

New Amsterdam's Windmills Made History: I.

by John A. Bogart

Nation's milling and bakery industries relate back to structure the Dutch in New Netherland erected as early as 1626.

LITTLE DID our Dutch ancestors realize as they tilled the soil, planted their small crops and reaped their harvests, that their efforts to sustain themselves would ultimately develop into one of our major industries — milling. For windmills, like wooden shoes, could no more be separated from New Amsterdam than could the Dutchmen themselves. While primarily farmers, some of the early settlers were millers and millwrights, apprenticed in the trade of their forefathers.

The early windmills, nearly square in shape, had heavy superstructures covered with rough planking to protect them from the weather; they were crude but practical. Other types of mills, built without restrictions, were financed by private individuals. But when it came to the building of a windmill, the Dutch government reserved this not inexpensive prerogative to itself — which may explain why the early windmills were recorded and other types were not.

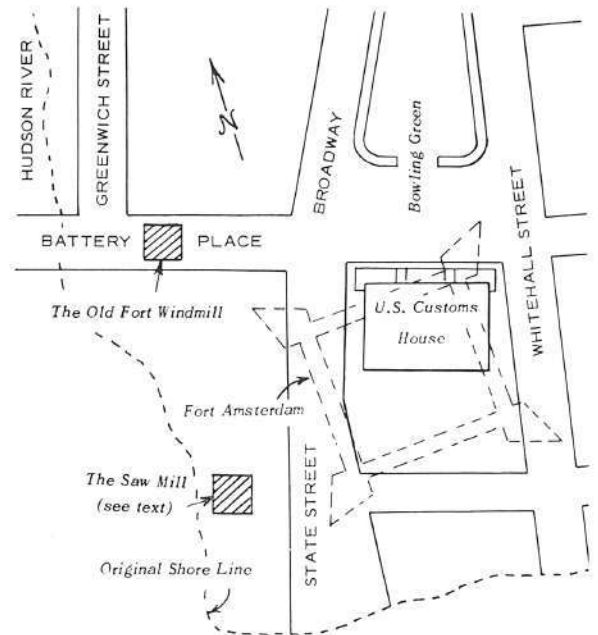
The identity and location of New Amsterdam's windmills that gave New York its first impressive skyline has long been uncertain, due to misinterpretation of the records by some writers who were unaware of the existence of the famous Manatus map of 1639. This map was lost, and was found in Holland two centuries later; it locates the earliest plantations and windmills, and clarifies some of the records pertaining to them.

Earliest windmill in the settlement here, built in 1626, stood on the northwestern tip of Governors Island. It was erected at "Company's expense" and was often said to have been a water-mill. In 1639 it was leased by Van Twiller with other small buildings, and when the mill became useless, it was burned at the Director's request in 1648 and the iron work salvaged.

The second windmill of note was a grist-mill, later known as the Old Fort Windmill, which stood outside the Fort overlooking its northwestern bastion. Construction of this mill began in 1628. It was in operation in August of that year, a fact to which reference is made subsequently. The mill is erroneously stated by early writers and portrayed by artists as having stood within the fort or on its walls; but at that time (1628) Fort Amsterdam was a small, flimsy stockade "with sodded earthworks." This mill ceased operation sometime between 1663 and 1664.

The third windmill, also begun in 1628 at the direction of Director Peter Minuit, stood a few hundred yards south of the Old Fort Windmill, west of the southwestern bastion of the fort. Used at first as a saw-mill, it later became a grist-mill. This windmill continued in operation until the latter part of 1659, for it does not appear on the Castello Plan, the original of which was made by Surveyor General Jacques Cortelyou in 1660. All of these windmills appear on the Manatus map of 1639.

JOHN A. BOGART, who often contributes to these columns, is well known for his researches in Dutch colonial history and genealogy. Author, publicist, compiler of the Bogart family history, and Westchester resident over 40 years, he was born in Kentucky, where his great-grandfather went from Oyster Bay in 1820. He has two children and four grandchildren.



Above is one of five line-drawings which, with the accompanying text, graphically depict the city's colonial windmills in relation to lower Manhattan's present-day street plan.

The earliest reference to the Old Fort Windmill and the saw-mill is in a letter written August 11, 1628, to the Classis of Amsterdam by Jonas Michaelius, the first clergyman in the settlement. In his letter Michaelius stated among other things, "... they are building a windmill to saw the wood — and we have a grist-mill," the latter being the Old Fort Windmill which then was in operation; the "saw-mill" was under construction then and probably was completed that year.

In 1633, plans were drawn up for the new, or permanent, fort which was much larger and more substantial than the previous one; but no provision was made for the erection of a windmill within. Eventually the fort accommodated the barracks, guardhouse, home for the Director, warehouses, and several minor buildings. Sometime between 1633 and 1635 a horse-mill was erected within the fort, above which was a large room where Domine Everadus Bogardus conducted religious services before the permanent church was built. On July 26, 1636, the building which housed the horse-mill was destroyed by fire when "a spark lodged in the thatched roof from a salute fired by one of the guards." Nothing is found either in the records of New Amsterdam or on the maps of that period to indicate that a windmill ever stood within the fort.

Reference is made to the horse-mill inside the fort and the three windmills — two of which are mentioned by Michaelius — in Kieft's report of 1638 on the condition of the town. In it he stated "only one grist-mill (*the Old Fort Windmill*) and one saw-mill (*the unnamed windmill southwest of the fort*) were in operation; another was out of repair and idle (*the wind-mill on Governors Island*) and one had burned (*the horse-mill within the fort*)." At the time of Kieft's report his council complained of the money the West India Company had spent some years previously

on "three expensive windmills" built in Minit's time, those mentioned above. The Manatus map, therefore, establishes without question the identity and location of the mills, referred to by Kieft and Michaelius, which coincide with the town records.

Several writers have stated that "three windmills were built *within* the fort during Van Twiller's administration. One account states that when these mills were proposed, the opposition objected on the grounds that the walls of the fort "would intercept the wind and thus prevent their satisfactory operation." Another account states that "three windmills were built *outside* the fort" along the eastern wall in the vicinity of what is now Whitehall Street. The Old Fort Windmill and the saw-mill which stood west of the fort apparently had no such difficulty, for they were in operation for many years.

If the "three windmills" were ever built, there is no official record of them. Consequently we can safely assume that either they did not exist or did not continue for long. When Director Van Twiller reported that he had put the "saw and grist-mills in order," as the records clearly state, he referred to the repair and reconditioning of the three existing windmills, and not to any new ones.

This analysis is based upon the Manatus map of 1639 which shows the three original windmills, as well as from Stokes' *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, and other substantiating data found in the original records of New Amsterdam, that are conclusive.

THE OLD FORT WINDMILL (see illustration on page 5): Unlike the other mills that succeeded it, this windmill was the object of frequent rules and regulations imposed by the Dutch authorities to govern milling operations. The mill, second one built in New Amsterdam, was in many respects the pioneer of them all. One can scarcely realize today, as he proceeds down Broadway toward Battery Park and turns right into Battery Place, that before reaching Greenwich Street he has passed over the site of this windmill. Located on a rocky promontory that skirted the Hudson River, it stood level with the northwestern bastion of Fort Amsterdam, which gave it the appearance when viewed from Long Island as resting upon the ramparts or within the fort.

The site is definitely fixed in a record of 1633, when it was proposed to build the new Dutch church within the fort. While the matter was under consideration, objection was raised that the "windmill on the shore of the North River (Hudson) would not work on a southeast wind, and that the church would only increase the difficulty." Another reference is made to its location in 1656 when it was recommended to establish a graveyard "on the hill west of the fort, in the neighborhood of the windmill" — thus precluding any possibility that the mill was within the fort. The Old Fort Windmill appears on the Manatus map of 1639, the Innes map of 1644, Castello Plan of 1660, and the Duke's map made from a "Description of the Towne of Mannadoes or New Amsterdam" of 1661.

The first regulations put into effect concerning this mill were promulgated by Director Minit. The mill was made available to anyone who wished to have his grain ground, if he paid for use of the mill and donated a quantity of flour to the government as prescribed by law. This arrangement worked well until the arrival in 1638 of Director William Kieft, who balked at

renting the mill. In some respects he was a better business man than an administrator, for he arranged matters so that the taxed flour was in effect sold back to the inhabitants in the form of bread. How long this state of affairs remained in effect we do not know; however, the Company bakery, built in 1635, was located near Pearl and Whitehall Streets.

In 1638, Kieft named Abraham Pieterse miller and instructed him to operate the mill on a percentage basis. Due to the miller's unpopularity, however, Pieterse was removed in 1640 and Phillip Garretson appointed.

Director Peter Stuyvesant, who arrived from Holland in 1647, decided the following year to operate the mill on Company account. He also appointed Jan De Witt miller on August 15, 1648, at a salary of forty florins (\$16.00) a month, and instructed him "not to grind any grain without a certificate from the comptroller of the mill." Two years later a census taken in New Amsterdam revealed the presence of a thousand inhabitants and 120 houses.

The preamble to an ordinance passed in February, 1652, for regulation of the mill, declared that "for a long time past not a few complaints have been received of the inconvenience to which the inhabitants are put because they cannot get their grain ground, or if ground, it is not in such condition as it ought to be." Later that year another ordinance was passed to regulate mill tolls for grinding. This action was followed by the appointment of Pieter Cornelius as miller.

Stuyvesant was not entirely satisfied with the manner in which Cornelius managed affairs. In 1656 he named Abraham Martense Klock as miller, but Klock's tenure was brief, too. Willem Bogardus, eldest son of the Dominie, then a clerk in the secretary's office in New Amsterdam, was appointed comptroller of the mill September 27, 1656. The experience of running the mill for the Company's account did not measure up to Stuyvesant's expectations. On March 19, 1658, he decided to let the mill out again to the highest bidder. But no bids were forthcoming, and after a few weeks Stuyvesant gave up the mill monopoly.

By this time the Old Fort Windmill had become plagued with difficulties. Oak timbers of the superstructure were weakened; the wooden-toothed gears and the yardarms were constantly in need of repair. The whole structure became a hazard. By the following year the upper mill-stone had become so badly worn as to render it almost useless. Stuyvesant then wrote to the West India Company in Amsterdam for a pair of new ones. The Company director in Amsterdam, however, in answer to Stuyvesant's request wrote him in September, 1660, stating: "In regard to the required looper for the windmill which is four feet, 3 or 4 inches in diameter, we can not conjecture. We have inquired of several millwrights for information but they know nothing about it — so you must transmit more precise information." It appears that an explanation was obtained, and a pair of mill-stones were subsequently shipped aboard the ship *Love*. But the vessel met with an accident coming out of Texel and was obliged to put back for repairs, which delayed delivery in New Amsterdam until 1661, when the mill was recommissioned.

The old mill continued in use until 1662, when the superstructure began to crumble and operations ceased. By this time the town had pushed further northward along the East River. The old mill was greatly missed

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WINDMILLS OF NEW AMSTERDAM

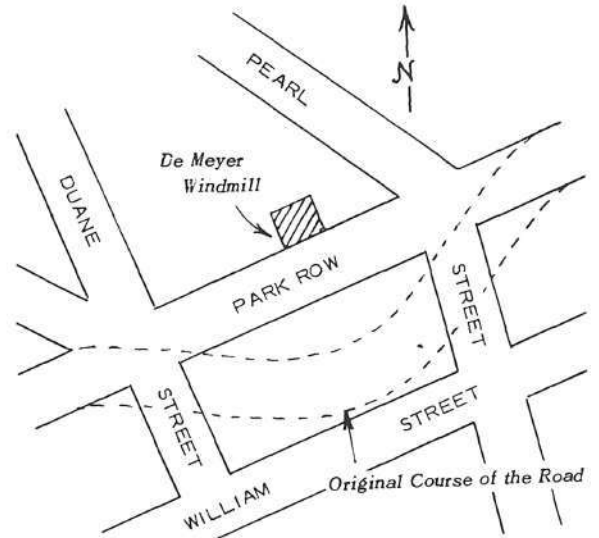
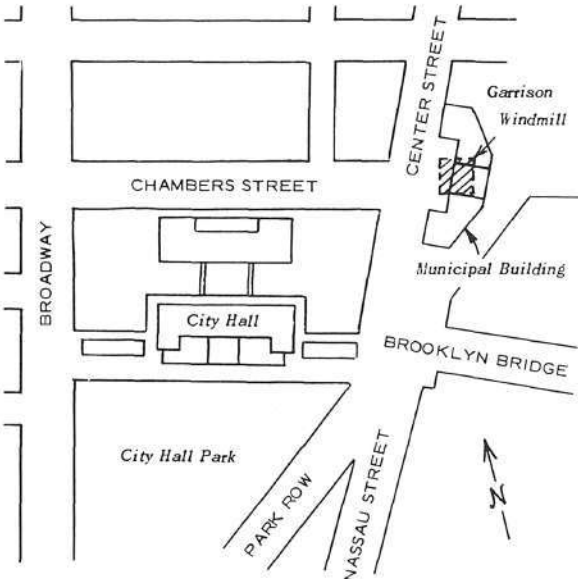
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for it had served, in its stately position overlooking the settlement, river, and Brooklyn shores, to warn ferryman operating between Pecks Slip and Long Island of weather conditions. The expression, "provided that the windmill hath not taken in its sails," referred to a supposedly infallible barometer indicating the approach of bad weather.

For many years the mill had served its purpose well. Its remains were still standing at the time the English took over in 1664, for it is mentioned in the 23rd Article of the Terms of Capitulation. On August 27, 1664, the English commander, Richard Nicolls, acting on his instructions from England, delivered in the King's name an ultimatum "to the Hon. Mr. Stuyvesant, the present governor, to surrender on Monday next at eight o'clock in the morning at the old mill" (the words "Hon. Mr. Stuyvesant" being calculated to imply no recognition of Dutch sovereignty over the area). On the morning of September 8, Stuyvesant marched his soldiers out of Fort Amsterdam while English troops entered the city. Subsequently, some of the mill's wooden and iron work, and the mill-stones, were used in the construction of its successor — the Garrison Windmill on the Common.

GARRISON WINDMILL (below): Chatham Street in that day began at what we call Broadway and it formed the southern and eastern boundary of the present City Hall Park. At its eastern end was a hill they called "Katie Mut" — Dutch for Katie's Bonnet — so steep that a road was built around its base that curved to the east and then northward again. Towering above City Hall today is the Municipal Building; crossing over in front of it, after passing the approach to the Brooklyn Bridge, one's attention is centered upon the arcade. Here was built the immediate successor to Old Fort Windmill at the Battery, the Garrison Windmill.

Jan De Witt, who had been miller of the Old Fort Windmill, erected upon this site during Stuyvesant's regime a "windmill and house," utilizing part of the old structure's wooden and iron work. This was in 1662. Later, Jan and his partner, Jan Teunison, had a quarrel and dissolved their partnership. In 1666 a con-

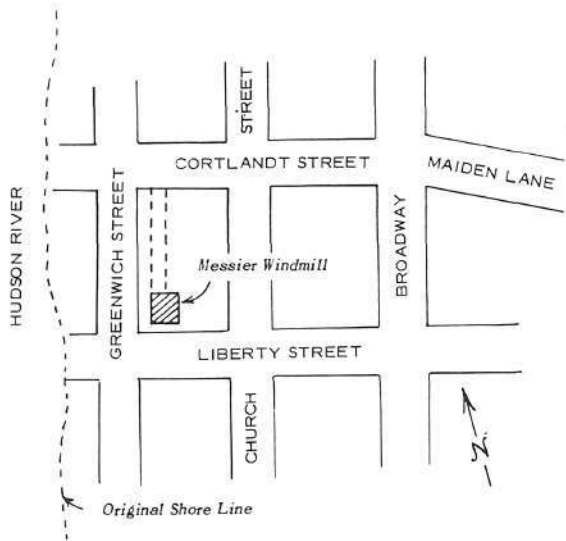


firmary patent for the mill issued to Langendyck and Aertson. For a time this mill was known as Jasper's mill, but it came to be called the Garrison Windmill in consequence of the obligation to grind a certain quantity of grain for the Governor. After this mill arose, the hill became known as Windmill Hill. It was here, in 1673, that Governor Francis Lovelace's deputy reviewed the three military companies of New York shortly before the Dutch reconquest of 1673-74. Pieter Jansen Messier came into possession of the mill in 1682. It was struck by lightning in 1689 and badly damaged. A new patent was issued, on April 2, 1692, for a "certain winde mille, scituate near the Commons of New Yorke." This site was the same one originally granted to Jan De Witt the miller in 1662.

In 1728, land near the Garrison Windmill was surveyed for the purpose of extending the highway known as Chatham Street, and on July 29, 1740, permission was granted to finish a street already begun from Broadway east "through the hill by the windmill." During this process the Garrison Windmill disappeared.

DE MEYER WINDMILL (above): North of "Katie Mut" was another windmill, the site of which was granted September 29, 1677, to Nicholas De Meyer, who the previous year had become mayor of New York. This site is described as a "piece of land to set a windmill upon, lying at the edge of a hill near the Collect or Fresh Water Pond." It was situated in the general area bounded by Baxter, White, Elm, Duane and Park Streets, and may now be identified as Foley Square. The windmill stood on a hill just beyond the old Garrison Windmill on the north side of Park Row between Duane and Pearl Streets, directly back of the present County Court House building. De Meyer continued to operate the mill until his death in 1692. Later it was conveyed to Teunis and Jacobus De Kay, bolters and millers. When this mill ceased to exist is not known.

MESSIER WINDMILL (page 10): Jan Jansen Damen in 1644 obtained a grant of land lying between Broadway, the Hudson River, Fulton and Thames Streets. After his death the farm was divided into three lots, with Theunis Dey becoming owner of the northern lot, through the center of which Dey Street now runs. The middle lot was sold in 1668 to Oloffte Stevensen Van Cortlandt, while the southern lot, bounded by Thames Street, became in 1686 the property of Thomas Lloyd.



The Van Cortlandt property of 250 feet on Broadway was intersected by a nearly northern and southern line, the eastern portion of which eventually fell to Van Cortlandt's two daughters. The western part was acquired by Pieter Jansen Messier who asked for a lot on the river side. In 1682 he and Jasper Nessepat, a partner, petitioned for land at the Common on which to erect a windmill. Nessepat withdrew, and Messier built his windmill on property overlooking the Hudson River that rivermen called the "lighthouse." The site of Messier's windmill is near the corner of Greenwich and Liberty Streets, the shore line at that time having been a little east of the present Washington Street.

The map of 1695 locates the windmill as lying near the waterfront on the line of Maiden Lane if extended west of Broadway. A later map shows Old Windmill Lane, now Cortlandt Street, that led to it from the west side of Broadway. Windmill Lane was closed before 1749, for it does not appear on any later maps. In 1719, Messier deeded his property to J. Van Imbergh. It is said to have been demolished about 1784, afterward becoming the site on which the Lighthouse Tavern was built. Messier left his estate to his wife "with full power to control the baking and bolting trade I now use."

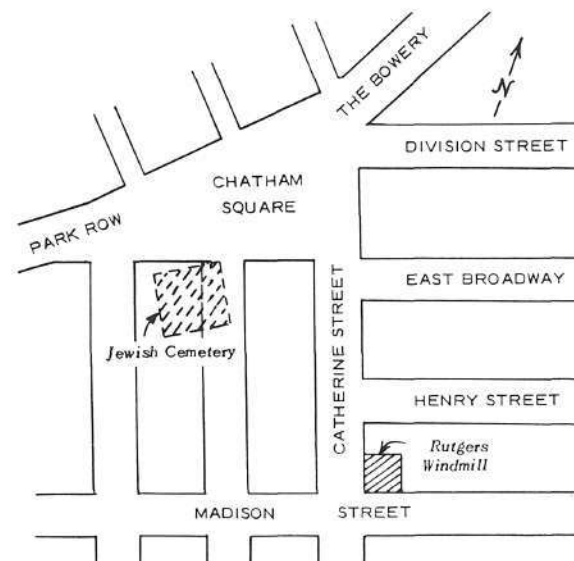
BAYARD WINDMILL (not shown): Nicholas Bayard, of French origin and a cousin of Judith Bayard, wife of Peter Stuyvesant, was secretary to the City Council under Governor Nicolls and in 1686 was mayor of the city. His manor was on high ground on the line of Grand Street between Center Street and Broadway. His bowery, of 200 acres of land, extended from Bayard to Prince Streets. On the southern slope of Bayard's Hill, later well known during the Revolution, stood his windmill — about 100 yards from Bulls Head Tavern. Its location is definitely fixed as standing on the west side of Bowery Lane between Nicholas (Canal), Hester and Elizabeth Streets, about 100 feet north of Canal Street. When these streets were extended, reference was made to the mill, the principal entrance to which was from the Bowery Lane: "and when the highway was built up closely in 1807, a space of eight lots were left vacant for access to the mill."

The windmill was advertised for sale in the *New-York Journal* in 1770 by John Burling as "in the outward of the city near Bowery Lane, having two pairs of stones." It was again advertised for sale in the same

paper, in 1772, as "the mill situated near Bulls Head Tavern." In 1775 the property was mortgaged to James Penny, "being the lot whereupon the widmill stands." William Davidson, who purchased the mill in 1776, notified the public that he had "opened the noted windmill at the one-mile stone in Bowery Lane and would grind wheat, corn, oats and ginger at the lowest prices." In 1781, the mill was offered for sale together with six building lots.

RUTGERS WINDMILL (below): In the old days Chatham Street, later known as Park Row, was a narrow road with a few homes scattered along it, surrounded by large farms. To the left lay the Collect, and up ahead on a hill was the Bayard Windmill. To the right of Chatham Square, which the Indians called "Woerpoes," was another hill. In order to reach the Rutgers property, it was necessary to go around a long slope to the east. The Rutgers bowery extended from the eastern side of Chatham Square nearly to Corlears Hook on the East River, covering the tract bounded by Division, Montgomery, Catherine and Cherry Streets. Several generations later this section, known as the "ghetto," was the birthplace of many prominent figures in public life and the theater.

Not far from the Rutgers homestead, along Division Street, were located the barns. The windmill stood on what is now Catherine Street, between Madison and Henry Streets, overlooking to the west the old Jewish cemetery — a segment of which still exists. The Rutgerses, too, were millers, and bakers and brewers in addition. Hermanus Rutgers II married Catherine De Meyer whose family owned the De Meyer mill. Henry Rutgers, born in the family homestead, rose to be a colonel in the American Army. A man of influence and standing in the city, he became a close friend and adviser of General Washington. It was Rutgers who commissioned Gilbert Stuart to paint the famous portrait of



George Washington. Colonel Rutgers took an interest in re-establishing old Queens College in New Brunswick, New Jersey, following the close of the Revolution. As a tribute to his generosity, the college trustees renamed the institution Rutgers. He died in 1830 and his homestead was demolished in 1875 by his heirs.

(To be concluded)

New Amsterdam's Windmills Made History: II.

by John A. Bogart

Dutch and English colonial enterprise made Manhattan Island capital of the milling industry until after Revolution.

FOR MANY YEARS the Dutch West India Company had a monopoly on the baking business in New Amsterdam, the first bakery having been established in 1635 near the corner of Whitehall and Pearl Streets. In time private individuals came to enter the field. By 1649 the business had assumed large proportions, and surpluses began to be exported to the West Indies. However, no breadstuffs entered the export trade until yearly consumption here and the quantity of grain on hand could be estimated.

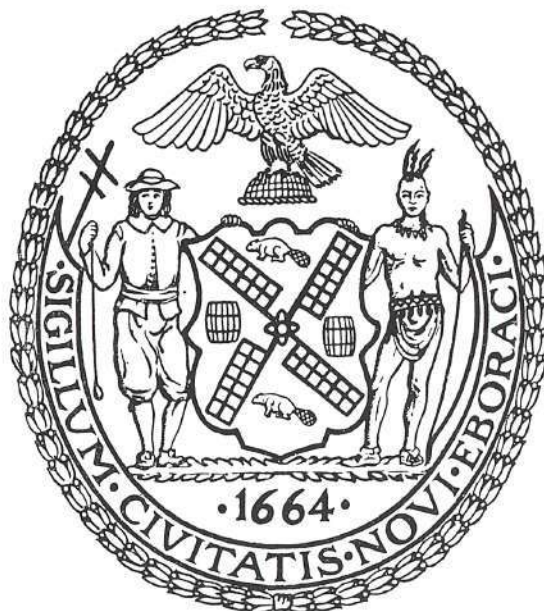
The Dutch authorities undertook to standardize weight, size and quality of bread and rolls, with severe penalties for infractions of the law. Bread was available in several grades — finely bolted white, coarse, and rye — and each grade could be had in several sizes. In 1656, a loaf of white bread weighing from a half-pound to two pounds sold for two stivers to eight stivers, while coarse bread containing additives and weighing from two to eight pounds sold for three and a half to 14 stivers. The baking of whole wheat bread was prohibited but frequently bran, a by-product, was illegally used to "load" coarse bread.

Frequent complaints of the poor quality, size and price of bread led to a court pronouncement, that "if coarse bread is found two ounces too light, it shall be confiscated and the baker fined." The bakers were then required to mark their product and to register their mark with the Council secretary. In 1656 an ordinance was passed against desecrating the Lord's Sabbath and it was ordered that "no baking or sale of bread shall be done on Sundays." The following year bakers were required to place stamps on their products. However violations became so frequent that the court appointed two bread inspectors — Hendrick Willemsen and Christoffel Hooglandt, chosen for their expert knowledge of the business — "to go around among the bakers at least once a week and to see to it that bread was baked of good material as it comes from the mill, unmixed, of due weight and size established by law."

Then the authorities decided it was time to license all bakers "inasmuch as no guild or similar body was then in existence." Such licenses were to be renewed every quarter commencing November 1, 1660. In 1665, the court forbade peddling bread on the streets, stating that it should be sold only in shops. A year later all bakers were ordered to report their sales of bread for five months and to tally what stocks of flour they had on hand.

With the advent of English rule in 1664, efforts continued to improve the manufacture and control of flour. French burr-stones were imported for grinding as well as German screens and bolting cloths. In 1670 the city exported 60,000 bushels of wheat flour. Cultivation of more and more grain kept the mills busy and more were built. Large-scale milling had become a reality in the New York of that day, where grain was grown, milled, packed and shipped within an area of less than a square mile.

A biographical note of the author appeared with the first instalment of this article in the July issue of de Halve Maen.



Seal of the City of New York reflects milling industry's importance. Except for an American Eagle in place of the Crown, it is virtually that which James II granted in 1686.

By 1678 there were 24 bakers in the city, subdivided into six classes, a class being appointed for each secular day of the week. Like other trades, every baker had at least one apprentice. As time went on, with growing population of the town and expanding demand for bread for export, the number increased appreciably.

Branding of manufacturers' names on casks was ordered by the City Council; tonnage, weight and measurement were matters of study and recommendation. Then followed the establishment of an equally important industry, cooperage, to meet the demand for flour barrels.

During the Andros regime, the price of flour began to get out of hand and the market commenced to rise. The governor found it necessary in 1675 to fix the price of winter wheat at five shillings sixpence per bushel, summer wheat at two-and-six, which had a stabilizing effect on the market and kept prices at fair level.

During the brief administration of Mayor Francois Rombouts, who was appointed in 1678, the citizens of the city received a boon from Governor Andros that in a few years trebled the millers' wealth and laid the foundations of several great fortunes. This was the famous Bolting Act, passed by the Council in 1678.

This curious enactment prohibited "any bolting of flour or the baking of bread in any place throughout the province but New York City; no flour or bread was to be imported in the city from any other community under penalty of forfeiture" — probably the first commercial monopoly and surely one of the most controversial pieces of legislation ever passed in New York. It was to continue in effect 16 years despite mounting protests that those chiefly benefitted were city millers, bakers and municipal and provincial officials, all interrelated in greater or lesser degree. The act served, however, as a needed impetus to expand the

city's economy even if it did so at the expense of other settlements outside the city.

Nearby provincial towns soon felt the impact of restrictions imposed by the bolting act. Opposition immediately developed and several attempts were made to have the law repealed, without success, for the city merchants had the support of both mayor and governor. Whatever may be said of the act, it resulted in the value of exports increasing from two to more than six thousand pounds sterling per annum, while shipping significantly increased from three to 60 ships.

Thomas Dongan was appointed governor of New York Province August 27, 1683. The following year, on March 17, 1684, representatives of the various settlements outside of New York brought his attention to the "injustice of the bolting act." Informed by the merchants, however, that "as manufacturing of flour was the chief support of the trade of the metropolis, the high reputation of its breadstuffs should not be taken away, as it would be if bolting were allowed elsewhere," Dongan issued a confirmatory proclamation. In this he was upheld by the Duke's commissioners, who advised him "by all means encourage the City of New York." Thus the bolting act remained in force.

King James II delivered a new charter to Governor Dongan in 1686, known as the "Dongan Charter," a basic instrument of government from which the present charter of the City of New York is derived. At the same time the last Stuart King presented the City with a new seal. So important was the milling business here and so fully was it recognized throughout the English colonies in America, the West Indies and continental Europe, that the flour industry was memorialized in the new seal. The device contained sails of a windmill, two flour barrels and two beavers — the latter symbolic of the early Dutch fur trade. To this day, the same seal with slight modifications is still in use by the City of New York.

Besides the seal, the city's milling industry also received official recognition in the Dongan Charter of 1686. In part, the instrument declares "the said city has become a considerable seaport and exceedingly necessary and useful to the Kingdom of Great Britain, in supplying our governments and the West Indies trade with bread, flour and other provisions — to survey the packing of bread and flour, and to gauge the quality of it."

Upon arrival of Governor Benjamin Fletcher in 1692, the City Council tendered him a dinner. This was a political gesture, for they were anxious to win his support to continue the bolting act. Opposition to the measure was growing stronger, and the city merchants were well aware of that fact. Later that year the Council addressed the governor several times on the subject.

In 1694 the provincial assembly, by an act directed against "unlawful by-laws," abolished this privilege and repealed the bolting act. Commerce in flour and bread was now open to all comers as the 16-year monopoly of New York City's millers and bakers came to an end. One reason for the repealer had been poor enforcement, which resulted in bootlegging of flour on a wide scale. Principal factor, however, was the united opposition of farmers in Brooklyn and other Long Island settlements, whose expansive well-kept farms and windmills had been economically hurt. These farm owners, a great many of them Dutch, had become substantial taxpayers and influential citizens in the prov-

ince, and their dogged pressure upon the authorities in New York eventually brought about repeal of the act.

Repeal came as a blow to New York's commanding position in the trade. Of the 983 homes, buildings, stores, bakeries and warehouses in the city in 1694, more than 600 depended in some manner upon the flour trade. Meanwhile the millers, bolters and bakers, unwilling to accept the verdict of defeat, took advantage of every opportunity to bolster their cause. Repeated appeals were taken to the governor, but without success.

With restrictions lifted, the city millers were joined by those of Westchester County, Brooklyn and other Long Island settlements, as well as by several in the Hudson Valley. Their combined facilities secured for New York City its phenomenal position as the milling center of the country.

About this time a great scarcity of bread prevailed in New York. In 1697 none was to be had of the bakers, who declared it was impossible to purchase flour at reasonable rates to supply their customers at the price fixed by law. An inventory taken of all wheat, flour and bread in the city revealed 7000 bushels of wheat, not much more than a week's supply for the city's 6000 inhabitants. The lack was attributed to repeal of the bolting act, which, it was said, enabled planters to grind their own flour and to hold it back from the general market for private speculation. A letter addressed to the King complained of the "famine" to which the city was reduced, and earnestly implored him to restore the monopoly. But this ruse failed, and for many years afterward it was generally thought that the wheat and flour shortage had been willfully perpetrated to force restoration of the bolting act.

A new governor, Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, arrived in New York in 1698. He was given a rousing reception, much the same as that accorded his predecessors. But the bolting act was ended for all time.

By the turn of the century the milling industry in the city attracted attention of certain European merchants who thought the moment ripe, by shipping flour here from abroad, to enter the business. Provincial and city authorities, however, were quick to appraise the situation, and on September 24, 1700, the New York City Council passed an ordinance placing a duty of three shillings on each half-barrel of flour imported, to take effect October 1st of that year. This tariff, needless to say, discouraged importation of flour.

The assembly passed a bill October 19, 1727, to prevent export of flour that did not pass inspection. In a related action the town inspectors on October 22, 1750, notified farmers and millers to keep closer watch on the quality of their flour.

During the ensuing years milling methods changed but little although new regulations were enacted from time to time. Generally speaking, the infant industry was left more or less to itself and New York long remained the milling center of the continent. Competition gradually built up elsewhere, however. By 1730 a number of water-mills had been erected in New Jersey and Pennsylvania to take advantage of swift-running mountain streams admirably adapted to milling operations. Increased use of tide-water mills along the Atlantic coast likewise became evident.

By 1765, as separation from Britain approached, pioneer migration to the west and south from metropolitan New York continued in ever-increasing numbers. Cultivation of the soil was conducted on a constantly

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Amsterdam City Tax List in 1631

Listed as taxpayers for the year 1631 in the city of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, were residents with patronymics of family significance to many Holland Society members. Since those emigrating to America in the 17th century came from all seven provinces of that nation (Holland, Zeeland, Gelderland, Utrecht, Groningen, Overijssel and Friesland), and other countries as well, the concentration of familiar names in one locality is noteworthy.

The late George W. Van Siclen of the New York bar, secretary of the Society 1885-91, reported these findings to the membership in 1892 in a communication which recently came to light at Society headquarters. He wrote that while in Holland the previous summer he had come across a pamphlet listing taxpayers who in 1631, in Amsterdam and its environs, paid the tax of one penny in two hundred. On the rolls, he noted, were those with the following readily recognized patronymics of Society members:

Geurtten Acker	Simon Jacobsz Schoonhoven
Pr. Adriaensz	Pr. Schoenmaecker
Abraham Anthonisz	Jacob Jansz Sloot
Hendrick Beeckmans	Willem Maurisz Smit
Lijsbeth Jans Bogarts	Dirck Strijcker
Jan Jansz Brouwer	Jacob Stevensz
Jan Takes Bruijn	D'Advocaet Storm
Marcus Van Valcken Burgh	Lourensz Pietersz Swijs
Abraham Willemsz Cool	Reijnier Van Buren
Thomas Cuijper	Harman Van Der Pol
Phillip Denisz	Jan Van Dijck
Laurens De Groot	Gillis Vanden Bogaert
Philip Denisz	Egbert Van Hoorn
Martten De Meijer	Jan Jansz Van Loon
Abraham De Marees	Jan Prs. Van Nes
Jan De Pruijn	Adraen Jacobs Van Noordt
Jan De Witt	Kiliaen Van Rensselaer
Otto Douwes	Pouulus Van De Voort
Robbert Goese	Meijnitje Verplancken
Gerrit Gerritsz	Gerrit Vermeulen
Jan Heermansz	Jan Visscher
Wm. Claes Leijdecker	Erasmus Wesselsz
Anthonij Lodewijcxz	Jacob Claesz Wijncop

WINDMILLS OF NEW AMSTERDAM

(Continued from Page 8)

broadened expanse of virgin country. Manhattan's windmills became inadequate to compete with the many water-mills in other areas. Then, too, the farms on Manhattan were gradually being cut up into streets and building lots. New York felt the impact of the Revolutionary War, with consequent loss of foreign trade in flour, wheat, bread and meal, especially in the West Indies, in which the city had enjoyed a virtual monopoly since 1665.

New York's importance as milling center began to wane, because of competition elsewhere and the city's increasingly diversified industrial and commercial expansion. Early in the 19th century the milling capital shifted to Baltimore, whence it completed a circuitous route over the years through the middle west until coming to Buffalo, which city in western New York now enjoys this distinction.

While progress decreed their ultimate extinction, the windmills of Manhattan — crude as they were — helped make milling history. To review their story is to understand more fully the significant contribution of the colonial Dutch in the development of one of America's great industries.

(Concluded)

17th CENTURY SPELLING AND SPEECH

The diversity of 17th century spelling accounts for many still-observable variations in surnames and written speech. This came about from the fact that in those days, and particularly among the English, any spelling which fairly represented the sound of a word was considered correct. Family names of New Netherland colonists often changed in this manner, whereby, as an instance, de Beauvois became Debevoise. Curiously, and doubtless for historical reasons, word-sounds are totally unrelated to the spelling of many 20th century English surnames. For example: Marjoribanks, Dalziel, Ayscough, (pronounced Marshbanks, Dee-all, Askew).

Records of Early Dutch Voyages

THE PREHISTORY OF THE NEW NETHERLAND COMPANY: *Amsterdam Notarial Records of the first Dutch voyages to the Hudson*, by Dr. Simon Hart (City of Amsterdam Press, 1959).

Within the pages of this book is some of the most recently uncovered evidence of Dutch exploration and trading here during the early part of the 17th century. The author, Dr. Hart, is engaged, in his own words, in "research in the Amsterdam archives after documents regarding North America." This book, which reveals his work to date, is one of the most fascinating to have come from the scholarly community in the Netherlands in some years.

The material is wholly new, with the exception of four documents which previously appeared in *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, the monumental work of the late I. N. Phelps Stokes. Dr. Hart has made a total of 27 persons the subjects of brief biographical sketches in which he lists the notes found about each in the Amsterdam Notarial Records. And there are some well-known names among the group. For instance, Adriaen Block, Hendrick Christiaensen, Thijs Volckertsz Mossel, who "first arrived in the Hudson River . . . in the spring of 1613," and Jacob Jacobsz Eelkins, who was in the Albany area as early as 1613/14 with Christiaensen.

Although Dr. Hart starts his section on New Netherland with the statement that "the beginning of Dutch commercial relations with the territory specified as New Netherland and the Hudson River is obscure," he tells us more about the New Netherland Company, forerunner of the better-known Dutch West India Company, than has anyone else to date. He also identifies for the first time, the company of merchants who sponsored the famous series of voyages made by Adriaen Block to the Hudson River area and says, "undoubtedly, this Amsterdam company was the first established with the specific purpose of carrying on trade in the Hudson."

It should be stressed that the greater portion of Dr. Hart's book is devoted to source material in the form of notes rather than a completely connected narrative. But its value to scholars and students of America's colonial period, particularly those interested in the Dutch and their accomplishments, is immeasurable. And it has the added merit of having been translated into English, through the assistance of Dr. Rosalie L. Colie. A map showing the area of North America called New Netherland precedes the title page and helps the reader to follow more closely the places listed in the book.

[F.W.B.]