

Supplemental References and Annotations for Rediscovering Paul Busti (1749-1824)

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Preface

These notes provide additional references and commentary for the article “Rediscovering Paul Busti (1749-1824)” published in *Italian Americana*, Winter 2023. Where possible, digital access links are provided with the hope that they are persistent. **Section titles** from the article organize this Supplement and indented paragraphs follow the paragraphs of the article. Topics are in CAPITAL letters and references are included in the footnotes.

Introduction

PAUL BUSTI and his name. Some commentaries indicate that Busti *anglicized* his name when he came to America. This is wrong in two aspects: 1) Busti more likely *gallicized* his name as *Paul* is the French form of *Paolo*, and 2) Busti did this when he moved to Amsterdam around 1770, not when he arrived in America in 1797. Elisabeth (May) Busti referred to herself as *Lise* and her husband as *Paul* in her letter to her youngest sister after arriving in Philadelphia.¹ We generally use the form *Paul Busti* because this is the name relevant to his place in history as the *Agent General* of the Holland Land Company. There is one known example of his use of the Latinate form, *Paulus Busti*, in an American document.² Busti used the more formal Latinate *Paulus* in many documents in Amsterdam, especially in his marriage record.³ *Paolo Busti* is a name form employed in the promotion of Busti as a cultural figure in America, but note that the baptismal form of his name was not written *Paolo* but *Pauolo Ignatio Gerardo Maria Busti*.

PRONUNCIATION OF BUSTI IN AMERICA. We know that Paul Busti used the Italian pronunciation of his name in Philadelphia. This was noted by Lorin Blodget who had researched the issue in Philadelphia in the 1850s with people who had known Paul Busti personally. Lorin Blodget wrote that Busti had pronounced his surname *Bewsty*⁴ which we consider an approximate transcription of the Italian pronunciation.

¹ Elisabeth (May) Busti. *Letter to Françoise (May) Delprat. Philadelphia, 24 November 1797*. Manuscript. Delprat family papers, Archive No. 2.21.183.16 Delprat, Inventory No. 99 Familiebriefwisseling van leden van het geslacht Delprat, collection of the Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Netherlands.

Transcription in Pauline Delprat. *Souvenirs de Voyage*. The Hague: Mouton, 1904, p. 40-2. Note this book is listed in worldcat.org under Manon Delprat; correction noted by Heleen Pronk.

² Frank H. Severance (1856-1931). “The Holland Land Co. and Canal Construction in Western New York,” *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, vol. 14, 1910, p. 19. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31158006571094

³ Engelse Episcopaals Kerk (Amsterdam). *Dopen, Trouwen, Begraven*, vol. 2 (1698-1821), p. 75. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.1/start/30/limit/10/highlight/8

⁴ Lorin Blodget. “Paul Busti,” paper presented to the Chautauqua Society of History and Natural Science, 27 January 1886, published in the *Jamestown Evening Journal*, 28 January 1886, p. 2. Republished in Buffalo: Ferdinand Magnani, 1932.

LOMBARDY. The size of Lombardy⁵ has varied over time and today is 23,864 km². The total land area administered by Paul Busti was approximately 22,250 km² (8,600 square miles or 5.5 million acres). In addition, Busti was responsible for the 40% interest held in the 1,955 km² (483,000 acres) of the Pennsylvania Population Company.

SENECA NATION. Many historians, including Chazanof characterized Paul Busti as an assistant to Theophile Cazanove from February 1797 to June 1799, but we believe this is incorrect.⁶ Consequently, we understand that the Treaty of Big Tree in August 1797 took place under the responsibility of Busti in cooperation with Theophile Cazenove. The Holland Land Company (HLC) was represented at Big Tree by William Bayard (LeRoy, Bayard & McEvers) leading a committee that included Jan Lincklaen, Gerrit Boon, Jan Gabriel van Staphorst, Roelof van Staphorst, and Joseph Ellicott.⁷ The representatives of William Morris made the deals that resulted in the Big Tree treaty, however, the HLC and Paul Busti were complicit. In 1803-4 Joseph Ellicott negotiated with the Seneca through William Johnston to modify the Buffalo Creek Reservation providing a larger waterfront for the HLC tract. In 1810, Paul Busti sold the preemptory rights of the land of the reservations of the Seneca Nation for \$98,917.50 to David A. Ogden, et al.⁸ This sale led to the Buffalo Creek Treaties (1838, 1842). David A. Ogden and his brother, Thomas L. Ogden were the principal attorneys for the HLC in New York State and their Ogden Land Company trust was a long-term nemesis of the Seneca Nation.

HUIDEKOPER'S LESSEE'S V. DOUGLASS. The HLC owners were aliens which permitted the HLC to bypass Pennsylvania state courts and take their case directly to the Federal Court in this action.⁹ For a discussion of the impact of the case, see Crosskey and Jeffrey.¹⁰

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Theophile Cazenove employed Alexander Hamilton to lobby for the legislation to permit alien land ownership by the HLC. Hamilton's efforts were unsuccessful. Hamilton also served as a legal consultant to the HLC. Paul Busti interacted generally with Hamilton's junior partners, David A. Ogden and Thomas L. Ogden.

AARON BURR. His relationship with the HLC varied and was complex. Burr was on the hook with the Holland Land Company for the purchase of 100,000 acres in Pennsylvania from the Holland Land Company contracted prior to the market collapse in 1796. Burr was in jeopardy of defaulting on his contract which included a \$20,000 penalty clause. At the same time, Burr was elected to his first of two terms as a New York State Assemblyman (1797-9). In 1797, after the land speculation bubble burst, the political antagonism in Albany towards foreign investment changed and Cazenove engaged Burr to push through new legislation allowing alien land ownership. The HLC provided funding for bribes to Josiah Ogden Hoffman (New York State Attorney General, \$3000), Thomas Morris (New York State Senator, \$1000), and Mr. L_____ (unidentified, \$1000). Thomas Morris (son of Robert Morris) guided the legislation through the New York State Senate without complications, Burr was able to work the bill through the

⁵ Trecanni. *Enciclopedia on line*. Digital access: treccani.it/enciclopedia/lombardia

⁶ William Chazanof (1915-1999). *Joseph Ellicott and the Holland Land Company: The Opening of Western New York*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1970, p. 32. Digital version: muse.jhu.edu/chapter/2179080

⁷ William Chazanof, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Pieter Jan van Winter (1895-1990). *Het aandeel van den Amsterdamschen handel aan den opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest*. vol 2. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1933, p. 333n. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000126305

⁸ New York State Assembly. *Report of Special Committee to Investigate the Indian Problem of the State of New York: Appointed by the Assembly of 1888*. Albany, 1889, p. 134-5. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951001520605o

⁹ M. Ruth Reilly Kelly. "Rightfully Theirs and Valid in the Law: Western Pennsylvania Land Wards, 1792-1810." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 71, no. 1, Penn State University Press, 2004, pp. 44. Digital access: jstor.org/stable/27778585

¹⁰ *Huidekoper's Lessee's v. Douglass*, 4 U.S. 392 (1805). Case reviewed in William W. Crosskey and William Jeffrey. *Politics and the Constitution in the History of the United States*, vol 1, 1953, p. 725-45.

Assembly, and the act became law on 2 April 1798. In addition to the slush fund, the HLC provided a \$5500 loan to Burr.

In 1798, the title to the Genesee lands was endangered by the bankruptcy proceedings against Robert Morris that involved Edward Livingston and later Aaron Burr. After a series of legal maneuvers led by David A. Ogden, the HLC was able to buy out the claim of Pascal Hollingsworth predicated on making a \$1,500 payment to Aaron Burr. The issue of Burr's land contract persisted until a settlement was reached in 1799 and Burr paid the HLC several thousand dollars.¹¹ Paul Busti wrote to his Directors (translated):¹²

My trip to New York had the double object of bidding my last farewell to Mr. Cazenove, who was preparing to leave, and to be present and to take part in the deliberations which were being held between your Lawyers and your Agents, in order to determine the most suitable measures for securing the possession of the 1,500,000 acres of the Genesee, disputed on the one hand by the seller Morris and threatened on the other by the activities of some Intriguers. Your letters were thus communicated to Mr. Cazenove. The first thing we did was to take upon ourselves to alter the powers you granted me in regard to Burr's contract; not to extend the term of payment of the 100,000 acres, but to cancel the contract by accepting for the amount of the sum, which he owes in calls provided the 100 shares of the Population Company and by returning to him his promissory note in collateral security and his note for \$5,500, part of the \$10,500 of which I sent you by Triplicate the details. You know well enough from the various information given to you by Mr. Cazenove what kind of man this Mr. Burr is; his principles & financial situation have always made me wish to see the Holland Company free of any connection with him. I congratulate you heartily on no longer being in contact with such a man.

JOHN B. CHURCH. At a private dinner party, John B. Church questioned the ethics of Burr's efforts on behalf of the HLC and this led to a duel between Burr and Church on 2 September 1799 in Hoboken, New Jersey. Details of the duel were reported the next day in the *Commercial Advertiser* (New York) and republished by newspapers nationwide.¹³ Note that John B. Church and Alexander Hamilton were married to the Schuyler sisters, Angelica and Elizabeth. BRIBERY of local officials in western Pennsylvania was admitted by Paul Busti to his Director.¹⁴

ITALIAN AMERICAN HISTORIES. There is no reference to Paul Busti in *The Routledge History of Italian Americans* edited by Connell and Pugliese, 2018. Also, no mention by Adolph Caso in *They Too Made America Great*. 1978. A less than thorough survey of textbooks about New York State history did not identify an instance of mention of Paul Busti since the 1930s.

PAOLO BUSTI CULTURAL FOUNDATION is based in Batavia, New York, and provides college scholarships to students interested in Italian American culture.

Historical, cultural, and political groups named for Busti included:

THE BUSTI SOCIAL AND ATHLETIC CLUB operated in the first decades of the 1900s in Buffalo and sponsored events beginning in 1908.¹⁵ In 1908 the leadership was listed as Charles C. Privitera (1882 Palermo-1971), Anthony C. Jillen, Daniel A. Senno (1890-1919), Joseph Bellanca

¹¹ Paul Demund Evans (1892-1983). *The Holland Land Company*. *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, vol. 28, 1924, p. 178-84. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015014228475 Burr's original land purchase agreement and his settlement agreement are both in the collection of the New York Public Library.

¹² Paul Busti. *Letter to P&C van Eeghen, No. 2, 28 June 1799*. Collection of the Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Translation from the French by the authors. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.10.2/start/0/limit/10/highlight/2

¹³ Ron Chernow. *Alexander Hamilton*. 2004, p. 589, 633, 770n.

¹⁴ Paul D. Evans, *op cit.*, p. 139-40.

¹⁵ *Buffalo Courier*, 22 March 1908, p 28; *Buffalo Illustrated Times*, February 6, 1910, p. 33 and April 24, 1910, p. 34.

(1885-1951), John L. Spero (1882-1934), Anthony J. Cortelli (1883 San Fele-1955), and Samuel Sciolino.

WEST BUFFALO BUSTI ROMANS were a local amateur baseball team from about 1913-1918. PAUL BUSTI DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION in the 1920s promoting Italian women in politics in Buffalo and Erie County.¹⁶

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS. This article corrects the place and date of birth of Paul Busti and provides his baptismal name. Likewise, this article provides details of his family and identifies his uncle in Amsterdam, now known to have been P. A. Zappa. The date and location of his marriage to Elisabeth May are published for the first time. No new information regarding his death or burial has been encountered; unfortunately, the graves of Elisabeth and Paul Busti are not marked. The Christ Church Burial Ground has about 1400 grave markers today, but this only represents about 35% of all burials. There is no mention of their grave markers in an 1856 list by the sexton.¹⁷

The erasure of Paul Busti

TRICENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS. In 1920 there were a series of Mayflower celebrations in the United States. The dignitaries who visited Buffalo had just come from Syracuse, New York. The details of the parade were published in the *Buffalo Evening News*.¹⁸ No photograph of the Italian American float was published in local newspapers and has not been located in local archives.

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). The HLC 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. Ellicott Evans donated these papers to the Buffalo Historical Society in 1873.

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*.¹⁹

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.²⁰

ALICE MARY EVANS (1858-1936), Bartlett's wife, was the great-great-niece of Joseph Ellicott and the great-niece of William Peacock. See family history by her father, Charles W. Evans.²¹

¹⁶ *The Buffalo Times*, 14 August 1926, p 16.

¹⁷ Edward L. Clark. *A Record of the Inscriptions on the Tablets and Grave-Stones in the Burial-Grounds of Christ Church, Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Collins, 1864. Digital access: familysearch.org/library/books/idurl/1/104015 or data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=bl-000711479

¹⁸ *Buffalo Evening News*, 23 Sep. 1920, p. 2.

¹⁹ 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. Special thanks to Joe Festa, Special Collections Librarian at Fenimore Art Museum & The Farmers' Museum for providing a digital copy for this study.

²⁰ "Obituaries," *New York History*, vol. 13, no. 1, New York State Historical Association, 1932, p. 90-1. Digital access: jstor.org/stable/24469730

²¹ Charles W. Evans (1812-1889). *Biographical and Historical Accounts of the Fox, Ellicott, and Evans Families, and the Different Families Connected with Them*. 1882. Digital access: archive.org/details/biographicalhist00evan

THE DEBATE ABOUT THE FOUNDER OF BUFFALO. No single “Founder of Buffalo” fits the history of the city. Predating the acquisition of the land that would become the city of Buffalo, the Seneca and William Johnston lived on Buffaloe Creek. Several early settlers, including Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, Louis Le Couteulx, Erastus Granger, *et al.* were important in the early development of the village. New Amsterdam (later renamed Buffalo) was established by the Holland Land Company in 1803-4 by Pieter van Eeghen (C.E.O. of the Holland Land Company in Amsterdam), Paul Busti (C.O.O.), Joseph Ellicott (designer of the urban plan and resident local agent), and William Peacock (surveyor who laid out the plan).

JOSEPH ELLICOTT, THE FOUNDER OF BUFFALO. Note that in the long speech by Ellicott Evans, he made no claim that Joseph Ellicott was the founder of Buffalo. Johnson’s 1876 history of Erie County (where Buffalo is located) called Ellicott the founder of Buffalo.²² Johnson was cited in 1924 by G. Hunter Bartlett:²³

“Crisfield Johnson in his “Centennial History of Erie County, New York,” published 1876, says at page 99: “The City of Buffalo was founded by Joseph Ellicott. He not only selected the site and laid out the town, but it was only through his good judgment and special exertions that there was any town there.” No one questioned these matters in former years. I do not know who began the latter-day ungenerous and unfair attempts to rob Mr. Ellicott’s memory of its just due, but I trust that the Buffalo Planning Association will no longer be a party to them.”

Crisfield Johnson compiled his history and relied on Orsamus Turner, cited Ellicott Evans twice, and his commentary about Red Jacket suggests a questionable mindset about history. Johnson was likely responsible for the unequivocal statement in H. Perry Smith’s history of Buffalo and Erie County: “The city of Buffalo was founded by Joseph Ellicott.”²⁴ J. N. Larned was on the Library Committee with Frank H. Severance and wrote a history of Buffalo that goes out of its way to omit mention of Paul Busti.²⁵ Robert W. Bingham edited some of Joseph Ellicott’s papers and wrote a history of Buffalo in later publications by the Buffalo Historical Society (1931). Bingham shifted language and calls Ellicott the creator of New Amsterdam rather than asserting that he was the Founder of Buffalo in his history.²⁶

THE LOGISTICAL IMPORTANCE OF BUFFALO. Crisfield Johnson’s suggestion that only Ellicott realized the importance of a port at Buffalo is an error. The geography of the upper Great Lakes was well understood in the 1700s and the importance of the location of Buffalo was discernible following the division of the Niagara region between British Canada and the United States. Paul Busti sent John Lincklaen (a former naval officer) in 1802 and Harm Jan Huidekoper in 1804 to review the territory, likely as a check on Ellicott’s evaluations. When Joseph Ellicott was designing the layout of the village of New Amsterdam that would become Buffalo, Francis

²² Crisfield Johnson (1836-1922). *Centennial History of Erie County, New York: Being Its Annals From the Earliest Recorded Events to the Hundredth Year of American Independence*. Buffalo, 1876, p. 349. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89076731223

²³ G. Hunter Bartlett (1856-1931). "Correspondence: Joseph Ellicott, Founder and Planner of Buffalo and Batavia," in Buffalo Historical Society. *Address of the President and Report of the Director Submitted at the Annual Meeting, January 8, 1924*. Buffalo, NY, 1924, p. 94. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b728263](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b728263)

²⁴ H. Perry Smith (ed.). *History of the City of Buffalo and Erie County: With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, vol. 1, 1884, p. 12, 79, 214. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x000108830

²⁵ J. N. Larned (1836-1913), *et al.* *A History of Buffalo, Delineating the Evolution of the City*. New York: The Progress of the Empire State company, 1911. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015027759748

²⁶ Robert W. Bingham (1880-1966). "The Holland Land Company," *The Cradle of the Queen City: A History of Buffalo to the Incorporation of the City*. Buffalo, N.Y: Buffalo Historical Society, 1931, p. 194. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x000743988

Adrian van der Kemp had been suggesting for more than a decade that a canal linking Lake Erie to the Hudson was feasible, a consideration understood by Gov. Clinton.²⁷ Paul Busti was relieved to see on his visit in 1805 that the area between Black Rock and Buffalo was unsuitable for building (at that time) and therefore not a competition for the development of the port at Buffalo, a detail that Ellicott apparently failed to assess or report.²⁸

PAOLO BUSTI, THE FOUNDER OF BUFFALO. Ferdinando Magnani made news in 1926 by asserting that Paul Busti was the rightful founder of Buffalo, not just co-founder. This was a follow-up to his article in *Il Carroccio*. The article along with an unflattering photograph of Magnani appeared in the Sunday edition of the *Buffalo Courier*.²⁹

BUSTI AMONG THE FOUNDERS OF BUFFALO. Bartlett mentions Busti's discretion to argue that Paul Busti would not have claimed to have been one of the founders of Buffalo:³⁰

"Certainly, no one seeks to belittle the work of Paul Busti, his letters and official papers speak for themselves. Quite recently, however, possibly because of racial enthusiasm, there have been attempts to claim credit for him for actions which he himself would have been the first to disown."

The problem with this statement is that Paul Busti identified himself as a founder of Buffalo:³¹

"I have been pleased with the view of New Amsterdam and piercing into futurity with imagination I fancied to see the vacant spots all filled with houses and palaces. Posterity however will shake off the burden your desire of perpetuating the barbarous names of the founders made you lay on them. Bustia [sic] & Schimmelpenick streets will soon take other names. Should an American be condemned to pronounce such strange words perhaps he would prefer to desert the place. I give you the due thanks for the good intention of keeping alive the remembrance of mine, but as men are guided by caprice do I expect that they will pay that tribute to my vanity as to retain the names you have affixed, new ones more congenial to their language will succeed, and if it should happen you are too wise not to indulge the caprice and to accommodate the whim by adopting the vulgar denominations.

Despite Busti's subsequent reference to himself and Schimmelpennick, thereby identifying himself (Busti) as a founder, Bartlett imposes the parenthetical (*of the Holland Land Company*) to erase Paul Busti from inclusion among *the founders*.³²

October 24th, 1804, Mr. Busti acknowledges the receipt of the plan as follows:

"Have been pleased with the view [i. e. plan] of New Amsterdam. A piercing into futurity with the imagination I fancied to see the vacant spots all filled with houses and palaces." Mr. Busti suggests no changes whatever but makes a little fun over the naming of the streets after the Dutch proprietors and himself and predicts they will not last. "Posterity however will shake off the burden you desire of perpetuating the barbarous names of the founders (of the Holland Company) you lay on them. Bustia and Schimmel out, streets will soon take other names. Should an American [be] condemned to pronounce such strange words perhaps he would prefer to desert the place."

²⁷ Francis Adrian van der Kemp and Helen Lincklaen Fairchild. *Francis Adrian van der Kemp, 1752-1829, an autobiography together with extracts from his correspondence*. New York, 1903, p. 243. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4470234

²⁸ Paul Busti. *Letter (No. 103) to Christiaan van Eeghen, 10 Oct 1805*. Manuscript. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Holland Land Company collection, Archive No. 333, Inventory No.1.3.1, Folder 87 Letters from agent Paul Busti (1805-1812). Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.10.3/start/20/limit/10/highlight/2

²⁹ *Buffalo Courier*, 14 Feb. 1926, p. 61.

³⁰ G. Hunter Bartlett, 1924, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

³¹ Paul Busti. *Letter to Joseph Ellicott, 24 October 1804, p 2*. Collection of the Buffalo History Museum

³² G. Hunter Bartlett, 1924, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

Bartlett quotes the above document and distorts its meaning by adding an unwarranted parenthetical note (not a bracketed editorial comment as he did in another part of this passage) that redefines the passage itself. Bartlett writes that Magnani's *racial enthusiasm* had made Magnani distort the facts, however, this is an example of the subtle but persistent prejudice in Bartlett's writing.

FOUNDER OF BATAVIA. Joseph Ellicott did reside in and would properly be designated as the Founder of Batavia, New York. The small city of Batavia was established under the administration of Busti and its name was suggested by Paul Busti after disallowing Ellicott's suggestion of *Bustiville*.³³ Ellicott designed the town plan. Joseph Ellicott's stone office building in Batavia today serves as a museum (hollandlandoffice.com).

The grudge

THE BIG FAMILY. The grudge of the "Big Family" is alluded to by Chazanof who describes the extent of the family involvement in the operations of the HLC.³⁴ Joseph Ellicott entrenched family members in his administration of the Holland Land Company in western New York. How Paul Busti managed this nepotism has not been studied. The Big family were descendants of Joseph Ellicott, Sr. (1732-1780) and Judith Bleaker (1729-1809), Quakers from Bucks County, Pennsylvania and developers of Ellicott Mills, Maryland.³⁵ In the list below, those in **bold** worked for HLC directly, worked for Joseph Ellicott in Batavia, were associated with the HLC, or wrote histories about the HLC. The descendants included:

1. **Andrew A. Ellicott** (1754-1820, surveyor, civil servant, professor, advertised himself as a HLC agent)
 - m. Sarah Jane Brown
 - 1.1. **Andrew A. Ellicott, Jr.** (1776-1839, surveyor, clerk in Batavia Land Office)
 - 1.3. Jane J. Ellicott
 - m. **Dr. Thomas R. Kennedy** (1763-1813, Meadville, land developer in Chautauqua County)
 - 1.10. **John B. Ellicott** (1795-1872, clerk in Batavia Land Office)
2. Sarah Ellicott (1755-1779 unmarried)
3. **David Ellicott** (1756-1807, surveyor, millwright, road survey and clearing)
 - m. Martha Evans (*sibling of Joseph, John, and Lewis Evans*)
4. Ann Ellicott (1758-1840)
 - m. Joseph Evans (*sibling of Martha, John, and Lewis Evans*)
 - 4.3. **Alice Evans** (1780-1859, housekeeper for Joseph Ellicott 1805-1807)
 - m. **William Peacock** (surveyor, Resident Land Agent in Mayville)
 - 4.3.4. Mary Peacock (see below)
 - 4.6. **Benjamin Evans** (1786-1839, clerk in Mayville Land Office)
5. **Joseph Ellicott** (1760-1826, unmarried, surveyor, Resident Land Agent in Batavia)
6. Letitia Ellicott (1762-1841)
 - m. John Evans (*sibling of Joseph, Martha, and Lewis Evans*)
 - 6.1. William Evans (1778-1840)
 - m. Margaret Randall
 - 6.1.3. **Charles W. Evans** (1812-1889. author of family history)
 - m. 4.3.4. Mary Peacock (1821-1912)
 - 6.1.3.1. **Alice Mary Evans** (1858-1936)
 - m. **G. Hunter Bartlett** (1856-1936, real estate developer, historian)

³³ William Seaver (1789 - 1871). *A Historical Sketch of the Village of Batavia*. Batavia, 1849, p 8-9. Digital access: archive.org/details/historisketch00sea

³⁴ William Chazanof, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³⁵ Charles W. Evans, *op. cit.*

- 6.2. **Rachel Evans** (1780-1845, housekeeper for Joseph Ellicott 1805-1810)
- 7. **Benjamin Ellicott** (1765-1827, unmarried, surveyor, mechanic, assistant to Joseph Ellicott)
- 8. Rachel Ellicott (1765-1851)
 - m. Lewis Evans (*sibling of Joseph, John, and Martha Evans*)
 - 8.1. **David E. Evans** (1788-1850, assistant to Joseph Ellicott, Land Agent in Batavia)
 - m. Lucy Grant
 - 8.1.1. **Ellicott Evans** (1819-1891, professor of history, Hamilton College)
- 9. Mary Ellicott (1769-1791)
 - m. Thomas Brown

ANDREW ELLICOTT served as the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Land Office from 1801-1808, an office critical to HLC investments in northwestern and north central Pennsylvania. Andrew Ellicott had previously been involved in the surveys of the northern and western borders of Pennsylvania and in the design and survey of the future city of Erie at Presque Isle. This predated the purchase of the Erie triangle by the Pennsylvania Population Company (40% owned by the HLC). Ellicott is best known for his work carrying out the plan of L'Enfant for Washington, D.C., led several significant survey projects, served as the surveyor general of the United States, and taught at the Military Academy at West Point. Despite all these accomplishments, Andrew Ellicott misrepresented himself as a land agent for the HLC in a Pittsburgh newspaper advertisement. This led to a prompt rebuke from Busti.³⁶ Huidekoper considered Andrew Ellicott to be unreliable, a man whose opinions were like a weather vane, changing with every political wind.³⁷

DAVID ELLICOTT. Paul Busti employed David Ellicott in 1804-5 to survey and open a road between present day Lock Haven, Pennsylvania to the New York border just north of Bradford, Pennsylvania. There it met a new road following Cattaraugus Creek to Irving, New York on Lake Erie (Evans 96). David Ellicott was estranged from the Big Family after 1807, his life thereafter remains a mystery.³⁸

BENJAMIN ELLICOTT employed his brother Benjamin in Batavia with projects including the construction of mills and salt operations. He was regarded as a mechanical genius, possibly in the same category as David Rittenhouse.

REPUTATION OF JOSEPH ELLICOTT. Bartlett expressed his and the family's interest in protecting the memory of Joseph Ellicott.³⁹

"I, and others of the family who respect his [Joseph Ellicott's] memory, have been looking forward to your book as the long wished for comprehensive and definite story of those interesting times, feel that Mr. Ellicott should not be pilloried, and his reputation as a business man and administrator assailed because his carefully laid plans failed largely through the abnormal financial depression of the times."

"Please understand that this letter is not written for any controversial purpose, but simply to state our point of view. We only want a "square deal" for Mr. Ellicott and we ask you to consider the question from his side.

RESIGNATION OF JOSEPH ELLICOTT is treated by Chazanof.⁴⁰ The family also resented that Paul Busti had complained to Joseph Ellicott that Ellicott had failed to return Company documents.⁴¹ These documents were proudly donated by Ellicott Evans to the Buffalo Historical

³⁶ Harm Jan Huidekoper. *Letter to Paul Busti*, citation.

³⁷ Harm Jan Huidekoper. *Letter to Paul Busti*, citation.

³⁸ Charles W. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

³⁹ G. Hunter Bartlett. *Copy of Letter to Paul D. Evans, 9 February. 1925*, p. 4-5. Collection of the Buffalo History Museum.

⁴⁰ William Chazanof, *op. cit.*, p. 181-208.

⁴¹ Paul Busti. *Letter to Joseph Ellicott, Philadelphia 15 March 1822*. Collection of the Buffalo History Museum.

Society in 1873 and became the basis for the Ellicott-Evans-Bartlett collection. This subject is dealt with generally by Bartlett in his letters to Paul D. Evans. SUICIDE OF JOSEPH ELLICOTT is detailed in a letter from the director of the asylum.⁴²

RESENTMENT AGAINST BUSTI. The family rationalized the suicide of their patron by transferring their anger to Paul Busti. An anonymous anti-Busti sentiment was expressed in *The Buffalo Times* more than seventy-five years after the death of Joseph Ellicott.⁴³ The article coincides with the Second Boer War and anti-Dutch sentiments. *Oom* translates from Dutch as uncle.

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.

Nativism and Anti-Italian sentiments in Buffalo in the 1920s

PATROON. 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:⁴⁴ "Thus died the Patroon and founder of settlement, upon the Holland Purchase." Turner's descriptions were always within the larger understanding of the hierarchy of the HLC. Bartlett applied the same term *Patroon* but warped the context of Ellicott's powers.

DISCOUNTING BUSTI. Because little biographical information about Paul Busti was available, Bartlett was at liberty to characterize Busti as he saw the Italian.

THE BIG MAN. Bartlett's characterization of Joseph Ellicott as the "Big Man" of the enterprise is not seen in the correspondence of the HLC. In our reading of the correspondence to date, Paul Busti patronized Joseph Ellicott frequently in his letters. Nor is Ellicott the Big Man in his dismissal by Busti. Furthermore, it seems that Busti used Ellicott's desire to be the Big Man in offering the option to buy the Company assets conditioned on Ellicott's demission and cooperation.

⁴² Laban Gardner. *Letter to David E. Evans, Bloomingdale Asylum, 21 August 1826*. Ellicott, Evans, Bartlett family collection, Buffalo History Museum.

⁴³ *The Buffalo Times*, 28 March 1902, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Orsamus Turner (1801-1855). *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York: Embracing Some Account of the Ancient Remains ... And a History of Pioneer Settlement Under the Auspices of the Holland Company; Including Reminiscences of the War of 1812; the Origin, Progress And Completion of the Erie Canal, Etc., Etc., Etc.* Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co, 1849, p. 437. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015010949645

ANTI-POLISH, TOO. 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.”⁴⁵ Both literally inaccurate 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:⁴⁶

“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”.

Stadnitski owned 23.2% of the HLC. 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.⁴⁷ 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 HLC.⁴⁸ Today, Bartlett’s arguments appear contrived, prejudiced and dim.

NATIVISM AND THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS. This subject was studied by Elizabeth M. Brick in *Shades of Grey: Nativism, Racism and Other Trends in the Writings of the Buffalo Historical Society*.⁴⁹ We would like to thank Cynthia Van Ness of the Buffalo History Museum for drawing our attention to this work.

IL CARROCCIO. Magnani, like this magazine, was pro-Fascist.⁵⁰ Magnani gave at least one lecture in support of Mussolini in 1930 at the University of Buffalo.⁵¹ Mussolini’s politics were criticized by Dean Parks in the next meeting of the sponsoring club.⁵²

FERDINANDO MAGNANI (1874-1934), also known as Ferdinand Magnani, noted that he was the instigator behind the Paolo Busti float in the Pilgrim Parade in Buffalo.⁵³ Ferdinando Magnani was born 25 April 1874 in Faenza, Ravenna, Italy and died there on 5 March 1934 during

⁴⁵ G. Hunter Bartlett. "Andrew and Joseph Ellicott" in *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, Recalling Pioneer Days*, vol. 26, 1922, p. 41-2. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89065904492

⁴⁶ G. Hunter Bartlett, 1922, *op. cit.* p. 42.

⁴⁷ G. Hunter Bartlett, 1924, *op. cit.* p. 90-6.

⁴⁸ For more on Stadnitski, see James Jan Kaminski. “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](https://www.jstor.org/stable/20148218)

⁴⁹ Brick, Elizabeth M. *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. Special thanks to Joe Festa, Special Collections Librarian at Fenimore Art Museum & The Farmers’ Museum for providing a digital copy for this study.

⁵⁰ *Il Carroccio* (New York) was published by Agostino De Biasi from 1915-1935 and “served as a vehicle for fascist propaganda during the height of Mussolini’s regime.” Library of Congress. Digital content: [lccn.loc.gov/22006584](https://www.loc.gov/22006584)

⁵¹ *The Bee* (Univ. of Buffalo), 7 March 1930, p. 2. Digital access: [nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/np00130002/1930-03-07/ed-1/seq-2/](https://www.nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/np00130002/1930-03-07/ed-1/seq-2/)

⁵² *The Bee*, 14 March 1930, p. 1. Digital access: [nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/np00130002/1930-03-14/ed-1/seq-1/](https://www.nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/np00130002/1930-03-14/ed-1/seq-1/)

⁵³ Ferdinando Magnani (1874-1934). "Paul Busti and the Holland Land Co.: An Historical Vindication," *Il Carroccio* (New York), vol. 23, January 1926. Special thanks to Mary Brown of the Archives of the Center for Migration Studies of New York for providing a scan of this difficult to encounter title early in this research. That issue has now become available online. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015073737325

a return visit. Magnani came to America in 1897 and in 1911 married Angela Zini, widow of John Bianchi. They had no children. He was an editor, worked in a bank, made translations, and taught Italian. Magnani wrote several short biographies and journal articles about Paul Busti.

IL CORRIERE, the Italian language newspaper in Buffalo, began with unstable financial backing that led to ownership by Sebastian Lunghino and his sons who were involved in private banking, law and politics tied to the Italian communities in Buffalo and Rochester, New York.

THE D.A.R. LECTURES. The Daughters of the American Revolution sponsored lectures to immigrants.⁵⁴ President William McKinley was assassinated by Leon Czolgosz, a first-generation Polish American born in Michigan in 1873. Czolgosz's parents and elder siblings had emigrated to the United States from a Polish area in Eastern Prussia about 1872. Czolgosz was executed in 1901, just forty-five days after the death of McKinley. Czolgosz was an unrepentant anarchist who was possibly motivated by the assassination of King Umberto I of Italy in 1900 by Gaetano Bresci, an Italian anarchist who had lived in the United States.

FARM JOURNAL. Magnani notes that he had read through Paul Busti's farm journal in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Bartlett gave a backhanded compliment to Magnani in a letter to Paul D. Evans:⁵⁵

First, as to your inquiry about Mrs. Busti and my statement as to her being an Englishwoman. I got this from a published letter of F. Magnani, the local Italian editor (now in Europe) who for years had been pushing a Busti propaganda here. He says her name was "Elizabeth May" and that she was the daughter of an "English Captain" and was married to Mr. Busti in Holland. Magnani is very tricky in twisting quotations to suit his arguments but he has hunted jealously for references to Busti and I think his statement as to Mrs. Busti is probably correct...

Holland Land Company histories

FRANK H. SEVERANCE. 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*.⁵⁶

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 and would have been aware of Busti both hiring and accepting the demission of (firing) Ellicott, and of their two decades of correspondence. The take-away is that Severance knowingly engaged in misrepresentation and the local newspapers viewed him as the authority on historical issues.

HISTORIES. Many histories have relied on the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, see for example Wikipedia, general magazine and newspaper articles, etc. Diminishing the role of Paul Busti can be unintentional by researchers. See, for example, the very interesting original research

⁵⁴ *The Buffalo Enquirer*, 17 February 1904, p 9.

⁵⁵ G. Hunter Bartlett. *Letter to Paul D. Evans*, 1925, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁵⁶ *The Buffalo Evening News*, 7 May 1910, p. 10.

by William Wykoff.⁵⁷ His examination of the HLC'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 a dismissal of the impact of the Dutch Investors and their interests and Paul Busti and his direction. The hierarchy of the organization was ignored and Busti was commonly subsumed within "The Dutch." This was not Wykoff's intent as communicated by email. A larger criticism of this work is Wykoff's lack of analysis of the external economics that affected the business decisions that then inscribed the land. This is an example where the general omission of the work of Van Winter has been detrimental to scholarship. Likewise, while his bibliography is replete with texts influenced by the Buffalo Historical Society, the work of Ferdinando Magnani is not referenced.

The research by Charles E. Brooks repackaged the work of Chazanof and Wykoff within a "market revolution" framework.⁵⁸ Brooks seems to have unknowingly continued Evans, Severance and Bartlett's depreciation of Busti.

ORSAMUS TURNER. 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.⁵⁹

PAUL D. EVANS. Paul Demund Evans (1892-1983) was the son of a Welsh immigrant and was not related to the Ellicott-Evans family (the "Big Family"). Evans completed his M.A. at Cornell University, served in France during WWI, and studied briefly at the Sorbonne. In 1919 he married Marthe Elise Malot in Paris. Evans published at least one article in a French journal, "Deux Émigrés en Amérique: Tallyrand et Beaumez" (1926). 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 is from the introduction by Barbara Henry to the master's thesis by Evans.⁶⁰

Unlike most treatments of the HLC, Evans reviewed the entirety of the operations of the company including 1) investments in American stocks and bonds, 2) land tracts in central New York, 3) land tracts in western Pennsylvania, 4) land tracts in northern Pennsylvania, and 5) land tracts in western New York. He also detailed their interests (40% ownership) in the Pennsylvania Population Company.

PUBLICATION INTERFERENCE. Paul D. Evans presented his work at the Buffalo Historical Society, discussed issues with both Mr & Mrs. G. Hunter Bartlett, exchanged letters with Bartlett and Severance, and thanked Bartlett and Severance in the introduction to his book. Severance censored paragraphs from the dissertation dealing with Resident Agent David E. Evans (one of the Big Family) by "omitting the libelous allusions." Bartlett (an alumnus of Yale) wrote to Paul D.

⁵⁷ William Wykoff. *The Developer's Frontier: The Making of the Western New York Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988. Digital access: archive.org/details/developersfronti0000wyck/

⁵⁸ Charles E. Brooks. *Frontier Settlement and Market Revolution: The Holland Land Purchase*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

⁵⁹ Orsamus Turner. *Letter to Lyman C. Draper, Lockport, NY, 17 May 1850*, p. 1, Lyman C. Draper manuscript collection, Wisconsin Historical Society. Unusual, but correct, Orsamus is the correct spelling of his given name.

⁶⁰ Barabara Henry wrote a short biography of Evans for a publication of his Masters thesis, that was made available online. Digital content: sites.rootsweb.com/~nyunywh/upstatenywelsh/OneidaWelsh.pdf accessed 2021.10.15 Paul D. Evans. *The Welsh of Oneida County, New York*, Masters Thesis: Cornell University, 1914.

Evans (who was a new lecturer at Yale) noting: “I saw your photograph in the group in this weeks [Yale] Alumni Weekly. There is a big increase in the history staff since my day.” This was probably a general observation rather than a veiled threat. In general, it appears that Paul D. Evans was able to get his dissertation published without substantial changes to the text; however, the differences have not been thoroughly reviewed.⁶¹

ITALIAN AMERICAN HISTORIANS. Giovanni Schiavo appropriated the work of Magnani without attribution.⁶² An open question remains whether Schiavo’s disrespect was politically motivated because Magnani was an advocate for Mussolini. Alonso M. Ressa published two short articles for the National Historical Society of the Order Sons of Italy in America that were reworked into a booklet.⁶³ Ressa’s bibliography was sufficient but his research was superficial, he did not appreciate the extent of the work of Paul Busti for the HLC, and Ressa *invented* facts about Paul Busti. Richard N. Juliani reviewed earlier research (he did not cite the *Il Carroccio* article by Magnani) and added substantial biographical details associated with Philadelphia.⁶⁴ However, Juliani did not extend his research into the role of Busti in the HLC.

The other factor influencing historians: the discretion of Paul Busti

CONTEMPORARY AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. Francis Adrian van der Kemp and Harm Jan Huidekoper are examples.⁶⁵

FARM JOURNAL. Busti kept a journal of his efforts at his farm that he named Blockley Retreat. Busti was a gentleman farmer. This journal was donated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Pauline Elizabeth (Vanderkemp) Henry, J. J. Vanderkemps’s daughter (note that she was named for Paul and Elisabeth Busti). Juliani analyzed the journal.⁶⁶

SERICULTURE. Although not included in his farm journal, there are indications that Paul Busti was experimenting with silk production in the area, but the scale is unclear.⁶⁷ He wrote a guide to silk worms that was published posthumously.⁶⁸ He joined a number of prominent Philadelphians who were interested in the development of the industry.⁶⁹

⁶¹ Bartlett’s letters to Paul D. Evans are in the collection of the Buffalo History Museum. Severance’s letters to Paul D. Evans are in the Ralph Henry Gabriel papers, Series IV, Box No. 21, Folder 351, collection of Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

⁶² Giovanni E. Schiavo (1898-1983). *The Italians in America Before the Civil War*. New York: Vigo Press, 1934, p. 215-20.

⁶³ Alphonso M. Ressa (1892-1960). “Paolo Busti, A Chapter of American History, 1798-1824.” Booklet, Order Sons of Italy in America (OSIA), National Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1957. The articles were “The Story of Paolo Busti,” [Part 1], OSIA News, Nov. 1957, p 6 and “The Story of Paolo Busti,” [Part 2], OSIA News, Dec. 1957, p 6.

⁶⁴ Richard N. Juliani. *Building Little Italy: Philadelphia’s Italians Before Mass Migration*. 1998, p. 35-41, 337-8n.

⁶⁵ Van der Kemp and Fairchild, *op. cit.* and Nina Moore Tiffay and Francis Tiffany. *Harm Jan Huidekoper*. 1904. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/cool.ark:/13960/t5hb0b99s

⁶⁶ Richard N. Juliani, *op. cit.*, p. 37-40.

⁶⁷ John T. Sharpless. “An Essay on the Bombyx Mori, or Silk Worm, read before the Maclurean Lyceum of Science of Philadelphia, June 11th, 1826.” *The Franklin Journal and American Mechanics’ Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1 Sep. 1826, pp. 139+. Restricted digital content: American Historical Periodicals from the American Antiquarian Society collection, Gale.com

⁶⁸ Paul Busti. “On Silk Worms.” *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, vol. 5, 1826, p. 255-67. A publication of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture. Digital content: hdl.handle.net/2027/uma.ark:/13960/t9j393r0s

⁶⁹ Jack McCarthy. “Silk and Silk Makers.” The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, web site. Digital content: philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/essays/silk-and-silk-makers/ accessed 2022.05.26

SILK (anonymous). *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), 9 June 1832, p. 3.

TURNER AND THE FILTER OF VANDERKEMP. John Jacob Vanderkemp was the long-time assistant to Paul Busti and succeeded him as Agent General for the HLC. There is almost nothing written about Vanderkemp, although he was an important businessperson in Philadelphia in his era. Vanderkemp also served as a manager of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, the Second United States Bank, and the Philadelphia Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities. Vanderkemp was an elected member of the American Philosophical Society and corresponded with John Quincy Adams. His father, Francis Adrian van der Kemp (a famous political émigré from the Netherlands) noted his son's quiet nature (*sedateness*) in one of his many letters to John Adams.⁷⁰ Whether or not his personality was a factor, Vanderkemp was disinterested in public attention or his place in history based on the dearth of information about his life. As Vanderkemp was the source for all biographical information about Paul Busti, he has been a filter, and it is often difficult to decouple the two personalities to assess traits specific to Busti.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT. The documents of the Estate of Paul Busti are held by the Register of Wills of Philadelphia and not by the City of Philadelphia Archives (more below).

BUSINESS CORRESPONDENCE. Another hindrance to Busti's correspondence with the Van Eeghen's and many others is that the letters were technical and written in French and this obliges historians to possess an elevated competence in business practice/history and French.

The origins of Paul Busti

GENEALOGY. Documentation and additional information about the family members of the five generations shown in Figure 2 are included in a working paper by the authors, "Busti and Zappa family chart and information" (Digital access: doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574612). Numbers within brackets [n] in this document refer to family members in that chart and information in that document.

IDENTITY. We assumed that Busti's name was originally Paolo Busti. It is reasonable to consider that he may have been named otherwise, but we were lucky not to have dealt with that as a complication.

CITIZENSHIP. Paul Busti became a United States citizen as provided by the 1804 Naturalization Act.⁷¹ This Act allowed aliens who had resided in the United States between June 18, 1798 and April 14, 1802 to petition for citizenship without a previous declaration of intent to become a U.S. citizen. James Gibson, the lawyer for the Pennsylvania Population Company, swore to the correctness of Busti's petition, and Paul Busti became a citizen on 6 July 1804.⁷²

⁷⁰ Francis Adrian van der Kemp, (1752-1829). *Letter to John Adams, 28 June 1815*. Manuscript, Adams Papers collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. Digital access: founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6534

⁷¹ Naturalization Act, 2 Stat. 292, 8th Congress, Sess. I, Chap. 47, March 26, 1804.

⁷² Paul Busti. "Petition of Paul Busti to become Citizen of U.S.," 6 July 1804. U.S. District Courts, Pennsylvania, Eastern District. Petitions for Naturalization (1798-1806), Petition no. 207. NARA Series M1522, roll 40 [image 960 of 1602]. Digital access: familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9PTZ-QSGH?i=959&cc=1913395&cat=207517 Transcription:

To the Honorable Richard Peters Esq. Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania.

The Petition of Paul Busti of the City of Philadelphia gentleman, a native of Lombardy in Italy and a ~~citizen~~ subject of the Batavian Republic, Respectfully sheweth, That your Petitioner has resided upwards of five years now last part within the limits and under the Jurisdiction of the United States, and upwards five years now last part within the State of Pennsylvania where he was actually resident ~~and between the~~

Busti gleefully rejoiced about his first opportunity to vote which occurred on his birthday, 8 October 1805 (it was a special election to replace a congressional representative).⁷³

DOCUMENTED ORIGIN. The relevance of a documented origin for cultural figures is seen in the mislabeling of John Hanson (1721-1783) as a Swedish American.⁷⁴ A similar cultural appropriation and mislabeling occurred with William Paca, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.⁷⁵ Embarrassingly, Giovanni Schiavo dedicated a full chapter to William Paca, but provided only four paragraphs about Paolo Busti.⁷⁶ Alfonso M. Ressa wrongly ventured a claim on Busti's nephew John Charles Delprat as an Italian – Del Prato?⁷⁷ Juliani characterized these sort of biographies as *hagiographic* celebrations of *filiopietism*.⁷⁸ Despite arguments and evidence to the contrary, unresearched, baseless attributions about William Paca, *et al.* persist.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MILAN. The political context of Milan within the Habsburg Empire is frequently overlooked, but it was historically significant in the business of Giulio Cesare Busti. The reticence to note Austrian control is found in both Italian and American sources. At the beginning of this research into Paul Busti, we asked the hypothetical question: if he was born in Milan but his parents were from Austria, Hungary, or Albania, would he still be an Italian American cultural figure?

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT. Paul Busti's will also provided a trust for *James Stewart Delprat* and *Paul Henry Delprat*, the children of his nephew John Charles Delprat and his wife

~~twenty ninth day of January one thousand seven hundred and ninety five and the eighteenth day of June One thousand and seven hundred and ninety eight.~~ [this was the previously required language] on the first of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven and has continued to reside there ever since. That he has never borne any Hereditary title or been of any of the order of Nobility and that if he should by any means unknown to him become entitled to any such he does hereby expressly renounce the same and every claim and pretension thereto. That he is desirous to become a citizen of the United States. He therefore prays that on his making the proof taking the oaths and complying with the requisites prescribed by law he may be admitted to become a Citizen of the United States.

Paul Busti [signature]

Paul Busti the foregoing Petitioner, being duly sworn deposeth and saith that the facts contained in the foregoing petition are true. Paul Busti. [signature]

Sworn in open Court the sixth day of July AD 1804. D.Caldwick Clerk Dis 165

James Gibson of the City of Philadelphia, being duly sworn according to law doth, depose and say that he hath well acquainted with Paul Busti the petitioner for two years last part and upwards that he hath during that period behaved as a man of good moral character attached to the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same. James. Gibson. [signature]

Sworn in open Court the sixth day of July AD 1804. D.Caldwick Clerk Dis 165.

Paul Busti the foregoing Petitioner, being duly sworn according to law declares that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign Prince State or Sovereignty whatsoever and particularly to the Batavian Republic whereof he was heretofore a subject and that he will support the Constitution of the United States.

Paul Busti. [signature]

Sworn in open Court the sixth day of July AD 1804. D.Caldwick Clerk Dis 165

⁷³ Paul Busti. *Copy of Letter to Roger Alden, 21 October 1805*. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.1.1.22/start/120/limit/10/highlight/8

⁷⁴ See John Everett Jones. "Cultural Identity and Paul Busti." *Jamestown Swedes* blog, 2021. Digital access: jamestownswedes.org/2021/08/cultural-identity-and-paul-busti.html accessed 2021.10.31

⁷⁵ Virginia White. "William Paca." *Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Signers Biographies*, web site, 2011. Digital content: www.dsdi1776.com/william-paca/ accessed 2022.07.15 Stanley A. South (1928-2016). *An Archaeological Evolution*. Springer 2005, p. 202.

⁷⁶ Giovanni E. Schiavo, 1934, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

⁷⁷ Alphonso M. Reesa, *op cit.*, p. 11.

⁷⁸ Richard N. Juliani, *op. cit.*, p. 371-2.

Sophia. Several additional minor distributions were included. The will and codicil were entered into the judicial record.⁷⁹ The probate accounting and other documents are not digitally available and exist only in the file of the Register of Wills.⁸⁰

ADDITIONAL COPY. Agnese Calcaterra located a peculiar reference to Paul Busti in Washington, D.C. A copy of the Will of Paul Busti became part of legal proceedings in 1905 to clear the title of a property. On 1 July 1802, Paul Busti had purchased for \$3934 several parcels from George & Sophia Harrison, Philadelphia, and Samuel & Rebecca Sterrett, Baltimore.⁸¹ Notice of the case was published in the local newspapers.⁸² The parcels were located where the Department of Agriculture building now stands in the capital.

P. A. NICOLAI. His renunciation is noted to be in the probate documents. The photocopies of documents provided by the Office of the Register of Wills of Philadelphia only included a certificate of authentication.⁸³ P. A. Nicolai may have declined to be Executor in Europe because of his health or because he was still involved as the Executor for estate of Brentano.

JOHN JACOB VANDERKEMP (1783-1855) was the assistant to Paul Busti from 1804-1824 and then succeeded him as *Agent General* of the HLC. He was the Executor for the entirety of the estate of Paul Busti.

REAL ESTATE APPRAISAL. 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. The report was presented without Paolo Busti in attendance (see below for information about the return trip to Milan in 1787-8 by Paolo Busti).

ACCOUNTING LETTERS. The correspondence detailing the payments from the Estate of Paolo Busti is in the collection of a descendant of Giuseppa Pizzagalli *nata* Busti and include:

1. T. Giubbilei (Vassalli bank). [*Statement letter to*] *SSr Eredi di Paolo Busti*, 13 Feb. 1837.
2. T. Giubbilei (Vassalli bank). *Conto de SSr. Eredi di Paolo Busti*, 2 Jan. 1838.
3. L Gherini (Vassalli bank). [*Statement letter to*] *Ss. Eredi di Paolo Busti*, 9 Feb. 1839.
4. Francisco Vassalli Ceruti (Vassalli bank). [*Statement letter to*] *Busti Eredi*, 21 Jan. 1840.
5. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [*Statment letter to*] *Francisco Pizzagalli*, 27 July 1841.
6. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [*Note to*] *Francisco Pizzagalli*, 28 July 1841.
7. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [*Statement letter to*] *Busti Eredi di D. Paolo*, 14 Feb. 1842.
8. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [*Note to*] *Francisco Pizzagalli*, 15 Feb. 1842.
9. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [*Statement letter to Busti Eredi*], 3 Feb. 1843.
10. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [*Note to Francisco Pizzagalli*], 6 Feb. 1843.
11. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [*Statement letter to*] *Francisco Pizzagalli*, 9 July 1843.
12. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [*Note to Francisco Pizzagalli*], 10 July 1843.

⁷⁹ Paul Busti. *Last Will and Testament*, 7 July 1824. Manuscript.

———. *Codicil*, 9 July 1824. Manuscript. City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, File ROW W-00871824
Digital access: familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9B2-LJK6?i=451

⁸⁰ John Jacob Vanderkemp. *Inventory of the estate of Paul Busti*, 26 Aug. 1824. Manuscript.

———. *Account with the estate of Paul Busti*, 1824. Manuscript.

———. *Account with the estate of Paul Busti*, 1 Nov. 1825. Manuscript.

———. *Account with the estate of Paul Busti*, 24 Nov. 1827. Manuscript.

———. *Account with the estate of Paul Busti*, 9 May 1829. Manuscript. City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, File ROW W-00871824.

⁸¹ Washington, DC. *Land Records*, vol. I, no. 9 (1802), p. 174-6 (new). The will of Paul Busti was relevant to the case *Eva O'Connell, et al., v Archibald Hulbett, et al.*, Equity No. 33406. Equity Court, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

⁸² See the *Washington Evening Star*, 9 June 1915, p. 3.

⁸³ John W. Parker (U.S. Consul). *Certificate of the signature by P.A. Nicolai, Amsterdam*, 11 Nov 1824.

Giulio Cesare Bignami [60] was added to the heirs in 1826 after he married and is not included in the list of heirs in the accounting of Vanderkemp. The distribution was then into five parts instead of four.

The annuity payments to *Angelo* and *Christopher* in the will of Paul Busti obligated the estate to remain unsettled until their deaths. Gio' Angelo Busti [42] died in 1826, Cristoforo Busti [43] died in 1843.

Vanderkemp was able to close out the probate in the United States by transferring assets and management to P. A. Nicolai, but Nicolai had died before receipt. The Vassalli private bank in Milan then oversaw distributions and the final settlement to the heirs of Josepha and Theresa. The heirs elected to receive their distribution and then pay as a group the annuity to Cristoforo Busti and place a reserve fund of 3000 Austrian lire each (at 4% interest) with the Vasalli bank. Note: the owners of the Vassilli bank, a prominent bank of its era in Milan, were relatives of the heirs.

BAPTISMAL RECORD IN MONZA. Considerations of possible locations beyond central Milan led to Monza. The marriage record of Giulio Cesare Busti and Marianna Zappa was celebrated in the Cathedral of Milan on 26 October 1746 but noted that [add transcription here about celebration with Paolo Ignacio Busti?].⁸⁴

The ownership records for the house in Monza were located (citation for second clue to the birthplace of Paolo Busti).

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE BAPTISMAL RECORD of Paulo Ignatio Gerardo Maria Busti by Paolo Semenza.⁸⁵

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 Giuseppe 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 facultà 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[iu]to Curato

BIRTHDAY CONFIRMATION. As noted above, Paul Busti voted as an American citizen for the first time on 8 October 1805 after returning from a three-month trip and noted that it was also his birthday. This is confirmation that he celebrated his birthday on the same day as his birthdate.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ S. Tecla (Milano). *Registro Matrimoni 1700-1750*, p. 345 no. 36, Biblioteca e Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano di Milano.

⁸⁵ Duomo di Monza. *Libro dei battesimi*, Vol. C (1749-1765), p. 15v. Museo del Duomo di Monza, Monza, Italy.

⁸⁶ See Paul Busti. *Copy of Letter to Roger Alden, 21 October 1805, op. cit.*

Paolo Busti in Milan

GIUSEPPE ZAPPA [2]. A description of commerce in Milan in the 1750s places Zappa among the leaders. It also presages the Italian presence in Amsterdam:⁸⁷

“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.”

In 1765 (after Zappa’s death), *Giuseppe Zappa e Caldara* was listed as one of the three principal banks in Milan.⁸⁸ Giuseppe Zappa was the son of Giovanni Battista and Margarita (1692-1759). His younger brother Giovanni Battista was a jeweler, so it is likely that was the trade of their father. Giuseppe worked for Casale Monferrato from 1716-20 for the abbot of Canonici Regolari Lateranensi, probably as *procurator* or proxy. Giuseppe Zappa was listed as a clerk for the banker Giussani in his first marriage. He was listed as a merchant of various goods and exchange in his second marriage. Giuseppe Zappa became a partner with Ignazio and Giambattista Caldara on 9 October 1745. More info also from act of division after his death.

Uncorroborated information about the Zappa family is included in the notes of Veronesi.⁸⁹

GIULIO CESARE BUSTI [26] was recommended in 1758 as a *procurator* by his father-in-law, Giuseppe Zappa. G. C. Busti was identified as a partner in Vigorè & Busti.⁹⁰ G. C. Busti dissolved the firm in 1766.⁹¹

MONTE BUSTI. The initial capital of Monte Busti was 500,000 fiorini lire.⁹² Busti’s relationship with the Durazzo was noted by Bérenger:⁹³

“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.”

⁸⁷ Cesare Cantù and Luigi Gualtieri. *Grande Illustrazione Del Lombardo-Veneto*. Vol 1., Milan, 1857, p 247. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112087405434

⁸⁸ Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande (1732-1807) and Jean Desaint. *Voyage D'un François En Italie*, vol. 2. Paris: Chez Desaint, 1769, p 388. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t0rr6kb7c

⁸⁹ Victor Veronesi. *La Collezione Longhi*. Univ. Milan, thesis, 2011, p. 20-21. Digital access: academia.edu/40917710

⁹⁰ Archivio Storico Camera di Commercio di Milano, p. 181-5.

⁹¹ Archivio Storico Camera di Commercio di Milano, p. 188-9.

⁹² 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*, no. 133 (2013), p. 92. Restricted digital access: books.google.it/books?id=gQv_CQAAQBAJ&pg=PA55

⁹³ Bérenger, Jean. “La gestion de la dette publique par les Habsbourg dans l’Autriche du XVIIIe siècle.” In Gérard Béaur and Laure Quennouëlle-Corre (eds.) *Les crises de la dette publique: XVIIIe-XXIe siècle*. 2019, p. 446. Digital access: doi.org/10.4000/books.igpde.6216

Monte Busti provided loans to Empress Maria Teresa, including a loan of 300,000 florins.⁹⁴ Another loan of 1,000,000 florins was made in 1765.⁹⁵

“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.”

Finances for the Austrian regime were secured internationally, especially from Belgium and Genoa.⁹⁶

“During the reign of Maria Theresa external borrowing became more frequent. The most important foreign financial centres were Amsterdam and Genoa.”

DURAZZO. Cesare Busti developed a personal relationship with Giacomo Filippo Durazzo III (1729-1812), eldest son of Marcello Durazzo, *Marchese di Gabiano* and Clelia Durazzo. The family was one of the wealthiest of Genoa in this era. Durazzo and Busti’s correspondence indicates a bond developed during nearly three decades of association. Busti was appointed as *procurator* in 1758 after the death of the previous agent Giuseppe Foglia.⁹⁷ In 1764 they projected and promoted together the loans to Empress Maria Theresa, in connection with Count Karl Joseph von Firmian. Busti was at Durazzo’s service until Busti’s death in 1786, not only for business but also in looking in on the Durazzo children at college in Milan (Puncuh 12).

REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT. Giulio Cesare Busti was involved in construction and real estate in the 1770s and 1780s.⁹⁸ He assembled a large portfolio of real estate before his death in Milan in 1786 at age sixty-eight. Giulio Cesare Busti’s last real estate deals required completion by his sons after his death. That portfolio was evaluated in the lengthy, leather-bound appraisal that served as one of the identifiers of Paul Busti’s origins.

Giulio Cesare Busti purchased a building on Contrada di Borgo Nuovo, today identified as Via Borgonuovo 21. Its address was then, and still is, one of the most prestigious 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.

CRISTINA DE NOTARIS (1725-1798) was from Pallanza, near Verbania on Lake Maggiore in Piedmont. Giovanni Pietro de Notaris Giovanni Pietro De Notaris (1655-1728) a lawyer and auditor of Banco di Sant’Ambrogio, the state bank of the Duchy of Milan, was likely her great uncle

⁹⁴ Andrea Metrà. *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

⁹⁵ Archivio dei Durazzo. "L'archivio dei Durazzo. marchesi di gabiano Genova" *Atti Della Società Ligure Di Storia Patria, Nuova Serie*, vol. XXI (XCV), no. II, 1981, p. 314. Digital content: storiapatriagenova.it/BD_vs_contenitore.aspx?Id_Scheda_Bibliografica_Padre=849&Id_Progetto=0 accessed 2022.09.30

⁹⁶ Rauscher, citing Dickson. See Peter Rauscher. “Tax Systems, Debts and Loans: the Case of the Habsburg Monarchy, Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries.” in *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

⁹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti dei Notai, Notaio Giovanni Battista Sirtori, cartella no. 46983.

⁹⁸ Silvia Bobbi. "Nascita della speculazione edilizia moderna e ruolo dei materiali da costruzione nella Milano riformista del secondo Settecento," in *L' Economie de la construction dans l'Italie moderne. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, vol. 119, n°2. 2007. pp. 237. Digital access: doi.org/10.3406/mefr.2007.10357

and Giovanna, his wife, was her godmother. Her family origin in Verbania connects her with the Lorla, Bolongaro and Simonetta families. Her niece, Virginia de Notaris [41] married her stepson Giuseppe Busti [40].

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, in 1748 in the parish of San Giovanni sul Muro,⁹⁹ then in the parish of San Protaso (1750-64), and then in the parish of San Giovanni alle Quattro Facce (1764-1773). After his departure for Amsterdam, the family moved to the house on the Contrada Borgonuovo (see above).

PIAZZA DELLE GALLINE. 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. That small piazza was 50 m from via San Protaso and 300 m WNW from the cathedral, but it is no longer extant. The house (later identified as No. 1698) was the property of Federico Bonvino and then of the Ospedale Maggiore. Documents from the archives of the Ospedale Maggiore show house and basements were leased by Bonvino to Busti on 28 September 1750.¹⁰⁰ A deed for Vigorè & Busti Comp. of 14 Jan 1765 shows Busti already living in the parish of S Giovanni alle Quattro Facce.

TIES TO THE CHURCH. Estimates of Church ownership of agricultural land in this era is approximate.¹⁰¹ The extent of the participation of the Church in the city of Milan is difficult to appreciate. The estimated percentage of the population who were in the Church in 1760 was X.¹⁰² The Zappa family included don Tommaso Zappa [7] a priest who served as *cerimoniere* (master of ceremony) at the Cathedral in Milan, father Vito Maria Zappa [16] of the Congregation of Gerolimini, either Rosa [19] or Maria Antonia Zappa [22] became a nun.

The Busti family included don Paolo Ignazio Busti [23] a priest serving as *canon* at the Cathedral of Monza, don Carlo Maria Busti [25] a priest in Milan, father Pietro Busti [38] of the Barnabites order, father Paolo Gaudenzio Busti [39] of the Barnabites order, don Gio' Angelo Busti *canon* of the Basilica de S. Nazaro in Milan and Basilica di S. Vittore in Varese.

CLERGY HOUSES. Francesco and Giuseppa Pizzagalli lived in clergy house at S. Maria alla Scala with Giuseppe Pizzagalli and Pietro Pizzagalli.¹⁰³ Giovanni Battista Busti lived in S. Babila with father Paolo Busti 1716-7.¹⁰⁴

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

TEATRO DI CREMONA. G. C. Busti was the cashier for the new theater in Cremona.¹⁰⁵

TEATRO DI MONZA. The Busti family's ownership of a box at Teatro di Monza is detailed in the estate inventory.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ G. C. Busti godfather to Giulia Zappa [20]

¹⁰⁰ Testamento Federico Bonvino 21 Aug 1753. Achivo Ospedale Maggiore, folder 13/21 and Inventario Scritture Eredità Federico Bonvini, no. 7 Investiture di porzioni di casa in Archivio Ospedale Maggiore, folder 13/21.

¹⁰¹ X% (cite – about 30%).

¹⁰² X% population of Milan were clerics. Cite.

¹⁰³ Citation

¹⁰⁴ Citation for this.

¹⁰⁵ Details of involvement of G.C. Busti (citation)

¹⁰⁶ “Inventario predisposto dall'ing. collegiato di Milano Gaetano Ratti in data 8 maggio 1793 per la divisione della sostanza stabile dei fratelli Busti.” Manuscript, private collection.

TEATRO REGIO DUCALE. We know that G. C. Busti owned a box in this theater indirectly. G.C. Busti was the original owner of *palco* at La Scala so he must have owned a box at the Teatro Regio Ducale.¹⁰⁷

“The boxes on the first, second and third tiers were purchased, by preemptive right, by the corresponding owners of the boxes in the old Regio Teatro Ducale who thus effectively provided the funding for the construction of the new theatre.”

TEATRO ALLA SCALA. Giulio Cesare Busti was the original owner of a *palco* (III 12 dx) at Teatro alla Scala.¹⁰⁸

MOZART’s opera, *Mitridate*, had a run of 22 performances in Milan.¹⁰⁹

1787-1788 SEASON AT LA SCALA. It is nearly unimaginable that Paul Busti would not have attended some shows during his return to Milan to participate in the arrangements for his father’s estate. The Autumn 1787 programming included: *Le trame duluse* (Cimarosa, Diodati 1786), *I viaggiatori felici* (Anfossi, Livigni 1780), and *Una cosa rara* (Martín, Ponte/Velez 1786). The Carnivale 1788 programming included: *Aticco* (likely Antioco by Tarchi, Moretti 1787 Milan Premiere) and *Alessandro nelle Indie* (Tarchi, Metastasio 1788 Premiere). The Programs during Lent included: *Le gelosie fortunate* (Anfossi, Pasquale 1786), *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (Paisiello, Casti 1784), and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (Paisiello, Petrosellini/Caron 1782). Paul Busti was still in Milan for Carnival 1788 (5 February) so he had the opportunity to see the newly developed Argant oil lamps recently installed at La Scala.¹¹⁰

Note that Paul Busti had left Milan before the fire that destroyed the old theater. So this would have been his introduction to the Teatro alla Scala which opened in 1778.

EDUCATION. The education of Paolo Busti. He is listed in his father’s household but at college at age thirteen¹¹¹ and at college since the age of eight.¹¹² Unfortunately, the *Status animarum* of San Giovanni alle Quattro Facce, where the family lived after 1764, is not extant.

LIBERAL EDUCATION was noted in his obituary published in several newspapers (see below).

UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA. Pavia is located on the route between Milan and Genoa and its university, begun in the mid-14th century, served Lombardy.

ACADEMIES IN MILAN. Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794) accepted a chair in public economy and commerce in 1768 at the Palantine School. Beccaria is noteworthy for his essay on punishment that was influential 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. The Barnabites order operated several academies and seminaries in Milan, especially Scuole Arcimbolde. The Barnabite Collegio Longone and Collegio de’ Nobili (which later merged) were also important in this era.

¹⁰⁷ Antonio Schilirò and Christopher Owen (trans.). "I palchi 'privati' del Teatro alla Scala (1778-1920)." *Nei palchi della Scala, Storie milanesi*. Exhibition catalog of the Museo Teatrale alla Scala, Milan, 2020, p. 26. Digital content: issuu.com/comunicazione-treccani/docs/ipalchidellascala accessed 2022.10.15

¹⁰⁸ Creusa Suardi. “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 content: storiadeipalchi.teatroallascala.org/palco/destro-3-12 accessed 2021.11.08.

¹⁰⁹ Stanley Sadie and Neal Zaslaw. *Mozart: The Early Years, 1756-1781*. 2007, p. 222. Restricted digital access [Open Library]: archive.org/details/mozartearlyyears0000sadi

¹¹⁰ Pompeo Cambasi. *La Scala 1778-1906*. 1906, p. 10, 12. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044082278698

¹¹¹ *Status animarum* of San Protaso parish, 1763, quarter of curato Mottana, house 34.

¹¹² See previous Status books

Milan had no university, and many writers note that this led to a proliferation of schools in Milan, away from the 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 was represented in *Il Caffè* (1764-6), an influential enlightenment magazine, and potentially filtered down to Paolo Busti's own schooling.

COMPLETION OF EDUCATION. Cristoforo Busti, Paolo's youngest brother, graduated in law from the *Università degli Studi di Pavia* at age eighteen in 1786.¹¹³ Likewise, P.A. Zappa left home at age 18-19 (1757). If comparable, Paolo Busti would have completed his education in Milan around 1767.

PAOLO BUSTI VISIT TO MILAN 1787-1788. Documents indicate that Paolo Busti had returned to Milan in 1788 to work through the arrangements of his father's estate. Paolo Busti signed documents in Milan in early 1788, signaling that Paolo was likely there during the latter part of 1787 or the earliest part of 1788.¹¹⁴ Among thirty-one attached documents, the first three were signed by Paolo Busti: No. 1, 16 February 1788, about Common Substance; 2 and 14 March 1788, authorization of Carlo Francesco Zanca as legal representative (*procurator*); 3 and 15 March 1788, benefits to religious brothers.

This visit was likely the last time that Paolo Busti traveled to Milan. It was later decided to pay all of his expenses for this travel, quantified as 2459 lire.¹¹⁵

PERSONAL TRAITS OF MILAN. The personal descriptors of Paul Busti are from his obituary published in the *Batavia Advocate*.¹¹⁶
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.

¹¹³ Maria Carla Zorzoli. *Le tesi legali all'Università di Pavia nell'età delle riforme, 1772-1796*, 1980, p. 261. Digital content: bibliotecadigitale.unipv.eu/explore?bitstream_id=431158&handle=20.500.12460/106448&provider=iiif-image&viewer=mirador accessed 2022.03.30261

¹¹⁴ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti Notarili, Notaio Giovanni Battista Giletti, file 46501, No. 1454, Divisione, 9 November 1793.

¹¹⁵ No. 16, 7 August 1793, Arbitral Statement; 18, 30 August 1793, Administration of Common Substance.

¹¹⁶ *Batavia Advocate*, 6 August 1824 p. 3. The text was reprinted in the *Statesman* (New York City), 17 August 1824, p 2 and Schiavo quotes from another reprint in the *American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 17 August 1824, see Giovanni E. Schiavo. *Italians in America before the Revolution*. 1976, p. 115.

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 Zappa and Busti family connections in Amsterdam

TRAVEL TO AMSTERDAM. Paul Busti's arrival in Amsterdam occurred prior to his appearance in a church document in 1771. Paulo Busti was godfather in the baptism of Maria Paulina, daughter of Carlo Matthia Steurwaldt and Elizabeth Christina Oeste, 13 Feb 1771.¹¹⁷ Paul Busti's connection to this family has not been further established. This is the earliest record of Paolo Busti in Amsterdam encountered to date.

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

ITALIAN MERCHANTS IN AMSTERDAM. The number of Italian firms is based on a summary of the recent doctoral thesis by Draper plus our review of the business directories for Amsterdam in the 1770s-1790s.¹¹⁸ Two Italians were among the most significant art collectors in Amsterdam in the 1700s, and both were connected to Paul Busti:

¹¹⁷ See 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

¹¹⁸ Maarten Draper. *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

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.¹¹⁹

PIETRO ANTONIO CREVENNA (1736-1792), 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 (1756). In 1768, he married Anthonia Maria, daughter of Giacomo Filippo Bolongaro, and their descendants used the surname Bolongaro-Crevenna.¹²⁰

Paul Busti was the legal representative for Antonia Maria Bolongaro's sister and her Simonetta branch of the Bolongaro family located in Frankfurt.

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 1762.¹²¹

Additional details about Giuseppe Zappa are provided in notary records.¹²²

STATUS ANIMARUM. P.A. Zappa was located in ...

ESTATE OF GIUSEPPE ZAPPA

RETURN TO MILAN. The baptism of Paolo Antonio Bignami.¹²³ P. A. Zappa became known for his garden, especially exotics likely brought to Amsterdam through trade. Zappa published a catalog of his plants in 1785. The plants of his garden in Sesto were purchased by the University of Bologna and Pavia after his death. Zappa was also involved in local government and was cited for his assistance in smallpox vaccine experiments by Luigi Sacco.¹²⁴

ZAPPA EN GEBROEDERS LORLA. The firm Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla was also referred to as Zappa e Fratelli Lorla. 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, 1780-1784.¹²⁵

In 1786 Augustinus Lorla on behalf of the firm appointed Giuseppe Antonio Pensa as *procurator* because Jacobus and P. A. Zappa were in Italy.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ R.W.A. Bionda. "The Amsterdam Collector J.A. Brentano" *Bulletin van Het Rijksmuseum*, vol. 34, no. 3, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1986, p. 201–06, note 26. Digital access: [jstor.org/stable/40382258](https://www.jstor.org/stable/40382258).

¹²⁰ Jos van Heel. "Bolongaro Crevenna: een Italiaans Koopman en bibliofiel in Amsterdam," *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, jaargang 5, 1998, p 73-94. Digital access: dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa008199801_01/index.php

¹²¹ Solomon Dorper. 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

¹²² 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.

¹²³ See genealogical information in Paolo Semenza and John Everett Jones, 2021. Digital access: doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574612

¹²⁴ Semenza and Jones, op. cit., p. 7.

¹²⁵ 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: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/b0e93a308961dfad8f7bb8caa9ceeb55 [image 649/730]

¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷

In 1792 P. A. Nicolai [31], P.A. Zappa's nephew, was added as general *procurator* along with Orri. Only Augustinus Lorla was present.¹²⁸

INDIGO from Guatemala (later also from the Carolinas) was consistently marketed by Zappa e Gebroeders Lorla. The earliest advertisement located to date was placed in 1764 in the *Amsterdamse courant*.¹²⁹ Note the spelling of Zappa as Sappa and that the warehouse was located on Prinsengracht between Westermarkt and Leliegracht.

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.

Indigo from Guatemala was supplied through a Spanish monopoly distributed from Cadiz in this era. There was a small Italian merchant community, including Milanese, in Cadiz.¹³⁰

The advertisement for Busti en Comp in 1796 (indigo, red and prussian blue dyes, see below) and the vertical integration of silk production and sales of Lorla & Pensa (see below) may suggest that Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla served as a firm concerned with silk textiles and dyes for the textile industry.

KEIZERSGRACHT OFFICE. Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla were listed in Amsterdam business directories from 1766-1793 on the Keizersgracht canal near Reestraat.¹³¹ Their location then is on the west side of the canal. We learn that it is located north of the bridge (No. 49) in an advertisement from 1793 that a barge laden with red and white wine was moored in the Keizersgracht in front of the house of Gebroeders Lorla between Reestraat and Westermarkt. The office was located in one of the canal houses 222-238 Keisergracht.¹³²

Leggende de witte en roode Wynen, op Schuiten in de Keizersgragt tusschen de Rheestraat en Westermarkt, voor 't huis van de Heeren Gebroeders LORLA.

THE LORLA BROTHERS The brothers Jacobus and Augustinus Lorla were from Varenna on Lake Como. The Lorla family were connected with the Pensa family of Milan and involved in silk

¹²⁷ 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/scans/5075/434.1.21/start/890/limit/10/highlight/8

¹²⁸ See Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen (Amsterdam). Notarial acts (1792), No. 1004, 30 August 1792. Archive No. 5075, Inventory No. 434, Folder No. 16777. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.36/start/550/limit/10/highlight/2

¹²⁹ *Amsterdamse courant*, 7 July 1764, p. 2. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010711010:mpeg21:p002

¹³⁰ Klemens Kaps. "Small but powerful: networking strategies and the trade business of Habsburg-Italian merchants in Cadiz in the second half of the eighteenth century." *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2016. Digital access: [10.1080/13507486.2015.1131246](https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2015.1131246)

¹³¹ Various Amsterdam business directories. See Stadsarchief Amsterdam, collection of koopmansboekjes, 1766–1838, Archive no. 30398. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/30398

Maarten Magérus and Gerardus Lequien, Jr. (Publ.). *Naamregister van alle de heeren kooplieden der stad Amsterdam. Amsterdam, 1766-1771.*

Gerardus Lequien, Jr. (Publ.). *Naamregister van alle de heeren kooplieden der stad Amsterdam. Amsterdam, 1776-1783.*

Albert van der Kroe and Anth. Capel (Publ.). *Naamregister van alle de heeren kooplieden der stad Amsterdam. Amsterdam, 1784-1800.*

See also Jacobus Smith. *Memorie boek of naamwyser der stad Amsterdam. 1767.* Collection of Leiden University. Digital access: google.com/books/edition/Memorieboek_of_Naamwyser_der_stad_Amster/3SSjHBRbXVcC

¹³² *Amsterdamse courant*, 28 Sep. 1793, p. 4. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010717973

production, trade, and banking. The Pensa family were among the bankers and Pensa & Lorla were one of the manufacturers of silk in Milan noted by Metrà in his business directory.¹³³ A large factory with 500 workers in Milan operated by Pensa, Lorla e Comp. was noted in Lalande's travelog.¹³⁴ The company also operated a silk-spinning operation at Bellano near Lecco among many other operations.¹³⁵ Pensa & Lorla developed a vertically integrated enterprise with offices in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Augsburg, and Leipzig with a capacity to customize production for foreign customers.¹³⁶

The successor firm to Augustinus Lorla in Amsterdam, Lorla & Co. remained significant in Amsterdam and their business even included diamonds. In 1804, Lorla & Co. acted as freight forwarders/agents, circumventing the Portuguese monopoly of Brazilian diamonds essential in the Portuguese Diamond Loan brokered by Hope & Co.¹³⁷

“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.”

In 1806, Lorla & Co. was named in a United States Supreme Court case.¹³⁸

EXPERIENCE IN THE AMSTERDAM ECONOMY. 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, it had 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.

DUTCH SLAVE INTERESTS. 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.¹³⁹ The estimate of 10.36% GDP of Holland is

¹³³ Andrea Metrà. *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. 423. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433016870960

¹³⁴ Joseph Jérôme Le Français de Lalande (1732-1807) and Jean Desaint. *Voyage D'un François En Italie*, vol. 2. Paris: Chez Desaint, 1769, p 386. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t0rr6kb7c

¹³⁵ Gerolamo Gavazzi. *The Gavazzis: Silk and Mettle: History of a Lombard Family*. Milano, Caproncino, 2007, p. 140. Digital access: silkandmettle.com

¹³⁶ Luca Mocarelli. *Una Realtà Produttiva Urbana Nel Secolo Dei Lumi: Milano Città Atelier*. Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Bresciana 2001, p. 97. Restricted digital access: academia.edu/1926438/milano_citt%C3%A0_atelier

¹³⁷ Marten Gerbertus Buist. *At Spes Non Fracta: Hope & Co. 1770-1815, Merchant Bankers and Diplomats at Work*. Netherlands, 2012, p. 411-2

¹³⁸ *Manella, Pujals & Co. v. J. Barry*, 7 U.S. 415 (1806)

¹³⁹ 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

from Pepijn and Bosma.¹⁴⁰ The Dutch American involvement in slavery in New York and elsewhere is highlighted 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. John Lincklaen likewise owned 5 to 7 enslaved people who were part of his wife's dowery. Busti's experience in Amsterdam would have at least introduced him to the issue of slavery he would have encountered in Philadelphia. No enslaved people are recorded in the census entries for Paul Busti.

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. 1780.¹⁴¹ In 1787, Joseph Busti appointed Paul Busti as procurator in Amsterdam.¹⁴²

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 1797.¹⁴³ As noted above, in 1792 he represented Zappa & Gebroeders Lorla together with C. Orri.¹⁴⁴ In 1794 he represented Lorla & Co.¹⁴⁵ In 1801 he represented Lorla & Co.¹⁴⁶ The baptism of Francisca Paulina Maria Catharina Nicolai was celebrated 10 August 1799 with Francisca Zappa as godmother.¹⁴⁷ For information regarding the Brentano charity *Hulp des Ouderdoms*.¹⁴⁸ A portrait of P. A. Nicolai is in the collection of the charity.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁰ Brandon Pepijn and Ulbe Bosma. "Slavery and the Dutch economy, 1750–1800," *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2021, p. 45. Digital access: doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2021.1860464

¹⁴¹ 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: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/fb1349e2c63d665bee764452de42f348 [image 51/159]

¹⁴² See 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: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/7357979ca3d50d6b85ae7c4a1454173e [image 815/991].

¹⁴³ 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]

¹⁴⁴ See Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen (Amsterdam). *Notarial acts* (1792), No. 1004, 30 August 1792. Archive No. 5075, Inventory No. 434, Folder No. 16777. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.36/start/550/limit/10/highlight/2

¹⁴⁵ See See Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1794), No. 657, 23 September 1794. Archive 5001, Inventory No. 414, Folder No. 15662. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/9f9d84ad392e585624a4cced611294d4 [image 794/866].

¹⁴⁶ See Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1801), No. 201, 15 October 1801. Archive 5001, Inventory No. 414, Folder No. 15675. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/a74b7238e79c4ed2ea6f98ba75ff037c [image 691/784].

¹⁴⁷ Kerk in het Maagdenhuis (Amsterdam). *Baptisms* (1787-1811), p. 45. Archive No. 5001, inventory No. 1.2, Folder No. 365. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/578d80d8ec0f3d2cc6a2e77430d28930 [image 24/51].

¹⁴⁸ Stichting Roomsche Catholijk Burger Oude Mannenhuis, also know as Brentano's Steun des Ouderdoms, see the charity's website. Digital content: brentanosteun.nl/ accessed 2022.03.22.

¹⁴⁹ The portrait of P. A. Nicolai is also 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 The Hague and Haarlem.¹⁵⁰

GIUSEPPE PIZZAGALLI [36] was born 29 September 1767 in Airuno and baptized Giuseppe Antonio Alessandro Michele Maria Pizzagalli. This translated into Joseph A.A.M.M. Pizzagalli in the Netherlands. *Joseph Pizzagalli* was the shortened form he used in the Netherlands.

The *Status animarum* in Milan for the family are not located from 1787 to 1796. Giuseppe studied in the seminary from 1777 until 1786. That note is crossed out in 1786 and in 1787 he is present in the household. In 1797-8 and in 1800 he is listed as absent.

In the Inventory of his estate after his death, his role in 1796 in liquidation of Bolongaro Simonetta & Co. is noted and this indicates that he was working for Paul Busti in Amsterdam.¹⁵¹

The baptism of son François Xavier Marie Joseph Theodore Pizzagalli was 27 June 1801 was at the old Kerk De Krijtberg, near the Singel canal.

Becoming Paul Busti in Amsterdam

INDEPENDENT BUSINESS. In Turner: "...he afterwards established himself in business, married, and acquired a high reputation for business talents, industry and integrity."¹⁵² The date that he left Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla is unknown.

BOLONGARO SIMONETTI. Paul Busti's career in Amsterdam has not been previously researched, except by Pieter van Winter who located Paul Busti in a notary record as a representative of Bolongaro Simonetti.¹⁵³ However, Van Winter's work was not translated into English until 1977 and American researchers did not take note of this finding. Paul D. Evans did not include any description of Busti in Amsterdam in his work and it is unknown if he attempted to research Busti's career in Amsterdam.

The Bolongaro were merchants specialized in the spice and tobacco trade and were headquartered in Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt). They became wealthy as manufacturers of snuff. The Bolongaro, Simonetta, and De Notaris families were prominent families from the Verbania area of Lake Maggiore.¹⁵⁴ The business was divided in 1780 into two branches representing the two heirs: Bolongaro-Crevenna and Bolongaro-Simonetta.

In 1786 Paul 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.¹⁵⁵ In 1788 *Paulus Busti* represented Bolongaro Simonetta et Comp.¹⁵⁶ Then, in 1790, F. M. Bertolino

¹⁵⁰ *'s Gravenhaagsche courant*, 30 Aug.1824, p. 4 and *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 31 Aug.1824, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ See 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].

¹⁵² Orsamus Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

¹⁵³ Pieter Jan van Winter. *Het aandeel van den Amsterdamschen handel aan den opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest*. vol 2. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1933, p. 265. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000126305

¹⁵⁴ Vincenzo De-Vit. *Il lago Maggiore, Stresa e le isole Borromeo: notizie storiche*. Vol. 2, 1877, p 378. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112076476735378

¹⁵⁵ 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]

¹⁵⁶ 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: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/963ab74a4056e7a3d0c55529931e7369 [image 426/485].

represented Bolongaro Simonetta & Comp.¹⁵⁷ In 1793 Paul Busti again represented Bolongaro Simonetta & Comp.¹⁵⁸

Paul Busti's representation of the Bolongaro Simonetta & Comp. was identified by Van Winter in 1933 (see above).

BUSTI AND BANKING. 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.¹⁵⁹ 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 à recevoir et à mettre en règle chez MM. Busti, Bolongaro et Bottereau. Plusieurs personnes sont venues faire leurs adieux à Mademoiselle, en lui témoignant l'inconduite des diplomates françois sur son rappel."

Note: Mademoiselle refers to De Maulde, in disguise in this letter. These intrigues may have had nothing to do with Busti and this reference may have only been a simple account with Busti. However, 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, also active in trade and shipping. Their office was located *op de Keizersgracht by de Wolvestraat over de gewezene Schouwburg*. He appears to be the same Botereau who served as a burgher of Amsterdam during the Batavian Republic.

BUSTI EN COMP. A single advertisement, possibly a liquidation of stock, listed the business as Busti en Comp. at Heerengracht by den Binnen-Amstel.¹⁶⁰

H. van den Heuvel, B. Meyer Junior, M. J. Calkoen, J. Voest en J. Calkoen, Makelaars, zullen op Woensdag den 19 October, te Amsterdam in de Nes in de Brakke Grond, 's avonds ten 5 uuren, verkoopen: Een party van 60 halve Ceroenen INDIGO CARAQUES, 3 Baalen GRANILLA, 3 Kistjes BERLYNS BLAAUW en 1 t Baalen Smirnfe GALLE. Leggende de Gallen op de Heeregragt by de Heerestraat, in een Kelder onder het Huis van den Heer JAN VAN HEEMSKERK, en't overige onder 't Huis van de Heeren BUSTI en COMP., op de Heeregragt by den Binnen-Amstel. Aldaar Heden te zien.

Note that *granilla* is the Dutch terminology for *Kermes quercus*, a scale insect used in the production of red dye. *Berlyns blaauw* is Prussian blue. *Galle* is not identified, *Smirnfe* may relate to Smyrna, Greece, or it could be a green dye related to Smyrna or a reference to figs.

¹⁵⁷ 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].

¹⁵⁸ 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]

¹⁵⁹ See 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

¹⁶⁰ *Amsterdamse courant*, 18 Oct. 1796, p. 1. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010718302:mpeg21:p001

He was listed in business directories in 1795 and 1796.¹⁶¹

VAN EEGHEN DESCRIPTION OF CAREER. Christiaan van Eeghen advised Theophile Cazenove of the HLC offer to Paul Busti in August 1796. Van Eeghen described Busti:¹⁶²

Hy heeft geduurende eenige jaaren het Huis van Bolongaro Simonetta alhier gedirigeerd en was thans voorneemens die Affaire verdern voor zyne eigene Reekening ze continueeren, doch de tegenswoordige situatie van Europa en de gunstige uitzichten die wy hem in Amerika konden aanbieder hebben hem doen besluiten onze propoectien aanteneemen en zich geheel van onste devooeren

This seems to suggest that Paul Busti was just getting started with his own Busti en Comp. and that he was transitioning away from his work for Bolongaro Simonetta.

VAN EEGHEN. P[ieter] and C[hristiaan] van Eeghen en Comp. (later as Van Eeghen en Comp.) was the firm that served as Director (C.E.O.) of the Holland Land Company during its long history. The company is still in business and today it concentrates on specialty food additives for the international market. The family-owned company is in its fifteenth generation after 350 years of operations.¹⁶³ The correspondence between Paul Busti and Christian van Eeghen (1757-1798) shows a shared business acumen in the criticism of the paperwork and bookkeeping of Theophile Cazenove.¹⁶⁴ Both Christian and Pieter van Eeghen were early members of the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit* and may have known Paul Busti through *Doctrina et Amicitia* (the club's new identity after 1787). Paul Busti joined the club in 1790 (see below).

Paul Busti and Elisabeth May

SPECIAL PERMISSION. Prior to their marriage, a resolution by the State Assembly of Holland and West Friesland granted partial dispensation reducing the time required for publishing marriage banns. Their petition noted that Paul Busti was Roman Catholic, a merchant, and living in Amsterdam, and that Elisabeth May was a Protestant living in The Hague. The justification for the petition was an upcoming voyage by the groom. The resolution: “Aan P. Busti en E. May by gedeeltelyke dispensatie van Art. 6. Van het Placaat van 24 February 1755 gepermitteert dadelyk na de drie zes weeksche Proclamatien, te mogen trouwen.” Roughly translated as *To P. Busti and E. May by partial dispensation from Art. 6. of the Act of February 24, 1755, permits to marry immediately after the three six-week Proclamations.*¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ See *Handelingen van de Municipaliteit der stad Amsterdam*. 30 Dec. 1795, p 327. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=dpo:3120:mpeg21:0331

¹⁶² This is clear in van Eeghen's description of Paul Busti to Theophile Cazenove. Roughly translated as: *He has for some years managed the House of Bolongaro Simonetta here and was now intending to continue the affair further for his own account, but the present situation of Europe and the favorable prospects which we could offer him in America have made him decide to take up our projects and to devote himself entirely to us.* Christian van Eeghen. *Copy of letter to Theophile Cazenove, No. 42, 1 August 1797*. Copybook of outgoing correspondence, vol. 1 (1792-1805), p. 183. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital content: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/678c5bf1ae91fe0ef56882b5f852c646 [image 114/287]

¹⁶³ See the Van Eeghen company website. Digital content: vaneeghen.com

¹⁶⁴ Citation.

¹⁶⁵ *Resolutien van de Heeren Staten van Holland ende Westvriesland, In hun Edele Groot Mog. Vergadering genoomen in den jaare 1793*, vol. 2 (Tweede deel), p. 1283-4. Digital access: delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/view?coll=boeken1&identificer=kl6DnMRP1PUC

MARRIAGE BANNES. The banns announcing the intended marriage of Paulus Busti and Elisabeth May were published in Amsterdam and The Hague in November 1793.¹⁶⁶

MARRIAGE. The signatures on the marriage record are *Paulus Busti* and *Elisabeth May*, marriage officiated by Rev. Benjamin Choyce Sowden in the English Episcopal Church in Amsterdam.¹⁶⁷

This English Episcopal church was rebuilt in 1827 changing both the interior and exterior. The church is still serving an English-speaking congregation in Amsterdam. Rev. Sowden was a popular lecturer and published collections of his sermons.

Elisabeth May's parents belonged to different churches and it seems that the church for their daughters' marriages somewhat alternated: 1777 Ten Cate in Engelse Episcopaals Kerk (Amsterdam), 1784 May in Waalse Hervormede Kerk Den Hague, 1784 Delprat in Waalse Hervormede Kerk Den Hague, and 1794 Busti in Engelse Episcopaals Kerk (Amsterdam).

The marriage between Elisabeth May (age 35) and Paul Busti (age 44) was atypical. Her sister Rebecca did not marry, but her other sisters married at age 22, 23, and 21.

UNKNOWN CONNECTION. The absence of further information leads to a long list of unanswered questions regarding the relationship of Paul Busti and Elisabeth May prior to their marriage. Paul Busti was not mentioned in a two-page letter written in 1789 by Elisabeth May.¹⁶⁸

Elisabeth was raised in the center of Amsterdam in a canal house. Both appear to have lived and worked very near to each other in Amsterdam: her father's business, J. A. Crop, J. May en Comp was located across the Keizersgracht canal from the office of Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla.

MAY FAMILY. A family history was published in 1911.¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰ 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 in 1758 he was named master shipbuilder for the Amsterdam Admiralty. 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.

¹⁶⁶ See Amsterdam. *Ondertrouwregister*, 15 Nov. 1793. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/5001/path/2.2.101 [image 127/288]

¹⁶⁷ See Engelse Episcopaals Kerk (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].

¹⁶⁸ Elisabeth May. *Letter to [Françoise (May) Delprat], Spaar hooven, 31 May 1789*. Manuscript. Delprat family papers, Archive No. 2.21.183.16 Delprat, Inventory No. 99 Familiebriefwisseling van leden van het geslacht Delprat, collection of the Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Netherlands.

Note that Spaar hooven likely refers to a country house in the Leewenburg neighborhood of Maarsen, Utrecht about 35 km SSE of Amsterdam. This is where her mother, Marthe Naudin May, died in 1801. Death of Marthe Naudin May, 21 July 1801, Maarssen (Urecht) Overleden op haar Buitenplaats "Spruytenburg" nabij Maarssen. Begraven Wale Kerk Amsterdam. Op 't kerkhof. Spruytenburg heet nu Leeuwenburg, Zandpad 24, 3601 NA Maarsen [Jan Willem Gunning]. Spruytenburg is now called Leeuwenburg. Information generously provided by Frits Naudin ten Cate.

¹⁶⁹ *Nederland's Adelsboek, 1911*. 's-Gravenhage, 1911, p. 164-5. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB26:000717001:00190

¹⁷⁰ Alan Lemmers. "Shipworm, Hogbacks and Duck's Arses: The influence of William May on Sir Robert Seppings," *The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 99, no. 4, 2013, p. 411. Digital access: doi.org/10.1080/00253359.2013.844537

married a second time in 1762 to Magteld Geertruij Cannegieter, sister of Hendrik Cannegieter, the assistant to Willem Sautijn. For biographical information.¹⁷¹

For information on the May family and their involvement in shipbuilding in Amsterdam.¹⁷² All the sons of John May, Sr. were trained as shipwrights, except William. Job May and John May, Jr. opened the IJhoek shipyard on Wittenburg wharf from about 1760 and operated as Job May en Comp. 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 Bataafsch Genootschap der Proefondervinkelijke Wijsbegeerte* in Rotterdam.¹⁷³ John May, Jr. was also selected as a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, University of Lisbon.¹⁷⁴

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

1. Martha May (1754-1821) married 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 firm of Ten Cate and Vollenhoven owned 9% of the HLC but went out of business in 1799. There are indications of financial distress for the Ten Cate family in the letters of Elisabeth Busti. 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) married Paul Busti in 1794.
4. Maria Herminia May (1760-1847) married in 1784. Her husband, William May, Jr. was her 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 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 to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1798). After the proclamation of the Dutch monarchy, Delprat was appointed royal chaplain (1817-1841).

J.A. CROP, J. MAY EN COMP. 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 of the firm in 1760 after the death of Jan Anthony Crop. The estate inventory for John May, Jr. clarifies his ownership of J. A. Crop, J. May en Comp (rather than John May, Sr).¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Dennis Schouten. "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

¹⁷² Lemmers, *op. cit.*, p.410-28.

¹⁷³ Bataafsch Genootschap der Proefondervindelike Wijsbegeerte, Rotterdam. *Verhandelingen Van Het Bataafsch Genootschap Der Proefondervinkelijke Wijsbegeerte Te Rotterdam*. Rotterdam, 1774, p. LIV, LVIII. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015035468936

¹⁷⁴ José Silva. *A Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa (1779-1834): ciências e hibridismo numa periferia europeia*. PhD Dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa, 2015, p. 334. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/10451/17942 A diploma from the University of Lisbon 1780 is in the Delprat family papers in the National Archives (The Hague). He was selected as member no. 47 João May.

¹⁷⁵ 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]

KEIZERSGRACHT OFFICE. Crop, J. May en Comp (Jan Anth) were listed in Amsterdam business directories from the 1760s to 1783 on the Keizersgracht canal north of Hartestraat.¹⁷⁶ Their location then is on the east side of the canal north of the bridge (No. 49). The office was located in one of the canal houses Keizersgracht 215-231. Note that this is directly across the canal from the offices of Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla.

NAUDIN. 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*.¹⁷⁷

Additional genealogical information about the Naudin family was generously provided by W.F.H. Naudin ten Cate.

The independent nature of Marthe Naudin was related in another genealogy.¹⁷⁸

ELIZABETH MAY. Elisabeth May was baptized 11 Feb 1759 in the English Episcopal Church in Amsterdam.¹⁷⁹ It was infrequent, but not unknown, for women in Amsterdam to work in their parent's business, including as the director (i.e. Van Eeghen). We have located no additional information about J. A. Crop, J. May en Comp. that provides any detail in support of this notion.

LANGUAGES. 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.¹⁸⁰

“Bayard & M. Evers n' aiant point l'usage d'aucune des langues qui me sont connues, et moi manquant de connoissance assez etendue de l'angloise pour m'enoncer avec clarté et facilité, il nous fut 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 coté.”

In Elizabeth's 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.¹⁸¹

“Tout est bien ici, Letje [Charlot John Charles Delprat] woord groot, se divertit avec tous ces camarades, jase l'anglais, au point d'etre envié par Busti, qui ne fait pas la moitié des progrès.”

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 part of the 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's opinion is that the interposition of Dutch words and phrases in her letters suggests that the principal language of Elisabeth (May) Busti was Dutch, despite her mother's French heritage.

¹⁷⁶ Amsterdam business directories, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁷ *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*. vol. 1 (1853-1854), p. 175. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044098668999

¹⁷⁸ *De Nederlandsche Leeuw, jaargang 40, 1922*, col. 287. Digital access: knggw.nl/raadplegen/de-nederlandsche-leeuw/1922-40/152/

¹⁷⁹ See English Episcopal Church in Amsterdam. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archive 5001, Inventory No.137B, p. 13. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.2 [image 8/26]

¹⁸⁰ See 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]

¹⁸¹ Elisabeth (May) Busti. *Letter to Françoise (May) Delprat, Philadelphia, 24 November 1797*. *Op. cit.*

VAN DER KEMP CORRESPONDENCE. Elisabeth Busti's correspondence with Francis Adrian van der Kemp was cited by Jackson.¹⁸²

HARM JAN HUIDEKOPER was an assistant to Paul Busti and boarded with Paul and Elisabeth Busti in Philadelphia (1801-1804). He 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 with additional biographical material was published in 1904.¹⁸³

1805 TRIP TO NIAGARA FALLS. From July to October, Paul and Elisabeth Busti traveled a 1300 mile route between Philadelphia and Niagara Falls including stops at HLC offices in Olderbarneveld, Cazenovia, Batavia, Erie (Pennsylvania Population Co.), and Meadville. Paul Busti likely had malaria during the trip and had other difficulties, however, Elisabeth fared notably well during the journey.¹⁸⁴

HORSEBACK. Barlett's cross-saddle story about Elisabeth Busti was likely intended to be a disparaging comment but today reads as quite positive. This, combined with the character description of her mother, allows consideration of an independent, proto-feminist aspect of Elisabeth Busti's character. But there is so little information available that any characterization is a speculative projection.

SAINT-MEMIN. Charles Balthazar Julien F vret de Saint-M min (1770–1852) was an engraver and artist whose miniature portraits were very popular in the early United States. The portraits of Saint-M min are a who's who of the early American republic and include many associated with the HLC. Saint-M min used a physiognotrace apparatus to produce a 1:1 outline (akin to a silhouette) and then sketched the features and details. This crayon drawing was then transferred by pantograph to a small image (only 5.5 x 5.5 cm, about the size of the portraits on U.S. paper currency) that was engraved into a copper plate. The engraving was then elaborated and prints were made for the client. Elisabeth Busti and Paul Busti sat for their portraits in Philadelphia in 1807 or 1808. Two prints of each miniature portrait are in the Holland Land Company collection, Stadsarchief Amsterdam and other prints are in the National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC.¹⁸⁵ The existence or location of the larger crayon portraits, usually on red paper, are not known.

FRENCH TROOPS IN AMSTERDAM. The Batavian Revolution in Amsterdam began in October 1794 when the stadtholder, William V, brought in a British troops for protection of his

¹⁸² Harry F. Jackson. *Scholar in the Wilderness: Francis Adrian Van Der Kemp*. 1963, p. 183. Digital access: doi.org/10.1353/book.61594 The letter cited is available online, see Fran ois Adriaan van der Kemp. *Letter to John Adams, 17 May 1807*. Digital access: founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5184

¹⁸³ Van der Kemp and Fairchild, *op. cit.*

¹⁸⁴ See for example, *Paul Busti. Letter to Joseph Ellicott, 28 November 1805*. Collection of Buffalo History Museum.

¹⁸⁵ Charles F vret de Saint-M min. *Mrs. Elisabeth Busti*. 1807. Engraved print. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital content: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/5c2d35a876b1433dc81d5cdf332f6e70

Also, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, reference no. S/NPG.74.39.1.32) Digital content: npg.si.edu/object/npg_S_NPG.74.39.1.32

Also National Gallery of Art, Corcoran Collection (Gift of William Wilson Corcoran, 2015.19.1584.36.8), Digital content: nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.215063.html

Charles F vret de Saint-M min. *Paul Busti*. 1807. Engraved print. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital content: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/5c2d35a876b1433dc81d5cdf332f6e70

Also National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, reference no. S/NPG.74.39.7.12) Digital content: npg.si.edu/object/npg_S_NPG.74.39.7.12

Also National Gallery of Art, Corcoran Collection (Gift of William Wilson Corcoran, 2015.19.1584.36.8), Digital content: nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.215064.html

rule. Amsterdam proclaimed a provisional democratic government for the city in mid-January. The French army was invited into the city on 19 January 1795.¹⁸⁶

MAY FAMILY ORANGISTS. Those that supported the Stadtholder and future king were William May, Jr. and Job Seaburne May who 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) return to the Netherlands.

Two decades earlier, John May, Jr. had been identified as pro-British by an American agent:¹⁸⁷ "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."

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.¹⁸⁸

PRO-FRENCH FAMILY MEMBERS. It is likely that Paul Busti was pro-French. His actions at the Doctrina et Amicitia Society suggest this political affiliation, as does his nomination to the city council (see below). Rev. Daniel Delprat had been appointed of the Stadtholder in 1790 as a minister to the court, but despite that he became a secretary, translator, and later secretary for secrets to Maarten van der Goes van Dirxland, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Batavian Republic.¹⁸⁹ After the Restoration of the Orangists, Delprat returned to his service to that family. It should be recalled that Elisabeth's mother was a French-speaking Walloon, so it would be unclear which side of this revolution was taken by individual family members.

NOMINATION TO CITY COUNCIL. His nomination was listed as "Paulus Busti, op de Heeregragt by 't Koningsplein." Busti was one of only two foreign-born nominees on the list (Jean Rolland, the other, was born in Paris). Two nominees were connected to the Holland Land Company: Christiaan Van Eeghen and Wilhem Willink.¹⁹⁰

SCHOOL TAX COMMITTEE His nomination for the municipal Committee for School levies.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Simon Schama. *Patriots and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780-1813*. 1977, p. 186-91. Restricted digital access (Open Library): archive.org/details/patriotsliberato00scha_0

¹⁸⁷ 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

¹⁸⁸ See Pieter Jan van Winter. *Het aandeel van den Amsterdamschen handel aan den opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest*. vol 1. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1927, p. 239. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000118804 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. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000118804:00283

¹⁸⁹ Pim W. Waldeck. *Maarten van der Goes van Dirxland [1751-1826], Nederlands eerste minister van Buitenlandse Zaken*. PhD Dissertation, Leyden University, 2017, p 120. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/1887/55510

¹⁹⁰ See *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, 108. Digital access: resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMGAMS01:001043004:00141

¹⁹¹ "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

DOCTRINA ET AMICITIA. This club was originally the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit*.¹⁹² The political club was banned after the failure of the Patriot Rebellion of 1787 and reconstituted itself as a literary club called *Doctrina et Amicitia*. Paul Busti became a member of this club in 1790.¹⁹³

1790 No. 436. Paulus Busti, koopman. Naar America vertrokken 1798. *Idulain* [?].

Members of the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit/Doctrina et Amicitia* associated with Paul Busti (and their year of membership): 1. Augustinus Lorla, (No. 293: 1787 -1799), 2. Francois Carli (No. 346: 1795), 3. Philippo Giacomo de Bolongaro Crevenna (No. 273: 1787), 4. Isaac ten Cate, (No. 120: 1785), 5. Lambertus ten Cate Jr, (No. 261: 1787), 6. Cornelis ten Cate (No. 312: 1787), and 7. Jean Alexandre Botereau (No. 265: 1787)

Other Members of the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit/Doctrina et Amicitia* who would later become associated with Paul Busti through the HLC included: 1. Hendrik Vollenhoven (no. 8: 1783), 2. Christian van Eeghan, (no. 18: 1783); 3. Pieter van Eeghen (no. 67: 1784), 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. Jan ten Broeke Willink (no. 354: 1787), 11. Jan Ananias Willink (no. 40: 1783), and 12. Hendrik Willink (no. 209: 1786).

DOCTRINA ET AMICITIA MEETING. P: *Bústi*. was present at a general meeting of the *Doctrina et Amicitia* club on 24 Feb 1795 in which it was proposed that the club should return to its political roots as the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit*. Paul Busti seconded the motion of Caspar Rensing, a director of the Society. Meeting minutes for that meeting noted:¹⁹⁴ *De burger Busti was vanhes zelf de vevoeken enconfvimeezde ziut geheel en al met den burger de Haan*. The motion was defeated at the meeting. His appearance at this meeting may have been a precursor for his nomination. The membership lists and meeting minutes for the *Doctrina et Amicitia/Vaderlandsche Sociëteit* clubs are in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

RESIDENCE IN AMSTERDAM. The address *Herengracht op Kongingplein* was listed in his nomination for Amsterdam city council 31 December 1795. Taco Tichelaar was able to identify Herengracht 455 as the specific house where Paul and Elisabeth Busti rented an apartment in 1795. Their apartment was in the Golden Horn, the prime neighborhood in Amsterdam. The painting by Prins features houses located at Herengracht 435-445 with Bridge No. 29 from Koningsplein that crosses the canal to Leidsestraat. Paul and Elisabeth Busti lived on the far side of the bridge, the eighth house from the corner.

ISAAK TEN CATE was married to Martha May, Elisabeth's older sister. Paul Busti's family relationship to Isaäk ten Cate (1745-1812), one of the HLC investors, has been understood by several historians (Van Winter, Chazanof, Juliani). This family connection was important but secondary to the business credentials of Paul Busti.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² The membership lists have been transcribed by Herman de Wit, Maarssen, December 2011, See "transcriptie ledenlijst van de Vaderlandsche Sociëteit 1783-1787," Digital content: geneaknowhow.net/script/dewit/amsterdam-leden-vaderl-societeit-1783-1787.html accessed 2022.03.22

¹⁹³ *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit/Doctrina et Amicitia. Naamregister, 1783-1809*, p. 53. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archive no. 684 Inventaris van het Archief van de Sociëteit de Groote Club Doctrina et Amicitia. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/684/2.7.1/start/20/limit/10/highlight/9

¹⁹⁴ *Doctrina et Amicitia. Notulen der algemeene vergaderingen van het genootschap, 1st Deel* (1788-1822), p. 107. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archive no. 684 Inventaris van het Archief van de Sociëteit de Groote Club Doctrina et Amicitia. Digital access: archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/684/1.1.1/start/50/limit/10/highlight/7

¹⁹⁵ This is clear in van Eeghen's description of Paul Busti to Theophile Cazenove. See Christian van Eeghen. *Copy of letter to Theophile Cazenove, No. 42, 1 August 1797*. Copybook of outgoing correspondence, vol. 1 (1792-1805), *op. cit.* p. 183. [image 114/287]

THE DOCTRINA ET AMICITIA CONNECTION. Augustinus Lorla, would have been able to provide references, as well as Carli and Bolongaro. All were members, along with Paul Busti, of *Doctrina et Amicitia*. That club's membership also included the investors of the Holland Land Company: the Ten Cate, the Willink, Stadnitski, Staphorst, Schimmelpenninck, Vollenhoven, and the Van Eeghen.

POLITICAL ASSOCIATION. Paul Busti's political alignment may also have been a factor in his later employment. Both Christan van Eeghen and Wilhem Willink were also among the sixty nominees for city council.

REPLACEMENT OF CAZENOVE. Theophile Cazenove (1740-1811) has been characterized by historians as a loose cannon, but was also criticized by Talleyrand as too cautious in his business dealings. Cazenove made deals with Robert Morris and John Nicholson, two of the three principals of the North American Land Company. The 1790s real estate bubble burst in 1795 with the failure of Morris, Greenleaf and Nicholson.¹⁹⁶ A comparison by Rik Frehen *et al.* of the Holland Land Company and the North American Land Company is useful in understanding the investment position of the HLC.¹⁹⁷

In February 1796 the various partnerships were 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%).¹⁹⁸ The HLC were already in communication with Cazenove about his replacement and return to Europe prior to their offer to Paul Busti.¹⁹⁹

OFFER TO PAUL BUSTI. Paul Busti, Christian van Eeghen and Mssr. Willink (likely Wilhem) had met previously to discuss the employment offer, date not indicated. The first communication to Paul Busti from the HLC offered him the position as *Agent General* on 5 July 1796.²⁰⁰ Paul Busti's responded in November.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ 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. See Ryan K. Smith. *Robert Morris's Folly: The Architectural and Financial Failures of an American Founder*, 2014, p. 192, 204. Restricted digital access: jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bh4bxv

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

¹⁹⁷ See Rik 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

¹⁹⁸ The reorganization of the Holland Land Company (HLC) into stock company with 896 shares is described in Paul D. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 34-5.

¹⁹⁹ Christian van Eeghen. *Copy of letter to Theophile Cazenove, No. 40, 5 June 1797*. Copybook of outgoing correspondence, vol. 1 (1792-1805), p. 177. *Op. cit.* [image 111/287]

²⁰⁰ The offer of employment was communicated in a letter from Van Eeghen. Christain van Eeghen. *Copy of letter to Paul Busti, 5 July 1796*. Copybook of outgoing correspondence, vol. 1 (1792-1805), *op. cit.*, p. 179-80. The proforma contract from the HLC was sent by Christian van Eeghen. *Employment offer to Paul Busti, 10 July 1796, Amsterdam*. Manuscript. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/25846d5cb263dc2cac0fde8636ebed09 [image 1/8]

²⁰¹ Letter to Christian van Eeghen (Response to Offer), 8 November 1796, Amsterdam.

DEPARTURE FROM AMSTERDAM. Paul and Elizabeth Busti and John Charles Delprat sailed from Amsterdam about 14 December 1796 on a ship to New York. Their travel dates are derived from Busti's first letter to Van Eeghen after arriving in Philadelphia.²⁰²

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 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.

They left Amsterdam approximately 14 December 1796. This fits the approximated travel dates of the ship *Three Friends*, Captain Sherry, that arrived in New York City on 20 February 1797 after sailing from Texel, Netherland on 15 December 1796²⁰³ or, less likely due to its shorter travel time of 49 days, it could have been the packet ship *Birmingham*, Capt. Miller, that arrived in New York City also on 20 February 1797 after sailing from Amsterdam.²⁰⁴ Texel is a barrier island off the coast of the Netherlands where ocean bound ships brought on provisions prior to their voyage, sailing from Amsterdam traveled by way of the island.

JOHN CHARLES DELPRAT (1789-1856), also known as Jean-Charles Delprat and as Charlot in Elisabeth (May) Busti's letters to his parents. Delprat was at first educated in Philadelphia and later at a French language boarding school run by Godfrey Dorfeuille in Germantown.²⁰⁵ At sixteen he began work as a clerk for the Gratz brothers. Simon and Hyman Gratz were second generation, prominent merchants in Philadelphia with offices at 232 High Street (now Market Street).²⁰⁶ In 1806 Delprat traveled as a clerk and supercargo from New York to the East Indies.²⁰⁷ In 1808 (age 19) Delprat returned to Europe, where he traveled until returning to the United States and settling in Baltimore in 1819.²⁰⁸

BURIAL GROUND. Chirst Church has two cemeteries, the Busti are interred at the Burial Ground located on Arch Street at 5th street. It is usual to find no headstone for someone interred in this cemetery. Elisabeth Busti attended this church.

²⁰² They arrived in Philadelphia on 3 March 1797 after two days travelling from New York City. They had spent ten days in New York recuperating from the voyage that he noted lasted 67 days. Paul Busti. *Letter to Van Eeghen, No. 1, Philadelphia, 3 Mar 1797. op. cit.*

²⁰³ *Gazette of the United States, & Philadelphia daily advertiser* (Philadelphia), 21 February 1797, p 3. Collection of the Library of Congress. Digital access: [loc.gov/item/sn83025881/1797-02-21/ed-1/](https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83025881/1797-02-21/ed-1/)

²⁰⁴ *Gazette of the United States, & Philadelphia daily advertiser* (Philadelphia), 23 February 1797, p 3. Collection of the Library of Congress. Digital access: [loc.gov/item/sn83025881/1797-02-23/ed-1/](https://www.loc.gov/item/sn83025881/1797-02-23/ed-1/)

²⁰⁵ "Maison D'Éducation" on Germantown Avenue, Martin Godfrey Dorfeuille, French educator. Biographical information included in Oscar Beisert 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](https://www.keepingphiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/339-E-Wister-nom.pdf) accessed 2022.03.22.

²⁰⁶ See Toni Pitock. "Michael Gratz" *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*. German Historical Institute, web page, revised 22 Aug. 2018. Digital content: [immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entries/michael-gratz/](https://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entries/michael-gratz/) accessed 2022.03.22; and *The Philadelphia Directory, 1804*. p 98. Digital access: [archive.org/details/philadelphia_dire1804phil](https://www.archive.org/details/philadelphia_dire1804phil)

²⁰⁷ Paul Busti. *Letter to H. J. Huidekoper. 25 August 1806*. Manuscript. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.3.1.1/start/160/limit/10/highlight/3](https://www.archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.3.1.1/start/160/limit/10/highlight/3)

²⁰⁸ Daniel Henri Delprat. "Généalogie de la famille Delprat," *Bulletin de la Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes*, vol. 3. Hague, 1888, p. 375-7. Digital edition: hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah267y

DISCOUNTED RETURN. A 1799 baptismal record in Amsterdam includes Paul and Elisabeth Busti, but we doubt that either were present.²⁰⁹

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

The trajectory of research about Paul Busti and the Holland Land Company

MAGNANI. Fernando Magnani believed that publication of the correspondence of the HLC would bring the proper recognition due Paul Busti. Some correspondence was published later by the Buffalo Historical Society that concentrated on Joseph Ellicott.²¹⁰

ARCHIVE ACCESS. The safekeeping of the records of the Holland Land Company was detailed by Franciska Safran.²¹¹ The organization of the archive and the finding aid for the Amsterdam collection developed by Wilhelmina Pieterse was important for the later 1970-80s project to microfilm all known company records.²¹² Although the massive microfilming project has provided access since the 1980s, more generally, it has only been with the recent digitization efforts of the Stadsarchief Amsterdam that the HLC collection has become readily available.

DIGITIZATION OF AMERICAN ARCHIVES. As noted above, Paul Busti complained to Joseph Ellicott about Ellicott's failure to return Company documents.²¹³ The HLC 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. There are currently no plans to digitally photograph the HLC documents in U.S. archives.

²⁰⁹ 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]

Paul Busti wrote letters placing him in Philadelphia during this period. The name of Elisabeth Busti is misspelled making her lone appearance unlikely. There is no indication in the record that the Busti were godparents *in absentia* and generally a proxy would have been required. It is unclear the connection of the Semenza family to Paul and Elisabeth (May) Busti.

²¹⁰ Citation.

²¹¹ Franciska Safran (1936-2020). "The Preservation of the Holland Land Company Records," *New York History*, vol. 69, no. 2 (April 1988), p. 163-83.

²¹² Wilhelmina Pieterse. *Inventory of the Archives of the Holland Land Company, 1789-1869*. Amsterdam: Municipal Printing Office, 1976. Digital access: fredonia.libguides.com/ld.php?content_id=23275268 accessed 2022.05.15.

²¹³ Paul Busti. *Letter to Joseph Ellicott, Philadelphia 15 March 1822*. Collection of the Buffalo History Museum.