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Lost and Found: Rediscovering a Seventeenth-Century Map of New Jersey

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This narrative details the first complete map of New Jersey, one that identified the locations of settlements of indigenous people. Compiled¹ by Hessel Gerritsz, a Dutch master cartographer, this relatively unknown 1616 map of New Jersey does not appear in the four major publications that exhibit New Jersey maps, published between 1973 and 2014.

Adriaen Block was in trouble. During one of his trading expeditions, in the winter of 1614, his ship, *Tijger*, caught fire and burned down to the waterline. Stranded in uncharted territory, one of the crew members, Herman Hillebrantsen, was tasked with building a new vessel from the wreckage. Using salvaged material from the *Tijger*, Hillebrantsen built the new yacht *Onrust* (translated to mean "Restless" and pronounced "On-Roost"), which is believed to be one of the first ships made in North America. Cornelis Hendricksz led the *Onrust*'s expedition for two years, sailing up what would be known as the Delaware River and exploring much of present-day coastal New Jersey and trading with its native people. During the Spring of 1616, Cornelis Hendricksen also explored the Delaware River in another vessel, *IJzeren Varcken* or Iron Pig.² When he returned to the Netherlands, Hendricksz and his crew reported their experiences to a cartographer, who used those findings to draw a map of the region—the first complete map of New Jersey. This

¹ CJ (Kees) Zandvliet, the author of "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century," stated Hessel Gerritsz was "presumably the compiler" of the map. See Kees Zandvliet, *The History of Cartography, Volume 3, Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed., David Woodward, Vol. 3, Part 2, Chapter 46, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1454.

² Martine Gosselink, *New York New Amsterdam: The Dutch Origins of Manhattan* (Amsterdam: National Archives of the Netherlands, 2009), 50.



article will focus on the expedition that led to the creation of this map, the detailed settlements it included, its creator, its elusiveness throughout history, and its proper place in the early history of New Jersey.

On the 19th of August, in 1616, Cornelis Hendricksz's report of his discoveries was read by the States General, the governing body of the Dutch Republic of the United Provinces. He chronicled his trade with the "inhabitants," which consisted of "sables, furs, and robes of other skins." He found a country "full of trees, to wit-Oaks, hickory, pines; which trees were, in some places, covered with vines." He also reported seeing "Bucks and does, turkeys, and partridges" and found "the climate of said Country very temperate, judging it to be temperate as that of this country, Holland." The

"Map of a part of New Netherland, in addition to the newly discovered country, baye with drye rivers, laying at a height of 38 to 40 degrees, by yachts called Onrust, skipper Cornelis Hendricx, van Munnickendam." National Archives of the Netherlands. Reproduced with permission.

³ John Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York; Procured in Holland, England, and France*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1856), 14.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

report also detailed his interactions with the native people, explaining that, "He also traded for, and bought, from the Inhabitants, the Minquaes, three persons, being people belonging to this company; which three persons were employed in the service of the Mohawks and Mahicans; giving for them kettles, beads, and merchandise."

This report was part of a request to expand the trading territory of the New Netherland Company in 1616.⁷ In an appendix to that request, Hendricksz included a map⁸ created by Hessel Gerritsz, a published author, engraver, and master cartographer.



The map is the first complete map of New Jersey and the first one that identified the locations of six settlements of indigenous people in what is now New Jersey. It also included settlements of indigenous people in modern-day New York and Delaware, but this article will focus most closely on the New Jersey portions of the map. The northernmost portion of the map shows *Maquaas*. These are not Lenape or Munsee but the Mohawks. They spoke an Iroquois language and lived north of the Mahicans. To the south and east of the Maquaas are the Mahicans.

⁶ John Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 14.

⁷ Ibid., 12.

⁸ "519 Map of a part of New Netherland, in addition to the newly discovered country, baye with drye rivers, laying at a height of 38 to 40 degrees, by yachts called Onrust, skipper Cornelis Hendricx, van Munnickendam," http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/4.VEL/invnr/519/file/NL-HaNA_4.VEL_519, National Archives of the Netherlands.

⁹ Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsees: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 9–10.

An Algonquian people, they occupied a large area of land and lived on both sides of the Hudson River, from the Catskills to Lake Champlain. ¹⁰ Between the Maquaas and the Mahicans is Nassau, which was Fort Nassau, present-day Albany. ¹¹ Then moving north to south is "Steur Hook," or Sturgeon Hook, near Van Wies Point. *Kinderhook* means "children's hook," followed by *hertenrack*, *hinnerack*, *Oosterhook*, and *klaverack*, which is translated to "clover reach." ¹²



Shown by four longhouses are the Sennecas, who were also not related to the Lenape or Munsee but the Six Nations, or the Iroquois League. East of the Senneca settlement are the Woranecks and Waranawanka. The word *woraneck* has been translated to mean a "very fine stream, one without rapids," or "may refer to the quiet upper course of the Walkill River." The Esopus are located underneath the Waroneck. The 1616 map is the earliest European reference to Esopus as a location identified as the site of multiple Indian communities. ¹⁴

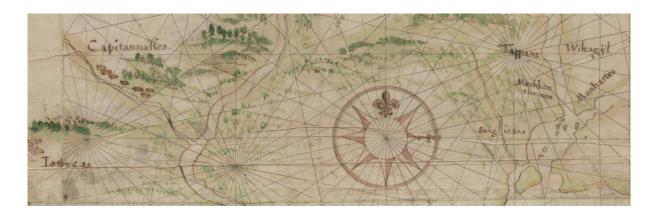
¹⁰ Herbert C. Kraft, *The Lenape Archaeology, History, and Ethnography* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986), 121–122.

¹¹ Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsees: A History* (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2005), 47.

¹² John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of New York*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874), 757.

¹³ Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsees: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 2005), 33.

¹⁴ Grumet, *The Munsees*, 308.



South of the Woranecks are the Tappans. This was a universal term used by the colonists to describe the local population living near "present day Nyack and on the west bank of the Tappan Zee." The word *Tappan* is derived from the Lenape word *Thupane*, which means "cold stream issuing from springs," and was used for more than 20 years. East of the Tappans is Wikagyl, the location of Wickers Creek, a mile-long stream that flows through Dobbs Ferry and into the Hudson River. It is the anglicized version of *Wiechquaesgeck*, meaning "end of the swamp," and was also the original name of Dobbs Ferry. *Wiechaquaesgeck* was a term used by local colonists to describe the native people living in Westchester. 19

South of the Tappans are the Mechkentiwoom people. Nothing more than their proximity to the Manhates is known about this band. Moving down the map, one can see the Manhates, or Manahatta, south of Wikagyl, which is a well-known identification. In 1610, it was the first

¹⁵ Grumet, The Munsees, 312.

¹⁶ John Heckewelder and Peter S. Du Ponceau, "Names Which the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, Who Once Inhabited This Country, Had Given Rivers, Streams, Places &c &c. within the Now States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey Maryland and Virginia: And Also Names of Chieftains and Distinguished Men of That Nation: With the Significations of Those Names, and Biographical Sketches of Some of Those Men," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 4, (1834): 375, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1004837.

¹⁷ Robert S. Grumet, *Manhattan to Minisink: American Indian Place Names in Greater New York and Vicinity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 186.

¹⁸ Ibid. See also Grumet, *The Munsees*, 309-310.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Munsee word recorded by one of Henry Hudson's crew.²⁰ It is the only Munsee word that has not been removed from present-day maps.²¹ It has been translated to mean "hilly island" and "place where they gather wood to make bows."²² One of the more notable translations from Moravian missionary John Heckewelder is "island where we all became intoxicated."²³ Heckewelder was told a story, during the 1700s, of Hudson's voyage to Manhattan; it was an ancestor's supposedly intoxicating experience with alcohol. However, it is possible Heckewelder incorrectly translated the word, since he had a habit of translating any Munsee or Lenape word with *man* or *mana* to mean drinking of some kind.²⁴

Southwest of Manhates are the Sangicans. *Sangican* was a name for the native people living at or near the falls and as a place name for the falls of the Delaware themselves. ²⁵ *Sankhicani* was a word for the Mohawks and *sankhican* meant gunlock. ²⁶ They were called the Sangican because they were equipped with muskets that created a spark when fired. They were also referred to as "fire striking people." According to a vocabulary book of the Sangicans, they "dwelled on the upper part of the South River," which was the colonial term for the Delaware River. ²⁸ The Sangicans were hostile toward the Mannhates and the Minquaas, also known as the Susquehannocks.

²⁰ Grumet, Manhattan to Minisink, 77–78.

²¹ Ibid., 78.

²² William Wallace Tooker, *The Origin of the Name Manhattan* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1901), 27, 68–69.

²³ Grumet, Manhattan to Minisink, 78.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Grumet, *The Munsees*, 311.

²⁶ John Heckewelder, An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States (Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1819), 99.

²⁸ J. Franklin Jameson, ed., Narratives of New Netherland (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 58.



South and east of the Sangicans, the map shows "Sand Hoeck." This 1616 map is the first that names one of New Jersey's most significant geographical features. An earlier map from 1614 had labeled Sandy Hook as "Sand Point," but this map uses the two words closest to Sandy Hook. To the south of the Sangicans are the Aquamachuke, where the Naversanks lived. It is possible *Aquamachuke* is the equivalent of Powhatan word *achquoanatschik*, a Northern Unami word: "they who catch things with a net." A map published in 1614 showed the Aquamachuke farther west, but still living in central Jersey. The people are identified in two globes that were produced in the Netherlands in the same general area. Robert Grumet, author of *The Munsees*, *A History*, refers to *Aquamachuke* as a "cartographic fossil." ³⁰

²⁹ Grumet, *The Munsees*, 314.

³⁰ Ibid.



The paragraph in the center of the map reads:

Kleinjntjen and his companion have informed me of the location of the rivers and the settlements of the peoples they have found on their voyage beginning with the Mohawks and heading inland and downstream along the new river to the Ogehage, which is the enemy of the northerly nation and I can presently not find other than two drafts of these maps with regard to the one that is partially a fair copy. And while I think the one with the drafts denoting the locations to be the most reliable, I find that the settlements of the tribes of the Senecas, Gachoos, Capitannases and the Jottecas should be shown as being a good deal further west in the country.³¹



Stankekans is another name for Sangicans. 32

³¹ Martine Gosselink, *New York New Amsterdam: The Dutch Origins of Manhattan* (Amsterdam: National Archives of the Netherlands, 2009), 50.

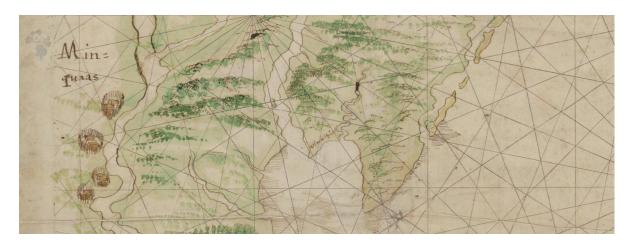
³² The author bunched Stankekans with the Sangicans in the index. See Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsees*, 439.



Eyerhaven is Egg Harbor.³³



The Sauwanew are Shawnee.



The Minquaas, located in central New Jersey and what appears to be northeast Delaware, were also known as the Susquehannocks.³⁴ Known as a large, powerful band, they controlled most

 ³³ John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of New York*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874), 757.
 ³⁴ Herbert C. Kraft, *The Lenape Archaeology, History, and Ethnography* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986), 122.

of the indigenous trade of central Pennsylvania.³⁵ They also competed with Lenape for trade in the Delaware Valley. The Susquehannock were a violent and vicious people. Dutch records indicate attacks from Susquehannocks and the threat of other attacks from native people of Long Island, pushed most Indians out of the Raritan Valley by 1650. ³⁶

In the lower left corner of the map, one can see fortified villages. While there is no documentary and/or archaeological evidence the Lenape or Munsee lived in fortified villages, the Minqaas, not related to both peoples in any way, did live in communities where the dwellings were close together, protected by what resembles a wall of logs. According to Herbert Kraft, "archaeologists excavated eighteen house patterns on eight archaeological sites of the Minisink region," and none of the sites yielded any evidence of a fence or wall that protected the settlement.³⁷

In 1617, Gerritszwas hired as official cartographer and chief of the Hydrographical Office of the Dutch East India Company. He earned the appointment over his former childhood acquaintance and printmaking master, Willem Janszoon Blaeu. Apparently, Blaeu may not have been considered because of his "free-thinking" and unfavorable political and religious beliefs.³⁸

The Dutch East India Company, formally known as the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie and also known as the VOC, is considered one of the most powerful corporations in history. Chartered by the States General in 1602, it was granted approval to "conduct a monopoly in trade east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Strait of Magellan." When the colossal

³⁵ Herbert C. Kraft, *The Lenape Archaeology, History, and Ethnography* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986), 199.

³⁶ Grumet, *The Munsees*, 75.

³⁷ Kraft, *The Lenape*, 121–122.

³⁸ Kees Zandvliet, *The History of Cartography, Volume 3, Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed., David Woodward, Vol. 3, Part 2, Chapter 46, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1438-1439.

³⁹ Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century," 1433.

corporation was created, it put an end to the various private merchant companies in competition with one another and streamlined the military and administrative connection between the governing body and the merchants. ⁴⁰ The States General granted all administrative power over any overseas countries or territories that were seized or acquired by diplomatic coercion or by force. During the first few years of its existence, the VOC provided various materials for voyages, which included navigational instruments, such as company maps in addition to compasses and quadrants. ⁴¹

Cartographers, classified as mathematical professionals, were not seen as part of elite society but viewed as a level above simple craftsmen. ⁴² The Dutch East India Company verified that classification of a cartographer's place in their corporate structure. There were five ranks of the VOC. The highest ranks consisted of 87 individuals; the lower ranks consisted of 2,695 individuals. Corporate employees of the fourth rank included the director of a wharf and the supervisor of chart makers; there were 34 members of the fourth rank, and those with the title of chief chart maker and/or the chief land surveyor were part of the fifth rank, of which there were 32 members. ⁴³ Beginning in 1621, Hessel Gerritsz was the chief cartographer for the Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie, translated as the Dutch West India Company, or GWC, until his death in 1632. ⁴⁴ While the Dutch East India Company was granted a monopoly of trade east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Strait of Magellan, the GWC was granted a monopoly for all trade in the Atlantic Ocean. Much like the corporate governance of the Dutch East India Company, the captains and pilots, when they returned from trading voyages, were

⁴⁰ Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century," 1444.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1437.

⁴² Ibid.," 1435.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.," 1450.

instructed to hand in all maps that exhibited "anchorages, coasts, and ports," to the Heren XIX, or Gentlemen Nineteen, or risk being penalized three months of wages.⁴⁵

How is it possible that a map this important has been almost unknown for so long? There are several reasons. As significant as this document is to New Jersey history, it is not located in any of the three major repositories of New Jersey. It is not stored at Special Collections and University Archives at Rutgers University, New Brunswick. It is not stored at the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark. It is not stored at the New Jersey State Archives, Trenton. It is not stored at the New Jersey State Library, also in Trenton. It is important to note this map was not featured in an exhibit at the State Museum, which exhibited historic maps of New Jersey. In this exhibit, the earliest map on display was from 1635.46 Instead, this 1616 map is stored on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, in another country. Stored at the National Archives of the Netherlands, at Amsterdam, it is labeled as "Map of a part of New Netherland, in addition to the newly discovered country, baye with drye rivers, laying at a height of 38 to 40 degrees, by yachts called Onrust, skipper Cornelis Hendricx, van Munnickendam. 1616." The title of the map is also significant. It is not labeled as New Jersey but New Netherland, a name associated with the early history of New York and/or Manhattan, not New Jersey, even though New Jersey was part of New Netherland.

In an ironic twist of history, a graduate of Rutgers College was presumably the first American to discover the map. John Romeyn Brodhead (class of 1831) was hired as an agent in January 1841 to visit France, England, and Holland to obtain and/or transcribe documents

⁴⁵ Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century," 1450.

⁴⁶ Mark Ryp, "State Museum exhibit traces New Jersey's changing appearance with development of mapmaking," *The Star Ledger*, published September 30, 2013, updated March 30, 2019, nj.com/times-entertainment/2013/09/state_museum_exhibit_traces_ne.html.

associated with the early colonial history of New York City and New York State.⁴⁷ The 1616 map is opposite page 11 of volume one of the *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York.*⁴⁸ The map was referenced in an article, "Extracts from a paper on The Discovery of Monmouth." The paper was read before the New Jersey Historical Society by Reverend A. A. Marcellus on May 7, 1846.⁴⁹ A New Jersey historian was aware of it, albeit an avocational one.

This 1616 map is one of New Jersey's most important maps and one of New Jersey's most important primary documents for several reasons. It is the first map that features all the land that became the colony and state of New Jersey. It is the second map that displays settlements of indigenous people; however, this map shows more indigenous villages in present-day New York, New Jersey, and northeastern Delaware and includes the Mahicans, Maquaas (Mohawks), Manahattas, Tappans, Sangicans, and Minquaas (Susquehannocks). It is the first map that shows Esopus, even though that distinction involves New York's history rather than New Jersey's. ⁵⁰ It is the first time *sand* and *hook* are used to describe Sandy Hook.

The map is also remarkable because, according to an expert in 17th century cartography, it was compiled by a well-known and accomplished Dutch cartographer of the time, Hessel Gerritsz. A published author, he held the prestigious position of chief cartographer of the Dutch East India Company and the Dutch West India Company, two very powerful international trading corporations.

⁴⁷ John Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York; Procured in Holland, England, and France*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, Vol. 1 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1856), xvi, xvii, and xxiv.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 11–13.

⁴⁹ Rev. A.A. Marcellus, "Extracts From a Paper On the Discovery and Settlement of Monmouth," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 1, no. 4 (1846): 159, <a href="http://www.google.com/books/edition/Proceedings_of_the_New_Jersey_Historical/McbNAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=extracts+from+a+discovery+of+monmouth&pg=PA153&printsec=frontcover of Grumet, *The Munsees*, 308.

When John Brodhead found the map in 1841, he pulled out two large dark yellow pieces of parchment that were rolled up in an oak cabinet. The label read *Map of Florida*. ⁵¹ His curiosity caused him to slowly and carefully unwrap the brittle document, only to discover it was not a map of Florida. It was the first map of New Jersey. Brodhead found it by accident. Which is exactly how I found it. As a resource interpretive specialist for Middlesex County, one of the many tasks I have is to develop educational materials that teach the history of the Raritan Valley and/or the state of New Jersey. When preparing educational programs, I've found it best to look for primary documents that are eye-popping and illuminating. In the spring of 2020, at the height of quarantine, I decided to look at maps—what is more eye-popping and educational at the same time than a map? I started looking online at the State Archives and Special Collections at Rutgers. I wanted to find a map that was very old and associated with the Dutch West India Company. Hoping to find some map or document that had something to do with New Jersey I came across the National Archives of the Netherlands online. I typed WIC, an abbreviation for the Dutch West India Company, in the research box. Included in the search results was a collection of foreign maps between 1584 and 1813. Jackpot.

After using Google Translate, I clicked on the "North America" tab. Seconds later, I clicked on a map described as "New Netherland." Expecting to find an early-seventeenth-century map of Manhattan, I instead found a map that did not quite look like present-day New York City. After furrowing my brow at this map of "a portion of New Netherland," and examining Sandy Hook, labeled "sand hoeck," I realized what I had discovered: a map of New Jersey. I was able to display the map for this article because the National Archives of the Netherlands waived "all of his own

⁵¹ John Romeyn Brodhead, "Observations Respecting the Two Ancient Maps of New Netherland, Found in the Royal Archives at the Hague, in 1841, by J. Romeyn Brodhead, Agent of the State of New York," *Proceedings of the New York Historical Society*, (1845): 187.

rights to the scans of documents, maps, and photos under copyright law and has dedicated the images to the Public Domain."⁵² This is one of many maps where the copyright was waived by the National Archives of the Netherlands. Accessing the 1616 map of New Jersey in about eight clicks was much easier in 2020 than it was in 1841 and even easier than it was in the early 1990s, when the map was "discovered" for the second time, approximately 150 years after it was discovered by John Romeyn Brodhead.

In 1988, Polly Miller, the director of the Ocean County Cultural and Heritage Commission, started her search for seventeenth-century maps of New Jersey. Two years later, she commented to Susan D. Halsey, a coastal geologist with the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, that she had not found what she was looking for. Ms. Halsey commented that she was planning to take a trip to Europe in the summer, and offered to stop in Amsterdam to locate the elusive treasure. Failing to locate it after looking at two museums in town, she arrived at the Rijksmuseum and spoke with the curator, who suggested she travel to The Hague. On Ms. Halsey's last day in Amsterdam, she boarded a train and walked to The Hague. Five minutes after speaking with the archivist on duty, a large map case was brought to her. She had found it. Halsey ordered a negative, boarded a train, then wrote the two sentences that she and Ms. Miller both wanted to hear, "Sit down! I found it!" She later published an article about the map in NJ Outdoors; still, it remains largely unknown in the state. To see the map referenced in this article via the National Archives of the Netherlands, click here.

⁵² "Terms of use for scans of documents, maps, and photos: Copyright and open data," National Archives of the Netherlands, accessed December 11, 2021, nationaalarchief.nl/en/research/terms-of-use-for-scans-of-documents-maps-and-photos.

Douglas T. Aumack has been working in the museum field for over two decades. He was the curator and deputy director for the Naval Air Station Wildwood Aviation Museum, the education coordinator for the USS Constellation Museum, in Baltimore, and has spent most of his career working as the resource interpretive specialist for the Middlesex County Division of Historic Sites and History Services. An award-winning writer, he is currently the executive producer of Middlesex County History, a podcast series that will focus on projects/programs of the Arts Institute of Middlesex County. The first podcast season will focus on the archaeology of Raritan Landing..