



Indigenous Histories in the Rijksmuseum: Material Culture and the Seventeenth-Century Fur Trade

• MARIAN LEECH* •

Broad-brimmed hats punctuate countless early modern European status portraits. These disruptive silhouettes are as commonplace in seventeenth-century Dutch paintings as are sumptuous black silks, Turkish carpets atop tables, filigree ruffs and crisp collars, fine foods and other luxuries. The galleries of the Rijksmuseum are replete with images of brimmed headwear of various girths and styles, in the colours black, brown and grey.¹ Of these, one hat-filled group portrait stands out: Rembrandt van Rijn's (1606-1669) *The Sampling Officials of the Amsterdam Drapers' Guild* (*De Staalmeesters*, fig. 1). The painting shows six men gathered around a table, before an open book. Their expressions and gestures give the viewer the feeling of having just interrupted an important discussion. Indoors and at work, all but one of the men wear hats, a common accessory and practice for wealthier individuals in this era.² At first glance, there is nothing explicitly global about the painting's subjects or their garb. Even the most astute observer could leave these seventeenth-century galleries with the impression that such broad-brimmed hats were distinctively Dutch, or at the very least, distinctively European.

However, when placed within its broader historical context, Rembrandt's group portrait provides a starting point

< Fig. 1
REMBRANDT
VAN RIJN, *The Sampling Officials of the Amsterdam Drapers' Guild*, 1662.
Oil on canvas,
191,5 x 279 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-C-6;
on loan from the
City of Amsterdam.

that complements recent efforts by Rijksmuseum curators to confront imperial histories within the museum space. The painting links consumer tastes in the Low Countries to Indigenous contexts in North America. The *staalmeesters* in Rembrandt's painting, like many of their well-to-do contemporaries, appear to be wearing hats made of felted beaver fur, the most expensive and visually striking hats in the seventeenth century. As the Dutch colonist Adriaen van der Donck described it, beaver fur made 'the best hats that are worn ... by now well known throughout Europe'.³ His superlative, though suggesting novelty, belies a deeper story. As early as the medieval period, beaver hats were a fixture of the most elite Western European wardrobes. When fourteenth-century novelist Geoffrey Chaucer wrote of a merchant wearing a 'Flemish beaver hat' in *The Canterbury Tales*, he was likely emphasizing that this man was dressing above his station.⁴ Yet by the mid-sixteenth century, if not earlier, overhunting and the clearing of forests had driven the Eurasian beaver species, *Castor fiber*, to functional extinction in Western Europe.⁵ It was not until 1581 that North American beaver (*Castor canadensis*) pelts began to regularly appear in France; when Rembrandt made this portrait, North American pelts were commonly being sold on

Dutch markets.⁶ From 1609 onwards, the fur trade motivated Dutch colonial incursions in North America. It was also the primary financial incentive of the Geootrooieerde Westindische Compagnie (Dutch West India Company, WIC), formed in 1621.

North American pelts may have been easily integrated into pre-existing European economic and consumer networks, but cross-cultural exchanges with Indigenous peoples in what Dutch colonists called 'New Netherland' brought unforeseen cultural, political and ecological consequences. Inspired by the material-biographical approaches of Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff, many historians and anthropologists have focussed on the global dimensions of the colonial fur trade.⁷ However, more work is needed to explore the Indigenous political economies integral to exchange, as well as the socioeconomic and ecological factors that motivated the trade in the first place. For example, although Timothy Brook used the hat of a Dutchman depicted by the Dutch artist Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675) before a map of the Low Countries to analyse French imperial ambitions in North America, he downplayed both Indigenous material histories and Dutch contexts by doing so.⁸ To date, there has not been a comprehensive study linking the North American fur trade to actors in the Dutch Republic, including merchants, hatters and consumers, who were integral to this global economy.

Paintings of wide-brimmed hats in the Rijksmuseum's collection both open possibilities and reveal silences in the retelling of Dutch imperial history. These objects can be viewed as markers of what Ann Laura Stoler calls an 'occluded' history. Neither buried nor forgotten, the overarching links to imperial histories tend to be obfuscated based on selective retellings of the past.⁹ Although Dutch attempts to colonize North America spanned

a relatively brief period – roughly the lifetime of Rembrandt himself – this incursion was not an isolated moment of cross-cultural contact, but a consequential rupture that transformed Indigenous and Dutch histories alike. To interrogate these 'tangibilities of empire', this article retraces a global history of the fur trade, using materials from the Rijksmuseum and other collections in the United States and the Netherlands.¹⁰ By doing so, interconnections between Dutch and Indigenous histories become visible not at the periphery but at the core of the museum's seventeenth-century collections.

Castor fiber, Castor canadensis

The Rijksmuseum holds other pictorial records of the fur trade, forming part of the political and ecological history of the Low Countries. As one of the most densely populated regions in Europe by the early modern period, this landscape was transformed by energy transitions, from deforestation for wood-burning power to widespread flooding and draining for peat extraction.¹¹ The scarcity of beaver populations in the Low Countries is suggested in the writings of Dutch naturalists like Adriaen Coenen (1514-1587), who noted that 'beavers are unknown to us fishermen in Scheveningen, but they can be found in the Nordic countries'.¹²

In Coenen's time, beaver hats were a rarity, only just starting to appear in French and Dutch markets.¹³ Beaver pelts have two layers of fur: a soft, woolly undercoat and a coarse guard hair topcoat. The first step in the process of transforming pelts into hats required that the guard hairs be removed before using the undercoat to make felt. The Rijksmuseum holds a handful of prints depicting hatters in their workshops, such as Casper Luyken's print of hatmakers manually compressing fibres to create a batt of fabric (fig. 2). Hatters then placed this felt onto wooden forms and shaped it into a hat, sometimes adding stiffening



Fig. 2
CASPAR LUYKEN
after JAN LUYKEN,
De Hoedemaaker,
from the series
*Het Menselyk
Bedryf*, 1694.
Etching, 140 x 79 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-44.514.

agents like gum arabic to help maintain the brim's structure.¹⁴ Barbed at the root, the beaver's undercoat fibres respond especially well to this process, producing a felt with a texture supple yet sturdy enough to support a wide, durable brim.¹⁵

While beaver populations declined precipitously in Western Europe, the North American beaver thrived across most of the continent prior to the colonial fur trade. These two species look very similar, inhabit similar environments and fulfil similar ecological functions, but have markedly different histories of human interactions.

Although Indigenous artisans also made garments from furbearing animals, they did not historically over-exploit these populations.¹⁶ European merchants eager to find new sources of fur turned the shared biological traits of the North American beaver and its distant Eurasian relative into an opportunity for profit.

The Fur Trade's Political Economy

The political economy of the seventeenth-century fur trade was complex, arising from Indigenous and European conceptions of ecological materials and environments, including pelts, shells and land. Central to cross-cultural exchanges in the Munsee, Lenape, Mahican and Haudenosaunee homelands were two Indigenous ecological materials: beaver pelts, and shell beads called wampum. Munsee and Lenape oral traditions recorded in the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries emphasize the great value the earliest Dutch traders placed on animal skins, their primary object of exchange. One often-retold account recalls how Munsee and Lenape people laid out thousands of animal skins along the shore as 'a sign of welcome' to the first Europeans, who 'admired the furs so much they would not step on them'.¹⁷

Wampum, in Dutch sources called *sewant* (from the Munsee word *sé-wan*, meaning 'scattered' or 'it's scattered about'), refers to carved shell beads of diplomatic and ceremonial value traditionally crafted by Indigenous makers around Long Island Sound.¹⁸ Although European iron implements helped facilitate its production, wampum was not a colonial product – it has a deeply rooted history among north-eastern Indigenous nations.¹⁹ Wampum semiotics uses a binary colour system: white beads (historically made from the inner column of whelk shells such as *Busycon carica*), signify 'peace, friendship, good will', while dark purple beads (made from the outer

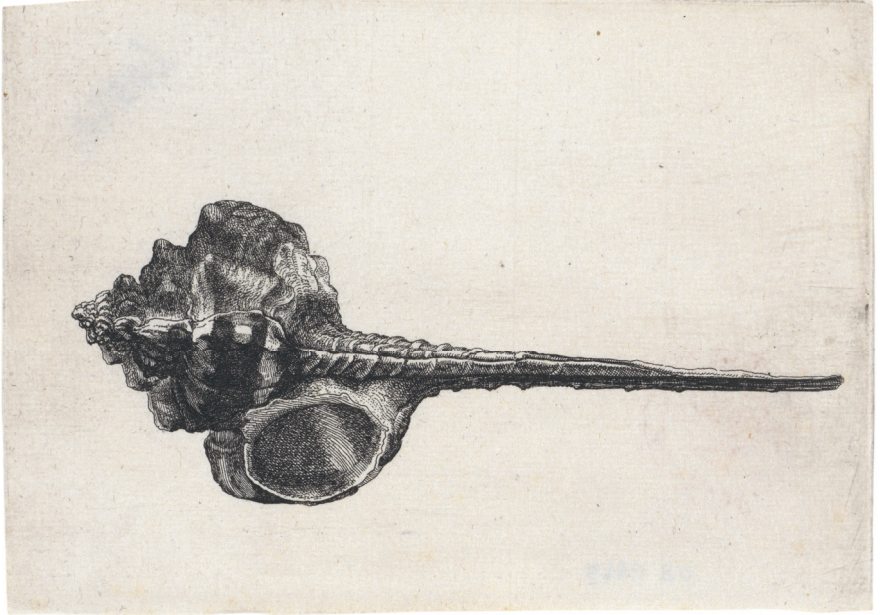


Fig. 3

WENCESLAUS
HOLLAR, *Shell*,
Murex haustellum,
1644-52.
Etching, 97 x 137 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-II.667.

hinges of quahog shells, *Mercenaria mercenaria*) convey complexity, uncertainty, possible hostility or loss.²⁰ These meanings were socially constructed and variable, both literal and symbolic, and encompassed aesthetic, spiritual and political dimensions.

As newcomers, Dutch colonists were dependent upon Indigenous patterns of exchange and diplomacy. Many Native leaders, seeking opportunities to form political alliances and obtain access to useful goods, were initially welcoming towards Europeans. When Munsee people near present-day New Jersey and lower New York offered strings of wampum to early European travellers, these gestures were interpreted as gifts and acts of kindness. One crewman on Henry Hudson's 1609 voyage (sponsored by the Dutch East India Company) described how 'loving' Native people greeted Hudson with 'stropes of Beades'.²¹ In the sixteen twenties, Dutch fur-trading merchants, recognizing the desirability of shell beads among Indigenous traders, appropriated large quantities of wampum from Indigenous communities around Long Island Sound. In turn, the same

traders exchanged these beads for furs from Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) people further north on the Hudson River near present-day Albany.²² In doing so, Dutch traders intruded upon Indigenous exchange networks that long predated Europeans.

Europeans often viewed wampum as a form of Indigenous currency or jewellery, comparing purple beads to gold and white beads to silver.²³ WIC officials described wampum as 'the source and the mother of the beaver trade', noting that no furs could be obtained from Native traders without offering wampum in return.²⁴ Because coins were scarce in New Netherland, colonists used both wampum and beaver skins as commodity currencies, with values given in approximation of the Dutch guilder.²⁵ When a Native *sachem* (chief) learned the value of the Dutch *rijksdaalder* coin 'he laughed exceedingly', calling Europeans 'fools to value a piece of iron so highly; and if he had such money, he would throw it into the river'.²⁶

In this world of colliding meanings and beliefs, Indigenous Munsee and Haudenosaunee leaders began to accom-

moderate Dutch value systems by offering beaver pelts in instances where wampum was traditionally exchanged. For example, in 1659, a Mohawk delegate presented two beaver pelts to Dutch colonial magistrates, after stating that 'the Dutch say we are brothers and that we are joined together with chains, but that lasts only as long as we have beavers. After that we are no longer thought of'.²⁷ Over the course of his diplomatic address, he presented the Dutch with three 'string(s) of sewant', eighteen beavers and two 'coat(s) of beaver' on behalf of his community.²⁸

Seventeenth-century European artists and collectors drew inspiration from shells gathered around the world, an impulse that scholars have aptly termed 'conchophilia' (fig. 3). Underwriting this tradition were darker marine legacies, such as the WIC's mobilization of cowrie shells in the West African slave trade.²⁹ In North America, wampum's centrality to the fur trade represents the complexity of cross-cultural entanglements in this age of global imperialism. The WIC capitalized on the manifold associations Native northeasterners

had with shell beads, without fully understanding the nuances of Indigenous culture. These objects of exchange, dismissively called 'trifles' by some Europeans, activated 'Native ideational, social, exchange, and mortuary value systems'.³⁰ A similar argument could be made regarding colonists' fascination with beaver pelts, which energized European patterns of exchange and consumption, especially the custom of displaying status through dress (fig. 4).

For Europeans, North American furs were a material manifestation of the wealth that represented empire. Dutch colonists were not only engaged in trading, they also claimed Indigenous homelands as a possession they called 'New Netherland'.³¹ Pieter Goos's map of Lenape and Munsee homelands represents the dual imperial impulses of extracting furs and claiming land (fig. 5). The map's cartouche, laden with furry, lifeless animals, embodies Van der Donck's assertion that the beaver was the main 'foundation' (*grontsteen*) enabling Europeans to take possession of North America.³²

Fig. 4
WENCESLAUS
HOLLAR, *Still Life
with Accessories*,
1647.
Etching,
109 x 203 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-II.583.





Fig. 5
PIETER GOOS,
Paskaerte Van de Zuydt en Noordt Rivier in Nieu Nederland Streckende van Cabo Hinloopen tot rechkwach, in De zee-atlas ofte water-wereld, de Zee-Spiegel Wed, 1676.
 Engraving.
 Amsterdam, collection Het Scheepvaartmuseum/The National Maritime Museum, inv. no. s.1034 (17), map 036. Map of the South and North River in New Netherland.

Dutch possessory claims may have had relevance among other European powers, but Indigenous leaders on the ground did not willingly transfer large swathes of their ancestral lands to Europeans. Those Native leaders who granted colonists the right to use certain tracts of land – not to own them in perpetuity – did so on their own terms, usually expecting recurring gifts to confirm and renew these agreements. In one land transaction on Staten Island, for example, sachems demanded tools, weapons and textiles (including shirts, red cloth and duffel) ‘to be brought from Holland and delivered to us’.³³ In particular, Native people valued thick, broad cloths from places like Leiden, Kampen and Amsterdam (fig. 6).³⁴ Such proclivities add dimensionality to Rembrandt’s portrait of the *staalmeesters*, who in fact were purveyors of cloth production. Despite the reciprocal and diplomatic nature of these interactions, formalized through gift-giving and other rituals,

disputes over land often erupted into conflict, as colonists commonly interpreted gifts as payments that confirmed ownership. Colonial maps, such as Nicolaes Visscher’s map of New Netherland (fig. 7) in the Rijksmuseum

Fig. 6
CHRISTIAAN HAGEN
 after ARENT
ADRIAANSZON VAN ’S GRAVESANDE,
De Laken Hal, 1675.
 Etching and engraving,
 250 x 295 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-AO-10-22.
 One of several
 locations in the
 Dutch Republic
 where duffel cloth
 trade was regulated.





print collection, like colonial place names, projected an imagined idea of European ownership that was consistently undermined by Indigenous actors. The era of w1c occupation was marked by three successive wars with Indigenous Munsee communities who bore the brunt of Dutch territorial expansion.³⁵

Archival records provide further insight into what Munsee and Lenape people thought about European land-grabbing tactics. Lenape sachems from Passyunk (present-day Philadelphia) were ‘amazed’ that Swedish colonists, who had seized Lenape lands along the Delaware River, ‘wanted to prescribe the law to them, the original owners (*naturelle eijgenaers*)’.³⁶ A few decades

later, a Munsee man named Hans reflected upon the competing claims of Spanish, Swedish, Dutch and English colonists, stating that ‘since the country has been taken several times by the one and the other, the dispute is ended in regard to the right of ownership, as it is now a matter of conquest’.³⁷

North American Pelts in Europe and Abroad

For both Native and Dutch traders, beaver and wampum were valuable. But once w1c agents began shipping beaver skins overseas and integrating them into global markets, pelts began a material transformation so far removed from their original North American context that the end result

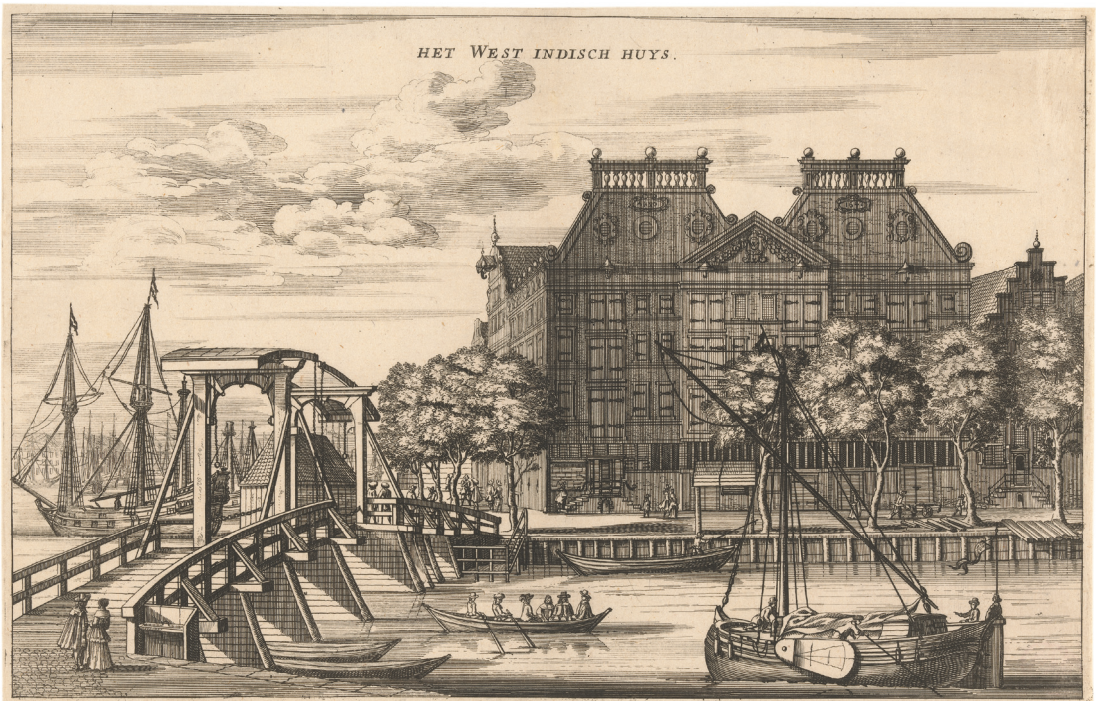
Fig. 7
NICOLAES VISSCHER,
*Novi Belgii novaeque
Angliae nec non
partis Virginiae
tabula*, 1684
(first state c. 1655).
Etching and
engraving,
472 x 557 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-2018-1179.
Map of the
North-East coast
of America, includ-
ing a view of Nieuw
Amsterdam.

bore almost no relation. Between 1624-35, the WIC exported over 80,000 beaver pelts from New Netherland; by 1655, generous estimations placed that figure at 80,000 pelts annually.³⁸ When colonists sent North American pelts to Amsterdam via official channels, skippers delivered their shipments to the WIC's *pakhuis* (warehouse), still standing today where the Oude Schans meets the river IJ (fig. 8). Amsterdam's chamber of WIC directors, a group called the Nine Men, moved their headquarters to this *pakhuis* as a cost-saving measure. With pelts, shells and other goods piled below, the Nine Men steered company officials towards war or peace with Indigenous nations in places few would ever visit themselves.³⁹

Dutch traders distinguished among beaver pelts of varying quality: *drieling(en)*, *summer skins*, *castor Muscovy* and *kot bever*.⁴⁰ Both *drieling* and *summer skins* referred to pelts of inferior quality. Russian-based manufacturers perfected a method for removing guard hairs from unprocessed pelts, aptly

termed *castor Muscovy*. Lastly, *kot bever* (sometimes *koot* or *coot*), a term resembling the word for high hat (*kot*) in the Southern Netherlands, likely referred to a superior quality beaver hair (*bever wol*).⁴¹ These pelts had been previously worn or otherwise used by Indigenous people; friction from wear and tear caused the guard hairs to break down, revealing the soft undercoat beneath. *Kot bever* pelts were especially valuable because they could be brought directly to hatters' workshops in Amsterdam.⁴² One colonist explained that worn pelts 'made dirty from sweat and greasiness, work well and yield good hats'.⁴³ Because pure beaver hats were about four times more expensive than felt hats made from other materials, hatmakers often incorporated cheaper sheep or rabbit fibres into the felt, yielding a 'demi-castor' or *halve kastoor* (*castor*) hat.⁴⁴ In 1621, Amsterdam felt hatmakers formed their own guild among hatters in the city. Importantly, those seeking entry to the *hoedemakersgild* were required to demonstrate their abil-

Fig. 8
JACOB VAN MEURS
(possibly), *West
Indis Huys*, 1663-64.
Etching and
engraving,
190 x 296 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-AO-25-67-2.
View of the West
Indian Warehouse
in Amsterdam,
from 1647 to 1674
headquarters
of the WIC.



ity to construct 'a felt half of fine wool and half of beaver'. The guild also placed restrictions on the growing influence of master hatmakers during this period, by limiting the number of helpers (*knechts*) each was allowed to employ.⁴⁵

Amsterdam-based traders who maintained relations in New Netherland sold North American beaver pelts to local hatters or found buyers to consign pelts to the Russian city Arkhangelsk on the White Sea.⁴⁶ There, the fur trade supported a sizeable enclave of Dutch merchants, their *pakhuisen* stocked with beaver pelts.⁴⁷ Russian artisans used the beaver's guard hairs to line their garments, while Western Europeans typically discarded them.⁴⁸ The Rijksmuseum holds two relevant prints by Aldert Meyer: one depicts two inhabitants of Arkhangelsk dressed in stereotypical raiment, including fur mantles and headgear, standing before the port city (fig. 9); another shows 'New Netherland' dress. In the latter, a seated man clad in furs and equipped with an Indigenous bow and arrows offers a furry animal (perhaps a beaver) to a woman in European clothing (fig. 10).⁴⁹

A fixture of consumer culture in the Low Countries, beaver hats were also presented as diplomatic gifts abroad. In 1643, Johan Maurits van Nassau, in his capacity as governor of Dutch Brazil, gifted beaver hats to both the king of Congo and the count of Sonho. In a portrait thought to have been made by Jasper Becx (active 1627-47), the king of Congo's emissary, Don Miguel de Castro, wears the gifts, including a beaver hat with a long pink plume and a silver and gold hat band (fig. 11).⁵⁰ While searching for minerals in Ciara in the Amazon, wic official Matthias Beck brought a beaver hat adorned with a white feather to present to the Tupinambá leader Amunijupitanga, hoping the gift would incentivize him to reveal the mine's actual location.⁵¹ These gifts exemplify the high value



placed on beaver hats and the wide reach of this global trade.

Entangled Adornments: Shell Beads and Beaver Hats

Despite Amsterdam's significant history of imperialism, museumgoers and researchers visiting the Rijksmuseum are not necessarily expecting to see depictions of Indigenous people. Among the more than one million objects in its collection, however, one artefact does stand out: a 1645 etching of a Native North American (Munsee)

Figs. 9, 10
Attributed to
CAREL ALLARD after
ALDERT MEYER,
Archangel, and
Nieuw Amsterdam
at New York in the
series *Les Forces*
de l'Europe, Asie,
Afrique et Amerique,
1726.
Etching, 175 x 208 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. nos.
RP-P-OB-83.036-215,
RP-P-OB-83.036-260.



Fig. 11
 Attributed to
 JASPER BECX,
*Portrait of Don
 Miguel de Castro,
 Emissary of Congo*,
 c. 1643.
 Oil on panel,
 75 x 62 cm.
 Copenhagen,
 National Gallery
 of Denmark,
 inv. no. KMS7.

man (fig. 12) by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), a Bohemian artist then active in Antwerp as a *plaetsnyder* (printmaker).⁵² With the corners of his mouth slightly upturned, the young man depicted has partially shaved hair; a series of streaked, tattooed lines traverse his eyes and the bridge of his nose. Standing shirtless, he wears a necklace and earrings of cowrie shells, and a headband adorned with claw effigies likely carved from wampum shells.⁵³ When Rijksmuseum curators acquired this portrait, they presumably did so based on Hollar's merits as an artist, rather than as a means of recording Indigenous and Dutch entanglements.⁵⁴ Yet, by retracing records of exchange through the fur trade, these material connections can be laid bare.

The etching of a Munsee man is unique within Hollar's oeuvre and within the canon of early modern European art. In the first half of the

seventeenth century, European artists typically depicted North American Indigenous people as *tronies* (generalized, stylised characters) or reproduced earlier artists' works. Hollar's etching of a North American Indigenous woman, titled *Mulier ex Virginia* (*Woman from Virginia*, fig. 13), fits this dominant iconographical tradition: he copied the famous engravings by Theodoor de Bry, who in his turn copied John White's original illustrations.⁵⁵ Unlike the print of the Munsee man, the depiction of a Roanoke woman was not a stand-alone piece and probably belonged to a series known as 'Clothing of Women from Different Countries'.⁵⁶

Hollar's etching of a Munsee man, by contrast, is neither a *tronie* nor a reproduction of another artist's work, but an original composition that captures the likeness of a man Hollar actually saw in Europe. Textual elements at the top of the print refer to their encounter. On the left, Hollar described him as a twenty-three-year-old man from Virginia (*Americanus ex Virginia*).⁵⁷ As chronicler Nicolaes van Wassenauer noted, North America was often referred to as 'Virginia'.⁵⁸ On the right side of the print, the phrase 'W. Hollar ad vivum delin: et fecit 1645' indicates that Hollar drew this man from life and that this work was his original creation. Although not forming part of a series, the print displays compositional similarities to original portraits of African and Turkish sitters made by Hollar in 1645.⁵⁹

The Munsee man in Hollar's portrait may be identified as an individual originating from what is now southern New York or northern New Jersey, in written sources known only as 'een wilden Indiaen genaemt t' Jaques' (a 'savage' Indian named t' Jaques).⁶⁰ Jaques, or T'Jaques (perhaps a phonetic representation of his real Munsee name), was likely captured by WIC soldiers in 1644 during the Kieft's War. Not long after their attacks on Munsee

communities, Peter Cock and Peter Ebel transported T'Jaques to Amsterdam, intending to display him for money.⁶¹ An Amsterdam notary reminded the soldiers and their associate, Harmanus Meyer, that slavery was forbidden in the Seven Provinces. Additional research in Antwerp archives may perhaps further elucidate how T'Jaques made it to the Spanish Netherlands (where slavery was legal) and under what circumstances. It might also explain why he is wearing cowrie shells in Hollar's portrait, a marine ornament then undoubtedly familiar to enslaved Africans.

The connection between Hollar's portrait and the archival record is compelling and unique, but T'Jaques was not the first northeastern Indigenous person or even the first Munsee person to make the long, uncertain journey across the 'great waters' to the Low Countries.⁶² In 1614, two sons of a prominent Munsee sachem near Manhattan made the same trip with

Dutch navigators Adriaen Block and Hendrick Christiansen.⁶³ Over a century later, a Mohawk man known as Synecta was forcibly detained and subjected to paying spectators at the *Blaauw Jan*, an inn and tavern on Amsterdam's Kloveniersburgwal (fig. 14).⁶⁴ Paper records of other North American Indigenous people who may have shared similar experiences in the Low Countries remain lost or are yet to be discovered. According to oral traditions of some descendant communities across the United States and Canada, Dutch colonists abducted and enslaved countless numbers of their Munsee and Lenape ancestors in the early seventeenth century.⁶⁵

It remains difficult to separate T'Jaques as an autonomous person from Hollar's portrait of him, a work produced in an imperial context. Scholars have conjectured about this young man's experiences, but even so, his life story cannot be adequately retraced within a one-sided European

Fig. 12

WENCESLAUS
HOLLAR, [*Unus*
Americanus ex
Virginia, 1645.
Etching, 110 x 78 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-II.592.

Fig. 13

WENCESLAUS
HOLLAR after
THEODOOR DE BRY
after JOHN WHITE,
Mulier ex Virginia,
1644.
Etching, 93 x 60 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-II.540.





Fig. 14
 A. SMIT after
 PIETER BARBIERS,
Een Wilde, Sychnecta
genaamt, van de
Mohawk uyt
Noord-America,
te zien geweest in
Blaauw Jan 1764.
 Etching,
 260 x 195 mm.
 Amsterdam
 City Archives,
 Collection Atlas
 Dreesmann (acc. no.
 10094), inv. no. 1.

archive. Much may never be known: his name, whether he was enslaved, his thoughts about European society, the circumstances of his death. Without dismissing such omissions, Hollar's portrait still holds possibilities. A twenty-three-year-old man – an individual, not a copy of a copy – calmly returns the viewer's gaze. His portrait stands as a powerful point of entry into the material world of Munsee people, on the same historical ground as Rembrandt's men with their wide-brimmed hats. The challenge is not to see depictions of these people and objects as windows to distant historical worlds, but to see them as active agents bound up in the interrelated complexities of Indigenous diplomacy and European dispossession.

Conclusion

For a brief period in the seventeenth century, at the height of the colonial fur trade, Dutch colonists were invested in engaging with Indigenous political worlds. This cross-cultural exchange can best be understood as an entanglement of Dutch and Indigenous orientations towards ecological materials, from the shell beads depicted in Hollar's portrait to the wide-brimmed hats in the status portraits of Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Vermeer and countless others.

The transformation of Indigenous ecological substances into commodities enabled an extractive economy that depended upon, yet ultimately devalued, Indigenous meanings. The Dutch intrusion into the fur trade and wampum diplomacy began to fracture the cohesion of these complexes, not only due to the trade's extractive nature, but because colonists saw Indigenous lands as a possession. Every year, the WIC exported tens of thousands of beaver pelts from New Netherland to Europe, setting off a process of transforming raw materials into elite status symbols that travelled as far as sub-Saharan Africa and the Amazon rainforest. A global network of merchants and shareholders, along with the government officials who backed them, stood to profit. Although these historic relationships are not foregrounded in the Rijksmuseum today, they were likely visible to seventeenth-century Europeans. In this sense, the entangled history of Dutch colonists and North American Indigenous nations is by no means absent from the museum – in fact, it remains ever-present in the seventeenth-century galleries. It is not a lost or erased history, but one to be retraced across the collections, archives and material cultures that still have more stories to tell.

ABSTRACT

At first glance, the Rijksmuseum collection seems to lack materials relating to seventeenth-century Indigenous and Dutch colonial history in 'New Netherland' (encompassing parts of present-day Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Connecticut). In 1614, the governing body of the Dutch Republic, the States General, claimed exclusive rights to trade in these Indigenous homelands. Dutch colonists, including the Dutch West India Company (formed 1621), were primarily interested in the fur trade. North American beaver pelts were a lucrative material transformed into a ubiquitous seventeenth-century status symbol: broad-brimmed hats. The colonial fur trade, shaped by and dependent upon Indigenous knowledge, was marked by the complexities of intercultural diplomacy and the disorientation and violence of settler colonialism. By combining prints and paintings, mostly held in the Rijksmuseum, with archival records, this article traces a global history of the New Netherland fur trade, contributing to new insights into Indigenous political economies, Dutch artisan and consumer cultures, and colonialism and its legacies.

NOTES

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- 1 Including Frans Hals, *A Militiaman Holding a Berkemeyer*, c. 1628-30 (inv. no. SK-A-135) and *Portrait of a Couple, probably Isaac Abrahamsz Massa and Beatrix van der Laen*, c. 1622 (inv. no. SK-A-133); Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Banquet at the Crossbowmen's Guild in Celebration of the Treaty of Münster*, 1648 (inv. no. SK-C-2) and *Militia Company of Captain Roelof Bicker and Lieutenant Jan Michielsz Blaeuw*, c. 1640-43 (inv. no. SK-C-375); Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Marten Soolmans*, 1634 (Rijksmuseum/Musée du Louvre, inv. no. SK-A-5033); Jan Havicksz Steen, *Adolf and Catharina Croeser*, 1655 (inv. no. SK-A-4981), among many others.
- 2 Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World*, London 2007, p. 26; Elizabeth McFadden, 'Fur Dress, Art, and Class Identity in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England and Holland', diss. Berkeley (University of California) 2019, p. 110.
- 3 'van hare Wolle maeckten de beste Hoeden dieder gedragen worden, Beevers of Castooren ... en nu ter tijdt door gheheel Europa genoeg bekent'. Adriaen van der Donck, *Beschryvinge van Nieuw Nederland*, Amsterdam: By Evert Nieuwenhof, boeck-verkooper woonende op't Ruslandt in't Schrijf-boeck, 1655, p. 84. See also Adriaen Van der Donck, *A Description*

of New Netherland, 1655, eds. Charles T. Gehring and William A. Starna, trans. Diederik Willem Goedhuys, Lincoln 2008, p. 118.

- 4 'a Flaundryssh bevere hat'. *The Canterbury Tales: A Selection*, ed. Robert Boenig and Andrew Taylor, Peterborough, Ontario 2013, General Prologue, l. 272; Lee Raye, 'The Forgotten Beasts in Medieval Britain: A Study of Extinct Fauna in Medieval Sources', diss. Cardiff (Cardiff University) 2016, pp. 206-07.
- 5 Sander Govaerts, 'Historical Presence of the Eurasian Beaver (Castor Fiber) in the IJssel River (the Netherlands) in 1450-1500', *Lutra* 65 (2022), no. 2, pp. 229-45; Katherine Acheson, 'Gesner, Topsell, and the Purposes of Pictures in Early Modern Natural Histories', in Michael Hunter (ed.), *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, Abingdon-Thames 2010, pp. 126-144, esp. p. 133; Robert Delort, *Le Commerce des fourrures en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1300-vers 1450)*, Rome 1978, p. 338.
- 6 Bernard Allaire, *Pelletteries, Manchons et Chapeaux de Castor: Les Fourrures Nord-américaines à Paris, 1500-1632*, Quebec 1999, p. 67. On the glut of beavers in global markets, see E.E. Rich, 'Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade', *The Economic History Review* 7 (1955), no. 3, pp. 307-28.
- 7 For a classic example, see Harold. A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, Toronto 1999 [1930]. For works following Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 64-91; see Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade, c. 1500-1820*,

- Cambridge 2018, especially the chapter 'Fabric and Furs: A New Framework of Global Consumption', pp. 30-86. For beaver hats as 'invisible globalized consumer goods', see Veronika Hyden-Hanscho, 'Invisible Globalization: French Hats in Habsburg Vienna, 1650-1750', *Journal of European Economic History* 45 (2016), no. 3, pp. 11-54, esp. p. 14.
- 8 Johannes Vermeer, *Officer and a Laughing Girl*, c. 1655-60, oil painting on canvas, 50.5 x 46 cm, New York, Frick Collection; see Brook 2007 (note 2), pp. 26-53, plate 11.
 - 9 Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities In Our Times*, Durham 2016.
 - 10 Ibid., p. 378.
 - 11 Jolanda De Jong and Sven Stremke, 'Evolution of Energy Landscapes: A Regional Case Study in the Western Netherlands', *Sustainability* 12 (2020), 4554 (DOI:10.3390/sui2114554), p. 7.
 - 12 'Deser bever of bevers en zij bij onse visars tot Screivennighe [sic] niet bekend maer soo ik bevinde word gevonden inde noordse landen'. Adriaen Coenen, *Visboeck*, 1579, The Hague, KB – National Library of the Netherlands, kw 78 E 54, fol. 130v.
 - 13 Allaire 1999 (note 6), p. 67; C.H. de Jonge, 'Bijdrage tot de kennis van de kleederdracht in de Nederlanden in de xvte eeuw, naar archivalische en litteraire gegevens en volgens de monumenten der beeldende kunst in chronologische ontwikkeling der afzonderlijke kledingstukken gerangschikt', *Oud Holland: Journal for Art of the Low Countries* 37 (1919), pp. 60-63.
 - 14 See also Jan Gillisz van Vliet, *Hoedenmaker*, 1635, etching, 210 x 162 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-103.715. On gum arabic from Senegambia in the hatting industry, see Hyden-Hanscho 2016 (note 7), p. 13.
 - 15 John F. Crean, 'Hats and the Fur Trade', *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* [Revue Canadienne d'Economie et de Science Politique 28 (1962), no. 3, pp. 373-86, esp. p. 375; McFadden 2019 (note 2), p. 103.
 - 16 Herbert C. Kraft, *The Lenape Indian Heritage: 10,000 B.C. to 2000 A.D.*, Elizabeth 2001; Nicolaes Van Wassenauer, 'Historisch Verhael, Ider ghedeck-weerdischste Geschiedenissen die hier en daer in Europa, etc, vorgevallen syn' (1622), in Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664*, New York 1909, pp. 76-77.
 - 17 'a sign of welcome', from a Lenape man named Captain Pipe who shared this story with Charles C. Trowbridge in Indiana, 1823-24, in John Bierhorst (ed.), *Mythology of the Lenape: Guide and Texts*, Tucson 1995, p. 33, see also pp. 74-75: 'admired the furs so much they would not step on them', in Chief Waubuno, *The Traditions of the Delawares*, London 1873, pp. 3-4, in Paul D. Boyd, *Settlers Along the Shores: Lenape Spatial Patterns in Coastal Monmouth County, 1600-1750*, diss. New Brunswick (Rutgers University) 2005, p. 420. A similar account was told by Delaware traditionalist Martha Ellis (1900-1982) in 1975-80, in Duane Kendall Hale (ed.), *Turtle Tales: Oral Traditions of the Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma*, Anadarko 1984, p. 9.
 - 18 Paul Otto, "'This is that which ... they call Wampum': Europeans Coming to Terms with Native Shell Beads", *Early American Studies* 15 (2017), no. 1, pp. 1-35, esp. p. 19. Variants of *zeewant*/*zewant* likely represent a pidgin word, adding 'zee', the Dutch word for sea.
 - 19 James D. Burggraf, 'Some Notes on the Manufacture of Wampum Prior to 1654', *American Antiquity* 4 (1938), no. 1, pp. 53-58.
 - 20 John B. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States* (Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. 12), 1881 [1819], p. 110; Margaret M. Bruchac, 'Broken Chains of Custody: Possessing, Dispossessing, and Repossessing Lost Wampum Belts', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 162 (2018), no. 1, pp. 56-105, esp. p. 68; William M. Beauchamp, 'Wampum and Shell Articles Used by the New York Indians', *Bulletin of the New York State Museum* 41 (1901), no. 8, pp. 321-480, esp. p. 328.
 - 21 Robert Juet, 'The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson, toward Nova' (1610) in Jameson 1909 (note 16), pp. 22-24.
 - 22 Paul Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley*, New York 2007; Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595-1674*, Leiden 2011, p. 121.
 - 23 See Remonstrance of the Deputies From New Netherland, 29 July 1649, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* (henceforth *Documents*, with variations in editors/translators and titles), 15 vols., vol. 1, Albany (Weed, Parsons & Co.) 1856, p. 282; Letter of Isaack de Rasière to Samuel Blommaert, 1628, in Jameson 1909 (note 16), p. 106; Wampum was 'in a manner, currency of the country', in *Documents* 1856 (present note), p. 86. On wampum as 'money' and comparisons to silver and gold,

- see Philadelphia PA, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Amandus Johnson Papers (MSS041A), Johan Printz's letter to Peer Brahe, 19 July 1644, box no. 55, folder no. 3; Johannes Megapolensis, *Een kort ontwerp van de Mahakvase Indiaenen, haer Landt, Tale, Statuere, Dracht, Godes-Dienst ende Magistrature*, 1644, in Jameson 1909 (note 16), p. 176; Peter Lindeström, *Geographia Americae: With an Account of the Delaware Indians Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654-1656*, ed. Amandus Johnson, Philadelphia Swedish Colonial Society, 1925 [1691], p. 229.
- 24 Albany NY, New York State Archives (henceforth US-NYSA), New Netherland Council, Dutch Colonial Administrative Correspondence, 1646-1664, series A1810, vol. 13, Letter of Stuyvesant to Directors, 23 April 1660; *Documents*, vol. 14, Albany (Weed, Parsons & Co.) 1883, p. 470.
 - 25 See, for example, bond of Sander Leendersen to reimburse Willem Turck in beavers for seawan, 8 September 1648, in *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1648-1660* (New York Historical Manuscript Series, vol. 3), trans. and ed. A.J.F. Van Laer, Baltimore 1974, p. 36.
 - 26 Megapolensis 1644 (note 23), p. 176.
 - 27 Extraordinary Session, Made by the Maquas [Mohawks], 6 September 1659, in Charles T. Gehring (ed. and trans.), *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*, Syracuse 1990, p. 453-54.
 - 28 Ibid. On 9 October 1658, a Munsee Esopus *sachem* presented WIC officials with a beaver skin sent by 'southern Indians', in *Documents*, vol. 13, Albany (Weed, Parsons & Co.) 1881, p. 95.
 - 29 Marisa Anne Bass, Anne Goldgar, Hanneke Grootenboer, and Claudia Swan, *Conchophilia: Shells, Art, and Curiosity in Early Modern Europe*, Princeton 2021, pp. 4-6.
 - 30 George R. Hamell, 'Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21 (1987), no. 4, pp. 72-94, esp. p. 73; Alexandra van Dongen (ed.), *One Man's Trash is Another Man's Treasure*, Rotterdam 1996.
 - 31 On New Netherland, see Jaap Jacobs, *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America*, Leiden 2005. On Dutch legal and possessory frameworks, see Benjamin Straumann, *Roman Law In the State of Nature: The Classical Foundations of Hugo Grotius' Natural Law*, Cambridge 2015; Edward Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics*, Cambridge 2002. On possession as rhetorical discourse for the WIC, see Patricia Seed, 'Sailing in the Wake of the Portuguese', in idem, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 149-78.
 - 32 'maer alsoo den Beever is den voornaemsten grontsteen en middel waerom of waer door dit schoone Landt met Menschen uyt Europa eerstelijc bezet werd't'. Van der Donck 1655 (note 3), p. 82.
 - 33 Indian Deed for Staten Island, 10 July 1657, in *Documents*, vol. 14, Albany (Weed, Parsons & Co.) 1883, p. 393. For more on Dutch-Munsee land relations, see Paul Otto, 'Real Estate or Political Sovereignty? The Dutch, Munsees, and the Purchase of Manhattan Island', in Albert and Julia Rosenblatt (eds.), *Opening Statements: Law, Jurisprudence, and the Legacy of Dutch New York*, Albany 2013, pp. 67-81; Robert S. Grumet, 'The Selling of Lenapehoking', *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 44 (1989), pp. 1-5.
 - 34 Amsterdam City Archives (henceforth NL-ASdsAA), Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (acc. no. 5075, henceforth NA), 121 Notary Pieter van Buijtene, inv. 2777, fols. 9-10, 1 April 1666. Susquehannock people traded beaver skins for duffel cloth, beads, hatchets, and other things according to a letter from Isaack de Rasière to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, 23 September 1626, see A.J.F. van Laer (ed. and trans.), *Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626*, in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino 1924, p. 192. Native people preferred cloth in 'blue and standard gray', rather than red, which 'hinders them in hunting', *ibid.*, p. 228. Van Laer notes that 'stael graeuw' likely referred to 'standard gray', a cloth that had been compared to the sample and officially stamped by the 'staalmeesters', see p. 275, note 28.
 - 35 For the first, second, and third Dutch-Munsee Wars, also known as Kieft's War (1643-44), the Peach War (1655), and the Esopus Wars (1659-60, 1663-64), see Otto 2007 (note 22).
 - 36 Letter to Director General Peter Stuyvesant, 24 April 1646, in Charles T. Gehring (trans. and ed.), *Delaware Papers: A Collection of Documents Pertaining to the Regulation of Affairs on the South River of New Netherland, 1648-1664*, Baltimore 1981, p. 10. Original in US-NYSA, New Netherland Council, Dutch Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1646-1664, series A1878, volume 18.

- 37 Jasper Danckaerts, *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts 1679-1689*, eds. Bartlett B. James and John. F. Jameson, New York 1913, p. 179.
- 38 Joannes De Laet, *Historie ofte laerlijck Verhael van de verrichtinghen der geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie*, Leiden: Bona-ventuer ende Abraham Elsevier, 1644, pp. 29-30; Van Der Donck 1655 (note 3), p. 83 (in English translation, p. 117); Jacobs 2005 (note 31), pp. 198-203.
- 39 Ernst Brinck saw 'een grote concha' [sic], (*concha*/conch) and other shells at the Oost Indisch Huijs in Amsterdam. Harderwijk, Noord-Veluws Archief (previously Streek-archivariaat Noordwest-Veluwe), Adversaria van Dr. Ernst Brinck, inv. no. 2059, 'Curieuse Observatien over sommige Visschen', fol. 82r. Also cited in Claudia Swan, 'Memory's Garden and Other Wondrous Excerpts: Ernst Brinck (1582-1649)', collector', *Kritische Berichte: Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 40 (2012), no. 3, pp. 5-19, esp. p. 19, note 38. For displays of goods at the Oost-Indisch Huis and the West-Indisch Huis, see Claudia Swan, *Rarities of These Lands: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Dutch Republic*, Princeton 2021, p. 16.
- 40 Van der Donck 1655 (note 3), p. 118.
- 41 A.J.F. Van Laer (trans. and ed.), *Correspondence of Jeremias van Rensselaer, 1651-1674*, Albany 1932, p. 32, note 60.
- 42 See Jeremias van Rensselaer letter to Anna van Rensselaer, 10 September 1657, in Van Laer 1932 (note 41), p. 62.
- 43 Van der Donck 1655 (note 3), p. 119.
- 44 Hyden-Hanscho 2016 (note 7), pp. 14, 24. See 'halve kastoor' hat in NL-ASDSAA, NA, 21 Notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 609 Inventaris ende specificatie van allen den goederen nagelaten bij Andries Joosten, n.p. (scan no. 446/560), 1 November 1653; 'een hoedt met beveren haer a 8 gl' and 'een spitse halve castoor a 9 gl' (fol. 171v), 'een ronde halve castoor hoet' (fol. 171r) in NL-ASDSAA, Archief van de Commissarissen van de Desolate Boedelkamer (acc. no. 5072), inv. no. 596 '2E' Registers van inventarissen van roerende goederen, meest meubelen en huisraad, soms koopwaar uit de winkel, beschreven op last van commissarissen. Met indexen op gefailleerden, 1643-1780: Inventory found in the Boedel of Govert Tobiasz Van den Wijngaert, fols. 169-173, 16 November 1668; I am indebted to Ruud Lambour for sharing this source with me.
- 45 'een vilt half van fijne wolle en half van bever'. NL-ASDSAA, Archief van de Gilden en het Brouwerscollege (acc. no. 366), 13 Hoedenmakersgilde, inv. no. 412 *Ordonnantien van de Hoedemakers*, Amsterdam: By Pieter van den Berge, Ordinaris Stads-Drukker op de Heylige Weg, in de Groene Berg, 1729, fol. 6. Hyden-Hanscho points out that greater demand for beaver hats 'catalyzed changes in the [European] labor market', in Hyden-Hanscho 2016 (note 7), p. 14.
- 46 See correspondence of Amsterdam-based Anna van Rensselaer and her son in New Netherland, in Van Laer 1932 (note 41).
- 47 'Albert van Breugel, koopman van Amsterdam ... verklaart op verzoek van Gillis Munnickx, dat deze in 1619 bij de grote brand te Archangel veel schade heeft geleden en dat zijn pakhuys, evenals dat van andere kooplieden, afgebrand is' in NL-ASDSAA, NA, 20 Notary Jacob Jansz. Westfrisijs, inv. no. 553B, fol. 1263-1264, esp. fol. 1263, 26 April 1633; NL-ASDSAA, NA, 95 Notary Adriaen Lock, inv. no. 2254 Jan Segers van Dort, merchant of Amsterdam, declares that he attended the 'jaarmarkt' in Amsterdam last year, where he saw a 'vadet met Bevers', belonging to his neighbour, Thomas van Bontwijk, fol. 399, 6 May 1678.
- 48 On Russian artisans using guard hairs to line women's garments, see Van der Donck 1655 (note 3), p. 84. On Dutch traders in Arkhangelsk, see Jan Willem Veluwenkamp, *Archangel: Nederlandse Ondernemers in Rusland 1550-1785*, Amsterdam 2000; Rich 1955 (note 6).
- 49 Printed in Carel Allard, *Orbis habitabilis oppida et vestitus, centenario numero complexa | Des bewoonde waerelds steden en dragten, in een honderd-getal begrepen*, Amsterdam (Carel Allard) c. 1685. The associations of bows and arrows with Indigenous Americans would have been obvious to Europeans. The woman's accessories are more obscure. See Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe: Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography Throughout the Ages*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 53-55.
- 50 Mariana de Campos Françaço, 'Global Connections: Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen's Collection of Curiosities', in Michel Van Groesen (ed.), *The Legacy of Dutch Brazil*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 105-23, esp. p. 113. Such adornments likely more than doubled the cost of the hat, see Allaire 1999 (note 6), p. 190.
- 51 'eenen swarten castoor hoedt met twee witte pluymen'. The Hague, Dutch National Archives, Inventaris van het archief van de Oude West-Indische Compagnie (Oude wic), 1621-1674 (acc. no. 1.05.01.01), inv. no. 77

- 'Journaal gehouden door Mattias Beck in Siara, van 20 maart tot 3 mei 1649', fol. 182v. I am indebted to Carolina Pereira De Queiroz Monteiro for sharing this source with me.
- 52 On Hollar as a *plaetsnyder* in Antwerp's Guild of St Luke records, 1644/45, see Anne Thackray, 'Wencelaus Hollar's Praemonstratensian Prints', in Andrea Bubenik and Anne Thackray (eds.), *Perspectives on Wenceslaus Hollar*, London 2016, pp. 91-116, esp. p. 91.
 - 53 Duane Eugene Esarey, 'Another Kind of Bead: A Forgotten Industry of the North American Colonial Period', diss. Chapel Hill (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) 2013, pp. 31-32. Esarey states that 'approximately 60 percent of the 200 known claw-shaped beads are made of purple Mercenaria shell', p. 206. For a seventeenth-century discussion of Munsee clothing and ornamentation, see Van der Donck 1955 (note 3), pp. 56-58 (translation pp. 78-81).
 - 54 Stephanie Archangel and Maria Holtrop, 'Black Women in the Rijksmuseum's Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Collection', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 72 (2024), no. 1, pp. 34-55, esp. p. 51.
 - 55 De Bry's engravings first appeared in Thomas Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, published in Frankfurt 1590, and were widely reproduced. Cf plates IIII and VI. On De Bry, see Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization*, Minneapolis 2008. On European representations of Indigenous people, see Maryanne Cline Horowitz and Louise Arizzoli (eds.), *Bodies and Maps: Early Modern Personifications of the Continents (Intersections, vol. 73)*, Leiden 2020; Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World*, Philadelphia 2015.
 - 56 Known as *Klederdracht van vrouwen uit verschillende landen*, *Theatrum Mulierum* and *Aula Veneris*.
 - 57 A Monnickendam sailor visited 'Virginia' (present-day New York) in 1615 and returned in search of 'onbekende havens en rivieren'. NL-ASDSAA, NA, 20 Notary Jacob Jansz. Westfrisijs, inv. no. 547A/304 Verklaring op Jacob Bens, verendsman, on behalf of Hendrick Eelkens, merchant in Amsterdam, 16 October 1620, fol. 304. See also George R. Hamell, 'Jaques: A Munsee from New Netherland, 1644', unpublished essay, Albany November 1996, pp. 1-67, esp. p. 6.
 - 58 Van Wassenauer 1622 (note 16), p. 67.
 - 59 *Portrait of a Turkish Man with a Moustache and a Turban* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-11.593); *Portrait of a Young Black Woman with a Cap* (inv. no. RP-P-OB-11.590); *Portrait of a Young Black Woman with a Lace Cap and Matching Collar* (inv. no. RP-P-OB-11.591); *Portrait of a Black Boy* (inv. no. RP-P-OB-11.589). Two of these five prints include explicit texts conveying that they were made in Antwerp. The portrait of a Turkish man includes the additional texts 'W. Hollar ad vivum deli Londini 1637' and 'et fecit Antwerpiae Anno 1645'. On the portraits of the African youths, see Archangel and Holtrop 2024 (note 54), p. 51; Hamell 1996 (note 58), p. 7.
 - 60 According to the notarial record, T'Jaques was given ('geschoncken') to the soldiers by the Governor of New Netherland (Willem Kieft), NL-ASDSAA, NA, inv. no. 1781, 74 Notary Pieter van Velsen, fol. 84v-85r, esp. fol. 84v, 3 September 1644.
 - 61 Hamell 1996 (note 57), pp. 8-9; Mark Ponte and Tom Van Der Molen, 'Een Lenape op de kermis', *Ons Amsterdam* (September 2025), pp. 42-43. On Indigenous Americans in Europe, see Christian F. Feest (ed.), *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, Lincoln 1987; Alden Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776*, New York 2006. See also Lodewijk Hulsman, 'Brazilian Indians in the Dutch Republic: The Remonstrances of Antonio Paraupaba to the States General in 1654 and 1656', *Itinerario* 29 (2005), no. 1, pp. 51-78.
 - 62 'Great waters' is the Lenape name for Atlantic Ocean, see Mark R. Harrington, *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape (Indian Notes and Monographs, 2nd series, vol. 19)*, New York 1921, p. 121.
 - 63 Andrew Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast*, New Haven 2015, p. 96; 'two sons' in Van Wassenauer 1622 (note 16), p. 78.
 - 64 George R. Hamell, 'Mohawks Abroad: The 1765 Amsterdam Etching of Synectia', in Feest 1987 (note 61), pp. 175-90; Ponte and Van der Molen 2025 (note 61).
 - 65 Representatives from the Nanticoke Lenape Nation, Ramapough Lenape Nation, and Eelūnaapéewi Lahkéewiit / Delaware Nation met with archivists at the Amsterdam City Archives in 2024 to address this history, research ongoing. See Leendert van der Valk, 'Degenen die van gedachten komen', *De Groene Amsterdammer*, no. 22 (29 May 2024).