

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

a working paper by

Paolo Semenza and John Everett Jones

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**Section titles** from the *Italian Americana* article organize this supplement and references in the left margin indicate the corresponding page number in the article. TOPICS are in capital letters and references are included in the footnotes.

Digital access URLs are provided with the aspiration that they are persistent. We also note digital content URLs for sites that are more likely to change. The URLs are marked in green.

The Holland Land Company is commonly abbreviated as HLC in this supplement. The company's name in French was the *Société Territoriale Hollandoise* and its official name in Nederlands (Dutch) was *Hollandsche Land Compagnie*, both derived from the informal company name in the United States. The company was also sometimes referred to as The Holland Company (see note 4).

## [Introduction]

- 93 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 (and Dutch) form of *Paolo*, and 2) Busti did this when he moved to Amsterdam about 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 relatives after arriving in Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup> 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. He also signed as *Paulus Busti* letters to the Van Eeghens after the fall of Napoleon that were then written in Dutch.<sup>2</sup> Busti used the more formal Latinate *Paulus* in many documents in Amsterdam, especially in his marriage record.<sup>3</sup> *Paolo Busti* is a name form employed in the promotion of Busti as a cultural figure in America and his original name in Italy, though the baptismal form of his name was not written *Paolo* but *Pauolo Ignatio Gerardo Maria Busti*.
- 93 PRONUNCIATION OF BUSTI IN AMERICA. We know that Paul Busti used the Italian pronunciation of his name in Philadelphia. The pronunciation was researched by Lorin Blodget in Philadelphia in the 1850s with interviews of people who had known Paul Busti personally. Blodget

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<sup>1</sup> Elisabeth (May) Busti, "Letter to Daniël and Françoise (May) Delprat. 24 November 1797." Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Netherlands, archive no. 2.21.183.16 Delprat, inventory no. 99 Familiebriefwisseling van leden van het geslacht Delprat. Transcription in Pauline Delprat, *Souvenirs de Voyage*, The Hague: Mouton, 1904, p. 40-2. Note that this book is listed in worldcat.org under Manon Delprat; author correction indicated by Heleen Pronk.

<sup>2</sup> 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](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31158006571094) For post-Napoleonic letters See Stadsarchief Amsterdam, HLC collection 333, Folder 96.

<sup>3</sup> Engelse Episcopaals Kerk (Amsterdam). *Dopen, Trouwen, Begraven*, vol. 2 (1698-1821), p. 75. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, folder 137A. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.1/start/30/limit/10/highlight/8](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.1/start/30/limit/10/highlight/8)

wrote that Busti had pronounced his surname *Bewsty*.<sup>4</sup> We consider this is an approximate, though imperfect, transcription of the Italian pronunciation.

LOMBARDY. The size of Lombardy<sup>5</sup> has varied over time and today is 23,864 km<sup>2</sup>. The total land area owned by the HLC and administered by Paul Busti was approximately 22,250 km<sup>2</sup> (8,600 square miles or 5.5 million acres). In addition, Busti was responsible for the 40% interest held by HLC in the 1,955 km<sup>2</sup> (483,000 acres) of the Pennsylvania Population Company. The concept and extent of Lombardy has ranged from a description of most of northern Italy<sup>6</sup> to a historic definition of specific political boundaries only since 1815 Restoration, as well as a reference to culture or language.

SENECA NATION. Many historians, including Chazanof characterized Paul Busti as an assistant to Theophile Cazenove from February 1797 to June 1799, but we believe this is incorrect.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> The representatives of William Morris made the deals that resulted in the Big Tree treaty, however, the HLC and Paul Busti were complicit. In 1803-1804 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 preemptive right to purchase the land of the Seneca Nation reservations for \$98,917.50 to David A. Ogden, *et al.*<sup>9</sup> 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.

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<sup>4</sup> Lorin Blodget (1823-1901), "Paul Busti," paper presented to the Chautauqua Society of History and Natural Science, 27 January 1886 and published in the *Jamestown Evening Journal*, 28 January 1886, p. 2. Note that this article was republished in 1932 by Ferdinand Magnani in Buffalo. Digital access: [archive.org/details/blodget-lorin-1886-paul-busti](https://archive.org/details/blodget-lorin-1886-paul-busti)

<sup>5</sup> Treccani, "Lombardia," *Enciclopedia on line*. Digital access: [treccani.it/enciclopedia/lombardia](https://treccani.it/enciclopedia/lombardia)

<sup>6</sup> Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *Lombardia, ch'abbraccia gli Stati de' Duchi di Savoia, Mantova, Parma, e Modona, e del Milanese*, Torino, 1706. Digital content: [play.google.com/books/reader?id=laJeAAAAcAAJ](https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=laJeAAAAcAAJ) accessed 2023.04.05 and *Dizionario di Geografia moderna composto per l'Enciclopedia metodica dalli Signori Robert, Masson, Mentelle, Bonne, ec., Traduzione dal francese con molte aggiunte*, vol. 2, Padua 1797, p. 354. Digital content: [books.google.it/books?id=6DzB79H6YH0C&pg=PA354](https://books.google.it/books?id=6DzB79H6YH0C&pg=PA354) accessed 2023.04.05.

<sup>7</sup> William Chazanof (1915-1999), *Joseph Ellicott and the Holland Land Company: The Opening of Western New York*, Syracuse University Press, 1970, p. 32. Digital version: [muse.jhu.edu/chapter/2179080](https://muse.jhu.edu/chapter/2179080)

<sup>8</sup> William Chazanof, *Joseph Ellicott*, 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](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000126305)

<sup>9</sup> This is the sale of the preemptive rights, see 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.319510015206050](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510015206050)

The preemptive right provided legal permission to hold title to Seneca Nation land should the Seneca Nation relinquish title or be removed. The preemptive right was originally held by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as a result of the Treaty of Hartford (1786). Preemptive rights were transformed into land title in western New York State through the Treaty of Big Tree (1797). Reserved Seneca Nation land rights (the reservations) recognized in the Treaty of Big Tree were the preemptive rights sold to the Ogdens.

- 93 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.<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the impact of the case, see Crosskey and Jeffrey.<sup>11</sup>

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 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.<sup>12</sup> Paul Busti wrote to his Directors (translated):<sup>13</sup>

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

<sup>10</sup> 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, 2004, p. 44. Digital access: [jstor.org/stable/27778585](http://jstor.org/stable/27778585)

<sup>11</sup> *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.

<sup>12</sup> 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](http://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.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Busti, "Letter to P. & C. van Eeghen, no. 2, 28 June 1799." Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 86. 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](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.10.2/start/0/limit/10/highlight/2)

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.

- 93 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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. While Jerre Gerlando Mangione in *La storia: Five centuries of the Italian American experience* (1992, 14-15) did include a mention of Paul Busti, his facts were grossly incorrect and manifest disinterest in the subject.

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

Other 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.<sup>16</sup> In 1908 the leadership was listed as Charles C. Privitera (1882 Palermo-1971), Anthony C. Jillen, Daniel A. Senno (1890-1919), Joseph Bellanca (1885-1951), John L. Spero (1882-1934), Anthony J. Cortelli (1883 San Fele-1955), and Samuel Sciolino.

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.<sup>17</sup>

- 94 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 Paolo Antonio 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.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, 2004, p. 589, 633, 770n.

<sup>15</sup> Paul D. Evans, *HLC*, p. 139-40.

<sup>16</sup> *Buffalo Courier*, 22 March 1908, p. 28; *Buffalo Illustrated Times*, 6 February 1910, p. 33; April 24, 1910, p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> *The Buffalo Times*, 14 August 1926, p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> 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](http://familysearch.org/library/books/idurl/1/104015) or [data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=bl-000711479](http://data.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/view?pubId=bl-000711479)

## The Erasure of Paul Busti

- 94 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*.<sup>19</sup> No photograph of the Italian American float was published in local newspapers and no unpublished photograph has been located in local archives.
- 95 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](http://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*.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup>

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.<sup>22</sup>

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 Couteux, 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.<sup>23</sup> Johnson's 1876 history

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<sup>19</sup> *Buffalo Evening News*, 23 September 1920, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth M. Brick, "Shades of Grey: Nativism, Racism and Other Trends in the Writings of the Buffalo Historical Society," Master's thesis, State University of New York at Oneonta, 1990. Special thanks to Joe Festa, Special Collections Librarian at Fenimore Art Museum for providing a digital copy of this study.

<sup>21</sup> "Obituaries," *New York History*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1932, p. 90-91. Digital access: [jstor.org/stable/24469730](http://jstor.org/stable/24469730)

<sup>22</sup> Charles W. Evans (1812-1889), *Biographical and Historical Accounts of the Fox, Ellicott, and Evans Families, and the Different Families Connected with Them*, Buffalo, 1882. Digital access: [archive.org/details/biographicalhist00evan](http://archive.org/details/biographicalhist00evan)

<sup>23</sup> Ellicott Evans (1819-1891), "Reminiscences of Joseph Ellicott, Read before the Society, December 26, 1864," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, vol. 2, 1879, p. 181-98. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4926390?urlappend=%3Bseq=217%3B](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4926390?urlappend=%3Bseq=217%3B)

of Erie County (where Buffalo is located) called Ellicott the founder of Buffalo.<sup>24</sup> Johnson was cited in 1924 by G. Hunter Bartlett:<sup>25</sup>

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.”<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>

- 95 THE GEOGRAPHIC IMPORTANCE OF BUFFALO. The strategic importance of Buffalo was established by the 1783 Treaty of Paris. This was physically implemented by the one-mile wide strip along the Niagara river reserved by the Federal government. The geography of the upper Great Lakes was well understood in the 1700s and the logistical importance of the location of Buffalo was plainly evident. Crisfield Johnson’s suggestion that only Ellicott realized the importance of a port at Buffalo is hyperbolic. When Joseph Ellicott was designing the layout of the village of New Amsterdam that would become Buffalo, Francis Adrian van der Kemp and others 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.<sup>29</sup> 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. Paul Busti was relieved to see during his visit in 1805 that the area between Black

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<sup>24</sup> 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: [archive.org/details/centennialhistor00joh](https://archive.org/details/centennialhistor00joh)

<sup>25</sup> G. Hunter Bartlett (1856-1931), “Correspondence: Joseph Ellicott, Founder and Planner of Buffalo and Batavia,” *Address of the President and Report of the Director Submitted at the Annual Meeting, January 8, 1924*, Buffalo Historical Society, 1924, p. 94. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b728263](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b728263)

<sup>26</sup> 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](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x000108830)

<sup>27</sup> Frank Severance (1856-1931) in J. N. Larned, *A History of Buffalo, Delineating the Evolution of the City*. New York: The Progress of the Empire State company, 1911, p. 137. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015027759748](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015027759748)

<sup>28</sup> 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 Historical Society, 1931, p. 194. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x000743988](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uva.x000743988)

<sup>29</sup> 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](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4470234)

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.<sup>30</sup>

- 96 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*.<sup>31</sup>

BUSTI NOT THE FOUNDER OF BUFFALO. Bartlett argued that Paul Busti's own discretion and manners would have restrained Busti from making the claim to be one of the founders of Buffalo:<sup>32</sup>

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 Bartlett's statement is that, along with the Dutch investors, Paul Busti does indeed identify himself as one of the founders of Buffalo.<sup>33</sup>

**Busti Letter to Ellicott** (with portion quoted by Bartlett in blue)

I have been pleased with the view of New Amsterdam and piercing into futurity with the 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 & Schimmelpeninck 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't 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.

**Bartlett's interpretative text of this letter**

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 your 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."

<sup>30</sup> Paul Busti. "Letter no. 103 to Christiaan van Eeghen, 10 October 1805." Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 87. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.10.3/start/20/limit/10/highlight/2](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.10.3/start/20/limit/10/highlight/2)

<sup>31</sup> *Buffalo Courier*, 14 Feb. 1926, p. 61.

<sup>32</sup> G. Hunter Bartlett. "Letter to the Editor," *Buffalo Morning Express*, 11 March 1924. Reprinted in "Joseph Ellicott, Founder and Planner of Buffalo and Batavia." pamphlet, p. 58. Buffalo History Museum, Ellicott-Evans-Bartlett collection, Series VI, Subseries 6. Joseph Ellicott vs Paul Busti.

<sup>33</sup> Paul Busti. "Letter to Joseph Ellicott, 24 October 1804," p. 2. Buffalo History Museum, HLC Records, BUF-1, vol. 8 (previously vol. 5, 1804-1808), p. 602; and Paul Busti. "Copy of Letter to Joseph Ellicott, 24 October 1804," p. 2. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 399. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.1.1.1/start/90/limit/10/highlight/3](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.1.1.1/start/90/limit/10/highlight/3)



In this passage, Busti includes both his own and that of Schimmelpennick as “barbarous names of the founders.” Founders of what? Busti was not a founder of the HLC. The syntax indicates that Busti considered himself as one of the founders of Buffalo. Bartlett quotes the letter and then distorts its meaning by inserting a parenthetical note (not a bracketed editorial comment as he did twice in the same quotation). Bartlett’s imposed descriptor (*of the Holland Land Company*) erased Paul Busti from inclusion among *the founders* and redefined the original passage.<sup>34</sup>

Bartlett writes that Magnani’s *racial enthusiasm* had made Magnani distort the facts. This is an example of the subtle and persistent prejudice in G. Hunter Bartlett’s writing.

- 96 FOUNDER OF BATAVIA. The small city of Batavia was established under the administration of Paul Busti and its name was suggested by him after disallowing Ellicott’s suggestion of *Bustiville*.<sup>35</sup> Ellicott designed the town plan, resided there, and is identified as the Founder of Batavia, New York without much additional discussion. Joseph Ellicott’s stone office building in Batavia today serves as a museum ([hollandlandoffice.com](http://hollandlandoffice.com)) although his grand house was razed in 1887.<sup>36</sup>



Land Office, detail from J. W. Otley, “Map of Genesee County, New York.” Map. Philadelphia, 1854. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center. Digital content: [collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:x059cd711](https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:x059cd711)

<sup>34</sup> G. Hunter Bartlett, “Correspondence,” 1924, p. 93. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b728263](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b728263)

<sup>35</sup> William Seaver (1789-1871), *A Historical Sketch of the Village of Batavia*. Batavia, 1849, p. 8-9. Digital access: [archive.org/details/historicalsketch00sea](https://archive.org/details/historicalsketch00sea)

<sup>36</sup> Larry D. Barnes, “An Overview of the Joseph Ellicott Mansion in Batavia.” Working paper. Digital content: [studylib.net/doc/8549442/an-overview-of-the-joseph-ellicott](https://studylib.net/doc/8549442/an-overview-of-the-joseph-ellicott) accessed 2023.04.05

## The Grudge

- 96 THE BIG FAMILY. The grudge of the “Big Family” is alluded to by Chazanof. Joseph Ellicott had entrenched family members in his administration and Chazanof described the extent of the family’s involvement in the operations of the HLC in western New York.<sup>37</sup> 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. The children and descendants included:<sup>38</sup>

1. **Andrew A. Ellicott** (1754-1820, surveyor, civil servant, professor)
  - 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- abt 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 reduplicated entry 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. Wiliam 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)
        - 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

<sup>37</sup> William Chazanof, *Joseph Ellicott*, p. 205.

<sup>38</sup> Charles W. Evans, *Fox, Ellicott, and Evans Families*, p. 188-268. Digital access: [archive.org/details/biographicalhist00evan](http://archive.org/details/biographicalhist00evan)

In the list above, those names in **bold** worked for the HLC directly, worked for Joseph Ellicott in Batavia, were associated with the HLC, or wrote histories about the HLC. Note that this list is abridged with numbering (d’Aboville) based on the family history by Charles W. Evans.

- 96 **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 these accomplishments, Andrew Ellicott’s relationship with the HLC was not always favorable. Huidekoper considered Andrew Ellicott to be unreliable, a man whose opinions were like a weather vane, changing with every political wind.<sup>39</sup> Andrew Ellicott misrepresented himself as a land agent for the HLC in an advertisement in the Pittsburgh newspaper *Tree of Life* that led to a rebuke from Busti.<sup>40</sup>

**DAVID ELLICOTT.** Paul Busti employed David Ellicott in 1804-1805 to survey and open a road between Driftwood, 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.<sup>41</sup> David Ellicott was estranged from the Big Family after 1807, his life remains a mystery after that date.<sup>42</sup>

**BENJAMIN ELLICOTT** (1765-1827). Regarded as a mechanical whiz, possibly in the same category as David Rittenhouse, Benjamin Ellicott was also an accomplished surveyor. Joseph Ellicott employed his brother Benjamin in Batavia with projects including grist and saw mills and the Canniangone salt works. Benjamin Ellicott was elected to the United States House of Representatives and served from 1817-1819.

**REPUTATION OF JOSEPH ELLICOTT.** Bartlett expressed his and the family’s interest in protecting the memory of Joseph Ellicott:<sup>43</sup>

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.

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<sup>39</sup> Harm Jan Huidekoper, “Letter to Paul Busti, Meadville, 8 November 1805.” Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder no. 440. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.3.2.2/start/160/limit/10/highlight/7](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.3.2.2/start/160/limit/10/highlight/7)

<sup>40</sup> Paul Busti, “Copy of letter to Harm Jan Huidekoper, 5 May 1809,” 2. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder no. 436. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.3.1.3/start/20/limit/10/highlight/4](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.3.1.3/start/20/limit/10/highlight/4)

<sup>41</sup> Paul D. Evans, *HLC*, 96.

<sup>42</sup> Charles W. Evans, *Fox, Ellicott, and Evans Families*, p. 166. Digital access: [archive.org/details/biographicalhist00evan](http://archive.org/details/biographicalhist00evan)

<sup>43</sup> G. Hunter Bartlett, “Copy of Letter to Paul D. Evans, 9 February 1925,” p. 4-5. Buffalo History Museum, Ellicott-Evans-Bartlett family papers, series VI, subseries D, folder 6.

RESIGNATION OF JOSEPH ELLICOTT is treated by Chazanof.<sup>44</sup> The family also resented that Paul Busti had complained to Joseph Ellicott that Ellicott had failed to return Company documents.<sup>45</sup> These documents were proudly donated by Ellicott Evans to the Buffalo Historical 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.<sup>46</sup>

RESENTMENT AGAINST BUSTI. The family rationalized the suicide of their patron by transferring their anger to Paul Busti. Even seven decades after the death of Joseph Ellicott, an anonymous anti-Busti sentiment was expressed in *The Buffalo Times*. This peculiar, unsigned snippet coincides with the Second Boer War and anti-Dutch sentiments, recognizes Ellicott's bad behavior, and was likely authored by a descendant of the Big Family – *Oom* translates from Nederlands (Dutch) to English as uncle.<sup>47</sup>

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.

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<sup>44</sup> William Chazanof, *Joseph Ellicott*, p. 181-208.

<sup>45</sup> Paul Busti, "Letter to Joseph Ellicott, Philadelphia, 15 March 1822." Buffalo History Museum, HLC Records, BUF-1, vol. 15 (1810-1822).

<sup>46</sup> Laban Gardner, "Letter to David E. Evans, Bloomingdale Asylum, 21 August 1826." Buffalo History Museum, Ellicott-Evans-Bartlett family papers, series II, subseries D, folder 8.

<sup>47</sup> *The Buffalo Times*, 28 March 1902, p. 4.

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

- 96 PATROON. Orsamus Turner used the term *Patroon* several times in his descriptions of various individuals in his history, including his description of Ellicott upon his demise:<sup>48</sup> “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 or Italians in general.

- 97 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.

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.”<sup>49</sup> 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: “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.”<sup>50</sup>

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. Moreover, Stadnitski’s dispatching to America Cazenove and Lincklaen, among others, was essential to the development of the HLC. Bartlett returned to the subject two years later.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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*.<sup>53</sup> We would like to thank Cynthia Van Ness of the Buffalo History Museum for drawing our attention to this work.

<sup>48</sup> Orsamus Turner (1801-1855), *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York*, Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co, 1849, p. 437. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015010949645](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015010949645)

<sup>49</sup> 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](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89065904492)

<sup>50</sup> G. Hunter Bartlett, “Andrew and Joseph Ellicott,” 1922, p. 42.

<sup>51</sup> G. Hunter Bartlett, “Correspondence,” 1924, p. 90-6.

<sup>52</sup> For more about 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)

<sup>53</sup> 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, master’s 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.

- 97 *IL CARROCCIO*. Magnani, like this magazine, was pro-Fascist.<sup>54</sup> Magnani gave at least one lecture in support of Mussolini in 1930 at the University of Buffalo.<sup>55</sup> Mussolini's politics were criticized by Dean Parks in the next meeting of the sponsoring club.<sup>56</sup>

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.<sup>57</sup> Ferdinando Magnani was born 25 April 1874 in Faenza, Ravenna, Italy and died there on 5 March 1934 during 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.

Bartlett gave a backhanded compliment to Magnani in a letter to Paul D. Evans:<sup>58</sup>

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...

*IL CORRIERE ITALIANO*, the newspaper serving the Italian community 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 in 1904.<sup>59</sup> These lectures were a reaction to the assassination in Buffalo of President William McKinley in 1901. The assassin, Leon Czolgosz, was a first-generation Polish American born in Michigan in 1873 whose parents and elder siblings had emigrated to the United States in 1872. Czolgosz was unrepentant and had been motivated by the 1900 assassination of King Umberto I of Italy by Gaetano Bresci, an Italian anarchist who had lived in the United States. Czolgosz's origin and associations corresponded to Buffalo's two major groups of new immigrants, Poles and Italians, and likely motivated this Americanization project.

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<sup>54</sup> *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" as noted in the guide to Italian American Periodicals at the Library of Congress. Digital content: [guides.loc.gov/italian-american-periodicals/political-periodicals/newyork](https://guides.loc.gov/italian-american-periodicals/political-periodicals/newyork)

<sup>55</sup> *The Bee* (Univ. of Buffalo), 7 March 1930, p. 2. Digital access: [nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/np00130002/1930-03-07/ed-1/seq-2/](https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/np00130002/1930-03-07/ed-1/seq-2/)

<sup>56</sup> *The Bee*, 14 March 1930, p. 1. Digital access: [nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/np00130002/1930-03-14/ed-1/seq-1/](https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/np00130002/1930-03-14/ed-1/seq-1/)

<sup>57</sup> Ferdinando Magnani (1874-1934), "Paul Busti and the Holland Land Co.: An Historical Vindication," *Il Carroccio* (New York), vol. 23, January 1926, p. 33-46. 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](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015073737325)

<sup>58</sup> Bartlett, "Copy of Letter to Paul D. Evans, 9 February 1925," p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> *The Buffalo Enquirer*, 17 February 1904, p. 9.

## Holland Land Company histories

- 97 FRANK H. SEVERANCE (1856-1931). 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*.<sup>60</sup>

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.

- 98 DERIVATIVE 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 by William Wyckoff.<sup>61</sup> His examination of the HLC’s physical imprint on western New York focuses on Ellicott, its prime actor in the region. Wyckoff ignored the relevance of macro and micro economic influences that affected decisions about development as well as the organizational influences on Ellicott’s work. Unfortunately, again and again there is a lack of clarity in describing the decision-making process and a general dismissal of the impact of the Dutch Investors and their interests and Paul Busti and his directives. Busti was commonly subsumed within “The Dutch” although this was not Wyckoff’s intent.<sup>62</sup> Likewise, while Wyckoff’s bibliography is replete with texts influenced by the Buffalo Historical Society, the works of Van Winter and Ferdinando Magnani were not referenced.

Charles E. Brooks failed to investigate the history of the Holland Land Company, instead he just repackaged the work of Chazanof and Wyckoff within a “market revolution” framework.<sup>63</sup> Brooks seems to have unknowingly continued Evans, Severance and Bartlett’s depreciation of Busti.

ORSAMUS TURNER (1801-1855). Orsamus Turner noted in his introduction that it was Lyman C. Draper who had gathered historical material from Philadelphia. Draper almost certainly sourced his biographical details from John Jacob Vanderkemp who was still living in Philadelphia and Vandekemp likely allowed Draper to go through the HLC collection of correspondence and

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<sup>60</sup> *The Buffalo Evening News*, 7 May 1910, p. 10.

<sup>61</sup> William Wyckoff, *The Developer’s Frontier: The Making of the Western New York Landscape*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988. Digital access: [archive.org/details/developersfronti0000wyck/](https://archive.org/details/developersfronti0000wyck/)

<sup>62</sup> William Wyckoff, “Email to John Everett Jones,” 2022.02.11.

<sup>63</sup> Charles E. Brooks, *Frontier Settlement and Market Revolution: The Holland Land Purchase*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

documents. In one of his letters to Draper, Turner noted that he planned to send one of the early printed copies of his book to Vanderkemp.<sup>64</sup>

- 98 PAUL D. EVANS (1892-1983). Paul Demund Evans was not related to the Ellicott-Evans family (the “Big Family”). Evans was the son of a Welsh immigrant and completed his B.A. and 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.<sup>65</sup> Evans published at least one academic article in French.<sup>66</sup> 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 about Evans is from the introduction to his master’s thesis by Barbara Henry.<sup>67</sup>

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.

EDITORIAL 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. Evans (who was a new lecturer at Yale) noting:<sup>68</sup> “I saw your photograph in the group in this weeks [sic] Alumni [Yale] 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.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Orsamus Turner, “Letter to Lyman C. Draper, Lockport, NY, 17 May 1850,” p. 1. Wisconsin Historical Society, Lyman C. Draper manuscript collection. Note that Orsamus is the correct spelling of his unusual given name. Further research into the Draper papers might locate other letters with Turner that could provide more details used in the preparation of Turner’s book.

<sup>65</sup> Malot graduated with a Licenciée es Lettres, Univ. of Paris (Sorbonne), 1919 and M.A., Syracuse, 1920. She was the niece of Edouard Vedovelli, a Parisian electrical engineer and inventor who was also an early aviation innovator. He visited the newlyweds in Syracuse in 1920. Vedovelli’s father (Malot’s maternal grandfather) was likely from Condino (Trento), Italy and his Paris-born mother was the daughter of don Juan Francisco López del Castillo y Justíz from Santiago de Cuba. *Records of Members of the Faculties*, Syracuse University, p. 1185; FamilySearch.org reference L2R1-8HW.

<sup>66</sup> Paul D. Evans, “Deux Émigrés en Amérique: Talleyrand et Beaumez,” *La Révolution Française, Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, vol. 79, 1926, p. 51-61. Digital access: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k116276c/f53.item

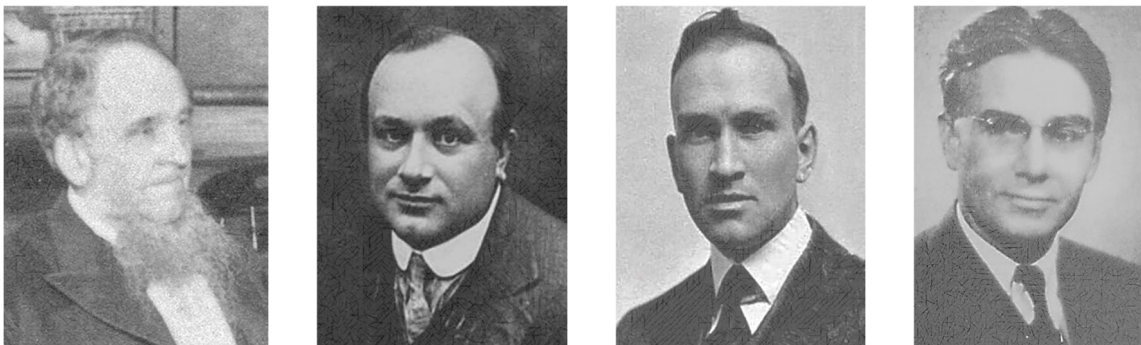
<sup>67</sup> Barbara Henry wrote a short biography of Evans for a publication of his master’s thesis, that was made available online. Digital content: sites.rootsweb.com/~nyunywh/upstatenywelsh/OneidaWelsh.pdf accessed 2021.10.15 Paul D. Evans, *The Welsh of Oneida County, New York*, master’s thesis, Cornell University, 1914.

<sup>68</sup> Bartlett, “Letter to Paul D. Evans, February 9th, 1925,” p. 5.

<sup>69</sup> 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 Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, Ralph Henry Gabriel papers, series IV, box no. 21, folder 351.



- 98 ITALIAN AMERICAN HISTORIANS. Giovanni Schiavo appropriated the work of Magnani without attribution.<sup>70</sup> An open question remains whether Schiavo's disrespect was politically motivated because Magnani had been an advocate for Mussolini. Alfonso 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.<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> However, Juliani did not extend his research into the role of Busti in the HLC.



Paul Busti Researchers (left to right)

Lorin Blodget was born in 1823 in Busti, New York and died in Philadelphia in 1901. His early book on climatology of the United States (1855) was groundbreaking in that field of study. His interest in Paul Busti developed from his place of birth, his family connections to Philadelphia, and his long residency in that city. Photograph from the collection of American Philosophy Society (Philadelphia), reference M42 27 33. See [wikipedia.org/wiki/Lorin\\_Blodget](http://wikipedia.org/wiki/Lorin_Blodget)

Ferdinando Magnani was born in 1874 in Faenza (Ravenna, Emilia-Romagna). He emigrated to the United States in 1897 and died during a visit to Faenza in 1934. In the 1930s Magnani was promoting support for Mussolini in the United States. Photograph from U.S. Passport 1924.

Paul D. Evans was born in Canaseraga, New York and was educated at Cornell University. After serving in WWI in France, Evans returned to work on his doctorate chronicling the history of the Holland Land Company. He was a lecturer at Yale and professor at Syracuse University and the University of Vermont. He died in Shelburne, Vermont in 1983. Photograph from U.S. Passport, 1922.

Giovanni E. Schiavo was born in Castellamare del Golfo (Sicily) in 1898 and emigrated with his family in 1915. He graduated from Columbia University in 1932 having studied International Relations and Law. Schiavo was an editor and also the author of several books on the history of Italians in America. He died in 1983. See Center for Migration Studies, "Schiavo Papers Finding Aid." Digital access: [cmsny.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/cms\\_0851.pdf](http://cmsny.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/cms_0851.pdf) Photograph in Adolph Caso, *They Too Made America Great*, 1978, p. 151.

<sup>70</sup> Giovanni E. Schiavo (1898-1983), *The Italians in America Before the Civil War*, New York: Vigo Press, 1934, p. 215-20.

<sup>71</sup> Alfonso M. Ressa (1892-1960), "The Story of Paolo Busti, Part 1," *OSIA News*, November 1957, p. 6 and "The Story of Paolo Busti, Part 2," *OSIA News*, December 1957, p. 6. These articles were compiled in a booklet, "Paolo Busti, A Chapter of American History, 1798-1824," National Historical Society of the Order Sons of Italy in America (OSIA), Philadelphia, 1957.

<sup>72</sup> Juliani, *Little Italy*, p. 35-41, 337-8n.

### The other factor influencing historians: the discretion of Paul Busti

- 98 CONTEMPORARY AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. Francis Adrian van der Kemp and Harm Jan Huidekoper are examples.<sup>73</sup>

FARM JOURNAL AND BLOCKLEY RETREAT FARM. Busti acquired the farm in Blockley Township, in Philadelphia County in 1806. A permanent bridge over the Schuylkill River had been completed in 1805 connecting this western township to the city of Philadelphia. Busti named the farm Blockley Retreat and he became a gentleman farmer.

Busti joined a number of prominent Philadelphians who were interested in advancements in farming and the development of the sericulture industry. Busti wrote a paper providing technical details about silk production that was published posthumously.<sup>74</sup> The scale of Busti's experimentation with silk production at Blockley Retreat is unclear, but appears to have been a preliminary test.<sup>75</sup> Busti's experimentation in silk has not been investigated. Likewise, Paul Busti and his efforts at Blockley Retreat Farm have not yet received treatment from an agricultural point of view.

In 1832, an anonymous letter (criticizing the description of a certain Du Ponceau's work as novel) made reference to Busti's work:<sup>76</sup>

Ten years before Mr. Du Ponceau began to think of the subject, the late excellent Paul Busti cultivated silk worms largely, and sent the Cocoons to Italy, where the manufacturers were astonished at their beauty and size, and the superiority of the Silk when reeled. Mr. Busti wrote several pieces on the importance of the culture of Silk, and recommended to the farmers to engage in it, considering that it would not interfere with their regular business.

He also largely distributed for several years the eggs of silk worms.

There is a reference to a plantation of mulberry trees at the farm. It is unknown if any examples remain today. The description of Blockley Retreat farm included a woolen factory, possibly as part of a silk production initiative by Busti (see advertisement on p. 63).

A journal of his farming efforts from 1816-1823 is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. That journal was donated by Mrs. Pauline Elizabeth Henry, the daughter of J. J. Vanderkemp, who was named after Paul and Elisabeth Busti.<sup>77</sup> Magnani noted that he had read through Paul Busti's farm journal in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Juliani discussed the farm journal at some length.<sup>78</sup>

Busti's house has been the subject of a couple of master's theses in historical preservation. Each thesis demonstrates a superficial understanding of Paul Busti and his career in Philadelphia and so

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<sup>73</sup> Van der Kemp and Fairchild, *Francis Adrian van der Kemp*. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t4rj4m64t](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t4rj4m64t) and Nina Moore Tiffany and Francis Tiffany. *Harm Jan Huidekoper*. 1904. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/coo1.ark:/13960/t5hb0b99s](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo1.ark:/13960/t5hb0b99s)

<sup>74</sup> Paul Busti, "Instructions for the cultivation of the Mulberry Tree and of Silk Worms in order to introduce them into America," in *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture: containing communications on various subjects in husbandry & rural affairs*, vol. 5, 1826, p. 255-67. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/uma.ark:/13960/t9j393r0s](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uma.ark:/13960/t9j393r0s)

<sup>75</sup> John T. Sharpless, "An Essay on the Bombyx Mori, or Silk Worm," *The Franklin Journal and American Mechanics' Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1 September 1826), p. 143-44. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b569639](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b569639)

<sup>76</sup> *The United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), 9 June 1832, p. 3.

<sup>77</sup> Paul Busti, "Blockley Farm Journal," 1816-1823. Manuscript. Collection no. AM.933 of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia),

<sup>78</sup> Richard N. Juliani, *Building Little Italy*, 1998, 36-40.

the house was not evaluated in terms of the socio-economic origins of Paul or Elisabeth Busti. In particular, the library and its architectural design has not been considered in light of the bibliophilic connections of Busti. Cloud and Mester both portrayed Busti as a social climber which is perhaps a reflection of anti-Italian sentiments. Mester mistakenly noted that Busti anglicized his name when he arrived in Philadelphia.<sup>79</sup>

The Busti family lived at Spruce and Fifth Streets in the late-1790s before moving to “12th Street below High” in the early-1800s. The Busti’s Twelfth Street house shared a party wall with the rented, three-story, two-bay brick row house of the, then, scandalized financier of the American Revolution Robert Morris, while also sharing the neighborhood with the Philadelphia newspaper mogul John Dunlap. Because, Busti’s financial success and business connections put him in contact with Philadelphia’s elite, a modest row house on the fringe of the city was not enough for Busti’s aspirations. Much like McConnell, Busti had ambitions to solidify his status within the Philadelphia elite through acquiring a country house. Arguably, this is why he sought after Mill Creek Farm in the spring of 1806. (Mester, p. 29)

Paul and Elisabeth Busti’s likely had a sophisticated understanding of gardening and farming given the examples of P. A. Zappa’s garden in Sesto and the estates around Amsterdam and in the Philadelphia area. Also, the Bustis were likely aware of contemporary trends in Italy, the Netherlands and America. See images p. 61-63.

- 98 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 Philadelphia Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, and the Second United States Bank. Vanderkemp was an elected member of the American Philosophical Society and corresponded with John Quincy Adams. His father, Francis Adrian van der Kemp (a celebrated political émigré from the Netherlands) noted his son’s quiet nature (*sedateness*) in one of his many letters to John Adams.<sup>80</sup> 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 both an elevated competence in the history of business management and French.

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<sup>79</sup> Dana S. Cloud. *The Blockley Retreat Farm: An Analysis of and Recommendation for its Revitalization*. Thesis. University of Pennsylvania, 1998, p. 17-29. Digital access: [archive.org/details/blockleyretreatf00clou](https://archive.org/details/blockleyretreatf00clou)  
Joseph C. Mester. *From Philadelphia Country House to City Recreation Center: Uncovering the Architectural History of the Building Known Successively as Blockley Retreat, Kirkbride Mansion, and Lee Cultural Center Through Building Archaeology*. Thesis. University of Pennsylvania, 2016, p. 27-32. Digital access: [repository.upenn.edu/handle/20.500.14332/37146](https://repository.upenn.edu/handle/20.500.14332/37146)

<sup>80</sup> Francis Adrian van der Kemp, “Letter to John Adams, 28 June 1815.” Massachusetts Historical Society, Adams papers. Digital content: [founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6534](https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6534) accessed 2023.04.19

## The origins of Paul Busti

99 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.<sup>81</sup> 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. For example, his father Giulio Cesare [26] was baptized Costanzo Maria Giulio Cesare Melchior, his uncle Paolo Antonio Zappa [12] was baptized Giovanni Paolo Antonio, and his cousin Paolo Antonio Nicolai [31] was baptized Nicolò Paolo Antonio Giuseppe Maria Benedetto.

CITIZENSHIP. Paul Busti became a United States citizen as provided by the 1804 Naturalization Act.<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Paolo Semenza and John Everett Jones. "Busti and Zappa family chart and information." Working paper, 2023. Digital access: [doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611)

<sup>82</sup> Naturalization Act, 2 Stat. 292, 8th Congress, Session I, Chapter 47, March 26, 1804.

<sup>83</sup> Paul Busti, "Petition of Paul Busti to become Citizen of U.S. 6 July 1804." U.S. National Archives, 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](https://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 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. Caldwell 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

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).<sup>84</sup>

- 99 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.<sup>85</sup> A similar cultural appropriation and mislabeling occurred with William Paca, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.<sup>86</sup> Embarrassingly, Giovanni Schiavo dedicated a full chapter to the non-Italian American William Paca but provided only four paragraphs about Paolo Busti.<sup>87</sup> Alfonso M. Ressa wrongly ventured a claim on Busti's nephew John Charles Delprat as an Italian – Del Prato?<sup>88</sup> Juliani characterized these sort of biographies as *hagiographic* celebrations of *filiopietism*.<sup>89</sup> 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 were born in Milan but his parents were from Austria or Hungary 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 Sophia Steuart. Several additional minor distributions were included. The will and codicil were entered into the judicial record.<sup>90</sup> The probate accounting and other documents are not digitally available and exist only in the file of the Register of Wills.<sup>91</sup>

ADDITIONAL COPY OF WILL. 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 1915 to clear the title of a property. On 1 July 1802, Paul Busti had purchased for \$3934 several parcels

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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.

<sup>84</sup> Paul Busti, "Copy of Letter to Roger Alden, 21 October 1805." Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 309. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.1.1.22/start/120/limit/10/highlight/8](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.1.1.22/start/120/limit/10/highlight/8)

<sup>85</sup> 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](http://jamestownswedes.org/2021/08/cultural-identity-and-paul-busti.html) accessed 2021.10.31

<sup>86</sup> 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/](http://www.dsdi1776.com/william-paca/) accessed 2022.07.15 and Stanley A. South, *An Archaeological Evolution*. Springer, 2005, p. 202.

<sup>87</sup> Schiavo, *The Italians in America Before the Civil War*, p. 307.

<sup>88</sup> Ressa, "Paul Busti," 1967, p. 11.

<sup>89</sup> Juliani, *Little Italy*, p. 371-2.

<sup>90</sup> Paul Busti, "Last Will and Testament, 7 July 1824" and "Codicil, 9 July 1824." City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, file ROW W-00871824. Transcription in City of Philadelphia, *Will Book*, no. 7, p. 244. Digital access: [familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9B2-LJK6?i=451](http://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9B2-LJK6?i=451)

<sup>91</sup> John Jacob Vanderkemp, "Inventory of the estate of Paul Busti, 26 Aug. 1824," "Account with the estate of Paul Busti, 1824," "Account with the estate of Paul Busti, 1 Nov. 1825," "Account with the estate of Paul Busti, 24 Nov. 1827," and "Account with the estate of Paul Busti, 9 May 1829," City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, file ROW W-00871824. Other accountings may be in this file whose content has not been checked in person.

from George & Sophia Harrison, Philadelphia, and Samuel & Rebecca Sterrett, Baltimore.<sup>92</sup> Notice of the case was published in the local newspapers.<sup>93</sup> The parcels were located where the Department of Agriculture building now stands in the capital.

- 99 P. A. NICOLAI [31]. 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.<sup>94</sup> 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 as well as representative of Francesco Saverio Pizzagalli [74] for estate of his father Giuseppe [46].<sup>95</sup>

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.

- 101 REAL ESTATE APPRAISAL. The real estate appraisal by Eng. Gaetano Ratti denominated *Relazione Generale della stima e divisione dei beni stabili dei Fratelli Busti*, heirs of Giulio Cesare Busti, dated 8 May 1793. An original of this report is in the collection of a descendant of Cristoforo Busti [43]. Paolo Busti was not present for the final presentation of this report.

TRAVEL TO MILAN. We discovered that Paolo Busti had returned to Milan in the winter of 1787-1788 to participate in the settlement of the estate of his father. This visit was likely the last time that Busti traveled to Milan. Among thirty-one documents attached to the act of division, the first three were signed by Paolo Busti: Attachment 1, first of the *Appuntamenti riguardanti la comune sostanza de' Signori Fratelli Busti* dated 16 February 1788; Attachment 2, authorization to Carlo Francesco Zanca to act as legal representative (*procurator*) for the firm Giulio Cesare Busti, and other agreements about the firm, dated 14 March 1788; and Attachment 3, concerning benefits to his religious brothers dated 15 March 1788.<sup>96</sup> In later paperwork, Paolo's travel from Amsterdam to Milan is confirmed. In document no. 16, Arbitral declaration regarding outstanding matters between brothers, 7 August 1793, it was concurred that “an allowance should be made to Paolo from the other brothers for his travel expenses from Amsterdam and return on the occasion of the Divisions of 1788.” In document no. 18, Administration of common assets, 30 August 1793, an allowance of Lire 2439 to Paolo was established “for all travel expenses without distinction.”

RELIGIOUS BROTHERS. Pietro [38] and Tommaso [39] were not among the heirs of G. C. Busti because, before making their religious profession in 1770, they had signed a renunciation of all inheritance from their father. These deeds are cited as “*Rinuncia Generale di tutte le loro Ragioni*” in document no. 15, a memorandum of discussions of 1789-91 between Paolo and Giuseppe (the sons of Marianna Zappa) and Giovanni Angelo and Cristoforo (the sons of Cristina de Notaris). Paolo and Giuseppe argued that these renunciations by their brothers were invalid because they were made by minors to their father, to whom they were subject. These acts have not yet been

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<sup>92</sup> 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.

<sup>93</sup> See the *Washington Evening Star*, 9 June 1915, p. 3.

<sup>94</sup> John W. Parker (U.S. Consul), “Certificate of the signature by P.A. Nicolai, Amsterdam, 11 Nov 1824.” City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, file ROW W-00871824.

<sup>95</sup> Everard Cornelis Bondt, *Notarial Acts* (1824-1826), no. 55. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, folder no. 18775, Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/471.2.27/start/70/limit/10/highlight/5](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/471.2.27/start/70/limit/10/highlight/5) and other acts in the same folder.

<sup>96</sup> Giovanni Battista Giletti. *Atti Notarili*, no. 1454, “Divisione,” 9 November 1793. Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti Notarili, file 46501.

reviewed but they reportedly involved compensations, which were replaced by an annuity of 300 lire each for Pietro and Tommaso, or 1000 (minus other annuities) in case either left their religious congregation.<sup>97</sup>

101 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 [33] and her grandson Francesco Pizzagalli [74] and include:

1. [Statement letter to] “SSr. Eredi di Paolo Busti, with quittance to Francesco Pizzagalli by T. Giubbilei (Vassalli bank), 13 Feb. 1837.”
2. T. Giubbilei (Vassalli bank). “Conto de SSr. Eredi di Paolo Busti, 2 Jan. 1838, with quittance of 20 Jan. to Francesco Pizzagalli.”
3. [Statement letter to] “Ss. Eredi di Paolo Busti, with quittance to Francesco Pizzagalli by L. Ghesini, 9 Feb. 1839.”
4. [Statement letter to] “Busti Eredi di Paolo, with quittance to Francesco Pizzagalli by Francesco Vassalli Ceruti, 21 Jan. 1840.”
5. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [Statement letter to] “Francesco Pizzagalli, 27 Jan. 1841.”
6. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [Quittance to] “Francesco Pizzagalli, 28 Jan. 1841.”
7. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [Statement letter to] “Busti Eredi di D. Paolo, specimen for Francesco Pizzagalli, 14 Feb. 1842.”
8. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [Quittance to] “Francesco Pizzagalli, 15 Feb. 1842.”
9. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [Statement letter to Busti Eredi] “specimen for Francesco Pizzagalli, 3 Feb. 1843.”
10. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [Quittance to Francesco Pizzagalli] “6 Feb. 1843.”
11. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [Statement letter to] “Francesco Pizzagalli, 9 June 1843.”
12. Pietro Vassalli Ceruti. [Note to Francesco Pizzagalli], “10 June 1843.”

Giulio Cesare Bignami [60] was added to the heirs after he married in 1826 and is not included in the list of heirs in the accounting of Vanderkemp. The distribution was then made 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. Giovanni Angelo Busti [42] died in 1826 before the first payment was issued, while Cristoforo Busti [43] died in 1843.

Vanderkemp’s first transfer to the heirs was made in 1827 to P. A. Nicolai, but Nicolai had died before receipt. The next transfer was made in 1828 to Messrs. Bignami & Vassalli in Milan. The Vassalli private bank in Milan then oversaw distributions and the final settlement to the heirs of Josepha and Theresa, at least since 1837 when we have documents. 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 Vassalli bank. The Vassalli bank, a prominent bank of its era in Milan, was owned by relatives of the heirs, sons of Aurelia Vassalli *nata* Bignami [62]. See additional information about BIGNAMI AND VASSALLI, below.

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<sup>97</sup> Attachment 3, Benefits to religious brothers, of 15 March 1788, to act cited in note 96; Archivio di Stato di Milano, Atti Notarili, Notaio Carlo Francesco Campini, respectively 27 April and 28 September 1770, file 42919. Digital content: [www.archiviodigitale.icar.beniculturali.it/it/185/ricerca/detail/687071](http://www.archiviodigitale.icar.beniculturali.it/it/185/ricerca/detail/687071) [only accessible in Italy 2023.08.28]

- 101 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 the presence of “M[ol]to R[everen]do Sig[no]r Paolo Ignazio Busti fig[lio] del Sig[no]r Giambatt[ist]a Canonico dell’Insigne Basilica di Monza” as witness.<sup>98</sup>

The ownership records for a house in Monza were located in the Giulio Cesare Busti real estate appraisal by Ratti and in other estate documents located later. Paolo was very likely born in the family home of his paternal grandparents in Monza where his grandmother lived (her husband had died in 1747) and probably where Paolo Ignazio Busti [23], his homonymously named canonical uncle, also lived.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE BAPTISMAL RECORD of Pauolo Ignatio Gerardo Maria Busti by Paolo Semenza.<sup>99</sup>

#### 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 stato battezzato da q[ues]to R[everendissi]mo Sig[no]r Arciprete Giosepe Antonio Vicini il giorno sud[det]to, ed io infras[crit]to Curato di suo ordine ho fatta la presente an[n]ottazione, è stato 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[iuto]re Curato

- 102 FURTHER CORROBORATION OF IDENTITY. 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 also confirmation that he celebrated his birthday on the same day as his birthdate.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup> S. Tecla (Milano), *Registro Matrimoni 1700-1750*, p. 345 no. 36. Biblioteca e Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano di Milano.

<sup>99</sup> Duomo di Monza, *Libro dei battesimi*, vol. C (1749-1765), p. 15v. Museo del Duomo di Monza, Monza, Italy.

<sup>100</sup> See note 84. Paul Busti. “Copy of Letter to Roger Alden, 21 October 1805.”



## Paolo Busti in Milan

103 GIUSEPPE ZAPPA [2] (1692-1759) was the son of Giovanni Battista and Margarita. His younger brother Giovanni Battista was a jeweler, so it is likely that was the profession of their father. Giuseppe worked in Santuario del Monte di Crea, Casale Monferrato, from 1716-20 for the abbot of Canonici Regolari Lateranensi, probably as *procurator* or proxy. Zappa was listed as a clerk for the banker Giussani in his first marriage in 1721.<sup>101</sup> He was listed as a merchant of various goods and exchange in his second marriage in 1737.<sup>102</sup> Giuseppe Zappa became a partner with Ignazio and Giambattista Caldara on 9 October 1745.

A description of commerce in Milan in the 1750s placed Zappa among the leaders:<sup>103</sup>

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.

Note that the banker Carli had representatives in Amsterdam at that date.<sup>104</sup>

In 1765 (after Zappa's death), *Giuseppe Zappa e Caldara* was listed as one of the three principal banks in Milan.<sup>105</sup>

Additional information about Zappa, his properties, and his heirs might be learned through further study of the act of division of his estate after his death, summarized below in ESTATE OF GIUSEPPE ZAPPA.<sup>106</sup>

POSSIBLE ZAPPA ANCESTORS. The Zappa file in Fondo Famiglie vol. 1613 (see previous note) contains some documents dated 1671-92 about the family of Ambrogio Zappa (also written Sappa in 1671) living in Milan in S. Tommaso in Terramara parish, who enjoyed a tax exemption because of 12 children: among them in 1692 are listed Rosa, married to Signor Domenico Busti in Milan, and Giovanni Battista. We could not ascertain, so far, whether he is the father of Giuseppe. Also Giuseppe in 1750 asked similar exemption, also for properties in Sesto San Giovanni bought in 1750.

Uncorroborated information about the Zappa family is included in the notes of Veronesi.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Diocesi di Milano, *Stato libero*, 15 Nov. 1721; Diocesi di Casale Monferrato, *Stato libero*, 16 Jan. 1721. *Marriage files*, vol. 1797, Nov. 1721, Zappa Buoni, 15 November 1721. Archivio Storico Diocesi di Milano.

<sup>102</sup> Diocesi di Milano, *Stato libero*, 5 Apr. 1737. *Marriage files*, vol. 1035, Zappa Pedroli, 3 Apr. 1737. Archivio Storico Diocesi di Milano.

<sup>103</sup> Cesare Cantù and Luigi Gualtieri, *Grande Illustrazione Del Lombardo-Veneto*, vol. 1, Milan, 1857, p. 247. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112087405434](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112087405434)

<sup>104</sup> Cardinal Garampi visited Amsterdam in 1764 and noted in his diary: "Conobbi il Sig. Mojana della città di Como, il Sig. Bolongari da Stresa sul Lago Maggiore e il Sig. Brentano da Tramezzino sul Lago di Como e il Sig. Carli del Lago di Como, tutti mercanti oriundi Milanese, assai ricchi e onorati." Friedrich von Weech, "Monsignore Garampi in Holland im Jahre 1764," *Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap*, vol. 20, 1899, p. 228. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB26:000133001:00265](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB26:000133001:00265) Referenced by H. C. de Wolf. "Josephus Augustinus Brentano, Mecenat en Filantroop te Amsterdam 1774-1821." *Archief Voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, vol 8 (1966), no. 1, p. 111.

<sup>105</sup> Joseph Jérôme Le François 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](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t0rr6kb7c)

<sup>106</sup> G.A. Marzoni, Notaio, "Notarial Act, 26 June 1761," 1787 certified copy in Fondo Famiglie vol. 1613 – Zappa. Archivio Storico Civico, Milano.

<sup>107</sup> Victor Veronesi, *La Collezione Longhi*, Master's thesis, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2011, p. 20-1. Digital access: [academia.edu/40917710](https://academia.edu/40917710)

- 103 GIULIO CESARE BUSTI [26] was recommended in 1758 as a *procurator* to replace the late Giuseppe Foglia. In a letter without signature and without addressee, Busti's nomination was backed by his own reliability and his family connection: “oltre la propria obbligazione, darà quella del Banchiere Zappa suo suocero, che è una casa di molto credito, e di molte sostanze.”<sup>108</sup> G. C. Busti has been identified as a partner in Vigorè & Busti.<sup>109</sup>
- 104 CARLO GIUSEPPE VIGORÈ, born about 1701, lived in Piazza delle Galline in his palace, displayed in Dal Re picture as “3. De Vigoreri” (see fig. 6 in the article). G. C. Busti was in business with Vigorè since 1747 (see TEATRO DI CREMONA below). He was godfather to Busti's daughter Teresa [37] in 1750.<sup>110</sup> G. C. Busti dissolved the Vigorè & Busti firm in 1766.<sup>111</sup>

CARLO BIGNAMI [36]. Teresa Busti married Carlo Bignami, a junior business partner of her father, in 1773. He was from Camairago, near Codogno (Lodi), a village where most of the godparents of his many siblings and even the parish priest were named Bignami. The family probably had ties to Bologna as the godfather to one of his brothers was Giuseppe Bignami of Bologna.<sup>112</sup> Bologna is also where their sons Paolo and later Giulio Cesare relocated after the 1813 bank crisis that led to the suicide of his brother Lorenzo, and since then Bignami firm had business in that region (see note 113).

BIGNAMI AND VASSALLI. Carlo Bignami [36] and his son-in-law Pietro Vassalli Ceruti [63] made a partnership as Bignami e Vassalli well before marriage of Pietro and Aurelia Bignami [62] in 1793. Pietro died in 1805 and in his will, dated 9 May 1805, left as heirs his infant son Francesco and his unborn child (if male). Pietro was born in November and was named after his late father. The firm was closed by end 1810, and taken over by the new Bignami firm, established by Carlo with his brothers Gaetano, Francesco, Giuseppe and Lorenzo. Once Francesco and Pietro came of age, in 1827 assets related to the predecessor business were divided between Carlo, Giulio Cesare and Paolo Bignami, on one side, and Francesco and Pietro Vassalli on the other.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Archivio Storico Civico, Milano, *Fondo Famiglie*, vol. 302 – Busti.

<sup>109</sup> Camera di Commercio di Milano, *Registro delle Procure, Compimenti e Società 1689-1786*, p. 181-5. Camera di Commercio di Milano, Archivio Storico.

<sup>110</sup> Teresa Busti baptism cited in Semenza and Jones, “Busti & Zappa family chart and information.” Digital access: [doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574612](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574612); *Status animarum* of San Protaso parish, 1763, quarter of curato Mottana, House no. 29 of Carlo Giuseppe Vigorè, age 62. Archivio parrocchiale S. Fedele, Milano.

<sup>111</sup> Camera di Commercio di Milano, *Registro delle Procure, Compimenti e Società 1689-1786*, p. 188-9.

<sup>112</sup> Parish of Ss. Cosma e Damiano (Camairago, Lodi), *Libri Battezzati*, 1701-48 and 1748-70. These records list 13 children of Vitale and Maria Bignami.

<sup>113</sup> The earliest document found so far of this firm is an order of payment of the Comune di Milano to “Banchieri Bignami e Vassalli” of 23 April 1790, with their quittance. Fondo Famiglie vol. 196 – Bignami. Archivio Storico Civico, Milano. Documentation of the Bignami and Vassalli business is preserved in the Archivio Generale Arcivescovile di Bologna. Azienda Vicariati e Cappellanie. Cessioni, Francazioni, ecc., files no. 86-87. Details from act of Notary of Bologna Antonio Borghi, no. 1157, 9 May 1827, which reports the act of Notary of Milan Gianorini. File 86, no. 13. Digital content: [archivio-arcivescovile-bo.it/site/wp-content/uploads/Azienda-vicariati-e-cappellanie.pdf](http://archivio-arcivescovile-bo.it/site/wp-content/uploads/Azienda-vicariati-e-cappellanie.pdf)

Original act of the Notary Gianorini should be in folder 49225. Digital content: [archiviodigitale.icar.beniculturali.it/it/185/ricerca/detail/707743](http://archiviodigitale.icar.beniculturali.it/it/185/ricerca/detail/707743) [restricted to Italy 2023.07.01]

The Bignami bank was affected by the financial crisis in 1813 that led to the suicide of Lorenzo Bignami. His heirs were his nephews Paolo [65] and Giulio Cesare Bignami [60]; Carlo Bignami acquired the remainder of the bank from his other brothers in 1815. Then firm was held by Carlo and his sons. The inheritance of Francesco and Pietro Vassalli related to the ceased Bignami & Vassalli firm was settled in a division agreement between Carlo, Giulio Cesare and Paolo Bignami, on one side, and Francesco and Pietro Vassalli on the other signed before the notary Giuseppe Maria Gianorini, (no. 1683, 19 February 1827).

104 MONTE BUSTI. The initial capital of Monte Busti was 500,000 florins.<sup>114</sup> Busti's relationship with the Durazzo was noted by Bérenger:<sup>115</sup>

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 livres and [the Brentani] went bankrupt in 1794.

Monte Busti provided loans to Empress Maria Teresa, including a loan of 300,000 florins.<sup>116</sup> Another loan of 1,000,000 florins was made in 1765.<sup>117</sup>

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 in this era were commonly secured internationally:<sup>118</sup> "During the reign of Maria Theresa external borrowing became more frequent. The most important foreign financial centres were Amsterdam and Genoa."

DURAZZO. Giulio 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 in Genoa in this era. Durazzo and Busti's correspondence indicates a bond developed during nearly three decades of association.

Busti traveled to Genoa in June 1758 for his own business and as a representative for Giuseppe Zappa for several credit collections. Busti met Durazzo during that visit and Durazzo decided to have Busti collect interest on bank deposits in Milan. Durazzo sent Busti a letter on 8 July that inquired about his return trip to Milan and included the necessary documents assigning Busti as legal representative (*procurator*). At the same time, Durazzo sent another letter to his interim representative, a canonical brother of his late *procurator*, Giuseppe Foglia. That letter to Foglia's brother noted that Durazzo had received "the most desirable very good information" regarding Busti.

Busti's first letters to Durazzo dealt with finances but also involved personal services like the acquisition and safe transport of a piece of a glass of the best quality and correct size for a coach. Through the next decades, hundreds of letters were exchanged between them. Original incoming and outgoing copyletters to Busti (and, after his death, to the firm G. C. Busti) are part of the collection

<sup>114</sup> 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](https://books.google.it/books?id=gQv_CQAAQBAJ&pg=PA55)

<sup>115</sup> Jean Bérenger, "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](https://doi.org/10.4000/books.igpde.6216) Unrefined translation from the French by the authors.

<sup>116</sup> 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](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433016870960)

<sup>117</sup> "L'archivio dei Durazzo marchesi di Gabiano," *Atti Della Società Ligure Di Storia Patria, Nuova Serie*, vol. XXI (XCV), no. II, Genova, 1981, p. 314. Digital content: [storiapatriagenova.it/BD\\_vs\\_contenitore.aspx?Id\\_Scheda\\_Bibliografica\\_Padre=849&Id\\_Progetto=0](https://storiapatriagenova.it/BD_vs_contenitore.aspx?Id_Scheda_Bibliografica_Padre=849&Id_Progetto=0) accessed 2022.09.30

<sup>118</sup> 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](https://books.openedition.org/igpde/3878)

of the Archivio Durazzo.<sup>119</sup> In 1764 they projected and promoted together the loans to Empress Maria Theresa, in connection with Count Karl Joseph von Firmian (*conte Carlo Giuseppe di Firmian*). Busti's long service to Durazzo went beyond business and included a personal relationship. For example, Busti looked in on the Durazzo children while they were at college in Milan.<sup>120</sup>

- 104 REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT. Giulio Cesare Busti was involved in construction and real estate in the 1770s and 1780s.<sup>121</sup> 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) [27] was from Pallanza, now a district of the city of Verbania on Lake Maggiore in Piedmont. 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 and Giovanna, his wife, was her godmother.<sup>122</sup> Her family origin in Pallanza connects her with the Lorla, Bolongaro and Simonetta families. Her niece, Virginia de Notaris [41] married her stepson Giuseppe Busti [40]. Likewise, their son Giulio Cesare [69] married a young woman from the same area on the western side of Lake Maggiore, Angela Rossignoli [70] of Borgomanero.

DOMICILES of the Giulio Cesare Busti family. Monza was likely only a temporary residence, noted as "habitanti presentemente" in Paolo's baptism record.

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,<sup>123</sup> then in the parish of San Protaso ad Monacos (1750-64), and then in the parish of San Giovanni alle Quattro Facce (1764-1774). After Paolo's departure for Amsterdam, Teresa's [37] marriage, and the baptism of his grandson Giulio Cesare Bignami [60] in June 1774 (in which he is listed as godfather living in S. Giovanni alle Quattro Facce), the Giulio Cesare Busti household moved to the house on the

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<sup>119</sup> Letters in Archivio Durazzo Giustiniani in Genoa are organized in files and volumes listed in "L'Archivio dei Durazzo..." beginning on p. 200. First Durazzo letters of 8 July 1758 in *Copy of Letters*, vol. 225, p. 155-6 (procuration act not included in copy of letter); Busti letters in box 141 no. 31449-50 about this establishment of G. C. Busti as the intermediary for investments. Busti received in Genoa a letter dated 21 June from Giuseppe Zappa. Archivio Storico Civico, Milano. *Fondo Famiglie*, vol. 302 – Busti.

<sup>120</sup> Dino Puncuh, *I Manoscritti Della Raccolta Durazzo*, Genova: Sagep, 1979, p. 12.

<sup>121</sup> Silvia Bobbi, "Nascita della speculazione edilizia moderna e ruolo dei materiali da costruzione nella Milano riformista del secondo Settecento," *L'Économie de la construction dans l'Italie moderne. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, vol. 119, no. 2, 2007, p. 237. Digital access: doi.org/10.3406/mefr.2007.10357

<sup>122</sup> Act of Baptism cited in Semenza and Jones, "Busti & Zappa family chart and information." Digital access: doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574612

<sup>123</sup> G. C. Busti, as godfather to Giulia Zappa [20], was listed as living in that parish.

Contrada Borgonuovo (see REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT topic above). That house was at first in the parish of S. Bartolomeo and after 1787 in the parish of S. Marco.

- 104 PIAZZA DELLE GALLINE. Records from San Protaso (a partial series of *status animarum* of one of the two quarters of the parish) 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 west-northwest from the cathedral. The piazza and the house were eliminated by the urban redesign in the late 1800s-early 1900s that created the elliptical Piazza Cordusio. 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 that the house and basements were leased by Bonvino to Busti on 28 September 1750.<sup>124</sup> A deed for Vigorè & Busti Comp. dated 14 January 1765 shows Busti already living in the parish of S. Giovanni alle Quattro Facce.<sup>125</sup>
- 105 TIES TO THE CHURCH. The ownership of agricultural land by ecclesiastical institutions in this era was approximately 26 percent by area and 28 percent by cadastral value, plus 1.6 percent representing the personal properties of clergymen.<sup>126</sup> The extent of the participation of the Church in the city of Milan was significant.

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, like his brother Modesto [15] who died before becoming priest, and either Rosa [19] or Maria Antonia Zappa [22] became a nun.

The Busti family included two priests who were brothers of Giovanni Battista and uncles of G. C. Busti: don Paolo Busti [A] (1677-1744) and don Giuseppe Busti [C] (1685-1747); two priests who were brothers of G. C. Busti: don Paolo Ignazio Busti [23] who served as *canon* at the Cathedral of Monza and don Carlo Maria Busti [25] who lived in Monza at the time of his death<sup>127</sup> in a detached house of G. C. Busti; three priests who were brothers of Paolo Busti: father Pietro Busti [38] who served in Milano and father Paolo Gaudenzio (Tommaso) Busti [39], who served in Milano, Pavia, Bologna and Livorno, both of the Barnabites order, and don Giovanni Angelo Busti [42] *canon* of the Basilica di S. Nazaro in Milan and later of the Basilica di S. Vittore in Varese.

CLERGY HOUSES. Giovanni Battista Busti lived in 1714-6 with his brother don Giuseppe Busti [C] in a house of the parish priests of S. Babila in the territory of S. Carpofofo parish. He possibly lived in S. Babila since 1716-1717 with his other brother don Paolo Busti [A], who was appointed there on 27 March 1716, as Giovanni Battista moved to that parish after the baptism of son Carlo Maria [25], born 18 Feb. 1716 in S. Carpofofo, and before the baptism of son Giulio Cesare [26], born 17 February 1718 in S. Babila.<sup>128</sup> We don't know when they moved from S.

<sup>124</sup> Testamento Federico Bonvino, 21 Aug. 1753; Inventario Scritture Eredità Federico Bonvini, no. 7 Investiture di porzioni di casa. Archivio Ospedale Maggiore, Milano, folder 13/21.

<sup>125</sup> Camera di Commercio di Milano, *Registro delle Procure, Compimenti e Società 1689-1786*, p. 181-4.

<sup>126</sup> Data synthesized from Sergio Zaninelli, "Agricoltura e regime fondiario, la distribuzione della terra per gruppi sociali nello Stato di Milano... nel terzo decennio del Settecento," p. 222 and Aldo Carera, "Agricoltura e regime fondiario, la proprietà ecclesiastica della terra... dello Stato di Milano del primo Settecento," p. 80, both in *La Proprietà fondiaria in Lombardia dal catasto teresiano all'età napoleonica*. Vita e Pensiero, Milano 1986, vol. 1 and 2 respectively.

<sup>127</sup> Giuseppe Busti, Giovanni Angelo Busti, Cristoforo Busti, Carlo Bignami and Francesco Pizzagalli, "Amministrazione Sostanza Comune", no. 18, 30 August 1793, attached to Giovanni Battista Giletti (Notaio), "Divisione, 9 November 1793," *Atti Notarili*, Archivio di Stato di Milano, file 46501, no. 1454.

<sup>128</sup> S. Carpofofo (Milano). *Status Animarum* 1714, Casa de R. Curati di S. Babila. *ASDMi*. Baptisms quoted in Semenza and Jones, "Busti & Zappa family chart and information." Digital access: [doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574612](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574612); appointment in *Diocesi di Milano, Registro delle Collazioni 1712-7*, p. 166. Archivio Storico Diocesi di Milano.

Babila, but it was after their last known child, Lodovica [29] was born there in 1727. Don Paolo died in 1744, still in office at S. Babila, and Giovanni Battista in 1747. Both died in Monza. Francesco [32] and Giuseppa Pizzagalli [33] lived during 1772-1776 in a clergy house at S. Maria alla Scala with his younger priest brothers Giuseppe Antonio Pizzagalli and Pietro Pizzagalli.<sup>129</sup>

105 MUSIC AND THEATER. There may have been a musical tradition in the family of Paul Busti. Giovanni Battista Busti, first organist of the cathedral in Milan from 1716-1733, and the composer and cellist Francesco Zappa (abt 1717- abt 1803) may have been related, but those connections have not been established. A keyboard instrument, called spinetta or sordina, is listed in Busti estate, in documents 15 and 16 cited above in TRAVEL TO MILAN and RELIGIOUS BROTHERS.

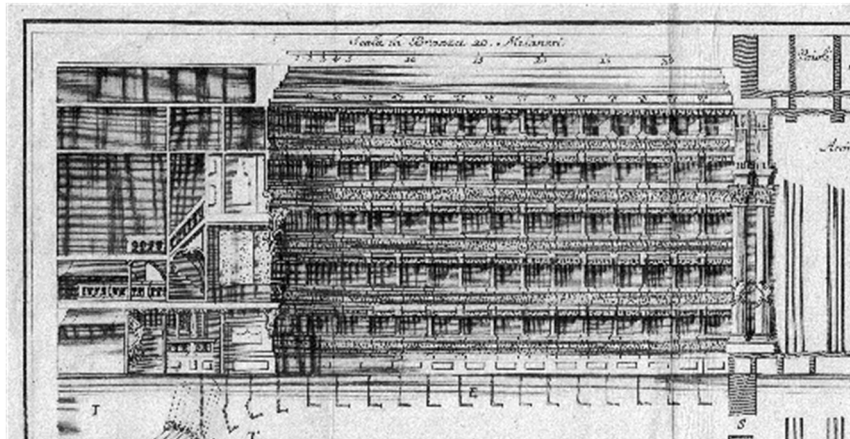
106 TEATRO DI CREMONA. G. C. Busti was the cashier for the new theater in Cremona inaugurated in 1747. His business partner, Carlo Giuseppe Vigorè, was also a participant in the theater.<sup>130</sup> Likewise, Giuseppe Nicolai, and after his death his minor children, were involved. His first son Nicola Nicolai [13] later married Francesca Zappa [14] .

TEATRO DI MONZA. The Busti family's ownership of a box at Teatro di Monza is detailed in the estate inventory.<sup>131</sup>

TEATRO REGIO DUCALE. G. C. Busti owned a *palco* in the anterior theater in the same numbered position as he later owned at La Scala.<sup>132</sup>

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.

*Descrizione di Milano*, 1737. Digital content: [wikipedia.org/wiki/Teatro\\_Regio\\_Ducale](https://wikipedia.org/wiki/Teatro_Regio_Ducale)



<sup>129</sup> S. Maria alla Scala. *Status Animarum*, Casa della Prepositura M. Archivio parrocchiale S. Fedele, Milano. Giuseppe Antonio only until 1773 when he was appointed parish priest of Costa Masnaga (Lecco, Lombardia) instead of his uncle Alessandro.

<sup>130</sup> "Verità di fatto nella causa de' signori Nicolai contro l'esposto dal sig. Nazari di Cremona," monograph, 1754. Collection of the Biblioteca di Cremona. Digital access: [books.google.it/books?id=hhHRui\\_r3ekC](https://books.google.it/books?id=hhHRui_r3ekC)

<sup>131</sup> Gaetano Ratti, "Relazione Generale della stima e divisione dei beni stabili dei Fratelli Busti." 8 May 1793. Manuscript, private collection.

<sup>132</sup> *Il Teatro alla Scala dagli inizi al 1794*, p. 263; List of owners, 24 Feb. 1776 (cited at p. 11), Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milano), 1929; 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: [museoscala.org/wp-content/uploads/Cataloghi/Palchi/index.html](https://museoscala.org/wp-content/uploads/Cataloghi/Palchi/index.html)

106 TEATRO ALLA SCALA. Giulio Cesare Busti was the original owner of *palco* no. 12 on the right side of tier III at Teatro alla Scala. According to the research of owners (see also note 131), there were only five boxes on the first three tiers (*ordine*) involving ownership by those who were not of the nobility: <sup>133</sup>

*Ordine I, palco no. 10 sinistro* (left), Francesco Pino, businessman, and his brother Domenico, together owned 25% (the other owners were from the nobility);

*Ordine III, palco no. Proscenio sinistro*, Daniel Rougier, retail magnate, 100% owner;

*Ordine III, palco no. 9 sinistro*, Giacomo Bianconi, initially 100% and after 1779 co-owner with his brother Giovanni Battista Bianconi, notary;

*Ordine III, palco no. 12 destro* (right), **Giulio Cesare Busti**, banker, 100% owner; and

*Ordine III, palco no. 16 sinistro*, Pietro Marliani, builder, 100% owner. Marliani was the co-builder of the theater along with brothers Antonio Maria and Giuseppe Fè. Marliani owned three additional boxes on Tier IV received as partial payment for his work. Marliani was the grandfather of Maddalena Bignami *nata* Marliani [66].

MOZART. His opera, *Mitridate*, had a run of 22 performances in Milan. <sup>134</sup>

1787-1788 SEASON AT LA SCALA. It is nearly unimaginable that Paul Busti would not have attended some performances during his return to Milan to participate in the arrangements for his father's estate. The Autumn 1787 programming included *Le trame deluse* (Cimarosa/Diodati 1786), *I viaggiatori felici* (Anfossi/Livigni 1780), and *Una cosa rara* (Martín/Da Ponte 1786). The 1788 Carnival programming included *Antioco* (Tarchi/Moretti 1787 Milan Premiere) and *Alessandro nelle Indie* (various composers/libretto by Metastasio 1788 Premiere). The programs during Lent included *Le gelosie fortunate* (Anfossi/Livigni 1786), *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (Paisiello/Casti 1784) and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (Paisiello /Petrosellini 1782). Paul Busti was in Milan for Carnival (ending in early February) and most, if not all, of Lent in 1788 so he had the opportunity to see the newly developed Argant oil lamps recently installed at La Scala. <sup>135</sup>

Paul Busti had left Milan before the fire that destroyed the old Ducal theater. Unless he had returned to Milan at another time, his visit in 1788 would have been his introduction to the Teatro alla Scala which opened in 1778.

EDUCATION. Paolo Busti is listed in his father's household but at college since the age of eight to thirteen. <sup>136</sup> Unfortunately, that series of *Status animarum* ends in 1763, and the one 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). It is the same designation commonly applied to his fellow Milanese contemporary P. A. Crevenna, who attended Brera college.

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<sup>133</sup> 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 l'Ufficio Ricerca Fonti Musicali (URFM) della Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Digital content: [storiadeipalchi.teatroallascala.org/palco/destro-3-12](http://storiadeipalchi.teatroallascala.org/palco/destro-3-12) accessed 2021.11.08.

Pietro Marliani. "Lire 21000. Minuta di vaglia per L. 21 mila da farsi sottoscrivere dagli appaltatori, come importo dei palchi acquistati da Don Pietro Marliani, e da scontarsi sul primo pagamento che verrà loro fatto." *Il Teatro alla Scala dagli inizi al 1794*, no. 417, 1 April 1778, p. 115.

<sup>134</sup> Stanley Sadie and Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart: The Early Years, 1756-1781*, 2007, p. 222. Restricted digital access (Open Library): [archive.org/details/mozartearlyyears0000sadi](http://archive.org/details/mozartearlyyears0000sadi)

<sup>135</sup> Pompeo Cambiasi. *La Scala 1778-1906, Third Edition*, 1906, p. 10, 12. Digital access: [archive.org/details/teatroallascala100camb](http://archive.org/details/teatroallascala100camb) Details cross-referenced with *Grove Music Encyclopedia* (online).

<sup>136</sup> *Status animarum* of San Protaso parish, 1758 to 1763, quarter of curato Mottana, House no. 34 or 35 (the same building numbered differently). Archivio Parrocchia S. Fedele, Milano.

UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA. Pavia is located on the route between Milan and Genoa and the *Università degli Studi di Pavia*, begun in the mid-14th century, served Austrian Lombardy and beyond.

ACADEMIES IN MILAN. Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794) accepted a chair in public economy and commerce in 1768 at the Scuole Palatine. Beccaria is noteworthy for his essay on punishment that was also 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 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.

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* and *L'Accademia dei Pugni*. This energy was represented in *Il Caffè* (1764-6), an influential Enlightenment magazine. The enthusiasm of the Italian Enlightenment potentially filtered down to Paolo Busti's own schooling.

- 106 COMPLETION OF EDUCATION. Cristoforo Busti, Paolo's youngest brother, graduated in law from the University of Pavia at age eighteen in 1786.<sup>137</sup> Likewise, P.A. Zappa left home at age 18-19 (1756-1757). If comparable, Paolo Busti would have completed his education in Milan around 1767.

PAOLO BUSTI'S TRAVELS. Busti may have traveled as part of his business, but the only documented trip is his return to Milan in 1788 to work through the arrangements of his father's estate (see the previous description TRAVEL TO MILAN, p. 21). Paolo Busti signed documents in Milan in early 1788, signaling that Paolo was likely there by the end of 1787 or at beginning of 1788.<sup>138</sup> 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 2439 lire.<sup>139</sup>

An indication that Busti traveled elsewhere is suggested by the impending trip indicated as reason for the special exemption in his marriage banns (see SPECIAL PERMISSION p. 45), the Bustis' 1300 mile journey to Niagara Falls through New York and Pennsylvania in 1805, and the travel of his charge, John Charles Delprat, as a supercargo to the East Indies (see JOHN CHARLES DELPRAT, p. 54).

PERSONAL TRAITS FROM MILAN. The personal descriptors of Paul Busti are from his obituary published in the *Batavia Advocate*.<sup>140</sup>

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*.

<sup>137</sup> Maria Carla Zorzoli. *Le tesi legali all'Università di Pavia nell'età delle riforme, 1772-1796*, 1980, p. 261. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/20.500.12460/106448](https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12460/106448)

<sup>138</sup> See note 96.

Paul Busti signed a procuration for Louis Guaita on 30 November 1787 in Amsterdam, likely just before departure. See Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen (Amsterdam), Notarial acts (1787), no. 1201. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16770. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.19/start/790/limit/10/highlight/2](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.19/start/790/limit/10/highlight/2)

<sup>139</sup> *Amministrazione della sostanza comune*, Attachment 16, Arbitral Statement, 7 August 1793; Attachment 18, 30 August 1793. See note 96.

<sup>140</sup> *Batavia Republican Advocate*, 6 August 1824 p. 3. The text was reprinted in the *Statesman* (New York City), 17 August 1824, p. 2. 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.



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.<sup>141</sup> From long experience and observation the treasures of his mind became extensive. He possessed a refinement of manners – a comprehensive knowledge of things, and an intelligent spirit, which contributed to the delight of the learned and the pleasure of social intercourse. He spoke several of the European languages well, which enabled him to maintain a correspondence with foreigners of the first distinction, & his residence was the resort of gentlemen of various nations in the pursuit of knowledge, who received from him the most polite attention, and the most useful information.

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

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

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

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

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<sup>141</sup> The meaning of *condescending* has shifted. “CONDESCENDING ppr. 1. Descending from rank or distinction in the intercourse of life; receding from rights or claim; yielding. 2.a. Yielding to inferiors; courteous; obliging.” Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language: Exhibiting the Origin, Orthography, Pronunciation, and Definitions of Words, Third Edition*, 1830, p. 175. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044086660958](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044086660958)

## The Zappa and Busti family connections in Amsterdam

106 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, on 13 February 1771.<sup>142</sup> Paul Busti's connection to Steurwaldt is not understood. This is the earliest record of Busti in Amsterdam encountered to date. That Busti was selected to be a godfather to a Dutch child suggests that Busti had arrived much earlier.

METHOD OF TRAVEL. Travel by way of Genoa or other ports by ship was erratic. Travel from Milan to the Netherlands was by carriage overland commonly using the Gotthard Pass or Splügen Pass (most direct) and Brenner pass (lowest) during the summer and fall. Other routes included travel from Milan to Turin to Lyon crossing the Alps through various passes, including the Colle del Moncenisio (Mont Cenis) which was traveled in reverse order by Lalande in 1765. Mozart arrived in Milan from Salzburg using the Brenner pass in December 1769.<sup>143</sup> All travel took several weeks and mountain passes could be made impassable due to snow after October. We guesstimate that Paul Busti left for Amsterdam in 1767-1768 and at the latest in the autumn of 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.<sup>144</sup> Two Italians were among the most significant art collectors in Amsterdam in the 1700s, and both were connected to Paul Busti: Brentano and Crevenna.

JOSEPHUS AUGUSTINUS BRENTANO (1753-1821) amassed a collection of art including the Dutch and Italian masters Rembrandt, Rubens, Titian, and Raphael. Brentano was the son of Johannes 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.<sup>145</sup>

PIETRO ANTONIO CREVENNA (1736-1792), publishing as M. Pierre Antoine Crevenna, was a significant collector of rare 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.<sup>146</sup>

P. A. Crevenna corresponded with fellow bibliophile Giacomo Filippo Durazzo III, principal client of Giulio Cesare Busti.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Rooms-Katolieke Kerk "de Papegaai" (Kalverstraat, Amsterdam), *Doop Boek no. 2 (1752-1777)*, p. 150. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, folder 354. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.11.1/start/70/limit/10/highlight/8](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.11.1/start/70/limit/10/highlight/8)

<sup>143</sup> Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie*, p. 7; Sadie and Zaslav. *Mozart*, p. 178.

<sup>144</sup> Maarten Draper. *Italian merchants in Amsterdam: ca 1650-1700*, PhD thesis, European University Institute (Florence), 2021. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/1814/72759](http://hdl.handle.net/1814/72759)

For a first-hand account of Holland in the mid 1760s and a minor note about the Italian community in Amsterdam, see Friedrich von Weech, "Monsignore Garampi in Holland im Jahre 1764," p. 193-238 (see note 104).

<sup>145</sup> R.W.A. Bionda, "De Amsterdamse verzamelaar J. A. Brentano (1753-1821) en de inrichting van zijn 'zaal' voor Italiaanse kunst," *Bulletin van Het Rijksmuseum*, vol. 34, no. 3, 1986, p. 135-76, 172 note 26. Digital access: [jstor.org/stable/40382254](http://jstor.org/stable/40382254) Summary and English translation, p. 201-04. Digital access: [jstor.org/stable/40382258](http://jstor.org/stable/40382258)

H. C. de Woof, "Josephus Augustinus Brentano, Mecenaz en Filantroop te Amsterdam 1774-1821," *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1966, no. 8, p. 111-120. Digital access: [limo.libis.be/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=trajectaagkkn\\_1966&context=L&vid=KADOC&search\\_scope=PHYS\\_ITEMS&tab=kadoc\\_catalogus](http://limo.libis.be/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=trajectaagkkn_1966&context=L&vid=KADOC&search_scope=PHYS_ITEMS&tab=kadoc_catalogus)

<sup>146</sup> 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](http://dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa008199801_01)

<sup>147</sup> Van Heel, "Bolongaro Crevenna," p. 74.

- 106 BOLONGARO SIMONETTA. Paul Busti was the legal representative for Anthonia Maria Bolongaro's sister, Anna Maria, and her husband, Vittore Simonetta. They married in Stresa (Verbania, Piemonte) on 4 June 1781. Marriage settlements were partly signed in Amsterdam. Their only daughter, Anna Maria, was born in Stresa on Lake Maggiore on 6 July 1782<sup>148</sup> but by then the Simonetta branch of the Bolongaro family had relocated to Höchst (Frankfurt). See further discussion below.
- 107 PAOLO ANTONIO ZAPPA (1738-1803). The earliest document encountered with Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla is from January 1762.<sup>149</sup> He likely began Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla with his inheritance since his father had died in 1759.

STATUS ANIMARUM. P. A. Zappa was listed with the Zappa family on Contrada S. Margherita (later no. 1118), near Contrada dei Due Muri in S Protaso parish during 1753-1756; 1760-1761; 1770-1773 and from 1776 until his death in 1803. But also during fall 1765 he was in Milan as he was godfather to Paolo Antonio Nicolai in Cremona. By the end of 1787, S. Protaso parish was abolished and Zappa house belonged to S. Maria del Giardino parish (Archivio parrocchiale S. Fedele, Milan).

ESTATE OF GIUSEPPE ZAPPA Additional details about Giuseppe Zappa are provided in notary records.<sup>150</sup> In summary, 1) the estate was settled in June 1761; 2) a dowry of 18,000 lire plus a trousseaux of 5,800 lire was to be provided to each daughter, equivalent to that already provided to Francesca; 3) benefits were provided to his son Vito Maria (in a religious order) who had previously renounced to inheritance; 4) an annuity and accommodation in the family home was provided for his widow Laura; 5) a fund (or trust or stock) of 80,000 lire was to be maintained in Zappa & Caldara and that firm would be run by Giuseppe Antonio; 6) an advance of 51,245 lire (17,932 florins) had been distributed to Paolo Antonio for Amsterdam in February–March 1761; and 7) his estate was divided among three heirs: Don Tommaso, Giuseppe Antonio, and Paolo Antonio. His real estate included houses in Carobbio, Milano, Sesto San Giovanni, Cassina de' Gatti, and was valued at 147,641 lire. The total net estate 636,970 lire (real estate, credits, and debts) were divided in three parts of 212,323 lire each. Although the “casa da nobile” in Milano and Sesto and all other real estate were inherited by Tommaso, the family continued to live in the same house in Milano and to share the house in Sesto.

RETURN TO MILAN. P. A. Zappa was in Milan for the baptism of Paolo Antonio Bignami.<sup>151</sup> P. A. Zappa became known for his garden, especially exotics that were likely brought to Amsterdam through trade. Zappa published a catalog of his plants in 1785. The plants of his garden in Sesto San Giovanni were purchased by the Universities of Bologna and Pavia after his death.

<sup>148</sup> Parrocchia di Stresa (Verbano-Cusio-Ossola), *Matrimoni*, vol. 1771-84, no. 3; *Battezzati*, 1780-98, no. 12; Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Records*, no. 253, Procuratie, 25 April 1781. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive 5075, folder 414, no. 15609, Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.22/start/130/limit/10/highlight/7](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.22/start/130/limit/10/highlight/7)

<sup>149</sup> Thierry Daniel de Marolles, *Notarial Records*, no. 56, 11 January 1762. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive 5075, folder 11411A., Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/348.3.270/start/160/limit/10/highlight/8](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/348.3.270/start/160/limit/10/highlight/8)

<sup>150</sup> G.A. Marzoni, Notaio. *Notarial Act*, 26 June 1761, 1787 certified copy in Fondo Famiglie vol. 1613 – Zappa. Archivio Storico Civico, Milano; Notaio Sirtori: Gennaio 1786, no. 677. vol. 46985. Digital content [access limited to Italy]: [archiviodigitale.icar.beniculturali.it/it/185/ricerca/detail/733212](https://archiviodigitale.icar.beniculturali.it/it/185/ricerca/detail/733212) “Sovvenzione fatta dal M.R. sig. d. Gio. Cozzi in nome dell'ill.mo sig. Barone Don Pietro Cozzi alli sig.ri Paolo Ant.o e fratello Zappa e al sig. Gio Batta Caldara anche come proprietari della Ragion Cantante Giuseppe Zappa e Caldara.” Note that Pietro Cozzi was the son-in-law of C. G. Vigore.

<sup>151</sup> See genealogical information in Paolo Semenza and John Everett Jones, “Busti & Zappa family chart and information,” 2023. Digital access: [doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611)

Zappa was also involved in local government and was cited for his assistance in smallpox vaccine experiments by Luigi Sacco.<sup>152</sup>

- 107 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.<sup>153</sup>

In 1786, Augustinus Lorla, on behalf of the firm, appointed his relative, Giuseppe Antonio Pensa, as *procurator* because Jacobus and P. A. Zappa were in Italy.<sup>154</sup> In 1788, Carlos Orri was appointed *procurator* for Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla with Jacobus and Augustinus Lorla present and P. A. Zappa in Italy.<sup>155</sup> In 1792, P. A. Nicolai [31], P.A. Zappa's nephew, was added as general *procurator* along with Orri. Only Augustinus Lorla was present at the notary.<sup>156</sup>

THE LORLA BROTHERS The brothers Jacobus and Augustinus were sons of Carlo Lorla and Delia Pensa of Bellano on Lake Como.<sup>157</sup> Giacomo Lorla was born 11 September 1725 and died in Milan 8 January 1794. Carlo Francesco Agostino was born 11 December 1732 and died in Amsterdam February 1800.<sup>158</sup> The Lorla family were connected with the Pensa family of Milan and involved in silk production, trade, and banking. The business guide of Metrà noted that in Milan the Pensa family were among the bankers and that Pensa, Lorla e Comp. were one of the manufacturers of silk.<sup>159</sup> A large factory with 500 workers they operated in Milan was noted in Lalande's travelog.<sup>160</sup> The company Lorla e Conca operated a large silk-spinning factory at Bellano.<sup>161</sup> 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.<sup>162</sup>

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

<sup>152</sup> Semenza and Jones, "Busti & Zappa family chart," p. 7. Digital access: doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611

<sup>153</sup> Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen, Notarial acts (1783), no. 861, 18 December 1783. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16758. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.7/start/640/limit/10/highlight/9

<sup>154</sup> Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen, Notarial acts (1786), no. 1099, 1 December 1786. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16767. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.16/start/680/limit/10/highlight/3

<sup>155</sup> Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen, Notarial acts (1788), no. 780, 23 September 1788. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16772. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.21/start/890/limit/10/highlight/8

<sup>156</sup> Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen, Notarial acts (1792), no. 1004, 30 August 1792. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16777. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.36/start/550/limit/10/highlight/2

<sup>157</sup> See Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1801). Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 414, folder no. 15675. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.88/start/400/limit/10/highlight/8

<sup>158</sup> Parrocchia di Bellano (Lecco, Lombardia), *Battesimi*, vol. since 1720, Giacomo p. 18, Agostino p. 46; Parrocchia di S. Nazaro (Milano), *Atti di Morte*, 1794, p. 75, no. 2; Oude Kerk (Amsterdam), *Burials* (1796-1811), p. 97. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, folder no. 1051. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/3.1.14/start/90/limit/10/highlight/10

<sup>159</sup> Andrea Metrà, *Il mentore perfetto de' negozianti*, p. 423.

<sup>160</sup> Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie*, p. 386.

<sup>161</sup> Gerolamo Gavazzi. *The Gavazzis: Silk and Mettle: History of a Lombard Family*. Milano, Caproncino, 2007, p. 140. Digital access: silkandmettle.com

<sup>162</sup> Luca Mocarrelli, *Una Realtà Produttiva Urbana Nel Secolo Dei Lumi: Milano Città Atelier*, Bresciana: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria, 2001, p. 97. Restricted digital access: academia.edu/1926438/milano\_città\_atelier

forwarders/agents, circumventing the Portuguese monopoly of Brazilian diamonds essential in the Portuguese Diamond Loan brokered by Hope & Co.<sup>163</sup>

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.<sup>164</sup>

- 108 INDIGO was consistently marketed by Zappa e Gebroeders Lorla. The earliest advertisement located to date was placed in 1764 in the *Amsterdamse courant*. Note the spelling of Zappa as *Sappa* (almost the same pronunciation in Dutch) and that the warehouse was located on Prinsengracht between Westermarkt and Leliegracht.<sup>165</sup>

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.

In this era, indigo from Guatemala was a Spanish monopoly and was distributed through Cadiz. There was a small Italian merchant community, including Milanese, in Cadiz.<sup>166</sup>

SUPPLIERS TO THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY. These advertisements may suggest that one of specializations of Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla was the trade of dyes for the textile industry and as an extension of services within the vertical integration of silk production and sales of Lorla & Pensa (see below). A similar advertisement in 1796 involved Busti en Comp. for indigo, red and prussian blue dyes (see BUSTI EN COMP. below).

KEIZERSGRACHT OFFICE. Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla were listed in Amsterdam business directories from 1766-1793 on the Keizersgracht canal near Reestraat.<sup>167</sup> 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: "Leggende de witte en roode

<sup>163</sup> Marten Gerbertus Buist, *At Spes Non Fracta: Hope & Co. 1770-1815, Merchant Bankers and Diplomats at Work*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974, p. 411-2. Restricted digital access (Open Library): [archive.org/details/atspesnonfractah0000buis](https://archive.org/details/atspesnonfractah0000buis)

<sup>164</sup> *Manella, Pujals & Co. v. J. Barry*, 7 U.S. 415 (1806).

<sup>165</sup> *Amsterdamse courant*, 7 July 1764, p. 2. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010711010:mpeg21:p002](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010711010:mpeg21:p002)

<sup>166</sup> 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)

<sup>167</sup> Various Amsterdam business directories. See Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 30398 (collection of koopmansboekjes, 1766-1838). Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/30398](https://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](https://books.google.com/edition/Memorieboek_of_Naamwyser_der_stad_Amster/3SSjHBRbXVcC)

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

The office was located in one of the canal houses 222-238 Keizersgracht.<sup>168, 169, 170</sup>

- 108 EXPERIENCE IN THE AMSTERDAM ECONOMY. The Milan economy had developed from its trade with France, Austria, 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.<sup>171</sup> The estimate of 10.36% GDP of Holland is from Pepijn and Bosma.<sup>172</sup> 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 that he would have encountered in Philadelphia. No enslaved people are recorded in the census entries for Paul Busti.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>168</sup> *Amsterdamse courant*, 28 Sep. 1793, p. 4. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010717973](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010717973)

<sup>169</sup> The probable location of the office was identified as 228 Keizersgracht (in the current numbering system) through research by Taco Tichelaar, Amsterdam. This may represent a relocation on the same block for the Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla office.

Translated text: “Declaration before the notary in Amsterdam on behalf of Geertruid Kool by Jacob Bout, that his house on the Keizersgracht between the Westermarkt and Reestraat, the sixth house north of the Reestraat, occupied by Messrs. Echenique, Sanchez and comp., when the residents pay the rent with May 1, will offer for rent to Messrs Zappa and brothers Lorla.” Paulus Huntum, *Notarial Acts*, 5 December 1784. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 388, folder no. 14197. Digital reference (not currently scanned): [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/593c3bcf55dcf8480634e0dcbac480e2](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/593c3bcf55dcf8480634e0dcbac480e2)

A certified copy is located in the Brants and Aanverwante Families archive. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 88, folder 751. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/88/2.2.3.5.3/start/0/limit/10/highlight/4](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/88/2.2.3.5.3/start/0/limit/10/highlight/4)

<sup>170</sup> The location of the house of Augustinus Lorla was noted in the advertised auction of part of his estate. “Dingsdag den 6den Mey, te Amsterdam, voor het Huis van den Overledene, op de Keizers Gragt, tusschen de Rheestraat en Westermarkt, verkoopen.” (on Tuesday the 6th of May, at Amsterdam, in front of the house of the deceased, on the Keizersgracht, between the Rheestraat and Westermarkt). *Amsterdamse courant*, 5 March 1800, p. 4. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010715737:mpeg21:a0004](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010715737:mpeg21:a0004)

<sup>171</sup> 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](https://ascleiden.nl/content/webdossiers/dutch-involvement-transatlantic-slave-trade-and-abolition) accessed 2021.11.14

<sup>172</sup> 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](https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2021.1860464)

<sup>173</sup> Paul Busti was enumerated in three federal censuses: 1800 United States Census, Philadelphia Middle Ward, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, np. Digital access: [familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHR6-Y6C](https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHR6-Y6C)

- 108 CARLO GIUSEPPE BUSTI [40], 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.<sup>174</sup>

In 1787, Joseph Busti appointed Paul Busti as *procurator* in Amsterdam.<sup>175</sup>

RESIDENCY. We note that the documentation is unclear if Joseph Busti resided in Holland or frequently traveled between Amsterdam and Milan. In his *Stato libero* for his marriage, both witnesses declared in 1788 that he was a banker and had always lived in Milano.<sup>176</sup> This may have been deceptive testimony to avoid difficulties and delays in getting a *Stato libero* from Amsterdam and thereby permitting them to get married in Pallanza three days later (approximately 100 km away).

PAOLO ANTONIO NICOLAI [31] was born 25 September 1765 in Cremona and baptized in San Siro e Santo Sepolcro with his maternal uncle Paolo Antonio Zappa [12] as his godfather.<sup>177</sup> He married Maria Catharina Carli in Leiden in 1797.<sup>178</sup> The baptism of Francisca Paulina Maria Catharina Nicolai was celebrated 10 August 1799 in Amsterdam with Francisca Zappa as godmother.<sup>179</sup>

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1810 United States Census, Blockley Township, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, p. 74 (718). Digital access: [familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XH22-9RT](https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XH22-9RT)

1820 United States Census, Blockley Township, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, np. Digital access: [familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHGH-JTY](https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHGH-JTY)

<sup>174</sup> Kerk De Lely (Rooms-Katholiek, Amsterdam). *Baptizati* (1767-1811), p. 98. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, inventory no. 1.2, folder no. 345. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.8.3/start/50/limit/10/highlight/1](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.8.3/start/50/limit/10/highlight/1)

<sup>175</sup> Cornelis Jan Van Teijlingen, *Notarial Acts* (1787), no. 768, 8 Aug. 1787. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16769. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.18/start/810/limit/10/highlight/5](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.18/start/810/limit/10/highlight/5)

<sup>176</sup> Diocesi di Milano, *Stato libero*, 16 Jul. 1788. *Marriage files*, vol. 426 Jul.-Sep. 1788, Busti, 16 jul. 1788. Archivio Storico Diocesi di Milano.

<sup>177</sup> S. Siro e S. Sepolcro (Cremona). *Libro Battezzati 1752-92*, p. 91. Archive of S. Abbondio parish (Cremona). Nicolaus de Nicolais

Anno D[omi]ni Mill[esi]mo Septing[entesi]mo Sexag[esi]mo quinto, dies prima Octobris  
Ego Carolus Carebelli Praep[ositu]s huius Pa[roc]h[ia]lis Eccl[esi]ae S.S. Siri, et Sepulcri Cremonae  
baptizavi infantem die vig[esi]ma quinta nunc elapsi Septembris natum ex d. Nicolao de Nicolais, et  
ex d. Franc[is]ca Zappa Jug[alibus] huius Par[oc]e[ia]e, cui impositum fuit nomen Nicolaus Paulus  
Ant[oni]us Joseph M[a]r[i]a Benedictus. Patrinus fuit d. Paulus Ant[oni]us huius Genitricis Frater  
Mediolani abitans.

<sup>178</sup> Leiden, *Trouwen Gerecht*, vol. A (1795-1799), p. 145v. Leiden Regional Archive, archive no. 1004, inventory no. IC2 *Schepenhuwelijken* (1795-1811), folder no. 211A. Digital access: [erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/archieven/archievenoverzicht/scans/NL-LdnRAL-1004/1.3.2.1.1/start/140/limit/10/highlight/8](https://erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/archieven/archievenoverzicht/scans/NL-LdnRAL-1004/1.3.2.1.1/start/140/limit/10/highlight/8)

<sup>179</sup> Kerk in het Maagdenhuis (Amsterdam), *Baptisms* (1787-1811), p. 45. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, inventory no. 1.2, folder no. 365. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.14.4/start/20/limit/10/highlight/4](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.14.4/start/20/limit/10/highlight/4)

As noted above, in 1792 he represented Zappa & Gebroeders Lorla together with C. Orri.<sup>180</sup> In 1794 he represented Lorla & Co. and again in 1801.<sup>181, 182</sup>

For information regarding the Brentano charity see *Hulp des Ouderdoms*.<sup>183</sup> A portrait of P. A. Nicolai painted posthumously not before 1844 is in the collection of the charity. Note that the date on the portrait, 17 January 1767, does not match his birthdate and all 1767 is ruled out by the birth of his sisters on 1 August 1766 and 25 September 1767.<sup>184</sup>

In August 1824, P. A. Nicolai announced the death of cousin *Paulus Busti* which was published in several Dutch papers. The notice of the death of Paul Busti was published in The Hague and Haarlem.<sup>185</sup>

- 108 GIUSEPPE PIZZAGALLI [46] 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 and *Joseph Pizzagalli* was the shortened form he used there.

He was the first child of Francesco Pizzagalli [32] and Giuseppa Busti [33] (the first child of G. C. Busti), who had married in 1766. His father Francesco was born in Brivio (Lecco) and was from a family already involved at the beginning of the 1600s in management for the Abbazia di S. Pietro di Civate of their lands in Beverate (Brivio). Francesco had two uncles and two brothers who were priests. Their parents later moved to nearby Airuno, where Giuseppe was born probably during the holidays.<sup>186</sup>

The *Status animarum* of his family in Milan: in S. Eusebio from 1767, in S. Maria alla Scala 1772-1776, again in S. Eusebio since 1777 (house no. 41 until 1783 and house no. 82 i.e. 1575 since

<sup>180</sup> Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen, *Notarial acts* (1792), no. 1004, 30 August 1792. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16777. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.36/start/550/limit/10/highlight/2](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.36/start/550/limit/10/highlight/2)

<sup>181</sup> Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1794), no. 657, 23 September 1794. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive 5075, inventory no. 414, folder no. 15662. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.75/start/790/limit/10/highlight/10](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.75/start/790/limit/10/highlight/10)

<sup>182</sup> Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1801), no. 157, 4 June 1801. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 414, folder no. 15675. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.88/start/400/limit/10/highlight/8](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.88/start/400/limit/10/highlight/8) and Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1801), no. 281, 15 October 1801. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 414, folder no. 15675. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.88/start/690/limit/10/highlight/9](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.88/start/690/limit/10/highlight/9)

<sup>183</sup> Stichting Roomsch Catholijk Burger Oude Mannenhuis, also know as Brentano's Steun des Ouderdoms, see the charity's website. Digital content: [brentanosteun.nl/](https://brentanosteun.nl/) accessed 2022.03.22.

<sup>184</sup> The portrait of P. A. Nicolai is by Johan George Schwartze (1814-1874) and is included in the digital archives of Nederlands Instituut voor Kunst-geschiedenis (RKD), reference 0000198916. Digital access: [rkd.nl/explore/images/180480](https://rkd.nl/explore/images/180480). Details about his and his sisters' birth in Paolo Semenza and John Everett Jones. "Busti and Zappa family chart and information." Working paper, 2023. Digital access: [doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611)

<sup>185</sup> 's *Gravenhaagsche courant*, 30 Aug.1824, p. 4 and *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 31 Aug.1824, p. 3. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010124958:mpeg21:p004](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010124958:mpeg21:p004) and [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010521562:mpeg21:p003](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010521562:mpeg21:p003)

<sup>186</sup> *Status animarum* of Brivio parish (Lecco, Lombardia) years 1602, 1608, 1632; Francesco Sr. son of Innocente and Petronilla Carozzi. Francesco's uncles Alessandro and Giuseppe were priests and his brothers Giuseppe Antonio and Pietro were priests, all baptized in Brivio. Alessandro and after his death his nephew Giuseppe Antonio (until 1773 in Milano with Francesco's family) were parish priests of Costa Masnaga (Lecco, Lombardia). See list of parish priests, with some errors. Digital content: [costamasnaga.altervista.org/parrocii.htm](https://costamasnaga.altervista.org/parrocii.htm) accessed 2023.05.25.

Giuseppe's baptism, with don Alessandro as godfather, is cited in Semenza and Jones, "Busti & Zappa family chart and information." Digital access: [doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6574611)



1784).<sup>187</sup> In 1788, S. Eusebio became part of the new S. Maria del Carmine parish, however their *Status* records are not extant, and as a result, the date of his departure for Amsterdam remains uncertain. Since 1797 the family lived in S. Maria del Giardino (House no. 1840; after 1805 that parish was defunct and the house was listed in S. Fedele parish). Giuseppe studied in a seminary from 1777 until 1786. That note is crossed out in 1786 and in 1787 he is listed as living in the household. In 1797-98 and in 1800 he is listed as absent.

The first document of Pizzagalli's presence in Amsterdam, found so far, is from August 1795.<sup>188</sup>

The religious marriage with Helena Thecla Elisabeth de Jonge [45] was on 23 May 1800, and the baptism of their son François Xavier Marie Joseph Theodore Pizzagalli was on 27 June 1801 both in Amsterdam at the old Kerk De Krijtberg, near the Singel canal. A formerly "hidden church" which was also owned since 1676 by Hendrik Staats, his mother's ancestor.<sup>189</sup>

In the inventory of his estate after his death, Giuseppe Pizzagalli's role in the liquidation of Bolongaro Simonetta & Co. in 1796 is noted. This may indicate that he had worked for Paul Busti in Amsterdam.<sup>190</sup>

- 108 FRANCESCO SAVERIO PIZZAGALLI [74] likely traveled to Italy with his father in 1817 and remained there during his father's illness and later death in 1823. His baptismal certificate dated October 1819, authenticated and signed by the Imperial Royal consul (of SMIRA, Austrian) for usage abroad, was included in his marriage file and shows that he was in Italy before or about that date.<sup>191</sup> He then likely lived with his uncle Angelo and other relatives (his grandparents were deceased) in the family home at no. 1840. He married in 1824 Anna Maria Cavalieri with court permission (as he was a minor) and church dispensation (as they shared great-great-grandparents Giuseppe Carozzi and Caterina, who lived in front of Brivio to the east of Adda River, now Cisano Bergamasco). He was almost certainly the only grandchild of Francesco and Giuseppa Busti. Francesco Saverio and Anna Maria had nine children and a numerous offspring. He inherited substantial assets in the Netherlands that were liquidated by P. A. Nicolai.

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<sup>187</sup> S. Eusebio parish record books are in the Archivio Storico Diocesi di Milano and the S. Maria alla Scala and S. Maria del Giardino record books are in the Archivio parrocchiale S. Fedele, Milano.

The Pizzagalli family is listed in "casa della prepositura M" in S. Eusebio since 1772 to 1776. Since 1777 that house was occupied by the priest Giannantonio Riva, who conducted the parish survey since that year and previously lived in house S.

So, the Pizzagalli had likely moved to S. Maria alla Scala in 1771. Prior to that (since 1767-1768), they lived in S. Eusebio parish in a house of Marchese Cusani, no. 70, along with his younger priest brothers. In March 1770 they were documented still living at S Eusebio, as noted in the baptism of Giulia Pizzagalli [49]. The Pizzagalli were listed again in *Status Animarum* of S. Eusebio in a house of Signor Cattaneo, no. 41, since 1777 to 1783 and since 1784 in a house of the Monache di S Caterina in Brera, no. 82 or 1575. Archivio Storico Diocesano, Milano.

<sup>188</sup> Anthony Mijlius, *Notarial Acts* (1795), no. 374, 7 August 1795. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive 5075, inventory no. 414, folder no. 15665. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.78/start/170/limit/10/highlight/2](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/414.1.78/start/170/limit/10/highlight/2)

<sup>189</sup> Dirk Laurens Hendrik Slebos, "Een Amsterdams geslacht en vijf Abcouse buitenplaatsen," *Jaarboekje Niftarlake*, 2002, p. 90. Digital content: [objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-9633](https://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-9633) accessed 2023.03.22.

<sup>190</sup> Everard Cornelis Bondt, *Notarial Acts* (1824-1826), no. 90, 18 May 1824 (next-to-last page). Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 471, folder no. 18775. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/471.2.27/start/140/limit/10/highlight/2](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/471.2.27/start/140/limit/10/highlight/2)

<sup>191</sup> Archivio parrocchiale S. Alessandro, Milano. *Marriage files 1815-1829*, 1824, no. 24. Consul was B. de Carli, likely related to P.A. Nicolai's wife. Ridder J. B. Carli was witness at marriage of Nicolai's daughter.

## Becoming Paul Busti in Amsterdam

109 BUSINESS CAREER AFTER ZAPPA EN GEBROEDERS LORLA. Turner briefly notes: "...he afterwards established himself in business, married, and acquired a high reputation for business talents, industry and integrity."<sup>192</sup> The date that Paul Busti left Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla is unknown, but may have coincided with his becoming a representative for Bolongaro Simonetta.

BOLONGARO SIMONETTA. In 1933, Pieter J. van Winter identified Paul Busti as a representative of Bolongaro Simonetta.<sup>193</sup> 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 who specialized in the spice and tobacco trade and were headquartered in Höchst (Frankfurt am Main).<sup>194</sup> They became wealthy from manufacturing snuff. The Bolongaro, Simonetta, and De Notaris were prominent families from the Verbania area of Lake Maggiore.<sup>195</sup> The Bolongaro business was divided in 1784 into two branches representing the two heirs: Bolongaro Crevenna and Bolongaro Simonetta.

Paul Busti must have begun representation for Bolongaro Simonetta between 1784 and 1<sup>st</sup> half of 1786: he represented that firm in several acts before notary Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen, every year from 1786 to 1794, except 1791. Busti also represented them at other notaries. In July 1786 *Paulus Busti* was a representative in a *Lettera di Cambio* (bill of exchange) from Sr. Silvestro Allesina e figlio Vecchio of 1100 florins to Bolongaro Simonetta & Co.<sup>196</sup> Likewise, in 1788 he was listed as *Paulus Busti* when representing Bolongaro Simonetta et Comp.<sup>197</sup> In 1790, F. M. Bertolino represented Bolongaro Simonetta & Comp. in Frankfurt.<sup>198</sup> In 1793 Paul Busti represented Bolongaro Simonetta & Comp. and was listed as "demeurant sur le Heerengragt auprès du Coningspleyn."<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Turner, *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase*, p. 426.

<sup>193</sup> Van Winter, *Het aandeel van den Amsterdamschen*, vol 2, p. 265.

<sup>194</sup> For additional information about the Bolongaro businesses, see Ralf Banken, "Nichts weiter als ein großes Warenlager, welches unter dem holländischen steht - Zur Bedeutung Amsterdams für italienische Händler aus Frankfurt im 18. Jahrhundert," *VSWG Quarterly Journal for Social and Economic History*, vol. 107, June 2020, no. 2. Digital access (restricted): doi.org/10.25162/vswg-2020-0005

<sup>195</sup> 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

<sup>196</sup> Cornelis Jan van Teijlingen, *Notarial acts* (1786), no. 763, 21 Aug. 1786. Busti signature of 6 July. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16766. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.15/start/880/limit/10/highlight/6

<sup>197</sup> Adam Houtkoper, *Notarial Acts* (1788), no. 252, 11 Dec. 1788. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 452, folder no. 17718. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/452.1.2/start/420/limit/10/highlight/5

<sup>198</sup> Renier van Eibergen, *Notarial Acts* (1790), no. 52, 29 Mar. 1790. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, inventory no. 399, folder no. 14697. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/399.1.30/start/180/limit/10/highlight/9

<sup>199</sup> Cornelis Jan Van Teijlingen, *Notarial Acts* (1793), no. 2427, 2 Dec. 1793. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16794. Digital access: archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.43/start/660/limit/10/highlight/5

This address description is similar to the 1795 listing for Busti in his nomination to city council.

Last document by van Teijlingen of 10 July 1794.<sup>200</sup> In 1795 and 1796 other deeds by Notary Jan Harmsen.<sup>201</sup> So, Busti was still partly working for this firm when he received an offer from HLC.

- 109 BUSTI AND BANKING. Busti is referenced in a letter dated 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.<sup>202</sup> 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 français 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 Keizersgraft by de Wolvestraat over de gewezene Schouwburg.”<sup>203</sup> He appears to be the same Botereau who served as a burgher of Amsterdam during the Batavian Republic.

BUSTI EN COMP. An advertisement in October 1796 listed the business as Busti en Comp. at Heerengracht by den Binnen-Amstel.<sup>204</sup> This was likely a liquidation sale in preparation for his move to America.

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 11 Baalen Smirnse 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.

*Granilla* is the Dutch term for *Kermes quercus*, a scale insect used in the production of red dye, *Berlyns blaauw* is Prussian blue, *gall nuts* (*Galle*) were used to produce inks, brown, grey or black,

<sup>200</sup> Cornelis Jan Van Teijlingen, *Notarial Acts* (1794), no. 596, 10 July 1794. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 434, folder no. 16796, Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.45/start/470/limit/10/highlight/9](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/434.1.45/start/470/limit/10/highlight/9)

<sup>201</sup> Jan Harmsen, *Notarial Acts* (1795), no. 475, 5 Aug. 1795. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 425, folder no. 16418, Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/425.1.55/start/260/limit/10/highlight/3](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/425.1.55/start/260/limit/10/highlight/3) and Jan Harmsen, *Notarial Acts* (1796), no. 496, 14 July 1796. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 425, folder no. 16422. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/425.1.59/start/110/limit/10/highlight/1](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/425.1.59/start/110/limit/10/highlight/1)

<sup>202</sup> Louis 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](http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB07:000774001:00297)

<sup>203</sup> Albert van der Kroe and Anth. Capel (Publ.), *Naamregister van alle de heeren kooplieden der stad Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1793, p. 15. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/30398/1.18/start/0/limit/10/highlight/9](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/30398/1.18/start/0/limit/10/highlight/9)

<sup>204</sup> *Amsterdamsche courant*, 18 Oct. 1796, p. 1. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010718302:mpeg21:p001](http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010718302:mpeg21:p001)

and were from Smyrna or Izmir, Turkey. This list may indicate that Busti and Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla had specialized in a variety of dyes and tints beyond their trade in indigo.

Paul Busti was listed in the Amsterdam business directories in 1795 and 1796.<sup>205</sup>

- 109 DESCRIPTION OF CAREER BY VAN EEGHEN. Christiaan van Eeghen advised Theophile Cazenove of the HLC offer to Paul Busti in August 1796. Van Eeghen described Busti:<sup>206</sup>

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

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

- 110 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 concentrates on specialty food additives for the international market. This family-owned company is in its fifteenth generation after 350 years of operations.<sup>207</sup> Both Christiaan and Pieter van Eeghen were early members of the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit* and likely had met Paul Busti at the meetings of *Doctrina et Amicitia* (the club's new identity after 1787). Paul Busti joined that club in 1790 (see below).

The correspondence between Paul Busti and Christiaan van Eeghen (1757-1798) shows a shared business acumen in organizing the operations of the office in Philadelphia. An early review of the office setup, likely by Jacob T. Smits (abt 1770-1802), indicates a very competent and organized Busti making order from an irregular predecessor, Theophile Cazenove.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> *Handelingen van de Municipaliteit der stad Amsterdam*, 30 Dec. 1795, p. 327. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=dpo:3120:mpeg21:0331](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=dpo:3120:mpeg21:0331)

<sup>206</sup> Van Eeghen's description was an introduction 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.* Christiaan van Eeghen, "Copy of letter to Theophile Cazenove, no. 42, 1 August 1796," *Copybook of outgoing correspondence*, vol. 1 (1792-1805), p. 182-83. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder no. 73. Digital content: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.2.1/start/110/limit/10/highlight/4](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.2.1/start/110/limit/10/highlight/4)

<sup>207</sup> See the Van Eeeghen company website. Digital content: [vaneeghen.com](http://vaneeghen.com)

<sup>208</sup> Unknown [Jacob T. Smits], "Excerpt of letter to P. & C. van Eeghen, 30 June 1799," p. 2. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 111. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.2.2.2/start/50/limit/10/highlight/9](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.2.2.2/start/50/limit/10/highlight/9)

Note that Van Winter incorrectly attributed this letter to Paul Busti, see Pieter Jan van Winter, *Het aandeel van den Amsterdamschen*, vol. 1, The Hague, p. 219. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000118804](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000118804)

## Paul Busti and Elisabeth May

110 UNKNOWN LINK. 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.<sup>209</sup> They appear to have lived (and/or worked) near 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. In the absence of details, we wonder if the timing of their wedding was influenced by Paul Busti's inheritance and the settling of his father's estate in 1793. However, that speculation is at odds with Busti's elevated social standing as reflected by his membership in 1790 in the club *Doctrina et Amicitia*.

SPECIAL PERMISSION. Prior to their marriage, a resolution by the State Assembly of Holland and West Friesland granted partial dispensation reducing the time required in cases of interdenominational marriages. 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 ('s-Gravenhage). The justification for the petition was an upcoming voyage by the groom. The resolution of 15 November 1793 stated: "[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, is permitted to marry immediately after the three six-week Proclamations.*<sup>210</sup> The law (evidently dated 24 January rather than 24 February) stipulated that the celebration of an interdenominational wedding required an additional six weeks after the third publication of their intention to marry (banns).<sup>211</sup> Paul and Elisabeth Busti remained an inter-denominational family during their lives and were married in the English Episcopal church in Amsterdam. In America, Paul Busti attended Catholic masses while Elisabeth continued as an Episcopalian and attended separate churches. She noted this in her first letter from Philadelphia:<sup>212</sup>

Le dimanche après mon arrivée, j'ai été à l'église Anglaise, mais n'ayant pas encore dépaqueté mes habits, je me suis borné à la plus proche, sans quoi je me propose bien d'en visiter plusieurs. Dites à Petty que le fameux docteur Priestly prêche ici régulièrement tous les dimanches at the College, que je ne manquerai pas d'aller l'entendre et de lui faire mon rapport; au reste mon attestation ne me sert de rien; car, quoique les relations en disent, il n'y a ni église Française ni

<sup>209</sup> Elisabeth May, "Letter to [Françoise (May) Delprat], Spaar hooven, 31 May 1789." Nationaal Archief (The Hague), archive no. 2.21.183.16 Delprat, inventory no. 99 Familiebriefwisseling van leden van het geslacht Delprat collection.

Note that Spaar hooven likely refers to a country house in the Leewenburg neighborhood of Maarsen near Utrecht and 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. Note that *Spruytenburg* is now called Leeuwenburg. Information generously provided by Frits Naudin ten Cate.

Her burial record is Waalse Kerk (Amsterdam), *Begraven* (1795- ), p. 20. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, folder no. 1133. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/3.12.4/start/20/limit/10/highlight/2](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/3.12.4/start/20/limit/10/highlight/2)

<sup>210</sup> 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](http://delpher.nl/nl/boeken1/view?coll=boeken1&identificer=kl6DnMRP1PUC)

<sup>211</sup> See for example "Ten zesden (article 6)," *Opregte Groninger Courant*. Groningen, 7 February 1755, p. 1. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010259098:mpeg21:p001](http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010259098:mpeg21:p001)

<sup>212</sup> Elisabeth (May) Busti, "Letter, 9 March 1797" as transcribed in Delprat. *Souvenirs de Voyage*, p. 34.

Dr. Priestly refers to the English scientist, philosopher and theologian Joseph Priestly (1733-1804) who had emigrated to the United States in 1794.

Hollandoise; il n'y en a qu'une en Allemand, de sorte que quand à moi je ne serai pas embarrassée dans le choix; Busti a visité deux différentes Catholiques, mais s'en est trouvé peu édifié, les deux sermons ne roulant que sur des disputes avec l'Evêque de Baltimore, dont il n'avoit que faire, qu'il a pris la résolution de les envoyer promener pour l'avenir...

- 110 MARRIAGE BANNNS. Notice of their intended marriage was made on the same day that the resolution was approved, 15 November 1793. The banns were announced six weeks apart and were published in Amsterdam and The Hague on three Sundays: 17 November and 29 December 1793, and 9 February 1794.<sup>213</sup>

MARRIAGE. The signatures on the marriage record are *Paulus Busti* and *Elisabeth May*, marriage officiated by Rev. Benjamin Choyce Sowden on 14 February 1794 in the English Episcopal Church in Amsterdam.<sup>214</sup>

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.

The May daughters' marriages were celebrated in:

- 1777 (Ten Cate) in the Engelse Episcopaals Kerk in Amsterdam,
- 1784 (May) in the Waalse Hervormde Kerk in The Hague,
- 1784 (Delprat) in the Waalse Hervormde Kerk in The Hague, and
- 1794 (Busti) in the Engelse Episcopaals Kerk in Amsterdam.

Elisabeth May's parents belonged to different churches and the selection may have alternated or may simply have been chosen by location.

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 ages 22, 23, and 21.

MAY FAMILY. A family history was published in 1911.<sup>215</sup> 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.<sup>216</sup> 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

<sup>213</sup> Amsterdam, *Ondertrouwregister*, 15 Nov. 1793, p. 253. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, inventory no. 2.2, folder no. 760. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/2.2.101/start/120/limit/10/highlight/8](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/2.2.101/start/120/limit/10/highlight/8)

Amsterdam, *Huwelijksproclamaties van het Stadhuis*, Jun. 1793 – May 1795 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, inventory no. 2.4 folder no. 803.

First publication 19 Nov. 1793. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/2.4.38/start/40/limit/10/highlight/10](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/2.4.38/start/40/limit/10/highlight/10)

Last publication 9 Feb. 1794. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/2.4.38/start/60/limit/10/highlight/6](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/2.4.38/start/60/limit/10/highlight/6)

<sup>214</sup> Engelse Episcopaals Kerk (Amsterdam), *Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials* (1698-1821), p. 75. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, folder no. 137B. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.1/start/30/limit/10/highlight/8](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.1/start/30/limit/10/highlight/8)

<sup>215</sup> *Nederland's Adelsboek, 1911*. The Hague, 1911, p. 164-5. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB26:000717001:00190](http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB26:000717001:00190)

<sup>216</sup> 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](http://doi.org/10.1080/00253359.2013.844537)

shipyard and an era of embezzlement followed with which John May, Sr. became associated. Rebecca (Prinsex) May died in Amsterdam in 1743 and John May, Sr. married a second time in 1762 to Magteld Geertruij Cannegieter, sister of Hendrik Kannegieter, the assistant to Willem Sautijn.<sup>217</sup>

For information on the May family and their involvement in shipbuilding in Amsterdam see the excellent work by Lemmers.<sup>218</sup> 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 island 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.<sup>219</sup> John May, Jr. was also selected as a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, University of Lisbon.<sup>220</sup>

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).

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<sup>217</sup> Dennis Schouten. "De uitvaart van Hendrik Kannegieter" in *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman. Jaargang 19*. 1996, p. 52. Digital access: [dbnl.org/tekst/\\_med009199601\\_01/colofon.php](http://dbnl.org/tekst/_med009199601_01/colofon.php)

<sup>218</sup> Lemmers, "Shipworm," p. 410-28.

<sup>219</sup> Bataafsch Genootschap der Proefondervindelike Wijsbegeerte, *Verhandelingen Van Het Bataafsch Genootschap Der Proefondervinkelijke Wijsbegeerte Te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1774, p. LIV, LVIII. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015035468936](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015035468936)

<sup>220</sup> 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](http://hdl.handle.net/10451/17942) He was selected as Member no. 47 João May. A diploma from the University of Lisbon 1780 is in the Delprat family papers in the Nationaal Archief (The Hague).

- 110 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).<sup>221</sup>

KEIZERSGRACHT OFFICE. J. A. Crop, J. May en Comp. were listed in the Amsterdam business directories from the 1760s to 1783 on the Keizersgracht canal north of Hartestraat.<sup>222</sup> 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 across the canal from the offices of Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla. The family residence was almost certainly in the same canal house as the business.

NAUDIN. Marthe Naudin's parents were Jean Naudin and Marthe de Bar, 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 altogether accurately, presented in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*.<sup>223</sup>

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.<sup>224</sup>

ELISABETH MAY. Elisabeth May was baptized 11 February 1759 in the English Episcopal Church in Amsterdam.<sup>225</sup> 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 supports the hypothesis that Elisabeth worked for that firm.

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.<sup>226</sup>

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 Elisabeth's letter to her family, she notes that her nephew was picking up English very quickly and that her husband envied him as was not advancing as rapidly: "Tout est bien ici, Charlot *woord*

<sup>221</sup> See Cornelis van Homrigh, *Notarial Acts (1744-1802)*, no. 175, 12 September 1793. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5075, inventory no. 365, folder no. 12514. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/365.1.195/start/240/limit/10/highlight/3](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/365.1.195/start/240/limit/10/highlight/3)

<sup>222</sup> Amsterdam business directories, various. See note 167.

<sup>223</sup> *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*. vol. 1 (1853-1854), p. 175. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044098668999](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044098668999)

<sup>224</sup> Marinus G. Wildeman, "MAY," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw, jaargang 40*, 1922, column 287. Digital access: [knggw.nl/raadplegen/de-nederlandsche-leeuw/1922-40/152/](http://knggw.nl/raadplegen/de-nederlandsche-leeuw/1922-40/152/)

<sup>225</sup> English Episcopal Church (Amsterdam), *Register of Baptisms (1742-1807)*, p. 13. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, folder no. 137B. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.2/start/0/limit/10/highlight/8](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.1.13.2/start/0/limit/10/highlight/8)

<sup>226</sup> Paul Busti, "Letter to Van Eeghen, no. 1, Philadelphia, 3 March 1797." Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder no. 85. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.10.1/start/0/limit/10/highlight/1](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.10.1/start/0/limit/10/highlight/1)



*groot, se divertit avec tous ces camarades, jase l'anglais, au point d'être envié par Busti, qui ne fait pas la moitié des progrès.*"<sup>227</sup>

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.

- 110 VAN DER KEMP CORRESPONDENCE. Elisabeth Busti's correspondence with Francis Adrian van der Kemp was cited by Jackson.<sup>228</sup> Paul Busti loaned books in Italian to Van der Kemp including Machiavelli. See the estate sale listing of books, page 64.

HARM JAN HUIDEKOPER (1776-1854) 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.<sup>229</sup>

TRIP TO NIAGARA FALLS. From July to October 1805, 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 two accidents, however, Elisabeth fared notably well during the journey.<sup>230</sup>

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.

- 111 SAINT-MEMIN. Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin (1770–1852) was an engraver and artist whose miniature portraits were very popular in the early United States. The portraits of Saint-Mémin are a who's who of the early American republic and include many associated with the HLC. Saint-Mémin 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

<sup>227</sup> Elisabeth (May) Busti, "Letter, 24 November 1797." The Delprat published transcription interjected *Charlot* (Charlie) for *Letje*. See also note 1 (p. 2).

<sup>228</sup> 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 François Adriaan van der Kemp. "Letter to John Adams, 17 May 1807." Digital access: founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5184

<sup>229</sup> Nina Moore Tiffany and Francis Tiffany, *Harm Jan Huidekoper*, Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1904. Digital access: hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t3rv0h18k.

<sup>230</sup> See for example, Paul Busti, "Letter to Joseph Ellicott, 28 November 1805." Buffalo History Museum, HLC records, BUF-1, vol. 2, p. 71.

Institution and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC.<sup>231</sup> The existence or location of the larger crayon portraits, usually on red paper, are not known.

- 111 FRENCH TROOPS IN AMSTERDAM. The Batavian Revolution in Amsterdam began in October 1794 when the stadtholder, William V, brought in British troops for protection of his 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.<sup>232</sup>

MAY FAMILY ORANGISTS AND PRO-BRITISH. 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: "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."<sup>233</sup>

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.<sup>234</sup>

MAY FAMILY PRO-FRENCH MEMBERS. It is likely that Paul Busti was pro-French as suggested by his nomination to the city council and his dealings with the French Ambassador (see below). Despite his service in the previous government, Rev. Daniel Delprat was appointed as secretary, translator, and then later as secretary for secrets to Maarten van der Goes van Dirxland, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Batavian Republic.<sup>235</sup> After the Restoration of the Orangists, Delprat returned to service of 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.

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<sup>231</sup> Charles Févret de Saint-Mémin, "Mrs. Elisabeth Busti," engraved print, 1807. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 932. Digital content: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/5c2d35a876b1433dc81d5cdf332f6e70](http://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](http://npg.si.edu/object/npg_S_NPG.74.39.1.32)

Also National Gallery of Art, Corcoran Collection (Gift of William Wilson Corcoran) reference no. 2015.19.1584.36.8 Digital content: [nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.215063.html](http://nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.215063.html)

Charles Févret de Saint-Mémin, "Paul Busti," engraved print, 1807. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 932. Digital content: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/file/5c2d35a876b1433dc81d5cdf332f6e70](http://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](http://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](http://nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.215064.html)

<sup>232</sup> 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](http://archive.org/details/patriotsliberato00scha_0)

<sup>233</sup> 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](http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-25-02-0298)

<sup>234</sup> Pieter Jan van Winter. *Het aandeel van den Amsterdamschen*, vol 1. p. 239. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000118804](http://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](http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB02:000118804:00283)

<sup>235</sup> Pim W. Waldeck, *Maarten van der Goes van Dirxland [1751-1826], Nederlands eerste minister van Buitenlandse Zaken*, PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2017, p. 120. Digital access: [hdl.handle.net/1887/55510](http://hdl.handle.net/1887/55510)

111 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. Among them also Nicolaas Theodoor de Jonge, uncle of Pizzagalli future wives, and former Pizzagalli business partner.<sup>236</sup>

SCHOOL TAX COMMITTEE His nomination for the municipal Committee for School levies.<sup>237</sup>

DOCTRINA ET AMICITIA. This club was originally the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit*.<sup>238</sup> 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.<sup>239</sup>

1790 No. 436. Paulus Busti, koopman. Naar America vertrokken 1798. Titulair.

Members of the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit/Doctrina et Amicitia* associated with Paul Busti (year of membership: membership number): Isaac ten Cate, (1785:120), Augustinus Lorla, (1787:293), Lambertus ten Cate Jr, (1787:261), Cornelis ten Cate (1787:312), Jean Alexandre Botereau (1787:265), Philippo Giacomo de Bolongaro Crevenna (1787:273), and Francois Carli (1795:346).

Other Members of the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit/Doctrina et Amicitia* who would later become associated with Paul Busti through the HLC included: Hendrik Vollenhoven (1783:08), Christian van Eeghan, (1783:18), Nicolaas van Staphorst, (1783:57), Jacob van Staphorst (1783:59), Pieter van Eeghen (1784:67), Pieter Stadnitski (1784:96), Jan van Staphorst (1787:250), Jan Herman Schimmelpenninck (1784:83), Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck (1785:109), Jan ten Broeke Willink (1787:354), Jan Ananias Willink (1783:40), and Hendrik Willink (1786:209).

DOCTRINA ET AMICITIA MEETING. Just after the new Republic of Batavia was proclaimed and the French army entered Amsterdam, Paul Busti was present at a general meeting of the *Doctrina et Amicitia* club on 24 February 1795. At this meeting, Caspar Rensing, a director of the Society, proposed that the club should return to its political roots as the *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit*. Abraham Haan opposed this initiative and Paul Busti seconded the motion of Haan: “*De burger Busti was van hetzelfde geweken, en confirmeerde zich geheel en al met der burger de Haan.*” The motion was defeated.<sup>240</sup>

RESIDENCE IN AMSTERDAM. The address *Herengracht op Kongingplein* was listed in his nomination for Amsterdam city council 31 December 1795. The research of Taco Tichelaar identified 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 (fig. 8 in the article) features houses located at Herengracht 435-445

<sup>236</sup> *Amsterdamse Courant*, 31 December 1795, p. 1. Digital access: [resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010716631:mpeg21:p001](https://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](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMGAMS01:001043004:00141) The Pizzagalli partnership was indicated by Slebos, see Slebos, “Een Amsterdams geslacht.” p. 110.

<sup>237</sup> “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](https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=dpo:3121:mpeg21:0363)

<sup>238</sup> The membership lists have been transcribed by De Witt, see Herman de Wit, “Amsterdam Transcriptie ledenlijst van de Vaderlandsche Sociëteit 1783-1787,” web site, December 2011. Digital content: [geneaknowhow.net/script/dewit/amsterdam-leden-vaderl-societeit-1783-1787.html](https://geneaknowhow.net/script/dewit/amsterdam-leden-vaderl-societeit-1783-1787.html) accessed 2022.03.22

<sup>239</sup> *Vaderlandsche Sociëteit/Doctrina et Amicitia, Naamregister, 1783-1809*, p. 53. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 684, folder 217. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/684/2.7.1/start/20/limit/10/highlight/9](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/684/2.7.1/start/20/limit/10/highlight/9)

<sup>240</sup> *Doctrina et Amicitia, Notulen der algemeene vergaderingen van het genootschap, 1st Deel* (1788-1822), p. 107. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 684, folder 1. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/684/1.1.1/start/50/limit/10/highlight/7](https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/684/1.1.1/start/50/limit/10/highlight/7)

with Bridge no. 29 spanning from the Koningsplein over the canal to Leidsestraat. Paul and Elisabeth Busti lived on the far side of the bridge, the eighth house from the corner.

- 111 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). It is likely that this family connection of Paul Busti was secondary to the merits of his business credentials based on the diverse group of investors in the HLC and Ten Cate's minor participation (8.9%).<sup>241</sup>

POLITICAL ASSOCIATION. Paul Busti's political alignment may also have been a factor in his later employment. Both Christiaan van Eeghen and Wilhem Willink were also among the sixty nominees for city council and the *Doctrina et Amicitia* club members likely shared a progressive political viewpoint.

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. Following the bursting of the land speculation bubble in 1795, bankruptcy or prison awaited Morris, Greenleaf, and Nicholson. Cazenove had made extensive deals with both Robert Morris and John Nicholson.<sup>242</sup> A comparison by Rik Frehen *et al.* of the Holland Land Company and the insolvent North American Land Company is useful in understanding the investment position of the HLC.<sup>243</sup>

The HLC was already in communication with Cazenove about his replacement and return to Europe prior to their offer to Paul Busti.<sup>244</sup>

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 Staphorst (21%), the Van Eeghens (14%), Ten Cate and Vollenhoven (9%), and Schimmelpenninck (4%).<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> See DESCRIPTION OF CAREER BY VAN EEGHEN on p. 44.

<sup>242</sup> Those doing business 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, largely absent to avoid creditors until his death in 1798). Morris was imprisoned in the 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](http://jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bh4bxv) A clipping of Greenleaf's bankruptcy hearing was included in Busti's February 1798 letter to Van Eeghen.

<sup>243</sup> 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](http://nber.org/chapters/c12795)

<sup>244</sup> Christian van Eeghen, "Copy of letter to Theophile Cazenove, no. 40, 5 June 1797," *Copybook of outgoing correspondence*, vol. 1 (1792-1805), p. 177. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder no. 73. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.2.1/start/110/limit/10/highlight/1](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.2.1/start/110/limit/10/highlight/1)

<sup>245</sup> The reorganization of the Holland Land Company (HLC) into stock company with 896 shares is described in Paul D. Evans, *HLC*, p. 34-35.

- 111 OFFER TO PAUL BUSTI. Paul Busti, Christiaan van Eeghen, and Mssr. Willink (likely Wilhem) had met previously to discuss the employment offer, but no date was indicated. The first letter to Paul Busti from the HLC offered him the position of *Agent General* on 5 July 1796.<sup>246</sup>

Paul Busti responded in November.<sup>247</sup>

DEPARTURE FROM AMSTERDAM. Paul and Elisabeth 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.<sup>248</sup>

Je me flatte, que Monsieur ten Cate, auquel j'ai communiqué de New York mon abordage sur le continent d'Amérique 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 on 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, Netherlands on 15 December 1796.<sup>249</sup> Texel is a barrier island along the coast of the Netherlands and the Rede van Texel, located about 100 km north of Amsterdam, served as an important transit point for ships crossing the Atlantic or heading to Africa or Asia.

Less likely (due to the shorter travel time of 49 days), the Bustis could have traveled aboard the packet ship *Birmingham*, Capt. Miller, that arrived in New York City also on 20 February 1797 after sailing from Amsterdam.<sup>250</sup>

- 112 JOHN CHARLES DELPRAT (1789-1856), also known as Jean-Charles Delprat and as Letje or Charlot in Elisabeth (May) Busti's letters. Delprat was at first educated in Philadelphia and later at a French language boarding school run by Godfrey Dorfeuille in Germantown.<sup>251</sup> At fifteen he began work as a clerk for the Gratz brothers. Simon and Hyman Gratz were second-generation

<sup>246</sup> The offer of employment was communicated in a letter from Van Eeghen. Christian van Eeghen, "Copy of letter to Paul Busti, 5 July 1796." *Copybook of outgoing correspondence*, vol. 1 (1792-1805), p. 179-80. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 73. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.2.1/start/110/limit/10/highlight/2](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.1.2.1/start/110/limit/10/highlight/2)

The proforma employment contract from the HLC was sent by Christian van Eeghen, "Letter to Paul Busti, 10 July 1796." Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder no. 110. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.2.2.1/start/0/limit/10/highlight/1](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.2.2.1/start/0/limit/10/highlight/1)

<sup>247</sup> Response to Offer. Paul Busti, "Letter to Chrétien [Christiaan] van Eeghen, 8 November 1796." Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder 110, Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.2.2.1/start/0/limit/10/highlight/4](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/1.3.2.2.1/start/0/limit/10/highlight/4)

<sup>248</sup> They arrived in Philadelphia on 3 March 1797 after two days traveling from New York City. They had spent ten days in New York recuperating from the voyage that Busti noted had lasted 67 days. Paul Busti, "Letter to Van Eeghen, no. 1, Philadelphia, 3 March 1797." See note 226.

<sup>249</sup> *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/](http://loc.gov/item/sn83025881/1797-02-21/ed-1/)

<sup>250</sup> *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/](http://loc.gov/item/sn83025881/1797-02-23/ed-1/)

<sup>251</sup> "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](http://keepingphiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/339-E-Wister-nom.pdf) accessed 2022.03.22.

merchants prominent in Philadelphia with offices at 232 High Street (now Market Street).<sup>252</sup> In 1806 Delprat traveled as a clerk and supercargo from New York to the East Indies.<sup>253</sup> In 1808 at age nineteen, Delprat returned to Europe. Later he returned to America, traveled again to Europe, and in 1819 returned to America and settled in Baltimore.<sup>254</sup>

BURIAL GROUND. Christ Church has two cemeteries, Elisabeth and Paul Busti are interred at the Burial Ground located on Arch Street at 5<sup>th</sup> street, but there is no extant grave marker. It is usual not to find a headstone for someone buried in this cemetery. Elisabeth Busti had attended Christ Church in Philadelphia, which was similar to the English church in Amsterdam.

DISCOUNTED RETURN. A 1799 baptismal record in Amsterdam includes Paul and Elisabeth Busti:

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.

We have ruled out that either were present as Paul Busti signed correspondence in Philadelphia in this period and we consider that if Elisabeth Busti were present then her maiden name would not likely have been misspelled in the baptismal record.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Toni Pitock, "Michael Gratz" *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, German Historical Institute, web page, revised 22 Aug. 2018. Digital content: [immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entries/michael-gratz/](http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entries/michael-gratz/) accessed 2022.03.22; and *The Philadelphia Directory, 1804*, p. 98. Digital access: [archive.org/details/philadelphiadire1804phil](http://archive.org/details/philadelphiadire1804phil)

<sup>253</sup> Paul Busti, "Letter to H. J. Huidekoper, 25 August 1806." Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 333, folder no. 434. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.3.1.1/start/160/limit/10/highlight/3](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.2.4.3.1.1/start/160/limit/10/highlight/3)

<sup>254</sup> Daniel Henri Delprat, "Généalogie de la famille Delprat," *Bulletin de la Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes*, vol. 3, The Hague, 1888, p. 375-7. Digital edition: [hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah267y](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah267y)

<sup>255</sup> Rooms-Katolieke Kerk "de Fransche Kapel" (Boommak, Amsterdam), *Baptisms (1662-1806)*, p. 660. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive no. 5001, inventory no. 1.2, folder no. 334, p. 660. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.5/start/330/limit/10/highlight/3](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5001/1.2.5/start/330/limit/10/highlight/3)

Paul Busti wrote letters placing him in Philadelphia during this period. For example, he replied on 27 May in Philadelphia to a letter of Cazenove of 24 May from New York. Digital access: [archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.1.4/start/120/limit/10/highlight/10](http://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/333/2.1.1.4/start/120/limit/10/highlight/10)

There is no indication that the Bustis were godparents *in absentia* – generally a proxy would have been required. The connection between the Brentano Semenza family and Paul and Elisabeth Busti is not clear.

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

- 112 MAGNANI. Ferdinando 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.<sup>256</sup>

ARCHIVE ACCESS. The safekeeping of the records of the Holland Land Company was detailed by Franciska Safran.<sup>257</sup> 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.<sup>258</sup> 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.

- 113 DIGITIZATION OF AMERICAN ARCHIVES. As noted above, Paul Busti complained to Joseph Ellicott about Ellicott's failure to return Company documents.<sup>259</sup> 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.

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<sup>256</sup> Frank Severance (ed.), "Extracts from Joseph Ellicott's Letter Books and early correspondence," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, vol. 26, 1922, p. 49-168. Digital access: <hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015028538216> Many letters are transcribed in Frank Severance (ed.), "Holland Land Co. and Canal Construction in Western New York," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, vol. 14, 1910. Digital access: <hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31158006571094> In addition, selections from Ellicott's survey notes have been published. Joseph Ellicott, et al, and Robert W Bingham (ed.), *Reports of Joseph Ellicott as Chief of Survey (1797-1800) and as Agent (1800-1821) of the Holland Land Company's Purchase in Western New York*, Buffalo Historical Society, 1937, 1941.

<sup>257</sup> Franciska Safran (1936-2020), "The Preservation of the Holland Land Company Records," *New York History*, vol. 69, no. 2, April 1988, p. 163-83.

<sup>258</sup> 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](fredonia.libguides.com/ld.php?content_id=23275268) accessed 2022.05.15.

<sup>259</sup> Paul Busti, "Letter to Joseph Ellicott, Philadelphia 15 March 1822." See note 45.

## Map of Milan



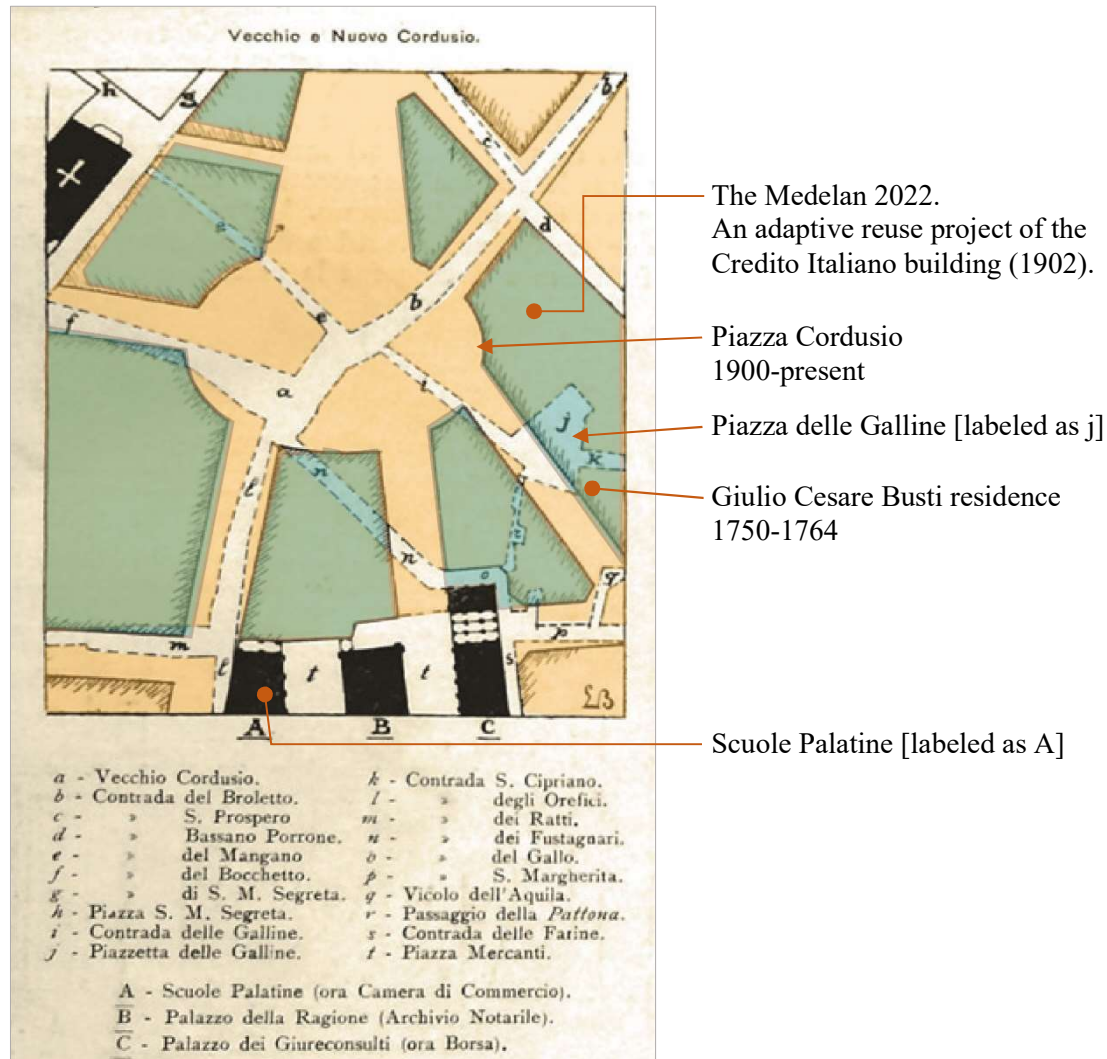
Lavelli, Arcangelo. *Pianta della città di Milano*, 1778. Harvard map collection, Harvard University. Digital access: [id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/scannedmaps/44-990115012900203941](https://id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/scannedmaps/44-990115012900203941)

The outer city walls of Milan and Amsterdam enclosed a similar area, 7 km<sup>2</sup> (3 square miles). In the mid-1700s, Milan had about half the population of Amsterdam, but its urban density was similar. In Milan, the land between the former Medieval walls and the Spanish walls remained primarily agricultural during the childhood of Paolo Busti. The *fossa interna* (*Cerchia dei Navigli*) connected to a large canal network and remained an important feature of the city until 1930.

The gardens of P. A. Zappa were located in Sesto S. Giovanni en route to Monza.



## Map of Milan – Piazza delle Galline



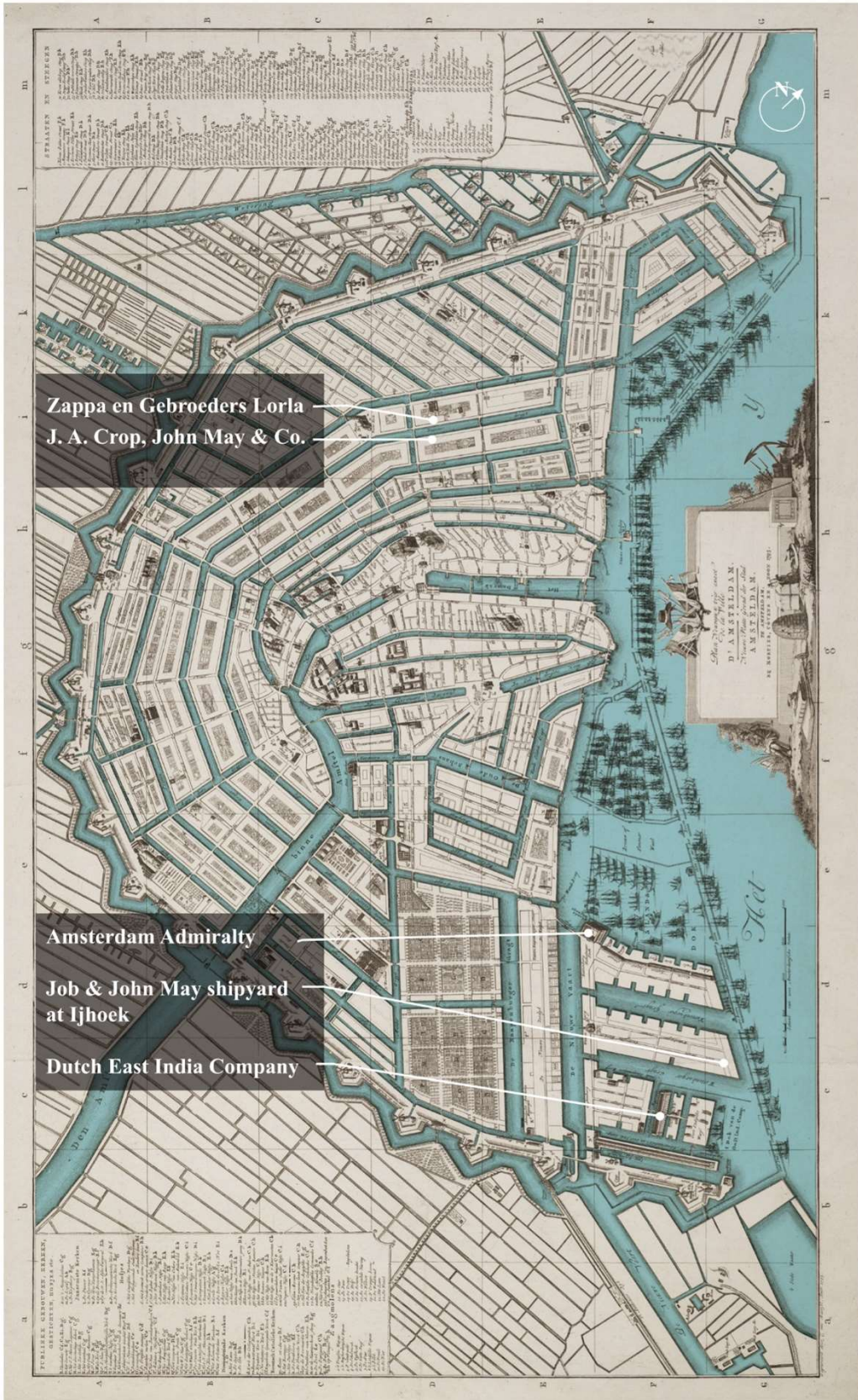
Plan from Beltrami, Luca and L. Tenenti, "Il Palazzo 'Venezia' sede delle Assicurazioni Generali in Milano," *L'edilizia moderna: periodico mensile di architettura pratica e costruzione*, no. 5, May 1900, p. 33-40. Color added. Digital access: [internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it%2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3AN%3ACFI0352441\\_14](http://internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it%2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3AN%3ACFI0352441_14) [p. 3/12]

Approximate location of the childhood home of Paolo Busti. This small square, Piazza delle Galline was also called Pasquaro delle Galline because of the pascolo (grass) on the church courtyard. It disappeared in the urban renewal of the late nineteenth century that created the elliptical Piazza Cordusio. The location of the Busti residence is today about the center of The Medelan, a new retail and office complex between Via Bassano Porrone, Via S. Protaso, Largo S. Margherita, Via Tommaso Grossi near the Piazza Cordusio Metro station in Milan.

An argument against Paolo Busti's education at the Palatine School is its proximity to the Busti household. Paolo Busti is listed noted in the Status Animarum at college indicating that he was at a boarding school.

The urban redevelopment was detailed by Maria Antonietta Crippa. "Milano moderna, le sue piazze centrali, lo snodo del Cordusio." in *Libri & Documenti. Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Castello Sforzesco - Milano*, vol. XXVI, no. 3, 2000, p. 12-35.

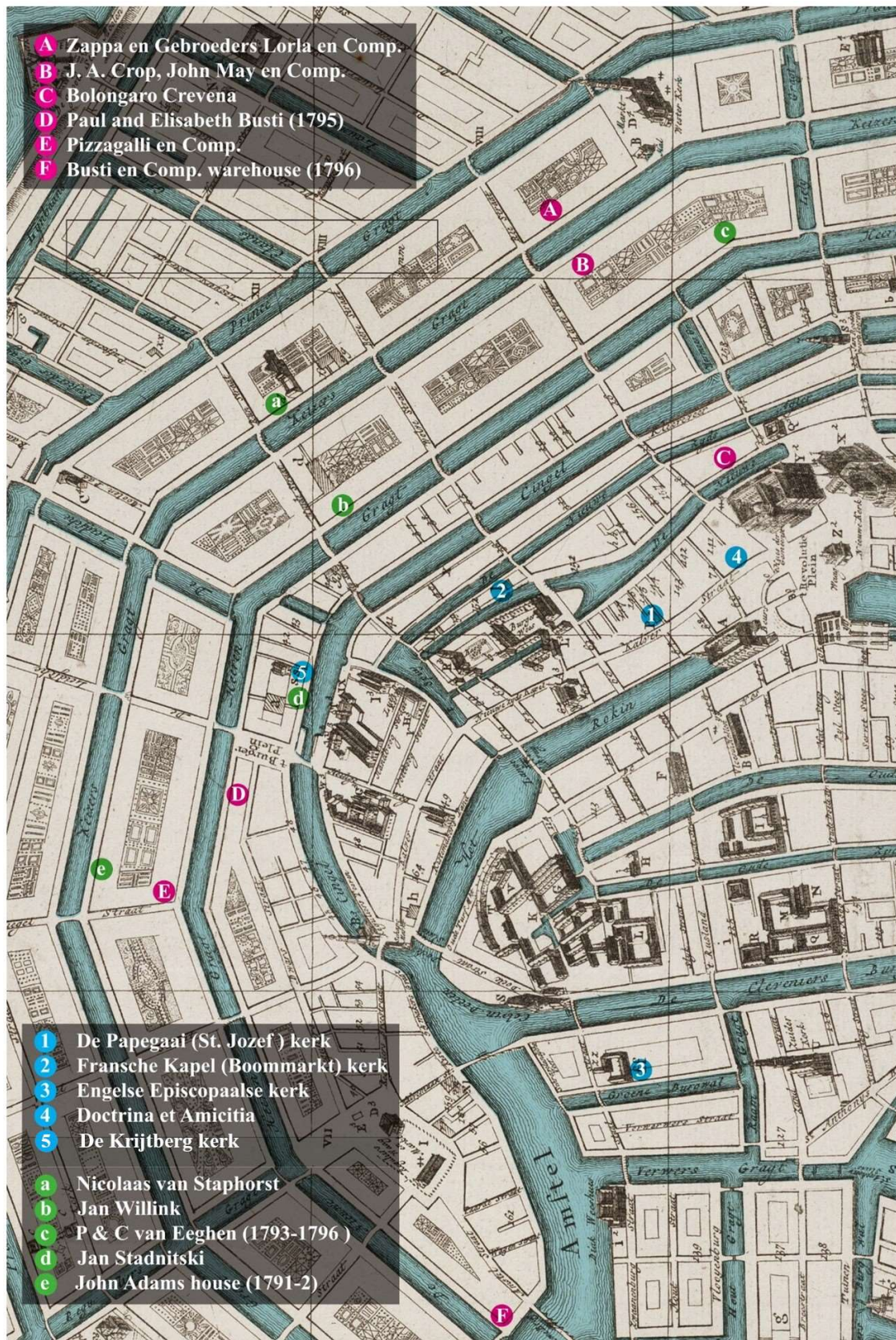
## Map of Amsterdam



Cornelilus van Baarsel. *Plan Nouveau & très exact de la Ville D'Amsteldam. Nieuwe Platte Grond der Stad Amsteldam.* Amsterdam: Mortier, Covens en Zoon, 1795. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: [archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/3ab3c109-6959-2186-1b5a-db7f56774d9c](https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/3ab3c109-6959-2186-1b5a-db7f56774d9c)

Note: color and notes added by John Everett Jones.

### Map of Amsterdam - Detail



- A** Zappa en Gebroeders Lorla en Comp.
- B** J. A. Crop, John May en Comp.
- C** Bolongaro Crevena
- D** Paul and Elisabeth Busti (1795)
- E** Pizzagalli en Comp.
- F** Busti en Comp. warehouse (1796)

- 1** De Papegaai (St. Jozef ) kerk
- 2** Fransche Kapel (Boommart) kerk
- 3** Engelse Episcopaaalse kerk
- 4** Doctrina et Amicitia
- 5** De Krijtberg kerk
- a** Nicolaas van Staphorst
- b** Jan Willink
- c** P & C van Eeghen (1793-1796 )
- d** Jan Stadnitski
- e** John Adams house (1791-2)

Cornelilus van Baarsel. *Plan Nouveau & très exact de la Ville D'Amsteldam. Nieuwe Platte Grond der Stad Amsteldam.* Amsterdam: Mortier, Covens en Zoon, 1795. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Digital access: [archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/3ab3c109-6959-2186-1b5a-db7156774d9c](https://beeldbank/detail/3ab3c109-6959-2186-1b5a-db7156774d9c)

Note: color and notes added by John Everett Jones.

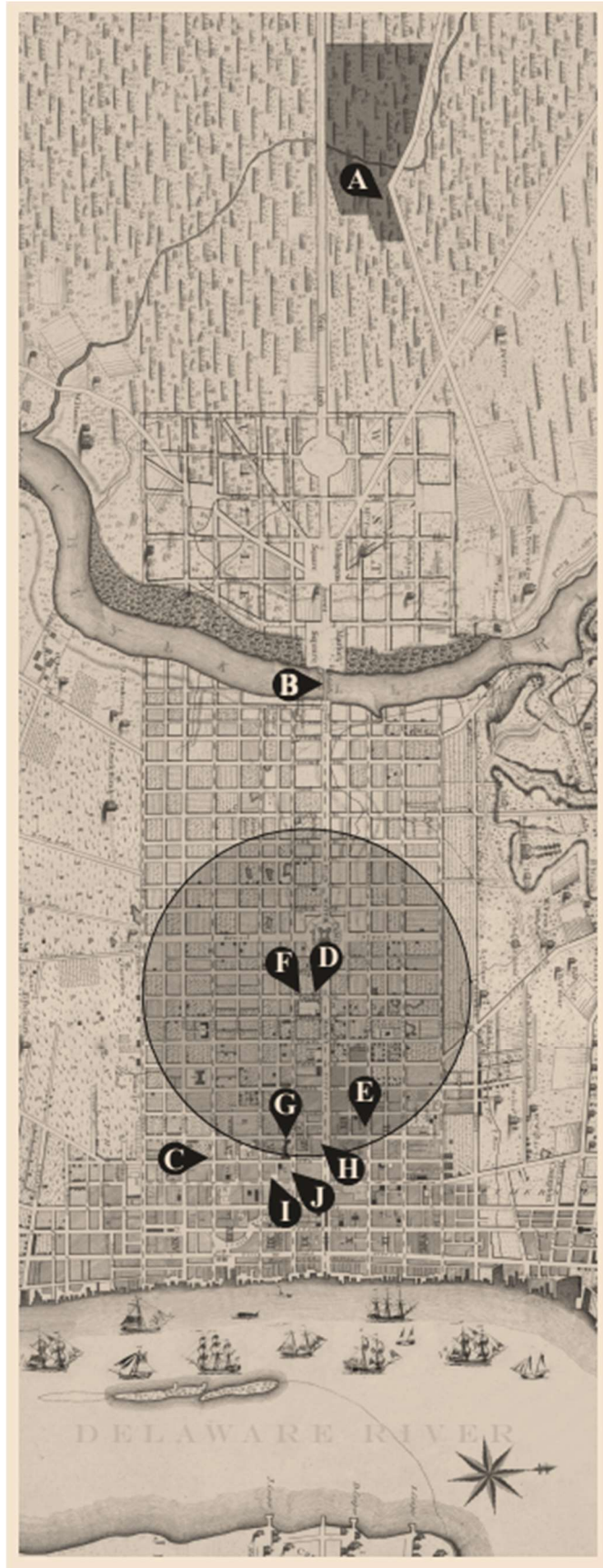
## Map of Philadelphia

- (A) Busti House, residence from about 1810-1824, Blockley Retreat Farm (44.5 ha/110 acres). Now used as the Lee Cultural Center, 4328 Haverford Avenue at 44<sup>th</sup> Street.
- (B) Schuylkill Permanent Bridge, High (Market) Street, 1805-1875.
- (C) HLC office, from about 1797 to after 1824, and Busti residence, 1797-1800.
- (D) Busti residence, 12th Street, 1801-1806. Rented from John Dunlap.
- (E) Busti residence, 218 Mulberry (Arch) Street, 1807.
- (F) Busti residence, 12th Street, 1808-1809. Rented from John Dunlap.
- (G) U. S. Congress Hall, 1783-1800.
- (H) Presidents House, 1790-1800.
- (I) First Bank of the United States, 1791-1811.
- (J) Second Bank of the United States, 1816-1836.

Radius of circle is 1 km (0.6 miles)  
approximately 15 minutes walking

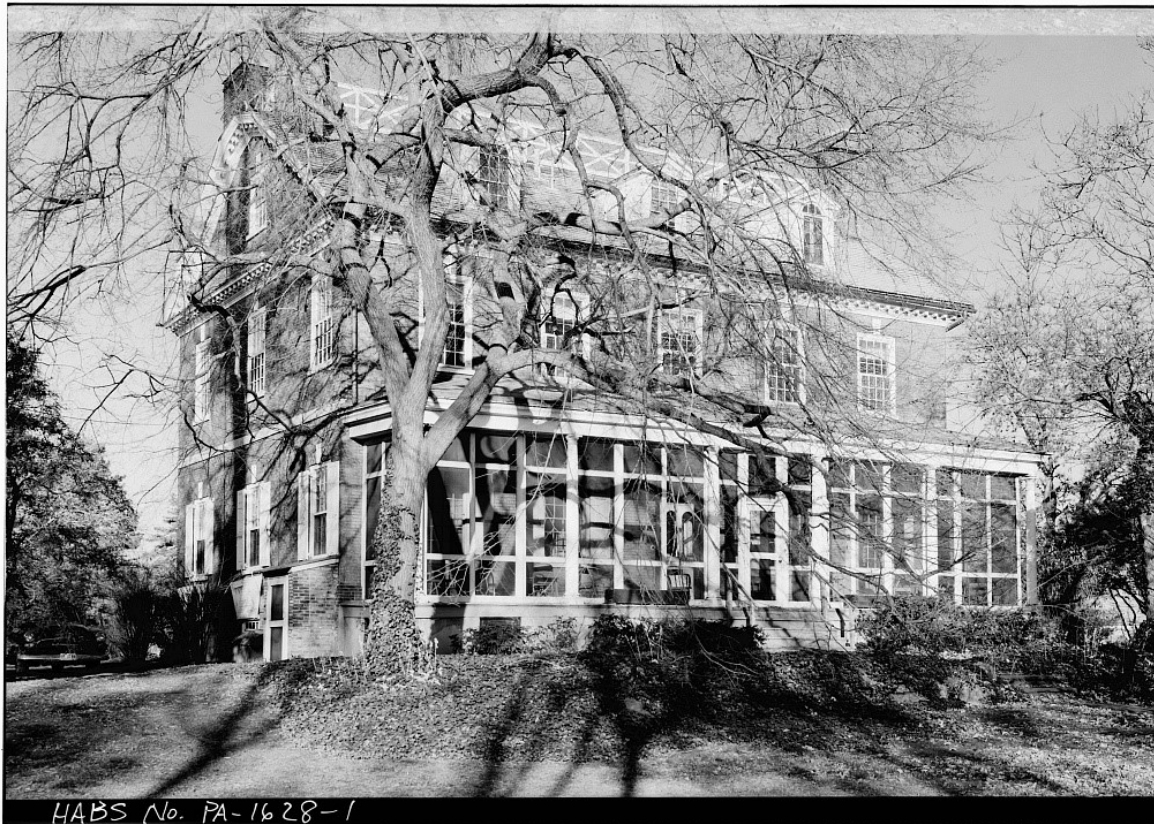
John Everett Jones, "Busti Residences," 2022. This is an adaptation based on the Varle map, 1802. Compare to Charles P. Varle. "To the citizens of Philadelphia, this new plan of the city and its environs is respectfully dedicated by the editor." Philadelphia: Varle, 1802. Map. Collection of the Library of Congress. Digital access: [lcn.loc.gov/2018590113](https://lcn.loc.gov/2018590113)

The Varle map is also available in a hand-colored version, see David Rumsey Map Collection, reference no. 5006.000. Digital access: [davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~205~20052](https://davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~205~20052)





Unknown artist. "Busti-Kirkbride house, West Philadelphia," watercolor, ca. 1820. Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).



National Park Service. "Paul Busti House, Front (South) Side" photograph, 1958. Historic American Buildings Survey, PA-1628-1. Digital content: [loc.gov/pictures/item/pa1127/](https://loc.gov/pictures/item/pa1127/) Note: the porch was removed about 1960.



John Everett Jones, "Busti House," photograph, 2021. The house now serves as home to the Lee Cultural Center.

An account of the house in 1902 was included in a letter to the Batavia newspaper:

For a period of sixty years, the residence, or mansion house, of Paul Busti has been the quarters assigned to the physician of the hospital, and it is still a commodious mansion. In the hall of my residence is a small vignette likeness of Paul Busti. The house stands in West Philadelphia, and was built in 1794, and has undergone but little change since the residence of Mr. Busti. We know little of him except by tradition, although his company may have had intimate relations with him. The hospital gardener for many years after the hospital took possession of the property was astonished at the enormous amount of champagne corks ploughed up in the garden, which would convey the impression that Mr. Busti may have entertained his friends in the generous style of that day. John B. Chapin. "The House of Paul Busti," *Batavia Daily News*, 13 September 1902, p. 5.

feb 14—

### The Country Seat, Farm and Woollen Factory,

Late the property of Paul Busti, deceased,  
**WILL BE SOLD,**  
 At the Merchants' Coffee House, if not previously disposed of at Private Sale,  
*On Monday evening, the 14th of March,*  
 At 7 o'clock.

**THIS** valuable and well known Property is situated in Blockley Township, between the Westchester and Haverford roads, and about one and a half miles from the Permanent Bridge.

The Farm contains one hundred and four acres, enclosed within a good palisade fence, of which about 15 acres are in timber and the residue is subdivided into convenient fields. It is well watered and the ground is in a high state of cultivation; upwards of five hundred young mulberry trees are growing on the place. No situation in the vicinity of the city exceeds it for its salubrity.



**The Mansion House** is of brick, well finished, two stories high, four rooms on a floor, divided by a large hall, with a piazza on the southern front. It contains every desirable comfort and convenience for the accommodation of a large family.



**The Tenant's House** is commodious and conveniently situated. The large brick coach house and stable is nearly new; it has stalls for twelve horses, and a capacious hay loft.

The Barn, Cow Stable, Shed, Cyder Press, Milk House, Wash House, Smoke House, &c. are in good order. The gardens are well stocked with fruit trees, grape vines, strawberry and asparagus beds; there is a green house and hot beds, ice house, fish pond, &c. On the south-east corner of the farm, on the Westchester road, there is a small Store House.



**The Woollen Factory** is situated on the south side of the Westchester road, near the S W corner of the farm. It is a substantial stone building, well finished, and in complete order, with its machinery, dam, &c., and is at present in the occupany of J. B. Thomas.

**ALSO,**



**A House and Lot, in Hamilton Village,** situate on the north side of Washington street, having a front of 150 by 500 feet depth. The House is of stone, rough cast, two stories high, and piazza in front; on the rear of the lot is a frame Building, occupied as a manufactory, by Isaac Sandford.

Immediate possession will be given. The Tenant will show the property, and the terms and conditions be made known at No. 132, Walnut street.

**J. J. VANDERKEMP,**  
 Executor

feb 14—dtf

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 **There has been laid before the**

**By T. B. FREEMAN & SON,**  
No. 8, South Third street.

Public Sales of Books, Hardware and Fancy Jewellery, &c.

T. B. Freeman and Son respectfully acquaint the city and country dealers, that they intend regularly to hold public sales of Books, during the warm season, only on Saturday evenings, and from the arrangements which they have made, they will commence the sale of hardware and plated goods, on Monday the 31st August.

N. B. Cash advanced on all goods, if required, in anticipation of public sale.

**Public Sales, of New and Second-hand Furniture,**

Are held every Wednesday and Saturday morning at half past 10 o'clock, at the auction mart of T. B. Freeman & Son, No. 8, South Third street. Those who are desirous of procuring new and fashionable furniture, at a considerably less price than the first cost, will have an opportunity of doing so, and at the same time will find a ready sale for such articles as they may wish to dispose of.

A very extensive assortment of the best cabinet ware, fancy chairs, looking glasses and other miscellaneous articles, may be obtained at private sale, at the lowest auction prices.

N. B. Cash advanced on all articles intended for public sale, if required.

**No. —, Freeman's Public Sales.**

On Saturday morning.

At the auction mart, No. 8, South Third street, at half past 10 o'clock, will be sold,

Sideboards, card tables, bureaus, chairs, toilet, mantle, pier and other glasses, wash stands, breakfast, dinner and kitchen and other tables, prints, paintings, two stores, one time piece, beds, bedding and bedsteads, &c.

On Saturday morning,

At half past 10 o'clock, will be sold, at the auction mart, No. 8, South Third street,

Sundry articles, the property of Benj. Bolitho, deceased, among which are—1 harpsichord, of singular construction and highly valued by the late owner; 2 pianos, 3 flutes, 1 spy glass, 1 piano stool, sundry foot stools, liquor cases, and Eolian harps, &c.

**A Valuable Library of Books,**

In the French, Italian, Latin, Dutch and English languages, comprising a choice collection of rare works, belonging to the late Paul Busti, deceased, will be sold, at Freeman's auction mart, No. 8, South Third street,

On Saturday evening, 28th inst.

Curtius, Suetonius, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Florus, Justinian, Græcorum Republica, Dionysius, Sibyllina Ora, Paterculus, Olaus Magnus, Jerusalem Liberata, La Divin Comme de dauto, Il pastor fidant, Gli Animali, Il padre di famiglia, Tasso Opere, Opere di Boecacci, Dizionario di Marini, Ilistoria Venetiana, Ilistoria di Italia, Teatro Tragico, Poesie Drammatiche dei Zeno, Historia del Concilia Tridentino, Durandi Opera, Orlando Furioso, Raccolta di tutti antichi poetri Latini, Ill Petrarsca, Italia Liberata. L'Imitazioni di Cristo, Disionario Sterica, Historia del Conquesta Mexico, Historia di Commaghio, Vite de Visio, Teatro Italiano, Opera di F. Albergati Raccolta di letteri Bentivoglio, Libro di Novelle, Oeuvres du Rousseau, Roman Dictionnaire A'Histoire Naturelle, Voyages de Tavernier, Cooke, Parke, Humboldt, Moore, Haynal, &c. La Henriade, Revolution d'Anglitterre, Confessions de Rousseau, Les Amours de Daphne et Cloes, Memoirs du Baron Tott, Sermons du Massillon et Bourdaloue, Memoirs Richelieu, Alberti Italian and French Dictionnaire, Dictionnaire Francaise, Espaniote et Latin, Baretti Italian and Francaise Dictionnaire, Oeuvres de Frederic 2d, L'Histoire Charles 5th, Les Amours de Henri Quinzi, Oeuvres de Mirabeau, Boyer's French and English Dictionary, Oeuvres de Voltaire, Theatre de Voltaire, Romans de Voltaire, Oeuvres de Regnard, de Castor, de Moliere, de Racine, de Corneille, &c.—Sets of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, Village Sermons, Lempriere's Biographical Dictionary, Trumbull's Works, Domestic Encyclopdia, Confucius, Law Dictionary, Tacitus, &c.

**No. 2401, Freeman's Furniture sales.**

On Wednesday morning,

The 1st day of September next, at the late residence of Paul Busti, Esq. deceased, about one mile and a half from the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge, on the road leading from Elliott's Tavern, commonly called the Hartford road, at 11 o'clock,

The neat well kept Household Furniture of the late proprietor, consisting of—Mantle and pier glasses, elegant Brussels carpet, sideboard, chairs, dining, card and breakfast tables, very elegant highly finished mantle clock, do. do. large pyramid hall clock, dinner set of best Canton China, tea set of French China, paintings, prints and drawings, East India matting, beds, bedsteads and bedding, bureaus, wash stands, and other numerous household articles, with a general assortment of kitchen furniture, &c.

Immediately after the above sale, will be sold, a quantity of Madeira, Claret and other Wines, an extensive assortment of Orange and Lemon Trees, and various Plants.

**By T. B. FREEMAN & SON,**  
No. 8, South Third street.

A CARD.

T. B. Freeman & Son respectfully acquaint the public, that the sale of furniture, plate, paintings, wine and other effects of Paul Busti, Esq. deceased, will commence to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock, at his late residence, unless the weather should prove unfavourable, in which case it will be adjourned till the next fair day. May be viewed this afternoon.

**No. 2401, Freeman's Furniture sales.**

On Wednesday morning,

The 1st day of September next, at the late residence of Paul Busti, Esq. deceased, about one mile and a half from the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge, on the road leading from Elliott's Tavern, commonly called the Hartford road, at 11 o'clock,

The neat well kept Household Furniture of the late proprietor, consisting of—Mantle and pier glasses, elegant Brussels carpet, sideboard, chairs, dining, card and breakfast tables, very elegant highly finished mantle clock, do. do. large pyramid hall clock, dinner set of best Canton China, tea set of French China, paintings, prints and drawings, East India matting, beds, bedsteads and bedding, bureaus, wash stands, and other numerous household articles, with a general assortment of kitchen furniture, &c.

Immediately after the above sale, will be sold, a quantity of Madeira, Claret and other Wines, an extensive assortment of Orange and Lemon Trees, and various Plants.

**Sale of Private Library of Books, continued.**

Wednesday evening, Sept. 1,

Encyclopedie Methodique, 35 vols. new edition, Dictionnaire Economique, 3 vs. folio, plates, Opere Dei Cardinal Bembo, 2 vs. folio, Duflet's French Dictionary, 3 vs. Lempriere's Biographical Dictionary, 2 vs. Rondeau's French and Dutch Dictionary, 4to. Marini's do. 4to. Baretti's Italian and English Dictionary, 4to. three folio volumes of blank check books of the Bank of the United States, Nouveau Atlas, 2 large folio volumes, coloured, Clarke's Commentaries on the Bible, complete, Playfair's General Historical and Geographical Atlas, new ed. setts of the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews, Blair's Sermons, Domestic Encyclopdia, Laws of Pennsylvania, Silliman's Journal, Brooke's Gazetteer, Mathematical Dictionary, Deel Vanderlandsche Histoire, 20 vs. pts. Hollandsche Spectator, 12 vs. Opere di Zeno, 9 vs. Opere di Durandi, 4 vs. &c.

**No. 2409 Freeman's Public Sales.**

HOUSEHOLD FURNITRE.

On Thursday morning, at 10 o'clock, at the North east corner of Seventh and Spruce streets, will be sold,

The household furniture of a family removing, consisting of sideboard, dining, card and breakfast tables, carpets, chairs, looking glasses, bureaus, bedsteads, bedding, wash stands, andirons, shovel and tongs, paintings and prints, matting, &c.

Also, A quantity of kitchen furniture.

**HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.**

On Thursday morning,

At the auction mart, No. 8, South Third street, at 12 o'clock, will be sold,

A quantity of household furniture, removed from the dwelling house of the owner to the auction mart for the convenience of sale—Sideboard, dining, breakfast and card tables, bureaus and washstands, 1 carpet, looking glasses, Liverpool ware, &c.

Also, kitchen furniture.

**No. —, Freeman's Public Sales.**

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.

On Friday morning,

At 10 o'clock, at No. 158, west side of Tenth street, near Spruce,

The household Furniture, late Victor Pepin's, consisting of—1 sideboard, 1 sofa, dining and other tables, prints and paintings, andirons, shovel and tongs, mantle ornaments, beds, bedsteads and bedding, chairs, &c. Also, a quantity of kitchen furniture.

On Saturday morning, Sept. 4,

At half past 10 o'clock, will be sold, at the auction mart, No. 8, South Third street,

Sundry articles, the property of Benj. Bolitho, deceased, among which are—1 harpsichord, of singular construction and highly valued by the late owner; 1 piano, 3 flutes, 1 spy glass, 1 piano stool, sundry foot stools, liquor cases, and Eolian harps, &c.

**Irish Linens, Brown Hollands, &c.**

**By T. B. FREEMAN & SON,**  
No. 8, South Third street.

A CARD.

T. B. Freeman and Son acquaint the public, that the sale of the valuable and extensive library of Paul Busti, Esq. deceased, will be closed on Saturday night, 4th inst.

**No. —, Freeman's Public Sales.**

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**LIBRARY OF BOOKS.**

Saturday evening, 4th inst.

Saurin's Sermons, 9 vs. Clarke's Sermons, 8 vols. Playfair's Ancient & Modern Atlas, 1822, Brooke's Gazetteer, History of Pennsylvania, 2 vols. Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, Journal of Science and the Arts, 10 vs. Agricultural Society, 2 vols. Edwards's West Indies, 4 vols. Farmer's Assistant, Trumbull's Works, Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, Shakspeare, 10 vols. pts. Jacob's Law Dictionary, Carr's Holland, Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, Mavor's Voyages and Travels, 24 vs. Goldsmith's Animated Nature, 6 vs. Lond. ed. Sterne's Works, 6 vs. Pegregrine Pickle, 4 vs. Don Quixote, 4 vols. a splendid edition of the Vulgate Bible, Paris ed. folio, &c.

**By JAMES WOOD,**

No. 32, South Front street.

READMADE SALE.

“Advertisement by T. B. Freeman & Son,”  
*The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 September 1824, p. 3. Note list of books.

“Advertisement by T. B. Freeman & Son,”  
*The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 August 1824, p. 3. Note list of additional book titles.

“Advertisement by T. B. Freeman & Son,”  
*National Gazette and Literary Register* (Philadelphia), 26 August 1824, p. 3. Note list of books.