

THE MEMORANDUM BOOK  
OF ANTHONY DE HOOGES



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of  
Anthony de Hooges

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*Translated by*  
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# Introduction

*Dirk Mouw*

Anthony de Hooges was born near the epicenter of the Dutch commercial empire of the seventeenth century; he died, thousands of miles from his birthplace, having spent nearly all of his adult life in service to what one historian has called an “audacious” attempt at colonization, namely, the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck. De Hooges’s life and family history captured the imagination of previous generations of researchers. In fact, one such researcher went so far as to proclaim that there was “probably no more picturesque a personality in all the colonial records.” In recent decades, however, De Hooges has received remarkably little direct attention from historians. This is especially surprising because he was the longest-serving commissioned employee of the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck under Dutch Rule, as well as because his tenure encompassed both some of the best years for the patroonship and some of its most spectacular setbacks.<sup>1</sup>

Anthony de Hooges was baptized in the *Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam on 14 December 1620, the eighth and last child born to Johannes de Hooges<sup>2</sup> and Maria Tijron.<sup>3</sup> Both of Anthony’s parents were probably Calvinist immigrants from the Southern Netherlands (likely from Mechelen and Antwerp, respectively, in what is now Belgium). The family was evidently solidly middle class: Johannes worked as a bookkeeper for the West India Company and was a shareholder in that company as well.<sup>4</sup>

Tragedy struck the De Hooges family during Anthony’s first few years of life. Indeed, tragedy struck repeatedly. His mother died when Anthony was very young, probably before his third birthday. Shortly after Anthony’s fourth birthday, his father died as well. The absence of references to any siblings in surviving documents of a later date, written to, by or about the orphaned Anthony suggests that all of his seven siblings also died early in his life. It is likely that at least some of the members of his immediate family succumbed to the plague which is estimated to have claimed eleven percent or more of Amsterdam’s population in 1624 and to have taken a smaller but still devastating human toll the following year. Whatever the causes of their deaths, the trauma of these years seems to have haunted

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<sup>1</sup> For an introduction to the growth of, and setbacks to the colony during his tenure, see Arnold J. F. Van Laer, “The Patroon System and the Colony of Rensselaerswyck,” *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 8 (1909): 231-32. Quotes are from Tom Lewis, *The Hudson: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 65; Helen Reed De Laporte, “Anthonij de Hooges, a Charming Personality,” *Olde Ulster* 6 (1910): 240.

<sup>2</sup> His name is written variously in the records; his first name appears as Johannes, Johannus, Johannis, Joannes, and Jan; his family name as Hooges, Hoogus, Hoges.

<sup>3</sup> Her name appears variously in contemporary records; her first name as Maria, Marija, Maijke, and Mayken; her family name as Tijron, Tiron and even Tijvon. The record of Anthony’s baptism is in *Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam*, Stadsarchief, inv. no. 5001, item 40, p. 109. The baptisms of his siblings are found in the same collection: Johannis, 1 February 1609 (item 39, p. 176); Katharijna, 11 August 1611 (item 4, p. 358); Petrus, 28 May 1613 (item 39, p. 319); Marija, 9 October 1614 (item 5, p. 119), Anna, 22 May 1616 (item 5, p. 186), Leonora, 11 July 1617 (item 39, p. 477), and Margriet, 24 March 1619 (item 5, p. 279).

<sup>4</sup> *Archief van de Weeskamer en Commissie van Liquidatie der Zaken van Voormalige Weeskamer*, Stadsarchief, Amsterdam, *Inbrengregisters*, 13 May 1626, inv. no. 791, folio 48. Johannes de Hooges [Hoges] invested six hundred guilders not long before his death; in the index of Amsterdam investors in the Chartered West India Company his occupation is given as “bookkeeper” (*Kapitaalboek van aandelen*, 1623-1626, *Oude West-Indische Compagnie* (toegangs no. 1.05.01.01, inventaris no. 18B, folio 149, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag; the digital index can be accessed at <http://proxy.handle.net/10648/316b4180-557e-102d-9037-005056a23d00>).

Anthony throughout his life. Each of his children shared a name with one of his late siblings and two also shared names with his parents, including the one born shortly before Anthony's own death.<sup>5</sup>

After the death of Anthony's parents, many of the people who appear in the records as surrogate family and close friends of the orphan were people connected either to the West India Company or the Van Rensselaer family or to both. A few others were from families which, like Anthony's parents, had immigrated from the Southern Netherlands to Amsterdam. Shortly after Anthony was orphaned, it was Jan van Wely, the Amsterdam jeweler and member of a family closely associated with the Van Rensselaers, who was named in the records of the Amsterdam Orphan Chamber<sup>6</sup> as De Hooges's testamentary guardian, along with Pieter Stalpaert, a landscape and seascape painter from Brussels (and father of the well-known Amsterdam architect, Daniël Staelpert) and Abraham [de] Walpergen, Pieter Stalpaert's uncle by marriage.<sup>7</sup>

Sixteen years later, in 1621, De Hooges—by that time a young man and evidently in a pensive mood on the eve of his voyage to the New World—reflected on the “certainty of death, as well as the uncertainty of the hour” at which death would overtake him. De Hooges decided to make out a will. He directed that, in the event of his demise, 150 guilders of his assets go to Anna Maria Sporon, a young woman was De Hooges's “sweetheart,” according to Kiliaen van Rensselaer; another 150 guilders was to go to Jan Andriesz, *schoemaecker* [cobbler], a man who had invested in the West India Company not long before Anthony's father had. The remainder of his estate he left, “for certain reasons which moved him,” to Thomas, the son of De Hooges's erstwhile guardian, Jan van Wely or, if Thomas predeceased De Hooges, to Thomas's child or children.<sup>8</sup>

One week after recording his will, De Hooges boarded a ship bound for New Netherland. That a young man like De Hooges would choose to live and work in a West India Company colony over the conveniences of the metropolis of Amsterdam is not entirely surprising. First, he was a young, single man with few attachments in the Old World, or at least no close kin; this was a common profile among seventeenth-century emigrants to many of Europe's colonies. Second, as Dutch historian G. Beernink

<sup>5</sup> Guardians were named for the orphaned Anthony in February 1625 (see note 6). That his mother had died earlier is suggested by the baptism of what may have been Anthony's half brother on 11 February 1624, on that date a Jan de Hooge and Sara Stevens (who may have been Anthony's stepmother) presented a son, Lowijs, for baptism in Amsterdam's *Nieuwe Kerk* (*Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam*, Stadsarchief, *toegangs* no. 5001, item 40, p. 242). That Anthony de Hooges mentioned no siblings in his 1641 will (see note 8 below), combined with the fact that no relatives were mentioned in the surviving correspondence between Rensselaerswijck and the Netherlands (such references are not uncommon), suggests that all of his blood relatives had died by the time he sailed for the New World (or, at very least, that he had become estranged from them). On plague-caused mortality in Amsterdam in the 1620s, see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford History of Early Modern Europe, ed. R. J. W. Evans (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 484, 624-26. For Anthony's offspring, see notes 24 and 39.

<sup>6</sup> For an English-language introduction to the orphan chamber and its mode of functioning, see John Michael Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th-Century Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), 16-19.

<sup>7</sup> Memoranda, 21 February 1625 and 13 May 1626, *Inbrengregisters, 1468-1851*, *Archief van de Weeskamer en Commissie van Liquidatie der Zaken van de Voormalige Weeskamer*, Stadsarchief, Amsterdam, no. 513, *folio* 29 (second series of folios) and no. 791, *folio* 48 *recto*; on the relationship between Pieter Stalpaert and Abraham de Walpergen, see A. D. de Vries, “Biographische aantekeningen betreffende voornamelijk Amsterdamsche schilders, plaatsnijders, enz. en hunne verwanten,” *Oud-Holland: Nieuwe bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche kunst, letterkunde, nijverheid, enz.* 4 (1886): 138.

<sup>8</sup> Last will and testament, 23 July 1641, *Minuuttracten van testamenten, huwelijks voorwaarden en bevrachtingscontracten*, 1640-1652, *Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam*, *toegangs* no. 5075, item 70, pp. 102-103. See also Janny Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer (1586-1643): Designing a New World* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 264n. For Van Rensselaer's characterization of Anna Maria Sporon (or, as the translation of Van Rensselaer's letter has it, Anncken Sporum), see Van Rensselaer to Johannes Megapolensis, 13 March 1643, in Arnold J. F. Van Laer, ed. and trans., *The Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts: Being the Letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and Other Documents Relating to the Colony of Rensselaerswyck*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1908), 654. Regarding the investment of Jan Andriesz in the West India Company, see *Kapitaalboek van aandelen*, 1623-1626, *Oude West-Indische Compagnie* (*toegangs* no. 1.05.01.01, *inventaris* no. 18B, *folio* 41), Nationaal Archief, The Hague; the digital index can be accessed at <http://proxy.handle.net/10648/316b4180-557e-102d-9037-005056a23d00>.



has observed, many of the same family names which appear in the lists of shareholders of the West India Company also appear in the lists of emigrants. Thus, the fact that De Hooges's father was both a bookkeeper for and a shareholder in that company appears to have made young Anthony a likely candidate for emigration to a West India Company colony.<sup>9</sup> Finally, it is evident from his clear handwriting, mathematical abilities, and occasional uses of Latin words and phrases, that he had an above-average education. This background would have set De Hooges further apart from the majority of his contemporaries in colonies of the West India Company than would have been the case in the Netherlands and, consequently, he would find his skills in higher demand in a colonial setting than in the land of his birth.

While we can detect several elements in Anthony de Hooges's profile that mark him as a likely candidate for emigration to a West India Company colony, we can even more easily see why a man like Kiliaen van Rensselaer would seek out a young man with skills and a background like De Hooges's for service in the patroonship. In the manner in which Van Rensselaer managed his North American affairs, we find clues to why he thought De Hooges would make a good employee and how Van Rensselaer would seek to make sure De Hooges would be faithful and effective in his post. It would be an understatement to say that Van Rensselaer, who oversaw his patroonship from Amsterdam, wanted representatives in his colony who would at all times eschew self interest in favor of the interests of the patroon and the patroonship, managers who would precisely carry out the voluminous and detailed instructions he sent them, and employees who would regularly provide him with detailed information on the general state and financial condition of his patroonship. It would also be fair to say that Van Rensselaer had a well developed distrust of human nature and a good measure of skepticism about the impulses of those who worked for him, particularly those he could not supervise personally.

If one can speak of a Van Rensselaer philosophy of management, Kiliaen's centered on selecting the type of people he felt he could trust, on embedding those he hired in a web of checks and balances and on regularly offering employees advice about how to live a virtuous and prosperous lives. These strategies, he hoped, would preclude subterfuge among his commissioned employees and maximize the likelihood that his orders would be promptly implemented, his interests and profits would be faithfully pursued, and would ensure that he be kept fully informed of the economic, social, and physical conditions of his colony.

Among Van Rensselaer's chief concerns was to hire people he felt he could trust. This was particularly important because he believed that something about the milieu of the colony tended to bring out the worst in people. "Good people," wrote Van Rensselaer in 1643, "are few and far between" in the Netherlands, "and even if they are good they are easily corrupted there [in Rensselaerswijck]." Like many in the Fatherland, Van Rensselaer felt most comfortable placing his trust in people to whom he was related—either by blood or by marriage. Evidently, on the continuum of most trustworthy to least trustworthy, the closest relative was at one end and the "stranger" and "foreigner" at the other. Ideal to Van Rensselaer would have been to send one of his sons to manage the patroonship, but since all except his eldest, Hendrick (whom he seems to have wanted to keep nearby) were too young for such responsibilities, he turned to men like Arent van Curler, his grand-nephew, and Brant Aerts van Slichtenhorst, a relative by marriage. According to Peter Christoph, Van Rensselaer also used his considerable influence in the West India Company to have his nephew, Wouter van Twiller, appointed Director General of New Netherland. Van Twiller later became the one of the testamentary guardians of Van Rensselaer's eldest son and, hence, the *de facto* co-patroon until the son reached his majority.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> G. Beernink, *De geschiedschrijver en rechtsgeleerde Dr. Arend van Slichtenhorst en zijn vader Brant van Slichtenhorst, stichter van Albany, hoofdstad van den staat New-York*, Werken, uitgegeven door Gelre, no. 12 (Arnhem: S. Gouda Quint, 1916), 159n.

<sup>10</sup> Quotes and references to his preference to employ relatives are from Van Rensselaer to Johannes Megapolensis, 13 March 1643, to Arent van Curler 16 March 1643, and to Toussaint Muysart, 9 July 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van*

Along with favoring family for positions of responsibility, Van Rensselaer employed a second management strategy, centered on the way he organized the on-site administration of the patroonship. In this arena Van Rensselaer was undoubtedly influenced by his considerable knowledge of the workings of manorial administration in the Dutch Republic, through his close association with the fief-holding Van Wely family.<sup>11</sup> Van Rensselaer wanted to keep his colonists and commissioned employees focused on pursuing his interests, carrying out his orders, and satisfying his seemingly insatiable appetite for detailed information. His approach was to use his employees and colonists as checks on the powers of other employees and colonists, as surrogate spurs to incite diligence among the others and as informants from whom Van Rensselaer could learn about the underachieving and misbehaving in his patroonship. One could argue that Van Rensselaer had taken steps in this direction already in the early 1630s, with the appointment of the farmer Rutger Hendricksz as *schout* or *officier*, a “supervisor or superintendent,” and five other colonists as *schepens*: collectively a council or court for the patroonship. With the proliferation and differentiation of commissions from 1641 onward, however, this system of checks and balances became a more clearly defined management philosophy. By 1642, when Van Rensselaer negotiated a contract with Johannes Megapolensis to be the patroonship’s clergyman, Van Rensselaer’s strategy was well developed. Not only was Megapolensis to administer the sacraments, lead worship and inspire godly behavior among the colonists, the minister was also to deliver specific admonishments to particular employees, to assess their behavior and performance, to insist upon examining account ledgers and to report back to the patroon with his observations on these and other matters. Van Rensselaer even intended that the clergyman be the “final arbiter” in certain “important” matters.<sup>12</sup>

A third strategy employed by Van Rensselaer to induce his commissioned employees to be attentive to his wishes and his interests was to advise them—usually in an avuncular tone—about the path to earthly success, advice which generally revolved around the benefits of patience and deferred gratification, of showing deference to and learning from one’s elders and superiors and of eschewing hedonistic or immoral behavior. His advice was often accompanied with promises of future rewards, for loyalty and industry at the present. In 1641 Van Rensselaer wrote to Arent van Curler, at that time secretary and bookkeeper of the patroonship,

You are now on the way to advancement if you serve me diligently, prudently and faithfully. If you give me profit I will also seek your advantage, but remember that slow

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*Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 653-54, 666, 671. In addition to the foregoing quote, for the generally pessimistic view Van Rensselaer held about the negative influence of colonial society on the employees he sent, see Van Rensselaer to De Hooges, 18 March 1643, in *ibid*, 669. For more on the importance of familial relationships to the establishment of business relationships, see also Peter R. Christoph, “The Colonial Family: Kinship and Power,” in *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place: Selected Rensselaerswijck Seminar Papers*, ed. Nancy Anne McClure Zeller ([Albany]: New Netherland Publishing, 1991), 111-118; and Janny Venema, *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 219.

Historian Janny Venema has raised questions about why Van Rensselaer sent Arent van Curler, his grand-nephew—only eighteen years old at the time—rather than his own eldest son, Hendrick, who was then twenty-four, to manage the patroonship. Very little is known of Hendrick, his education, or his relationship with his father but, she surmises, perhaps Kiliaen had been grooming Hendrick to oversee all aspects of the family business, of which the patroonship was only a part. Management of the full range of the family’s business interests would have precluded relocation to North America. See Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*, 266-67, 285.

<sup>11</sup> Indeed, Van Rensselaer himself may have had a direct role in manorial administration for a time. He was granted power of attorney by Leonora Haukens, after the death of her husband, Jan van Wely, to administer her financial affairs; she, in turn, was at that time guardian of her eldest son, Jan van Wely Jr., who had inherited the family’s fiefs in Culemborg as well as other manorial rights. See Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*, 159, 242-44, 258-60.

<sup>12</sup> See Samuel George Nissenson, *The Patroon’s Domain*, New York State Historical Association Series (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 92-113. Clear articulations of the secular duties and powers invested in Megapolensis is in Kiliaen van Rensselaer to Johannes Megapolensis, and to Willem Kieft, 13 and 16 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 645-55, 656-57.

riches give happiness, but those who want to get rich quickly cannot walk the straight way.<sup>13</sup>

Combining practical advice—sage because it was from an older and more successful man—with pledges that dutiful service would result in advancement and prosperity, Van Rensselaer hoped to cultivate personal loyalty and inspire the faithful pursuit of his interests among employees whom geography prevented him from supervising directly.

It is clear that Van Rensselaer had all three of these strategies in mind when he commissioned and subsequently corresponded with De Hooges. First, while De Hooges was not family, he was *almost* family—connected as he was to the Van Bijler-Van Wely family network, to which Van Rensselaer also had very close ties.<sup>14</sup> As noted above, after the deaths of his parents, De Hooges had been placed under the testamentary guardianship of Jan van Wely, closely connected to Van Rensselaer both through marital and commercial alliances. Indeed, the evidence suggests that De Hooges's father also had a strong bond with Wolphert van Bijler, the jeweler to whom Van Rensselaer had been apprenticed in his youth. De Hooges was therefore worthy of a good measure of Van Rensselaer's trust.<sup>15</sup>

Second, the patroon embedded De Hooges in the web he was constructing of distributed and counterbalanced duties and authority in the patroonship, as he did with other commissioned employees. A year after De Hooges's arrival in Rensselaerswijck, Van Rensselaer instructed Van Curler—who was by this point clearly the most powerful of the commissioned employees in the patroonship—not to “reject the advice of [De] *hooges*” too easily, while instructing Reverend Megapolensis to “confer” with De Hooges in order to get a sense of his assessment of the state of the patroonship and the merits of various colonists.<sup>16</sup>

Third, Van Rensselaer attempted to help De Hooges become a wise and effective employee by offering De Hooges the same sort of counsel he gave other young men in his employ. Writing at the same time as he had advised Van Curler and Megapolensis to keep an ear open to what De Hooges had to say, Van Rensselaer wrote to De Hooges, combining stern admonitions to dutiful and faithful service, balanced with promises of future success if he performed well, as well as enjoinders to defer to his superiors while also to serving as a check to their authority when necessary. The patroon wrote, “. . . I must admonish you for your own good to continue to be religious and faithful,” subsequently pledging that, though “all new things are difficult,” nevertheless, “matters will turn out to your advantage if you conduct yourself well.” Van Rensselaer instructed De Hooges to “heed the faithful admonitions of” Reverend Megapolensis and to “[r]espect the *commis*<sup>17</sup> *Arent van Curler*. . . .” In more subtle tones, however, he also urged De Hooges to follow his own moral compass: not to allow “evil examples to seduce” him but rather to “take them as a warning” and instructed him to maintain “good order and peace,” except “when things are wrong.” In fact, in an earlier letter, Van Rensselaer had been more direct, promising De Hooges that, if he did not let himself be “diverted from [his] toil, diligence and faithfulness,” he would reap the benefits “of his good conduct” within a few years. The patroon admonished De Hooges to obey his superiors without sullenness, but if he thought his superiors to be in the wrong in some matter, to attempt gently to persuade them of the error of their ways. If, then, this gentle persuasion proved inadequate and the patroon's “loss” or his “rights” were at issue “to a

<sup>13</sup> Van Rensselaer to Van Curler, 18 July 1641, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 558.

<sup>14</sup> The Van Bijler-Van Wely family network, and its numerous connections with the Van Rensselaer family are detailed in Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*.

<sup>15</sup> See note 8 above. Wolphert van Bijler had bequeathed 120 guilders to Johan de Hooges. See Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*, 32, 254n; Montias, *Art at Auction*, 59; Christoph, “Colonial Family,” 111-12.

<sup>16</sup> Van Rensselaer to Megapolensis, 13 March 1643, and to Van Curler, 16 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 647, 660. See also Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 102-103.

<sup>17</sup> See note 32, below.

considerable extent,” De Hooges should be bolder and “press the matter a little,” even with those who outranked him.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, in a number of ways, De Hooges fit very well within—and was easily fit into—Van Rensselaer’s plans for the patroonship and his managerial philosophy. But De Hooges was sent to the patroonship for one main reason: to fill a gap created by the failures of other employees of the patroon. Van Rensselaer felt he needed a man in Rensselaerswijck who was handy with a quill and not stingy with paper and ink. The patroon wanted more information about the affairs and conditions of the colony and its inhabitants and prompt responses to his numerous queries. Paramount was the maintenance of accurate account ledgers and the annual settlement of the accounts of the colonists.

In 1641, the chief sinner in Van Rensselaer’s mind was his grandnephew, Arent van Curler. Whether Van Rensselaer’s intent in sending De Hooges was to provide Van Curler with the help the patroon thought his grandnephew genuinely needed, or, perhaps, just to leave Van Curler without excuse, Van Rensselaer sent De Hooges to the patroonship, first and foremost, to ensure that he, the patroon, received the frequent, timely, accurate and comprehensive reports from his colony that Van Curler had failed to produce.<sup>19</sup> The central problem, as Van Rensselaer saw it, was that his colonists and employees seemed unwilling to record and annually to settle accounts—and then to render reports to him. This problem was not new in 1641, however. Indeed, Van Curler’s appointment as secretary and bookkeeper of the patroonship in 1639 had been one of a number of changes in personnel and policy at that time, which Van Rensselaer had designed to rectify the same problem and to bring punishment to those who were recalcitrant.<sup>20</sup>

Van Rensselaer’s approach in the spring and summer of 1641 was two-pronged. First, the patroon engaged Adriaen van der Donck, a young man from Breda who had studied law at Leiden. Van der Donck would serve as *officier* or *schout* in the patroonship. Foremost, he was to see to it that the patroon’s rules and contracts were enforced, particularly as they related to protecting the patroon’s interests against the self-serving colonists of Rensselaerswijck. By 10 July 1641, just two months after commissioning Van der Donck, Van Rensselaer had also arrived at an agreement with Anthony De Hooges for the latter to serve in his patroonship as under-bookkeeper and assistant to Van Curler. One week later, the patroon issued De Hooges his commission.<sup>21</sup> The very next day, the patroon wrote a long letter to Van Curler, much of the which consisted of stern criticism. The patroon’s chief complaint was that his grandnephew was remiss in sending him regular and complete accounts and reports. He repeatedly made it clear that this was precisely the reason he was sending De Hooges to Rensselaerswijck. Nearly exasperated by the paucity of information coming from the patroonship, Van Rensselaer wrote, “Therefore, now that you have *Antonij de Hooges* as an assistant, be no longer negligent in this respect; he will copy your letters and accounts. . . .”<sup>22</sup>

Van Rensselaer did not send De Hooges to his colony entirely without misgivings, however. Three things worried Van Rensselaer most about De Hooges—they were the same concerns he voiced regularly about other employees. First, De Hooges was young and Van Rensselaer valued the wisdom

<sup>18</sup> Van Rensselaer to De Hooges, 18 March 1643, and 8 June 1642 in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 669-70, 620.

<sup>19</sup> Nissenson concludes that at the heart of the matter was the fact that most of the colonists were very poor, and therefore “accounts remained unsettled because there was not the wherewithal to pay and correspondingly there was nothing to report” to the patroon. Under these circumstances, patroonship officers whose job it would have been to prosecute the indigent were unwilling to do so. See Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 75.

<sup>20</sup> Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 74; Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*, 260-62.

<sup>21</sup> On 10 July, the directors of the West India Company issued an order for De Hooges to be transported to New Netherland; it is therefore safe to assume that negotiations between Van Rensselaer and De Hooges had been completed by that date. Only a portion of the document detailing Van Rensselaer’s instructions to De Hooges survives. See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 555-56, 704.

<sup>22</sup> Van Rensselaer to Van Curler, 18 July 1641, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 556-65.

and experience which he believed came with age. The patroon confided his apprehension in Rev. Megapolensis about both Van Curler and De Hooges, urging the clergyman to remind the young employees of their duties to the patroon, since the young are “not so thoughtful as people of more advanced years.” Nevertheless, the patroon instructed Van Curler to give ear to De Hooges’s advice—whom the patroon considered “an upright young man,” despite the fact that “he is younger than you and not so experienced. . . .” (This injunction is particularly striking in view of the fact that the two young men were only a year or two apart in age.)<sup>23</sup>

The patroon also worried that his employees, particularly young men like De Hooges, might yield to the temptations of “drunkenness and lewd women.” At least with respect to De Hooges, however, it appears Van Rensselaer’s fears were misplaced. While Van Rensselaer apparently heard some “rumors,” early in De Hooges’s tenure, that he was too fond of strong drink, I have found no evidence in the record that those rumors or the patroon’s fears were well founded. And while Van Rensselaer also worried that De Hooges was unhappy and perhaps an ineffective employee because he pined for his “sweetheart” in the Netherlands during the early part of his time in the New World, he evidently had no reason to be apprehensive that his young employee would become promiscuous. Only a few years after De Hooges received word that his the sweetheart he had left behind in the republic had married someone else, De Hooges had found a bride in Rensselaerswijck. Though we do not know much about their marriage, we do know that after the wedding, the couple produced offspring regularly—the last probably born right around the time of De Hooges’s death.<sup>24</sup>

Whatever the concerns Van Rensselaer harbored concerning De Hooges, he also had high hopes that with De Hooges in place, the sluices for the flow of accounts, reports, and information from patroonship to patroon would finally be unstopped. Unfortunate for Van Rensselaer, his hopes that De Hooges’s presence could solve the main problems he saw in the on-site management of the colony were at least as poorly founded as were his concerns about De Hooges’s character.

Sending De Hooges was only one new measure Van Rensselaer took to try to solve the problems in the patroonship. Adriaen van der Donck, whom Van Rensselaer had commissioned shortly before he hired De Hooges, arrived in Rensselaerswijck in late summer of 1641 to assume his role as *schout*—a man to enforce patroonship policies and regulations. In particular, Van Rensselaer hoped Van der Donck would make certain that no one went unpunished who failed to settle accounts with the patroon annually, or who broke rules or violated contracts at the expense of the patroon. De Hooges was put aboard *den Coninck David* [the *King David*] on 30 July of that same year to assist Van Curler and to make sure that no detail of the successes achieved through these new measures would fail to reach the patroon’s desk in Amsterdam.

Immediately, it seems, De Hooges took to heart his mission to record and relay information to his employer: he kept a daily journal of his long voyage aboard *den Coninck David* which he subsequently sent to Van Rensselaer, and for which he received the patroon’s praise. Difficulties on the crossing of *den Coninck David* to New Netherland that summer and fall delayed De Hooges’s arrival—

<sup>23</sup> Van Rensselaer to Megapolensis, 13 March 1643 and to Van Curler 16 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 655, 660.

<sup>24</sup> Van Rensselaer to De Hooges, 18 March 1643 and to Megapolensis, 13 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 669, 649, 653-54. There are occasional hints in the memorandum book about minor conflicts in which De Hooges was involved which had been accentuated by alcohol; see memorandum book pages A40 and A52 below. For De Hooges’s wife and offspring, see Howard S. F. Randolph, “Anthony de Hooges, Secretary of Rensselaerswyck and His Descendents,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 67 (1936): 5-6; John O. Evjen, *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674; with Appendices on Scandinavians in Mexico and South America, 1532-1640, Scandinavians in Canada, 1619-1620, Some Scandinavians in New York in the Eighteenth Century, German Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674* (Minneapolis: K. C. Holter, 1916), 21, 30-31; De Laporte, “Anthonij de Hooges,” 243. Earlier genealogies which reported that De Hooges only had one child were in error. The couple’s children were Maria or Mariëken, Anna or Anneken, Katrina, Johannes, and Eleanora or Eleonora.

not the least of the problems was that water casks aboard the ship broke and the crew had to make a detour to ensure an adequate supply of water for humans and livestock. The ship finally came to anchor in the East River—probably near what is now the foot of Wall Street—on 29 November. De Hooges waited till spring to sail up the Hudson for Rensselaerswijck, arriving on 10 April 1642, nearly a year after Van der Donck had arrived there.<sup>25</sup>

What the two new employees found in the patroonship in 1641 and 1642 was hardly impressive. Father Isaac Jogues reported on the rustic and dispersed settlement he had seen on a visit there in 1643:

This colony is composed of about a hundred persons, who live in some 25 or 30 houses built along the River, as each found convenient. In the principal house is lodged the Patro[o]n's representative; the Minister has his own house apart, in which Preaching is held. There is also a sort of Bailiff . . . who has charge of Justice. All their houses are merely of boards, and are covered with thatch. There is as yet no masonry, except in the chimneys. . . .

[The colonists] have found some very suitable lands, which the savages had formerly prepared, on which they plant corn and oats, for their beer, and for the horses, of which they have a great many. There are few lands fit to be tilled, as they are narrowed by hills, which are poor soil; that obliges them to separate from one another, and they already hold two or 3 leagues of territory.

After changes made by the West India Company widening the access of individuals to the fur trade in 1640, however, Rensselaerswijck had begun to attract more people—though not all of the sort the patroon deemed desirable colonists. By the time of De Hooges's arrival, the number of colonists and the evidence of their activity on the landscape had, in fact, begun to increase, Father Jogues's unimpressive description notwithstanding.<sup>26</sup>

While De Hooges seems to have performed satisfactorily in his first year, there is good reason to believe that he was not particularly happy. Indeed, at least during his first year in Rensselaerswijck, De Hooges seems to have found life "difficult," was not fond of "the country," and his relationship with Van Curler, the man whom he had been sent to assist, was rocky. Van Rensselaer reassured De Hooges, confident that if he conducted himself well, Van Curler would, "by and by" come to "like" De Hooges; the patroon also expressed the more general hope that De Hooges would "have more and more satisfaction" with his life and work in Rensselaerswijck.<sup>27</sup>

At nearly a year into De Hooges's tenure, Van Rensselaer had no cause to complain about the employee's conduct; he had conducted himself well, doing as he had been instructed and avoiding the pitfalls of hedonistic and otherwise sinful behavior. It had nevertheless become evident to the patroon that De Hooges was not the solution to the colony's problems. Neither was Van der Donck. Indeed, by the patroon's assessment, Van der Donck had quickly become yet another source of difficulty. Van Rensselaer disclosed to Reverend Megapolensis his belief that neither Van Curler nor Van der Donck, "think[s] at all of my interests, each one thinks of his own advancement, especially *vanderdonck*." Van Rensselaer was angry with what he perceived as Van der Donck's excessive personal ambition and his

<sup>25</sup> A translation of De Hooges's journal of his voyage, 30 July to 29 November 1641, is in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 580-603. Van Rensselaer's reaction to De Hooges's journal is in his letter to De Hooges, 8 June 1642, in *ibid*, 620.

<sup>26</sup> Isaac Jogues, "Novum Belgium," in *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives about a Native People*, ed. Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors ser. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 32. For a discussion of the impact of the second charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1640 on the patroonship, see Van Laer, "Patroon System," 231-32.

<sup>27</sup> Hints regarding De Hooges's unhappiness can be found in the letters Van Rensselaer wrote to Megapolensis and De Hooges on 13 and 18 March 1643 in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 653-54, 669-70.

failure to work effectively—or even peacefully—with the administration the patroon had put in place in the colony. Writing to Van der Donck and reminding the young man of the extent of the authority and powers granted to him, as well as the purpose for which he was to exercise them (guarding the rights and profits of the patroon), Van Rensselaer concluded that perhaps Van der Donck needed assistance, maybe in the form of one or more people capable of wielding “brute force,” to help him carry out his commission.<sup>28</sup>

Van Rensselaer, however disappointed and frustrated he was with Van der Donck more than a year into the latter’s service in the colony, saved his most withering criticism for his grandnephew, who had been there much longer. The patroon was prolix and lavish with his vocabulary in rebuking Van Curler on numerous counts:

You make me suspicious. . . . I do not know what has become of the merchandise which I sent you; I do not know what the farms which are there cost me; I do not know what the house that you live in cost me; I do not know what you have eaten up or given away; I do not know whether or not you have kept proper records of all the consignments; I do not know how my account there stands with the [West India] Company. . . . [Y]ou have protected the rights of your master like a child. . . . In sum, for five years . . . I do not know what has happened in my name and on my behalf. . . .

Van Rensselaer made certain that Reverend Megapolensis, too, understood just how thin the patroon’s patience with Van Curler had worn:

Tell *Arent van Corler* . . . that I will not, will not, be put off any longer; [ask him] if he is not ashamed not to have sent me any reports or accounts in all these years of the many thousands of guilders worth of merchandise which I have placed in his hands; all his good deeds can not balance the anxiety and delay which he has caused me. . . . I shall not send another penny’s worth of goods until I receive accounts and goods in return, even if the whole colony were to rise against him, so serious do I consider this matter.

Given the patroon’s displeasure, it is not surprising that major changes were to come in the wake of these 1643 letters. Some of these changes represented yet another attempt by Van Rensselaer to correct the widespread problems in the ways his commissioned employees, his colonists, and visitors to his patroonship were behaving. Other changes, however, were quite outside the patroon’s plan and well beyond his control.<sup>29</sup>

If Van Rensselaer’s actions in August and September of 1643 can be taken as a guide, he was seeing encroachments upon and challenges to his patroonship—especially with respect to the rights and profits which he believed rightfully his—arising from many quarters. The first new measure he took surrounded Beeren Island at the lower end of his patroonship (now part of the town of Coeymans, New York) which he renamed Rensselaers-Steyn. He fortified it with cannon, and sent Nicolaes Coorn there as a military commander and trade representative. Van Rensselaer did this on the pretense—if not as his main goal—of providing a place of refuge for his colonists in case of Indian attack. At least as

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<sup>28</sup> Van Rensselaer to Megapolensis, 13 March 1643, and to Van der Donck, 9 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 650, 641-42. See also E. B. O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland; or New York under the Dutch*, 2 vols. (New York: G. S. Appleton and Co., 1846-1848), I:338-39.

<sup>29</sup> Van Rensselaer to Van Curler, 16 March 1643, and to Megapolensis, 13 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 658-59, 650.

important, however, Van Rensselaer intended the island to serve as the commercial gateway—and Coorn as the gatekeeper—for his patroonship upriver.<sup>30</sup>

Van Rensselaer's wider intentions for the Island became clear in a series of orders he issued that September. In sum, all trade in furs, agricultural products or merchandise in the patroonship was to be conducted on Rensselaers-Steyn; private traders were forbidden to transport goods above that point or to transact business anywhere else in the patroonship. The patroon's rights to shares in agricultural produce and furs, as well as his right to be the colonists' vendor of first resort for supplies and other imports, were to be rigorously enforced on the island. Most colonists of the patroonship whose accounts had remained unsettled for more than a year were banned from making any purchases at all. Van Rensselaer also set about to foster greater piety and to reform morality in his colony in a number of ways: to improve church attendance, to curb alcohol abuse, and to put an end to extramarital sexual relations (especially those between his male colonists and Amerindian women). His final set of orders was the "Legal Procedure against the Abuse of Outstanding Accounts in the Colony of Rensselaerswijck" (often referred to as the "Proper Remedy" by historians) which focused primarily on the numerous trade and accounting "abuses" the patroon had observed and spelled out how he expected accounts to be kept, the basis on which he expected his shares to be calculated and the stiff penalties awaiting those who fell short in these arenas. De Hooges dutifully copied this document and—as a result—a new translation appears in this volume.<sup>31</sup>

For Anthony de Hooges, the changes implemented by Van Rensselaer in September 1643 meant an increase in duties and responsibilities in at least two respects. First, Van Rensselaer separated the trade goods he had sent for use in the fur trade from the merchandise sent for trade with the farmers and other colonists of the patroonship. Van Curler was made *commis*<sup>32</sup> of the stores for the fur trade and De Hooges was appointed *commis* of the goods intended for trade with the colonists, though De Hooges was to submit his accounts to Van Curler. A second new duty assigned by Van Rensselaer to De Hooges was to keep an accounting of the "daily wages or pay of the laborers."<sup>33</sup>

De Hooges might not have been aware of it yet, but the patroonship had entered a new era by the time he had learned of these new responsibilities and had copied the "Legal Procedure" into his memorandum book. The document's author, Kiliaen van Rensselaer was dead. He was buried in the *Oude Kerk* in Amsterdam on 7 October 1643. Kiliaen's eldest surviving son, Johannes, replaced his father as patroon, but since he was not legally old enough to act independently, Kiliaen's brother-in-law Johan van Wely and his nephew Wouter van Twiller were appointed testamentary guardians and, therefore, assumed direction of and responsibility for the patroonship. For De Hooges and the on-site management of the patroonship, the main consequence of the change of leadership in Amsterdam arose from the fact that the new overseers did not share Kiliaen's management style and philosophy. They did not exhibit the same intense hunger for information, the same level of distrust of human nature and of

<sup>30</sup> Commission to Nicolaes Coorn and Jan Dircksz van Bremen, 26 August 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 680-82. See also Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*, 265.

<sup>31</sup> "Placard Warning Private Traders Not to Sail into the Colony and Setting Forth New Trade Regulations in Connection with the Staple Right of Rensselaers Steyn," 2 September 1643, "Redress of the Abuses and Faults in the Colony of Rensselaerswyck," 5 September 1643, "Notice to Be Served on Private Traders Who Contrary to the Patroon's Orders Sail into the Colony," 8 September 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 682-85, 686-97, 697-99. For the new translation of the "Legal Procedure (or 'Proper Remedy')", see memorandum book pages A7-A16 below. See also Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*, 265-67 and Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 74-75.

<sup>32</sup> The term *commis* has often been translated as "commissary," which, as Van Laer has noted, would be as good a translation as any, were it not for the confusion caused by the fact that the term *commissaris*—a local magistrate at the Albany court—has also been translated as "commissary." A *commis* was a person deputized to perform administrative duties, especially those pertaining to commerce, though in Rensselaerswijck as in other Dutch colonial outposts the lines between commercial, civil and military administration were often indistinct. See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 27-28 and Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 102-103.

<sup>33</sup> "Redress," 5 September 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 690.



the instincts of the patroonship's commissioned employees, or the same interest in managing every detail of the administration of the patroonship themselves.<sup>34</sup>

Personnel changes in Rensselaerswijck in the years after the first patroon's death brought yet more change to the patroonship and to De Hooges's role in it. A little more than half a year before Van Rensselaer's death, the patroon had acquiesced to Van Curler's desire to return to the Netherlands, permitting it on the condition that Van Curler first settle the patroonship's accounts and turn the records over to De Hooges. Evidently by that time Van Curler had grown to like De Hooges better (after more than a year of working with him) as he resolved not only to leave the *records* in De Hooges's care, but also to lodge his *bride-to-be* with De Hooges (noting that she would not be a burden to De Hooges, "for she is a good housekeeper. . ."). In October of 1644, about a year after the first patroon's death, Van Curler finally took ship. By the beginning of the summer of 1646, Adriaen van der Donck had left as well. His Rensselaerswijck farm house had been consumed by fire and, while the newly homeless *schout* lodged with De Hooges, the two had had a falling out; Van der Donck left the area, bound for his own colony of Colendonck (now part of Yonkers). Of the commissioned employees, only De Hooges and Coorn remained in the patroonship.<sup>35</sup>

Thereafter, the business management of Rensselaerswijck fell largely to De Hooges—certainly by the time Van der Donck left the patroonship for Fort Orange in late February 1646 but probably already by May of 1645. He became the *de facto commis-general*. De Hooges continued to manage the affairs of the colony until March of 1648, when Brant van Slichtenhorst assumed the newly created office of patroonship director. During these intervening years, De Hooges bought and sold merchandise and livestock and made lease agreements on behalf of the patroonship, often with the advice and consent of Johannes Megapolensis, the clergyman, and Abraham Staets (or Staas), the surgeon of the patroonship—the more important agreements also made contingent upon approbation from Amsterdam. Indeed, a great deal about the scope of De Hooge's activities as *de facto commis-general* of Rensselaerswijck can be learned from the pages of this memorandum book, as the overwhelming majority of the documents De Hooges recorded in the volume, he penned during these years.<sup>36</sup>

In the end, it seems Kiliaen's Van Rensselaer's hopes for De Hooges's contentment with his new home and role were fulfilled, though not until after the patroon's death and (perhaps more instrumental for De Hooges's happiness) the departure of Van Curler and Van der Donck. On 29 October 1647, a little more than two years into his tenure as *de facto commis-general* of Rensselaerswijck, De Hooges married Eva (or Affien) Albertsz Bradt, a woman probably more than a dozen years his junior but who, like Anthony, had been born in Amsterdam. Eva was the daughter of Annetje Barents and Albert Andriesz Bradt, *de Noorman* [the Norwegian], originally from Fredrikstad in southeast Norway. De Hooges's in-laws had lived in the patroonship for more than a decade by the time of their daughter's

<sup>34</sup> Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*, 266-67, 283.

<sup>35</sup> Van Rensselaer to Megapolensis, 13 March 1643, and to Van Curler 16 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 653, 666; and Van Curler to Van Rensselaer, 16 June 1643, in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 465. With good reason, Van Laer surmises that Van Curler left in October 1644 and Van der Donck around May of 1646. See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 717n, 824. Subsequently Van Laer has suggested that De Hooges was already in charge of the colony as *commis* in 1644. See Arnold J. F. Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*, (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1922), 16-17. See also, Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 204 and "Memorandum of De Hooges's Dispute with Adriaen van der Donck," ca. 20 February 1646, in the memorandum book, pages A20-A24 below.

<sup>36</sup> Nissenson states that De Hooges was "in charge of the domain" already in May of 1645. See Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 111, 196. Staets was evidently the "presiding officer" when commissioners met; see *ibid*, 112. Documents contained in this memorandum book make it clear that Van der Donck returned to the patroonship to attend to his own business in both April and May of 1646, but he does not seem to have acted at that time in the capacity of a commissioned employee of the patroonship.

wedding. Albert, who had the reputation (at least early on) of being a difficult and demanding person, had worked as a tobacco planter and mill builder/operator in the patroonship.<sup>37</sup>

Barely five months into life as a married man, De Hooges's professional duties changed dramatically, yet again. The arrival on 22 March 1648 of the first director (or "chief officer") of the patroonship, Brant van Slichtenhorst, meant that De Hooges was no longer *de facto* commis-general of Rensselaerswijck. His titles were now secretary and commissioner [*gecommitteerde*]<sup>38</sup> of the patroonship. De Hooges seized this moment to attempt to put his household on a stronger financial footing. Five days after Van Slichtenhorst arrived, De Hooges reported to his new superior and his fellow commissioners that he had gone four years without a salary—despite his increased responsibilities—following the departures of Van Curler and Van der Donck. And again, with Van Slichtenhorst's arrival, De Hooges's new titles and duties had (likewise) come, he observed, "without any mention" of a salary. Worse, his erstwhile home had been "adapted" for use as a house of worship—probably two or three years earlier—so he faced the expense of building a new house. Sadly for De Hooges, the evidence suggests that his petition went unheeded and he went without a salary for another four years. His March 1648 petition was undoubtedly made even more poignant (though he made no mention of these circumstances) by his recent marriage and the fact that he and his young bride were almost certainly well on their way to becoming parents (indeed, Eva bore at least five children over the next eight years). The fact that barely seven months later, on 4 December 1648, Jan van Wely in Amsterdam, liquidated, on De Hooges's behalf, the remaining 1300 guilders of the assets bequeathed to Anthony by his father, underscores the financial straits in which he found himself as a newlywed.<sup>39</sup>

Although Van Slichtenhorst's arrival was the occasion of De Hooges's demotion from *de facto* commis-general to patroonship secretary, as a commissioner, he remained in the inner circle of the local administration of Rensselaerswijck. The on-site administrative committees of the patroonship had evolved over time; as a result it is difficult to speak with precision about when De Hooges's participation in these bodies had begun, or even exactly when the committees had started to function. At

<sup>37</sup> Randolph, "Anthony de Hooges," 5-6; Evjen, *Scandinavian Immigrants*, 21, 30; Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 112. For the date of the wedding, see page A49 below. The record of Eva's 9 January 1633 baptism in the Lutheran Church of Amsterdam is in *Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam*, Stadsarchief, inv. no. 5001, item 140, p. 47. For Albert's reputation during his early days in the patroonship, see Van Rensselaer to Pieter Cornelisz and to Albert Andriesz Bradt, 8 and 10 May 1638, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 406, 410-11.

<sup>38</sup> See pages 23-25 below.

<sup>39</sup> Beernink, *Geschiedschrijver en rechtsgeleerde Dr. Arend van Slichtenhorst*, 159-161; Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 825-26. Van Laer states that De Hooges assumed the position of secretary upon Van Slichtenhorst's arrival in March of 1648; this appears to put Van Laer in agreement with Nissenson. But De Hooges appears to have begun referring to himself as "secretary" before then. See "Ordinance concerning the fur trade," 8 May 1645, in *ibid.*, 723 and memorandum, 4 September 1647, in Beernink, *Geschiedschrijver en rechtsgeleerde Dr. Arend van Slichtenhorst*, 279. See also Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 116.

For De Hooges's petition for a salary, see page B16 below. For his salary during his Rensselaerswijck tenure, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 825-26.

The adaptation of the building in which De Hooges had earlier lodged had probably been adapted for use as a church in the mid to late 1640s. See Venema, *Beverwijck*, 49; O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:331n.

Anthony and Eva's offspring (Maricken, Anneken, Catrina, Johannes, and Eleonora) are known from a marriage contract between Roeloff Swarthout and Eva Albertsen [Bradt] after Anthony De Hooges's death (13 August 1657), a translation of which is in Jonathan Pearson [Vol. 1] and Arnold J. F. Van Laer [Vols. 2-4], eds., *Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck*, 4 vols., New York State Library History Bulletin, no. 9-11 [Vols. 2-4] (Albany: J. Munsell [vol. 1]; University of the State of New York [vols. 2-4], 1869-1919), I:49-50. It is, of course, possible that the couple had had more offspring who had died before the aforementioned contract; it is also possible that the youngest child was born after De Hooges's death.

For the liquidation of his inheritance, see Memorandum, 4 December 1648, *Inbrengregisters, 1468-1851, Archief van de Weeskamer en Commissie van Liquidatie der Zaken van de Voormalige Weeskamer*, Stadsarchief, Amsterdam, no. 791, folio 48 recto.

least as early as May 1639, the basis for a committee of commissioned employees had been established, though it may not have been fully functional until Van der Donck's arrival in 1641. At mid-decade, during the time in which De Hooges was *de facto* commis-general of the patroonship, De Hooges and the surgeon Staets (the committee's presiding officer) appear to have met often, perhaps joined by the *schout*, Nicolaes Coorn. They also frequently consulted, as appears from documents in this memorandum book, with Rev. Megapolensis who, though not officially a commissioner, was well trusted by the testamentary guardians in Amsterdam and had been invested with considerable authority by the first patroon.<sup>40</sup>

Even before the local management of the patroonship had been thrust upon De Hooges, however, Kiliaen van Rensselaer had articulated a vision for a separation of power between two distinct committees. The first, composed solely of the commissioners [*gecommitteerden*], was largely to be an administrative body; the second was to be a council composed of the commissioners and a few principal farmers nominated by the commissioners and chosen by the patroon (later by the director). The council was to act primarily as an enforcement or judicial body. At the appointment of Van Slichtenhorst, the testamentary guardians spelled out the division of responsibilities between commissioners and council more clearly. In practice, however, this differentiation remained largely unobserved under Van Slichtenhorst, a fact that probably bothered De Hooges little, as held seats on both committees.<sup>41</sup>

There are no indications in the record about whether De Hooges felt a sense of relief when Van Slichtenhorst arrived to assume the directorship of Rensselaerswijck or whether he had enjoyed exercising the authority which had been thrust upon him with the departure of Van Curler and Van der Donck. There are, however, hints in the record—strong ones—that whatever De Hooges's feelings at the time of director Van Slichtenhorst's arrival, the working relationship which ensued was not always an easy one for the secretary. In Van Slichtenhorst, the testamentary guardians had united both the offices of chief administrative officer and chief judicial officer. Ostensibly, the patroonship's leadership in Amsterdam hoped that Van Slichtenhorst would exercise his broad powers in a moderate and restrained manner, but, as recent scholarship has demonstrated, they also wanted him to enact an agenda which ran serious risks of straining relationships with the West India Company and with Amerindians, as well as with the colonists of Rensselaerswijck. If they hoped they had found in Van Slichtenhorst a man with the right temperament to implement bold measures without angering people in a position to take actions harmful to the interests of the patroonship, they were undoubtedly disappointed. Most famously, Van Slichtenhorst's efforts to relocate the main population center north, to the immediate vicinity of Fort Orange, proved detrimental to the patroonship's relationship with the West India Company. While the plan was certainly not of Van Slichtenhorst's own design, the director's implementation of it contributed considerably to the decision of Petrus Stuyvesant to carve Beverwijck out of the middle of the patroonship as a West India Company settlement. The same bold measures carried out by Van Slichtenhorst also contributed significantly to his being twice held in detention in New Amsterdam by West India Company officials.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Commission to Cornelis Teunisz van Breukelen, 12 May 1639, Van Rensselaer to Van Curler, 27 July 1641, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 435, 572-73. See also *ibid.*, 30, and Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 101-104, 113, as well as memorandum book pages A20, A30 and A57 below.

<sup>41</sup> Van Rensselaer to Van der Donck, 9 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 639. "Instructions to Van Slichtenhorst," 4 September 1647, and "Extracts from the Instructions for the Commissioners of Rensselaerswyck," 4 September 1647, in Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 358. See also *ibid.*, 104-113, 122-27, 129n, and Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*, 15-16.

It bears reiteration that Van Rensselaer's knowledge of the operations of manorial administration in the Dutch Republic undoubtedly informed the way he continued to shape the on-site administration of his patroonship. See pages 6-7 above.

<sup>42</sup> Venema, *Beverwijck*, 44-53; Charles T. Gehring, ed. and trans., *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*, New Netherland Documents Series, no. 16, part 2 ([Syracuse, N.Y.]: Syracuse University Press, 1990), xxiii-xxv; Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 206-37.

As director of Rensselaerswijck, Van Slichtenhorst's bearing toward his fellow commissioned employees has been characterized as domineering; not surprising, his relations with them on both personal and professional levels have been described as "often strained." It is true that Van Slichtenhorst got along with De Hooges better than he did with some other people, but it is nonetheless evident that Van Slichtenhorst's interactions with De Hooges were at least occasionally quite frosty. From the start, Van Slichtenhorst sent reports to Amsterdam containing grave accusations—though "exaggerated" in the estimation of one scholar—about De Hooges's failures during the time in which he had been entrusted with the business administration of the patroonship. Indeed, after roughly two years as director, Van Slichtenhorst seems to have gone so far as to restrict De Hooges's access to records which the secretary was required to maintain. And in at least one meeting of the commissioners, the two angrily exchanged accusations aloud. Thereafter, however, for the remaining two years in which Van Slichtenhorst retained the title of director—perhaps because of admonitions from his superiors in Amsterdam, perhaps because his conflicts with others took center stage, or perhaps because he spent so much of that time incarcerated in New Amsterdam—there is no further evidence of open conflict between Van Slichtenhorst and De Hooges.<sup>43</sup>

Van Slichtenhorst was not the only person in the colony with whom De Hooges exchanged words. In general, however, court records give the impression that conflict was the exception rather than the rule in De Hooges's personal and professional life. Of course, as one scholar has observed, Rensselaerswijck, like the rest of New Netherland, was not free of crime and mischief. In the patroonship as elsewhere in Dutch North America "residents teased, slandered, argued, insulted, and assaulted each other." And De Hooges did find himself, from time to time, at the receiving end of such behavior. He does not seem to have hesitated to prosecute at court those who assaulted or insulted him. In general, however, these exchanges occurred between De Hooges and the farmers and artisans of Rensselaerswijck, rather than between him and his fellow commissioned employees. That acknowledged, readers of this memorandum book will observe that De Hooges did have conflicts with Nicolaes Coorn, *schout* of Rensselaerswijck and erstwhile *commis* and commander of Rensselaers-Steyn, Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop, supercargo of the patroon's yacht, the *Wapen van Rensselaerswijck* [*Arms of Rensselaerswijck*], and—perhaps most notably—*schout* Adriaen van der Donck. It is worth observing, however, that in each of these last cases, De Hooges felt that the actions to which others objected or for which he was attacked, were things he had done in the normal course of performing his assigned duties and/or protecting the interests of the patroonship.<sup>44</sup>

In addition to maintaining a fairly good record with respect to his interactions with colonists and coworkers, De Hooges seems also to have kept in mind the importance placed by the first patroon on

<sup>43</sup> Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 149-150, 150n; Court of Rensselaerswijck, 4 April 1650, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*, 114. See also, *ibid* 120n. A Dutch transcription of the relevant passage is in Beernink, *Geschiedschrijver en rechtsgeleerde Dr. Arend van Slichtenhorst*, 244. For the admonition received by Van Slichtenhorst from Amsterdam, see Patroon and Co-Directors to Van Slichtenhorst, 20 March 1651, in Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 365.

The presence of Jan Baptist van Rensselaer beginning in mid-1651, may have been a factor in the absence of open conflict between De Hooges and Van Slichtenhorst as well.

<sup>44</sup> Scott Christianson, "Criminal Punishment in New Netherland," in *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place: Selected Rensselaerswijck Seminar Papers*, ed. Nancy Anne McClure Zeller ([Albany]: New Netherland Publishing, 1991), 84; O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 437n; Council of New Netherland, minutes, 7 and 8 June 1646, in Arnold J. F. Van Laer, Kenneth Scott, and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, eds., *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*, New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, no. 4 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974), 314-18; Court of Rensselaerswijck, minutes, 16 April 1648, 5 and 11 January 1651, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*, 27, 126, 142; Fort Orange Court, minute, 4 September and 16 November 1652, in Gehring, ed. and trans., *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*, 24, 31-32. See also Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 832. In the memorandum book, see pages A20-A24, A40, A41, A52 below. De Hooges was also among the officials whose characters were impugned by Rev. Bogardus; see Council of New Netherland to Bogardus, 2 January 1646, in Edward Tanjore Corwin and Hugh Hastings, eds., *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York*, 7 vols. (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1901-1916), I:196-199.

maintaining good relations with West India Company representatives. For example, during his time in charge of the business management of the patroonship, De Hooges cooperated with the *commis* of Fort Orange in issuing an ordinance regulating the fur trade in the region (though, for reasons beyond his control, patroonship-company relations had already begun to decline). Good relations and mutual respect between De Hooges and company officials is further suggested by the fact that he was appointed to various committees established and authorized to “decide and settle” or “referee” the substance of court cases brought before both the New Netherland Council in New Amsterdam and the Fort Orange court. The fact that De Hooges also routinely received favorable judgments at the Fort Orange court lends further support for the conclusion that, unlike other commissioned employees of Rensselaerswijck (most notably Van Slichtenhorst) De Hooges enjoyed good relations with company appointees, a fact which would have pleased his erstwhile employer, Kiliaen van Rensselaer.<sup>45</sup>

De Hooges spent his last two years of life serving as patroonship secretary under a new director, Jan Baptiste van Rensselaer. De Hooges fell ill and, on or around 11 October 1655, he died, shortly before his what would have been his thirty-fifth birthday and a little more than fourteen years after Jan Baptiste’s father, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, had hired young Anthony and made arrangements for him to sail to the New World.<sup>46</sup>

If one takes what we can surmise would have been Kiliaen van Rensselaer’s standards for the evaluation of De Hooges’s tenure in Rensselaerswijck, one must judge De Hooges’s career a success. He seems to have done well at avoiding significant diversions “from [his] toil, diligence and faithfulness” by the sorts of sins and vices about which the first patroon was so concerned. At least as important, De Hooges seems to have kept the interests of the patroonship at the forefront of his mind—taking action when he saw that, as Van Rensselaer himself had put it, the patroon’s “loss or . . . rights were involved”—even to the point of publicly scolding his often difficult and cantankerous (and much older) superior, Van Slichtenhorst, for failing to perform the duties of his office. Occasional conflict notwithstanding, however, De Hooges also appears generally to have attempted to follow the patroon’s advice to “make yourself agreeable and liked” as well as to maintain good relations with representatives of the West India Company. Above all, however, De Hooges did what Kiliaen van Rensselaer had sent him to Rensselaerswijck to do: he *wrote*. He authored and copied countless documents. From the start, Van Rensselaer’s thirst for information and desire for full and accurate records and accounts had been De Hooges’s *raison d’être* in the patroonship; from the outset, the patroon had instructed his new employee

. . . to keep a full diary of everything worthy of note which occurs to you. From this you might send me brief extracts every week or month, for I have cause to long to know about everything that occurs there, as everything concerns me and depends on me.

De Hooges was not stingy with either his employer’s ink or paper. Indeed, the late patroon’s words may still have been ringing in his ears when he penned the title page to this memorandum book: it seems likely that Van Rensselaer’s expression, translated in the foregoing quote as an injunction to record all

<sup>45</sup> “Ordinance Concerning the Fur Trade,” 8 May 1645, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 723; Council of New Netherland, minute, 11 June 1646 in Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*, 318, 320; Fort Orange Court, minutes, 4 September and 16 November 1652, 21 and 28 April 1654, 20 October 1654, in Gehring, ed. and trans., *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*, 24, 31-32, 115, 117, 158. The fact that Stuyvesant granted De Hooges a patent for land in Beverwijck in April of 1652 would seem further to support the thesis that De Hooges maintained good relations with company officials. See Pearson and Van Laer, eds., *Early Records*, II:52n-53n, 246n. For the decline in patroonship-company relations, see Venema, *Beverwijck*, 47.

<sup>46</sup> Van Laer has calculated De Hooges’s approximate death date based on records of salary payments. See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 825.

occurrences “worthy of note” was, in the original Dutch, very similar to the language chosen by De Hooges for part of the title for this memorandum book, translated here as “noteworthy memoranda.”<sup>47</sup>

De Hooges also achieved a measure of material success. From a purely financial standpoint, it appears that the first patroon’s commitment was ultimately kept by his successors: Van Rensselaer had promised De Hooges that industry, honesty and loyalty in the near term would be rewarded by his employers in the end. De Hooges began his work in 1642 as assistant and under-bookkeeper, earning a salary of one hundred guilders. Evidently, he continued receiving this amount until October of 1644 when Van Curler departed. Surviving patroonship records give no indication of how he supported himself between then and the arrival of Van Slichtenhorst in March of 1648. That he had received no salary at all during his years as *de facto* commis-general is confirmed by the petition for a salary De Hooges submitted at the time of Van Slichtenhorst’s arrival. Yet, at some point thereafter—though perhaps not until 1652—the records show he received an annual salary of 360 guilders as secretary and 100 more as commissioner [*gecommitteerde*]. Beyond the salary, there were other benefits of his work for the patroonship as well. For much of his tenure in Rensselaerswijck, De Hooges was provided housing at patroonship expense and, for at least the last five years of his life, his household was probably supplied with beer and firewood at no cost to him. In addition, the evidence suggests that De Hooges traded in livestock and was paid by various parties for preparing important documents. De Hooges also served in various religious capacities: he was, for a time, a deacon in the church (an unpaid position); he officiated, when Rensselaerswijck was without a clergyman, at the wedding of Philip Pietersz Schuyler and Margaretha van Slichtenhorst, daughter of the patroonship director (for which he was almost certainly compensated); and he received a salary from the church during two tours of duty as the lay reader [*voorleser*] in worship services.<sup>48</sup>

Exactly how wealthy De Hooges’s salary and other earnings made him, as compared to others in the patroonship, is difficult to calculate. His beginning salary was certainly small—less than double that of a young male-servant [*jongen*], but even in the years when he was drawing no salary at all, De Hooges was able to hire young men as servants. Still, it appears that he may not have been able to accumulate significant wealth, perhaps especially during the years in which his family was growing. Several months after his death, his wife apparently found it necessary to turn to the deacons of the church for a loan. A little more than a year later, when she remarried, she mortgaged her real property to set aside relatively small sums for the heirs she shared with her late husband—one hundred guilders each for their five children.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Van Rensselaer to De Hooges, 8 June 1642 and 18 March 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 620-21, 669; Court of Rensselaerswijck, minute, 4 April 1650, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*, 114.

<sup>48</sup> Van Laer does not find evidence of De Hooges receiving his new salary until 1652.

Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 812, 825-26; Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 124-125, 125n, 142; Venema, *Beverwijck*, 140, 147; Albany Deacons, account entry, 8 January 1655, in Janny Venema, ed. and trans., *Deacon's Accounts, 1652-1674, First Dutch Reformed Church of Beverwijck/Albany, New York*, Historical Series of the Reformed Church in America, ed. Donald J. Bruggink, no. 28 (Rockport, Maine: Picton, 1998), 20. It can be difficult to discern from the records on which occasions De Hooges was engaged in commerce in behalf of the patroonship and when he did so on his own account, but for 1648-49 account entries indicating transactions where he was quite clearly trading on his own account, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*, 205-206, 212. De Hooges’s petition for a salary is on page B16 below.

For De Hooges’s term as deacon, 1653-54, see Albany Deacons, account entries, 11 January 1653 and 8 January 1655, in Venema, ed. and trans., *Deacon's Accounts*, 7, 19; Fort Orange Court, minute, 2 December 1654, in Gehring, ed. and trans., *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*, 162, 164. For De Hooges’s role in the Schuyler-Van Slichtenhorst wedding, see George W. Schuyler, *Colonial New York: Philip Schuyler and his Family*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), 182; Arthur James Weise, *The History of the City of Albany, New York: From the Discovery of the Great River in 1524, by Verrazzano, to the Present Time* (Albany: E.H. Bender, 1884), 91-92.

<sup>49</sup> For De Hooges’s servants see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 821, 842, and memorandum book pages B8-B9 below. It is likely that the records on these pages were written in 1647. For the loan to his widow, see

Anthony De Hooges did not leave a legacy of great wealth to his biological descendents. Nor did he become the fabled patriarch of a large New World clan bearing his family name; four of his children were girls and his only son died without a surviving male heir. Ironically, however, it is possible that he did, nevertheless, leave his mark—or at least his given name—on the Hudson Valley (or maps of it). Some of the earliest mentions of De Hooges made by researchers state (though without providing documentation) that the “promontory” or “mountain” which stands near the east landing of the Bear Mountain Bridge over the Hudson River, a few miles up from Peekskill, was named for De Hooges—enshrining in cartography a facial feature for which he was evidently remembered by those who had known him personally—as “Anthony’s Nose” (later renamed St. Anthony’s Nose).<sup>50</sup>

Of course, De Hooges’s most important legacy is the multitude of surviving documents in his handwriting; of these, the item most closely associated with his name is the one which appears here in translation, often referred to informally as “the De Hooges memorandum book.” Searching the internet or scanning the footnotes of genealogical and historical works pertaining to Rensselaerswijck in the 1640s and 1650s, one quickly sees that the memorandum book has *already* proven useful to many professional, avocational, and family historians—despite the fact that its pages have hitherto been accessible only to those able to read the handwriting and language of the Netherlands of the seventeenth century. Since it was damaged by fire in 1911, access to the original manuscript has been further limited—even for those with the requisite skills and the opportunity to visit the New York State Library—because of its fragility. Even so, many researchers have made use of scattered translations and transcriptions of its entries in other publications, as well as through the descriptions of the documents contained in it, made by Charles Gehring.<sup>51</sup> With this publication, however, the barrier raised by the fragility of the document, as well as that of a calligraphic style and language unfamiliar to many researchers have been removed, as the volume is simultaneously released as high quality images of the original manuscript, as a transcription made by archival professionals in the Netherlands, and here in English translation.

The character of, and the dates embraced by the documents contained in De Hooges’s memorandum book have made it, and will continue to make it, a particularly useful resource for researchers. The early twentieth-century scholar Arnold J. F. Van Laer, whose careful translations and insightful scholarship remain foundational to the field of New Netherland studies today, lamented in his introduction to the translation of a major collection of correspondence between Kiliaen van Rensselaer and the people of Rensselaerswijck, that the letters “break off abruptly in 1643.” For Van Laer and many subsequent scholars, the letters to and from the first patroon have been a tremendous resource for the study of the region. Thus, the fact that the documents De Hooges recorded in this memorandum book begin in the same year, embracing 1643 to 1650, commencing at about the time of the death of the first patroon and near, as Van Laer put it, the start “of the interesting period in the history of the colony,” and

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Albany Deacons, account entry, 6 January 1656, in Venema, ed. and trans., *Deacon's Accounts*, 27. De Hooges sold part of the land granted him by Stuyvesant, but his widow retained the house and the rest of the lot at his death, and it was this which she mortgaged to set aside funds for their children; on 1 May 1662 the property was conveyed by her second husband to her younger brother, Storm Albertsz. See marriage contract of Roeloff Swarthout and Eva Albertsz, 13 August 1657, in Pearson and Van Laer, eds., *Early Records*, I:49-50; notary record, 27 June 1670, in Peter R. Christoph, Kenneth Scott, and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, eds., *Kingston Papers*, New York Historical Manuscripts (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1976), II:683. See also Venema, *Beverwijck*, 433; Pearson and Van Laer, eds., *Early Records*, II:52n-53n, 246n.

<sup>50</sup> See O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:440; Schuyler, *Colonial New York*, I:182; “Settlers in Rensselaerswyck from 1630 to 1646, Compiled from the Books of Monthly Wages and other Mss.,” in *Year Book of the Holland Society of New-York* (n.p.: [Holland Society of New-York], 1896), 138. A genealogist has reported that De Hooges’s only son had only one son himself and the child probably died in infancy. He also suggested that the connection between De Hooges and Anthony’s Nose might have been a myth. See Randolph, “Anthony de Hooges,” 6.

<sup>51</sup> Charles T. Gehring, ed., *A Guide to Dutch Manuscripts Relating to New Netherland in United States Repositories*, (Albany: University of the State of New York, State Department of Education, New York State Library, 1978), 107-110.

a time in which “many people flocked to the colony” (due to changes in West India Company policy concerning the fur trade), will make it a valuable resource.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the important timeframe encompassed by the documents found in the memorandum book, the *diversity* of documents it contains—both in terms of form and substance—will also ensure its usefulness to researchers of a variety of stripes. The contents range from formal documents written by the first patroon to shape policy and protect his rights and interests, to notes De Hooges recorded for himself about conflicts and disagreements he had had with fellow colonists; from farm leases and mill contracts, to testimony and petitions drafted for judicial and administrative bodies. Some of the documents will, therefore, supplement existing collections of correspondence, or court and council minutes already translated and published, while others, different in character, will complement those resources. Van Laer, again writing about the correspondence of the first patroon, underscored the immense value of the letters, but also cautioned researchers that the body of correspondence tends to be better for learning about “the patroon’s intentions as to what should be done, rather than about what actually took place. . . .” The overwhelming bulk of the documents contained in the memorandum book, on the other hand, center much more on the day to day operations of the patroonship and the daily lives of its inhabitants.<sup>53</sup>

Portions of the memorandum book which have appeared previously in translation include such notable documents as the regulations issued by Kiliaen van Rensselaer in 1643 in an effort to force colonists to keep current on their accounts with him, as well as De Hooges’s 1647 accounts of whale sightings in the Hudson River near what is now Albany. It is the hope that readers will find the new translations offered here to be useful. In the case of documents which were somewhat loosely translated in the nineteenth century, the intent was to offer translations that correspond more closely with the original Dutch text. With documents which were translated and published in the early part of the twentieth century, the chief goal was to present them in language more familiar and readily understandable to a twenty-first-century readership.

The majority of the entries in the memorandum book, however, have never before appeared in print, either as English translations or as transcriptions of the Dutch. As such they can now reach a wider audience and inform some areas that have been explored in recent research. The various leases and contracts it contains will, for instance, provide more material for investigating (and revising theses regarding) real estate arrangements in 1646 and 1647—critical years when the patroonship was in transition from a complex system of share cropping (designed to maximize the patroon’s profits while minimizing his capital investment) to a regime under which farmers and millers primarily made fixed lease payments at established intervals. Similarly, scholars interested in the comparative importance of the fur trade as opposed to profits from farming in the patroonship, as well as researchers whose interests lie in subjects such as material culture, environmental and agricultural history, wage, price and labor history, not to mention family history, will also find useful information about the people, trade goods, livestock, tools and implements as well as glimpses into farming methods, harvests and the varieties of crops planted by colonists in the upper Hudson valley in the mid-seventeenth century.

The story of the memorandum book itself seems to have begun in 1645, the year in which De Hooges likely began keeping records on its pages, though he very soon copied documents into it which dated back as far as 1643. De Hooges used the volume most heavily from 1646 until the time of Van Slichtenhorst’s arrival as director in 1648, though he continued keeping records in it—especially entries relevant to leases and other documents already recorded on its pages—until at least 1650. It appears that after the mid-seventeenth century, the book went unopened until E. B. O’Callaghan started using it for very different purposes in the mid-nineteenth century—not as a place for keeping records, but as source

<sup>52</sup> Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 31. Van Laer was, at the time, mistaken about the date of Kiliaen van Rensselaer’s death.

<sup>53</sup> Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 29.



material from which to draw information about the history of New Netherland and Rensselaerswijck. The history of the book almost ended in the early twentieth century. By that time it was in the possession of the New York State Library and, alas, housed in the Capitol building which suffered a disastrous fire in 1911. While a 1912 report listed the memorandum book among the items which had been “saved,” readers will quickly see that it did not survive entirely unscathed.<sup>54</sup>

## Editorial Method

In addressing the matter of text lost to fire damage in the translation of the De Hooges memorandum book, I have followed the lead of the able professionals in the Netherlands who transcribed it. While some readers would undoubtedly find it useful to have a sense of how much text has been lost here and there to fire damage, that is generally impossible to determine. De Hooges varied the size of the blank space he left at the margins of the pages and it is at the top, bottom, and sides of the pages where most of the damage occurred. As such, the transcribers have indicated missing text with the use of punctuation noting the ellipsis, surrounded by brackets. Except in cases where it is evident that whole lines are missing, they have chosen not to speculate about how many words or characters were destroyed. I have done similarly, using brackets surrounding a fixed blank space to indicate lost text, adding notes when one or more whole lines appear to have been lost.

In the case of damaged entries in the memorandum book which were transcribed or translated prior to the 1911 fire, I have followed the examples of Van Laer and Gehring by supplying the missing text from those transcriptions or translations.<sup>55</sup> I have, however, departed from their examples insofar as I have enclosed the text supplied from those sources in {chevrons} rather than [brackets]. Brackets are instead used for words added by the translator either for clarity of meaning (as when a word is implied but not spelled out in the manuscript) or to indicate words or parts of words which, though destroyed or otherwise illegible, the transcribers or the translator was able to infer from the context. The decision to use both brackets and chevrons was made as part of an overall attempt to strike a good balance between producing a translation as close as possible to the manuscript on the page, while also attempting to offer a translation accessible to twenty-first-century readers who do not have specialized historical or linguistic knowledge. Striking the right balance between literal translation and dynamic equivalence is the goal of every translator and, while the use of both chevrons and brackets arguably results in a cluttered look on some pages, the decision to use that system here is part of a broader effort to get that balance right.

I have also followed the lead of New Netherland Research Center faculty and the transcribers of the memorandum book in other respects. Personal names, for example, have been retained just as De Hooges wrote them; readers will even observe that De Hooges spelled his own name in a number of different ways in the memorandum book. Likewise, nicknames, indications of geographical origins and occupations, when used for personal identification, have been retained as written. Thus, Jan *de Timmerman* appears as it has been transcribed, rather than as “Jan the Carpenter.” In all cases, however, I have made an effort to include translations of these identifiers in the footnotes as well as indications, where appropriate, of the variation or variations of the names as they appear most commonly in the

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<sup>54</sup> The dates are surmised from the two title pages in the volume, one with a date of 1645, the other 1646. See also Andrew S. Draper, “Communication from Commissioner of Education,” in *Eighth Annual Report of the Education Department* (Albany: New York State Education Department, 1912), 1009.

<sup>55</sup> See, for examples, Arnold J. F. Van Laer, “Arent van Curler and His Historic Letter to the Patroon,” *The Dutch Settlers Society of Albany Yearbook* 3 (1927-1928): 11-29; Charles T. Gehring, ed. and trans., *Delaware Papers (Dutch period): A Collection of Documents Pertaining to the Regulation of Affairs on the South River of New Netherland, 1648-1664*, New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981); Charles T. Gehring, ed. and trans., *Correspondence: 1647-1653*, New Netherland Document Series, no. 11 ([Syracuse, N.Y.]: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

historical literature. References to geographical locations within the patroonship as well as Dutch units of measure are treated in the same way—the original language is retained, supplemented by explanatory footnotes. Due to the limitations of the translator, all but the most minor usages of Latin have also been retained as written.

Other text that appears in the translation of the memorandum book but not in the original, such as most of the document titles and the manuscript page numbers are also included in brackets. While some of the pages in the original have what appear to have been De Hooges's page numbers, most of the original numbers were probably destroyed in the fire. The pagination of the translation follows the system adopted by the transcribers of the memorandum book. At some point—probably about a year after De Hooges made his first notation in the volume—he began a second series of documents starting from the other end of the book. De Hooges's title pages for each series indicate that his intention was to keep certain categories of records in one series and other types of records in the other series, though he seems quickly to have abandoned this distinction. Toward the middle pages of the volume, De Hooges intermixed the last documents of the first series with the last documents in the second series. The two series nevertheless remain distinguishable in the original volume because De Hooges oriented the pages in opposite directions. In both the transcription and the translation, page numbers from one series have been assigned the prefix "A" and page numbers in the second series with the prefix "B" and, for ease of reading, the pages of the two series are presented both in the transcription and the translation with the same page orientation and sequentially rather than intermixed.

[Page A2<sup>56</sup>]

## **A Copy of Various Acts and Other Noteworthy Memoranda**

1646<sup>57</sup>

adh<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Page A1 is omitted here because it is a later manuscript transcription of this page.

<sup>57</sup> Various pen marks, including De Hooges's initials are visible on this page. Most, if not all, appear to be experiments with the ink and/or cut of the pen.

<sup>58</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

**[Notes and a Partial List of Acts and Memoranda in the First Series of Folios]**

	[ ] <sup>59</sup>	
	D'Hoogens has [sold to] A[bra]ham Clock <sup>60</sup> 2 horses which	
	have [ ] foals [and] 2 cows and calves <sup>61</sup> .....	f[olio] 1[ ]
[ ] 46	D'Hoogens sold 2 horses to Jan Tomenss <sup>62</sup> .....	f[olio] 1[ ]
	D'Hoogens sold two horses, one [to] Jan Janss Damen <sup>63</sup> , the	
	second to Jacob Wulfertss <sup>64</sup> at [f]162--10 .....	f[olio] 19 [ ]
2	D'Hoogens sold 3 horses to Michgiel Janss <sup>65</sup> .....	f[olio] 28 [ ]
2	2 horses from <i>Broer Cornelis</i> <sup>66</sup> . . . . f[olio] 28	
2	D'Hoogens [furnished] <sup>67</sup> the lord general <sup>68</sup> with two horses <i>nota</i>	
	<i>ad</i> 175 [f]200 .....	f[olio] [ ]
3	One old horse to Bogardes <sup>69</sup> on behalf of Michgiel Janss	
2 46	Sold 2 horses to Abraham Clock, folio 20 in the ledger, for .....	f361 [ ]
	2 more cows, additionally,	
	<i>Vuylle Spiegel</i> , <sup>70</sup> an ox and 46 for 55 gu[i]ld[ers], f[olio] 33	
46 47	2 old mares drowned at Tomas Cornelis's, folio 36	
46	One cow sold to Peter Claess <sup>71</sup> for 115 [guilders] - folio 61	

<sup>59</sup> One or more lines have been lost. Text at the other edges of the page has been lost due to fire damage as well, which has been noted in the same manner.

<sup>60</sup> Abraham Clock. For a biographical note, see Arnold J. F. Van Laer, ed. and trans., *The Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts: Being the Letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and other Documents Relating to the Colony of Rensselaerswyck*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1908), 833.

<sup>61</sup> There is only a helping verb in the manuscript, but this refers to the transaction detailed on page A39. The transcription reads, "D'Hoogens heeft A[bra]ham Clock 2 peerde[n] d[er] met [ ] vullen sijn van 2 coebeeste[n] e[n] calve[n]."

<sup>62</sup> Presumably Jan Thomasz; for a brief biographical note about him see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 834.

<sup>63</sup> This may be an error by De Hooges; he may well have meant Jan Claesz Damen, the trader in Manhattan.

<sup>64</sup> Jacob Wolfertsz, or Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven.

<sup>65</sup> Michiel Jansz. For biographical notes, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 499n, 818.

<sup>66</sup> "*Broer Cornelis*" or Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick. For biographical notes, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 255n-56n, 809.

<sup>67</sup> There is no verb in the manuscript.

<sup>68</sup> Director General of New Netherland.

<sup>69</sup> Presumably Rev. Everardus Wilhelmus Bogardus. For a biographical note, see Edward Tanjore Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America (Formerly Ref. Prot. Dutch Church), 1628-1878*, 3rd ed. (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1879), 187-88. For more thorough treatments, see Willem Frijhoff, "The Healing of a Lay Saint: Evert Willemsz. Bogardus's Conversion between Personal Achievement and Social Legitimation," *de Halve Maen* 68, Spring (1995): 1-12; Frijhoff, *Wegen van Evert Willemsz.: Een Hollands Weeskind op Zoek naar Zichzelf, 1607-1647* (Nijmegen: Sun, 1995); Frijhoff, *Fulfilling God's Mission: The Two Worlds of Dominie Everardus Bogardus, 1607-1647*, *The Atlantic World*, no. 14 (Boston: Brill, 2007).

<sup>70</sup> Claes Teunisz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 830. See also Janny Venema, ed. and trans., *Deacon's Accounts, 1652-1674, First Dutch Reformed Church of Beverwijck/Albany, New York*, Historical Series of the Reformed Church in America, ed. Donald J. Bruggink, no. 28 (Rockport, Maine: Picton, 1998), 39n.

<sup>71</sup> Pieter Claesz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 810.

[Page A3, continued]

<sup>172</sup> 1646 sold Rickert Rutgers<sup>73</sup> a mare at 3 years, folio 62, for..... f162 -- [    ]  
 1646 furnished Jans Barentss<sup>74</sup> with an ox, folio 64, for..... f60 -- [    ]  
 D'Hoogens has received merchandise<sup>75</sup> from Wincoop,<sup>76</sup> folio  
 21, 22, 23  
 Wincoop's debtors ..... folio 24  
 Tomes Schambers's<sup>77</sup> Contract f[olio] 25

<sup>72</sup> This and the subsequent line were written lower on the page with a symbol indicating they should have been inserted here.

<sup>73</sup> Rijck Rutgers. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 819.

<sup>74</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 831.

<sup>75</sup> "Carkesoenen," or "Cargazoenen," a term which came to describe the trade goods and supplies for trade sent out in vessels of the Dutch East and West India companies to colonies and outposts.

<sup>76</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas Chambers. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 835.

[ ]<sup>78</sup>

[guilders - stivers - pennies]

387	-	13	-	8
289	-	19	-	
297	-	14	-	8
587	-	133	-	8

f.1:-[ ]

	4
	30
	10
	20
126	8
10	100
32	84
6	14
30	6
60	35
10	2
	8
10	36
33	32
6	40
13	16
15	91
20	<del>16</del> <sup>79</sup>
	2
14	2
	20
30	2
12	15
2	13
34	20
8	4
20	49
2	20
6	
6	70
8	14
2	28
20	1
100	33
20	8
20	30
675	152
1414	11
2089	77
3	50
657   7	3
	25
328-7	16
	108
164-3-8	85
	20
	1414

3 more	2 less	1 less	
4 less	the number	4 more	
1 more	2 more	3 less	

17-5
7
24-5

[...]<sup>80</sup>

217-12
9-4
226-16
115
102-12
29 - 7
246-19
226-16
20- 3

[...]<sup>81</sup>  
1645

<sup>78</sup> One or more lines destroyed by fire.  
<sup>79</sup> Number is crossed through.  
<sup>80</sup> At least three sets of De Hooges's initials.  
<sup>81</sup> Two calligraphic renditions of the letter "H" above the year "1645," with another set of De Hooges's initials below.

[Page A5]

[ ]<sup>82</sup>  
[mi]sericordia est sextuplex

Nota Hoogens [ ]  
Jan Peterss<sup>83</sup> [ ]  
contract  
Jan de Neger's<sup>84</sup> pay

1 – *præveniens* }  
2 *pariens* }  
3 - *condonans* }  
4 - *renovans* }  
5 - *continuans* }  
6 - *coronans* }

13th of January in year 1647 A.D.

Jan Huijbertz<sup>85</sup> debit  
Per expenses of the  
Ship *Rensselaerswijck*  
Anno 1643 f[olio] 50  
Jan Tomenss's<sup>87</sup> agreement f[olio] 19  
Hoogens's letters to Jan Dame[n]<sup>88</sup>  
Beernt Peterss's<sup>89</sup> agreement f[olio] 20  
*Constabel's*<sup>90</sup> agreement f[olio] 20  
Jan Beertnss's<sup>91</sup> contract f[olio] 20  
+Wincop's<sup>93</sup> beaver [pelt] records f[olio] 21  
On the obligations thereof f[olio] 22  
Roeloff Corneliss<sup>94</sup> agrees to put a  
roof on Cornelis Segerss's<sup>96</sup> barn f[olio] 22

Credit to the same  
Per sewing clothes  
for Pieter Wijnkoop<sup>86</sup> f[olio] [ ]  
Jan Huijberts's 21 g[ui]l[der] balance f[olio] [ ]  
The opinion of the patroon about the  
contracts f[olio] [ ]  
Patroon's contract with Peter  
Corneliss<sup>92</sup> established f[olio] [ ]  
Quarrel between D'Hooges  
and Verdonck<sup>95</sup> f[olio] [ ]

<sup>82</sup> One or more lines lost to fire damage.

<sup>83</sup> Perhaps Jan Pietersen van Holstein, the woodsawyer from Husum. For a biographical note, see John O. Evjen, *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674; with Appendices on Scandinavians in Mexico and South America, 1532-1640, Scandinavians in Canada, 1619-1620, Some Scandinavians in New York in the Eighteenth Century, German Immigrants in New York, 1630-1674* (Minneapolis: K. C. Holter, 1916), 266-268.

<sup>84</sup> "De Neger" indicates African Ancestry. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 835-36.

<sup>85</sup> Jan Huybertsz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 833.

<sup>86</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijnkoop.

<sup>87</sup> Presumably Jan Thomasz. See note 62.

<sup>88</sup> Presumably Jan Claesz Damen. See note 63.

<sup>89</sup> Barent Pietersz Kojemans. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 821.

<sup>90</sup> Andries "Constapel" Herbertsz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 829-30.

<sup>91</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

<sup>92</sup> Pieter Cornelisz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 811.

<sup>93</sup> See note 86.

<sup>94</sup> Roelof Cornelisz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 811.

<sup>95</sup> Adriaen van der Donck. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 824.

<sup>96</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 833.

[Page A5, continued]

Wincop's <sup>97</sup> beaver [pelt] inventory	f[olio] 22	The matter concerning construction between	
Michael Janss <sup>98</sup> [permission] to pass <sup>99</sup>		Cornelis Segerss <sup>100</sup> and [Jan de]	
Hoogens has accepted Winkop's <sup>101</sup>		<i>Timmerman</i> <sup>102</sup>	f[olio] [ . . . ]
merchandise	f[olio] 23	Toenis Cornelis's <sup>103</sup> contract	f[olio] [ . . . ]
Tomes Koenick <sup>104</sup> at d'Hooges's			
W[edding]	f[olio] 24		
Balance of Win[c]op['s] <sup>105</sup>		Letter of recommendation of	
Merchandise	f[olio] 24	Steven Smit <sup>106</sup>	f[olio] [     ]
Tomes Schamber <sup>107</sup> rent	f[olio] 25		
# <sup>108</sup>	D'Hooges executed a debenture of [f]134[:8:8     ] for V[er]donck <sup>109</sup> to Wincop <sup>110</sup>		
	Verdonck's <sup>111</sup> debit from credit		[folio] [     ]
	Verdonck's <sup>112</sup> agreement with Cornelis Segerss <sup>113</sup>		[folio] [     ]
nota 1	D'Hooges sold <sup>114</sup> 2 mares which have foals of [     ] <sup>115</sup>		
	2 cows of which one has calved and the other will calve		
	for 600 --- guilders		
			f[olio] [     ]
	De Hooges became surety for [a loan of] 75 guilders for Verdonck <sup>116</sup>		
			f[olio] [     ]

<sup>97</sup> See note 86.

<sup>98</sup> Michiel Jansz. See note 65.

<sup>99</sup> The manuscript appears to read "Micghiel Janss *passeel*"; the precise meaning is unclear but this entry refers to the first document on page A51, so clearly it is a reference to permission for him to leave and return.

<sup>100</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>101</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop. See note 86.

<sup>102</sup> Jan Cornelisz (van Leyden), "the Carpenter." For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 821. The transcription reads "*Queste van timmere[n] tussche[n] Cornelis Segerss va[n] timmer[en]*," though the document seems quite obviously to refer to the dispute on page A26.

<sup>103</sup> Teunis Cornelisz van Vechten. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 815.

<sup>104</sup> Thomas Coningh. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 836.

<sup>105</sup> See note 86.

<sup>106</sup> De Hooges seems to have made an error here. This is a reference to the letter he wrote on behalf of Lucas rather than Steven Smit, which appears on page A33.

<sup>107</sup> Presumably Thomas Chambers, see note 77.

<sup>108</sup> De Hooges inserted hashmarks here, by which symbol he usually noted that he intended the text which followed to be inserted at a particular point indicated by a corresponding mark elsewhere on the page but there is no such corresponding mark or indication on the surviving manuscript of where he meant this text to be inserted.

<sup>109</sup> Adriaen van der Donck. See note 95.

<sup>110</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop.

<sup>111</sup> Adriaen van der Donck. See note 95.

<sup>112</sup> Adriaen van der Donck. See note 95.

<sup>113</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>114</sup> The text here is not clear with respect to whether De Hooges bought or sold the livestock, but this entry appears to refer to the receipt on page A39 which clearly notes that Abraham Clock bought the livestock from De Hooges. Though this entry indicates the price was 600 guilders and the receipt on page A39 records a price of 610 guilders the transactions are, in every other respect, identical.

<sup>115</sup> There is particularly heavy damage at the right margin at this part of the page.

<sup>116</sup> Adriaen van der Donck. See note 95.



[Page A5, continued]

	Account of Abraham Clock <sup>117</sup>	f[olio] [ ]
<i>nota</i>	Abraham Clock owes D'Hoogens 46 guilders	f[olio] [ ]
<i>nota</i>	Jan Tomenss <sup>118</sup> bought 2 horses [and] one foal from D'Hoogens for 330 [guilders]	f[olio] [ ]
	Coorn <sup>119</sup> promises to relinquish the Rensselaerswijck yacht	f[olio] [ ]
	The agreement for the mills at the dam on the 5[th] <i>kil</i> <sup>120</sup>	f[olio] [ ]
	The matter between D'Hoogens's [farmers] <sup>121</sup>	f[olio] [ ]
<i>nota</i>	D'Hoogens sold one horse each to Jan Janss Damen <sup>122</sup>	
	and Jacob Wulfterss <sup>123</sup> at 162 [guilders] – 10 [stivers, each]	f[olio] [ ]
	Beernt P[iet]erss's <sup>124</sup> mill contract	f[olio] [ ]

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<sup>117</sup> See note 60.

<sup>118</sup> Jan Thomasz. See note 62.

<sup>119</sup> Nicolaes Coorn. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 831-32.

<sup>120</sup> "*Kil*" is a Dutch word—no longer in common usage in the Netherlands—for an estuary. The word was frequently used in the names of streams and creeks in New Netherland. For more, see Venema, ed. and trans., *Deacon's Accounts*, xvii.

<sup>121</sup> This word is illegible; the transcriber surmised that it was "*boeren*."

<sup>122</sup> Perhaps De Hooges meant Jan Claesz Damen. See note 63.

<sup>123</sup> Jacob Wolfertsz. See note 64.

<sup>124</sup> Barent Pietersz Kojjemans. See note 89.

[Page A6]

[Typescript with manuscript additions]<sup>125</sup>*Rensselaer MSS.* Copy of various Acts 1646.

*Folio 1* Legal procedure<sup>126</sup> against the abuse of outstanding [accounts] in the Colony of  
*(marked* Rensselaerswyck . . . , etc. . 1643  
*[p.] 24)* O'Callaghan Hist[ory of] N[ew] Neth[erland]. [Volume] I, p. 442, app[endix] I

[ ]1. 6a Contract for building mill. 31 Jan 1646. Incorrectly d[ated in]<sup>127</sup>  
 [(m)arked O'Call[aghan] Hist[ory] of N[ew] Netherland]<sup>128</sup>  
 [p]. 35) Old mill in "Vijffde kill" inconvenient and useless. . . .

I have, therefore, in the name of the Lord Patroon, in accordance with the previous proposals to the court, seen fit to make a contract with Pieter Cornelissen,<sup>129</sup> to construct a horse mill in the *Greenen Bos*. . . .<sup>130</sup> (*provisions as to building – chie[fly] half and half*. . . .) When it should happen, at some point after the mill has been completed, that some part of {it} needs to be repaired, Pieter Cornelissen<sup>131</sup> will work one day for {him}self and the next day for the Lord Patroon and so forth, and the Lord Patroon will provide him with one *Rijxdaelder*<sup>132</sup> for his [Cornelissen's] day [working for the patroon].

And if it should happen, as we anticipate it will, {that} there will be so much demand that this mill alone cannot [adequately] serve the {colony or} or people outside the colony, then Pieter Cornelisen will retain the sole authority and privilege to construct {another}<sup>133</sup> such [mill] in a joint venture {with the} Lord Patroon, {under these} [terms], or on such conditions as have now or shall be, at that time, established. . . .

A de Hooges  
 Pieter Cornelissen

<sup>125</sup> This page was inserted into the volume at a later date. Italicized English text is also in English in the original typescript or manuscript.

<sup>126</sup> "Recht Gebruik" in the manuscript ("rechtsgebruik" in modern Dutch): legal or judicial usage or custom.

<sup>127</sup> The original document is damaged. Chevrons indicate lost text which has been supplied from A18-A19 below.

<sup>128</sup> A partial and fairly loose translation of the full document is in E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland; or New York under the Dutch*, 2 vols. (New York: G. S. Appleton and Co., 1846-1848), I:388n-389n as well as Joel Munsell, *The Annals of Albany*, 10 vols. (Albany: J. Munsell, 1850-59), I:201.

<sup>129</sup> Pieter Cornelisz. See note 92

<sup>130</sup> Van Laer and others have translated "*Greenen Bos*" as "Pine Grove," though it has also often been rendered as "Greenbush" which is closer in sound (though not in meaning) to the Dutch.

<sup>131</sup> Pieter Cornelisz. See note 92.

<sup>132</sup> A monetary unit equal to fifty stivers or two and one half guilders.

<sup>133</sup> This typescript lacks the word "*Anderen*" that appears in the manuscript on page A19.

[Page A7]

**{Legal Procedure<sup>134</sup>} against the {Abuse of Outstanding Accounts} in the Colony of Rensselaerswijck<sup>135</sup>**

{N.B.} No accommodation [is] {to be given} to the consciences or [latitude to] the discretion of the farmers, but the law [is] to be strictly enforced.

[ ]<sup>136</sup>

The act [is as] follows:

Legal procedure against the abuse of outstanding accounts, for the principal farmers as well as all others.

In the *Redress of Abuses and Faults Colony of Rensselaerswijck*<sup>137</sup> which was published by the Lord Patroon (including various developments, chief among them the decline [in the matter] of unsettled<sup>138</sup> accounts), particular attention will be paid here to the form and manner in which these accounts must be drawn up.

In this context the issue, [of] who ought to maintain the record of these accounts and who does not have to, arises.

That the farmers and inhabitants of the colony should suppose that the *Comijs*<sup>139</sup> of the Lord Patroon ought to be compelled to maintain the record of these [accounts] for them is in error, because he [the *Comijs*] does not work for the general public but is employed by the patroon. Consequently, his work is really to examine—provisionally, in the name of the patroon—all of the accounts in the colony, and to send them—after

<sup>134</sup> "Recht Gebruik" in the manuscript ("rechtsgebruik" in more modern Dutch): legal or judicial usage or custom. In one translation of this document this is rendered "Legal Custom" and "Lawful Custom" O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 442. In a later translation (or, more accurately, a partial revision of the earlier translation) it is given as "Proper remedy": Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 707.

<sup>135</sup> This is a translation of the original page heading in the manuscript. The edges of this and subsequent pages are damaged (particularly at the top). Missing text which has been supplied from page A6 in the transcription as well as from translations made before most of the damage occurred, is in chevrons. See O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:442-47; Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 707-14.

<sup>136</sup> Note in margin rendered illegible by fire damage.

<sup>137</sup> Translation in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 686-97.

<sup>138</sup> Or, "unliquidated," "ongeliquideerde."

<sup>139</sup> "*Comijs*" or "*commis*" is often translated as "commissary." Nissenson observes that "*commis*" referred to a position which was more of a "commercial rather than a political agent" of a company, or, as in this case, the patroon. Van Laer concludes that there is "no satisfactory English term," for the position as it was used in reference to an agent of a Dutch company, colony, fort or patroonship. He continues, "other writers have translated it as *commissary*, which is not bad when understood in the sense of a person having charge of stores or provisions, except for the fact that it creates confusion because the same word has been used by these writers and by the early English colonial governors in their official instructions to render the term *commissaris*, applying to magistrates of the local court at Albany." *Commissen* in Rensselaerswijck also had some administrative duties and powers; indeed, during the 1640s and 1650s the distinction between *commis* and director seems occasionally to have been blurred. Nevertheless, the primary role of the *commis* was as an agent for trade. De Hooges spelled the title variously, e.g., "commijs," "*commis*," "*commies*." See also Samuel George Nissenson, *The Patroon's Domain*, New York State Historical Association Series (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 17-20; Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 27-28.

[Page A7, continued]

they have been reviewed, and his advice and opinion has been added—over to the Lord Patroon, for him to approve, challenge, or reject them.

Although he [the *comijs*] is accountable to the patroon in particular, he is accountable to the inhabitants, to the extent that he must furnish them with an accounting of all goods under his management (regarding store merchandise or other goods which they receive from him). However, with respect to the accounts [concerning property] under the management and direction of the farmers and all of the others who have charge of any goods in which the patroon has a complete or partial interest—or in which the [West India] Company has an interest—such [accounts] are not to be provided by [the *comijs*] to [the colonists], but are to be rendered by them to him.

As it is right that individuals be held to answer for their actions, and as an outsider cannot discern what is right or wrong in the matter, therefore, from this it necessarily follows, as is customary throughout the world:

That all farmers or others, who are in possession of any goods of the patroon must maintain [records of] their own accounts, and present them to the patroon, or his *Comijs*, for evaluation.

[Page A8]

{Should they say that they are not qualified to do so, then} they ought not to have accepted or under{taken} [the management of the patroon's property], {much less} to have allowed it to continue in this way for so many years, {lest otherwise} the inability [to meet their obligations] as well as the {inconvenience, or} loss {resulting} from it {may fall on them,} and they remain obligated, {notwithstanding,} to render {account.}

It is not a lack of ability [on their part] but rather an evil {desire} to cheat the patroon and to leave [the evidence] at some remote location,<sup>140</sup> believing that that they can thus {conceal} everything from him, [and that it] will remain concealed and that he will not learn about it.

That it has been within their abilities [to keep records of their accounts and submit them] annually, {and remains so,} will become clear. But that they have other intentions in this matter, {that will} also quickly become apparent.

Under this cloak of simpleness, the following reprehensible deeds lie concealed:

1st. That they make themselves trustees of property which is under {their} direction and administration and for which they are [therefore] obliged to account, [but] do not submit that accounting.

2nd. That they [act as though they] may incur expenses and make expenditures as they please.

clothes  
of [ ]  
drink<sup>141</sup> 3rd. That they include among the expenses of the farm their own expenditures which they make for clothing, household items, and {unlawful} beverages.

4[th.] That they [act as though they] can purloin as much wheat and other produce as they {please.}

All of which have been denounced by the patroon, and are inconsistent with the law and the conscience; so the problem lies not only in the accounting method, but [in that people] depart {in} this {way} from their contracts and oaths.

<sup>140</sup> In Dutch, "*en[de] daer meede op eenig kruijswech te] setten.*" Van Laer translates this, "and thereby to place him [the patroon] at a crossroads." Given the sentence construction, I believe "*op eenig kruijswech*"—"at some crossroads"—to refer to a *kruijswech* in the sense of a remote location, rather than "at a crossroads" in the sense of a moment of decision, as is common in English.

<sup>141</sup> Marginal note appears to have been added later.

[Page A8, continued]

not to engage  
in trading

They have made promises to him, in accordance with the first article of {the} conditions [under which] the late Gerrit de Reux<sup>142</sup> [agreed to farm in

Rensselaerswijck,] to which all [subsequent] con{tracts} have made reference down to [the time of] the arrival of the {farmers} from Breda. (This agreement with the late Gerrit de Reux, as it pertains to the [patroon's right of] first refusal<sup>143</sup> [with respect to] grain, they have known—very shrewdly and {impertinently}<sup>144</sup>—to cite; [they have] also [referred to the fact] that there were cop{ies} of it in the colony. [It is] to these copies, as with the original in his possession that he, the patroon,<sup>145</sup> {is} appealing[)]. It can be seen at {beginning of} that document [that they are bound] by an agreement [to which they have] sworn to adhere, on penalty of the forfeit[ure] of the stipulated wages and property, that neither they nor their people shall trade in forbidden pelts, either those of otters or of beavers, so as to receive gifts or other goods [for them], without the express conse[nt of the] patroon.

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<sup>142</sup> Gerrit Theusz de Reux. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 808. The contract between Van Rensselaer and De Reux became a model which Van Rensselaer used for subsequent contracts. See Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 36-41. For the text of the agreement, see "Contract between Kiliaen van Rensselaer and Gerrit Theusz de Reux," 15 June 1632, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 193-95.

<sup>143</sup> Van Rensselaer had included in his contract with De Reux the patroon's right of first refusal with respect to the sale of grain in the patroonship, but had not specified the price; he insisted this had merely been an oversight. Farmers in the patroonship had attempted to use this omission to their advantage, angering the patroon. See Janny Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer (1586-1643): Designing a New World* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 260. The wording here is "*inlossinge der graene[n]*," which could be literally translated "redemption of grain," but he is referring to his "*Recht van inlossinge*" or his "right of first refusal" or "right of preemption."

<sup>144</sup> It is likely that some damage to the document here predates the earlier translations and that Van Laer surmised from a few letters the word which he translated as "impertinent."

<sup>145</sup> There may be one or more words missing here, due to damage to the document which appears to have predated the first published translation.

[Page A9]

{So that all those who have done so have forfeited their property,} unless they have received consent to do so from [the patroon.] When they show him [proof of having received] that [consent], he will honor {it,} provided that the conditions upon which he granted it to them have been satisfied:

forfeiture      Namely, [that they must give to the patroon] half of the profit each time they buy and sell [pelts]. It follows that they must make an honest accounting and statement of their profits and credit him with his half. If they now say that they cannot make such an accounting, then the patroon will hold them, in accordance with their contract, to the forfeiture of their property. They are given a choice to accept one or the other, and each year hereafter, and this is the first.

Coming now to the remaining points of their contracts, which they twist completely around:

Corler<sup>146</sup>      Brant Peelen<sup>147</sup> and Cornelis van Breuckel,<sup>148</sup> are under a particular obligation to render an accounting for the goods which came aboard the *Calmer Sleutel*<sup>149</sup> and the *Waepe[n] van Noorwege[n]*,<sup>150</sup> which included various goods that they traded for beavers [and] of which Arendt van Curler<sup>151</sup> has written that not twelve [pelts] came to his hands. In addition to that, they remain bound and accountable because of their surety bond for Arendt van Curler, whom the patroon had sent [to Rensselaerswijck] only as an assistant, and [whom] they elevated to be the *Comijs*<sup>152</sup> under a bond of surety, as is evident from their own signatures.

In addition, they completely turn each of these following points on its head. Their contract stipulates that they shall pay, out of the common yield<sup>153</sup> and profits:

- i. The wages of the laborers and servants;<sup>154</sup>
- ii. Then, their board;
- iii. Then, their own expenses, as those relate to provisions on the farm—their contract containing nothing concerning drink, but simply wages and board. With respect to beverages they must get along, as other farmers do, with milk

<sup>146</sup> Arent van Curler. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 817.

<sup>147</sup> For a biographical note on Brant Peelen, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 806.

<sup>148</sup> Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick. See note 66.

<sup>149</sup> *Keys of Calmer*.

<sup>150</sup> *Arms of Norway*.

<sup>151</sup> Arent van Curler. See note 146.

<sup>152</sup> For “*Comijs*,” see note 139.

<sup>153</sup> “Common yield” here means the gross harvest, prior to the division between a farmer’s share and the patroon’s share.

<sup>154</sup> Young male servants, literally “boys,” “*jongens*.”

[Page A10]

{and ordinary} beer, (though, {during the harvest, good beer,} as an exception) and for the remainder, whatever the river {affords.}

iii. That they have committed themselves to {pay} from the common {yield}<sup>155</sup> for all wear and tear on wagons, plows—in sum {all damages} and losses.  
 [ ] of  
 [ ] plow,  
 the same

laborers' wages [fall] on the patroon. Because of all of this, most people have defaulted on all of the foregoing, not only letting the laborers' wages {fall on} the patroon, who has, with difficulty, assumed these for them, but moreover, taking—on account, without paying money—such merchandise as the *Comijs*,<sup>156</sup> Arendt van Corler,<sup>157</sup> has provided [them].

The *Comijs* was tricked; no settlement of accounts to be given before; and only [after] accounting has previously been made by the masters<sup>158</sup> From this it clearly appears, that in addition to all their debauchery in wine and strong drink, we should also lik[e] to insist upon, and have much to demand in, the settling of accounts; it was he, the patroon, who [furnished] their first equipment, [made] the arrangements for their homes and livestock, initially [furnished] the wagons and plows, [provided] for necessities such as stockings and {shoes}, linen, [and] wool, as the invoices he sent {can} demonstrate. Yet, instead of returns for these necessities and profits from the farms, {he has} large sums to pay, which he has no intention of [paying]. His *Comijs* is forbidden to settle any account with masters or laborers before {the} masters have first calculated and settled their accounts with their laborers, and [have done so] annually, and the masters have, accordingly, managed their accounts in the following manner (the *Comijs* having been instructed to refrain from taking charge of {anyone else's affairs,} and from providing any statements of account except for those things which he has {in his charge}, but rather, [he has been instructed] to demand, in the name of the patroon,<sup>159</sup> that all open accounts be regulated in this {manner} by the farmers and others obliged to make an accounting):

First, those whose [contracts stipulate] a half-share of the profits and {losses} shall, then, keep their accounts [in this way]:

<sup>155</sup> For “common yield,” see note 153.

<sup>156</sup> For “*Comijs*,” see note 139.

<sup>157</sup> Arent van Curler. See note 146.

<sup>158</sup> Dutch: “*meijners*.”

<sup>159</sup> One of the earlier translations indicates that the words missing here were lost to document damage which predated the fire; O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:444.



[Page A11]

- [1<sup>st</sup>] {Each year, report} honestly {the whole amount of grain} and other produce {obtained} that year at the farm; and those who cannot do so, will {incur} damages and the confiscation [of property].
- ii<sup>nd</sup> The same [with respect to] their gains from the sale of swine, {milk,} butter and other such things.
- iii The same [with respect to] grain they have furnished and sold to free persons in the colony.

From those, [the following] must be deducted and disbursed by them, [in keeping with] the terms of their contract:

- i. The wages of the farm laborers, with the annual 16 guilders<sup>160</sup> for the patroon;
- ii. Board for themselves and the people [on their farm];
- iii. Wear and tear on wagons, plows, repairs to houses, hay barracks, fences<sup>161</sup> and other such things.

These having been deducted, an accounting [must be] made, of how much then remains, indicating the patroon's proper half to him or to his *Comijs*,<sup>162</sup> [the patroon] having previously received the tithe<sup>163</sup> from it.

With respect to the proper half of the remaining balance [which] the farmer is to receive, the following must then be deducted:

- |           |   |  |
|-----------|---|--|
| [ h]alf   | i | That which he has received annually in clothing and household items for himself; |
| [ ] their |   |  |
| [ ] of    |   |  |
| [ ]       |   |  |
- ii That which he and his laborers have received in the year from the patroon's store ([for his laborers] he must, in turn, deduct that [amount from their accounts]);

<sup>160</sup> Van Rensselaer required patroonship colonists who hired the laborers, whom the patroon or his agents had recruited and sent over to his patroonship, to pay him sixteen guilders annually to cover the expenses related to recruiting such laborers. See Arent van Curler's commission, 12 May 1639, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 433-34.

<sup>161</sup> Or palisades, or stockade posts, "*palessaede[n]*."

<sup>162</sup> For "*Comijs*," see note 139.

<sup>163</sup> More literally, "the tenth penny:" a share in grain harvested, which, according to Dutch practice, local magistrates could demand—at least nominally for the support of the church. Nissenson states that according to Dutch practice, this was actually an eleventh share in the harvest. See Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 39-40.

[Page A11, continued]

{iii} That which [the farmer] and the people [on his farm] have spent annually on wine and  
 "[ t]he strong drink, for which the patroon is not required, according to the contract, to bear  
 consumption half of the costs. The patroon has determined, absolutely, that all the wine which has  
 [of strong been consumed in the colony and paid for with grain or other common<sup>164</sup> items, should  
 drink ] not be [paid for ] with common [grain or other items], much less from that which  
 costs for belongs to him, but from  
 drinking must  
 [ ] be  
 paid by him  
 [the farmer]

---

<sup>164</sup> "Common" here means items in the possession of colonists which were not owned by them exclusively but in which the patroon lawfully owned a share. For "common yield," see note 153.

[Page A12]

{that of the person who consumed them, whether man or woman,} master or laborer, [the patroon] having {promised no one such,} much less so, [in such] liberal quantities as many have {consumed.}

[ ]  
[in]crease,  
died [ ]  
are traded  
each year  
[ ]

As to the multiplication of {livestock,} each farmer shall precisely declare the [animals] that have died each year, those that {have been} bred, {and} those that have been furnished to others. And it is the judgment of the patroon that the price [at which he has the right] of first refusal for cattle, applies to those that calve in their third year and not in the second year, in the same way as their value has been established by the [West India] Company, on which the [patroon's right of] first refusal is based, [which] is to be understood as cattle which calve in their third year. Those which calve in their second year {gradually} grow smaller and produce smaller offspring,<sup>165</sup> [they] should be accepted at only half [the price,] or a little more.

The wheat  
sold at a  
higher price  
than the price  
at which the  
patroon had  
[the right of]  
first refusal

The wheat  
which is thus  
delivered to  
the H<sup>166</sup>  
Comp[any]  
[or is]  
otherwise  
delivered, not  
permitted

Because the farmers usually employ incorrect {means} and the wrong channels<sup>167</sup>—as for [example], when grain was in short supply and in greater demand, many of them sent a great deal of it off and sold it {at a} higher price than the [price at which the patroon had the] right of first refusal, or {recklessly and in gross} had it delivered, by their own direction, to the representatives of the [West India] Company, without receiving specific payment for it, or obtaining specific notes of exchange or specific letters of credit for it, but delivered it in this manner and without dividing it<sup>168</sup>—therefore, the patroon judges, as is just, that he is not obligated to repay [the farmers] {for all} the wheat which has been delivered to {the company} in this manner, before the credits [for it have come] into his treasury. To this end, the farm[ers] are warned that from the beginning<sup>169</sup> down to this time—that being about th{irteen} years—in all that time, [he has] only once received a cash payment, of fifteen hundred guilders; the remainder has been {credited} to him against goods and provisions delivered to the farmers and the people of the colony, who {have had the same charged to the patroon} in the amount of {two to three}

<sup>165</sup> More literally, they "produce a smaller kind" or "smaller sort," "*kleijnen aert*."

<sup>166</sup> De Hooges's symbol for the West India Company.

<sup>167</sup> Or "use contrary {means} and enter on incorrect paths," "*contrarie m[ ] gebruiken e[nde] v[er]keerde weegen inne ga[en]* . . ."

<sup>168</sup> By "without dividing it," he means, without first having separated out the patroon's share.

<sup>169</sup> That is, the founding of the patroonship.

[Page A13]

H<sup>170</sup>

thousand {guilders, without naming man or horse.} These accounts must {first} be analyzed, [to see] who has to {pay} these sums, and who does not. No exceptions [will be made] nor will excuses from anyone prevail, [such as,] "I did not get this, [or] I did not get that," everyone wanting to wipe their slates clean<sup>171</sup> with words; and because some will owe more of this debt than others, this [matter of] where these sums are to come from must, still, first be cleared up or sorted out—because that which one [person] has furnished and another consumed, must be sorted out [by those] who are involved and not [by] the patroon himself. Neither can any monetary liability be laid to the patroon [for that] which has not arrived at his stores,<sup>172</sup> especially not if it has been furnished or delivered to the [West India] Company without his consent, and was received by them for the common account of the colony [of Rensselaerswijck], as appears to have happened. Those farmers would have done better to have taken immediate payment for it.

And because grain is now somewhat less in demand, and must, it appears, fall to a lower price, the patroon hereby also warns the farmers who have unsettled<sup>173</sup> accounts, that they must not make their deliveries in bulk, but deliver [them] separately [as follows]:

- i. The tithe;<sup>174</sup>
- [i]i. That which is for the wages of the laborers and annual expenses;
- [ii]i. The third or the half which goes to him, the patroon.

This accomplished, then the people [on their farms are to] receive that which rightly [belongs to them, and] accounts [are to be] settled every year, so that there is no falling behind.

<sup>170</sup> De Hooges's symbol for the West India Company. He usually used three vertical lines rather than two.

<sup>171</sup> Or, "cleanse himself," "*hem selve schoon maecken*."

<sup>172</sup> Or "office"; in this usage referring to the place which might, in twenty-first-century business jargon, be referred to as "Receiving," "*Comptoir*."

<sup>173</sup> Or, "liquid accounts," "*liquide Reeckeninge[n]*."

<sup>174</sup> For "tithe," see note 163.

[Page A14]

[ ] exercise [the right of first refusal] [ ]

higher price, [they] sell [it] themselves; lower price, [they] deliver [it to the patroon]

{They must offer the total number} of *muddes*<sup>175</sup> {of grain} to the patroon's *Commijs*,<sup>176</sup> requesting [a decision] from him, regarding whether he, {in the name} of the patroon, will exercise the [right of] first refusal {or declines} it. In this, the *Commijs* must conduct {himself according to} the orders of the patroon and according to anticipated {prices} and proceeds—what he should be able to get for it in cash, goods, or pelts, without extending credit—and under adverse [market] conditions, decline [to exercise the right of] first refusal, so that the farmers may [then] dispose of it to their greatest advantage. [T]his is the [patroon's] option under the right of first refusal. [B]ut that the farmers should try to overwhelm and overload the *Commijs* with goods when the price is low and sell [such goods] themselves when the price is higher, as many have done—that is in no way the {intention} of the patroon. Farmers are warned to watch their people carefully in this matter, and {not} to deliver mixed grain, that is, [grain] from which the tithe and the [patroon's] third or half have not [yet] been set apart or paid for, according to {the} terms of the contracts.

Old statements of account not to be accepted

Coming now to the conclusion, the patroon dec[lares that] he will not be accepting any account statements, which embrace {several} years. But every farmer, {or whoever,} shall submit to him [the patroon] an annual accounting, [specifying] the profits for each [particular] year, both for [the farmer], as well as for [the patroon].

The farmers must prove that the patroon gives credit for delivery of grain; otherwise [they are] on equal footing

[The patroon] also [declares] that all deliveries for which special payment has not been received, or which have not arrived at the patroon's stores,<sup>177</sup> will have to remain on an equal footing {in the} common accounts until everything has {been cleared up} and sorted out.

That no one has individual possessions as long as that person has unreconciled accounts

[The patroon also declares] that none among the inhabitants owns or can own any goods, freely or individually, except those who have rendered annual and {proper} accounts.

And if those people object to this, {the}

<sup>175</sup> A dry measure; with grain it is equal to four *schepels*, or 3.056 bushels.

<sup>176</sup> For “*Comijs*,” see note 139.

<sup>177</sup> For “stores,” see note 172.

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patroon—{who has not received} any statements of account from these people in all this time—{has much greater cause to complain.} Regarding their implication of the patroon's *Comijs*,<sup>178</sup> {saying} that the fault lies with him, it has previously been stated that [the *comijs*] is not in their service, but in the service of the patroon, and that he [the *comijs*] has no obligation to keep their accounts, but [rather] to keep the accounts of the patroon. And every person, whoever he may be—the patroon's *Comijs* as well as all others who are under contract, farmers, those paid by the year or day laborers—everyone must keep his own accounting. The *Comijs*-general in particular [must] render account to him, the patroon, and all others—with no exceptions—[must present] their accountings, first to the *Comijs*-general {for} his review, and then to seek his, the patroon's, approval.

[ ] secret  
[greedi]ness  
will be  
[forgotten]  
[ ] they  
would [be  
de]ceived<sup>179</sup>  
by the [ ]

If they should suppose that all of their hidden, greedy ways will be forgotten through the passage of time, they will be deceiving themselves.

[If] they follow a course to the west, in order to flee, [then] the patroon will chart a course from the east, in order to reveal their deceptions with the rising of the sun.

HHH  
[ ] does  
not want to  
[wrong]  
anyone, also  
does not want  
to be  
[wronged]

The patroon does not desire to cheat anyone in the world, much less the least of [the patroonship's] inhabitants, but just as he does not want to cheat anyone else, he also does not want to be deceived or cheated himself. Everyone whose conscience is not asleep or dead<sup>180</sup> will understand well what that means.

And all persons, whether masters or laborers, are warned that if they come with some accounting that they have wrung out of the *Comijs* through his ignorance, or through persuasion or threats, they will have to pass the examination in the foregoing articles before they will be able to receive satisfaction from the patroon, who, being far away from his property, is close to his losses.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>178</sup> For "*Comijs*," see note 139.

<sup>179</sup> The surviving manuscript in the margin here reads, "[ ]draegen," but given the text in the paragraph to which the marginal note refers, De Hooges undoubtedly meant to write "bedriegen."

<sup>180</sup> More literally "burnt out," "*afgebrant*."

<sup>181</sup> This is a play on words: "*die verre van sij[n] goet sijnde, naer bij sijne schaede is. . . .*"

[Page A16]

[ ] everyone must [ ] render account {In the meantime,} the patroon {heartily} [des]ires {a full settlement with} all who have {obtained} their goods, however {much, without} detriment to him. He will be fully {satisfied} and wish them all the best and prosperity {therewith.} Due to the negligence of [the *comijs*], neither he nor anyone else has submitted any accounts for five or more years. The patroon must first assert his rights with those who have not [submitt]ed any accounts to the *Com[ijs]*, in keeping with the obligation to which they are bound, [and which] was required of everyone in the colony. Their failings will not serve to lay blame on the *Comijs*, but to vindicate him. Nevertheless, [for] that which he was required to do with respect to the goods sent to him—and should have, ought to have, and could have done—he shall not be excused by the patroon.

The patroon requests to know annually what yield he receives [from] each [farmer] These matters being in such a state, you are asked to manage the {work} in such a way that in the future I may know precisely my annual profit from each farm, because I am not {liable} for losses; once I have supplied them with housing and {cattle}, they must find the means [to pay the] tithe,<sup>182</sup> the [laborers'] wages, and the patroon's half [and] third, without mi[xing] them, and then {they} must pay from their own [share] for the supplies that they need. And may God grant that good order and sound accounting may finally be maintained from year to year. {Done} this day, September 16, 1643, in Amsterdam, and signed with {his own} hand.

Whatever supplies they need ~~III~~ they must pay for [from] their own share

Was signed,

Kiliaen van Rensselaer,<sup>183</sup> Patroon [ ]  
Colony of Rensselaerswijck

Additionally,  
as follows on  
the other side  
of the page

<sup>182</sup> For “tithe,” see note 163.

<sup>183</sup> For a careful and insightful account of his life, see Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*.

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{There has been sent to me} here, {from} the Manhatans,<sup>184</sup> {an extract of} the contract of the late Gerrit de Reux,<sup>185</sup> from which {many} articles have been omitted. Let Arent [van Curler]<sup>186</sup> look through {the papers,} [to see] whether he has [a copy of] the complete contract. Otherwise, I have the original here, which I will send if necessary. I think, [however,] that Arent does have it. Farewell.

Below this stood,

KVR<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Manhattan.

<sup>185</sup> Gerrit Theusz de Reux. See note 142.

<sup>186</sup> See note 146.

<sup>187</sup> Initials of Kiliaen van Rensselaer.



[Page A18]

**[Memorandum of Contract with Pieter Cornelisz for the Construction of a Horse Mill in the *Greenen Bos*]<sup>188</sup>**

[ ] Horse  
mill at  
[Gre]enebos

Whereas, to the great detriment and [ ]<sup>189</sup> to the honorable patroon as well as to the inhabitants of the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck], the mill located at the *Vijffde {kil}*<sup>190</sup> is often, indeed, usually inoperable, or [unfit] for milling, whether because of {the} dam breaking or because of winter time, or because of high water and other causes. Furthermore, [it] is out of the way, to the disadvantage of the inhabitants because [of the distance] travelling back and forth.<sup>191</sup> I have, therefore, in the name of the Lord Patroon, in accordance with the previous proposals to the court, seen fit to make a contract with Pieter Cornelisz,<sup>192</sup> to construct a horse mill in the *Greenen Bos*,<sup>193</sup> in order not only [to supply] the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck] but also, if it were to happen that demand arise through shipping, quantities of ground grain [could be] to sent out to other regions. I have, therefore, come to an agreement with the aforementioned Pieter Cornelisz, on this, the 31st of January, 1646, on the following conditions:

As is proper

Peter Cornelisz will complete the ongoing work and [ ]<sup>194</sup> for *f*300.<sup>195</sup> Against that, I will contribute my [mill]stones for *f*200 and [we will] settle [accounts] with each other and make debits against each others' accounts.

I will provide Pieter Cornelisz or the commo[n ]<sup>196</sup> with two good work horses {the expense for which} we will each bear half and [we will also jointly] assume the [risk for them], half and half.

Beyond this, that which relates to the construction, lum[ber], the wages of laborers and other expenses, we {shall} bear jointly. In sum, [we will share] all profits and bear [all] losses together.

<sup>188</sup> The original document is damaged. Chevrons indicate lost text which has been supplied from the transcription on page A6 or from the partial and fairly loose translation of the document which is in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:388n-389n as well as Munsell, *Annals*, I:201.

<sup>189</sup> Word(s) missing due to document damage. Perhaps some damage to the document predated the earlier translation, since the lost word is omitted from that translation as well. See notes 127 and 128.

<sup>190</sup> "Fifth Kil." For "*kil*," see note 120.

<sup>191</sup> Or "the sailing back and forth," "*het hee[n] e[nde] wedervare[n]*."

<sup>192</sup> See note 92.

<sup>193</sup> For "*Greenen Bos*," see note 130.

<sup>194</sup> One or more words has been lost to document damage.

<sup>195</sup> At this point in the text there are several words crossed out and rendered illegible.

<sup>196</sup> The words lost due to damage to the manuscript here are also omitted from the earlier translation. See note 189. The text almost certainly indicated that the patroon was contributing horses not to Cornelisz as an individual, but to the mill as a joint (or corporate) venture of Cornelisz and the patroon.

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{When} it should happen, {at some point} after the mill has been completed, that some part of it {needs to be} repaired, Pieter Cornelisz will work one day for himself and the next day for the Lord Patroon and so forth, and the Lord Patroon will provide him with one *Rijxdaelder*<sup>197</sup> for [Cornelisz's] day [working for the patroon.

And if it should happen, as we anticipate it will, that there will be so much demand that this mill alone cannot [adequately] serve the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck] or people outside the colony, then Pieter Cornelisz will retain the sole authority and privilege to construct another such [mill], in a joint venture with the Lord Patroon, under these [terms], or on such conditions as have now or shall be, at that time, established.

All of the foregoing has been mutually confirmed, and subsequently signed by both parties.

Dated as above.

Antonij de Hooges  
Pieter Cornelisz

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<sup>197</sup> A Dutch monetary unit equal to fifty stivers or two and one half guilders.

[Page A20]

**[Memorandum of De Hooges's Dispute with Adriaen van der Donck]<sup>198</sup>**

Because I have weighty [reasons] to believe {that} Adriaen van der Donck,<sup>199</sup> might, when I am {away,} [and] in my absence, slanderously impugn me (because I know his natu[re] well: *mel in ore, fel in corde*), and fabricate lies [about me when talking] to others, I have therefore thought {well} to write the following as a memorandum so that time does not obscure recollections [and] the truth.

It happened, then, at the house of our honorable Domine Megapolensi,<sup>200</sup> Van der Donck was under contract with Michiel Jansz<sup>201</sup> to rent out<sup>202</sup> his<sup>203</sup> farm to him<sup>204</sup> for the remainder of his<sup>205</sup> lease, for {which purpose} they had come to the aforementioned place.

And, because I had been summoned with them, I informed him that, before he signed it over, he ought to take note that he must transfer [the farm] on the [same] conditions on which De Vos and Van Es [had leased their farms],<sup>206</sup> which he {denied}, asserting that addenda cannot violate a contract. Yet it did subsequently appear otherwise—[the story is] too long to recount here.

Secondly, as Michiel [Jansz] had previously wanted to stipulate—correctly so—that he wanted nothing to do with the previous losses and disagreements [relating to the farm], but [that] everything had to be {given} over to him [free and] clear. Consequently, Van der Donck and I fell into {talk} about the liabilities related to the los[s] of his

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<sup>198</sup> Document description is from Charles T. Gehring, ed., *A Guide to Dutch Manuscripts Relating to New Netherland in United States Repositories*, (Albany: University of the State of New York, State Department of Education, New York State Library, 1978), 107. A loose translation of this document, prepared before the document was damaged by fire—though mistakenly attributed to Arent van Curler—appears in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:469-70. Text in the manuscript lost due to fire damage which has been supplied from this loose translation, is in chevrons. Narratives of Van der Donck's dispute with De Hooges, and later with Van Slichtenhorst, are in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 824 and Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 204-205. See also, court minutes, 31 May and 5 June 1649 in Arnold J. F. Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*, (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1922), 78-81.

<sup>199</sup> See note 95.

<sup>200</sup> Reverend Johannes Megapolensis. For a biographical note, see Corwin, *Manual* (1879), 378-80.

<sup>201</sup> See note 65.

<sup>202</sup> Viz., sublet.

<sup>203</sup> Van der Donck's.

<sup>204</sup> Jansz.

<sup>205</sup> Van der Donck's.

<sup>206</sup> By the autumn of 1643, the leases signed by Andries de Vos, Cornelis van Nes (as well as Cornelis Segersz) had become the standard on which the patroon insisted for all new leases and all lease renewals. This was largely an effort on the patroon's part to eliminate what he saw as colonists' exploitation of perceived loopholes (such as the practice of calculating the patroon's share on the basis of net proceeds rather than gross harvest). See, for example, Killiaen van Rensselaer, "Redress of the Abuses and Faults in the Colony of Rensselaerswyck," 5 September 1643, in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 686-697.

[Page A20, continued]

house. He argued more firmly,<sup>207</sup> that liability for the house fell to the patroon's account, as he undertook to demonstrate from the laws. I, to the cont[rary], said "no," and I demonstrated that from his contract, which preempted all laws,<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> This phrase can be read in more than one way, e.g., "he hushed up more," or "he spoke in a manner intended to quiet his counterpart," or "he spoke more certainly to pacify his counterpart," "*Hij sust meer de vaste* [ .]"

<sup>208</sup> More literally, "that excluded all laws," or "excluded all rights," "*dat alle Rechte[n] excludeert*."

[Page A21]

{and contained a special condition, as it happened,} which I subsequently demonstrated to him.<sup>209</sup>

Other matters of discussion came up, but since none of them are worth telling—there having been no noteworthy points of difference—I will pass them over, as unprofitable [to repeat].

From the words reported above we fell into a quarrel and one thing led to another and I recounted to him some things for which he had blamed me behind my back, at which point he declared to me, in the presence of some honorable people, that those accounts were lies.

At this point the wolf<sup>210</sup> came out of his sheep's clothing! Now hostility removed the veil from her face! Now he made it clear that, without doubt, he had long nurtured a feeling of ingratitude in his heart, which is also evident from the accusations he has made against me. I have always been good to him. The day after the unfortunate event<sup>211</sup> occurred, namely the 18th of January, 1646, I sent him almost a *tonne*<sup>212</sup> of meat. I [also] took him and his wife into my house, until the February 23rd of the aforementioned year, and I let them have whatever I myself had—however good or bad it was. I state this, not to boast, [but] only in order to expose [what is behind] his mask.

To come to the central matter: in having been called a liar, because my blood was starting to boil, I found reason to make it clear to him that he should leave my house—as I was not willing

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<sup>209</sup> A significant number of words in this paragraph—at the right side of one manuscript page and on the top and right of the following—are lost. It is impossible to reconstruct the precise meaning of all of the sentences. The earlier translation helps only a little, perhaps because some of the damage predated the earlier translation frustrating the translator, or perhaps because the earlier translation is too loose to align it exactly with the remaining portion of the manuscript.

<sup>210</sup> More literally, “the fox.”

<sup>211</sup> The Van der Donck house had burned down.

<sup>212</sup> A barrel which likely had a capacity of a little over forty gallons.

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{to sit at the table} with such a person. For the same reason I added that, if he did not {remove} his chest to some other {place by Wednesday} the 21st ({this conversation} having taken place on the 19th of February) that I would {put} it outside. {He} did, however, have it removed.

He stayed another day after that, but {as} I had sworn that {he} would not eat more than six times at my [table], he was only present at mealtime once more.

He came to me, pretending to be sorrowful, wanting first, [before he left], an accounting of everything for which he was indebted to me. [I] responded to this [by saying] that his deceitfulness was well known to me, [and] that he had it in mind, [to use the accounting he had requested] in one way or another, just as had been suspected. But I said that he was going about this matter in the wrong way, because the Lord Patroon requires him {to} render an accounting to the *Comijs*<sup>213</sup> and he, [Van der Donck,] would rather first demand a statement of account from me. But I should certainly not expose myself to such risk from him.<sup>214</sup>

At the same time, I gave him these reasons why I had {told him} to leave, [in order to persuade him<sup>215</sup>]:

- i. To avoid quarrels.
- ii. Because my supplies were almost depleted.
- iii. For the sake of my freedom;<sup>216</sup> because sometimes I have things to write or to say, [about] which I do not want everyone to know.

I had set a date because on two previous occasions I had notified him that he should leave, but had not thus far seen him making any preparations to do so.

<sup>213</sup> For “*Comijs*,” see note 139.

<sup>214</sup> More literally, “that I should keep my finger out of his mouth”; “*dat ick mij[n] vinger uijt zijn mont wel soude houd[en].*”

<sup>215</sup> An unknown number of words are missing, due to fire damage. The bracketed portion of the text in this sentence is inferred from the context in the surviving text: “*Ter selver tijdt gaff ick hem tot over[ ] dese reedene[n], waer omme ik hem hebbe h[ ] [ver]trecke[n].*” Enough of the manuscript remains to discern that part of this clause was probably lost prior to the pre-fire translation. That translation reads: “I gave him, at the same time, these reasons why I had told him to quit.”

<sup>216</sup> Or privilege, “*vrijicheijt*.”

[Page A23]

{That I was so particular as to the day} [he had to leave, was] {because I} had sworn [that he would leave], for which he had given me cause to do.

No one should think it strange that I have now documented these things so precisely, if they were familiar with his deceitfulness and cunning.

As an example of this, he left my house for the house of Master Harmani<sup>217</sup> in the fort, and there he sneaked into a shed or hovel, which one would hardly want to enter. All for show;<sup>218</sup> you can see how people repudiate me! Just when I have come through one hardship, people strike my head<sup>219</sup> with another. *Misere mei.*

It appears plausible<sup>220</sup> but, if one views it properly, it is not really so. Because I offered him, and [still] offer to him, a suitable house in which officer Coorn<sup>221</sup> had lived, he could move in there. Yet he chose to suffer a measure of penitential affliction in the manner of the Roman Catholics.<sup>222</sup> He apparently has his reasons for preferring to keep himself in a shack under the wings of the [West India] Company, rather than [live] in a suitable house in the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck]. God knows.

*Practica est multiplex.*

<sup>217</sup> Presumably, Harman Meynderts van den Bogaert. For biographical notes, see O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:441. Also see Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 211.

<sup>218</sup> Or, "Indeed," "*Quansuijs.*"

<sup>219</sup> More literally, "then people slap me in the neck with the other one"; with the connotation of abusive or offensive treatment, "*soo smijt me[n] mij de[n] andere[n] op de[n] hals!*"

<sup>220</sup> Or, "It appears to be something considerable," "*Het lijkt al vrij wat. . . .*"

<sup>221</sup> Nicolaes Coorn. See note 119.

<sup>222</sup> A derogatory term for "Roman Catholics," "*paeps*," is used in the original.

[Page A24]

{There is good fishing,} people say, in troubled waters.<sup>223</sup> Thus it was on the occasion {narrated} above, because the following<sup>224</sup> people warm themselves by the {coals} of the fanned flame.

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<sup>223</sup> From the surviving manuscript it appears likely that there was damage to the text prior to the pre-fire translation, or there was text which that translator passed over for some other reason.

<sup>224</sup> De Hooges may have intended to write more; the page is blank below this sentence.



[Page A25]

[Typescript with manuscript additions]<sup>225</sup>

Rensselaerswyck MSS. Copy of Various Acts, 1646

[F]ol. 7a  
(marked  
p. 37)<sup>226</sup>

Because I have weighty [reasons] to believe, . . . etc. "*Van Curler's Account of the Quarrel between himself and Van der Donck*," O'Callaghan Hist[ory of] N[ew] Neth[etherlan]d. [Vol.] 1, p. 469

Fol. 9 1/2  
(marked  
p. 43)<sup>227</sup>

Cornelis Segersen.<sup>228</sup> Jan Cornelisen<sup>229</sup> has come to me and recounted<sup>230</sup> how you and your wife have behaved very unpleasantly toward him, concerning the making of a bedstead. What [truth] there may be to it, I do not know. But he added that you say that you do not need him [to do work for you], that there are other<sup>231</sup> carpenters available. If that is true, very well, I am satisfied, but watch yourself after this, that you do not think of me as your servant<sup>232</sup> or fool, as one [whom] you routinely used to call for such things as, "the house is no good, one cannot stretch out in<sup>233</sup> there," and so forth; and if someone prepares a house for you,<sup>234</sup> do not think of it that way either, and say that you could well hire other [carpenters]. But you must understand, that I will not involve myself with the<sup>235</sup> house any further, but that the losses that arise from it will fall upon you. If the words of Jan Cornelisen<sup>236</sup> are true, then take this as a warning, and watch what you do. March the 10th, A<sup>o</sup> 1646.

Ad: Hooges

<sup>225</sup> This page was inserted into the volume at a later date. Italicized text is in English in this typescript.

<sup>226</sup> This refers to what is now page A20 in the new transcription.

<sup>227</sup> This refers to what is now page A26 in the new transcription, and the corresponding paragraph to the right is a transcription of A26, inserted into the memorandum book prior to the fire damage.

<sup>228</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>229</sup> "Cornel[isz]" in the new transcription.

<sup>230</sup> In this typescript the word is transcribed, "*verclaert*" ("states"), which seems to be in error; the new transcription has it as "*verhaelt*" ("recounts"). See page A26 in the transcription.

<sup>231</sup> In this typescript the word is transcribed, "*ander*" ("other"), which seems to be in error; the new transcription (page A26) has it as "*meer*" ("more"), though this does not significantly affect the translation.

<sup>232</sup> A young male servant; literally a "boy," "*Jongen*."

<sup>233</sup> In this typescript the word "*in*" ("in" or "into") does not appear, as it does in the new transcription (page A26) and in the manuscript.

<sup>234</sup> Because of the uncertainty of the antecedent for the pronoun and an alternate meaning for the verb, it is also possible to read this as "if someone hires you to build a house."

<sup>235</sup> In this typescript the word is transcribed, "*ha[er]*" ("their"), which seems to be in error; the new transcription (page A26) has it as "*het*" ("the").

<sup>236</sup> "Cornelisz." in the new transcription and in the manuscript.

[Page A26]

**[Declaration of Jan Cornelisz (van Leyden), Carpenter, Concerning Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout's Dissatisfaction over the Construction of a Bedstead]**<sup>237</sup>

Cornelis Segerz.<sup>238</sup> Jan Cornel[isz]<sup>239</sup> {has come to me} and recounted how you and your wife have behaved very unpleasantly toward him, concerning the {making} of a bedstead.<sup>240</sup> What [truth] there may be to it, I do not {know}. But he added that {you} say that you do not need him [to do work for you], that {there} are other carpenters available. If that {is true}, very well, I am satisfied, but watch yourself after this, that you do not think of me as your servant<sup>241</sup> or fool, as one [whom] you routinely used to call for such things as, “the house is no good, one cannot stretch out in there,”<sup>242</sup> and so forth; and if someone pre{pares} a house for you,<sup>243</sup> do not think of it that way either, and say that you could {well} hire other [carpenters]. But you must understand, that I will not involve myself with the house any further, but that the losses that arise from it will fall upon you. If the words of Jan Cornelisz are true, then take this as a warning, {and} watch what you do.

This, the 10th of March, *Anno* 1646  
Ad: H[ooges]

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<sup>237</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107. A transcription created and inserted into the book prior to the fire appears on a previous page, A25. Discrepancies between the two transcriptions are noted on page A25. Translations of text now missing on this page because of damage are inserted from the previous transcription and marked here with chevrons.

<sup>238</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96

<sup>239</sup> Jan Cornelisz (van Leyden), “the Carpenter.” See note 102.

<sup>240</sup> This was almost certainly a built-in or “Dutch” bed. This explains the fact that the document characterizes the unhappy transaction more in terms of a home construction or remodeling project than as the building of furniture.

<sup>241</sup> A young male servant; literally a “boy,” “*Jongen*.”

<sup>242</sup> See note 240. Evidently the built-in bedstead Cornelisz constructed in Van Voorhout’s house was too short for Van Voorhout.

<sup>243</sup> Because of the uncertainty of the antecedent for the pronoun and an alternate meaning for the verb, it is also possible to read this as “if someone hires you to build a house.”

[Page A27]

**[Lease of Land to Thomas Jansz Which Was Formerly Occupied by Hendrick Albertsz]<sup>244</sup>**

[ ] and Tomes Jansz<sup>245</sup> has [ ] this designated land, before now [occupied] by [ Hendrick Albertsz] was promised to him by Hoogens, [ ] of [ ] land [ ] tenant [ ] will [ ] are of [the] tithe<sup>246</sup> [ ] years of [ ] stipulation [ ] land [ ] risk half of [ ] fences<sup>247</sup> [ ] as other [ ] from there [ ] half [of his] own [ ] according to the foregoing [ ]<sup>248</sup> which is now marked off [ ] had been leased by Hendrick Albertsz<sup>249</sup> from the late Lord Patroon [ ] annually for 180 guilders in addition to the tithe, up to six<sup>250</sup> years [ ] within his aforementioned term, [he will] either chop down<sup>251</sup> or clear all of the underbrush from the [timber]<sup>252</sup> at his own cost of [ ] In addition, [he] promises [that he, together] with his horses, [will work] three days each year on roads or village [ ] in the service of the director, as well as promising [ him] two stivers [ ] a pair of chickens, [and] ten *pont*<sup>253</sup> of butter annually. For the aforementioned director to consider him to be the tenant of the newly designated land as well, some attention should be given, specifically to which damages he, the tenant, may subtract from his rent. Affirmed with our hands on April 11, 1650.

B. v[an] Slichtenhorst<sup>254</sup>

This is the mark made by [ ] Tomes Janss  
with his own hand

<sup>244</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107.

<sup>245</sup> For a biographical note on Thomas Jansz, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 813.

<sup>246</sup> For “tithe,” see note 163.

<sup>247</sup> Or palisades, or stockade posts, “*palisaete[n]*.”

<sup>248</sup> Text, amounting to three lines here, was written at the left margin of the page with a mark indicating it should be inserted here. Lamentably, the marginal text was badly damaged in the fire.

<sup>249</sup> For a biographical note on Harry (or Hendrick) Albertsz, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 822.

<sup>250</sup> “Six” appears to be written on top of “five.”

<sup>251</sup> More literally, to kill by chopping, “*Doot te hacke[n]*.”

<sup>252</sup> One or more words is missing. What remains is “*d’opgaende. . .*” Given the context, it seems likely the text originally read, “*d’opgaende boomen*,” or the “timber.”

<sup>253</sup> Dutch pounds. The Amsterdam *pond* was about one-third heavier than is the *avoirdupois* pound.

<sup>254</sup> Brant Aertsz van Slichtenhorst. For a biographical note see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 838.

[Page A28]

**[Fragment<sup>255</sup> of a Contract by Which Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout Assumed the Remaining Three Years of the Lease of Adriaen van der Donck's Farm on Castle Island]<sup>256</sup>**

[Adria]en [van der] Donck and [Cornel]is Segerz [ ] Lords [ ] agreed and resolved, Adriaen van der [Donck,<sup>257</sup> on the one side, and [ ] Cornelis Segersz<sup>258</sup> on the other side, upon [the] conditions set forth below.

First, Cornelis Segersz shall have possession and the use of the farm [which was] until now used by [ ] Van der Donck, on the same conditions under which De Vos and Van Es<sup>259</sup> are engaged (and under which he has the use of his [current farm]) for the period of three consecutive years, beginning in the year 1646 and ending in the year 1649, and the liabilities and assets [will] accrue to his account from the date that we have entered into contract; the previous [liabilities incurred on the farm shall] remain the responsibility of the seller, although Van der Donck's people may use the small house until they can depart for down[river], and Cornelis Segers[z] will have [the] use of that [which is] specified as follows:

- [i] First, the grain which is in the hay barracks, consisting [ ] of wheat and oats, which is [his,] free [and clear,] and no one can revoke [his right to it], along with a haystack<sup>260</sup> which survived the fire,<sup>261</sup> and stands adjacent to it.
- ii Second, the grain that is standing in the field, free [and clear] without any obligations, except the third-share and tithe<sup>262</sup> of the Lord [Patroon.]
- iii Third, the fences<sup>263</sup> and enclosures around the land, [ ] farmstead, and garden, as well as a quantity [of fencing material] which is split, lying in the farm yard, everything—good or bad as it is, enclosed or unenclosed—but [ ] and without encumbrance.
- iiii Fourth, Cornelis Segersz shall have use of all of the unsawed<sup>264</sup> wood that is on the farmstead, except that which has been readied, and is needed, for the mill (about thirty pieces), and the clapboard<sup>265</sup> which is on the farmstead and which will remain for Van der Donck's benefit.

<sup>255</sup> It appears that the text on page A38 is the continuation of this document.

<sup>256</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107. This lease was written in 1646.

<sup>257</sup> See note 95.

<sup>258</sup> See note 96.

<sup>259</sup> See note 206.

<sup>260</sup> Or possibly a pile of grain or stack of wood, "*mijt*."

<sup>261</sup> Adrian van der Donck's farmhouse had burned earlier in the year, after which he decided to leave the patroonship, prompting this arrangement with Cornelis Segersz.

<sup>262</sup> For "tithe," see note 163.

<sup>263</sup> Or "palisades," or "stockade posts," "*palissaeden*."

<sup>264</sup> More literally, "roundwood:" timber not sawed into planks.

<sup>265</sup> Or wood for barrel staves, "*klaphout*."

[Page A28 Continued]

It is understood that the small house, the small barn, the farm yard, the well, and whatever else is the Lord Patroon's, henceforth as [it was] formerly, is the property of the honorable patroon, and Van der Donck cedes only the use of them for three years, to which he is entitled.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> See note 255.

[Page A29]

**[Agreement between De Hooges and Adriaen van der Donck to Submit to Arbitration the Question of Who is Responsible for the Repair of Van der Donck's Burned House]<sup>267</sup>**

Since I have seen the credit to which Adriaen van der Donck<sup>268</sup> claims to be entitled from the Lord Patroon (according to [Van der Donck's] itemized accounting) and, in turn, laid his debits against it:

Thus, it is found that his credits amount to:	$f6097 - 1$	[     ]
And his debits:	$f3039 - 1$	[     ]
Therefore, that [to which] he should be entitled:	$f3058 - 16$	[     ]

Yet, [I do not think this is correct,] because the house is burned down and [there are] some other things which drive up much of his credit, which, in my opinion, should be laid against his account, as is evident in the contract; also, that a number of [other] sums [should] appear in his debits, such as the sixty<sup>269</sup> guilders [due to the patroon] annually for every laborer, as well as the expenses for their board on the voyage:<sup>270</sup>

Van der Donck, to the contrary, maintains that he believes himself to be free from damages and obligations. Thus it was judged best to lay these matters to rest, and thus to refer them to the honorable Lord and Masters,<sup>271</sup> so that their instructions<sup>272</sup> in this matter might be known.

[Done] in  
[Rens]selaerswijck  
The [     ]th of April in the year  
[164]6

Adriaen van der  
Donck

<sup>267</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107.

<sup>268</sup> See note 95.

<sup>269</sup> De Hooges almost certainly meant "sixteen," rather than "sixty," as that was the amount commonly inserted into contracts to cover the costs of recruiting and transporting laborers to the colony. See note 160.

<sup>270</sup> The voyage from Europe to North America.

<sup>271</sup> Presumably the patroon and his testamentary guardians.

<sup>272</sup> Or "advice," "*advijds*."

[Page A30]

**[Lease of a Farm for One Year to Teunis Cornelis van Vechten Which Was Formerly Occupied by Michiel Jansz]<sup>273</sup>**

[ ] Michiel Jansz<sup>274</sup> has abandoned his farm and Teunis Cornelisz,<sup>275</sup> [Jansz's] farm laborer, has, [from the time of Jansz's departure] until now, been on the farm without any conditions [or agreement, regarding his work on the farm], and we have not received any communication from the fatherland, and yet, we could not [allow] the farm to be vacant under these circumstances. So it is that I, together with Lords<sup>276</sup> Megapolensis<sup>277</sup> and Abraham Staes<sup>278</sup> have decided, in the best interests of the Lord Patroon and this Colony, to lease the [farm] to the same Teunis [Cornelisz] for one year, on the following conditions:

Teunis Cornelisz van Vechten is bound by contract [with ] Antonij de Hoogens [ for the] Lord Patroon [ of the Co]lony of Rensselaerswijck,<sup>279</sup> under the following terms, to rent a certain farm, before now having been used by Michiel Jansz, under a lease for the period of one year, commencing the first of May 1646, on the conditions written below, and will make use of the [farm] during the aforementioned period as follows:

Five horses and four cows will be furnished to him [and] the risk [of the loss of the livestock] and[/or the profit from their] increase [are to be shared equally,] half and half [with the patroon], and the right to half of the increase for this year, for the horses as well as for the cows, is conferred on him by way of the forfeiture of Michiel Jansz.

[ ] in the  
event of [war]  
with the  
Indians<sup>280</sup>  
[ ] the  
risk  
[ ] of the  
[ ]  
[pa]troon

And with respect to the goods which, as it appears from the accounts, he has taken over, he shall have the use of them for this year. He will have to make compensation for any of them which might be damaged,<sup>281</sup> or might be lost. And if he rents the farm after this year, he shall take them over [permanently] and pay with grain.

The risk for the house and the barn is to borne [equally,] half by the Lord Patroon and half by the aforementioned Teunis [Cornelisz].

<sup>273</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107.

<sup>274</sup> See note 65.

<sup>275</sup> Teunis Cornelisz van Vechten. See note 103.

<sup>276</sup> The transcriber observes that De Hooges used a peculiar hybrid construction here, "D<sup>nen</sup>": a "D" for the Latin "Dominus," followed by the Dutch "nen" to make it plural.

<sup>277</sup> Rev. Johannes Megapolensis. See note 200.

<sup>278</sup> Abraham Staets. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 828.

<sup>279</sup> This phrase was written in the margin with a mark indicating that it should be inserted here.

<sup>280</sup> More literally, "wild people," "wilde[n]."

<sup>281</sup> Or "diminish in value," literally, "made less good," "verslimmere[n]."

[Page A31]

The Lord Patroon [ ] himself the tithe;<sup>284</sup> and whether the [ ] would be suitable, that the same was drafted for the patroon, [ ] Teunis will be required to transport it to the place where there will [be] the best opportunity [ ] and be threshed on his threshing floor.

This contract was extended for the period of one year, on the condition that he will pay more in rent this year. Seventy-five guilders was the increase in rent.<sup>282</sup> Done April 18, 16[47].<sup>283</sup>

Teunis will be required to maintain the [farm] enclosure at his own cost, during the term of his lease. The land that is currently under cultivation will be assessed and, if it should happen that, at the end of this year's lease, he should depart from the farm, he must leave the same number of *morgens*,<sup>285</sup> and [if] it be found, when the same cultivated land is assessed [again], that it has grown smaller or has improved [in size, the difference] will be deducted [accordingly] from one person's account or the other.<sup>286</sup>

And for this year's lease, [he] shall give grain equal in market value to *f*300 and twenty *pont*<sup>287</sup> of butter.

And during [the term of his lease ] Teunis Cornelisz will behave in a law-abiding manner and in all [ ], submit himself to the [ ] authorities here, and their ordinances, both [those] previously pronounced as well as [those] yet to be mad[e.]

In affirmation of this, Teunis Corne[lisz] has signed this with his own hand. [Done] in Rensselaerswijck this [day], April 23, in the year 164[6].

This is the mark of  
Cornelisz, made



Teunis  
with his own hand

<sup>282</sup> More literally, "the above-written lease," "*de bovengestelde pacht*."

<sup>283</sup> This marginal note was written sideways in the original.

<sup>284</sup> For "tithe," see note 163.

<sup>285</sup> A *morgen* is a unit of measure for area; it is slightly larger than two acres, though standards varied regionally.

<sup>286</sup> More literally, "will be charged against each others' accounts," "*sal tege[n] malckandere[n] afgetrocke[n] worde[n]*."

<sup>287</sup> See note 253.



[Page A32]

**[Reiteration, in Light of Missing Building Materials, of the Agreement between De Hooges and Van der Donck to Await Judgment from the Netherlands for a Resolution of the Matter of Financial Responsibility for Rebuilding Van der Donck's Burned House]<sup>288</sup>**

[ ] Antonij de Hooges [ ] Lord Patroon, and Adriaen van der Donck<sup>289</sup>  
[ ] particularly,<sup>290</sup> are on guard against<sup>291</sup> and contend [ ] the stones and other materials which [belong] to the aforementioned Van der Donck's burned house [ ] according to the account ledgers, are gone. We consider it unnecessary to reimburse [ ] N. Coorn.<sup>292</sup> Namely, since the matter remains unresolved, [regarding] who will bear the losses from the fire, and the matter will be settled by the Lords Masters,<sup>293</sup> therefore one of the two parties will be held responsible to pay—that is, the party who is judged responsible to pay for the damage.  
In affirmation of this we have both signed this.  
Done in Rensselaerswijck, on this, the 16th of April, in the year 1646.

Was signed,  
Antonij de Hooges  
Adriaen Vander Donck

**[Memorandum Stating That Nicolaes Coorn Had Called De Hooges an Oath Breaker]<sup>294</sup>**

This [day,] April 20, 1646, Coorn<sup>295</sup> said that I am a rebel against the Oath.

<sup>288</sup> For more on this disagreement, see pages A20-A24 and A29 and note 198.

<sup>289</sup> See note 95.

<sup>290</sup> Or “individually,” or “privately,” “*particulier*.”

<sup>291</sup> Or they “agree,” “*caveren*.”

<sup>292</sup> Nicolaes Coorn. See note 119.

<sup>293</sup> Presumably the patroon and his testamentary guardians.

<sup>294</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107.

<sup>295</sup> Nicolaes Coorn. See note 119.

[Page A32, continued]

**[Promissory Note of De Hooges for the Colony of Rensselaerswijck on Behalf of Adriaen van der Donck to Pay Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop f134:8:8]<sup>296</sup>**

Copy

I, the undersigned, pledge in the name of the honorable Lord Patroon of this Colony, to reimburse and pay Piete[r] Wijncoop,<sup>297</sup> on behalf of Adriaen van der Donck,<sup>298</sup> such a sum as that to which his debits with Pieter Wijncoop amount, that is, the sum of one hundred thirty-four guilders, eight stivers, and eight pennies. I sincerely pledge to pay this sum.

Done in Rensselaerswijck on this, the 27th of April, in the year 1[646]

Was signed,  
A d Hoo[ges]

---

<sup>296</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107.

<sup>297</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop.

<sup>298</sup> See note 95.

[Page A33]

**[Letter of Recommendation for Lucas Smith, Attesting to his Honesty and Probity While in the Service of the Patroon.]**<sup>299</sup>

[        ] Since it is just that tho[se who] have served their masters honestly and faithfully are given statements to produce when the need arises; therefore, I the undersigned, *Loco Di Patroni*, living in the colony of Rensselaers Wijck, testify with my signature, that Lucas Smith<sup>300</sup> [has conducted himself] both in his service to his Lord and Patroon ~~has conducted himself virtuously and faithfully~~ as [he has] with everyone in particular, ~~Vxxx~~ as an honest and devout young man<sup>301</sup> ~~required as~~ should be; there is nothing to be said about him but [that he is] honest and virtuous.

[        has]  
conducted  
[        ]  
[himself,  
virtuously]  
and faithfully

All men and courts and everyone [else] to whom this may be shown, are therefore requested to be pleased to show favor to the aforementioned Lucas [Smith], as far as possible, and to keep him on [the path of] righteousness.<sup>302</sup>

With that, most honorable, very discreet, unknown friends, you will do a friendly deed for me. Done in Rensselaerswijck, this, the 13th of April, in the year 1646.

Your honor's obliging frien[d],  
Antonij de Hooges

<sup>299</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107. Another partial translation of this memorandum is in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 615n.

<sup>300</sup> Lucas Smit. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 826.

<sup>301</sup> Or bachelor.

<sup>302</sup> Or "to support him as is right," "*hem te maintineere[n] in Gerechtigheijt*."

[Page A34]

**[Promissory Note of Adriaen van der Donck to Pay Thomas Chambers a Sum of Money for which De Hooges Agrees to be Security.]**<sup>303</sup>

[Adri]aen van der Donck<sup>304</sup> pledges to Tomas Camber<sup>305</sup> [ ] with [his ] signature to pay in full, within a period of six months, the sum equal to the amount still due the same Tomas [Chambers] from Van der Donck, [ seven]ty-five [guilder]s.<sup>306</sup> And should it happen that Van der Donck does not fully pay the aforementioned sum within the aforementioned period, then Antonij de Hooges is surety for the aforementioned sum, provided the creditor speaks to Van der Donck prior to the expiration of the stated period.

Done in Rensselaerswijck, this [day, the] third of May, in the year 1646.

Adriaen van der Donck  
A de Hooges

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<sup>303</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107.

<sup>304</sup> See note 95.

<sup>305</sup> Thomas Chambers. See note 77.

<sup>306</sup> There is a number written out in the margin with a symbol indicating it should be inserted here. That marginal note is damaged and illegible on this page, but the number is supplied from a reference to this document on page A5.

[Page A35]

**[Copy of Abraham Clock's Bill for Carpentry Work but Which is Still in Dispute]**<sup>307</sup>

[        account] of Abraham Cloc[k]<sup>308</sup> [        ] Still unresolved, in regard to De  
[Hooges     ] house where [        ] this, the following, from [        ]

Also earned, on the farm of the Joncker,<sup>309</sup> that which was contracted out on De  
Hooges's account.

Also one mantel, two small joists,<sup>310</sup> two columns<sup>311</sup> f10:--:--

Also built one solid loft,<sup>312</sup> with a door to bring in grain. f8:--:--

Also laid the floor in the cellar, which had been started,  
and two small lights<sup>313</sup> f10:--:--

Also brought stone f10:--:--

Also borrowed<sup>314</sup> 6 1/2 beavers<sup>315</sup> for the farm  
of the Joncker,<sup>316</sup> for stone f45:--:--

f83:--:--

---

<sup>307</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 107.

<sup>308</sup> See note 60.

<sup>309</sup> This appears to be the earliest surviving reference to Adriaan van der Donck as the "Joncker," from which Yonkers derives its name. See note 95.

<sup>310</sup> Perhaps pieces of wood used in constructing stairs, dormers, or openings for a chimney, "*troveelhoutten*" (thus, probably, "*traveel houten*").

<sup>311</sup> Or stanchions, "*stijlen*."

<sup>312</sup> Or "laid one tight loft," "*ee[n] solder vastgeleijt*."

<sup>313</sup> Small windows, "*Lichjes*"; presumably "*kelderlichtjes*."

<sup>314</sup> Or "lent."

<sup>315</sup> Beaver pelts were used as a monetary standard, evidently at this point, equal to about seven guilders. It is likely that there is a math or notation error here and that the figure in the right column should have been *f45:10:--*.

<sup>316</sup> See note 309.

[Page A36]

**[Testimony Regarding Permission Granted to Nicolaes Coorn to Use the Yacht *Rensselaerswijck*]**

[        ]  
[        H]ooges

We, the undersigned, testify that [the following] is true and trustworthy ~~how it happened~~: In the year 1645 [        it] happened, that Nicolaes Coorn<sup>317</sup> [        was] permitted, on his ho[nor,] to continue to make use of the yacht *Rensselaerswijck* under this condition: that in the fall of the same year he would relinquish it, which he has gratefully accepted, and that he would pay the [ship's] expenses which would be incurred during the time he used it.

This we declare, in our [own] presence, as officers of the court, to have occurred as such. And at the request of the honorable court, for which this may be useful, we stand ready to testify to this under oath.

Done in Rensselaerswijck, on this, the 5th of May, in the year 1646.

Was signed,  
Adriaen van der Donck<sup>318</sup>  
Abram Staas<sup>319</sup>

---

<sup>317</sup> See note 119.

<sup>318</sup> See note 95.

<sup>319</sup> Abraham Staets. See note 278.

[Page A37]

**[Contract for Construction of a Dam, Saw, and Grist Mill, Which is to be Let to the Lowest Bidder]**<sup>320</sup>

The person who agrees [to work] on the dam on the [Fifth *kil*<sup>321</sup> ] will build in the manner [ ]. The work, such as it presently [ ] he will, all at his own cost, [ ] boards, provisions, [pay] work[ing] people [for] hauling earth, without charging the party issuing the contract a *duit*<sup>322</sup> for it; that the work [will be complete—that is,] both the grain mill and the saw mill will be in operation—within the period of three weeks; and for the period of one year after the date, [the contractor] must maintain the dam at his own expense in such a way that the mills incur no losses due to the contractor's negligence, on penalty of such losses being deducted from the contractor's stipulated pay.

Payment will be made from the proceeds of the mill, [in] boards or *sewa*[*nt*,]<sup>323</sup> in three installments: the first in the month [ ] after the date on which they have completed the work; the second, next autumn; the third, next spring, before [ ] the contract's expiration.<sup>324</sup> The contractor is permitted to have Jan *de Timmerman*<sup>325</sup> assist him with the construction of the mill house.

No one has submitted a bid on this, except Jan Cornelisz,<sup>326</sup> who wanted to take it on for *f*550, which was too high for me to commit to;<sup>327</sup> I have turned him down<sup>328</sup> on that account.

<sup>320</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>321</sup> See note 120.

<sup>322</sup> A coin worth very little: one-eighth of a *stuiver*.

<sup>323</sup> *Sewant*, more widely known among Anglophones as wampum, were strung beads, typically made from the shells of whelks, quahogs, or clams, which ranged in value according to their color and quality and functioned as currency.

<sup>324</sup> More literally, "before the time of the contractor shall expire."

<sup>325</sup> Jan the carpenter. Probably Jan Gerritsz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 832.

<sup>326</sup> See note 239.

<sup>327</sup> More literally, "which promises too high," "*dat mij te hooch belooft*."

<sup>328</sup> More literally, "released," "*ontslaegen*."

[Page A38]

**[Fragment<sup>329</sup> of a Contract between Adriaen van der Donck and Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout to sell a Lease for Land on Castle Island]<sup>330</sup>**

[ ] sell on the farm [ ] with Claes and Paulus.

- vi Sixth, the purchaser [of the lease] will receive two mares which are at *de Vlackte*.<sup>331</sup> Two geldings at the purchaser's stable (acknowledging that [the gelding known as] Smelt<sup>332</sup> is excluded) also with three young [ ] stallions, and at the expiration of his years, furnish the Lord Patroon with three mares and three geldings, which the seller has received, and is required to furnish. The buyer will, however, deliver everything according to the terms of the contract, which states that geldings or stallions bear no offspring.<sup>333</sup>
- vii Seventh, the purchaser will receive four cows carrying calves, three heifer calves with a two-year-old sorrel horse<sup>334</sup> and, in turn, furnish [to the patroon], as received, five cows; the rest is [to be considered] increase.
- viii Eighth, the purchaser will receive eight pigs and will leave four [pigs] again on the farm [at the end of the term of the contract]. The buyer will also have the use of a kettle, which we call the "little yawl."<sup>335</sup>
- viii Ninth, the equipment which is, as specified, the patroon's, and nothing else, will be turned over [to the patroon], and the purchaser will be required to adhere to this, and reimburse the patroon at the appropriate time.

Arriving, now at the matter of payments: they will be made in four installments. The first quarter [is to be paid] in the spring of 1646. The second quarter [paid] in the autumn of the same year. The other two quarter-payments [are to be paid] in the spring and autumn of the following year. The form of payment will be oats and wheat;

<sup>329</sup> This appears to be a continuation of the document on page A28.

<sup>330</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>331</sup> "The flats." A farm established by Van der Donck on rich, alluvial soil, upriver from previously settled farms in defiance of instructions he had received from the patroon. See Paul R. Huey, "Archeological Evidence of Dutch Wooden Cellars and Perishable Wooden Structures at Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sites in the Upper Hudson Valley," in *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776: Proceedings of the Symposium Organized by the Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, August 2-3, 1986*, ed. Roderic H. Blackburn and Nancy A. Kelley (Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1987), 13-14; Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 50n; Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 809, 831.

<sup>332</sup> "*Spieringh*." Perhaps so named because the horse was thin.

<sup>333</sup> More literally, that geldings and stallions have "no increase," "*gee[n] aenteeling*," and therefore that the patroon receives no share of their offspring.

<sup>334</sup> The manuscript reads "*een Vos*," by which De Hooges meant a reddish-brown horse with a white or near-white mane, tail, and/or blaze.

<sup>335</sup> The "*kleijne Joll*." A yawl is a dinghy or a type of sailboat.



[Page A38, continued]

the wheat at fifty stivers [per *schepel*<sup>336</sup>] and the oats at twenty stivers per *scheepel*, delivery costs to be paid by the purchaser.<sup>337</sup>

The lessee promises not to create any more pasture on the island than is already there.

Adriaen van der Donck<sup>338</sup>  
Cornelys Zegers<sup>339</sup>

---

<sup>336</sup> A dry measure. With respect to grain it is slightly more than three-quarters of a bushel.

<sup>337</sup> Or, perhaps, delivered to the purchaser, "*Coopmans leverancie*."

<sup>338</sup> See note 95.

<sup>339</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

[Page A39]

**[Receipt for the Sale of Two Horses and Two Cows to Abraham Clock]<sup>340</sup>**

On this date, the 30th of April in the year 1646, De Hooges, in the name of the honorable Lord Patroon, has sold to<sup>341</sup> Abraham Clock<sup>342</sup> two horses carrying foals and two cows, of which one has calved and the other is carrying a calf, included in this sale was a *f*41 advance on a number of beaver [pelts] and half of a *vat*<sup>343</sup> of beer, as appears in the Ledger of the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck], volume F, on folio 20, for the sum of six hundred and ten guilders, deducted from [his] account, as it appears in the aforementioned book in more detail. Dated as above.

Abram Clock

The first horse is called the Fast One,<sup>344</sup> the other, the Old Grey;<sup>345</sup> one cow is called the Little Momma,<sup>346</sup> the other is a white-headed heifer of a sort no longer at *de Vlackte*.<sup>347</sup> Abraham Clock is liable for these cattle and horses, provided they are watched like the others of *de Vlackte*.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>341</sup> De Hooges was sparing in his use of prepositions in this sentence, so that in at least one instance, it has been read to mean that Abraham Clock *sold* the livestock.

<sup>342</sup> See note 60.

<sup>343</sup> A measure of volume; standards varied regionally within the Dutch Republic and also by the substance being measured. This half-*vat* of beer was probably in the neighborhood of 20 U.S. gallons.

<sup>344</sup> “*De Vluch*.”

<sup>345</sup> “*De Oude Graeuw*.”

<sup>346</sup> “*Het Mammetje*.”

<sup>347</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>348</sup> This likely means that if the animals were injured or died between the time of the agreement and the time Clock retrieved them from *de Vlackte* that the loss would be Clock’s, not the patroon’s, so long as the patroon’s employees had not been negligent in caring for the animals. See similar text on page A47.

[Page A40]

**[Memoranda Regarding Disputes with Nicolaes Coorn and Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop]<sup>349</sup>**

[ ] lost [ ] reports from the Lord [Patroon ] come, where he did not [ ] desire [ ]

2. Regarding [the matter of] the yacht *Rensselaersw[ijck]*, over which<sup>350</sup> we had authority, as the accompanying testimony demonstrates, as [ ] he has concealed. What can one request from those who have no authority[?] A petition also [c]ame with this request, [s]aying, [f]riends, the [ ] time arrives, do you want to crush me underfoot entirely[?]<sup>351</sup> And consider, in the context of these two previous points, the boorishness of N. Coorn,<sup>352</sup> in accusing me of certain things, which have been [done ] with general approval; but from this, one can get a sense of his heart.

3. Concerning the matter between me and Wijnkoop,<sup>353</sup> that was a drunken outburst.<sup>354</sup> He ought to have addressed me<sup>355</sup> in the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck] and the petitioner ought to have known that he should not have troubled my Lord, the Commander, and the Council of New Netherland with the affairs of the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck], in advance of and prior to, the adjudication of the matter in the Colony. But it appears that the petitioner had been so full of bitterness<sup>356</sup> that he never thought about that.

<sup>349</sup> For more on these disputes, see minutes 7-8 June 1646 in Arnold J. F. Van Laer, Kenneth Scott, and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, eds., *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*, New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, no. 4 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974), 314-17.

<sup>350</sup> De Hooges uses “that” here as a conjunction, in a manner which makes it difficult to determine the object of the dependent clause, that is, whether they had been given authority over the yacht or authority over a case concerning the yacht.

<sup>351</sup> This sentence was written in the margin with a symbol indicating it was to be inserted here.

<sup>352</sup> Nicolaes Coorn. See note 119.

<sup>353</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop.

<sup>354</sup> Or “that was the drunkard’s hour,” “*dat was dronckemans getijde*.”

<sup>355</sup> A subsequent insertion by De Hooges renders the phrase difficult to translate. Perhaps, “he should have addressed me.” The text originally read, “*heeft hij te spreke mij in de Colonie ae[n]*,” with the words, “*hij te spreeken*” written above the line.

<sup>356</sup> More literally, “has been so bilious,” “*so gall is geweest*.”

[Page A41]

**[Anthony de Hooges's Testimony to the Council of New Netherland, Regarding the Disputes with Nicolaes Coorn and Peter Pietersz Wijnkoop]**<sup>357</sup>

[        To:] My lord, the Commander [        ] and the honorable Council of New Netherland [        ]

Nicolaes Coorn<sup>358</sup> [has] written and submitted to your honors' an act, in the form of legal action against me, the undersigned [        ] your honors' have allowed me to have a copy, which [I] disput[e        ], as follows:

Nicolaes Coorn ought to be ashamed of himself for calling me a criminal, and the feelings he harbors for me can easily be detected in that [document]; how deep [his] hatred is[!] He adds to that, that I would have delivered an indictment of Pieter Wijnkoop<sup>359</sup> to [Coorn, the sheriff], so that [Coorn] would strip P. Wijnkoop of his possessions and immediately send him away from the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck]. That is untrue, but I only made the proposal to the honorable court there, and the resolutions have come down in that way (not [from] me alone but the entire council and those who are permitted to pursue the Lord Patroon's interests, as well) as has been verbally declared to Wijnkoop.

And nothing in this regard has taken effect, for which he need not blame me, but his own pride, as they could never come to agreement with him on any objective.<sup>360</sup> If we<sup>361</sup> wanted to go east, he wanted to go west, if we<sup>362</sup> took one path, he took the other. So that it was finally resolved to redress this [matter] at the arrival of the ships, which, by that point, we had already been eagerly awaiting for a long time.<sup>363</sup>

~~All of this establishes~~ So N. Coorn ought not to carry on loudly with his accomplice in taverns any more, because things are not going so well for him.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> See note 349.

<sup>358</sup> See note 119.

<sup>359</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijnkoop.

<sup>360</sup> More literally, "could not aim with him at any target," "*noijt eenich wit met hem hebbe[n] konne[n] doele[n]. . . .*"

<sup>361</sup> The pronoun "I" crossed out, followed by "we."

<sup>362</sup> The pronoun "I" crossed out, followed by "we."

<sup>363</sup> The Council of New Netherland agreed with De Hooges that the matter could be adjudicated in Rensselaerswijck after word from the authorities in the Netherlands had arrived by ship. See Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*, 317.

<sup>364</sup> Or, "because conditions are not half as comfortable for him," "*want het met hem niet half soo breed en staet.*"

[Page A42]

**[Memorandum of the Hiring of Barent Pietersz Koijemans in the Patroon's Service]**

[ ] on the 19th of June, I have hired Barent Pieter[sz<sup>365</sup> ] for as long as I wish, that is, [ ] or six weeks, at the time Jan Baerentz<sup>366</sup> in the [ ] will have finished [ ] farm at *de Vlackte*,<sup>367</sup> and the anchor beams[.] Employment will be temporary,<sup>368</sup> for *f*18 per month, beginning on the 21st of this month, and board [will be paid] as it had been before, *f*50 over seven months, everything *pro rata*, payable in *sewan[t]*,<sup>369</sup> the same as will be received at the mill.

adh<sup>370</sup>**[Memorandum of the Discharge of Jan Barentsz Wemp from the Patroon's Service and the Hiring of Jan Thomasz in his Place]<sup>371</sup>**

On the 11th of June, while I was at Manhattan, Jan Baerentz left my service because of a certain quarrel<sup>372</sup> with the Indians,<sup>373</sup> and, on the above date, Jan Tomas,<sup>374</sup> the former laborer of Van der Donck,<sup>375</sup> was hired again in his place by Peter Hertgers;<sup>376</sup> his status as farmer was effective on the 14th of June, for *f*250, as well as enough cloth<sup>377</sup> for one suit, one pair of shoes and two shirts annually.

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<sup>365</sup> Barent Pietersz Koijemans. See note 89.

<sup>366</sup> Presumably Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

<sup>367</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>368</sup> More literally, "at end of the time, at end of the money," "*t'ende tijdt t'ende geld*."

<sup>369</sup> For "*sewant*," see note 323.

<sup>370</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

<sup>371</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>372</sup> Or "trouble," "*sporlingh*."

<sup>373</sup> "*Wilden*," see note 280.

<sup>374</sup> Jan Thomasz. See note 62.

<sup>375</sup> See note 95.

<sup>376</sup> Pieter Hartgers. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 834.

<sup>377</sup> Probably a heavy wool, "*laecken*."

[Page A42, continued]

**[Request to Jan Claesz Damen to Pay Mr. Allerton *f*120]<sup>378</sup>**

[My] good friend, Jan Claesz Daemen,<sup>379</sup> please present and to pay to the bearer, Mr. Allerton, or his agent, *f*120 upon receipt of the horses, in such a form of currency as we have agreed upon. It will count as proper payment from me, and will demonstrate to me [your] friendship.<sup>380</sup> Done in Rensselaerswijck, June 22, 1646.

A d. H

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<sup>378</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>379</sup> See note 63.

<sup>380</sup> Or “do me a friendly deed,” “*geschiede mij Vriendtschap*.”

[Page A43]

**[Agreement with Barent Pietersz Koijemans to Continue His Employment at the Grist Mill]<sup>381</sup>**

[ ] of B[aer]ent Pietersz<sup>382</sup> [ ] agreed that he will [return to] performing his previous work at the grain mill at *f*18 per month and board [paid] on the previous basis, that is, *f*50 over seven months, everything *pro rato*, but I have given him no set term, only that his time will conclude as soon as *Poest*<sup>383</sup> has completed his work<sup>384</sup> at the farm at *de Vlackte*,<sup>385</sup> everything as it was previously. This agreement commences on the 20th of July, 1646, and concludes. . . . *f*<sup>386</sup>

**[Contract with Andries “Constapel” Herbertsz to Care for De Hooges’s Garden]<sup>387</sup>**

This laborer  
did not get to  
it, so [I] did  
not  
compensate  
him<sup>388</sup>

[I] have made an agreement with *Constapell*,<sup>389</sup> that he will weed my garden, which was completely overgrown because of my absence; [he will clear it] thoroughly and completely of all the weeds and brush and keep it clear from the 25th of June, 1646 until the 20th of July of the same year, for *f*24 guilders [paid in] *sewan[t]*<sup>390</sup> currency, as is accepted here.

adh<sup>391</sup>

The agreement with Jan Baerent[s]z follows.

<sup>381</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>382</sup> Barent Pietersz Koijemans. See note 89.

<sup>383</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

<sup>384</sup> Or, “as soon as *Poest* has finished the work of harvesting. . . .”

<sup>385</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>386</sup> Concluding date not specified. Ellipsis appears in original. It is not clear what function the “*f*” was intended to serve.

<sup>387</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>388</sup> This note written in the right margin in the original.

<sup>389</sup> Andries “*Constapel*” Herbertsz. See note 90.

<sup>390</sup> For “*sewant*,” see note 323.

<sup>391</sup> De Hooges’s initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

[Page A44]

**[Contract with Jan Barentsz Wemp for the Maintenance of the Grist and Saw Mill]<sup>392</sup>**

I, Jan Baerentz,<sup>393</sup> the undersigned, have entered into an agreement with Antonij de Hoo[ges], *Comijs*<sup>394</sup> of Rensselaerswijck, as follows:

For the period of five years, I will tend to the grain mill, [and] industriously do everything which appertains to it, repairing the dam as necessary, provided that a side-aisle on the grain mill house be adapted for my housing, for the sum of *f*13 per month, and *f*100<sup>395</sup> guilders annually for board, on condition that I will take care of the grist mill with the necessities of candles and oil for the sconce.<sup>396</sup>

De Hooges will also give me the hornless cow, on the same terms as granted to the independent [farmers].

And I have agreed to plane, cut, and haul as many anchor beams as needed to the sawmill, either pine or oak as ordered from me, on the condition that I am granted the use of two horses, for which I will provide at my own expense, and [supply] the ropes,<sup>397</sup> at 15 stivers each, to be paid out of the proceeds of the mill.

Continues

<sup>392</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>393</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

<sup>394</sup> For "*Comijs*," see note 139.

<sup>395</sup> There is a wide line through the first two digits of this number, though it is not obvious whether this was intentionally drawn by De Hooges or was inadvertent or the result of later damage to the document.

<sup>396</sup> One or both of these nouns could also be translated as referring to lubricants for the mill. The original is "*met kaerse[n] end[e] traef[n] tot de pan . . . versorgen*," and could, thus, refer to whale oil and tallow-like lubricants (e.g. *kaarssmeer*, *kaarsvet*) or to fuel for lighting. "*Pan*," on the other hand, could either refer to the hole in which the millstone axle turns, or it could refer to a candlestick or sconce (i.e. *kaarsepan*.)

<sup>397</sup> Or rigging, "*touwwerck*."




[Page A45]

[ ] time [ ] in the [ ]

And two [horses]<sup>398</sup> [ ] are promised to me by the winter, or whenever I should need them, [ ] at the] expense of the Lord Patroon, to use for my profit, on the [same] terms as [apply to] the independent [farmers], as above.

I promise to comply with all of this, the foregoing, without any omissions, or the intent to do anything otherwise, during the aforementioned period, on penalty of the forfeiture to the Lord Patroon of the pay I have earned. Subject to the authority of all magistrates, officials, courts, and judges. In affirmation of this, I have signed with my own hand. Done in Rensselaerswijck, this, [the] 13th of August, in the year 1646.

This is the  mark of  
Jan Baerent[s]z, made with his own hand

A. de Hoog[es]

adh<sup>399</sup>

<sup>398</sup> Only the first letter is legible, but “horses” seems obvious from the context.

<sup>399</sup> De Hooges’s initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

[Page A46]

**[Promissory Note of Abraham Clock to De Hooges]**<sup>400</sup>

[ ] I, the undersigned, acknowledge myself to be indebted to Antonij de Hooges, for the sum of forty-six guilders, four stivers, as appears in the Ledger, volume F, on folio 20. I promise to pay this sum to the aforementioned [De] Hooges at the next opportunity. Done in Rensselaerswijck, this day, the 3rd of May, in the year 1646.

Abram Clock<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>401</sup> See note 60.

[Page A47]

**[Memorandum of the Sale of a Mare with a Foal and a Stallion to Jan Tomasz]**

On this day, the 3rd of May in the year 1646, A. de [Hooges], in the name of the honorable Lord Patroon of this Colony, [Rensselaerswijck,] has sold two horses to Jan Tomasz,<sup>402</sup> namely, a mare named the Vagabond<sup>403</sup> with her f[foal], and a stallion named the Young Zeelander<sup>404</sup> for the sum of three hundred ~~forty~~ thirty guilders; two hundred to be paid when he collects the horses, and the remainder on the above date, the following year, in a form of payment which is commonly accepted here, at the then-current market price. And Jan Tomasz will be liable for the horses after he has looked them over tomorrow, provided that they are watched like the other horses of the ~~Colony~~ farm.<sup>405</sup> In affirmation of this, Jan Tomasz has signed this with his own hand. Done in Rensselaerswijck, dated as above.

This is the mark  
Made with his



of Jan Tomasz,  
own hand.

In the presence of the  
Undersigned witnesses,  
Jurejan Blanc[ . . . ]<sup>406</sup>  
Michgijl Tadeus

<sup>402</sup> Jan Tomasz. See note 62.

<sup>403</sup> “*De Kalis*.”

<sup>404</sup> “*De Jonge Seeuw*.”

<sup>405</sup> For comments on a similar contractual provision, see note 348.

<sup>406</sup> The transcriber observes that it is very difficult to decipher this signature. Another transcriber surmises, “Jurgissen Van . . .” or “Clan . . .” or “Ban . . .”

[Page A48]

**[Account and Inventory of Merchandise Received by De Hooges from Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop]**

[       ] Pieter Wijnkoop <sup>407</sup> [       ]		
6	<i>Ells</i> <sup>408</sup> bombazine, <sup>409</sup> at f1:2 per <i>ell</i>	f6: 12: --
2	<i>Ells</i> of the same, at f1 per <i>ell</i>	f2: --: --
6	<i>Ells</i> lace <sup>410</sup> at f1:2 per <i>ell</i>	f6: 12: --
100	Double [nails]	f2: --: --
300	Single [nails]	f3: --: --
1600	Nails <sup>411</sup>	f22: 16: --
1	<i>Kan</i> <sup>412</sup> Spanish wine	f1: 4: --
1	Pair of shoes for <i>de Swart</i> , <sup>413</sup> 1/2 beaver <sup>414</sup>	f3: 10: --
2	lb. <sup>415</sup> powdered sugar	f2: 8: --
1	lb. candles	f--: 8: --
100	Double [nails]	f2: --: --
50	Single [nails]	f--: 10: --
44	Candles, 5 1/2 lb.	f2: 4: --
200	Single}	
200	Nails} For <i>de Vlackte</i> <sup>416</sup>	f5: 8: --
1	Sword at 2 beavers <sup>417</sup>	f14: --: --
4	lb. sugar	f4: 16: --
1/4	lb. cinnamon	f1: 10: --
100	Nails	f--: 14: --
19	Small candles <sup>418</sup>	f1: 10: --
6	Small candles	f--: 12: --
300	Nails	f2: 2: --
Another 300	Nails at 14 stivers	f2: 2: --
1	Loaf of sugar	f2: --: --
1	Kettle to the mill	f7: --: --

<sup>407</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop.

<sup>408</sup> An *ell* is linear measurement equal to 27 inches.

<sup>409</sup> A twilled fabric. In earlier centuries it was generally died black and often used to make mourning clothing.

<sup>410</sup> "*Kant*," decorative lace-like material used on the edges of fabric on clothing. Possibly, though not necessarily, open lace, *per se*.

<sup>411</sup> "*Lasijzers*," a type of forged double-nail often used to fasten decks on ships. See Venema, ed. and trans., *Deacon's Accounts*, xvii.

<sup>412</sup> A liquid measure; about a quart.

<sup>413</sup> Probably an African American, perhaps Jan *de Neger*.

<sup>414</sup> Beaver pelts were used as a monetary standard, evidently at this point, equal to seven guilders.

<sup>415</sup> For the Dutch "*pont*," see note 253.

<sup>416</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>417</sup> For the beaver pelt as a monetary equivalent, see note 414.

<sup>418</sup> "*Halfwasse kaerssen*," more literally, half-grown candles.

[Page A48, continued]

12	Pewter <sup>419</sup> dinner plates	<i>f</i> 21:	12:	--
6	Napkins	<i>f</i> 7:	4:	--
		<i>f</i> 114:	2:	--
3	beavers <sup>420</sup> repaid to me by Dirck Claesz, appears per account	<i>f</i> 21:	--:	--
2	of the same paid to Tomas Chambers <sup>421</sup> for me, as per account	<i>f</i> 14:	--:	--
	Repaid to me by Teunis <i>Metselaer</i> <sup>422</sup>	<i>f</i> 74:	--:	--
	Repaid by Van der Donck <sup>423</sup>	<i>f</i> 134:	--:	--
	In cheese, milk, bread, and other things advanced to me while I was on Manhattan in the year 1644	<i>f</i> 6:	10:	--
	For 1 1/2 <i>mudde</i> <sup>424</sup> wheat consumed in the household	<i>f</i> 15:	--:	--
		<i>f</i> 378:	12:	--

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<sup>419</sup> Or "tin," "*tinne*."

<sup>420</sup> For the beaver pelt as a monetary equivalent, see note 414.

<sup>421</sup> Thomas Chambers. See note 77.

<sup>422</sup> Teunis, "*Metselaer* [Mason,]" Teunisz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*.

<sup>423</sup> See note 95.

<sup>424</sup> A *mudde* is equal to 4 *schepels* or about 3 bushels of wheat.

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**[Warrant Authorizing Nicolaes Coorn to Seize the Threshed Grain at “*Broer*” (Brother) Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick’s Farm and Deliver it to Claes Jansz (van Nijkerck) in Payment for Rutger Jacobsz’s Wages]<sup>425</sup>**

N. Coorn,<sup>426</sup> officer of the colony of Rens[selaerswijck] is ordered in the name of the office [ ] to seize and immediately to turn over to Claes Jansz *van Nijkerck*<sup>427</sup> as much threshed grain as shall now be found by him at the farm of *Broer* Cornelis.<sup>428</sup> [This is to be done in order] to effect payment of the wages earned by Ruth Jacobsz,<sup>429</sup> appearing in greater detail in the account register and has been ordered by the Lord Masters to be collected from the aforementioned farm. All those who are there are ordered not to oppose the orders of the Lord Masters, but rather, on the contrary, to offer [their] complete support and assistance. Otherwise, we will have to proceed against the opponents in a strict manner. Done in Rensselaerswijck, [on this, the] 30th of August, 1646.

**[Credit for Thomas Coningh’s Services at De Hooges’s Wedding]<sup>430</sup>**

Thomas Keuningh<sup>431</sup> has earned, for service at my wedding, on the 29th of Octo[ber] [in the] year 1647: in 7 days, at *f*2 [per] day, *f*14.

<sup>425</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108. For the context surrounding the issuance of this warrant, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 812.

<sup>426</sup> Nicolaes Coorn. See note 119.

<sup>427</sup> Claes Jansz (van Nijkerck). One of two people of that name; for biographical notes, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*, 812 and 817.

<sup>428</sup> Cornelis, “*Broer* [Brother] Cornelis,” Anthonisz van Schlick. See note 66.

<sup>429</sup> Rutger Jacobsz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 812.

<sup>430</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>431</sup> Thomas Coningh. See note 104.

[Page A50]

**[Inventory and Accounting of Goods Left Behind by Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop]<sup>432</sup>**

[ ] in accordance with the order of [ ] Lord Masters have found [the following] to be in the possession of P[ieter] Wijnkoop,<sup>433</sup> on this date, the 23rd of July 1646:

29 Whole beaver [pelts], in addition to those specified above. . . .

7 Halves of the same

12 Kettles, large and small

91 Axes<sup>434</sup>

Another kettle, the same

Another 1, the same, 14 items total

That which we have found in his chest, [is] as follows:

1 Box, containing papers, collected by us from his chest, and consigned under my seal

In addition to that,

4 hoop nets, of which, one furnished to Kees de Boer for f14

Another to Evert Pels<sup>435</sup> for f8, which was  
damaged by rats.

Account, sent to the fatherland, of the remainder,

75 Axes remaining

Another 2 to *de Vlackte*<sup>436</sup>

3, Likewise, to the household<sup>437</sup>

The damaged ones traded and sent in the trunk

8 Kettles remaining

1 To Mother<sup>438</sup>

1 [For] the household

1 [To] Poest<sup>439</sup>

1 [To] Kees Wip

2 Traded[,] returned in the trunk which was sent

4 Hoop nets

<sup>432</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>433</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop.

<sup>434</sup> Or "hatchets," "*bijlen*."

<sup>435</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 828.

<sup>436</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>437</sup> Presumably for domestic, rather than farm use at *de Vlackte*.

<sup>438</sup> Most likely the wife of Rev. Johannes Megapolensis. See Venema, ed. and trans., *Deacon's Accounts*, 12n.

<sup>439</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

[Page A50, continued]

... to 2	Of these, sold after the date:	
Indians <sup>440</sup>	4 Axes <sup>442</sup> to Kees de Boer	
... credit	2 Likewise, traded for 2 pieces of beaver [pelt], which have gone for brewing expenses	
... [n]amed	4 Axes <sup>443</sup> to <i>de Vlackte</i> <sup>444</sup>	
Sadahoodi	3 To Mother <sup>445</sup>	
... and	3 traded for 1/2 beaver	
Thiasse	2 to Mother on my behalf, to trade for corn	adh <sup>446</sup>
... openly <sup>441</sup>		
... to		
Ratondax		

---

<sup>440</sup> “*Wilden*,” see note 280.

<sup>441</sup> “*Voor den hant*” could mean a variety of other things as well, depending on the context, most of which is lost here to fire damage.

<sup>442</sup> “*Bijlen*,” see note 434.

<sup>443</sup> “*Bijlen*,” see note 434.

<sup>444</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>445</sup> See note 438.

<sup>446</sup> De Hooges’s initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.



[Page A51]

**[Order for Michiel Jansz to Clear His Accounts before Going to the Manhatans]<sup>447</sup>**

[ ] Michiel Jansz<sup>448</sup> (reserved [ ] the jurisdiction of the Court here [ ] expect, [accounts] will be settled [ ] this [person] released, to be allowed to [ ] himself [ ] to travel to Manhattan, [ ] to relocate, and to pursue his interests, without detriment to the honorable Lord Patroon of this colony. He may therefore leave and return as he wishes.

Done in Rensselaerswijck, 27 July 1646.

Was signed by me.

**[Note to Cornelis Teunisz (or Anthonisz) van Schlick Concerning Claes Jansz's Account]<sup>449</sup>**

Cornelis Theunisz.<sup>451</sup> Since finding that the account statement, which Claes Jansz<sup>452</sup> had had from Ruth<sup>453</sup> to [send to] the fatherland, has been sent back again with the order that you make payment; and he spoke of [ ] sums [due him]. I promised him that I would inform you of this; therefore, you can send instructions with the first vessel about where he will receive the sum [he is due,] since otherwise he [ ] will] certainly receive his due through judicial channels. Yet it is nevertheless good. It would be good if you came up<sup>454</sup> to see for yourself how the harvest is going. I would think you could make a trip once a year to tend to the farm: the Lord Master<sup>455</sup> and you are not bringing in much there. In closing, you are commended to God and receive greetings from your well-wishing friend.

6th<sup>450</sup> of  
August 1646

<sup>447</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>448</sup> See note 65.

<sup>449</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 108.

<sup>450</sup> Perhaps, "16th." The transcriber believes there may have been a "1" before the 6, lost due to damage to the document.

<sup>451</sup> Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick. See note 66.

<sup>452</sup> See note 427.

<sup>453</sup> Probably Rutger Jacobsz. See note 429

<sup>454</sup> That is, up-river from Manhattan, where Van Schlick was living, to his farm in Rensselaerswijck.

<sup>455</sup> The patroon.

[Page A52]

**[Fragment of a Petition by De Hooges]**

[ ] F[inal]ly, I, the undersigned, petition [ ] Lord, the commander and council of  
 [ ] to bring an end to the dispute, because then you will [no] longer be held back  
 [ ] by petty matters, be deprived of more time, and [so that] we may complete our  
 Manhatan travels.  
 [ ] 1646 For this I am, and shall always remain, dependent on you,  
 Your honors' willing servant and friend

**[Memorandum Regarding Continuing Difficulties with Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop]**

[ ] Antonij de Hooges gives Pieter Wijnkoop,<sup>456</sup> as an answer, that everything which  
 Manhatans happened at the time of the dispute, [which] again [was caused] by fighting and  
 [ ] drinking, has finally been brought to a conclusion; for that reason I am astonished, that  
 [ ] the [Wijncoop] is now reviving it again, though, it is true, that it is happening because  
 year 1646 some people are saying malicious things.

**[Memorandum Concerning an Unjust Claim Made by Dirck Volkertsz against De Hooges]<sup>457</sup>**

I cannot understand for what reasons Dirck Volckertz had me cited, and sought compensation for the damages from me. It certainly appears that the aforementioned Dirck has not exerted his brain much,<sup>458</sup> regarding the law. He did not rent the yacht from me; and N. Coorn<sup>459</sup> ought to have known that he should not have made such an agreement with Dirck [Volkertz], because the contents of the declaration were certainly known to him, [and] thus Dirck Volckertz should not have suffered losses from the rapid arrival of the frost.

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<sup>456</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop.

<sup>457</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 109. See Council of New Netherland, minutes, 8 June 1646, in Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*, 316.

<sup>458</sup> Or "did not trouble his head much," "*sijn hoofd . . . niet veel heeft gebroocke[n]*."

<sup>459</sup> Nicolaes Coorn. See note 119.

[Page A53]

**[Memorandum Concerning the Sale of Two Horses to Jan Damen and Jacob Wolfertsz]**

On this date, on the 12th of June, 1646, I have sold two horses, a mare and a stallion, [one] each to Jan Damen<sup>460</sup> and Jacob ~~XXXX~~ [Wolfertsz],<sup>461</sup> to be selected by Michiel J[ ]<sup>462</sup> and Teunis Dirckz,<sup>463</sup> each for f16[2:10<sup>464</sup> ] to be delivered on board<sup>465</sup> in the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck], and free of any further obligations.

**[Account Entries Related to De Hooges's Expenses]**

f84:13 Jacob Wolferz has repaid me for living expenses, credited to his account,<sup>466</sup> f22:[  
 15 ]  
 2  
 18  
 f86:8  
 64:--  
 22:8  
 f64

The entire sum for the expenses which I have incurred with Adriaen Dirck[sz]<sup>467</sup> amounts to f86:8  
 and 3 pairs of socks from the year before last, 3 1/2 beavers,<sup>468</sup> f28:--:--.  
 [Incurred] with Martten Kreyger,<sup>469</sup> expenses f<sup>470</sup>  
 [Incurred] with Philip in the "Wooden Horse"<sup>471</sup> f<sup>472</sup>

162-10  
162-10  
 325- 0

<sup>460</sup> Presumably Jan Claesz Damen. See note 63.

<sup>461</sup> The name is stricken through in the manuscript, but a reference to the transaction on A5 gives it as Jacob Wolfertsz. For Jacob Wolfertsz, see note 64.

<sup>462</sup> Probably Michiel Jansz, given the remaining text and his working relationship with Teunis Dircksz van Vechten.

<sup>463</sup> Teunis Dircksz van Vechten. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 819.

<sup>464</sup> Part of the number is lost due to fire damage, but a reference to the transaction on page A5 includes the figure.

<sup>465</sup> On an unspecified vessel, or on the border of, or the riverbank in the colony, "*ae[n] boort in d[e] Colonie. . .*"

<sup>466</sup> More literally, "to a reduction in his account," viz., a reduction in his indebtedness, "*op afkorting*."

<sup>467</sup> It is unclear whether De Hooges referred here to the Adriaen Dircks who was skipper of the *Houttuijn* or to Adriaen Dircksz van Bil. See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 609, 842.

<sup>468</sup> See note 414. At this point the beaver was evidently valued at f8 which came to be the norm.

<sup>469</sup> For biographical information on Martten Kreijger Sr. and Martten Kreijger Jr., see Jonathan Pearson [Vol. 1] and Arnold J. F. Van Laer [Vols. 2-4], eds., *Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck*, 4 vols., [Vols. 2-4] New York State Library History Bulletin, no. 9-11 (Albany: J. Munsell [vol. 1]; University of the State of New York [vols. 2-4], 1869-1919), I:140n.

<sup>470</sup> De Hooges did not record the amount.

<sup>471</sup> Perhaps the name of a tavern.

<sup>472</sup> De Hooges did not record the amount.

[Page A54]

**[Official Inventory of Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop's Pelts]**

On this date, the 3rd of July, 1646, the [ ]<sup>473</sup> members [of the court] of this colony [of Rensselaerswijck], have tallied the beaver [pelts] in [Wijncoop's ]<sup>474</sup> possession, and [packed them into] trunks [and] nailed [the trunks shut]. [What] we found [is] as follows:

Summer [beaver] pelts	11 items
Inferior [beaver] pelts <sup>475</sup>	29
Good, whole [beaver pelts]	103
Half [beaver pelts]	50
Pieces [of beaver pelts]	14
Otter [pelts]	<u>20</u>
In total:	227 items

In addition, Wijnkoop will show his accounts to us this coming Thursday or Friday, [so we can see] what still remains, and act further in the interests of our masters.<sup>476</sup>

In the name of all,  
A. de Hooges

<sup>473</sup> Missing text almost certainly includes "*gerechts*," which, then, is connected to "*personen*," the first word on the following line, forming "*gerechtspersonen*," "court-people" or "members of the court."

<sup>474</sup> The transcriber has made out enough letters in the damaged edge of the page to surmise that the name is Wijncoop. This is confirmed by the recurrence of the name in the final sentence of the document.

<sup>475</sup> Or two-thirds pelts, "*Drielingen*." See Charles T. Gehring, ed. and trans., *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*, 1st ed., New Netherland Documents Series, no. XVI, part 1 ([Syracuse, N.Y.]: Syracuse University Press, 1991), xxiv.

<sup>476</sup> The patroon and his testamentary guardians.

[Page A55]

**[Promissory Note of Crijn Cornelisz to De Hooges]**

... 67 I, Crijn Cornelisz,<sup>477</sup> promise [ ] to pay the sum] of f150 to A. de Hooges, or [his]  
 ... of designee,<sup>478</sup> fulfill<sup>479</sup> [ ] to pay [in the] future; and Cornelis van Es<sup>480</sup> and Cornelis  
 ... Crijnen<sup>481</sup> will serve as surety for the aforementioned sum, in the event that payment  
 ... falls short at the aforementioned time. Done [in] Rensselaerswijck on this, the 7th of  
 ... passed July in the year 1646. Was signed,

This is the mark of  Crijn [Cornelisz], ma[de] with his own hand

This is the mark of  Cornelis Krijne[n], made with his own hand

Cornelis van Nes

adh<sup>482</sup>**[Contract of Roeloff Cornelisz to Thatch Cornelis Segersz's Roof]<sup>483</sup>**

150  
 74  
 124<sup>484</sup>

On this date, the 8th of July, in the year 1646, I, Roeloff Cornelisz,<sup>485</sup> have entered into a contract to roof the house of Cornelis Segerz<sup>486</sup> with straw, in addition to the lathe and expenses, and the inside,<sup>487</sup> [which will be] at his expense, on the condition that the pieces of lathe should be no more than one *voet*<sup>488</sup> from each other, and if nails run short to finish those [remaining] with wicker; everything straight<sup>489</sup> and solidly built, for the amount of ninety guilders, which sum will be paid by Cornelis Segerz with goods from his farm. Dated as above.

<sup>477</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 810-11.

<sup>478</sup> The text reads, "*gemachte*," but De Hooges certainly meant "*gemachtigde*."

<sup>479</sup> Damage to the document has removed the context, making it difficult to translate with certainty: "*bekleede[n] voor ofte op Va. . .*"

<sup>480</sup> Cornelis Hendricksz van Nes. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 824-25.

<sup>481</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 823.

<sup>482</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

<sup>483</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 109.

<sup>484</sup> *Sic*. Evidently a mathematical error or slip of the pen.

<sup>485</sup> See note 94.

<sup>486</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>487</sup> "Inside" is written twice.

<sup>488</sup> "*Voet*" translates as "foot." An Amsterdam *voet* was slightly more than 11 inches.

<sup>489</sup> The Dutch word is "*trouwelijk[ck]*." This would most commonly be translated "faithfully" or "truly," but here and elsewhere, I believe De Hooges uses the word to indicate straightness or the quality of being in alignment, as in the same sense of the English word, "true."

[Page A55, continued]

**[Memorandum Regarding an Overdue Promissory Note of Teunis Teunisz]**

74 This sum *Pro memorie.* I have, on this date, learned of a promissory note<sup>491</sup> that Wijnkoop<sup>492</sup>  
[s]tood<sup>490</sup> on has, for which which Te[unis] *de Metselaer*<sup>493</sup> should have repaid him. I have to  
the books investigate this, namely, the sum of [ .]

---

<sup>490</sup> The transcriber observes, “The first part [of this line] has been lost due to fire damage; taken from the context.”

<sup>491</sup> Or a “draft” or “assignment,” “*assignatie*.”

<sup>492</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijnkoop.

<sup>493</sup> Teunis Teunisz “*de Metselaer*,” (the mason). See note 422.

[Page A56<sup>494</sup>]

**[Court Resolution Concerning the Liquidation of the Late Brant Peelen's Accounts]<sup>495</sup>**

[ ]<sup>496</sup> Gerritsz is by [ ] and designated [ ] the [ ] received accounting [records] of the late Brandt Peelen,<sup>497</sup> arranged in debits and credits, as it is recorded in the Account Book of this Colony [of Rensselaerswijck], to settle [accounts] mutually, obligations as well as counter-obligations.

In this settlement he will, therefore, conduct himself in such a way as he will deem proper, [in accordance] with actions of the court or other [standards].

Done in Rensselaerswijck, the 29th of April, 1647.

By the resolution of the court of the aforementioned colony.

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<sup>494</sup> The second series of documents, which begins from the opposite end of the volume (indicated in this translation with B-series pagination) is intermixed after this page with A-series pages.

<sup>495</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 109.

<sup>496</sup> The transcriber believes the name may have been Crijn, though damage to this part of the document makes certainty impossible.

<sup>497</sup> See note 147.

[Page A57]

**[Account of Pieter Pietersz Wijnkoop's Merchandise]**

	[ ] to the merchandise of [Pieter] Wijnkoop <sup>498</sup>	
[ ] entered <sup>499</sup>	Van Es <sup>500</sup>	f68: --: --
	Roeloff Cornelisz <sup>501</sup>	f4: 10: --
[ ] entered	Jan Reijerz <sup>502</sup>	f11: 12: --
[ ] entered	Jacob Flodder <sup>503</sup>	f48: --: --
[ ] book, folio 1 v[erso] <sup>504</sup>	Jan Cornelisz <i>Timmerman</i> <sup>505</sup>	f32: 16: --
[ ] entered	Account of <i>de Vlackte</i> <sup>506</sup> which Curler <sup>507</sup> conveyed to De Hooges	f61: 2: --
[ ] entered [on] account	Evert Pels <sup>508</sup>	f198: 7: --
	Vosje <sup>509</sup>	f12: --: --
[ ] entered	Rutt <sup>510</sup>	f12: 17: --
[ ] entered	Hans Vos <sup>511</sup>	f27: 10: 8
	Jantje at the Mill	f7: --: --
	Reverend Megap[olensis] <sup>512</sup>	f120: --: --
	Pieter Cornelisz <sup>513</sup> for Lubbert <sup>514</sup>	f125: 4: --
[ ] entered	Lord Harmanus <sup>515</sup>	f21: 4: --
[ ] entered	Andries de Vos <sup>516</sup>	f64: 19: --

<sup>498</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijnkoop.

<sup>499</sup> Or placed, "*gestelt*." The transcriber surmises that these marginal notes were added later and observes that the full phrase on this and following lines is likely, "entered on the account."

<sup>500</sup> Cornelis van Nes. See note 480.

<sup>501</sup> See note 94.

<sup>502</sup> Or Reyersz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 823-24.

<sup>503</sup> Jacob Jansz Gardenier. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 816.

<sup>504</sup> The transcriber observes that this is a page reference and that there is an upward stroke of the pen following the number, presumably indicating "*verso*," the reverse side of the leaf.

<sup>505</sup> Jan Cornelisz, the carpenter. See note 239.

<sup>506</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>507</sup> Arent van Curler. See note 146.

<sup>508</sup> See note 435.

<sup>509</sup> Probably Cornelis Cornelisz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 822-823.

<sup>510</sup> Probably Rutger Jacobsz. See note 429.

<sup>511</sup> For a biographical note see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 829.

<sup>512</sup> Rev. Johannes Megapolensis. See note 200.

<sup>513</sup> See note 92.

<sup>514</sup> Perhaps Lubbert Gijsbertsz, wheelwright. See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 808.

<sup>515</sup> Presumably Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert.

<sup>516</sup> For a biographical note see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 825.



[Page A57, continued]

[	] axes	H[err]ij <sup>517</sup> for 8 axes, <sup>518</sup> 2 beavers, <sup>519</sup> of which I have added 2	<del>f21:</del>	<del>2:</del>	--
		Cornelis Crijnen <sup>520</sup>	f7:	--:	--
		Jan Teunisz <sup>521</sup> for 1 cabinet with glasses and 1 of the same,	f84:	--:	--
		with pipes, 12 beavers			
		Reverend Bogardus <sup>522</sup>	f21:	8:	--
		Jochem Pieterz	f7:	--:	--
		Jan Cornelisz on Manhattan	f4:	--:	--
		Lord Kieft <sup>523</sup>	f72:	--:	--
		Jan Snijer on Manhattan for board	f50:	--:	--
		Poest, <sup>524</sup> 12 axes <sup>525</sup>	f <sup>526</sup>		
		Dick has for trading			
		18 axes <sup>527</sup>			
		6 kettles <sup>528</sup>	f <sup>528</sup>		
		Reijer Stoffelz <sup>529</sup>	f74: <sup>530</sup>	--:	--
[	] Ledger, volume F, folio 75 on his <sup>531</sup> transferred to his				
	account				

<sup>517</sup> Only the first and last two letters of the name are clear. It may be a reference to Henrick Albertsz.

<sup>518</sup> Or "hatchets," "*bijlen*."

<sup>519</sup> See note 414. At this point the beaver was evidently valued at f8 which came to be the norm.

<sup>520</sup> See note 481.

<sup>521</sup> For a biographical note see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 826.

<sup>522</sup> See note 69.

<sup>523</sup> Willem Kieft.

<sup>524</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

<sup>525</sup> Or "hatchets," "*bijlen*."

<sup>526</sup> De Hooges did not write a number.

<sup>527</sup> Or "hatchets," "*bijlen*."

<sup>528</sup> De Hooges did not record the amount.

<sup>529</sup> Reyer Stoffelsz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 822.

<sup>530</sup> One number is written over another by way of correction. The transcriber observes that it seems to be a "4" written over a "9."

<sup>531</sup> Probably a reference to Arendt van Curler.

[Page A58]

**[Account of Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop's Furs]**

[ ] from Wijnkoop<sup>532</sup> to [ ]

100 Good beaver [pelts]

20 Summer [beaver] pelts

78 Pieces, large and small half[beaver pelts]

24 Otter [pelts]

1 Bearskin [of] poor [quality]

---

<sup>532</sup> Pieter Pietersz Wijncoop.

[Page A59]

**[Contract with Jan Gerritsz and Baerent Pietersz Kooijemans to Operate the Sawmill and for Jan Gerritsz to Repair both the Sawmill and the Gristmill]<sup>533</sup>**

October

[the] 11th<sup>534</sup> of October, [I] have cancelled the previous contract established with Jan *Timmerman*,<sup>535</sup> and Baerent Pieterz,<sup>536</sup> and agreed with them [to enter] again [into a new] con[tract], [under which] they will both tend the sawmill, and the aforementioned Jan [Gerritsz will] repair<sup>537</sup> both mills, in so far as he can, with the provision that they will receive three stivers for each cut, and one hundred and twenty-five guilders annually, for the board of both of them, and this contract will continue to the end of the term of the aforementioned Jan Gerritz's lease.

**[Account of Jan *de Neger*]**

That which Jan *de Neger*<sup>538</sup> [who is] in the Lord Patroon's service, has advanced<sup>539</sup> for clothing which was promised to him and which, according to him, [he] is due:

1 Pair of socks, paid to Simon Pes	f2: --: --
1 Pair of shoes from Jacob Schermerhorn <sup>540</sup>	f4: --: --
1 Pair of the same from Pieter Bronck <sup>541</sup>	f3: 10: --
1 Shirt [from] the same	f5: --: --
1 Pair of linen pants from <i>de Melaert</i>	f3: --: --
1 Red under waistcoat <sup>542</sup> from the same	f4: --: --

<sup>533</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 109.

<sup>534</sup> If read as a Roman numeral, this could be "IInd," that is, the second of October.

<sup>535</sup> Jan Gerritsz, the carpenter. See note 325.

<sup>536</sup> Baerent Pietersz Kooijemans. See note 89.

<sup>537</sup> Or "build" or "enclose," "*betimmeren*."

<sup>538</sup> See note 84.

<sup>539</sup> It is certainly possible to read "that which" as the subject and "Jan *de Neger*" as the object of this clause—and therefore to read the entries as sums which had been advanced *to* him by the patroon—but given that the sum "due him for carrying out justice" (obviously a credit, rather than a debit) is added to the costs for articles of clothing, it seems more plausible to read the entries for articles of clothing as items which had been promised to him but that he had purchased himself and, therefore, as amounts for which he was entitled to be reimbursed. Van Laer likewise reads these entries as sums "advanced by [Jan *de Neger*] for clothes which he was to receive in the service of the patroon." See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 835.

<sup>540</sup> Jacob Jansz van Schermerhoorn. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 841.

<sup>541</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 840.

<sup>542</sup> This was probably a garment worn by men between the shirt and outerwear, though the term may also have been used here to refer to a garment used as sleepwear.

[Page A59, continued]

1 English hat from Gerrit Oom			<i>f</i> 4:	--:	--
1 Pair of woolen pants from <i>de Melaert</i>			<i>f</i> 9:	10:	--
	adh <sup>543</sup>	Total	<i>f</i> 35:	--:	--
Also due him for carrying out justice <sup>544</sup>			<i>f</i> 38:	--:	--
			<i>f</i> 73:	--:	--

[ ] June 1647.

[ ] *f*73[.] Jan paid from Van Es,<sup>545</sup> 20 stivers [in] buckwheat

<sup>543</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

<sup>544</sup> Jan was induced to carry out the sentence on Wolf Nijssen of death by hanging and was paid for his service as temporary executioner. See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 835; Scott Christianson, "Criminal Punishment in New Netherland," in *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place: Selected Rensselaerswijck Seminar Papers*, ed. Nancy Anne McClure Zeller ([Albany]: New Netherland Publishing, 1991), 87. One scholar has expressed doubts about whether this was, in fact, an execution or some lesser form of punishment. See Nissenson, *Patroon's Domain*, 140n-141n.

<sup>545</sup> Cornelis van Nes. See note 480.

[Page A60]

**[Account of Items from the Late Brant Peelen's Farm, Received by Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout]**

[ ]s Inventory of the farm of [ ] the late Brant] Peelen,<sup>546</sup> for that which has been received by Cornelis Segersz,<sup>547</sup> farmer on this farm. This, the 1st of May, 1644.

First,  
3 full grown mares  
1 stallion, 4 years old

To small household items and other things, sold for	f70:	--:	--
To two fat pigs, sold to him	f80:	--:	--
To scythes, <sup>548</sup> sickle <sup>549</sup> handles, and other small items	f50:	--:	--
The same, a small quantity of peas and beans			
To a chest with all manner of old ironwork	f30:	--:	--
To three pigs	f50:	--:	--
To a kettle for brewing, with its associated [items]	f250:	--:	--
Total	f530:	--:	--

From this, f250 will be paid or deducted in behalf of Brant Peelen, thus, he has assumed responsibility to pay an obligation in behalf of Brant Peelen.

Done on this, the 24th of September, 1644  
Was signed,  
Arendt van Curler<sup>550</sup>  
adh<sup>551</sup>

Note:  
I have submitted this certificate of debt, of which this is a copy, to Goossen Gerritz,<sup>552</sup> for payment of the outstanding debts of the aforementioned farm, [on] this [the] 30th of April, in the [ye]ar 1647.

A. de Hooges

<sup>546</sup> See note 147.

<sup>547</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>548</sup> Could also be a reference to fishing nets, (seines), but given the context, scythes or reaping hooks seem more likely.

<sup>549</sup> More precisely, the reference is to tools which were smaller than scythes but larger than sickles, "*sichten*."

<sup>550</sup> See note 146.

<sup>551</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

<sup>552</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 811-12.

[Page A61]

**[Promissory Note of De Hooges for Jacob Hevingh's Salary]**

[ ] I, A. de Hooges, the undersigned, acknowledge [ ] the Lord Patroon of this colony, [Rensselaerswijck ] indebted [ ] Jacob Hevick<sup>553</sup> for wages [ ] and eighteen guilders and ten stivers [ ] appears, in the Ledger, volume F, on fo[lio ] promise to pay him the foregoing sum [ ] out of the first and most liquid resources [available]. Done in Rensselaerswijck on this, the 3rd of [ ] in the year 1647.

**[Promissory Note of De Hooges to Gerrit Jansz]<sup>554</sup>**

I, A. de Hooges, the undersigned, acknowledge to be genuinely [ ] justly indebted, in behalf of the honorable Lord Patroon of the Colony of Rensselaerswijck, to Gerrit Jansz van Haerlem,<sup>555</sup> the sum of 28 guild[ers] still due to him for getting the [ ] I promise to pay the foregoing sum to the afo[rementioned ] Gerrit Jansz from our most liquid resources at the earliest [opportunity] to the satisfaction [ ] Done in the aforementioned colony, [the] 4th [of] May, 1647.

. . . came to him

*f.* 40, of which

*f.* 12 allocated to the brewery, so that there still remains

*f.* 28

<sup>553</sup> Jacob Hevingh. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 835.

<sup>554</sup> This is the balance of the payment due Gerrit Jansz for "bringing the ordinance." See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 824.

<sup>555</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 824.

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**[Lease Agreement between the Presiding Officers of Rensselaerswijck and Thomas Chambers for Land near the Farm Called *de Vlackte*]**

In the Name of the Lord, Amen.<sup>556</sup>

On the 7th of September in the year 1646 the presiding officers of the Colony of Rensselaerswijck on one side, and Thomas Chamber<sup>557</sup> on the other side have agreed and have come to terms regarding a certain piece of land, located diagonally opposite the farm called *de Vlackte*,<sup>558</sup> on the east bank of the river [betw]een the two *kils*;<sup>559</sup> he, the aforementioned Thomas [Chambers,] will use this land, described above, as a farm for the period of five consecutive years, beginning on the first of November, 1647, on the following conditions:

Thomas Chamber shall—for free, at no obligation or cost and without a *duijt*<sup>560</sup> for it to be charged to the Lord Patroon's account—have a barn built on the land described above, sixty *voetten*<sup>561</sup> long on the outside,<sup>562</sup> 28 *voetten* wide, the side aisle and everything as appropriate [and] as necessary for the task, everything straight and of solid construction, without any [other] specific requirements for the same, yet in all of its parts and components similar to Poentje's<sup>563</sup> barn.

[He will likewise have a] house, [constructed], separate from and not attached to the barn,<sup>564</sup> thirty-two *voetten* long, eighteen *voetten* wide, with a side aisle on one side, the upright posts extending two and one half *voett* above the anchor beams, constructed with care,<sup>565</sup> without any [other] specific requirements, without cost to the

<sup>556</sup> As with other documents in this volume, the edges of the document on this and subsequent pages were damaged by fire. Missing text which has been supplied from a translation made before most of the damage occurred, is indicated by chevrons. See O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:473-74.

<sup>557</sup> Thomas Chambers. See note 77.

<sup>558</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>559</sup> For the word "*kil*," see note 120. This prepositional phrase was written in the left margin, as an addition to the sentence.

<sup>560</sup> A coin worth very little: one-eighth of a *stuiver*.

<sup>561</sup> See note 488.

<sup>562</sup> As in the older English phrase, "without the clear," "*buijttens wercks*."

<sup>563</sup> Probably Teunis Cornelisz van Vechten. See note 103.

<sup>564</sup> An indication that the house was not to share a roof and a wall with the barn, as was then common in much of the Dutch Republic.

<sup>565</sup> Or "straight construction," "*trouw werck*," see note 489.

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Patroon, as [stated] above.

In addition, [he will have] hay barracks and fences<sup>566</sup> [constructed]; *in {fine, everything}* without cost to the aforementioned Lord, on the condition that he, [Thomas Chambers,] receives two mares and two stallions, as well as four dairy cows. The increase of [the livestock] is to be [divided] half-and-half [between him and the Patroon]; indeed, in this respect he will enjoy the rights of the farm[er]s, which will be confirmed [with] a lease upon the {arrival} of the director. The risk in this respect will also be [shared] half-and-half, except for those [animals] which happen to be killed by Indians,<sup>567</sup> for which the Lord Patroon will bear the expense, provided that sufficient evidence of this is furnished.

In the event that the opportunity presents itself to construct a mill in the area around the farm, then Thomas [Chambers] will be given preference over others on the same conditions [granted] the others, or [on other conditions] as are then established.

Out of the [harvest from] the summer planting of 1647, he will on[ly ] pay the tithe,<sup>568</sup> and, with that, be free from further obligation.

He will be allowed to thresh and collect the grain from the final planting he grows at the farm, but [must] leave the fodder there, without receiving payment [for it].

The tithe remains in place for the years of the lease, [as] for the other farms.

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<sup>566</sup> Or palisades, or stockade posts, "*palessaede[n]*."

<sup>567</sup> See note 280.

<sup>568</sup> For the tithe in Rensselaerswijck, see note 163.



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Liability for the aforementioned house, barn, and hay barracks as well as the fences<sup>569</sup> is the responsibility of Thom[as] Chamber.

And the abovementioned Thomas [Chambers] shall maintain the aforementioned house, barn, and hay barracks, keeping them tightly enclosed<sup>570</sup> on the top and sides, [and] solid and sound on the inside, without anything on them falling into disrepair; likewise with the surrounding land, enclosing as much as necessary [with fences] which are not more than two years old at the expiration of his lease, [when he shall] turn them over and surrender them to the Lord Patroon, or [Chamber's] successor living here, without costs or expenses. And the aforementioned house, barn, hay barracks, and fences will be the rent for the Lord Patroon, for the aforesaid five years.

In the event that it should happen (God forbid) that war should break out between us and the Indians,<sup>571</sup> forcing Thomas [Chambers] to flee, then the time that he is absent from the farm will not count toward the term of his lease; but his time will resume when he takes possession of it again.

And because Thomas Chamber[s] requests assurance that the Lords Masters will confirm this condition, without diminishing,

---

<sup>569</sup> Or palisades or stockade posts, "*palessaede[n]*."

<sup>570</sup> More literally "closed" or "sealed," "*dicht*."

<sup>571</sup> See note 280.

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or adding to, or {annul[ling]} it—therefore—we, in the name of {the} aforementioned {Lord Masters}, promise and assure the abovementioned T[homas Chambers], that in everything which is mentioned and stipulated in this [agreement], there will be absolutely no omission or failure [to adhere to the terms],<sup>572</sup> but on the cont[rary], the foregoing will remain in force as if our aforementioned honorable Lords had enacted it themselves.

In addition, Thomas Chamber shall annually present twenty-five *ponden*<sup>573</sup> butter, as a tribute<sup>574</sup> during the term of his lease.

Thomas Chamber will use the pasture above and below his farm without being hindered<sup>575</sup> by others. (Agreed.)<sup>576</sup>

Additionally, the honorable presiding officers aforementioned, [agree] that he, Thomas [Chambers], shall continue to use the farm described above after the expiration of the five years, for the three [more] consecutive years, on the condition that [he] pay from the proceeds arising from the aforementioned farm, five hundred guilders annually, in addition to the tithe,<sup>577</sup> at the price for which grain is then, at that time, being sold. And, in addition to the horses described above, in accordance with the agreement, one more mare and [one more] stallion will be furnished to him at the aforementioned time.

In all that is written above, Thomas Chamber hereby [ ] promises, likewise (as the honorable presiding officers have previously promised, that on their side there will [be] absolutely no failure to adhere to these conditions),

---

<sup>572</sup> More literally, “absolutely no omission or failure will be perceived,” “*gans gee[n] manquement, ofte naelatt[igheid] sall werde[n] bespeurt. . .*”

<sup>573</sup> See note 253.

<sup>574</sup> Or “token.” This appears to be connected to the feudal practice of “tributes” presented by vassals to lords. O’Callaghan translates it as “an acknowledgment.” In the instance here it was, in part, a symbolic act by which the presenter *acknowledged* the receiver as “lord.” Nonetheless, given its connection with the earlier practice, it seems appropriate to translate “*ee[n] erkenenis*,” as “a tribute.” See O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:474.

<sup>575</sup> Or “delayed,” “*sonder door andere[n] verlet te worde[n]*.”

<sup>576</sup> This clause was inserted later, and “*veraccordee[ert]*,” or, “agreed,” was subsequently added as evidence that the presiding officers had agreed to the ammendment.

<sup>577</sup> For the tithe in Rensselaerswijck, see note 163.

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{under his signature} to [avoid] entirely [any] {failure in the performance of these conditions}, but will abide by [the terms] punctually, under penalty of forfeiture of all of his [ ] property, moveable and immovable, now and in the future, however [valuable] they may be, under obligation to all of the lords, courts, tribunals, and judges, on condition of renunciation in accordance with the law.<sup>578</sup> In addition he promises to be in every way, dutifully submissive to his lawful authorities, to be faithful to them in intent and action,<sup>579</sup> as the situation dictates, [and] as a subject is obligated to do. In affirmation of this, Tomas Chamber has signed this with his own hand.

Done in Rensselaerswijck; dated as above.

Thomas Chamber

In my presence,  
in the name of  
their honors, as above

Antonio de Hooges

---

<sup>578</sup> The exact meaning of these prepositional phrases is unclear. It appears to mean that Chambers renounced a legal right, perhaps to appeal judgments made by leaders of the patroonship to other judicial bodies. The original reads, “*mits renunciërende als naer Rechte[n]*.”

<sup>579</sup> Or “in inner disposition and outward appearance,” “*in gehouw en[de] getrouw.*”

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**[Notes Concerning the Accounts of Claes Jansz, Rutger Jacobsz, Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick, Michiel Jansz, and Sijmon Walichsz]**

	To Claesz Jansz <sup>580</sup> on the account			
	of Ruth Jacobsz, <sup>581</sup> amounting to,	<i>f</i> [     ]		
	with interest, <i>f</i> 99	<i>f</i> 4[     ]		
	From the farm of <i>Broer</i> Cornelis, <sup>582</sup>		Note: I will [     ]	
17	while he was at the Mannhattans,		three for [     ]	
<u>4</u>	68 stivers		and will then have	
68	Wheat amounts to	<i>f</i> 170	the choice among	
<u>2</u>	2 more horses, which are mares, of the		the rest	
136	same farm at <i>f</i> 162:10 each	<u><i>f</i>325</u>		
<u>34</u>				
<u><i>f</i>170</u>		<i>f</i> 495-		
		<u><i>f</i>477-</u>	<u>13-</u>	<u>8</u>
162 - 10				
<u>2</u>		<i>f</i> 17-	<u>6-</u>	<u>8</u>
<u><i>f</i>325</u>	Claes Jansz debit			
		<i>f</i> 495-	-	
[     ] will	Sold to Michiel Jansz <sup>583</sup> in accordance			
beforehand	with the resolution of the Court[:]			
[     ] and will	1 mare of his former farm at 1 1/2 [years]			
there	1 of the same from the same farm at 3			
[     ]	years			
[     ] have	1 of the same from Simon Waelingen, <sup>584</sup>			
	that is credited to him, <sup>585</sup> at 4 to 5 years.			
	These horses are conveyed to him on			
	the condition that, if he has			
	increase <sup>586</sup> [from the horses], that			
	will be credited as full payment;			
	[and] if he loses [any] <sup>587</sup> that he			
	shall promptly pay the Lord Patroon			
	for it, each one at <i>f</i> 156:10:-- , the total			
	coming to <i>f</i> 469:10:--.			
	adh <sup>588</sup>			

<sup>580</sup> See note 427.

<sup>581</sup> Rutger Jacobsz. See note 429

<sup>582</sup> Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick. See note 66.

<sup>583</sup> See note 65.

<sup>584</sup> Symon Walichsz. For a biographical note see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 815.

<sup>585</sup> More literally, "that is to his benefit" or "to his credit," "*dat hem tegoed komt.*"

<sup>586</sup> More literally, "if he has profit" or "if he has credit," "*indie[n] hij te goed heeft.*"

<sup>587</sup> More literally, "if harm," or "if loss," "*indie[n] te quaedt.*"

<sup>588</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

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**[Promissory Note of De Hooges to the Deacons of Rensselaerswijck]<sup>589</sup>**

I, Antonij de Hooges, the unders[igned], have, in the name of the honorable Lord Patroon of the colony of Rensselaers Wijck, borrowed from the deacons of the aforementioned place, for the term of one year, to be repaid in currency, at the option of the lenders (on condition of paying ten percent per year, in interest) the sum of two hundred guilders in *sewan[t]*,<sup>590</sup> of which one hundred twenty guilders are counted superior to ordinary *sewan[t]*, promising to repay the abovestated sum, in the form stated above, to the satisfaction of the deacons of the aforementioned place.

In affirmation of this, [I] have signed this act with my own hand. Done in Rensselaerswijck, [the] 29th of May, in the year 1647.

---

<sup>589</sup> Another, looser translation of this is in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:471.

<sup>590</sup> See note 369.

[Page B1]

*Soli Deo Gloria* adh<sup>591</sup>

E

**Memoranda and**for the<sup>592</sup>**Lists of the tithe<sup>593</sup> and the third-share****and the numbers of livestock**

in the year of our Lord,

4

8

3

1645

[i]n the<sup>594</sup>

Colony [of]

Rensselaers-Wijck

all<sup>595</sup><sup>591</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.<sup>592</sup> The transcriber observes that these words were written by another hand.<sup>593</sup> For the tithe in Rensselaerswijck, see note 163.<sup>594</sup> One letter (perhaps more) is lost to fire damage; the transcriber surmises that the letter "i" was lost.<sup>595</sup> The transcriber observes that this word and the stray numbers above it, appear to have been made to test pens.

[Page B2]

## [Notes and Partial List of Acts and Memoranda in the Second Series of Folios]

8	14	adh adh adh <sup>596</sup>	Anno 164[ ]
28	3		Rensselaer[swijck]
—8	42	Cornelis Segerss's <sup>597</sup> and <sup>598</sup> Brechtgen's <sup>599</sup> last	
		will and testament	f[olio 1] <sup>600</sup>
224		D'Hoogen's merchandise	f[olio 1]
42	16	Hoogen's sending <sup>601</sup> 2 horses to the general	f[olio 1 verso]
448	12	Jan Beernt <sup>602</sup> and <sup>603</sup> Constapel's <sup>604</sup> contract	f[olio 2]
896	32	Hoogen's servant <sup>605</sup> Mataes, advanced 69	
		[guilders]	f[olio 3 verso]
940 8	16	Symen Walickss <sup>606</sup> promised to pay half of the	
470	192	debts	f[olio 4 verso]
120	120	List of the patroon's tithe, <sup>607</sup> [16]46	f[olio 5]
590	312	Toenis Dirckss's <sup>608</sup> tithe for the year 1646	f[olio 5 verso]
		Cornelis Segerss and <sup>609</sup> Goosen Gerritss <sup>610</sup> had	
		to be forbidden to brew at their residences <sup>611</sup>	f[olio 6 verso]
		1 <i>lb groot</i> <sup>612</sup> at their death <sup>613</sup>	
		D'Hoogen's account of his salary	f[olio 7 verso]
		Evert Pels's <sup>614</sup> lease <sup>615</sup> [ ]	f[olio 8]

<sup>596</sup> Three sets of De Hooges's initials, in fairly elaborate calligraphic flourishes.

<sup>597</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>598</sup> The manuscript reads "*Cornelis Segerss van Brechtgens testament*," but it is evident from the document to which this refers (on page B3) that De Hooges meant to indicate a joint will.

<sup>599</sup> Brecht or Brechtje Jacobs.

<sup>600</sup> At the edge of the page, each line in this column appears to have a letter "f" for "folio." The transcriber has completed the lines with the folio numbers as they now appear in the memorandum book.

<sup>601</sup> More literally, the "*missive*" of two horses to the general, but De Hooges was using the word in a sense more akin to its Latin root, rather than in the sense of correspondence.

<sup>602</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

<sup>603</sup> The manuscript reads "*Jan Beernt van constapels contract*," but it is evident from the document to which this refers (on page B5) that De Hooges meant to indicate a contract between the two men.

<sup>604</sup> Andries "*Constapel*" Herbertsz. See note 90.

<sup>605</sup> Young male servant, "*jongen*."

<sup>606</sup> Simon Walichsz. See note 584.

<sup>607</sup> For the tithe in Rensselaerswijck, see note 163.

<sup>608</sup> Teunis Dircksz van Vechten. See note 463.

<sup>609</sup> The manuscript reads "*Cornelis Segerss van Goossen Geritss*," but it is evident from the documents to which this refers (on page B14) that De Hooges meant to indicate that both men had had to be prohibited from brewing.

<sup>610</sup> See note 552.

<sup>611</sup> This entry was written below with a symbol for it to be inserted here.

<sup>612</sup> A "Flemish pound," or a "York Pound." Six guilders at 20 stivers per guilder.

<sup>613</sup> This refers to the last will and testament of Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout and Brechtje Jacobs listed in the third entry on this page. Why it is inserted here is open to speculation; there may have been a mark on the manuscript, now lost to damage, indicating that it was meant to be inserted after the third line. Cornelis's and Brechtje's youngest daughter, Lijsbet, was to inherit one Flemish *pont* (the same as a "*lb groot*") from her parents at their death. The full text of the will is on page B3.

<sup>614</sup> See note 435.

<sup>615</sup> The transcriber notes that this is an abbreviation for a word—which the transcriber cannot definitively discern—the root of which is "rent" or "pay," "*huijerss*." In this case, the document to which the words refer is clearly a lease.

[Page B2, continued]

Regarding the [great] fish f[olio 11]  
 That D'Hoogens was a ruination in the  
 colony [of Rensselaerswijck] f[olio 12]

Copy Cargo of linen<sup>616</sup> delivered to Lord Vasterick,<sup>617</sup> to trade or sell [for] good whole  
 beaver [pelts] for me, on the 15th of April, 16[4 ]

Number 1	51 <i>ells</i> <sup>618</sup> long, at the rate of	<i>f</i> 2:8:-- per <i>ell</i>	<i>f</i> 122: [8:--] <sup>619</sup>
Number 2	51 <i>ells</i> long, at the rate of	<i>f</i> 1:18:-- per <i>ell</i>	<i>f</i> 96:1[8:--]
Number 3	50 <i>ells</i> long, at the rate of	<i>f</i> 1:16:-- per <i>ell</i>	<i>f</i> 90: [--:--]
Number 4	<u>52 <i>ells</i> long, at the rate of</u>	<u><i>f</i>1:12:-- per <i>ell</i></u>	<u><i>f</i>83: [4:--]</u>
	204 <i>ells</i>	Total:	<i>f</i> 392:[--:--]

Hoogens's servant, f[olios] 4, 6, 8  
 List of the tithe [f]olio 5  
 Toenis Dirrickss,<sup>620</sup> [folio] 6  
 Pels's<sup>621</sup> lease [ ],<sup>622</sup> f[olio] 9

Was signed,  
 A. d'[Hooges]

<sup>616</sup> Or similar material, "*lijnwaet*."

<sup>617</sup> "*Seigneur* Vasterick." Almost certainly Gerrit Vastrick. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 842.

<sup>618</sup> See note 408.

<sup>619</sup> On this and subsequent lines the stivers and cents have been lost to fire damage. They are supplied here by making calculations based on the columns to the left.

<sup>620</sup> The same Teunis Dircksz van Vechten whose name appears earlier on this page.

<sup>621</sup> The same Evert Pels whose name appears earlier on this page.

<sup>622</sup> See note 615.



[Page B3]

1.

**[Last Will and Testament of Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout and Brechtje Jacobs]**

Draft of the following testament.

Cornelis Segersz<sup>623</sup> with his wife Brecht Jacobsz<sup>624</sup> appeared before me, both declaring that they currently have nothing relevant by way of possessions [to bequeath in a will] and, in view of the fact that their five children, Cornelis,<sup>625</sup> Claes,<sup>626</sup> Seger,<sup>627</sup> Jannetje, and Neeltje are currently living with him, and are helpful to him in the acquisition of resources, they therefore name the five aforementioned children to [be] their lawful heirs, upon their demise, [to inherit] anything which might be acquired after this time. [I]t is up to them, when the time comes for one of the five to leave, to give him or her a share in the property,<sup>628</sup> as they deem best. And with regard to Lijsbet, who is their sixth child, who is currently married and is, therefore, independent,<sup>629</sup> she is hereby excluded from inheriting<sup>630</sup> any property, now owned or acquired in the future, with the provision that after their deaths she will receive one Flemish pound<sup>631</sup> at f6:[--:--] as a token.

**[Draft on the Orphanmasters of Amsterdam to Pay Claes Jansz on Behalf of De Hooges]**

The honorable lords, guardians of the orphans chamber of Amstelredam,<sup>632</sup> will kindly pay Claes Jansz Smit<sup>633</sup> or his agent the sum of fifty-nine guilders in my name. With that you will do a friendly deed for me and [I] will appre[ciate] it [ .]<sup>634</sup>

Done in Manhattan, the 8th of July, 1647.

A. d'[Hooges]

<sup>623</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>624</sup> Brecht or Brechtje Jacobs.

<sup>625</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 833. Unfortunately, biographical notes for the female offspring do not seem to exist.

<sup>626</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 833.

<sup>627</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 833.

<sup>628</sup> More literally, "to remember that person with resources," in the same manner as the verb is used in the English construction, "to remember a person in one's will," "*haer bij middele[n] te gedencke[n]*."

<sup>629</sup> Or "therefore has authority over herself," or "is no longer under the guardianship of her parents," "*dienvolgens mondich is. . .*"

<sup>630</sup> More literally, "disinherited," but without the negative common negative association of the English word, "*onterft*."

<sup>631</sup> A Flemish pound was a monetary unit, exchanged at six guilders.

<sup>632</sup> Amsterdam.

<sup>633</sup> Probably the Claesz Jansz from Breda. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 830.

<sup>634</sup> Or "[honor] it," or "[enforce] it," "*het selve van waerde hofuden]*." Part of the text in this line is lost due to fire damage.

[Page B4]

**[Letter from De Hooges to Johannes van Wely{?}]**<sup>635</sup>

On the Mannhattans; July 1647

2.

My Lord,

he has had me summoned here before the court and sought a judgment and, consequently [ ] Yet the judgment went in favor of my defense, [viz.,] that I, at the earliest [opportunity will] re[fer] the matter to your honors [ ] copy of the account but since *de Princes*<sup>636</sup> was leaving as soon as possible, and it here not [ ] so I let it stand until the next opportunity. In the meanwhile, I await [an answer] as noted above. I end by commending you to the protection of the almighty; greetings from your honor's obliging friend. Done [in the] Mannhatans [ ]<sup>11</sup><sup>637</sup>

As I have not, at this point, received any answer to my letter per Govert Looock[ermans]<sup>638</sup> [ ] addressed to your honor and Lord van Twillers<sup>639</sup> in the year 1646, I do not ha[ve] much [regarding company business] to write to you about, and for the same reason, consequently, little [to write] of a personal nature [either]. Claes Jansz<sup>640</sup> has now come here to the Mannhatans and, taking me quite by surprise, [ ] having beaver [pelts] here, which I owe [ ] mostly for your honors' account, the sum of [*f*59<sup>641</sup>] consequently, he put me in a difficult situation, [being] here [in Manhattan] without company funds<sup>642</sup> and I want[ed] [ ] to be fair and repay him on your honors' behalf, so I could find no resource closer to hand, than to [ ] him to the fatherland.

Still, I hesitated,<sup>643</sup> [because] it does not please your honors to have various debts referred to you, so I have, ~~nevertheless~~ out of faithfulness to the affairs of the colony [of Rensselaerswijck], from the modest means [at my disposal], directed that Claes Jansz be paid by the orphan masters [of Amsterdam,]<sup>644</sup> as appears in the act written below in which their [ ] to assist him properly.<sup>645</sup> But if your honors were to repay him, I would furnish enough to the colony that your honor would be able, by secure means,<sup>646</sup> to collect this sum and more, as you please.

<sup>635</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 110.

<sup>636</sup> The ship, "*the Princess*."

<sup>637</sup> This text was written perpendicular to the other text in the left margin.

<sup>638</sup> The name is at the edge of the paper and partially destroyed by fire. Nonetheless, "Looockermans," seems a safe guess given the surviving characters and the context.

<sup>639</sup> Wouter van Twiller.

<sup>640</sup> See note 633.

<sup>641</sup> Missing sum is supplied from the promissory note on page B3.

<sup>642</sup> More literally, "without an advance," or "without a subsidy," "*sonder subsidie*."

<sup>643</sup> More literally, "considered again," "*wederom aenmerkende*."

<sup>644</sup> De Hooges still had assets which had been placed under the management of the Orphan Chamber of Amsterdam by his testamentary guardians after he was orphaned. See the introductory essay.

<sup>645</sup> Or, "to point him in the right direction," "*te rechte te helpen*."

<sup>646</sup> Or "through an established channel," or "through certain means," "*door seecker middel*."

[Page B4, continued]

Lord Stuijvesant<sup>647</sup> is instituting a total reformation here,<sup>648</sup> but as it relates to the colony [of Rensselaerswijck], [it is] nothing but for the good. I am furnishing, [to him ] on the authority of Lord Van Twiller,<sup>649</sup> two horses, which [ ] descend from the Curaçao type. That which also concerns the colony [of Rensselaerswijck] in this regard is the expectation of a [ ]. Last spring, damage from the high water [ ] particularly horses carrying foals<sup>650</sup> [ ] who it has, thus, pleased [ ]<sup>651</sup>

---

<sup>647</sup> Petrus Stuyvesant had arrived in New Netherland in May as director general.

<sup>648</sup> In the manuscript this phrase is in quotation marks; these marks were, as the transcriber observes, added at some later point.

<sup>649</sup> Wouter van Twiller.

<sup>650</sup> Or perhaps, "horses with foals."

<sup>651</sup> It appears that the letter continues from here and concludes (after one or more lines at the bottom of the page which have been lost to fire damage) with the text written in the left margin (which appears on the previous page in this translation).

[Page B5]

3.

**[Lease of a Farm to Jan Barentsz Wemp and Andries Herbertsz]**

Draft of the contract established with Jan Barents[z]<sup>652</sup> and Andries Herbert<sup>653</sup> concerning the land to the south of Jan van Bremen, to the east of the land of Albert Andriesz,<sup>654</sup> along the Castle Island *Kill*<sup>655</sup> and *meule[n] Kill*<sup>656</sup> as above. This, the 20th of March, 1647.

- [1.] They shall cultivate and use this land, described above, along with anything that they may subsequently construct there, for the annual sum of *f*275, in addition to the tithe, which—when it is not, at the patroon's option, bought out<sup>657</sup>—will be put in a neat pile<sup>658</sup> near their house, and, as is fair, [the tenants will] permit it to be threshed on their threshing floor.
2. They will be required to have a suitable barn or hay barracks<sup>659</sup> constructed, with enclosed side aisles, paying the costs of all of this, and [then,] subsequently, to deduct [it] from the rent, as well as, in the same way, with having the house repaired.
3. They must pay for the fences<sup>660</sup> themselves, as well as for all the cultivating and farming implements and, at the expiration of the term [of the lease,] may sell them for their own benefit.
4. When their term has ended, if they leave any fields sowed, [the value of those crops] will be assessed and credited to them.

---

<sup>652</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

<sup>653</sup> Andries “*Constapel*” Herbertsz. See note 90.

<sup>654</sup> Also known as Albert Andriesz Bradt (or Bratt) or the *Noorman* (he was from Norway). About six months after this document was recorded, he became De Hooges's father in law, when his daughter, Eva Albertse Bratt, and De Hooges married. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 809-10.

<sup>655</sup> “[D]e kill van’t Casteels Eijandt.” For the word “*kil*,” see note 120.

<sup>656</sup> The “*Mill Kil*.” For the word “*kil*,” see note 120.

<sup>657</sup> “Buyout” indicates that the farmer was assessed a monetary value for the patroon's share of his harvest, rather than delivering the share of grain itself, “*uijtkoop*.”

<sup>658</sup> A carefully constructed stack in which hay or grain is stored, “*mijt*.”

<sup>659</sup> Or hay barn, “*schuerberch*.” This probably refers to a type of building, once common in South Holland and Twente, which includes a typical Dutch-style hay barracks, of which the lower part was surrounded by a shorter, one-story, enclosed structure for use as a barn.

<sup>660</sup> Or palisades or stockade posts, “*palessaede[n]*.”

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5. A pathway mu[st           ] be made to lead through their land, to accommodate the f[arm           ] previously used by Van der Donc[k]<sup>661</sup> under instructions from members of the court that it pose the least possible inconvenience to the farm.
6. The term of the lease will commence on the first of No[vember] and [continue] for the next six consecutive y[ears.]
7. Two mares, two stallions or geldings and four cows will be furnished to them. The increase [of these animals will be divided] half and half [between the farmers and the patroon], according to the old custom, and in the event that an ordinance is written that [the patroon's] half of the increase will remain with the ten[ants           ], then they will, in this manner, [           ] with the risk, with one half [assumed by the farmers] and one half [by the patroon], according to the practice regarding the horses or cattle [which] are [currently] there; the old right will be observed, that is, *Partus sequitur ventre[m]*.

When a horse or farm animal [           ] to die or to be killed accidentally [           ] they will, if possible, again [           ] others be done, with the understanding that, as the Council of the Colony [of Rensselaerswijck] finds and they determine [           ] appropriate to the necessary [           ]

---

<sup>661</sup> Adriaen van der Donck. See note 95.

[Page B7]

5.

8. They will be required to make the triennial delivery of [the patroon's share in the increase of] livestock, in keeping with the assessment.

**[Addendum to the Foregoing Lease, Releasing Andries Herbertsz; Jan Barentsz Wemp Becoming Sole Tennant]**

*Nota.* Because, after the date [of the foregoing], Jan Barents[z]<sup>662</sup> and Andries Herbert<sup>663</sup> have parted company, therefore, Jan Baerentsz himself promises to comply with [the terms] of the foregoing contract very scrupulously<sup>664</sup> under penalty of the forfeiture of all of his goods; everything in accordance with the law. In affirmation of this he signed with his own hand,

This is the  mark of Jan Baerentsz, made with his own hand.

<sup>662</sup> Jan Barentsz Wemp. See note 74.

<sup>663</sup> Andries “*Constapel*” Herbertsz. See note 90.

<sup>664</sup> Meaning that he comply with the contract either “point-by-point” or “punctually,” “*punctueelijck*.”

[Page B8]

6.

**[Debits of De Hooges's Servant, Mathaeus]**Debits of my servant,<sup>665</sup> Mathaeus

For 4 <i>ells</i> <sup>666</sup> gray cloth <sup>667</sup> at <i>f</i> 8 per <i>ell</i>	<i>f</i> 32:	--:	--
For 1 pair of shoes from Claes Kalf	<i>f</i> 8:	--:	--
For having two sets of clothes made	<i>f</i> 12:	--:	--
For 4 shirts, at <i>f</i> 3:10:[--] each	<i>f</i> 14:	--:	--
For 1 pair of stockings	<i>f</i> 3:	10:	--
	<i>f</i> 69:	10:	--

The material for lining the clothes,  
the English cap, the red pants,  
and other small items furnished him  
either now or in the past, have been  
given to him as presents.

---

<sup>665</sup> A young, male servant, "*jongen*."

<sup>666</sup> See note 408.

<sup>667</sup> "*Laeken*." See note 377.

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7.

**[Credit of De Hooges's Servant, Mathaeus]**

Credits to the same

For one year's wages in my service, he  
earned *f*60:--:--



[Page B10]

8.

**[Promissory Note of Simon Walichsz for Debts Associated with the Operation of His Farm]**

Thus, the affairs of the farm of Simon Waelingen,<sup>668</sup> inasmuch as the common [ ] term of the contract amounts to, yet are [ ] and on the aforementioned farm, many debts [ ].]

Therefore, I, Simon Waelingen, the und[ersigned], promise and commit myself with this, my signature, that I will, for my [ ] portion, furnish and pay, so [ ] outstanding debts, as app[ear] on the account [ ].] The creditors are permitted, for the amount [ ] to which my aforementioned portion amounts, to summon me, at any time, place or under any circumstances, regarding [the debt ].] All of this on penalty of the forfeiture of all my goods, whether moveable or immovable, whether currently [held] or [acquired] in the future, nothing exc[epted,] in accordance with the law. In affirmation of this, my [signature ].]

Done in Rensselaerswijck, on this, the 4th of May, 1647.

---

<sup>668</sup> Simon Walichsz. See note 584.

[Page B11]

**[Records of the Tithe]**

	9	9					
	Wheat	Oats	Rye	Barley	Buckwheat	Peas	
[ ] of the tithe <sup>669</sup> of the							
[ ] which still, with the honorable							
[ Lord] Patroon, in a common							
[ ] remain. In August in the year 1645							
[Mi]chiel Jansz <sup>670</sup>	20	20				2	
[Te]unis Dirckz <sup>671</sup>	16	54				2	
[Co]rnelis Maessen <sup>672</sup>	17	22	4			2	
[S]imon Waelingen <sup>673</sup>	10	20				1	
[C]rijn Cornelisz <sup>674</sup>	12	30					
and of							
[Br]other Cornelis <sup>675</sup>							
[ ] not threshed, at <i>de Vlackte</i> <sup>676</sup>							
[ ] transport. Therefore, could not							
[ ] of the same [th]at will come.							
[As] follows							
[ ] of the tithe and							
[ ] part of that which							
[ ] are [ ] condition							
[Adria]en van der Donck <sup>677</sup>	145	55				12	
[Cor]nelis Segerz <sup>678</sup>	100	150		50	4 <sup>679</sup>	1	
[Cor]nelis van Es <sup>680</sup>	70	55			35	[5] <sup>681</sup>	
[An]dries de Vos Nz <sup>682</sup>	105	95			35	2	

<sup>669</sup> For the tithe in Rensselaerswijck, see note 163.

<sup>670</sup> See note 65.

<sup>671</sup> Teunis Dircksz van Vechten. See note 463.

<sup>672</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 807.

<sup>673</sup> Simon Walichsz. See note 584.

<sup>674</sup> See note 477.

<sup>675</sup> Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick. See note 66.

<sup>676</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>677</sup> See note 95.

<sup>678</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>679</sup> Number is stricken through.

<sup>680</sup> Cornelis van Nes. See note 480.

<sup>681</sup> There is damage to the page here; the remnant of the figure is either a 3 or a 5, most likely the latter.

<sup>682</sup> The transcriber notes that these two letters are difficult to read. Perhaps it is “Nz” standing for a patronymic (e.g. “son of N”) or perhaps it is “NB,” referring to a note which has been lost to fire damage. See also note 516.

[Page B11, continued]

[ ] Jacobsz, <sup>683</sup> who one						
[ ] penny <sup>684</sup> for the use						
[ f]arm pays, will give						
[ ] buy[out] <sup>685</sup> of the tithw	9	20				1
[ ] Fredericksz <sup>686</sup> is						
[ ] last established						
[ ] for tobacco planter						
[ f]or the buyout of						
[ ] of his oats		8				
[ ]lisz for the tithe						
[ ] the year 1646 follows, approximately in the middle [ ]						

<sup>683</sup> Probably Rutger Jacobsz. See note 429.

<sup>684</sup> Or sum, “*penninck*.”

<sup>685</sup> See note 657.

<sup>686</sup> Probably Hendrick Fredricksz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 807.

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10 **Teunis Dirck[s]z's<sup>687</sup> Debits, as They Relate to the Tithe<sup>688</sup>**

For [the] buyout <sup>689</sup> for the year 1644	Wheat	Oats	Peas		
Amounts to, in total:	22	54		f109	[:--:--]
For [the] buyout for the year 1645					
Amounts to, in total:	16	54	2	f100	[:--:--]
			Due:	f209	[:--:--]
	38	108	2		
For [the] buyout for the year 1646	24	25		f85	[:--:--]
For [the] buyout for the year 1647	30	30		f105	[:--:--]
				f399	[:--:--]

**[Cattle Furnished by Teunis Dircksz]**

*Pro memorie:* Teunis Dircksz's furnishment of horses and cattle is as follows:

In the year 1645, in the spring, 4 cows furnished to *de Vlackte*,<sup>690</sup> received by Claes Gerritsz.<sup>691</sup>

Also 2 mares, 1 at 4 years old and one at 5 years, furnished to Reverend Bogardus<sup>692</sup> and Jan Daemen.<sup>693</sup>

In the [ye]ar 1646, delivered 3 cows.

2 [of the 3 cows came] from the fourth calf and 8 calves

and from those, furnished one to Evert Pels<sup>694</sup>

one to Thomas Jansz<sup>695</sup>

one to ~~Gysbert~~<sup>696</sup> Teunis<sup>697</sup> at *de Berch*.<sup>698</sup> 1646

1 mare, 4 years [old] furnished to Evert Pels

The year 1646, in May

One of the same, at 3 years old, sold to Ruth<sup>699</sup>

<sup>687</sup> Teunis Dircksz van Vechten. See note 463.

<sup>688</sup> This is a translation of the original heading in the manuscript.

<sup>689</sup> See note 657.

<sup>690</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>691</sup> For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 823.

<sup>692</sup> See note 69.

<sup>693</sup> Presumably Jan Claesz Damen. See note 63.

<sup>694</sup> See note 435.

<sup>695</sup> See note 245.

<sup>696</sup> "Gysbert" is stricken through.

<sup>697</sup> Probably Teunis Cornelisz van Vechten. See note 103.

<sup>698</sup> Probably the Bloemarts Bergh farm. See Huey, "Archeological Evidence," 13-14.

<sup>699</sup> Likely Rutger Jacobsz. See note 429

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11

**Teunis Dirck[s]z<sup>700</sup> Credits, [as They] Relate to the Tithe<sup>701</sup>**

Evert Pels <sup>702</sup> furnished for me to	Wheat	Oats	Peas			
[ ] grain in the year 1644 in the Autumn	2	10		f15:	--:	--
Furnished to <i>de Vlackte</i> <sup>703</sup> in the aforementioned year		40	2	f45:	--:	--
Furnished [to] Reverend Megapolensis <sup>704</sup>	4	10		f20:	--:	--
Gijsbert Cornelisz <sup>705</sup> furnished by way of conveyance						
Arendt van Curler, <sup>706</sup> in compliance with the order <sup>707</sup>	10			f25:	--:	--
Furnished to me [De Hooges] for the household						
in the year 1646			1	f2:	10:	--
Earned [as] wages on <i>de Vlackte</i> <sup>708</sup> paid to				f30:	--:	--
Rijck Rutgersz <sup>709</sup>						
[Ano]ther two <i>schepels</i> <sup>710</sup> of wheat to <i>de Vlackte</i>						
[for] grain for bread, [in] the year 1646	2					
[Ano]ther 8 <i>schepels</i> of wheat to A. de Hooges,						
grain for bread, delivered in May, [in the]						
year 1647	8					
In the year 1645 furnished a pig to the [ ]				f25:	--:	--
of the Lord Patroon, at						
In the autumn of the [sam]e year a half of a side of beef, at				f21:	--:	--
[In the ye]ar 1647, in the autumn, a pig, at				f30:	--:	--
[ ] Michiel Jansz <sup>711</sup> furnished in the spring [of the] year						
1646 [ ] <i>schepels</i> of wheat, [as] appears in the						
ledger, volume F, on [fo]lio 5				f100:	--:	--
				f313:	10:	--

<sup>700</sup> Teunis Dircks van Vechten. See note 463.

<sup>701</sup> The portion of the text not in brackets is a translation of the original page heading in the manuscript. For the tithe in Rensselaerswijck, see note 163.

<sup>702</sup> See note 435.

<sup>703</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>704</sup> Rev. Johannes Megapolensis. See note 200.

<sup>705</sup> It is not clear whether De Hooges is referring to the Gijsbert Cornelisz from Breukelen or the one from Weesp. See Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 833-34, 837.

<sup>706</sup> See note 146.

<sup>707</sup> Or the "warrant," or "ordinance," "*ordonnantie*."

<sup>708</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>709</sup> See note 73.

<sup>710</sup> See note 336.

<sup>711</sup> See note 65.

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12 **[Resolution of the Court of Rensselaerswijck Prohibiting Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout from Brewing Beer]**<sup>712</sup>

2 acts

established,  
decreed, and  
sent to the  
persons listed  
below  
regarding  
brewing.

Whereas their honors of the court of this colony [of Rensselaerswijck] {find that} Cornelis Segersz,<sup>713</sup> notwithstanding prior {placards} and prohibition, has persisted in meddling, outside of his occupation, with the brewing of beer, contrary to the privilege and authoriza[tion] granted to the brewery of this colony [ ]

adh<sup>714</sup>

Therefore, their honors aforementioned expressly for{bid} the above-named Cornelis Segerz [ ] to brew any beer {or} to have it brewed, or otherwise to {manufacture any beer,} except as much as {he} will have need of {for his household,} on penalty of a fine of twenty-five Carolus guilders<sup>715</sup> in addition to the forfeiture of the brewed beer. Therefore, Cornelis Segerz shall {further} consider himself warned that no [effort to] conceal [his actions] or frivolous excuses {hereafter} will succeed, but that if he is caught in the act, this ordinance will be upheld and executed without any further action from the court. For that reason he must {prevent} these losses. Done in Rensselaerswijck, October 26, 1646.

In accordance with the resolution of their honors presiding over this colony [of Rensselaerswijck].

A. de Hooges

**[Resolution of the Court of Rensselaerswijck Prohibiting Goosen Gerritsz from Brewing Beer]**

Whereas it has come to light that Goossen Gerritz<sup>716</sup> [ ] intends to meddle [with ] the brewing of beer, and their honors presiding over this colony [of Rensselaerswijck] assert that the published ordinance is not known to him, [therefore] he shall [consider] himself warned against meddling [ ] with brewing more] than as much beer as his household shall need[.]

<sup>712</sup> Chevrons indicate lost text which has been supplied from a translation of the document made before the document was damaged, in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:389n.

<sup>713</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>714</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

<sup>715</sup> A Carolus guilder was valued at 1 1/2 guilders/florin.

<sup>716</sup> See note 552.

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13

On the penalty of forfeiting twenty-five Carolus guilders<sup>717</sup> and the brewed beer, [he] will observe [the ordinance] without any frivolous excuse[s].

Therefore, he will hereby consider himself warned and avoid the losses. Done in Rensselaerswijck, October 26, 1646.

*Utt supra* adh<sup>718</sup>

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<sup>717</sup> See note 715.

<sup>718</sup> De Hooges's initials, in a fairly elaborate calligraphic flourish.

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14

**[Petition of De Hooges for a Salary]**

Antonij de Hooges very respectfully makes known to the honorable [Lords,] Director Slichtenhorst<sup>719</sup> and the appoint[ees who] together represent the Lord Patroon of the Colony of Rensselaerswijck, that he, the petitioner, had been in the service of the Lord Patroon for six years and in the last four years had had no promise of a salary, and the previous salary [ ] had gone poorly in consideration of [the] promot[ion ] now, once again, was [ ] a position as an officer, without any mention of [a] fixed salary; and, considering that I will be obliged to incur expenses for having [a] new house built, because of the fact that there [is] no possibility the L[ord] Patroon's residence at the warehouse will be assigned to me, because it has been adapted to serve as a little [church<sup>720</sup> ]. It is also to be noted that everything is expensive and I will have to support myself principally with [the income from] my position as an officer.

It is for those reasons that I petition the honorable Lords aforementioned on the foregoing matter, that their honors [would ] be pleased to grant me an honorable salary, that I m[ight be able] to support myself respectably with it. My previo[ous ] salary remains at the discretion of the honorable Lords, the testamentary guardians<sup>721</sup> of the honorable Lord Patroon of the Colony of Rensselaerswijck. [I] eagerly aw[ait] a favorable note of response, *in debita forma*, regarding this, my petition, from the aforementioned Lords, on whom I remain dependent.

Your Honors',

Rensselaerswijck, March 27, 1648

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<sup>719</sup> Brant Aertsz van Slichtenhorst. See note 254.

<sup>720</sup> The manuscript is damaged here, but other records demonstrate that the warehouse had been adapted for use as a church sanctuary in the mid 1640s, a carpenter having been hired to construct such things as a pulpit and benches. See O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I:331n. See also Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 825-26. The latter evidently refers to this petition as it appeared before the fire damage.

<sup>721</sup> Johan van Wely and Wouter van Twiller were the guardians of the young patroon, Johannes Kiliaensz van Rensselaer, and also, therefore, guardians of his patroonship.



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15

**[Terms for the Auction of the Lease of a Farm Formerly Occupied by Simon Walichsz]**

On this day, the 28th of February [in the] year 1647, the officers<sup>722</sup> of the Colony of Rensselaerswijck wish in this manner to lease the farm on which, until this time, Simon Waelingen<sup>723</sup> had been the farmer, for the period of the next six consecutive years, of which the first [year] will begin on the first of May, 1647 and the final one will expire on the first of May, 1653, and to do so on the terms which follow below.

First, the tenant will have and make use of the farmland [which was] previously [cultivated.] In addition to that, [the tenant] must prepare and cultivate the empty land which has never been farmed. And if there are some trees standing in, or at the edges of fields, such as [along] creeks or [in] valleys, he must cut them down, or at least girdle<sup>724</sup> them, within the period of the first two years, for the maintenance and improvement of the land and the harvest. And [he shall do] all of this without expense to the Lord Patroon.

As regards the land which is pasture, the tenant will be allowed to use [it], with Cornelis Maessen,<sup>725</sup> or those who may be in possession of his farm [ ] as before [ ]

---

<sup>722</sup> Or “directors,” or “rulers,” “*Regeerders*.”

<sup>723</sup> Simon Walichsz. See note 584.

<sup>724</sup> A method of killing trees by removing a ring of bark from the trunk. Read literally, the clause here only makes reference to removing bark or “peeling trees,” “*boomen . . . schillen*.”

<sup>725</sup> See note 672.

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16

The tenant will be required from this year [forward       ] first of all, to erect and to have c[onstructed       ] a house, near the barn, at least 32 *voetten*<sup>726</sup> long, 16 *voet[ten]* wide, [with] a side aisle of 5 *voett[en]*, [with] two transoms, two doors, two doorframes, one bedstead, a stone chimney, a [       ] celler, and [it must be] roofed in such a way that it will be at the smallest r[isk] of fire. Additionally, the oth[er] work [is to be] done in a similar<sup>727</sup> manner, everything at the expense of the Lord Patroon. Nevertheless, the tenant will be required to pay the costs [first] and subsequently deduct them from the rent payments.

[The tenant] will also be required to enclose and [       ] the land with palisades, fences, and that which is appropriate for enclosing in the land, such as with ditches<sup>728</sup> and other means. And during the term of the lease, he will maintain [them] at his [own] expense, and assume possession of [the erected fences], on the condition that, at the end of the term of his lease, he will leave them in the same condition [as he found them].

And with respect to the grains, which are currently in the fields, these will be assessed [       ] and the tenant will, when they have been [harvested       ] remit and pay the amount of the assessment, without [       ] without selling [       ] to some[one else], [and] will [permit] the grain that is currently in the hay barracks or barn, belonging to the [Lord] Patroon, [to be] threshed [there, on the tenant's threshing floor       ].<sup>729</sup>

---

<sup>726</sup> See note 488.

<sup>727</sup> Or “proportional,” “*naer advenant*.”

<sup>728</sup> In much of the Netherlands farmers divide field from field and pasture from pasture with ditches rather than with fences.

<sup>729</sup> The manuscript is heavily damaged here. The missing text in the final independent clause has been supplied by the translator from other leases with similar provisions (e.g., that on page B5).

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17

9

The tenant will be required to maintain the house and the barn at his own expense, and at the end of the term of his lease, return them in a condition which is as good as that in which he had received them; if it is [in] better [condition,] he will be compensated; if it is [in] worse [condition,] he will have to make compensation—everything according to the appraisal of neutral parties who have understanding [in such matters.]

And we shall furnish him with a wagon, a plow and similar tools, though nothing more than is currently at the farm, on the condition that he will pay for them, [based] on appraisals of their value, as described above, or purchase [them outright],<sup>730</sup> the intent being that these sums might be used for the payment of the debts which have been incurred on the farm but not yet repaid.

Moreover, during the period of the lease, the tenant must bear all of the expenses of the farm, whatever the word used to refer to them, without any portion of those [expenses] falling to the Lord Patroon's account, and [the tenant must] provide for his own laborers without any dishonesty.

If it should happen that he should come to have one or more of the Patroon's laborers working in his service (though not if the tenant has a legitimate claim on some of the Patroon's laborers), then (in addition to the paying precisely the wages he is obligated [to pay]), in addition to this, he shall be required annually to pay the Lord Patroon or his ag[ent], sixteen guilders,<sup>731</sup> over and above [that] which the laborers might have received, indeed [        ]

---

<sup>730</sup> More literally, "buy out of the hand." This clause was probably intended to carry the connotation of redemption, viz., the purchase of items (or collateral) seized or repossessed due to a default on debt, "*uijt de handt koopen*."

<sup>731</sup> See note 160.

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18

The tenant will be required to render, from all his [ ] land or to pay his grain tithe or [ ] buyout,<sup>732</sup> in the event that [such] an agreement can be reached [ ] but] if it happens that no agreement can be reached [ ] continuously to transport [ ] for a *mijl*<sup>733</sup> without receiving any pay for it, yet such [ ] is put in the hay barracks or barn, he will have to grant [and] permit that the lessors have it threshed there on the thre[shing floor of the leased farm].

The lessors will furnish to the tenant [ ] 4 cows and 4 horses, of which 2 [ ] on the [condition] that half [of their] increase [will go to the patroon], everything [will be] the same [as earlier ]. But in the event that a general ordinance should be established, [under] which the tenants' [ ] shall be their own [property] exclusively, so that the tenant [ ] may] act freely with [ ]. But in the event that such an order is not issued, nothing [ ] may be claimed.

The tenant shall be required to pay the rent to which he has committed himself, every year on exactly the first of May, one half in grain, one quarter of it in *sewan[t]*,<sup>734</sup> and the other quarter of it in beaver [pelts,] though [he will] not [be] rigidly bound [to] pay in beaver [pelts ] anything from the farm can [ ]

For this he has committed himself and his [property], whether movable or immovable, [either] current [or future,]<sup>735</sup>

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<sup>732</sup> See note 657.

<sup>733</sup> A geographical "*mijl*" or "Dutch mile," was equal to 4.611 statute miles.

<sup>734</sup> See note 369.

<sup>735</sup> The damage to these lines is significant. Bracketed text has been inserted by the translator on the basis of very similar wording on page B10.

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nothing excepted, this in submission to all statutes.<sup>736</sup>

And [the tenant] will furnish 40 lb<sup>737</sup> of butter annually to the Lord Patroon or his agent, over and above the rent.

The tenant will be required to name two [people with] sufficient [assets] as guarantors for the promised sums. In the event of default on payment, the lessors may, at their option and choice, request payment and seize property to recover the sums due from the guarantors as well as the principals, who will, therefore, renounce the *Beneficium Ordinis, divisionis et executionis*.

And, if it were to happen, that there were someone who made the highest bid, without having two sufficient guarantors, then the sum will be recovered by bringing it all back up for auction and if it brings less then, the person who had placed the highest bid without [sufficient] guarantors [ ] will be required, without delay, to settle up and to pay, or he will be dealt with in accordance with the law.

In the event that two or more people place the highest bid, then they will [both] be held to their word, and it will be left to the lessors [to decide] to whom they will grant the farm.

---

<sup>736</sup> Or “courts” or “privileges.” A pronoun with no obvious single antecedent makes the intent of the phrase more difficult to discern. Indeed, it is also very possible that this phrase is shorthand for a Dutch formulation such as, “*deselve submitteerende tot bedwang van alle rechten en rechters*”; in English, “these [goods] serving as security in any court.” The original manuscript reads, “*deselve submitteerende alle Recht[en.]*”

<sup>737</sup> See note 253.



[Page B22, continued]

**[Release of Jochem Kettelheijm from His Half of the Obligations under the Foregoing Lease, Juriaen Bestval Becoming Sole Lessor]**

On this date, the 8th of October 1650, Jeuriaen Bestval<sup>746</sup> has [            accepted] the foregoing terms entirely as they stand [            ] and promises to comply scrupulously<sup>747</sup> [            ] to come, so that Jochem Kettelheijm<sup>748</sup> with [            ] Jeuriaen [Bestval,] two sufficient guarantors [            ].<sup>749</sup>

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<sup>746</sup> See note 743.

<sup>747</sup> Promising, either to comply with the contract “point-by-point” or “punctually,” “*punctueel*.”

<sup>748</sup> See note 744.

<sup>749</sup> The contents of this document are mentioned in Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 827.

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**[Memorandum Concerning the Sighting of a White Whale in the River Before Fort Orange]<sup>750</sup>**

On the 29th of March, in the year 1647, a certain fish appeared before us here in the colony [of Rensselaerswijck], which, as we could see, was extraordinary in size. He came from below and swam past us a certain distance up to the sand bars and towards the evening came back again, going past us again downriver. He was snow-white, without fins, his body [was] round, [and he] blew water up out of his head, like whales or tuna [do.] It seemed very strange to us because, in addition to the fact that there are many sand bars between us and the Manhatans, [it] was also snow-white, such as none of us had ever seen, in particular, I would say, as it had passed through a distance of more than 20 *mijlen*<sup>751</sup> of fresh water, as opposed to salt [water,] which is its element. Only the Lord God knows what it could mean. This, [however,] is certain: I and most of the inhabitants watched it with great astonishment.

On the same evening that this fish made his appearance before us, we had the first thunder and lightening of the year.

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<sup>750</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 109. In the course of translating this memorandum, the translator has consulted an excellent translation of the same on the New Netherland Research Center website ([http://www.nnp.org/nncr/Documents/white\\_whale/whale.html](http://www.nnp.org/nncr/Documents/white_whale/whale.html)).

<sup>751</sup> See note 733.



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22

**[Memorandum Concerning the Sighting of Another Whale before Fort Orange]<sup>752</sup>**

We estimated  
that it was over  
40 *voetten*<sup>753</sup>  
long

On the 19th of April in the year 1647 around noon,<sup>754</sup> with the high water, a fish (judged to be a whale by seafaring people who had sailed to Greenland) appeared here again, before Fort Orange. [It] was greater in size than the aforementioned [one], [it] was brown in color like a [ ] with large fins on its back, and it blew water from its head like the previous [one].

It swam upstream against this extraordinary current. This seemed strange to me, because it had happened that several years earlier a tuna had appeared here, which at that time caused great amazement, that the fish had swum so far, and then, in this one spring [season], two such large fish appear. That, for the reasons described in [the account of] the previous fish, is unprecedented.

---

<sup>752</sup> Document description is from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 110. In the course of translating this memorandum, the translator has consulted a previous translation of the same on the New Netherland Research Center website ([http://www.nnp.org/nncr/Documents/white\\_whale/whale.html](http://www.nnp.org/nncr/Documents/white_whale/whale.html)). Differences between the two translations are minor.

<sup>753</sup> See note 488.

<sup>754</sup> The transcriber believes two letters may have been lost to fire damage which would then change this to “afternoon.”

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23

**[Memorandum Concerning the Statement Made by Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout that De Hooges was the Ruination of Rensselaerswijck]<sup>755</sup>**

On this, the 25th of May 1647, Cornelis Segersz<sup>756</sup> said—at the home of Gijsbert Cornelisz,<sup>757</sup> and in the presence of the aforementioned Gijsbert, Evert Pels,<sup>758</sup> Marten *de Metselaer*,<sup>759</sup> and Marten *de Timmerman*, as well as Jan Cornelisz<sup>760</sup>—that I was the ruination of the colony [of Rensselaerswijck]. Similarly, he also said that he had to pay money to the mill daily (which is untrue, because I have given an order that it should be recorded, because he had a positive account balance with the Lord Patroon) and that ~~we~~ I had to have meal milled for him, whether I wanted to or not, and if I did not want to have it done, that he would come with the entire population of his island and compel me, that I should have it done.

---

<sup>755</sup> Document description is adapted from Gehring, ed., *Guide to Dutch Manuscripts*, 109.

<sup>756</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>757</sup> See note 705. It seems likely that this was the Gijsbert Cornelis from Weesp.

<sup>758</sup> See note 435.

<sup>759</sup> Marten Harmensz. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 837.

<sup>760</sup> See note 239.

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**Inventory of the Livestock in the Colony of Rensselaerswijck, Recorded in the Year 1646, in February<sup>761</sup>**

*Nota Bene:* I am taking and recording the inventory of the farms in February because at this time some of the cows have calved; but I delay no longer, because I expect another [person to come] to replace me, and I would like to have everything done at that time, in case it should happen that I then depart for the fatherland. Last year I did not take an inventory, because Curler<sup>762</sup> made the inventory shortly before the winter and took it with him [to the Netherlands].

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<sup>761</sup> This is a translation of the original page heading in the manuscript.

<sup>762</sup> Arent van Curler. See note 146.

[Page B27]

**[Records of the Receipt of Tithe of Harvested Crops]**

[The] Tithe	Wheat	Oats	Rye	Barley	Buck- wheat	Peas	
[ ] which still with							
[ ] Lord Patroon							
[ ] common property							
[ ] the year 1646 at the							
[ en]d of July and							
[ beginn]ing of August					--- <sup>763</sup>		
[ Teun]is Dirckz <sup>764</sup>	24	25			--- <sup>765</sup>		
[ Cor]nelis Maessen <sup>766</sup>	10	16		12	2	3	33
[ Sim]on Waelingen <sup>767</sup>	16	10				1	peas [ ] household
[ Cr]ijn Cornelisz <sup>768</sup>	16	24					
[ ] to							
[ ]nis Cornelisz <sup>769</sup>	36	24			2	2	[P]ut on account
[ F]ar[m] of Michiel							
[ ] leased for one year							
[ Bro]ther Cornelis <sup>770</sup>							
Transported to <i>de Vlackte</i> <sup>771</sup> as follows							
[B]uyout <sup>772</sup> of the tithe and							
[ ] share of that							
[ ] are [on] these terms							
[ Cor]nelis Segerz <sup>773</sup>	60			66			
[ And]ries de Vos <sup>774</sup>	45	50			20	2	
[ Cor]nelis van Es <sup>775</sup>							f140 in gr[ain]
[ Rut]t Jacobsz <sup>776</sup>	16	35					
[ ]en Duibertz							
[ ] at the place and contract							
[ Ro]eloff Cornelisz <sup>777</sup>							
[ Christ]toffel Davits <sup>778</sup>							f30 for

<sup>763</sup> At this place on the page was written and then stricken through: "Rijck Rutgersz."

<sup>764</sup> Teunis Dircksz van Vechten. See note 463.

<sup>765</sup> At this place on the page was written and then stricken through: "Teunis Dircksz made this payment on my behalf."

<sup>766</sup> See note 672.

<sup>767</sup> Simon Walichsz. See note 584.

<sup>768</sup> See note 477.

<sup>769</sup> Perhaps Teunis Cornelisz van Vechten. See note 103.

<sup>770</sup> Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick. See note 66.

<sup>771</sup> For the farm known as *de Vlackte*, see note 331.

<sup>772</sup> See note 657.

<sup>773</sup> Cornelis Segersz van Voorhout. See note 96.

<sup>774</sup> See note 516.

<sup>775</sup> Cornelis van Nes. See note 480.

<sup>776</sup> Rutger Jacobsz. See note 429.

<sup>777</sup> See note 94.

<sup>778</sup> Christoffel Davids. For a biographical note, see Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts*, 819-20.

[ ]	Fredricksz <sup>779</sup>	has his						Tobacco and
[ p]	ay after one year							oats
[ ]	released, by which							
[ ]	could not feed him							
[ ]	<i>N[ota] B[ene]</i>							
[ Fa]	rm before now, by							
[ ]	used, is							
[ ]	which Verdonck <sup>780</sup>							
[ ]	condition							
[ ]								
[ ]								

<sup>780</sup> Adriaen van der Donck. See note 95.

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