

Northeast Historical Archaeology

Volume 34 *From the Netherlands to New Netherland:
The Archaeology of the Dutch in the Old and New
Worlds*

Article 4

2005

Cloth Seals at Iroquois Sites

Jan M. Baart

Follow this and additional works at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha>



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Baart, Jan M. (2005) "Cloth Seals at Iroquois Sites," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*: Vol. 34 34, Article 4.
<https://doi.org/10.22191/neha/vol34/iss1/4> Available at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol34/iss1/4>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by The Open Repository @ Binghamton (The ORB). It has been accepted for inclusion in Northeast Historical Archaeology by an authorized editor of The Open Repository @ Binghamton (The ORB). For more information, please contact ORB@binghamton.edu.

Cloth Seals at Iroquois Sites

Cover Page Footnote

The inventory of the Kampen, Leiden, and Amsterdam seals excavated in the United States is based on personal research, personal communications, publications of the William M. Beauchamp Chapter of the New York State Archaeological Association, and information from the following individuals: Monte Bennett, James W. Bradley (ArchLink, Charlestown, Massachusetts), William Carter (Lewis Morgan Chapter, New York State Archaeological Association), Gordon DeAngelo (Chittenango, New York), Charles F. Hayes (formerly of the Rochester Museum and Science Center), Paul R. Huey (New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Bureau of Historic Sites, Waterford, New York), Donald A. Rumrill, Daryl Wonderly (Chenago Chapter, New York State Archaeological Association, Munnsville, New York), and Charles F. Wray.

Cloth Seals at Iroquois Sites

Jan M. Baart

Textiles represent a very significant component of the Dutch goods that were exported to New Netherland for trade with the Iroquois Indians. These textiles varied greatly in quality. These differences were indicated on lead cloth seals that were affixed to the cloths. The lead cloth seals that are excavated at Iroquois sites provide useful information about the origins and quality of the traded cloth. They also are a source of information about Dutch textile manufacture in the 17th century, a period during which the cloth industry was the most important urban industry in the Netherlands. Amsterdam was the staple market from which all kinds of textiles from various towns and cities were exported. Amsterdam itself was specialized in the dyeing of cloth. A catalogue of the lead cloth seals found at Iroquois and Dutch sites in New Netherland reveals that between 1630 and 1670, four Dutch cities were represented: Kampen, Leiden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. There are both round and tubular seals from Kampen. Leiden seals are primarily round. The Amsterdam seals found in Iroquois sites are all seals that verify the quality of the dyeing of the cloth. Haarlem is represented by just one seal, found in Albany, suggesting that cloth from Haarlem was used by the Dutch colonists themselves, rather than for the trade with the Iroquois. The numbers scratched on cloth seals indicate cloth lengths. Actual textile fragments excavated at some Iroquois sites represent coarse duffels probably from Kampen as well as finer cloth types probably from Amsterdam. Based on the excavated cloth seals, it can be concluded that most of the cloth for trade with the Iroquois came from Kampen.

Les textiles sont une composante significative des denrées néerlandaises exportées pour la traite avec les Iroquois. La qualité de ces textiles variait énormément. Les sceaux à étoffe en plomb mis au jour sur les sites Iroquois fournissent des informations utiles à propos des origines et de la qualité des étoffes échangées ainsi que sur la fabrication de textile néerlandais au XVIIe siècle, une période pendant laquelle l'industrie textile constituait la plus importante industrie urbaine des Pays-Bas. Amsterdam fut le marché principal à partir duquel une variété de textiles de diverses villes ont été exportés, mais fut aussi un centre de teinture d'étoffe. Un catalogue de sceaux à étoffe en plomb mis au jour sur des sites néerlandais à New Netherland révèle qu'entre 1630 et 1670, quatre villes néerlandaises étaient représentées: Kampen, Leiden, Haarlem et Amsterdam. Des sceaux de formes ronde et tubulaire proviennent de Kampen alors que ceux de Leiden sont principalement de forme ronde. Haarlem n'est représentée que par un seul sceau ayant été mis au jour à Albany, suggérant que Haarlem n'est pas été un fournisseur d'étoffe important dans la traite avec les Autochtones. Les sceaux d'Amsterdam trouvés sur des sites Iroquois sont tous des sceaux servant à vérifier la qualité de la teinture de l'étoffe. Les nombres gravés sur les sceaux à étoffe indiquent la longueur de l'étoffe. Des fragments d'étoffe mis au jour sur quelques sites Iroquois sont de lourds lainages provenant probablement de Kampen ainsi que des variétés d'étoffes plus raffinées provenant probablement d'Amsterdam. L'étude des sceaux à étoffe permet donc d'arriver à la conclusion que la majeure partie des étoffes échangées provenait de Kampen.

Textiel vertegenwoordigt een belangrijk deel van de Nederlandse goederen die naar Nieuw Nederland werden geëxporteerd voor de handel met de Irokezen. Er vallen verschillende kwaliteiten in lakens te onderscheiden. Deze verschillen werden aangegeven op lakenloden die aan de lakens werden aangebracht. De lakenloden die werden opgegraven in de nederzettingen van de Irokezen geven nuttige informatie over de herkomst en kwaliteit van de verhandelde textiel. Tevens vormen zij een bron voor de kennis van de Nederlandse lakenindustrie in de 17e eeuw, een periode waarin deze de belangrijkste stedelijke nijverheid was in Nederland. Amsterdam was het middelpunt van de handel vanwaar allerlei soorten textiel, afkomstig uit verschillende steden, werden geëxporteerd. De stad zelf was gespecialiseerd in het verven van lakens.

Een catalogus van de lakenloden die voornamelijk gevonden werden in de nederzettingen van de Irokezen in Nieuw Nederland laat zien dat er tussen 1630 en 1670 vier Nederlandse steden bij de handel in lakens betrokken waren, te weten: Kampen, Leiden, Amsterdam en Haarlem. Uit Kampen komen zowel ronde als cilindrische loden, de zogenaemde pijploden. De lakenloden uit Leiden bestaan voor het merendeel uit pij-

ploden. De Amsterdamse lakenloden uit de indiaanse nederzettingen zijn loden die de kwaliteit van het verven aangeven. Haarlem is met één lakenlood vertegenwoordigd, gevonden in Albany, wat suggereert dat lakens uit Haarlem gebruikt werden door de Nederlandse kolonisten en niet bestemd waren voor de handel met de indianen. De cijfers die op de lakenloden zijn aangebracht geven de lengte van de geleverde lakens aan. Stukken van de lakens zelf, die werden opgegraven in de nederzettingen van de Irokezen, bestaan zowel uit grove duffels, uit Kampen en Leiden, als fijnere lakens, uit Amsterdam. De opgegraven lakenloden geven aan dat de meeste lakens verhandeld met de Irokezen uit Kampen kwamen.

Textiles formed an important part of the trade goods that found their way from Amsterdam in the Netherlands to the various Iroquois sites in central New York State, then New Netherland. Several towns in the Netherlands became especially involved in this market. Because of the rapidly developing trade contacts with virtually all parts of the world during the 17th century, the market for these trade goods greatly expanded. Cloth of a great variety in qualities was therefore produced, depending on the type of market that was being supplied. Broadly speaking, three types of cloth were produced. First, there was cloth of a very fine quality, which was particularly used for prestigious gifts or as valuable merchandise. Cloth of such quality, for example, was offered to the emperor of Japan in 1608 in order to obtain access to the large Japanese market (Hudig 1923: 34–35). Second, in Europe, but also elsewhere, a regular but good quality of cloth was in high demand. This type of cloth formed the major portion of cloth exports. A third type of cloth was mediocre. Because mediocre qualities were produced everywhere, cloth of this quality was less likely to be considered a trade good.

In the Iroquois sites different types of finds bear witness to the lively trade with the local population: cloth, blankets, and complete jackets were traded. At some sites pieces of cloth and jackets have been found, especially in graves (Wray 1985: 103–112; Baart 1987: 7, FIG. 8). They have been preserved, thanks to the presence of copper kettles buried along with them. Seals were attached to the cloth used for trade, and fragments of lead seals or sometimes even complete seals that are found are important sources of information about the origin and the quality of the cloth. On the one hand they provide evidence of cloth production and market in the Netherlands, while on the other they reveal the quantities and qualities of the cloth that was offered to the

Iroquois Indians. Documents refer to this trade cloth as, for instance, "duffels of Holland linens" (Ceci 1980: 838–847). These records do not always indicate the origin or quality of the cloth. In combination with the excavated pieces of textile, cloth seals form a unique source, not only for the reconstruction of the European-Native American trade, but also for the study of the various cloth products of Dutch towns.

The cloth industry was the most important urban industry in the 17th-century Netherlands. A considerable part of the population derived its work and livelihood from it. In Leiden, the pre-eminent Dutch textile town of the Netherlands—perhaps the most important textile town of 17th-century Europe—not less than a quarter of the population worked in the textile industry (Posthumus 1939). Cloth was the most important export product, as grain was the most important import and transit commodity. The production of cloth was very labor-intensive. Numerous specific actions were performed by craftspeople. In the clothmakers' hall of Leiden several paintings have been preserved which give an impression of this work. As a rule, the various craftspeople performed their duties at home. A painting of the interior of a weaver's house suggests that many of these workers were not very wealthy (Rombouts 1656). It was the clothiers, those who organized this work and at the same time sold the products, who often managed to gain a degree of wealth.

The municipal authorities controlled the quality of the produced cloth. The craftspeople were checked at home, and the final check-up took place in the clothmakers' hall. This was a long building where the unrolled cloth could be searched. Initially this activity took place in a monastery or a hospital, the places where there would have been enough space. Both Leiden and Amsterdam built clothmakers halls in the 17th century. The most beautiful

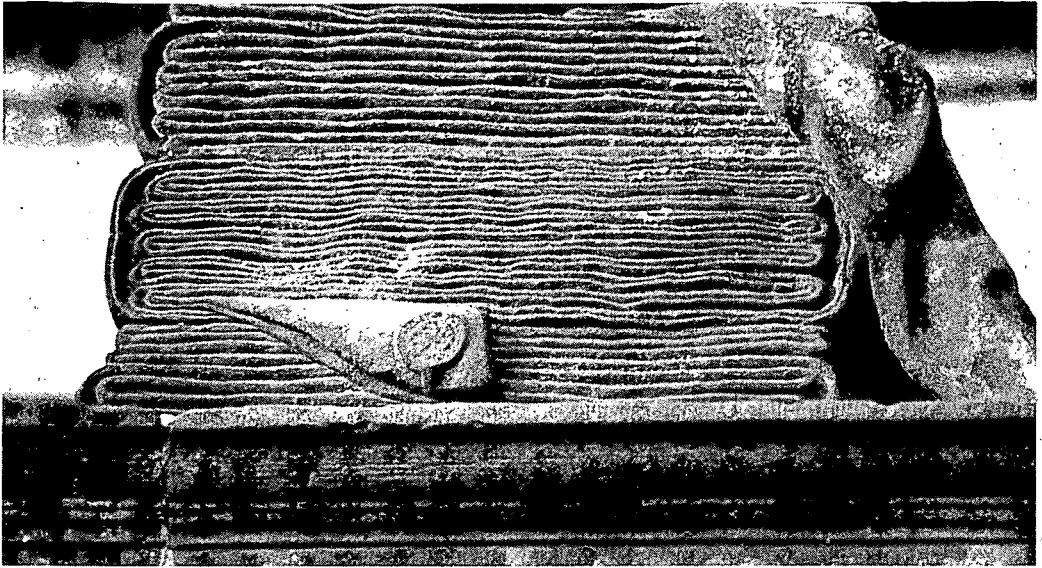


Figure 1. Detail of the entrance gate of the Municipal Museum, De Lakenhal, at Leiden. Courtesy of Paul R. Huey.

and largest is the clothmaker's hall of Leiden, as depicted in the painting by Susanna van Steenwijk in the collection of the Museum de Lakenhal in Leiden. It was built in 1639 and 1640. The entrance is made of sandstone and decorated with the sculpture of a pile of cloth to which the sculptor has attached a faithfully reproduced cloth seal (FIG. 1). Sometimes one, but often many, seals were attached to the cloth. They indicated first the town of production and subsequently, by means of marks, the quality of dyeing or the measurements. For example, a fragment of textile was found in the center of Amsterdam with three seals from Leiden. On the front side of the seals one can see the coat of arms of Leiden with marks for the quality of dyeing and the length of the cloth, while on the reverse is the lion with sword (Noordkerk 1748: 116; Baart 1988b: 297, FIG. 19).

Amsterdam was not only the central market from which all kinds of textiles coming from various towns were exported, but it was also a town of importance in the dyeing of cloth. Often the finely woven cloths of other towns were dyed in Amsterdam. In 1591 Amsterdam built a *staalhof*, and in 1641 a new sampling hall for the inspection of the dyed cloth was built. Here the different seals were attached to the cloth. Most of the Amsterdam

seals found in Iroquois sites have been stamped with the coat of arms of Amsterdam and the date of issue of the stamps. In the sampling hall, after the inspection of the dyed cloth, seals were attached with marks such as "AMSTERDAM STAEL," "AMSTERDAM(S) ANDERHALF STAEL," "AMSTERDAM DUBBELT STAEL," or "AMSTERDAMS GROOT DUBBELT STAEL" (Baart, et al. 1977: 112). Examples of the various qualities mentioned above have been found, both used and unused, in excavations in Amsterdam. The sampling masters were important people who sometimes held several offices in city. The syndics of the cloth guild, the *Staalmeesters*, had themselves portrayed by Rembrandt van Rijn.

In any case, after dyeing, the wet cloth was hanged to dry on so-called "frames." There was room for these frames in several places in the city. They were located near the sampling hall or in the city outskirts. The municipality located these places outside the city for environmental reasons. The waste water of the dye works could pollute the water of the city's canals, which was used for several other purposes.

Sealing cloths in Amsterdam had started by the 14th century (Baart 1988a: 100-102). The coat of arms of the city is on the seals. The oldest seal in Europe, however, is from Leiden

(Egan 1994: 1, FIG. 2). It dates from around 1275 and was excavated in the medieval town center of Amsterdam. The text on it says "VAN LEYDEN," and the seal also has the single key on it representing the patron saint of Leiden, St. Peter. From 1300 onwards, the seals of Leiden have crossed keys.

In the inventory and identification of the Dutch cloth seals excavated in the State of New York, the former New Netherland, this writer found lead seals that originated from four cities, namely Kampen, Leiden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. The seals all came from Iroquois Indian sites dating between 1630 and 1670, and historical documents refer to the types of cloth that likely accompanied these seals. On December 14, 1634, Harmen Meindertsz van den Bogaert described in his journal a Mohawk Iroquois chief who had an "idol which was a marten's head with protruding teeth, covered with red duffel-cloth." On January 3, 1635, he discussed with the Indians the exchange of beaver skins for cloth and other trade items (Gehring and Starna 1988: 5, 15). An invoice of goods sent by Kiliaen van Rensselaer to New Netherland probably in April 1634 gives some idea of the kinds of cloth that were sent: "three bolts of coarse cloth and one of somewhat finer, cost \$52.10" (van Laer 1908: 263).

Regarding the quality of the cloth, Kiliaen van Rensselaer wrote from Amsterdam on May 3, 1640, to his partner in Leiden that "the Campen duffels I have also in the house. They contain a good many yards more than those from Leyden and are at least two or three fingers wider." On May 7 he wrote

I shall expect the three blankets at the earliest opportunity and also examine closely into the respective qualities of the Campen and Leyden duffels. We were already last Saturday busy comparing them. In general the Campen duffels are much wider than those from Leyden, but that is not strange as I had them made that way on purpose. The pieces are also about 10 yards longer than those from Leyden. The wool of one of the consignments from Campen, for I have two of them, is also fully as good as that of the other but the red color of the Leyden duffels is superior. We shall look into this more closely yet and weigh every piece to see how much wool it contains, and for our guidance make a note of the quality, the price, the color and whatever else is of importance (van Laer 1908: 468).



Figure 2. Cloth seal, front: coat of arms of Kampen; legend: CAMPEN; from Steele site, 6716/100. Courtesy of Judy L. Ozone, Rochester Museum and Science Center.

The lead seals found at Indian sites enable us to learn more about these "duffels." A total of 26 round lead seals could be identified as coming from Kampen. There are two types. Both of them have the image of the town gate of Kampen, but they differ in the absence or presence of a crown above the town gate and in the placement of the name CAMPEN. The type without the crown has the continuous word CAMPEN (FIG. 2), whereas the type with the crown has CAM PEN divided in two parts embossed on either side of the crown (FIG. 3). The only round examples of the CAMPEN type without the crown in the period from about 1635 to 1650 are one from the Seneca Steele site, dated 1635 to 1655, and perhaps two examples from the Seneca Power House site, also dated 1635 to 1655 (see FIG. 2).

All the other Kampen seals have their crowns above the town gates. The examples of this type (see FIG. 3), with the crown above the coat of arms of Kampen and flanked with the legend CAM PEN, were found at a variety of sites (TAB. 1). The various Indian settlements in Table 1 would have been provided with

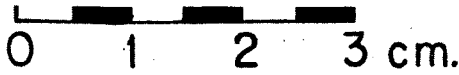


Figure 3. Cloth seal, front: coat of arms of Kampen; legend: CAM PEN; from Fort Orange; width 3.8 cm. Courtesy of Paul R. Huey.

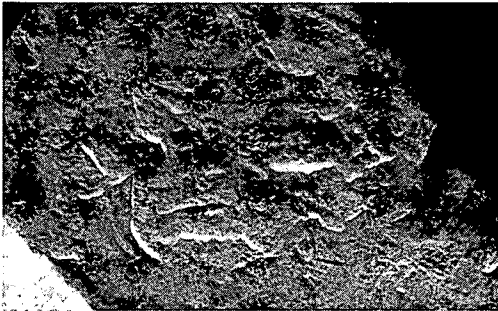


Figure 4. Detail of tube seal, front: coat of arms of Kampen; from Amsterdam, ML9-15. Archeologisch Depot Amsterdam collection, courtesy of Wiard Krook, afdeling Archeologie/dienst Amsterdam Beheer.

Kampen cloth from Fort Orange from about 1630-1670.

In the archives of Kampen there are documents that provide information about these seals and the cloth to which they were attached (Anon. n.d.)

These include regulations for the making of cloth stating that seals were to be attached to duffels and that the best quality were to have the coat of arms of Kampen. Cloths of thirty treatments were to have the old seals, and cloths of six treatments were to have the arms of Kampen with the crown above it (Anon. n.d.). This suggests that the crownless type is

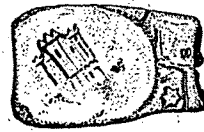


Figure 5. Tube seal, front: coat of arms of Kampen; from the Onondaga Lot 18 site; length: 2.6 cm. Courtesy of James W. Bradley.



Figure 6. Tube seal, front: coat of arms of Kampen; legend: (CA)M PEN; from the Onondaga Indian Hill site; height: 2.6 cm. Haberle collection, courtesy of James W. Bradley.

the older seal and that the one with the crown is the new type. Besides the round Kampen seals, which were attached at the seam of the fabric, there are also Kampen tube seals. These tube seals were attached to several loose threads.

In the cloth making regulations of Kampen it was required "that to all the pieces manufactured in this place a tube seal shall be woven" (Anon. n.d.). This means that there were always two seals attached to the traded cloths: a round seal and a tube seal. Three types of tube seals have been found at Indian sites, and they seem to follow one another in chronological order. The first type bears, as can be seen clearly on an excavated example from Amsterdam, the coat of arms of Kampen in a circle (FIG. 4). This design can be recognised by the gate with an obliquely placed shield in its entrance. This type appears four times, namely once at the Mohawk Bauder site (1634-1646), once at the Onondaga Carley site (1640-1650), and probably twice at the Seneca Power House site (1635-1655). On the example from the Bauder site the number "35" marked on the reverse designates the length of the cloth. On the second type one also finds the city gate of Kampen in a circle, but a star has been added at the side (FIG. 5). This type appears five times: once at the Onondaga Lot 18 site, twice at the Power House site, once at the Steele site,

Table 1. Distribution of Lead Cloth Seals by Type and Site.

<i>Seal type</i>	<i>Sites</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>N</i>
Round seals with legend CAMPEN without crown (FIG. 2).	Power House site	1635-55	2 (?)
	Steele site	1635-55	1
Round seals with legend CAM PEN with crown in between (FIG. 3)	Power House site	1635-55	1
	Steele site	1635-55	1
	Mitchell site	1646-60	4
	Fort Orange site	1648-64	1
	Dungey site	1649-62	4
	Lot 18 site	1650-55	2
	Indian Castle site	1655-63	1
	Dann site	1660-75	4
	Indian Hill site	1663-82	3
	Pompey area		2
Tube seals with coat of arms of Kampen in circle (FIG. 4)	Bauder site	1634-46	1
	Power House site	1635-55	2 (?)
	Carley site	1640-50	1
Tube seals with coat of arms of Kampen in circle and star (FIG. 5)	Bauder site	1634-46	1
	Power House site	1635-55	2
	Steele site	1635-55	1
	Lot 18 site	1650-55	1
Tube seals with coat of arms of Kampen and legend CAM PEN (FIG. 6)	Fort Orange site	1648-64	1
	Dungey site	1649-62	3
	Dann site	1660-75	7
	Sullivan site	1660-77	1
	Indian Hill site	1663-82	1
Tube seals of Leiden with indication of length (FIG. 7)	Power House site	1635-55	XXVII 3
	Carley site	1640-50	XXVI 1
	Stone Quarry site	1645-55	XXVII 2
	Dann site	1660-75	2
	Indian Hill site	1663-82	XIV 1
Round seals of Leiden with legend GEMETEN (FIG. 8)	Dungey site	1649-62	1
Round seals of Leiden possibly with the Leiden coat of arms	Carley site	1640-50	1
Amsterdam "Anderhalf Stael" seals 1607/1639(?) (FIG. 12)	Power House site	1635-55	2
	Stone Quarry site	1645-55	1
Amsterdam "Anderhalf Stael" seals 1639(?)/ 1652 (FIG. 14)	Steele site	1635-55	1
	Dungey site	1649-62	2
	Lot 18 site	1650-55	1
	Dann site	1660-75	1

and once at the Bauder site. The third type has the city gate with the name of CAMPEN around it (FIG. 6). These examples appeared for the first time around 1660. A total of 13 examples have been recorded (TAB. 1).

The Leiden seals are mostly represented by tube seals. A total of ten examples have been recorded. As a rule, the mark for Leiden cloth, a lion raising a sword and resting on a shield with crossed keys, was imprinted on the front



Figure 7. Tube seal, Top) front: coat of arms of Leiden; Bottom) reverse: XXVII, from the Seneca Power House site, 6107/24. Courtesy of Judy L. Ozone, Rochester Museum and Science Center.

side; the length was marked on the reverse side (FIG. 7). On two seals, one from the Stone Quarry site and one from the Seneca Dann site, the merchant's mark HG has been printed. The Leiden tube seals with indications of cloth lengths were found at several sites (TAB. 1)

From about 1650 onwards, the length of the cloth was also marked on round seals. On these seals we will find the word GEMETEN ("measured") and the length. Such an example was excavated at the Oneida Dungey site (FIG. 8). A complete example has been excavated in Amsterdam (FIG. 9).

As a rule there are no round seals with the arms of Leiden on them, as was the case in Kampen. Possibly one fragment from the Carley site (1640 to 1650) belongs to the round type. The lead seals from Leiden are tube seals with marks for cloth lengths, half a cloth of 14



Figure 8. Cloth seal, Leiden; reverse: 27 1/2; legend: GEME (TEN); from the Oneida Dungey site, MSV-6. Courtesy of Daryl Wonderly.

yards or a whole cloth of 26 or 27 yards, for example. For the study of the above-described seals, many comparable finds of Leiden seals were available from the excavations in Amsterdam (FIG. 10).

Seals from Haarlem are rare finds and clearly indicate that cloth from this city evidently did not form a regular part of the Indian trade goods. A fine round seal, excavated in Albany at the KeyCorp site (1650-1686), has on the front side the coat of arms of Haarlem, held by two lions; the length of the cloth is indicated on the reverse (FIG. 11). Haarlem was primarily a linen producing town, but other cloth was also manufactured. The seal mentioned above was probably attached to cloth other than linen.

The Amsterdam seals found in the Iroquois sites are all dyeing seals. These are large seals which were attached to the cloth at the end of the production process, as a guarantee of the quality of dyeing. Both on the front and on the back are the arms of the city and the year. It is remarkable that the two dates differ from one another. Probably one side was marked with a new year each time new stamps were made or new regulations were issued, while on the other side was the old date.



Figure 9. Cloth seal; Top) front: coat of arms of Leiden; Bottom) reverse: 29 3/4; legend: GEME TEN; from Amsterdam, ML8-82. Archeologisch Depot Amsterdam Collection, courtesy of Jan A. den Das.



Figure 10. Various Leiden tube and round cloth seals from Amsterdam excavations. Archeologisch Depot Amsterdam collection, courtesy of Wiard Krook, afdeling Archeologie/dienst Amsterdam Beheer.

In 1607 a new ANDERHALF STAEL was issued, replacing the first ANDERHALF STAEL from 1584. Until recently it was not clear how long this

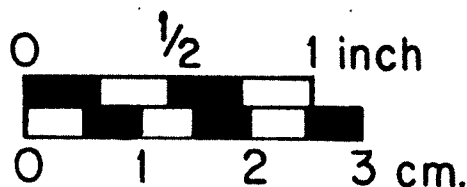


Figure 11. Cloth seal; A) front: coat of arms of Haerlem; legend: (H)A(ERLEMS GOET); B) reverse: 19; from Key Corp site, Albany; width: 2.9 cm. Courtesy of Paul R. Huey.

stamp had been used. A find from the Oneida Stone Quarry site, which was brought to this writer's attention by Jim Bradley, is an ANDERHALF STAEL seal with 1607 on the front, but with probably the year 1639 on the back (FIG. 12). This type has been found several times, once at the Stone Quarry site and twice at the Power House site, for example.

On January 31, 1652, new regulations for cloth making were issued, stating again that the cloth should be marked with seals bearing the town arms (Noordkerk 1748). Details, like those in the Kampen regulations, are not mentioned. Cloth seals with this date have been found in Amsterdam (FIG. 13). This type occurs



1 in
1 cm

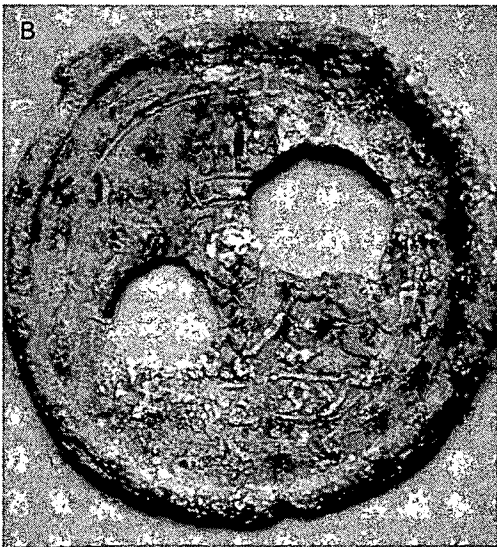


Figure 12. Cloth seal (two halves of one seal); A) front: coat of arms of Amsterdam 1607; legend: AMSTERDAMS ANDERHALF STAEL; B) reverse: coat of arms of Amsterdam (16)39 (?); from the Oneida Stone Quarry site. Courtesy of James W. Bradley.

five times, with one in the Steele site, two in the Dungey site, one in the Lot 18 site, and one in the Dann site (FIG. 14) (Bradley 1980: 198, FIG. 1d; Bradley 1987, 154, plate 10a/b/c; Daryl Wonderly, personal communication 1994).

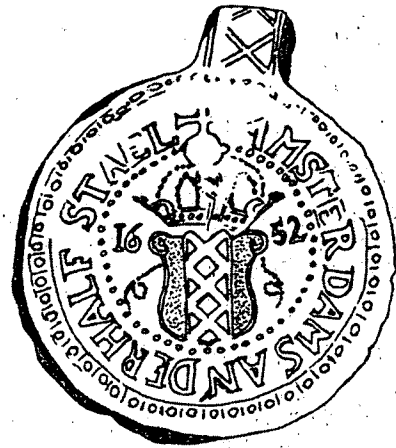
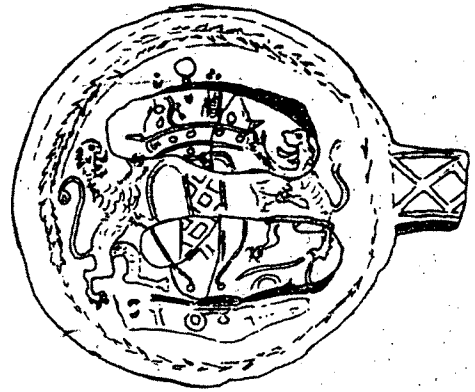


Figure 13. Cloth seal; Top) front: coat of arms of Amsterdam (1639) (?); Bottom) reverse: coat of arms of Amsterdam 1652; legend: (A)MSTERDAMS ANDERHALF STAEL; from Amsterdam, MH7-59. Archeologisch Depot Amsterdam collection, courtesy of Jan A. den Das.

There is only one fragment from the Allen site (1656-1666) which perhaps is an AMSTERDAMS GROOT DUBBELT STAEL seal. An example of such a seal, dated 1647, was excavated in Denmark (FIG. 15; see also Liebgott 1975: 43, FIG. 24).

Through the 17th century, with increasing frequency, clothiers attached their own seals to cloth besides or instead of a city seal. Initially this met with resistance from the municipalities, but by the middle of the 16th century clothiers' seals were quite common. Examples of these are among the finds from the Dann

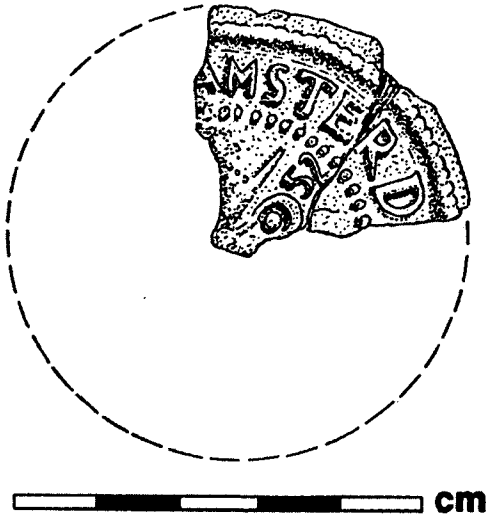


Figure 14. Cloth seal fragment; reverse: (coat of arms of Amsterdam) (16)52; legend: AMSTERD(AMS ANDERHALF STAEL); from the Onondaga Lot 18 site. Courtesy of James W. Bradley.

site and the Dungey site. Further research on these marks might establish not only their towns of origin but also particular clothiers.

Since several sites have provided pieces of cloth, it is also possible to learn something about the Kampen duffels or the Amsterdam cloth themselves from excavated examples in the collections at the Rochester Museum and Science Center. The duffels were of a coarse quality of cloth and were used especially for cloaks. They were fabrics of 6 to 8 yarns per centimeter. Several fabrics excavated at the Dann site belong to this category. The finer fabric probably came from Amsterdam and may have been cloth of more than ten yarns per centimeter, such as a fragment from the Steele site. Knitted objects, including gloves, stockings, or bonnets, were also traded in addition to complete items such as coats.

In summary it can be said that the cloth that came to Iroquois sites was traded via Amsterdam, handled by Amsterdam merchants who purchased the duffels in Kampen. From Amsterdam the goods were transported to New Netherland. To these duffels two types of seals were attached: one round, the other tubular. From the total inventory of excavated lead seals, with 50 seals from Kampen, it can be concluded the greater part of the cloth must

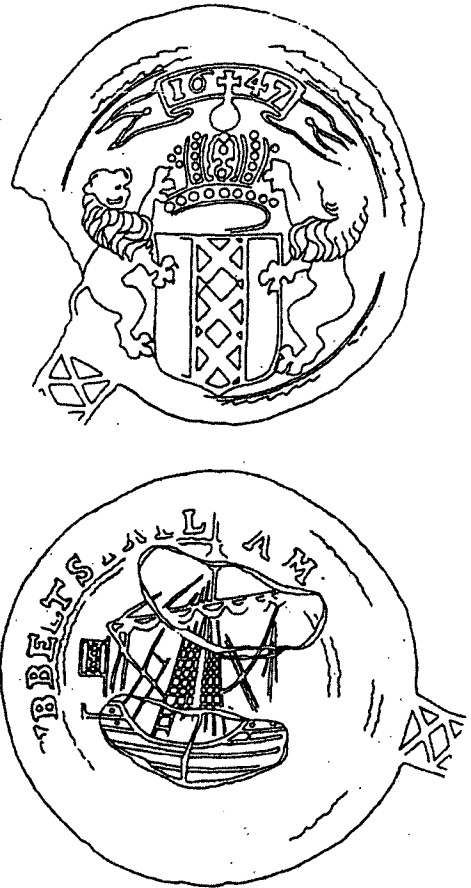


Figure 15. Cloth seal; Top) front: coat of arms of Amsterdam 1647; Bottom) reverse, legend: AM(STERDAMS GROOT DV)BBELT S(TAE)L; from Copenhagen, Denmark. Courtesy of Niels-Knud Liebgott.

have been imported from that town. The earliest Kampen cloth seal dates from around 1630. The Kampen seals are particularly numerous in the 1660s. In Kampen, duffels were made following the example of Leiden. The regulations of 1657 show that Kampen duffels had by that time become a speciality of that town.

It is remarkable that seals of the Leiden duffels were predominantly tube seals, as few have been found. The seals for Amsterdam cloth are mainly dyeing seals of ANDERHALF STAEL type. The reason for this is that other seals were probably removed before the dyeing process took place, and afterwards only the STAEL seals were attached. The coarse quality cloths with 6 to 8 threads per cen-

timer were the duffels mentioned in the documentary sources. The cloth that was dyed in Amsterdam probably belonged to the better qualities of cloth. There is still much to be learned from study of the distribution of seals at Indian and Dutch sites and the marks that are on them.

Acknowledgements

The inventory of the Kampen, Leiden, and Amsterdam seals excavated in the United States is based on personal research, personal communications, publications of the William M. Beauchamp Chapter of the New York State Archaeological Association, and information from the following individuals: Monte Bennett, James W. Bradley (ArchLink, Charlestown, Massachusetts), William Carter (Lewis Morgan Chapter, New York State Archaeological Association), Gordon DeAngelo (Chittenango, New York), Charles F. Hayes (formerly of the Rochester Museum and Science Center), Paul R. Huey (New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Bureau of Historic Sites, Waterford, New York), Donald A. Rumrill, Daryl Wonderly (Chenango Chapter, New York State Archaeological Association, Munnsville, New York), and Charles F. Wray.

References

- Anonymous
n.d. Van de draperye binnen desse stadt Campen. Archive Kampen, Oud-Archief der gemeente Kampen, inv. nr. 2217, 1657, 1612.
- Baart, Jan M.
1981 Spin- en weefgereedschappen en loden afkomstig van het Amsterdamse stadskeronderzoek. In *Textiele Bodemvondsten*, 3-14. Commissie tot Behoud van Museaal Textielbezit.
1985 Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee en Nederlanders, de wisselwerking tussen de materiële culturen van autochtonen en allochtonen in 17e-eeuws Nieuw-Nederland. In *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 84(2/3): 89-99.
1987 Dutch Material Civilization: Daily Life Between 1650-1776: Evidence from Archaeology. In *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776*, ed. by Roderic H. Blackburn and Nancy A. Kelley, 1-11. Published by Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany.
1988a De Materiële Stadskultuur. In *De Hollandse stad in de dertiende eeuw*, ed. by E.H.P. Cordfunke, F.W.N. Hugenholz, and Kl. Sierksma, 93-112. Publicatie van de Stichting Comité Oud Muiderberg, Number 39. Walburg Press, Zutphen.
1988b Amsterdam: Centrum. In *Archeologische kroniek van Holland over 1987, I: Noord-Holland*, ed. by P.J. Woltering, 297-300. Vol. 20 of *Holland*. State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands (ROB), Amersfoort.
- Baart, Jan, Wiard Krook, Ab Lagerweij, Nina Ockers, et al.
1977 *Opgravingen in Amsterdam: 20 jaar stadskeronderzoek*. Unieboek b.v., Bussum.
- Beauchamp, William M.
1903 *Metallic Ornaments of the New York Indians*. New York State Museum Bulletin 73. University of the State of New York, Albany.
- Bennett, Monte
1984a *Recent Findings in Oneida Indian Country. Chenango Chapter*, NYSAA, Bulletin 21(1).
1984b *The Stone Quarry Site (MSV 4-2), a Mid-seventeenth Century Oneida Iroquois Station in Central New York. Chenango Chapter*, NYSAA, Bulletin 21(2).
- Bradley, James W.
1980 Dutch Bale Seals from 17th-century Onondaga Iroquois Sites in New York State. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* (14): 197-200.
1987 *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500-1655*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, N.Y.
- Ceci, Lynn.
1980 The First Fiscal Crisis in New York. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 28(4): 839-847.
- Egan, Geoff
1994 *Lead Cloth Seals and Related Items in the British Museum*. Occasional Paper, 93. The British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, London.
- Gehring, Charles T., and William A. Starna (trans. and eds.)
1988 *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635*. Syracuse University Press,

Syracuse, N.Y.

Hudig, Ferrand W.

- 1923 *Das glas, mit besonderer berücksichtigung der sammlung im Nederlandsch museum voor geschiedenis en kunst in Amsterdam.* Norbertus buch- und kunstdr., Vienna; im selbstverlag des verfassers, Amsterdam.

Huey, Paul R.

- 1988 *Aspects of Continuity and Change in Colonial Dutch Material Culture at Fort Orange, 1624-1664.* Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- 1991 *The Dutch at Fort Orange.* In *Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective*, ed. by Lisa Falk, 21-67. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

Liebott, Niels-Knud

- 1975 *Da Klaede var en "Maerkevere."* Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark, Copenhagen.

Noordkerk, Hermannus

- 1748 *Handvesten; ofte privilegien ende octroyen; mitsgaders willekeuren costuimen, ordonantien en handelingen der stad Amstelredam.* Vol. I. Hendrick van Waesberge, Amsterdam.

Posthumus, N.W.

- 1939 *De Geschiedenis van de Leidsche Lakenindustrie.* Volume II. Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage.

Rombouts, Gillis

- 1656 *Weversbinnenhuis.* Painting in the collection of the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

Rumrill, Donald A.

- 1985 *An Interpretation and Analysis of the Seventeenth Century Mohawk Nation; its Chronology and Movements.* *The Bulletin and Journal of Archaeology for New York State* 90: 1-39.

van Laer, A.J.F., (trans. and ed.)

- 1908 *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts.* University of the State of New York, Albany.

Wray, Charles F.

- 1985 *The Volume of Dutch Trade Goods Received by the Seneca Iroquois, 1600-1687 A.D.* *New Netherland Studies: Bulletin KNOB* 84(2/3): 100-112.

Wray, Charles F., and H.L. Schoff

- 1953 *A Preliminary Report on the Seneca Sequence in Western New York, 1550-1687.* *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 23(2): 53-63.

J.M. Baart

IJdijk 33-35
2063 JS Spaarndam
The Netherlands
janbaart@hetnet.nl