or a Frenchman by comparison.

By contrast, when, for example, a family from Melle, Westphalia, emigrated to New Melle, Missouri, in the nineteenth century, it undertook a migration, which was likely triggered by a chain-letter; after a dangerous trip it settled safely in the non-melting-pot village New Melle, where the same protestant hymns were sung on Sunday than at home, the same prayers were spoken in the same Westphalian dialect, and the neighbors had been familiar to the newcomers at Old Melle. Therefore, we had to ask ourselves: who felt more foreign where and when, the Hansard in baroque Munich or the Old-Melle migrant abroad? This is the second caveat to be taken, when considering German immigration to North America.

A third knotty problem concerns male immigrants only: who would have to bear arms either at home or abroad? On the one hand, Mennonites, Amishes and Quakers had not refused the military draft in Europe in order to be forced to bear arms, after they had voluntarily come over. Still, this demonstrated neutrality was often resented by genuine British subjects. On the other end of the scale, the brother-in-law of King George III, and

1 Only the river Elbe people near Meissen, according to Schiller's Xenion, speak a German free of *kauderwelsch*.

2 Tony B., *Buddenbrooks*, (1901), VI, 1, derogatorily calls the Bavarian version of High German "double Dutch".

the Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel each sold 6% of their able-bodied young male subjects to fight in British uniforms. Imagine these young men's feelings abroad: some were pressed, as if they had been drunken sailors, some volunteered for the hand-out money, others ran away from justice. The so-called "Hessians" amounted to some 30.000 soldiers, torn from their fatherland. Many lucky ones who deserted the British army or voluntarily switched sides, were promptly exempted from an American redraft by a Proclamation, dated April 29, 1778. Once peace had broken out, more than a few Pennsylvanians, among them Kunert/Cunard, New Yorkers, as well as New Jerseyites, assumed an attitude of "Empire Loyalism", and moved on to Nova Scotia and Upper Canada. This land hunger re-immigration makes up for an other ironical twist. For how pro-Hannoverian/British could a "Hessian" really get twice in a row? These movements must not be generalized, however.

According to the modern German immigration specialist, Professor Klaus J. Bade from the Institute of Migratory Research at the University of Osnabrück, such German-speaking people, apart from having to get adjusted to the land's English-speaking majority, faced 225.000 earlier arrived *Dutch-Americans*³, or 8% of the total North American population by 1780⁴. This guesstimate was contested by Agnes Bretting⁵. She assumed the presence of a mere 75.000 "Dutch"-Americans by the outbreak of the American Revolution. The deviation of these two figures, 75.000 minimum vs. 225.000 maximum, cannot accurately be bridged, until the earliest "German" immigration to North America, taking place in the seventeenth century, has been more fully researched. It is one of the purposes of our undertaking, to lay the groundwork for carrying out such a study. For our material, we checked and ordered available data from early passenger and immigration lists, early death registers of Maine, land registers of Rhode Island, freemen registers of Massachusetts, marriage dates of New York, mostly assembled by preceding researchers, and finally, names from secondary sources about Virginia "Germans". We came across an ethnic group of "German" settlers, called "*Dutch*", who had multiplied to roughly 3.000 souls by 1683.

Now there is a one hundred year gap of population development from 1680 to 1780 to be filled by further immigration research. It seems to us, that even with maximum immigration pressure there would be no way of

3 *Deutsch-Amerikaner* or Germans living in America.

4 "Wanderhandel in Europa", in: ed. Wilfried Reinighaus, *Wanderung in Deutschland*. Dortmund 1993, p. 14.

5 "Mit Bibel, Pflug und Büchse: deutsche Pioniere im kolonialen Amerika", in: Ed. Klaus J. Bade. *Deutsche im Ausland - Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. München: C. H. Beck 1993, S. 135.

increasing from 3.000 to 225.000 "German"-American inhabitants during a one hundred year period. Even if we took optimal nutrition, fine general health, early marriages, birthing, infant care and late mortality, as well as augmentation by further arrivals into consideration, the lower of the two figures cited above ought to be the more realistic of the two. This figure comes close to 3 or at the most 4 % of the entire population, reached by the time of the American Revolution. This in itself may seem a small percentage, if one bears in mind that the total population of the disintegrating Holy Empire was more than ten times that of North America more than one hundred years earlier.

This ethnographic study focuses on one strong component of the American mosaic. Its socio-historical data account for two generations of early "Dutch", that is, Low-German speaking or understanding immigrants, from the Northwestern German Territories. Reader-friendly tables and maps illustrate the traces these settlers left from the time of their early arrival in 1607 until 1683. Their areas of settlement stretched from Virginia to Maine. As mostly coastal dwellers, sometimes even of Friesian extraction, they had less trouble communicating in seventeenth-century seaboard English than assumed before.

A chapter on the technology transfer, on the dollar, as well as a rocker printing press, used in Boston, but made in Nuremberg, was added. Two settler indexes round off this lively written study, in which the mystery of "Norumbega" is partially lifted.

This study was written for readers who appreciate early "Americana", and who wish to inform themselves on genealogical and technological heritage questions, in short, on "roots". The readers will be enabled to ponder about people representing a steady stream of Proto-Americans. This booklet contains a reading text for students and teachers of the New World, where the English sea captain John Smith had once sworn about "those damn' Dutch" who would build solid homes for the Indians near Fort James, Virginia, in 1608, behind his back.

Methodologically, we tried to follow in the footsteps of Bernard Bailyn by adapting his propositions which ought to govern ethnic migration research. Daniel J. Boorstin's intellectual brilliance and depth served us as guidepost. The immediately preceding research on pre-melting pot New Yorkers, achieved by Joyce D. Goodfriend, blazed a wide trail to follow in.

It is a genuine pleasure to recognize people who helped us to carry out this DFG-sponsored research: Richard Pettit, CIES, Washington, D. C.; Ulrich Littmann, former director of the Fulbright Commission at Bonn; Silvester Rostosky, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft Bonn; Detlef Ellmers, Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum Bremerhaven; the Netherlands Maritime Museum at Amsterdam; Jaap Jacobs, New Netherland Project, N. Y.

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1 The Entry

1.1 The Thread and the Yarn

An old German maritime proverb says that “people who sit in the same boat are equally rich”¹, but in threatening transatlantic weather they were rather equally poor. When their water ran afoul, crew and passengers alike had to suffer as “Likedeealers” (Low German for ‘alike-dealers’), in calm winds, until death by dehydration. And yet some crews were more durable than others. For thirst on the Atlantic beset mariners of different nations differently, depending from which climate they came from. Thus Portuguese and Spanish sailors, used to heat, could survive on watered-down wine for days on end; Hollanders on half a gallon of beer a day; Englishmen on a gallon of beer. German sailors, however, were entitled and used to three to four gallons of beer². They considered that quantity part of the nutrition (food), not of their daily drinking ration. Beer was so important to them, that it cost the ship-building Easterlings or Hansards roughly a third of their budget. Ordinarily, German sailors preferred Brunswick *Mumme*, but in dire circumstances they could get by on New Brunswick spruce beer. There was another grave shortcoming apart from the perennial one of heat and thirst, already noted in Tacitus’ *Germania*. It concerned the loading space required on Hanseatic boats for the many earthen-ware barrels of beer. Or as the Alsatian landlubber Dr. Sebastian Brant told it in his satirical *Ship of Fools*:

“One vessel would be far too small the fools I know to carry all.”³

One of Dr. Brant’s woodcutters, Albrecht Dürer from Nürnberg, achieved a Hogarth-like woodcut ship silhouette without masts or sails which could only be rowed down the Rhine to Cologne. It is doubtful whether Brant realized what kind of sea-worthy ships the Hanseatic

1 The Lübeck senator J. Marquad, *De Jure Mercatorum et commerciorum*. Frankfurt-on-Main: Th. Goetze 1662, Liber III, caput IV, Nr. 24.

2 Konrad Pilgrim, “Der Durst auf den Weltmeeren”, *GWU* 19 (1968) p. 683–96.

3 Original published in German in 1494. Use Edwin E. Zeydel. *The Ship of Fools*. Dover N. Y. 1962, v. 18f.

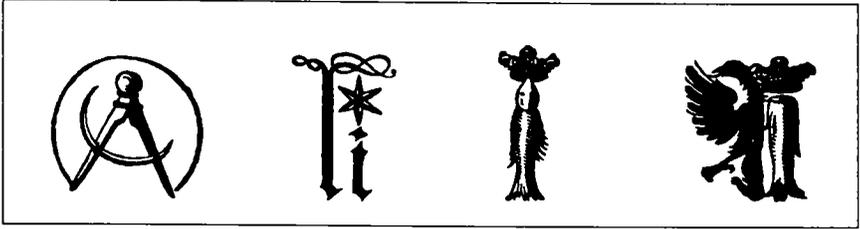
Das Narren Schyff.



Gen Harragonien.

1. Ship of Fools 1494

League, centered in Lübeck, built in any given year. But the young woodcutter Albrecht Dürer who knew Amsterdam, and had drawn a ship there, should have known about that. Apart from the comical effect of his illustrations and the satirical intent of Brant's text, it was probably known to both men too that North-German shipbuilders sported a narrow-minded



2. Lübeck Trade Circle Signs

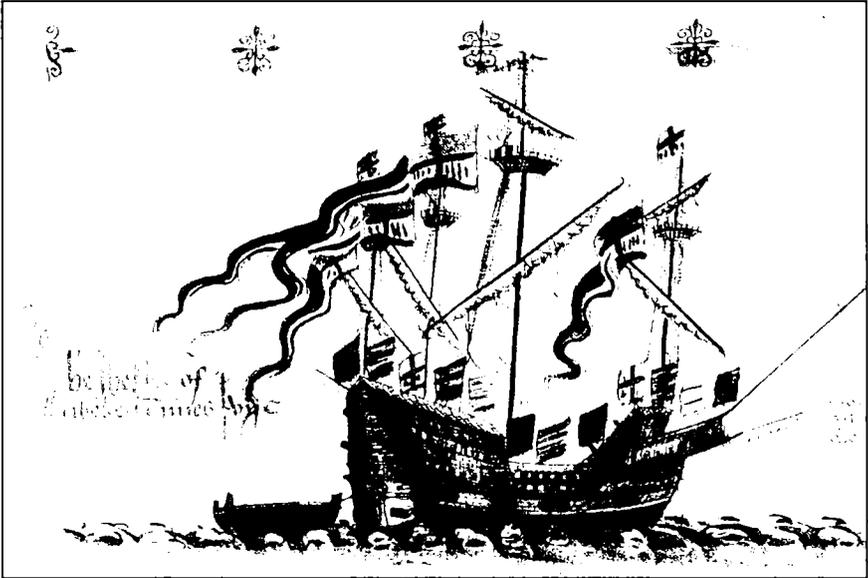
attitude toward the age of discovery. This point was established decades ago⁴.

The Easterlings of the Hanseatic League, which was organized as a business venture of various cities, headed by competing trade circles of Lübeck, refused to take part in the risks involved of exploiting rather than colonizing Venezuela. This adventure was undertaken by South-German merchants during the middle of the sixteenth century. The South German factors who sailed to South America as far south as the Rio de la Plata, usually chartered Spanish or Portuguese ships for the trip. If German-built boats made the crossing, they were not skippered by German captains at that period of time. It was not primarily due to an intrinsic constructional short-coming, as we shall see.

Young Francis Drake, who was to sail across to America seven times, sailed there first under the command of capt. John Hawkins, in a convoy to which belonged a former Hanseatic boat, rebuilt in England. The name of this majestic-looking flagship of 700 tons was *Jesus of Lübeck*, a dowager of the seas, which held up under English command twenty-four years of service until it had reached Mexico in 1568.

No name of a Lübeck seaman from the English defeat by Spanish treachery, committed against Hawkins and Drake in 1568, survived. But thanks to the work of English specialists we know that they employed checkered crews, Englishmen, Scotsmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese and Spaniards, and also turn-coat pirates and sea-robbers, all the time. One German-Friesian crew member, who belonged to sub-captain Carlisle's boat of another English convoy, lost his life in a skirmish on Florida soil. On this occasion the Spanish-held St. Yago, subsequently rebuilt as St. Augustine near by,

⁴ Edw. E. Zeydel, "Sebastian Brant and the Discovery of America", *JEGP* vol. 42 (1943) p. 410f. See also E. E. Z., *Sebastian Brant*. TWAS 13. Boston 1967, p. 77.



3. "Jhesus of Lubeke"

was burnt to the grounds⁵ by Drake's men. The name of one of his lieutenants was Thomas Tuckso(n) or Tychsen⁶, and he was buried in Florida on November 24, 1585. As the epitaph for this brave young Friesian we may well choose the Florentine merchant Goro Dati's fifteen-century lines:

"Pirates and merchants sail the main Hunting for plunder or for gain. A single day from dawn to dusk can bring them either book or bust: No other trade, no other way of life thus makes men fortune's prey."⁷

It is historically noteworthy that educated German sixteenth-century readers took such a lively interest in maritime exploration and discoveries that the most famous explorers' names were linguistically appropriated by the translators. Thus Drake became "Draeck" meaning a dragon-

5 Report by Walter Bigges *Relation oder Beschreibung der Rheiß ... durch ... Franciscum Drack ...* Cologne 1589, p. 5.

6 Thomas Cates. *A Summarie and True Discourse ...* London 1592, p. 5.

7 Ed. V. D. B. (= anonymus) *Leben und Thaten der Durch-läuchtigsten Seehelden ...* High German trl. Nuremberg Sulzbach 1681, distinguished four categories of worthies: sea heroes, sea robbers, Englishmen and Dutchmen.

class boat, and was celebrated in an end-sixteenth-century German poem⁸, Smith became “Schmidt”, Sir John Norris “Herr Norwitz”⁹, and Christopher Columbus “Stoffel Däuber”¹⁰, and so on, as if they were German household words. This was especially the case in book-trade centers such as Frankfort-on-Main and Nuremberg in Franconia during the sixteenth century.

We learn that sea capt. John Smith alias Johann Schmidt had double-crossed the Indians in his fledgling Virginia colony, led by the chief of the Powhatans, and wanted to lay hands on him in Fort James, Virginia. The travel descriptions had made it clear to us that from the beginning in 1606–7 there were a few carpenters involved who had built block houses for the Whites and other constructions for the Indians. These carpenters from Central Europe were said to have been hard-working men by capt. Smith. They had built for the “enemy” party, because they got along with the tribe of Powhatans. Smith got mad at them when they warned the Indian chief of Smith’s intended treachery, while they were expected to spy for Smith¹¹. An anecdote dated April 26, 1607 survived. It relates that he swore at the group of these carpenters as “THOSE DAMNED DUTCH” because they had warned his supposed enemy behind his back. This action took place before the chief was to take revenge, had not his daughter Pocahontas covered his red English neck. The famous sentimental life saving story covers an unsuspected internecine rivalry. The simple “Dutchmen” got along better with the Indians than the classier Englishmen did¹².

After we had crossed the Atlantic ourselves for the thirteenth time in 1993 to carry out this immigration research, we came across a lot of source material and could double-check at least three of these carpenters’ names. Their names sounded so Freudian, that we must relate them to the reader right here. The first “Dutch” was called Frederick William Unger or rather Friedrich Wilhelm (H)unger, who may have been a relative to the Nuremberg citizen, Michael Hunger Sr., who traded in Amsterdam with English

8 *Nova Novorum. Neue Zeitungen, ...* Neuhoffen 1596.

9 *Beschreibung des Neuwen Engellands ...* unter dem Kapitän Johann Schmidt Ins Hoch-Teutsche versetzt. Frankfurt Hartmann Palthesius 1617; this edition had a competitor issued there in 1617 by Huels; see note 11 for an equivalent English version.

Michael Isselt, *Historia ...* Amersfort 1590.

10 Jobst Ruchamer. *Neue unbekandte Landte und New Weldte*. Trld. from Fra Canzano da Montalboddo. *Paesi novamenta ...* Nuremberg 1508, retrld. in the same year into Low German by Henning Ghetelen, also Nuremberg: Johann Stuechss 1508.

11 John Smith. *The Three Travels, Adventures and Observations*. London 1629 Rp. Richmond, Va, 1819, p. 241.

12 *Ibid.* p. 218. Pocahontas married a younger Englishman still in Virginia 1614. They had a son with numerous descendents.

merchants¹³. He landed with capt. John Smith in “Jamestown”, Virginia, already in 1607¹⁴. The second one is Smith’s gunner Peter Keffer (*Käfer* = bug). He arrived together with the third one, a Swiss-“Dutch” by the name of Friedrich Wilhelm Volday a year later. Our interest was aroused, and we were prepared for a more global inquiry to the obvious question: who were these “damned Dutch” in Early America? Did they have anything in common with those notorious “Dutch” in Penn’s subsequent established Colony?

Little by little a trickle started to flow. When we returned to Europe from our work at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, R. I., and the Beinecke Rare Book Library in New Haven, CT., as well as at various Colonial Document Centers, we had assembled or reassembled a list of hundreds of healthy families having sailed across to the Eastern Seaboard mostly on Dutch ships already during or shortly after the Thirty Years War, that is, two generations before they were supposed to have arrived in North America at all. If their arrival was registered in New Amsterdam by the Dutch authorities, any old Peter Hermanns became a “Pieter Harmensz”. It was high time to unfold the story of the seventeenth-Century “Dutch” Immigration to North America. What needed to be established was a methodology in order to assemble the findings of this research, and to allow us to carry it to conclusions valid by modern American scholarly standards.

1.2 The Approach

There are numerous roadblocks to exploring early ethnic immigration to North America. The most obvious ones are of a quantitative kind. When one assembles the raw data of families who left life traces and checks them against the Passenger and Immigration List available, only 20% of such names were registered passengers at one or other port of entry, mostly that of New Amsterdam. The others entered unrecorded, but not unnoticed.

Many original arrival notices had to be checked in order to find passengers important enough to be mentioned. Stephen Greenblatt when talking about lists of occupations and names left from earlier centuries, found the key to the reasons for that: “If anything, there are even fewer traces of the European lower classes, the common seamen and soldiers, the servants

13 Lambert F. Peters. *Der Handel Nürnbergs am Anfang des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*. VSWG 112. Stuttgart 1994, p. 175.

14 P. W. Filby with M. K. Meyer. *Passenger and Immigration List*, iv volumes. Detroit 1981, first ed., containing 480,000 first settlers’ names has possibly erroneously “1606”. The location of “Jamestown” is searched for by Prof. William Kelso.

and artisans who endured the greatest hardships and perils of the voyages. Sometime they are only represented by a number.”¹⁵

For that very reason, the English preacher and Paris diplomat Richard Hakluyt, MA (Oxon.), considered them ideal candidates for colonizers¹⁶. Secondly, several crossings must have been voyages started in a little convoy, of which not all ships made it to America or made it back to England or Holland. Thirdly, innumerable small commercial ships with few passengers left harbors unrecorded¹⁷.

The Atlantic Ocean could be navigated by multinational crews in a variety of ships. Successful captains treated their crews and stowed-away cattle better than their slaves on board, or the savages on land¹⁸. But not only the very process of arriving went partly unrecorded. The knowledge of what data were comparable then and what is interdisciplinarily known about them now has been fuzzed by different methodologies.

A large family’s preparation requiring packing their baggage for sometimes eight to twelve of kin, involved many acts. A healthy and large family had to plan and execute the voyage, arrive and settle overseas. But we would commit an error of judgment in seeing an immigrant family with a modern passenger’s eyes. Joyce D. Goodfriend introduced the extremely useful term “family cohorts” for early seventeenth-century Hollandic and “Dutch” colonists in her trailblazing and thorough book¹⁹. She does demonstrate that the Hollandic cohorts’ main occupation was clan-adhesive business, very similar to the main occupation of their English competitors and rivals.

We will not delve into the history of territorial claims and colonial grants, overlapping as they were. These land stretches are areas, the earliest settlers went to, even though they may have been mistaken under whose authority they fell or didn’t fall²⁰. We hope the reader will notice that we tried to come up to the standards set by Don Meinig, “not to impose a

15 *Marvellous Possessions*. U of Chicago Press 1991, p. 146.

16 *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation . . .* in three volumes (1598–1600) in the ed. of the Beinecke Rare Book Library.

17 Kenneth R. Andrew. *The Spanish Caribbean. Trade and Plunder, 1530–1630*. New York Yale U. P. 1978 quoted in Don W. Meinig. *The Shaping of America*. I Yale U. P. 1986, p. 61.

18 Anthony Grafton. *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*. The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery. Harvard U. P. 1992, p. 7. See also David Galenson. *White Servitude in Colonial America*. Cambridge, England 1981.

19 *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in colonial New York City, 1664–1730*. Princeton U. P. 1992. The original title of her 1975 UCLA dissertation “Too great a Mixture of Nations” was putting up a different focus, and did not include Blacks.

20 *The Hammond Atlas of the United States History*. (1993) graphically treats these overlappings in their most recent maps U-7 to U-13.

dominating national perspective”, but that each group, including the Hollandic vs. the “Dutch” one, must be recognized as constituent participant in American history, and as an essential piece of the American mosaic²¹. Their geographic history and historical settlement geography are complementary and interdependent. For “every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine”²².

Bernard Bailey’s major study²³, setting standards as it does, may contain a misnomer in its title: North America’s ethnic main arteries were not just British in the seventeenth century, just as Hessian soldiers were not merely Hessians in the eighteenth.

Did the Spanish crown make no claims to the western half of North America at least to the Coronado/Colorado river before 1700? Was the Emperor Charles V who spoke “Brabants”, a West-Franconian dialect, not also king of Spain, emperor of the Holy German Empire, Duke of Brabant and Holland, etc? Did the sun go under in *His America*? Was his son Philip not married in absence to Mary the Catholic (1554–58)? North America was British by declaration only. The scramble for settling on this land fell on many shoulders.

In any case, we do, for the purposes of furthering our cause, agree with Bailey’s brilliant main propositions, yet restate them for our lines of argument in a slightly boiled-down fashion like this:

Proposition 1: extension of domestic mobility leading to immigration processes of high differentiation

Proposition 2: seen and checked against different ethnic backgrounds

Proposition 3: stimulation both by agricultural labor and by land speculation leading to land development and to growth drawing differently on different groups

Proposition 4: contribution to subsequent American culture as the “marchland of the metropolitan European culture system”²⁴.

This study understands its own approach as a linking between Meinig’s Shaping-of-America theorems, Bailey’s propositions and Goodfriend’s socio-ethnic perspectives, without being tagged down to any particular tenet of theirs.

21 *The Shaping of America*, I. (1986) Point 2 p. XVII.

22 John Donne, Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, 1623–24.

23 *Voyages West: The Peopling of British North America*. U. of Wisconsin Press 1985 Rp. Knopf N. Y., 1986.

24 They are found on pp. 20, 49f., 60 and 112.

We also appreciate Paul J. Boorstin's perennial classic²⁵ because of its rootedness and brilliance, a rare combination in this field.

1.3 Under "Dutch" Auspices

Anybody living in the United States today or yesterday will have noticed that some ethnic newcomers are or oldtimers were less welcome additions to the people than others. If one hailed from France, the foreign charm would soon be forgiven. If one had come over from England a colonial awe might surround one, especially if the chosen land was, say, Upper Canada. But if one came from the "Old Country" meaning Germany, one would never mention that land of origin so directly. He would say "I was born in" . . . Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland or Saxony, and so on. There would almost invariably go up a little or even a big wall, depending where the inquirer came from. The native-born would probably be more tolerant than the foreign-born. The civilization behind the "Limy" is a mother superior of sorts or a land of intellectual role models to the U.S. Which country if not England and Scotland gave more shape and chic to North America? But a robust *Kraut*²⁶ would try to hide the origin of whatever was not Anglo-Saxon in him, for he came from a rivaling culture, a different matter altogether than a civilization. Perhaps he would be respected, but his relentless higher striving, coupled often with a clannish behavior, would most likely not be popular. Anybody researching these complex ethno-psychic matters had better, if possible, skip the twentieth century with its subsequent "hang the Kaiser"/"hate Hitler" periods²⁷, and jump right back to the seventeenth, drawn by a giant leap of ethnic faith. This complexity is rooted in the oddest discrepancy. The Germans are considered numerically the strongest ethnic minority component of the entire United States today, and yet it has become "the least visible"²⁸. Since politics with its historical roots in one linguistic core are as a rule ethno-centric, a special runner-up

25 *The Americans: The Colonial Experience*. Vintage Books. Random House (1958) 1964. We also found R. W. Vail's *The Voice of the Old Frontier*. U of Penna Press. Philadelphia 1949 very helpful in a general way.

26 In Low German (= *Plattdeutsch*) "crew" means red crab. The Cottbus cloth association exported large quantities of these impregnated uniform cloth to North America by the 1750s. City soldiers (militia) were called "Krewt" e. g. in Rostock until 1830s. So the American nickname for forcefully imported German soldiers is eighteenth-century military, but Low German (not Hessian) in origin.

27 Melvin G. Holli, Ed. *Ethnic Chicago*. Grand Rapids Eerdmans 1981, p. 260-312.

28 Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. Belknap Harvard U. P. 1980, p. 406 and 285.

feature must be hidden underneath this blank spot in US American history of politics and law, noticed by Boorstin²⁹.

“Dutch” immigrants, if properly asked, might readily admit to having come from “Deutschland”, but they had trouble seeing themselves as “Germans”, because “Germany” is either a learned historical term with a false ring to their ears, or is perceived as a derogatory term by them, originating in England during the eighteenth century. Don Yoder, if we understood him correctly, used the appealing cross-reference term “Deitschlenner” for eighteenth-century Pennsylvania-Dutch and “Duchland” for eighteenth-century Germany (= Deutschland)³⁰. One need only go two hundred years backward in time. By then the historian Johann Carion named German Lands in the plural as “DUCHELANDE”: “Histories is a treasure which never ought to be layde out of our landes;”³¹. In other words, “Germany” was used in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century translation English first, and subsequently in British North American Colonies earlier than it could serve a valid purpose in continental European political history. “For it becometh an historiographer or Story writer to declare the truthe in all thynges.”³²

It may sound far-fetched, but from “Dutch uncle” (a critical person administering a stern lecture) to “Dutch praise” (a down-dressing) to avenging World War generals like Pers(c)hing(er) and Eisenhower (“Crusade in Europe”) or a popular young sports-caster “Dutch” Reagan (pronounced Reegan), – who had to drop this nickname as inappropriate for aspirations to higher office – to the demarginalized “German problem”³³, there exists an uninterrupted tradition. From the perennial “boorishness” to “German humor is no laughing matter”³⁴, it’s not too large a step either, whether that “gets one’s Dutch up” or not³⁵. Many natural scientists from “Central Europe” have worked successfully in North America. Let’s recall an early one: Sir Humphry Gilbert’s German assayer sailed on the rebuilt “Swallow”

29 *The Americans: The Colonial Experience*, p.399. When this author wanted to give an invited paper on the Grotian-Vattelien origin of the phrase “The pursuit of happiness” in the State of New York, it was turned down.

30 *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, XXIII (1988).

31 *The three bokes of Chronicles*. Original in Nuremberg 1532. Gathered by John Funcke of Nuremborough 1550, iv, 88, 212f.

It is surprising, though, that Funcke also uses “Germainys” historically for “*Germanen*” on p. 211.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 228.

33 Don Meinig, *The Shaping of America*. I, p. 140.

34 The moment a German-American is making a joke, his phonetics is often distracting from the funny point, diminishing or falsely overlaying the laughter of the Anglo group he is talking to. Compare Mark Twain and Sinclair Lewis (*Main Street*) poking fun.

35 St. Bernardo. *The Ethnic Almanach*. N. Y. 1981, p.154. These stereotypes were directed against the “Dutch” (Netherlanders) as well.

to Newfoundland in 1583³⁶ collecting samples of ore for Gilbert's expedition. At that time Britain, although getting stronger on the seas, still needed to import hanseatic gear (cables, cordage, canvas, spars, pitch and potash) as equipment for her Royal Navy. Too many tactless remarks have been made by Germans about German scientific education having been transplanted to America, with the result of enumerating big or little Werner von Brauns, and so forth. In this fashion more often than not there arose partially understandable ethnic irritation between prime Anglo-Saxon Americans and the constantly spreading "strangers within the realm", to use a modern phrase³⁷. Torn between the Scylla of exclusive ethnic pride and the Carybdis of the heat of the Melting Pot, we get started on a non-pareil's settling in a Nomansland of the Northeastern Seaboard, before we head south into more clustered settlements along the coast. For he fulfills the requirements of all four of Baileyn's propositions.

36 J. A. Williamson. *The Age of Drake*, p. 232.

37 B. Baileyn and Ph. D. Morgan, "The Origin of whatever is not English among us", Ed. A. Roeber, *Strangers within the Realm*. U. of North Carolina Press 1991.

2 The Coastline

2.1 From “Mayne” to Maine

Contrary to the assumption of German scholars¹ the term does not derive from a northern French province, but describes the coast as *main* line, parallel to “Spanish Main(e)” for Venez-uela’s coast and land strip. Before Massachusetts claimed part of it in 1651, “Mayne” extended to the Connecticut River. The original claim was granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges². His grandson sold the rights to this Colony for £ 1.250³.

- An independent fisherman who started his business at Casco Bay and prospered there as farmer and Indian trader from 1630 to 1667 was called George Cle(e)ve from the Rhenish Cleves which extended then from Duisburg, G. Mercator’s town, to the present Dutch border. We can only estimate his year of birth as falling roughly on 1606. His year of arrival is also not known. But in his middle age he became a considerable landowner. In fact he became so prosperous that he could afford to have within Maine his own colony “Lygonia” (= Land of the Harrow), measuring almost 1500 square miles east of the upper Connecticut River, confirmed by the British Parliament on March 27, 1647. That grant made him governor; he rose to house deputy for Falmouth, Maine, in 1663, and deputy governor before 1664⁴. He may have had shady dealings with Dixie Bull, a redoubtable pirate:

“What great things we achieved, behold, Here by our cargo
can be told. Free ocean makes you scruple-free, Cobwebs
of caution swept to sea. There only counts the timely grip,
You catch a fish, you catch a ship . . .”⁵

1 Harms *Erdkunde* Band VI AMERICA. 10th ed. I. Pohl and J. Zepp. München-Frankfurt p. List Verlag 1970, p. 183.
2 Ferdinando Gorges. *AMERICA Painted to the Life*. The True History . . . London 1658., p. 50.
3 J. G. Reid. *Maine, Charles II and Massachusetts: Governmental Relationships in Early Northern New England*. Portland, Maine 1977, vid. p. 251.
4 He held Saco (Spurwink), Blackpoint, Blue Point (Scarborough), Cape Purpose (Falmouth) and Casco. By 1658 much of this “leased” territory fell under Massachusetts court jurisdiction, Reid, *ibid.*, p. 9, 15f., 227. Cf. *Maine Wills 1640–1760*. Portland, Maine 1887, p. 908.
5 Goethe, *Faust*, Part II, Act 5, ll. 11173–11180, Mephisto speaking.

The editor of the Maine Wills did not draw any ethnic distinctions. In ploughing through testators' and witnesses' names, we counted roughly 10 % distinctly Dutchlandic or German sounding names. By stating that, we stepped out of "Lygonia" into the wider nomansland which was to become Maine.

2.1.1 Nomansland of Norumbega, Maine

Among early American place names Norumbega is an especially intriguing one. About a hundred years ago a city by that name was rediscovered with great fanfare on the river Charles, Massachusetts, only to be ridiculed by the profession. George K. Stewart dismissed it as "a ghost name, appearing on many maps of the 16th and 17th centuries, but not surviving. It covered the general area of Maine".⁶ Samuel Eliot Morison thought he had unmasked the French royal cosmographer and traveller André Thevet (1504-91) as its culprit "teller of tall tales" who "built it up to a castellated city on the Penobscot".⁷ Morison was not aware that he had a forerunner critic in the Dutch writer Johannes de Laet (1583-1649) who had doubted both the existence of a river and a town by such name, but not that of a coastline.⁸ Recently Susan Danforth sidestepped the issue by using Norumbega as metaphor, "vague in extent", for ancient Maine.⁹

Our interest in this question and related problems had been awakened by studying old map reeditions available in Münster, one by Portinari¹⁰, and one simply called *Amerika*.¹¹ Norumbega appears there in various spellings: Italian, Latin, French, English and Abnaki. Although Morison doubted that it existed, he was sure it meant in Algonquian-Abnaki "a quiet place between two rapids".¹² After checking the original maps of

6 *American Place-Names*. Oxford U. P. 1970.

7 *The European Discovery of America*. The Northern Voyages A. D. 500-1600. Oxford U. P. 1971, p. 457; bibliography on pp. 488-91. See André Thevet (1504-92). *Cosmographie universelle* (1575), II, 1008.

8 *Nieuwe Wereldt offe Beschrijvinghe van WEST-INDIEN*. ii. Boeck, 18-20: Isaack Elzevier 1625 Leyden. Cf. 18 "vervolgh van de custe van Norumbegue".

9 *The Land of Norumbega: Maine in the Age of Exploration and Settlement*. An Exhibition in Portland, Maine. Portland 1989, p. 36-44, 38.

10 Ed. P. Portinari and F. Knirsch. *The Cartography of North America*. Bison Books. Hongkong 1990, plates Nr. XXXIX, XL, XLIV, LIII, LVII, LX, LXIII, LXV, LXXVI, LXXX, LXXXI, XCVI.

11 *Das alte Europa entdeckt die Neue Welt*. Exhibition Catalogue Gotha. Erfurt 1992, pp. 94, 112, 122, 138.

12 *The European discovery of America*, p. 464. Supposedly a Norumbega Town was seen by the explorer Roberval Allesfonsce in about 1556. The assumed "Algonquian" meaning of "Norumbega" was confirmed orally by Bruce G. Trigger (McGill) in Febr., 1994.

the John Carter Brown Map Collection in March, 1994, we thought we had spotted two basic spelling traditions of Norumbega adhered to by 16th century European cartographers of America, of which the second one, spelling without an “r” in all English versions, prevailed on maps of the seventeenth century. John Seller, *A Mapped of New England*, published 1675, attached to his map a tabulation of the government system of Massachusetts. Surprisingly and so far unexplained is its dichotomization system. It is clearly Ramistic, hence more of Dutch than of English quality. This perspective would corroborate Daniel J. Boorstin’s contention on the development of American law: “our legal history remains a Dark Continent”.¹³

In any case, two spelling traditions of “Norumbega” have been preserved in sixteenth-century geographic sources:

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| 1. | “Norumberga” ¹⁴ | 2. | “Norumbega” ¹⁵ |
| 1548 | engraving: Gastaldi-Ptolemeos, <i>Geografia</i> ¹⁶ | 1556 | woodcut: Gastaldi-Ramusio, <i>Nuova Francia</i> , III |
| 1561 | Girolamo Ruscelli
<i>Cosmographia Universalis</i> | 1569 | G. Mercator, <i>Orbis . . .</i> |
| 1572 | Tommasio Porchacci: <i>Mondo Nuovo: Nova Francia</i> | 1570 | A. Ortelius, <i>Americae Nova Descriptio</i> |
| 1574 | engraving: Paolo Furlani,
<i>Tutte le navigatione de Mondo Novo</i> | 1580 | John Dee |
| | | 1582 | Michael Lok |
| | | 1585 | Mercators (sic) |
| | | 1590 | Baptista-Drake’s ¹⁷ |
| | | 1593 | De Jodes (<i>Judaeis</i>) |
| | | 1595 | M. Mercator |
| | | 1596 | Plancius |
| 1596 | Th. De Bry | 1597 | S. De Champlain |

¹³ *The Americans. The Colonial Experience*. N. Y. Vintage 1964, p. 399.

Before we worked through the JCB Map Collection, we had assumed that an eighteenth-century German cartographer¹⁸ had deliberately misrepresented Norumbega as “Nürnberg” out of local pride. In reality the doubtful German spelling is extant, to our present knowledge, in Icacopo Gastaldo’s 1548 edition of *La Geografia*. When he tried to have the original Nuremberg city in Germany correctly spelled later in his book, he or his printer ironically misspelled Nuremberg “Noruberga” without the “m”¹⁹, thus destroying the connection between the old metropolitan Franconian commercial city exporting to America and the new receiving coastal area Norumbega. It should be possible to find answers to the following questions:

- (1) Which of the two spelling traditions, Norumberga or Norumbega, is the authentic one?
- (2) If the older term really referred to the Old Nuremberg territory (which this city held indeed in the 16th century), then who were the Nurembergers coming to the coast of North America at that time?
- (3) Since the Augsburg Welser with the help of Nuremberg businessmen and of chartered ships tried to exploit Venezuela²⁰ from 1528–1556²¹, did their ships “Concepcion”, “Santa Maria de Regla” and “Santa Maria de la Concepcion”²² follow the gulf stream and sail along the coast of the eastern North American seaboard with a stop-over on the spot, which the Baptista map showed as Drake’s refresher station on the way back to Europe around 1568? It is known that the “Delight” skippered by Richard Clarke of Weymouth shipwrecked at the coast of Norumbega in 1583.²³

14 Or “Nvrvmberga”; the Italian term used most often is, with the exception of Furlani who used “*costa*”, “*tierra*”.

15 Also spelled Norembega/Norombega. The Latin reference term is “*terra*” (territory); see also G. Mercator, Plate XC, as in note 47, for an additional Norumbega town.

16 Original Venice 1548 and Rp. of 1540 ed. R. A. Skelton. Amsterdam 1966.

17 The wall map of Magdalene’s College, Cambridge, to plate LIII of Portinari, p. 114, is now kept in the British Maritime Museum.

18 J. B. Homann, Plate XCVI, Portinari, as in note 47.

19 *Geographia* (n. 52): *Germania Nova Tabula* (1542), between p. 56 and 57.

20 “Little Venice” (= Venetiola)’s polehouses reminded the seamen of Venice, their home. The Venezuela ‘Colony’ was supported by a Welser “Faktorei” stationed on Santo Domingo. The Welser-Hapsburg financial deal included a secret marriage of 1557 between Archduke Ferdinand (1529–1595), the Emperor’s second son, and Philippine Welser (1527–1580).

21 This grant to “sift silver and gold” is dated Dec. 9, 1526: W. Grosshaupt, “Der Venezuela-Vertrag der Welser”, *Scripta Mercaturae*, 24 (1992) pp. 1–35.

22 See Grosshaupt and R. Walter, *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch*, vol. 2 (1987) pp. 45–82. For the “Peller” ship see *FOCUS BEHAIM GLOBUS*. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, II (1993), p. 4, 7.

23 R. Hakluyt, *Voyages* II. London 1600, p. 163f.

Whoever could clear up these three problems satisfactorily from the evidence of authentic maps, could likely lay a connection to the South German adventurous “factors” of the middle sixteenth century²⁴ as having been forerunners of German craftsmen coming to Casco Bay, Maine, before 1630.²⁵ Nuremberg was Europe’s biggest weapon producer at that time and exported hardware and arms to America via Amsterdam or Lisbon.²⁶ Weapons were needed in a nomansland more than in any other officially controlled territory.

2.1.2 Settlers of Maine

The Plymouth Company’s settlement “Sagadahoc” was situated near the Kennebec River at the Norumbega/Nuremberg coastline. Although withdrawn already in 1608, a temporary summer trading with ships from England was reverted to for a while. Activities picked up also as refresher station from Virginia’s boats sailing back to England. John Smith’s²⁷ term “New England” was coined in 1614²⁸ a few years after Henry Hudson explored the Mauritius River²⁹. His associate was He(i)nrich Christiansen from Cleves. He actually explored the river much more thoroughly and more often³⁰ than either Henry Hudson or Adrian Block, who left a “Carte figurative” map of this coast in 1614.

By 1638 there were almost 2000 settlers in Maine³¹. When the “Province” fell temporarily under the proprietorship of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his successors, its population was still small, scattered and more vulnerable than territories around Boston or New Amsterdam.

- We do not know whether Jan Cle(e)ve, born in Cleves 1628, who became a horsemill owner in the New Amsterdam territory in the sixteen fifties was a cousin to George Cle(e)ve or not. In any case,

24 H. Gessler, P. Markus, H. Sailer, H. Ehinger, N. Federmann, J. Reinboldt, J. Rentz, A. Talfinger, accompanied by 300 settlers and 50 miners.

25 According to John M. Bloom et alii’s *The National Experience*. 1973, third ed. p. 12, the first recorded English immigration ship hit Sagadahoc river, Maine, first in 1607. George Cle(e)ve was just about one year old at that time.

26 The Venetian-born Bartholomäus Viatis, a rich citizen of Nuremberg, left his heirs, the Pellars, the sum of 1.2 million guilders in 1625; Lambert F. Peters. *Der Handel Nürnbergs* ... p.77, 111 and 131 shows that from 1575–1648 there were up to 18 Italian business families present in Nuremberg.

27 “The settlement near Penobscot ... the most noble”, *The Three Travels* (Frankfurt 1617) p. 8.

28 Don W. Meinig, *The Shaping*, I p. 37.

29 Later called “Hudson” River in his honor.

30 Jo. de Laet. *Nieuwe Wereldt* ... 1625, p. 88.

31 Don Meinig, I p. 90.

another sawmiller, Richard Leader (Lieder?) conducted his business at Kittery, Me. He rose to becoming a magistrate in New Hampshire in 1644 and in Braintree in 1651. Another inhabitant mentioned in the old Maine Wills was Peter Knap, who left his heirs some farmland, as did Richard Willing (1672), and Mrs. Mary Brookhouse in 1673. William Scrivener (Schreiber?) became a town representative in the Maine General Assembly, and he left property in his will. Job Clemons (Clemens) willed in 1681. Christian Remick/Ramach, likely a Czech-German, established himself with a large family in Kittery by 1682. Mrs. Elisabeth Backhouse left her will in 1683, William Breden in 1684. Jos. Crosse (Grosse?) acted as testator in 1684. Jos. Bools lived in Wells, Me (= Maine) starting in 1684. John Cloyse (Clausen?) willed in 1689. Roger Deering, likely the son of George Deering or Duering who lived in Maine 1620–1650, worked as an appraiser in Kittery 1689–90. Walter Bo(a)den, a fisherman on the Isles of Showles in 1690, testified in the Maine Court of Wills around that time. John Meader (Maeder) did the same in 1696. John Kaye (Keie?) must have been well known there, since he worked as a local appraiser 1696–97. Abigail Fryer (Freier?) left her small estate 1697. John Newmarch (Neumark) bequeathed his farm to his son 1698. Jos. Praey (Prey?) was entered as the last testator of Maine in 1699 who was likely of German extraction.

In the biographies of these twenty-five early Maine settlers we do not have life³² but death data. The clan members were ready to accept their inheritance. There are farmers' and land appraisers' as well as craftsmen's perspectives involved, left by rural inhabitants. Their contribution is mainly to American agriculture. This short preliminary description is only tipping the scales ever so slightly in a direction of contributions by some scattered "Germans" toward early Maine settlements in the seventeenth century. No clear-cut evidence can be deduced as yet. These data will be compared, however, to those obtained from other territories later on.

2.2 New Netherlanders

Our study will not repeat the contestations and skirmishes which took place between the English and the Hollanders in Southern New England. In our opinion, though, the Dutch traded here first, in as much as the English explorer-captain Henry Hudson (fl. 1556–1611) sailed the 80 t "Half

³² We do not know yet whether any Nurembergers were among them.

Moon"³³, and surveyed the coastline on behalf of the Dutch East India Company for making a profit³⁴. According to capt. J. Smith the Dutch also traded with the Easterlings (= Hansards)³⁵. Adrian Block gave a vague territory the name "New Netherlands" in 1609–10³⁶. And Block drew his map³⁷ only three year's after Hudson's disappearance. Block was actually a West Friesian, who had broken off his law study at Franeker University. Together with his co-captain Christiansen from Cleves he built the "Onrust", "a small shallow-draft yacht"³⁸, the first decked ship of 44 1/2 feet built in America³⁹. The vagueness of "New Netherlands" is proven by a map of Jodocus Hondius where upon G. Mercator's "Norombega" is replaced by "Nov. Belgium" (in 1639) or "Nova Belgia" later, meaning "New Netherlands" in Latin. It was not to last long.

The "reduction of New Netherlands was a project with a considerable ancestry"⁴⁰, and took roughly a span of thirty years. New Netherlands was at the same time New England (= Nova Albyon, Drake's Latin term), as well as New France (Nova Francia = Canada)⁴¹ in its north-eastern end, depending on who drew the boundaries. Before the Peace of Utrecht (1713) this contested territory, also called "Nova Hollandia"⁴² changed hands at least five times between France and Britain alone. We will start with collecting the few "Dutchmen" that could be found in the eastern part. Notwithstanding the actual political power struggles at that time, we simply delve into . . .

33 This Hamburg-based boat which had seen Brazil, had been "lost" by a capt. Balhorn to the English sometime after 1602.

34 Oliver A. Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. Ithaca. Cornell Univ. Press 1986.

35 As in chapter 1, note 9, (German translation) p. 11.

36 See his "Map figurative" of the southern coastline.

37 A copy of an original 17th cent. Dutch map of New Netherlands by a French tapestry maker hung for years on the corridor before Yale's SML Map Room on the 7th floor (a gift of John Kelly from Grossemeadows in 1961). It measured 93 x 124cm. In 1971 it was stolen without leaving a trace.

38 Ed. Laurence M. Hauptmann and James D. Wherry. *The Pequots in Southern New England*. Oklahoma U. P. 1990, p. 53.

39 In what was subsequently called Rhode Island, shortly before the "Trial" was built for master Thomas Graves in Boston in 1643. Christiansen also built houses on Manhattan.

40 Reid, p. 77 n. 3.

41 By Franciscus Creuxius (= Du Creux), S. J. *Historiae Canadensis sev Novae Franciae libri decem*. Paris 1664.

42 Its inhabitants are grossly overstated as having risen from 3,600 in 1647 to 10,000 in 1664 by *Allgemeen Geschiedenis der Nederlande*, vol. 7. 1980, p. 251. Goodfriend gives these figures as 1500 and 3,500 respectively, p. 61.

2.3 Massachusetts Freeman

Since the magnetism of Boston as “cradle of liberty” and its colonizers’ social piety⁴³ was so radiant, it will surprise no reader to learn that there were exceedingly few outside new-comers. There is a list of twenty-three canonically approved Mayflower pilgrims⁴⁴ from Alden to Winslow. But there were actually 77 ordinary passengers aboard as well whose descendants could not join the Mayflower Society before 1931, as the Index volume III (1960)⁴⁵ suggests.

- One of them may have been the Reverend Wilhelm Gager who had lived in England before, where he had made the acquaintance of Winthrop, and hence was bilingual upon his arrival in Charleston⁴⁶. The Freeman Register of Massachusetts documents the arrival of Bray or Bryan Rossiter hailing probably from East Prussia, before 1630–31, and of John Ferman (= Fährmann), Thomas Lumbert/Lambert⁴⁷, John Meisters, John Maueracke(r) and the Sprage (= Sprague) brothers Ralph and Richard, sometime before they all were made freemen in 1631. A relative of theirs by the same name was freed in Massachusetts 1653.

We cannot judge whether these men were originally hirelings whose contracts had run out or whether they were so substantial upon arrival in the Bay that they could obtain freemanship after settlement or in the course of it. Van der Donck⁴⁸ estimated this process of establishing self-sufficiency as requiring approximately two to three years.

- Next, several “German” Lutheran families arrived in the Massachusetts Bay Colony: the Becke⁴⁹, the Schenk, the Grosse, the

43 Richard D. Brown. *Massachusetts. A Bicentennial History*. W.W. Norton 1978, p. 50.

44 Edmund J. Carpenter. *The Mayflower Pilgrims*. N. Y. Cincinnati 1918, p. 75; see also William A. Baker. *The Mayflower*. 1983.

45 John S. Gager, married to Florence D. Arnold, is mentioned as a descendent; but W. Gager, who preached in the First German Lutheran Church of Boston until 1650, is not listed among the 77 other non-puritan passengers, earmarking him for arrival on the Mayflower II in 1629.

46 *Germans in Boston*. Goethe Society of New England. 1981. George F. Willison. *Saints and Strangers*. N. Y. 1964.

47 A brother of Bernhard Lambert was freed in 1634.

48 *A Description of New Netherlands*. Amsterdam 1655. Trld. in 1841, Rp. by Th. F. O'Connell Syracuse U. P. 1968, p. 129. D. Delège. *Bitter Feast*. Engl. ed. UBC Press Vancouver 1993, p. 264.

49 An Alexander Becke was discharged from a Massachusetts penitentiary in 1646.

Waldow⁵⁰, the Hamann (later Homan), and the Cloyse (Clause?) families, some of them from Heilbronn and from Pomerania. Another member of the Lambert(=Lumbert) family, Bernhard, was freed there in the same year, 1634, Edward Clapp in 1636, Thomas Dickermann in 1638, Richard Eckels and Robert Lehmann (Leoman) in 1642. German masons and stoneworkers were brought into Massachusetts Bay Colony, according to Howard B. Fuhrer⁵¹, to help construct houses in Boston in 1639. The first freeman of whom we know in which county his liberation took place (Dorchester cty.) was Thomas Tolman(n). Thomas Tres(s)ler (or Dressler) was freed in the same year; John Clepp (Klapp?)⁵² in 1647, Charles Gri(e)se in 1651. William Teller left Boston in 1651. The last four freemen, Thomas Herman(n)son from Brandenburg, was naturalized in 1684, but he was mentioned already in Northampton cty. in 1657. James Heidrick (= Heidrich) was freed in 1665, John Bearbenn (Bierbein?) in 1677, Thomas Bo(h?)reman(n) in 1682; whereas Thomas Ho(h?)lman(n) became a freeman in Milton cty. in 1678.

Since most of the 32 freemanships, granted in Massachusetts to former Germans, are not much more tale-telling than numbers, we do not have assured knowledge where these persons' farmland lay. But different from Maine, the moment of their registration took place earlier in their lives. It did not occur at the end, but rather at the crest of their settling process. Again, it appears that the contributions, these men and their families could make, must have been artisan-agricultural in nature.

2.4 Roode Eylanders

Originally only the Island of Aquidneck was referred to as "Red Island" by the early seventeenth-century Dutch traders. But the description changed and grew in dimension. In its English spelling the name "Rhode Island" became the identifier of a spreading colonial enterprise tucked between, and constantly threatened by, Massachusetts and Connecticut. The term goes back to capt. Adrian Block, who also named "Vlieland" and "Vissher's

50 Perhaps a relative to the sea capt. Richard Waldow (= Volday) who skippered to Jamestown, Va, as early as 1607?

51 *The Germans in America 1607-1970*. NY Oceana Publ. 1973, p. 1. Further research would have to trace their record in Boston.

52 His descendent Nehemia Clap(p) was freed in 1682, together with Thomas Bo(h)rman(n).

Hoek" for "Montauk", Long Island, which incidentally is a Dutch name (= Lange Eylandt) also⁵³.

Two classical treatments of the history of Rhode Island are available⁵⁴. But most helpful for our purposes proved to be Carl Bridenbaugh's Land Record Appendixes to his witty and sovereignly written *Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience*⁵⁵. Thanks to Bridenbaugh's research in Rhode Island Colonial Land Evidences we know of some landowning families working along the eastern Rhode Island Sound:

- Joh(a)n Luttner as carpenter in Newport, R. I. 1638. It seems to us that two original lots, Nr. 40, owned by W. Mann, and lot Nr. 9, owned by John Elderkin⁵⁶, could safely be counted as having been held by two men of a distinctly northern "Dutch" extraction.
- According to the records checked by Bridenbaugh, Elderkin "came", but not necessarily "hailed" from England. He was "a laborious man", wrote Roger Williams to John Winthrop⁵⁷, and became so well established that he is mentioned as having had some doing in the founding of Connecticut. Bridenbaugh undug the farmer Thomas Spiker (= Spieker, a north German term for barn and/or nail), who held 45 acres "on olde Roode Eylandt" by 1639/40. Richard Ma(r)x(s)en was a neighbor who held 36 acres during the same time period. Benedict Taber(t) signed the Providence Oath of Allegiance⁵⁸ in 1652. J. Jenckes (Janckes), a smith by profession, owned a 68 acre tract on Seekonk, R.I., in 1660 and the following years. He also busied himself with working a forge and ironworks until 1684. Mrs. Mary Deering (or Duering), a widow, sold her land on Block Island, R.I. for £ 145 in 1671. The Tripp cousins or brothers, John, a ship carpenter on Aquid-neck (later Portsmouth), and Abiel, who built a wharf, are both recorded there in 1671. Matthew Boomer (High German Baeumer) worked in the ship supplying trade as cordwainer on Aquidneck as well in 1676. Thomas Clemens, later Clemence, a

53 Nowadays Nantucket. It is the name of his native West Frisian Island. Marten's (nowadays Martha's) Vinyard was then named by him "Texel", also a West Frisian Island. Cf. Van der Donck's map of 1655/6, conveniently found in Thomas A. Janvier. *In Old New York*. N. Y. 1894, frontispiece.

54 Howard M. Chapin. *Documentary History of Rhode Island*, ii vol.s. Providence, R. I. 1916 and 1919, as well as Sidney V. James. *Colonial Rhode Island. A History*. Scribners' Sons N. Y. 1975.

55 Society of Rhode Island 1636-1690. Providence. Brown U.P. 1974.

56 John Hutchins Cady, *The Civic and Architectural Development of Providence*. Providence 1957, p. 10. To us, Elderkin sounds "Frisian".

57 Letter dated Nov. 11, 1648/49, *Winthrop Papers*, vol. IV, 1645-1649.

58 Ed. R. Le Baron Bowm. Providence 1943.

housewright by profession, built “Stoneender” type houses in Rhode Island ca. 1687. We will get back to the implications of that way of constructing houses, when “Dutch” tools will be further discussed. John Reckes worked as blacksmith in Aquidneck 1680, Peter Tolman as cordwainer in 1683. A man without a first name was simply called “stair” (Stehr?), possibly by a nickname for a housewright. We do not know, but we suspect that he might have been of “Dutch” origin; he worked on the same island in 1688.

That is the short list of some seventeen families with mostly Low German sounding names, who settled to the Northeast of Rhode Island Sound. These men predominantly worked in the construction business or were farmers, sometimes on the side, or the other way around. Despite their small numbers, their contribution to the early settlement of “Little Rhody” might have been considerable on a small scale.

2.5 Whither Yankees

It proved quite difficult to find, let alone locate, any early “Dutch” traces in the Land of Steady Habits. But there are hidden ones, as it were. “The local situation of New Haven appears to have been known to the Dutch some years before the arrival of the English settlers. They designated the place by the name “Red Mount” (or Red Rock = *Roodeberg*), so called from the appearance of East and West Rock.”⁵⁹ The harbor of “New London” was originally the “Pequot Harbor”. The Friesian shipper-merchant Adrian Block marked many points off-shore between the Connecticut River and Narragansett Bay, where bead trading with *Zee-wam* (sea-wam or wampum), originating on Long Island Sound, would be available.⁶⁰ It must be inferred from our evidence that again the relations of the Dutch with the Indians were based on mutual satisfaction by technological trade, and hence were peaceful in essence. The Dutch introduced the wampum as money in 1622⁶¹. Henry Hudson, e. g., was not killed by Indians while he traded with them, but found his death together with his son, because of an on-board English mutiny.

The New Haven Colony, called Roodenbergh on Van der Donck’s Map (1656), was originally organized as a territory and encompassed Milford,

59 Edw. R. Lambert. *History of the Colony of New Haven before and after the Union with Connecticut*. N. H. 1838, p. 40, copied from John Warner Barber. *History and Antiquities of New Haven*. (Connecticut) N. H. 1831.

60 Lynn Ceci, chapter 4, *The Pequot in Southern New England*. Norman and London 1993, p. 48–63.

61 William Cronon. *Changes in the Land . . .* Hill and Wang. N. Y. 1983, p. 95.

Guilford, Branford, Stamford and even Sothold, Lange Eylandt, before it joined Connecticut in 1664 for political reasons.

- In this tightly-knit colonial life-haven a lone widow, Mrs. Jerret (= Gerrit) Speck (= Spicke) made a fortune in acknowledging receipt of £ 10 from a last will, registered in Conn. in 1636. This is the first trace we could find, before we came across two more names of original settlers of the Colony, both mentioned in 1639. One was likely a German Jew by the name of John Mosse, the other John Reeder, likely from Holstein. A Mr. William Boreman was fined at Hartford, Conn., in 1645, and he was likely an older relative of Samuel Boreman who became a deputy magistrate in the same town in 1660. A William Blumf(i)eld was freed from town militia training in Connecticut 1657/58. John Gager, likely a son of Boston's pastor Gager, was released from fine in Hartford, Conn. 1658. George Duren (= Dueren?) is counted as an original settler of Lyme, Conn. 1692. A Mrs. Hannah Knapp testified in witchcraft proceedings, Connecticut 1692. We would have liked to have known more, and above all, the exact places of this interesting event, but could not find anything else. Perhaps the famous Connecticut Griswold brothers ultimately hailed from a Greifswald (Pomerania) progenitor, even if they came via England. The late President of Yale, whom we have talked to once, would not have taken kindly to such an outlandish suggestion.

It seems barely worth the trouble to hunt for less than a handful of early "Dutch" families, in view of the fact that these people felt apparently quite adjusted. The reason seems to be at hand also. The predominance of North German names leads one back to North German Hanseatic towns. This was noted already by A. G. Roeber⁶². Their home-language, Low German or *Niederdeutsch*, made a deep-cutting language code switch superfluous. Seventeenth-century English and seventeenth-century Low German were very close languages. So the real reasons for not coming in any great number, must have been the lack of expected clan support in the Connecticut valley, not their "strangeness".

The Connecticut Yankee was a lone or single trader, not a group merchant. That the word "Yankee" was originally intended as "a slur against the Dutch"⁶³, needs to be qualified. It is against some Dutch, who would be too materially inclined. That makes the term originally an inner-Dutch

62 *The Origin* . . . , p. 222.

63 Speculates Stephanie Bernardo, p. 154.

or rather Hollandic polemic⁶⁴. It had something to do with professional distinctions. Keesie Maet (= Low German “Jan Kaasie”) could have turned into a derogatory Low “Dutch” diminutive “Little sailor” (= Janké), slurring poor sailors who earned their living as fish carriers now working from New Amsterdam’s to Boston’s harbors⁶⁵. Thus a Yankee was a poor “Jan” who might have started paying off his freight or even passage by harbor labor. If he succeeded, he could improve his station, says Schmidt (= Smith), by working hard only for “three days a week catching fish by the hundred”⁶⁶. One is immediately reminded of the adage “getting something for nothing”, and there one had the Yankee creed in a nutshell. Such Yankees must have found themselves in economic contrast to New Amsterdamers, subsequently called “Yorkers”. Thus it is not primarily the ancestry which was mocked, but rather the (temporary?) low station in life.

The term “Keesie Maet” changed into “Janké” probably already in the Netherlands, pronounced “Yankee” even there. Then it would have spread aboard Dutch ships, crewed by many “Yankees”, to New Netherlands. Eventually it was used to contrast rough-mannered New Englanders or Yankees with (New) Yorkers or slick city dwellers. That the term picked up the Low “Dutch” version rather than the Dutch one, need not surprise us. The German States had almost twenty times as many inhabitants as Holland before 1600, and therefore could spare many young household helpers, and especially poor sailors or fish carriers of the “North German” ilk, who had flocked in great numbers to the City of Amsterdam, which next to the Calvinists had a very large Lutheran congregation before 1680⁶⁷. Eventually some of these poorer people made it over to New Amsterdam, practically exclusively on Dutch carriers⁶⁸, as we shall see.

Three types, the higher-stationed “New Amsterdamer cohort” (subsequently called Yorker (nose up!)), secondly the “Low Dutch” less substantial “Poor Yankee” (nose to the grindstone!), and thirdly the “Connecticut” Yankee of shrewd success, existed in Eastern seventeenth-century North

64 *Hollandt gedoodt-verwet ... 't Samenspraeck tusschen Teeuwes ende Keesie Maet ... tegen gelt-giericheydt*. The Hague [?] 1647.

65 Johann Schmidt, as in chapter 1, note 9, (1617) p. 19, says “Poor Little Jans” for “Maet Keesie”. In seventeenth-century New Amsterdam/New York, 22 % of all “Dutch” (= German) first names were the derivative of “Jan” (Johan(n), Hans), and 8 % of the registered last names were also “Jan(s)(-)” derived.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

67 Ed. C. Gellinek. *Europe's First Baedeker. Filip van Zesen's Amsterdam* (who was a “Dutch” and honorary Hollander). *European City Culture* vol. 2. Lang Berne 1988.

68 See section 5.5 below for Dutch vessels carrying German passengers to New Amsterdam between 1630–1664.

America. But the one type in the middle, less visible as the other two, intermingled after the capture of New Amsterdam and hence the whole New Netherlands Territory, and sometimes even before the capture by the British of the Colony in 1664. These people congregated differently and they traded differently, for they came from very different backgrounds. The Thirty Years War had devastated much of the "Old Country", but spared among other cities a few Hanseatic cities (e. g. Hamburg and Danzig). The business connected with financing the export of weapons had made quite a few Hollanders rich citizens despite their own serious Eighty Years War of Liberation. If these winners and profit hunters came over, they were temporarily less comfortable here than over there before. Whereas the physical, psychic and economic uplift "Dutchmen" went through in fledgling "New Netherlands" must have been considerable. Quickly by hard work, poor "Dutch" laborers could turn into fish mongers or tradesmen. The imprint of freedom from fear for their lives must have been extraordinarily felt by them. The relatively quick acceptance of the Yankee working man first under genuine Mijnheers of the upper-class property owning households, did imply that they were considered less substantial than genuine Hollanders, employed by the Dutch West India Company and the celebrated Puritans in neighboring New England. This distinction of class standing must originally have been other-stereotyped, then became self-stylized. We imagine that such people began to carry pack baskets on their shoulders, when the margin of the trading route became wider. Thus Low German "Jan(e)ke(e)" could have been overlaid by "Jan Kiep"⁶⁹ [pronounced Yankee] by dropping the closing "p"⁷⁰. This linguistic possibility reminds a cultural critic of the celebrated churl carrying a pack basket on his shoulders, the Westphalian speaking *Keerel*, called "*Kiepenkerl*" until today. He seasonally went to sell his wares in Holland beginning in the seventeenth-century. Such type existed in Friesland also.

Be that as it may, before the century was up, this intermingling stereotyped sailor-trader outside clannishness and outside established worshiping habits must have become the first genuinely blended-in American, talking persuasive basic English of the Low German rather than the high-brow English kind, stereotyping and qualifying its speaker for successful itinerant trade.

"Oh, the profit were unutterable, especially when a handsome young merchant bears the pack himself."⁷¹

69 In Low German a *Kiep* is an historic measure for fish.

70 The dropping of the final "p" in "Keep" creates no bigger problem than dropping the final "s" in "Kees".

71 Sir Walter Scott, *Kenilworth*. London, Glasgow, p. 23.

Full of ingenuity a Yankee could become a “damned Yankee” from the point of view of the propertied Yorker in the seventeenth, a “New England Yankee” from the point of view of the noble Bostonian in the eighteenth, or a “German Yankee” in the Illinois of the nineteenth century. It didn’t have anything to do with background anymore, but with the luck of survival, the sharp-eye, the trading instinct, the offered wares, and so on. If such original Friesian or North German ex-Hansard “Dutchmen” were impugned a lower moral character by superior-feeling genuine Dutch or English families, they would be insulted with a half-closed eye of slight envy or even a little dash of admiration especially by women folk. The Old Yankee with his basket on his back was but a distant forebear and forerunner of the Conestoga wagon driver in Pennsylvania. He was not Dutch, nor solely English, nor German by any means, but rather a little bit of each. He was an early Proto-American.

3 The Eastern Seaboard

3.1 New Amsterdammers

Only two years ago the ethno-social research of seventeenth-century New Amsterdam and New Yorke¹ got a boost of high quality. It certainly became the best researched territory thus far treated. Genealogical sources had been assembled earlier. The first peak had occurred a few months before the United States engaged in their first war with Germany ever. The Scandinavist John O. Evjen took the trouble to include a "List of German Immigrants in New York 1630–1674". It is much to the credit of the Senior Librarian at the University of Cincinnati, Dr. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, to have reedited and collected it among several older and by now unavailable German-Americana studies and lists recently². The names thus collected are extremely helpful. But the reader has to be aware that Evjen was occasionally far too generous with germanifying some innocent names³. Secondly he and his re-editor do not mark a clear dateline. Consequently their list runs into the early eighteenth century. We therefore, regretfully for cooperation's sake, had to establish our own numbering grid per territory and for the whole seaboard. If there is a conceded shortcoming of a "mere" name-list, Joyce D. Goodfriend's ethnic pluralism model, on the other hand, is so sophisticated, that it could not tuck in the individual "Germans" all that well. Although mentioned as a group⁴ at the beginning of her excellent study, she more and more included "Germans" in the Dutch group⁵ both in her narration and her tables, and ultimately neglected them as "indistinguishable". Furthermore she is not familiar with the small but rather influential Friesian group, which we think was excelling in shady dealings with pirates.

1 The e-addition marks New Amsterdam and Territory from the date of the British takeover in 1664 until roughly 1683, the drafting of the N. Y. Charter of Liberties.

2 *The First Germans in America*. With a Biographical Directory of New York Germans. Heritage Books 1992.

3 We, on the other hand, tried to be "stingy", but may not have succeeded in every single case either.

4 11% of the Dutch Reformed Church (= DRCh) membership by 1664 was German, *Before the Melting Pot*, p. 16.

5 *Before the Melting Pot*, p. 62, 248 n. 59.

So whereas Evjen, according to Tolzmann⁶ “reveals that close to half the population of the New York settlement was German”, Goodfriend commits the opposite by understating their presence because it is lacking the “cohort” dimension of the Dutch. In her Conclusion the “Dutch” have totally disappeared⁷. We, however, think that the “Hollandic” Dutch⁸ and the “German” Dutch intermingled by mutual attraction during the same time period, when members of the “cohort” families mixed with the English. Hence we start from a different premise than Goodfriend by believing that society and culture in New Yorke Town belonged to the earliest Proto-American melting pot period, and not *before*, as her title suggests. Concerning the “All too many nations”⁹ – one should compare nations in the seventeenth, not nineteenth century sense, i. e. string England, Scotland, Holland, Brabant, Westphalia, Saxony, Bavaria and so on. The Hollanders of that time at least did not arrive as “Netherlanders”, the “Dutch” not as “Germans”. Holland belonged to the German States until the Treaty of Westphalia, concluded in 1648. The pre-literary distinction between basic sailors’ Low “Dutch” (= *Plattdeutsch*) which was understood by “Yankees” and genuine Hollandics, regarding every day affairs, was ever so slight at that time. We do not agree that “. . . the stage for social processes that eventuated in the crystallization of ethnic groups (. . .) ultimately [set] a pluralistic society”¹⁰ ; instead we hold that the Melting Pot as a process brought and brings out the strong point of an individual blending-in by sweat and guts. In that sense we now question proposition 4 of Baileyn¹¹ that the culture developed *subsequently* to the European culture. We hold that process rather to have taken place *simultaneously*.

In the case of the earliest “Germans” blending in and melting, it was, ironically, if anything, more the other way around. “Dutch” melting abroad rayed back to the diversified “old Country” and indirectly helped a not-yet-totally civilized culture. We shall demonstrate the point again in pre-1683 Pennsylvania.

Most ethnic intermarriages in New Yorke, and they were much more frequent than Goodfriend assumed, created young Proto-Americans. The story of Early New Yorke is the family history of marriageable daughters and sons. Goodfriend herself spread all the tools in order to reassemble the “Dutch” spoke in the Proto-American wheel.

6 Dustjacket of the back.

7 P. 217–221.

8 In Middle Dutch still referred to as *Dietsch*.

9 The title of her original 1975 UCLA dissertation was a quote from Charles Lodwick coined in 1849.

10 P. 219.

11 See above p. 8 in section 1.2.

3.2 New Yorkers 1630–1683

- The first Holland-appointed director-general of the Dutch Colony of the New Netherlands, including and centered in the Town of Fort, subsequently New, Amsterdam, was Peter Minnewitt¹². He was born in Wesel on the Rhine in the Duchy of Cleves and became married to Sarah from Emmerich (in the same duchy). His appointment lasted five years, when he got recalled. He was an in-law of the Hollandic N. A. (= New Amsterdam) family Huyghen, who served as deacon in the DRCh., which had, as we noted earlier, German members as well. It is he who purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians for “a Dutch treat”, often expressed, by a mere \$24. Actually he paid wampum in the equivalent worth of 60 guilders. He was considered able, honest, but high-handed or, to use a modern term, authoritarian. He was by no means “overscrupulous”, but good for Dutch business interests. He wrote “good Dutch, tho’ with a distinctly German spelling” (quote from 1908), a living prima facie proof for the ease with which a code switch between northwestern Low German and ‘Achterhoek’ provincial Dutch was possible¹³. The Minnewitts resided again in Emmerich, before he was sent on another appointment which will be treated below under “New Sweden”.
- The first generalist farm hand Yankee, Barent Jansz from Esens, (East) Frisia, arrived aboard the “Eendracht I” in N. A. on May 24, 1630¹⁴. The second Yankee, Gerrit Jansen from Oldenburg is mentioned as living on Manhattan Island by 1635. He married in 1639, had several children, and purchased 92 acres at “Pannebecker’s Bous” in 1646. Joris Burger¹⁵ hailing from Hirschberg (Silesia), a smith also, present in N. A. 1637, married the Swede Engeltje Mans in 1639. He achieved the status of the so-called “great burgher” citizenship, which “Yankees” regularly didn’t, and hence social prominence. Rem Jansz from Jever (East Frisia) was present in 1638, became a landowner on Long Island 1643, and a lessor in Fort Orange, called Albany today, in May, 1660¹⁶. Jan Dircksen from Bremen married

12 So listed by his genuine birth-name in the leading Dutch Encyclopedia *Winkler-Prins*. He is better known as Minuit. He also was a learned theologian.

13 Take, for example, Walter Scott’s archaic term for bill, “reckoning”. In Dutch that still is “rekening”, in Low German “raekening”, and in High German “Rechnung”. Only the latter creates problems of understanding.

14 The “Eendracht” II moored in N. A. 1664.

15 Here probably not a surname, but meaning “burgher” (= citizen) of N. A. Reyer Stoffelszen succeeded in Joris’ smithery.

16 In Friesian name turning fashion he became the ancestor of the American Remsen family.

Trientje Anders in N. A. 1638. A child of theirs was baptized Febr., 1644. Dircksen became the skipper of a boat 1643, and was mentioned again in 1665. Jacob Janse Schermerhorn, a Friesian, appears in N. A. during the thirties. His son Ryer Jacobse Schermerhorn rose to General Assembly member in Schenectady 1683-91¹⁷. Reyer Stoffelszen from Zurich-an-Zee (Netherlandic Frisia), who sang well, first married Geertje Jans, who was probably from Jever. His brother Jacob Stoffelszen, arriving in N. A. in 1639, married a German widow (van) Vorst, purchased land 1643 and 1654. Secondly, he married Trientje Jacobs, a Hollandic widow from Hoorn. Egbert (van) Borsum from near Emden (East Frisia), then used as an important commercial harbor by the Dutch, a sea-captain of the DWICo, married Annetje Hendricks from Amsterdam Dec. 11, 1639. His parents stayed life-long residents of Emden. In his lifetime (1609-1664) he became ferrymaster of N. A. in the forties, and skippered the yacht "Prins Willem". The Borsums were blessed with four sons, Herman, Cornelis, Hendrick (or Henry the Hatter) and Tyman Borsum.

- Hans Kierstede Sen., born in Magdeburg (Archbishopric of Magdeburg) 1612, who died in an epidemic in New Amsterdam 1669, arrived in his capacity as official N. A. surgeon, by or shortly before 1638. He married the Norwegian Sarah Roelofs. Both joined the DRCh in 1664, having four sons among them, Hans K. Jun., also a surgeon, Jacob and two younger brothers. They also had a daughter named Rachel Kierstede. Uldrich Lup(h)old from Stade (Olde Lande west of Hamburg) became a fiscal official and counsellor at law in Rensselaerswyck 1638-39, and a defendant at court in 1641. Joergen Hendricksen hailing from Osnabrück, a carpenter, was working in N. A. 1639. After being mentioned in the records several times, he went to Holland in 1662. Martin Hendricks from Hamelwarden (on the Weser) arrived on board the "Harinck" July 7, 1639. He became a farm hand in Rensselaerswyck. Another passenger from that boat was Peter Hendricks (no kin) from Soest (Westphalia). Jochem Petersen Kuyter from Dithmarschen arrived in 1639. Jochem Beekman(n), a Westphalian cobbler, in N. A. in 1639 also, was married and had several children. The Beekmans owned a house in N. A. around

¹⁷ Under 3 governors, N. Y. Eccl. Rec. 2, 863. Forefather of the 19th century Mrs. W. B. Astor, née Schermerhorn.

1657. He swore a lot, and litigated often¹⁸. A swamp is named after their family¹⁹.

- Hans Schroeder from Mansfeld (Saxonia) was married to Liesbeth, became widowed early, and remarried an Aeltje Jans²⁰ from Bremen on Aug. 25, 1641. Jan Janszen Breestede (from near Oldenburg) worked as a cooper in N. A. 1640. His son is recorded in 1675. Albert P(i)etersen from Hamburg, a musician, who earned his living as trumpeter, married Marietje in N. A. 1641. Lukas Schmidt (later Smith), from near Gumbinnen (East Prussia), arrived on the "Koninck David", Nov. 29, 1641. He became a farm hand at Rensselaerswyck 1642 and was considered "a pious young man" by a Dutchman in 1646. Abel Reddinghausen (Oben Reddinhasen) from Waldeck married the V. T. Hendricksen widow, Geertje Nannincks, Dec. 28, 1641. They lived in their own house at the corner of East River and Broad Street, or North of the Old Dock, together with their children. He died in 1644.
- Peter Jorda(e)nsen from Lübeck married Catharina from Coesfeld (Westphalia) in N. A. July, 1642. Adam Berkhoven, a brewer, came from Cologne to N. A. 1642. and married Margaretha J. Verdon. They became members of the DRCh 1677-80. Hans Vos from Baden²¹ arrived on the "Houttuin" Sept., 1642, worked first as a court messenger in Rensselaerswyck, was known to be married, became prison official in N. A., and finally was mentioned at Esopus, 1675. Ewert Pels from Stettin (Pomerania), a brewer, also arrived on the same ship²². He was accompanied by his wife, Breekje Elwaerts and a servant. He became a brewer in Rensselaerswyck, and moved to Esopus in 1661, where he worked as a contractor²³. After his death occurring in 1678, his widow being in her late fifties, married again. The third German passenger on the "Houttuyn" was Jochem Kettelheim from near Stettin. He became a farm hand until 1648, then a farm lessor

18 A rare mentioning in the records concerning early "Dutch" immigrants. They generally preferred clan arbitration.

19 Geerardus Beekman, born in New England 1653, became a captain and one of N. Y. council members. More in Philip L. White. *The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647-1877*. N. Y. 1956.

20 Not identical with Aeltje Jans from Bremen, who married Pieter Collet in N. A. 1643.

21 This Baden is the town near Bremen, not Baden-Baden in South Germany.

22 It left Amsterdam Aug. 4, therefore took almost 6 weeks for passage.

23 Confirming Boorstin's point, *The Fluidity of the Professions* (chapter 31), for early German immigrants as well.

and a N. A. house owner by 1661. Hans of Mansfeld (Saxony) arrived in the same year. His son P(i)eter was baptized in N. A. shortly afterward. Jan Barentsen Wemp(el), nicknamed "Poest" ("Puff"), 1620–1663, a sawmiller, arrived in 1642 and married Marietje Meynderts. They moved to Rensselaerswyck 1643 and had six children between them. He became a proprietor in Schenectady. His widow married Teunis van Velsen. Both were slain in an Indian massacre taking place at Schenectady²⁴. Peter Collet from Königsberg (East Prussia) married Aeltje Jans from Bremen, J. Cornelissen's widow. He signed a resolution in Manhattan Oct., 1643. Their child was baptized Dec., 1644²⁵. Augustin(e) Herrman(n), born 1611 in Prague, died in Maryland 1685; he came to N. A. in 1643. A surveyor by profession, he was married to Janneke Verleth, one of the Verleth society sisters²⁶, in N. A. 1651. By 1664 he had moved forward to New Jersey. He was used in special embassies by N. Y. governor Pieter Stuyvesant. Moving on, he drew up a map of Maryland for Lord Baltimore. Finally he owned 5000 acres in "Bohemian Manor", Maryland 1660. He and his two sons were naturalized there. Paulus van der Beek from Bremen married the widow Maria Thomas 1644. He rose to official in scales and taxes, and they owned several lots in N. A. in 1657 and ff. Hendrick Karstens, born in Oldenburg 1610, a Yankee sailor, married Femetje Coenra(d)ts from Groningen after his arrival. They had children and lived in Haarlem, which they actually helped to found. Later on he switched to becoming a mason. Lorenz Andriessen (= Van der Buskirck?) was mentioned in the Ecclesiastical Records of N Y 1644. Hermann Arentsen, born Bremen 1606, lived in N. A. around 1644. Jan Dircksen Brinckerhoff, who was born abroad in 1620, was mentioned in New Netherlands 1644. His family spread on Long Island before the end of the century.

- Lucas Eldersen from Jever (East Frisia) stayed in N. A. 1646, was married to Annetje Jans. A son was born to them 1654, a daughter 1656. He worked as a laborer at a or the weighing station 1657, was mentioned in Beverswyck 1661, and died before 1666.
- Fredryck Flypse, born of the noble Lutheran Austrian-Bohemian father Adolphe F. and an English mother, née Dacres, was born at Bolsward (West Frisia) in 1626. The looks of his beaker, baptismal

24 Rarely was such an incident with an involvement of "Dutch" Germans mentioned in our sources.

25 Their off-spring John Collet moved to Pennsylvania 1682.

26 Another being the wife of Dr. G. N. Hacke from Cologne.

bowl and coat of arms were preserved. He emigrated to N. A. in 1647²⁷, and was naturalized in 1656. From then on he spelled himself Frederick Philipse. His first marriage was to Margaret Hardenbroek, the rich widow of Peter Rudolphus de Vries, and was contracted in 1662. "She possessed a well-organized fleet of merchant vessels. Frederick soon built it up to a formidable one." Two decades later "his ships called at islands in the West Indies, the Madeiras, Oporto, the ports of England, at Hamburg, both coasts of Africa, the islands of the Indian Ocean, and, closer to home, all along the South American Atlantic seacoast"²⁸. They had two sons and three daughters. This issue lasted for several generations and spread both in Westchester County and in England. His second marriage was to Catharine van Cortlandt²⁹, daughter of the right Hon. Steven van Cortlandt. They had no children. Philipse, who was by trade a carpenter and a house appraiser³⁰, excelled much more in speculative commercial expeditions, particularly slave trading. He avowed to have made his "cheivest Profit . . . by negroes". He even equipped whole piratical activities, but kept out of political controversy as long as possible. He was elected member of the New Yorke Council, and served on it from 1675 to 1698. After his conviction of illegal trade with the pirate William Kidd, he became removed from the Council. His land acquisitions of up to 90,000 acres along the east bank of the Hudson River from "Spitting Devil" to the Croton River in Westchester County were consolidated by royal patent 1693. He was nicknamed the "Dutch millionaire", but should have been named the "Friesian millionaire". No other citizen of N. A. was financially better off than Fr. Philipse toward the end of his life. He left a large estate upon his death in Nov., 1702. His will is dated Oct. 1700 and is of public record³¹.

- Petrus (later Peter) Stuyvesant (1592–1672) was born near Dokkum, West Friesland, to a Frisian father, who was a graduate of Franeker University, and a German mother née Hardenstein. He was appointed by the DWICo director-general of New Amsterdam in 1647, the year Flypse arrived, maybe even on the same boat. They both were West

27 He may have come over on the same boat as governor Stuyvesant, in any case he worked for him first, "The Town of Mount Pleasant". *History of the County of Westchester*. Vol. 1. New York: Rober 1881, p. 508.

28 Jacob Judd, "New York: Municipality and Province". *Aspects of Early New York Society and Poltics*. Tarrytown N. Y. p. 2, 5.

29 Her family of a very high standing originated in Kurland.

30 He appraised Augustine Hermans' house in N. A. in 1653.

31 As in note 27, pp. 508–528.

Frisians with an international background, and they must have become quadrolingual soon: Friesian, Dutch, German and English. It was a year before N. A. claimed the right to the New Haven Colony at the end of the Thirty Years War. Stuyvesant was outwardly a strict Calvinist. Since he lost his right leg in battle with pirates, he was nicknamed "silverleg". Dictatorial as he was, he expanded commerce and granted many a lot to his ally Philipse. As director-general he earned £1,150 per year. He was (as Philipse) opposed to independent municipal control of New Amsterdam. After he had carefully negotiated a contract of privileges to the Dutch living in the Colony, he surrendered the Fort, without firing a shot, to the British in 1664.

- Mrs. George Jacobs from Stettin (Pomerania), who was married to the late Geert Coet(s)on before, took the vows again in N. A. on Oct. 13, 1647. Hendrick Jansen from near Bremen married Magdalene Jans from Zwolle in 1647; they moved to Fort Nassau 1648 and to Fort Casimir 1655. Hen(d)rick Willems(e) from Esens (East Frisia), a Lutheran mentioned first in N. A. in 1648, moved up the ladder to becoming "the leading baker" of New Amsterdam. He owned a house on the corner of Bridge and Broad Streets, while he was an inspector of the N. A. bakeries by 1663. Geesje Willemse-Hendricks, his daughter, married Dirck Jansen van der Cleef from Alphen-on-the-Old-Rhine. They had six daughters. P(i)eter Tönies (= Teunisz) from Brunswick, a cattle farmer mentioned in Rensselaerswyck March 28, 1648, conducted court settlements with John Dircks of Bremen in Catskill 1652/3³². Caspar Steinmetz from near Berlin, was recorded in N. A. in 1648. Married, he had nine children. Originally a tavern keeper, he moved to Bergen, N. J., became a councilman and finally a magistrate there, signed a petition pertaining to Lutheran church business 1674, and died 1702.
- Friedrich Hermannsen (= Fredrick Harmenszen) from Bremen was a member of the DRCh in N. A. 1649, as was Jacob Barents Weyt from Cologne. J(oh)an Jansen from Tübingen (Swabia) married Bertje Hendricks Kip from Amsterdam in N. A. June, 1649. Jan Hermans(z)en Schütt (= Schut) from Lübeck married Margareta Dircks, a widow, N. A. Dec. 26, 1649. Their daughter Fytje was baptized in 1651. He was a Yankee trader by profession, and was killed by accident later that year³³.

32 He is mentioned again in the Albany Rec. 1684/5.

33 His widow married a third time, Joh(a)n Nagel.

- Nicholas Feldhausen (Velthuysen) from near Lübeck, a tapster, was situated in N. A. 1650. His first wife, who left him children, died Apr., 1659. He then married Aeltje Lubbers. But this marriage didn't work out. So when he "absconded", he was separated from her about 1660. Soon after his estate was sold he died on a trip. Annette P(i)eters from Hamburg, Hans Web(b)er's widow, married Matthijs Capito from the Netherlands³⁴, Aug. 1650. He became a "mustermaster" (= quartermaster) at Esopus. Their son Hendrick was born in 1653. She was killed in the Indian War of 1663. He died about 1667. Dirck Cla(e)sen from Bremen, a potter, married Aechtje Jacobs from 's-Hertogenbosch Nov., 1650. A Hermann Jansen II was mentioned in Eccl. Rec. State of N. Y. as married in 1650.
- Co(e)nrad Ten Eyck, Sen., born 1617 in Moers (Rhineland), a shoemaker, who had married Maria Boels from Cologne, born 1623, in Amstelveen (near Amsterdam) 1645, together with his wife and three children, came to N. A. 1651. Coenrad Ten Eyck, Jr., also a shoemaker, married Abel Hardenbrook from Elberfeld (near Cologne). They were blessed with six sons, among them Tobias born 1653, Co(e)nrad Jr. born 1655, Hendrick born 1657³⁵, Matthias born 1658. The two younger brothers became cordwainers by profession. At least four of the brothers were known to have married³⁶. This prolific family was thoroughly researched by Gwenn F. Epperson³⁷.
- Paulus Schr(i)eck (= Schroeck), Sen., baptized in Nuremberg, first moved because of his business to Amsterdam 1654. Relying on Lambert, we consider him the junior representative of the Nürnberg (millionaire) commercial dealers Viatis & Peller³⁸, which were connected with Amsterdam. After Schroeck had learned his trade there, he specialized in "*Kram*", that is, general wares and cloth. He was documented first in N. A. on Aug. 28, 1651. As a merchant he could afford to purchase a place on Pearl Street and four more acres of land at the "Kalck Hook" between Broadway and the Strand in Oct., 1653. He went back to Amsterdam, and possibly Nürnberg, 1654 and 1655.

34 Disagreeing with Evjen, loc. cit., p. 404, who took him for a German, because as a "Bontze" he might have hailed from "Bonn", and anyhow, because his name meant "Köpfel".

35 He became member of the Court of Admiralty.

36 C. in 1675, H. in 1676, T. in 1678, M. in 1679.

37 *New Netherland Roots*. Genealogical Society Publishing Society, Inc. Baltimore, MD 1994.

38 *Der Handel Nürnbergs*, p. 376f.

He was married to Maria Verleth, widow of Johannes van der Beek³⁹ on Nov. 29, 1658. She belonged to the "aristocracy" of the City at that time. They had twin children, Susanna and Paulus, Jr.,⁴⁰ both baptized on Sept. 2, 1663. Soon thereafter their father died. Maria née Verleth after her third husband, John Spratt's demise, married a fourth time, namely the merchant Willem Teller in 1664.

One more interim result can be drawn at this point. Several newcomers thought to be Dutch (= Hollandic) by Goodfriend in her chapters 2 and 3⁴¹ were actually of Friesian or "Dutch" (= North German) extraction. Usually newcomers of that kind, if they didn't bring along a native wife, entered an existing Hollandic family structure. We therefore disagree with her findings that "the Dutch group was most impervious to external influences . . ."⁴². The externals, as we have seen, reached an almost equally central place in the social order, as soon as they were equally or more successful in their professional activities. The leading protestant denominational churches, and particularly the DRCh of New Amsterdam, were open to membership by such couples, which were considered Hollandic, even if they were "Dutch" on the male side. There is not yet a noticeable inter-marriage trend between "Dutch" and English mates, mainly, because there were not that many English people in N. A. before 1664, and secondly, if they had been, they would have been ethno-culturally (but not linguistically!) a little closer to the Hollandic families. As we shall notice later, ethnicity in family structures played a lesser role of gravity than the occupational structure, which was the safest indicator for gaging a newcomer's capacity to take care of a girl or a widow seeking a securer position in N. A. or surroundings. So we find ourselves in full agreement, albeit drawn from a different angle, with Goodfriend's observation, "that no one group had a monopoly on wealth in New York[e] City". The reason is not, however, "that the distribution of wealth closely paralleled the ethnic makeup of the population"⁴³. Rather the economically successful up-start immigrant who would be expected to hold or increase the existing wealth would be admitted to share it. Further inferences may be drawn later on.

- Jochen Wessel, a baker, and his wife, Gertrud Hieronymus, had several children, and owned a lot in Beverswyck Apr., 1651.

39 A relative of Paulus v. d. Beek, the official of scales and taxes, see above.

40 Jr. also became "a well-to-do merchant" in N. A. in the eighties. His wife Paula, when becoming a widow, was married to an Englishman, John Spratt.

41 *Before the Melting Pot*. These were taken over verbatim from her 1975 dissertation chapters 2 and 3.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

- Aloff (vom) Remscheid, born in the “Old Country” in the town of that name 1599, married Maria Carterberg. They had eight children, some of them alive upon the family’s arrival in N.A. 1651. A bit sooner Hendrick Jansen Reur from Münster arrived. He moved and was appointed court messenger of Rensselaerswyck in 1651. Had he gathered experience from the many proceedings of the Peace of Westphalia in Münster? He died on or before 1664. Marieke Reifferdings from the Hanseatic City of Danzig⁴⁴ became married to Adrian Jans from Leyden (Holland) at Fort Orange 1652. Lucas Dircksen from Berg in the Cleves territory came to N. A. before 1652, was married to Annetje Cornelis, signed a petition in N. A. 1657. By profession a tavern keeper, he and his wife possessed a house at South or Delaware River. Jan from Kal(c)kar near Cleves was mentioned in a lawsuit N. A. 1653. Martin Jansen Meyer from Oldenburg, a smith, married Hendriekje Hermans in N. A. 1653. They had nine children and owned a large house on Sheep’s Lane worth \$ 2150, and were members of the Lutheran Church on Broadway. Their joint will dating from 1693 was proved as late as 1714. So they probably reached their eighties. We know that their daughter, Elsje Meyer, born 1663, married Frederick Meyn(d)ertsen, likely a son of the Friese Meyndert Fredericksen from Jever, whom we came across. Carsten Dircksen from Bremen, a shoemaker, became a citizen at N. A. in 1657. P. Jans(z) from Brunswick (Braunschweig), acquired altogether 64 acres in Catskill toward the end of 1653. Geertrud Willekens from Hamburg, widow of Hendrick from the Cleves Territory, born in Cleve, became married to Claes Claesen Smett from Amersfoort in 1653. Jan van Cle(e)ve, born in Cleve 1628, was living in N. A. 1653. He was a horsemill owner, probably not related to the governor of Lygonia.
- Herman(n) Theunissen, from Münsterland, married Grietje Cosyns in N. A. Apr. 19, 1654. They had several children. He became a farm hand for Augustine Her(r)man(n), who had come over from Prague ten years earlier. We do not know whether he followed his master to Maryland. Gerrit Hendricksen from near Cleve, married Hermken Hermans, the widow of William Jansen in N. A. 1654. He became a fairly large landowner and died 1671.
- Nicholas (de) Meyer from Hamburg, married to Lydia van Dyck from Utrecht on June 6, 1655, one of the frequently occurring exogamous marriages occurring in N. A. thru 1664, had five children. They joined

44 Which had about 75.000 inhabitants at that time, *Städtebuch*, ed. Keyser, I, p. 36.

the DRCh 1660. He climbed to becoming juror in 1664, alderman in 1669–70 and 1675. Next to Felypse and burgomaster Cornelis Steenwyck, the second leading merchant, who however left no children, de Meyer was probably the third wealthiest citizen. In 1676 he became mayor of the city of New Yorke. His wife died in 1687. He duly married again, this time the widow Sarah Kellner. He died in 1690. William de Meyer, the son of Lydia and Nicholas de Meyer, became a prominent citizen of Esopus, subsequently called Kingston by the English. Adrian Hegeman(n) (1620–1654) from Long Island, the husband of Catharina Margits, collected an inheritance in N. A. 1662. Carsten Frederickse from Jever (East Frisia), arriving in N. A. 1655, married Trientje Werners (= Warners), and had four children with her. He and his brother Meyndert owned a smithery in Albany, at that time called Willemstad. He was a deacon at the “Dutch” Lutheran Church in Albany 1680. Trientje’s and his last will was dated 1689. Hendricks Folckertsen born in Jever 1634, arrived in N. A., marrying Geertje Claes Febr. 26, 1655. They had at least one child. Folckertsen was mentioned in a further court recording 1674. Cornelis Clopper from Cloppenburg (Oldenburg), a smith, petitioned in N. A. 1655, acquired some land tract in Smith Valley 1660, and served as juror 1667. Barent Andriessen from Vreeden (Westphalia) married Elke Jans from Voorden near Zutphen 1654, moved to N. A., where he died already in 1656. She then married Thomas Franszen (with a Friesian sounding name), who came from Boston. Lucas Andriessen, who also came over to N. A., had fifteen children baptized between 1656 and 1682. Andries Rees from Lippstadt (Westphalia), likely a professional soldier of some rank, arrived in N. A. in 1655, married Ciletje Jans, had property on Wall Street (then called Smith Street) in 1674. Their son, Johannes Rees, was baptized in the Lutheran Church on Apr. 26, 1656. Hubert Hendricksen from Rodenkirchen near Cologne married Marritje Hendricks from Norden (Friesland) in N. A. Jan., 1656. They lived with several children on Brewer Street 1665. He is mentioned again 1672. Jan Hendricksen, no kin to the former, from Struckhausen near Oldenburg, acquired land in New Castle near N. A. in Sept., 1656. Hans Albertsen from Brunswick owned land in N. A. 1656. He acted as court witness 1658. Johannes Clute from Nürnberg⁴⁵ came over to Beverswyck 1656. He died a large landowner and trader in Loonenburg

45 We do not know which trade specialization he brought over, but it was likely farm equipment like saws, scissors and hoes. If he was a catholic he might have had to leave Nürnberg on the basis of a papal order against this mighty protestant city.

and Albany by about 1684. Jan Adamsen from Worms (on the upper Rhine), a butcher, mentioned in the N. Y. City Records 1656, resided on Marketfield Alley in 1665. His son, Abraham Albertsen, married Harmetje Gerrits 1694. Abraham Kermer from Hamburg married Metje Davids from Arnhem (Netherlands), N. A. Dec., 1656. They procreated several children and lived near the city wall of New Yorke 1665. He was mentioned again in a lawsuit 1674; they joined the DRCh 1677/78, while then living on Nieuw Straat.

- Hartwich Stoeff from Lübeck arrived in N. A. on the “Draetvat” in spring, 1657. Johann Ernst Gutwasser alias Jan E. Goetwater, from Leipzig, originally a Lutheran pastor, became employed by the DRCh of N. A. 1657. We do not know whether his name’s dutchification was theologically inspired or related to business. While Evjen narrated more than three pages on this colorful personality, Goodfriend missed him altogether⁴⁶. Evert Jansen from Jever, a shoemaker, became “small burgher” of N. A. 1657. Albert Gerretsen from Emden married to Wilhelmtje Jacobs, mentioned in N. A. in 1657, set his will in 1665. Jeronimus Ebbingh (1614–1691) from Hamburg, a trained lawyer, arrived in N. A. 1657, together with 1660 a peak year of German immigration to New Amsterdam. Thanks to the thoroughness of Dutch registration procedures, future researchers will be in the position to trace these families, provided they proliferated, into the eighteenth century. Ebbingh married the widow of John de Hulter, named Johanna de Laet, a close relative of the director of the DWICo, whom we know from his *Beschrijvinghe* (1630). The Ebbingh-de-Laet had several children. He prospered and became an estate curator, which corresponds to a notary public, a “great burgher” already in 1658, a juror 1661. Together with his wife and family he lived on Brewer Street 1665. As a merchant he traded as far as Rhode Island 1662–69, became a juror again 1670 and arbitrated disputes. Ebbingh was nominated, but not elected burgomaster of the City of New Yorke. Some of his family members in the next generation moved back to Europe, yet not to Leipzig, where he came from, but to Amsterdam, the commercial capital of Europe at that time, to which American cities could not compare. Christian Nissen, a North Friesian, was mentioned in Eccl. Records of the State of New York 1657. David Wessel, a Lutheran, married the Hollandic girl Tietje Gommels; their daughter Amelia was baptized July 4, 1660. Her

⁴⁶ We therefore have reason to assume that she was not familiar with that book of 1916.

father was attested in Midwoud 1654, in N. A. 1657 and lived comfortably on Heere Gracht.

- Joergen or George Hanel per Eccl. Rec. N. Y. signed a petition 1657 and was mentioned also in rec. 1663. Hermann or Harmensz Eduardsen per Eccl. Rec. N. Y. signed a Lutheran-favoring petition 1657. He owned land in Bergen, N. J., as well as a tract on Staten Island 1674. Hendrick Loef (Luf?) from Fulda married Geertje Hendricks from Zutphen Nov., 1657. They had several children. His widow married Casper Luther from Augsburg, the first Yankee soldier from South Germany, we came across, in July, 1664. Adam Bremen, hailing from Cologne who was married to Elsie Barents, arrived on the "Jan Baptiste" Dec. 23, 1657. Mrs. Elsie Bremen, whom he had to wait for more than five years, followed later on the "Bonte Koe" in 1663. When he died before 1670, his widow married Marinus de Vos. Meyndert Barentzen, a cooper from Jever, became a burgher, Eccl. Rec. N. Y. 1657. He married Anneke Cornelis in N. A. June 6, 1659. She bore him several children.
- Robert Ruhlands, dutchified Roellants, from Berlin, a carpenter mentioned in the Rec. of N. A. 1658 and 61, built a house for Pieter Kock in the City. Paulus P(i)etersen, from near Cologne, married Trientje Martens from Aachen (= Aix-la-Chapelle) in N. A. 1658. They had several children. Juergen Jansen from Friesland, a cooper, married in N. A. on June 1, 1658. Adam van Xanten (also spelt Santen as his surname) from the Duchy of Cleves came to N. A. with his wife and two children on the "Bruynvis", which sailed from Holland June 19, 1658 to N. A. Barent Joosten from the Emdener Land married Sytje Laurens of Long Island Dec., 1658. They had several children. He became a magistrate in 1664. Christine Bleyers from Lüneburg arriving in N. A. 1658 married Pieter Hendricksen Christians N. A. Jan. 17, 1659. Willem Janszen Traphagen from Lemgo (Westphalia), widowed from Judge (judge?) Claes Groenvis, remarried Aeltje Dircks from Steenwyck in N. A. June, 1658. Their son Johannes was baptized there on Apr. 9, 1659. widowed again, he married Joosje Willems. Their daughter Rebecca was baptized at Brooklyn Febr. 9, 1662. Arrent Franken from Jever, a baker by profession, arrived on the ship "De Trouw", which moored in N. A. in the spring, 1659. Further German passengers on that boat were Nettet Jansen from Emden and Jan Meyndertsz from Jever, a farmer, who was married to the Westphalian Beltje Plettenberg. We know from the latter entries that their boat left Holland on Febr. 12, 1659. The three Friesians probably kept in touch at N. A. for a while. Engelbert Sternhaus

(= Sternhuys) from Soest (Westphalia), a tailor, came to N. A. on the "Moesman", which arrived on Apr. 25, 1659. He died in 1678. Peter Petersen from Bielefeld, also in N. A. in the same year, rose to becoming Councillor. Peter Cornils from Holstein appeared on the 1659 DWICo passenger list for N. A. where he arrived. Jan Dircksen from Hamburg also safely made it with wife and three children to N. A. in the same year.

- The population of N. A. had not quite reached the 1500 mark in 1660⁴⁷. 1660 became the peak year of early German immigration, although few traces were left of it. The "Moesman" on her second voyage, which started in Amsterdam March 9, carried among others Johann Steffen from Herborn (Nassau), a soldier, probably in the service of the DWICo. We know nothing more about him. The second boat, the "Otter", sailing for N. A. on Apr. 27, and arriving apparently in record time four weeks later, brought Jan Riet, a soldier from Bonn, Thomas Vorst from Bremen, and Jan Vresen from Hamburg, together with his wife and two children aged 9 and 11. Another soldier was Conrad Locher (= Locker), who may have been a relative to the Nuremberg cattle trading merchant family Locher⁴⁸.
- A twenty year old soldier of fortune, born as a son of a protestant clergyman from the Palatinate in Frankfurt on Main in 1640, who was hired into the service of the DWICo in Amsterdam, arrived penniless in N. A. His name was Jacob Leisler⁴⁹. As soon as he became acquitted, he started his own business as a fur and liquor trader in Fort Orange. He was fortunate enough to marry Aeltje Tymans, a rich widow from N. A., who had carried her father-in-law's Friesian name, Tyman van Borsum, already in 1660. He bought land and speculated profitably with it. He was a deacon and a juror, and enjoyed his family consisting of five daughters and a son. Hester Leisler married the Dutchman Rynders. Catherine L. married the alderman of South Ward, Robert Walters in 1685⁵⁰. Susannah L. married Michael Vaughton 1687. Mary Leisler's first marriage was concluded with the baptist and "Batavianizing Englishman"⁵¹, Jacob Milborne

47 Goodfriend, p. 19.

48 Associated temporarily with the large Tucher firm, L. Peters, loc. cit., p. 465.

49 As of the later eighties spelled Leyslaer.

50 Thomas J. Archdeacon, "The Age of Leisler ...", in: Judd-Polishook, *Aspects of Early New York*. p. 72.

51 John M. Murrin, "English Rights as Ethnic Aggression: The English Conquest, the Charter of Liberties of 1683, and Leisler's Rebellion in New York", chapter 3, Ed. William Pencak and Conrad Edick Wright. *Authority and Resistance in Early New York*. The N. Y. Historical Society. N. Y. w. y. p. 66.

in 1690, her second marriage as a Milborne-Leyslaer widow was to Abraham Gouverneur, born in N. A. in 1671. Likely her youngest sister, Frances exchanged vows with Thomas Lewis in 1694. Jacob Leisler's son, John L., assisted his father in his various business activities. Jacob Leisler owned land as far as New Rochelle, Westchester County. His motto, "libertatem defendere aequitatem servare"⁵² was not merely a phrase. But, animated by deep religious feelings, he set aside some of his land as refuge for persecuted Huguenots who had come over as poor as he once had. We assume that Aeltje may have had some ships, since she had been married to a shipowner. But Leisler commanded enough energy to increase his fleet, and was appointed captain of the militia.

There was a fifteen months lasting political interlude when Dutch naval forces retook New Yorke, and rechristened it "New Orange". It "shattered the uneasy coexistence of Dutch and English". "Among the settlers only the Lutherans showed any sign of rallying behind the small English garrison"⁵³. Somehow he must have pleased both the English and the protestant French in helping to stabilize the confused situation. For having been ennobled he became entitled to be addressed "Sieur" by about 1674. He turned perhaps more famous or notorious after the Barbary Corsairs caught him and his ship on one of his commercial expeditions on the high seas in 1678. Governor Andros laid up a collection of ransom money throughout the province. In 1683, when the process of dividing New York into wards began to take shape, Leisler was appointed commissioner (= judge) of the Marine Court. He had become notorious for refusing to pay port duties, particularly when he considered the tax collector a "papist", a swearing term he frequently used⁵⁴. By that time, or even sooner, he was the 7th richest man of New York, for his tax bill was exceeded only by a handful of wealthier merchants⁵⁵. While the "Charter of Liberties" was drawn in New York, but not approved of in England, Leisler openly supported its philosophy, which brought him favor in the eyes of the Hollandic and "Dutch" lower classes of the Yankee type. But this stand made him an enemy of the other leading Dutch merchants' families, like the Van Cortlandt and the Frederyck Philipse, who cautiously began to oppose this ship magnate rival. Philipse had even

52 Jerome R. Reich. *Leisler's Rebellion: A Study in Democracy in New York 1664-1720*. University of Chicago Press 1953. 194 pp., 52ff.

53 John M. Murrin, p. 62.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

55 Reich, *loc. cit.*, p. 59 n. 22.

closer associations to privateering⁵⁶ and still more highly profitable trading schemes than Leisler. Except that such profit taking evaded harbor controls and a city's tax income! Leisler must have known of some complicity of private profits and lavish gift bestowing on high government officials looking the other way⁵⁷. Then there was something odd about Leisler's distinction drawn privately between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. He made his stand public when he publicly accused the well-known Dutch clergyman Nicholas van Rensselaer, a protégé of the Duke of York and of Governor Andros⁵⁸, of unorthodoxy. This was tantamount to denying the other fellow his way of finding the truth in religion.

What Leisler was trying to achieve was closing the taxation loopholes, taxing the rich merchants who made shady profiteering deals with the compliance of the government. The province was in need of hard currency. Pirates brought in an estimated L 100.000 to N. A. annually⁵⁹. William and Mary seemed to mirror-image the anglicized dutchification. But Leisler was only "Dutch". Therefore his political aspirations carried a certain amount of dislocating pretense. Although Jerome Reich was overly cautious in identifying Leisler's position or title, and the modern critics we quoted called him acting or pretended or vice-governor, he is listed as "governor of New York 1689-91" in a semi-official handbook⁶⁰. A 1906 Encyclopedia⁶¹ took a solomonic stand by calling him a "provisional governor". Or was he a lawful Lt.-Governor only? His envoys sent to London, Joost Stol⁶² and Matthew Clarkson, could not obtain full satisfaction on that point. Leisler had undoubtedly been appointed as captain to secure the Fort at New York "on behalf of King William and Queen Mary"⁶³. This appointment made him de-facto commander-in-chief of the Province of N. Y.⁶⁴. While he and his faction felt threatened from the outside, because Albany and Schenectady were not really

56 Robert C. Ritchie, Ed. W. Pencak and C. E. Wright. *Authority and Resistance in Early New York*. N. Y. Historical Society w. y., chapter 5, p. 115-133 citing N. Y. Colonial Mss.

57 Reich, *ibid.*, p. 138.

58 Who held his office from 1674-83, when he was replaced by governor Dongan who governed until 1688.

59 Reich, p. 137f.

60 David P. Henige, comp. *Colonial Governors from the Fifteenth Century to the Present*. U. of Wisconsin Press. Milwaukee 1970.

61 *The National Cyclopedias of American Biography*.

62 Likely the son of Hendrick Stoll, a lieutenant in N. J. in 1640.

63 N. Y. Col. Docs. 111, 596 on Aug. 16, 1689.

64 Reich, p. 82-84.

supporting his post, he risked an ill-starred conquest of Canada, from which he brought home two captured ships, defeat and derision. To make matters worse, he was rumored by the oligarchy as being a foe of the Church of England. By that time he was wearing too many hats and had attracted too many dangerous political bed-fellows. "On June 6, 1690, Leisler was physically assaulted on the street, but he was saved from being murdered. After a short arrest he gave his adversaries clemency and released them from prison."⁶⁵

Although he handed over the keys to his Fort, then still called "Fort William Henry", which he could have held for a long time, the very next morning after a late request, he was arrested. Jacob Leisler was indicted for treason and murder on March, 1691. His defense was not effective. His opponent, Fr. Philipse, poked fun about his accent, and screamed at him, "why don't you speak English?"⁶⁶ He was convicted together with his son-in-law Milborne to death for high treason. On May 15, 1691, Gov. Slaughter signed their death warrants. Only the Huguenot clergyman pleaded for Leisler's life. More than a thousand were said to have signed a petition for clemency⁶⁷. No carpenter of New York was willing to supply the ladder for hanging Leisler. In his death speech Leisler spoke of "... this confused city and province" ... "in our unhappy abode in power." The two condemned men, pleading to spare their families, died bravely⁶⁸. They were hanged, quartered and buried in unmarked part-graves. It is recognized today that this sentence carried a travesty of justice. His rehabilitation came slowly. Leisler's son, a naturalized British citizen, got a bill from the English house of Lords on Apr. 10, 1695 annulling the attainder on his estates. This bill became law in May, 1695. In the House of Commons the vote was 49:36 in the late Leisler's favor. Most of the property was returned to John Leisler. On Oct. 20, 1698 Leisler's remains were reburied at the Dutch graveyard, after Gov. Richard Bellomont had arrived in N. Y. By 1699 the Leislerian partisans received compensation for expenses during the ex-governor's government.⁶⁹

65 Reich, p. 101.

66 Reich, p. 117.

67 N. Y. Col. Docs. III. 811f.

68 Reich, p. 123-25.

69 On July 15, 1913 (sic!) a larger-than-life statue of Jacob Leisler by the Danish sculptor Solon H. Borglum was put up in New Rochelle, N. Y.

- Herman Jacobsen from Emden, a soldier, married Wyntje Maartens in N. A. Jan., 1660. The third boat, the “Bonte Koe” from Emden⁷⁰ arriving in N. A. in May, 1660, carried Claes Hayen from Bremen, who subsequently married Marrietje Claes. Another professionally not identified passenger was named P(i)eter Jacobs from Friesland. Two soldiers in the employment of the DWICo on board were Johannes Levelin from Mülhausen (Alsace) and Hendrick Sweterinck from Osnabrück. Margaret Grootjen from Aachen married the widower of Ursel Coenrads, Barent Chr. Cruydrop in N. A. June 11, 1660. Wolfgang Carstensen from Wolfenbüttel, a soldier, married the widow Elsje Jans-Breestede in N. A. July 3, 1660. Annetje Sodelaers (= Seddelers?) from Königsberg (Prussia) was betrothed to Jan Sprongh from Drenthe in N. A. Nov. 20, 1660. They had several children. Hans Coenradse (= Cunrath) from Nürnberg was attested in New Netherlands 1660. He came over in some business connection with the large Nuremberg export firm Abraham de Braa successors, which cooperated with Dutch firms on a large scale exporting ironwares⁷¹. Claes van Campen from Oldenburg, a farm help, was attested in N. A. 1660. Hendrick Coenradse (no kin to the above) from Bonn was living in New Netherlands 1660. Adrian Hu(y)bertsen from Jena was also in New Netherlands in 1660; a widower with three children by 1663, he lived on High Street 1665. Adolph Hardenbroeck from Elberfeld emigrated to N. A. 1660, married Abel, and had two sons with her, who were both cordwainers. Franz Krieger from Borken (western Westphalia) married Walburg de Silla from Maastricht (Limburg) in N. A. 1660. Reinert Willemszen from near Oldenburg, a baker, married Susanna(h) Arents in N. A. Apr. 10, 1660. He became a juror and fire warden of N. Y. City in 1673. His property on South Stone Street between William and Broad Street was valued at \$ 6.000.
- The next boat, which sailed from Amsterdam on Jan. 12, 1661 was the “Hoop”. She carried Wessel Wesselsen, Jr. from Münster (Westphalia), who married Maria Ten Eyck from Moers. She must have been one of Coenrad Ten Eyck’s children mentioned in the year 1651. Hermann Stepfer alias Harmen Stepper from Cleve arrived on the next boat, we know of, the “Trouw” in N. A., which had left Amsterdam in Febr. 1659 or 60⁷². The “Jean Baptiste” arrived on her second

70 Her name commemorated Simon van Utrecht’s flagship with which the notorious but still popular North German privateer Klaus Störtebeker was overwhelmed and defeated.

71 Peters, *Nürnberg*, p. 311.

72 According to the Passenger and Immigration List Index he arrived a year earlier in 1659, according to Evjen in 1660.

German immigrant transporting voyage and carried Jacob Abraham Santfort and his wife Sibylle Arens and one child. He was a tanner, and did so well in his business that he could purchase property on High Street, evaluated at \$5,000. Widowed, he married Magdalene van Vleet from Bremen in 1677. Other registered German passengers, of whom one could be appraised as having arrived in N. A. at that time, could not be found, although we are confident they arrived at that period in greater numbers than now known. Cornelis Gerloffs from East Frisia, a tailor, was in N. A. in the spring, 1661. Magdalene Lamberts from Steinfurt (West of Münster) was married to Adam Dircksen of Cologne in North Haarlem 1661. Widowed, she married a Fin from Aabo. Mrs. Styntje Klinckenburg from Aachen first married a Dane named Jan in 1661. Her second marriage was to a man from Tongeren in Belgium. Jan Köster (= Coster) from Aachen owned a lot in Beverswyck as of March, 1661. Michael Croes from Danzig married Jannetje Theunis in N. A. June, 1661. Jan Jansen Lammertsen from Bremen took the "Bever" which sailed from Amsterdam to New Amsterdam on May 9, 1661. He married Greetje Jans, joined the DRCh in N. A. Oct. 7, 1663, and moved his family to their new residence in Albany by the end of that year.

- Jacob Joosten from Graach (Moselle) became a schoolmaster at Esopus School in Kingston on or before 1662, the year when he lost his wife. Bernd Wittenhooft from Münster, a tailor, arrived on "De Trouw" 's third voyage sailing to N. A. on March 24, 1662. Valentin Clausen (= Cleas(s)on)⁷³ of the people called the Sie-benbürger Saxons in Transsylvania, married Marritje Beest from Cuylenburg Apr., 1662. He became a juror at Fordham Village. Albert Buer from Jülich (Duchy of Jülich) arrived in N. A. on the "Hoop" 's second recorded trip, April 8, 1662. The next German passenger carrying boat which sailed from the Island of Texel on Aug. 31, 1662, was the "Vos". She delivered Simon Schultz from Prussia, and Jan Busch (= Bosch) from Westphalia to N. A., where he married Rachel Vermelje⁷⁴ from the Netherlands, and died before 1679, and Roeloff Hermanssen and his wife. The "Vos" arrived early in Oct., 1662. Barent Jansen Kunst deeded a "lot and a half" (his place in N. A.) to a Norwegian Oct. 13, 1662.
- P(i)eter P(i)etersen from Bremen acted as a guarantor in N. A. 1663. Hendrick Hansen arrived in N. A. on the "Rooseboom" Apr., 1663. He

73 One would be tempted to appropriate this one as forefather of Jackie Gleason.

74 A family still extant in New England.

subsequently moved to Albany. A second passenger, who is known, was Jan Jacobsen from East Friesland, together with his wife and two children. Johannes "Burger" (= citizen) from Gemen near Münster, NY Rec. 1663, married Helena Turck 1691(?). Peter Carstmann also arrived in N. A. 1663. Jan Vreesen from Hamburg came to N. A. on the "Statyn", which depending on how she was accented meant "Stáaten" or "Stettín", probably the former, in Sept., 1663. Martin Hoffmann, born ca. 1640, moved from N. A. to Kingston and Albany in 1663. Holding various occupations, he became a fairly prominent citizen in Albany. Johannes Verweelen, married to Anna Tjersvelt, joined the N. A. DRCh before 1664, had property there on South William Street and Broad Street, valued at \$3.000. He became constable and overseer at North Haarlem Court, and clerk at Fordham 1671.

- Liesbeth de Roode from Danzig, married to Joh(a)n Salm(e), with their three year old daughter Sarah, sailed from Amsterdam on the "Trouw" 's fourth recorded voyage, dated Jan., 1664. They arrived early March in N. A. Two more recorded passengers on that trip were Johannes Hardenbroeck from Elberfeld and his wife Ursel Duytman, and their four children aged 8, 6, 5 and 3 respectively. They went to live on Prinzen Graacht, New York, 1665. He became a prominent citizen and juror. Carsten Luurzen alias Christjaan Luyersen from Bremen, a tanner and shoemaker, joined the N. A. DRCh Apr. 6, 1664, and married Anna (de) Vos, possibly the daughter of Hans Vos from Bremen, 1665. Hendrick Wierinck from Wesel sailed from Amsterdam on the "Eendracht II" on Apr. 17, 1664 to New Yorke. Claes Gerritsen, also from Wesel, came to N. Ye on the "Gekruiste Hart" in the summer, 1664. He worked there as Yankee laborer by 1671. Otto Grimm from Bremen married the widow Elsje Jans in Sept., 1664. He was an officer and a gentleman with the rank of captain. Thus he could afford to own a house on Broadstreet, which was valued at \$1.000. Barent Coert(en) from Rheine (near Münster) married Anna Jans, Andries Spiering's widow Dec., 1664. He also became a member of the DRCh 1666, was widowed and contracted a second marriage to Christiane Wessels. Their place in New Yorke was evaluated at \$8.000 in 1674. Mrs. Anneke Wessels was living in N. Y. in 1664.
- The widow, Marritje Ketel (Christianse?) from Flensburg (Sleswig) lived in N. Ye 1665. Johann Harberdink from Bocholt (western Westphalia), a tavern keeper and a member of the DRCh, married Mayken Barents from Haarlem in N. Y. Dec., 1667. Their property was valued

at \$ 3.000 in 1674. They moved temporarily or finally to the Delaware area. Hans Jacob Harting from Berne, Switzerland, married Gertje Lambertsen Mol in N. Y. July, 1668.

Our records, as we can easily discern, become spotty and spurious. Did the "Dutch" stop coming because of the ship embargo imposed on non-English ships going to British North America? Or did Non-Netherlanders seek other, unrecorded means of transportation? Our research possibilities became exhausted for want of further primary sources. There are only a few more vital statistics left over which belong to this section and may be related to further research.

- Laurens Laurensze (= Lorenz Lorenzen) from Bremen married Hilletje Gerrits, Gerrit Hendricksen's widow in N. Y. Aug. 25, 1669. John Cruger⁷⁵ was an alderman at the N. Y. Dockyards at that time for a long while. Jacob Fabricius, a native of Silesia, worked, Eccl. Rec., State of N. Y., as Lutheran pastor in N. Ye. Also mentioned in these Records was Heinrich Heinrichs.
- Peter Hendricks from Soest, Westphalia, was listed on a passenger list of the DWIC. Sargent Litcho(w), born in Köslin (Pomerania) became an inn keeper in NYC. Johannes Schenk⁷⁶ was a schoolmaster in NYC and in Flatbush, NY. Another registered schoolmaster in NYC was Hans Stein. Joost Theunissen from Norden (Friesland) became a baker in NYC⁷⁷. John P(i)etersen from Lübeck married Mary Brouwers in NYC Sept., 1676.
- Claus C. Schlüter (= Claes Claesen Sluiter) from Oldenburg was in NYC on or before 1679; he married at Kingston. Andreas Blom, a native Palatine, was born in NYC ca. 1680. A next generation is about to embark on its course. Peter von Oblinus from Mannheim (Palatinate), and his wife Cornelia Waldron, a registered DRCh member in 1681, who had married him in the same church in 1685, had a son born, Pieter van Oblinis. The spelling separates father and son by more than an inch. Richard Hulse (= Hülsen?) lived in Brookhaven, Long Island 1683. Captain Beinfield had an abode on the North side of the Hudson River in 1683.

A new era had dawned, which cannot be treated here any more.

75 He was the father of the four-times Mayor of New York City, John Cruger, Jr., who had made a fortune on Madagascar 1698-1700, Janvier, *In Old New York*, 32.

76 Goodfriend, p. 101.

77 Rediscovered by Epperson, loc. cit.

3.3 The New Yorker Profile

Since we do not have a complete knowledge or accurate records of all the "Dutch" inhabitants of N. A. and New Yorke, we are forced to draw comparisons from the available, but necessarily spotty material. Still, there is now a fair possibility to provide the reader with a tentative socio-ethnic grid. First, the home towns, cities, territories or principalities, where the known "Dutch" settlers originated from, can be assembled and described. Of the 187 registered families from the various Dutchlands, 143 are known by their origin. Surprisingly, the settlers from Frisia stand first. Eastern and Western Friesians constitute the majority of the newcomers during that period. They will be followed up and quickly treated in sub-section 3.4. As to the balance of the newcomers, the distribution of their home towns runs as follows:

Home Town or Area	Number of Families
I [Friesland	35]
Bremen	16
Hamburg	8
Lübeck	5
Pomerania-East Prussia-Danzig	8
Schleswig-Holstein	3
Saxonies	13
Westphalia	21
Cleves	6
Berlin	2
Number of Settler Families	117
= 78 % Low German speakers	
II Rhineland south of the Ruhr	6
just Cologne and Bonn	8
Silesia and Prague	2
just Nürnberg	4
South Germany generally	7
Swiss Berne	1
Number of Settler Families	28
= 22 % speakers South of the	
High German/Low German linguistic	
dividing or so-called "Benrath" line	
100 % of these speakers:	145

At least 13 % of these towns lay in territories that the young Grand Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, had just appropriated for Prussia

in 1640, vid., Wesel⁷⁸, Cleve and Soest. We may safely assume that these families fled from a new regime, not welcome to every inhabitant, especially not to those who shunned from swearing a new loyalty oath or who feared the draft into Prussian military service. Their private reasons for wanting to come to North America in the seventeenth century may be hidden from further scrutiny. However, in case such settlers hailed from territories where the Thirty Years War had ravaged⁷⁹, the guessing would not be difficult.

It is still awe-inspiring to glance at the spread of the professional skill, which these settlers under the circumstances brought over with them. Goodfriend identified thirty-two categories as being practised by cohort Dutch men, and subsequently, by English men. Most of these 32 classes are also represented by these "Dutch" men. The only crafts missing are fishermen, goldsmiths, wagoners and wheelwrights⁸⁰. The Table of German-speaking Professionals having moved to New Amsterdam, New Yorke, as well as New York City, 1630–1683, distributes as follows:

I Elite Professions

1	director-general	2	
1	governor	2	
1	mayor of N. Y. C.	1	
1	government officials	11	
2	minister (clergyman)	2	
3	attorney (lawyer)	2	
4	schoolmaster	2	
5	physician (surgeon)	2	
7	sea captain or fleet owner	3	
9	farmer	5	or more ⁸¹
<hr/>		equalling at least 30 % of the total	

⁷⁸ From 1563 to about 1612 Wesel appeared to have the look of a „Little Antwerp“ on account of the many refugieé(e)s.

⁷⁹ In the Palatinate above 70 % of the entire population got wiped out.

⁸⁰ See The Group's Technology 5.1 below.

⁸¹ To ascertain the exact number of German speaking farmers in seventeenth-century New York Territory would require a whole new and different study.

II Principal Professions

11	merchant	6
12	tavern keeper	5
14	baker	5
15	carpenter (contractor)	3
16	miller	2
17	smith	8
18	shoemaker	4
19	cordwainer(= shoemaker)	2
21	hatter	1
22	tanner	2
23	cooper	3
25	cobbler	1
26	brewer	2
27	tailor	3
28	potter	1
29	mason	1
30	musician	1
<hr/>		
equalling 48 % or more of the total		

III Professional Helpers

31	soldier	15
32	farm hand (laborer)	8
<hr/>		
equalling 22 % of the total		

Further comparisons will be drawn in sections 4.5 and 5.3.

There are no cases registered where such families move from the outside to the City. Yet there are at least 20 families who move from the City to the province, e. g. Esopus, Rensselaerswyck, Beverswyck, Schenectady, and Albany.

3.4 Third Man Friese

Neighboring on Oldenburg territory, which became semi-dependent on Denmark, when the last Count died in 1667, was "Frisia": the land of treacherous coastlines, taciturn inhabitants, whose prayers could be summarized into "Lord, bless our beaches!", of seafarers and searobbers, traders and notorious pirates⁸².

82 Klaus Störtebeker, at least a Friesian in-law, an erstwhile master-pirate for aristo-

The geographic parts 5–7 which were leaning more toward Low-Germany were and still are unofficially referred to as East Friesian. Five towns stand out as rather vigorous: Leer, Emden, Norden, Aurich and Jever (then spelled Jeffer). The East Friesian Islands are called Borkum, Juist, Norderney, Baltrum, Langeoog, Spiekeroog, and Wangerooge. Jever escaped “foreign” dominance for a long time, and did not become permanently Prussian in the seventeenth century. But it suffered under the pestilence epidemic in 1610, as well as 1624. Catholic troops temporarily occupied the town from 1627–1631 and reduced it to poverty. Emden which had already 5.000 inhabitants by 1550, on orders of Meno Alting was rebuilt into a walled fortress. This Low-German/Frisian leader called in the two Dutchmen, G. E. Pilot and Jan van Loer, in 1605 to build it from scratch. After completion, Dutch troops were called in to protect Emden against the Catholic League’s troops (1609). Incidentally, the Dutch stayed for several generations. In 1611 representatives were chosen and set up their own taxation. After Antwerp’s fall, and long before the Navigation Act, Dutch ships came to sail from Emden. In 1678 the old Friesian Freedom was renewed by calling in session the venerable “*Upstalsboom*”, a Friesian parliament near Aurich.

The Dutchmen successfully appropriated the western part of Frisia (4 and parts of 5) in the early seventeenth century. It was achieved by the Calvinist freedom fighters, called *Gueux*, under the leadership of *Stadholder* Frederick Henry. West Frisia’s chief towns were and are Leeuwarden and Groningen. The West Friesian Islands are called Texel and Vlieland, Terschelling, Ameland and Schiermonnikoog. Texel certainly had a better harbor in the seventeenth century than nowadays. The language spoken in West Frisia could be described as West Germanic derived, interlaced with Dutch and English elements. East Friesian, on the other hand, is a patois language between Low German and more or less extinct original Friesian⁸³.

It is against this linguistic background, that we think, the Friesians were ideally suited to help “melt” together the “Dutch” and the Hollandic of New Amsterdam, as well as of New York. Friesian as an inter-ethnic and commercial *lingua franca* was eminently equipped to melt neighboring people together in enterprises of all sorts. One can imagine such newly bred Yankees to have staffed some of the stands at the Saturday Market, selling meat, eggs, butter, milk, cheese and vegetable in N. A. beginning in 1656. The Friesian may be one of the melters of the early time. But

crats, was finally caught and beheaded in 1401. His fame in North Germany is still alive.

83 Famous for legal reasons is the Friesian word for a 10–14 year old male child, “boi”, which spread into English (boy).

not only maritime and trading skills marked these independent people. Their tradition of self-government was centuries older than the often quoted Anglo-Saxon Freedom, which started to spread among barons in the first place, and had not yet trickled down to the level of the ordinary people. The “whigs” of New York City formed after Leisler’s hanging, not before it.

In any case, the trading skills of e.g. Philipse and many other less prominent, but still outstanding Friesian-born compatriots stood them in good stead. Perhaps no other Friesian town contributed more successful inhabitants to N. A. than Jever, the significance of which entirely rested on trade in the Old Country⁸⁴ in the first place. After Danish troops had given it a “protective” occupational garrison 1675–1679, Jever was changed into a fortress from 1683–1689, roughly at the same time as the Fort Frederick Henry of New Amsterdam. In our opinion the Friesian formed an important third element between the Hollandic and “Dutch” population of New Amsterdam and New York City. It is much underrated⁸⁵, and not known to Goodfriend. The Friesians of modern New York in an Association of their own still adhere as in the olden days to venerable traditions both tenaciously and vigorously.

3.5 New Jerseyites

It is noteworthy that the original name of the New Jersey Territory was “Nova-Caesaria”⁸⁶, a name likely to hint at the increased (= imperial) status of England, implying a break from the former Dutch domination within the “New Netherlands” in the 1640s and 50s, with Fort Nassau as the seat of administration. Her British history started in the year of New Amsterdam’s capitulation, 1664, when she became part of Greater New England, extending into and thus overlapping with, New Sweden at Delaware Bay⁸⁷. Under the Duke of York’s “ownership” New Jersey was governed by the Jerseyans Sir George Carteret. The settlements started to spread, and the towns of Bergen⁸⁸, Middletown, Shrewesbury, and Elizabeth Town⁸⁹ were founded and peopled.

84 E. Keyser. *Städtebuch*. Handbuch Städtischer Geschichte, vol. III. Teilband. 1952, p. 211.

85 Apart from the commercial impact, it is possible that a few old “New Yorkisms” may go back to Friesian inspiration.

86 Samuel Smith. *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria or New Jersey ... to 1721*. Burlington in N. J. 1765.

87 According to Hammond *Atlas of United States History*. 1994. p. U-9: Cape May.

88 Not named after the Danish-dominated capital of (now western) Norway, but after the town Bergen in North-Holland.

89 Sam Smith, *ibid.*, p. chpt. IV, p. 59ff.

- The first German known to have settled in New Jersey became lieutenant Hendrick Stoll, who apparently had served the DWICo as early as 1640. It was not possible for us to locate other soldier-settlers in the earliest New Jersey history, but it is highly likely that there were more. For there must have been more beneficiaries of the Capitulation Treaty, dated August 1664. Article 19 stipulated that 50 acres of land were freely given to soldiers of honorable standing, who had served the Company a number of years. They were now pensioned off, as it were, the land transaction being sanctioned by the new government regime. Another lieutenant, Hans Dietrich or Diederick from Eisleben, Martin Luther's birth town in Saxony, married Grietje War-naerts, Adrian H. Zips' widow, and settled near Bergen, NJ. He was mentioned there in 1673. Next, the brothers Lambert arrived, first John together with a servant in 1677, second, Thomas, landing with wife, children and servant in the same year. Both John and Thomas Lambert became New Jersey assembly men in 1682, after they picked up citizenship. The brothers Hugh and Richard Herzhorn (later anglicized Hartshorn) were mentioned as living in Middletown ca. 1680. A large ship of 550 tons carried 360 passengers safely to the New Jersey shores. At that time a split between the West and East Territories occurred. East Jersey was organized in proprietorship of Clement Plumsted⁹⁰ in 1682. Second, West Jersey was constituted a short time later. The two Jerseys operated separately until 1702, when they rejoined as one territory, reverting back to King James II of England. Israel Helme was conducting his unspecified business in the town of Gloucester, Western Jersey, in 1688, after he had become a councilman. This handful of "Dutch" settlers in the late seventeenth-century Jerseys was closed by Engelbert Steinhausen, who worked as schoolmaster in Bergen for several years, until he became mentioned in 1690.

We are confident that further research in the archives of New Jersey will uncover more German speaking settlers than could be presented here. Toward the end of that century some second- and even third-generation men moved from New York City, of these, "53 % carved out new homes in New Jersey, particularly in the county of Bergen ...". We may therefore be confident that in terms of Goodfriend's absolute numbers at least up

⁹⁰ Together with A(a)rent Son(ne)man(n)s, partner-proprietor, possibly a "Dutchman", and Christopher Hooghland, a Hollander, proprietor of an island, as well as capt. Beinfeld. In 1676 William Penn purchased an interest in West Jersey, in 1681 in East Jersey. J. E. Pomfret. *The Province of East Jersey 1609-1702*. Princeton U. p. 1962.

to seven or eight or possibly more families of the “Dutch” background transplanted to that County alone. For “New Yorkers uprooted themselves to seek greater opportunities in New Jersey . . .”⁹¹ at that period of time. More specialized genealogical research is available for New Jersey⁹².

91 Goodfriend, p. 170 and p. 40.

92 Cornel. Harvey. *Genealogical History of N. J.*; Eli F. Cooley. *Genealogy of Early Settlements in N. J.*, both 1993.

4 Mid Atlantic and South

4.1 Pennsylvania Planners

William Penn Jr. was born in London, the son of an energetic English sea warrior, the subsequent Admiral William Penn Sr., and his Dutch wife, Margret Jasper, from Rotterdam. She had lived with her parents in Ireland, married and was widowed early. Thus she was slightly older than her second husband. She practically brought her son up herself, since her seafaring husband was away so often. Penn the Older was a high-ranking ship commander by the time of his son's birth. In Cromwell's time he had conquered Jamaica from the Spaniards for England, and made the Dutch suffer in Barbados. Penn had sailed "king" Charles and his brothers from Scheveningen to England on the "Royal Charles", and was knighted for this return. Just as importantly, he struck up a life-long friendship with Lord Admiral James, Duke of York, on that important trip¹.

Penn Jr. first received a private education. Already on the Emerald Island as a twelve year old young boy he exhibited a strong mythical streak². When enrolled at Oxford University, he got expelled soon for breaking the rules and being rebellious. He was reputed to have been given a thrashing by his father who threw him out of his home as punishment. He then received his education abroad, first in Paris and subsequently at the Calvinist Academy at Saumur, France (1662-1664). After that, he took some law courses at Lincoln's Inn, briefly sailed with his father on the "Royal Charles" in 1665, and even put in a brief military stint as a soldier, while he was asked to manage some business matter on his father's estate in Ireland 1666. It was there that his conversion to Quakerism took place in 1667.

Evading prison and parental wrath, Penn visited the Hollandic-occupied Emden, Osnabrück and Herford in 1671. His father was assured by that time that his son had become a misfit, who scoffed at accepted customary ways, such as doffing a hat before a judge or a lord, or even the King at court! The recognized war hero feared losing his good standing extended

1 Lucie Street. *An Uncommon Soldier. A Portrait of Admiral Sir William Penn: English Naval Supremacy*. St. Martin's Press. N.Y. w.y. p.90ff.

2 Mary M., Dunn, in R. S. Dunn and M. M. Dunn, ed.s. *The World of William Penn*. University of Pennsylvania Press 1986, p. 4.

him by the Stuarts. He had reorganized the royal navy, had defeated the famous Dutch Admiral Tromp – his son could not accept any orders from anybody at all. Ironically, the admiral wielded also a graceful pen. When one of his soldiers had drowned, he wrote a poem about his death, and in a letter to his son spoke of that soldier of the sea meeting his saviour, the “GREAT ADMIRAL CHRIST”³. By the time Penn’s father died, reconciled with his son, in 1670, the King and his brother promised the dying seaman they would assist and repay his son in some way. This promise was made good ten years later.

Penn Jr. who would not hesitate to go to prison on a matter of principle, also had a sharp eye for business interests. His father left him 12.000 acres of rich Irish land in County Cork. Thus he became a substantial squire with an annual income of £ 2.000, by the time he was twenty-six. His “whirlwind life”⁴ of travelling on missionary trips did not prevent him from marrying twice to advantage, “. . . both time as much for money as for love”. His first marriage brought him £ 10.000 from the heiress Gulielma Springett. Not only did he travel incessantly, he wrote just as furiously, even on marriage. Many religious pamphlets were penned and spread by him. As a member of the Society of Friends he issued such famous tracts as “Truth Exalted” (1668), “The Sandy Foundation Shaken” (1668), “No Cross, no crown” (1669), the latter directed against “hat-honor”, and “The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience” (1670). Among his controversial treatises stood out a German translation which became known in Danzig (1675) and Hamburg (1684) respectively⁵. Interestingly, these German versions were printed under his full name, whereas the earlier English or Latin versions had to be printed anonymously, or signed simply “W. P.”. We must assume since his mother was Dutch, and he studied in France, that his knowledge of Hollandic and French must have been above average. Therefore, while travelling as a business-missionary through Germany for three months, he must have picked up at least a fair command of German too. Otherwise it would be hard to understand why he hired a German secretary, Philip(p) Theodor[e] Lehmann in 1672⁶.

Penn received title to a province in the wilderness of America of roughly 48.000 square miles, as large as England. This regal grant made him “landlord on a colossal scale” in 1681. However, the most outstanding feature of it was probably that he could plan and establish a new society which was not to be protected by military means, but by spiritual arms. Against his

3 Lucie Street, p. 54.

4 Mary M. Dunn, p. 11.

5 *Send-Brieff An Die Buergermeister und Raht der Stadt Danzig von Wilhelm Penn aus London . . . Amsterdam Christoff Cunraden 1675.*

6 He was fired for a misappropriation in 1685.

stubborn resistance, Penn's wilderness was named in honor of his father, the famous admiral, not on his own behalf, as is generally assumed. The grant had validity for Penn's prospective heirs, and was thus supposed to be lasting forever. Most importantly, article VII guaranteed the unrestricted freedom of immigration to Penn-Sylvania. Penn wrote and published "The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania in America" (1682)⁷.

- His secretary of Dutch and German business affairs, who also owned some stock in the company, worked with the Mennonites who were supposed to found and people "Germantown" and Philadelphia in 1683. Regarding Germantown, Lehnmann worked together with the lawyer Franciscus Daniel Pastorius [= Sche(e)pers] (1651–1719), from the city of Brandenburg, who was appointed the chief representative of the *Teutsche Sozietät* (= German Company). Pastorius, in turn, dealt with the leading German shareholders of this immigration company.
- Jan Streipers from Kaldenkirchen (Rhineland), a merchant, purchased 5.000 acres in 1683, before the "Concord" got ready to sail⁸. He came over later, as did Dirk Siepmann from Krefeld, who also held an interest of 5000 acres. A third shareholder of that Company, a businessman from Amsterdam, Jacob Telner, who also hailed from Krefeld, bought the same amount of acreage from Penn's office. The following persons became "participants" as well, Johan(n) Lebrunn from Wesel and Jacob van der Walle from Frankfurt on Main, whose name rings Netherlandic.
- On Johan Harris' Map⁹ of Philadelphia, not only a large group of English and Welsh quakers were noted, but as the third largest group "Quakers from the Lower Rhineland"¹⁰, whose language was Nether-Rhenish, or close to Dutch. These people, according to Meinig¹¹, were "far more individualistic" than the other religious groups, and

7 Revised in 1701 and uninterruptedly in force until the U. S. constitution superseded it. See ed. Don Tolzmann. *Germany and America 1450–1700. Julius Friedrich Sachse's History of the German Role ...* Heritage Books. Bowie MD 1991 appendices of title pages.

8 A passage from Deal (England) to Philadelphia cost £ 6 or 36 thalers in 1683, according to Pastorius, *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung ... der Provinz Pennsylvaniae*. Frankfurt und Leipzig Andreas Otto 1700. 120 pages, p. 36.

9 *The Mappe of ye improved Part of Pensilvania in ...* is dedicated to William Penn, Esq. 1687.

10 Don Meinig, I, p. 133.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

only broadly ethnic rather than of “tight religious clusters”. In other words, these families were in all likelihood “less self-righteous” because of their heterogeneousness, as compared to the more homogeneous Puritans of Greater New England¹². The names of the noted proprietors on the *mappe* are as follows:

- Luke Brinslo (Prenzlau?) propr. Mp. Nr. 2, Erich Kock, Johannes Kock, Manns Kock, and Otto Ernst Cock (= Koch?), Nr. 9, x, u, and 8, respectively; Georg(e) Foreman(n), Nr. t (sic); Johannes Kunt, Nr. 12; Andreas Roon, 9; Mrs. Anne Sat(t)ler d; Johannes Stille, 1; and Anton Peterson, Nr. 6.
- The leading head was Frederick Pastorius, once a theology student at the University of Würzburg. He had also earned an LLD at Altdorf University, a Calvinist school of higher learning in the Nürnberg Territory. First, he became married to Magdalena Dietz and arrived in America together with her and their two sons in 1683. He founded the Mennonite Settlement “Germanopolis” or “Germantown”, where Main Street was laid out 60 ft. wide, and sideways (= *Zwerch-Straßen*) 40 ft. wide¹³. Pastorius’s serious shortcoming was, that the English language “stayed unknown to him”¹⁴.
- There were several co-founders, holding 150 acres on the average, who arrived with Pastorius before the “Concord”, which we are not concerned with in the frame of this study. The first one was Isaak Dilbeck and his wife Mari(e)ke with two sons. Thomas (von) Wylich from Wesel, another LLD, Georg(e) Hatzfelder, Jacob Schumacher, and Georg(e) Wertmüller. Another one of the “titlers” was Bernhard (in) Maastricht from Duisburg, an LLD and syndic in Bremen, Balthasar Jabert from Lübeck, Johann Petersen, MD, from Magdeburg, who arrived in the Germantown area at a time which we could not ascertain by the exact year. But they were practicing in Germantown for years. They were all still alive and well by 1697.

Whereas Philadelphia was planned and meant to generate spiritual power as “Holy Experiment”, Germantown had “a comprehensive, but

12 Ibid., p. 144.

13 Pastorius, *ibid.*, p. 23. Armin M. Brandt. *Bau deinen Altar auf fremder Erde. Die Deutschen in Amerika – 300 Jahre Germantown*. Stuttgart Seewald Verlag 1983. Stephanie Grauman Wolf. *Urban Village. Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania 1683–1800*. Princeton University Press.

14 Pastorius, p. 57.

highly varied internal pattern for orderly contiguous settlement”¹⁵. The expression “German-” in Germantown is slightly misleading, “since it masks a wide divergence of backgrounds . . .”¹⁶. It received its charter from Penn in 1691. According to our count there were four small groups of German Lutherans and/or Calvinists, predominantly from Middle and Northwestern Germany, connected with the Pre-Concord planning of the “Model Colony”: shareholders and proprietors of Philadelphia, cofounders and titlers of Germantown. Broadly speaking, they were farmers providing surplus food, and professionals providing services. Both the little and the big city were spurred by practical christian liberty, as Penn had wanted to, “soberly desired”¹⁷. The planners of Pennsylvania’s two early towns did not hail from the Palatinate, hence were not speaking High German among themselves. The next settler generation was.

4.2 New “Swedes”

If anything the history of Delaware is even more confusing than that of the other territories, treated with respect to German-speaking immigrants so far. The name of this coastal land derives not from an Algonquian tribe, rather from Lord de la Warre, who landed here one year after Henry Hudson, namely in 1610. The Dutch settlement, founded in 1631, had yielded to Indian pressures. The Swedish Crown formerly took over the run-down Dutch Colony by purchase contract in 1638. Fort Casimir (now New Castle) was founded 1651. Four years later the Dutch pushed out the Swedes in turn, but had to yield all their North American territories in 1664¹⁸. The Duke of York made out a charter to Sir Robert Carre, who arrived with colonel Richard Nicolls and troops in the same year. Penn held the Colony of Delaware from 1682 to 1692.

Delaware, called “New Sweden” from 1638 to 1664, had a short New England aftermath until roughly 1675. First, Peter Minnewitt, the ex-director-general of the DWICo in NY was appointed the earliest governor

15 Don Meinig, I, p. 135. James T. Lemon. *The Best Poor Man's Country*. Baltimore 1972.

16 Grauman Wolf, *ibid.*, p. 9. For background information check F. B. Tolles. *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*. 1960. For further interest check the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, July 1994ff.; Genealogical records are edited by Horace Hayden, Reuben Kriebel and William McElwain 1992ff.; see Alfred Curran. *German Immigration to Pennsylvania* 1991.

17 Pamphlet's subtitle 1674; Penn wrote Een kort Bericht Van de Provintzie ofte Landschap Penn-Sylvania genaemt, leggende in AMERICA, 1 trl. London George Yard 1681.

18 In exchange the Dutch received Surinam in Northern South America.

of the Swedish Colony at Ft. Christina, beginning his term in 1638. Secondly, "Ridder" (knight) Peter Holländer served as officer at this Fort from 1638–1640. Then he became the second governor of the Swedish Colony from 1640/41 to 1643. That two Germans could consecutively occupy such a distinguished overseas position loses its surprise if one realizes several historical interconnections. Queen Christina, king Gustavus Adolphus's daughter, sat on the Swedish throne, but was at least theoretically, like her father had been, a prince of the German Empire.

Her chancellor triumphant, Axel Oxenstierna, and his successor held on to Swedish-occupied territories near Bremen, Verden, and the coastal strip of Rostock, Wismar, Greifswald. Sweden gained Mecklenburg and Pomerania, even Stettin, in the Westphalian Peace Treaty of 1648 for a long period of time. Sweden, in other words, had plenty of German subjects, and consequently recruited soldiers on a large scale in the northern part of the Empire. Then the Swedish authorities in Stockholm could ship some of them to Delaware. Consequently, an outstanding administrator, such as Minnewitt, and an outstanding officer, such as Holländer¹⁹, could be appointed by Stockholm, where many businessmen spoke German during the seventeenth century in the first place. We know of two soldiers, who were sent to New Sweden, Hans Lüneburger from Stralsund, who died in 1650, and Konstantin Grünenburg from Mark Brandenburg, later a freeman at Fort Christina. Governor Holländer's successor as third governor became a Swede Johan(n) Prutz/Printz (1592–1663), who was formerly mistaken for a Pomeranian from Buchau. He had studied, however, at three protestant-leaning German universities, Rostock, Greifswald and Wittenberg. While he was stationed as officer of the Swedish Army in Chemnitz, he somewhat dishonorably capitulated to the Catholic Imperial Army. After a period of disgrace he was appointed in Stockholm. Together with his wife, his son Gustaf and his daughter named Armegott, sailing on the "Fama" from Göteborg, he arrived in Delaware 1643. For his living weight of near 400 pds. he was nicknamed "Meschatz", which meant "Big Belly", by the Indians.

- The Fort could rely on the services of the German bookkeeper Hans Kramer, who diligently worked for the New Sweden (or "South" or

19 See *Manifest und Vertragsbrieff der Australischen Company im Königreich Schweden auffgerichtet*. 1624, a forerunner of Willem Wsselinx. *General-Handlungscontract* (deutsch). Stockholm 1625. W. Wsselinx. *Argonautica Gustaviana*. Frankfurt am Main Caspar Roedtler 1633. Wsselinx sat in the Amsterdam Chamber of the South Company. See Thomas Campania. *Nye Sverige uti America*. Stockholm 1702. Amandus Johnson. *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*. 2 vol.s N. Y. 1911.

even "Australian") Company at Fort Christina from 1641 to 1662. Hans Jancke from Königsberg in East Prussia, a barber and surgeon, came over on the "Swan" to New Sweden in 1643. Hans Rosbach, a blacksmith, arrived there in 1644. Johannes von Beier, born in Berlin ca. 1606, had worked in Sweden for a while, where he became treasurer of the South Company. In that capacity he was shipped over to New Sweden and was made postmaster general of the colony as well. Johann Riesing from Elbing (West Prussia) had studied at Uppsala University and earned an LLD there (Dr. juris utriusque). He was selected and appointed the next governor of the Swedish Colony from Stockholm, and started his new service in 1654. His secretary was Karl Julius who began his term at the same time. His clerk called "*Packhausschreiber*" became Jacob Junge in 1654. Hinrich von Elswich, who hailed from Lübeck, became the last business manager and representative ("*factor*") of New Sweden, his term lasting from 1654 to 1660²⁰. Dirk Jansen from Bergisches Land on the Rhine arrived in Delaware 1660. Otto Ernst Koch, a medical doctor from Holstein, practised medicine in New Sweden by about the same year. Peter Cock (Koch?), an officer, was commissioned to Fort Hoarskill, N. Sw., 1668. We are not sure whether he was a Swede speaking German or a German speaking Swedish. Hans Block was also a commissioned officer at the same Fort in the same year. Martin Prieger held the position of captain at the same Fort 1669. Otto Wolgast from Pomerania became commissioned at Fort Hoarskill too. Hans Nilson Kling, a surveyor and lieutenant, may have been a German speaking Swede. In any case he surveyed the Colony as of 1670²¹. Johan(n) Jacobsen/Jacobson became a sawmill master there at the same time. Miles Forster (= Förster?) officially worked in N. Sw. 1670. Heinrich Frey from Mülheim/Ruhr arrived at Delaware 1675. The two Wiggart brothers, sawmillers also from Mülheim/Ruhr, started to work in Delaware 1686. They were accompanied, probably on the same ship, by Gerhart Levering from the same city 1686.

The presence of two dozen German-speaking public servants and a few businessmen in New Sweden, who could hardly all be called full immigrants, can only be explained in terms of Baileyn's propositions 1 and 2.

20 In 1654 Christina abdicated in favor of her cousin Karl Duke of Palatinate-Zweibrücken. He ruled only until 1660.

21 He may have received his cartographic education from the school of Olof Hansson Svart, who drew the first map of Mark Brandenburg, which the Swedes had occupied. W. Scharfe, Die Brandenburg-Karte von Olof Hansson Svart (1630–31), *Mitteilungsblatt des Arbeitskreises für Historische Kartographie*. Nr. 30 Münster 1994, p. 9–36.

Sweden was politically and militarily related to Germany during and after the Thirty Years War and held several of her territories as pawns for extensive payments. In the history of Delaware their presence in New Sweden was but an episode. Thus, the propagandistic *Argonautica* pamphlets, appealing for German-speaking immigrants to come to America (in their own language), “to further man’s common weal”, did not have a major impact, we know of²².

4.3 Marylanders

Maryland, named after King Charles I’s queen-consort Henrietta Maria, was one of the few proprietary colonies until independence. In 1632 it was granted to the second Baron Baltimore, the late George Calvert’s son Cecilius, a Roman Catholic. He had received the grant, which was meant for his father, in order to protect his coreligionists from persecution in England. The early settlement began on Kent Island in 1631, where a Virginian had already established a trading post. No territory of the ten here treated had fewer German speaking settlers than Maryland. This phenomenon is as yet unexplained²³. Some 200 colonists arrived in the Colony in 1634. Ironically at least half or more were Protestant. The first assembly of freemen met already in 1635.

- Johann Lederer from Hamburg may have been the first North German who systematically explored the natural life of Maryland, Virginia and Carolina up to 1675. As far as we know, he did not stay in the end. Jasper Danckers (1639–1702) was a sectarian from Wiewaert (Friesian territory) who founded a colony near Chesapeake Bay. This spiritual sect was called “Labadist” after Jean de la Badie from Guyenne. Danckers led several European families to that area and tried to settle them there collectively²⁴. He wrote about this Labadist Sect in America and tried to attract more members. But the Colony did not flourish and therefore did not survive. Peter Sluyter (or Forstmann?) from Wesel also became a Labadist sect leader. But he combined this spiritual involvement with a material interest in

22 More historical background information can be gathered from C. Hoffecker. *Readings in Delaware History*. 1994; John Munroe. *History of Delaware*. 1993; Donald Virdin. *Maryland and Delaware genealogies* 1993ff.

23 See M. L. Radoff, ed. *The Old Line State. A History of Maryland*. Annapolis, MD 1971. J. T. Scharf. *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*. Hattboro, Pennsylvania 1967.

24 Lucie L. Bittings. *The Germans in Colonial Times*. Philadelphia and London 1901, p. 36–39.

tabacco farming, requiring slave labor. Thus he became a successful tobacco grower in Maryland. Peter Fabian from Berne, Switzerland, led a company expedition through Maryland and North Carolina in 1663. Augustin Hermann, also a Labadist, arrived some ten weeks before the "Concord". He had three sons, Casparus, Ephraim and George, and four daughters, Anna, Francina, Judith and Margareta Hermann, living in Maryland. He became a prosperous merchant in Maryland. It is to be expected that this numerous family of his survived into more recent centuries. The potential contribution by seventeenth-century German-speaking immigrants to Maryland, if more of them came indeed, has not been researched as yet²⁵.

4.4 Smoking Virginians

The Powhatans had allowed the white settlers to gain a foothold at Jamestown and to make it grow into a permanent settlement. When the tribe finally tried to dislodge the whites in 1622, it was too late. And Pocahontas preferred to sail to England. The society that she had helped to establish itself involuntarily by kindness, began to replace her native own. In fact, Virginia became the first permanent English Colony in North America.

The knowledge of the plants and in particular the herbs that grew in Virginia, was at a premium in Europe, spreading rapidly in its non-English countries as well. Hieronymus Bock, who had issued a *Kraütterbuch* in Strassburg as early as 1539, republished it several times. The John Carter Brown edition of 1630 showed numerous American plants, richly illustrated, on 892 pages. But more than anything else, even more than the potato²⁶, the curiosity was aroused by and fixed on getting to know and smoke tobacco:

Tobacco King of Plants I well recall Others have single virtues,
this has all,

quipped Raphael Torius²⁷. Two German writers wrote and reissued handbooks on tabacology, Heinrich Barnstein²⁸ and Jakob Balde²⁹.

25 Donald Virdin published on Maryland genealogies in 1993.

26 Kaspar Bauhin. *Beschreibung der Kartoffel Phytopinax*. Basel 1596, in which he compared the potato to a small "tartufole" (= truffle), laid the groundwork for the German word "Kartoffel" (scientifically *solanum tuberosum*).

27 *Hymnus Tabaci*. Leyden 1625.

28 *Tabacologia ... Kurtze Beschreibung dess Tabacks*. Erfurt T. Fritsche 1645, 1647, 1648.

29 *Die Truckene Trunkenheit*. Eine ... gedechte Satyra oder Straff-Rede wider den Mißbrauch des Tabaks. Nürnberg Michael Endter 1658. 256 pp.

- We already made *connaissance* of those three “damned Dutch” carpenters³⁰, who must have arrived on the convoy of the first three ships hitting Virginia’s shores, the “Susan Constance”, the “Discovery” and the “God Speed”. Why shouldn’t they like the other settlers have relaxed evenings over a pipe of smoke? Actually, there were two more fellows among their company. The pharmacist of Jamestown became Thomas Veld, arriving in 1607 as well. Richard Waldow, who came as seacaptain to Virginia in the same year, tried his hand at developing ironworks nearby, an attempt which met failure.
- Andreas Büchler / Andrew Buckler and Michael Lowicke lived in Va. 1609. Plantation agriculture took a foothold in the settlement, and with it grew the economic urge for the importation of slaves. Thus Blacks were first forced to come to Va. in 1619, incidentally the same year representatives to the General Assembly met for the first time too³¹. The following agriculturists, either farm hands or farmers, or even tobacco growers, of German extraction lived and worked in Va. in 1620: Wilhelm and Karl Beck, L. Campe, J. Geering, J. Heiden, Henry Spranger and J. Treuer, Georg(e) Bach(e), David Borne, Benjamin Brand, Peter Franck, Christian and Johan(n)³² Landman(n), Richard Morer, J. Ferne and A. Speckhard. We do not know their precise professions³³. John and William Clements came to Jamestown 1622 and 1623 respectively. The couple Catherine and William Cappe were recorded in Virginia, Febr., 1623. Under the same month and year the following Germans were recorded also: Edward Bricke, Theodor(e) Spi(e)lman(n), William Stocker, Peter Staber, Daniel Francke, Richard Ranke, and Richard Spriese. In an other county of Virginia were also recorded in the same year Margaret Berman, John and his brother Joseph Haman(n), and Richard

30 Section 1.1 above.

31 For general history of Virginia check A.A. Bodine. *Face of Virginia*. Baltimore MD 2nd ed. 1971; L.D. Rubin, JR. *Virginia. A History*. N.Y. 1977, and for a special aspect W.F. Crauen. *The Dissolution of the Virginia Company*. 1932; The literature on Virginia colonial history is plentiful: check the records of the Virginia Company and Counties 1993ff., the latter edited by Will Crozier; John Dorman issued *The Virginia Genealogist* 1993; there is a committee busy with working on the Colonial Records of Virginia as of 1992ff.; Wilmer Kerns published *Historical Records of Old Virginia* in 1992; and Uly Heavener *German New River Settlement* 1992.

32 He was killed by the Indians in 1622.

33 The names and data of early German Virginians could be presented thanks to the research of Herrmann Schuricht. *History of the German Element of Virginia*. Baltimore Kroh 1898, rp. ed. Don Tolzmann. *The First Germans in America*. Heritage Books. Bowie, MD 1992, p. 16–46. There were, however, rather severely sifted and reduced in number by us.

Sperling or Spurling. Between 1624/25 and 1635 a few more German-speaking settlers lived in Va., namely John Schumann, Philipp Clauss, Christoph(er) Windmüller, Henry Kuhlmann or Coleman, and Mr. John and Mrs. Mary Brauer or Brower. Robert Ackermann was registered as a landowner in Richmond, Va. before 1635, as well as Georg Koth, Johan Busch, John Laube or Loube, and Zacharias Crippe. County governments were first instituted in 1634, making lands patents registration possible. The tendency of wealthy plantation owners to have the greatest political influence became characteristic of Virginia from this early stage on. The last group of Germans who lived in Va. before 1683 that could be found left their imprint. First, Mrs. Elizabeth Boreman(n) lived in Va. by 1639 and had issue. Paulus van der Beek, MD, from Bremen, moved with his family to Va. around the middle of the century, and practiced medicine. Mrs. Katharina Blumf(i)eld was recorded in 1652. Johann Sigismund Klüver or Cluverius left Va. and moved to N. A. Georg Nikolaus Hacke from Cologne, a doctor of medicine, who was married to Jeanette Verleth³⁴, moved to Va. to develop tobacco. Another medical doctor, Wilhelm Trophagen, from Detmold (Lippe), came to Va. to practice medicine. Lubbertus van Dinklage, MD, whose names sounds familiar in Münsterland, partially switched profession and became a vice-director of the Virginia Company, probably in charge of health service. John Tripp was recorded in Va. from 1673 to 1679.

- Heinrich Weedich and Hermann Keldermann swore their oath of allegiance to Virginia in 1673. Mrs. Katherine Knibbe was mentioned in Richmond's Courthouse 1679. John Guenther or Gunther, Georg Kranz, and Thomas Risbock were all recorded in Richmond, Va. 1679. John Harras, W. T. Eller, Thomas Brockhaus or Brockhouse were recorded or mentioned there 1680, whereas John Feil was mentioned there one year later. Edmund Belcher (a German?) and Robert Bolling were recorded in Richmond 1681. Henry Schuermann alias Shureman and finally Sherman, was recorded and mentioned in Richmond, Va. several times after 1682.

³⁴ See section 3.2 above.

4.5 Inter-Colonial Profile in the ten Territories

(treated in sections 3.5 to 4.4, the Jerseys, 'til Virginia)

A. Families' Origin

Home Town or Area	Number of Families
I "Frisia"	2+
Hamburg	1
Lübeck	1
Pomerania/E.Prussia	4
Schleswig-Holstein	1
Saxonies	3
Westphalia and Rhineland until Ruhr river	8
Brandenburg	3
<hr/>	
Low Gn spkg. terr. ca. 70 % Low German understanding/speaking	
II Köln and surroundg.	5
Frankfurt/Main	2+
Switzerland	1
<hr/>	
High German speakg. ca. 30 %	

Outside New Amsterdam and New York City, the percentage of Friesians goes down. Generally, there is small evidence of a different ethnic variety of the Northern/ Northwestern element here. Consequently, the recorded percentage of Low German speakers in the Mid or Middle Atlantic and South goes down too slightly to be representative³⁵, still two-thirds of the German-speaking newcomers even in Mid Atlantic and "down yonder" spoke or understood Low rather than or additional to High German. This factor made easier and faster adjustment possible, in our estimation. The post-"Concord" generation brought speakers of a quite different linguistic background to establishing Pennsylvania. Our more superficial and less reliable recording dates do not compare to the more precise ones, written down by the Dutch authorities in New Amsterdam.

³⁵ For lack of sufficient representative data, this deviation of 5 % might be negligible, hence not relevant for comparisons. In any case, family names are not completely reliable indicators at a period, when last names become just about established.

B. Breadwinners' Professions Table

I Elite Professions		
01	governor	2
01	proprietor-director	3
01	officer	7
01	government official	10
02	minister (of sect ³⁶)	1
03	lawyer/attorney	5
04	schoolmaster	1
05	physician	5
07	seacaptain	1
08	pharmacist	1
09	farmer	13 + 50 more Va.
10	explorer	1
		100 = 87% (?)
II Principal Professions		
11	merchant	2
12	smith/ironworks	2
15	carpenter	3
17	sawmiller	5
20	barber-surgeon	1
		13 = 11% (?)
III Professional Helpers		
31	soldier	2 +
32	farm hand	?
		2 = 02% (?)
Total		115

The professional grid on the top renders results similar to the ones obtained from the New Amsterdam and New York material. In the category of government officials there are more specifically ranked officers found in the Mid Atlantic region, and particularly in Delaware's historic New Sweden period. There are slightly more physicians represented and lots more

³⁶ A representative of the Labadist Sect, founded by Jean de La Badie (1610-1674), a French protestant pietist-leaning mystic. He won German adherents in Herford one year before Penn, and in Altona near Hamburg, and in Friesland. L. B. gave rise to calling these German sectarians "Moffe" by advising Labadist women to wear mittens (= moffen) over their bare arms.

farmers. This of course is correlated to the more rural character of the South as potential planting country. Conversely in a less urban surrounding fewer merchants and tavern keepers are to be expected. The variety of professional handicrafts has not been noted in Virginia, probably because farmers, in order to survive in the wilderness, had to be more multi-talented in comparison even to up-territory New York's division of labor. Interestingly also, there are more professional connotations on record in sections 3.5 to 4.4, namely for 115 men from New Jersey to Virginia, compared to 105 men in section 3.3, up- and down-territory New York with a denser population. The home town or home land areas, the German-speaking immigrants originated or migrated from, are known on the distribution of 41 % for all ten territories, the minimum being 23 % concerning NJ, DE, Pre- "Concord" PA, MD and VA until 1683, versus the maximum number, concerning NA and NY 1630-1683, of 79 %. It would be interesting to speculate whether this scale of knowledge says as much about Dutch bureaucratic thoroughness, official pressure, or settler's self-aware identity and root knowledge. It could be that the Eastern Seaboard as more European-leaning attracted and produced people more concerned with their point of origin as a guiding post, than the South attracting settlers down the Appalachian Trail into a separate civilization? This must remain unknown ethno-populist speculation, which will not be attempted by us.

5 Technology, Talers and Ships

5.1 The Group's Technology

This author has to confess that his knowledge of North American tools and material culture is somewhat superficial. There are, however, helpful hints and literature found in the Nicolas Brown Center of American Civilisation. The most substantial treatment and overview can be gathered from Thomas J. Schlereth¹, and further insights from John Carter Brown's Exhibition Catalogue, *Encountering the New World 1493-1800*², and an introduction from the Beinecke Rare Book Exhibition Catalogue *Creating America*³. In both catalogues, issued in commemoration of Columbus Day, a plan of an "American [new cleared] Farm" is represented from Patrick Campbell's Travels to the interior inhabited parts of North America⁴. This is an idealized tableau containing all the elements in full, the narrator Campbell saw, while travelling and sketching on both sides of the St. Lawrence River in the late eighteenth century. Although late eighteenth century, it is to be supposed that several features may have been introduced much sooner than that, and that all of them together were meant to represent the total achievement of American farming and animal husbandry at a glance. Four different types of fences are mentioned on this picture: a conventional log fence, a kind of "worm"⁵ fence, nowadays called a New England fence, a post and rail fence, and a Virginia rail fence.

It would be highly desirable if somewhat speculative to relate the four different types of fence to four different ways of constructing borders, going back to ethno-traditions from Europe. Arriving at some valid deduction would presuppose that several of them could have been imported from Europe, which I think is clearly so in the case of the two 'straight' fences. The other two look more like American-made construction ways. Be that

1 *Material Culture Studies in America*. An anthology, selected, arranged and introduced by T. J. S. Nashville, Tenn. 1982.

2 Susan Danforth. Providence, R. I. 1991. We wish to thank Ms. Danforth for many helpful discussions concerning maps and sticky details.

3 By William S. Reese and George A. Miles. New Haven, CT. 1992. The methodical advice freely given by George Miles, made our work in the awe-inspiring Beinecke Rare Book Library much more fruitful and pleasant.

4 By coincidence, p. 38 in either catalogue.

5 "Worm" is an archaic Germanic word for creeping snake.

as it may, my guess would be that the most elementary and straight of the four types, the post and rail fence, was in all likelihood the traditional Central-European type fence, transplanted by early settlers. The worm fence, generally associated with New England, was probably developed analogously to English stonewalls by English settlers, used in rolling hill country back home. Within these fenced grasings, Jerseys and Herefords were kept and fed. The art of “feeding, breeding and curying cattell” in cleared and fenced-in grasland was introduced in English translation by the counsellor to the Duke of Cleves, Conrad Heeresbach, in his *Four Bookes of Husbandry*⁶ of 1578, a work which is particularly valuable as containing the most ancient account extant of the husbandry of the Netherlands, which was considered exemplary by Englishmen then and in all of Europe nowadays. In this book, which became popular and influential in England, the planter is instructed by the dialogue method⁷. Therefore, it is not surprising that a type of “Dutch Barn” was known in North America and to Patrick Campbell as well. Its construction clearly provided some air space for drying hay⁸.

The problem remains to be explained: how did the first Jersey, Hereford and Holstein cattle safely make the transport to North America? First of all it took a new type of a less slinging boat, to prevent cattle from getting sea-sick, or even die from malnutrition and lack of movement. The new boat types were developed in the so-called “*craveel*” or slick style. They were built keel upward from the inside out. Thus equipped with a smooth surface, they could sail better, particularly against the wind⁹. To our knowledge, the “Peter of La Rochelle”, built by Huguenot leaning Bretons, produced this technology, which was new to the Hansards, until the “Peter” moored at Danzig, and was inspected by the local shipbuilders. Somehow they managed to purchase this ship and skippered it under the new name “Peter von Danzig”. On such ships horses and cattle could be and were transported with their front legs tied, their bodies suspended in a movable canvas, hooked on either side. This way the animal could feed from a crib in front, yet stand on its hindlegs for balance at the same time¹⁰. Once a small herd survived such a six to ten weeks’ ordeal, it needed a rest,

6 Newly Englished and Increased by Barnaby Googe. London John Wight 1578. Third Edition.

7 Concerning the art of cattle herding, feeding and breeding in chapter III.

8 Campbell map, Nr. 9, a four-posted cone-shaped round roof construction.

9 Uwe Schnall, “Schiffbau und Navigation vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts”, *FOCUS BEHAIM GLOBUS*. Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg 1993, p.321-330. No steering wheel was as yet constructed; skippers had to use the whiplash until the end of the seventeenth century.

10 Drawing found in Duncan Haws. *Schiffe und Meer*. A B Nordbook Gothenburg w. y. p. 73.

before it could be driven to the area of destination, often several hundreds of miles away from the harbor.

At this point the modern fanciers of Hollywood-produced nineteenth-century Wild West life, describing large oxen herds driven through the Rockies by macho cowboys, are in for a surprise: the technique of driving herds of a thousand oxen at a time, that is, up to 400.000 oxen annually, from the Black Sea, Podolia and Walachia, through the Danube, through Nürnberg¹¹, to Frisia, Cologne and the Nether-Rhine, as well as Greater London, and Lombardy, was practised in Central Europe for centuries until at least 1618, the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. The annual season ran from April to October. The daily trek covered some 8–9 miles, with coralling at nightfall. The largest extension could span 1700 miles and took up to four months, depending on the weather and the cooperation of host stations. In this fashion Nürnberg¹² acted both as manufacturing and oxen exchange center of Europe in the sixteenth century, at least up to 1618. Admittedly the *bos primigenius* that was driven to the slaughterhouses of Europe, was not exactly comparable to Hereford cattle, but rather more to Texas Longhorns. Still, the driving technique was developed a few centuries before it was transplanted to North America. The technology of moving such large herds in the saddle was developed a long time before large cattle herds were driven across British North America. The driving cowboys actually and ironically were genuine “huns”, magyar ox-captains rather than Germans, who accompanied the transports all the way from the Black Sea and the rivers Bug and Danube to the Northwest of Europe¹³. The commands could not be understood by outsiders on the way. We do not know how and under which circumstances the cattle was corralled over night. The ox-captains had of course baggage, which we suppose was stapled and driven on special canvassed wagons. The several hundreds of battle prints, we checked, at first show flat lying canvasses on crude-wheeled wagons in the sixteenth century; then in the seventeenth century cone-shaped or mounted canvasses supported by bows, replaced them. Thus we came across the so-called *marketender* (= merchandise carrying) wagons of the “Mother-Courage” type. Underneath these single-pole wagons, pulled by at least two or more pairs of horses, were hidden the constructional innovations, such as the hasp-suspended carriage, which were kept from spying

11 Over the medieval stone bridge as bottle-neck.

12 Which had four times the inhabitants of Boston or Philadelphia before 1700.

13 We are indebted to Wolfgang von Stromer, “Wildwest in Europa: Der transkontinentale Ochsenhandel in der frühen Neuzeit”, *Kultur und Technik. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Museums* 3/1979, p.36–43; Ed. E. Westermann, vol.9 *Acta. Seventh International Economic History Congress, Edinburgh 1978.* (1979. 299 pp.).

members of other cities' wagon guilds. Such novel renaissance wagons¹⁴ were sometimes referred to as *Kobel-wagon*. The wagon-tongue made the pole movable to either side at an enlarged angle. The brakes had improved power, the construction became thorough-braced. The canvas was put on in a "ton-like" tightened fashion. This type sturdy wagon may well have incorporated features of the Hungarian type *cotzy* or *Gutschi wagon*¹⁵. Surprisingly then, the term "coach" was of Hungarian-Hunnic origin¹⁶. Some further innovations were probably applied to and tried out by these oxen-drift accompanying wagons, by grafting the *gutschi*-type onto travel wagons of the sixteenth century, plus fitting them with a bow-supported rounded/ rolled canvas, such as shown by the Petrarca-Master in 1520¹⁷, combined with a suspension mechanism from the 1593 Erzherzog Ernst of Austria travel-coach¹⁸, transporting him to the Netherlands. The extending of both ends in a mirror-image fashion would perhaps more easily explain "the considerable sag in the center so that the contents would not spill out when ascending or descending a hill"¹⁹.

Our point is, all these various elements and improvements aimed at treacherous terrain, attempting to prevent breakage and covering against wind and rain were known to several European wheelrights and wagoners before their first carpenters came over to North America in 1606/07. In our opinion such type was a prototype *Plan-Wagen* or canvassed wagon, well suited for large-distance transport and haul by experienced drivers. Why should Germans not learn from the Hungarian drivers, which they had occasion to observe for generations? This apprenticeship may well have influenced the professional standards of early freight car builders and carriers in the Mid-Atlantic territories. Their wagon form, we conclude, became the prototype of the famous "Dutch" wagon of late 17th century Pennsylvania. In our opinion, the first type was put together from imported

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- 14 The word wag(g)on, according to F. Kluge. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*. 18th ed. 1960, is defined as a German loanword arriving in England ca. 1540. Whether -*wain (as in cox-wain) is ancient cognate is debatable.
- 15 Rudolf H. Wackernagel, "Zur Geschichte der Kutche bis zum Ende des 17. Jhs.", *Achse, Rad und Wagen*. Ed. Wilhelm Treue. Göttingen 1986, p. 197-235, p. 209f. We are thinking of the higher wheels and the thorough-braced suspension.
- 16 Confirmed by the *Oxford English dictionary*.
- 17 This is all the more remarkable since it is headlined under a chapter entitled "libertas, sed ubi spiritus est domini: "der ist recht frey/der hie wol lebt/Dess hertz inn Gottes willen schwebt", *Achse, Rad und Wagen*, p. 206. We thanks Thomas Köppen for sending pertaining material.
- 18 As shown on p. 210 *ibid*. See also, however, in respect to the "bent" the North and South Lincolnshire waggon in James Arnold, *The Farm Waggon of England and Wales* London John Baker 1969, rp. 1978, particularly p. 93-95.
- 19 *Collier's Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, p. 142.

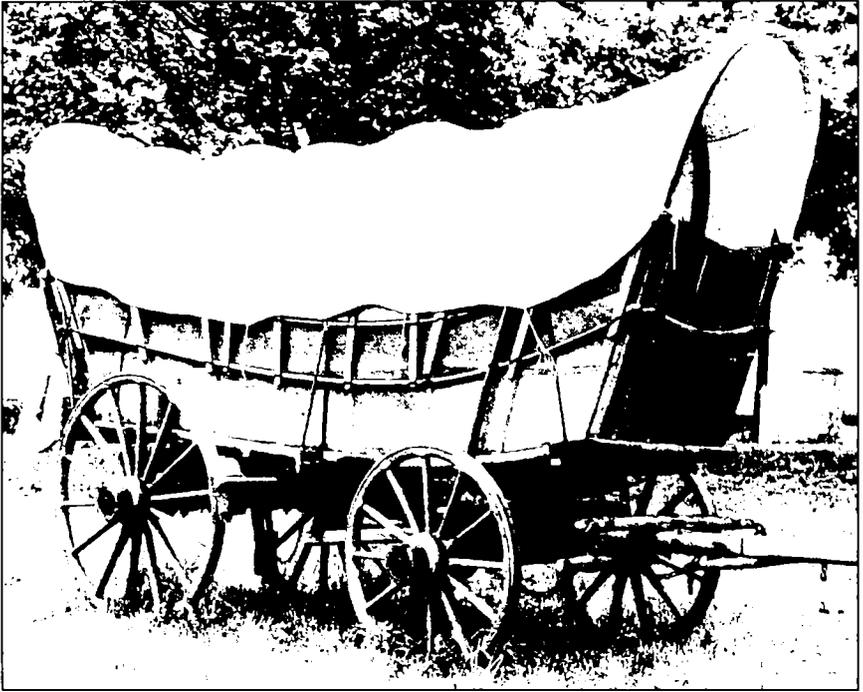
material, as far as the iron parts are concerned. The wood used in Pennsylvania, hickory, was better suited and more bendable under steam than European oak. This advantage made higher and wider wheels and better traction possible. Hence the canvassed outlading hoop-top wagon with its roof under tension, is ultimately the super-structure of a more sturdy axle-pole construction and the mounted suspension carriage from Northwestern Europe. The "Dutch" are thus presumed to have brought this carriage type with them in parts, where they were about to transplant "a strong tradition of a hand-craft culture"²⁰, and adapt it to new requirements, soon surpassing the model. Characteristically the production of such wider- and dished-wheeled wagons started at a trading station for trading purposes. The last of the first wagoners known was named John Miller of Conestoga, named after the Conestoga Valley in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was William Penn's business representative, in charge of collecting money and doing land sales. The Conestoga Indians were traded with the help of such wagons. Its original end-seventeenth, early eighteenth century name was "Dutch wagon". But it soon became associated with the valley, especially because of the subsequent standardization undertaken on account of the ever increasing demand.

There is no denying that the "Dutch" or "Conestoga" wagon became a serialized, distinctly American means of transportation. But it did not originate in the "mid-eighteenth century"²¹, since Penn had long left his "wilderness" and died in England 1718. For chronology's sake, in our opinion, the origin of the Conestoga wagon fell more around and even before 1700 as a "terminus post quem non". One of the many ships mooring in Philadelphia before 1683 could have brought the wrought-iron parts and tools (spreaders, pincers, locks, hasps, gimlets, and so on) over with a few horses and cattle, since the "Dutch" settlers, as we could demonstrate, arrived as many as 75 years before the "Concord". Accordingly, their technology would have accompanied them much earlier as well. It is therefore reasonable to summarize that they brought over kin, cattle and wagon parts as their material culture at the same time. Skins for leather and hickory for wagon wood was found plentifully in the New Country, and could be suited by tanners, wheelwrights and wagoners. Unfortunately the latter were a secretive guild in competition with carpenters nearby, as well as with some English wheelwrights of Massachusetts, which had a headstart²²

20 George Shumway, Edward Durell, Howard C. Frey. *Conestoga Wagon 1750-1850*. York, Pennsylvania 1966, p. 19. Reworked and reedited in a second edition toning down the local "Dutch" connotations.

21 Stated categorically in *Collier's Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, p. 142.

22 W. Treue, "Die Wanderung des Wagens von Europa nach Übersee in der Neuzeit", *Achse, Rad und Wagen*, p. 280f.



5. Conestoga Wagon

over them. Nevertheless, some prototype "Dutch wagon" could have been driven, or be rebuilt soon after, in the Allegheny valleys, and particularly to Lancaster, quite some time before the so-called Pennsylvania Dutchmen arrived two generations later. These people came in such droves, that other settlers began to become resentful of them, and they had to *move* away from Philadelphia. After Philadelphia's rapid growth, lots of food had to be retransported in such wagons from the countryside. Although the wagon type invention, here described, should not entirely be credited to them, the achievement of changing a technically outstanding hand-crafted wagon into a first-rate standardized wagon, is theirs. In this way originated the sturdy, popular CONESTOGA WAGON with a good loading capacity in late seventeenth/ early eighteenth century Lancaster County, Pennsylvania²³.

23 Courtesy Henry J. Kauffman. *Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art* Dover N. Y. 1964 p. 38.

As we stated earlier, the division of labor between housewrights and carpenters in the pre-colonial time was far from clearly drawn. Thus we do not know, whether the earliest “Dutch” settlers would have built houses similar to the Massachusetts frame house in the areas of their settlements. Massachusetts frame houses were pre-built frames without cellars, and were collectively, even rhythmically, “clapt up”²⁴ by the group, when ready. This way, the second story came to be erected with the first one. It seems highly doubtful, that such a serialized un-individual construction scheme should have appealed to “Dutch” settlers. Probably their beams carried more genuine weight on either two or four “*standers*” (= standing posts), and thus the two stories had to be built subsequently, rather than simultaneously. In keeping with these differences, we would further have to assume that their houses were more rectangularly extended than the New England “salt boxes”, because of the necessity to accomodate a larger kin and a decentralized kitchen. The oblong rectangular construction, generally speaking, seemed to fit the surroundings more aptly, if the building was supposed to run parallel to the pathway (in case one was naturally there). The purpose of this arrangement was to create more open space²⁵, and provide for individual homes’ defense. Is it likely that Pennsylvania houses, like the oldest “Dutch”-style Rhode Islander houses, preferred to face South, if that was at all possible, thus compromising between various possibilities. We would not be surprised to have found divided North German coastally used wind doors and inbuilt “Friesian” triangular doveled cupboards in such houses. Another problem, seemingly, was the center or rear positioning of the stairs. More research should correlate rear winder stairs with high rising houses, and narrower treads center stairs with straighter low-rising houses, and the ethnic background of their earliest builders. That should prove exceedingly difficult²⁶. These features²⁷, in turn, must somehow be related to the question of the central positioning of the chimney in early English-speaking settlements, versus their side-positioning(s) in other ones. As far as we can see, the German-speaking settlers preferred the latter position of their heating, which in turn must have been related

24 John Frederick Kelly. *The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut*. New Haven. Yale University Press 1924. Despite trying hard, we could not find a more modern treatment in the Yale Architecture School Library.

25 Ibidem, p. 62.

26 Ibidem, p. 173. For comparison see *Museumsdorf Cloppenburg*. Niedersächsisches Freilichtmuseum. 9th ed. Cloppenburg 1988.

27 English-like continental European quality house building style was dependent on Italian architectural craftsmanship. See Sebastiano Serlio’s *Libro d’Architettura*, trld. into Dutch, then into English, possibly by Robert Peake, SR., *The First Booke of Architecture*. London Holborn 1611. An influence on the Colonial style of North America was restricted to representative public buildings.

to the placement of the beams and the open or non-open hearth. To our knowledge, ethnic-based construction preferences in the period, here under discussion, have not been explored systematically, probably, because so few really old seventeenth-century houses or their original plans survived.

5.2 The “Daller” as Currency

In Pre-Colonial times most settlers on the Eastern Seaboard were occupied in agriculture. The raising and production of cereals and meat had to be brought to a surplus level. Eventually processed goods could be sold for export to England, such as furs, lumber products (masts, pitch and tar and tobacco). But how were payments made?

First to be noted was an extreme “dryness of specie”, a lack or dirth of money available, particularly in everybody’s pockets. In the seventeenth century there was no prohibition of rum, but rather one of coining English money abroad²⁸. Therefore, the payments for settling accounts²⁹ had to take on the character of barter. English money was simply not forthcoming, hence unavailable. Consequently, beaver skins³⁰, corn, beer or wine, musquet balls, rifles or wampun passed for money in the North. In Virginia, tobacco passed for currency as early as 1619³¹, rum in dealings with Jamaica. In other words, “many ingenious substitutes”³² were used. Still, an expanding economy with continuous cash flow problems could not get by with the make-shift arrangements of cavalier country pay in the long run. An answer to these crying problems should have come from London, allowing their currency in part to flow to her colony in North America. Instead English Legislation forbade the exportation of English specie before the end of the seventeenth century, 1695. From fear of losing control, except for some farthings around 1675, monetary export to North America was disallowed. Therefore, North America had to look to herself³³, setting the colonial territories on a path that would lead into more than monetary or economic independence a hundred years later.

What happened is this: The Spanish *peso* (meaning originally “weight”) which was minted in the Spanish-controlled American colonies in very large quantities, developed into the most important, and in many respects the

28 For an exception to this rule in Massachusetts see below.

29 In theory the “money of account” was the English one.

30 One skin of beaver valued 13 shillings in 1668.

31 George L. McKay. *Early American Currency*. N.Y. 1944, p. 6–8.

32 Ed. John M. Kleeberg. “New Yorke in America Token”, *Money of Pre-Federal America*. Proceedings of the Coinage of the Americas Conference. New York 1991, p. 35.

33 Kleeberg, *ibid.*, p. 3.

leading, currency of the then known world. Since the Spaniards' balance of trade was strongly negative, namely near bankruptcy, the silver pesos had to be exported to cover debts. By the sixteenth century, when German silver mines were depleted, the *plata* or silver was shipped to Europe by the bullion for coinage, if it wasn't outright buccaneered by Admiral Sir Francis Drake's private fleet until the end of the century, and by others afterwards. The sifting of silver was achieved by exploiting cheap Indio labor. It was cheaper to remint Spanish silver, and cheapest to make fake pesos from maritime booty. For this precious metal was not found on English soil.

The greatest silver mine of all times was opened up in San Luis Potosi, now Bolivia. This discovery and a silver mining technology imported from Central Europe, made Potosi the largest city³⁴ of either Americas in the second half of the sixteenth century. Roughly two thirds of the silver produced on earth at that time originated from there³⁵. The largest coin output by the millions were the *8 Real*. Re coined abroad or not, they constituted piratical tender in the Americas of the South and the American territories of the North, surprisingly also in England, in the Netherlands, and even in Germany during the Thirty Years War³⁶, coming into the *Reich* via Emden, the Dutch-held Friesian harbor, and by other Hanseatic ports.

In the Northwest territory of Germany, the Taler had become the predominant currency. In these territories with more than sixty mints the taler, ideally of 28.8 grams silver, 894.5 fine³⁷, was winning over the gulden, despite the latter's headstart. It may be that the gulden was more closely associated with the Counter-Reformation, and the taler more with the Reformation-leaning Electors. In any case, the taler achieved preference in the Saxonies by the 1540s, and even in parts of the Hapsburg territories by 1573. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the term *dolar(a)* (Spanish for taler) was beginning to get known and used side by side with the taler, for more than three quarters of the mints of Imperial Circles theoretically could coin *Riksdalers* beginning in 1566, and who knows how many fake coins from clandestinely "imported" silver? In Lübeck, the Taler was used and spelt *daller*³⁸ in 1568, in Wernigerode *daler* already in 1526. In accordance with Hapsburg-controlled minting policy, carried out in Spain and South America, the term "*dolera*" (Italian "*tallero*") was used on the back side of Potosi-minted or subsequently reminted pesos. Flanked by

34 At 160.000 inhabitants, having to work at a 4000 meter sea level, setting up horse gins.

35 Ed. W. Heß and Fr. Klose. *Vom Taler zum Dollar 1486-1986*. München 1986, p. 93.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 187.

37 *Vom Taler zum Dollar*, p. 63.

38 *Der Handel ... Glandorps. VGHst Lübeck*. Bd. 12. 1985 S. 187.

two pillars this universal coin was referred to as “pillar dollar” or “*real de a ocho*”³⁹, meaning “[ship] peso of eight” of slightly less than conventional silver weight. The proof that *doller* or *doler*, pronounced **daller*, must be the Low German rather than, as is often suggested, the Dutch fashion, lies in this consideration: the Hollandic coin is referred to as (Riks-*Daalder*) with a “d”. Therefore the word and term “dollar” is not the anglicization of the (High) German *T(h)aler*⁴⁰ nor of the Hollandic *daalder*, but of the (Low) German “*daller*”. So we are bound to conclude that likely the Hapsburg/Spanish *doler(a)* in pirates’ and receivers’ slang was pronounced **daller*, then spelt *doller* by exchange dealers in fledgling Boston, New Amsterdam and ultimately London. It designated a Spanish-American coin of eight reales of approximately 53 Troy grams, at an equivalent value of three guilders. But as is regularly the case, the currency not only “followed the flag”⁴¹, it followed the flagship as well, namely that of Drake’s and lesser pirates’. People began to assume and perhaps hope that there were melting pots and secret devilish printing machines busy aboard such lucky pirates’ ships, as if driven by Mephistopheles, filling the captains’ cabins with coin, both minted and unminted.

According to the estimate of an expert, “up to one half of the circulating coins in the Colonies were ‘eight reales’”⁴². In this fashion, the balance of payment became rather favorable for the North American colonies⁴³. For with the connivance of governors and ship owners, privateers’ dollars and loot of every kind were welcome at practically every port and inland as well. Maybe, their owners were thought of as daring adventurers, rather than un-English criminals. Still, the hunger for more such currency was larger than the pressure to obeying English laws. Hence an idea was born by two Boston businessmen, John Hull (1624–1683) and his associate, Robert Sanderson⁴⁴, not to wait for a windfall of “imported” specie, but to purchase a second-hand German “*Taschenwerk*” coining machine, made in Nürnberg.

Whereas English coiners had withstood further mechanization of minting under Cromwell, and did not introduce it until the monarchy had

39 On this “piece of eight” the symbol “8” → P8 →  →  → \$, gave rise to the dollar sign of 1792, according to Hess in: *Vom Taler zum Dollar*, p. 202, rather than the weight-carrying pillars (of Hercules), also shown regularly on the *reales*, ribboned by a double s-curve.

40 Nussbaum, p. 8.

41 Philip L. Mossman. *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation. A Numismatic, Economic and Historical Cor-relation*. Numismatic Studies Nr. 20. New York 1993, p. 64, n. 117 [following Chalmers, *British Colonies*, p. 4].

42 Mossman, p. 63.

43 Nussbaum, p. 9.

44 George L. McKay. *Early American Currency*, p. 9 n. 2.

been restored around 1662⁴⁵, the universally spreading technology of fabricating rocker-rolling presses was firmly established in sixteenth-century Nürnberg⁴⁶. The older technology was referred to as “*Walzwerk*” or “rolling work”, the newer one as “*Taschenwerk*” or sway “pocket work”. The latter was cheaper, since it had an interchangeable “head” of roughly 36 by 23 by 8.5 cm⁴⁷. One such Nürnberg *Taschenwerk* coining machine was imported to Massachusetts by the above-named mint masters. English minters being unwilling to serve and repair such “German” machines, German minters had to be imported also. The machine(s?) was still found in use by 1690⁴⁸, coining “pine tree” issues for Colonial Massachusetts. This was a bent silver coin that could still be traced to such *Taschenwerk* in this decade of the twentieth century. While moving (and pressing) the mushroom-shaped exchangeable stamp-head, the coin was struck and slightly bent⁴⁹. This bent edge has nothing to do with pre-meditated superstition from fear of witchcraft⁵⁰. The same type was used in Massachusetts and in Münster. By coincidence it was none other than Dennis Cooper who sent a photo of a Münster-used *Taschenwerk* of ca. 1660 to our Landesmuseum’s Numismatic Collection⁵¹ from Dresden.

We do not know how many more such machines were imported or used in New England. In our estimation there would have been several.

This way we have additional evidence why the Continental Congress adopted the dollar as currency, rather than the Pound Sterling. It had been in use for over a hundred years. It was a peculiar wind-fall currency. The spreading technology pointed into this direction and adoption for a long time. The silver was native American. England, from which country America had just shook loose, had not led in its development. If anything, she had tried to hinder and embargo the independent currency’s spread in North America. The framers did not want to fall back on an out-dated

45 *Vom Taler zum Dollar*, p. 103.

46 Richard Doty, “Making Money in Early Massachusetts”, ed. Kleeberg, *Pre-Federal America*, p. 3–5, basing his research on Dennis R. Cooper, which recently culminated in his trail-blazing book, *The Art and Craft of Coin Making. A History of Minting Technology*. London 1988, p. 62f.

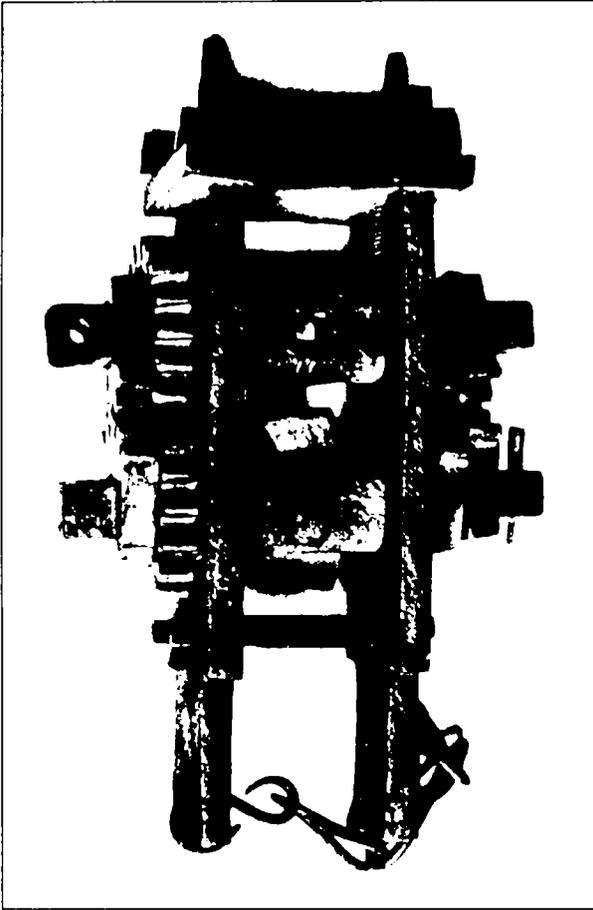
47 Such were the dimensions of a *Taschenwerk*, made in Nürnberg, used in Münster at the same time: Busso Peus. *Das Geld- und Münzwesen der Stadt Münster i. W.* Aschendorff Münster 1930, p. 52.

48 *Pre-Federal America*, p. 7.

49 Friedrich Freiherr von Schrötter. *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*. Leipzig 1930, col. 683 and 733.

50 Colported by R. Doty, *Making Money*, p. 3. But it seems that the endearing term “rock and roll” originated from an old New Orleans pocket work print machine, which may have survived until the nineteenth century, and worked by a poor old Black.

51 Courtesy Peter Ilich, custos, Numismatic Collection, Westfälisches Landesmuseum.



6. A "Taschenwerk" Printing Press

technology, nor a foreign economic control. The taler in the form, shape and name of daller or dollar had given midwifery to fledgling seventeenth-century North America. Why stop or discontinue a gainful streak?

This result is in correlation with the development of the leading bank houses in Europe. By 1550 England was, economically speaking, a developing country. The Augsburg Fugger banking house, e. g., had a capital of 5 Million guilders in 1546, in access of England's national budget. The Fuggers had financed by con money the votes for Charles V's election as emperor. The South or High German firms of the Fuggers and Welsers helped

finance Spain's overseas economic expansion on a large scale. Whereas the Northwest German Hanseatic League's businessmen did not use the modern double bookkeeping technique (debit and credit side), The South German Fuggers and Welsers did. However, they were not properly repaid their advances because of Spain's bankruptcy. Therefore the Fuggers' decline began in 1562, the Welsers' 1587⁵². The Frankfurt taler of a spreading International Mass was solid and gained currency by 1572. In the same year, thousands of Huguenots were murdered in the neighboring country during the St. Bartholomew's Night Massacre. In 1587 the Banco di Rialto opened for business in Venice. The Banco di Santo Spirito was founded by Pope Pius VI in 1605. The "*Wisselbank*" or Bank of Exchange was founded in Amsterdam 1609. Hamburg got her Bank opened in 1619. In 1661 the first European paper money was issued in Stockholm. Why should it not have spread to New Sweden? In any case, it took almost thirty years, before the first paper money was issued in Massachusetts in 1690⁵³. In 1663 the first guinea at the odd-number of 21 shillings was coined, not to be discontinued until 1971. And finally, practically in last place, on the share holders demand, the Bank of England (not yet of Britain) was founded in 1694⁵⁴. Less than a year later this Bank forbade the export of British currency to her overseas territories.

52 Wolfgang Neuber. *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont. Philologische Studien und Quellen*. Heft 121. Berlin Erich Schmidt Verlag 1991, p. 265.

53 McKay, p. [1].

54 Wolfram Weimer. *Geschichte des Geldes*. Frankfurt 1992, p. 104-115.

5.3.2 Distribution of Settlers' Origin

Friesian Towns/Oldenburg	39	
Hanseatic (Hbg.,Brem.,Lübeck)	35	
Westphalian Towns	28	
Saxonies	17	
Pomer., E.Pruss./Dzg.	16	
Lower Rhenish towns	8	
Mark Brandenburg	6	
Schl.-Holst. Towns	5	
<hr/> Low German speakers	154	= 78 %
Middle Rhenish Towns	21	
Frankfurt /M.	2	
Silesia/Prague	2	
South Germany/Switzerland	15	
England	2	
<hr/> High German speakers	42	= 22 %
	196	= 100 %

Upward of 75% of these settlers were speaking or understanding Low German, thus understanding English more easily than High Germans (e. g. Palatines) would.

5.3.3 Heads of Households' Average Age upon Arrival 1630–1683 (no dates available from Virginia)

1606–1629	xx	persons arriving	?
1630–1639	33	accountable families	23 years
1640–1649	23	accountable families	25.5 ys.
1650–1659	23	accountable families	26.7 ys.
1660–1669	24	accountable families	26 years
1670–1674		no representative dates available	
1675–1679		no representative dates available	
1680–1683	51	accountable families	27 years
1683–1699	50	families outside PA, not pursued	
<hr/> 1606–1699	391	families accounted for average of 25 ys. average age at arrival	25 years

5.3.4 Provinces with Settlement by German-Speaking Families until 1683

New York	196
Virginia	68
Massachusetts	32
Pre-Concord Pennsylvania 1681-1683	26
Delaware	22
Maine	17
Rhode Island	16
Maryland	12
Connecticut	8
New Jerseys	7
New England Generally	5
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 409

5.3.5 Their Professional Spread in All Ten Territories

I. Elite Professions

01. govt. office holder	(category 3)	42	
02. minister	(category ?)	7	
03. attorney	(category 1?)	7	
04. schoolmaster	(category 2?)	3	
05. physician	(category 2)	7	
06. pharmacist	(category 2?)	2	
07. sea captain	(taxed at all?)	5	
08. explorer	(not taxed)	3	
09. planter/farmer	(category ?)	60	?
10. officer	(category ?)	7	
<hr/> Total		<hr/> 143	<hr/> = 55%

II. Principal Professions

11. merchant, retailer	(category 1)	17
12. tavern keeper, tapster	(category 2)	5
13. seaman, fisherman	(category 3)	4
14. baker	(category 2)	5
15. carpenter	(category 3)	6
16. saw/paper/horse miller	(category 3)	8
17. blacksmith/ironworker	(category 3)	13
18. shoemaker	(category 3)	4
19. cordwainer(= shoemaker)	(category 3)	4
20. goldsmith	(category 2)	1
21. hatter	(category 3)	2

22.	tanner	(category 3)	3	
23.	cooper	(category 3)	4	
24.	butcher	(category 2?)	1	
25.	cobbler	(category 3?)	1	
26.	brewer	(category 2)	2	
27.	tailor	(category 2?)	3	
28.	potter	(category 3?)	1	
29.	mason	(category 3)	4	
30.	musician	(taxed?)	1	
?	barber-surgeon	(taxed?)	1	
Total			90	= 34%
III. Helpers				
31.	soldier	(taxed?)	18	
32.	laborer/farm hand	(category 4)	10	
Total			28	= 11%
[= 60% of the Settlers known] Grand Total			261	of 432

01.-32. Average tax per profession cannot be calculated on the basis of unknown rates in various territories. The categories are those defined and elaborated by J. D. Goodfriend for NYC:

5.3.6 Approximate Taxes by Analogy

Analogous Tax Categories		Annual Tax Estimate
category 1	£ 75-100	ca. £ 1,500
category 2	£ 50-74	ca. £ 1,500
category 3	£ 25-49	ca. £ 3,000
category 4	up to 24 £	ca. £ 1,000
Approximate annual high average as of 1660 £ 7,000 Estimate		

5.4 A Summary

We hope to have shown realistic admittance conditions. Our panorama was less rooted in mutual toleration than dependent on the collective will to survive, and to introduce trading chances. The freedom⁵⁵ call of the promised land reached able-bodied families in the Old Country. Once they were present in North America, the Liberty Bells rang for all newcomers except Blacks⁵⁶. In the Wilderness instantly forthcoming cooperation was

55 Reiterated by J. J. Becher. *Gründlicher Bericht ... von Amerika*. Franckfurt/M Kuchenbecker 1669, p. 8.

56 The Germantown settlers declared black slavery wrong as early as 1677.

called for, or danger of one's death loomed large. Notions such as "pluralism" or "orthodoxy", used by Goodfriend in her Conclusion⁵⁷ for a later period, do not carry far here, concerning early "Dutch" settlers. Nobody, indeed, had to become "culturally Dutch"⁵⁸, culturally English or French, for that matter, at that early settlement period, unless he/she wanted to. "Dutch" large-kin families contributed their skills like any other christian family by hard work, which alone guaranteed a kin's survival. The first and second-generation Low German-speaking immigrants to the ten territories had little reason to feel more foreign to the new conditions than the politically leading New Netherlanders or New Englanders or New Swedes. Rather, they were or rapidly became part of these groups. Professional immigrants tended to be successful where ever they went. On balance we could tip our hats to the memory of the inhabitants of the nine territories, and doff it in the direction of Penn's Wilderness Number Ten.

5.5 Ship Movements

The following table lists sixteenth-century German ship movements resulting in seizure, capture or loss:

Roster of "German" Crew, Cargo or Passenger Carrying Ships

YEAR	BOAT/NUMBER	FLAG	DESTIN.	CREW/CARGO/PASSG.
<i>A: Sixteenth-century selection</i>				
1529	Concepcion	ESP	Venezuela	Gessler, Markus, Sailer+
	til Sta.Mar. Regl	ESP	Venezuela	Ehinger, Federmann, Tal-
1556	Sta. M. Concep	ESP	Venezuela	finger, Hutten, Rentz
?	5 Hanseatic	LÜB	South Am	loss by unknown causes
1534	Hanseatic	LÜB	South Am	Mendoza, Neidhart
1544	Jes. v. Lübeck	ENG	Atlantic	Hawkins' predecessor
1568	Jes. v. Lübeck	ENG	Mexico	Hawkins Spanish capture
1570	Adler v.Hambg.	HBG	North Sea	English piratical capture
1570	Adler v.Lübeck	LÜB	North Sea	English piratical capture
1582	1 Hanseatic	HAN	Falmouth	taken by Lady Killingrew
1583	Delight	ENG	Norumbega	shipwreck by capt. Clarke
1588	Barke v.Hbg.	HBG	Hamburg	Armada b. loss North Sea
1588	Gran Falcon	ESP	England	Armada b. loss North Sea
1588	Gran Grifon	ESP	England	Armada b. loss Shetlands

⁵⁷ P. 218.

⁵⁸ She means "Hollandic", p. 219.

1588	5 Hulks	ESP	England	Armada b. loss
1589	1 from Hbg.	ENG	trade	English capture North S.
1590	5 Pomer. S. T.	HAN	trade	sequestered in London
1591	6 Hanseatic	HAN	trade	taken by Drake bef. Cadiz
1593	1 Bremen	BRE	trade	English capture North S.
1593	1 Rostock	ROS	trade	English capture North S.
1595	3 Lübeck	LÜB	trade	English capture North S.

We register a loss⁵⁹ of at least 36 Hanseatic ships, and probably of many more undetected ones, in which so far “nobody took an interest”⁶⁰. Since the initiative in respect to this traffic went over to the Dutch and British, the hanseatic Easterlings could no longer even charter foreign ships in the seventeenth century. Therefore, “Dutch” speaking passengers could not set sail from Lübeck⁶¹ or Bremen to North America.

YEAR	BOAT/NUMBER	FLAG	DESTIN.	CREW/CARGO/PASSG.
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B: Seventeenth-century selection of passenger carrying ships

1603	Half Moon	LÜB	Hbg	takeover before H. Hudson
1629	Mayflower II	ENG	Mass	Pastor W. Gager

According to the data provided by the passengers’ and immigrants’ lists, quoted from throughout this book, the following passenger carrying ships, generally referred to as *fluiten*, were sea-worthy, but modest in carrying capacity and seize. The year-round passage to New Amsterdam via Texel took them at least three and a half months to, and two months on the return trip⁶².

59 Considered “god-given”, K. Schaal. *Schiffbruch ... ZVLGA* 70. 1990, p. 71–101.

60 G. Mattingly. *Die Armada*. 1988 p. 440.

61 Aggravated by the internal competition by the Trade Circles, see picture 2 in section 1.1 above.

62 Our ship movement dates were kindly complemented, mainly on the arrival side, by Drs. Jaap Jacobs, University of Leiden, temporarily working with a “New Netherland Project”, at SUNY Albany.

Year	Ship	Departure Amsterdam via Texel	Passenger(s)	No.	Arrival NA
<i>C: Seventeenth-century selection of Dutch passenger carrying ships</i>					
1630	Eendracht I	3/21	B. Jansz	(15)	5/24 ⁶³
1639	Harinck	5/13	M. Hendricks	(12)	7/07
1641	Kg. David	7/23	L. Schmidt	(17)	11/29
1642	Houttuin	6/14	J. Kettelheim, E.Pels, H.Vos, -		09/??
1643	Swan	SWE	H. Janeke	(??)	DEL
1650	Kattan	SWE	see New Sweden section		DEL
1657	Draetvat	3/?	H. Stoeff	(??)	spring
1657	St. Jan Baptiste	1 ?	A. Bremen	(09)	12/23
1658	Bruinvis	6/19	A. v. Santen	(33)	
1659	Trouw 1	2/??	Francken, N. Jansen, Meyndert	(98)	5/??
1659	Moesman 1	4/25	E. Sternhuys	(23)	??
1660	Bonte Koe 1	4/25	Hayen, p. Jacobsz, Levelin, Sweteringk, Verplanck	(79)	5/end
1660	Moesman 2	3/09	J. Steffen	(32)	6/??
1660	<i>Vergulde</i> Otter	4/27	C. Locher, J. Riet, T. Vorst, J. Vresen, J. Leisler	(52)	?/??
1661	De Trouw 2	3/24	H. Stepfer	(27)	6/12
1661	Jan Baptist 2	5/??	J. Santfort	(38)	8/06
1661	Hoop 1	1/12	W. Wesselsen	(??)	5/??
1661	Gulden Arent	2/??	C. Gerloffs	(05)	6/??
1661	<i>Vergulde</i> Bever	5/09	J. J. Lammertsen	(51)	7/29
1662	Trouw 3	1/20	B. Wittenhoff	(27)	3/24
1662	Hoop 2	4/08	A. Buer	(72)	6/29
1662	Vos	8/31	J. Bosch, R.Hermns, Scholtz	(??)	10/??
1663	<i>Roode</i> Rooseboom	3/??	H.Hansen, J.Jacobsen	(71)	summer
1663	Bonte Koe 2	??	E. Bremen	(??)	??
1663	Statijen/Stettin	9/27	J. Vreesen	(52)	Jan. 64?
1664	Trouw 4	1/20	L. de Roode, Hardenbroeck	(17)	4/21

63 Drs. J. Jacobs generously let me quote some of his ship arrival dates and the passenger capacity numbers from his unpublished 1989 Leiden MA thesis (= doctoral scriptie) *De Scheepvaart en handel van de Nederlandse Republiek op Nieuw-Nederland*.

1664	Eendracht II	4/17	H. Wieringk	(38)	7/19
1664	Gekruiste Hart	??	C. Gerritsen	(08)	summer ⁶⁴

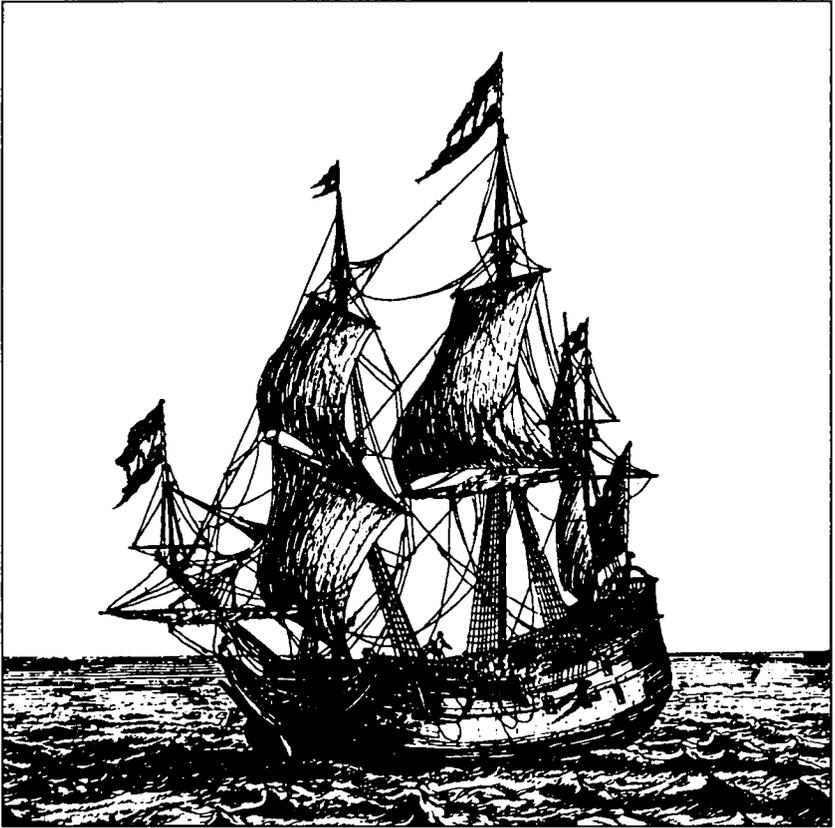
Friesian ships from Emden sailed the Atlantic, even if they used Hollandic charters, under their own banner yellow/red/blue as of 1602. A permanent North German navy never came about. German landlubbers traditionally feared oceans. J. J. Becher⁶⁵ tried hard to assuage this fear of drowning in the “Great Brook” (the Atlantic). He describes this fear in contrast to the German’s love of getting drunk (wordplay on “saufen” and “ersaufen”). Subsequently he gives the advice to send overseas only people of high competency, but no crooks⁶⁶. Their right to emigrate was reaffirmed by the Westphalian Peace Treaty of 1648.⁶⁷

64 The chartering shifted from the Dutch West Indies Company to individual Amsterdam merchants as of the sixteen fifties. We do not know as yet about tonnage and sail capacity. The average number of passengers, according to Jacobs’ data, then was 37 per travel for the twenty-five years under consideration.

65 Bericht, p. 45.

66 Ibidem, p. 50.

67 Robert A. Selig. *YGAS*, 27, 1992, p. 15–21.



8. "Den Arent"

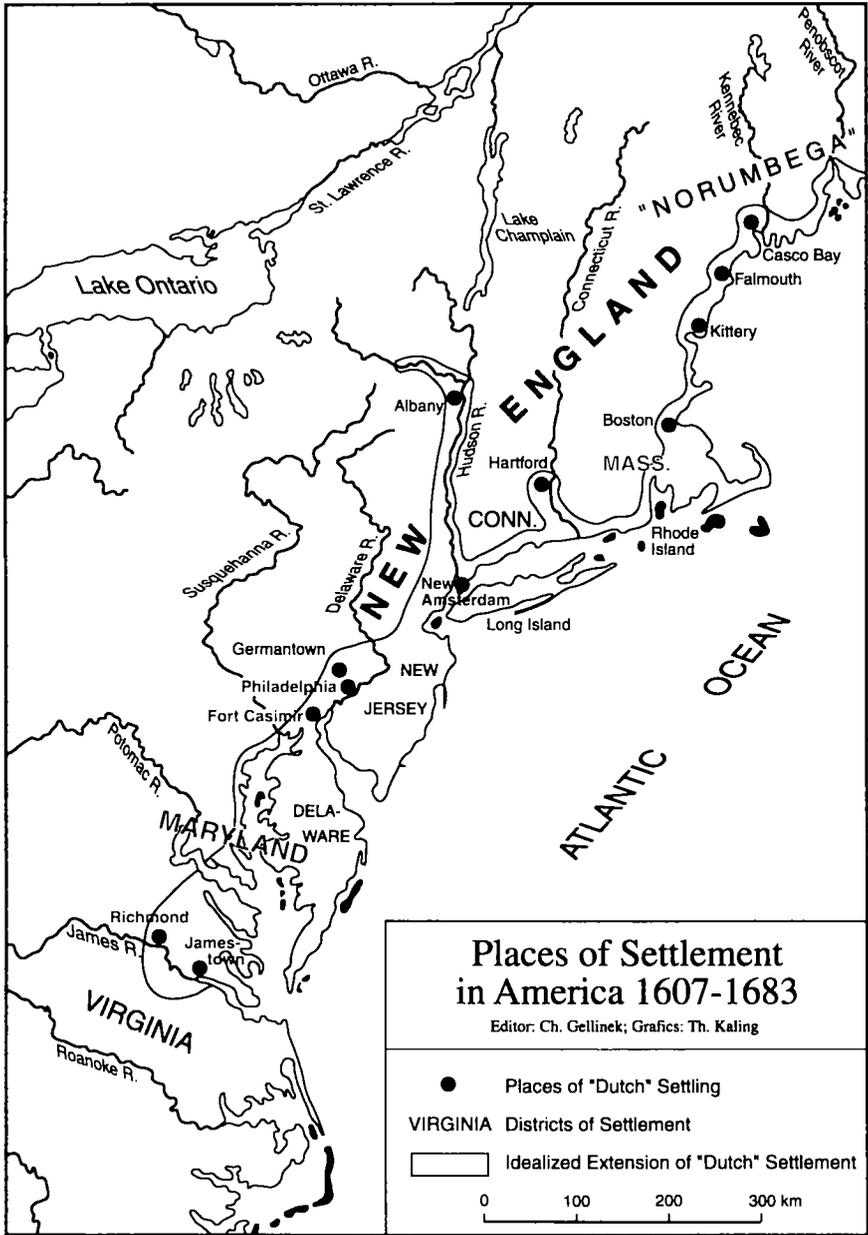
6 Results, Sources and Literature

6.1 Places of Settlement in America

See picture 9 on the next page.

6.2 Settler Index by Area (Territory/Province)

Rng. Nr.	Name and Initial(s)	Alphab. Number	Location/ Town	F'st Year
1. MAINE (= section 2.3)				
01	Deering(Düring?)	(109)	Maine	1620
02	Cle(e)ve, G.	(083)	Casco Bay	1630
03	Leader(Lieder?), R.	(256)	Hammersmith	1644
04	Rider(Reider?), Ph.	(317)	Maine Wills	1667
05	Knap, P.	(236)	Maine Wills	1672
06	Willing, R.	(428)	Maine Wills	1672
07	Brookehouse, Mrs. M.	(061)	Maine Wills	1673
08	Scriven(er/Schreiber), W.	(340)	Me assemblyman	1680
09	Clemons/Clemens, J.	(087)	Maine Wills	1681
10	Remick/Ramach, Ch.	(314)	Kittery, Me	1682
11	Backhouse, Mrs. E.	(010)	Maine Wills	1683
12	Breeden, W.	(053)	Maine Wills	1684
13	Crosse(Grosse?), J.	(107)	testat. Wells	1684
14	Bools, J.	(041)	Wells, Me	1686
15	Cloyse (Klose?), J.	(090)	Maine Wills	1689
16	Deering (Düring?), R.	(111)	appr. Kittery	1689
17	Bo(a)den, W.	(036)	Isle of Showles	1690
18	Meader(Mäder?), J.	(282)	Maine Wills	1696
19	Keiay(Keie?), J.	(227)	appr. Me Wills	1696
20	Fryer(Freier?), Mrs. A.	(144)	Maine Wills	1697
21	Newmarch, J.	(291)	Maine Wills	1698
22	Praey(Prey?), J.	(305)	Maine Wills	1699
23	Boysen, A.	(050)	test. Me Wills	1700
24	Hubart/Hubert, J.	(193)	test. Isle Jers	1700
25	Brawne/Braune, J.	(052)	test. Me Wills	1704



9. Places of Settlement (1607-1683)

2. MASSACHUSETTS BAY (= section 2.5)

01	Gager, W.	(145)	arr. Charlst.	1629
02	Rossiter, B.	(325)	freeman MA	1630
03	Ferman(Fährmann?), J.	(133)	freeman MA	1631
04	Lumbert/Lambert, Th.	(272)	freeman MA	1631
05	Maisters, J.	(276)	freeman MA	1631
06	Maueracke, J.	(281)	freeman MA	1631
07	Sprage, Ra.	(356)	freeman MA	1631
08	Sprage, Ri.	(357)	freeman MA	1631
09	Becke family	(016)	arrvg. MA Bay	1634
10	Schenck family	(329)	arrvg. MA Bay	1634
11	Grosse family	(153)	arrvg. MA Bay	1634
12	Hamann/Homan family	(161)	arrvg. MA Bay	1634
13	Waldo(w) family	(409)	arrvg. MA Bay	1634
14	Clovse(Klose?), R.	(089)	Plym. Bay Col.	1634
15	Lumbert/Lambert, B.	(271)	freeman MA Bay	1634
16	Clapp, Ed.	(075)	freeman MA	1636
17	Dickerman, Th.	(112)	freeman MA	1638
18	Eckels, R.	(122)	freeman MA	1642
19	Le(o)man(Lehmann?), R.	(262)	freeman MA	1642
20	Tolman, Th.	(389)	fr. Dorch. Cty.	1642
21	Tresler, Th.	(392)	freeman MA	1642
22	Becke, A.	(017)	disch. MA pr.	1646
23	Clepp, J.	(082)	freeman MA	1647
24	Griese, Ch.	(151)	freeman MA	1651
25	Teller, W.	(379)	lvg. Boston	1651
26	Sprage, J.	(355)	freeman MA	1653
27	Hermanson, Th.	(189)	Northampt. Cty.	1657
28	Heidrick(Heidrich?), J.	(176)	freeman MA	1665
29	Bearbenn(Bierbein?), J.	(013)	freeman MA	1677
30	Holman, Th.	(192)	fr. Milton Cty.	1678
31	Boreman (Bohrmann?), Th.	(044)	freeman MA	1682
32	Clap(p), N.	(076)	freeman MA	1682

3. RHODE ISLAND (= section 2.6)

01	Block, A.	(031)	co-capt. Nr. 2	1613
02	Christiansen, H.	(074)	co-capt. Nr. 1	1613
03	Luttner, J.	(274)	workg. Newport	1638
04	Elderkin, J.	(125)	lot 9 Provid.	1636
05	Spiker, Th.	(354)	45 acr. RI	1639
06	Ma(r)xen/Maxon, R.	(279)	36 acr. "	1639
07	Taber(t?), B.	(378)	oath, Provid.	1652
08	Jenckes(Jankes?), J.	(217)	68 acr. Seekonk	1660
09	Deering(Düring?), Mrs. M.	(110)	Block I. sale	1671

10	Tripp, J.	(394)	Aquidneck, RI	1671
11	Tripp, A.	(395)	Aquidneck, RI	1671
12	Boomer(Bäumer?), M.	(040)	Aquidneck, RI	1676
13	Clemens/Clemence, Th.	(084)	"Stoneender"	1676
14	Reckes, J.	(308)	Aquidneck, RI	1680
15	Tolman(n),P.	(390)	Aquidneck, RI	1683
16	Stair(Stehr?), ?	(361)	workg.RI	1688

4. CONNECTICUT (=section 2.7)

01	Speck/Spicke, Mrs. J.	(350)	last will	1636
02	Reeder, J.	(310)	org. stl. NH.	1639
03	Mosse, J.	(290)	" " "	1639
04	Boreman, W.	(045)	fined Hartford	1645
05	Blumfield, W.	(035)	freed trg. CT	1657
06	Gager, J.	(146)	no fine, Hartf.	1658
07	Boreman, S.	(043)	dpt. magistr. "	1660
08	Duren, G.	(120)	orig.stl. Lyme	1665
09	Knapp, Mrs. H.	(237)	testifd. CT	1692

5. NEW NETHERLANDS/NEW YORKE/NEW YORK (=section 3.2)

01	Minnewitt/Minuit, P.	(288)	arrvg. NAM	1626
02	Jansz, B.	(212)	arrvg. NAM	1630
03	Jansen, G.	(203)	lv. Manh.	1635
04	Burger, J.	(066)	wrkg. NAM	1637
05	Jansz, R.	(213)	lv. NAM	1638
06	Dircksen, J.	(116)	marr.NAM	1638
07	Schermerhorn, J. J.	(331)	New Nethl.dec.	1630
08	Stoffelszen, R.	(371)	workg.NAM	1638
09	Kierstede, Sr., H.	(231)	workg. NAM	1638
10	Kierstede, J.	(232)	arrvg. NAM	1647
10	Kierstede, Jr, H.	(233)	sec.gen.b.	ca. 1640
11	Lup(h)old, U.	(273)	Renss.wyck	1638
12	Hendricksen, J.	(184)	lv. NAM	1639
13	Stoffelszen, J.	(372)	arrvg. NAM	1639
14	Kuyter, J. P.	(248)	lv. NAM	1639
15	Hendricks, M.	(179)	arrvg. NAM	1639
16	Borsum, van, E.	(047)	marr. NAM	1639
17	Borsum, van, H.	(048)	sec. general	1675
18	Beekman, J.	(021)	in NAM around	1639
19	Schroeder, H.	(338)	in NAM around	1640
20	Bre(d)steede, J. J.	(054)	workg. NAM	1640
21	Brestede, ?	(054)	second gen.	1675
22	Pietersen/Petersen, A.	(300)	workg. NAM	1641
23	Schmidt/Smith, I.	(334)	arrvg. NAM	1641

24	Reddin(g)ha(u)sen, O./A.	(309)	marr. NAm	1641
25	Jorda(e)nsen, P.	(220)	marr. NAm	1642
26	Berkhoven, A.	(027)	New Neth.	1642
27	Vos, H.	(406)	arrvg. NAm	1642
28	Pels, E.	(295)	arrvg. NAm	1642
29	Kettelheim, J.	(230)	arr. NAm	1642
30	Mansfeld/Mansvelt, v., H.	(278)	arrvg. NAm	1642
31	Wemp(el?), J. B.	(413)	Renss.wyck	1643
32	Collet, P.	(100)	marr. NAm	1643
33	Herrman, A.	(187)	arrvg. NAm	1643
34	Beek, van der, P.	(020)	marr. NAm	1644
35	Beek, van der, J.	(020)	sec. gener.	
36	Karstens, H.	(225)	lvg. NAm	1644
37	Andriesen-v. d. Buskirck, L.	(05)	NAm	1644
38	Arentsen, H.	(008)	NAm around	1644
39	Brinckerhoff, J. D.	(057)	Nam around	1645
39	Brinckerhoff family	(058)	sec. gen. Lg Isld.	
40	Eldersen, L.	(124)	NAm	1646
41	Felypse/Philipse, F.	(131)	arrvg. NAm	1647
42	Stuyvesant, P.	(376)	apptd. NAm	1647
43	Jacobs, Mrs. G.	(197)	marr. NAm	1647
44	Jansen, H.	(209)	marr. Ft. Nassau	1648
45	Willems, H.	(425)	ment. NAm first	1648
45	Willemse-Hendricks, G.	(426)	marr. NAm	1648
46	Teunisz, P.	(388)	Renss.wyck	1648
47	Steinmetz, C.	(365)	NAm	1648
48	Harmenszen(Hermansen), F.	(167)	NAm	1649
49	Weyt, J. B.	(421)	NAm	1649
50	Janszen, J.	(215)	marr. NAm	1649
51	Schut, J. H.	(344)	marr. NAm	1649
52	Velthuysen(Felthausen), N.	(401)	wkg. NAm	1650
53	Pieters, Mrs. A.	(299)	marr. NAm	1650
xx	Capito, M.	(-)	marr. NAm	1650
54	Claeszen, D.	(079)	marr. NAm	1650
55	Jansen/Janzen, H.	(207)	marr. NAm	1650
56	Janzen, H. II	(216)	marr. NAm	1650
57	Ten Eyck, C.	(383)	arrvg. NAm	1651
58	Ten Eyck, Coenrad, Jr.	(384)	sec. gen.	
59	Schrieck, P.	(336)	doc. NAm	1651
60	Schrieck, P., Jr.	(332)	sec. gen.	
61	Wessel, J.	(415)	marr. NAm	1651
62	Remscheid, vom, A.	(315)	arrvg. NAm	1651
63	Reur, H. J.	(316)	app. Renss.wyck	1651
64	Reifferdings Mrs. M.	(313)	m. Ft. Or.	1652
65	Dircksen, L.	(119)	arrvg. NAm bef.	1652

66	Kal(c)kar, van, J.	(224)	men.lawsuit NAm	1653
67	Meyer, M. J.	(284)	marr. NAm	1653
68	Meyer-Myndertsen, Mrs. E.	(285)	sec. gener.	
69	Dircksen, C. (no kin 117)	(118)	burgher NAm	1657
70	Jansz, P.	(214)	50 acr.Catskill	1653
71	Beekman, G.	(022)	born New Engld.	1653
72	Beekman, Henry	(023)	NY Gen. Assbly.	1683
73	Willekens, Mrs. G.	(424)	arrvg. NAm	ca. 1653
74	Cle(e)ve, Van, J.	(081)	wkg. NAm	1653
75	Theunissen, H.	(387)	marr. NAm	1654
76	Jansen, H.	(208)	50 acr.Lg.Isld.	1654
77	Hendricksenz, G.	(181)	marr. NAm	1654
78	Hegeman(n), A.	(174)	Lg. Isl. until	1654
79	Wessel, D.	(416)	attested NAm	1654
80	Meyer, de, N.	(286)	marr. NAm	1655
80	Meyer, de, W.	(287)	sec gener.	
81	Frederickse(n), C.	(142)	arrvg. NAm	ca. 1655
82	Frederickse(n), M.broth.	(143)	arrvg. NAm	ca. 1655
83	Folckertsen, H.	(135)	marr. NAm	1655
84	Clopper, C.	(088)	petitions NAm	1655
85	Andriessen, B.	(006)	marr. NAm bef.	1656
86	Andriessen, L.	(007)	bapt.startg.NAm	1656
87	Rees, A. C. & J.	(311)	baptized NAm	1656
88	Hendricksen, J.	(183)	New Castle NY	1656
89	Hendricksen, H. (no kin)	(182)	marr. NAm	1656
90	Albertsen, H.	(004)	lardown. NAm	1656
91	Clute, J.	(091)	Beverswyck	1656
92	Adamsen, J.	(002)	ment.NAm Ct.Rec	1656
93	Adamsen sons	(003)	second gener.	
94	Kermer, A.	(229)	marr. NAm	1656
95	Stoeff, H.	(370)	arrvg. NAm	1657
96	Gutwasser/Goetwater, J. E.	(157)	officiatg. NAm	1657
97	Janse(n), E.	(204)	sm.burgher NAm	1657
98	Gerretsen, A.	(149)	mention. NAm	1657
99	Ebbingh, J.	(121)	workg. NAm	1657
100	Nissen, Ch.	(292)	recorded NAm	1657
101	Hanel. J. or G.	(162)	sign.pet.NAm	1657
102	Eduardsen, H.	(123)	" "	1657
103	Loef, H.	(267)	arrvg. NAm	1657
104	Bremen, A.	(055)	arrvg. NAm	1657
105	Barentszen, M.	(011)	burgher NAm	1657
106	Ruhlands/Roellants, R.	(321)	recorded NAm	1658
107	Pietersen, P.	(301)	NAm	1658
108	Jansen, J.	(210)	marr. NAm	1658

109	Santen/Xanten, van, A.	(326)	arrv. NAM	1658
110	Joosten, B.	(219)	marr. NAM	1658
111	Bleyers, Mrs. Ch.	(030)	arrvg. NAM	1658
112	Traphagen, W. J.	(391)	remarr. NAM	1658
113	Francken, A.	(140)	arrvg. NAM	1659
114	Jansen, N.	(211)	arrvg. NAM	1659
115	Meyndertsz, J.	(283)	arrvg. NAM	1659
116	Sternhuys (-haus?), ?	(367)	arrvg. NAM	1659
117	Petersen, P.	(297)	NAM	1659
118	Cornils. P.	(102)	arrvg. NAM	1659
119	Dircksen, J.	(117)	arrvg. NAM	1659
120	Leisler, J.	(260)	arrvg. NAM	1660
121	Leisler family	(261)	sec. gener.	
122	Locker, C.	(266)	arrvg. Nam	1660
123	Vresen, J.	(408)	arrvg. NAM	1660
124	Riet, J.	(319)	arrvg. NAM	1660
125	Vorst, Th.	(405)	arrvg. NAM	1660
126	Sweterinck, Hendrick	(377)	arrvg. NAM	1660
127	Levelin(g), J.	(263)	arrvg. NAM	1660
128	Jacobsz, P.	(198)	arrvg. NAM	1660
129	Grootjen, Mrs. M.	(154)	marr. NAM	1660
130	Carstensen, W.	(072)	marr. NAM	1660
131	Sodelers, Mrs. A.	(348)	marr. NAM	1660
132	Jacobsen, H.	(199)	marr. NAM	1660
133	Coenradse(n), H.	(099)	New Netherld.	1660
134	Campen, van, Cl.	(070)	" "	1660
135	Coenradse(n), H.(no kin)	(098)	" "	1660
136	Hu(y)bertsen, A.	(194)	NAM	1660
137	Hardenbroeck, A.	(165)	NAM	1660
138	Krieger, F.	(243)	marr. NAM	1660
139	Steffen, J.	(362)	arrvg. NAM	1660
140	Willemszen, R.	(427)	marr. NAM	1660
141	Verplanck, J.	(402)	arrvg. NAM	1660
142	Hayen, C.	(173)	arrvg. NAM	1660
143	Wesselsen, W.	(420)	arrvg. NAM	1661
144	Stepfer/Stepper, H.	(366)	arrvg. NAM	1661
145	Klinckenburg, Mrs. St.	(234)	marr. NAM	1661
146	Lamberts, Mrs. M.	(251)	marr. N Haarl.	1661
147	Gerloffs, C.	(148)	arrvg. NAM	1661
148	Coster(Köster), J.	(103)	landown. Bev. w.	1661
149	Croes, M.	(106)	marr. NAM	1661
150	Santfort, J. A.	(327)	arrvg. NAM	1661
151	Lammertsen, J. J.	(252)	arrvg. NAM	1661
152	Joosten, J.	(218)	wkg. Esopus bf.	1662
153	Wittenhooft, B.	(430)	arrvg. NAM	1662
154	Cleasen, V.	(078)	marr. Cuylbq.	1662

155	Buer, A.	(065)	arrvg. NAm	1662
156	Scholtz/Schultz, S.	(335)	arrvg. NAm	1662
157	Bosch(Busch), J.	(049)	arrvg. NAm	1662
158	Hermannsen, R.	(188)	arrvg. NAm	1662
159	Kunst, B. J.	(246)	deeded lot NAm	1662
160	P(i)etersen, P.	(302)	guarant. NAm	1662
161	Hansen, H.	(163)	arrvg. NAm	1663
162	Jacobsen, J.	(201)	arrvg. NAm	1663
163	Burger, J.[son of 04?]	(066)	NAm Rec.	1663
164	Carstmann, P.	(073)	NAm	1663
165	Vreesen, J.	(407)	arrvg. NAm	1663
166	Hoffman(n), M.	(190)	lv. NAm	ca.1663
167	Verweelen, J.	(403)	marr. NAm	bef.1664
168	Roode, Mrs. de, L.	(322)	arrvg. NAm	1664
169	Hardenbroeck, J.	(166)	arrvg. NAm	1664
170	Luurzen/Luyersen, C.	(275)	lv. NAm	1664
171	Wierinck, H.	(422)	arrvg. NAm	1664
172	Gerritsen, C.	(150)	arrvg. NAm	1664
173	Grimm, O.	(152)	marr. NAm	1664
174	Court/Coerten, B.	(104)	marr. NAm	1664
175	Wessels, Mrs. A.	(417)	lv. NAm	
176	Beckman, C.	(018)	marr. NAm	1665
177	Harberdink, J.	(164)	marr. NAm	1667
178	Harting, H. J.	(171)	marr. NAm	1668
179	Laurenszen, L.	(255)	marr. NAm	1669
180	Kruger/Cruger, J.	(244)	NAm dockyards	
181	Fabricius, J.	(129)	officiatg. NAm	
182	Heinrichs, H.	(177)	rec. NAm	
183	Hendricks, P.	(180)	arrvg. DWICo NAm	
184	Litscho(w), ?	(265)	workg. NAm	
185	Schenck, J.	(330)	" "	
186	Stein, H.	(363)	" "	
187	Theunissen, J.	(386)	" "	
188	Pietersen, J.	(304)	marr. NAm	1676
189	Falckner, J.	(130)	born in NYC	bf.1677
190	Sluiter(Schlüter?), C.	(347)	N. Neth.ld	bef.1679
191	Blom, A.	(033)	sec. gen. NY	1680
192	Scheemann, H.	(333)	N. Y.	ca.1680
193	Oblinus, von, P.	(293)	Church NAm	rec.1681
194	Oblinis, van, P.	(293)	sec. gener. NY	
195	Beinfeld captain	(026)	Hudson Norths.	1683
196	Hulse(n), R.	(195)	Long Island	1683
197	Barentszen, J.	(012)	marr. NAm	1685
198	Teller, W. Sr.	(380)	j. Ch. NAm	bef.1692
199	Teller, W. Jr.	(381)	Ch. NAm	1689

200	Stoll, J.	(374)	DHNY NY	1689
201	Busch/Bosch, J.	(067)	NYC before	1690
202	Clapp, J.	(077)	NYC attest.	ca. 1690

6. [NEW] JERSEY(S) (=section 3.5)

01	Stoll, H.	(373)	milit. NJ	1640
xx	Sonnemanns, Arent	(349)	propr. East J.	1670
02	Dietrich/Diederick, H.	(113)	milit. NJ	1673
03	Lambert, J.	(249)	arrvg. NJ	1677
04	Lambert, Th.	(250)	arrvg. NJ	1677
05	Hartshorn(Herzhorn), H.	(169)	workg. NJ	1680
06	Hartshorn(Herzhorn), R.	(170)	workg. NJ	1680
07	Helme, JR, I.	(178)	lvg. Western J	1680
08	Steinhausen, E.	(364)	workg. NJ	1690

7. PENNSYLVANIA (=section 4.1)

01	Lehmann, J.	(259)	Secr. W. Penn	1672
02	Siepmann, D.	(345)	5000 ac.Past.	1683
03	Streipers, J.	(375)	" " "	1683
04	Telner, J.	(382)	" " "	1683
05	Lebrunn, J.	(257)	part. HTC	bef.1686
06	Walle, von der, J.	(411)	" "	1686
07	Brinslo(Prenzlau), L.	(059)	prop. Phild.Mp.2	
08	Cock(Koch?), E.	(093)	" " 9	
09	Cock(Koch?), J.	(094)	" " x	
10	Cock(Koch?), M.	(095)	" " u	
11	Cock(Koch?), O. E.	(096)	" " 8	
12	Foreman, G.	(136)	" " t	
13	Kunt, J.	(247)	" " 12	
14	Roon, A.	(323)	" " 9	
15	Sat(t)ler, Mrs. A	(328)	" " d	
16	Stille, J.	(368)	" " 1	
17	Peterson, A.	(298)	" " 6	
18	Pastorius/Scepers, F. D.	(294)	fd.Germantown	1683
18	Past.-Dietz, Mrs. M.	(294)	wife of fd."	1683
19	Dilbeck, I.	(114)	co-fd. "	1683
20	Wylich, von, Th.	(432)	" " "	1683
21	Hatzfelder, G.	(172)	" 150 acr.	1683
22	Schumacher, J.	(343)	arr.Gt bf.Conc.	1683
23	Wertmüller, G.	(414)	" " "	1683
24	Jabert, B.	(196)	"titler" "	1683
25	Mastricht(t), In, G.	(280)	"titler" "	1683
26	Petersen, J.	(296)	pract.g Gtown	1683
27	Behaghel, D.	(024)	PA	after1683

28 Schuetz, J. J. (?) PA

8. DELAWARE/NEW SWEDEN (=section 4.2)

00	Minnewitt, P.	(288)	gov. N Sw	1638
xx.	Bockhorn, J.,capt.	(037)	skipp. SW-NSw	
01	Holländer, P. H.	(191)	servg. N Sw	1638
02	Kramer, H.	(241)	working N Sw Co	1641
03	Janeke, H.	(202)	arriving N Sw	1643
04	Rosbach, H.	(324)	working N Sw	1644
05	Beier, von, J.	(025)	postmaster"	ca. 1650
06	Riesing, J.	(318)	governor "	1654
07	Julius, K.	(222)	secretary "	1654
08	Junge, J.	(223)	clerk "	1654
09	Elswich, von, H.	(127)	factor "	1654
10	Jansen, D.	(206)	living N Sw	1660
11	Grünenburg. K.	(155)	freeman NSw	1650
12	Lüneburger, H.	(270)	dying N Sw	1650
13	Koch, O. E.	(239)	practizing"	1660
14	Cock(Koch?), P.	(097)	Ft. Hoarskill	1668
15	Block, H.	(032)	comm. "	1668
16	Prieger, M.	(306)	" "	1669
17	Brown(Braun?), D.	(063)	workg. "	1669
18	Wolgast, O.	(431)	comm. " "	1669
19	Kling, H. N.	(235)	survyg. N Sw	1670
20	Jacobsen, J.	(200)	workg. N Sw	1670
21	Forster, M.	(137)	officialN Sw	1670
22	Frey. H.	(141)	workg. N Sw	1675
23	Wiggart brothers	(423)	workg. Delaware	1686
-4				
25	Levering, G.	(264)	workg. Delaware	1686

9. MARYLAND (=section 4.3)

01	Lederer, J.	(258)	living ML	bef. 1675
02	Dankers, J.	(108)	living ML	1680
03	Schlüter/Sluyter, P.	(346)	lv. sec. half	17th
04	Fabian, P.	(128)	" " " "	
05	Hermann, A.	(185)	arriving ML	1683
05	3 Hermann sons	(186)	living ML by	1693
05	4 Hermann daughters	(186)	living ML by	1693

10. VIRGINIA (=section 4.4)

01	Hunger, F. W.	(398)	Fort James	1606
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02	Keffer, P.	(226)	Jamestown	1607
03	Veld, Th.	(400)	Jamestown	1607
04	Volday, F. W.	(404)	Jamestown	1607
05	Waldow, R.	(410)	Jamestown	1607
06	Büchler/Buckler, A.	(064)	?	1609
07	Lowicke, M.	(269)	?	1609
08	Beck, W.	(014)	?	1620
09	Beck, Ch.	(015)	?	1620
10	Bache, G.	(009)	?	1620
11	Campe, L.	(069)	?	1620
12	Geering, J.	(147)	?	1620
13	Heiden, J.	(175)	?	1620
14	Spranger, H.	(358)	?	1620
15	Treuer, J.	(393)	?	1620
16	Borne, D.	(046)	?	1620
17	Brand, B.	(051)	?	1620
18	Franck, P.	(138)	?	1620
19	Landman, C.	(253)	?	1620
20	Landman, J.	(254)	?	1620
21	Morer, R.	(289)	living Va	1620
22	Ferne, J.	(134)	living Va	1620
23	Speckhard, A.	(351)	living Va	1620
24	Clements, J.	(085)	Jamestown ?	1622
25	Clements, W.	(086)	Jamestown ?	1623
26	Cappe, W. & C., Mrs.	(071)	living Va	Febr. 1623
27	Bricke, E.	(056)	" "	1623
28	Spi(e)lman, Th.	(353)	" "	1623
29	Stocker, W.	(369)	" "	1623
30	Staber, P.	(360)	" "	1623
31	Francke, D.	(139)	" "	1623
32	Ranke, R.	(307)	" "	1623
33	Berman, M., Mrs.	(028)	living Va	1623
34	Haman(n), J.	(159)	living Va	1623
35	Haman(n), J. brother	(160)	living Va	1623
36	Spriese, R.	(359)	living Va	1623
37	Sperling/Spurling, R.	(352)	living Va	1623
38	Schumann/Shoohman, J.	(339)	living Va	1624-1635
39	Clauss, Ph.	(080)	" "	1635
40	Windmüller/Windmill., Ch.	(429)	" "	1635
41	Kuhlmann/Coleman, H.	(245)	" "	1635
42	Brower, J. & Mrs. M.	(062)	" "	1635
43	Ackermann, R.	(001)	Richmond	bef. 1635
44	Koth, G.	(240)	Richmond	bef. 1635
45	Busch, J.	(067)	Richmond	bef. 1635
46	Loube/Laube, J.	(268)	Richmond	bef. 1635
47	Crippe, Z.	(105)	Richmond	bef. 1635

48	Boreman, E., Mrs.	(042)	living Va	1639
49	Beek, van der, P.	(019)	Va	bef. 1650
50	Blumfield, K., Mrs.	(034)	living Va	1652
51	Cluverius/Klüver, J. S.	(092)	Va, NY	1657
52	Hacke, G. N.	(158)	Northampton, Va	1657
53	Trophagen, W.	(397)	?	mid. cent.
54	Dinklage, van, L.	(115)	?	mid. cent.
55	Tripp, J.	(394)	living Va	1673
56	Weedich, H.	(412)	living Va	1673
57	Keldermann, H.	(228)	oath Richmond	1673
58	Knibbe, Mrs. K.	(238)	Richmond	1679
59	Guenther/Gunter, J.	(156)	living Va	1679
60	Kranz, G.	(242)	living Va	1679
61	Risboc(k), Th.	(320)	living Va	1679
62	Harras, J.	(168)	living Va	1680
63	Eller, W. T.	(126)	Court, Richmond	1680
64	Brockhouse/Brockhaus, Th.	(060)	" "	1680
65	Feil, J.	(132)	" "	1681
66	Bolcher, Ed.	(038)	living Va	1681
67	Bolling, R.	(039)	living Va	1681
68	Schürmann/Shurman/Sherman	(341)	living Va	1682
69	Blachman, W.	(029)	living Va	1686

6.3 Alphabetic Settler Index

List of German-speaking [Dutchlanders'] Settlers on the North-Eastern, Mid-Atlantic and Southeastern North American Seabord before the "Concord"'s Arrival in 1683 [= 1607-1683]

01.	Ackermann, Robert,	VA 043
02.	Adamsen, Jan,	NY 092
03.	Adamsen' sons,	NY 093
03.	Adamsen, Abraham,	NY 093
04.	Albertsen, Hans,	NY 090
05.	Andriessen, Lorenz/Laurens,	NY 037
06.	Andriessen, Barent,	NY 085
07.	Andriessen, Lucas,	NY 086
08.	Arentsen, Harmon (Hermann),	NY 038
09.	Bache, George,	VA 010
10.	Backhouse, Elisabeth,	ME 011
11.	Barentszen, Meyndert/Meinrad,	NY 105
12.	Barentszen, Jan, no kin,	NY 197
13.	Bearbenn, John,	MA 029
14.	Beck, William,	VA 008

15.	Beck, Charles,	VA 009
16.	Becke, family,	MA 009
17.	Becke, Alexander,	MA 022
18.	Beckman, Cornelis,	NY 176
19.	Beek, van der, Paulus,	VA 049
20.	Beek, van der, Paulus,	NY 034
21.	Beekman, Jochem,	NY 018
22.	Beekman, Gerard(us),	NY 071
23.	Beekman, Henry, brother NY 022,	NY 072
24.	Behaghel, Daniel,	PA 027
25.	Beier, Johannes von,	DE 005
26.	Beinfeld captain,	NY 195
27.	Berkhoven, Adam,	NY 026
28.	Berman, Margaret,	VA 033
29.	Blachman, William,	VA 069
30.	Bleyers, Christina,	NY 111
31.	Block, Adriaen,	RI 001
32.	Block, Hans,	DE 015
33.	Blom, Andreas,	NY 191
34.	Blumfield, Katharina,	VA 050
35.	Blumfield, William,	CT 005
36.	Bo(a)den, Walter,	ME 017
37.	Bockhorn, Johann, captain, "Kattan",p.	DE xxx
38.	Bolcher, Edmund,	VA 066
39.	Bolling, Robert,	VA 067
40.	Boomer(Baeumer?), Matthew,	RI 013
41.	Bools, Joseph,	ME 014
42.	Boreman, Elizabeth,	VA 048
43.	Boreman, Samuel,	CT 007
44.	Boreman, Thomas,	MA 031
45.	Boreman, William,	CT 004
46.	Borne, David,	VA 016
47.	Borsum [van], Egbert,	NY 016
48.	Borsum [van], four sons,	NY 017
49.	Bosch(Busch), Jan,	NY 157
50.	Boysen, Antipas,	ME 023
51.	Brand, Benjamin,	VA 017
52.	Brawne/Braune, John,	ME 025
53.	Breeden, William,	ME 012
54.	Bre(d)steede, Jan Janszen,	NY 020
54.	Brestede, family, sec. gener.,	NY 021
55.	Bremen, Adam,	NY 104
56.	Bricke, Edward,	VA 027
57.	Brinckerhoff, Jan Dircksen,	NY 039
58.	Brinckerhoff sec. gener.,	NY 039
59.	Brinslo, Luke,	PA 007

60.	Brockhouse/Brockhaus, Thomas,	VA 064
61.	Brookehouse, Mary,	ME 007
62.	Brower/Brauer, John and Mary,	VA 042
63.	Brown, Daniel,	DE 017
64.	Büchler/Buckler, Andrew,	VA 006
65.	Buer, Albert,	NY 155
66.	Burger, Johannes, (son of NY 004?),	NY 163
67.	Busch, Johann,	VA 045
68.	Busch/Bosch, Justus,	NY 201
69.	Campe, L.,	VA 011
70.	Campen, van, Claes,	NY 134
xx	Capito, Matthias, NY	p. 041
71.	Cappe, Catherine and William,	VA 026
72.	Carstensen, Wolfgang,	NY 130
73.	Carstmann, Peter/Pieter,	NY 164
74.	Christiansen, Hendrick,	RI 002
75.	Clapp, Edward,	MA 016
76.	Clap(p), Nehemia,	MA 032
77.	Clapp, John,	NY 202
78.	Cleasen, Valentin,	NY 154
79.	Claeszen, Dirck,	NY 054
80.	Clauss, Philipp,	VA 038
81.	Cle(e)ve, Jan van,	NY 074
82.	Clepp, John,	MA 023
83.	Cle(e)ve, George,	ME 002
84.	Clemens/Clemence, Thomas,	RI 014
85.	Clements, John,	VA 024
86.	Clements, William,	VA 025
87.	Clemons/Clemens, Job,	ME 009
88.	Clopper, Cornelis J.,	NY 084
89.	Clovse, Richard,	MA 014
90.	Cloyse, John,	ME 015
91.	Clute, Johannes,	NY 091
92.	Cluverius/Kluever, Johann Sigismund,	VA 051
93.	Cock (Koch?), Erick,	PA 008
94.	Cock (Koch?), John,	PA 009
95.	Cock (Koch?), Manus,	PA 010
96.	Cock (Koch?), Otto Ernst,	PA 011
97.	Cock (Koch?), Peter,	DE 014
98.	Coenradse(n), Hans,	NY 135
99.	Coenradse(n), Hendrick,	NY 133
100.	Collet, Pieter,	NY 032
101.	Collet, John, (sec. gen. PA),	NY 032
102.	Cornils, Peter,	NY 118
103.	Coster(Koester), Jan,	NY 148
104.	Court/Coerten, Barent,	NY 174

105.	Crippe, Zacharias,	VA 047
106.	Croes, Michael,	NY 149
107.	Crosse(Grosse?), Joseph,	ME 013
108.	Dankers, Jasper,	MD 002
109.	Deering (Duering?), George,	ME 001
110.	Deering(Duering?), Mary,	RI 010
111.	Deering(Duering?), Roger, JR., family,	ME 016
112.	Dickerman, Thomas,	MA 017
113.	Dietrich/Diederick, Hans,	NJ 002
114.	Dilbeck, Isaac, and Marike,	PA 019
115.	Din(c)klage, van, Lubbertus,	VA 054
116.	Dircksen, Jan,	NY 006
117.	Dircksen, Jan,	NY 119
118.	Dircksen, Carsten,	NY 069
119.	Dircksen, Lucas,	NY 065
120.	Duren, George,	CT 008
121.	Ebbingh, Jeronimus,	NY 099
122.	Eckels, Richard,	MA 018
123.	Eduardsen, Hermann/Harmen,	NY 102
124.	Eldersen, Lucas,	NY 040
125.	Elderkin, J.,	RI 004
126.	Eller, W. T.,	VA 063
127.	Elswich, von, Henrich,	DE 009
128.	Fabian, Peter,	MD 004
129.	Fabricius, Jacob,	NY 181
130.	Falckner, Justus,	NY 189
131.	Felypse(n)/Philipse, Frederick,	NY 041
131.	Philipse, sec. gen.,	NY 041
132.	Feil, John,	VA 065
133.	Ferman, John,	MA 003
134.	Ferne, J.,	VA 022
135.	Folckertsen, Hendrick,	NY 083
136.	Foreman, George,	PA 012
137.	Forster, Miles,	DE 021
138.	Franck, Peter,	VA 018
139.	Francke, Daniel,	VA 031
140.	Francken, Arent,	NY 113
141.	Frey, Heinrich,	DE 022
142.	Frederickse(n), Carsten,	NY 081
143.	Frederickse(n), Meyndert, (see NY 115)	NY 082
144.	Fryer (Freier?), Abigail,	ME 020
145.	Gager, Wilhelm,	MA 001
146.	Gager, John (son of MA 145?),	CT 006
147.	Geering, J.,	VA 012
148.	Gerloffs, Cornelis,	NY 147
149.	Gerretsen, Albert,	NY 098

150.	Gerritsen, Claes,	NY 172
151.	Gri(e)se, Charles,	MA 024
152.	Grimm, Otto,	NY 173
153.	Grosse family,	MA 011
154.	Grootjen, Margaret,	NY 129
155.	Grünenburg, Konstantin,	DE 011
156.	Guenther/Gunter, John,	VA 059
157.	Gutwasser/Goetwater, Johann Ernst/Jan,	NY 096
158.	Hacke, Georg Nikolaus,	VA 052
159.	Haman(n), John,	VA 034
160.	Haman(n), Joseph, brother VA 34,	VA 035
161.	Hamann/Homan family,	MA 012
162.	Hanel, George/Joerjen,	NY 101
163.	Hansen, Hendrick,	NY 161
164.	Harberdink, Johann,	NY 177
165.	Hardenbroeck, Adolph,	NY 137
166.	Hardenbroeck, Johannes,	NY 169
167.	Harmenszen (Hermansen), Frederick,	NY 048
168.	Harras, John,	VA 062
169.	Hartshorn(Herzhorn), Hugh,	NJ 005
170.	Hartshorn, Richard,	NJ 006
171.	Harting, Hans Jacob,	NY 178
172.	Hatzfelder, Georg,	PA 021
173.	Hayen, Claes,	NY 142
174.	Hegeman, Adrian,	NY 078
175.	Heiden, J.,	VA 013
176.	Heidrick (Heidrich?), James,	MA 028
177.	Heinrichs, Heinrich,	NY 182
178.	Helme Jr., Israel,	NJ 007
179.	Hendricks, Marten,	NY 015
180.	Hendricks, Peter,	NY 183
181.	Hendricksenz, Gerrit,	NY 077
182.	Hendricksen, Hu(y)bert,	NY 089
183.	Hendricksen, Jan,	NY 088
184.	Hendricksen, Joergen,	NY 012
185.	Hermann, Augustin,	MD 005
186.	Hermann, Casparus, Ephraim, George,	MD 005
186.	”, Anna, Francina, Judith, Margareta,	MD 005
187.	Herrman, Augustine,	NY 033
188.	Hermanssen, Roeloff,	NY 158
189.	Hermanson, Thomas,	MA 027
190.	Hoffmann(n), Martin(us),	NY 166
191.	Holländer, Peter,	DE 001
192.	Holman, Thomas,	MA 013
193.	Hubart/Hubert, Joseph,	ME 024
194.	Huybertsen, Adriaen,	NY 136

195.	Hulse(n), Richard,	NY 196
196.	Jabert, Balthasar,	PA 024
197.	Jacobs, Geertje,	NY 043
198.	Jacobsz, Pieter,	NY 128
199.	Jacobsen, Herman,	NY 132
200.	Jacobson, Johan,	DE 020
201.	Jacobsen, Jan,	NY 162
202.	Janeke, Hans,	DE 003
203.	Jansen, Gerrit,	NY 003
204.	Jansen, Ewert,	NY 097
205.	Jansen, Ewert, identical? with	NY 097
206.	Jansen, Dirk,	DE 010
207.	Jansen, Hermann,	NY 055
208.	Jansen, Hendrick,	NY 076
209.	Jansen, Hendrick,	NY 044
210.	Jansen, Juergen,	NY 108
211.	Jansen, Nettetert,	NY 114
212.	Jansz, Barent,	NY 002
213.	Jansz, Rem,	NY 005
214.	Jansz, P.,	NY 070
215.	Janszen, Jan,	NY 050
216.	Janzen, Harmen(Herman),	NY 056
217.	Janckes (Janckes?),	RI 009
218.	Joosten, Jacob,	NY 152
219.	Joosten, Barent,	NY 110
220.	Jordaensen, Peter,	NY 025
221.	Joris, Burger(?),	NY 004
222.	Julius, Karl,	DE 007
223.	Junge, Jacob,	DE 008
224.	Kalckar, van, Jan,	NY 066
225.	Karstens, Hendrick,	NY 036
226.	Keffer, Peter,	VA 002
227.	Keiay (Keie?), John,	ME 019
228.	Keldermann, Hermann,	VA 057
229.	Kermer, Abraham,	NY 094
230.	Kettelheim, Jochem,	NY 029
231.	Kierstede, Sen., Hans,	NY 009
232.	Kierstede, Jochem, brother NY 009?,	NY 010
233.	Kierstede, Hans, Jr., son of	NY 009
233.	Kierstede, Jacob, son of	NY 009
233.	Kierstede, Rachel daughter of	NY 009
234.	Klinckenburg, Styntje,	NY 145
235.	Kling, Hans Nilson,	DE 019
236.	Knap, Peter,	ME 005
237.	Knapp, Hannah,	CT 009
238.	Knibbe, Katharine,	VA 058

239.	Koch, Otto Ernst,	DE 013
240.	Koth, Georg,	VA 044
241.	Kramer, Hans,	DE 002
242.	Kranz, Georg,	VA 060
243.	Krieger, Franz,	NY 138
244.	Kruger/Cruger, John,	NY 180
245.	Kuhlmann/Coleman, Henry,	VA 041
246.	Kunst, Barent Jansen,	NY 159
247.	Kunt, John,	PA 013
248.	Kuyter, Jochem Petersen,	NY 014
249.	Lambert, John,	NJ 003
250.	Lambert, Thomas,	NJ 004
251.	Lamberts, Magdalene,	NY 146
252.	Lammertsen, Jan Jansen,	NY 151
253.	Landman, Christian,	VA 019
254.	Landman(n), John,	VA 020
255.	Laurenszen, Laurens,	NY 179
256.	Leader(Lieder?), Richard,	ME 003
257.	Lebrunn, Johann,	PA 005
258.	Lederer, John,	MD 001
259.	Lehmann, Johann,	PA 001
260.	Leisler/Leyslar/Leysseleer, Jacob, Sr.,	NY 120
261.	Leisler, John, Jr.,	NY 121
261.	Leisler, Hester, daughter,	NY 121
261.	Leisler, Mary, daughter,	NY 121
261.	Leisler, Frances, daughter,	NY 121
261.	Leisler, Susannah, daughter,	NY 121
262.	Le(o)man, Robert,	MA 019
263.	Levelin(g), Johannes,	NY 127
264.	Levering, Gerhart,	DE 025
265.	Litscho(w) sergeant,	NY 184
266.	Locker, Conrad,	NY 122
267.	Loef, Hendrick,	NY 103
268.	Loube/Laube, John,	VA 046
269.	Lowicke, Michael,	VA 007
270.	Lüneburger, Hans,	DE 012
271.	Lumbert /Lambert, Bernhard,	MA 015
272.	Lumbert/Lambert, Thomas,	MA 004
273.	Lup(h)old, Uldrich,	NY 011
274.	Luttner, Joh(a)n,	RI 003
275.	Luurzen/Luyersen, Carsten/Christian,	NY 170
x.	Lygonia,	p. 013
276.	Maisters, John,	MA 005
277.	Mann, W.,	RI 005
278.	Mansfeld/Mansvelt, Hans van,	NY 050
278.	Mansvelt, Pieter, son,	NY 050

279.	Marxsen/Maxson, Richard,	RI 007
280.	Mastrich(t), In, Gerhard,	PA 025
281.	Maueracke, John,	MA 006
282.	Meader, John,	ME 018
283.	Meyndertsz, Jan,	NY 115
284.	Meyer, Martin Jansen,	NY 067
285.	Meyer, Elsje, daughter (see NY 082),	NY 068
286.	Meyer [de], Nicholas,	NY 080
287.	Meyer [de], William,	NY 080
288.	Minnewitt/Minuit, P., NY 001	/DE 00
289.	Morer, Richard,	VA 021
290.	Mosse, John,	CT 003
291.	Newmarch, John,	ME 021
292.	Nissen, Christian,	NY 100
293.	Oblinus, Peter von,	NY 193
293.	Oblinis, van, Pieter, son NY 192,	NY 194
294.	Pastorius/Scepers, Friedrich Daniel,	PA 018
295.	Pels, Evert,	NY 028
296.	Petersen, Johan,	PA 026
297.	Petersen, Peter,	NY 117
298.	Peterson, Anton,	PA 017
299.	Pieters, Annette,	NY 053
300.	Pietersen, Albert,	NY 022
301.	Pietersen, Paulus,	NY 107
302.	Pietersen, Pieter,	NY 160
303.	Pietersen, sec. gener.,	NY 160
304.	Pietersen, John,	NY 188
305.	Praey(Prey?), Joseph,	ME 022
306.	Prieger, Martin,	DE 016
x.	Prutz/Pri(n)tz, Johan,	p. 072
307.	Ranke, Richard,	VA 032
308.	Reckes, John,	RI 015
309.	Reddinghausen/Reddinhasen, Abel/Oben,	NY 024
310.	Reeder, John,	CT 002
311.	Rees, Andries,	NY 087
312.	Rees, Johannes, son,	NY 087
313.	Reifferdings/Rijverdinxs, Marieke,	NY 064
314.	Remick/Ramach, Christian,	ME 010
315.	Remscheid, Aloff [vom],	NY 062
316.	Reur, Hendrick Jansen,	NY 063
317.	Rider(Reider?), Phineas,	ME 004
318.	Riesing, Johann,	DE 006
319.	Riet, Jan,	NY 124
320.	Risboc(k), Thomas,	VA 061
321.	Roellants/Ruhlands, Robert,	NY 106
322.	Roode, Liesbeth, de,	NY 168

323.	Roon, Andrew,	PA 014
324.	Rosbach, Hans,	DE 004
325.	Rossiter, Bray or Bryan,	MA 002
326.	Santen/Xanten, Adam van,	NY 109
327.	Santfort, Jacob Abraham,	NY 150
328.	Sat(t)ler, Ann,	PA 015
329.	Schenck family,	MA 010
330.	Schenck, Johannes,	NY 185
331.	Schermerhorn, Jacob Janse,	NY 007
332.	Schermerhorn, Ryer Jacobse,	NY 007
333.	Schmeemann, Hermann,	NY 192
334.	Schmidt/Smith, Lukas,	NY 023
335.	Scholtz/Schultz, Simon,	NY 156
336.	Schr(i)eck (Schroeck), Paulus,	NY 059
337.	Schrieck, Susanna, daughter,	NY 060
337.	Schr(i)eck, Paulus, Jr., son,	NY 060
338.	Schroeder, Hans,	NY 019
339.	Schuman, John,	VA 038
340.	Scriven(er)(Schreiber?), William,	ME 008
341.	Schuermann/Shureman/Sherman, Henry,	VA 068
342.	Schuetz, Johann Jacob,	PA 028
343.	Schumacher, Jacob,	PA 022
344.	Schut, Jan Hermanszen,	NY 051
345.	Siepman, Dirk,	PA 002
346.	Sluyter(= Vorstmann), Peter,	MD 003
347.	Sluiter(Schlueter?), Claes Claesen,	NY 140
348.	Sodelaers/Seddelers(?), Annetje,	NY 131
349.	Sonnemanns, Arent,	NJ xxx
350.	Speck/Spicke, Jerret, Mrs.,	CT 001
351.	Speckhard, A.,	VA 023
352.	Sperling/Spurling, Richard,	VA 037
353.	Spielman(n), Theodor(e),	VA 028
354.	Spiker, Thomas,	RI 006
355.	Sprage, John,	MA 026
356.	Sprage, Ralph,	MA 007
357.	Sprage, Richard,	MA 008
358.	Spranger, Henry,	VA 014
359.	Spriese, Richard,	VA 036
360.	Staber, Peter,	VA 030
361.	Stair (Stehr),	RI 017
362.	Steffen, Johann,	NY 139
363.	Stein, Hans,	NY 186
364.	Steinhausen, Engelbert,	NJ 008
365.	Steinmetz, Casper,	NY 047
366.	Stepfer/Stepper, Harmen (Hermann),	NY 144
367.	Sternhuys, Engelbert,	NY 116

368.	Stille, John,	PA 016
369.	Stocker, William,	VA 029
370.	Stoeff, Hartwich,	NY 095
371.	Stoffelszen, Reyer,	NY 008
372.	Stoffelszen, Jacob, brother,	NY 013
373.	Stoll, Hendrick, (father NY 199?)	NJ 001
374.	Stoll, Joost, (son NJ 001?)	NY 200
375.	Streipers, Jan,	PA 003
376.	Stuyvesant, Petrus/Pieter,	NY 042
377.	Sweterinck, Hendrick,	NY 126
378.	Taber, Benedict,	RI 008
379.	Teller, William,	MA 025
380.	Teller, Willem, Sr.,	NY 198
381.	Teller, Willem, Jr.,	NY 199
382.	Telner, Jacob,	PA 004
383.	Ten Eyck, Coenrad and Maria,	NY 057
384.	Ten Eyck, Coenrad, JR., son,	NY 058
385.	Ten Eyck, Tobias, son,	NY 058
385.	Ten Eyck, Henrick, son,	NY 058
385.	Ten Eyck, Matthias, son,	NY 058
385.	Ten Eyck, Maria, daughter,	NY 058
386.	Theunissen, Joost,	NY 187
387.	Theunissen, Herman,	NY 075
388.	Teunisz, Pieter,	NY 046
389.	Tolman, Thomas,	MA 020
390.	Tolman, Peter, (son of MA 020?)	RI 016
391.	Traphagen, Willem Janzen,	NY 112
391.	Traphagen, Johannes and Rebecca,	NY 112
392.	Tresler(Dressler?), Thomas,	MA 021
393.	Treuer, J.,	VA 015
394.	Tripp, John,	RI 011
395.	Tripp, Abiel,	RI 012
396.	Tripp, John,	VA 055
397.	Trophagen, Wilhelm,	VA 053
398.	Hunger, Friedrich Wilhelm,	VA 001
0.	Van der Beeck, Paulus, see under	"B"
399.	Van Vleck, Tilman, (from Bremen?)	NY xxx
400.	Veld, Thomas,	VA 003
401.	Velthuysen, Nicholas,	NY 052
402.	Verplanck, Johan,	NY 141
403.	Verweelen, Johannes,	NY 167
404.	Volday, Friedrich Wilhelm,	VA 004
405.	Vorst, Thomas,	NY 125
406.	Vos, Hans,	NY 027
407.	Vreesen, Jan,	NY 165
408.	Vresen, Jan,	NY 123

409.	Waldo(w) family,	MA 013
410.	Waldow, Richard,	VA 005
411.	Walle, von der, Jacob,	PA 006
412.	Weedich, Heinrich,	VA 056
413.	Wemp(Wempel?), Jan Barentsen,	NY 031
414.	Wertmueller, Georg,	PA 023
415.	Wessel, Jochem,	NY 061
416.	Wessel, David,	NY 079
417.	Wessels, Anneke,	NY 175
418.	Wessels, David, Jr. son NY 417 ?,	NY 175
419.	Wessels-Ten Broek, Dirck, (?)	NY xxx
420.	Wesselsen, Wessel, (see NY 058)	NY 143
421.	Weyt, Jacob Barents,	NY 049
422.	Wierinck, Hendrick,	NY 171
423.	Wiggart brothers,	DE 023-4
424.	Willekens, Geertru(y)d,	NY 073
425.	Willems(e), Hen(d)rick,	NY 045
426.	Willemse-Hendricks, Geesje, daughter,	NY 045
427.	Willemszen, Reinert,	NY 140
428.	Willing, Richard,	ME 006
429.	Windmiller, Christoph(er),	VA 040
430.	Wittenhooff, Bernd/Barnt,	NY 153
431.	Wolgast, Otto,	DE 018
432.	(von) Wylich, Thomas,	PA 020
433?		

Addenda

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2.1 from "English Mayne" to Maine

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between 1603 and 1629

1627-1632 Wallenstein sequestered the Hanseatic Fleet

1623 Mackareel 60 tons transported Huguenots

1624 Nieuw Nederlandt 260 tons

1625 Oranje Boom

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Hacke = Heck from Köln, 1623-1665

p. 112

add Schoonmaker, Hendrick Jochensen ca. 1650

p. 113

Verleth, Maria

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This ethnographic study focuses on one strong component of the American mosaic. Its sociohistorical data narrate briefly the fate of two generations of early »Dutch«, that is, Low-German speaking immigrants from the Northwestern German Territories. Tables and maps illustrate the traces left by these settlers from the time of their early arrival in 1607, rather than later on in 1683. The areas of settlement stretch from Virginia to Maine. Mostly coastal dwellers, quite often of Friesian extraction, they had less trouble communicating in 17th century Seaboard English than was hitherto assumed.

This lively written study aims at readers interested in roots, in genealogical and technological heritage, in a stream of proto-Americans, and in early Americana in general. In short, it is for students and teachers of the New World, where the English sea captain John Smith once swore about »those damn' Dutch« who, behind his back in 1608, would build homes for the Indians near Fort James, Virginia.

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