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THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

DUTCH WALL

Northeast Region  
143 South Third Street  
Philadelphia, Penna. 19106

D6215

November 20, 1963

Memorandum

To: Superintendent, Statue of Liberty  
From: Acting Regional Chief, History and Archeology  
Subject: Research Study on Dutch Wall

We would just like to send a few words of congratulations to Mrs. Kroll regarding the fine study forwarded with your memorandum of October 21. It is an excellent piece of research and writing, and we know that Dr. Pitkin is indeed grateful for the extra "hand" with the heavy research load in your area.

*Signed*

Frank Barnes

cc:  
Dr. Pitkin, Federal Hall

FBarnes/ap

General ✓  
Daily  
Area  
Regional Historian

Statue of Liberty National Monument  
Liberty Island, New York, New York 10004

D6215

October 21, 1963

Memorandum

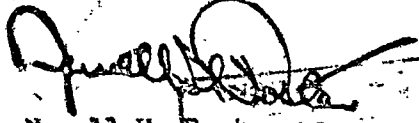
To: Director, Attn: Chief, Branch of Museums

From: Superintendent, Statue of Liberty

Subject: Research Study: "The Physical Characteristics of the Seventeenth Century Dutch Wall."

We are forwarding, with copies to the Historical Division and to the Regional Director, Northeast Region, the ribbon copy of a report completed by Mrs. Constance Kroll, Historian, Federal Hall National Memorial, entitled: "The Physical Characteristics of the Seventeenth Century Dutch Wall." This study should fulfill the basic research requirements for Exhibit #8 (The Wall) of the First Floor Exhibit Plan, Federal Hall.

Mrs. Kroll was hired some 15 months ago with the primary responsibility of performing public contact work. However, during periods when public visitation was slow, Mrs. Kroll devoted her time towards this research project. We believe that she has performed an excellent function in relieving the heavy research pressure in this area, and we are particularly grateful.

  
Newell H. Foster  
Superintendent

cc: w/encl.  
Historical Div., WASO  
Director, NE Region ✓

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
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THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF  
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
DUTCH WALL

by

Constance Kroll  
Historian - Federal Hall National Memorial

STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT

October 1963



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### WALL STREET IN 1653

(See the descriptive note in the List of Illustrations.)

F. T. Hill, The Story of a Street. Harper & Bros., New York, 1908  
Illustration opposite p. 14. Figure 1.

## THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DUTCH WALL

In the early months of 1653, the directors of the Dutch West India Company in Amsterdam, Holland, warned the Director-General of New Netherland, Peter Stuyvesant, of a possible war with England on account of a break in diplomatic relations between England and the States-General in The Netherlands. The directors in Holland advised particularly that Stuyvesant ". . . put the fortifications at New Amsterdam, Fort Orange and Fort Casimir in a good state of defense." <sup>1</sup> In connection with this dispatch, Director-General Stuyvesant, on March 13, 1653, called together the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam in a joint meeting with the provincial council to discuss the best means of fortifying the city of New Amsterdam. The assembled officials worked out three major plans which, in their opinion, upon completion would render the city defensible. The first two of these concerned organizing effective patrol guards and repairing and strengthening the already existing Fort Amsterdam, which, in 1653, was in a sadly dilapidated condition. The third proposal of the assembled municipal and provincial authorities is the subject of this report--namely this: ". . . to surround the greater part of the City with a high stockade and a small breastwork. . . ." <sup>2</sup>

This idea of a simple wall or stockade as a means of protection and defense from attackers may seem a bit primitive to those

living in the Twentieth Century "atomic-space-age." In order to get a fuller realization of what such a stockade could mean, it is necessary to go back in time--back to the middle of the Seventeenth Century. At that time, the southern end of Manhattan was much narrower than it is today. Its eastern boundary was Pearl Street, and Broadway, then De Heere Straet, was the westernmost street with, at the most, 500 feet of land separating it from the Hudson River, known to the Dutch as the North River.<sup>3</sup> The city of New Amsterdam itself comprised only a small area of land on the southern tip of Manhattan. Its size can be determined by the fact that the position of today's Wall Street formed a theoretical boundary. Although there were a few scattered farms north of this line, the inhabitants of New Amsterdam considered it a virtual wilderness.<sup>4</sup> The width of the island at this same point of Wall Street was approximately 180 rods, or less than one-half mile. Thus, the idea of surrounding the city on the land side was feasible in respect to amount of land coverage such a proposal would entail. In fact, less than 10 years before, Stuyvesant's predecessor, Director-General William Kieft, had supervised the erection of a similar, but more rudimentary barrier. This enclosure was built to serve a dual purpose--to protect the inhabitants of New Amsterdam from the Indians, and to keep cattle from straying beyond the safety of the settlement. It was along the line of this "cattle-guard" or "Kieft's Fence," as it was called, that Stuyvesant decided to build the stockade.<sup>5</sup>

The assembled burgomasters, schepens, and provincial councillors saw urgent reasons for erecting such a stockade. First of all, they stated that the fort, Fort Amsterdam, was too small to hold all the inhabitants. In time of an invasion, this fact would prove to be tragic and disastrous to the citizenry. A stockade surrounding the city would afford a greater and safer fortification behind which all could defend themselves and their possessions. This would include not only the inhabitants of New Amsterdam proper, but also those citizens living in scattered, outlying villages--these villages being deemed indefensible. In further support of its proposal, the joint meeting stated that enclosing New Amsterdam on the land side would have an advantage over maintaining Fort Amsterdam as the sole fortification of the city. In case of a land attack, a stockade would prevent entire devastation of the city by invading forces from the north on their way to the fort, which was located at the extreme southern tip of Manhattan. In fact, the burgomasters and schepens considered such an enclosing stockade so necessary to the effective fortification of New Amsterdam that on the following day, March 14, they asked Stuyvesant and the provincial authorities for permission to build the stockade prior to repairing the fort. Stuyvesant and the council answered immediately in the affirmative, saying that they "were pleased with these propositions," and "agreed that the city's fortifications should be first made properly."

With this approval in hand, a joint committee in charge of planning and erecting the fortifications was promptly formed. Representing the provincial council was Johannes La Montagne. Pieter Wolfersen van Couwenhoven and Willem Beeckman were elected by the city officials, the burgomasters and schepens, to represent them.<sup>8</sup> With almost amazing speed, this joint committee announced the following on March 15, 1653:

Notice. --The Committee, appointed by the Director General, Council, and Magistrates of this City will receive proposals for a certain piece of work to set off the City with palisades 12 to 13 feet long, by the rod. Any one, who wishes to undertake this work may come to the City Hall next Tuesday afternoon, hear the conditions and look over the work. Done, etc., March 15, 1653.

Let one tell it to another!<sup>9</sup>

The original specifications, worked out by the committee for the proposed stockade, are recorded March 17, 1653, in the city court minutes as follows:

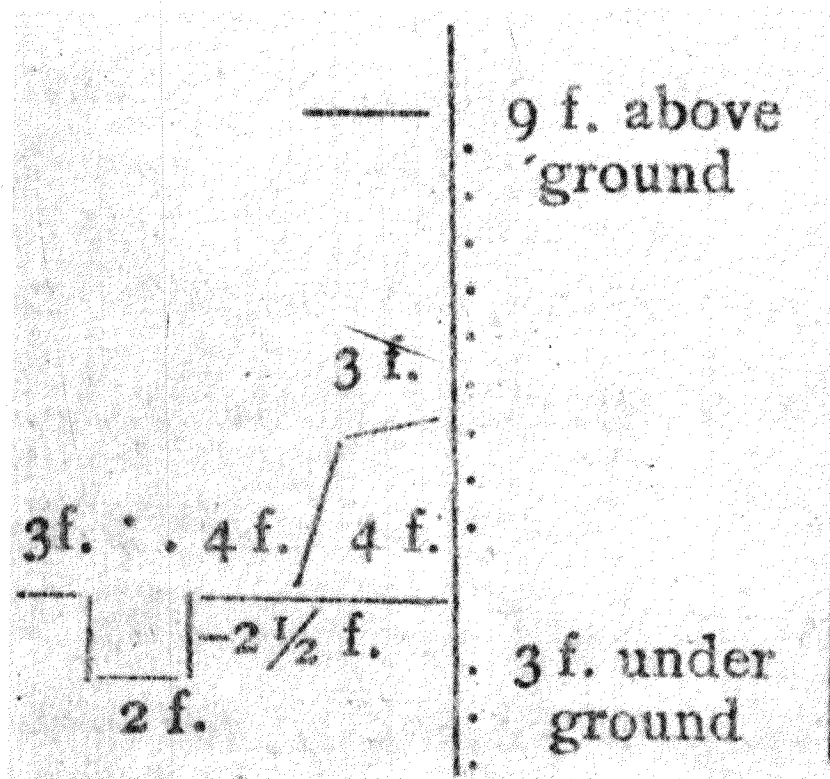
Conditions, under which the Committee will have the work done: The palisades must be 12 feet long, 18 inches in circumference, sharpened at the upper end and be set in line. At each rod, a post 21 inches in circumference is to be set, to which rails, split for this use shall be nailed one foot below the top. The breastwork against it shall be 4 feet high, 4 feet at the bottom and 3 feet at top, covered with sods, with a ditch 3 feet wide and 2 feet deep, 2½ feet within the breastwork. The length of the ground to be lined with palisades is 180 rods, the end of the rods being the last of the money. Payments will be made weekly in good wampum.<sup>10</sup>



The committee even went so far as to sketch a cross-section plan of the wall according to their specifications. This sketch is reproduced and included in this report.<sup>11</sup>

The wall itself, as has already been stated, was 180 rods in length. Its position on the Island of Manhattan is well-known. The wall ran along the approximate line of its namesake, the present Wall Street. In determining the exact position of the wall in relation to today's street, a deal of questionable ethics comes to light, and the cingel or parade plays an important role. The cingel was a strip of land, about 80 feet wide, running behind the wall on the town side for its entire length. It was used by the Dutch for troop maneuvers and drills.<sup>12</sup> During the decade of the eighties, the population had expanded so much that people were beginning to build their homes and acquire property beyond the line of the wall. The wall was no longer an effective fortification and had fallen into almost complete disrepair.<sup>13</sup> The cingel behind the wall was no longer used for troops, and it was decided to lay out a street in its place.

Logically, one would expect that the new street would have encompassed the same width as the old parade. However, through some tricky real estate maneuvers on the part of the English governor, Thomas Dongan, Wall Street was surveyed as being only



Cross-section sketch of the wall as proposed in March, 1653.

Taken from: B. Fernow, ed., The Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. I, p. 72.

Figure 2

36 feet wide, this survey being made December 16, 1685. The remaining strip of land, which was 44 feet wide, was surreptitiously tacked onto property Dongan had acquired through an agent two days before, lying north of the wall.<sup>14</sup> Thus, it can be seen that the 17th Century Dutch wall ran parallel to the present Wall Street, but was about 44 feet north of the north side of the street. In the summer of 1653, one might have described the position of the stockade on the Island of Manhattan as does Mrs. Van Rensselaer in History of the City of New York:

About 180 rods in length, it ran for a short distance along the East River shore and crossed the island above the end of the ditch or canal, present site of Broad Street, following the line of Kieft's fence a little to the north of the present line of Wall Street and cutting through the southern part of the old Damen Farm. The North River shore it left to the protection of a natural bluff which was levelled in much later times.<sup>15</sup>

There have been certain doubts raised as to whether the original specifications were explicitly complied with when the stockade or "wall" was actually built. For this reason it is best to delve into and investigate each integral part of the detailed directions separately, and then put the bits and pieces of information back together in order to reconstruct the wall as accurately as historical research, with its limitations, will allow.

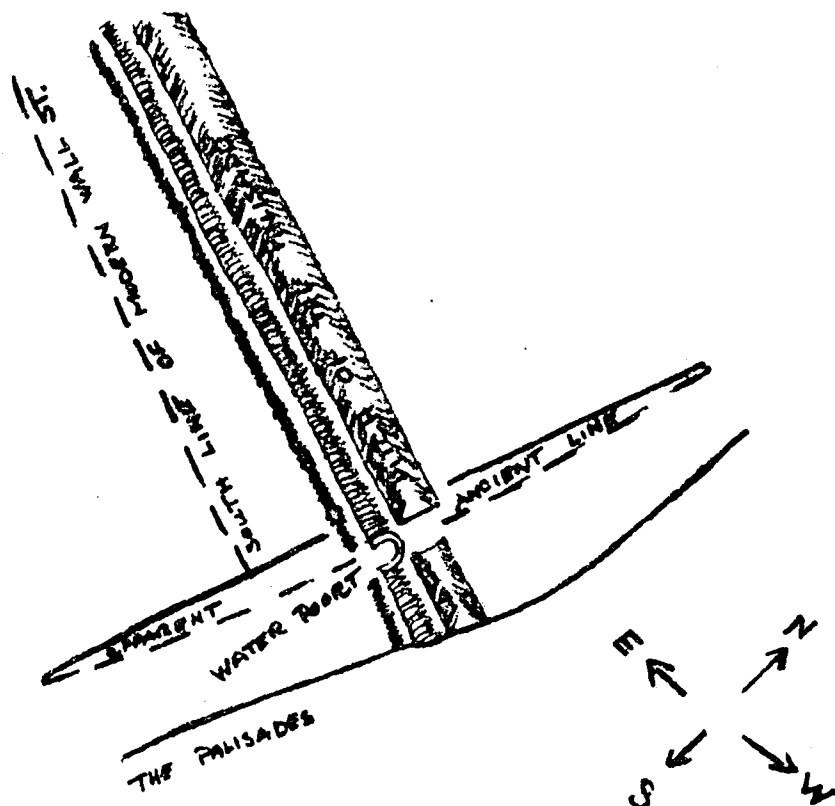
Working from the ground up, the question of the ditch and breastwork presents itself first. A breastwork, according to Webster's New International Dictionary, is "a defensive work of moderate height, hastily thrown up." The breastwork was placed directly behind the wall and adjoining it. Standing upon this elevation a man of average height was able to see over the top of the wall. Its main purpose was to provide a platform upon which the patrolling watch could keep a keen eye out for invaders.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, it probably served as an added support to the wall itself. The dimensions of the breastwork were, as already stated: 3 feet in from the wall across the top, 4 feet in from the wall across the bottom, and 4 feet in height. Undoubtedly, the breastwork was made, in part, of the dirt uncovered to build the ditch, and this earthen affair was covered with sods to insure its position during drenching rains.

The specifications place the ditch "within the breastwork," or on the town-side of the stockade. Its position was approximately 2½ feet in from the breastwork. The ditch was to be 2 feet deep and 3 feet wide. Its size and position convey the fact that the purpose of the ditch was not defensive. Instead, it was probably a drainage ditch.<sup>17</sup> The question has been raised by some historians as to the existence of another ditch, larger in size, and dug out on the northern side of the stockade for defensive purposes. Such

a ditch would have served as a kind of moat to make scaling the wall more difficult, or, as it was probably hoped by the Dutch, impossible. Although there is no mention of a ditch of this type in the original recorded specifications, on April 20, 1653, the council of New Netherland resolved that workers should "... begin immediately digging a ditch from the East river to the North Hudson river, 4 to 5 feet deep and 11 to 12 feet wide at the top sloping in a little towards the bottom." 18

This modifies and enlarges the original idea of the stockade. Furthermore, it makes good sense in defense strategy. Perhaps after applying more time and thought to the matter of fortifications, following the initial spurt of energetic enthusiasm, the council and committee decided an exterior ditch was necessary. Two maps or plans of New Amsterdam of that time have been found, the one by F. H. Innes being reproduced and included in this report. 19 Admittedly, there is not conclusive evidence to prove that there was, in addition to the drainage ditch, a larger, exterior ditch or moat. However, it is this writer's opinion that, in all probability, both ditches were dug and formed a part of the original stockade.

The next question concerns the materials and construction of the wall itself. Again, to return to the original specifications, the word "palisade" is found describing the material and the type of stockade planned. A palisade, as defined in Webster's New



PLAN OF NEW AMSTERDAM  
 from the Stadt Huys to the Town  
 Palisades A. D. 1655  
 Compiled from the Dutch and English  
 Records by J. H. Innes

Taken from: J. H. Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People, facing p. 240

Figure 3



International Dictionary, is a "fence of pales or stakes, as for defense," or a "long, strong stake, pointed at the top, a number of which are set in the ground vertically or obliquely in a close row as a means of defense." This description fits the plan that the committee proposed, as their specifications called for palisades that ". . . must be 12 feet long, 18 inches in circumference, sharpened at the upper end and . . . set in line." Each 12 foot palisade was to be stationed 3 feet under the surface of the earth. Thus, the exposed portion would be nine feet in height. There is some question as to whether these terms of the specifications were carried out, that is, whether the stockade was built of palisades, per se.

On March 18, 1653, the day appointed for letting the contract, several prospective bidders appeared. Almost immediately difficulties arose. Bids were offered ranging from 40 to 50 florins\* per rod of palisades. However, the committee, because of a stated lack of funds, saw fit to offer the work at only 25 florins per rod, no higher. Unfortunately, there were no bidders who would accept at so low a figure. The committee in charge of the fortifications retired to seek a solution to this deadlock. What was needed, of course, was a method of erecting the stockade with cheaper

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\* The gold monetary unit of The Netherlands, equal to 40.2 cents; also, a current silver coin of this value.

materials. The committee resolved to alter the original plan and "to set it off with planks," instead of the palisades. They found that planks "would cost only three to four thousand florins." The new specifications were as follows:

180 rods make 2340 feet, 15 feet to the plank make	
156 planks in length, 9 planks high, altogether 1404	
planks at 1½ fl., that is . . . . .	2106 fl.
340 posts cost . . . . .	340 fl.
nails . . . . .	100 fl.
for transport . . . . .	120 fl.
for setting them up and carpenters wages . . .	<u>500 fl.</u>

Total            3166 fl.<sup>20</sup>

The committee then communicated this revised scheme to Stuyvesant, asking for his advice and consent on the matter. As far as can be ascertained from the records, Stuyvesant never gave his approval in the matter. On the very next day, March 19, the committee advertised the conditions under which the contract would be let: "There must be furnished 300 oaken posts, 12 feet long, 20 inches in circumference in the middle, 300 split rails, 11 Dutch feet long, 3 to 4 inches thick." Further details were outlined as to the time and place of delivery. The records go on to say that an Englishman named Thomas Baxter won the contract ". . . to deliver all said posts and rails for 20 stivers for each post and rail together."

21

This is where the mystery of what the stockade was finally made of--planks or palisades--arises. Baxter's contract makes no

mention of planks, rather, simply posts and rails. The rails, according to the original specifications, were to be split rails and nailed horizontally "one foot below the top," for the entire length of the stockade. Also, "posts and rails" would seem to imply that the stockade was constructed, after all, of palisades. There is no evidence found that would indicate a separate contract let for the planks. Furthermore, references made to the stockade in the summer and fall of 1653 and subsequent years describe it always as the palisades. <sup>22</sup> This would lead one to conclude that this lateral fortification was, indeed, constructed of palisades.

Returning to the idea of planks, mention is made of them in the fall of 1655. At this time, on September 20, 1655, members of the provincial council met with the burgomasters and schepens and decided that the transinsular wall should be repaired and reinforced because of a murderous assault by some Indians on the citizenry of New Amsterdam. This conference unanimously resolved "that the works of the City be again repaired . . . with planks 5 @ 6 feet high, nailed to the sides of the Palisades." The records go on to say that this work was completed by September 28, 1655. On this date, the burgomasters wrote to the provincial council that the outer works had been "furnished with a curtain of planks <sup>23</sup> against an assault of the barbarous Indians." The above reference not only shows that planks were later used as a

temporary defense measure, but also that the stockade or wall was originally and initially erected of palisades.

The next question to arise is that of the existence and placement of artillery on the wall. It is not generally thought that any sort of guns or cannon were a part of the palisade built in 1653. However, there are several references to artillery placed on the wall that cannot readily be ignored. The first mention of such an idea came on April 20, 1653, a date on which several variations were injected into the original specifications for the stockade. On that date, the council of New Netherland among other things, ordered that workmen ". . . immediately begin to saw planks of four inches' thickness for gun carriages and platforms." <sup>24</sup>

There seems to be no further reference to this until the following year when the proximity of English warships again threatened the security of New Netherland, and New Amsterdam in particular. On June 8, 1654, Stuyvesant wrote to the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, urging them to rise to the occasion of a threatened invasion by repairing the "outer works" to insure the better defense of their city. He specifically warned them that because of their failure to adequately repair and reinforce the wall, their "own arms and cannon, planted last year 1653 on the outer works," along the present Wall Street, might be turned against the city in the hands of the enemy. Stuyvesant went on to

*Afbeeldinge van de Stadt Amsterdam in Nieuw-Neederlands.*



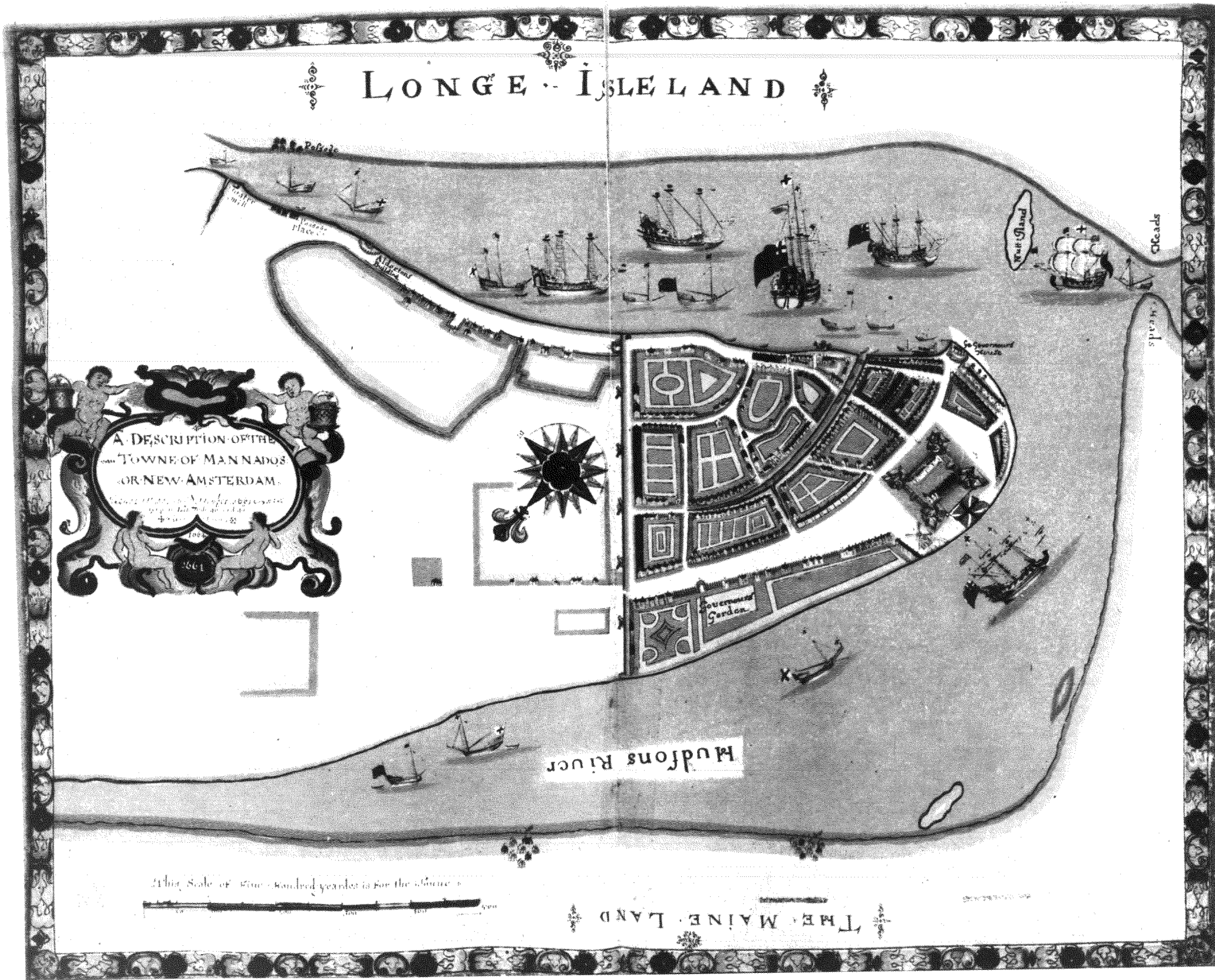
"The Castello Plan"

1660

Reproduced from the Stokes Collection  
in the New York Public Library

Figure 4





"The Duke's Plan"

1661

Reproduced from Stokes, Iconography,  
Vol. I, Pl. 10

Figure 5

say that as the cannon were a menace to the citizenry, the city officials ought to see to it that they be ". . . removed and brought back from there," and returned to the fort Fort Amsterdam.<sup>25</sup> This seems to imply that the original wall was equipped with some artillery, "arms and cannon," but, also, that these were removed about a year later.

Apparently there was no further attempt to install heavy guns and artillery on the wall until some time just prior to 1660. The "Castello Plan," which is a detailed map of New Amstordam depicted in the summer of 1660, and included in this report, indicates that<sup>26</sup> at that time there were six bastions along the wall. A written account, "A Description of the Towne of Mannadens in New Netherland, as it was in Sept: 1661," agrees with the "Castello Plan:" "The land side of the towne is from the Northwest corner unto the North E. gate 520 yards and lyeth neer N. W. and S. E. having six flankers at equal distance, in four of w<sup>ch</sup> are mounted 8 guns. . . ." The<sup>27</sup> "Duke's Plan," which was depicted in 1661, one year later than the<sup>28</sup> "Castello Plan," shows only five bastions. These were small bastions which projected from the main wall only far enough to<sup>29</sup> allow two guns to be mounted. Various researchers differ in their opinions of how many bastions were erected. Also, the year of their construction seems to be in dispute.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps in 1660 there were indeed six bastions along the wall, one of which, by 1661,

had been destroyed or had disappeared through simple disrepair.

This thesis does not take into account the discrepancy between the "Description," which mentions six flackers, and the "Duke's Plan," which shows only five bastions--both of these works being depicted in the same year, 1661.

In conclusion, the number must be left as arbitrary, this author merely stating that five or six bastions were erected prior to 1660. The exact date that they were built is another matter. No concrete answer has been found to this question. It is a fact, however, that in 1658 repairs and renovations to all fortifications in New Amsterdam were stepped up immensely. Activity in removing houses "within cannon shot" of the wall was intensified at this time.<sup>31</sup> This implies that cannon or other artillery were about to be placed there. It is quite possible that the erection of bastions on the transinsular wall was accomplished during this year.

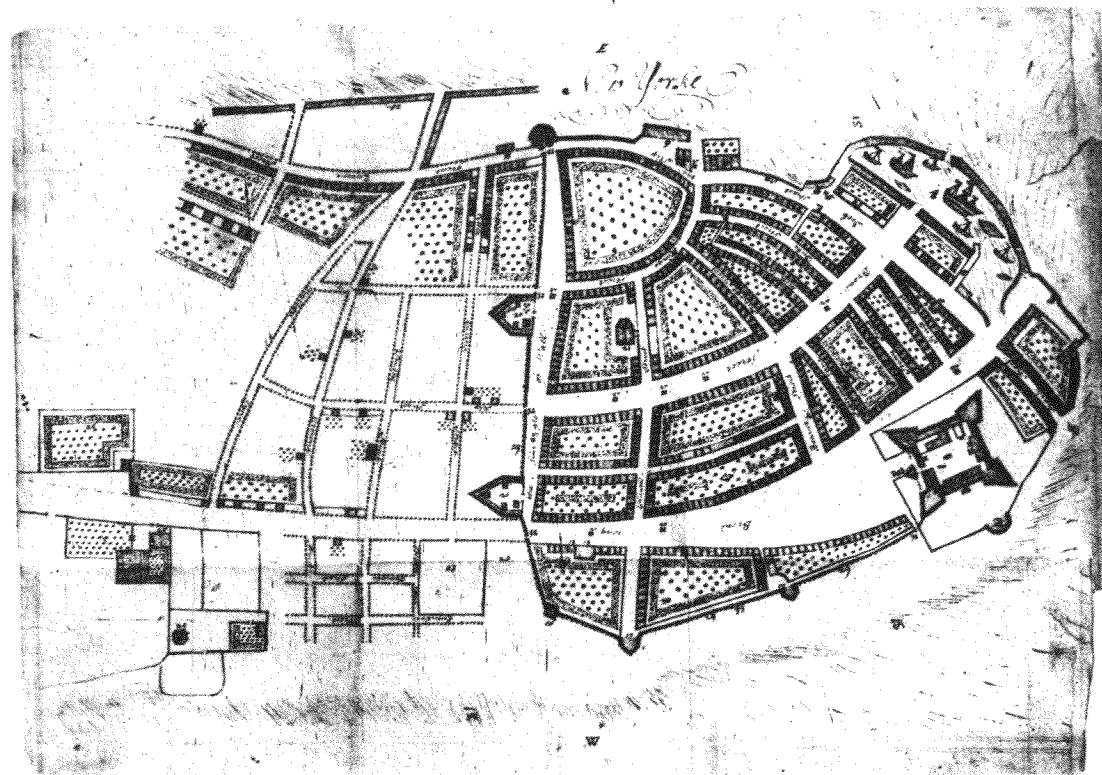
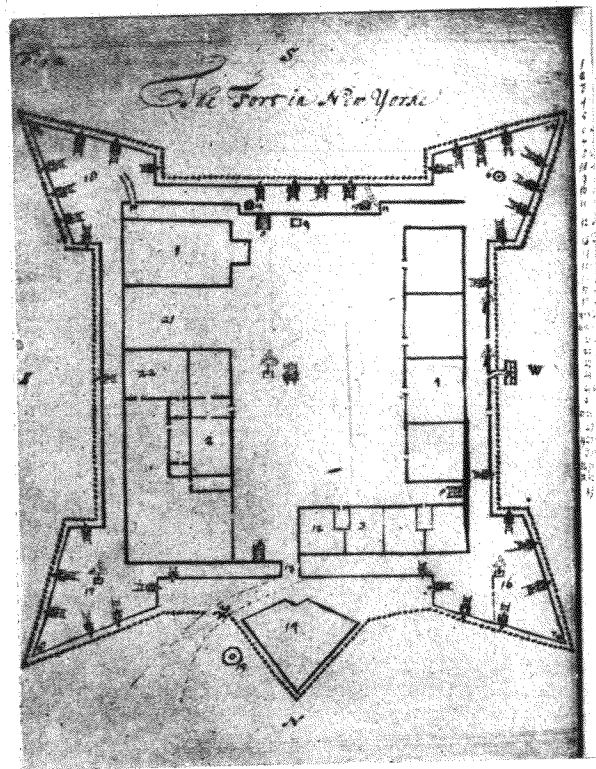
During the first interim of English rule, from 1664 to 1673, all but two of these bastions had disappeared, as shown on the "Nicoll's Map," depicted between 1664 and 1668.<sup>32</sup> The two remaining were, in 1688, referred to as the "Artillery Mount" and the "Land Gate Mount."<sup>33</sup> In later years they were also referred to as "ye Bastion Zelandia" and "ye Bastion Hollandia." These two bastions were located respectively at the corner of Wall and William Streets and at Wall Street, slightly east of Broadway.<sup>34</sup>

A later map, the "Miller Plan," depicted in 1695 and reproduced in this report, also shows two bastions.<sup>35</sup> Although occupying similar positions along the wall, they appear to be larger, more substantial structures than those shown on the "Nicoll's Map." They were so large, in fact, that in 1692, it was ordered that the guard house in Point Hollandia be made into a prison.<sup>36</sup> And, in 1696, a powder house was erected within the same bastion.<sup>37</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the bastions shown on the "Miller Plan" were erected. During the time of the Dutch recapture, 1673-1674, quantities of money and energy were expended in fortifying the city. Buildings were ordered removed from lots adjacent to the wall and the fort.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps they were constructed at this time. At any rate, while the date of erection remains somewhat a mystery, a contemporary description of the bastions does exist. From Rev. John Miller's own text comes the following account: ". . . On the North side are two large stone Points & therein about 8 Guns some mounted & some unmounted."<sup>39</sup>

Some years later the stone from these mounts played a part in opening up a new era on Wall Street. In 1699, the corner heading Broad Street on Wall Street was designated as the location for the building of a new City Hall. At this time, the wall and bastions had fallen victim to the ravages of time and wear.<sup>40</sup>

In a petition of the Common Council to Lieutenant-Governor John





"The Miller Plan"

1695

Reproduced from Stokes, Iconography,  
Vol. I, Pl. 23

Figure 6

Nanfan, on August 18, 1699, it was requested that ". . . the same fortifications [along Wall Street] may be demolished According to the powers and Authorities Intrusted with him and that the Stones of yd Sd Bastions with the Consent of the Owners thereof may be Appropriated to the Building the said Citty Hall . . . ." <sup>41</sup> Accordingly, on September 4, 1699, Governor Bellomont, in a letter to Col. Abraham de Peyster, stated: "I writ to my Cousin Nanfan last post To Let the City of N. York have ye Stones of the ole bastions or batteries To build their Town-house." <sup>42</sup> On September 7, 1699, an order was issued instructing that the two bastions on the wall be demolished. <sup>43</sup> Sometime between this date and September 20, 1699, the foundation of the new City Hall was laid. At a meeting of the Common Council on September 20, the mayor, Johannes de Peyster, issued a warrant to the treasurer to pay for expenses incurred in ". . . Laying ye foundation of the Citty Hall." <sup>44</sup>

In conclusion, while the records do not specifically say that the stones from the old bastions were used in the foundation of the new City Hall, the time element between the demolition of the former and the construction of the latter would lead one to believe the stones were used.

Taking up the question of gates in the wall, one encounters difficulty in ascertaining when such were built. That two gates did exist is an established fact. They appear on both the "Castello

Plan" and the "Duke's Plan." One was located at the junction of Wall and Pearl Street, and, because of its proximity to the East River, was called the Water Poort. The other gate was situated at Broadway and Wall Street and was named the Land Poort.<sup>45</sup> The two gates were constructed some time prior to or during 1658, because on January 15, 1658, the provincial government declared by ordinance that ". . . no Dwelling-houses" should "be built near or under the Walls or Gates" of the city. Also, the records show that the Land Poort was mentioned in a deed dated this year.<sup>46</sup> On May 25, 1658, the provincial council resolved that ". . . the city of New Amsterdam be enclosed with palisades having two or three openings or gates, in order to prevent smuggling."<sup>47</sup> However, going back to the year 1656, a similar proposal is found. At that time the burgomasters of the city found it necessary ". . . to raise up the fence; also a large and suitable gate [the water gate] according to the plan and design of Capt. Coninck [Fredrick de Koningh], and already begun to be fixed in the work. . . ." <sup>48</sup> Whether or not these improvements were ever instituted and brought to completion during this year is unknown. It was about this time that a bitter dispute between the burgomasters and schepens, representing the city, and the provincial council and Stuyvesant, arose. This controversy concerned the question of which authority, municipal or provincial, should control certain revenue collections. This resulted in a stalemate that was

resolved by the Directors of the West India Company in Holland, but not until two years later.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the financial dispute held up any major renovations in the wall until 1658.

While it has no bearing on the physical aspects of the stockade, the nature of the workers who built the wall and their term of duty is interesting to note. April 20, 1653, is the first date in the records that mentions or gives a clue as to who was going to do the actual manual work of building the stockade. On this day, the council of New Netherland resolved that the work should be begun by "all citizens without exception. . . ."<sup>50</sup> This proposal was further clarified and enacted into law on May 12, 1653, conjointly by Stuyvesant, the council, and the burgomasters and schepens as follows:

The edict provided for apportioning the physical labor on the works among the inhabitants by rotation in four divisions of three-day shifts, until completed, which it was believed would take two or three weeks. Persons in opposition or in default were to be fined for their first offense, to forfeit their burgherright for the second, and to be subjected to arbitrary punishment and banishment for the third offense. By inhabitants was meant 'Burghers, Merchants, Mechanics or the crews of ships, sloops in harbor or to come there.' Those who could not work themselves might provide a fit substitute.<sup>51</sup>

The work must have progressed fairly smoothly according to this plan, for it was completed by the first week in July. On July 28,

1653, Stayvesant reported to the burgomasters and schepens via letter that the city had been ". . . strengthened and secured by palisades" for the past three weeks.

# FOOTNOTES

1. I. N. Phelps Stokes, The Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498-1909 (Robert H. Dodd, New York, 1915), IV, 128, hereinafter cited as Stokes, Iconography, citing Berthold Fernow, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (Weed, Parsons & Company, Albany, 1883), XIV, 186, 207.
2. Berthold Fernow, ed., The Records of New Amsterdam (Knickerbocker Press, New York, 1897), I, Minutes of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens 1653-1655, 65-67, hereinafter cited as Records of New Amsterdam.
3. Stokes, Iconography, III, 944; Frederick Trevor Hill, The Story of a Street (Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, 1908), 8, hereinafter cited as Hill, Story of a Street.
4. Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909), I, 331, hereinafter cited as Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York.
5. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 101-102; Hill, Story of a Street, 4-6. There is an interesting illustration showing one artist's rendition of Kieft's cattle-guard opposite p. 6. Hill feels that this fence was formed ". . . of untrimmed trees felled at the edge of the adjoining forest and piled together to form a sort of barricade. . . ."
6. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 65-66.
7. Ibid., 67-68.
8. Ibid., 69. Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, in History of the City of New York, I, 333-335, puts forth the premise that Paulus Van der Grist (Grift) represented the burgomasters and schepens on this joint committee rather than Pieter Wolfersen (Wolphertsen) van Couwenhoven. At this time two delegates were chosen as agents to New England. Paulus Leendertsen vander Grift was named one of these designated agents. Perhaps this is where the confusion lies.
9. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 69; Hill, Story of a Street, 11.

10. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 72.
11. Ibid., 72. The sketch in this report has been enlarged from the original in the text. See Figure #2.
12. Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York, I, 457; Edward Haganan Hall, "The First Presbyterian Church of New York," Twenty-Second Annual Report of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society (J. B. Lyon Company, Albany, 1917), 594, hereinafter cited as Hall, Twenty-Second Annual Report, J. H. Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1902), 272, hereinafter cited as Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People. Also, Martha J. Lamb, Wall Street in History (Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1883), 14.
13. Hall, Twenty-Second Annual Report, 593; also, D. T. Valentine, Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1860 (McSpedon & Baker, Printers, New York, 1860), 531.
14. Hall, Twenty-Second Annual Report, 593-614; Stokes, Iconography, II, 337; Ibid., IV, 335-336; Hill, Story of a Street, 20-21; Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York, II, 336; also, O. G. Villard, The Early History of Wall Street, 1653-1789 (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1897), Vol. I of the Half Moon Series, ed. by Maud W. Goodwin, et al, 114.
15. Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York, I, 334; also, Hill, Story of a Street, 11-12.
16. Martha J. Lamb, History of the City of New York: Its Origin, Rise, and Progress (A. S. Barnes & Company, New York, 1877-1880), I, 164. Also, Records of New Amsterdam, I, 72, cited in Hall, Twenty-Second Annual Report, 593; D. T. Valentine, Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1859 (Charles W. Baker, Printer, New York, 1859), 551.
17. Hall, Twenty-Second Annual Report, 593.
18. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 138, citing B. Fernow, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (Weed, Parsons & Company, Albany, 1883), XIV, 201; D. T. Valentine, Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1862 (Edmund Jones & Company, Printers, New York, 1862), 520, cited in Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People, 272.

19. Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People, map facing p. 240, ("Plan of New Amsterdam from the Stadt Huys to the Town Palisades A. D. 1655, Compiled from the Dutch and English Records by J. H. Innes.") This map may also be found in the Map Division Room 312 at the New York Public Library. Also to be found in the Map Division Room at the New York Public Library is the "Chandler View of New Amsterdam or New York City in 1660," (Chandler Map Company, 1933). This map is a re-draft of the Jaque Cortelyou Plan found in Spain by Stokes. It shows the small ditch, which was roughly 2 feet behind the wall, to be on the south side of the wall. This map also shows, though not too clearly, a wide ditch lying some distance north of the wall and extending the full length of the wall. See Figure 3.
20. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 73; Hill, Story of a Street, 14; Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York, I, 334.
21. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 73.
22. Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People, 12, 272-273; Records of New Amsterdam, I, 112. This entry, dated September 1, 1653, records payment of 140 florins to Michael Paulussen for "fetching palisades for the City works," completed a few months prior to this date. Also, Ibid., IV, 90; Stokes, Iconography, IV, 155, entry as follows: "Certain persons having cut up and burned a number of the city's palisades, on account of cold weather, are let off by Stuyvesant and the council on condition that they cut and haul 100 palisades, in lieu of those they burned."
23. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 363, 365; Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York, I, 370. Also, Stokes, Iconography, IV, 161, citing a general missive from Director-General Stuyvesant to the directors in Amsterdam, on October 30, 1655, New Netherland Papers, No. 1222 (1), in the New York Public Library.
24. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 138, citing B. Fernow, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (Weed, Parsons & Company, Albany, 1883), XIV, 201.
25. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 209; Stokes, Iconography, IV, 150, citing B. Fernow, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (Weed, Parsons & Company, Albany, 1883), XIV, 272-273.



26. Stokes, Iconography, II, 214. The "Castello Plan" has been reproduced from the original in Stokes, Iconography, II, C. Pl. 82. See Figure 4.
27. "Description of the Towne of Mannadens in New Netherland, as it was in Sept: 1661," in John F. Jameson, ed., Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664 (Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York, 1909), 423.
28. The "Duke's Plan," included in this report is reproduced and taken from the map in Stokes, Iconography, I, Pl. 10. See Figure 5. There is also an interesting re-draft by George H. Moore of the New-York Historical Society in D. T. Valentine, Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1859 (Charles W. Baker, Printer, New York, 1859), 548. Moore is credited with discovering and naming the plan.
29. Hill, Story of a Street, 16; Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People, 273.
30. "Description of the Towne of Mannadens in New Netherland, as it was in Sept: 1661," in John F. Jameson, ed., Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664 (Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York, 1909), 423; Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People, 273, stating that there were five small bastions in 1661. Also, Hill, Story of a Street, 15-16. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 201, in a general entry for 1660, states that "prior to this year, the two great stone bastions of the wall . . . were erected, as they appear on the Castello Plan, C. Pl. 82, Vol. II." This is an error because the original "Castello Plan," reproduced in this report from Stokes, shows six bastions, as previously noted.
31. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 36-37; Innes, New Amsterdam and Its People, 269-270.
32. See the "Nicolls Map" in Stokes, Iconography, I, Pl. 10A. This map, which was depicted between 1664 and 1668, shows two bastions along the wall.
33. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 348; Hartha J. Lamb, Wall Street In History (Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1883), 23.
34. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 201, citing "Court of Lieutenancy" papers in the New-York Historical Society Collections, (1840) 403-406. Also, Ibid., 364; D. T. Valentine, Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1859 (Charles W. Baker, Printer, New York, 1859), 551.

35. Reproduced from the map in Stokes, Iconography, I, Pl. 23a, drawn by Rev. John Miller. See Figure 6.
36. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 375, citing "Records of the Court of Lieutenancy," in the New-York Historical Society Collections, (1880) 410.
37. Minutes of the Common Council of The City of New York: 1675-1776 (Published under the authority of the City of New York by Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1905), I, 412, hereinafter cited as Minutes: 1675-1776.
38. Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York, II, 111; Stokes, Iconography, IV, 168-169; Hill, Story of a Street, 21.
39. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 389, citing John Miller, New York Considered and Improved, 1695 (Published from the original manuscript in the British Museum, Cleveland, 1903, with introduction and notes by Victor H. Paltsits), 35-37.
40. Minutes: 1675-1776, II, 82.
41. Ibid., 82.
42. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 418, citing a manuscript letter with De Peyster Papers, preserved in the New-York Historical Society.
43. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 418.
44. Minutes: 1675-1776, II, 86.
45. "Nassau Street, New York, Tablet and History," in Twenty-First Annual Report of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society (J. B. Lyon Company, Albany, 1916), 129. Also, Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York, I, 333-335.
46. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 36-37; Stokes, Iconography, IV, 184-188, citing Liber Deeds, A: 130.
47. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 188, citing New Netherland Papers, No. 1222 (9), in the New York Public Library. In Records of New Amsterdam, VII, 190, there is an entry dated July 11, 1658, stating the burgomasters resolved "to set off the City with a wall."

48. Records of New Amsterdam, II, 29.
49. There is a record of these financial difficulties between the city and provincial authorities in Stokes, Iconography, IV, commencing in 1653 and continuing up to the advent of English rule in the fall of 1664.
50. B. Fernow, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (Weed, Parsons & Company, Albany, 1883), XIV, 201, cited in Stokes, Iconography, IV, 138.
51. Stokes, Iconography, IV, 139.
52. Records of New Amsterdam, I, 90.