

Supplemental References and Annotations for Rediscovering Paul Busti

PAOLO SEMENZA
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These notes follow the paragraph structure of the article.

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The total land area administered by Paul Busti was approximately 22,250 km² (8,600 square miles or 5.5 million acres). Lombardy has varied in area over time and is today 23,844 km².

Theophile Cazenove employed Alexander Hamilton and later Paul Busti interacted with him infrequently. Paul Busti dealt directly with Aaron Burr and disliked him.

There is no reference to Paul Busti in *The Routledge History of Italian Americans* edited by Connell and Pugliese, 2018. Also, no mention in Caso, Adolph. *They Too Made America Great*. 1978. Digital access: archive.org/details/theytoomadeameri00caso.

The Paolo Busti Cultural Foundation is based in Batavia, New York. It provides college scholarships to students interested in Italian American culture. The small city of Batavia was also founded under the administration of Busti and was the base of operation for the Holland Land Company in western New York. Busti contravened against naming the place on the bend of Tonawanda Creek Bustville and instead preferred reference to the Batavian Republic. That land office today serves as a museum (hollandlandoffice.com). An antecedent was The Busti Social and Athletic Club in Buffalo that sponsored events in Buffalo beginning in 1908, see *Buffalo Courier*, 22 March 1908, p 28; *Buffalo Illustrated Times*, February 6, 1910, p 33; April 24, 1910 p 34. In 1908 the leadership was listed as Charles C. Privitera (1882 Palermo-1971), Anthony C. Jillen, Daniel A. Senno (1890-1919), Joseph Bellanca (1885-1951), John L. Spero (1882-1934), Anthony J. Cortelli (1883 San Fele-1955), and Samuel Sciolino. The West Buffalo Busti Romans were a local amateur baseball team from about 1913-1918. There was also a Paul Busti Democratic Association in the 1920s promoting Italian women in politics in Buffalo and Erie County, see *The Buffalo Times*, 14 August 1926, p 16.

Paul Busti was the name form used by Busti in American documents and historical references. Elisabeth (May) Busti refers to herself as *Lise* and her husband as *Paul* in her letter to Françoise (May) Delprat. Philadelphia, 24 November 1797. *Paolo Busti* is a name form employed in the promotion of Busti as a cultural figure in America. Note that the baptismal form of his name was not *Paolo* but *Pauolo Ignatio Gerardo Maria Busti*. There is one known example of his use of the Latinate form *Paulus Busti* in an American document. Letter to Joseph Ellicott, 18 July 1810, published in Frank H. Severance. "The Holland Land Co. and Canal Construction in Western New York," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*,

vol. 14, (1910), p 19. In their marriage record, he signs as *Paulus Busti* and she as *Elisabeth May*, see Engelse Episcopaaals Kerk (Amsterdam), *Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials* (1698-1821), p. 75. Archive No. 5001, Inventory No.1.1, Folder No. 137A, Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/984c91c34b5aa4336ea796d456cf793a[image 38/54].

The 1920 Pilgrim parade in Buffalo, New York

There were a series of Tricentennial Mayflower celebration that year in the United States. The visiting dignitaries had just celebrated in Syracuse, New York before coming to Buffalo.

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The arrangements for the parade were published in *Buffalo Evening News*, 23 Sep 1920, p 2.

G. Hunter Bartlett (1856-1931), also referred to as Dr George Frederic Hunter Bartlett, was a graduate of Yale and the University of Buffalo Medical School. He was a businessman and did not practice medicine. Bartlett was a member of the Mayflower Society. See "Obituaries," *New York History*, vol. 13, no. 1, New York State Historical Association, 1932, pp. 90–98. Digital access: jstor.org/stable/24469730

Alice Mary Evans (1858-1936), Bartlett's wife, was the great-great-niece of Joseph Ellicott and the great-niece of William Peacock. See Charles W. Evans, *Biographical and Historical Accounts of the Fox, Ellicott, and Evans Families, and the Different Families Connected with Them*. 1882.

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The Buffalo Historical Society was organized in 1862 with Millard Fillmore as its first president. The Society later became the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society and is now the Buffalo History Museum (buffalohistory.org). In 1901 The Buffalo Historical Society moved into its new building designed by George Cary that had served as the New York State Building during the Pan-American Exhibition. The Holland Land Company papers of Joseph Ellicott were not turned over to the company as demanded by Paul Busti and instead were held by the Ellicott-Evans family. These papers were donated to the Buffalo Historical Society by Ellicott Evans in 1873.

The address by Ellicott Evans was published in "Reminiscences of Joseph Ellicott, Read before the Society, December 26, 1864." *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, vol 2, 1879, p 181-98. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4926390?urlappend=%3Bseq=217%3B

The Nativist prejudices of the Buffalo Historical Society were examined by Elizabeth M. Brick, *Shades of Grey: Nativism, Racism and Other Trends in the Writings of*

the Buffalo Historical Society. State University of New York at Oneonta, masters thesis, 1990.

The grudge of the “Big Family” is alluded to by Chazanof (205) but no specific exposition of this sentiment has been encountered. An anonymous anti-Busti sentiment was expressed in the *The Buffalo Times*, 28 March 1902, p 4. In this strange snippet, Joseph Ellicott (Poor Oom Joseph) is maligned by Paul Busti and the Dutch investors – the author is unknown.

Poor Oom Joseph, even in life his ungovernable temper was often his undoing and finally destroyed his mentality, but there is no doubt he was a good business man and thoroughly up to date. I remember when in 1800 he went East to placard New, York (then many weeks journey distant), with handbills reading, “Holland Company West Geneseo Lands,” and filled the town with eloquent descriptions of the virtues of his wares, with more or less success, but he was ever bickering with Paul Busti after he had worked poor old Cazenove out of his job and become his successor, and at last perished miserably in a mad-house in New York. Oh, me. Oom Joseph, such an end to such a life! And it came at last years later. He had undertaken the long journey through the wild country to the metropolis of the State, again intent on unloading big blocks of Indian-haunted and tomahawk-growing tracts to executors and widows and, on that trip, it first became apparent that his reason was unsettled, and he died a raving maniac in a New York asylum. He is perfectly sane down here, but mad at some one all the time and constantly getting into hot lava for infraction of the rules. His paper, “The Holocaust,” has not been the success he had hoped for it, and he hates me worse than ever because I get earth-leave and he is constantly denied it, and so he vents his spite on Busti and Cazenove and Van Staphorst, who are all down here, smoking church-warden pipes, and bragging about the Boers in South Africa, because they are of my own dear sturdy race and Oom Joseph is pro-British, and ineffectually rages.

Orasmus Turner used the term *Patroon* several times in his descriptions of various individuals in his history, including his description of Ellicott upon his demise. “Thus died the Patroon and founder of settlement, upon the Holland Purchase” (437). Turner’s descriptions were always within the larger understanding of the hierarchy of the Holland Land Company. Bartlett applied the term *Patroon* but warped the context of Ellicott’s powers.

The anti-Polish rant by Bartlett was more severe than the anti-Italian. The Polish American float portrayed “Engineer Stadnitski, the man who laid out the village of Buffalo” (42). Both not literal and figuratively an underestimation, Pieter Stadnitski (1735-1795) was an appropriate representative for Polish Americans in the parade. The laying out of Buffalo was part of a company effort, the most accurate description would be that Buffalo was founded by the Holland Land Company. As with the Italian-ness of Busti, Bartlett discounted the Polish-ness of Stadnitski, “He may or may not have been of remote Polish ancestry but he was a Hollander himself and had nothing whatever to do with originating the plan of Buffalo” (42). Stadnitski owned 23.2% of the Holland Land Company, whether in the field surveying, designing the plan, or approving the implementation, his

interest (and those of his estate) represented nearly one-quarter of all work. Bartlett returned to the subject two years later (1924, 90-6). His arguments continued on a Nativist tack. A novelty was his additional discounting of Stadnitski because his name did not appear in legal documents after 1798. Bartlett was ignorant that Stadnitski's interests had passed to his heirs – which in no way undercuts the essential role played by Stadnitski in the formation of the Holland Land Company. Today, Bartlett's arguments appear contrived, prejudiced and dim. For more on Stadnitski, see Kaminski, James Jan. "Pieter Stadnitski: America's Principal Broker and Land Developer." *Polish American Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, 1987, pp. 56–66. Digital access: jstor.org/stable/20148218.

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Paul Busti complained to Joseph Ellicott that Ellicott had failed to return Company documents. Paul Busti. Paul Busti. Letter to Joseph Ellicott, Philadelphia 15 March 1822.

Diminishing the role of Paul Busti can be unintentional by researchers. See for example, William Wykoff. *The Developer's Frontier: The Making of the Western New York Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988. This examination of the Holland Land Company's physical imprint on western New York focuses on Ellicott, its prime actor in the region. Unfortunately, again and again there is a lack of clarity in describing the decision-making process and of the external economics that resulted in the business decisions that then inscribed the land. The hierarchy of the organization is ignored and Busti is commonly subsumed within "The Dutch." This was not at all Wykoff's intent as communicated by email.

Ferdinando Magnani (1874-1934), also known as Ferdinand Magnani, identified his involvement with the Paolo Busti float in his 1926 article. Ferdinando Magnani was born 25 April 1874 in Faenza, Ravenna, Italy and died there during a return visit on 5 March 1934. He came to America in 1897 and in 1911 married Angela Zini, widow of John Bianchi. They had no children. He wrote several short biographies and journal articles about Paul Busti. He was an editor, worked in a bank, made translations, and taught Italian. He lectured in support of Italian fascism and Benito Mussolini at the University of Buffalo in 1931.

Il Corriere began with unstable financial backing that led to ownership by Sebastian Lughino and his sons. They were involved in private banking, law and politics tied to the Italian communities in Buffalo and Rochester, New York.

The D.A.R. lectures were almost certainly a reaction to Buffalo's 1901 Pan American Exhibition – the scene of the assassination of President William McKinley by a first-generation Polish American associated with an Italian anarchist. The assassin was an unrepentant anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, born in Michigan in 1873 and executed in 1901, forty-five days after the assassination of McKinley. His parents and elder siblings emigrated to the United States from a Polish area in Eastern Prussia about 1872. The anarchist movement was associated with Italian immigrants in America following the assassination of King Umberto I of Italy in

1900 by Gaetano Bresci, an Italian anarchist who had lived in the United States. Bresci had inspired Czolgosz to murder McKinley. For a notice about the D.A.R. lectures see *The Buffalo Enquirer*, 17 February 1904, p 9.

Giovanni Schiavo (1898-1982) appropriated Magnani's research about Busti and gave Magnani no credit (possibly for political reasons). Juliani (371-2) characterized these sort of biography as *hagiographic celebrations of filiopietism*. Digital access: onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/cms3.2000.16.issue-4/issuetoc

Paul Demund Evans (1892-1983) was the son of a Welsh immigrant and not related to the Ellicott-Evans family who were the "Big Family." Evans completed his M.A. at Cornell University, then served in France during WWI, and studied briefly at the Sorbonne. In 1919 he married Marthe Elise Malot, a native of France. Evans published at least one article in a French journal, "Deux Émigrés en Amérique: Tallyrand et Beaumez" *La Révolution Française: Revue Historique*, 1926, pp. 51-61. Evans returned to Cornell for his doctoral work under the guidance of Dr. Charles H. Hull where his language skills enabled him to evaluate the correspondence of Cazenove and Busti. Evans's doctoral thesis was published as *The Holland Land Company* by the Buffalo Historical Society. Evans later taught at Yale, Syracuse University, and the University of Vermont. Biographical information from the introduction by Barbara Henry to Evans, Paul D. *The Welsh of Oneida County, New York*. Cornell University, masters thesis, 1914. See sites.rootsweb.com/~nyunywh/upstatenywelsh/OneidaWelsh.pdf accessed 2021.10.15

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Frank H. Severance was the long-term Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society and editor of their publications. In general, his writings promoted Ellicott and dismissed Busti. Of special note was his response to a misprint published in *The Buffalo Evening News*, 7 May 1910, p 10.

He [Severance] says: "The clipping from today's NEWS, which I inclose, appears to state that Joseph Ellicott was Busti's employer. Not so. Busti was general agent for the Holland Land Company, with office in Philadelphia. Joseph Ellicott was one of the company's land agents and made his reports of sales and of other business for the company to Paul Busti. Neither employed the other, but Basti was the superior in the service."

The note of Secretary Severance must be held to settle the question.

Severance correctly stated the duties of Ellicott and Busti and then incorrectly described the hierarchy. Severance was familiar with the source material, would have been aware of Busti both hiring and accepting the demission of (firing) Ellicott, and read their two decades of correspondence. The take-away is that Severance knowingly engaged in misrepresentation. And, that his opinion mattered.

Orsamus Turner noted in his introduction that it was Lyman C. Draper who had gathered historical material from Philadelphia and Draper almost certainly sourced his biographical details from John Jacob Vanderkemp who was still living in Philadelphia. Turner planned to send one of the early printed copies of his book

to Vanderkemp, see Turner, Orsamus. Letter to Lyman C. Draper, Lockport, NY, 17 May 1850, p. 1. Lyman C. Draper manuscript collection, Wisconsin Historical Society.

The origins of Paul Busti

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The relevance of a documented origin for cultural figures is seen in the mislabeling of John Hanson (1721-1783) as a Swedish American. See Jones, John Everett “Cultural Identity and Paul Busti.” Jamestown Swedes blog, jamestownswedes.org/2021/08/cultural-identity-and-paul-busti.html accessed 2021.10.31. A similar cultural appropriation and mislabeling occurred with William Paca (1740-1799). Embarrassingly, Schiavo dedicated a full chapter to William Paca but provided only four paragraphs about Paolo Busti. See *Four Centuries of Italian American History*, p 307. Digital access: doi.org/10.1111/j.2050-411X.2000.tb00293.x Alfonso M. Ressa (1892-1960) also ventured a claim on Busti’s nephew John Charles Delprat as an Italian (Del Prato?), see “The Story of Paolo Busti” Ressa, Alphonso M. (1892-1960). “The Story of Paolo Busti,” [Part 1], OSIA News, Nov.1957, p 6.

The documents related to the Estate of Paul Busti are held by the Register of Wills of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania and not by the City of Philadelphia Archives. The office of the Register has of the City PLast Will and Testament of Paul Busti is held in the office of the City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, File ROW W-00871824. A copy of the Will and codicil is available online. Digital access: familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9B2-LJK6?i=451

The real estate appraisal is entitled *Dall’inventario Predisposto Dall’ing. Collegiato Di Milano Gaetano Ratti In Data 8 Maggio 1793 Per La Divisione Della Sostanza Stabile Dei Fratelli Busti* and is in the collection of a descendant of Cristoforo Busti.

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The correspondence detailing the payments from the Estate of Paolo Busti is in the collection of a descendant of Theresa Bignami *nata* Busti. These documents consist of these letters:

- T. Giubbiles (Vassalli bank). Letter “Srs Eredi di Paolo Busti” 12 February 1837;
- T. Giubbiles (Vassalli bank). Letter “Conto del Ss. Eredi di Paolo Busti” 2 January 1838;
- Francisco Pizzagalli (Vassalli bank). Letter “Ss. Eredi di Paolo Busti” 2 January 1838;
- Francisco Vassalli Ceruti (Vassalli bank). Letter “Busti Eredi” Pa” 21 January 1840.
- Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. Letter to Francisco Pizzagalli, 27 July 1841.
- Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. Letter “Busti Eredi di D. Paolo,” 14 July 1841.
- Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. Letter,” 3 February 1843.
- Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. Letter to Francisco Pizzagalli, 9 July 1843.
- Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. Letter, 10 July 1843.

Transcription of the Baptismal record of Paolo Busti. Duomo di Monza.
Libro dei battesimi, Vol. C (1749-1765), p. 15v Museo del Duomo di
 Monza, Monza, Italy.

BUSTI

Mille settecento quaranta nove addi quindici ottobre.

Pauolo Ignatio Gerardo Maria figlio del Sig[no]r Giulio Cesare Busti, e della
 Sig[no]ra Mariana Zappa legitimi Consorti abitanti presentemente
 sotto q[ues]ta nostra Cura di S[an] Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a, nato il giorno otto del
 cor[r]ente alle hore cinque, è statto battezzato da q[ues]to R[everendissi]mo
 Sig[no]r

Arciprete Giosepe Antonio Vicini il giorno sud[det]to, ed io infras[crit]to

Curato di suo ordine ho fatta la presente an[n]ottazione, è statto suo

Compadre il Molto R[everen]do Sig[no]r Can[oni]co di q[ues]ta Ins[ign]e
 Basilica Paulo Ignatio Busti fig[li]o del fù Sig[no]r Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Zio
 del sud[det]to

fanciullo con facoltà dal Arcivescoado di Milano, quale si conserva
 in filza, ed in fede etc. [etc.= del vero attestato]

Io P[re]te Antonio Maria Bareggio Coad[iuto]re Curato

Paolo Busti and Milan

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Giuseppe Zappa was identified as one of the principal bankers in Milan in 1765 and partner in the firm Zappa e Caldara. Giuseppe Zappa became a partner with Ignazio and Giambattista Caldara on 9 October 1745. The company “Giuseppe Zappa e Caldara” is listed as a bank in De Luca, Giuseppe, “Tra Reti e Istituzioni, Per Una Lettura Del Sistema Creditizio Milanese Nei primi Anni Dell’ottocento” Tra reti e istituzioni. Per una lettura del sistema creditizio milanese nei primi anni dell’Ottocento, in *Storia in Lombardia*, anno XXVII, n. 2, 2007, 13. Digital access: academia.edu/16134313.

For general information about the Zappa family see Veronesi, Victor. *La Collezione Longhi*. University of Milan, thesis, 2011, p 20-21. Digital access: academia.edu/40917710

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The career of Giulio Cesare Busti. G.C. Busti is identified as a partner in Vigorè & Busti. Archivio Storico Camera di Commercio di Milano. Registro delle Procure, Compimenti e Società a tutto il 1786, p. 181-185; Busti dissolved the firm in 1766, *ibid*, pp. 188-189.

Cristina de Notaris (1725-1798) was from Pallanza, a small city on Lake Maggiore. Giovanni Pietro de Notaris was likely her great uncle and Giovanna, his wife, was

also her godmother. Giovanni Pietro De Notaris was a lawyer and auditor of Banco di Sant' Ambrogio, the state bank of the Duchy of Milan.

The bank of Giulio Cesare Busti, Monte di Busti. Busti is noted to initially finance Monte Busti with capital of 500,000 lira. Gian Filippo De Sio, "Dalla filza notarile al credito feneratizio[?]. Il notaio Giuseppe Macchi di Gallarate (fine XVIII secolo)," *Rassegna gallaratese di storia e d'arte*, n. 133 (2013), p 55.

Bérenger, Jean. "La gestion de la dette publique par les Habsbourg dans l'Autriche du XVIIIe siècle". Béaur, Gérard, and[et?] Laure Quennouëlle-Corre. *Les crises de la dette publique: XVIIIe-XXIe siècle*. Paris, 2019, p 446. DOI: doi.org/10.4000/books.igpde.6216.

In Milan, Giulio Cesare Busti was the principal agent for the Genoese investors, represented by the Marquis Marcello Durazzo. The Brentani Cimaroli house in Genoa and Vienna was one of the pillars of the monarchy's external borrowing, like the Verbrugge & Goll house in the Netherlands. The Brentani had been in the service of the House of Austria since the turn of the century, and Domenico Brentani had opened a branch in Vienna during the Seven Years' War. The Genoese firm granted 86 loans between 1760 and 1792 for a total of 108 million pounds and [the Brentani] went bankrupt in 1794.

Monte Busti provided loans to Vienna. See Metrà, Andrea. *Il Mentore Perfetto De Negozianti, Ovvero Guida Sicura De' Medesimi, Ed Istruzione, Per Rendere Ad Essi Più Agevoli, E Meno Incerte Le Loro Speculazioni*. Vol. 4, Trieste, 1794, p 417. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433016870960

Metrà noted the connection of Monte Busti with the Empress Maria Teresa in a loan of 300,000 florins.

"599. Manuale. Imperatrice regina. 1765 (copertina). Giornale del prestito di fiorini 1.000.000 stipulato insieme con il banchiere Giulio Cesare Busti di Milano per mandato dell'imperatrice Maria Teresa (contratto del 9 maggio 1765), 10 maggio 1765 - 3 luglio 1775." Source: Archivio dei Durazzo, Marchesi di Gabiano. Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1981, p. 314.

"During the reign of Maria Theresa external borrowing became more frequent. The most important foreign financial centres were Amsterdam and Genoa." See Dickson, P G. M. *Finance and Credit Under Maria Theresia: 1740-1780*. (Vol 2.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, p 272-299 as cited by Rauscher, Peter. "Tax Systems, Debts and Loans: the Case of the Habsburg Monarchy (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)". Béguin, Katia, and Anne L Murphy. *State Cash Resources and State Building in Europe 13th-18th century*. Paris: Institut de la gestion publique et du développement économique, 2017. Digital Access: books.openedition.org/igpde/3878.

Giulio Cesare Busti had a close personal relationship with Giacomo Filippo Durazzo (1729-1812), eldest son of Marcello Durazzo, *Marchese di Gabiana* and Clelia Durazzo (1709-1782). The family was one of the wealthiest of Genoa in this era. Giacomo Filippo Durazzo and Giulio Cesare Busti's correspondence indicates a close, personal bond whose origins are not yet understood. See Puncuh, Dino. *I Manoscritti Della Raccolta Durazzo*. Genova, 1979; p. 12, n21 (59).

Giulio Cesare Busti as legal representative. See Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti dei Notai, Notaio Giovanni Battista Sirtori, cartella n. 46983.

Giulio Cesare Busti was involved in construction and real estate in the 1770-80s. He assembled a large portfolio of real estate before his death in Milan in 1786 at age sixty-eight. That portfolio was evaluated in the lengthy, leather-bound appraisal that served as one of the identifiers of Paul Busti's origins. See Bobbi Silvia. "Nascita della speculazione edilizia moderna e ruolo dei materiali da costruzione nella Milano riformista del secondo Settecento." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, tome 119, n°2. 2007. L'Economiede la construction dans l'Italie moderne. pp. 237. Digital access: doi.org/10.3406/mefr.2007.10357

Giulio Cesare Busti purchased a building on Contrada di Borgo Nuovo, today identified as Via Borgonuovo 21. This house was in what was then, and still is, one of the most prestigious addresses in Milan. In that neighborhood in the 1770s, the Palazzo Brera was taken over by the government in 1773 as part of the dissolution of the Jesuit order; in 1775 Piermarini completed work on the houses at via Borgonuovo 23, and Borgonuovo 4; and in 1776 Piermarini was appointed Chair of Architecture in the newly created Academy of Fine Arts at the Palazzo Brera where Piermarini from 1778-1795 was completing reformation of the buildings, garden and observatory. In July 1781 Busti was able to purchase a portion of the Brera Botanical Garden (behind his house) from the Government of Milan. Giulio Cesare Busti's last real estate deals required completion by his sons after his death in 1786 at age sixty-eight.

Domiciles of the Giulio Cesare Busti. Baptism, marriages, and clerical survey (status animarum) records place the family at first in the parish of Sant'Eusebio, then in the parish of San Protaso (1763-64), and then in the parish of San Giovanni alle 4 Facce (1764-1773). After his departure for Amsterdam, the family moved to a house on the Contrada Borgonuovo.

Records from San Protaso (a partial series of status animarum) from 1757-1763, show the Busti family living in an apartment in a house adjacent to Pasquaro delle Galline, a little square no longer existent, 50 m from via San Protaso and 300 m WNW from the cathedral. The house (No. 1698) was the property of Federico Bonvino and then of the Ospedale Maggiore.

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The education of Paolo Busti. He is listed as living outside his father's household at age 13 (Status animarum of San Protaso Parish, 1763, quarter of curato Mottana, house 34) and at college since the age of 8 (see previous Status books).

Liberal education was noted in his obituary published in several newspapers, including *The Batavia Advocate*, August 6, 1824, p. 3, the *Statesman* (New York, NY) 17 August 1824, p. 2, and the *American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 17 August 1824.

He was liberally educated – was endowed with an exalted mind, and observed human nature, with the scrutinizing eye of a philosopher. He was easy of access, polite, affable, courteous and condescending. From long experience and observation, the treasures of his mind became extensive. He possessed a refinement of manners – a comprehensive knowledge of things, and an intelligent spirit, which contributed to the delight of the learned, and the pleasures of social

intercourse. He spoke several of the European languages well, which enabled him to maintain a correspondence with foreigners of the first distinction, and his residence was the resort of gentlemen of various nations in the pursuit of knowledge, who received from him the most polite attention, and the most useful information.

University of Pavia. Pavia is located on the route between Milan and Genoa and its university, begun in the mid-14th century, was the principal university of Lombardy. Cristoforo Busti, Paolo's youngest brother, graduated in law from the Università degli Studi di Pavia in 1786.

Academies in Milan. The Palantine School – Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794) accepted a chair in public economy and commerce in 1768. Beccaria is noteworthy for his influence on the thinking of the Founders of the United States government. In 1767 the Jesuit school at Brera appointed Paolo Frisi (1728-1784) and Roger Boscovich (1711-1787) to two chairs in mathematics.

Milan had no university, and many writers note that this led to a proliferation of schools in Milan, away from the suffocating dominance of a singular university. During the early life of Paolo Busti, Milan was enjoying a flourishing Enlightenment that produced Academies of philosophers and teachers, most prominently the Accademia dei Trasformati, Brera and L'Accademia dei Pugni. This energy potentially filtered down to Paolo's own schooling.

Several musicians with the surnames Zappa and Busti are noted in this era, especially the composer and cellist Francesco Zappa (abt 1717- abt 1803). Family connections to Paul Busti have not been established.

The Busti family's ownership of a box at Teatro di Monza is detailed in "Inventario predisposto dall'ing. collegiato di Milano Gaetano Ratti in data 8 maggio 1793 per la divisione della sostanza stabile dei fratelli Busti", private collection.

Giulio Cesare Busti was an original owner of a box at Teatro alla Scala. This also signifies that he was previously the owner of a *palco* in the Teatro Ducale. See Suardi, Creusa. "Banchieri e committenti di illustri architetti, Palco n° 12, III ordine, settore destro" *Nei palchi della Scala 1778 – 1920, Cronologia dei proprietari dei palchi*. Teatro alla Scala Foundation, the Conservatorio "G. Verdi" di Milano, and the l'Ufficio Ricerca Fonti Musicali (URFM) della Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Digital access: storiadeipalchi.teatroallascala.org/palco/destro-3-12 accessed 2021.11.08.

Mozart's opera, *Mitridate*, had a run of 22 performances in Milan. See Sadie, Stanley, and Neal Zaslaw. *Mozart: The Early Years, 1756-1781*. 2007, p. 222, et al.

These personal descriptions of Paul Busti are from his obituary, *Batavia Advocate*, 6 August 1824 p 3.

Obituary.

Departed this life, at an advanced age, on the 23rd ult. PAUL BUSTI, of Philadelphia, late Agent General of the Holland Land Company, after a severe indisposition of about 18[?] days, which he bore with Christian fortitude, and meek resignation to the divine decree, which has appointed all men to die.

This is, indeed, mournful intelligence particularly to the inhabitants of this district of country, to which his agency has extended, who have had an abundant manifestation of his forbearance, moderation, equity, justice and humanity.

He was liberally educated – was endowed with an exalted mind, and observed

human nature with the scrutinizing eye of a philosopher. He was easy of access, polite, affable, courteous and condescending. From long experience and observation the treasures of his mind became extensive/ He possessed a refinement of manners – a comprehensive knowledge of things, and an intelligent spirit, which contributed to the delight of the learned and the pleasure of social intercourse. He spoke several of the European languages well, which enabled him to maintain a correspondence with foreigners of the first distinction, & his residence was the resort of gentlemen of various nations in the pursuit of knowledge, who received from him the most polite attention, and the most useful information.

He devoted the most unremitting care and attention to the discharge of his official duties - ever ardent and ambitious in prosecuting the momentous concerns, entrusted to him, to a prosperous issue. In the infancy of these settlements he extended every patronage and encouragement to promote their success. To his judicious management, prudence and circumspection, and to the liberal policy, uniformly enforced, are these regions, so lately a wilderness, mainly indebted for their rapid progress in population and improvement – rapid, perhaps, beyond a parallel and now assuming the first rank in physical strength and respectability.

He was ever indefatigable in his zeal to reform abuses; yet calm and dispassionate, and disposed to tolerate and forgive the errors, the frailties & imperfections of men – ever prompt in his endeavors to appease the spirit of jealousy and discontent, and to discountenance injustice. He made every complaint submitted to him the subject of a patient investigation; and never failed to render impartial justice, & to administer redress, according to the best of his abilities.

He was temperate and exemplary in his habits, and circumspect and decorous on every occasion. He was impressive in his manner, and dignified in his language; cautious never to offend, and suffering no harsh expression to escape his lips, nor the feeling of any man to be wounded by his reproofs. To the industrious and the indigent he has even proved a benefactor and a friend – benevolently extending his fostering aid to alleviate their sufferings, and to encourage and protect them. The poor man approached him with confidence, and he never failed to administer relief; for his greatest pleasure appeared to consist in doing good to his fellow-creatures, in whatever station they were found.

Benevolent, kind, generous and humane – the patron of religion - the friend, the benefactor and the ornament of man. But he is gone, we trust, to a better world, to receive the rewards of a well spent life on earth – to become one of the just made perfect, in a kingdom of never fading glory, through the merits and intercession of redeeming love.

The text was reprinted in the *Statesman (New York City)*, 17 August 1824, p 2.

Schiavo quotes from another reprint 17 August, 1824 in the *American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia) “Paolo Busti” Italians in America before the Revolution. [jstor]

Paulus Busti in Amsterdam

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Paolo Antonio Zappa (1738-1803). He likely began Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla with his inheritance – his father died in 1759. The earliest document encountered with Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla is from 1762. Solomon Dorper (Amsterdam). Notarial Records, No. 1688, 30 Nov. 1762. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive 5075, Folder 344, No. 10801, record 357940. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/344.1.107/start/570/limit/10/highlight/1

For additional details about Giuseppe Zappa, see Notaio Sirtori: Gen 1786 n. 677. Sovvenzione fatta dal M.R. sig. d. Gio Cotti (o Cozzi) in nome dell'ill.mo sig. Barone Don Pietro Cozzi alli sig.ri Paolo Ant.o e fratello Zappa e del sig. Gio Batta Caldara anche come proprietarii della Ragion Cantante Giuseppe Zappa e Caldara.

Paul Busti's arrival in Amsterdam. Paulo Busti was godfather in the baptism of Maria Paulina, daughter of Carlo Matthia Steurwaldt and Elizabeth Christina Oeste, 13 Feb 1771. Rooms-Katolieke Kerk "de Papegaai" (Kalverstraat) Amsterdam, Doop Boek No. 2 (1752-1777), Archive No. 5001, Series 1.2, Inventory No. 554. Collection of the Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.11.1/start/70/limit/10/highlight/8 This is the earliest record of Paolo Busti in Amsterdam encountered to date.

Travel from Milan to the Netherlands in this era was commonly via the Alps requiring passage during the summer or fall. Travel by way of Genoa by ship was erratic. Other routes included travel from Milan to Lyon and then north. All travel took a minimum of several weeks suggesting that Paul Busti left Milan at the latest in the autumn of 1770.

His younger brother, Cristoforo, completed his degree at the University of Pavia at age 18. Likewise, P.A. left home at age 18-19 (1757). If comparable, then this would place Busti's transition to Amsterdam in 1767.

The number of Italian firms is based on a summary of the recent doctoral thesis by Draper plus review of the business directories for Amsterdam in the 1770s-1790s. See Draper, Maarten, *Italian merchants in Amsterdam: ca 1650-1700*, EUI PhD theses, Department of History and Civilization, Florence: European University Institute, 2021. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/1814/72759

A description of commerce in Milan in the 1750s parallels the Italian presence later in Amsterdam:

"Banchieri primarj erano Tommaso Carli, Giuseppe Zappa, Caldara, Annoni, Perego. In casa Clerici aveasi una manifattura di vetro e di majolica dipinta, e telaj di lana e pelo di capra; in casa Pensa e Lorla in Rugabella battevano 110 telaj, massime di velluto, con 500 operaj; in casa Bovara una macchina fabbricava 24 pezze di nastri a un tratto."

Cantù, Cesare and Luigi Gualtieri. *Grande Illustrazione Del Lombardo-Veneto*. Vol 1., Milan, 1857, p 247. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112087405434 Significant collectors in Amsterdam in the 1700s included two Italians, both with

connections to Paolo Busti:

Josephus Augustinus Brentano (1753-1821) amassed a collection of art including Dutch and Italian masters Rembrandt, Rubens, Titian, and Raphael. Brentano was the son of Giovanni Baptista Brentano and Anna Catharina Carli and was the uncle of the wife of P. A. Nicolai. Nicolai served as executor of Brentano's estate, see note 26. Bionda, R.W.A. "The Amsterdam Collector J.A. Brentano" *Bulletin van Het Rijksmuseum*, vol. 34, no. 3, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1986, pp. 201-06. Digital access: [jstor.org/stable/40382258](https://www.jstor.org/stable/40382258).

Pietro Antonio Crevenna (1735-1792), publishing as M. Pierre Antoine Crevenna, was a significant collector of books. Crevenna was born in Milan, educated in the Jesuit school at Brera and moved to Amsterdam at age twenty-two (1756). In 1768, he married Anthonia Maria, daughter of Giacomo Filippo Bolongaro, and their descendants used the surname Bolongaro-Crevenna. See Heel, Jos van. "Bolongaro Crevenna: een Italiaans Koopman en bibliofoel in Amsterdam," *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, jaargang 5, 1998, p 73-94. Digital access: dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa008199801_01/index.php

Paul Busti was the legal representative for a branch of the Bolongaro family.

The brothers Jacobus and Augustinus Lorla were from the same area of Piedmont as the de Notaris (further connecting the Zappa/Busti/Notaris with the Lorla/Pensa).

The firm Zappa e Gebroeders Lorla was also referred to as Zappa e Fratelli Lorla.

They were connected to the Lorla of Milan who had long been involved in silk production and trade, as well as banking. Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla acted as participants and representatives in a variety of trades. In 1783, Zappa e Gebroeders Lorla owned a ship named the St. Jacques during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784). See Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen (Amsterdam). Notarial acts (1783), No. 861, 18 December 1783. Archive No. 5075, Folder 434, No. 16758, record 267000649. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: <https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/b0e93a308961dfad8f7bb8caa9cee55> [image 649/730].

In 1786 Augustinus and Jacobus Lorla appointed Giuseppe Antonio Pensa as procurator because they and P. A. Zappa were in Italy. See Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen (Amsterdam). Notarial acts (1786), No. 1099, 1 December 1786. Archive No. 5075, Inventory No. 434, Folder No. 16767. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/0d3aefbab33c5d8474aa7e8e21f1a07d [image 683/976].

In 1788 Carlos Orri was appointed procurator for Zappa e Gebroeders Lorla with Jacobus and Augustinus Lorla present and P. A. Zappa in Italy. See Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen (Amsterdam). Notarial acts (1788), No. 780, 23 September 1788. Archive No. 5075, Inventory No. 434, Folder No. 16772. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/d64f0ffb42d9e9002511d4af8b1afc6c [image 898/902]

The successor firm Lorla & Co. remained significant in Amsterdam. Business even included diamonds. In 1804, Lorla & Co., acting as freight forwarders/agents, circumvented the Portuguese monopoly of Brazilian diamonds essential in the Portuguese Diamond Loan brokered by Hope & Co.

"The problem stemmed not only from consignment of 15,000 carats which had

been seized at sea, and which appeared on the market at prices 5-10% below Hope's figure, but also from a stream of large parcels which reached Amsterdam and London direct from Lisbon. Amsterdam houses such as Gildemeester & Co., made offers for parcels of 20,000 carats, the composition and price of which were approximately the same as those handled by hope. Particularly painful was the discovery that Lorla & Co. in Amsterdam had received a 2,000 carat parcel consisting of exceptionally large and fine stones, and that not only was there a similar parcel in London, but that others were on their way from Lisbon."

Buist, Marten Gerbertus. *At Spes Non Fracta: Hope & Co. 1770-1815, Merchant Bankers and Diplomats at Work*. Netherlands, 2012, p 411-412.

Lorla & Co. was also named in a United States Supreme Court case, *Manella, Pujals & Co. v. J. Barry* (1806).

Indigo from Guatemala (later also from the Carolinas) was consistently marketed by Zappa e Gebroeders Lorla. Earliest advertisement *Amsterdamse courant*, 7 July 1764, p2. Note the spelling of Zappa as Sappa.

Jan Jacob de Bruyn, Hendrik du Goudi à Bois, Hendrik van den Heuvel en Daniel de Bruyn, Makelaars, zullen op Dingsdag den 24 July, 's avonds ten 5 uuren, t'Amst. in de Brakke Grond, verkopen een party puiks van 60 Vaatjes Indigo St.Domingo; leggende op de Prinsegragt, op het Pakhuis van de Heeren Sappa [sic] en Lorla, tusschen de Westermarkt en Lelygragt.

Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010711010:mpeg21:p002

Indigo from Guatemala was supplied through the Spanish monopoly in Cadiz in this era.

The Milan economy had developed from its trade with France and Germany and remained continental. The Amsterdam economy had been tied historically to trade with the Baltic, but in their Golden Age, they expanded globally into Asia, the Americas, and Africa. The Dutch interests in Asian markets remained a monopoly held by the East India Company (VOC), while Dutch interests in the Americas and Atlantic Africa were based on a mixture of mercantilism and colonialism. Slave-based businesses are estimated to have accounted for 10% of the Dutch economy in 1770.

Paul Busti's experiences with slave-based businesses (i.e., plantations) likely would have been peripheral. This mention of the role of slavery in the Dutch economy is intended to portray the range of Dutch trade interests. The Dutch were responsible for an estimated 5-7% of all enslaved Africans in the trans-Atlantic trade, however, they were much more involved in the broader slave-based economy. See, for example, African Studies Center Leiden. "Dutch involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and abolition" *African Studies Centre Leiden*, web dossier, 2020. Digital access: ascleiden.nl/content/webdossiers/dutch-involvement-transatlantic-slave-trade-and-abolition accessed 2021.11.14.

The estimate of GDP is from Pepijn Brandon & Ulbe Bosma (2021) "Slavery and the Dutch economy, 1750–1800," *Slavery & Abolition*, 42:1, 2021, p. 43-76. Digital access: doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2021.1860464 The Dutch American involvement in slavery in New York and elsewhere is noted in a passing remark by Helen Lincklaen Fairchild about the political émigré Francois Adriaan van der

Kemp, father of John Jacob Vanderkemp. She noted that family lore indicated that van der Kemp had several slaves and this is verified in United States Census enumerations in 1800 and 1810 with a listing of 3 and 2 enslaved people in the household.

Busti's experience in Amsterdam would have at least introduced him to the issue of slavery. No enslaved people are recorded for census entries for Busti, however, he administered HLC investments in South Carolina.

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John Charles Delprat (1789-1856), also known as Jean-Charles Delprat and as Charlot in Elisabeth (May) Busti's letters to his parents. In 1808 (age 19) Delprat returned to Europe, where he travelled until returning to the United States and settling in Baltimore in 1819. Delprat, D.H. "Généalogie de la famille Delprat," *Bulletin de la Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes*, Vol. 3. Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888, p 375-377. Digital edition: hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah267y; accessed 5 Oct. 2021.

The French language boarding school was run by Godfrey Dorfeuille in Germantown. "Maison D'Éducation" on Germantown Avenue, Martin Godfrey Dorfeuille, French educator. Biographical information included in Beisert, Oscar and J.M. Duffin. "Woodside:" *The Dorfeuille-Hacker Country Seat, E. Wister St., Germantown, Nomination to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places*. 4 Feb 2016. Digital edition: keepingphiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/339-E-Wister-nom.pdf accessed 2022.03.22.

Simon and Hyman Gratz were second generation merchants in Philadelphia with offices at 232 High Street (now Market Street). See Pitock, Toni. "Michael Gratz" *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*. German Historical Institute, web page, revised 22 Aug 2018. See www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entries/michael-gratz/ accessed 2022.03.22; and *The Philadelphia Directory, 1804*. p 98.

Paul Busti's business activity aside from Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla is inferred by Turner with little documentation in Amsterdam (as of this date).

Busti is referenced in a letter 2 January 1793 from G. De Joubert (the Secretary to Emmanuel de Maulde, French Ambassador to the Netherlands) to Laurens Pieter van de Spiegel (Grand Pensionary of Holland). De Maulde was going to Amsterdam to review his accounts with Busti, Bolongaro and Bottereau. This letter is transcribed in an article about the secret negotiations between the French and English after the French had taken Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and were massing troops on the border in preparation of entering the Netherlands. This occurred in coordination with the Batavian revolution and the establishment of the Batavian Republic.

Mademoiselle n'a fait que quelques visites. Ce voyage avoit pour but les comptes de Mademoiselle a recevoir et a mettre en règle chez MM. Busti, Bolongaro et Bottereau. Plusieurs personnes sont venues faire leurs adieux a Mademoiselle, en lui témoignant l'inconduite des diplomates françois sur son rappel." [Note that Mademoiselle refers to De Maulde-in disguise]

L. Wichers. "De Secreete Negociatiën van den Raad-Pensionaris Mr. L. P. van de Spiegel en den Engelschen gezant Auckland met den Franschen Generaal Dumouriez, door tusschenkomst van den Franschen gezant M. E. De Maulde-Hosdan, Nov. 1792-Febr. 1793," *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, 1894, p. 283. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB07:000774001:00297

Note: These intrigues may have had nothing to do with Busti and this references was only a simple account with Busti, but it does present the Italian business community as an interesting possible conduit between the French, Dutch, and the Prussians. Bottereau likely refers to Jean Alexandre Botereau of Botereau en Comp., merchant bankers, he is also active in trade and shipping. Their office was located op de Keizersgraft by de Wolvestraat over de gewezene Schouwborg. He appears to be the same Botereau who served as a burgher of Amsterdam during the Batavian Republic.

The Bolongaro were merchants specialized in the spice and tobacco trade and located in Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt). They became wealthy as manufacturers of snuff. The Bolongaro family had originated in Piedmont where the Bolongaro, Simonetti, and De Notaris families were the prominent families from the Verbania area on Lake Maggiore. Two brothers owned the business in Frankfurt and after their death the business was divided in 1780 into two branches: Bolongaro-Crevenna and Bolongaro-Simonetta.

Paul Busti's representation of the Bolongaro Simonetta & Comp. was identified by Van Winter in 1933 but was not referenced by later American or Italian researchers.

In 1786 Busti acted for Bolongaro Simonetta in a Lettera di Cambio (bill of exchange) from Sr. Silvestro Allesina e figlio Vecchio of 1100 florins to Bolongaro Simonetta & Co. See Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen (Amsterdam). *Notarial acts* (1786), No. 763, 23 April 1786. Archive No. 5075, Inventory No. 434, Folder No. 16766. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/d6ebdca0e2490364b9acb2cc05154899 [image 886/1004]

In 1788 Paulus Busti represented Bolongaro Simonetta et Comp. See Adam Houtkoper (Amsterdam) *Notarial Acts* (1788), No. 252, 11 Dec 1788. Archive No. 5075, Inventory No. 452, Folder No. 17718. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: <https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/963ab74a4056e7a3d0c55529931e7369> [image 426/485].

In 1790, F. M. Bertolino represented Bolongaro Simonetta & Comp. See Renier van Eibergen. *Notarial Acts* (1790), No. 52. Archive No. 5001, Inventory No. 399, Folder No. 14697. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/8799bbe233169dc5cbe6abe759680f11 [image 189/686].

In 1793 Paul Busti again represents Bolongaro Simonetta & Comp. See Cornelis Jan Van Teijlingen (Amsterdam). *Notarial Acts* (1783), No. 2013, 15 Aug. 1793. Archive No. 5001, Inventory No. 434, Folder No. 16793, Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/942efe5a6abc435fea9828ad12bed5866 [image 727/1036]

The local connection between the business families De Notaris, Simonetta and Bolongaro is noted in De-Vit, Vincenzo. *Il lago Maggiore, Stresa e le isole*

Borromeo: notizie storiche. Vol. 2, 1877, p 378. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112076476735

Carlo Giuseppe Busti [30], also known as Joseph Busti, was born 1 May 1756 in Milan. San Protaso ad Monacos (Milano), Registro dei Battesimi, (1722-1787), p. 268. Collection of Archivio Parrocchia S. Fedele, Milan. His presence in Amsterdam is recorded in the baptism of Carolus Bernardus Westendorp, 27 Feb. 1780. Kerk De Lely (Rooms-Katholiek, Amsterdam). *Baptizati* (1767-1811) p. 98. Archive No. 5001, Inventory No. 1.2, Folder No. 345, p 98. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/fb1349e2c63d665bee764452de42f348 [image 51/159]

In 1787, Joseph Busti appointed Paul Busti as procurator in Amsterdam. Cornelis Jan Van Teijlingen (Amsterdam). *Notarial Acts* (1787), No. 768, 8 Aug 1787. Archive 5001, Inventory No. 434, Folder No. 16769. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/7357979ca3d50d6b85ae7c4a1454173e [image 815/991].

P. A. Nicolai [22] was born 25 September 1765 in Cremona and baptized Paolo Antonio in San Siro e San Sepolcro. He married Maria Catharina Carli in Leiden in 1797. See Marriage Registration. Archive No. 1004, Inventory No. IC2 Schepenhuwelijken (1795-1811), Folder No. 211, Trouwen Gerecht, Volume A. (1795-1799), p 145v. Leiden Regional Archive. Digital access: erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/archieven/archievenoverzicht/file/999956b235703ff8af02711931e15ec9 [image 148/299]

In 1794 he represented Lorla & Co. See See Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1794), No. 657, 23 September 1794. Archive 5001, Inventory No. 414, Folder No. 15662. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/9f9d84ad392e585624a4cced611294d4 [image 794/866].

In 1801 he represented Lorla & Co. See See Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1801), No. 201, 15 October 1801. Archive 5001, Inventory No. 414, Folder No. 15675. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/a74b7238e79c4ed2ea6f98ba75ff037c [image 691/784].

The baptism of Francisca Paulina Maria Catharina Nicolai was celebrated 10 August 1799 with Francisca Zappa as godparent. Kerk in het Maagdenhuis (Amsterdam). *Baptisms* (1787-1811), p 45. Archive No. 5001, inventory No. 1.2, Folder No. 365. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/578d80d8ec0f3d2cc6a2e77430d28930 [image 24/51].

For information regarding the Brentano charity *Hulp des Ouderdoms*, see brentanosteun.nl/ accessed 2022.03.22. A portrait of P.A. Nicolai in the collection of the charity is included in the digital archives of Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis (RKD), reference 0000198916. Digital access: rkd.nl/explore/images/180480.

The notice of the death of Paul Busti was published in '*s Gravenhaagsche courant* 30 August 1824, p 4; and *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 31 August 1824, p 3.

Giuseppe Pizzagalli [36] was born 29 September 1767 in Airuno and baptized Giuseppe Antonio Allessandro Michele Maria Pizzagalli. Parrocchia Ss. Cosma e Damiano (Airuno, Lecco). *Registro Battesimi*, B4 (1756), p 54. Record no. 338. The Status animarum in Milan for the family are missing after 1787. Until 1786 he had studied in a seminary.

Joseph A.A.M. Pizzagalli was the shortened form he used in the Netherlands. His liquidation Inventory of Bolongaro Simonetta is noted in Everard Cornelis Bondt. *Notarial Acts* (1824-1826), No. 90. Archive No. 5075, Inventory No. 471, Folder No. 18775. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/8a34c1339972fb48dced1674cac41528 [Image 142/586].

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The baptism of son François Xavier Marie Joseph Theodore Pizzagalli was 27 June 1801. Kerk “de Krijtberg” (Amsterdam). *Baptisms and Marriages* (1790-1811), p108. Archive No. 5001, Inventory No. 1.2, Folder No. 369. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/3abbfae41b8e3374b5a3187c4dd7c349 [image 57/143].

The signatures on the marriage record are *Paulus Busti* and *Elisabeth May*, marriage officiated by Rev. Benjamin Choyce Sowden. Engelse Episcopaals Kerk (English Episcopal Church, Amsterdam). *Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials* (1698-1821), p. 75. Archive No. 5001, Inventory No.137B. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.1 [image 38/54].

The banns announcing the intended marriage of Paulus Busti and Elisabeth May were published in Amsterdam and The Hague in November 1793. Note that prior to her marriage, Elisabeth May was living in The Hague, not in Amsterdam.

A dispensation reducing procedural requirements for marriage outside of one’s church was granted 15 November 1793.

Elisabeth May’s parents belonged to different churches and it seems that the church for their daughters’ marriages somewhat alternated: Engelse Episcopaals (Ten Cate), Waalse (May), Waalse (Delprat), Engelse Episcopaals (Busti).

The marriage between Elisabeth May (age 35) and Paul Busti (age 43) was atypical. Her sisters (except Rebecca) married at age 22, 23, and 21. The absence of further information leads to long list of unanswered questions regarding their relationship prior to marriage.

The May family genealogy was presented in *Nederland’s Adelsboek, 1911*. ‘s-Gravenhage, 1911, p 164-165. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB26:000717001:00190

Elisabeth May was baptized 11 Feb 1759 in the English Episcopal Church in Amsterdam. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archive 5001, Inventory No.137B, p. 13 [image 8/26]. Digital Access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.2

Elisabeth’s grandfather, John May, Sr. (1694-1779) and his wife, Rebecca Prinsex, were from Kent, but had left England for opportunities in Lorient and Toulon, France. The surname of Rebecca Pensix is also spelled Prinsex and Pinsex

(Lemmers 411). They had three sons, Job, John, and William who were born in England or France, and several more children born in Holland. John May, Sr. had come to Amsterdam as the third English shipbuilder hired by the Admiralty to revamp their fleet (1727-1728). May served as the assistant to Charles Bentam for three decades (1728-1758) and after the death of Bentam he was named master shipbuilder for the Amsterdam Admiralty in 1758. A year later, Willem Sautijn became superintendent of the shipyard and an era of embezzlement followed – with which the May family became associated. Rebecca (Prinsex) May died in Amsterdam in 1743 and John May, Sr. married a second time in 1762 to Magteld Geertruij Cannegieter, sister of Hendrik Cannegieter, the assistant to Willem Sautijn. For biographical information, see Schouten, Dennis. “De uitvaart van Hendrik Cannegieter” in *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*. Jaargang 19. (1996), p. 52. Digital access: dbnl.org/tekst/_med009199601_01/colofon.php

For information on the May family and their involvement in shipbuilding in Amsterdam, see Lemmers, (410-428). All the sons of John May, Sr. were trained as shipwrights, except William. Job May and John May, Jr. opened a shipyard in Amsterdam about 1760 and operated as Job May en Comp. at xx wharf. William May (1725-1810) was sent to sea young and advanced to ship captain. Later he was appointed ship provisioner and continued his father’s work at the Amsterdam Admiralty shipyard. Lemmers identifies William May as the source of design improvements in naval architecture that were later adopted in England. Both William May (1769) and John May, Jr. (1772) were members of the scientific society *Verhandelingen van het Bataafsche Genootschap der Proefondervinkelijke Wijsbegeerte* in Rotterdam. John May, Jr. (1780) was also a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, University of Lisbon.

John May, Jr. and Marthe Naudin had five daughters:

1. Martha May (174-1821) married at age twenty-three in 1777. Her husband was the financier Isaäk ten Cate, Jr. The ten Cate family lived in Haarlem and they had three children (five others died as infants). Isaak ten Cate, Jr. was a partner with fellow Mennonite financier and lawyer Hendrik Vollenhoven. They were part of the original group of four who started the American investments that developed into the Holland Land Company. The family later affixed the maternal surname and become known as Naudin ten Cate.
2. Rebecca May (1756-1816) never married.
3. Elisabeth May (1759-1822) was thirty-four when she married Paul Busti in 1794.
4. Maria Herminia May (1760-1847) married at age twenty-three in 1784. Her husband, William May, Jr. was their first cousin and they had three children. They moved to England where William May, Jr. served as Dutch Consul in London.
5. Frances May (1763-1843) married at age twenty-one in 1784. Her husband, Daniël Delprat, and she had nine children. Delprat was of Walloon descent and had studied theology at the University of Leiden and the University of Amsterdam. From 1791-1795 Delprat served in The Hague as court chaplain. During the

Batavian Republic he was appointed Secretary-General to the Secretary of State (1798). After the proclamation of the Dutch monarchy, Delprat was appointed royal chaplain (1817-1841).

Beyond his partnership with Job May in shipbuilding, John May, Jr. was a merchant and principal of J. A. Crop, John May en Comp. in Amsterdam. He became the principal in the firm sometime after the death of Jan Anthony Crop in 1760. From 1778 to 1783, this firm was located along the Keizersgracht north of Hartestraat, a location was across the canal and a short distance from the offices of Zappa & Gebroeders Lorla. The Estate Inventory for John May, Jr. clarifies his ownership. See Cornelis van Homrigh. *Notarial Acts* (1744-1802, No. 175, 12 September 1793. Archive No. 5075, Inventory No. 365, Folder No. 12514. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/816bfb1d5982e406588e0a91c86716a8 [image 233/405].

Marthe Naudin's parents were Jean Naudin and Marthe Debar, both French Protestants with family origins as religious exiles from northern France. The Naudin family migrated from Rouen, Normandy, France to Amsterdam. The de Bar family migrated from Sedan, Ardennes, France to The Hague. Their family histories are descriptively, but not accurately, presented in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*. Vol. 1 (1853-1854), p. 175. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044098668999

Additional genealogical information provided by W.F.H. Naudin ten Cate.

The independent nature of Marthe Naudin was related in De Nederlandsche Leeuw, jaargang 40, 1922, col. 287. Digital access: knggw.nl/raadplegen/de-nederlandsche-leeuw/1922-40/152/

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Elisabeth and Paul Busti likely used Dutch as their primary language of conversation in Amsterdam, although both spoke French. In his letter to Van Eeghen after his arrival in Philadelphia in 1797, Paul Busti wrote in French (not Dutch) that he was uncomfortable speaking about complex issues in English.

“Bayard & M. Evers n' aiamt point l'usage d'aucune des langues qui me sont conues, et moi manquant de connoiance asseg etendue de l'angloise pour m'enonar avec clarté et facilité, il nous sut impossible de converser sur les interets du commerce et de la politique Americaine, et sur ceux de la Compagnie Hollandoise avec la latitude que nous desirions de chaque cote.”

Paul Busti. “Letter to Van Eeghen, No. 1, Philadelphia, 3 Mar 1797” Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archive No. 333, Inventory No. 1.3.1, Folder No. 85. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/f594509adf462cf4b5057bfb5fc6f1ca [image 1/86]

In her letter to her sister she notes that her nephew Charlot (Charlie) was picking up English very quickly and that her husband was jealous and not advancing as quickly.

“Tout est bien ici, Charlot [John Charles Delprat] wordt groot, se divertit avec tous ses camarades, jase l'anglais, au point d'être envié par Busti, quine fait pas la moitié des progrès.”

- Busti, Elisabeth (May). Letter to Françoise (May) Delprat. Philadelphia, 24 November 1797. Delprat family papers, Archive No. 2.21.183.16 Delprat, Inventory No. 99 Familiebriefwisseling van leden van het geslacht Delprat, Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Netherlands. Manuscript. Transcription in Delprat, Pauline. *Souvenirs de Voyage*. The Hague: Mouton, 1904, p 38
- Elisabeth's younger sister, Frances May, married Daniel Delprat and their papers are among those of the Delprat family in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. Heleen Pronk inventoried the family papers of the Delprat family and discovered three letters written by Elisabeth May from Philadelphia. In the letters, Elisabeth refers to herself as Lise and to her husband as Paul, although generally she simply refers to him by his surname. Pronk suggests that the interposition of Dutch words and phrases in her letters suggest that the principal language of Elisabeth (May) Busti was Dutch, despite her mother's French heritage.
- Elisabeth Busti's correspondence was cited by Jackson, Harry F. *Scholar in the Wilderness: Francis Adrian Van Der Kemp*, 1963, p. 183. Digital access: doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv64h7kc.17. A transcription is available, see Van der Kemp, François Adriaan. "Letter to John Adams," 17 May 1807. Digital Access: founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5184
- Jan Harm Huidekoper was an assistant to Paul Busti in Philadelphia and then became the Resident Agent in Meadville, Pennsylvania in 1804. Later he purchased the remaining land and debts in the Meadville area from the Holland Land Company. His autobiography and additional biographical material was published in Tiffany, Nina Moore, and Francis Tiffany. Harm Jan Huidekoper. 1904. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002002882224
- Barlett's sidesaddle story about Elisabeth (May) Busti was likely intended to be disparaging, but now seems positive.
- The address *Herengracht op Kongingplein* for the Busti house was listed in his nomination for Amsterdam city council 31 December 1795. No specific address is known.
- See Schama regarding the French army entering the Netherlands. The Batavian Republic was significant, but the French overbearance erased the Republic with the return to the Orange line in the Netherlands. This erasure from the historical record of this independence movement left American authors supposing that Batavia, New York was named after the ancient Hollanders. Indirectly true, but for the Holland Land Company, Batavia referenced the new order aspired after the exodus of William to England in 1795.
- William May, Jr. and Job Seaburne May both left for England. Job Seaburne May, Elisabeth's first cousin was later instrumental in coordinating the Amsterdam shipyard workers with Gijsbert Karel in The Hague in the uprising that expelled the French in November 1813. As part of the new provisional government, Job Seaburne May sailed for London and requested the prince (later King William I) to return to the Netherlands.
- Two decades earlier, John May, Jr. had been identified as pro-British. "Les royalistes de cette ville [Amsterdam] dont je vous ai parlé dans mes précédentes,

sont principalement les deux maisons J. A. Crop John May & Co., et Pye Rich & Wilkiesons.” Charles-Guillaume-Frédéric Dumas. Letter to American Commissioners (Benjamin Franklin et al.). Paris, 30 Dec. 1777. Digital access: founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-25-02-0298.

While pro-British, some in the May family made investments supporting the United States. In 1788 William May was listed as an investor in United States funds. See Winter, Pieter Jan van. *Het aandeel van den Amsterdamschen handel aan den opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest*, Vol 1, 1927, p 239. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000118804:00283

Appendix III List of Credits on the funded books of the United States for which certificates have been issued to persons to be foreigners: 1788 July 5 William May, Interest commencement 1 Jan 1787, 30,000 US dollars.

The nomination was listed as “Paulus Busti, op de Heeregragt by ‘t Koningsplein.” Busti was one of only two foreign-born nominees on the list (another, Jean Rolland, was born in Paris). Two other nominees were connected to the Holland Land Company: Christiaan Van Eeghen and Wilhem Willink.

Handelingen van de Municipaliteit der stad Amsterdam. 30 Dec. 1795, p 327. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=dpo:3120:mpeg21:0331

Amsterdamse Courant, 31 December 1795, p 1. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010716631:mpeg21:p001

The list of nominations has been reproduced in later histories, including *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 1914, p 107-8. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMGAMS01:001043004:00141

While not a member, P. Busti was present at general meeting of the political club *Doctrina et Amicitia* (the successor to the Vaderlandsche Sociëteit) on 24 Feb 1795 and this may have been a precursor for his nomination. See *Meeting minutes*, Archive No. 684, Inventory No. 1, Folder No. 1. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/d771f26d0fa3852dfba5e47ccc3cc66a [image 56/133]. Augustus Lorla was a member as well as were most of the Holland Land Company investors. See Membership lists for the Doctrina et Amicitia/ Vaderlandsche Sociëteit (1783-1787) clubs, Archive No. 684 Inventaris van het Archief van de Sociëteit de Groote Club Doctrina et Amicitia, Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/d771f26d0fa3852dfba5e47ccc3cc66a

These records have been transcribed by Herman de Wit, Maarssen, December 2011. See geneaknowhow.net/script/dewit/amsterdam-leden-vaderl-societeit-1783-1787.html accessed 2022.03.22

Members of Vaderlandsche Sociëteit associated with Paul Busti (and their year of membership) included:

1. Christian van Eeghan, (No. 18: 1783);
2. Pieter van Eeghen (No. 67: 1784),
3. Augustinus Lorla (No. 293: 1787),
4. Nicolaas van Staphorst, (No. 57: 1783),
5. Jacob van Staphorst (No. 59: 1783),
6. Jan van Staphorst (No. 250: 1787),
7. Jan Herman Schimmelpenninck, (No. 83: 1784),
8. Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck (No. 109: 1785),

9. Pieter Stadnitski (No. 96: 1784),
10. Isaac ten Cate, (No. 120: 1785),
11. Lambertus ten Cate Junior, (No. 261: 1787),
12. Cornelis ten Cate (No. 312: 1787),
13. Jan ten Broeke Willink (No. 354: 1787),
14. Jan Ananias Willink (No. 40: 1783),
15. Hendrik Willink (No. 209: 1786),
16. Francois Carli (No. 346: 1795), and
17. Filippo Giacomo de Bolongaro Crevenna (No. 273: 1787).

Busti's nomination for the municipal Committee for School levies, see "Vergadering" *Dagblad van de Vergaderingen dek. Representanten van het Volk van Amsterdam*. Vierde Stuk. Amsterdam, 1796, p 359. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=dpo:3121:mpeg21:0363

Busti en Comp. at Heerengracht by den Binnen-Amstel appeared in an advertisement in *Amsterdamsche courant*. 18 October 1796, p 1. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010718302:mpeg21:p001

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Paul Busti's family relationship to Isaäk ten Cate, one of the HLC partners, has been understood by several historians (Van Winter, Chazanof, Juliani). While this family connection was likely important in his consideration, it seems probable that it was secondary to Busti's business credentials.

Busti's former employer, Augustinus Lorla, would have been able to provide references, and Carli and Bolongaro may have provided personal references, each was a member of the political club *Doctrina et Amicitia*, whose membership also included the investors of the Holland Land Company: the Ten Cate, the Willink, Stadnitski, Staphorst, Schimmelpenninck, and the Van Eeghens.

Busti's political alignment may have been a factor in his later employment.

Theophile Cazenove (1740-1811) has been characterized in histories of the Holland Land Company as a loose cannon who was imprudent in his bookkeeping. However, he was also criticized by Talleyrand as too cautious in his business dealings. Cazenove had made deals with Robert Morris and John Nicholson, two of the three principals of the North American Land Company. For a description of the 1790s real estate bubble and its 1795 burst with the failure of Morris, Greenleaf and Nicholson and a comparison between the Holland Land Company and the North American Land Company, see Frehen, William N. Goetzmann, and K. Geert Rouwenhorst. "Dutch Securities for American Land Speculation in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Housing and Mortgage Markets in Historical Perspective*, 2014, p. 287-304. Digital access: nber.org/chapters/c12795.

In February 1796 the various partnerships had been reorganized into a stock company, the Hollandsche Land Compagnie. Shareholders were the Willinks (29%), Stadnitski (23%), the Van Staphorsts (21%), the Van Eeghens (14%), Ten Cate and Vollenhoven (9%) and Schimmelpenninck (4%). The reorganization of the Holland Land Company (HLC) into stock company with 896 shares is described in *Evans* (34-5).

Christian van Eeghen. Letter to Paul Busti (Offer of employment), 10 July 1796, Amsterdam. Manuscript. Archive 333, Inventory No. 1.3.2.2, Folder 110. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/25846d5cb263dc2cac0fde8636ebed09 [image 1/8]

Paul Busti. Letter to Christian van Eeghen (Response to Offer), 8 November 1796, Amsterdam. Manuscript. Archive 333, Inventory No. 1.3.2.2, Folder 110. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/25846d5cb263dc2cac0fde8636ebed09 [image 4/8]

Christian van Eeghen. Letter to Paul Busti (Employment contract), 10 July 1796, Amsterdam. Manuscript. Archive 333, Inventory No. 1.3.2.2, Folder 110. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/25846d5cb263dc2cac0fde8636ebed09 [image 1/8]

A 1799 baptismal record in Amsterdam includes Paul and Elisabeth Busti, but we discount that either were present. Paul Busti wrote letters placing him in Philadelphia during this period. The name of Elisabeth Busti is misspelled making her lone appearance unlikely. See Rooms-Katolieke Kerk “de Fransche Kapel” (Boommakkt), *Baptisms* (1662-1806), p 660. Archive No. 5001, Series 1.2, Inventory No. 334, p 660, Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/58fa10912fcd494c0625ffe91393f1bc [image 333/463].

“joseph brentano Semenza né en légitime mariage le 18 may 1799 de jacques brentano Semena et de josephine bertrand a été baptisé le 19 du même mois le parrain a été paul busti et la madame elisabeth maine. C. Leclerc”

Letter Busti to Joseph Ellicott regarding taverns and inns (Turner, 420), Busti letters to Van Eeghen 28 June and 2 September 1799.

Paul Busti and the Holland Land Company

The safekeeping of the records of the Holland Land Company is detailed in Safran, Franciska. *New York History*, vol. 69, no. 2 (April 1988), p. 163-83. Of special note is the finding aid for the Amsterdam collection developed by Wilhelmina Pieterse, *Inventory of the Holland Land Company, 1789-1869* as part of the 1970-80s project to microfilm all known company records.

As noted above, Busti complained to Ellicott about his retention of Company paperwork. The Holland Land Company papers of Joseph Ellicott were donated to the Buffalo Historical Society by Ellicott Evans in 1873. The publications of the Buffalo Historical Society were based on this collection without reference to the correspondence in the Van Eeghen/Amsterdam collection.

Paul D. Evans researched both the Amsterdam and the Buffalo materials as well as consulting ancillary collections. There is some suggestion that Turner and Draper may have also reviewed this same range of documents, Turner cites letters in the Buffalo Collection and Draper may have been given access to the bulk of the Company materials still in the hands of John Jacob Vanderkemp. More recent

researchers have access to both collections as a result of the microfilming project. New scanning efforts by the Stadsarchief Amsterdam provides easy access to better quality images of the documents.

In his first letter from Philadelphia, Busti wrote Van Eeghen that news of his safe arrival had likely already been delivered by Isaäk ten Cate, to whom he had dispatched a letter the day after their arrival in New York. This letter indicates that their voyage had taken 67 days.

Je me flatte, que Monsieur ten Cate, auquel j'ai communiqué de New York mon abordage sur le continent d' Amerique par un navire qui comptoit [comptait] mettre a la voile pour la Hollande le jour suivant celui de mon arrivée, se sera acquitté pour moi du devoir d'en passer la nouvelle a la Compagnie Territoriale. Après avoir accordé dix jours de repos a mon Epouse & a ma famille qui tous en avaient un besoin extreme après une traversée fatigante de 67 jours, j'ai quitté New York le premier du courant et suis arrivé aujourd'hui sur le deux heures de l'après midi dans cette Capitale.

Paul Busti. Letter to Van Eeghen (No. 1), 3 Mar 1797, Philadelphia. Manuscript. Archive 333, Inventory No. 1.3.1, Folder 85. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/f594509adf462cf4b5057bfb5fc6f1ca1 [image 1/86]

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In July-September 1805 Paul and Elisabeth Busti traveled a route touching on most of the areas where the Holland Land Company owned tracts. Their approximate route is indicated on the map. This travel has been ignored by historians, its route has not been previously described and its influence on Busti's policies has not been evaluated. The travel is described by Paul Busti in his letter to Van Eeghen in October 1805 and corroborated by the letter from Elisabeth (May) Busti to her sister in 1806.

Busti, Paul. Letter (No. 103) to Christiaan van Eeghen, 10 Oct 1805, Philadelphia. Manuscript. Archive No. 333 Holland Land Company, Inventory No.1.3.1, Folder 87 Letters from agent Paul Busti (1805-1812), Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/d97dfc2484dc9d1c922b521dfc73f1 [image 22/674]

Note: Evans referenced this letter but did not include commentary Busti's trip to Batavia. in his work.

Busti, Elisabeth (May). Letter to Françoise (May) Delprat. Philadelphia, 4 March 1806. Delprat family papers, Archive No. 2.21.183.16 Delprat, Inventory No. 99 Familiebriefwisseling van leden van het geslacht Delprat, Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Netherlands. Manuscript. Transcription in Delprat, Pauline. *Souvenirs de Voyage*. The Hague: Mouton, 1904, p 40-42.

The Land Offices are detailed in various sources, but an especially clear list is included in the description of the Holland Land Company Collection, see archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/333/

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The failure of wholesale sales and the necessary shift to retail sales was examined by Evans (265-6):

Busti as long before as the year 1804 when the Phelps and Chipman sale was just about to be consummated, had remarked that "From the sad experience we have had, it is evidenced beyond doubt, that no land sale can be made with a prospect of success unless at retail. No man of character and means will engage in any bargain for large bodies unless saddling the Company with all the troubles and risks, and reserving for themselves the whole of the profits." The poorer men of whom there was no end making applications for large blocks" could give no guarantees against the miscarriage of their contracts. Huidekoper, who had considerable experience with this class of purchasers in western Pennsylvania, summed up the matter as follows: "No sale should be made unless the vendees be persons of ample fortunes. Every wholesale to a person who must exclusively, or even mainly, rely on the proceeds of the property sold to him for the means of meeting his engagements, is in fact no sale; it is a mere agency on disadvantageous terms. If he succeed you may get your own, and he gets the property, if he fails he loses nothing; the loss & trouble & vexation all fall on the vendors."

So thoroughly convinced did Busti and Ellicott become of the unwisdom of wholesales that in 1811 they made the rule to sell no lands in that way except as a special favor, or in case of lands undesirable because of quality or situation." Busti even refused the offer of David A. Ogden, the Company's counsel, for a block of one hundred thousand acres in Cattaraugus County, not because it called for the lands at too low a price but because it conflicted with his determination to make no large sales."

Some difficulty was experienced in reconciling the proprietors to this rule. They had already been importuned by various speculators who had earlier failed to get the consent of Busti or Ellicott to buy what they wanted. Though the proprietors in every case referred the applicants back to the general agent, a suspicion still lurked in their minds that some good sales were being lost because their agent was too conservative. When they learned of the new rule, their uneasiness increased and more than one letter was sent out to Busti voicing their apprehensions. Busti had some difficulty quieting them and so welcomed with special pleasure the reports from Ellicott in the fall of 1815 of rapid sales direct to settlers and of rich collections.

B[uffalo] C[ollection]. Original Letters 1800-06, Busti to Ellicott, Jan. 10, 1804.

B[uffalo] C[ollection]. Letter Book 1800-05, Ellicott to Busti, Nov. 10, 1802. Ellicott declared that the poorest settler on the Purchase was in better circumstances than many of the township speculators.

Huidekoper Papers, H. J. Huidekoper to Vanderkemp, July 5th, 1820. Huidekoper's Letter Book 1810-20.

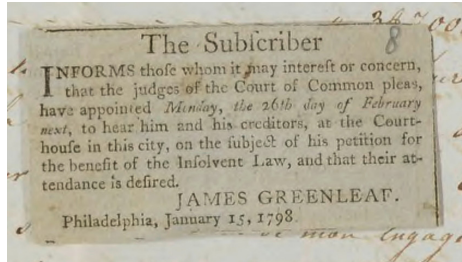
B[uffalo] C[ollection]. Original Letters 18-0-21, Busti to Ellicott, Apr. 10, 1811.

B[uffalo] C[ollection]. Original Letters 1810-21, Busti to Ellicott, Feb. 23, 1815.

Those associated with the Holland Land Company who were jeopardized by the burst of the speculation bubble and the 1796 Panic included Robert Morris (imprisonment 1798-1801), James Greenleaf bankruptcy 1797, imprisonment 1797-1798); John Nicholson (impeached as comptroller of Pennsylvania in 1793, imprisonment 1799-1800 (death)), James Wilson (U.S. Supreme Court justice but largely absent

to avoid creditors until his death in 1798). Morris was imprisoned from February 1798 – August 1801 in Prune Street Debtors Prison, just two blocks from the HLC main office. (Smith 192, 204)

This clipping of Greenleaf's bankruptcy hearing was included in the February 1798 letter to Van Eeghen.



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