

Govert Loockermans (1617?-1671?) and his relatives:

How an adolescent from Turnhout worked his way up in the New World

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Summary

This contribution aims at painting a picture of the person, the strategy and career of Govert Loockermans, paying special attention to the relationship he and his family in the New World had with Turnhout, and to the role played by the complex network of his relatives in the formation of New Netherland and of New York. He abandoned his Catholic Faith, and it appears that he soon ceased all contact with his blood relatives in Turnhout. He was not only a vigilant and cunning merchant, who amassed a large fortune for that time, but also a ruthless pioneer. We could see him as an icon of the current Wall Street capitalist. Either way, he was a man who helped determine and shape the age he lived in. His destiny continues to fascinate us.

Govert Loockermans, the American hero from Turnhout, is the classic example of the ‘famous unknown’ gracing so many history books. He does not appear in any national dictionary, nor is he counted among the about thirty ‘famous Turnhoutenaren’ on the *Turnhout* tab of Wikipedia. Some of his deeds in the founding history of the country that later would become the United States are indeed very well known—even if not always flattering—but the history of his life in New Amsterdam, present day New York, has only been told a handful of times. Actually this has only happened in a systematic and complete, but strictly matter-of-fact way, in a thoroughly documented article by David Riker, now already about 20 years ago.¹ Govert and his family members in the New World are famous, much less for their own sake but as ancestors or close relatives of famous Americans. Both presidents Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt, just as the inventor of the well-known harvesting machines Cyrus McCormick, are descendants of Govert’s

¹ David M. Riker, ‘Govert Loockermans, free merchant of New Amsterdam’, in: *De Halve Maen* 62:3 (1989), p. 4-10; see also H. Rau, ‘Govert Loockermans, een Turnhoutenaar in Amsterdam, Nieuw Amsterdam en New York (1617-1671)’, in: *Jaarboek Taxandria*, new series, 62 (1990), p. 5-12. The excellent study by Kathryn LaPrad, *Thinking locally, acquiring globally: The Loockerman family of Delaware, 1630-1790* (M.A. Thesis on American Material Culture, University of Delaware, Spring 2010) focuses on the period 1720-1800 and summarizes the life of Govert Loockermans mainly on the basis of the Riker article (p. 17-42).

nephew Pieter Loockermans. Govert's sister Anneke is an ancestor to the authors James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville, actor Montgomery Clift, revolutionary war general Philip Schuyler, the inventor of road surfacing John Macadam, and the inventor of the steam ship, Robert Fulton. Similarly the Astor family, that became fabulously wealthy and is known from the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, counts Anneke among their ancestors. Govert's own offspring are less famous, but still count a prominent family such as the Stuyvesants.² Genealogists, however, know that all this doesn't mean much. If one goes back far enough, just about every European in the twenty-first century will easily count among his or her ancestry one or more celebrities, beginning with the ever present Charlemagne.

But was Govert really a hero? How should we view him? As a symbol for current day Turnhout or early New York? As an icon of the free market? As an historical hero? Or just as a fellow human? I, for my part, still choose the latter. But every human grows up in a family. I will therefore present him as a member of a domestic circle in Turnhout and New Amsterdam. Obviously it isn't possible to do justice to a whole lifetime in the scope of this lecture. So I chose to first give an overview of the context in which Govert gave form to his existence. After that I will follow his path of life, and through some characteristic aspects of it, more deeply explore his family and network, his personality, and his strategy for life overseas.

The Old and the New World

For many Europeans, the New World was from the beginning the land of new opportunities. Not that European social structures did not play a role there, but the margin was much larger for those who knew to take their chances. That was valid especially for New Netherland, the North American region that from 1624 on was colonized and governed by the Dutch West India Company (Geocroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie, or WIC)] in the name of the States-General of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. Its core and administrative centre was on the southern-most point of the island Manhattan, in and around Fort (New) Amsterdam founded in 1625, present-day New York City.³ In its totality that colony

² <http://users.crocker.com/~jcamp/jlfam.html>: *Notable descendants of Jan Loockermans*.

³ For the history of New Netherland and the West India Company, see: Jaap Jacobs, *Een zegenrijk gewest: Nieuw Nederland in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 1999); English translation: *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2005); revised version: *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Joyce D. Goodfriend (ed.), *Revisiting New Netherland. Perspectives on Early Dutch America* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2005); Willem Frijhoff & Jaap Jacobs, "The Dutch, New Netherland, and Thereafter (1609-1780s)", in: Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis A. van Minnen, & Giles Scott-Smith (eds.), *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2009), p. 31-48, and the subsequent contributions, with their own presentation of further literature. An excellent, more popular distillation of the existing literature

comprised of the current states of New York, New Jersey, Delaware and parts of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. They were governed under the law of the Republic of the Northern Netherlands, but in fact limited to provincial Hollandic law, without any role played by the nobility and with the right to freedom of conscience explicitly confirmed in the statutes.

The Reformed church of Calvinistic signature had a monopoly in the public area, but here people with different beliefs were in principle not prosecuted or banished because of their faiths. According to article 13 of the Union of Utrecht, the charter of the Dutch Republic (1579), they were allowed to think whatever they wanted indoors. These two conditions, a strictly civil society without formal class barriers and a factual neutrality in religious matters, made the colony appealing to migrants who did not only seek adventure but also wanted to climb higher up and in that process leave their religious opinions for what they were. Many arrived from a long series of countries: almost half of the immigrants came from outside the Dutch Republic. One such immigrant was Govert Loockermans from Turnhout, a town in the province of Brabant still under Spanish and Catholic rule, who as an adolescent came to New Netherland in 1633. From early on, he understood that his future lay not in his native Southern but in the Northern Netherlands, and time after time he was able to profit from the opportunities that arose. From cook's hand in a region in war, he worked himself up to a very affluent ship-owner and merchant in the new fatherland he had resolutely chosen, and on top of that he became related to basically every family of standing.

In the mythology surrounding the New World, something we all more or less subconsciously take part in, each man is an individual, often lonely but always a stubborn worker who is independently able to work himself up to something grand in a hostile environment. Nineteenth century romanticism from authors such as James Fenimore Cooper (*The Last of the Mohicans*, 1826), the satirical historical works of Washington Irving (*History of New-York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*, by Diedrich Knickerbocker, 1809), or the gripping novels of Nathaniel Hawthorne (*The Scarlet Letter*, 1850) has determined our image of early modern America, and Karl May wrote, half a century later, influential novels about the relations between Natives (with Apache chief Winnetou as prototype of the 'noble savage') and whites (centered around Winnetou's blood brother Old Shatterhand).

is: Russell Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World. The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Forgotten Colony That Shaped America* (New York etc.: Doubleday, 2004), translated in several languages.

Many biographies about colonists have therefore been ordered in such a way that they focus on the autonomous power of the lonesome hero. They build upon the myth of the frontier, the incessant searching to push the boundaries of the civilized World west ward, by merchants, trappers and adventurers who managed to lay contact with the native population and were able to extract personal profit from their efforts. Undeniably, Govert Loockermans was first and foremost such an adventurer. In reality, immigrants always have to be able to draw upon family, trade partners and a social network for support, while they in their turn help others in similar ways. Previously, I have documented this extensively for Govert's contemporary and brother-in-law in New Amsterdam, minister Everardus Bogardus (1607-1647), born in the Dutch town of Woerden, but presumably from a Flemish refugee family Bogaert. Bogaert's stepfather Muysvoet came from the Flemish town of Eeklo, and his uncle Vincent Muysvoet or Meusevoet was a strict Reformed preacher with Puritan tendencies who had traveled to the Northern Netherlands through Norwich in East England.⁴

The first fact from this story indeed concerns this migration.⁵ Thanks to the historical work of Jan Briels and the demographic research by Jan Lucassen and other Dutch migration specialists, we now know that around 1600 between 100 and 150,000 Flemish, Brabant and Walloon citizens left for the North, partly on religious grounds, partly out of economical and perhaps also cultural motives, making up in total about 15 to 20% of the population of the seventeenth-century province of Holland. The war between the Spanish king, succeeded as sovereign from 1598 on by the archduke Albrecht of Austria and his wife Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain, inflicted deep wounds on the economy of the southern provinces. Many Protestant textile workers from Flanders, Brabant and Hainaut left for the North, mostly to Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam. For example, from Turnhout and surrounding villages a large group of tickings workers (weavers of bed tickings) settled in Rotterdam and Schiedam, even as they maintained business contacts with Brabant as a consumers market.⁶ It is, however, certain that not all refugees left for the North out of religious reasons. Many simply sought economical welfare in an emerging country, that was able to guarantee their safety and

⁴ Willem Frijhoff, *Wegen van Evert Willemsz. Een Hollands weeskind op zoek naar zichzelf, 1607-1647* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1995); English edition : *Fulfilling God's Mission: The Two Worlds of Dominie Everardus Bogardus 1607-1647*. Transl. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2007). See the index for passages regarding Govert Loockermans.

⁵ See the comprehensive study by Jan Lucassen, *Immigranten in Holland: een kwantitatieve benadering* (Amsterdam: Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten, 2002) [also available online]. Further: Anne Frank Stichting, *Vreemd gespuis* (Amsterdam: Ambo, 1987); Jan Lucassen & Rinus Penninx, *Newcomers. Immigrants and their Descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1997).

⁶ Z.W. Sneller, 'De tijkweverij te Rotterdam en te Schiedam in de eerste helft der 17^{de} eeuw', in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 45 (1930), p. 237-266.

promised them prosperity. The pious, strongly Catholic Isabella maintained in the southern provinces a stifling policy of recatholicisation, first with archduke Albrecht, and from his death in 1621 to her own death in 1633 as governess. This must have been experienced as very oppressive for those who wanted nothing to do with that regime, whether or not they were Protestant.⁷ This is even more reason for an intrepid young man with an open mind to go and look elsewhere.

When Govert Loockermans was born—I will come back to his age later on—there was an armistice in place in the war between North and South. That Truce lasted from 1609 to 1621. When he grew up as a young man, the Truce was memory only and the war was raging once more. The war was constantly nearby for a young man from Turnhout and played out for an important part in his native province of Brabant. The towns as well as the countryside suffered repeatedly great damage and became partly depopulated. The commanding general of the North, stadtholder Frederick Henry of Nassau, Prince of Orange, captured Den Bosch (Bois-le-Duc) in 1629 and actively continued the reconquest of the southern provinces, primarily Brabant. The town of Breda, ironically a fief of the Nassau family, was conquered again for the Spanish by Spinola, and remained in Spanish hands until it was conquered again in 1637. Turnhout was dangerously close to it, so close even that the town at the end of the war would be claimed by the Nassau family as their own personal property. If we add the other calamities that in the first half of the seventeenth century plagued the Netherlands, North as well as South, partly as a direct result of the war, such as famine, increased prices and the always resurfacing pestilence, it becomes understandable that a young man with ambition and a thirst for adventure would leave Turnhout as quickly as possible.

New Netherland

The country where Govert Loockermans had landed in the spring of 1633, was at that time already called ‘New Netherland’. On old maps it appears as *Novum Belgium* or *Nova Belgica*. This has misled many to see it as an essentially ‘Belgian’ creation, in the current sense of that word. And this even more so because the first ship with colonists who arrived in 1623 consisted mainly of Walloon Protestant refugees. However, the *Belgium* in that name dates back to the Roman writer Caesar. The sixteenth century humanists reached back to this source for the Latin form of the name for the collective Netherlands, North and South. The Northern Netherlands they called *Belgium Foederatum*, i.e. the federal Republic of the Northern

⁷ Werner Thomas & Luc Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella 1598-1621. Essays* (Brussels: Brepols, 1998).

Netherlands, or the confederation of the Seven United Provinces, as opposed to the Royal *Belgium* that consisted of the southern provinces. Already since her founding, the Republic of the Northern Netherlands was searching for the shortest and safest possible seaway to the riches of Asia. That route had to avoid the seas and oceans where the Spanish-Portuguese king strived for a monopoly (Spain and Portugal formed a single monarchy between 1580 and 1640), and where they saw every competitor and opponent as enemies. To that end the United East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, VOC) was formed in 1602 through a fusion of a series of older trade companies. The war between the Republic and Spain was still raging. The commanders at sea therefore had the right to attack the enemy in name of the States-General and to wage war on them. The ships from the VOC formed a trading fleet as well as a naval force, and could be granted the right to privateer.

The route to India around Cape of Good Hope took a very long time, sometimes even a whole year. People constantly were looking for a shorter route, through the north, first around Russia and later around America. In 1609, when a 12-year long truce was put in place between North and South, and the sea lanes were less dangerous, the VOC employed the Englishman Henry Hudson to explore the northeastern route. In 1603, the Frenchman Samuel de Champlain had already explored Québec, from the Saint-Lawrence river all the way to the upper course of the Hudson (which the Dutch called the North River or the Mauritius), whereas the English had settled from 1607 on in the more southern Virginia. In their colony, where the winters brought severe weather conditions, the French started hunting, mainly for beaver and otter.⁸ Thousands of beaver hides were shipped to Europe annually, to be felted in the manufacturing of hats and other luxury products. The trade in pelts was so substantial for the economy in those colonies that the beaver was included in the city crest of New Amsterdam, and for decennia beaver skin was accepted as valid method of payment, beside the Native shell money (the *seewan [sewant]* or *wampum*). A beaver skin was usually worth about 8 guilders.

Soon the French founded fixed settlements in Canada, such as Québec and Montréal, but even there the main activity was hunting for beaver. To this end, colonists ventured inland, sometimes to go hunt themselves, but mainly for the business contacts with the many native tribes who knew where to find the beavers, otters and other wanted animals and who would trade them with the whites. Being one of the pioneers of those contacts required a lot of courage, intelligence and tenacity. The relation with the native tribes was complicated.

⁸ Gayle K. Brunelle, *Samuel de Champlain : Founder of New France. A Brief History with Documents* (Boston & New York : Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012).

Individual white trappers in the woods and mountains had to face at times extremely hard circumstances, and the language barrier was enormous, as the native languages had nothing in common with the European languages and even differed strongly from each other. On top of that, the Natives had a very different way of life, law system and trading culture, and the unsuspecting whites always risked becoming entangled in their continuous wars and enmity. The Europeans themselves had sometimes strange ideas and contradicting feelings about this.⁹ In addition, the early missionary activities of the Jesuits in Québec added to increased tension between the tribes. Especially the Iroquois in the border region between Canada and later New Netherland did not want anything to do with this religious world view. For the white trappers and traders it became therefore very important to distance themselves from that Catholic proselytism, but it was equally important not to propagate the Reformed teachings all too eagerly. Religious neutrality, a mind as open as possible and a secular attitude, became a basic condition for survival. Govert Loockermans understood that very early on and made it the key to his success.

The English in the much more southern and warmer colony of Virginia applied themselves from as early as 1612 on to producing tobacco, and did experience such problems but rarely. These economical differences determined also a substantial difference in the style of colonization. In the north, trade settlements dominated, population centers that were intended to be temporary, with a small, smoothly advancing and often mixed population of Europeans and Natives. The merchants often stayed there for a short while, before returning back to the European homeland. In the south, however, sedentary colonies were founded, where colonists settled indefinitely to build a new existence in America. As far as the colonization style is concerned, New Netherland was in between both: in first instance it was a trading colony, but under pressure of what happened all around, it became a sustainable settlement colony. Govert Loockermans is the classic example of an immigrant who subsequently passed through both phases, and who adapted in three steps: arriving as clerk of the trading company, he quickly became an independent trader who regularly travelled between Europe and America, before definitively settling as a permanent resident in New Netherland.

When Govert arrived in New Netherland, only 24 years had passed since its inland was first explored by Europeans, and ten years since the Dutch formally took possession of it. It was, from a European point of view, a young country, in many ways a true wilderness

⁹ See Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad. The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

where almost everything had to be organized, despite the fact of the ages old inhabitation and culturing of corn by the native tribes. In September 1609 Henry Hudson had discovered during his explorations for the VOC a perfectly located bay, with a protected harbor nearby a large island, the native name of which became normalized by the Europeans as Manhattan. He took possession of it in name of the Dutch Republic, and very soon Dutch traders from the North came and explored the hinterland. At the founding of the WIC in 1621, shortly after the Truce, it took the region over from the VOC. Already in 1614 it had been named New Netherland. Likewise, we should not interpret that term in the current, limited and national sense. In the minds of the North as well as the South Netherlanders, the Low Countries were, despite their political separation in the years 1570/1580, still one unity in spirit, even if they had a diverging form of governance and even if the religious differences were slowly but surely growing. Precisely the many southern refugees in the North kept this sense of unity alive. But also in Brabant, the province that was split by the war as no other, that sense of unity had been kept alive for a very long time.

So it is not but logical that Govert Loockermans travelled through northern Brabant to the Dutch Republic to create a new future for himself. To him, this still was not a foreign country, just as *Novum Belgium* did not only refer to current Belgium. At the time of the Eighty Years War this whole region comprised of the Northern and Southern Netherlands was for people such as Govert still the new Greater Netherlands, even if the North was now under the supreme command of the States-General and the South under that of Spain. Up to 1631, shortly before Govert left for New Netherland, the director of that colony was indeed a Southern, Peter Minuit (1580/85-1638), born in Rhinelandic Wesel from Reformed parents who had fled Tournai for religious reasons. The States-General organized the area from 1624 officially as an independently governed colony of the WIC, with fort New Amsterdam as its administrative center. The surrounding town was in the beginning not much more than a hamlet with a few hundred inhabitants who lived devoid of luxury in simple wooden houses. After the 1640's, when New Amsterdam was incorporated and granted city rights (1653), received rudimentary ramparts (still remembered in *Wall Street*), and the houses slowly were being built out of brick, the town remained small. It counted barely three thousand inhabitants at the take-over by the English in 1664, Beverwyck (present-day Albany) even less than half of that.¹⁰ The whole area of the colony, that now counts more than thirty million people,

¹⁰ Jaap Jacobs, 'Migration, population, and government in New Netherland', in: Krabbendam, *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009*, p. 85-96.

counted less than ten thousand whites and blacks, and we should not have an exaggerated idea regarding the number of natives either.

An ambitious young man

Govert Loockermans must have been born in 1616 or 1617 as the younger son of a citizen of Turnhout, Jacob Lokermans (1583-1636) and Maria or Maeyken Nicasius († 1640). He was named after his grandfather Goyvaert the Older (ca. 1545/50-1628), who moved from the village of Mierde in present-day Dutch Brabant to Turnhout and who in little time was able to work himself into a prominent position.¹¹ Govert must have inherited some of the ambition and energy of his grandfather. His father Jacob himself did not waste any time either. Shortly after 1613 he went to France with some of his fellow townspeople to cut peat and to learn the language, but on February 8, 1617, he was back in Turnhout.¹² In the genealogy of this family carefully compiled by Eugeen Van Autenboer, this son Govert does not appear, but a Godefridus does, who was baptized on July 2, 1612 in the church of Saint Peter in Turnhout before his father left. In the historical literature Govert and this Godefridus, about whom we know nothing else, are usually equated to each other, but it really cannot be the same person.

In 1633, Govert is explicitly labeled as being 16 years old, and in a deed from 1639 he calls himself as being 22 years old.¹³ These numbers are not rounded, and therefore will reflect Govert's real age, even more so as in these cases he had no benefit from lying. They point at a date of birth in 1616 or 1617. In the family genealogy there is room for this birth, between the baptism of his brother Petrus on October 5, 1614, and that of his sister Anna on March 17, 1618. Govert would therefore likely have been born in the second half of 1616 or early 1617, not in Turnhout, however, but rather in the area where his father in those years was working as peat-cutter, perhaps in France. That is why his baptism cannot be retrieved in the church records of Turnhout. His older namesake brother Godefridus doubtlessly had already died and our Govert took over his name and the reference to his grandfather, as was usual. That his father returned to Turnhout only shortly before that date becomes plausible when we realize that it was not before February 8, 1617, that he settled a share in the

¹¹ I derive all information about the Turnhout branches of the family Loockermans from Eugeen Van Autenboer, 'De familie Lokermans in Turnhout en... de Nieuwe Wereld?' in: *Vlaamse Stam. Tijdschrift voor familiegeschiedenis* 22:3-4 (1986), p. 115-132, here p. 116-117. See also the genealogical survey at the end of this paper.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 118-119.

¹³ *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch* [hereafter: NYHM]. Vol. I: A.J.F. van Laer (trans. and ed.), *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1638-1642* (Baltimore 1974), p. 244 (November 11, 1639).

inheritance of his mother who died three years earlier. Apparently he had been abroad with wife and children.

That Govert was 16 years old in 1633 also better matches with his position as cook's mate on *De Soutbergh*, a large ship of 120 loads (*translator*: a cargo unit, at the time roughly 1,250 kg or about 2,760 lbs) and 20 pieces of artillery, that apart from 50 sailors boarded at least about one hundred soldiers and other passengers. A cook's mate is not but a young man at the start of his public life, a jack-of-all-trades who still had to learn everything. Govert probably was barely 15 when in the WIC headquarters in the Haarlemmerstraat at Amsterdam he signed on with the WIC, an adolescent in our eyes, a boy looking for adventure, profit and luck. Leaving at such a young age back then was less strange as it would appear now. After his youth, a young man became almost immediately autonomous and grown-up. There was no time for a drawn out puberty. Govert would not have been a lot younger as 15 when he left Turnhout, because he otherwise would have had trouble providing for himself outside of Brabant. Did he already have some experience as a cook? We know that his grandfather was a baker, and that his father Jacob delivered meals paid for by the city council. At any rate, his job as hand was at the lowest rung of the societal ladder, and the salary was accordingly. His namesake Aert Lokermans sailed in 1639 as '*luitenantsjongen*' (lieutenant's aid), so in an equally subservient role, in the service of the WIC to Brazil (the shore near Recife was back then in Dutch possession) and claimed at his return in Rotterdam that he on the way there and back—apart from his usual expenses and food as paid by the Company---had earned in monthly wages a total of 18 guilders!¹⁴

Another motive for leaving is possible. Govert could have been struck as well with the 'silver fever' prevalent in Holland since vice-Admiral Piet Heyn in September 1628 had seized a fleet in the bay of Matanzas (Cuba) with the whole Spanish silver production, worth more than 12 million guilders, almost twice the trading capital of the Company. This was an incredible feat of arms that for years demonstrably inspired young men to adventure in service of the WIC. We do not know if Govert had received more than an elementary education in his native town of Turnhout, which only got a full-fledged Latin School in 1637, after he had left.¹⁵ At any rate, he was able to read and write well, and he had ambitions. His choice for the

¹⁴ Municipal Archives Rotterdam (Gemeentearchief Rotterdam [GAR]), Oud-notarieel Archief [ONA], inv. nr. 464 (notary Pieter van Leeuwen), deed 4, p. 6 (July 31, 1640). This Aert Lokermans, native from Antwerp, married at Overschie (Reformed Church) on May 5, 1646 (banns proclaimed at Rotterdam on April 15) with Maria Brost, native from Brissich in the prince-bishopric of Cologne, living at the Hospital (Gasthuis) of Rotterdam. They must have been rather poor. No children are known.

¹⁵ Eddy Put & Mark D'hoker (red.), *Latijnse scholen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (16de-18de eeuw)*. *Repertorium en archiefgids. Vlaanderen en Brussel* (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2007), p. 673-678.

WIC must have been deliberate. Other children of immigrants usually ended up in the flourishing textile production units in the large Dutch cities, that in those years had a very strong demand for young hands, and that moreover were often owned by immigrants from the South.

It is obvious that Govert left for Amsterdam no later than in the spring of 1632, likely with a few young men his age from his town or area, as was customary when travelling.¹⁶ At arrival he would have searched for his fellow townsmen and possible family members for simple lodging, in a bed that he probably had to share with others. Other Loockerman families lived outside of Turnhout and its immediate surroundings. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find, for example, a prominent middle class family Loockemans in Den Bosch and in the sixteenth and seventeenth century a family Loockermans who were city regents in nearby Heusden, now a city in North-Brabant but then a border fortification in the province of Holland.¹⁷ From there, family members left in the seventeenth century repeatedly for flourishing Holland. We meet them in Delft and Rotterdam. In village of Warmond next to Leiden, even a Catharine Loockermans from Turnhout appears in our sources, not identifiable in the existing genealogy, but who on September 8, 1649 in Leiden marries with tailor Gerrit Steense from the German town of Anholt, on the border of the Dutch Republic.¹⁸ Already in 1642 a Johan Loockermans lived in Amsterdam as a merchant, where he married and got children.¹⁹ We do not know his relation with Turnhout, but we certainly have to think of such a distant relative for Govert's first steps in the real world.

A family business: brothers, uncles, cousins?

With that determination, we are not nearly there yet. First of all we have to refute a family myth. In the nineteenth century, when the Americans mapped their European ancestry and enriched that with countless myths about their origins that no one could prove, the history of the Loockermans descendants has been enriched with the myth that Govert went to New Netherland together with his brothers Jacob and Pieter, where they were joined a little bit later by their sister Anneke. In fact almost all the descendants of the Turnhout peat-cutter Jacob Loockermans senior would have left for America together. There are, however, no historical

¹⁶ Possibly Michiel Paulusz from Dendermonde in Flanders, who in May 1633 enlists on the *bouwerij* (farmstead) Pavonia?

¹⁷ F. Beelaerts van Blokland, 'Loockemans', in: *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 20 (1902), col. 96-98; 22 (1904), col. 99-102; 24 (1906), col. 150-152.

¹⁸ Municipal Archives Leiden (Gemeentearchief Leiden), DTB, banns proclaimed on August 20, 1649. Witness to the groom: Harmen Henricsz van der Vecht, his acquaintance living in the Breesstraat; for the bride: Cunera Cremers, her future cousin in Anholt.

¹⁹ GAR, ONA, inv. nr. 170 (notary Nicolaas Vogel Adriaansz), deed 128, p. 192 (October 11, 1642).

sources that explicitly document the family relation of three brothers who would have sailed out for America together, and this does not really fit well in the chronological framework of the genealogy. Nevertheless the story quickly leads its own life. It portrays Govert's departure as an act of collective life improvement, rationally planned by his family. According to my interpretation, however, this is incorrect. But how then do we have to look at this?

It is certain that Govert's father Jacob, apart from a daughter Anna, had at least three sons who survived their first years, and whose baptismal dates are known: subsequently Jan (1611), Peeter or Petrus (1614) and Mathys (1620). To this we add Govert, born around 1616. He was not the oldest son, and maybe this was one of the reasons for his departure. The older ones had the older rights. Mathys, the youngest, remained in Turnhout and had descendants there, but for the rest of this story he remains completely out of sight. It is also certain that starting in the 1640's the name Pieter Loockermans appears in New Netherland, and from the 1650's in Beverwyck, present-day Albany, and subsequently also that of Jacob Loockermans. Both are there sometimes (but not always) linked to the patronymic Jansz. The case is further complicated, as the sources in Beverwyck name at the same time a Pieter Loockermans the Elder and a Pieter the Younger. They are usually seen as father (the Elder) and son (the Younger), while Pieter Jansz Loockermans is equated with Pieter the Elder. It has never been thoroughly investigated how all these Loockermans' can be linked to the genealogy from Turnhout. Because the baptismal and marriage records from Albany do not date back past 1683, we cannot get certainty that way. True, their daughters in Albany had many descendants, but because of a lack of sons the name Loockermans disappeared by the beginning of the eighteenth century, as had already happened in the last quarter of the seventeenth century in New York, after the departure of Govert's only son Jacob, who left to the colony Maryland. A patrilineal tree of family history was no longer kept for the Loockermans'.

However, it is almost impossible that Jacob was a brother of Govert. No son Jacob the younger is known to Govert's own father Jacob senior, and the genealogy does not provide room for it either; the birth of our Govert in 1616/17 fills up the time of his father's stay in France. Also, Jacob becomes only visible in the sources from Beverwyck in 1657, as a rather wild (young) man. If he were a brother to Govert, he would have been over 40 already. Govert did, however, have a slightly older brother Peeter. This Peeter Loockermans admittedly married in 1637 in Turnhout, and had a son Jacob a year later, but nothing more is known about this son, nor about his mother. Had they traversed the ocean with him, and died soon thereafter? My suggestion is rather that Peeter, after the early death of his wife and son

in Turnhout, around 1639/40, followed his brother Govert to New Netherland as he lost the reason for his existence in Turnhout. On April 16, 1658, Govert Loockermans requested the Council of New Netherland for payment to his brother Peter, who some years earlier had been a sailor in the service of the WIC.²⁰ This must be Pieter the Elder. As son of Jacob, however, he cannot be identical to Pieter *Jansz* (i.e. son of Jan). We must therefore discern between Pieter the Elder and Pieter *Jansz*, and we can assume that Pieter *Jansz* was a younger son of the Turnhouter Jan Lokermans—in other words definitely a brother of Jacob *Jansz*, but not a son of Pieter the Elder.

Could not Pieter the Elder have possibly had a son Pieter the Younger? It is important to follow the genealogy here carefully. Pieter the Elder settled around 1650 in Beverwyck, and may have married there in those same years, at any rate not much earlier, given the wedding dates of his four daughters.²¹ In New Netherland people married often and young, not seldom at the age of 15 or 16 for girls and of 18 for boys. Both men and women had to be self-sufficient early and started having children at young age, often a long series of children, of whom only few became adults. This makes a good view on family relationships more difficult, because the interval we postulate now between two generations sometimes comprised another generation over there. However this may be, a son from the second American marriage of Pieter the Elder cannot have been born before about 1650, without violating biological laws, and he could have acted as an autonomous young man and married at the earliest around 1665. Now, Pieter Loockermans the Younger appears to have already received a land patent in Beverwyck in 1656 and must therefore have been legally competent. In May 1660 three members of the Loockermans family, Jacob *Jansz*, Pieter the Elder as well as Pieter the Younger signed, each for his own, a petition for the small pelt merchants in Beverwyck, to benefit the pelt trade.²² Pieter the Younger must have been at least 16 to 18 years old, if not older, and was therefore born around 1640 or earlier. The conclusion must be that Pieter the Younger cannot be the son of Pieter the Elder, but that he is identical to Pieter *Jansz* Loockermans who was born in 1634 and therefore was a brother of Jacob *Jansz*.

Summarizing, Jacob (born in 1632) and Pieter de Younger (born in 1634) must have been sons of Govert's older brother Jan. It is therefore logical that they settled together in Beverwyck when they became adults in the 1650's. At the liquidation of the estate of the

²⁰ E.B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, NY* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Company, 1865), p. 195.

²¹ For more details, see the fragment genealogy in the appendix.

²² Thomas E. Burke, Jr., 'The Netherland Fur Trade, 1657-1661: Response to Crisis', in: Nancy A. Zeller (ed.), *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place: Selected Rensselaerswijck Seminar Papers* (Albany: New Netherland Publishing, 1991), p. 283-291.

deceased Jan Loockermans in 1648, three underage children of his were still living: Jacobus, Petrus and Jan Junior. About this last referenced Jan, who was baptized only in 1642 and must have come from a later marriage, nothing else is known, but Jacobus and Petrus are the couple of brothers who shortly thereafter, aged between 16 and 20, departed for New Netherland with their uncle Govert and settled a little later in Beverwyck to start a new life there. Jacob actually named his daughter after his mother Catharina.

Career steps

De Soutbergh, the ship on which Govert made his first trip across the ocean²³, was ready to sail by the end of June 1632, but only left anchorage from Texel in mid-August and arrived, after a stop on the Caribbean island of St Maarten, early March in the harbor of New Amsterdam. On the way a Spanish ship with a cargo of sugar was captured. It has been a dangerous crossing that lasted over a half year, much longer than usual. Govert probably started working as cook's mate on the ship from June on, and would have spent nine months with the crew. He took a good look around, and planted the seed for his future relations. We know that he spent those months on the ship in company with the two most important people in the colony: the new director Wouter van Twiller and the new Reformed preacher Everardus Bogardus, both, for that matter, young men under 30.

Van Twiller learned to appreciate Govert on the way, and because the WIC at that time was renewing their whole staff in New Netherland, he hired Govert as clerk for the WIC immediately upon arrival. Bogardus also was sympathetic towards him. During the quarrels surrounding the Indian war that plagued the colony in the 1640's, he was at Govert's side. Moreover, Bogardus' sister-in-law, the Norwegian widow Marritgen Jans, would marry Govert Loockermans in 1649; at that time minister Bogardus had already died during a ship wreck, but his wife and their children continued to serve as baptismal witnesses for the descendants of Loockerman's and his family members.

Even though, as clerk of the Company, he had a first row seat at the fur trade, that subservient role was not enough for Govert. He was itching to get started himself into the woods, braving the wilderness. The timing was perfect for him when in January 1639 the WIC released their trading monopoly. The income from beaver and otter trade was

²³ Based on the commentary that secretary Cornelis van Tienhoven in 1650 wrote on the 'Vertoogh van Nieu-Nederland', the name of the ship is mentioned as the yacht *St. Martyn*: J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664* (New York: Scribner, 1909, reprint 1967), p. 376. Van Tienhoven, a declared enemy of Loockermans, must have been wrong on this point, as Wouter van Twiller, minister Bogardus and others with whom Loockermans made the crossing in 1633, arrived together on *De Soutbergh*. See Frijhoff, *Wegen van Evert Willemsz*, p. 657(*Fulfilling God's Mission*, p. 413)..

disappointing, and the managers of the Company in Amsterdam were divided into two camps: one group wanted to trade only in exotic goods, in this case the fur and possible other riches from the New World such as minerals, and the other group proposed intensive colonization of the conquered territories. This infighting was gradually settled in favor of colonization. From then on, everyone was allowed to settle as a farmer in New Netherland and to freely participate in the fur trade.

Govert did not need to be told this twice. He immediately resigned from his position at the WIC and started work as an independent trader. In his service for the WIC he had picked up a thorough knowledge of the area, the trading routes and trading opportunities, and of the tensions between the whites and the indigenous and between the native tribes themselves. That now became very useful. Already on September 17, 1639, he leased, together with Cornelis Leendertsen, who was his partner until the latter's death in 1646, the yacht *Wesel* for their trading. This contract gives us the first signature we have of him: he signs as Gouert Lockemans. Three days later, on September 20, he signs a contract with David Provoost for the purchase of corn from the natives, at a price that by contract had to be under that of the WIC.²⁴ It was Govert's first profitable transaction. Many more would follow, up to the half million guilders he left at his death.

As clerk for the Company, Govert must have carefully prepared the next step in his strategy: a marriage with the right spouse. Govert was what the French would call a 'chaud lapin', and he repeatedly felt sexual needs on his lonely trips as woodsman, on his ships, and in New Amsterdam itself. He certainly alluded to that in his contacts with others. For instance, he complained in 1647/48 to his employer about the long absence of his wife. In March 1648 his cousin by marriage and apprentice Johannes Verbrugge replies to him from Amsterdam: 'soo wenste wel dat ghy wat kanffer bij u hadt om de opstijginch des vlees een betye [*beetje*] te temperen, ick hadde gedacht wat te sturen in een pampiertje maer niet geen daen [*gedaan*] want ghy mochte quadt om geworden hebbe' (So I wished you had some camphor on you, to quell the rising of the flesh a little. I thought about sending you some in a little piece of paper, but didn't do it as you might have been angry about it).²⁵ Camphor was used in those days on ships and in prisons to suppress sexual urges. Verbrugge is quick to add 'written in jest!', but the drift is unmistakable. Apparently, Govert did not like jokes about that. He must have been a short-tempered, at times furious man. We will see other examples of his temper. At any rate, in the fall of 1639, at the age of 22, Govert was ready for marriage.

²⁴ NYHM, I, p. 227, 231-232, 244.

²⁵ New York Historical Society [NYHS], Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 3:1 (Amsterdam, 24 March 1648).

A year later, on February 9, 1641, he officially declared in Amsterdam and a day later in Haarlem his intention to marry the widow Ariaentje Jans, who was a few years his elder. (*translator*: ‘ondertrouw’ is a Dutch/Belgian legal requirement to officially register the intention to marry at the civil registry). On Tuesday February 26, 1641, the wedding was contracted in Amsterdam.²⁶ In the registry, Govert is called a sailor, living on the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam. At that time he was not an independent merchant yet. Ariaentje was born in Haarlem around 1613 as daughter of Jan Philipsz, courier in Zeeland, and of Lijsbeth Setten. Lijsbeth’s sister Janneken was married with the merchant Gillis Jansz Verbruggen, owner of what in the course of the years would become one of the large trading firms in New Netherland, which he would name after his family.²⁷ Roughly three years before, on July 19, 1637, Ariaentje had married Jan Hendricksz van de Water, captain on the ship *De Kalmar Sleutel*, but her husband already died in the spring of 1638 during a storm in the West Indies. She must have been several months into her pregnancy at the time of the wedding, because already on September 6, 1637, their son Hendrick was baptized.²⁸

Shortly after his birth the 24-year-old widow Ariaentje moved with her son, her brother Philips Jansz and her sister Hester Jans to New Netherland, where they settled in New Amsterdam. Just before their departure, on December 1st, 1637, Hester married Jacob Wolfertsz van Couwenhoven (ca. 1612-1670) in Amsterdam. Jacob was one of the sons of Wolfert Gerritsz, from Hoogland in the province of Utrecht, and one of the main colonists for the WIC on Manhattan, and later on ‘het Lange Eiland’ [Long Island]. He himself became a prominent farmer and colonist, owner of a flourishing construction company, and later on merchant and real estate investor. In 1642 he was churchwarden (*translator*: responsible for maintaining the church buildings) in New Amsterdam, and in 1649 he, together with two other colonists, were sent as a delegation for the citizenship to deliver a letter of protest against the mismanagement of the Company to the States-General in The Hague.²⁹ They were clearly enterprising, assertive and critical citizens.

²⁶ Municipal Archives Amsterdam (Stadsarchief Amsterdam [SAA]), DTB, inv. n° 455/23, p. 12. He signs as Gouert Loockemans, she does not sign. The dates correspond with the notices in the Loockermans family Bible, at present in New York Public Library: <http://www.onentofl.com/chbibleloockermans.html>

²⁷ On this firm and its activities in New Netherland: Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson. An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 177-183; Jacobs, *Een zegenrijk gewest*, p. 85-88, 183, 227.

²⁸ SAA, DTB, inv. n° 42, p. 39.

²⁹ Cf. J.H.P. Kemperink, ‘De Van Couwenhovens en de stichting van Amersfoort op Long Island’, in: *FleHITE. Tijdschrift voor verleden en heden van Oost-Utrecht* 8 (1976), p. 26-32; M.S.F. Kemp, ‘De herkomst van Wolfert Gerritsz, stamvader van de Amerikaanse familie Van Kouwenhoven’, in: *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 50 (1996), p. 161-178.

Ariaentje had hoped that her first husband would join her in New Amsterdam. Awaiting that, she and her son moved in with her sister Hester Jans, and Govert must have met her there regularly in that small colony.³⁰ But when the unexpected death of Captain Van de Water took away any hope, Ariaentje returned to her native town of Haarlem, together with her son Hendrick. After that, the order of events cannot be reconstructed with full confidence, but the drift of it is clear. The Verbrugges must have had a hand in Govert's marriage. Through Jacob van Couwenhoven and his wife Hester Jans, Govert must have been in contact with the trading firm of Ariaentje's uncle Gillis Verbrugge while he already was in New Amsterdam. He must have recognized the opportunities that offered to his drive for trading, while Gillis from his side had a sharp eye for the qualities Govert possessed.

In the fall of 1640 Govert moved to Holland. At the time of his marriage he lived on the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam, possibly already in a labor relation with Verbrugge who was headquartered on the same canal (*translator*: Amsterdam has several canals – 'grachten' in Dutch—that allowed water traffic to enter the town). Now Ariaentje had become a widow, he was able to marry into the firm, which he did without hesitation.³¹ Networks of family members, 'friends' as they were called in the Netherlands, were vital for the chances of survival of a person, and certainly so if this person, just as was the case with Govert, had started empty-handed.³² Through his marriage with Ariaentje, Govert acquired a vested interest in the company of his uncle. He immediately became an agent for the firm Verbrugge. In the fall of 1641 he returned to New Netherland on board of the ship *De Coninck Davit*, together with his wife and Hendrick Van de Water, her son from her previous marriage. Verbrugge's son Johannes was also present. He was and remained Govert's helper, apprentice and confidant.

In the meantime Ariaentje had become pregnant again, this time from Govert and strictly within the terms of the marriage. We know from the ship's log, kept by secretary Antonie de Hooges, that their oldest daughter Marritje (Maria) Loockermans was born on

³⁰ SAA, ONA, inv. nr.1280, f. 69v-70r (May 25, 1639): 17 months ago they sailed to the 'Virginias' [New Netherland] and have since not appeared again; Philips Jansz, *bosschiet* (marine soldier) on *De Eendracht*, who had sailed for New Netherland, is presumed dead; Hester Jans lives in New Netherland.

³¹ His mother-in-law Lijsbeth Setten, daughter of Set Corssen and Ariaentje Dirckdr, had a sister Janneke who on April 29, 1612 in Haarlem entered into a marriage agreement (*ondertrouw*) with Gillis Jansz van Brug. From that union came 9 children. Their brother Cors Setten (or Stam) married Annetje Gerrits in 1603, from which came three sons: Set, Dirck and Arent Corssen Stam.

³² For the meaning of the important notion of friends in early modern Dutch society, see Luuk Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1997).

November 3, 1641, on board the ship.³³ On December 1st, 1641, after the ship's arrival in New Amsterdam, she was baptized by minister Bogardus. Two of the three baptismal witnesses were close relatives, namely Dirck Cors, a full cousin to Ariaentje who already lived in New Netherland, and aunt Anneke Loockermans, who had been present at the birth on the ship.

Family issues

This Anna or Anneken Loockermans was Govert's younger sister. She had been baptized in Turnhout on March 17, 1618, and therefore probably was a year and a half younger than Govert. They would have been close. We can imagine how Govert in 1641 after his marriage, when he was in Europe, had traveled to Turnhout to present his young wife to his family. But there he only found problems. Father Jacob had been deceased since 1636, and in 1640 the house of his mother had been sold off after her death. His sister Anneke, aged 22, was left to fend for herself, and nothing kept her in Turnhout anymore.³⁴ The same was probably true for brother Pieter. He had indeed married in 1637, and a year later had a son Jacobus, but from then on we do not hear anything about wife and child; presumably they both had died really quickly, possibly during the plague, which in those years was ravaging Northwest Europe. At the same time their oldest brother Jan was also in trouble. He must have been a barber surgeon but did not have a flourishing practice. When his estate was liquidated in 1648, it was found to be heavily in debt. His wife Catharina Degruyter had died in 1636 and left him in the care of two small children, Jacob, in 1641 nine years old, and Pieter, seven at the time. Jan senior likely remarried in 1641 because in June of 1642 his third son Jan was baptized. But by that time Govert was already gone again.

So in 1641 Govert found in Turnhout a family in distress, ready for a new beginning in a different country. Apart from his wife and her son from her previous marriage, he took along his brother Pieter and sister Anneke to New Netherland. It is possible that he took the two young sons from his brother Jan at the same time with him, to relieve Jan from the care of two young children. The Pieter Loockermans who on January 19, 1642, shortly after arrival in New Amsterdam, acted as baptismal witness, and again on October 25, 1648 at the baptism of a son of aunt Anneke, can actually be Govert's brother as well as his cousin of the same name. But it is more likely that the boys did not leave home until they were of a more mature

³³ According to the ship's log, kept by Anthonij de Hooges, publ. in A.J.F. Van Laer (trans. & ed.), *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts. Being the Letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and Other Documents relating to the Colony of Rensselaerswijck* (Albany: State University of New York, 1908), p. 597.

³⁴ On April 23, 1641, she thanks and relieves her uncle and guardian Goyvaert Lokermans for the settlement in 1640 of the management of her property; she was also the universal heiress of her aunt Magreta (Margriet) who had left for Zwolle (Overijssel). See Van Autenboer, 'De familie Lokermans', p. 116, 118, 120, 131.

age. In the 1650's, after Govert's last voyage across the ocean, we find them both together as pioneers at the heart of the fur trade, in the newly (1652) founded village of Beverwyck, present-day Albany. They likely would have come across to America in 1651 with his ship *De Bonte Koe*.

Jacob, the oldest of the two, certainly had some of the urge for adventure and the character of uncle Govert.³⁵ Pieter was a calmer figure, and already in 1653 he received a land patent in Beverwyck, became carpenter and inn-keeper, and later became a pillar of the local community. Jacob must have been twenty years old when in 1652 he settled in Beverwyck as a fur trader. In 1660, he appears to be in service of Philip Pieterse in the fur trade with the natives in the woods, and in May of 1664 he was delegated for negotiations about a peace treaty between native tribes.³⁶ He is possibly identical with 'Cobus de Loper' ('Jake the Trapper'), against whose trading practices the new governor Richard Nicolls commands to act, in 1665.³⁷ He certainly was not afraid, and he knew his languages. This rough character had its flipside. On Sunday July 22, 1657, he apparently without cause severely wounded Meuwis Hoogenboom, farm hand of Claes Hendricksen from Utrecht, and mutilated him for life by slashing a knife to the bone from the left side of his forehead to his lower lip. Six days later he was fined 300 guilders (a year's worth of wages!) and payment of compensation to Meuwis and of all expenses on account of this '*bekkensnijden*' (face-cutting) – a notorious fighting tactic of youngsters. He was also sentenced to work hard for the payment.³⁸

Three months later, on October 17, 1657, he married Tryntie Claes. She must have really loved him, as already in January 1658 she paid a part of his high fine.³⁹ The house he had built in Beverwyck he had to sell again in 1659, likely for the remainder of the fine.⁴⁰ But after the wild years of his youth he was very prosperous. His wife was also active in the fur

³⁵ I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Janny Venema (New Netherland Research Center, Albany), for her help with collecting information about the Loockermans family in Beverwyck/Albany.

³⁶ Charles T. Gehring (trans. & ed.), *Fort Orange Court Minutes 1652-1660* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990), p. 513. For the tensions between the native tribes in that year, see also the account of the French Jesuit Jérôme Lalement, in: Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring & William A. Starna (eds.), *In Mohawk Country. Early Narratives about a Native People* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), p. 139-143.

³⁷ Dennis Sullivan, *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York. The Dutch Experience in Albany During the Seventeenth Century* (New York etc.: Peter Lang, 1997), p. 210 (thus in the Index, p. 351, but other identification on p. 314, foot note 27).

³⁸ Gehring, *Fort Orange Court Minutes*, p. 322, 340; Sullivan, *The Punishment of Crime*, p. 107-108.

³⁹ His wife (name not mentioned) pays already on January 18, 1658 a part of the fine: Gehring, *Fort Orange Court Minutes*, p. 342. Testament of Jacob Loockermans and Tryntje Jans [= Claes] on September 5, 1685 before notary public A.J. van Ilpendam: Jonathan Pearson (trans. & ed.), *Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswijck* (4 vol.; Albany: University of the State of New York, 1916-1919), III, p. 243.

⁴⁰ Reconstruction sketch of his house ca. 1659 in Janny Venema, *Beverwijck, A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), p. 70-72, 441.

trade.⁴¹ He bought and sold several houses, received a land patent in 1682, and in 1674 he bought one half of a sloop he exploited on the Hudson in a partnership with Harmanus van Borsum.⁴² His contacts with the natives remained intense. In 1685 he traveled as a captain with a company of 30 men through native territory, until he reached the Ottawas, who held him hostage for two years. He did not die until 1709. His daughter Caatje (Catharina) married one of the most active merchants in town, baker Wessel ten Broeck, from who many famous Americans on the East Coast are descendants.

In 1685 Jacob's wife Trijntje became victim of molestation by two inhabitants of Albany when she was trading corn with a native woman.⁴³ It was a violent society, and the Loockermans' clearly had their share in it. Govert's own reputation was from the very beginning far from spotless. In July 1640, when Govert was still officially in the employment of the WIC, even as he had already set up his own trade, the director of New Netherland, Willem Kieft, had mounted a punitive expedition against the tribe of the Raritans on the other side of the Hudson, because they had attacked a sloop from the Company and had killed cattle. The soldiers were whipped into a frenzy against the natives and used excessive violence, Govert Loockermans first among them to use such violence. Several natives were shot to death and Govert himself took the brother of the sachem (the tribal chief) as prisoner. He had him tied to the mast, as the natives themselves did, and subsequently 'aen sijn mannelijcke lid met een gespleten hout seer mishandelt aen de mast staende' ('heavily tortured him at his male member with a split piece of wood, as he stood against the mast').⁴⁴ This senseless torture of a powerless prisoner resulted in the disdain of some prominent witnesses towards the 23 year old Govert, including the intelligent captain David Pietersz de Vries, who was one of the few who had good relationships with the natives and who described this incident.

Did Govert really have so little understanding towards the natives, on who so soon would depend a part of his income? Or should we see this cruel mistreatment as a youthful excess, a rash extension of the horrific war experiences from his own young years in

⁴¹ Janny Venema (trans. & ed.), *Deacons' Accounts 1652-1674: First Dutch Reformed Church of Beverwyck/Albany, New York* (Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 1998), p. 167-168 (Tryn Claes).

⁴² Pearson, *Early Records*, III, p. 416, 452, 481.

⁴³ *Court Minutes*, III, p. 511.

⁴⁴ David Pietersz de Vries, *Korte historiael, ende journaels aenteyckeninge, van verscheyden voyagiens in de vier deelen des wereldts-ronde* (Alkmaar: Simon Cornelisz Brekegeest, 1655) [Facsimile in: M. Visser (ed.), *Straat- en bochtvaarders* (Utrecht: De Haan, 1943)], p. 161; Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, p. 208-209. For Govert's attitude toward natives, see also: Mark P. Meuwese, 'For the peace and well-being of the country'. *Intercultural mediators and Dutch-Indian relations in New Netherland and Dutch Brazil* (unpublished PhD Diss. Notre-Dame, Indiana, 2003), p. 418.

Turnhout?⁴⁵ It is certain that he did not only possess a fearless character, but also a short-tempered disposition and that he did not shriek from using violence if it served his interests. He knew how to take care of himself. In the fall of 1647 Govert was under suspicion of having killed a native chief near the South River, but he defended himself with the argument that he only had threatened the native because this man had fired a pistol at his skipper.⁴⁶

When in the middle of the night from August 13 to August 14, 1654, during the fireworks to celebrate the Westminster Peace between the Dutch Republic and England, a thief broke a window in his home and gained entry, Govert himself grabbed him by the neck and dragged him to the prison, from which he a little while later was banished from New Netherland.⁴⁷ Another episode from his life, an incident with a flag about which more will be said later in this paper, shows him as a similarly cunning merchant who fiercely defended his interests. Precisely because of his large range of action as a trader, Govert gained the reputation as a cunning and self-confident merchant who would, when needed, take justice into his own hands. Others noticed that as well. When the merchant and his namesake Govert Aertsen went to a settlement in Connecticut, they asked him to get proof in New Amsterdam that he was not Govert Loockermans. Such was the fear for the native from Turnhout.⁴⁸

Merchant and colonist⁴⁹

After his return to New Amsterdam in the winter of 1641, Govert took some very deliberate steps to guarantee his security as settler in the New World. Already on March 26, 1642, he bought together with his partner Cornelis Leendertsen a bowery from the WIC on Manhattan at the East River, and land in Breuckelen (Brooklyn). He let others run this farm.⁵⁰ This gave him security within the difficult existence of a fur trader and free merchant, whose profit was

⁴⁵ As suggested by Donna Merwick, *The Shame and the Sorrow. Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 150.

⁴⁶ NYHM, Vol. II: A.J.F. van Laer (trans. and ed.), *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1642-1647* (Baltimore 1974), p. 212; Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World*, p. 184.

⁴⁷ NYHM, Vol. V: Charles T. Gehring (trans. & ed.), *Council Minutes 1652-1654* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), p. 181-182 (September 1-2, 1654). Isaac Allerton (ca. 1585/86-1659) was a tailor from London who had lived in Leiden for 10 years before in 1620 making the voyage with the *Mayflower* to New England; he was one of the most energetic immigrants and became assistant to the governor of Plymouth, but as merchant he ventured beyond Massachusetts.

⁴⁸ Edwin M. Purple, 'Contribution to the History of the Ancient families of New York – Loockermans', in: *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 8 (January 1877), p. 11-16; NYHM, Vol. IV: A.J.F. van Laer (trans. and ed.), *Council minutes, 1638-1649* (Baltimore 1974), p. 526-527.

⁴⁹ For the trading context, see: Claudia Schurmann, 'Seventeenth-Century Atlantic Commerce and Nieuw Amsterdam/New York Merchants', in: Hermann Wellenreuther (red.), *Jacob Leisler's Atlantic World in the Later Seventeenth Century. Essays on Religion, Militia, Trade, and Networks* [Atlantic Cultural Studies, 8] (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010), p. 33-66.

⁵⁰ NYHM, *Vols. GG, HH, II [Land papers]*, trans. & ed. Charles Gehring (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1980), p. 14 [GG 47].

ever uncertain as it not only depended on the health of the beaver population and the market, but also on the relation with and between the natives. The farm served also as the foundation for his right to act as free merchant. He went on to buy the yacht *De Goede Hoop* from the *Pilgrim Father* Isaac Allerton who at that time resided in New Amsterdam, and bought in 1643 together with him a house and two farmsteads on the Heereweg (now Broadway) on Manhattan.⁵¹ Other possessions were bought in 1651, 1656 and 1664. With his yacht he traded on the North River and the South River, but in March 1644 the WIC forbid him to trade with the natives on the South River.⁵² At that point Govert felt attacked in his freedom as merchant and harassed by his former employer. It would have been one of the reasons why in the fall of 1644 he clandestinely brought to the fatherland a petition drafted by the colonists on October 28 of that year against the ill-fated policies of director Willem Kieft and delivered it to the WIC chamber in Amsterdam.

On top of that came an annoyance on the North River. The enormous territory around what later became Albany was at that moment a patroonship called Rensselaerswyck, which means a private domain with sovereign privileges, similar to those of a feudal ‘heerlijkheid’ or manor. It was in the possession of the affluent Amsterdam jeweler Kiliaen van Rensselaer, who exploited a number of farms and was in control of the fur trade.⁵³ Before the village of Beverwyck was founded, Fort Orange located at the North River was the administrative center of the region. At that time Nicolaas Coorn was residing at the fort as representative for van Rensselaer. When Govert Loockermans in July 1644 sailed with his yacht *De Goede Hoop* and a crew of nine along Beeren Island in Rensselaerswijck, Coorn summoned him to lower his flag. Govert shouted back: “For whom?” To which Coorn replied: “For the privileges of Rensselaerswyck,” so as to recognize that the patron was in charge there. And Govert again: “I lower my flag for no one but the Prince of Orange and for my authorities.” At that point Coorn fired a cannon. The first shot went through the main sail, the second missed, but the third, fired by a native with a rifle, send a bullet through the Prince flag, barely a foot above the head of Govert, who was holding the flag high. Govert sailed on, without recognizing Coorn. But he had the whole incident thoroughly documented in New Amsterdam. In October Coorn was convicted to compensate the damage suffered.⁵⁴

⁵¹ NYHM, II, p. 129-130.

⁵² NYHM, II, p. 212.

⁵³ Janny Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer (1586-01643): Designing a New World* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010).

⁵⁴ NYHM, II, p. 231-232 (statement by nine fellow shipmates, per Govert’s request, among whom Johannes Verbrugge, 20 years old, son of his trading partner, July 5, 1644).

Here we see Govert Loockermans as a self-confident and fearless entrepreneur, who refused to bow for the pretenses of others, knew his rights, and knew how to get those rights enforced. He himself held the Prince flag tauntingly above his head. Only the Prince he recognized as his superior, which was in fact not only a direct challenge to Rensselaer, but also to the WIC.⁵⁵ Govert acted as a merchant who was above the law, and who only followed his own interests. No wonder, then, that Washington Irving in his *Knickerbocker's History of New York* (1809) gave an almost mythical connotation to this event: here America invents itself as the country of liberty! In later years Govert has been accused by director Stuyvesant and the governors of New Sweden and New England that he, against the rules, had sold weapons and ammunition to the natives, thus increasing the risk for war. This happened in May 1648, when the natives on Long Island, at the South River and on the Fresh River (the Connecticut), were among his customers.⁵⁶ With this, his trading covered just about the complete coastal region of New Netherland. We know that for that purpose he used the coastal descriptions that Johannes de Laet, the Leiden scholar of Flemish origin and director of the WIC, had given in his *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschryvinghe van West-Indien* (New World, or description of West India, 1625).⁵⁷ Govert himself fought the accusations resolutely. He had his boat-mates declare that during his trips along the coast in October-November 1647 he had not sold ammunitions and guns to the natives.⁵⁸ But it is unlikely that we can trust him at his word; the sources speak too unequivocally against him.

In those years Govert sailed a few times as merchant back and forth between New Netherland and Holland. First in 1644, shortly after the flag incident, and again in September 1646 with his wife Ariaentje, her son Hendrick and the two daughters Marritje and Jannetje she had given birth to in the meantime.⁵⁹ Ariaentje, who was returning for the second time from New Netherland, apparently could not settle in that primitive and rough colony, or

⁵⁵ As a consequence of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), Govert's native town of Turnhout, though located in the Spanish Netherlands, became a possession of the Prince of Orange, but in 1644 Govert must still have honored that Prince as stadtholder of Holland.

⁵⁶ NYHM, Vol. III: A.J.F. van Laer (trans. and ed.), *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1648-1660* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1974), p. 60-61 (September 28, 1648); Charles T. Gehring (trans. & ed.), *Peter Stuyvesant, Correspondence 1647-1653* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), p. 31-33 (28 en 31 mei 1648), 37 (August 20, 1648), 106 (March 21, 1651); Sullivan, *The Punishment of Crime*, p. 179.

⁵⁷ According to Govert Loockermans in a letter to the ship-owners of *De Valckenier*, May 27, 1648: NYHS, Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 3:6.

⁵⁸ NYHM, III, p. 60-61 (September 8, 1648).

⁵⁹ NYHM, II, 212 (March 1644) 231-232 (July 5, 1644), 241-242 (July 16, 1644: authorization to Oloff Stevensen [van Cortlandt] and Jacob Wolfertsz van Couwenhoven to oversee his business in his absence); NYHS, Stuyvesant Family Collection, letter from Gillis Verbrugge to Govert Loockermans, Amsterdam April 18, 1646: thanks for his letter of April 4th from Plijmuiden (Plymouth). On Govert's relations with his wife and with the Verbrugge merchants, see also the presentation of Susa Shaw Romney, *New Netherland Connections: Intimate Networks and Atlantic Ties in Seventeenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), p. 110-116.

perhaps her health was uncertain. It is also possible that she was looking for a better education for her children than the primitive school in New Amsterdam could offer. She was a city girl from a family with ambition. At any rate, Govert initially stayed with her in Amsterdam. In a deed of March 1647, he is there named a free merchant (i.e. not bound to the WIC) sailing on New Netherland. But he did not forget his trading. On April 17 of that year he was hired by Gillis Verbrugge and other ship-owners of the ship *De Valckenier* as main agent (supercargo, *oppercommies*), to trade along the coast and rivers of North America in their name, for a salary of 60 Carolus guilders per month. He himself participated for one-eighth part in the company, worth 1000 Carolus guilders. This made him both an employee and an employer.⁶⁰ This double strategy was characteristic for Govert, who was always able to cover himself against possible disaster. At the bottom line, he was winner of almost every conflict and managed to face every adversity.

Ten days later he left Amsterdam. It was the last time he would see Ariaentje. On June 28, 1647, he again arrived on Manhattan, where he traded in beaver fur with his relative Willem de Key; Govert hoped to be able to send two thousand beaver furs to Holland, and another five thousand from Willem de Key.⁶¹ In fact, he traded in just about anything: fur and weapons, just as well as iron, and lumber as well as cotton and sugar.⁶² On October 8 *De Valckenier* left from Manhattan towards the South River, but Govert couldn't miss his wife. At the end of 1647 he spoke about his hope that she was already at sea to come and join him.⁶³ It would have been her third crossing, but her nephew Johannes Verbrugge responded to Govert from Amsterdam, that she was completely upset about that question and did not know what to do. Even though only 35 years old, she suffered greatly from kidney stones and 'quelling in het hoofd' (a tumor or migraine?). On top of that she had the care of her three young children, 11, 7 and 5 years old. She did not dare to make the voyage again, and

⁶⁰ SAA, ONA, inv. nr. 1294, f. 34 (March, 1647); 1341, f. 25v-26 (April 17, 1647).

⁶¹ Willem de Kaij, from Haarlem (° Haarlem January 3, 1625, son of Abraham Lievensz [son of Lieven de Key (ca. 1560-1627), famous architect and city mason in Haarlem] and Abigael Rijgoots, married in New Netherland on February 24, 1647 with Trijn Roelofs, daughter of Roelof Jans and Anneken Jans who was a sister of Marritgen Jans; he † before September 16, 1652.

⁶² NYHS, Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 1:1 (not dated), 2:3 (to Govert Loockermans, April 27, 1647), 2:4 (Govert Loockermans to Gillis Verbrugge and his son Seth, his 'cousin', August 2, 1647: has timber and brazil wood as cargo); NYHM, III, p. 92-93 (Govert Loockermans commits himself to send a lot of cotton and sugar with *De Valckenier* to Amsterdam, April 12, 1649), 116-117 (iron, 6-17-1649). It seems Govert Loockermans has not systematically been involved in the slave trade. He did buy in 1652 slaves from the conquered Spanish ship *St. Anthoni*, and he had a slave in his service, but at his marriage in 1663 he freed him, according to Jacobs, *Een zegenrijk gewest*, p. 323.

⁶³ NYHS, Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 2:7a (December 21, 1647).

therefore asked her husband to return to Holland.⁶⁴ She died that same year and was buried on October 23, 1648, in the Westerkerk in Amsterdam.⁶⁵

It seems Govert did not feel the need to quickly go visit her grave and pick up the children. It was not until 2 years later, in 1650, that he went back to Holland again. He left on *De Bonte Koe* on March 18, 1651, again from Amsterdam, and without a doubt in company of Ariaentje's three children who would have temporarily be cared for by their uncle Gillis Verbrugge or other family members in Amsterdam, and likely also with his nephews Jacob and Pieter. In June 1651, Govert arrived in New Amsterdam, where he then settled for good. He was 35 years old, in care of a growing family, and stepped from that moment on as a settled citizen with vested interests, which he with more calm than before, observed and defended. After his contract with the Verbrugges expired, he traded on his own account, but he continued to take advantage from his contacts in Amsterdam and with the English. Similarly he worked as an agent for Isaac Allerton, his old partner, at that time settled as a merchant in New England. He contributed 150 guilders to the loan of about five thousand guilders the magistrate from New Amsterdam had issued for the defense against the English. With that, he belonged to the twelve highest taxed, and thus the twelve richest, albeit not yet the real top.⁶⁶ He built himself a new house at the waterfront, and carefully accepted some administrative responsibilities, but always in moderation, as Govert was the opposite of the settled regent and knew that flexibility and maneuverability are main virtues to the merchant.⁶⁷

Already from September 1647 on, he was viewed as one of the three most prominent and critical merchants, and became member of the Council of Nine, an organ forced by the citizenry as a counter to the politics of the director of the WIC but that later also acted as their informant.⁶⁸ In 1649 he is, besides the attorney Adriaen van der Donck, main signatory of the *Vertoogh van Nieu-Nederlandt*, the extensively documented protest from the colonists against

⁶⁴ Ibid., 3:1 (Johannes Verbruggen [‘cosijn’] to Govert Loockermans, March 24. 1648); 3:2 (Seth Verbrugge to Govert Loockermans, March 26, 1648).

⁶⁵ NYHS, Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 4:2 (Gillis Verbrugge to Govert Loockermans, 1649: condolences); 4:6 (Govert Loockermans to Gillis Verbrugge August 24, 1649: has received death notice of his wife). Funeral of Aeriaentien Loockmans: SAA, DTB, inv. n° 1100A, f. 83v (digital number NL-SAA-11235631).

⁶⁶ Jacobs, *Een zegenrijk gewest*, p. 281-283; Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, p. 183.

⁶⁷ For a location of his possessions, drawn on the 1660 city map by Jacques Cortelyou, a copy of which is known as the ‘Castello Plan’, see: I.N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909* (6 parts; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1967), II, p. 215-341.

⁶⁸ The council consisted of three townsmen, three farmers and three merchants (besides Govert Loockermans also Augustijn Heermans and Arnold van Hardenberg). Compare for its establishment: NYHS, Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 2:7a (Govert Loockermans to Gillis Verbrugge, December 21, 1647).

the WIC that would influence the relations in the colony thoroughly.⁶⁹ In 1656 and 1660 he was member of the city council of New Amsterdam, in 1663 and 1664 orphan master, and in 1668 lieutenant of the militia. From 1656 to 1665 he was for 10 years churchwarden. In short, Govert had become a pillar in the local community and had definitely joined the regent elite. But it most likely was Stuyvesant's constant animosity that prevented him being elected as mayor, even if he was three times on the election roster.⁷⁰ In 1670 or 1671 he must have died unexpectedly on a date that is not known to us, as he did not leave a will, which in fact was completely unusual for an affluent merchant.

The liquidation of his inheritance, the famous 'Loockermans Estate,' between the several rightful claimants or purported rightful claimants is a story in and of itself for which there is no place here, as it unfolds in the years after the take-over by the English. Not only was much money involved in this inheritance battle but also a number of exquisite, valuable plots of land in New Amsterdam and elsewhere. This inheritance became the starting point of a real power struggle between two political clans, for which the battle lines ran right between the group of descendants and their relatives. The second husband of Govert's stepdaughter Elsie Tymens, Jacob Leisler (1640-1691), became the key figure in this story.⁷¹ His big adversary was Nicholas Bayard (1644-1713?), the brother of Balthasar Bayard who had married Elsie's stepsister Marritje Loockermans.⁷² After fierce resistance against the English rule, Nicholas effectively had become a loyal supporter of the English government.

Leisler was German born, with a career resembling that of Govert, albeit in every stage a step up. Trained in the military, he enlisted in 1660 in the service of the WIC as an officer in New Netherland; there he became a merchant, traded in tobacco and slaves from Curaçao; he was an active member of the Reformed Church, became captain of the militia and served in several public functions.⁷³ In 1689, when the Dutch stadtholder Willem II during the *Glorious Revolution* became king of England, he organized a rebellion against the 'English faction' under Bayard and the supporters of king James II who hesitated to recognize the new king of Dutch origin. The (mostly Dutch and Reformed) opposition elected Leisler as governor

⁶⁹ Cf. Stuyvesant to Andries Hudde, agent on the South River, 1650, in: Charles Gehring (trans. & ed.), NYHM, Vols. XVIII-XIX: *Delaware Papers, Dutch Period* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1981), p. 31.

⁷⁰ Cf. Dennis J. Maika, *Leadership in Manhattan's Merchant Community: Office-Holding Patterns and the Persistence of a Merchant Elite* [International seminar on the history of the Atlantic World, 1500-1800: Working Paper No. 02-21] (Cambridge MA, Harvard University, 2002), p. 10, 13.

⁷¹ David William Voorhees, 'Leisler's Pre-1689 Biography and Family Background', in: *De Halve Maen* 62:4 (1989), p. 1-7; id., 'The "fervent Zeale" of Jacob Leisler', in: *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series, 51:3 (July 1994), p. 447-472.

⁷² Adrian Howe, 'Nicholas Bayard', in: *American National Biography* [ANB], 2 (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 365-366.

⁷³ For his person and context, see: Wellenreuther, *Jacob Leisler's Atlantic World*.

of New York, but strangely enough he was arrested as a rebel on March 20, 1691, by the new governor Henry Sloughter who had just been appointed governor by the same king. On May 16 of that year and together with his son-in-law Jacob Milborne, he was hung for high treason and subsequently decapitated, only to have his name rehabilitated again in 1695 by the English Parliament...⁷⁴

A growing family⁷⁵

In the meantime, Govert had married a second time; this time with a girl from Norway named Marritje Jans. She was the daughter of midwife Trijn Jonas and a younger sister of Anneke Jans, the widow of minister Everardus Bogardus, who had perished shortly before in a shipwreck. Marritje had lived already almost twenty years in New Netherland. She was a good forty years old and at least eight years Govert's senior. She herself had been married twice before, first with a carpenter and then with a ship's carpenter, important technical professions in that harbor town – at that time still completely built out of wood –, more or less comparable with that of an architect nowadays. From her earlier marriages, Marritje brought land and houses on the riverfront, located near present-day Hanover Square and Wall Street.

With her first husband Tymen Jans, Marritje had a daughter Elsie Tymens, at that moment about 15 years old; with her second husband Dirck Cornelisz van Wensveen she had a son Cornelis, then about two years old.⁷⁶ Because of his second marriage Govert saw himself confronted with a family of five growing children from four different marriages, only two of these children his own. The responsibility for this sudden multitude of children must have been one of his motives for the calmer pace of life into which he settled. He could afford

⁷⁴ For information on Leisler's rebellion, see also: Randall Balmer, 'Traitors and Papists: The Religious Dimensions of Leisler's Rebellion', in: *New York History* 70 (October 1989), p. 341–72; Donna Merwick, 'Being Dutch: An Interpretation of Why Jacob Leisler Died', in: *ibid.*, p. 373–404; Firth Haring Fabend, "'According to Holland Custome": Jacob Leisler and the Loockermans Estate Feud', in: *De Halve Maen* 67:1 (1994), p. 1–8; Peter R. Christoph, 'Social and Religious Tensions in Leisler's New York', in: *ibid.*, 67:4 (1994), p. 87–92; Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Simon Middleton, *From Privileges to Rights: Work and Politics in Colonial New York City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 88–95.

⁷⁵ In New Netherland a Balthus Loockermans appears, who is further unknown to me, likely a soldier for the WIC since two sergeants of the WIC act as baptismal witnesses. From his marriage with Engeltje Hendricks (not registered in New Amsterdam) two children were born who were baptized in New Amsterdam: Jacob Loockermans, ° May 28, 1662 (witnesses: Pieter Janszen [maybe Loockermans?], Paulus [Jacobsz] Truck [from The Hague], & Annetje Hendricks), and Jannetje Loockermans, ° October 14, 1663 (witnesses: Harmen Martensen and Otto Grim sergeants, & Annetje Hendricks). Based on the names given a relation with the Turnhout family can be assumed but it is not clear how.

⁷⁶ The inheritance of Dirck Cornelisz van Wensveen was liquidated on August 18, 1649. Govert Loockermans and Jacob van Couwenhoven acted hereby as guardians for Marritgen Jan, Machghyel (Michiel) Jansz and Olof Stevensz [van Cortlandt, husband of Anneken Loockermans] as guardians of his son Cornelis Dircksz van Wensveen: NYHM, III, p. 155-156.

that now he on the one hand had safeguarded his interests and was on his way to amass a large fortune, and on the other hand had built up a solid network of relatives and relations.

In the traditional historiography those circles are often assimilated to a cultural elite with a high level of sophistication, with a French ‘parlour culture’ and a European style of manners. To me, this seems very far-fetched. They were farmers, tradesmen, storekeepers and merchants – important farmers and successful merchants, certainly, but incomparable with the political and economic elites of the major European trading cities and their style of life. In Europe, Govert would on account of his fortune have belonged to the middle-class of internationally operating merchants, not really to the super-rich upper crust whose fortune exceeded one million guilders – an amount that in our present-day currency easily can be multiplied with a factor of 10 to 40, depending on which spending it is compared with. This small New Amsterdam elite Americanized little by little, and took on their own colonial culture. Its members did not always act according to European court standards – really, often they were rude and uncivilized, similar to Govert in his younger years. In the same way they did not have a clear cultural mission in mind. For example, we barely know anything about their reading culture. Govert himself seems to have been literate from his early years on, but that is a lot less clear for many other family members from the first generations. And for none of the family members of the first generations do we possess a reliable portrait.⁷⁷

In 1652 Govert finally got his own son with Marritje Jans, named Jacob. Jacob did not follow in the footsteps of his father, who died when he was 19 years old. Jacob had no affinity with trading. Maybe his father’s energy, even tenacity in that area had put him off to that, or perhaps he was a more handcraft or intellectual minded young man. He was trained by the most important barber-surgeon of New Amsterdam, Mr. Hans Kierstede, who had fled during the Thirty Years War from Magdeburg in Saxony to New Netherland and married there with a niece of Marritje Jans. His own son Hans Kierstede Junior was married with Jacobs Loockermans’ half-sister Jannetje Loockermans, Govert’s second daughter from his first marriage. Here the network clearly closes in.

Jacob Loockermans denounced his right to inherit in favor of his brother-in-law Jacob Leisler, the husband of Govert’s stepdaughter Elsie Tymens. Already in 1678 he lived as a barber-surgeon in Maryland and became plantation owner and magistrate in Dorchester

⁷⁷ There are no New Netherland portraits that can be proven to be earlier than 1644; compare R.E.O. Ekkart, ‘Vroege portretkunst in Nieuw-Nederland’, in: *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, 36 (1982), p. 162-192; James Thomas Flexner, *American Painting: First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), p. 52-89. The oldest reliable Loockermans portrait is presumably that of Govert’s great-grandson Vincent Loockerman, Sr., plantation owner in Dover, Delaware (1722-1785), painted by John Hesselius around 1750; depicted in LaPrad, *Thinking locally*, p. 117.

County, where he died on August 17, 1730. From him all later American Loockermans' descended.⁷⁸ But at that point the last Loockermans in New York were already history. In Albany too the name Loockermans disappeared after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. But Govert's children ended up well. His daughter Marritje married in 1664 with Balthasar Bayard, a son of Samuel Bayard and Anna Stuyvesant, and therefore could call Petrus Stuyvesant, the director-general of New Netherland who precisely in that year had to hand over power to the English, her uncle.

The societally most profitable union seems to have been that of Govert's sister Anneke. She was one of the most long lived in this story, and died in New York City on May 14, 1684, a month after her husband. Through the many times she acted as baptismal witness for family members and friends she comes forward as the genuine, active center of the Loockermans network. On February 26, 1642, newly arrived in New Amsterdam and 24 years old, Anneke married Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt, son of the cooper, tax collector and usher Steven Cornelissen and grandson of the Cornelis Jansz Cortlandt from Wijk near Duurstede in the province of Utrecht. Both the ambitions and the successful career as the short-tempered and thin-skinned character of this young man mirrored that of Govert, and lead to repeated tensions between the two brothers-in-law. Olof had arrived in March 1638 on the ship *De Haring* as a soldier for the WIC, and a year later became commissioner for the store goods. From 1648 on he was a free citizen, merchant and brewer in the Brouwerstraat (Brewer Street), and he amassed a small fortune through cunning tactics.

Olof's ambition became visible in his participation in every possible political institution: as critical citizen he was a member of the Council of Eight in 1645 and the Council of Nine in 1649. He then entered the regent elite and became city council member and mayor of New Amsterdam, and *alderman* under the English reign.⁷⁹ His oldest son Stephanus van Cortlandt, fur trader in association with his brother-in-law Jeremias van Rensselaer and director of Rensselaerswyck, became one of the richest landowners in the colony. Exceptionally his estate was granted privileges by the English king in 1697, just as had happened four years earlier with Philipsburgh Manor, the creation of Stephanus' brother-in-law Frederick Philipse. Cortlandt Manor is still one of the oldest and most prominent manors in the state of New York, and Philipsburg Manor to this day witnesses of the prosperity of Frederick Philipse, Anneke Loockermans' enterprising and successful son-in-

⁷⁸ More details about this posterity in: Bogardus, *Dear Cousin*, chart n° 10. Jacob would have been at least 62 years old at the birth of his youngest son Thomas. The information about this marriage, however, is incomplete.

⁷⁹ Peter R. Christoph, 'Oloff Stevensz Van Cortlant', in: ANB, 22, p. 173-174; for his relationship with the family van Rensselaer, see also Venema, *Beverwijk*, p. 202, 228.

law.⁸⁰ Both Stephanus and his younger brother Jacobus became mayor of New York; their family name lives on in Cortlandt Street in downtown Manhattan directly besides the WTC.

Oblivion: church, city and province

Just as his father Olof, Stephanus van Cortlandt was, together with his wife, a confessing member of the Dutch Reformed Church, and also a deacon and subsequently elder of their congregation. The same membership applied to Govert and his wife Ariaentje Jans, and to just about every other member of the Loockermans clan. But while Olof and his sons Stephanus and Jacobus stepped up as leading congregation members, Govert seemed to have been strictly a passive member.⁸¹ The Loockermans family Bible is kept in the New York State Library, in which the marriage of Govert and Ariaentje and the baptisms of their children have been registered.⁸² It is a popular Reformed Bible translation, the so-called Deux-Aes version that was printed in 1624 by Paulus van Ravesteyn in Amsterdam. Family annotations in a Bible are, for that matter, a typically Protestant tradition. If my interpretation is correct, it was Ariaentje, coming from a confessing Calvinistic family, who had brought this Bible along. Most likely, this Bible had been in her possession for a while already. Otherwise the couple would have surely bought at their wedding in 1641 the so-called States Translation, which was by then the official version, authorized by the States-General, first published in 1637, also by Paulus van Ravesteyn, and from then on immediately popular.

There is one other aspect of Govert's life that, as far as I know, has never been adequately discussed, namely his religion. The Loockermans' from Turnhout were a practicing Catholic family. Not only were all the children baptized in the local parish church of Saint-Peter, and some of the girls became beguines (*translator*: semi-monastic lay order, without formal vows), but both Govert's uncles Goyvaert Lokermans de Jonghe and Thomas Lokermans were active in the religious fraternities in Turnhout. Goyvaerts son Jan, Goverts full cousin, became a priest and a curate of Saint-Walburga's parish church at Antwerp, and Thomas himself counted two priests among his grandsons. Two of those Loockermans studied in Louvain, the bulwark of the Catholic Counter Reformation. How was it with Govert himself? Did he leave Turnhout for religious reasons? It is not impossible but I deem

⁸⁰ David William Voorhees, 'Stephanus VanCortlandt', in: ANB, 22, p. 172-173; Jacob Judd, 'Frederick Philipse', in: *ibid.*, 17 (1999), p. 439-441; Willem Haanstra, 'Frederick Philipse laid the foundations of New York', in: Peter de Haan & Kerst Huisman (red.), *Famous Frisians in America* (Leeuwarden: Friese Pers Boekerij, 2009), p. 89-96.

⁸¹ See for instance Francis J. Sypher, Jr. (ed. & transl.), *Liber A, 1628-1700 of the Collegiate Churches of New York* (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), index in voce Cortlandt (Olof) and Van Cortlandt (Stephanus, Jacobus). Loockermans is missing here completely.

⁸² This Bible, property of the American Bible Society, has been deposited in the New York Public Library.

it quite improbable. He was only 15 at that time, and later on in his life absolutely nothing points to any religious fervor or commitment whatsoever, for or against the Catholic Church. The same is likely true for his nephews Pieter and Jacob, and his brother Pieter the Elder. Govert, Pieter, Anneke and their nephew Jacob were admittedly confessing members of the Reformed Church, but in all three cases, it was their spouses who were the most active religiously. Pieter's wife Maria Teller came from a Scottish family of convinced Presbyterians, and Anneke's husband Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt was from the very beginning an active Calvinist, even if he came up against the wrong side of minister Bogardus because of his dubious actions as a self-enriching deacon.⁸³ The pious epitaph with the bombastic rhetoric that minister Henricus Selijns composed at the death of Govert's sister Anneke – one month after that of her husband – will have had more to do with her prominent social position than with her religious disposition.⁸⁴

Govert Loockermans was indeed a churchwarden, but in the Reformed Church that position was more of an administrative function without substantive personal involvement; in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic it was held by regents, even if they were not church members, at times even by dissenters or Catholics. Govert never was a deacon or elder. His bond with the Reformed Church came through his first wife Ariaentje Jans. That all his children were baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church and got married there is in this context of no significance. When there was no Catholic church or priest present, it was customary for Catholics in the Dutch possessions to have the children baptized in the public church, precisely in her function of *public* congregation, not that of *Reformed* congregation. This did not automatically suppose an active membership. This is how it must have been for Govert and his three close relatives.⁸⁵ None of the four come across as religious refugees. But upon arrival in New Netherland, they entered a society where from then on the Reformed Church was the public church, and no longer the Catholic Church as was the case at home. Very pragmatically they adapted to this new situation, and followed the customary rituals without complaining, just as so many other immigrants had done. Little by little, through their gradual acceptance in new networks, they became Reformed church members and drifted far away

⁸³ Frijhoff, *Wegen van Evert Willemsz*, p. 756-759.

⁸⁴ Text in Henry C. Murphy, *Anthology of New Netherland, or Translations from the Early Dutch Poets of New York with Memoirs of Their Lives* (New York 1865; reprint Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1966), p. 158.

⁸⁵ See for the distinction between public church and Reformed congregation: Willem Frijhoff, 'Seventeenth-Century Religion as a Cultural Practice: Reassessing New Netherland's Religious History', in: Margriet Bruijn Lacy, Charles Gehring & Jenneke Oosterhoff (red.), *From De Halve Maen to KLM: 400 Years of Dutch-American Exchange* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2008), p. 159-174.

from Turnhout and Brabant, both mentally and religiously, but without visible fanaticism. Religion was not their primary concern.

That was perhaps the most characteristic trait of Govert Loockermans, and the ultimate reason of his success: his realistic disposition and his pragmatism, his ability to time after time again leave the past behind, to adapt to the new circumstances he found along his way, and to create new networks and a new family for himself, across national boundaries and the across the ocean. It is doubtful he ever longed again for Turnhout after the arrival of his brother and sister in 1641 and his nephews in 1651. At any rate, there is no testimony whatsoever that points in that direction. The small number of immigrants from Flanders and Brabant that was present in New Netherland at that time do not play prominently in his life's story, or in that of his close relatives, exceptions notwithstanding. Brabant was completely left behind, as far as he was concerned. But for those who recognize themselves in his qualities, it is absolutely not too late to honor this lost son as a true citizen of Turnhout.

Appendix:

Genealogical survey Loockermans in Turnhout and New Netherland (researched until the end of the seventeenth century)

Sources

As long as not indicated otherwise, the information about family members in Turnhout and surroundings have been drawn from Eugeen Van Autenboer, 'De familie Lokermans in Turnhout en... de Nieuwe Wereld?', in: *Vlaamse Stam. Tijdschrift voor familiegeschiedenis* 22:3-4 (1986), p. 115-132. From the archivist of Turnhout, Bert Tops, I have gratefully received some useful additions. Peter D.A. Warwick has helped me to correct an earlier version, in particular with respect to the identification of Pieter Loockermans the Elder and the Younger and their marriages. Information about family members in America have been drawn from the (published and online available) baptismal and marriage registers of the Nederduitse gereformeerde kerk/Dutch Reformed Church in New Amsterdam/New York (from 1639 on); for Beverwyck/Albany available from 1683 on and published in *Year Book of The Holland Society of New York, 1904-1905*, republished in Louis Duermyer, introd., *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of Albany, New York 1683-1809. Marriages, Baptisms, Members. Etc.* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1978). The composition of the families in Beverwyck/Albany before that period and in New Amsterdam before 1674 has been verified on the basis of respectively Jonathan Pearson, *Contributions for the Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Ancient County of Albany from 1630 to 1800* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1872), and David M. Riker (ed.), *Genealogical and Biographical Directory to Persons in New Netherland from 1613 to 1674* (4 vol.; Salem MA: Higginson Book Company, 1999); due to a lack of sources, they sometimes (re)produce common misconceptions and are not always reliable. Finally, the verified lines of descent in William Brower Bogardus, '*Dear Cousin*': *A Charted Genealogy of the Descendants of Anneke Jans Bogardus (1605-1663) to the 5th Generation* (Wilmington, Ohio: Anneke Jans and Everardus Bogardus Descendants Association, 1996) have been consulted, in which also the descendants from her sister Marritje Jans, the second wife of Govert Loockermans, have been included. Presumed, reasoned or uncertain relations have been put in italics. The numbers between [...] refer to the numbering in this genealogical survey.

1. N.N. Lookermans. From him at least two children:

2a. Goyvaert Lokermans d'Oude, * Mierde (?), ca. 1545/50, † Turnhout 1628; cooper in Turnhout 1570 (first reference of the family there), buys house at the Cingel 1588, member of St.-Sebastian's Guild (Oude Boog) [a guild of archers, called The Old Bow] 1583, in 1587-89 receives compensation from the 'Vrijheid' of Turnhout (translator: a 'Vrijheid' or Freedom is a smaller township with specific privileges and liberties) for the food of the executors in charge for the army train near Antwerp⁸⁶, inspector of the 'Vrijheid' and churchwarden of the parish of Saint Peter 1591, deacon of the St.-Anna guild 1598, baker and bread inspector 1619; x (1) Anna (Anneke) Jacobsdr van Loenhout, † 1614: ? x (2) *Turnhout September 26, 1621 Catharina Lokermans, 'neptis ejusdem', † presumably without children [= ? 3g, baptismal witness 1638 with 5d]*. At the liquidation of his estate in 1628, Goyvaert leaves five surviving children from the first marriage:

⁸⁶ Municipal Archives Turnhout, Borgermeestersrekening 1587-1589, f. 21r.

3a. Jacob Lokermans, ° Turnhout March 26, 1583; † shortly before November 10, 1636; paid on September 2, 1612 for cleaning out the Freedom Well on the Grote Markt (Grand Market Square); receives on April 26, 1613 proof of good behavior to go France to ‘torff te maecken’ (to cut peat) and to ‘de spraecke aldaer te leeren’ (learn the language there); is on February 8, 1617 again in Turnhout for the sale of an interest in the inheritance of his mother to his brother Goyvaert; gives on June 17, 1624 power of attorney to Jan van Dunne to sell his share in the house on the Cingel to his brother Goyvaert; supplies in 1623-25 food (meals) to those who had cleaned the Freedom Well⁸⁷; x Turnhout January 22, 1606 Maeyken (Maria) Nicasius (Casus, Caes), † 1640 (liquidation estate, laden with debt). Children from this marriage (4a-4h):

4a. Petrus Lokermans, ° Turnhout April 6, 1610, † before 1614.

4b. Jan Lokermans, ° ? [1611], † 1648, presumably a barber-surgeon; x (1) Turnhout April 27, 1631 Catharina Degruyter, ° ?, † 1636; x (2) *ca 1641 ?? NN*; x (3) *November 19, 1645 Maria Mispelon, ° ?, † ? (at the liquidation of the estate of Jan, in 1648, she is named Mayken Leonarts, from Mierde. Being a widow to Jan Lokermans, she remarried Jan Aerts; in 1655-57 they live in the Gasthuisstraat in Turnhout)*. At the liquidation of the estate in 1648, which is heavily laden with debt, three still underaged children are still alive: Jacobus, Petrus and Jan. Their guardians and great-uncles Goyvaert and Thomas Lokermans make arrangements in their name.

Children from the first marriage (5a-5b):

5a. Jacobus Lokermans, ° Turnhout January 21, 1632. *Identical to Jacob Janssen Loockermans*⁸⁸, † [Albany in or after 1709]. Presumably came in June 1651 on *De Bonte Koe* from his uncle Govert [4e] to New Netherland. Settles before July 18, 1657 as fur trader in Beverwyck. There builds a house that he sells again in 1659-60, supposedly out of need, because of having to pay a fine of 300 guilders to which he was condemned on July 28, 1657 for the mutilation of Meuwis Hoogenboom on July 22.⁸⁹ Signs in Beverwyck on May 27, 1660 a petition as small fur trader.⁹⁰ Appears to be in the service of Philip Pieterse on July 15, 1660 for the purpose of fur trade with the natives in the woods.⁹¹ In May 1664 delegated with John Davits to broker a peace treaty between the Mohawks and the Northern Native tribes: with success, the treaty was ratified on May 24, 1664 in Narrington. Buys or sells homes and farmsteads in Albany in 1667, 1681, 1682 and 1684, receives on March 25, 1680 a land patent. Buys on October 2, 1674 half of the sloop *De Salamander* (in 1678 called *De Prinses*), which he uses in partnership with Harmanus van Borsum and sells it again on August 20, 1679.⁹² In 1683 together with his wife member of the Reformed Church. Receives on August 24, 1685 permission to travel, trade and hunt with a company of 30 men on Native territory, all the way up to the Ottawa’s; becomes captain, in 1687 kept as hostage in Canada by the French governor. Appears in the census of 1697 and again on the tax roll of 1709. Marries (1) on October 7/17, 1657 with Tryntie Claes (or Jans); she appears in 1666 as active in the fur trade⁹³, † shortly after February 26, 1685⁹⁴; x (2) Albany, August 21, 1696 Maria

⁸⁷ Municipal Archives Turnhout, Borgermeestersrekening 1623-1625, f. 27r (comp. *ibid.*, 1611-1613, f. 24r).

⁸⁸ Calls himself repeatedly Jacob Janssen Loockermans, e.g. at the sale of his farmstead and house in 1658-1660.

⁸⁹ Pearson, *Early Records*, IV, p. 111-112; in 1658 he had already sold his garden, p. 60, 68-69. Recent reconstruction sketch of his house based on data from around 1659 in: Venema, *Beverwijck*, p. 70-72, 441. The sentencing: Gehring, *Fort Orange Court Minutes*, p. 322, 340; Sullivan, *The Punishment of Crime*, p. 107-108.

⁹⁰ Burke, ‘The Netherland Fur Trade’, p. 283-291.

⁹¹ Gehring, *Fort Orange Court Minutes*, p. 513.

⁹² Pearson, *Early Records*, III, p. 416, 452, 481.

⁹³ Venema, *Deacons’ Accounts*, p. 167-168 (Tryn Claes).

de Hooges (Hooghes), widow of shoemaker Hendrick Bries; she was a daughter of Anthony de Hooges [† ca. 1655], bookkeeper and secretary of Rensselaerswyck, and Eva Alberts Bradt. Last mention of the couple Loockermans-De Hooges on a list in 1709.⁹⁵

From the first marriage at least one daughter⁹⁶:

6a. Catharina (Caatje, Trijntje) Loockermans, ° Albany August 1669, † 6 January 1729; in 1683 member Reformed Church; x Albany April 2, 1684 Wessel ten Broeck (oldest son of Dirck Wesselse ten Broeck, fur trader, and Christina van Buren), ° Beverwyck, April 7, 1664⁹⁷, † Albany, May 27, 1747, baker, merchant, deacon 1695-1697. From this marriage four more sons, five daughters and an unnamed child will be born until 1706. Five are still alive when the father on June 10, 1723 makes his will.⁹⁸

5b. Pieter Jansz⁹⁹ Loockermans or Pieter Loockermans d'jongh (the Younger), ° Turnhout April 22, 1634, † after September 17, 1689; x [ca. 1665/70] Maritje Lambertse. ° ?, † ? However, likely he had been married before, and may have had some additional children. Presumably in June 1651 Pieter Jansz sailed along with *De Bonte Koe* from his uncle Govert [4e] to New Netherland. Pieter Jansen Loockermans the Younger receives on November 16, 1656 in Beverwyck the land patent that was conveyed to Hendrick Gerritsz on October 25, 1653.¹⁰⁰ There he signs on May 27, 1660 with the name Pieter Loockermans de Jonge a petition as small fur trader.¹⁰¹ He is probably identical with Pieter Janse Lamaecker [=the gunstock maker] who on April 27, 1658 complains about violence committed upon him by Evert Nolden.¹⁰² This would be consistent with his trade as a carpenter on April 9, 1669.¹⁰³ Pieter Loockermans is mentioned on the guest list for the funeral of Jeremias van Rensselaer, director of Rensselaerswyck [5p], on October 7/17, 1674, on which he is with his brother Jacob prominently present as relative.¹⁰⁴ On March 3, 1679 Pieter Janse Loockermans grants to Jan Andriese de Kuyper a lot adjacent to his own house in Albany.¹⁰⁵ On June 21-22, 1681, he is involved in selling a house and lot to Harmen Janse Lyndrayer.¹⁰⁶ In 1683 Pieter Lookerman and Marritje Lookerman are members of the Reformed Church. Pieter Lokermans

⁹⁴His wife (not named) pays already on January 18, 1658 part of the fine: Gehring, *Fort Orange Court Minutes*, p. 342. She appears as Tryn Claes in a process of her husband on March 6, 1683 (A.J.F. van Laer, ed., *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady 1680-1685* (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 193), III, 322). Two years later, Tryntje Claes, wife of Jacob Loockermans, while trading near Catskill with a native woman, is victim of violence at the hands of two inhabitants of Albany (Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Albany*, III, 511-513: session of February 3, 1685). Will of Jacob Loockermans and Tryntje Jans on September 5, 1685 before notary A.J. van Ilpendam: Pearson, *Early Records*, III, p. 243. According to some, she was a daughter of Claes Jacobse Groesbeck, ° Rotterdam ca. 1624, carpenter in Beverwyck, and Lysbeth NN, both church members in 1683, but this is not very likely given the chronology. This is in reality the Tryntje Claes of 6d. About Groesbeck and his children: Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 56.

⁹⁵ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 26-27; Pearson, *Early Records*, III, p. 243.

⁹⁶ It is not impossible that Anna [5f], now written up as daughter of Pieter the Elder, is in fact another daughter of Jacob. Pieter's relationship with her future husband could be an argument in favor.

⁹⁷ This wedding date is also in the Family Bible Ten Broeck, there spelled as Cattryna Locermans.

⁹⁸ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 109.

⁹⁹ As mentioned in a notarial act of sale of March 3, 1679 (f. 868); and in an act on January 28, 1675, in Pearson, *Early Records*, III, p. 329.

¹⁰⁰ Venema, *Beverwijck*, p. 468.

¹⁰¹ Burke, 'The Netherland Fur Trade', p. 283-291.

¹⁰² Pearson, *Early records*, I, p. 247.

¹⁰³ Venema, *Deacon's Accounts*, p. 204.

¹⁰⁴ *List of those who are invited to the interment, bearing, mourning, of the corpse of Mr. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, deceased, Director of the Colony Rensselaerswyck, October 7/17, 1674:*

<http://users.crocker.com/~jcamp/funeral1/html>.

¹⁰⁵ Pearson, *Early records*, I, p. 509.

¹⁰⁶ Pearson, *Early records*, II, p. 127-128.

still figures on a jury on April 7, 1685.¹⁰⁷ His final appearance is on the September 17, 1689 list of subscribers for defense.¹⁰⁸ A Maria Lookerman (his widow, or his cousin 5e?) appears on the census of Albany in 1697.

Likely from the second marriage two daughters (6b-6c)¹⁰⁹:

6b. Maritje (Martje, Matje) Loockermans, ° Albany [ca. 1670], † ? [after October 27, 1710], member Reformed Church March 24, 1692; x Albany December 5, 1694 Johannes (Jan) Fonda (Fondaas; son of Douwe Jillisse Fonda and Rebecca Janse), ° Rensselaerswyck [ca. 1668], † buried in Albany June 26, 1740, member Reformed Church 1683/90. From this marriage four sons and five daughters will be born until 1710.¹¹⁰

6c. Lambertje (Lammertie, Landje) Loockermans, ° Albany [ca. 1670/74?], † [after February 10, 1723], member Reformed Church 1698; x Albany November 3, 1700 Arien (Adriaen) Oothout (son of Jan Janse Oothout, brewer in 't Greyn Bos [Greenbush], and Hendrickje Cornelisdr van Ness) [cf. 5e], ° Rensselaerswyck 1676, † buried Albany February 26, 1752. From this marriage three sons and six daughters will be born until 1723.¹¹¹

NOTE: both the second and third son received at baptism on resp. December 17, 1704 [† young?] and March 1, 1713 the combined first names Pieter Loockermans [Oothout], probably after their deceased grandfather.

Child of Jan Lokermans (4b) and Maria Mispelon (from the second marriage):

5c. Jan Lokermans, ° Turnhout June 22, 1642, † after 1648.

4c. Godefridus (Goyvaert) Lokermans, ° Turnhout July 2, 1612, † young? [cf. 4e]

4d. Petrus (Peeter, Pieter) [Jacobsz] Lokermans, ° Turnhout October 5, 1614, † ?; x Turnhout October 6, 1637 Ursula Vissers. *He is often called Pieter Loockermans the Elder.*¹¹² Govert Loockermans requests the Council of New Netherland on April 16, 1658 on behalf of his brother Pieter, burdened with wife and children, payment of 469:16:12 guilders, the amount of the monthly wages due by the WIC for Pieter's earlier services as *bootsgesel* (sailor or shipmate), but which the Chamber Amsterdam refused to pay.¹¹³ *Pieter's first wife Ursula Vissers and their son Jacobus would have died either prior to his departure to New Netherland in 1641, or else shortly thereafter.* In New Netherland he remarried [ca 1650?] Maritje (Maria) Donckes or Duncanson¹¹⁴, ° ?, † ?.

¹⁰⁷ Van Laer. *Minutes of the Court of Albany*, III, 523.

¹⁰⁸ He is also witness at the baptism of his grand-nephews Pieter Mulder, son of Cornelis Stevensz Mulder and Hilleetje Loockermans [5h] on December 25, 1683, and Dirck ten Broeck, oldest surviving son of Wessel ten Broeck and Caatje Loockermans [6a] on December 5, 1686

¹⁰⁹ It is unlikely, as some claim, that Maritje was a daughter of Pieter Loockermans the Elder. He had himself a daughter bearing the same name Maria [5e] who was still living at that time.

¹¹⁰ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 49. About this family: Kerst Huisman, 'The Fondas: descendants of the craftsman Jilles Douwes', in: De Haan, *Famous Frisians in America*, p. 105-112.

¹¹¹ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 85.

¹¹² This identification is in agreement with the opinion of Van Autenboer, 'De familie Lokermans', p. 132.

¹¹³ O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, p. 195 (who overstates probably his function by translating *bootsgesel* as quartermaster).

¹¹⁴ Because the source is not clear, only the first name of his second wife, Maria, is known for certain, not her family name. According to some she was Maria Teller, a sister of Willem Teller (° Shetland Islands, ca. 1616, † New York 1701, cf. 5e and 5r), sergeant-major of Fort Orange, later a merchant in Beverwyck and New York. Maria Teller becomes on January 11, 1665 member of the Reformed Church in New Amsterdam, which would be illogical if her husband was still living in Albany. According to others she was a sister of his first wife Margariet Donchesen [Duncanson, from Scotland]. The latter assumption must be correct, given the fact that

He is on January 19, 1642 in New Amsterdam baptismal witness for Michiel, son of the Flemish immigrant Michiel Paulusz¹¹⁵, and on October 25, 1648 for Johannes van Cortlandt [5m] son of his sister Anneke [4f]. Appears after April 15, 1649 frequently in Rensselaerswyck and Beverwyck/Albany.¹¹⁶ Mentioned in 1653 on a list of the citizens' militia of New Amsterdam. Receives on July 7, 1653 a land patent in Beverwyck¹¹⁷, buys there on November 16, 1656 a house as a townsman. Was carpenter (and plumber?), in 1658 called gunstock maker (*lademaker*), was also inn-keeper.¹¹⁸ Signs in Beverwyck on May 27, 1660 a petition as small fur trader.¹¹⁹ On January 9, 1660 sued by school teacher Adriaen van Ilpendam for neglect of paying 2 years of school fees.¹²⁰ Pieter Jacobsz Loockermans owned a house at Albany, sold on July 19, 1672.¹²¹ Pieter Loockermans senior is still mentioned in a ground patent of July 2, 1674.¹²²

From the first marriage a son:

5d. Jacobus Lokermans, ° Turnhout June 28, 1638 (witnesses: Thomas Lokermans [3d] and Catharina Lokermans [2a or 4m?]), [† young?].

From the second marriage at least four daughters (5e-5h, order uncertain)¹²³:

5e. Maria Loockermans, ° [Beverwyck ca. 1650?], † [between December 6, 1707 and March 1715]; Maria Loockermans Pieterss assisted the midwife at the birth of Johannes van Rensselaer (daughter of Jeremias van Rensselaer and Maria van Cortlandt [5p]) in Albany December 1/11, 1670¹²⁴; x (1) Albany ca. 1670 Pieter van Alen (or Allen), tailor and merchant in Beverwyck, widower of Maria Teller (° 1648, † a few years after their wedding in 1666; daughter of Willem Teller [see footnote at 4d]), ° Oldenzaal (Overijssel) 1648, † Beverwyck, January 1674; x (2) Albany February 14, 1676/77 Gerrit Cornelisz van Nes

Sander Leendertse Glen, who on October 16, 1638 had taken a marriage license at Amsterdam (Holland) with her sister Catelijm Donckes [SAA, DTB, inv. n.º. 449, p. 427] stands together with Pieter Loockermans sureties in Beverwyck on December 18, 1657 [Pearson, *Early records*, I, p. 57]. These Pieter [the Elder] and Sander are both called uncles of the children of Willem Teller, widower of Margariet Donckesen, when on April 19, 1664 they are appointed guardians of these children at Willem's remarriage [Pearson, *Early records*, I, p. 346]. Teller remarried (marriage intention. New Amsterdam April 9, 1664) with Maria Varleth, widow of Paulus Schrick (both member of the Reformed Church in New York December 6, 1692). See the discussion in Gordon L. Remington, 'The Duncanson Wives of Four New Netherland Settlers: Glen, Teller, Powell, and Loockermans', in: *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 128:1 (1997), p. 1-10; 128:4 (1997), p. 228.

¹¹⁵ Michiel Paulusz, from [Den]Dermonde, x New Amsterdam (marriage intention November 18, 1640) Maria Rapalje, daughter of one of the first colonists from Wallonia. In May 1633 he is called 'servant' in Pavonia, the patroonship of Michiel Paeuw. Arrived probably in 1633 with Govert Loockermans, and hired by Cornelis van Vorst, from Utrecht, the manager of Pavonia; NYHM, I, p. 24.

¹¹⁶ First mention in the *Court Minutes* of Rensselaerswyck: lawsuit of director Pieter Stuyvesant against eight inhabitants, April 15, 1649 (p. 72); active as independent citizen from 1653 on..

¹¹⁷ Venema, *Beverwijck*, p. 466, 481. Only from that date on (1653) does he appear independently in Beverwyck.

¹¹⁸ Venema, *Deacon's Accounts*, p. 41, 233. On July 24, 1669 he receives money from the deacons for beer, delivered at the occasion of the cleaning of the church, p. 206; on January 1, 1669, December 30, 1669, December 28, 1670 and January 1, 1673 the offertory box, kept in his store, is emptied, p. 201, 209, 219, 241; delivers butter on November 12, 1672, p. 238; Venema, *Beverwijck*, p. 447.

¹¹⁹ Burke, 'The Netherland Fur Trade', p. 283-291.

¹²⁰ Donna Merwick, *Death of a Notary. Conquest and Change in Colonial New York* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 110-111. This would place the birth date of the child, apparently his oldest daughter, in the early 1650s at the latest.

¹²¹ Pearson, *Early Records*, III, p. 397-398.

¹²² Pearson, *Early Records*, I, p. 99.

¹²³ Pieter Loockermans the Elder pays on August 27, 1663 the deacons in Beverwyck 4 guilders for the small shroud. That points at a child who died young (Venema, *Deacon's Accounts*, p. 116).

¹²⁴ Jacobs, *Een zegenrijk gewest*, p. 354-355. Venema, *Deacon's Accounts*, p. 213: Mary Lokermans makes on April 5, 1670 a donation in Albany

(Ness) [cf. 6c], possibly as widower, ° ca. 1645, † [sets up will alone, March 9, 1715], merchant [and brewer?] living in 't Greyn Bos [Greenbush], in 1715 wagon maker; in 1663 member of the night guard of Fort Crailo, exercised several crafts in Albany later on. Both were member of the Reformed Church in 1683, set up their will together on December 6, 1707. From the first marriage two sons, Johannes and Willem van Alen¹²⁵; from the second marriage at least four sons and a daughter (on June 16, 1697 two children Van Nes are still alive).¹²⁶

5f. Annetje (Anna) Loockermans, ° [Beverwyck, ca. 1655?], † [after November 2, 1701], x (1) Albany August 8, 1683 Adam Pietersz Winne (son of Pieter, from Ghent [Flanders], owner of a wood mill in Albany, and Tannetje Adams, from Leeuwarden), ° 1663, † [ca. 1690], both member Reformed Church in 1683; rope-maker, buys on June 21, 1681 a house in Albany next to that of Pieter Loockermans who manages the sale¹²⁷; x (2) Albany October 18, 1691 Jacob Teunisz van Woert (or Schoonderwoert), called De Metselaer [The Bricklayer], ° 1651, † buried Albany July 18, 1730, member Reformed Church 1683, widower of Catryn Claesdr Groesbeck (daughter of Claes Jacobse Groesbeck, ° Rotterdam ca. 1624, carpenter in Beverwyck, and Lysbeth NN, both member in 1683). From the first marriage five daughters, four of whom baptized in Albany, the fifth on August 8, 1690 in New York.¹²⁸ From the second marriage until November 2, 1701 four sons and four daughters.

5g. Catharina (Caatje, Catelyntje) Loockermans, ° [Beverwyck, ca. 1660?], † [after 1734?]; x [Albany ca. 1682] Jan Salomonse Goeweyj (son of Salomon Abelse Goeweyj, from Amsterdam, carpenter in Beverwyck, and Barbara Philipse), ° [ca. 1658], † buried Albany September 28, 1731, both member Reformed Church in 1683. From this union four sons and six daughters, born until April 17, 1701.¹²⁹

5h. Hilletie Loockermans, ° [Beverwyck, ca. 1660?], † [after May 12, 1700]; x [Albany ca. 1682] Cornelis Stevensz Mulder or Muller, ° Langbroek (Utrecht), in 1661 to New Nederland, settled in Rensselaerswyck, lives in 1663 in 't Greyn Bos [Greenbush], 1720 in Claverack, †?; both member Reformed Church in 1683.¹³⁰ From this union nine sons and three daughters, born until May 12, 1700.

4e. Godefridus (Govert) Loockermans, ° [in France?] ca. 1616 or early 1617 [he is mentioned as 16 years old in 1633, calls himself 22 in 1639]¹³¹, † presumably shortly before May 18, 1671 [possibly still in 1670], no last will known. Arrives spring 1633 on *De Southbergh* in New Netherland, as cook's mate in service of the West-Indische Compagnie, together with the new director Wouter van Twiller who subsequently hired him as clerk for the WIC.¹³² At the abolition of the trade monopoly of the WIC in January 1639 he becomes free merchant and rents on September 17, 1639 together with Cornelis Leendertsen (his partner until the latter's death in 1646) the yacht *Wesel* for trading.¹³³ In spring of 1640

¹²⁵ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 75, 108, 112.

¹²⁶ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 128.

¹²⁷ Pearson, *Early Records*, II, p. 127-128.

¹²⁸ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 139, 151-152.

¹²⁹ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 54.

¹³⁰ Pearson, *Genealogies*, p. 81.

¹³¹ NYHM, I, p. 244 (November 11, 1639).

¹³² According to the comments of secretary Cornelis van Tienhoven on the 'Vertoogh van Nieu-Nederlandt', 1650; he erroneously calls the yacht *St. Martyn* as the ship on which Govert arrived, because he arrived on the same ship as the new director Van Twiller.

¹³³ NYHM, I, p. 227, 231-232 (buys on September 20, 1639 corn from the natives).

member of punitive expedition against the Raritans, but subsequently returns to Holland; lives in Amsterdam on the Prinsengracht, possibly with trading firm Gillis Verbrugge & Co, for which he becomes agent in New Netherland after his marriage to Gillis' niece in 1641.¹³⁴ Returns on November 1641 with his wife and sister Anneke [4f] and presumably his brother Pieter the Elder [4d] to New Netherland. On March 26, 1642 buys a bowery from the WIC. Next buys the yacht *De Hoop* from Isaac Allerton, and in 1643 a house with two farmsteads on the Heereweg [Broadway] on Manhattan.¹³⁵ After the ban on trade on the South River, March 1644, and a flag incident on his yacht *De Goede Hoop* near Beeren Eiland (Rensselaerswijck) in July 1644, returns several times to Holland, first in 1644, then in September 1646 together with wife and children.¹³⁶ Is called in March 1647 in Amsterdam a free merchant, sailing on New Netherland. Hired on April 17, 1647 by Gillis Verbrugge and other ship-owners of the ship *De Valckenier* as main agent to trade along the coast and the rivers, for a salary of 60 Carolus guilders per month; he himself participated for an eighth part, worth 1,000 Carolus Guilders.¹³⁷ Ship ready to sail April 27, 1647, arrives on Manhattan on June 28. He then trades with Willem de Key in beaver fur, and intends to leave on August 2 for the South River.¹³⁸ Buys in 1648-1651 land from the Raritans at the Kil across Staten Island and sells them ammunition.¹³⁹ Is in 1650 until March 18, 1651 in Holland, and in June 1651 comes on *De Bonte Koe* back to New Amsterdam. At that point, settles for good in New Amsterdam. There he also works as agent for Isaac Allerton, at that time merchant in New England. Is with his wife Marritje Jans member of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Amsterdam (list of 1649-1659). Member of the council of Nine in New Netherland, September 1647, 1649, 1650; *grootburger* (full citizen) 1653; alderman (*schepen*) of New Amsterdam 1656, 1660; churchwarden 1656-1665; orphan master 1663, 1664; lieutenant citizens' militia in 1668. Last mention as baptismal witness on December 19, 1669, for Susanne, daughter of Pieter de Nijs. Died probably unexpectedly in 1670 or 1671. His *bouwerij* in the village of Amersfoort on Long Island and other elements of his estate were sold by his heirs to Roelof Martensen Schenck on April 23, 1674.

Marries (1) in Amsterdam (marriage intention at Amsterdam for the Reformed Church on February 9 1641; at Haarlem on February 10, certificate transferred to Amsterdam on February 24, 1641;) Tuesday February 26, 1641¹⁴⁰ as boat's mate, living on the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam, with the widow Ariaentje Jans (daughter of Jan Philipsz, courier for Zeeland and Lijsbeth Setten), ° Haarlem, ca. 1613. She was widow of Jan Hendricksz van de Water, sea captain on *De Kalmar Sleutel* (° Haarlem September 16, 1603, x Amsterdam [Old Church], July 19, 1637, dies in spring 1638 in the West Indies during a storm). In or around October 1637 and with brother Philips, sister Hester Jans, and Hester's husband Jacob Wolfertsz van Couwenhoven, Ariaentje moved to New Netherland. She still lived there in

¹³⁴ His mother-in-law Lijsbeth Setten (daughter of Set Corssen and Ariaentje Dirckdr) had a sister Janneke whose marriage intention with Gillis Jansz van Brug [Verbrugge] were registered on April 29, 1612 in Haarlem.. From that union 9 children. Their brother Cors Setten (or Stam) married in 1603 Annetje Gerrits, from which three sons: Set, Dirck and Arent Corssen Stam. The second, Dirck Corssen Stam (1608), 1634 in New Netherland, was in 1638-1641 cargo agent of the WIC and member of the council.

¹³⁵ NYHM, II, p. 129-130.

¹³⁶ NYHM, II, p. 212 (March 1644), 231-232 (July 5, 1644), 241-242 (July 16, 1644: power of attorney to Oloff Stevensen and Jacob Wolfertsz van Couwenhoven to manage his business in his absence).

¹³⁷ SAA, ONA. 1294, f. 34 (March 13, 1647); 1341, f. 25v-26 (April 17, 1647); NYHM, III, p. 92-93.

¹³⁸ NYHS, Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 1:1 (not dated), 2:3 (to Govert Loockermans, April 27, 1647), 2:4 (Govert Loockermans to Gillis Verbrugge and his son Seth [his 'cosijn'], August 2, 1647).

¹³⁹ Gehring, *Peter Stuyvesant, Correspondence*, p. 31-33 (May 28 and 31, 1648), 37 (August 20, 1648), 106 (March 21, 1651); NYHM, III, p. 60-61 (September 8, 1648).

¹⁴⁰ SAA, DTB, inv. n° 455/23, p. 12. He signs as Gouert Loockemans, she does not sign. Data also in the Family Bible Loockermans: <http://www.onentofl.com/chbibleloockermans.html>.

May 1639.¹⁴¹ After receiving news of the death of her husband, Ariaentje and son Hendrick van de Water returned to Haarlem. After her second marriage she returns in the fall of 1641 to New Netherland, in company of her husband Govert, her mother Lijsbeth Setten (widow), housemaid Jacomijntje Fransen and Govert's servant Dirck Jans van Rotterdam. In September 1646 she goes with her three children back to Amsterdam. There she suffered in 1648 from 'graveel' (kidney stones) and 'quelling in het hoofd' (migraine?), did not want or dare make the crossing again, and asked her husband to return to Holland¹⁴²; † Amsterdam, buried Westerkerk, October 23, 1648, leaving behind three surviving children (5i, 5j, 5l).¹⁴³

Govert Loockermans marries (2) New Amsterdam (marriage intention July 11, 1649) Marritgen (Marritje, Maria) Jans, ° Flekkerøy (Vest Agder, Norway) ca. 1608/09, sets up will May 7, 1677, † New York November 17, 1677; daughter of NN and Trijn Jonas or Roelofs, midwife of the WIC in New Netherland; presumably arrived on May 24, 1630 with her mother and her sister Anneke on *De Eendracht* from Amsterdam. Marritje Jans had married twice before¹⁴⁴: (1) New Amsterdam ca. 1632 Tijmen Jansz (1603-in or shortly after 1644), ships' carpenter in service the WIC; (2) New Amsterdam (marriage intention August 28, 1646) Dirck Cornelisz van Wensveen (° Waddinxveen, Holland? † shortly before August 4, 1648), carpenter. Dirck's inheritance is liquidated on August 18, 1649: Govert Loockermans and Jacob van Couwenhoven act as guardians of Marritgen Jans, Machghyel (Michiel) Jansz and Olof Stevensz [van Cortlandt, 4f] as guardians of her son Cornelis Dircksz van Wensveen [5m].¹⁴⁵

From the marriage of Govert Loockermans and Ariaentje Jans two daughters (5i and 5j):
5i. Marritje (Maria) Loockermans, ° aboard *De Coninck Davit* on way to St. Christopher and New Netherland, November 3, 1641¹⁴⁶, baptized New Amsterdam December 1, 1641 (witnesses: Dirck Cors[sen Stam, cousin on mother's side], Job Adriaenszen and Anneke Loockermans [4f]), † ? [in or after 1686]; member Reformed Church 1660, acts in 1663 as wet-nurse for Kiliaen van Rensselaer, first child of Jeremias van Rensselaer and Maria van Cortlandt [5p, daughter of her uncle by marriage Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt]¹⁴⁷; x New Amsterdam (marriage intention October 19) November 12, 1664 Balthasar (Balthus) Bayard (son of Samuel Bayard and Anna Stuyvesant, sister of Petrus Stuyvesant, director-general of New Netherland), ° Amsterdam December 26, 1641, † February 19, 1705; member Reformed Church New Amsterdam January 1, 1662, deacon 1673, 1684-85, churchwarden 1698; merchant and brewer on the Breede Weg [Broadway].¹⁴⁸
From this marriage (6g-6n)¹⁴⁹:

¹⁴¹ SAA, ONA. 1280, f. 69v-70r (May 25, 1639): they sailed for 'the Virginias' [New Netherland] 17 months ago and have not been seen since; Philips Jansz, *bosschieter* (marine soldier) on *De Eendracht*, who sailed to New Netherland, is presumed dead; Hester Jans lives in New Netherland.

¹⁴² NYHS, Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 3:1 (Johannes Verbruggen ['cosijn'] to Govert Loockermans, March 24, 1648); 3:2 (Seth Verbrugge to Govert Loockermans, March 26, 1648).

¹⁴³ NYHS, Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers, 4:2 (Gillis Verbrugge to Govert Loockermans, 1649: condolences); 4:6 (Govert Loockermans to Gillis Verbrugge August 24, 1649: has received death notice of his wife). Funeral of Aeriaentien Loockmans: SAA, DTB, inv. n° 1100A, p.83v (digital number NL-SAA-11235631).

¹⁴⁴ In the wedding register of New Amsterdam for 1649 she is incorrectly mentioned as 'jongedochter' (unmarried woman), and Govert's status as widower is not mentioned there.

¹⁴⁵ NYHM, III, p. 155-156.

¹⁴⁶ According to the journal of Anthonij de Hooges: Van Laer, *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*, p. 597.

¹⁴⁷ Venema, *Beverwijck*, p. 230-231.

¹⁴⁸ Charles T. Gehring, 'Petrus Stuyvesant, directeur-generaal van Nieuw-Nederland; een spannend begin 1647-1652', in: *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 50 (1996), p. 69-87, here p. 83.

¹⁴⁹ Baptismal records for the first five children according to the Family Bible Loockermans in New York Public Library: <http://www.onentofl.com/chbibleloockermans.html>

6g. Samuel Bayard, ° New York 20, baptized September 28, 1665 (witnesses: Govert Loockermans [4e] and NN), † young.

6h. Ariaentie Bayard, ° New York 18, baptized 20 november 1667 (witnesses: Nicolaes Bayard and Marretje Jans [4e, according to the Family Bible]¹⁵⁰); x New York October 26, 1691 Samuel Verplanck (son of Gelyn en Hendrickje Wessels).

6i. Anna Maria Bayard, ° New York 6, baptized March 10, 1670 (witnesses: Hendrick van de Water [5l], Petrus Bayard and Anna Maria Bayard [Stuyvesant]); x New York October 28, 1697 Augustus Jay, son of Pierre Jay (from La Rochelle) and Judith François, first supercargo for Frederick Philipse [5s], then wealthy merchant in New York.¹⁵¹

6j. Samuel Bayard, ° New York 14, baptized June 16, 1674 (witnesses: Mr. Hans Kierstede [5j], Balthasar Lazarus Stuyvesant and Janneken Kierstede), † young ? [before April 3, 1699].

6k. Judith Bayard, ° New York January 31, n.s., baptized February 7, 1677 (witnesses: Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt [4f] and Judith Verlet [Varleth] wife of Nicolaes Bayard), † ten days after birth.

6l. Jacobus Bayard, ° New York baptized June 25, 1679 (witnesses: Nicolaes Willem Stuyvesant and Grietje Vermeulen [5l]), x New York December 22, 1693 Hillegond de Kay [de Key] (daughter of Theunis de Kay and Helena van Brugh).

6m. Govert Bayard, ° New York baptized November 4, 1682 (witnesses: Stephanus van Cortlandt [5o] and Annetje Loockermans [4f]), † young.

6n. Judith Bayard, ° New York baptized May 23, 1685 (witnesses: Wilhelmus de Meyer and Judith Bayard); x New York March 5, 1722 Gerardus Stuyvesant, ° New Amsterdam October 25, 1691, † 1777 (son of Nicolaes Willem and Elisabeth van Slichtenhorst, grandson of director Petrus Stuyvesant). From this marriage four sons with descendants.¹⁵²

5j. Jannetje Loockermans, ° New Amsterdam 23, baptized September 27, 1643 (witnesses: Jacob Wolfertsz van Couwenhoven and Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt [4f], brothers-in-law of the father, and also Hester Jans [maternal aunt], Jannetje Seth [Setten?] and Marritje Philips), † between October 3, 1686 and July 29, 1692¹⁵³; member Reformed Church in 1661; x New York (marriage intention February 12) March 8, 1667 Mr. Hans Kierstede, her second cousin (son of Mr. Hans Kierstede, master surgeon, from Magdeburg, and from Sara Roelofs, daughter of Anneke Jans and granddaughter of Tryn Jonas), ° New Amsterdam September 21, 1644 (witnesses: director Willem Kieft, attorney [*fiscaal*] Michiel van der Hoykens, minister Everardus Bogardus, grandmother Tryntje Jonas and Marritje [Jans-]Thymens [4e]), † New York May 24, 1691; member Reformed Church January 11, 1665, master surgeon on the Herengracht Wz. [Broad Street], New York; sets up will on April 20, 1691, liquidation estate on March 1, 1692.

¹⁵⁰ According to the baptismal records Nicolaes Bayard and Janneken Loockermans were baptismal witnesses.

¹⁵¹ Walter Stahr, *John Jay: Founding Father* (London & New York: Hambledon Press, 2005).

¹⁵² Gehring, 'Petrus Stuyvesant', p. 86.

¹⁵³ Bogardus, '*Dear Cousin*', chart n^o 2. Possibly on November 20, 1667 witness at baptism of Ariaentje Bayard [6h].

From this marriage (6o-6w)¹⁵⁴:

6o. Hans Kierstede, ° New York February 19, 1668 (witnesses: Govert Loockermans [4e] and Sara [Roelofs-]Kierstede), † young.

6p. Adriaentje Kierstede, ° New York April 8, 1670 (witnesses: Cornelis van Borsum and Marritje Loockermans [5i]), †?; member Reformed Church March 1, 1693; x September 27, 1693 Dirck Adolphszen de Groof (van der Groeft), ° November 3, 1669. From this union five sons and a daughter.

6q. Hans Kierstede, ° New Orange (New York) August 20, 1673, † buried February 5, 1728, probably in Kipsburg; x New York October 1, 1696 Dina van Schaick, ° April 10, 1678. From this union three sons and two daughters.

6r. Cornelis Kierstede, ° New York December 25, 1674, baptized January 5, 1675 (witnesses: Pieter Bayard and Anneken Loockermans [4f]), † Bergen (New Jersey), August 23, 1757; x New York September 3, 1703 Sarah Elswaert (Elsworth), ° March 27, 1683. From this union a son and two daughters.

6s. Jacobus Kierstede, ° New York 1, baptized April 14, 1677 (witnesses: Hendrick van de Water [5l] and Blandina Kierstede), † before June 14, 1716; member Reformed Church March 8, 1697; x New York June 14, 1703 Elisabeth Laurens, ° March 11, 1680, † November 26, 1760. From this union one daughter.

6t. Anna Elisabeth Kierstede, ° New York 5, baptized December 17, 1679 (witnesses: Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt [4f] and Tryntie Roelofs [great-aunt]), † young.

6u. Sara Cathryn Kierstede, ° New York October 14, baptized November 5, 1681 (witnesses: Willem Bogardus [great-uncle] and Grietie van de Water [5l]), † young.

6v. Annetie Kierstede, ° New York May 24, 1684 (baptismal witnesses Stephanus van Cortlandt [5o] and Maria Rensselaer), † young.

6w. Marritje Kierstede, ° New York born 1, baptized October 3, 1686 (baptismal witnesses Lucas Kierstede [uncle] and Elsie Thymens [5n]), † ?; x New York March 18, 1711 Pieter Davids, ° February 3, 1686. From this union a son who died young and a daughter, without further descendants.

From the marriage of Govert Loockermans and Marritgen Jans one son:

5k. Jacob Loockermans, ° New Amsterdam March 17, 1652 (witnesses: Jacob van Couwenhoven, Pieter Prins and Annetje Loockermans [4f]), † in Dorchester County (Maryland) August 17, 1730; trained as surgeon under his uncle by marriage Hans Kierstede; as Mr. Jacob Loockerman member Dutch Reformed Church New York December 13, 1674; he certainly already in November 1678 lives in Maryland, where he requests naturalization; gives up inheritance rights in favor of his brother-in-law Jacob Leisler; ca. 1681 becomes tobacco planter in Easton, Talbot County. Magistrate of Dorchester County (Maryland); x (1) New York January 29, 1678/79 Helena Keiting, † after 1697; (2) Dorothy NN, † after 1751. From the first marriage five sons (Govert, John, Nicholas, Jacob, Thomas) and a daughter

¹⁵⁴ Further information about the children and their descendants in Bogardus, *Dear Cousin*, chart n° 2.

Mary, all born in Dorchester County, from the second marriage a son Thomas, born after 1714.¹⁵⁵ Several of these children got descendants, in particular Nicholas Loockerman[s] (1697/98-1771) in Dover, Delaware.¹⁵⁶

Stepchild of Govert Loockermans, from the marriage between Ariaentje Jans and Jan Hendricksz van de Water:

5l. Hendrick Jansz van de Water, ° Amsterdam (New Church), September 6, 1637¹⁵⁷, † New York January 1684; member Reformed Church New Amsterdam (list 1649-1659); initially lives with his aunt Hester Jans in New Amsterdam, becomes captain; x New Amsterdam April 21, 1662 Margariet van der Meulen [Grietie Vermeulen], ° Rotterdam, † [after 1686]; member of the Reformed Church in 1686, at that time lives in Smits Vallye [banks of the East River, near Maiden Lane].

From this marriage (6x-6ae):

6x. Ariaentie van de Water, ° New Amsterdam February 26, 1663 (witnesses: Gerrit [Govert? 4e] Loockermans and Marritie Cornelis), †?; member Reformed Church August 29, 1678 [in 1686 living with her mother]; x New York December 15, 1686 Willem Willemsen Bennett.

6y. Albertus van de Water, ° New York February 8, 1665 (witnesses: Balthazar Bayard and Marritje Loockermans [5i]), † [before April 9, 1724]; x New York (marriage intention June 22, 1688) July 18, 1688 Pieternel Cloppers or Kloppers (Petronella, daughter of Cornelis Jansz Cloppers and Heyltje Pieters), ° New York September 15, 1669. From this marriage two sons and three daughters.

6z. Maria van de Water, ° Bergen [New Jersey] November 3, 1667; x May 7, 1690 Teunis Tiebout.

6aa. Lijsbeth van de Water, ° New York November 14, 1670 (witnesses: Johannes van Brug and Annetje Loockermans [4f]); x New York June 14, 1685 Johannes Pauluszen, ° Schenectady, living in Esopus [Kingston].

6ab. Johannes van de Water, ° New Amsterdam February 19, 1673 (witnesses: Cornelis Pluvier and Sara Webbers), † presumably August 28, 1731; x New York September 1, 1692 Baefje Jans (daughter of Jan Sipkins). From this marriage four sons and five daughters.

6ac. Jannetien van de Water, ° New York October 6, 1675 (witnesses: Johannes van Couwenhoven and Maritie Loockermans [5i]); x New York October 16, 1707 Dirck Bensing.

6ad. Willem van de Water, ° New York December 4, 1678 (witnesses: Adolf Pietersze and Jannetje Loockermans [5j]), † January 26, 1735; x New York (marriage intention January 12) February 3, 1705 Aafje Ringo (daughter of Albert Ringo, shoemaker, deacon). From this marriage five sons and four daughters.

6ae. Anna van de Water, ° New York September 27, 1682 (witnesses: Isaac van Vleck and Geertruyd Vermeulen), † young.

¹⁵⁵Further details about these descendants in: Bogardus, *Dear Cousin*, chart n° 10. Jacob was at least 62 years old at the birth of his youngest son Thomas.

¹⁵⁶ Kathryn S. LaPrad, *Thinking locally, acquiring globally: The Loockerman family of Delaware, 1630-1790* (M.A. Thesis, University of Delaware, 2010): <http://udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/5742>.

¹⁵⁷ SAA, DTB, inv. n° 42, p. 39.

Stepchild of Govert Loockermans, from the marriage between Marritje Jans and Dirck Cornelisz van Wensveen:

5m. Cornelis Dircksz van Wensveen, ° New Amsterdam March 17, 1647 (witnesses: Hans Kierstede, Willem de Kay [Key] and Anneke Bogardus)¹⁵⁸, † before May 9, 1678; x New York (marriage intention November 17, 1672) Grietje Hendricks (daughter of Hendrik Willemsz, inspector of the bread), ° June 16, 1652, † ? (she x (2) New York October 1678 with John Robinson, merchant). From this marriage one son:

6af. Dirck Cornelisz [van Wensveen], ° New Amsterdam March 2, 1674 (witnesses: Jacob Leisler [5n] and Marritje Jans [4e]), † probably young.

Stepchild of Govert Loockermans, from the marriage between Marritgen Jans and Tymen Jansz:

5n. Elsie Tymens, ° New Amsterdam ca. 1633/34, † after September 17, 1704; x (1) New Amsterdam (marriage intention January 7, 1652) Pieter Cornelisz van der Veen (son of Cornelis Albersen van der Veen, merchant in Amsterdam), ° Amsterdam ?, † summer 1661, merchant, orphan master 1655, *kleinburger* (citizen) of New Amsterdam April 11, 1657, negotiates in 1658 with Esopus native tribe, alderman; with his wife member of the Dutch Reformed Church (list 1649-1659), she again as wife of Jacob Leisler 1686; x (2) New Amsterdam (marriage intention March 18) April 11, 1663 Jacob Leisler, ° Frankfurt am Main, March 31, 1640 (son of Jacob Victorian Leisler, minister in the French speaking Reformed congregation, and Susanne Adelheid Wissenbach); military training, 1658/59 enlisted in service of the WIC, in 1660 as officer to New Netherland; becomes merchant, trades in fur, tobacco and slaves (from Curaçao); 1674 inspector of the fortifications; captain citizens' militia; agent of Maryland in New York 1677; commissioner of the Admiralty in 1683, Justice of the Peace in New York City and County 1685; member Dutch Reformed Church October 2, 1661, deacon 1670-71, 1674, 1680; transfers to the French speaking Reformed congregation in 1685 and becomes an elder there, represents the interests of the Huguenots, founds in 1689 New Rochelle with the purchase of 6,100 acres in Westchester County; 1689 rebels against governor of New York, arrested by new governor Henry Sloughter March 20, 1691, † for high treason through execution by hanging and subsequent decapitation May 16 1691, together with his son-in-law Jacob Milborne.¹⁵⁹ Lives in 1686 Langs't Strant (Along the Beach) [Pearl Street].

Children from the first marriage of Elsie Tymens (6ag-6aj)¹⁶⁰:

6ag. Cornelis van der Veen, ° New Amsterdam October 27, 1652 (witnesses: Govert Loockermans [4e], Allard Anthony and Marritje [Jans-]Thymens); aboard the *Susanna* (ship of Jacob Leisler) imprisoned by Barbary pirates in July 1677, † in prison in Algiers 1681; x Magdalena Wolsum. She as widow x (2) April 25, 1683 Leendert Huygens de Kleyn, ° Buren [Gelderland], † buried New York April 24, 1735; both member Reformed Church 1686, living on the Herengracht Oz. [Broad Street]. Leendert de Kleyn as widower x (2) March 12, 1704 Susannah Leisler [6ak]), half sister of Cornelis van der Veen, 1686 member of the Reformed Church (living Langs 't Strant, near Elsie Thymens). This marriage remained without children.

¹⁵⁸ The child was therefore likely conceived before the second marriage (August 28, 1646).

¹⁵⁹ David William Voorhees, 'Jacob Leisler', in: ANB, 13, p. 454-456; see also the Leisler project under his supervision, and the references prior in this article.

¹⁶⁰ See for this information and further details about their descendants: Bogardus, *Dear Cousin*, chart n° 10.

6ah. Timotheus [Thymen] van der Veen, ° Amsterdam (Holland), Noorderkerk, December 30, 1654¹⁶¹ ; aboard the *Susanna* (ship of Jacob Leisler) imprisoned by Barbary pirates, July 1677; released in 1681. Last mentioned as baptismal witness for Johannes Walter, May 22, 1687. No known descendants.

6ai. Margarita van der Veen, ° New Amsterdam February 18, 1657 (witnesses: Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt and Annetje Loockermans [4f]), adopted by Jacob Leisler and counted with his own children, † 1733 (receives according to will of May 7, 1677 inheritance from Marritje Jans [4e]); member Reformed Church December 13, 1674; x New York May 15, 1682 (against the will of her stepfather and without his formal blessing, but the conflict was soon resolved) Isaac Stevens [Stephenszen] (son of Steven Jansz Coninck, carpenter in Albany, and Maria Goosens), ° ?, † drowned at sea before June 25, 1698; captain in the merchant marine, living at the Breede Weg [Broadway], captain of the citizens' militia 1689. Member Reformed Church New York August 29, 1683. From this marriage a son and three daughters.

6aj. Catharyn van der Veen, ° New Amsterdam June 29, 1659 (witnesses: Govert Loockermans [4e] and Cornelia de Peyster), † died young, prior to 1661, not mentioned in the papers relating to her father's estate or the guardianship of his surviving children¹⁶².

Children from the second marriage of Elsie Tymens (6ak-aq):

6ak. Susannah Leisler, ° New Amsterdam February 10, 1664 (witnesses: Willem Loockermans [identity unknown, incorrect family name?], Govert Loockermans [4e] and Susanna Leisler), † buried November 24, 1732; member Reformed Church December 3, 1681, left with certificate for Bergen [New Jersey]; x (1) New York (marriage intention June 24, 1687) Michael Vaughton, ° ? in England, † after September 9, 1688, came in 1683 to New York as confidant of Thomas Dongan¹⁶³, agent and tax collector; x (2) March 12, 1704 Leendert Huygens de Kleyn [6ag], widower of Magdalena Wolsum (prior widow of Susannah's half-brother Cornelis van der Veen), † buried New York April 24, 1735. From the first marriage a son.

6al. Catharine Leisler, ° New York November 8, 1665 (witness: Jacques Coutarie [=Couturier, x a daughter of Cornelis Alberse van der Veen? see 5n] and Sara Roelofs [cousin]), † ?; x New York February 4, 1685 Robert Walters, ° Plymouth [Devonshire, England] 1664, † 1731, Merchant. From this marriage two sons and seven daughters.

6am. Jacob Leisler, ° New York November 13, 1667 (witnesses: Cornelis Dirckszen [van Wensveen, 5m] and Trijntie Roelofs [cousin]), † November 1, 1732, not married. Lived in 1730 in New Rochelle, NY.

¹⁶¹ SAA, DTB, inv. n° 76, p. 21.

¹⁶² I owe this information to David William Voorhees. This Catharyn van der Veen is often confused with her namesake, member of the Reformed Church December 4, 1679 (as widow): Catrina van der Veen, ° Amsterdam, Westerkerk, March 12, 1655, daughter of Walewijn van der Veen and Elisabeth Meersman [SAA, DTB, inv. n° 105, p 31]; x (1) Amsterdam, banns proclaimed February 24, 1673 Frans Jansen van der Meulen [SAA, DTB, inv. n° 498, p. 429], he was buried at Amsterdam, St. Anthonis Kerkhof August 17, 1677 [SAA, DTB, inv. n° 1194, p.. 226-227]; (2) New York, December 26, 1679 Jonathan Provoost (son of David Provoost and Grietie Jillis [Margaretta Ten Waert]), ° March 26, 1651, † between March 5 and December 30, 1702. They live in 1686 at the Herengracht Oz. [Broad Street], she is member of the Reformed Church, he is not. From the first marriage a son and a daughter, from the second two sons and six daughters.

¹⁶³ He was probably not Reformed. In 1688 only his wife (Susanna Vaughton) donates money for the construction of a new church, he does not (Sypher, *Liber A*, p. 290).

6an. Mary Leisler, ° New York December 12, 1669 (witnesses: Hans Kierstede [Sr. or Jr.? 5j] & Elisabeth de Potter), † buried September 8, 1747; x (1) New York (marriage intention February 3, 1691) Jacob Milborne (widower of Johanna Edsall, † Bergen [East Jersey] 1690), ° Putney (Surrey, England), ca. 1648, radical non-conformist, came in 1660 to Hartford (Connecticut) as merchant apprentice; 1668-1672 clerk and bookkeeper of Thomas Delavall, merchant in New York; lives in 1674 again in London, is 1676 back in New York, becomes factor for London merchants in Albany; together with Leisler opponent to minister Nicolaes van Rensselaer during a visit to Albany¹⁶⁴; 1677 again to Europe, agent of Samuel Pepys 1679; freeman of New York 1683, merchant and large landowner, 1688-1689 in Rotterdam (frequents there the group of Huguenots and Quakers in *De Lantaarn* around Benjamin Furly), is August 25, 1689 back in New York, becomes close assistant of Leisler; on March 20, 1681 arrested by the new governor Henry Sloughter, † May 16, 1691 executed by decapitation; x (2) May 16, 1699 Abraham Gouverneur (son of Nicolaes), ° 1671, † buried June 16, 1740. From the first marriage a posthumously born son, from the second marriage two sons and three daughters.

6ao. Johannes Leisler, ° New York December 20, 1671 (witnesses: Johannes van Brug and Rebecca Delavall), † young.

6ap. Hester Leisler, ° New York October 8, 1673 (witnesses: Pieter Dircksen van Cleef and Grietje Hendricks [5m]), † buried November 26, 1762; x March 10, 1696 Barent Rynders, † between February 5, 1725 and January 25, 1727. From this marriage three sons and five daughters.

6aq. Francina Leisler, ° New York December 16, 1676 (witnesses: Paulus Richards and Marritje Jacobs), † 1765; x (1) November 26, 1694 Thomas Lewis, ° January 28, 1674, † between January 10, 1700 and June 14, 1704; x (2) fall 1711 Joachim Staats, ° April 9, 1654, † January 18, 1712. From this marriage a son and three daughters.

4f. Anna (Anneken) Loockermans, ° Turnhout March 17, 1618, † New York May 14, 1684; thanks and releases on April 23, 1641 in Turnhout her guardian Goyvaert Lokermans [3c] for the settlement (1640) of the administration of her possessions; is universal heir of her aunt Margriet [3e]. Comes presumably in November 1641 with her brothers Pieter and Govert to New Netherland; baptismal witness for Goverts oldest daughter Marritje, December 1, 1641, last time baptismal witness on November 4, 1682 for Govert Bayard [6m]; x New Amsterdam February 26, 1642 Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt, ° Wijk bij Duurstede [Utrecht] ca. 1610/15¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Nicolaes (1636-1678), son of Kiliaen van Rensselaer (founder of Rensselaerswyck), a prophetic figure, became in 1675 after the death of his brother Jeremias [5p] both director and preacher in Albany; he was accused of heterodoxy, but died soon thereafter. See David William Voorhees, 'Nicholas Van Rensselaer', in: ANB, 22, p. 242-243; Ernestine G.E. van der Wall, 'Prophecy and profit: Nicolaes van Rensselaer, Charles II and the conversion of the Jews', in: C. Augustijn et al. (ed.), *Kerkhistorische opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. dr. J. van den Berg* (Kampen: Kok, 1987), p. 75-87; Robert S. Alexander, *Albany's First Church And It's Role in the Growth of the City, 1642-1942* (Albany: First Church of Albany, 1988), p. 51-55; Claudia Schnurmann, 'Merchants, Ministers and the Van Rensselaer-Leisler Controversy of 1676 as a Dress Rehearsal for 1689', in: Wellenreuther, *Jacob Leisler's Atlantic World*, p. 69-88.

¹⁶⁵ Steven Cornelissen van Cortlandt (son of Cornelis Jansz Cortlandt, blacksmith, and Catarijna Jansdr) and Fijchje Oloffdr got married in February 1609 in Wijk bij Duurstede; there they lived at Volderstraat 5. Their daughters Majjcken and Neeltgen on March 21, 1652 set up a mutual will, at which point their mother Fijchgen Oliver [!], widow of Steven Cornelisz, renounced her rights on their possessions; Oloff is not mentioned therein (property transfer acts Wijk bij Duurstede, inv. n° 580-11, f. 01). The Museum of the City of New York owns a portrait that in 1636 is supposed to have been painted by Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt, depicting Katrien van Cortlandt, and possibly in 1638 brought along by her son Oloff Stevensz. Both the attribution and the

, son of Steven Cornelisz (cooper, tax collector and usher in Wijk bij Duurstede) and Fijchgen Oloffs, † New York April 4, 1684; left in September 1637 on *De Haring* for New Netherland as soldier in the service of the WIC, arrived there March 28, 1638, commissioner of the store goods July 1639; with his wife member of the Dutch Reformed Church (list 1649-1659), deacon 1645, elder 1670-71, 1673-74, 1678-79, 1682-83; from 1648 on free citizen, merchant and brewer in the Brouwerstraat [Stone Street]; member of the Council of Eight 1645, Council of Nine 1649, *grootburger* (full citizen) 1653, *schepen* (alderman) of New Amsterdam 1654, 1655, 1674, alderman 1666-67, 1671, burgomaster 1655-57, 1658-1659, 1662-63 and 1665, mayor 1673, treasurer 1657, 1659-1661, 1664, orphan master 1653, 1657, 1660-61.¹⁶⁶

Children from this marriage (5o-5u):

5o. Stephanus van Cortlandt, ° New Amsterdam May 7 (baptized 10) 1643 (witnesses: Govert Loockermans [4e] and Marritje [Jans-]Thymens), † New York November 25, 1700; member Reformed Church October 7, 1663, deacon 1673, elder 1681-82, 1686, 1691-92, 1695-96; affluent fur trader in partnership with his brother-in-law Jeremias van Rensselaer [5p]; landowner, lord of Cortlandt Manor 1697; 1674 director of Rensselaerswyck; *schepen* (alderman) 1674, alderman 1675, 1676, mayor of New York 1677, 1686, 1687, member of the Governor's council 1674, deputy auditor general 1687, member of the New York Council for New York County 1691-1695, 1698-1700, colonel in the citizens' militia 1697; x New York September 10, 1671 Geertruyd Schuyler (daughter of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, merchant, and Margareta van Slichtenhorst [5t], granddaughter of Brant Aerts van Slichtenhorst, director of Rensselaerswyck).¹⁶⁷ Both are in 1686 member of the Reformed Church, living in the Brouwersstraat [Stone Street]. From this marriage, five sons and seven daughters.

5p. Marritie (Maria) van Cortlandt, ° New Amsterdam July 20 (baptized 23) 1645 (witnesses: director Willem Kieft and Hester Jans), † January 29, 1689; x New Amsterdam (marriage intention April 27) July 12, 1662¹⁶⁸ Jeremias van Rensselaer (son of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, jeweler in Amsterdam, commander of the WIC, founder and first patron of Rensselaerswyck, and Anna van Wely), ° Amsterdam (New Church) May 16, 1632, † October 2/12, buried Albany October 7/17, 1674, leaves in 1654 for New Netherland, again in 1656, in September 1658 appointed third director of Rensselaerswyck, president of the Convention (*Landdag*) of the colony New Netherland 1664. Lives in Albany. From this marriage four sons (Kiliaen [x October 15, 1701 Maria, daughter of Stephanus van Cortlandt [5o], his first cousin], Hendrick, Johannes and Jeremias van Rensselaer) and two daughters (Anna and Maria).¹⁶⁹

identification are most probably incorrect. On top of that, Oloffs mother was not Katrien, that would be his grandmother or one of his daughters. The Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia has a portrait that is said to represent Oloff Stevensz and that ca. 1663 is supposed to have been painted by Henri Couturier. About this family: William J. Hoffman, 'An armory of American families of Dutch descent', in: *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 66 (1935), p. 276; C.A. van Burik, 'Wijk bij Duurstede middelpunt van de wereld: 17^{de}-eeuwse Wijkenaren in den vreemde', in: *Het Kromme-Rijngebied* 41:1 (March 2007), p. 2-26. With gratitude to Casper van Burik, Ad van Bommel and Ton Gelok for the information they provided.

¹⁶⁶ Peter R. Christoph, 'Oloff Stevensz Van Cortlant', in: ANB, 22, p. 173-174; for his relationship with the van Rensselaer family, see also Venema, *Beverwijck*, p. 202, 228.

¹⁶⁷ David William Voorhees, 'Stephanus VanCortlandt', in: ANB, 22, p. 172-173.

¹⁶⁸ About this marriage: Jacobs, *Een zegenrijk gewest*, p. 359-361.

¹⁶⁹ David William Voorhees, 'Jeremias van Rensselaer', in: ANB, 22, p. 236-237; A.J.F. Van Laer (trans. & ed.), *Correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, 1651-1674* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1932); id., *Correspondence of Maria Van Rensselaer, 1669-1689* (ibid., 1935); Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer*, p. 270-291.

5q. Johannes van Cortlandt, ° New Amsterdam October 11 (baptized 25) 1648 (witnesses: Gillis Verbrugge, Jacob van Couwenhoven, Roelof Janszen, Pieter Loockermans [4d] and Sytie Stephens [aunt, sister of Stevensz]), † 1667, not married.

5r. Fytie (Sophia) van Cortlandt, ° New Amsterdam June 4, 1651 (witness: Marritie Loockermans [5i]), † 1729; x New York May 6, 1671 Andries Teller, merchant and magistrate in Albany, then merchant in New York (son of Willem Teller Sr. and Margaretha Donckesen [Duncanson, cf. 4d]), sets up his will September 16, 1702. Both member Reformed Church December 6, 1692. From this union two sons and a daughter (son Oliver Teller marries in New York on October 12, 1712 with Cornelia de Peyster).

5s. Catherina van Cortlandt, ° New Amsterdam October 25, 1652, baptized January 5, 1653 (witnesses: Jan Gilliszen van Brug and Elsie [Tymens-]van der Veen [5n]), † ?; x (1) New York (marriage intention October 10) November 3, 1675 Johannes (John) Dervall [Van der Vall, Der Vail], merchant, living in the Brugstraet [Bridge Street]. ° Amsterdam ?, † February 28, 1689; member Reformed Church New York 1675 [in 1686 together with his wife], deacon 1678-79; x (2) New York November 30, 1692 Frederick Philipse of Flipsen (son of Philippus Douwes and Ibel Fredericks), ° Bolsward (Friesland) March 8, 1627, † New York 1702, first a carpenter, in 1647 to New Amsterdam, member Reformed Church April 1, 1666, churchwarden 1686-1691; tax collector and supervisor, next becomes free merchant, landowner and slave trader, lives in the Brouwersstraet [Stone Street]; possesses in 1674 the largest fortune in the colony; alderman of New York 1675, lord of Philipsburgh Manor 1693, builder of the church of Sleepy Hollow. Frederick Philipse was married earlier at New Amsterdam (marriage intention October 28, 1662) with Margriet Hardenbroeck, free tradeswoman and ship-owner, ° Elberfeld [1631?], in or shortly after 1649 member of the Reformed Church of New Amsterdam, † 1691?, widow of Pieter Rudolphus de Vries, free merchant and ship-owner (° Franeker [Friesland] 1603, x [marriage intention October 10, 1659] as widower, † May/June 1661); from this marriage three sons and two daughters [see 5u].¹⁷⁰ From the second marriage of Catharina van Cortlandt no children.

5t. Cornelia van Cortlandt, ° New Amsterdam November 21 (baptized 28), 1655 (witnesses: Pieter van Veen [5n] and Marritje Loockermans [5i]), † ?; member Reformed Church August 29, 1672; x New York July 12, 1682 Brandt Schuyler (son of Philip Pieterse Schuyler and Margareta van Slichtenhorst [5o]), ° Beverwijck December 18, 1659, † New York August 15, 1752, living in Broad Street [prior Herengracht Wz.], captain citizens' militia; member Reformed Church New York June 17, 1680, deacon 1684, 1688-89, 1692-93, churchwarden 1697-98; he x (2) April 16, 1741 [!] Margarita van Wyck. From the first marriage three sons, born between 1683 and 1690.

5u. Jacobus van Cortlandt, ° New Amsterdam July 7, 1658 (witnesses: Pieter Cornelisz van der Veen [5n], Johan van Brug and Cornelia Lubberts), † 1739; member Reformed Church May 28, 1679, deacon 1694, elder 1698-99; captain citizens' militia, merchant, lives in 1686 in the Brouwersstraet [Stone Street]; mayor of New York 1710, 1719; x New York (marriage intention' May 7) May 31, 1691 Eva de Vries Philipse (daughter of Pieter Rudolphus de Vries and Margriet Hardenbroeck, stepdaughter of Frederick Philipse, second husband of her sister

¹⁷⁰ Jacob Judd, 'Frederick Philipse', and Michael E. Gherke, 'Margaret Hardenbrook Philipse', in: ANB, 17, p. 439-441; Willem Haanstra, 'Frederick Philipse laid the foundations of New York', in: De Haan & Huisman, *Famous Frisians*, p. 89-96. The Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia holds the portrait of Frederick Philipse, supposedly painted by Henri Couturier in 1674.

Catherina [5o]), ° New Amsterdam October 3, 1660, member Reformed Church March 2, 1698, † ? From this union a son and three daughters.

4g. Mathias (Mathys) Lokermans, ° Gierle, August 3, 1620, † ?; x Catharina Aelbrechts, ° ?, † November 24, 1687.

From this marriage one son (5v):

5v. Thomas Lokermans, ° ?, † Turnhout August 6, 1710 (?); x Turnhout December 12, 1684 Anna Pelckmans, ° ?, † Turnhout April 8, 1714; she remarries with Augustijn Engelen. From the first marriage one surviving son Jan Baptist (1695-1774), merchant, elderman (*ouderman*) of the Ticking Guild 1733; from his marriage with Catharina van Deun nine children.

4h. Paulus Lokermans, ° Gierle, October 12, 1622, † [young?].

3b. Lysken (Elisabeth) Lokermans, ° Turnhout November 27, 1589, † ?; x Turnhout January 10, 1616 Arnoldus [Aert] Aerts Janssen; they sell on June 17, 1624 their part in the house on the Cingel to her brother Goyvaert Lokermans [3c].

From this marriage (4i-4k):

4i. Anna Aerts, ° Turnhout December 20, 1616, † ?

4j. Jacob Aerts, ° Turnhout February 2, 1625, † ?

4k. Petrus Aerts, ° Turnhout June 24, 1627, † ?

3c. Goyvaert Loeckermans de Jonghe [the Younger; after 1628: the Elder), ° Turnhout November 22, 1591, † Turnhout March 29, 1670; tailor, buys in 1630 house *De Wyser* in the Potterstraat; (Catholic) churchwarden 1633-1635, manages the quartering of soldiers in the township 1638-1639 and 1647-1648¹⁷¹; deacon of the Fraternity of the Sweet Name of Jesus 1648, chaplain of the poor 1654¹⁷²; member St. Sebastian's Guild (he or his son: king 1664 [*translator*: this means that he or his son had won the archery completion the guild each year holds]), 1628 deacon of the 'gulde van de rethorica' [chamber of rethoric]; x Turnhout December 26, 1614 Barbara Nuyens (daughter of Philippus Nuyens and Catalyn de Houwer), ° Turnhout May 10, 1592, † Turnhout October 14, 1664.

From this marriage (4l-4r)

4l. Anna Lokermans, ° Turnhout June 17, 1619, † her death announced by the funeral bell (*overluid*) in Turnhout January 15, 1621.

4m. Catharina Lokermans, ° Turnhout June 6, 1621, † ? [signs a deed at Turnhout 1668]; x Geraert Janssens.

4n. Anna Lokermans, ° Turnhout October 11, 1623, † before 1676 [is alive but absent at the time of the 1668 deed]; x (1) NN, (2) Turnhout October 7, 1645 Jan van Schaluynen, carpenter.

4o. Philippus Lokermans, ° Turnhout August 16, 1626, † young.

¹⁷¹ Municipal Archives Turnhout, Borgermeestersrekening, 1637-1639, f. 81v and 116r; 1647-1649, f. 79r.

¹⁷² Ibid., 1653-1655, f. 41v and 42v.

4p. Jan Lokermans, ° Turnhout November 28, 1628, † after 1673; immatriculated at the University of Louvain in 1645 (from the Paedagogium of the Castle)¹⁷³, becomes priest, curate of the St- Walburga's parish in Antwerp.

4q. Philippus Lokermans, ° Turnhout December 28, 1631, † ? [no longer alive at the time of the 1668 deed]

4r. Govardus Lokermans, ° Turnhout October 1634, † Turnhout December 27, 1687; tailor; x Turnhout March 4, 1659 Cornelia van Miert, ° Turnhout November 25, 1637, † ?1681.
From this marriage (5w-5aa):

5w. Anna Lokermans, ° Turnhout January 19, 1659 [before the marriage of her parents], † after January 31, 1726, as beguine in the Beguinage of Herentals.

5x. Leonardus Lokermans, ° Turnhout June 22, 1661, † ?

5y. Jan Lokermans, ° Turnhout December 2, 1663, † ?

5z. Barbara Lokermans, ° Turnhout March 11, 1666, † ?

5aa. Franciscus Lokermans, ° Turnhout November 23, 1668, † ?

3d. Thomas Lokermans, ° Turnhout May 26, 1593, † Turnhout October 11, 1660; tickings weaver in *De Croone* at the Cingel in Turnhout; sells in 1624 his part in the house on the Cingel to brother Goyvaert [3c]; churchwarden in Saint Peter's, hospital master 1649-1654, leaseholder of H.M.'s taxes (excise master 1655)¹⁷⁴, member of St. Sebastian's guild (1648 deacon), St. Anna's Guild, the Holy Sacrament Guild and the Brotherhood of the Sweet Name of Jesus; x (1) Turnhout February 27, 1616 Catharina (Catalyn) Caverson, ° ?, † 1625, because of the plague; (2) Turnhout September 29, 1628 Cornelia van Loon (daughter of Maarten and Catlyn van Hubbelen), ° 1599, † Turnhout 2, buried August 4, 1659 (widow of Jan Scheipers or Schepers).

Children from the marriage between Thomas Lokermans and Catharina Caverson (4s-4v) [in 1625 only the five years old Elisabeth (4t) was still alive]:

4s. Nicolaus Lokermans, ° Turnhout November 10, 1616, † young [before 1625, buried Turnhout July 21, 1619?]

4t. Elisabeth Lokermans, ° 1620, † (buried) Turnhout September 1676; trained as seamstress under her father; x January 13, 1646 Cornelis Versant, ° Gierle August 21, 1608, † buried Turnhout August 28, 1676.

4u. NN, ° ?, † (the death of a child of Thomas Lokermans announced by the funeral bell in Turnhout May 3, 1621).

4v. Anna Lokermans, ° Turnhout March 18, 1624, † young [before 1625].

¹⁷³ A. Schillings (ed.), *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain. V: 1616-1651* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1962), p. 453, n° 136.

¹⁷⁴ Municipal Archives Turnhout, Borgermeestersrekening, 1653-55, f. 122r.

Prior child of Cornelia van Loon [3d] and Jan Scheipers:

4w. Jan Scheipers, ° Turnhout December 31, 1622, †? Lives in 1660 in New Netherland (according to Municipal Archives Turnhout).¹⁷⁵

Children from the marriage between Thomas Lokermans and Cornelia van Loon (4x-4af) [in 1660 7 still survived]:

4x. Anna Lokermans, ° Turnhout January 21, 1628 (prior to the marriage of her parents); † Turnhout May 6, 1674?

4y. Goyvaert Lokermans, ° Turnhout September 23, 1629, † Turnhout October 28, 1705 (buried January 16, 1706); tailor and shopkeeper in the Gasthuisstraat; tax collector of His Majesty, 1671-74, sworn appraiser, collector of chimney and plow money 1671; hospital master 1659-74, master of the Holy Ghost 1676-78 [poverty care]; member of St. Sebastian's Guild, *cornet* [officer] and commander; x Turnhout March 22, 1657 Dimpna Daniels (daughter of Jacobus and Catharina Buycx), ° Turnhout January 28, 1637, † Turnhout August 18, 1698. In 1652, according to a statement by the aldermen of Turnhout, he wished to 'syne fortune te gaen soecken ende maecken in andere landen, soo ende gelyck een jonghman met eeren van synen styl toelaet te doen' (to seek and make his fortune in other countries, as a young man of honor is allowed to do with his trade) and was born from Roman-Catholic parents.¹⁷⁶ Lives in 1685 with his wife in Antwerp (moved away because of debts? In 1692 debts have been settled). From this marriage 11 children, of whom 2 have been ordained into the priesthood.¹⁷⁷

4z. Martinus Lokermans, ° Turnhout January 1, 1632, † before 1677; tickings maker; x June 24, 1656 Catharina van Lier, ° ?, † July 14, 1686.
From this marriage (5ab-5ae):

5ab. Thomas Lokermans, ° Turnhout April 24, 1657, † ? (after 1702); tickings weaver on the Potterstraat 1693, delivers tickings to Dordrecht, among other places. Married, one child in 1702.

5ac. Cornelia Lokermans, ° Turnhout September 7, 1659, † ?

5ad. Elisabeth Lokermans, ° Turnhout June 8, 1662, † ?

5ae. Maria Lokermans, ° Turnhout June 22, 1664, † ?

4aa. Catharina Lokermans, ° Turnhout May 25, 1633, † ?; x Turnhout May 7, 1662 Jan Franckx (Franco). From this union two daughters.

4ab. Cornelia Lokermans, ° Turnhout September 25, 1634, † ?

4ac. Maria Lokermans, ° Turnhout November 21, 1635, † Antwerp ?; x Martinus Dupein, in Antwerp.

¹⁷⁵ Van Autenboer, 'De familie Lokermans', p. 126.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 126-127 and footnote 87 (quotation).

¹⁷⁷ 'Joannes Loeckemans Turnhoutanus' from the 'Paedagogium of the Lily' is enrolled on January 18, 1678 at the University of Louvain: Schillings, *Matricule. VI: 1651-1683* (1963), p. 428, n° 248.

4ad. Thomas Lokermans, ° Turnhout November 20, 1636, † Turnhout February 9, 1700; x ?

4ae. Jan Lokermans, ° Turnhout December 19, 1638, † ?

4af. Andries Lokermans, ° Turnhout March 20, 1642, † Turnhout July 28, 1685; tailor (apprenticed with Goyvaert Lokermans [3c]); x Catharina Elisabeth Hansche, ° ?, † before 1686. Estate heavily indebted. From this marriage four children.

3e. Magreta (Margriet) Loockermans, ° ? [still a minor on August 27, 1618], † Zwolle [Overijssel] 1636/before January 5, 1637; x (1) Hans Marinus, they give on July 1, 1628 in Amsterdam (notary Verhey) power of attorney to Jan van Dunne to sell their part of the house at the Cingel in Turnhout to her brother Goyvaert [3c]; x (2) Andries Kielaerts (or Kiemaerts?) in Zwolle, † before 1636 [not found there]. They did not leave any children. In her will of August 19, 1636 she makes her niece Anneken [4f] her only and universal heiress.

?2b. *Henricus Lokermans*, ° ?, † ?; x ? *From this union:*

3f. *Mathias Lokermans*, ° Turnhout November 18, 1588, † ?

?3g. *Catharina Lokermans*, marries *Goyvaert Lokermans (2a)?*