



A private Atlantic

The Ter Borch family albums as colonial archive

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On 29 April 1645, a merchant in the eastern Dutch town of Zwolle drafted a bill of lading for a vessel destined for the German city of Münster. He listed the stores of tar, brandy, soap, paper, and tobacco onboard and then submitted his inventory to the license master who collected excise duties on cargo passing through Zwolle. The document survives because it ended up as scrap paper in the house of the license master, Gerard ter Borch the Elder. Almost a decade later, his daughter Gesina made a drawing on the bill's reverse (fig. 1).¹ Working first with chalk and then pen and brown ink, Gesina ter Borch sketched out a company of men and women carousing together. Both sides of the sheet speak to the establishment of tobacco in the Dutch Republic by the mid-seventeenth century, not only as a commodity traveling down local waterways, but also as fragrant smoke curling out of the pipes enjoyed by two men and one woman in the drawing.²

Gesina ter Borch used her sketch as the prototype for a more finished scene, rendered in watercolor on folio 72 of the volume scholars now refer to as her *Poetry album* (fig. 2). Adapting her initial drawing, she eliminated

Detail of fig. 6

1

Gesina ter Borch, *Merry company*, c. 1654, pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk, 10.8 x 19.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no RP-T-1887-A-1318)



Stemme Prins Robert.

1.
 Comt laet ons nu eens dradjek sijn
 Die wijl de tijt ge beet
 Laet Dieren drifsticht dradjek en pijn
 Denckt nu op geen verdrijet
 Drinkt glasses igt tot dat het stijgt
 En leet het goem ont ruet
 Begrijet u schijnt met sulcken bijt
 Maar maectet niet te bont

2.
 Ick brengst u eens een romertien
 Jeer frisks uijt doe kijn
 En sijt niet als een dromertien
 Maar formet u als een man
 Iet opor ick bringe u een santen
 Op doe gey meest denint
 Digt sege denjer mee te drie
 Of denjer toe gesint

3.
 En seet hoe ick het binnen lap
 Hoe soets gaet het in
 Dat adagemaec backus nat
 Verweckt een mensch tot min
 Het smaeckt ons nu soo wel met list
 Die wijl de tijt ge beet
 Met u gide en pijn lussiegs blist
 Meer crinckel waer Neisreck niet

Tijns



one of the smoking men and added details to the costumes and props. As frequently occurs in Ter Borch's *Poetry album*, the scene functions as a *bas-de-page* that illustrates or complements the calligraphic text inscribed above, in this case a merry drinking song. The *Poetry album* is one of three surviving volumes of watercolors and calligraphy that reflect Ter Borch's maturation as an artist, from a commonplace book she began as a teenager in 1646 to the large-scale portraits and genre scenes of her maturity. Beyond collecting Ter Borch's own work, these albums and the loose sheets preserved with them, like the bill of lading, were also a family archive, encompassing the poems and drawings of Ter Borch's father and siblings, stray documents, and printed texts.

Divided between the Rijksmuseum and local archives in Zwolle since the late nineteenth century, this collection has primarily interested scholars because Gesina ter Borch's older half-brother Gerard the Younger is one of the most celebrated Dutch painters of the seventeenth century. More recently, in large part due to the meticulous catalogue of the archive published by Alison McNeil Kettering in 1988, Gesina ter Borch has emerged as an important figure in her own right, not only as a painter, but also as a family historian and artist's model.³ Thanks to her own archival practices and the legal steps she took to preserve her papers, Ter Borch is one of the best-documented artists, male or female, of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. Her archive sheds light not only on her artistic development, but also on many aspects of elite women's education, consumption, and creative work.

Building on my own recent monograph on Ter Borch, this essay approaches her archive as a case study for thinking about the different channels through which women related to and envisaged the Dutch Atlantic world. I trace across Ter Borch's albums a constellation of responses to news, objects, and people who arrived in Zwolle via the mediation of Dutch colonialism, like the tobacco that her father inspected in 1645, and whose consumption she visualized in her *Poetry album*. These responses are threaded throughout Ter Borch's life and art, from her earliest drawings to her last will. They document the workings of an elite provincial woman's colonial imagination, as Ter Borch not only read about places on the other side of the ocean, but also pictured them in her art. A survey of transatlantic traces within the Ter Borch family archive provides an illuminating example of what Susanah Shaw Romney, in a discussion of Vermeer, has termed 'the blending of intimacy and empire'; as she notes, 'individuals far below the status of company investors also related to empire (...) through the medium of the immediate, bodily, and gendered relationships they formed with others'.⁴ At the same time, mapping such relationships as they flicker across the surviving sources reveals gaps and losses in the family archive that Gesina ter Borch did so much to preserve, lacunae that are themselves revealing about the marginalization of certain histories within scholarship on both Dutch colonialism and Dutch painting.

2

Gesina ter Borch, *The poetry album*, fol. 72, c. 1654, watercolor and pen and ink, 31.3 x 20.4 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no BI-1890-1952-72)

From the life

Gesina ter Borch spent almost all of her life in the town of Zwolle. As noted above, her father, Gerard the Elder, served as Zwolle's license master, collecting customs duties on commercial goods passing downriver between the Dutch Republic and the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. While Ter Borch herself never left the Dutch Republic, her albums speak to her engagement with a globalized world of mobile images, goods, and people. They contain the earliest Persian miniature surviving in a Dutch collection, as well as records of her siblings' extensive travels.⁵ Among the latter, Gerard the Younger spent his journeyman years in England, Spain, and Westphalia, while Gerard and Gesina's sister Joanna (known as Janneken or Jenneken) crossed the Atlantic with her husband, Sijbrand Schellinger, in 1674 to settle in Curaçao.

Like other well-to-do Dutch women of the seventeenth century, Ter Borch encountered the far-flung sites of Dutch colonization through the clothes she wore, the books she read, and the materials that furnished her home. For example, in her last will, Ter Borch bequeathed to her niece Hillegonda Schellinger all the linens 'in the little *sakkerdaan* cupboard in the hall' (*in het Sakkerdanen kassien op het sael*).⁶ Historians of furniture have debated exactly what type of wood was meant by the term *sakkerdaan*, as encountered in early modern Dutch sources; most plausibly, it has been identified with *jacarandá* (*Dalbergia nigra*), an insect-resistant Brazilian rosewood, also known in English as Rio palisander.⁷ Rembrandt owned a *sakkerdaan* linen press,⁸ and the monumental *heichal*, dated to 1675, that houses the Torah scrolls in Amsterdam's Portuguese Synagogue is entirely veneered in *sakkerdaan*, donated by the merchant Mozes Curiel, who held the monopoly on the wood's importation to the Netherlands.⁹ The reference in Ter Borch's will preserves a moment of contact, in a quite bodily and material sense, with the Dutch Atlantic world. Ter Borch's linens were housed in Brazilian wood; her everyday vocabulary incorporated a word, *sakkerdaan*, that had entered Dutch, via Portuguese, from the indigenous Tupi language. The very ordinariness of these traces suggests how deeply entrenched such contacts had become. Indeed, the presence of imported luxury objects in elite homes is perhaps the most amply studied aspect of the imbrication of colonialism in early modern Dutch domestic life, and particularly in the lives of women.¹⁰

Ter Borch's engagement with the Dutch Atlantic world went beyond consumption to active picturing and recording, particularly in her practice as a portraitist. For example, around the same time that she repurposed an old bill of lading to sketch a group of merry smokers, Ter Borch made another drawing, this time depicting two young Black men (fig. 3). Ter Borch inscribed the drawing with the exact date on which it was made, 2 September 1654, and with the phrase *nae 't leven*, indicating that it was drawn from life. Ter Borch's inscription, which she used only on this drawing in her entire body of work, emphasizes that her portrayal derives from a direct interpersonal encounter. The drawing depicts the two young men in profile, facing one another. One of the men stands, holding an empty sack; the other sits in a wooden chair upholstered in leather, resting a sailor's cap



on his knee. Both young men are barefoot, and their clothing suggests they were not liveried servants, but perhaps messengers or sailors.¹¹ We might speculate that they were the kind of men who served as crew members on the riverboats that passed through Zwolle, laden with tobacco and soap.

Around the same time that Gesina ter Borch made this drawing, her half-brother Gerard depicted a woman of color in the genre scene now known as *The rural postman* (fig. 4).¹² Whoever his model may have been in life, here she plays the role of a maidservant, adjusting the curtains of a canopied bed and directing a curious glance at the courier who has just brought her employer a letter. Both Gesina's drawing and Gerard's painting speak to the widespread presence of Black people in the Dutch Republic by the middle of the seventeenth century. Like other documents or works of art entangled with the transatlantic slave trade, they tantalize with fleetingly recorded likenesses only to withhold further information that would permit us to name or otherwise trace the lives of their sitters.¹³ The recent exhibitions *Black in Rembrandt's time*, held at the Rembrandthuis in 2020, and *Slavery. Ten true stories*, held at the Rijksmuseum in 2021, juxtaposed the many images of Black people in seventeenth-century Dutch art, their names usually unrecorded, with documentary records about the Black community living in the Netherlands or its colonies at that time.¹⁴ Meanwhile, a research initiative in the Ter Borch family's home province of Overijssel has demonstrated the extent to which even inland provinces

3

Gesina ter Borch, *Two young men*
(*The family scrapbook*, fol. 35r), 1654,
watercolor and pen and ink, 24.3 x 36 cm,
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. BI-
1887-1463-35)

4

Gerard ter Borch the Younger, *The rural postman*, c. 1655, oil on panel, 58.5 x 47.5 cm, Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum (inv. no. ГЭ-883) (photo: Wikimedia)



were imbricated in the transatlantic slave trade and Dutch practices of colonialism. Yet a comprehensive survey of court and baptismal records from the region has yielded no potential identifications for the models of either Gesina's drawing or Gerard's painting.¹⁵ To call the Ter Borch family albums a colonial archive is to point out lacunae as well as revelations, and to see in both signposts toward further research that may allow us to speak with greater precision about the figures we encounter there.

Picturing Curaçao

A very different representation of Black figures occurs in Ter Borch's last dated drawing, a 1680 portrait of her niece Hillegonda Schellinger, who would one day inherit the linens 'in the little *sakkerdaan* cupboard in the hall' (fig. 5). Hillegonda was the daughter of Gesina's sister Janneken; Gesina recorded the circumstances of Janneken's death and Hillegonda's birth on the Caribbean island of Curaçao in notes inscribed on a poem printed in honor of Janneken's marriage:



5

Gesina ter Borch, *Hillegonda Schellinger in Curaçao* (*The family scrapbook*, fol. 92r), 1680, watercolor, 24.3 x 36 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. BI-1887-1463-92)

Anno 1675 the 13th/23rd [*sic*] of August my sister Janneken ter Borch died at Curaçao in the West Indies after having been ill for ten to eleven weeks and was buried honorably there, as befits a person of quality, as her husband writes, and left behind three children (...) The little daughter was born at Curaçao the 13th of December 1674 and was called Hillegonda after Schellinger's mother, who was called Hillegonda Aemsloo.⁶

Ter Borch's notes imply the existence of a now lost letter from her brother-in-law, bearing tidings from Curaçao to Zwolle of her sister's death and her niece's birth. Letters from faraway places can prompt acts of picturing and imagination. Indeed, five years after her sister's death, Gesina attempted to envisage Curaçao in her portrait of Hillegonda. The young girl appears standing on the seashore, in the shade of a tree with two parrots perched in its branches. The birds, like the palm trees and some of the background architecture, were direct borrowings from a 1581 print by Johann Sadeler after Dirck Barendsz. (fig. 6).¹⁷ In the foreground are a turtle and a shield made of featherwork. The waters behind Hillegonda feature both a sea monster and a squadron of ships flying the Dutch flag. Farther down the shoreline, Black figures draw in

their fishing nets, while elephants graze beneath palm trees at the edge of a settlement with fanciful buildings.

In her drawing, Ter Borch constructed an image of Curaçao from fragments of textual accounts, printed depictions, and *Kunstkamer* objects. Previous commentators have assumed that Gesina ter Borch depicted Hillegonda from life, sometime after the Schellinger children left Curaçao. But the exact date of their return remains unclear, and the likeness is fairly generic, with little resemblance to an actual five-year-old girl.¹⁸ The portrait may in fact be the artist's attempt to envision a niece she had not yet met, in a place she would never travel, based on the news reports she read and the printed depictions of faraway places she might have come across in Zwolle. As Alison McNeil Kettering noted, the rendering of the South African star-pattern turtle's shell in the foreground is accurate, but its limbs have been imagined.¹⁹ In depicting this creature at her niece's feet, Ter Borch attempted the reanimation of a *Kunstkamer* curiosity, just as the flotilla in the background responds to newspaper accounts of triumphant Dutch fleets. Likewise, the featherwork shield reflects indigenous Brazilian, not Curaçaoan, practice.

In revising Sadeler's print, Ter Borch had her niece take the place of America herself, displacing the featherwork from the central figure's headdress to the shield on the ground. Even more striking is Ter Borch's substitution of the indigenous figures in the background with Black fishermen, recruiting laboring Black bodies as a foil to her niece's depiction as an elegant young lady.²⁰ The background to Hillegonda's portrait both insists on her Curaçaoan birth, and on her fundamental difference from the island's other inhabitants. Here, as in so many other portraits from the early modern transatlantic world, peripheral Black figures labor to constitute the refined white subject.²¹





7

Adriaen Hanneman, *Posthumous portrait of Mary Stuart, Princess of Orange, with a servant*, 1664, oil on canvas, 129.5 x 119.3 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis (inv. no. 429)

Many aspects of Gesina ter Borch's artistic practice, such as calligraphy or album making, reflect her emulation of aristocratic or courtly mores, and the same is true of her recruitment of Black figures as foils in her niece's portrait. A similar juxtaposition of central white female sitter, Black attendant, and indigenous Brazilian featherwork occurs in Adriaen Hanneman's posthumous likeness of Mary Stuart, Princess of Orange, painted in 1664, one of several portraits that depict her wearing a featherwork cape pinned across her chest (fig. 7). The portrait most likely commemorates a court masque held in 1655, when the princess appeared 'dressed like an Amazon'.²⁸ In Hanneman's portrait, a young Black page ties a strand of pearls around the princess's wrist. More pearls shimmer across the whole surface of the canvas, spilling forth from a shell on the left, dangling from the page's ear, or festooning the princess's turban. Like the feathers or the page himself, the pearls are signifiers of foreign luxury and the processes of objectification underlying the princess's performance of royal composure.

Writing about the British playwright and novelist Aphra Behn, who supplied Surinamese featherwork to the King's Theatre and butterflies to the royal cabinet of curiosities, Margaret Ferguson has cautioned against assuming that an early modern woman's use of the rhetorical or visual practices of colonialism was any more benign than a man's; she calls for 'skepticism about our own psychic investments in our objects of study,

8

Oprechte Haerlemse Saturdaegse Courant,
no. 8, 25 February 1679, print,
31.2 x 19.2 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
(inv. no. BI-1887-1463-92A)

especially, but not only, when those objects have the allure of being historical female subjects endowed with some degree of power or agency'.²³ My attention to Gesina ter Borch's depiction of Curaçao is likewise not intended to present a model of domestic or feminine colonial imagining as somehow harmless or insulated from the practices of enslavement at the heart of Dutch settlement in the Caribbean. Rather, I aim to demonstrate the pervasiveness of an engagement, a curiosity, but also an exploitation in both the public and private spheres of early modern Dutch life.

Beyond Sadeler's print and her brother-in-law's letter, what sources did Gesina ter Borch have for her imagining of Curaçao? Tucked into the pages of her album, placed directly above the portrait of Hillegonda, is a copy of the 25 February 1679 edition of the *Oprechte Haerlemse Saturdaegse Courant* (fig. 8). Among its various dispatches, the newsheet contains news from the other side of the Atlantic:

(...) on the *Isle d'Ares*, Captain Brandt Hemsz de Vries has taken the ship of Thomas Pain, an English privateer under French commission (...) The said *Isle d'Ares* with the district belonging to it, where previously the ships of the Comte d'Estrées were stranded, was subsequently occupied by Director Joan Doncker and taken in possession for this country's government and the West India Company, having appointed as commander Sijbrand Schellinger, who took the people there [i.e., the stranded French sailors] captive and sent them to Curaçao.²⁴

This news item records the aftermath of what, from the Dutch perspective, was the providential delivery of Curaçao from a French fleet that ran aground on the reefs of the Las Aves archipelago, north of mainland Venezuela, on 11 May 1678.²⁵ French cannons salvaged from the wreckage were sent back to the Netherlands as trophies, while Curaçaoans marked the anniversary of the fleet's stranding with an annual day of thanksgiving through the end of the eighteenth century.²⁶

In her albums and notes, Gesina ter Borch recorded births and deaths, conditions of burial, and the origins of names. An interest in family history, as opposed to armed conflict in the Caribbean or the region's natural resources, motivated her preservation of the newsheet, with its passing mention of her brother-in-law Sijbrand Schellinger. By contrast, the literature on the reception of transatlantic news in the early modern Dutch Republic has largely focused on male merchants in major port cities. Scholars have emphasized the fact that even when transatlantic news reached readers in towns like Zwolle, it was routed through the entrepôts of Holland, and it was in these cities that accounts of the Atlantic world were published. For example, Benjamin Schmidt has written:

(...) if indeed an author from another province wished to contribute to discussion on the New World, he (and it almost invariably was a *he*) did so on terms set by Amsterdam, Leiden, or The Hague. The 'Dutch image of America' may in fact represent the vision of Holland as opposed to that of Overijssel, yet the same can be said more generally for many other aspects of Dutch culture.²⁷

dicatie gedaan, en doen het Lichaem, leggende in een Kist met Swarte Bay bekleet, ter Aerde geliet, en zijn doen in de Carosse wederom na 't sterfhuys gekiekt, alwaer veel Schoten met Banquet en Suyken gereet stonden, en met Wijn wierden beschoonken. Gaeulen den 21 February. De Missive, last van gemelt, was niet gekomen van den Koningh van Frankrijk, maer van den Lt. General Calvo, waer op van dese Stadt een beleefte antwoord is gegeven, en den Officier, die delfde gebracht hadde, gerepaleert. Aen die van Bon en Duffeldorp soude gedachte Calvo gelijke kuntchap hebben gegeven. Gontje de Bully is door een Brief van zijn Konings Haer oock gelaft geen Hostiliteiten meer te plegen. Hamburg den 21 February. Het tweede Treffen met de Sweden, waer in de selve 1300 Man verloren hebben, vervolgt niet, maer wat van de rydingen is, dat de Brandenburg in 't vervolgen wel 3 Regimenten verloren hebben, en de Generael Gortzke doot tot Wellaauw zijn gebracht, mitgaders noch een ander Generael Perloo gequett, weet men niet te seggen, alsoo de selve alleen van de Sweden komt. Den Heerhuy van Zell komt niet herwaerts, maar op morgen gaet de Ertz van Oostvrieland na Zell, om de Tractaten daer by te woonen. De Wijnkopers Knechts zijn hier befigh met een Wijnvat van 23 Oxhoofden Wijn op 't Ys op te slaen, daer men de Vrede voort op letten sal.

Hamburg den 21 February. Van Zell wert geschreven, dat den generale Vrede nu voorlecker zijn voortgangh nemen sal, en hadde sich zijn Fustelike Doel, verclaert, dat hy de Stiften Bremen en Verden aen Sweden soude reiffaren, en niet een voet breet daer in behouden, indien de Kroon Sweden aen sijn Keur. Doorl. van Brandenburg geheel Pomeran wilde laten, om alsoo verleeckert te zijn, dat hog-gemelde Oorlog geen ruypert met sijn Naburen soude aenvaengen; waer tegens hoog-ged. sijn Keur. Doorl. geaccordeert soude zijn het Graefschap Regensfeyn en een stuk van 't Halberstatische aen het Hoogfustelick Huys af te treden, om alsoo hen selve Huys, wegens de protesten op de gemelde Stiften Bremen en Verden, satisfactie te geven.

POOLEN. PRUYSEN. &c.

Ruckneffe den 6 February. Voor drie dagen quam hier te rugge den General Major Treiffenfelt, en berichte, dat noch eenmaal met des Vyants Arrierguarde had geflagen, en die een Staandaard, welke sijn Ceuvortelike Doorl. heeft gepresenteert, afgenomen, wende nu noch vast vervolgt door den General Major Schoningh met 1000 wytegelefen Ruyters en 500 Dragonders, die noch 500 Dragonders zijn nae gefonden; nae 't seggen van de Overlopers is het heer flechte met den Vyandt gefelt, hebbende in eenige dagen geen Boorogelad, en in 5 nachten onder geen Daek gewest, oock geen vuur deeren maecten. De sameyten sijn oock op, en hebben soo veel van de Vyanden ter neer gemaect, dat men niet hoeft te vragen, wat wech zy gemarcheert zijn; oock leggen veelde dooden verhogere en verzoeren langs haer Passagie, en de schrick is so groot, dat 27 4 Stucken van 12 en 8 Pont met een Vuur-Mortier hebben achtergelaten. Den heer keurvoirt sal niet noch by wyers toe bescheyt van de verichtinge van den General Major Schoningh.

Koningsbergen den 10 February. De Sweden retireren al voort nae Lijflant; waer men segt, dat den General Major Treiffenfelt en Schoningh in flecker Boek haer willede besetten, seer slecht zijn gevezen, soo dat d'eerste met verlies had moeten afwijcken; doch den tweeden noch 1500 Man tot versterckinge toekomende, hadden de Sweden niet willen verwerpen, maer souden verder gemaect zijn. Den General Gortzke soude tot Wellaauw door gebracht zijn.

Couingsbergen den 10 February. Soo aenblyt om't tyding, dat den Gener. Major Wallenfeyn gequett en gevangen na Labiau gebracht is, en dat den Gen. Major Schoneck, Overfeyn Trux en Overfeyn Treiffenfelt yder met een stercke Party de Sweden nasetteden, hebben oock bereyts over de 1500 Gevangens, nevens 18 Staandaerden en Vanen, te rug gefonden, de welke sich laten onderflecken. Vuur-Mortiers en 6 naer Huispauken bekomen. sijn Keur. Doorl. soude haer verfte Paerden nagefonden hebben, om de Vyanden, soo verre als sy konnen, te vervolgen: En alsoo de Passagie, die de Sweden nemen, seer nauw en bergachtigh is, soo salder weynigh van de selve over blyven. Sijne Keurvorstl. Doorl. soude den heer Gen. Horn door een Trompetter hebben laten aanbieden, dat alsoo het doch onmogelyk was voor hem te onkomen, en dat die gene, die het Swaer. Londen ontgaen, van Honger en Koude souden moeten stercken, hy hem dathalen een vrye doortocht voor hem en sijnne principaelste Officiers soude vergunnen, indien hy toetlaen wilde, dat sich de rest van d'Armee als Krijgs-gevangens wilde overgeven.

VRANCKRYCK.

Parijs den 17 February. Men begint aen eenige Entreprise te plegen, om dat men in beyde de Zeeën soo sterck equippeert, men segt wel van 60 groote Schepen; en daer is nauwelijck een Haven, alwaer geen Schepen vervaardigende. Mr. de Vivonne wierdt giffen ontfangen als Due en Pair van Frankrijk; en den volgenden Nach geschiedde het Huwelijck van den Marquis de Mremares, sijn Soon, met de jongste Dochter van Monfr. Colbert. Op Maendag wierdt hier een ongemeten Tractement van den Bischof van Straetsburgh aen den heer den Dauphin gedaan, welsende 6 Mans, daer onder den Dauphin, en 6 Vrouwen gemaquert, soo kostelijck als men by naer noyt gesien heeft. Men verwacht hier iemand wyl Spangie, om Madama'selle te verloeken.

Burgemeesters en Regeerders der Stadt Haerlem notificeeren by desen, dat haer Paerdmarche, die amsterdams soude konen op den 6 Maert deses Jaers 1679, welsende den selven dagh van de Utrecht Paerdmarche, en die en andere inconvonienien toe aan byt d'gen sal verschoven, en over suickel alhier gehouden werden op den 13 Maert daer aen volgende, wat na een yegelyck, die 't aengaen magh, sich hebbe te reguleren.

De werckpyn van de Boeken, nagelaten by Dr. Johannes Petrus, in sijn Leven Predikant tot Pennbroeck, voor desen van gemelt, sal zijn voortgangh nemen op Dingdag den 7 Maert 1679. op de Zael van het Princen-Hof tot Haerlem.

Op Woendag den 8 Maert 1679. fullen tot Haerlem op de oude Gracht, ten Huyt van zalig. Dr. Abraham Oesfelder, verkecht werden des selfs nagelaten Bibliotheek, bestaende in veel thellijckhe Latsinische en Ryckelike Boeken, met Theologia; de Catalogi zijn beyde te bekomen tot Haerlem by Michiel van Leeuwen, tot Leyden by Felix Lopes en P. van der Meerfche, tot Amstard. by G. Boetius

NEDERLANDEN.

Brussel den 22 February. Die van Henegouwen hebben haer ten gevalle van sijn Excellentie verclaert. De Ceremonie van 't Gulde Vlies is uitgefiet tot sijn Excellentie tot Gent sal zijn gwaes. De Franse Troupen marcheren al na Savoyen, soo dat men geloof, dat aen die kant eenigh delftey legten niet tegens de Genouen, alsoo die wel by Frankrijk slaen. Den Marquis de los Balbais wert hier noch verwacht.

Gent den 22 February. Den Heer Raer Voes, die voordeden Sondagh morgen na Rijfel vertrack, is hier giffen avond geluckelijck wederom gekomen, en desen morgen ten 5 uren na Brussel vertracken, hebbende sijn Negolierie met een gewest Wynde gebracht, soo dat 't expresse ordie gekomen soude zijn, dat de Franfen op Maendag dele Stadt moeten evacueren, waer toe sy anstonts preparatie beginnen te maecten, en zijn van dagh de Volckeren, die ten platten Lande in het Land van Woes gelegen hebben, al te mael binnen ontboden.

Vilffingen den 22 February. Voer 2 dagh arriveerde hier Jan Laurensz. van de Barbely, en giffen 't Schip de 3 Patriarchen van Lissabon, den 21 juffito van daer vertracken, met berichdat Schipper Jan Leenderick. Vlaming met sijn Schip, met Graen geladen, nae de Straet gedestineert, en van het Convey afgerack, aldaer was gekomen.

Nimwegen den 22 February. De Linnenburgse Ministers sijn hier noch soo nae met den Vrede niet te welen, als men op andere Plaeten wel voorgeet. De Baron van Platen, Onsbachse Gesant, is na Huys, dan wert binnen 8 dagen wederom verwacht. De Geu. Gouffe Afsant de Baron van Nefdract is op heeden na Ceulen gekiekt. De Baron van der Ley staet oock op sijn verreck, en een Graef Kinsky, Keyserlijcken Minister, begint sich mede daer toe te prepareren.

's Gravenhage den 23 February. Berghieren en giffen waren de Heeren Haer Broeg Mog. Gedeputeerde tot de Buytenlaense laecken t elcken een lange weylen de Preftmie Kamer met sijn Hoogheyt in beslagen, en giffen waer de Heeren Staten van Holland voor-middags, mis noch eenige Leen manquieren, met complot vergaderd, na-middags was geen Verpadding 3 invoege den voor-middag haer Ed. Groot Mog. van 9 uren tot over den middag ten 3 uren de eerste maal ter presentie van sijn Hoogheyt waren vergaderd: men segt iets van 't Ceremonieel in Frankrijk, en dat het selve soude sijn geaccordeert te werden. Daer wert gelpooken, al of haer Ed. Groot Mog. op morgen na de Relinquie, wegens de liberation van desen dach, wel weder mochten scheid op reces tot den 8 Maert, daer van in 't korte de fleckerhuyt sullen hoeren. De Heeren Gedeputeerden van de respectie Aduaraliteiten, nevens Joncker Engel de Ruyter en eenige andere Zee-Officiers, bevinden haer hyden weder alhier. Deelen Avont zijn Gedeputeerden van haer Hoogh Mog. met 4 Caroenen bij den heer Francken Ambassadeur gewest. Eer gerucht van Oorlogh tusfchen Vlaenderen en sijn gemelt dach gesant tot daer te vercoegen.

's Gravenhage den 23 February. Soo men verlaert zijn de Conften van de Provincie van Overfeyl tot den Staat van Oorlogh van dit lopende Jaer ter Generaliteyingebracht. Haer Hoogh Mog. Gedeputeerden waren jongst noch tot Leeuwaarden, maer souden, als alsoer gedaan hadden, van daer weder na Groeningen gaen. Tot Nimwegen slaen de Tractaten tusfchen den Koningh van Sweden en desen Staat, na men hoort, nu in 't korte oock voltroden te werden, hebbende de heer Silverkroon, Commiffaris van Sweden, een Memorial dien aengiaende aen haer Hoogh Mog. overgegeven.

's Gravenhage den 24 February. Heeden spreckt men noch, al of haer Ed. Groot Mog. van daeg op Reces wel mochten scheid. Den heer Ambassadeur Temple gaer weder na Nimwegen.

Amsterdam den 24 February. De 800 Vaten Suycker, op Curaçao opgebracht, zijn genomen door Capin. Gerrit Baeler, veremende het Regat-Schap d'Altre, na een scherpe reficentie. Verder is door Capiteyn Brant Hemiz de Vies aen Ile d'Ares noch veroverd het Schip van Thomas Pain, Engelfe Kapit, veremende met Franse Commiffie, welke sich aen 't geleyde Eylant onder het fayeur van enig Geschut, door hem aen Landt gebracht, veremende te defendieren. Gemelde Ile d'Ares met het onderborge Distrid, (alwaer voor desen de Schepen van Conne d'Effreux zijn gefrant) is vervolgen door den Directeur Joen Doncker grocepuert, ende voor den Staat deser Landen en de West-Indische Compagnie in possitie genomen, hebbende aldaer in name als vooren tot Commandeur aengefiet den Perfoon van Sybrant Schellinger, die het Volk aldaer zijnde heeft gevangen genomen, en naer Curaçao gefonden.

Amsterdam den 24 February. Brieven van Algiers van 6 January melden, dat de Roovers aldaer hadden opgebracht seer veel Engelfche Schepen, en wel 500 Man tot Slaven gemaect allen van die Natie: dan hadden sy oock genomen een Hollands Schip, geladen met Graen: het Schip 't Post-perit, van Rotterdam gaende na Suriname, hadden sy mede geantacqueert, en na een langh Gevecht in de Gront gefchooten, doch het Volk daer op wefende tot Slaven gemaect. Van Livorno is tydinge, dat het Convey van Smirna, sonder daer aen te komen, na Spangie was gepaffert. Van Bilbao is dit.

Bilbao den 3 February. Op eersgiffen arriveerden hier de Schepen met het Convey van 't Refel, en zijn al s'fich met loffen, salen apparent binnen 3 wecken met volle Ladinge van hier vertracken.

Gedruckt tot Haerlem, by ABRAHAM CASTELEYN, Stadts Drucker, op de Marcks. in de Blye Druck. Den 25 February, Aene 1679.

But the example of Gesina ter Borch, a woman living in the province of Overijssel whose albums reveal a sustained engagement with Curaçao, Black subjects, and the material culture of Dutch colonialism, shows that there were other modes of receiving news about, and of picturing, the Dutch Atlantic World. West India Company officials had sisters-in-law as well as business partners. Private letters about births and burials crossed the ocean alongside official accounts of imperial warfare. The lower survival rate for such private documents has perhaps given us a distorted sense of how transatlantic news was received. Michiel van Groesen has discussed the appearance of women as petitioners at Amsterdam's West India House, seeking the wages of the husbands or sons who had departed for Brazil, and their dependence on 'printed media and (...) word of mouth' to stay informed.²⁸ For Van Groesen, Dutch newspaper reports on Brazil fed the emergence of a 'public Atlantic', constituted by printed news and its metropolitan consumers.²⁹ But the Ter Borch family albums demonstrate that alongside this shared construction of colonial discourse, a 'private Atlantic' emerged as well.

Privacy itself is a vexed and contingent concept, but one key stage of its 'invention' can be situated in precisely the place and time when Gesina ter Borch assembled her archive. A central allure of the form of genre painting largely initiated by Gerard ter Borch the Younger was its claim to offer a voyeuristic glimpse behind closed doors, particularly into the lives of women. Such paintings exploited the increasing architectural division of the home into more and less private spaces.³⁰ They also took letter writing, particularly the writing of love letters, as a paradigmatic motif.³¹ Within Gerard ter Borch the Younger's paintings, Gesina ter Borch herself often modeled for the figure of a letter writer or reader (fig. 9). As fictions, the letters in these paintings tantalize with intimations of the inner life while withholding all forms of legibility.³² Yet despite her frequent appearance as a correspondent in paintings, none of Gesina ter Borch's own letters is known to survive. Instead, further images of writing appear within the archive that she preserved. For example, in 1653, Gerard and Gesina's brother Harmen ter Borch drew a young woman in the act of writing on a sheet of paper (fig. 10); the top of the drawing is inscribed with the date and the phrase 'after Janneken' (*nae Janneken*). In other words, this image of a woman writing is also a portrait of the sister whose death and burial would be reported, some two decades later, in a now lost letter from Curaçao.

The diary kept by the schoolmaster David Beck in The Hague in the year 1624 offers one window into how transatlantic news might be exchanged and disseminated in the private sphere, providing suggestive points of comparison for Gesina ter Borch's own lost correspondence from Curaçao.³³ In January of that year, Beck's brother-in-law Seger van Belle departed with a Dutch fleet on an expedition to Brazil. Some nine months later, the family received a letter from Seger, their first indication that he had survived the journey. Beck describes how Seger's letter was carried to various households, read aloud, and even repeatedly kissed. The reading and rereading of Seger's letters appear to have particularly preoccupied his mother, Anna van Overschie. On 6 November, following the receipt of a



9

Gerard ter Borch the Younger, *The letter writer*, 1655, oil on panel, 38.3 x 27.9 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis (inv. no. 797)

second letter, she recounted to Beck that she had awoken at dawn from a dream in which her recently deceased daughter appeared to her and said, “Mother, you ought not to keep kissing the letters (coming from the West Indies) from Seger”, whereupon she awoke, frightened and crying aloud’.³⁴

In Beck’s account, letters from Brazil are read, reread, shared, copied, and used as social currency. They are intensely affective objects, handled and kissed, and even provide the apparent root of unsettling dreams. As Phillip Round has written of early transatlantic correspondence more generally, ‘The reading of a transatlantic letter, often aloud, often in groups (...) became a communal act of reconstituting the voice and gestures of the absent writer’.³⁵ Beck’s journal survives in a clean copy that he intended as a memorial for his children. But it also now stands as the only record of the lost letters exchanged across the Atlantic by Seger van Belle and his family, letters that were read, reread, and kissed so often they may well have fallen apart. Perhaps the most emotionally laden documents are the

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Harmen ter Borch, *Janneken ter Borch writing*, 1653, red chalk on vellum, 7.7 x 7.4 cm, Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt (inv. 1921)



least likely to have survived. We can add these letters to the lost archive of intimate transatlantic correspondence, alongside the letter Gesina ter Borch received about her sister's funeral and the notes she made from it on a marriage poem. Paradoxically, some of the most famous surviving private letters from the Dutch seventeenth century are those that never reached their intended recipients, namely the thousands of letters seized as loot from Dutch ships by the English and housed today at the National Archives in Kew.³⁶ Now a treasured repository for the voices of ordinary Dutch people attempting to reach one another across a far-flung empire, the very preservation of these letters bespeaks a failure of delivery.

The lost archive

As noted above, the letter in which Sijbrand Schellinger reported from Curaçao on the death of his wife and the birth of his daughter no longer survives. The antiquarian M.E. Houck, who published a number of Ter Borch family documents in 1899, mentioned a further 'Latin letter', written by Sijbrand's son Cornelis in 1686, that indicates his father's desire to return from Curaçao.³⁷ Other notes preserved in the archives at Zwolle refer to a letter from Cornelis to Sijbrand, in which he asked his father to bring a parrot from Curaçao as a gift for Gesina.³⁸ At the time of writing, however, I have been unable to trace either these letters or Gesina's original

notes about her sister's death. As these absences indicate, and despite its frequent characterization in the scholarly literature, the Ter Borch archive that survives today is far from complete.

An understanding of the Ter Borch archive's current dispersed and incomplete condition requires us first to trace Gesina ter Borch's efforts to preserve her albums and family papers. As she approached the end of her life, Ter Borch made careful arrangements for the patrimony that she had done so much to maintain and collect. On 16 April 1690, she dictated her last will, naming as its primary beneficiary her Curaçao-born niece, Hillegonda Schellinger, who received not only the linens in the *sakkerdaan* cupboard, but also the sum of 1,000 guilders, Ter Borch's 'best bed', as well as 'my clothes in linen and wool, and all the silver, gold, ornaments and jewels belonging to my person'.³⁹ Multiple clauses in the will reveal the care Ter Borch took in disposing of family portraits and her own artwork. She left to her nephews and niece -- Gerrit, Cornelis, and Hillegonda Schellinger -- their parents' portrait by Gerard the Younger. Another clause stipulated that 'all my portraits, and that of brother Moses and of Father and Mother and Grandfather and Grandmother, along with all my silverware and the household linen that I inherited from Mother' were not to be sold 'but kept for the children'.⁴⁰ Finally, she directed that 'My sister Catherina ter Borch shall keep my drawing book and all my paper art [*mijn teekenboek en al mijn papierkunst*] for whichever of the children shall be the best or the worthiest, or for all of them together, according to sister's judgment'. With this clause, Gesina initiated a chain of custody that ultimately went from her niece Hillegonda down to Hillegonda's nineteenth-century descendant Lambertus Theodorus Zebinden.

Like his ancestor Gesina ter Borch, Zebinden seems to have had a particular investment in family history. In 1882, he loaned his family collection to an exhibition held at Zwolle. The Dutch art historian Abraham Bredius examined the family scrapbook at this time and published an article about it in the German periodical *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* that provided the first modern art historical account of Gesina ter Borch's work.⁴¹ Zebinden's death in 1886 broke the chain of family custody that had kept Ter Borch's archive together for nearly two centuries. At an auction in Amsterdam, the majority of the drawings, including Ter Borch's albums, were acquired for the Rijksmuseum. Other family papers were purchased by Zebinden's nephew and subsequently bequeathed by his widow to an Overijssel antiquarian society in 1913; they can be found today in the province's archives in Zwolle.⁴² The auction catalogue refers, under lot 317 ('Les Archives de la Famille Ter Borch'), to 'Documents relatifs à S. Schellinger, marchand à Amsterdam, puis à Curaçao, et à sa femme Joanna ter Borch (soeur de Gesina)', yet I have been unable to trace these documents beyond this point.⁴³ The incorporation of Gesina's albums into the national collection of the Netherlands made them accessible for art historical scholarship, but the museum's selective purchases also separated the albums from other family documents that Ter Borch had sought to preserve. Those that were eventually acquired for the archive at Zwolle survived, but others appear to have been lost, including the printed poem celebrating Janneken ter Borch's marriage to Sijbrand Schellinger, along with Gesina ter Borch's notes about their life in Curaçao.⁴⁴

We only know about Ter Borch's notes thanks to an anonymous query submitted to the antiquarian periodical *De Navorscher* in 1870, 16 years before the sale of Zebinden's collection. The writer of the query noted the mention of a 'Wijbrand Schellinger' and a 'B. Schellinger' in a previous volume of the journal and asked whether they could be related to the Zebinden family. He or she mentioned the presence 'among the old family papers' (*oude familiepapieren*) belonging to Zebinden of the poem on Sijbrand Schellinger's marriage and provided a transcription of the notes about Curaçao inscribed by Ter Borch. The writer then gave biographical information about Hillegonda Schellinger, as well as the text of the newspaper article describing Sijbrand Schellinger's exploits in the Caribbean, suggesting that in the mid-nineteenth century the marriage poem and the newsheet were housed in close proximity to one another.

The writer's genealogical investments mirrored Gesina ter Borch's own, but differed from the priorities of the Rijksmuseum. In separating her albums and her siblings' drawings from many of 'the old family papers', the purchasing agents for the Rijksmuseum made a distinction between objects of art historical value and those of merely antiquarian or genealogical interest – with most documents relating to Curaçao appearing to fall into the latter category. The newsheet most likely survives because it was tucked into one of Gesina ter Borch's albums, whereas the poem with her notes was loose. At a moment of nationalist canon formation, itself in service of a global Dutch empire, the colonial entanglements of the Ter Borch family appear to have held little interest to the Rijksmuseum, and their archival traces vanished after two centuries of careful preservation.

A pervasive assumption in post-colonial studies is that the historical record preserved in imperial archives is by its nature partial and incomplete.⁴⁵ The notes on births, marriages, and deaths in the Ter Borch family archive were kept far less systematically than those in state archives, surfacing intermittently among the drawings, paper cut-outs, and calligraphy that were so central to the family's identity. But the archive's selective dismemberment at the end of the nineteenth century, a byproduct of the collection's incorporation into the public museum, reflects the imposition of a modern hierarchy of histories that has often devalued the familial and domestic (as well as the provincial and non-metropolitan). As Katharine Hodgkin has written:

Family history (...) highlights the instability of the memory/history boundary. As a private and domestic form of knowledge, focused on family relationships, often transmitted orally, and important above all for its immediate resonance and meaning to those alive, family history can helpfully be understood as a memory practice. But at the same time, the gathering and transmission of knowledge about the past is central to the process of constructing a family history, involving research, recapitulation, and a sense of the place of individuals and families in the wider world. It is also an activity often associated with women.⁴⁶

Like the act of preserving a newspaper by inserting it into an album, Ter Borch's notes about her sister's death and burial on Curaçao record an

instance of both family record-keeping and the reception of transatlantic news. But, as discussed above, the kind of news transmitted and the reader who absorbed it differ strikingly from the model of early modern news consumption developed in recent scholarship.

The moments of transatlantic response mapped here range from interpersonal meetings to acts of reading, consumption, and picturing. Their traces range from scrap paper to a (now lost) piece of luxury furniture. Ranged together, they indicate the multiple ways that one affluent, educated, and well-connected Dutch woman of the seventeenth century might have both interacted with and envisaged places and people an ocean away. Despite this distance, she had intimate connections to these places and people, through the travels of her kin, the language she spoke, even the wood that housed her linens or the chatter of a parrot in her home. The absence from today's archives of many documents linking the Ter Borch family to Curaçao – documents that were available to the antiquarian researchers of the nineteenth century – speaks to the marginalization of this history in the early scholarship on Dutch painting. Nevertheless, the traces that remain provide powerful testimony to the intimacy linking even remote Dutch towns and far-flung colonial possessions. They prompt us to imagine a very different recipient for news of the world arriving on Dutch shores.

Acknowledgements

This essay expands upon arguments originally put forth in my book *Gesina ter Borch* (London 2024). For their assistance with various queries and helpful readings of the text, I thank Wayne Franits, Aaron Hyman, Alison Kettering, Martin van der Linde, Iris Moon, Stephanie Porras, Joe Scheier-Dolberg, Allison Stielau, and Ilona van Tuinen.

Notes

- 1 For a transcription of the bill of lading, see Kettering 1988, vol. 2, cat. no. Gs 14, p. 372. For other bills of lading used as scrap paper by the Ter Borch siblings, see vol. 1, cat. nos. H 33, H 42, and M 12, pp. 212, 216, and 294; and vol. 2, cat. nos. Gs 11, Gs 13, Gs 15, pp. 370-372.
- 2 For tobacco consumption in the Dutch Republic, see Snelders 2023.
- 3 See Kettering 1988 and Eaker 2024, with references to earlier bibliography.
- 4 Romney 2014, 8. I thank Michiel van Groesen for suggesting the relevance of Romney's argument to my work.
- 5 De Hond *et al.* 2020.
- 6 Van Doorninck & Uitterdijk 1886, 148.
- 7 Wiselius 2005. I am grateful to Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide, Marijn Manuels, and Tirza Mol for discussing this matter with me.
- 8 Roscam Abbing 2006.
- 9 Knotter & Koldewij 2013, 137.
- 10 See the essays collected in cat. Amsterdam 1992 and cat. Amsterdam & Salem 2015. An extensive study of the possessions of one Dutch woman who lived in both the East and West Indies appears in cat. New York 2009.
- 11 Krijnsen *et al.* 2023, 125.
- 12 For this painting, see Gudlaugsson 1960, 120, cat. no. 111.
- 13 On this topic, see Hartman 2008.
- 14 See cat. Amsterdam 2020 and cat. Amsterdam 2021.
- 15 Krijnsen *et al.* 2023.
- 16 'Anno 1675 den 13/23 augustus is mijne zuster Janneken ter Borch te Curaçau in Westindien overleden, nadat zij 10 à 11 weken krank geweest was en is daar eerlijk begraven, gelijk een mensch van qualiteit toekomt zoo als haar man schrijft, en laat drie kinderen na: de oudste zoon Geerit genaamd naar zijn grootvader Gerrit ter Borch, ontvanger binnen Zwolle. De tweede zoon heet Cornelis naar zijn oudgrootvader, een lofwaardig man en predikant bij de Mennisten to Amsterdam en genaamd Cornelis Aemsloo. Het dochtertje is geboren te Curaçau 1674 den 13 december en heette Hillegonda naar Schellingers moeder, welke heette Hillegonda Aemsloo'; Anonymous 1870. The ambiguity around the date of Janneken's death may suggest the divergence between the Gregorian and Julian calendars; I thank Tico Seifert for this suggestion.
- 17 As noted by Kettering; see Kettering 1988, vol. 2, 646.
- 18 Gesina instructed her nephews Gerrit and Cornelis in the art of making paper cut-outs (*knipkunst*), which she then pasted into her family scrapbook, giving a *terminus ante quem* for their arrival in Zwolle; however, the earliest of these are dated to 1685, five years after she depicted their sister Hillegonda. See Kettering 1988, vol. 2, 646.
- 19 Kettering 1988, vol. 2, 646.
- 20 For processes of colonial identity formation in Curaçao, see Rupert 2012.
- 21 On this instrumentalization of Black figures in early modern portraiture, see, among others, Hall 1995 and Gikandi 2011.
- 22 Françoze 2012.
- 23 Ferguson 1996, 235.
- 24 Verders is door Capiteyn Brant Hemsz. de Vries aen Isle d'Ares noch verovert het Schip van Thomas Pain, Engelsse Kaper, varende met Fransse Commissie...Gemelde Isle d'Ares, met het onderhorige District (alwaer voor desen de Schepen van Comte d'Estrees zijn gestrant)) is vervolgens door den Directeur Joan Doncker geoccupeert, ende voor den Staet deser Landen en de West-Indische Compagnie in possessie genomen, hebbende aldaer in name als vooren tot Commandeur aangesteld den Persoon van Sybrant Schellinger, die het Volck aldaer zijnde heeft gevangen geonmen, en naer Curaçao gesonden. *Oprechte Haerlemse Saturdaegse Courant* 8 (25 February 1679); the newssheet survives as a loose insert on fol. 92 of Gesina ter Borch's *Family scrapbook*, also known as the *Art book*; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BI-1887-1463); see Kettering 1988, vol 2, 646. For a history of the newspaper, which was founded in 1656, see Der Weduwen 2017, 671-676.
- 25 Hartog 1960.
- 26 Hartog 1960, 149-150.
- 27 Schmidt 2001, xxix.
- 28 Van Groesen 2017, 95-96.
- 29 Van Groesen 2017, esp. 187-198.
- 30 Hollander 2002, esp. 120-124.
- 31 Adams 2003.
- 32 Alpers 1983, 202-207.
- 33 The surviving manuscript in the Haags Gemeentearchief appears to be Beck's clean presentation copy of the original diary. For a modern edition, see Beck 1993. There is an extensive discussion of the diary in Blaak 2009, 41-112. Van Groesen 2017 discusses Beck's reading of newspapers and discussions with friends and family but not the correspondence with Seger van Belle; see 46 and 50-51.
- 34 'ende zij vertelde mij des morgens vroeg (met de dageraet) gedroomt te hebbe dat R. zaliger haer verscheen, ende tot haer sprekende: moeder gy en zult de Brieven (uijt WestIndien [*sic*] commende) van Seger niet meer kussen waerover zij al schrickende ende schreiende was wacker geworden'; Van Groesen 2017, 200.
- 35 Round 2005, 428.
- 36 For an introduction to the letters, see Van Gelder 2008; their linguistic formulae are analyzed in Rutten & Van der Wal 2014.
- 37 'Uit eenen Latijnschen brief van zijnen zoon Cornelis zou men opmaken, dat hij in 1686 van daar terug wilde komen'; Houck 1899, 160.
- 38 Collectie Overijssel Zwolle, toegangsnr. 0285.1 VORG Archivalia, inv.nr. 1. I am grateful to Saskia Zwiers for sharing this source with me.
- 39 'Mijn beste bedde'; 'mijn klederen van linen en wullen, en alles als silver, gout, cieraat en juweelen, wat tot mijnen lijve is behoorende'. For a transcription of the will, see Van Doorninck & Naninga Uitterdijk 1886.
- 40 'En zullen al mijn conterfeitsels, en van broeder Moses en van vader en moeder en Bestevader en Bestemoeder, alsmede al mijn zilverwerk en het huislinnen dat ik van moeder geërf hebbe mede niet verkocht, maar voor de kinderen bewaart moeten worden'; Van Doorninck & Naninga Uitterdijk 1886, 150-151.
- 41 Bredius 1883.
- 42 For the dispersal of the Ter Borch collection, see the annotated transcription of the sales catalogue in Kettering 1988,

- vol. 2, 879-882; as well as the finding aid from the Collectie Overijssel: <https://proxy.archieven.nl/20/89D7114C-72114647BE4BA972F896E6AC> (accessed 3 November 2023).
- 43 Sale Amsterdam (Frederik Muller and Co.), 15 June 1886, no. 317d.
- 44 I thank Eelco Bouwers of the Collectie Overijssel and Laurien van der Werff of the Rijksmuseum who both attempted to locate the missing document for me in their respective collections.
- 45 For influential versions of this argument by literary historians, see Spivak 1988 and Hartman 2008; an art historical account focused on the archives of colonial Latin America appears in Hyman & Mundy 2023.
- 46 Hodgkin 2013, 298-299
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