

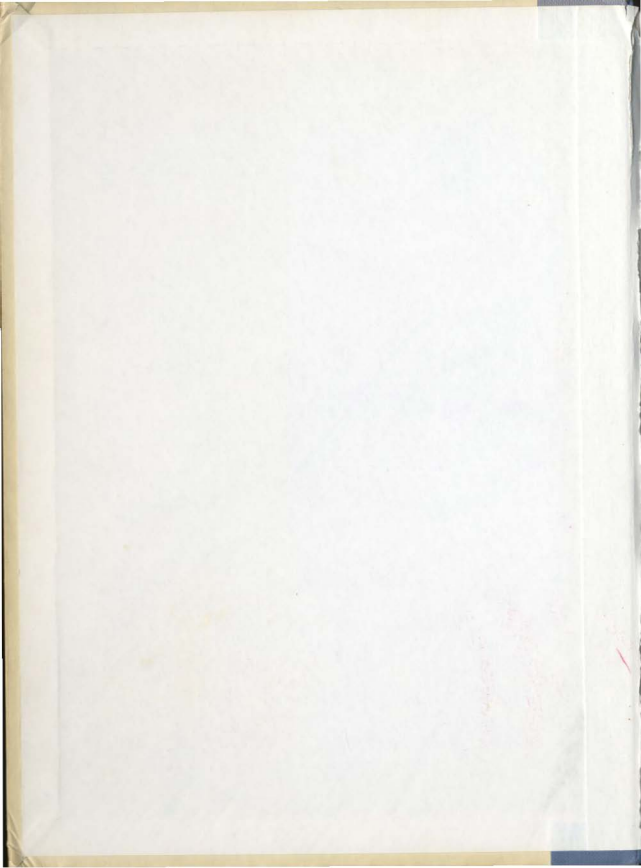
A HISTORY OF DUTCH ACTIVITY IN THE NEWFOUNDLAND  
FISH TRADE FROM ABOUT 1590 TILL 1680

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# ABSTRACT

OF

A HISTORY of DUTCH ACTIVITY in the NEWFOUNDLAND FISH

TRADE FROM ABOUT 1580 TILL ABOUT 1680.

At the end of the sixteenth century the Dutch started trading in Newfoundland cod between the ports in western England and the markets in south-west Europe. In the early years of the seventeenth century they started trading and fishing at Newfoundland. After the example of the English, who even before 1585 used to bring their fish directly from Newfoundland to the markets in Europe, the Dutch bought cod in Newfoundland and carried it to the European markets. They extended this trade gradually. And in the third and fourth decade of this century, they greatly threatened the English Newfoundland fish trade. One group of English merchants feared this threat and warned against it, but another group, that of the West Country, needed the Dutch for carrying their fish. Neither the West Countrymen nor the Londoners had ships enough to carry it all.

Three times during this century the economic rivalry and tension between England and Holland came to an explosion. During the first war only a number of bankers were taken by Dutch "capers" (privateers) on their way to Europe. However, during the second and third war, warfare was brought over to Newfoundland by the Dutch. They wanted to damage the English fishery there in order to harm this part of the English economy. On the order of the States-General of October 1664, Admiral De Huyter went to Newfoundland

in 1665. a few of his captains raided Petty Harbour and Bay Bulls, and he went to St.John's himself. The land was plundered, but nothing was set fire to in St.John's. This place was not defended by its governor or any of the inhabitants, although enough guns were available.

In spite of the damage done by the Dutch, and the loss of ships and goods by the English, nothing was done for the defence of the fishery in Newfoundland. Therefore during the third war, four Dutch ships were able to raid Ferryland without any difficulty. During the next few years also French Bankers were taken at Newfoundland. Then the Dutch lost interest in Newfoundland and appeared no longer on its shores.

A HISTORY of DUTCH ACTIVITY in the NEWFOUNDLAND FISH TRADE  
FROM ABOUT 1590 TILL ABOUT 1680

by DICKY GLERUM - LAURENTIUS

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"Submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts  
Memorial University of Newfoundland,  
Date, June 24, 1960.

This thesis has been examined and approved by

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## P R E F A C E

The aim of this thesis has originally been to collect the most important facts hitherto known about activity of Dutch traders at Newfoundland and in the Newfoundland fish trade. Several authors such as D.W.Prowse, Dr.Ch.B.Judah Jr., and Dr.R.G.Lounsbury, mentioned the Dutch in their stories of Newfoundland. However, these were often short references, which were insufficient to give an impression of the place of the Dutch in the Newfoundland trade or the activities of the Dutch at Newfoundland. Mainly English sources are used for this thesis, but also Dutch material was found.

An account is given of a few of the last activities of the Dutch at Newfoundland, namely the raids on St.John's of 1665 by Admiral De Ruyter and the plundering of Ferryland in 1673 by Cornelis Evertsen Den Jonge. Dutch papers formed the main source for this account, which was completed with English material.

After a thorough review of the documents concerned, I came to the conclusion that it was not the Dutch, who introduced direct voyages between Newfoundland and Europe, as Dr.R.G.Lounsbury had suggested in his book The British Fishery at Newfoundland 1634-1763. Already before 1585, the English frequented this trade.

A few years ago, as a student at the University of Leyden, my interest was aroused in the early history of Newfoundland. I am very

much indebted to the Canada Council for granting me a scholarship, as the first student from Holland, to study a year at a Canadian University. Thanks to this scholarship I was able to study at Memorial University of Newfoundland during the academic year 1958-1959.

With the friendly encouragement and kind assistance of Professor Dr.G.O.Rothney the research for this thesis was started at St.John's. Some additional research was done at the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London.

After my return in Holland I was able to find a number of Dutch papers that could complete the English material.

This thesis has mainly been written in Holland. And sometimes English expressions of the sixteenth or seventeenth century are used with no special indication. This has been done to keep as close to the documents as possible.

Toronto, June 23, 1960.

Dicky Glerum-Laurentius.

## INTRODUCTION .

During the latter part of the sixteenth century great changes were taking place in the Low Countries. A rapid development of trade and commerce was experienced. This trade supplied the Dutch with enough money to fight the Spaniards. And during the next century it brought them great wealth. The seventeenth century in the Netherlands is known as "the Golden Age".

When in 1555, Philip II succeeded his father on the throne of Spain, the Netherlands became part of the Spanish Kingdom. It is known that Philip II had great schemes for uniting Europe. The idea, to which he devoted his whole life, was to unite Western and Southern Europe under the rule of the House of Habsburg. The aim was to reinforce the Holy Roman Empire. But according to his ideas this meant a Holy Roman Empire under the rule of a devout Roman Catholic Spain. He wanted to free Europe from the curse of the Reformation. All the areas where the Roman Catholic faith had formerly been confessed, had to be brought back under the Church of Rome. It was his vocation, Philip II felt, to fight for this idea and to fulfill this holy order.<sup>1)</sup>

A tremendous amount of capital was needed to accomplish these great schemes, which meant warfare all over Europe. And here we are at the root of the weakness of all the plans of Philip II: the problem of finance.<sup>2)</sup>

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1) H.A.L. Fisher, A History of Europe from the earliest times to 1713, p.581. Cited hereafter as: Fisher, History of Europe.

2) Ibid., p.583.

Spain owned a vast surface of the globe, in the old world as well as in the new world. But it was in perpetual want of money, although it had access to the richest mineral resources then known to exist in the world.

The main reason for this situation was that the Spanish government was not able to create a general policy which would enable them to obtain a sufficient amount of the money which flowed into Spain. Ignorance of economic laws and a vicious system of taxation aggravated this situation. Therefore the King could raise but little money from his own country.<sup>3)</sup>

Spain did not provide the king with enough money to finance his plans. He had to look elsewhere. His attention fell on the Netherlands. Antwerp had become a great international centre of trade on the Atlantic seaboard. Amsterdam was rising from a mere herring fishery centre, to an important port for the trade between the European States which were situated near the Atlantic littoral. The Netherlands were a wealthy country and this was a place where Philip II could hope to get the necessary money.

To achieve his aims the Spanish king had to see to it that the two countries would be bound to each other by solid ties. In Brussels in 1555, Philip succeeded his father to the Spanish throne.<sup>4)</sup> He had to stay in the Netherlands for a few years and left in 1559, for Spain.<sup>5)</sup> Although he lived in the Netherlands

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3) ibid., pp. 583, 584.

4) ibid., p. 531.

5) Prof. Dr. I. H. Gosses en Dr. N. Japikse, Handboek tot de Staatskondige Geschiedenis van Nederland, p. 337. Cited hereafter as; Gosses - Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland.



for a number of years, he could not speak its languages.<sup>6)</sup> He could not understand the people of the Low Countries, who were proud of their chartered rights and provincial privileges.<sup>7)</sup> He thought a centralized government, which would be completely dependent on his decisions, was necessary in order to keep these people quiet and willing to provide him with the necessary money.

The presence of Spanish troops in the Netherlands, the terrible cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition, a government which was only a mouth-piece of the King, all this together made the people of the Netherlands hate the Spaniards. Why not native troops, why this terrible inquisition? And why were the native aristocrats in the Council not consulted, as the king promised before he left the country in 1559?<sup>8)</sup> The Cardinal Granvelle, the most important member of the Consulta, the secret council of advice to the governess Margaret, Duchess of Parma, was hated intensely. The native noblemen wondered how long they were to endure these outrages<sup>9)</sup> without being able to protest against it by diplomatic means.

During the years between 1555 and 1568, there was a great deal of trouble in the Netherlands and sometimes the beginning of a revolt. When in 1567 Philip sent the Duke of Alva to the Netherlands with an army of Italian and Spanish mercenaries, to replace the Duchess of Parma as governor of the Netherlands, the revolt<sup>10)</sup> against Spain became a fact.

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6) ibid., pp.337,338.

7) Fisher, History of Europe, p.588.

8) ibid., p.588; Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p.388.

9) Gosses - Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, pp.339,340.

Fisher, History of Europe, p.588.

10) Gosses - Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, pp.346,347,350.

Fisher, History of Europe, p.591.

It took eighty years before the Spanish King recognized the independence of seven of the provinces of the Netherlands, formerly belonging to Spain. This is usually called the "Eighty Years War". But until 1581 it is considered by some Dutch historians to be a revolt against Spain, rather than a war. In July of that year a group of provinces, headed by Holland and Zealand, decided to renounce their allegiance to the King of Spain. All the civil servants had to swear a new oath of their allegiance to the United Netherlands. By taking this oath, they were discharged from their oath to Philip II. This is known as the "Abjuration". From then on the revolt of these provinces of the Netherlands became a war<sup>11)</sup> between "the United Netherlands and the King of Spain".

After several years of looking for another sovereign and experiencing failures the Republic of the United Provinces came into being in 1588. It was not decided upon nor proclaimed officially. The establishment was the result of the developments in the internal structure of the state after 1572.<sup>12)</sup> The first ten years of the Republic, 1588-1598, are the most remarkable of the "Eighty Years War".<sup>13)</sup> Here we see the emancipation of a state, formed by seven provinces, which revolted against the King of Spain, developing into an important Republic recognized by its most important neighbours, England and France.

At the same time the Dutch were fighting the Spaniards they expanded their trade. The money for the war came from the trade.

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11) Gosses - Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p.403.

Fisher, History of Europe, p.595.

12) Gosses - Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p.422.

13) ibid., p.450.

Holland and Zealand, the two provinces on the coast of the North Sea, paid the largest share of all the costs of the war. They could only do this by their flourishing trade. The prosperity of the trade of these provinces was mainly due to the enterprising Dutch merchants who, with their own ships, sought to extend trade through new markets and new products.<sup>14)</sup>

For centuries the Dutch had practised the herring fishery. It was the original basis from which they started trade. In the beginning it was only coastal trade. But later on they went to the seas and oceans. From fishermen and carriers they became the most important traders of the world.<sup>15)</sup>

While the Dutch trade originated in the fishery, its flourishing state originated in the trade between "East" and "West", that is Eastern and Western Europe.<sup>16)</sup> Holland was the storekeeper for all sorts of commodities needed by European countries.

At the end of the sixteenth century there came a rapid development of this trade, which continued during the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1609 the famous Bank of Exchange was established in Amsterdam. The Dutch merchants were not content to trade only within Europe. For years there had been a profitable spice-trade in Europe. This trade had mainly been in the hands of the Dutch. The spices were brought to the Iberian Peninsula from the East Indies by Spanish or Portuguese carriers. Lisbon was the most important port for this trade. There this commodity was sold

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14) S. van Brakel, De Hollandische Handelscompagnieën der zeventiende eeuw. Inleiding p.XI.

15) ibid., Inleiding p.XV.

16) ibid., p.39.

to Dutch merchants mainly, who carried it to other parts of Europe.

This trade to Spain and Portugal was sometimes difficult for the Dutch. Especially after 1580, they had trouble. Dutch ships were arrested by the Spanish King. But in spite of the dangers at the Iberian Peninsula, the Dutch persisted in going there. The profits were high enough in comparison to the risks.<sup>17)</sup> And for a number of years this trade was still the main source of income, from which the war against Spain was financed. But the wealth of an expanding world commerce nourished the war effort greatly. However, some of the traders thought it wiser not to keep on trading in Spain only, but also to go to the East Indies themselves. If they were able to find the searoute to the Indies, hitherto known to Spaniards and Portuguese only, they could perhaps get the products of the Indies cheaper.<sup>18)</sup>

From now on Dutch fleets went all over the world to discover new seas and lands. A Dutch captain wintered at Nova Zembla. Several fleets went to the East Indies to look for profitable trading. Many small companies were established for the trade to the East Indies. And in 1602 these companies were brought together into the United East India Company.<sup>19)</sup>

Dutch navigators did not go to the East Indies only. They also went to the coast of North and South America. Several of them passed the Banks of Newfoundland on their way to America. And we

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17) Mr. J. A. van der Chijs, Geschiedenis der Stichting van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, p. 14.

18) Van Brakel, De Hollandische Handelscompagnieën der zeventiende eeuw, Inleiding, p. II V.

19) Gosses - Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p. 446.  
This Company is known to the English as the Dutch East India Company; Fisher, History of Europe, p. 599.

know from their journals that they discovered the abundance of cod on the Banks.

This was the situation of the Dutch trade and navigation about 1609, when the Republic was able to conclude a victorious truce with the first military power in Europe. The Dutch had shown themselves to be definitely superior to the Spaniards at sea.<sup>20)</sup>

The Dutch were using their surplus energy and capital to expand their trade. Everywhere they were seen trading and establishing factories. And one of these places of trade visited by the Dutch during most of the seventeenth century was Newfoundland.

Before the turn of the century they had traded in English-caught Newfoundland fish, which they bought in England. But in the beginning of the seventeenth century they went to Newfoundland to buy fish and to fish themselves. However, this fishery never developed very greatly, although the fish trade was important enough. For a while it formed a threat to the English Newfoundland trade. This threat, however, did not become too dangerous.

The Dutch were not as much interested in America as they were in the East Indies. The immediate profits of that trade were much larger than those of the trade with the Americas. In several parts of America there were Dutch colonies. Brasil, a Portuguese possession, was conquered by the Dutch, and they founded a Dutch colony in North America, which they called New Netherland. They also got footholds in the West Indies. But the population of the Dutch Republic was not large enough to permit emigration on a scale necessary for colonisation of other parts. If the Dutch threatened the

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20) Fisher, History of Europe, p.598, 599.

English fishery at Newfoundland, both by fishermen and traders from Holland and from New Netherland, they could not oust the English from their Newfoundland fishery and trade because of too few people, a lack of funds in the colony and a lack of encouragement from the government at home.

It is likely that the importance of the Newfoundland trade in the economy of the Republic was not very great. No regulations for this trade were made by the States-General until 1657. But Newfoundland is one of the places where the economic rivalry between England and Holland in the seventeenth century played an important part in the development of the English trade.

## CHAPTER I

### THE BEGINNING of DUTCH ACTIVITY in THE TRADE IN NEWFOUNDLAND COD.

We have explained that the Dutch started trading at Newfoundland in the beginning of the seventeenth century. During the last decade of the sixteenth century they carried Newfoundland fish from English ports to other parts of Europe. English fishermen used to go out to Newfoundland in the spring and bring back their catch to England in the fall. But for several years before the Dutch started doing so, the English also made direct voyages between Newfoundland and the markets in Europe. They brought their catch immediately from Newfoundland to Spain or Italy, at the end of the fishing season.

It was thought before, that the Dutch were the first to make these direct voyages; and that only later on the English followed this example and went directly to southwestern Europe.<sup>1)</sup> The author who brought forward this hypothesis was Dr.R.G.Lounsbury. In his book The British Fishery at Newfoundland 1634-1763, he wrote the following:

"It is likely that the Dutch, always alert in shipping

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1) Dr.R.G.Lounsbury, The British Fishery at Newfoundland 1634 - 1763, p.37. Cited hereafter as, Lounsbury, British Fishery.

matters, introduced direct voyages from Newfoundland to Spain and the Mediterranean as early as 1593." <sup>2)</sup>

Lounsbury partly based this statement on the declaration of Sir Walter Raleigh in Parliament of March 23, 1593, that

".....the Dutchman by his policy hath gotten trading with all the world into his hands, yea he is now entring into the trade of Scarborough fishing, and the fishing of the New-Found-Lands <sup>3)</sup> which is the stay of the West-Countries....."

The question is: what did Raleigh mean by "the New-Found-Lands"? It is very well possible that he meant by this the fishing in the complete area of the newly discovered lands. So far, no reference has been found in Dutch documents which can prove that Dutch traders went to Newfoundland before 1600, either to fish or to trade.

That the Dutch did not introduce direct voyages between Newfoundland and the European markets, is backed by an English source. Lounsbury wrote that "although the merchants of the West of England had been concerned with the Newfoundland fishery from the earliest times, they did not become interested in carrying their fish to foreign markets in English bottoms until after 1610". As long as the West Countrymen were content to permit foreigners to carry English-caught fish from Newfoundland to southwestern Europe in their own vessels, "the trade was necessarily roundabout and the profits accruing to English traders were small. However, after 1610 direct voyages were undertaken from Newfoundland to the foreign markets in increasing numbers" <sup>4)</sup>

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2) ibid., p.37.

3) Leo F. Stock, Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, vol. I, p.7. Cited hereafter as Stock, Proceedings and Debates.

4) Lounsbury, British Fishery, p.35.



Probably more than twenty-five years earlier than Lounsbury suggested, it was the English who carried Newfoundland fish to Spain, the most important of the European markets. This was known to the English government and it was a matter of concern during the period of tension and, later on, war between England and Spain.

Queen Elisabeth I thought it meet to send warships to the Newfoundland Banks to warn the English fishermen, who were fishing there and intended to go to Spain to sell their fish in that country, not to go thither,- this to avoid the dangers lying in that country for English ships. She sent Barnard Drake with a few warships to the Banks and in his Commission of June 24, 1585, we can read the two purposes of his voyage. The first was a warning to the fishermen, as mentioned; the second was seizure of as many Spanish ships fishing on the Banks, as possible:<sup>5)</sup>

"Whereas we have been given to understand that the ships and goods of our subjects have lately been arrested in Spain, and others of our subjects who employ themselves in the fishing at the Newfoundland are determined to make sale of their fish in Spain, we have thought meet to send Barnard Drake not only to advertise our subjects to avoid this danger, but to join with him in doing their best endeavours to seize all ships appertaining to the King of Spain or his subjects, and bring them into some of the Western ports of our realm without dispersing any part of their lading until our further pleasure be known."

The result of this voyage was very good for England, as is known. The Spanish fishing fleet was seriously damaged and the Spanish government hesitated to send any fishing ships at all to the Banks in the following year. But during a number of years

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5) Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, vol.IV., 1675-1676, with addenda 1574- 1674, p.28. Cited hereafter as, Cal.St.P.,Col. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1581-1590, p.246. Cited hereafter as, Cal.St.P., Dom.

warships were sent in retaliation for this English raid and therefore the Spanish were a nuisance to the English fishery there. The Spanish Newfoundland fishery did not recover completely from the blow of 1585.

However, this part of Drake's Commission is not the most important to us. The first point can tell us something about the English fishery. Lounsbury mentioned this first point, but did not conclude what seems clear to us. He wrote that English shipping at Newfoundland had to be warned by Drake not to sail for Spanish ports.<sup>6)</sup> This means that as early as 1585 English ships used to make direct voyages between Newfoundland and Spain. This is eight years earlier than Lounsbury assumed that the Dutch introduced direct voyages between Newfoundland and Spain.<sup>7)</sup> The English used to go fishing at Newfoundland and after finishing they went immediately to Spain to sell their fish. They did not touch at any of the ports of Western England, but made a direct voyage.

The Commission of Drake says that English subjects "who employ themselves in the fishing at the Newfoundland are determined to make sale of their fish in Spain".<sup>8)</sup> This alone would not indicate that they went directly to Spain from the fishing grounds. But the next part of this sentence of the order shows that they indeed made a direct voyage. Barnard Drake had to advertise the English subjects fishing at Newfoundland to avoid the danger of an arrest of their ships in Spain. If these ships had been going to England first and to Spain from there, it would not have been necessary for Queen Elisabeth to give Drake the order to warn the

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6) Lounsbury, British Fishery, p.28. 7) ibid., p.37.

8) Cal.St.P., Col., vol.IV, p.28.

fishermen. They would have heard about the arrest of English ships and goods in Spain, immediately after their arrival in England, but they did not sail to England before they went to Spain. For this reason it was necessary to warn the fishermen about the dangers awaiting them in Spain, which were still unknown to them.

From this we may conclude that the assumption of Lounsbury that it was the Dutch who introduced direct voyages between Newfoundland and Spain, does not prove to be true. Already in 1585 the English planned to sell their fish in Spain, immediately after finishing their fishing on the Banks, and they went in such numbers that Queen Elizabeth had to send ships of war to Newfoundland in order to warn her subjects about the danger of arrest of their ships, which awaited them in Spain. It is likely that the English had made these direct voyages to Spain for several years and with a rather considerable number of ships.

A number of fishermen brought their cargoes of Newfoundland fish to the markets in southwestern Europe, but many fishermen still returned home and sold their fish in the ports of western England. It was bought by traders from different European countries, French, Dutch and Flemings. Between them the Flemings and Dutch played an important part. In 1595 the mayor of Plymouth wrote that a number of English ships, all laden with fish from Newfoundland, had arrived in the harbour. It was thought that this fish would be "laden away again by Flemings and Frenchmen that have their ships here ready for the game".<sup>9)</sup> In the summer of 1596 the same mayor wrote that

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9) Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, vol.V, p.386. Cited hereafter as Hist.MSS. Com., Salisbury Papers.

the choice of the fish usually was "carried away by Flemings and such as are accustomed to transport the same from hence".<sup>10)</sup> In September 1597, Dutch, Irish, and Frenchmen were lying ready with their ships in the harbour of Plymouth to buy fish from the returning Newfoundland fishermen, as soon as they would arrive in the harbour.<sup>11)</sup>

The Dutch traded in Newfoundland fish between the ports in Western England and the markets in southwestern Europe. But they did not go out to fish themselves on the Banks of Newfoundland before the turn of the century. Only then they got interested in a voyage to Newfoundland to fish there or to buy fish and bring it to the European markets. Most of the Newfoundland fish taken by Englishmen and brought into the ports of the West Country, was sold to Dutch traders and carried away by them to the respective markets. From several voyages made specially to discover new lands and straits, and from mainly Portuguese maps the Dutch got to know the position of the Newfoundland Banks and the riches of the sea there. However, they did not carry cod between Newfoundland and Europe until later. They were certainly not the traders which introduced direct trading voyages between these two countries. The English Newfoundland fishermen sold their fish in Spain, without first going to an English port, several years before the Dutch went to Newfoundland for the first time.

At the turn of the century the situation seems to change.

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10) Hist.MSS.Com., Salisbury Papers, vol.VI, p.337.  
11) Ibid., vol.VII, p.385.

The stories of the great riches of the sea on the Banks and the profits of a fishing voyage to Newfoundland formed an incentive for Dutch traders to try it there themselves.

On April 1, 1597 Jodocus Hondius, one of the best Dutch map-makers of that time, obtained a patent from the States-General that he alone was allowed to make a new "Globum terrestrum", drawn by himself, different from all others, and completely corrected.<sup>12)</sup> One of the corrections, which he made on this globe, was with regard to Terra Nova, taking the works of the Portuguese mapmaker Ludovico Texeira as an example.

In 1598 one of these voyages to discover new lands and straits and to reconnoitre newly found lands, was undertaken by Hendrik Ottsen.<sup>13)</sup> The aim of his voyage was the reconnoitring of all the rivers, roads and places along the coast of America from Rio de la Plata in the south to Terra Nova in the north. However, this expedition failed and Ottsen never touched at Terra Nova at all.

At the same time Dutch traders got interested in setting up their own Newfoundland fishery. They asked for assistance from the government for such a fishery. But the government was not very enthusiastic and refused such assistance.

The first request for assistance mentioned in the Resolutions of the States-General came from Pieter van Vossele. In October, 1600, he asked to be assisted by the States with two ships "to bring the fishery of Terra Nova in train with these ships". However,

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- 12) De Tweede Schipvaart der Nederlanders Naar Oost-Indie. Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten Vereeniging, deel XLIV, Inleiding, p. XLVII.
- 13) Journal van de reis naar Zuid-Amerika (1598-1601) door Hendrik Ottsen. Werken Linschoten Vereeniging, deel XVI, p. 83.

his request was rejected on the thirteenth of November of that year. 14)

Another request was made in 1601. This time to the States of the province of Zealand. Two traders, Lieven Janssen and Jacques Lampins with their associates, had decided to prepare three ships for a voyage to Newfoundland to see whether it would be granted to these countries to pursue this navigation like the French and others did. They asked the States for ten or twelve pieces of ordnance, complete with ball and powder and the exemption from the "Convoyen gaende ende komende", an impost on ships, leaving or coming into a harbour. In their assembly of February 9, 1601, the States decided to give them the twelve pieces of ordnance, with ball and powder and the exemption from the "Convoyen", as asked for. 15)

To the request of Simon Simonssen Danser, asking exemption from the "Convoyen" and assistance with guns, to activate the navigation to Terra Nova, the States acceded to the first point. A short while later they agreed also to the second part of the request. 16)

In 1606 the same Simon Simonssen Danser got a letter of marque from his Excellency the Prince of Orange and approved by the States-General, to sail for the Grand Bank. However, it was specially regulated that he was not allowed to disturb or do any harm to the Newfoundland fishermen or their fishery. And he had to find security for this to the amount of twenty thousand guilders. 17)

Other people touched at Newfoundland. On his famous voyage to America in Dutch service in 1609, Henry Hudson came on the

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14) Resolutien der Staten-Generaal, 1600-1601, p.345.

15) Notulen van de Staten van Zeeland, 9 Februari, 1601.

16) Notulen van de Staten van Zeeland, 23 December 1602, 24 December 1602, 8 Januari 1603.

17) Resolutien der Staten-Generaal, 1604-1606, p.809.

Banks and his crew caught a good bit of cod there.<sup>18)</sup> Van Meteren, a Dutch historian of that time, wrote in his Belgian Wars that on the way back to Europe, Hudson had to decide where to stay for the winter. In open sea this was discussed with members of the crew and different opinions were brought forward. One of the boatmen, a Dutchman, thought it best to stay at Terra Nova.<sup>19)</sup> However, Hudson did not like this idea and went back to Ireland. It seems likely that this Dutchman knew about Newfoundland. Perhaps he had been there before.

In 1611 the States-General sent an expedition to search for a north east passage to the East Indies, the Strait of Anian, as they called it. But besides this, the instruction was given to the crew of the two ships which formed this expedition, to pay attention to the coast of Canada with regard to trade.<sup>20)</sup> The two ships, "De Craen" and "De Vos", skipper Jan Cornelisz. May, went to the Arctic and from there to the coast of Nova Francia to stay there for the winter. On the twentieth of October, 1611, they came on the Banks of Newfoundland and on the twenty-fourth they were very near the coast of the island. In the Journal of "De Vos", May wrote that they saw the land of "Terranoef" about four miles west of them. And the land was high. They sailed along the coast in the afternoon looking for roads. But they found the land high with many islands off the coast and rocks and a stony seabottom;

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18) Henry Hudson's Reize onder Nederlandsche Vlag, Van Amsterdam naar Nova Zembla, Amerika en terug naar Dartmouth in Engeland, Werken Linschoten-Vereeniging, deel XII, pp.21-24.

19) ibid., p.108.

20) De Reis van Jan Cornelisz. May, 1611-1612, Werken Linschoten-Vereeniging deel I, p.XLVII.

however, no roads they liked. For this reason they went from there along the coast to the south and in the evening they saw "a corner where the land extended to the southwest, which was the farthest corner of the land from where it again extended to the West, to Nova Francia?"<sup>21)</sup>

In 1620 a private voyage was made by a trader from Amsterdam, without any assistance from the government. David Pietersz. de Vries was born in 1592 or 1593 in La Rochelle, of Dutch parents. His father had lived there since 1584, but a few years after the birth of David he returned to Holland.

When David was grown up, he went into the same business as his father: the trade into the Straits. In 1618-1619, he made his first voyage to the Mediterranean on his own newly-built ship. The ship was freighted by two Amsterdam traders, Daniel Colpijn and Pierre Jan Bonoeyt. When De Vries returned home in 1619, these two traders encouraged him to sell his ship and have another, bigger one made, which would be easier to defend than the former one, in which to do his own trading. De Vries could not decide upon it, but they urged him to have a new ship built. They knew that he was brought up with trading, as well in France as in Holland, and that he was well trained.<sup>22)</sup>

When this ship was ready, De Vries decided, with the approval of the two traders, to do something never practised before in

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21) *ibid.*, p.34,35.

22) Arche Historiae ende Journaels aenteyckeninge, van verscheyden voyagien in ...Amerika gedaen door David Pietersz. De Vries. Werken Linschoten-Vereeniging, deel III, Inleiding pp. XII - XVI, passim.



Holland: that was to sail to Newfoundland and load his ship with fish, to carry it from there to Italy.<sup>23)</sup>

So it happened. On June 10, 1620, De Vries sailed from Texel and west to England. In Weymouth he bought three guns for his ship. Besides, he took several letters from people there to bring to the fishermen at Newfoundland. He hoped that they would sell their fish to him, when he gave them their letters.<sup>24)</sup>

On the eighteenth of June he bought another three guns in Plymouth and after that he left England for Newfoundland. The next month, on the twenty-fifth he arrived on the Banks. He saw a lot of ships fishing there, but none of these wanted to meet De Vries, since he did not look like a fisherman. After a skirmish with one of the ships, which stayed too long to get away in time, De Vries asked at what height the ship was fishing. The fisherman answered he did not know, because he had not taken his height for eight days, as it was always foggy on the Banks. They exchanged ten or twelve codfish for two or three pieces of bacon and meat, which De Vries thought to be a fair deal.<sup>25)</sup>

On the twenty-ninth of July, the Dutch ship fell on shore at Terra Nova. In the darkness of the night the ship nearly perished on the rocks, but they were able to turn just in time to sail away from the dangerous spot. The next morning, returning to the place, the Dutch discovered a lot of Biscayan boats there. The Biscayans were shy of De Vries as they thought him to be a privateer. At last, De Vries was able to speak to one of them. This man told him that he was in Placentia Bay where the Biscayans usually fished.<sup>26)</sup>

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23) ibid., p.20)

24) ibid., p.23.

25) ibid., p.24.

26) ibid., p.24,25.

From there De Vries went to Cape Race in order to come to the English fishing places. On a beautiful, quiet day they rounded the Cape and on the fourth of August they came into a bay, which De Vries called "Cappelinge", where there was a place, called "Ferrelandt". There he found seven or eight fishermen. He wanted to buy their fish, but everyone of them had already sold his catch.<sup>27)</sup> De Vries does not tell us who bought this fish, or to which markets the buyers carried their cargoes.

De Vries decided to reconnoitre the coast. Therefore he took one of the fishing boats to row along the coast. After visiting many harbours and bays, he returned to his ship, where he arrived back on the tenth. Back in the harbour he found near his ship a vessel of a hundred or a hundred and twenty ton's burden, which came from the Virginies laden with tobacco in order to exchange it for codfish.<sup>28)</sup>

In the next few pages of his Journal De Vries describes the situation of the harbour of St. John's and all he knows about Newfoundland. The entrance of the harbour was very small and difficult to pass, but the harbour itself was so spacious that at least a hundred ships could find a place there. The fishermen left their ships without anyone aboard as long as they were fishing.<sup>29)</sup>

Every year four to five hundred fishing vessels came into the harbours of Newfoundland, English, French as well as Biscayans. The English fished along the middle part of the east coast of the island, the French on the north side and the Biscayans on the south coast. There was plenty of fish, which they dried to be

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27) ibid., p.25.

28) ibid., p.25.

29) ibid., p.25,26.

transported to Italy. In Spain, France and even in England it was eaten by many people, just as was stockfish in the Netherlands. Moreover, there was plenty of salmon in the rivers.

When De Vries came into St. John's Harbour, there were sixteen fishing ships laying there. He traded with them and used all his money. Being ready he departed from St. John's in the beginning of September, together with four other ships among which was a ship of Aveiro in Portugal.

Outside the harbour two other ships, both English, joined them. Together they sailed for the Straits and passed the Narrows of Gibraltar on the third of October.

Other Dutch ships made the voyage between Newfoundland and southern Europe. In the Journal of De Vries no other Dutch ship is mentioned as being in Newfoundland. De Vries even declares that the Hollanders did not practise this trade at all. <sup>30)</sup> But other sources mention Dutch ships making this voyage in the same year as De Vries. Girolamo Lando, the Venetian Ambassador in England wrote to the Doge and Senate that he had news that the pirates in the seas of Spain had captured three Dutch and two English ships, laden with salted fish which they were taking to Italy <sup>31)</sup> from Newfoundland. This means that we have to be careful in using the Journal of De Vries. At that time the name "Dutch" was used for people from the Low Countries, as Flanders, Zealand and Holland, but also for people from Germany. Therefore "Dutch" traders might also mean traders from North West Germany. At Newfoundland <sup>32)</sup> also traders from Hamburg came to buy Newfoundland cod.

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30) *Ibid.*, p.20.

31) Calendar of State Papers, Venetian 1619-1621, p.473.

32) Cal.St.P.,Dom.,1627-1628, p.522.

However, it does not seem likely to us that the wide conception of the word "Dutch" is meant by the Venetian Ambassador in England. Moreover, John Guy, governor of Newfoundland during the second decade of the seventeenth century, sent a letter to Europe in 1612 by a Holland ship.<sup>33)</sup> Therefore it is likely that the story of De Vries is not reliable with regard to the point of Dutch ships at Newfoundland.

If the Dutch were not talking very much about the trade to Newfoundland, the English can tell us something more. The governor of the Colony of Newfoundland, John Guy, published a Proclamation on the thirteenth of August, 1611, where he said:

"The nowe governor of the saide countrie in our saide soveraigne Lord the Kinges name doth straightlie charge and command all persons of what nation soever, that shall frequente those portes to exercise the trade of fishinge, as well strangers as subiectes to our saide soveraigne Lord the Kinge, that they offend not in anie thinge forbidden by vertue of this proclamation, under the penalties herein specified, and as they will answere to the contrarie at their perrilles".<sup>34)</sup>

The Dutch formed part of these strangers. In his letter of May 16, 1611, Guy spoke about a Flemish ship which came to Newfoundland with salt from La Rochelle.<sup>35)</sup> And he sent his letter of July, 1612, with a Holland ship to Europe.<sup>36)</sup>

Sir Thos. Smith wrote in 1613 to Lord Rochester that apparently in that year the English insisted so absolutely upon the sole propriety and sovereignty of Newfoundland, that they "drew

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33) D.W.Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p.127.

34) C.O.I., vol.1, nos. 35-37.

35) D.W.Prowse, History of Newfoundland, p.127.

36) ibid., p.127.

off all Hollanders, French and Biscayans from the trade". The fleet of the Muscovy Company, which went to Newfoundland to kill whales, found twenty-one strange ships, Hollanders, French and Biscayans, and sent them all home, except two, who compounded with them. So they asserted the sole propriety of that place and trade.<sup>37)</sup>

In 1618 it was estimated that the Hollanders yearly raised nearly three times as much money from the fishery at Newfoundland as from the Icelandic and North Sea fisheries.<sup>38)</sup> But we have always to be careful with estimates from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. They are often far too high and not reliable, as seems this statement of 1618.

The Great Fishery of the Dutch, the herring fishery on the North Sea, formed the main part of their income out of the fisheries. The herring fishery was very large. In the first twenty years of the seventeenth century the number of herringbusses was estimated from a thousand to two thousand. Enkhuizen, the most important of the fishing ports in Holland, alone had about a thousand busses in 1625.<sup>39)</sup>

In the meetings of the States of Holland there was apparently no discussion at all concerning the trade or the fishery at Newfoundland; but often, very often indeed, about the herring fishery and the fishery at Iceland and Greenland. Many regulations were made for these fisheries. And assistance was given to them. However, nothing at all appears to have been done for the Newfoundland trade or fishery.

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37) C.O.l, vol.1, no.30; Cal.ST.P., Col., p.18.

38) C.O.l, vol.1, po.43.

39) Drs.M.A.J.Visser, De Noordzee-Haringvisserij te Enkhuizen in de 18e eeuw, Westfriesch Jaarboek uitgeg. door de West-Frieze-Stuyck, 1e serie, deel 2, pp.4-6.

Another view about the Dutch trade at Newfoundland during this period is given by Richard Whitbourne. In his well-known A Discourse of Newfoundland he says that the Dutch, who little frequented the Newfoundland fishing, had come to Newfoundland purposely to buy fish from the English, which they afterwards transported into Italy, Spain and other parts, making good profits thereof.<sup>40)</sup>

When in 1622 Whitbourne's book was published by the Authorities, a "Loving Invitation" was added to the Discourse. Whitbourne's voice is here like the trumpets of which he speaks:

"How much is Spaine, France, Portugall, Italy, and other places beholding to this noble part of the world for fish, and other commodities(it is to be admired) let the Dutch report: What sweetnesse they have suckt from thence by trade thither, in buying of fish, and other Commodities from our Nation: and (albeit all the rest should be dumbe) the voyces of them are as Trumpets lowd enough to make England our more and more in love with such a sister-land." 41)

When we look back on the first twenty years of the seventeenth century we see that the Dutch started trading at Newfoundland. Sometimes they asked assistance from the government, either of guns or of freedom of taxation, or of both. The first request for assistance for a fishing voyage to Newfoundland was refused by the States-General. A certain trade was established, although it will not have been with a great number of ships.

The Dutch also fished occasionally on the Banks of Newfound-

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40) Richard Whitbourne, A Discourse of Newfoundland, British Collection in Library of Congress, Additional MSS. no.22,564.  
Richard Whitbourne, A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland. (London, 1622), p.18.

land. A great Flemish snip was taken on the banks by the pirate  
Eason. This cost the States of the Low Countries one thousand  
42) pounds.

The idea of a trader from Amsterdam, David Pietersz. de Vries, that the trade between Newfoundland and the Mediterranean was never practised before by the Dutch, was not right. Neither was Whitbourne exact in his description of the activity of the Dutch in the trade in Newfoundland codfish. The stories of these two men seem to contradict each other. De Vries was wrong, but Whitbourne probably exaggerated the importance of this trade for the Dutch. In this way he hoped to stimulate the English to go fishing at Newfoundland. At the end of the sixteenth century Dutch traders bought Newfoundland cod in English ports after the return of the fleet, and carried this fish to the markets in southwestern Europe. But probably only after the turn of the century they started to go to Newfoundland itself to buy fish, following the example of English fishermen traders, who made direct voyages between Newfoundland and Europe already before 1585. Certainly the importance of the Dutch trade at Newfoundland was not yet as great as Whitbourne declared.

## CHAPTER II

### DUTCH THREAT to the ENGLISH FISH TRADE

#### AT NEWFOUNDLAND.

In the next two or three decades of the seventeenth century the Dutch extended their trade at Newfoundland and their fishery there. At times during those decades this trade grew to considerable heights, and then it threatened the English trade probably even more than the French did.

Several times, measures were taken by the English to oust the Dutch. But here the antagonism between the interests of the two groups in the English trade and commerce, namely the Londoners and the West Countrymen, was the decisive factor. The Londoners wanted to oust the Dutch from the Newfoundland fishery and prohibit the carrying of Newfoundland fish by Dutch traders. The West Country, however, said it needed the Dutch for the maintenance of their trade. The Londoners could not carry as much fish as they, the West Countrymen, could bring on shore. Therefore the Dutch ships were needed.

It is clear, that the Dutch took advantage of this situation in England. In spite of acts to prohibit the carrying of English-caught fish in stranger's bottoms, the Dutch continued to go to Newfoundland. Not until after the three wars with England, were the Dutch beaten out of this trade.



In the ten years between 1620 and 1630, the English fishery at Newfoundland was very much damaged by pirates, called "Turks", although they probably came mainly from the West part of the Mediterranean Sea. A great many ships were lost by the merchants of the West Country. The Turks lay anchored along the coast looking out for the fishing ships. And several times it was feared that the whole Newfoundland fleet returning home, would be taken by the Turks, upon the coasts of England.

There are many references about this threat in the Domestic series of the Calendar of State Papers covering the period of the reign of James I and Charles II.

In 1622 the Mayor of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis told the Council that the Turkish pirates had caused such a "damp" on trade -the year before almost every bark sent to Spain or Gibraltar was taken by the Turks-, that instead of thirty-nine ships, as before, only eleven had gone to Newfoundland that year.<sup>1)</sup>

In 1625 this threat was even greater. The Mayor and inhabitants of several ports and places in the West of England, such as Poole, Exeter, Plymouth, Dartmouth and Barnstaple, petitioned the King and Council to get ships for guarding the coast.<sup>2)</sup> A ship from Poole had been captured by the Turkish pirates, eight or nine leagues from Plymouth. It was feared that, unless measures were taken by the Council, the Newfoundland fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, having on board four or five thousand men of the Western parts, would be surprised by the Turks. In ten days twenty-seven ships and two hundred persons had been taken by the pirates.

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1) Cal.St.P.,Dom., 1619-1623, p.385.

2) Cal.St.P.,Dom., Addenda 1625-1649, p.45.

And the Turks threatened that within two years they would not leave the King any sailors to man his fleet.<sup>3)</sup> Guarding of the coast was necessary, and the Justices of Cornwall asked the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant, to take speedy course to free the coast of Turkish pirates. The inhabitants of the coast towns were deprived of the fishing and it was likely that they would receive far greater loss on the return of their shipping from Newfoundland.<sup>4)</sup>

As long as the Turks were supplied with necessities by the Flemish freebooters and the Newfoundland fleet would not arm themselves for their defence, these Turkish pirates would remain a threat to the southerly coasts of England.<sup>5)</sup>

How great a "damp" on the trade and the Newfoundland fishery this Turkish danger on the English coast meant, is illustrated, for example, by the city of Poole. Poole used to fit out twenty ships yearly to the Newfoundland fishery. In 1628, however, it fitted out but three ships.<sup>6)</sup>

Nothing special was done about the problem of the pirates. No wonder that ten years later the same happened again, creating a critical situation. Again the Turks took several ships from the West Countrymen coming from Newfoundland, and once again they threatened the West Coast of England. Two Dartmouth ships coming from Newfoundland with about sixty seamen of the town, were taken by the pirates, within three leagues off the Lizard. It is true, one of them was rescued by a Dutch man-of-war, taken to Holland,

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3) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1625-1626, p.81; Cal.St.P., Col., I, p.75.

4) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1625-1626, p.82.

5) ibid., p.85.

6) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1628-1629, p.103.

and on its way released by the Hollander. But the other one was burnt by the Turks and many Turkish men-of-war were waiting for the returning Newfoundland fleet, west of Scilly. In 1636 once more a fleet of Turkish pirates, this time divided into three squadrons, was waiting along the coast. The news of this fleet terrified the country very much, and it was feared that if the Turks were not prevented from continuing these practises, they would disable the English from any trade hereafter.<sup>7)</sup>

Much damage was done by the Turks on the English coast, but they had not visited the coasts of Newfoundland since about 1630. The merchant traders of Newfoundland therefore objected to the propositions for convoy and security of their voyages, made by the Privy Council.<sup>8)</sup>

This brings us to another problem, that of the defence of the fishing ships. The English fishermen went unarmed to the Banks of Newfoundland. They did not want to arm themselves. However, in periods of danger and war, such as when the Turks threatened the coast, it was necessary to guard the fishery. Then the government had to send ships to do the job. But a regular convoy or anything of the kind did not exist yet beyond the waters immediately surrounding the British Isles.

It was Whitbourne who told us in his Discourse what he thought to be the best way to protect the fishermen in their fishing and secure them against the injuries of pirates:<sup>9)</sup>

"Soe may they be easily secured against the

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7) Cal.St.P., Col., I, p.214; Cal.St.P., Dom., 1635, p.396, 398.

8) Cal.St.P., Col., I, p.246.

9) R. Whitbourne, A Discourse of Newfoundland, British Collection in Library of Congress, Additional MSS no.22,564.

iniuries of Pyratts....by maintaining yearly two good shipps of warre of 200 Tunne apeece, and two Pinnaces of 40 Tunne apeece upon that coast, the which shipps may easily defrayed, soe be that everie shipp or vessell fishing on that coast shall contribute thereunto, the value onely of halfe a good daies fishing in the whole voyage, which will be abundantly recompenced unto them in regard that they may then fish contynnually without interruption or danger, which now oftentimes they dare not doe. ffor which course wee have the example of our neighbours the Hollanders, who generally in all their trades, but most especially in their fishing upon his Majesties coasts, are attended with men of warre, which are defrayed by a contribution of those men in whose defence they are imployed. And by this meanes the Marchants and Traders of Holland receive farre greater assurance and benefit then if every Marchants shippe should set themselves forth in warlike manner in their own defence."

However, the merchants resisted attempts to provide such naval protection, but later on they changed their minds about it.

During the Civil War and the wars with the Dutch and the Spaniards the risks were too high. Neither the merchants nor the ship-owners could take chances. They asked the government for protection of their ships, and when it was possible for the government to do this somehow, it furnished the traders and fishermen with convoys against the threat of Prince Rupert's fleet and Dutch and Spanish warships.

In 1649 for example, two ships were recommended to be sent to Newfoundland by the Council of State. The strength of the pirates at sea was growing and the fishermen were in great danger to be deprived of the fruit of their labours. The Council feared that this would very much discourage the Englishmen in that trade of fishing, which was "the very nursery and means of breeding their mariners and seamen", and without which they could not supply

their naval forces. The ships fishing at Newfoundland had no means to defend themselves. The Council therefore recommended the Generals at sea to send two ships to Newfoundland, in order to defend the fishing ships and see them safely away when their fishery should be ended.<sup>10)</sup>

The English merchants and traders going to Newfoundland, did not arm their ships. Nor did they send a convoy to give security to these ships. However, the Hollenders took measures to give their ships some sort of safety. Their fishing ships, mainly herringbusses, fishing on the North Sea, were not armed. But they were always attended by men-of-war. The costs of such a convoy were paid out of a special tax put upon the fishermen.

The Dutch ships going to Newfoundland, either to fish or to trade, were armed themselves. We have seen several of them asking the government for assistance of guns. The ships which went to Newfoundland on a private voyage were also armed.<sup>11)</sup> This made their voyage less risky. They were able to defend themselves against pirates and enemies.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch started trading from Newfoundland to Europe. And this trade was extended by them gradually. At the same time they took a large part of the trade between the ports of the West Country and the mainland of Europe into their hands. This strong Dutch competition was a matter of great concern for the English. In 1621 a bill was brought before Parliament "for the freer liberty of fishing voyages to be made and performed in the seacoasts and parts of America", and

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10) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1649-1650, pp.18,128,202.

11) See above, pp.18,20-21.

speaking about this bill, one of the members of Parliament claimed that the fisheries would fall under the control of the Dutch and the French, if Englishmen were forced to pay taxes there.<sup>12)</sup>

In these years the tension between Spain and England was high. In 1625 Sir John Suckling wrote to Buckingham that the Commissioners of Trade highly extolled his care to prevent the sale of English ships, munition or fish, to the Spaniards; but that they thought that as to the fish, the King of Spain if not supplied by them, would be so by other nations, whilst the trade to Newfoundland, so advantageous to shipping, would be injured by that restraint on sale.<sup>13)</sup> It is not difficult to guess which nation Suckling meant in this letter. At that time the Dutch were the only nation able to take over this English trade.

The English merchants feared the activity of the Dutch in the trade. And in 1626 they urged the Board of Trade to take measures against the Dutch. The Masters of the Trinity House and divers principal merchants explained in a meeting of the Board that it would be necessary to restrain and inhibit the transportation of herrings or any other fish in strangers' bottoms, from all the ports of the Kingdom as well as from the fishery in Newfoundland, if the shipping and navigation of the Kingdom were to be maintained. The Board ordered that

"noe Hearrings or any other fish whatsoever,  
taken by his majesties Subjects, upon any  
the coasts or places of fishing, belonging  
to this Kingdome or within the aforesaid  
fishings, of Newfoundland or New England,

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12) Stock, Proceedings and Debates, pp.30,36,39.

13) Dr.C.B.Judah, The North American Fisheries and British Policy to 1713, p.55; Cal.St.P.,Dom.,1623-1625, p.474.

shalbe from henceforth Shipt, or transported in any Strangers Bottomes, but in English Bottomes onely". 14)

This act is not the first to prohibit foreigners carrying of English goods in their own bottoms. A long line of such acts was proclaimed before. But each time it was necessary to make new acts with the same purpose. About 1380, the first Navigation Act was passed. It provided that no Englishmen must ship goods in other than English bottoms. But this measure proved too rigorous and was softened a shortwhile after it was taken. The next Parliament modified it and permitted merchants to ship in foreign vessels, if no English ships were at hand.<sup>15)</sup>

During the reign of Elizabeth I the exportation of herring in foreign bottoms was not allowed. And during the reign of James I and Charles I this prohibition was renewed several times. This act of 1626 and the acts of the fourth, fifth and sixth decade of the seventeenth century were a reinforcement of the earlier acts. Now it was also forbidden to foreigners to transport fish taken by English subjects within the fishery of Newfoundland or New England. This policy to oust the foreigners, specially the Dutch, from the trade, and to bring English shipping and trade into English hands, culminated in the Navigation Act of 1651.

In a navigation bill which passed the Lords in the spring of 1614, the decay of the English navigation was attributed to the competition of foreign ships built solely for carrying merchandise and requiring few men to work them. In spite of all the

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14) Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, 1613-1680, p.111.

15) Astrid Friis, Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth trade. The Commercial policy of England in its main aspects, 1603-1625, p.179.

Navigation Acts of the first half of the seventeenth century the English had to leave a great deal of their export trade in the hands of foreigners, especially the Dutch. The most important reason for this was that the Dutch merchants were able to carry freights much cheaper than the English. Their ships were better constructed to hold a great deal and at the same time they were navigable by a small number of men.<sup>16)</sup>

The greater part of the English merchant marine consisted of small vessels. Ships of more than a hundred tons burthen were only built for the ocean-borne or Mediterranean trade. Moreover,<sup>17)</sup> an English trading ship had to be a fighting ship as well.

Even in the sixteenth century the English freight rates were much higher than the Dutch. "The English mercantile marine could by no means compare with that of the Low Countries or Germany, though the English navy was already the first in the world in the time of Elizabeth", as Astrid Friis already pointed out in her book

Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade, published in 1927.<sup>18)</sup>

But another reason why the English remained so much behind the Dutch and other foreigners, was the lack of capital in England in the seventeenth century, showing itself in the high interest rate. During the period between the first and the second war between the English and the Dutch it was suggested by an English politician that it would be better for England not to embark on war with the Dutch; but that the English should keep peace and then have

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16) Violet Barbour, Dutch and English merchant shipping in the seventeenth century, The Economic History Review, vol. II, p. 279.

17) ibid, pp. 262, 263.

18) Astrid Friis, Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth trade, p. 180.



Dutch capital invested in England, as England was in need of capital and Holland was the place to obtain it.<sup>19)</sup>

The Dutch had built a new type of trading ship, the "fluit". This ship was capable of carrying great loadings, without losing its seaworthiness. These flutes were built to trade and not to fight, and therefore they could carry cheaper. The Dutch supplied the English with these flutes and herringbusses to lower freight rates and to improve the Great Fisheries.<sup>20)</sup>

For all these reasons the Dutch took a large part of the English export trade into their hands. Fish from the Newfoundland Banks was one of the commodities carried by them. They bought the fish in English ports or in Newfoundland on their own account, but there were also Dutch ships which made the voyage to Newfoundland on the account of English traders. In that case they were usually contracted by a group of merchants which sent them out to take in a lading of cod in Newfoundland. We can find an example of such an undertaking in the petition of Robert Barker of May 24, 1627, to the Right gracious Prince George of Buckingham, Lord high Admiral of England.<sup>21)</sup> Robert Barker Merchant of Plymouth

"Humbly sheweth, that whereas your petitioners had, and now hath four Dutch ships bound for the Newfoundland, there to receive in their lading, being contracted for by your petitioner with divers Marchants of Plimouth, to the value of 5000 lbs; so upon which your petitioner hath disbursed 900 lbs in parti of the Contracte, yet notwithstandinge, the said shippes are stayed by your Graces generall command, which being longer continued, the time will not only be past

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19) Mr.N.G.Pierson, Beschouwingen over Hollands welvaart bij Engelse Economisten der 17e eeuw, Verspreide economische geschriften, deel II, p.245.

20) Violet Barbour, Dutch and English merchant shipping, pp.276,286.

21) State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1627, no.35; Cal. St.P.,Dom.,1627-1628, p.188.

for your petitioners traffiqui, but also his 900 lbs, already disbursed, and in hasard of giving satisfaction to the said Marchants for thi Residue..... Wherefore your petitioner most humblie besitheth your Grace to be nobly pleased to give special order that your petitioners said shipps may be released whereby he may goe forward with his intended voyage".

Here four Dutch ships were ready to make a trading voyage to Newfoundland, to take in a lading of codfish, this to the value of 5000 lbs, on a contract with English merchants. The whole voyage was to be made on the account of these English merchants.

The history of the Newfoundland fishery in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century is characterised by the struggle between the Dutch traders and the English government, with the merchants of the West Country on the Dutch side. It is true, this struggle for the Newfoundland fish trade was only part of the whole commercial rivalry between Holland and England during that century; but this part was very important to the English, much more than to the Dutch, as the Newfoundland fishery was the very nursery of their seamen.

After the act of 1626, whereby it was prohibited to transport Newfoundland fish in any stranger's bottoms, the Privy Council issued an order in 1630 that it was illegal henceforth to export Newfoundland fish from England in foreign vessels. The English fishermen persistently opposed this policy and violations were frequent.<sup>22)</sup> In 1631 Lord Treasurer Weston had to call upon the officers of the Customs at several ports in the West Country to take notice of the order of 1630.<sup>23)</sup> But a few months later the

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22) G.L.Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System 1578-1660, p.240.

23) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1631-1633, p.123.

inhabitants of the Western parts using the fishing of Newfoundland, petitioned that they had then lying on their hands a great store of Newfoundland fish which they could not vent in England, nor sell to strangers unless the said strangers were allowed to carry the same in their own vessels.

The Privy Council then ordered that the inhabitants aforesaid should have permission "hac vice tantum" to sell their Newfoundland fish to strangers to be carried away by them in their own vessels notwithstanding any prohibition of transportation in foreign bottoms. The reasons for the Council to take this decision were the maintenance of many thousands of persons, which depended upon this trade, which was a great nursery of seamen and mariners, and an increase of navigation. Fear that the trade otherwise would<sup>24)</sup> get lost, instigated the Council.

This was one of the occasions where the government yielded to the demands of the West Country merchants and granted licences which permitted the use of foreign shipping. The West Countrymen did not care who bought and transported their fish as long as it was transported. Their sole problem was to find enough buyers for their product. During these years they had no trouble with that, as long as the Dutch were allowed to come and ship fish in their own bottoms.

At the end of 1633 and the first few months of the year 1634 the problem of transportation of fish in alien bottoms was again looked at by the Council. One of the suggestions made by Secretary Widebank during the proceedings before the Council was

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24) Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, 1613-1680, p.170.

that a custom to be paid to the King at Newfoundland, which had been neglected up to that time, would be of great value. As to the herring, pilchard and Newfoundland fish he thought that it all ought to be transported in English bottoms. It should not be prohibited to buy fish, but only to transport the same in foreign bottoms.

"The Hollanders trade at Newfoundland but within Europe. Six or four years before that time our merchants contracted with these fishermen before they went out for all their fish", Windebank declared. 25)

The trouble was that the merchants of the Western ports declared that they did not transport fish nor other commodities in aliens' bottoms. But yearly, Dutch and French ships came to their ports on the return of the Newfoundland fleet to buy quantities of Newfoundland fish and pilchards for ready money. And these people paid custom for all the fish they transported. This certain vent for fish had within a few years doubled the number of ships and seamen engaged in this trade. And now the fishermen were able to furnish both Londoners and strangers, except in years when fishing failed, as it did in 1632. The Londoners were not able to take off half the annual catch, so the men of the West Country said, and, if the aliens should be restrained to transport in their own vessels, there would be no other vent than the Londoners. Moreover, the London traders would have the fish at their own prices, of which the fishermen had miserable experiences.

/ The fishermen were not able to transport their fish themselves either. Their vessels were prohibited in Spain, the chief market for their fish. The Plymouth merchants declared that this

restraint would cause a decay of their fishing trade, which would mean a loss of 40,000 lbs yearly and a decrease in the customs.

But the most important result would be that the alien would make the same restraint against English bottoms and that the Dutch would be enforced to employ their own bottoms with fishing at the Newfoundland Banks. An increase of Dutch fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland would do more harm to the English fishery than ex-<sup>26)</sup>portation of English-caught fish by the Dutch.

The Dutch were able to compete with the English because of their low costs of carrying. Consequently they were able to give higher prices to the fishermen, to ask the same price for their fish in foreign markets as the English, and make better profits than the English traders. No wonder that the West Country fishermen traded rather with the Dutch than with the Londoners.

However, the result was a considerable loss for the Londoners. Several times ships were lying dead because they could not get freight. In 1633 the Master, Wardens and Assistantants of the Trinity House petitioned that they had been suitors to the Privy Council for eighteen or nineteen years,

"that stranger's shipping might be restrained from the exportation of our herrings, pilchards and Newfoundland fish, and the Lords have made several good orders for the restraint thereof, but the same have not been put into execution, ....but also the pilchard and Newfoundland fish..... are all bought upp by the strangers and shipped away in their shippes. At this present season the merchants of London had freighted twenty-six or twenty-seven hundred tons of shipping laden with fish, which ships are all ready and some with their victualls aboard:

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26) Cal.St.P.,Dom.,1633-1634, pp.318,319.

"but in the meantime strangers buying up all the fish and ship it away in their own shipping. There is shipping now lying in the river for 10,000 tons, the most part whereof had been employed if the strangers shipping had been restrained. In Newfoundland there have been this year twenty-six or twenty-eight stranger's ships which have bought up the fish which our people kill. In the Western ports, for pilchards and Newfoundland fish, there have been some sixteen or eighteen ships of two or three hundred tons a ship, all stranger's ships, which with their fish go for Spain or Italy. At this time there are eight Dutch ships at Yarmouth to load herrings, and at Plymouth there are now twelve Dutch ships and six already departed, and all with fish, in burden or tonnage from two hundred to three hundred tonne per ships." 27)

In another petition to the Privy Council, to the same effect as the preceding, described as of the Trinity House of Deptford Strond, it was stated that there were in the Thames not less than 6000 tons of good ships from two hundred to five hundred tons all lying dead, because foreign merchants designed the exportation of English fish in their own bottoms, and had the native merchants beaten out of the trade. 28)

Notwithstanding these complaints, the Privy Council in February 1634 ordered, that the merchants and fishermen of the Western ports should be free to sell their fish to strangers to be transported in stranger's bottoms, for that time only. 29)

The government was not only concerned about the exportation of English-caught fish in stranger's bottoms; but also about the trade between the English fishermen and Dutch merchants in Newfoundland itself, and about the establishment of regulations for the

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27) State Papers, Domestic Series, 1633, vol.CCLVII, no.28; Cal.St.P.,Dom., 1633-1634, p.367.

28) *ibid.*, p.367.

29) Acts Privy Council, Colonial, 1613-1680, p.199.

Newfoundland fishery. The shipping and navigation of England were the walls of the Kingdom, it was said, which shipping had its sap and nourishment from the seaman trading to Newcastle, and the fisherman to foreign parts. Therefore they were both to be cherished. But yet it was not well for the fisherman to make great gains, while the King and navigation suffered great loss. The reason thereof was the trade between the fishermen in Newfoundland and foreigners. These foreigners gave extraordinary prices for herring and pilchards and carried them much cheaper than the English. Moreover, the Dutch were lucky in this, that the King of Spain gave liberty to all to bring victuals and ammunition to any port in his dominion, although he had proclaimed that no Dutch ship was to come there. And the Dutch greedily took advantage of this exception. If the Dutch did not lade their ships with English fish, they would be in want of the trade of Spain and the English might then supply them with Spanish commodities whereby the English customs would be advanced and the navigation increased. This was said in a "Paper on the breeding of seamen", probably written in 1636.<sup>30)</sup> This statement about the importance of the place of Newfoundland fish in the Dutch trade to Spain, seems exaggerated. Lounsbury says about the exception made by the Spanish King for Dutch ships coming into ports in Spanish dominions: "Taking advantage of this exception the Hollanders carried Newfoundland fish and other provisions to Spanish ports"<sup>31)</sup> The assumption that only because of this exception made upon the above mentioned proclamation, the

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30) Cal.St.P., Dom., Addenda, 1625-1649, p.543.

31) Lounsbury, British Fishery, p.60.

Dutch dared to trade with Spain, does not seem to be true. In spite of all the dangers which surrounded Dutch traders in Spain after 1580, they went on trading there. This trade was too advantageous for them. And in 1595 the States-General declared that the prosperity and wealth of the Low Countries were founded upon that trade, without which the money needed for the war against Spain, would be lacking.<sup>32)</sup>

The idea brought forward in this "paper on the breeding of seamen" that if the Dutch did not load their ships with English fish, they would need the trade of Spain and English shipping, was not very realistic. The Dutch traded intensively to Spain, and even if they were no longer allowed to trade between Newfoundland and Spain, they would not need the English to supply them with Spanish commodities. Indeed, they had a great deal of the trade of Spain in their hands and nearly all the wealth from the Americas coming into Spain, went through Spanish hands into Dutch pockets.

During these years the Dutch extended their direct trade between Newfoundland and the markets abroad very much. This caused a considerable loss for the customs in England. Suggestions for laying an impost upon fish in Newfoundland were again brought forward. In 1637 it was ordered by the Privy Council that there would be a clause in the Patent for the Plantation for Newfoundland of Sir David Kirke and consorts that the Patentees had the right to lay an "impost of five fishes in the hundredth, the hundredth of fish, containing 120 fishes", on strangers which came to

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32) Mr. J. A. van der Chijs, Geschiedenis der stichting van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, p. 14.



33)

buy fish from the fishermen. The French Ambassador in England, Pomponne de Bellievre, complained about this impost, laid on strangers by Kirke, for fishing at Newfoundland. The Dutch

government was also much concerned about this proceeding of Sir David, but took no action.

In 1640 Secretary Windebank again defended this policy of imposition in a "Memorandum concerning the bill to be preferred by the West Country" about the Newfoundland fishery. He wrote:

"It cannot be preiudiciall to our fishers and planters lesse to respect strangers then is desired. It would advance our navigacon to inhIBUTE dutchmen to buy fish in Newfoundland which is bought in great abundance to the hurt of our merchants they taking the prime of the market and to ye losse of his majestie for if fish were brought as accustomed for England it should pay subsidie and custome.

It cannot be misunderstood( that if his majestie doe not prohibitt their ingrossing of soe great quantities of fish) that he commaunds ye dutch or other aliens to pay the like duties ther that they doe here in England which might be better worth then a thousand marks per annum. A course would be easily directed for the levying thereof." 36)

However, such a policy whereby aliens had to pay the same duties in Newfoundland as in England, was not realized. The English government was too much concerned about the situation at home, to prevent Dutch traders from buying fish in Newfoundland without paying duty and so to extend their fishery. In spite of precautions taken by the government to keep the English colonial trade in English hands, the Dutch controlled a great deal of this trade, especially during the Civil War.

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33) Acts Privy Council, Col., 1613-1680, p.220.

34) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1639, p.179; Cal.St.P., Col., I, p.294.

35) Judah, North American Fisheries, p.89.

36) C.O.1, 10, no.80; Cal.St.P., Col., I, p.315.

In the thirty years between 1620 and 1650 the Dutch extended their trade and fishery at Newfoundland. As traders the Dutch could pay the fishermen better prices than the English, because of their low costs for carrying their cargoes to the markets abroad. The English feared this growing activity of the Dutch at Newfoundland. The London merchants were afraid they would loose their whole trade to the Dutch. But the West Country tried to keep the Dutch in this trade, in spite of several Acts of Parliament.

During the Civil War the government was not able to pay attention to the developments in Newfoundland. During that time the situation in Newfoundland remained therefore as it was before the Civil War; the Dutch buying fish in great abundance to the hurt of the English merchants.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE PERIOD OF THE THREE WARS between THE ENGLISH AND THE DUTCH.

The economic rivalry and tension between England and the Dutch Republic was growing fast and three times during the next thirty years it came to an explosion.

During these years the fishery at Newfoundland was even more influenced by the relations of the European states than ever before. The wars between England and Holland and the English-Spanish War of 1656-1659, had a very bad influence on the fishery. The result was a considerable depression in the trade from which it took many years to recover.

In spite of the Navigation Act of 1651 and the war with England which broke out in 1652, the Dutch kept on trading in Newfoundland. In 1657 the Dutch government found it necessary to make regulations for this trade to guard it against possible warlike acts of enemies. This is the first time that the Dutch government made a proclamation about this trade and as far as is known, the only time.

However, the wars between England and Holland were decisive for the relations between the English and the Dutch in Newfoundland and specifically for the activities of the Dutch. We can assume with certainty that the Dutch knew very well how important the Newfoundland fishery was for the English as a nursery for their sea-

men. The English wanted to oust the Dutch from most of the trade within Europe as well as to other parts of the world. They wanted to eliminate the Dutch as their economic rivals. This resulted in the three wars between the two countries. Only after the third war with Holland which ended in 1674, the strength of Holland was broken enough to enable the English to call themselves masters of the seas.

The first war had no other influence on the English Newfoundland fishery than that the ships were hampered in going out for their voyage because of the press, and the dangers for the returning fleet. There was no actual warfare on the island itself.

However, during the second and third war the struggle was not only confined to Europe, but also extended to other parts of the world. The States-General sent out fleets to the English colonies to do as much damage there as possible, partly in retaliation of the damage done by English men-of-war to Dutch merchantmen trading on the African coast and elsewhere.

In the beginning of the second war Admiral De Ruyter raided the English fishery in Petty Harbour, Bay Bulls and St. John's. And during the third war Cornelis Evertsen Den Jonge, commander of the Dutch squadron which went to the American coasts by order of the States of Zealand, sent a few ships to Newfoundland to damage the fishery there.

The loss of ships and goods by the West Countrymen resulting from the wars with the Dutch, together with the damage done to the trade in the Spanish war and the rivalry of the French in later years, caused a considerable decay of the fishery.

In the preceding years the English government made several

acts to confine the English trade to English ships and merchants. These laws were never completely carried out, however. The government granted licences, in this way making exceptions on their own rules. Several times the West Country merchants petitioned that they needed the foreigners, in this case the Dutch, to be able to carry on their Newfoundland fishery profitably.

This relaxing policy was suddenly changed into a strong exclusive policy of confining English trade to English merchants. The Navigation Act of 1651 was a hard blow for the Dutch. This act was meant to oust the Dutch and indeed it had great influence on their trade. From now on they were no longer allowed to export English-caught fish from English ports into other countries in their own bottoms. Only English traders could do so.<sup>1)</sup>

This Navigation Act came as a great surprise to the Dutch. There had been an improvement of the relations between the Dutch and English governments in the last year. A further relaxation of the relations and a more friendly attitude of the English government towards the Dutch seemed likely. This act, however, changed the pattern completely. From now on friendly relations between these countries seemed impossible. Both sides knew that war was inevitable.<sup>2)</sup>

The first of the three wars broke out in 1652. A general embargo was laid upon all ships by the English government in the spring of that year, but the Council of State ordered that ships bound to Newfoundland were allowed to proceed on their voyage, notwithstanding this embargo. The ships were to keep together in

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1) Lounsbury, British Fishery, p.95; Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p.533.

2) Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, pp.533-534.

one fleet, for their mutual assistance and defence.<sup>3)</sup> But as long as there was no convoy, especially for the ships which returned to Europe, either to the Mediterranean or to England, the risks of the voyage were great. Many English ships returning from Newfoundland with their cargoes of codfish, were seized in the waters adjacent to England or in the Straits and then brought into some port on the coast, for example Leghorn.<sup>4)</sup>

The merchants of several West Country ports in December, 1652 petitioned to the Council for a stronger and more timely convoy than ordinary for their next year's fishing. The Council answered to this petition that as their affairs then stood, they could not appoint any convoy for the next year's fishing. The Committee for Trade and Foreign Affairs had asked the Council also to tell the petitioners that it would be better for them to forbear their trade completely that year. But this clause is not included in the order of the Council to the said petitioners.<sup>5)</sup>

Although the mayor and others of Barnstaple at the same time wrote to the Admiralty Committee that they probably would forbear setting forth their Newfoundland and New England ships to sea that year, a number of ships from this port went out to Newfoundland.<sup>6)</sup> Dartmouth had set out thirty-four ships.<sup>7)</sup> But during the wars the results of the voyages were not very good, as mentioned before. A number of ships were taken on their return voyage and were chiefly brought into Leghorn by Dutch men-of-war. In 1654 the Dutch were

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3) Cal.St.P., Col., I, p.38; Cal.St.P., Dom, 1651-1652, p.294.

4) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1651-1652, pp.500, 515.

5) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1652-1653, pp.27;29; Cal.St.P., Col., I, p.394.

6) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1652-1653, Letters and Papers relating to the Navy, p.500.

7) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1652-1653, p.107.

still Lords of the Mediterranean Sea and especially of the port of Leghorn "which they domineer to the full", as Charles Longland<sup>8)</sup> wrote to the Admiralty Commissioners.

In a petition of September 1653 to the Council, the mayor of Barnstaple declared that the port and channel now were so "vexed" and infested by the daily incursions of Dutch men-of-war that it would be impossible to get the remainder of their formerly big Newfoundland fleet, only ten or twelve ships set out that year compared to fifty or sixty ships in some previous years-<sup>9)</sup> safely into the harbour. Early summer 1654 after the war was ended, six ships of war were sent to Newfoundland by the Council<sup>10)</sup> as a convoy.

During the war the fishery at Newfoundland had not been disturbed by enemies. But the trade from Newfoundland to Europe was seriously hampered. English ships laden with Newfoundland codfish were taken by Dutch warships and so the revenues of a whole voyage were lost by the traders.

Although the first war ended in April 1654 with the Peace Treaty of Westminster, the tension between Holland and England did not ease very much. The economic rivalry still existed. In spite of the Navigation Act of 1651 Dutch ships were trading with the English plantations in America. During these years several ships were taken by the English authorities in English ports, in<sup>11)</sup> open sea, as well as in Newfoundland.

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8) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1653-1654, pp.126, 351, 390; ibid., 1654, p.143.

9) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1653-1654, p.126.

10) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1654, p.200.

11) Cal.St.P., Col., I, p.432; Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p.557.

In 1656 the situation changed to some extent for the English traders. That year the war with Spain broke out. Spain had always been the best market for the English fish. But now English vessels could not come there. Therefore the fishermen of the West Country needed traders from countries which had friendly relations with the Spaniards or which were at least neutral, to carry their fish for them. They were afraid that otherwise their fish would "stink on their hands". In November 1656 a bill for selling fish to strangers and to enable strangers to transport fish in their own bottoms<sup>12)</sup> was introduced in Parliament.

It is evident that the purpose of this act was to save the English fishery by opening the trade to strangers. The bill was strongly advocated by two Devonshire men, Captain Hatsel and Mr. Fowell. They urged that it would be for the benefit of the nation and for the advance of the fish trade if strangers were allowed to take part in that trade for a certain time. The bill passed without very much opposition and the Lord Protector gave his consent to it on June 9, 1657.

Strangers could now export fish from England in their own bottoms. The export duty to be paid on Newfoundland fish was fixed at 3d. per hundred of six score. Englishmen and foreigners alike were permitted to buy fish in Newfoundland or New England and to transport it to the markets abroad custom free. This act<sup>13)</sup> was only to continue until December 1659.

Once again people from the west of England advocated the

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12) Stock, Proceedings and Debates, pp. 238, 239, 242.

13) ibid., pp. 239, 242; Cal. St. P., Dom., 1657-1658, p. 7.



opening of the trade to foreigners. This time not because English shipping was not large enough to guarantee the West Country fishermen that their fish would be carried away, but the English traders were not able to transport the fish to the chief market, owing to the hostilities with Spain.

In spite of the dangers of a voyage to Newfoundland for the Dutch, there regularly was a certain number of people from the Republic which went to fish or to buy fish at Newfoundland. But after a while it happened that Dutch ships came into great difficulties because they were suspected of trading on the account of merchants of other nations. An example to illustrate this situation can be found in the story of a ship of Rotterdam. In September 1655 a ship of Rotterdam coming from Newfoundland was taken on the French coast by an English captain, Captain Robert Sansum, and brought into Portsmouth. She was bound to Newhaven and partly manned by Frenchmen. Moreover, there was a suspicion that she was sailing on the account of French merchants.<sup>14)</sup> It seems likely that this is the same ship that was taken and brought into Portsmouth by a certain Captain Gethings in the spring of 1655. The Dutch Ambassador in England wrote to the Council about the seizure of this ship, the Hope of Rotterdam. After a bail of £3000 was given in the Admiralty Court for abiding by the orders of the Council touching this ship and her lading, she was released by the Prize Commissioners by the order of the Council of May 4, 1655 and she could proceed on her intended voyage to Newfoundland.<sup>15)</sup>

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14) Letters and Papers relating to the Navy, Cal.St.P. Dom., 1655, p. 528.

15) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1655, p. 152.

Dutch traders made trading voyages to Newfoundland on their own account as well as for merchants of other nations and they made these voyages for English merchants at least as far back as 1627.<sup>16)</sup> In Newfoundland they traded with English as well as French fishermen. In October 1651 five Dutch ships loaded with French Poor Jack from Newfoundland were taken by English men-of-war.<sup>17)</sup>

Especially during the sixth decade of the seventeenth century when the tension between the different European countries was rather strained and at times changed into a situation of actual warfare, as it did in 1656 between England and Spain, there was always this danger of seizure resulting from suspicion of trading for foreign merchants. To protect the traders from this trouble, the States-General of the United Netherlands made a proclamation, dated July 26, 1657, that "all the merchants, masters or any other people interested in trading and sailing to Newfoundland together with their freighters and company would have to register at the office of the magistrates of the respective towns in the district whereof the ships would be freighted. There they had to give account of their intended trading in order to get the necessary certificates of registry and also an "acte in forma", which would give them liberty to sell their ladings freely and without any trouble in all countries in western or southwestern Europe which were allies of the Dutch Republic, had friendly relations with the same, or were neutral".<sup>18)</sup>

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16) Hist.MSS.Com., 13th Report, Appendix Part II, Portland Papers, vol.I, p.79.

17) Gau, Groot Placaetboek, II,V, f.587.

18) ibid., II,V, f.587.

In the "acte" mentioned in this proclamation, it was made evident that trade in company with English merchants was forbidden as long as England was at war with Spain. All the merchants taking part in such a trading voyage to Newfoundland had to be of nations which had peaceful and friendly relations with the King of Spain. The traders could handle and sell their cargoes of Newfoundland fish where they liked it best and where they would get the highest profits. But it was stated with emphasis that it was forbidden to any person being an enemy of his Majesty the King of Spain, to take part in such a trade in any way.<sup>19)</sup>

Furthermore the Dutch magistrates asked the King of Spain, his lieutenants, or any other officers, which would read such an act, to give the master of such a ship coming into a harbour in Spain, leave to sail with his ship and lading where he liked, or to lay in such a harbour and to trade there, without any prohibition from the Spanish authorities. On the contrary, they asked the Spanish to give such a trader honour and every necessary assistance if asked for. The Dutch declared in this act that they would do the same to every one else if in similar circumstances.<sup>20)</sup>

In this "acte" a strong tendency of friendliness to the King of Spain is shown, although at times the relations between the States-General and the King of Spain still were a little distrustful after the end of the "Eighty Years War". In the Peace Treaty of Munster of 1648, which concluded the war, it was stated that the Dutch were allowed to trade freely with states which were at war with Spain, contrabande excepted.<sup>21)</sup> During the English-Spanish

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19) see above, p.39-40.

20) Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p.506.

21) Gau, Groot Placaetboek, II, V, f.587.

war the Dutch could therefore trade with the English as well as the Spanish without any trouble. This time, however, the Dutch government did not like to have its peaceful relations with Spain disturbed by a trade which was provoking to that country.

Moreover, this Proclamation of the States-General and the "acte" were partly an answer to the English Navigation Act of the same year, approved by Cromwell only a month and a half earlier. It is mentioned above, that according to this act foreigners were now again allowed to buy fish in Newfoundland custom free, because English fishermen and traders were prevented from coming into Spain, owing to the Anglo-Spanish war, and therefore needed foreign ships to bring their fish to Spain. Most of these foreigners would be Dutch traders. But now it was the Dutch government which prohibited this trade. Dutch merchants trading to Newfoundland were not allowed to have any trade whatsoever with any merchant of a nation which did not have peaceful or friendly relations with the King of Spain. That meant that they were not allowed to make a trading voyage to Newfoundland and back to Europe on the account of English merchants, or to trade with Englishmen in Newfoundland, as long as England was at war with Spain.

This is one of the occasions where we can see how strongly the political situation in Western Europe influenced the fish trade and the fishery at Newfoundland and therefore the history of the island. The English, the producers of fish, were at war with Spain, the chief market for their product, and therefore could not carry their own fish to that market. The Dutch, the most important traders, at the same time prohibited trade with the English in Newfoundland, and did not carry English-caught Newfoundland cod either.

The result of this could not be anything but a "damp" on the fishery. In 1657 the fishery was reported to be in a poor condition. The fishery was safe, but there had been a great want of provisions in Newfoundland and the fleet was in great "distress" for bread. Besides, only a small quantity of fish was taken that year and the price thereof was very low, only sixteen or seventeen ryal per quintal.<sup>22)</sup> In the next few years apparently most of the English fishing ships went from Newfoundland to Portugal instead of Spain to sell their ladings of codfish.<sup>23)</sup>

In 1665 the second war between Holland and England broke out officially. This did not come as a surprise. The relations between the two countries had not been very friendly since the last war. All during the last years of Cromwell and even more so since the restauration, a war threatened. The Dutch government under De Witt tried to improve the relations with England. Twice it came to an agreement, in 1659 together with France, known as "The Hague Concert", and in 1662 the States concluded a pact of friendship with England, which was mainly a consolidation of the Peace Treaty of Westminster of 1654.<sup>24)</sup>

Although the problems were then solved as far as possible, new problems arose about incidents at sea. The States-General often showed a great willingness to solve these questions also. But the English Ambassador at the Hague, Downing, did just the opposite.

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22) Letters and Papers relating to the Navy, State Papers, Domestic, 1657, vol. 172, no. 72.

23) Letters and Papers relating to the Navy, Cal. St. P., Dom., 1659-1660, p. 486.

24) Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, pp. 551-553, passim.

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He always aggravated the matter.

Moreover, in 1664 the House of Commons accused the Dutch people of seriously hampering the English foreign trade. In its Resolution of April 21, the House declared that the wrongs and dishonours done to his Majesty the King, by the subjects of the United Provinces by invading of his rights in India, Africa and elsewhere, and the damages done by them to the English merchants, were the greatest obstruction of the English foreign trade. The King was asked to take some speedy and effectual course for redress thereof, and for the prevention of the like in the future. And they were willing, the House declared, to assist his Majesty with their lives and fortunes against all opposition whatsoever. The next day the House of Lords agreed with the Commons about this Resolution. The King answered that he would examine the complaints which had been brought forward by the Houses of Parliament, and that he would appoint his minister at the Hague to demand speedy justice and reparation from the States-General.

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This resolution of the English Parliament was evidently belligerent. Neither the King nor his minister Clarendon wanted a war. This minister thought that the internal situation of England was not favorable enough to afford such a great effort as a war with Holland. He thought it more advantageous to England if the English cared for better relations with the Dutch, to persuade them to lend some of their abundance of capital to the English. But the people of England did not want such a course.

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They asked for

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25) ibid., p. 557.

26) Stock, Proceedings and Debates, pp. 322-325, 327.

27) Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p. 557.

some speedy redress of the wrongs done by the Dutch to the merchants, forgetting that the English had done just as much damage to the Dutch trade.

Notwithstanding the tension in Europe, Dutch merchants kept on trading in Newfoundland. The only thing that happened there to them was the seizure in July 1662, of a Dutch-built ship by John Kayner, mentioned as the Deputy-Governor under Lord Baltimore in Newfoundland. This ship had taken in fish at Newfoundland, although it did not have a certificate to clear her, and therefore it was seized for trading contrary to the last Act of Parliament, and sent to England.<sup>28)</sup>

The immediate cause of the second war, which was a trade war just as the first one, was a question of conquest of territories under the jurisdiction of the Dutch West India Company by English expeditions. In 1661 the Royal African Company took a few Dutch plantations near the river Gambia in West Africa. The States-General protested against this, but took no action. However, in 1664 Robert Holmes took the most important factory of the Dutch on the Gold Coast, Cape Coast Castle, on an expedition also set forth by the Royal African Company. And shortly after that an English expedition under Robert Nicholls took possession of the colony of New Netherland.<sup>29)</sup>

England defended these actions on the grounds that her rights concerning these places were older than the Dutch. But this was too much for the States-General. They also tried to solve these

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28) C.O.I,16,no.113; Cal.St.P.,Col.,II,p.114.

29) Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p.558.

problems by negotiations, but at the same time they took action.

Immediately after the States had heard about the conquest of Cape Coast Castle, they sent De Ruyter, who was in the Mediterranean at that time, with his squadron to the Gold Coast. His mission was kept secret till the end of 1664. He had to sail to the African coast and after that to America to reconquer the lost places and to do as much damage to the English as possible.

As soon as England heard about the expedition of De Ruyter, it started the hostilities within Europe. The negotiations were broken off, because England did not want to retrocede their conquests. And in March 1665 England declared war on the Republic.<sup>30)</sup>

While this was going on in Europe, De Ruyter sailed to the African coast. And from there he went to the West-Indies and Newfoundland. The story of that expedition is extensively drawn up in a Life of De Ruyter, written by Gerard Brandt, a Dutch author of the seventeenth century and based upon the journals and notes of De Ruyter himself and of his private secretary.

On the seventeenth of May 1665, when De Ruyter was in the West-Indies, his Council of War decided to go straight to Newfoundland, without touching at New Netherland, to look for the English ships there and to conquer or destroy them.<sup>31)</sup> At that time the fleet of De Ruyter consisted of twenty sail; twelve warships, the supplyship, called the "Camel", the fireship "Martha", and five prizeships: the "Africa", the "Nieves and Antigoa", the "Saint Barbara"

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30) ibid., p. 558.

31) Gerard Brandt, Het Leven en Bedrijf van de heere Michiel de Ruiter p. 369; cited hereafter as, Brandt, Leven van de Ruiter.



the "Arms of England", and the "King James". There was also a merchantship with his fleet, called the "Heart" from Rotterdam. It was decided that the ships would go to Newfoundland together. But in case they would get separated, they would again reunite at the height of Cape Race, two miles off the coast. In the meantime one of the prizeships, the "Arms of England", was sent to Holland immediately, because its sailing capacity was not very good.

The ships kept together very well, but on the Banks of Newfoundland this became very difficult because of the dense fog. There De Ruyter called his Council of War on June 11, because he was afraid that at the last moment the ships would get separated. The Council decided that they would do everything to reach Newfoundland as soon as possible and to do all possible damage to the English ships, forts and goods. But they would see to it that enough ships and provisions would remain for the English to go back to England or New England. Otherwise they would provide the English with the necessary ships and provisions.<sup>32)</sup>

It was also pointed out that each ship would load fresh water and sail north of Scotland to Holland after its job was completed. At that time De Ruyter did not know whether the war had started in Europe or not. Therefore it was decided that the fleet would go to Bergen in Norway, in case there was a strong English fleet in the North Sea.

For the first time on the thirteenth of June, land came in sight. The fleet then was at the height of forty-six degrees, probably west of Cape Race. Nobody knew the coast, and by sounding

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32) ibid., p.370.

and other means they had to look out for banks and shoals.

Sailing to the north, they took a lot of codfish. On the land was no sign of people, no smoke or anything. De Ruyter sent his boat to search one of the bays on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula. No ship was seen. Then De Ruyter ordered Captain Swart to sail along the coast with his ship. This captain very quickly took a fishing ship. This happened on the fifteenth of June, about one mile south of Bay Bulls. From the master of the fishing vessel De Ruyter learned that there were at that time two English ships lying in the Bay of Bulls. In St. John's Bay there were three or four English ships according to the story of the fisherman.<sup>33)</sup> De Ruyter now divided his fleet into three parts. The Captains Sweers and Swart were ordered to sail to Bay Bulls, the Captains Pomp and Jan van Nes were sent to Petty Harbour and De Ruyter himself sailed to St. John's Harbour with Meppel, Aart van Nes, Haakswandt and Van der Zaan. The other ships were to repair thither after finishing their work.

In Bay Bulls, Sweers and Swart took two English ships, one called the "Morningstar", laden with oil, wine and salt, and the other an empty ship, called the "Maria Dione".<sup>34)</sup>

The sixteenth of that month, De Ruyter rounded Cape Spear with four ships. Five others together with the prizeships had to change course and remained behind. Around noon these four ships came into the harbour of St. John's. This was a rather dangerous undertaking for the ships; none of the crew of the ships knew the coast and the English had closed off the harbour by stretching

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33) ibid., p. 371.

34) ibid., p. 371

a cable across the Harrows "to catch the rudders of the Dutch ships" as Brandt says.<sup>35)</sup> However, De Ruyter sent his boat ahead,<sup>36)</sup> which fetched the cable and broke it.

In the harbour an English frigate, the "Jonathan", of about a hundred and sixty tons burden, laden with salt, which had left England only six weeks before, was taken by the Dutch. Another ship, an empty flute, called the "Black Horse", was also taken. Nobody was seen in the ships at all. All men had fled inland.

A lieutenant of the captain Haakswandt, Barent Hom, hauled down the English flag, which was brought on the ship of De Ruyter.<sup>37)</sup> For this Hom was honoured with an amount of money.

The next day, De Ruyter sent out his boat with two men to pilot the other ships under Vice-Admiral Meppel into the harbour, which stayed behind the day before. Shortly afterwards they came in with two prizeships, which they had taken in open sea; a ship of fifty tons burden, called the "Willemljne", was taken by Captain Hendrik Adriaanszoon and the other one, the "Saint Barbara" of forty tons burden, was taken by the Rear-Admiral Aart van Nes. Both ships were laden with victuals and had arrived from England at Newfoundland only a short while before.

De Ruyter stayed for another three days in the harbour, where the ships were made ready to sail for the long voyage to Europe. Firewood and water were taken in. And on the twentieth of June the ships departed from St. John's.

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35) ibid., p.371.

36) ibid., p.371.

37) ibid., p.371.

The day before the two captains, which were ordered to go to Petty Harbour, had rejoined De Ruyter's fleet. On the fifteenth, in Petty Harbour, they had taken an English ship, which they burnt after they had unloaded it. The crew of the two ships had gone on shore and plundered and burnt several dwellings. On the twenty-first the other two captains, who went to Bay Bulls, Captain Sweers and Captain Swart, were found by De Ruyter, sailing about four miles from the coast, together with their two prizes.<sup>38)</sup> The sailing capacity of these two ships was very low and therefore it was decided by the Council of War also to burn these prizeships of which the biggest at least was twenty-five years old and only had very old sails. Otherwise they would mean a great hindrance to the fleet. The lading of wine, oil and salt was taken out of the "Morningstar" and both ships were burnt immediately. After that the whole fleet departed from the coast of Newfoundland and went to Europe.<sup>39)</sup> The loss of the seven ships taken by the Dutch in Newfoundland and the loss of goods, cattle, and houses was estimated by the English as to the value of thirty-six thousand pounds.<sup>40)</sup>

It was reported by De Ruyter that the condition of the people living in Newfoundland was very poor. The crew of the ships that went on shore to plunder, only found very poor people living in miserable circumstances.<sup>41)</sup>

Two petitions sent to the Privy Council at approximately the same time confirm this Dutch statement about the situation of the

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38) *Ibid.*, p.373.

39) *Ibid.*, p.374.

40) C.O.I., vol.22, no.5; Cal.St.P., Col., II, pp.537, 538.

41) Brandt, Leven van de Ruiter, pp.371, 372.

inhabitants of Newfoundland. The first is a petition of Andrew Hopkins of the thirty-first of March 1665, in behalf of George Kirke Esq., whose father had been one of the proprietors of Newfoundland, which says that the inhabitants of Newfoundland were in a sad condition by reason that they were not supplied with the necessary commodities from England as they from time to time had usually been.<sup>42)</sup> The second petition, of the same year, is of Robert Swanley, Deputy-Governor under the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, of his Majesty's dominions of Newfoundland. Swanley declared that the many English subjects, planted in Newfoundland, could not subsist but by supplies from other parts. They would inevitably perish if they were not supplied with the necessary provisions. Swanley prayed for a warrant for eight seamen and as many landmen as were needed to sail his ship, the "Terranova",<sup>43)</sup> to Newfoundland for the support of the Plantations.

Resulting from this, apparently several ships were sent to Newfoundland. De Ruyter's fleet took three English ships on the coast of the island, all laden with victuals, which had only left England a short while before. For example, the "Jonathan" had left England in the beginning of May, 1665.

The number of Englishmen of the ships taken by the Dutch was a danger to the Dutch fleet. It was impossible to keep these people - about three hundred in number-, on the fleet. The Council of War of the fleet of De Ruyter therefore made a resolution on June 17, 1665, about these two points: first the poor condition of the inhabitants of Newfoundland, and second the problem of the English

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42) Acts Privy Council, Col., 1613-1680, p. 412.

43) Cal. St. P., Col., II, p. 350.

prisoners. This resolution is printed in full in Brandt's Life  
44)  
of De Ruyter.

It was decided that the Dutch would not start any fire in St. John's in Terra Nova, because the inhabitants lived in a very poor condition, as poor as men can possibly live.

Every ship was to furnish itself with firewood, water and fish. The best of the English prizeships, the "Jonathan", was to go with them to Holland.

Three small ships were to be left to the English prisoners to bring them back to England or New England; these were a ship of Plymouth, one of Dartmouth, and a ship of Barnstaple. The English would get enough victuals to live on for five weeks. It was stated exactly how much of which commodities they would get. And the Dutch would also give them hooks and nets.

This was all resolved this way, because of the destitution and poverty in which these people lived. This resolution was signed by the five most important men of the fleet, De Ruyter, Meppel, Van Nes, 't Hoen, and Hendrik Adriaanszoon.

The Dutch had not heard about the situation in Europe at that time before they came at Newfoundland. When there, they heard about the war from the crew of the ships which just came from England. Some of these people told De Ruyter that it had come to an agreement between England and Holland, and that all the prizeships of both sides were given back to the owners. This was apparently an attempt of the Englishmen to hide the truth from De Ruyter, to keep themselves free. But others told the truth to the Dutch.

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44) Brandt, Leven van de Ruiter, pp.372,373.

War had broken out, ships were detained and seamen pressed for the service. This was one of the reasons, they said, why there only were a small number of ships in Newfoundland.<sup>45)</sup>

The English government had only given permission to a very few ships to go to Newfoundland that year. In February 1665, the gentlemen and merchants of Devonshire, trading to Newfoundland, had petitioned the King for licence to proceed in the fishing there as the chief means of support for many poor. But the Council ordered after full debate about the Newfoundland fishery, that the Lord Admiral should give licence to one ship of Dartmouth only to go for Newfoundland, and no more.<sup>46)</sup>

The rumours which spread in England and Holland before the return of De Ruyter to Holland, spoke about terrible cruelties done to the inhabitants of Newfoundland. One of these stories said that De Ruyter took a few merchantships, plundered the population, and left them without any victuals.<sup>47)</sup> Downing who always aggravated things, wrote to Lord Arlington, one of the principal Secretaries of State, from the Hague, that "it would be very good that something were drawn up of the cruelties and inhumanities exercised by De Ruyter or any of his people at Newfoundland...".<sup>48)</sup>

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45) *ibid.*, p.372.

46) *Cal.St.P., Col.*, II, pp.278,279; *Cal.St.P., Dom.*, 1664-1665, pp.203,213.

47) Brandt, Leven van de Ruyter, p.372; Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatien, Kleine Serie, no.18, Dr.H.T.Colenbrander, Bescheiden uit vreemde archieven omtrent De Grootte Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen, deel I, inleiding p.IIIIV; cited hereafter as: Colenbrander, Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen.

48) *ibid.*, I, p.269.

These rumours,- the ideas of Downing of what had happened at Newfoundland, were also based upon the same rumours -, exaggerated the situation. The resolution of the seventeenth of June, 1665 of De Ruyter's Council of War, shows that the Dutch commanders were touched by the miserable situation and poverty in which the inhabitants of Newfoundland lived. The Dutch knew, when they were in Newfoundland, that war had broken out officially, but they treated their prisoners of war humanly, and sent them all home in three ships, with enough victuals for all men for the return voyage. The three ships, the "Barbara", the "Willemyne", and the "Black Horse", were released on June the nineteenth and arrived in England in the middle of July, 1665.<sup>49)</sup>

In his famous History of Newfoundland, Frowse wrote that De Ruyter had said that if there had only been six guns to defend St. John's harbour, he would not have adventured in.<sup>50)</sup> This statement was based upon a deposition of John Rayner of January 12, 1668, who calls himself Deputy-Governor under Lord Baltimore in Newfoundland.<sup>51)</sup> Rayner stated that

"on the sixth day of June 1665 the Harbour of St. John's was invaded by Du Rutter generall of the Dutch ffleete where hee tooke all the shippes and plundered this deponent and others then there of their Comodities and other goods and destroyed most of their cattle and hoggs and burned divers houses and also made the like spoyle in the Bay of Bulls and Petty Harbour, but sayth that du Rutter sayed that if there had beene but six guns Mounted in St. John's hee would not have adventured in upon them, and this deponent the better knoweth the same for that he was there present and lost his whole estate there to the vallue of about 2000 lb".

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49) Brandt, Leven van de Ruiter, p. 373; Colenbrander, Nederlandsche Keesoorlogen, I, Inleiding, p. IIv.

50) D.W. Frowse, History of Newfoundland, p. 197.

51) C.O.I., vol. 22, no. 65-67; Cal. St. P. Col. II. D. 558.



In this deposition Rayner was probably trying to cover his own cowardice. The King had sent a warning to Colonel Richard Nicholls and the rest of the Commissioners for New England that he expected that De Ruyter would sail to the plantations in America. He ordered them to take care of the forts and defences in New England and other colonies. They were empowered to do what was necessary "for the safety of the islands and navigation of English merchants". In January 1665, copies of the letter in which the King announced this order to the said Commissioners, were sent to the governors of all the foreign plantations.<sup>52)</sup>

There is no reason why we should not conclude that the Deputy-Governor in Newfoundland knew this letter and therefore knew about a possible raid of De Ruyter at Newfoundland. The inhabitants expected such a raid and took measures to defend the harbour. It is not too difficult to defend the harbour of St. John's and John Rayner knew that. The inhabitants stretched a cable across the Narrows, and there were six guns mounted on the land. According to the deposition of Rayner, De Ruyter had said that he would not have come into the harbour, if there had only been six guns. But there were six guns, firing eight pounds of iron each, which were mounted on the land and brought on board of one of the prizeships by several men of De Ruyter's crew, two days after the Dutch had arrived in St. John's.<sup>53)</sup>

These six guns were not used by anybody to prevent De Ruyter from sailing into the harbour. Why this happened we do not know.

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52) Cal. St. P., Col., II, p. 272; Cal. St. P., Col., II, p. 144.

53) Brandt, Leven van de Kuyter, p. 373.

But there was nobody in the ships lying in the harbour. All men fled inland. Moreover, neither De Ruyter nor anybody of the crew of his ships knew anything about the situation on the coast of Newfoundland or St. John's harbour in particular. This made it the more dangerous for the Dutch ships to try and sail into the harbour. De Ruyter had to send his own boat ahead of his ship to adventure his way in through the Narrows.

Indeed, it would not have been difficult to fire and wreck a small boat together with the four ships which it was piloting into the harbour, coming in a line through the small opening of the Narrows. Perhaps, the rumours of the damage done by De Ruyter in the West Indies had reached St. John's before De Ruyter came there himself. Anyway, John Kayner tried to hide his own failure to defend the harbour of St. John's with his deposition of January 12, 1668.

During the time that De Ruyter was sailing across the Ocean on his way back to Europe, the situation there was not very favourable for Holland. In March 1665 war had broken out officially between Holland and England; several times the fleets of the two countries had already met. However, the situation was not yet very good for the Dutch and they were anxiously waiting for De Ruyter to come back. The States-General had not heard from him for a long time, the last letter being sent from the West Indies. 54)

The less they knew, the more rumours were spread. These rumours all came from England and were based upon stories of the men

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54) Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, p.559.

of several ships which came back from the West-Indies or Newfoundland. As rumours usually do, they exaggerated what had happened, as we have seen before.<sup>55)</sup> These rumours also formed the sole information which the States-General got before De Ruyter's return.<sup>56)</sup>

Among the ships that brought news about the raid on St. John's were the three ships which were sent back to England by De Ruyter with the English prisoners on board. The first vessel arrived in its homeport, Dartmouth, in the middle of July. About the same time the other two were expected home.<sup>57)</sup>

The Navy Commissioners in England got an account about the raid of De Ruyter on Newfoundland by a fleet of thirty sail returning from Barbados on the first of July. The fleet reported that De Ruyter after destruction of English ships and plantations in Newfoundland victualled his fleet out of English ships and departed homewards, it was thought by the North of England.<sup>58)</sup>

This assumption of the direction in which De Ruyter sailed, was right. In the beginning of June the Council of War of the Dutch squadron had resolved to sail for Bergen in Norway by the North of England, if war had broken out between England and Holland.<sup>59)</sup>

With regard to this intelligence received by the English government, of De Ruyter being on his way home from Newfoundland, the English fleet was warned to look out diligently and to take action against the Dutch fleet or destroy the same if it was at all possible.<sup>60)</sup>

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55) see above, pp. 69-70; Cal. St. P., Dom., 1664-1665, pp. 454, 459.

56) Colenbrander, Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen, I, p. 268.

57) ibid., I, Inleiding, p. XXXV, 58) Cal. St. P., Col., II, p. 308.

59) Brandt, Leven van de Ruiter, p. 370; see also above, p. 63.

60) Hist. MSS. Com., Portland Papers, part II, pp. 102, 103.

In spite of this alertness of the English, De Ruyter happened to sail safely into the harbour of Bergen and from there into the harbour of Delfzijl, a port in the northeastern part of the Netherlands, without meeting the English fleet. On the seventh of August he arrived at Delfzijl. His ships were very much out of order and he had but a few days victuals left in his ships in spite of the provisions which he got at Newfoundland.<sup>61)</sup>

During this same period Dutch privateers were very busy on the coasts of England. And often ships coming from or going to Newfoundland were taken by Dutch privateers. During the third war between Holland and England these privateers formed even more a nuisance to the Newfoundland fishery.

During and after the second war it was sometimes feared that the Dutch would come back and attack Newfoundland again.<sup>62)</sup> Several times the government was asked to provide ships and men for the defence of the island.

The trade was decaying and the two groups of merchants interested in the Newfoundland fish trade petitioned the King. In 1667 the first group asked the prohibition of colonisation. The introduction of a governor and inhabitants had been very destructive to the trade, according to the ideas of these merchants, owing to the hindrance caused by the said inhabitants in taking harbours and stages, etc. of the fishermen and establishing alehouses on the island. And they were not necessary for the defence of the island either.

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61) Brandt, Leven van de Ruyter, p.390; Colenbrander, Nederlandsche Zeeoorlogen, pp.280,281.

62) Cal.St.P.,Dom.,1665-1666, p.386; Cal.St.P.,Dom.,1667, p.385.

The West Country merchants thought the fishing vessels quite able to defend themselves.<sup>63)</sup>

Moreover, if the trade was carried on by fishing vessels only, the number of ships and seamen would increase and the seamen would return home every season. They would not be able to shelter at Newfoundland and absent themselves from his Majesty's service, as many hundreds did in the second war with Holland.<sup>64)</sup> How easily they forgot what had happened in Newfoundland in 1665, when it came to the point of defending the old policy of "Newfoundland a fishery only".

The group of London and Bristol merchants requested with much emphasis the appointment of a governor who could make several harbours defensible. The inhabitants would then be preserved from the violence of sea rovers and enemies, who often came into the harbours and destroyed all that these people had, as De Ruyter did with his fleet in 1665; the inhabitants would be preserved from this violence, if by settlement and a government the harbours were fortified.<sup>65)</sup> The Bristol merchants were afraid that the French and Dutch would swallow their trade and they asked speedy protection against it. The Londoners declared that sixty old iron guns, some small arms, fifty seamen and a hundred and fifty landsmen would be enough to enable a governor to make five or six harbours defensible.<sup>66)</sup>

At the end of the seventh decade of the seventeenth century the situation in the fishery and trade was such that something had to be done about it. The West Country merchants asked for the same

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63) Cal.St.P., Col., II, pp. 491, 494; Cal.St.P., Dom., 1667-1668, p. 46.

64) C.O. I, vol. 22, no. 71.

65) C.O. I, vol. 22, nos. 68, 69.

66) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1667-1668, p. 65.

encouragement as it formerly had gotten from the government, and the Londoners were also determined to have their point of view considered. Finally the matter was directed by the Privy Council to the Committee of Council for Trade and Plantations, which started investigation in January, 1670.<sup>67)</sup> Both groups were given opportunity to bring forward their ideas and plans for the revival of the fishery. But it did not come to an agreement and no decision was reached in 1670. During the next five years nothing was done to solve the problem. The uncertain commercial situation due to the war with Holland, made it impossible to take any decision with regard to Newfoundland.

In 1672 the situation in the Republic of the United Netherlands was highly precarious. In the spring of that year the King of France, Louis XIV, had invaded the country and after a short while he had taken most of the land. In the west part only the provinces of Holland and Zealand were still in Dutch hands. Indeed, it was a struggle for survival. In March of the same year England also had declared war against Holland, for the third time.

The English and French fleets operated together in the North Sea. But in spite of that De Ruyter was able to make a bold stand against them near Solebay. The English fleet under the Duke of York was seriously defeated by the Dutch. The French had kept aloof from this fight.<sup>68)</sup>

The Dutch again started hostilities outside Europe. Gerald Graham wrote in his Empire of the North Atlantic, that further

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67) Lounsbury, British Fishery, pp.116-117.

68) Gosses-Japikse, Geschiedenis van Nederland, pp.577-580, passim.

damage to fishing convoys in transit was prevented by efficient escort work.<sup>69)</sup> This happened "although Dutch privateers continued to be a nuisance to the trade, and as late as 1673 plundered Ferryland, destroying cattle and burning seventy fishingvessels",<sup>70)</sup> as Graham said.

Indeed, escort work was done, but Dutch privateers were such a nuisance to the trade, that this escort work was often not efficient enough to prevent Newfoundland men from being taken by "capers", as these Dutch privateers were called by the English, using the Dutch word.

The first year of this war between Holland and England the fishery at Newfoundland had been completely undisturbed. The Duke of York had sent Captain Davies with two ships, the "Mary Rose" and the "Richmond", to protect the fishery during the fishing season. Captain Davies was instructed there to muster and discipline the fishermen for the defence of the country and ships, if necessary, and also to mount his ordnance in St.John's in case of attack. At the end of the season he was to escort the fishing fleet to Tangiers or Leghorn. He was also ordered to seize all the Dutch ships he could.<sup>71)</sup>

However, in spite of precautions, ships were captured by the Dutch. In July. 1672, three Poole ships bound for Newfoundland were taken off the coast of England by Dutch privateers.<sup>72)</sup> And a number of Dutch privateers were arming in Spanish ports during

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69) Gerald Graham, Empire of the North Atlantic, The Maritime struggle for North America, p.49.

70) ibid., p.49.

71) Cal.St.P.,Dom.,1671-May 1672,p.376; Cal.St.P.,Col.,III,p.351.

72) Cal.St.P.,Dom.,May-Sept.1672, pp.349,354,368.

the summer, to surprise the English Newfoundland fleet, according to an English newsletter from Spain.<sup>73)</sup>

In September of that year several merchants presented a paper to the King that their trade would be seriously damaged if the King did not send a considerable force to the Straits to protect the returning Newfoundland ships. A considerable number of Dutch privateers were abroad, five men-of-war on their way from Leghorn to the Strait's mouth and Cadiz and one of fifty guns was already at Cadiz and others had gone from Holland to those parts. If a considerable strength was not sent to sea, the petitioners said, the effects of the voyages to Newfoundland and New England would remain in Spain in the hands of the enemies.<sup>74)</sup>

No speedy course was taken and it mainly happened as these petitioners had expected. Ships from several ports of the West of England were taken by these Dutch privateers; two from Plymouth, a number from Topsham, and still more.<sup>75)</sup> Only one ship of all those bound for Bilbao from Newfoundland had escaped. All others were taken by the Dutch.<sup>76)</sup> In October it was feared in Dartmouth that all their Newfoundland men were taken by the Dutch, but apparently part of the fleet had returned home by the beginning of November.<sup>77)</sup> The convoy sent out to protect the returning Newfoundland fleet on their way to the Straits, had been too small to defend the ships against such a number of Dutch privateers and men-of-war.

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73) Cal.St.P., Dom., May-Sept. 1672, p.478.

74) Cal.St.P., Dom., May-Sept. 1672, p.636.

75) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1672-1673, pp.55, 123, 136.

76) Ibid., p.127.

77) Ibid., pp.3, 127.



In 1673 for the second time within a decade several ports in Newfoundland were plundered by Dutch men-of-war. Those were not privateers, who came to Newfoundland by accident, as Graham<sup>78)</sup> thought. These ships formed part of two Dutch expeditions sent to America in 1672.

In October, 1672, the States of Zeeland had resolved in secret session to send an expedition to the island of St. Helena to look out for the returning English East India fleet and to seize the same.<sup>79)</sup> In a second secret instruction for this expedition it was stated, that if this expedition against St. Helena did not succeed, the ships should go to the coasts of Virginia; after that they should go to New Netherland and Newfoundland (this island was not to be forgotten) to do as much damage as possible and ruin everything possible. At Newfoundland everything had to be taken and prize ships sent to Spain to be sold. This would repay the costs of the whole expedition.<sup>80)</sup> The Zeeland squadron consisted of six ships under the command of Cornelis Evertsen Den Jonge.

The Council of the Admiralty of Amsterdam had also sent out an expedition. This expedition which consisted of a squadron of four ships under the command of Captain Jacob Binckes, was sent to America with similar orders as these of the Zeeland squadron.<sup>81)</sup>

These two expeditions were sent out completely separate of one another. The squadron of Zeeland left the Netherlands in

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78) Gerald Graham, Empire of the North Atlantic, p.49;

see also above, p.77.

79) De Zeeuwse expeditie naar de West onder Cornelis Evertsen Den Jonge, 1672-1674, Werken Linschoten-Vereeniging, deel XXX, Bijlage I, pp.91,92.

80) ibid., pp.99,100,101.

81) ibid., Bijlage IIIC, p.115.

December 1672. It went to the island of St. Helena, as was ordered. However, this was not successful and from there the six ships went to America. In the spring of 1673 Captain Binckes left Amsterdam with his four ships and went straight to America.

On the first of June 1673, both these squadrons met in America, near the island of Martinique. The commanders of the fleets compared the orders and instructions of both, and finding that both accorded with each other, the captains decided to combine<sup>82)</sup> their forces and to make the intended conquests together. This is the Dutch fleet which went to New Netherland and recaptured New Amsterdam in July, 1673.

After their work in New Netherland was finished, the commanders of the fleet decided to send four ships to Newfoundland, it nearly being time -it was then August-, for the Newfoundland men to sail for Europe. The ships sent, were the ships of Captain Boes, the "Greenwife" of forty guns; the "Arms of Leyden" under the command of Captain van Zijl, also a ship of forty guns; the "Unity" under the command of lieutenant Jan Richewijn, a ship of forty guns, and the "Schaeckerloo, commander Captain Passchier de Witte, which<sup>83)</sup> ship had thirty-two guns.

The purpose of this expedition against Newfoundland was, as mentioned before, to take as much as possible on the island and to ruin what was there.<sup>84)</sup> Prize ships, taken by them, should be sent to Spain to be sold for the profit of the Dutch nation.

On the eighteenth of August, 1673, the four ships left New Netherland. An account of what happened at Newfoundland was given

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82) ibid., p. 115.

83) ibid., pp. 44, 106; C.O.I, vol. 34, no. 37; Cal. St. P., Col., IV, p. 197.

84) see above, p. 79.

by Captain Dudley Lovelace of New York. Lovelace and fifty soldiers all prisoners, were brought to Newfoundland in several Dutch ships. On the fourth of September they arrived on the coast of the island. The ship on which Lovelace made the voyage, went into the harbour of Ferryland and the Dutch plundered and destroyed cattle, household goods and stores belonging to several inhabitants; among others to the Kirke family. The fort at Ferryland was out of repair and there was no commander upon the place, so the Dutch took four great guns.<sup>85)</sup>

There was plenty of fish stored in the warehouses, the Captains of the Dutch ships declared later on. But they did not have enough ships to carry it all. They loaded their ships with as much fish as possible and left the rest in Newfoundland.<sup>86)</sup>

According to this account of the Captains, the Dutch burnt a hundred and fifty fishing boats and a few trainpans. They also took eight prize ships. Two of these being old, without very large cargoes, were given back to the fishermen after their lading had been taken out of them. Two other prizes, laden with fish, salt and train, were lost on the road of Faial.<sup>87)</sup>

These four ships from Holland had left Newfoundland for Faial only a few days after they had arrived at the island. At Faial they waited for the other ships of the fleet coming from New Netherland. These ships arrived at Faial on the seventeenth of November. For a few days the whole fleet stayed at Faial, and

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85) C.O.I, vol. 34, no. 37; Cal. St. P., Col., IV, p. 197.

86) De Zeeuwse Expeditie naar de West onder Cornelis Evertsen Den Jonge, Werken Linschoten-Vereeniging, deel XXX, Bijlage IIId, p. 119.

87) ibid., pp. 53, 119, 124.

there they experienced a terrible storm, in which they lost two of their prizes taken by Captain de Witte at Newfoundland. The ships were thrown into pieces and nineteen men of the crew perished.<sup>88</sup> And among the other prize ships, four ships laden with dried fish or victuals such as bacon and meat, some were seriously damaged. Through another storm on the way to Spain, near Cape St. Vincent, the Dutch still lost two other prizes. In the middle of December 1673, they arrived at Cadiz, with only one of their prize ships taken at Newfoundland and laden with fish, left. Cornelis Evertsen, the commander of the Zealand squadron wrote this to the Council of Zealand, as soon as he had arrived in Cadiz, and told them that he would do his best and endeavour to sell this fish for the highest possible price, which would be six or seven pieces of eight for a quintal at the most.<sup>89)</sup>

As we have seen before, Dutch merchants were trading in Newfoundland with the French and the English alike.<sup>90)</sup> The relations between France and the Dutch Republic had changed a great deal during the last twenty years. France had been an ally of the Republic for a long time. However, especially since the ascension of Louis XIV to the throne of France, the relations between the two countries became less friendly than they were before. The aspirations of the French king to the Spanish part of the Netherlands, were a great threat for the Republic. Johan de Witt tried to keep the relations friendly and to avert the danger by negotiations.

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88) ibid., p. 53.

89) ibid., Bijlage IIId, pp. 119, 120, 124.

90) see above, p. 56.

But France and England had other plans concerning the Republic than De Witt; Charles II and Louis XIV secretly negotiated about an alliance, which negotiations started in the summer of 1668. The aim of these negotiations was an alliance against the Dutch Republic. The two powers wanted to humiliate and perhaps destroy the proud Republic of the United Netherlands, once a protégé of France and England, but at that time one of the most important states in Europe.

Since the end of 1669, war with Holland was certain, but it did not break out before 1672 because of retarded preparations on the side of the French. In the meantime France succeeded in isolating the Republic by diplomatic means. This was all done secretly and the danger was not recognized by the Republic before it was<sup>91)</sup> extremely near.

At that time the French government raised the tariffs considerably, which was absolutely against an agreement with the Republic of 1662. The result was a hampering of the Dutch navigation in France. In the beginning of 1671, the States-General answered this with the prohibition of importation of French wines. And the duties on the importation of French drygoods were raised. This tariff-war heightened the political contrast between the two<sup>92)</sup> countries.

The French Newfoundland fishermen were afraid of the Dutch fleet, although war had not yet broken out. This shows the tension which existed between the two states. A Newfoundland fisherman from

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91) Gosses-Japikse, *Geschiedenis van Nederland*, pp.570,571.

92) *ibid.*, pp.571-572.

St.Malo advised the English that the French were afraid for their great fleets at Newfoundland, hearing news that a Dutch fleet passed through the Channel. This happened in the summer of 1671.<sup>93)</sup>

It is very likely that the Dutch privateers which in 1672 were arming in Spanish ports, wanted to surprise the English Newfoundland men as well as the French.<sup>94)</sup> In the following years there are numerous references of French Bankers being taken by Dutch "capers". Sometimes it were whole fleets.

The French had employed themselves much more in this trade during the last years and public encouragement was given to this fishery and trade. The French were able to compete with the English in foreign markets and the trade and the number of French Bankers therefore extended.<sup>95)</sup>

Especially during the summer and fall of 1676, many French Newfoundland men were taken by Dutch "capers". In September of that year six Flushing "capers" took fifteen French prizes, mainly from the Banks and Canada.<sup>96)</sup> The fleet of St.Malo narrowly escaped a number of six Dutch men-of-war, which came into the port of their fishing, but one day after they had gone out.<sup>97)</sup> Dutch men-of-war looked out sharply for French Bankers in the English seas as well. In December 1676, it happened that a group of French Newfoundland men was laying within the harbour of Portsmouth, and outside the harbour a group of Dutch men-of-war was waiting for the French to leave the harbour.<sup>98)</sup>

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93) Cal.St.P., Dom., 1671, O.425.

94) see also above, p.77-78.

95) Acts Privy Council, Colonial, 1613-1680, O.621.

96) Cal.St.P., Dom., Mar.1676-Feb.1677, p.239.

97) ibid., p.427.

98) ibid., pp.443, 472.

In this chapter it was tried to give an idea of the different activities of the Dutch at Newfoundland. In the years shortly after the proclamation of the Navigation Act of 1651, this was still mainly an activity in the fish trade. It is likely that in these years the greatest number of Dutch ships went to Newfoundland every year to trade. But the Dutch also fished on the Banks of Newfoundland themselves. The first and only Proclamation of the States-General concerning the Newfoundland fishery and fish trade, shows that Dutchmen were fishing as well as trading at Newfoundland. They were trading with the French and the English alike, on their own account, but sometimes also on the account of merchants of other nations. However, the latter way of trading was prohibited by this Proclamation of the States-General of 1657, in order to protect the merchantmen against possible seizure, as had happened several times before.

During the first part of the seventeenth century the Dutch provinces, mainly Holland and Zealand, were extending their trade and fishery enormously. This is the period in which Dutch sailors went all over the world and took possession of areas in the East Indies and built factories there and elsewhere. In 1602, the Dutch East India Company was established and within a number of years it formed a mighty power in the East Indies. This unfolding of energy and power went on during the first five decades of the seventeenth century. Then the Dutch seemed to relax a bit, and no longer extended their trade very much. They tried to consolidate what they had got. And within the next thirty years they had to defend their wealth, which they got from this power at sea.

The efforts which the wars with England demanded from that small country of the Netherlands, were too great to afford a great colonising movement by the Dutch at the same time. Moreover, the population of the land was small, and there were not enough able people available for colonisation of other parts.

This general trend of the Dutch trade and commerce is also shown in their trade and fishery at Newfoundland. It is likely that at first they had a considerable trade on their hands, but after a number of years the trade decreased.

Between 1620 and 1650 the Dutch were probably the chief competitors of the English in Newfoundland, but after that they lost that position slowly and the French took their place as such.

At last the Dutch fishery and trade at Newfoundland died out completely. After the third war between England and Holland was ended, an inquiry was made at Newfoundland by the commanders of the English frigates, going as a convoy for the fishing fleet, on order of the Committee for Trade and Plantations. One of the points to be searched was whether any foreigner fished upon the eastern coast of Newfoundland, upon pretence of being English, and also whether any other nation carried on this trade; and where they frequented the same.<sup>99)</sup> The masters of the different fishing ships and several inhabitants of Newfoundland declared that that year no strangers fished upon the coast to the Northward. Only the French and English carried on the fishing trade in that country, while no other nation was coming there.<sup>100)</sup> In 1680 it was also reported by Captain Robert

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99) C.O.1, vol.40, no.84.

100) C.O.1, vol.51, no.62.



Robinson that no strangers came thither except the French and  
101)  
Biscayans, north of Bonavista.

During the wars with England the Dutch changed their activities at Newfoundland. Specifically during the second and third war the actual warfare was brought over from places within Europe to places outside Europe. The raids of the Dutch on Newfoundland in 1665 and in 1673 were made to damage the English fishery there as much as possible, which would mean a "damp" on that part of the English economy.

De Ruyter stayed at Newfoundland for several days. In the three most important English harbours ships were taken, houses plundered and burnt, except in St. John's. This place has not been defended by the inhabitants in spite of the natural defence of the harbour, which is formed by the Narrows, -and also in spite of the arms that were available in St. John's, at that time. Another raid could take place on the island, because the situation had not changed in the years after the second war. The fear for another Dutch raid existed for several years after De Ruyter had been at Newfoundland. But notwithstanding nothing was done for a better defence of the place. This enabled the four Dutch ships to plunder Ferryland so easily in 1673.

But not only the English felt the Dutch power at sea at Newfoundland; also the French suffered from Dutch warships on the Banks. Several times Dutch men-of-war came to Newfoundland to damage the French fishery there. And in 1676 a great part of the

French fleet on the Banks was taken by these Dutch warships.

With these raids in the eighth decade of the seventeenth century the activity of the Dutch at Newfoundland, either as fishermen or as traders-competitors for the English trade, ended in a warlike manner.

## C O N C L U S I O N .

At the end of the sixteenth century merchants and traders of the Low Countries looked around for new areas in order to develop their trade. In the tenth decade of that century Newfoundland codfish was one of the commodities carried by Dutch traders from the ports in western England to the markets in southwestern Europe. The English already carried the Newfoundland codfish at least as far back as 1585 directly from Newfoundland to Spain or Italy.

In the early years of the seventeenth century the Dutch traders also started this direct trade and besides that, Dutch fishermen were going out to the Banks. At first this trade and fishery were not carried out by a great number of ships. But the Dutch extended both activities gradually. This Dutch Newfoundland fishery was not very important, however, in comparison to the other Dutch fisheries.

As traders at Newfoundland the Dutch were great competitors of the English after a number of years. This activity was so great that in the second and third decade of the seventeenth century a group of English merchants asked assistance from the government to protect them against this Dutch competition by excluding the Dutch from the trade. Another group of merchants however, from the West Country, needed the assistance of the Dutch for carrying their fish,

because there were not enough English ships to export the whole catch of the Newfoundland fishermen. This group was the most influential in the English Parliament and therefore the Dutch were allowed to stay in this trade.

About the year 1640, the Dutch were a real threat to the English Newfoundland fish trade. This threat was not materialised however, and the situation changed. During the Civil War the Dutch could proceed undisturbed in their trade and fishing at Newfoundland. But after that the English prohibited them from coming there, as they had done many times before. But now the English were determined to uphold the law. The Navigation Act of 1651, was a hard blow to all Dutch shipping. The great economic rivalry between Holland and England then came to an explosion. And war broke out several times. And at the end of the third war Holland had lost a great deal of its very mighty position of the years before.

Dutch traders continued to go to Newfoundland and to buy fish or to fish there, all during the wars. This trade did not flourish however, and at last died out. Dutch traders were not noticed neither in 1677 nor in 1680, on the English part of the coasts of Newfoundland.

During the wars with England, the Dutch partially changed their activities at Newfoundland. The island was brought into the area where the war was fought. In 1655 De Ruyter raided St. John's by order of the States-General of the Republic of the United Netherlands. And Cornelis Evertsen Den Jonge plundered Ferryland in 1673. In later years, in the war with Holland, the French also lost ships at Newfoundland. A great number of French Bankers were taken and the French Newfoundland fishery damaged in 1676.

The activity of the Dutch at Newfoundland took place in the period of the greatest expansion of the Dutch all over the world. At the end of the sixteenth century voyages were made to discover new lands and coasts. Factories and settlements were built on places taken by the Dutch. During the latter part of the seventeenth century the surplus energy of the Republic was spent, and the rapid developments came to an end. Some of the possessions on the American coast, which had never had as much attention from the Dutch government as it should have had, were lost. During the wars there was also a decline of Dutch shipping in consequence of the English Navigation Acts.

By losing New Amsterdam the Dutch lost their foothold on the North American Continent. This together with the decline of Dutch shipping as a result of the exclusive navigation policy of the English government, caused the gradual decay of this part of the Dutch trade in the seventeenth century.

In this thesis, for the first time, it is tried to give a picture of the development of Dutch activity in relation to Newfoundland. It has been shown that this started with an activity in the trade in Newfoundland fish between England and the markets in southwestern Europe. Later on it became a trade between Newfoundland and Europe. And a fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland was also started. From this trade and fishery the Dutch got to know the importance of the Newfoundland fishing trade for the English.

For about sixty-five years the activity of the Dutch in and around Newfoundland only consisted of trading and fishing. But then it mainly changed into a war-activity, as a result of the wars with England.

Newfoundland was one of the places outside Europe, where the economic rivalry and the struggle between England and the Dutch Republic showed itself and had a great influence on the situation of the inhabitants and their industry.

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I. ENGLISH SOURCES AND LITERATURE..

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## II. DUTCH SOURCES AND LITERATURE.

In Holland the research was started with the use of printed offi-  
cial sources, but I also tried to find original manuscript materi-  
al, if available. It seems likely that the traders from Zealand  
played the most important part at Newfoundland among the traders  
from the Dutch Republic. But probably it will be very difficult  
to find material about the Zealanders, if any, because the most  
important collections of documents relating to Zealand, was in  
the State Archive in Middelburg, which was destroyed by fire, when  
the Germans bombed Middelburg in 1640.

So far, only printed official sources were used. These are Minutes of the States of Zealand, Resolutions of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, and of the States-General, and a collection of all the Proclamations of these States, printed in 1664. The Minutes of the States of Zealand and the Resolutions of the States of Holland and West-Friesland concerning the period of this research, are all printed in the seventeenth century. The Resolutions of the States-General of 1576-1609 are edited by Dr.N.Japikse, and printed in the series of the State Historical Publications.

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