

Living with Rivers

**Netherland Plain Polder Farmers' Migration to and through the River Flatlands
of the states of New York and New Jersey**

Part I



Foreword

Esopus, Kinderhook, Mahwah, the summer of 2013 showed my wife and me US farms linked to 1700^s. The key? The founding dates of the Dutch Reformed Churches. We followed the trail of the descendants of the farmers from the Netherlands plain. An exciting entrance into a world of historic heritage with a distinct Dutch flavor followed, not mentioned in the tourist brochures.

Could I replicate this experience in the Netherlands by setting out an itinerary along the family names mentioned in the early documents in New Netherlands? This particular key opened a door to the iconic world of rectangular plots cultivated a thousand year ago. The trail led to the first stone farms laid out in ribbons along canals and dikes, as they started to be built around the turn of the 15th to the 16th century. The old villages mostly on higher grounds, on cross roads, the oldest churches.

As a sideline in a bit of fieldwork around the émigré villages, family names literally fell into place like Koeymans and van de Water in Schoonrewoerd or Cool in Vianen, or ten Eyck in Huinen. Some place names also fell into place, like Bern or Kortgericht, not Swiss, not Belgian, but Dutch situated in the Netherlands plain.

The plain part of a centuries old network, as landscaped in the historic bishopric of Utrecht, where Gelder Valley polder villages like Huinen, Hell, Voorthuizen and Wekerom were part of.

Looking into the 17th century environment of the emigrants a large catholic rural community is visible on the rich clay grounds of the bishopric. For a niche in the agrarian labor market there seem to have been motives enough to emigrate, despite the economical golden age, but due to war and reformation.

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Summary of the paper "Living with Rivers"

Utrecht river farmers' migration to and through the river flatlands of New York and New Jersey, part I: circumstantial and personal motivation for the migration

This paper aims to highlight the Netherlands plain as the principle region of origin of the farmer emigration to New Netherland. Here farmers shared a 700 yearlong rule by the prince bishop of the historic bishopric of Utrecht. The bishopric was much larger than the current province of Utrecht; it also included the province of Drenthe. People also shared a history of cooperation in developing the wet lands of the plain during the Great Land Development, when almost all of the lands were made suitable for agriculture. Water management became a form of survival because of constant inflow of water from the high grounds of Europe. Along the rivers of the plain the water management authority, an early form of democracy required structural communication and cooperation between farmsteads along the waterways.



The Netherlands Plain

Another focus in the paper is to unveil some of the motives, either circumstantial and in a few cases personal. At first sight, none of the recognized motives for emigration seem applicable; in 5 regions of the Netherlands plain however specific developments may have made people emigrate. Leaseholds and estates came in ever fewer hands and yearly tendered land rents hindered smaller farmers to stay in the agribusiness. Land taxes rose. The land in the plain after the initial development had become wet again, certainly because of the exploitation of peat; thus reducing the seize of arable land. By the 1650^s the land was only fit for grazing and in the wettest places only fit for duck hunting and growing willow wood. Floods were and remained a severe threat to the lowest grounds in the river delta. The revolt against Hsbzburg Spain had caused financial problems or loss of leases. The reformation in the catholic areas did not seem to work favorable for the supporters of the new religion. To make things worse an agricultural depression set in around the 1650^s lasting for a hundred years.

To a large extend the Dutch settlers in New Netherland were farmers. They made the latter days of the Dutch Atlantic Province to a success, duplicating the Dutch agricultural powerhouse overseas. For this paper the origins of the farmers were traced back from passenger lists and other early lists and family histories from the places where farming started, first in Manhattan and Long Island, and in the other early settlements plus outlying farms at Albany, Kingston, Hurley and Schenectady. And later with the 2nd and 3rd generation in Kinderhook, Claverack, Fishkill, Catskill, Schaghticoke and Poughkeepsie. In 1700 a 6650 Dutch live in New York State, a 1000 in New Jersey.

When taking a closer look at the regions of origin of the farmer settlers, the Netherlands plain stands out in number of places mentioned as place of departure. The contours of the plain have an almost perfect fit with the historic bishopric of Utrecht. This may not come as a surprise because the dominant force behind the development of the original wetlands in the plain was the prince bishop of the bishopric of Utrecht. Within the confines of this historic bishopric five regions stand out because of their special relationship with the church as owner of large estates. Around 70 small polder villages [40% of the total] in the bishopric are mentioned as places of origin in the early records of New Netherland. These villages with an average seize of 450 inhabitants lie in the bog region around Utrecht city and Meppel town [within a 30 respectively 15 mile radius]. Half to possibly even two thirds of the names of farmer folk, that left for the colony came from these rural villages, from the polder land made dry and arable by their forbears, who were settlers themselves. In the paper the origin villages of the settlers are mapped out on the map made by J. Jansonius van Waesbergen in 1654 on the basis the "sketch of Lands division of the United Netherlands" and an early comprehensive census. We see the villages in their 1700 context in the polders along the rivers of Rhine, Lek and Linge, as well as of Vecht and Eem and its streams into the Gelder Valley polders.

The Netherlands plain is quintessentially Dutch. A polder landscape engrained in the minds of millions of people all over the world. *Long and narrow sparsely populated stretches of grassland, grazing cattle, dairy farms delivering milk, and producing cheese like the iconic Gouda, or the Leer-*

dam. Windmills to keep the regained land dry, after it had sunk and dried in, in the years following the Great Land Development. This plain, as well as the historic bishopric stretches out from the coastal sand ridges in the west to the higher sand-grounds of the Veluwe in the east, dissected by the Utrecht Hill Ridge. To the south the plain includes the river delta, until the high grounds of the province of North Brabant. The low lands continue up North as far as Meppel, via a narrow coastal strip bordering on the coast of the former inland Sea (Zuyder Zee). These lowlands used to be an extremely wet region, as the Roman historian Tacitus already noted.

Circumstances

The people of the plain *shared a 700 year long political, economical and religious history under the civil rule of the prince bishop of Utrecht and through the considerable landowner presence of the various affiliates of the church, like convents and deaneries*. Religious orders had a pervasive presence in the rural community of the 1600^s. The norbertine abbeys in Beesd [Marienweerd] and Bern were two of the largest landowners. The benedictines owned the Saint Paul's, Saint Stephens's abbey in the city of Utrecht and the Saint Lawrence abbey in nearby Oostbroek. In the north of the bishopric, in Drenthe they had a stronghold in the double convent of Saint Mary at Dickninge, a continuation of the convent of Ruinen. In the Vechtreion the deaneries of the Saint Mary and Saint Peter churches of Utrecht owned estates.

Although distribution of ownership differed from region to region, there is some pattern. Especially directly around the cities religious institutions and burghers owned a lot of land. Landownership of church and affiliates on the eve of the reformation can be estimated at over 40%. In the west of the bishopric the church owned considerably less land, because it was granted to individual farmers in the early days of the development of the plain. The farmers of the Vecht region owned at least 50% of the land in the 16th century. This contrasted sharply with eastern Utrecht where in villages around the former benedictine abbey of Saint Lawrence hardly any ownership by farmers existed, like in the region of the norbertine abbey of Marienweerd. The Utrecht Saint Paul's abbey owned the small lordship of Papendorp south of Utrecht city.

The villages of origin also share *a 600 year long history of cooperation in cultivating the wetlands of the Netherlands plain*. Although at first the land development was a private undertaking of individuals, like in the Vecht region and around Schoonrewoerd, the land development elsewhere became more systematic and the bishopric became a strong if not the strongest driving force behind the Great Land Development, that lasted from 950 -1350 or even 1550 depending on the inclusion of the introduction windmills. The land was crafted, built and made dry and arable in manual labor by digging an endless number of ditches. Once dry the land sank again drying out because it was exposed to air. The land got wet again, because of the groundwater welling up. And so in the 16th century the need arose to dry the lands again, this time windmills were introduced. In the early days of the land development the land was still fit for growing crops, soon only for cattle grazing. The iconic Netherland plain was born, cows in long and narrow rectangular plots of land. In some regions like the Vecht region the land sank dramatically lower when peat was removed from the top layer on a massive scale for fuel purposes, until it was forbidden in the 18th century.

Another shared experience in the villages of origin in the plain is *a long history of cooperation in defending the land against the water*. They were and are organised in regional networks for water-management, the earliest form of democracy in the Netherlands. The floods that came despite water defense may have made people eager to go, especially from the flood prone regions of the delta, from towns like Schoonrewoerd lying behind a vulnerable dike. People may have talked about opportunities in the overseas province, while working on the dikes and ditches.

The revolt against Habsburg Spain and the tensions of the reformation certainly created a shared experience in the years just before or during their departure. The emigrants themselves or their parents may have suffered from the consequences. Warfare was still very much present in the first quarter of the 1600s. Like in 1629 when a Habsburg army captured Amersfoort and reinstated the mass in the churches there.

In the centuries leading up to the Reformation church and farming had grown intertwined to such an extent that the reformation as a religious movement hardly got a hold on the residents of large parts of the plain. People remained overwhelmingly catholic in the Rhine-Lek and Eemland region, not leaving much room for the "little people" that joined the reformation. And if people became

protestant like in the Gelder Valley polders, church ownership of the landed estates remained, as did serfdom until Napoleonic times, when the church estates of the owning German convents were confiscated.

The process of protestantiation was a slow process. Eemnes in Eemland next to Hoogland gives a representative example of the process of protestantiation. Almost all inhabitants remained faithful to the old religion, only farmhands became reformed. This situation is illustrated in a letter of the mayoress of Eemnes to the provincial authorities. When urged to nominate a member of the reformed church to become a magistrate, she writes in response: "*we should be apprehensive with reason that disorders will follow if a day laborer is nominated to mayor, exercising authority over the wealthy burghers [mostly farmers] where he has to earn his bread in manual labor*". Especially in the north, in Drenthe the process of protestantiation can be seen as a movie in slow motion; unwilling priests stayed put until armed forces removed them, like the priest in Ruinen; country folk held on to customs like placing of crucifixes on the public roads. As late as 1639 the Drenthe government had all crosses removed, but in 1641 crosses were still being placed on the cemetery of Ruinen.

The revolt became an important trigger for another development, the acceleration of the concentration of both landownership and seizure of leaseholds. The tenant population of the Marien-weerd abbey for example shows a declining number of tenants by 40%, while the average seizure of the leaseholds grew by 70%. The appearance of *super* tenants becomes obvious, at the expense of small and medium tenants. Ten tenants use over 50% of the available land. In the Rhine-Lek region taxcollector data show a similar pattern in the division of landownership and users of the land. The church owns half of the land with the German Order as majority owner. Super farmers [$\pm 20\%$] till more than 50% of the available land. Like in the central Netherlands plain, the economy of Drenthe suffered during the period of the troubles. Many farms laid waste for years (in 1600 about 33%). Arable land in Drenthe of the 17th Century was also controlled by a few large owners with little opportunity for small farmers to own their land.

The existence of large estates continued, because church estates were simply transferred to the civil authorities. We see this happen around the abbeys of Marienwaard and Dickninge, rent continued to be paid, now to the new landlords. While the cities were in a constant need of money, they sold many of the former church estates in the 17th century to city burghers, noblemen and farmers. For the same reason they tendered landrents, that became unpredictable and could be higher from one year to the other.

Policy choices made by the Dutch West India Company [WIC] were also pervasive in the developments. The mission of the Company was: to make "New Netherland the Granary of the Western Atlantic". The first farms on Manhattan and Long Island fed New Amsterdam and the flour that they produced was a leading article in the trade of the growing city. Like the extremely successful *Dutch East India Company [VOC]* the first dominant immigrant group were single young men some to set up farms and plantations and some to work there as farmhands. Till 1649 a tightly regulated trade was the principle business aim, without room to maneuver for the smaller farmers. As a consequence, New Netherland in the first 30 to 40 years was an unattractive prospect for emigrants looking for greater convenience and to settle down. Especially in the first years quite a few who did come returned to the fatherland. In the latter stage of the colony people who came over, could nestle in the overseas Dutchness, buying an existing farm and joining the local Dutch reformed church. By that time the WIC realized that giving "greater encouragement to agriculture", meant encouragement "to the settlement of population." The farming society that grew from then on, proves that in the end Dutch efforts to set up a farming settlement led to success, upon which the Middle Colonies and a 100 years later the young United States were able to build and grow.

Motivation

Most of the villages did have ample means of traffic by the available natural or artificial waterways to sell crops in the cities, even when living in the east of the land. At first sight, none of the recognized motives for emigration seem applicable, "there was no religious or intellectual restraint, no political unrest, and no social discontent. "Quite the contrary". This view seems to be supported by the fact that the call for labor by the VOC to emigrate to *Dutch* South Africa, despite bringing in more perks [free passage, farms, cattle, implements], could not be satisfied by emigration just

from the Netherlands. French-Huguenots and Germans were also recruited. On the other hand a crew totaling 317,000 was attracted by the VOC, on 1700 ships. In the early years of New Netherland the workers returned to the fatherland when their contract expired, they were single young men, contract workers in the service of the WIC. This paper points out that for some -a niche in the labourmarket- there was reason to leave and stay. Five regions stand out in terms of numbers of emigrants. The Rhine-Lek, the Eem-Gelder Valley, the Delta, the Vecht and Meppel region.

People in the fatherland especially those living in the closely-knit network of the Netherlands plain must have learned about the prospects in the overseas province. They were well connected in an economical, political and religious sense and certainly in their organized struggle against the water. People knew each other rather well and married as can be documented from local genealogical material. A remarkable and early case is that of Catalyntje Martense van Astyne, connecting four regions of origin, including the Meppel region through family ties and marriage. Recruitment of farmers by local key figures or family already in the Colony may have given confidence. People seem to react to personal messages of their own people in letters or stories told by New Netherland residents who came on return trips to the Fatherland. Quite a few farmhands did well and after their first contracts as a farmhand became farmers in their own right. The "rich uncle from America" story may already have attracted people in the 17th century, like the case of Jan Jansz Damen. He bequeathed a sum to the poor of Bunnik. Some charities established in the New Netherland period had a long life; one established by rev. Dellius is still functioning. Pieter Bijlevelt and his wife two of the first emigrants did a comparable thing in establishing a retirement home in 1664 in the Netherlands that was closed down as late as 1968.

Young farmers and farmhands were actively recruited by the extended van Rensselaers family from the Eem-Gelder Valley area. Farmers and farmhands came from Amersfoort, Nykerk, Putten, Hell, Voorthuizen and Garderbroek. Gerrit de Reus in the service of van Kilian Rensselaer recruited farm hands from Maartensdijk, Bunnik, Culemborg and Meerkerk, in the 1630^s thus covering the full extend of the core area of origin of the 17th century settlers. Representatives of the New Netherlands company -a precursor of the WIC- may have persuaded well-known family names like Lansing and Beekman from Hasselt, birthplace of Kilian. Representatives of the WIC may have been involved in recruiting colonists from Steenwijk and Meppel, close to Peperga the birthplace of Peter Stuyvesant.

Some recruiters created a *chain of immigrations*, like Wouter van Twiller son of Kilians' sister persuaded over 50 emigrants from his native region in the *Gelder Valley*, from the polders close to the former Zuyder Zee. This area lies in a radius of 10 miles around the boglands of Huinen, close to the brookareas of Voorthuizen, Garderen, Kootwijk, Barneveld, Putten and Nykerk. The father of Gerrit de Reus, Mattheus Hermansz, possibly ignites a Rhine-Lek chain as early as 1625. De Reus, one of the 5 architects of New Amsterdam in the service of the WIC. Gerrit recruits a considerable number of settlers from Houten.

In the fewest of cases more *personal circumstances* emerge as a reason to leave for the colony. In the early days of the colony warfare and reformation still resonate. From the Rhine-Lek region that stayed overwhelmingly roman-catholic a case emerges of disinherited siblings for religious reasons. Other cases from that region are the early settler van Schayck from in Houten who became protestant early on his change of religion maybe the cause of the emigration. Family of early settlers, like the de Reus family lost heavily in the revolt before the turn of the 17th century. The van Schayck family suffered financial reverses and lost the lease on their farmstead near Houten. This case seems to resemble that of Wolfert Couwenhoven one of the first protestants in Amersfoort. His brother was the leased the Couwenhoven farm, but the lease changed hands relatively soon. Was Wolfert a farmer, after all he left for New Amsterdam as a super intendant of farms; he calls his farm, the 1st European settlement on Long Island: Achtervelt. Referring to a small [still catholic] village near Amersfoort, for nostalgic reasons? The immediate reason for emigration seems to be that his business as bleacher was not successful because of a downturn in the textile industry.

In 1652 a chain from the *Meppel region* starts, more precisely from Ruinen. The Drenthe villages where settlers for the new world came from are linked in a straight line from the southwest and the northeast links Meppel, Ruinen [Hees en Ruinerwold] Dwingeloo, Bijlen, Zwiggelte and Wester-

veld. A fifth chain emerges from the *Vecht and lakes* region f.e. from Loosdrecht, although smaller in numbers.

Later cases from the 1660^s on show some of the *new entrepreneurial farmer* made possible by the new WIC policy. From then onwards larger groups come from for example Beesd on the south bank of the Lek, opposite the Rhine Lek region; near the norbertine abbey of Marienweerd. The spirit of emigration was possibly induced by Gideon Schaats former schoolteacher of Beesd, who wrote friendly letters about the colony. Local Huijgh Barents sailed with a group of a 40 people. Around that time the brothers Jan en Michiel Bastiaensen van Kortryk left from Beesd and the Kortgerecht polder next to Schoonrewoerd. A place under siege of the water 5 times in the 1500^s, a dangerous place to live, the Diefdike there was crushed in a soft spot. Upon their arrival, they seem to be very much welcome, their first port of call is the Stuyvesant's Bowery.

There's the case of the entrepreneurial Gerrit Gerritsen and his wife from Wageningen in the south of the Gelder Valley. They took two neighbors to the city council *to testify of their good character*. The testimony was taken down and attested to by a 'private seal' of the city. The certificate contains a written motivation of the couple to emigrate, they expect to *find* greater convenience. Upon landing at New Amsterdam they moved to New Jersey. It seems that the couple came well prepared. They were welcomed by the Bergen community and were supporters of the first Dutch Reformed Congregation. The couple was one of the first to settle in Bergen.

Many more come from the Meppel and Ruinen region. It seems that one of the leaders Steven Coerts came well prepared as well. He bought a farm next to the farm of Wolfert Gerritsz; in four installments. They were welcomed in the Midwout community and he became a member of local government. In Drenthe many of the same elements were at play as in the central Netherlands plain, like concentrating landownership, increasing costs of production, religious turmoil. Rent was paid to the Abbey of Dikninge as owner large estates, during the reformation the rent continued to be paid to Dikninge, now to civil authorities residing there, who exacted high rents, resulting from yearly tenders. The new owners were not overly prompt with building repairs. There was the increasing tax burden, since the introduction of the land taxes of 1643. Then there was the long-term downturn and depression from 1650 -1750, with declining earnings, and increasing production costs and a growing tax burden.

Part2: Despite the virtual standstill of the immigration from the Dutch fatherland after 1674, the lines of a Dutch cultural zone radiated further for another 150 years. A strong farming community grew that till this day is easily recognizable, because descendants of these farmers still work in the region, sometimes even on the original landgrants and sometimes even from the original farmsteads. Living around their [Reformed Church of America] churches. In this growth the areas of original Dutch settlement were like hives from which later migrating farming groups swarmed into the river valleys of rivers like the Mohawk in the North; the Esopus and WallKill in the middle and the Hackensack and Passaic in the south.

1. Immigrant Origins in the 1700s

The early history of the New Netherland shows 4 Dutch settlements at Beverwyck, Wiltwyck, Nieuw Dorp and Schenectady plus outlying farms with a total of 800-1000 persons before the English took over the colony in 1664. In New Jersey Bergen and Aqueckenok were established. Close to New Amsterdam the original Dutch farming communities on Long Island were founded in 1630, there were 8 farms on the island. In 1700 a 7650 Dutch live in New York and in New Jersey. From various early lists that still refer to the places of origin emanates the following overall picture of the regions; when ordered in frequency of places mentioned we see the Bishopric of Utrecht, Greater Friesland, Westfalia, the Spanish Netherlands, France and Brazil and Angola. The people living in these regions have close cultural ties, especially the United Provinces, Friesland, Westphalia and Flanders in the 1700s share the same Low Dutch culture and language. The Wallonia region although French speaking is a part of the Spanish Netherlands. The region North of France is still part of Flanders in the 17th century. The region of Artois and the city of Calais then borders on Flanders. Quite a few people seem to have come over to the New World because their or their parents' existence was uprooted by war or persecution.

When after a long and stormy voyage, Jonas Michaelius stepped onto the soil of New Netherland in the spring of 1628 to embark on a mission for the Dutch West India Company. Michaelius, already seasoned as a pioneer churchman for the Dutch colony in Brazil, set about to convene a *Reformed church in this new outpost of the Netherlands commercial empire*. The Dutch Reformed Church closely connected to the farmer settlers began its long and colourful history in North America, and the colony started to exhibit some signs of permanence.

"Our coming here was agreeable to all," Michaelius wrote, "and I hope, by the grace of the Lord, that my service will not be unfruitful. At the 1st administration of the Lord's Supper which was observed, not without great joy and comfort to many, we had fully 50 communicants—Walloons and Dutch,"

"We are busy now in building a fort of good quarry stone, which is to be found not far from here in abundance", Michaelius wrote. "May the Lord only build and watch over our walls".¹

The early history of the New Netherland shows 4 Dutch settlements² at Beverwyck (Albany), Wiltwyck (Kingston), Nieuw Dorp (Hurley) and Schenectady plus outlying farms containing a total of 800-1000 persons before the English took over the colony in 1664. In New Jersey Bergen and Aqueckenok were established. The 2nd and 3rd generation Dutchmen settled in Kinderhook, Claverack, Fishkill, Catskill, Schaghticoke, Poughkeepsie, and other areas occupying most of the better river valley³ lands before 1750.

Close to New Amsterdam the original Dutch farming communities on Long Island were founded: Nieuw Utrecht, Nieuw Amersfoort [Flatlands], Midwout [Midwood], Vlacke Bos [Flatbush], Boswijk [Bushwick], Breuckelen [Brooklyn] and Harlem. Five English villages were under Dutch jurisdiction: Vlissingen [Flushing], Hempstead [Heemstede], Gravesend [’s Gravesande], Newton [Middelburgh] and Jamaica [Rustdorp].

On the 1st of May 1630, almost 5 years after the sale of Manhattan, there were 8 farms on the island with 47 horses, 60 cattle and 79 sheep. If we assume that 81 horses and cattle survived the voyage and the seasoning period, the increase in these years had been 32%⁴.

In 1673 a report by the Dutch authorities states that "the Hollanders numbered 6000-7000".⁵ It is not entirely safe, however, to use this figure as a base, because the next 25 years was filled with more wars, Indian massacres, and the Leisler revolt. Therefore an attempt has been made to estimate the size of the Dutch element included in the census of 1698, which gives the population by counties and for several of which the original lists have been preserved.⁶

¹ J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* (New York, 1909), 123-25,131. On the life and career of Michaelius

² *The Dutch Culture Area of the Mid-Hudson Valley*, by Sophia Gruys Hinsalwood; Rutgers University; Prof. John E. Brush, January 1981

³ *A Perfect Babel of Confusion Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* Balmer p. 158

⁴ See, however, Michaelius' statement in his Aug. 8, 1628, letter about more cattle having died as a consequence of "versuymenisse." If we have to take him literally, his wording "door ongeluck ende versuymeniss vele afgestorven sijn," may mean that fewer than 82 head finally survived. Eekhoff, Jonas Michaelius, 101.

⁵ O'Callaghan, *Docs. col. hist. N.Y.*, II, 526.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 420.

Population NY State 1698		
Counties	White	Dutch
Albany	1,453	1,350
Ulster and Dutchess	1,228	800
Orange	200	150
Richmond	654	300
Kings	1,721	1,500
	5,256	4,100
New York	4,237	2,000
Suffolk	2,121	
Queens	3,366	250
West Chester	917	300
	10,641	2,550
	15,897	6,650

This total of 6,650 for 1698, derived entirely from local sources, is in reasonable accord with the overall estimate made in 1695 by John Miller that " The number of the Inhabitants in this Province are about 3,000 families, whereof almost one halfe are naturally Dutch."⁷

New Jersey was not included in this census, but in 1700 a reliable authority gave the population of East Jersey at 8,000 living in 8 settlements. Two were of Dutch origin: Bergen and Aqueckenock. The Dutch migration to New Jersey was not in full force until after 1700.⁸ Therefore it is difficult to judge the number of Dutch in these 2 regions, but from a study of the contemporary church records there would seem to have been less than 200 families, which would account for a 1000 souls.⁹ West Jersey was entirely English.¹⁰

From various early names lists¹¹ that still refer to the villages and towns of origin emanates the following overall picture of the regions of origin; when ordered on the frequency of places mentioned we see the Bishopric of Utrecht [1], Greater Friesland [2], Westphalia [3], the Spanish Netherlands [5], France [6] and Brazil and Angola.

Regions		
<i>Polder</i>	<i>Bordering territories</i>	<i>Non European</i>
[1] Bishopric of Utrecht	[3] Westfalia a. Munster b. Mark c. Cleefs	Brazil
[2] Greater Friesland ¹² a. North: Holstein b. Ostfriesland c. Westfriesland	[4] Spanish Netherlands a. Flanders b. Wallonia	Angola
	[5] France ¹³ a. French Flanders b. Nord, Pas de Calais c. Artois d. Pays de Vaud	

The people living in these regions have close cultural ties. Especially the United Provinces, Friesland, Westphalia and Flanders in the 1700s were quite homogeneous and share the same Low Dutch culture, language and to some degree common history. The Wallonia region although French speaking is a part of the Spanish Netherlands. The region in the North of France is still part of Flanders in the 17th century. The region of Artois and the city of Calais then borders on Flanders. In the city of Calais the books were kept in Dutch, well into in the 16th century.

⁷ Miller, N. Y. . . . 1695, 40.

⁸ Proceedings of the New Jersey historical society, 4th series, IV; Franklin Ellis, History of Monmouth County, N. J. . . (Phila., 1885), 82.

⁹ Abraham Messier, First things in old Somerset . . . (Somerville, N. J., 1899), 161; Reformed Church of America, A history of the classis of Paramus of the Reformed Church in America (N. Y., 1902), 39 ; Records of the Reformed Dutch churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh, New Jersey ... (2 vols., N. Y., 1891), I, 1-3; Hastings. Bed. rec. N. Y., II, 795 ; Charles H. Winfield, History of the county of Hudson, New Jersey . . . (N. Y., 1874), 129; Edwin F. Hatfield, History of Elisabeth, New Jersey . . . (N. Y., 1868), 159.

¹⁰ Edwin P. Tanner, The province of New Jersey . . . (N.Y. 1908), 28.

¹¹ Passenger lists, list of the oaths of allegion in the early days after the British takeover, lists of birth, death and marriage of the Dutch Reformed Church in the areas of original Dutch settlement.

¹² Especially from Nord Friesland or Holstein and East Friesland that was a constitutional part of the Netherlands; till fairly recently Dutch television was relayed to that part of Germany; The American Genealogist, *Whole Number 114 Volume 29, No. 2 April 1953*, Random notes concerning settlers of Dutch descent By William J. Hoffman, M.Mech. Eng., Laplume, Pa. p65.

¹³ Huguenots via a Palatine detour of Manheim; Nord, Pas deCalais, Artois, pays de Vaud (now Switzerland)

Greater Friesland stretches out along the western and northern Dutch coast into the coastal regions of Germany and Denmark. Two regions to the northeast of the Netherlands, east and north Friesland stick out in particular in relation to the migration to New Netherland. The regions East and North Friesland were culturally akin to the part of Friesland within the Dutch Republic. This also meant that language wise similarities existed, which simplified the communication between the regions. On top of that, a large number of refugees from the Netherlands landed in East Friesland bordering on the Dutch province of Groningen, to be out of the reach of the Spanish occupier; many of the refugees were without doubt of Dutch origin¹⁴ and had fled across the border when, following the treason of Count Renneberg, when Groningen joined the Spanish side and adhered to the Catholic faith.



According to the name lists there were many settlers from Norden, Emden, Esens, Flensburg, and other towns situated in these parts of Friesland [also named Holstein]. East Friesland by the way did effectively come under Dutch jurisdiction in the 17th century, until Prussia annexed it in the early 19th century. Till the seventies of the 20th century Dutch television was relayed to that part of Germany. North Friesland probably had its own reason for a group of emigrants to New Netherland. In 1634 a tidal wave hit the island of Noordstrand, with in its surroundings Husum on the shores of Holstein. Thousands perished and lost their livelihood.

In the 3rd quarter of the 16th century the East Frisian harbor city of Emden had become an important sanctuary for protestant refugees from the Low Countries. The city had rapidly grown by them. In 1571 the first Reformed synod was held there, where the creed of Guido de Bres was accepted for the Netherlands. Emden also became the center of Dutch Reformed printing. Cultural ties with East Friesland remained tight in the 17th century especially in the north where the Groningen University was the cultural center of East Friesland.

The Dutch in the Southern Netherlands, *the Spanish Netherlands* stood under Spanish rule. In the period after the fall of Antwerp in 1585 whole streets in formerly fervent protestant cities and towns were empty, almost a third of the population fled to the North after the contra reformation that reinstalled the Roman Catholic religion, in an act of collective amnesia. The Contra Reformation demanded its toll in France as well. The St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572 targeted against the Huguenots and its aftermath crippled Protestantism and brought large numbers on the run. People came to the colony as far as the Pays de Vaud, which is now Switzerland and via a detour for example via the Palatinate.

Quite a few people seem to have come over to the New World because their or their parents' existence was uprooted by war or persecution. The Huguenots and Dutch from the Spanish Netherlands are a clear example of this group. They fled for the Contra Reformation. Flemish fled to the North, they came to New Netherland via the Northern Netherlands. The Huguenots also came indirectly the Colony, in part via the Palatinate. About the people coming from these regions the lists sometimes explicitly indicate farmer, like the people from Artois.

The group that comes from Northern Friesland seems to comprise farmers if we take into account where they come from. The group from Westphalia is less clear-cut on the agricultural aspect, although many of them land in the agricultural areas of Ulster County.

In the following chapters we will take a closer look to the origins of the Dutch farmers from the Netherlands plains. First some of the shared elements of this region will be highlighted. Elements that may have influenced the journey to the Atlantic Province, like the condition of the soil, the ownership of land, the struggle against the floods, water management, the changes in the powers of the land.

¹⁴ The American Genealogist, *Whole Number 114 Volume 29, No. 2 April 1953*, Random notes concerning settlers of Dutch descent By William J. Hoffman, M.Mech. Eng.,Laplume, Pa. p 65.

2. Mapping out the Fatherland Villages

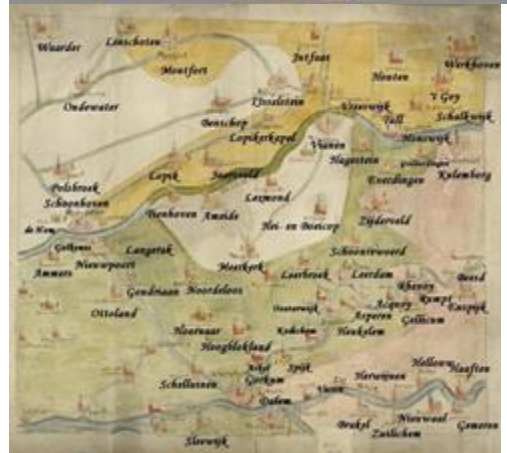
The distribution of the early Dutch Reformed churches, Dutch toponyms, architectural heritage and early census data show the existence of a distinct Dutch cultural landscape through to the early 1800's in parts of New York State and New Jersey. This is where we find the early lists that still tell us about the places of origin. When taking the names of the places of origin from these documents as a starting point it appears that more than half or possibly two thirds of the farmer settlers came from the rural villages in the Netherland Plain. Almost all of the villages, where emigrants left lie in the bog region around Utrecht city and Meppel town [circles of 30 resp. 15 mile radius]. Roughly half of the names of country and farmer folk that left for New Netherland come from there. To map out the villages, where the emigrant farmers originated three documents are used for guidance, first the "sketch of Lands division of the United Netherlands" used as input for the description of the various administrative regions of the land after the pact of the Union of Utrecht in 1579. Secondly the results of the first census in 1795 are used. The systematic approach in this census provides insights in the average seize of the villages the immigrants came from and give an understanding of the relative seize of the immigrant group. Although the census is held a 150 years after the mid-1700's, the situation in terms of population had not changed drastically. The third document that is used is the map made by J. Janssonius van Waesbergen in 1654 to geographi-cally mark and depict the villages of origin of the Dutch farmer settlers in their time.

The distribution of the early Dutch Reformed churches, Dutch toponyms, architectural heritage and early census data show the existence of a distinct Dutch cultural landscape through to the early 1800's in parts of New York and New Jersey State. This is where we find the early lists of baptism-, marriage and death of the DRC. In this region we also find other lists of early settlers, like oath of allegiance lists, as well as family histories [especially at the end of the 19th century]. So next to the passenger lists, that have a blank for the 1644-1654 period, the other early lists tell us about the places of origin. Also membership list of the Holland society give an overview of relevant Dutch names, well as genealogical material on the Internet. When taking the names of the places of origin from these documents as a starting point it appears that more than half or possibly two thirds of the farmer settlers came from the rural villages in the Netherland Plain. Plotting the village names on the maps that represent the world of the 16th and 17th century Netherlands we enter the antiquated world of the farmers who immigrated to New Netherland.

Mapped out by the great Dutch cartographers, we see familiar names of towns and villages, giving away the key to a route along these towns and villages where the golden age emigrants came from. On this route 17th century Holland on a small village scale is still clearly visible in the shape of the oldest stone farms, churches, courthouses and ruins of castles and convents.

An anonymous map of the year 1526 shows the settlers core land, where, the majority of the settlers came from. The map is made almost century before the "sale" of Manhattan. Cities are still depicted as medieval fortresses.

On a second map dated a bit later, we see the same territory, between Lek and Rhine and Linge River with familiar village names like Schoonrewoerd, Beesd and Houten in more detail.



The third map shows the entirety of the central Netherlands plain and parts of the northern plain. This map is used to map out the villages where the emigrants came from. The plain can be seen here as the river-delta and the islands in it, as well as the Utrecht polders bordering the Inland sea [Zuyder Zee].

To map out the villages, where the emigrant farmers originated three documents are used for guidance.

First the "sketch of Lands division of the United Netherlands"¹⁵ is used as input for the description of the various administrative regions of the land after the pact of the Union of Utrecht in 1579. Secondly the results of the first census in 1795¹⁶ are used. The systematic approach in this census provides insights in the average seize of the villages the immigrants came from and give an understanding of the relative seize of the immigrant group. Earlier estimates do not provide us the same level of quantitative consistency and accuracy about the origin of the Dutch polder boors. Although the census is held a 150 years after the mid-1700^s, the situation in terms of population had not changed drastically¹⁷. Purely agricultural villages grew hardly at all throughout the 1540 – 1795 period¹⁸.

The third document that is used is the map made by J. Jansonius van Waesbergen in 1654¹⁹ to geographically mark and depict the villages of origin of the Dutch farmer settlers in their time.

The table below gives a breakdown of the villages in the bog and clay districts of the Netherlands Plain, where the immigrants came from. It shows the number of villages and émigré villages and their average seize, as well as the total number of inhabitants of the districts mentioned in the sketch. The table is structured following the division of districts from the "sketch of Lands division of the United Netherlands" is followed. This division corresponds with the period the emigrants left.

Table: villages and inhabitants grouped by the districts of origin of the emigrants

Peat and Clay Districts	Population					
	Villages					Towns
	Inhab	Nr.	Avg.	Émigré	Avg.	
The Islands						
<i>Bommelerwaard</i>	7026	20	351	4	235	4931
<i>Tielerwaard</i>	7635	23	332	5	387	4243
<i>Gorkum- en Arkelland</i>	2202	9	245	3	424	8547
<i>Vianenland</i>	2920	7	417	4	499	1820
<i>County of Culemborg</i>	400	2	200	-	-	3366
<i>Stewardship of Beesd</i>	184	1	184	2	450	720
<i>County of Buren</i>	2396	4	599	4	599	1600
<i>Neder Betuwe</i>	7494	19	394	2	525	-
	30257	85	356	24	436	25227
Utrecht Plains						
<i>Lower Quarter</i>	15748	33	477	10	464	47465
<i>Higher Quarter</i>	8078	18	449	12	437	7332
<i>Gooyland</i>	4132	9	459	3	580	12730
<i>Eemland</i>	3580	7	511	5	850	12517
<i>Gelder Valley</i> ²⁰	4307	8	538	7	[371]	20678
	35854	75	478	37	499	100722
Northern Plains						
<i>Dingspel 2 and 3, Drenthe</i>				6	378	6446

Out of the total number of 160 villages in the Netherlands plain, 61 are villages of origin of New Netherland emigrants. Taking the average seize of the villages into account it seems likely that most of the emigrants came from farming communities and were in fact farmers.

¹⁵ De Vereenigde Nederlanden of Zeven Vrye Provinciën Gesloten in den Jaare 1579 te Utrecht in 1773; Beknopte Schets van 's Lands Verdeeling De Provincië Utrecht: Verdeeld in Vier Kwartieren; <http://www.wazamar.org/Nederlanden/VIIprovin1773/ut-1773.htm>

¹⁶ VOLKS-TELLINGE in de Nederlandsche Republiek Uitgegeven op last der commissie tot het ontwerpen van een plan van contitutie voor het volk van Nederland. 1796. In den Haag ter 'sLands Drukkery. CENSUS 1795.

¹⁷ The population atlas of the Neth; Demografische ontwikkelingen 1850 tot heden NIDI Den Haag; Uitg. Elmar B.V. Rijswijk 2003: "a max. of 1,9 Mn inhabitants was reached around 1650; the 1795 census shows 2,1 Mn, 11% higher than available estimates from the 1650's. This seems to correspond very well with the available estimates per town in the regions at hand, as based on tax returns. [Overleven door ondernemen]

¹⁸ Dutch rural economy in the golden age 1500-1700 New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1974, Jan de Vries p.50.

¹⁹ Gelders Archief Dvcats Geldriae Dvcats Geldriae: novissima descriptio, 1654 apud [J.] Janssonio-Waesbergio ; Moses Pit et Stephanus Swart Ingebonden in: A. van Slichtenhorst, XIV boeken van de Geldersse geschiedenissen, Arnhem 1653 en 1654

²⁰ Incl. 3 villages of Barneveld Borough: Voorhuizen, Garderen and Kootwyk and 3 villages of Ede Borough: Lunteren, Bennekom and Wekerom.

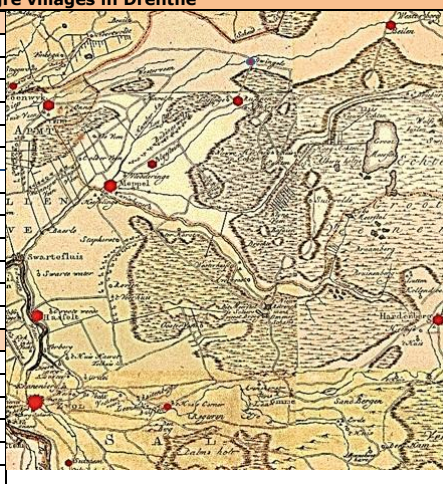
Émigré villages in the Utrecht Quarters, as well as Gooyland and Gelder Valley			
1. Low Quart [Western Vecht]		3. Gooyland [Eastern Vecht]	
Polders Breukelen		Villages	
Polders Maarssen			
Villages		Blarikum	533
Waverveen	297	Laren	940
Vinkeveen	329	Hilversum polders	
Vreeland	527	Loenen, Stigt, N'sluis	583
Kortenhoef	685	Loosdrecht	625
Tienhoven	303		
Westbroek	501	4. Eemland	
Kameryk	948	Hoogland, Breevoort	1449
Zegveld	503	Bunshoten	779
Veldhuizen	89	Leusden, Hamersveld	885
Harmelen, Bylevelt	459	Soest	1277
		Stoutenburg en Asschat	543
2. High Quart Lek-Rhine		5. Gelder Valley	
Villages		Villages	
Wyck by Duurstede polders		Borough of Nijkerk	
Doorn	484	Bennekom ²²	800
Dribergen Rijssenburg	453	Wekerom	200
Werkhoven	389	Borough of Putten	
Odyk	260	Huinen	200
Bunnik en Vechten	398	Hell, Rensselaer	100
Schalkwyk	660	Borough of Barneveld	
Houten en't Goy	601	Voorthuizen	700
Vreeswyk	648	Gardenen	200
Schonauwen	140	Kootwykerbroek	400
Jutphaas	860		
de Bilt and Oostbroek	1001		



Oversticht: Northern Plains

In the landscape of Drenthe, now the province of Drenthe the former jurisdictions consisted of 6 dingspels²³ and 4 lordships. People emigrated to New Netherland from the 2nd and the 3rd dingspel. From the Beilingerdingspel (2nd) they came from the towns of Beilen and Halen. From the Dieverderdingspel (3rd) people came from the towns of Meppel and Dwingeloo. From the lordship of Ruinen -tract of land given out in loan to the lords of Ruinen by the bishop of Utrecht- people came from the towns of Ruinen, Hees and Ruinerwold.

Émigré villages in Drenthe	
2nd and 3rd Dingspel	
Borough of Meppel	3656
Ruinerwold	1009
Ruinen	680
Hees	20
Dwingelo	543
Beilen	473
Halen	108
Vicinity	
City of Steenwijk	1781
Peperga Fr.	
North West Veluwe	
Suithem Ov.	147
Dalfsen	773



²² <http://www.dorpsraadbennekom.nl/>

²³ The name dingspel is derived from ding, a session that was held 3 times a year till 1580 by the highest representative of the *bishop of Utrecht*. Ding in the Scandinavian context still means parlement.

3. Wetlands & bishops and beggars revolt

The people of the Netherlands plain shared a 700 yearlong history under the rule of the prince bishop of the historic bishopric of Utrecht. The bishopric was much larger than the current province of Utrecht f.e. it also included Drenthe. Farmers felt the pervasive influence of the landownership of the various affiliates of the church, like the abbeys of Marienweerd in Beesd and Bern and Saint Mary's at Dickninge, a follow up of the Ruinen convent. Landownership of the church can be estimated at over 40% on the eve of the reformation. On both sides of the Lek River and in Drenthe the revolt became a catalyst for the acceleration of the concentration of both landownership and seize of land leaseholds.

Church and farming had grown inter-twined to such a degree that the reformation as a religious movement hardly got a hold on the residents of large parts of the plain, it passed by unnoticed as the social movement revolt of the beggars. The process of protestantiation was slow in Utrecht province; in fact the majority of country folk remained catholic²⁴, under the influence of the catholic mission and local gentry. The protestantiation in Drenthe province was very slow -like a film played in slow motion-, but final. From the distinctly catholic areas, bordering on both sides of the river Lek and along the Vecht and Eem a relatively high number of early settlers immigrated to the Atlantic Province. In these regions changes in tenure and landownership seem to be less profound, because the settled farmer community remained relatively unshaken and faithful to the old religion. In the Gelder Valley transferal of the church properties only started in the 19th century after 1000 years of serfdom. After the reformation the existence of large estates continued, because the former church estates were simply transferred to cities or the executive committee of the Provincial States. This happens around the abbeys of Marienwaard and Dickninge, rent continued to be paid, now to the new landlords. While the cities were in a constant need of money, they sold many of the former church estates in the 17th century to city burghers, noblemen and farmers. For the same reason they tendered land rents, that could be higher from one year to the other.

During the bishopric people also shared a long history of cooperation during the Great Land Development that made the Netherlands plain suitable for agriculture. During the Great Development land was crafted, built and made dry and arable in manual labor by digging an endless number of ditches. Starting as a private undertaking, it became more systematic when the bishopric became the strongest driving force. Once drained, the land sank again drying out and got wet again, windmills were introduced to make it dry again. In the early days the land was still fit for growing crops, soon only for cattle grazing. In some regions the land sank dramatically lower when peat was removed from the top layer on a massive scale for fuel purposes. The iconic Netherlands plain was born, with cows grazing in long and narrow rectangular land strips.

The farmers in this region shared another experience closely related to their survival. The constant inflow of water from the high grounds of Europe into the Netherlands plain made water management a form of survival in the regions where the vast majority of settlers came from. Administrative history being a part of the same water-management authorities, an early form of democracy required structural communication between farmsteads along the waterways. They needed to work together to survive.

3.1 Wetlands

The central plain most western edge is the bog²⁵ district of Eastern Holland; the plain covers the entire province of Utrecht, and stretches into the Gelderland Valley ending at the foot of the higher sandy grounds of the Veluwe. At two thirds from the western edge the Utrecht Hill Ridge -that practically runs through the city of Utrecht- dissects the plain in a leaning line from north to south. This Ridge with its high and sandy ground starts close to Crailo²⁶, has a peak of 67 meters -the Amersfoort Berg- ending with the Amerongen Berg at the south east of the province at the rhine river. This is the central Netherlands Plain, the lands left, right and south of the Utrecht Hill Ridge.



The Netherlands Plain

²⁴ Geschiedenis katholicisme Noord Nederland in de 16^e 17^e eeuw L.J. Rogier Urbi et orbi, Amsterdam 1947 (2e druk) p. 410.

²⁵ Dutch rural economy in the golden age 1500-1700 p.96

²⁶ the van Rensselaers had a property there

The earliest source describing the plain is Roman historian Tacitus²⁷ who depicts the inhabitants as living in swamps on floating islands, an area you could not get anything from. Recent insights though for example on the road infrastructure during this period show a more positive image²⁸. After the Roman Empire collapsed in the middle of the 5th century many villas were abandoned. The land that used to be cultivated became uncultivated once more.



Limes: Roman border along the Rhine

Following the feudal structure of the Franks, from the 8th century on, agriculture changed drastically, landed estates developed, tilled by serfs using horse and reversible plough. In that period Charlemagne donates in that period the Eemland and Rhine-Lek region, to S^t Martins church of Utrecht²⁹.

"I Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and the Longobards and patrician of Rome... and let no one of judicial power, or whatever person, dare disturbing the possession of these goods.... and so to secure this for longer times, I sign this with my own hand and not with my seal.... given June 8th 777...done in the palace of Nimwegen...in Gods name. May peace rest on this decree".

In the early 16th century the available population³⁰ density figures of western Utrecht show the province as a very lightly settled, ill drained pastureland. The systematic colonization in the high Middle Ages had endowed the Netherlands with a remarkably homogeneous rural society.

3.2 Sticht: bishopric, convents and accumulation

The city of Utrecht and the Netherlands plain around it formed the urban heart of the Northern Netherlands in the 16th and 17th centuries³¹, despite the prominence of the many cities in other parts of the country. In a circle of 20 miles lay 8 major cities plus a number of smaller ones. This urban heart is now called the Randstad, "the city on the (sea) Edge". When taken together these cities form an impressive centre of economic power. If compared to London in the 60^s and 70^s of the 17th century we see 443,000 inhabitants in the Randstad and 460,000 inhabitants in London. Utrecht city towered³² over the province of Utrecht. In the mid-17th century this city alone accounted for more than half of the population of the province. Today the city of Utrecht still is a node in the Dutch traffic system, an intersection of freeways and railroads. As it was in the Middle Ages when natural and constructed waterways connected the agricultural lands of the Netherlands Plain with the cities. This prominent position -especially before the period of the Reformation- may not come as a surprise. Utrecht started as a Roman castellum [Ultraiectina ad Rhenam] on the River Rhine in the mid-1st century; it became the seat of the bishop from the 8th century onwards. In the 10th century the bishop evolved into one of the most prominent rulers of the Northern Netherlands, as a prince-bishopric of the holy roman empire. It was not until 1528 that his civil authority was taken over by Charles V and after the reformation, a few decades later authority was taken over by the States of Utrecht.

In its hay days the Utrecht bishopric was not limited to the current province of Utrecht. The civic authority comprised a Central part: the *Sticht* and a Northern part the *Oversticht*.

The *Sticht bishopric* not only covered the current province of Utrecht, but also large parts of the current province of Gelderland, like the Gelder Valley and parts of the river delta³³. It also comprised the river delta large of South Holland³⁴, the islands of the Bommelerwaard, a part of the Tielerswaard, Gorcumland and 5Lordsland. The Vecht region into Gooyland in North Holland was also under the influence of the Sticht.

²⁷ In moerassen & donkere wouden. De Romeinen in Germanië, Tacitus. Vertaling Vincent Hunink. Voorzien van inleidende en verbindende teksten door Jona Lendering. Uitgeverij Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, Amsterdam 2015 ISBN: 978 90 253 0454 6

²⁸ Romeinse wegen in Nederland Uitg. Matrijs Utrecht 2016, onder redactie van Paul van der Heijden

²⁹ Soest, Hees en De Birkt van de achste tot de zeventiende eeuw, Jan H.M. Hilhorst, Jos G.M. Hilhorst, Hilversum Verloren, 2001

³⁰ Dutch rural economy in the golden age 1500-1700 New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1974, Jan de Vries p.99

³¹ IBID. p.100

³² IBID. p.99

³³ Geschiedenis katholicisme Nrd. Nederl. 16^e 17^e eeuw L.J. Rogier Urbi et orbi, A'dam 1947 (2e druk) p. 220; incl. the former archdiaconate of Emmerik, politically not a part of the Netherlands.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 220: diploma *Ex injuncto* of 11 March 1561. p 220. with the exception of the Harlem region

The *Oversticht* part of the bishopric comprised the lowlands in the provinces of Overijssel and Drenthe around Zwolle and Meppel.

The contours of the Great Land Development and the contours of the Bishopric of Utrecht in medieval times coincide perfectly. Hardly a coincidence. It is easy to understand that the bishopric government became and remained the driving force behind the Great Land Development. The position of power of the Prince Bishop of Utrecht was greatly enforced by the accumulation of wealth by the substantial enlargement of arable land in its power domain.

The bishopric consisted of more than 250 parishes and covered the most prosperous and the most densely populated part of the Netherlands. The central bishopric [Sticht] included a number of prominent cities like Utrecht, Leyden, Gouda, Gorkum and Arnhem as well as a large number of minor cities like Culemburg and Wageningen and towns like Nykerk. In the north [Oversticht] a town like Meppel was part of the bishopric. The Sticht and Oversticht fell apart slowly but gradually by the interference of the Counts of Holland and Gelderland. The Bishopric of Utrecht -although stripped of its civic authority by Charles V and the incursions of the Counts of Holland and Gelderland- remained in existence as a religious administrative entity after 1528 until the reformation kicked in.

In the middle ages³⁵ the church and church related institutions like convents accumulated extensive estates. The number of convents in the broadest sense³⁶ amounted to some 500 in the middle of the 16th century; the number of monks and nuns in the various friar houses and beguine courts can be estimated at 25,000. For the bishopric of Utrecht that would mean one priest per 60 "souls". Only one out of 10 would be working in pastoral care, the rest had close to nothing to do and hung around "markets and bridges".

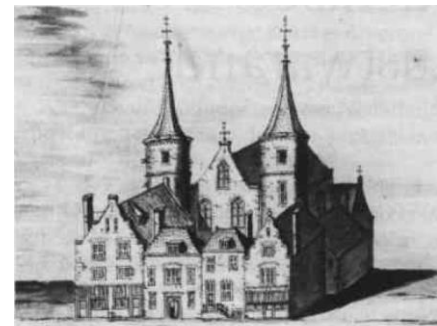
Three religious orders had a considerable presence in the Netherlands Plain: the norbertines, the benedictines and the cistercians. The norbertine abbeys in Beesd [Marienweerd] and Berne were two of the largest. The benedictines had a strong presence with the Saint Paul's Abbey and the Saint Stephens Abbey for women in the city and the men's abbey of Saint Lawrence in Oostbroek³⁷. The double convent of Saint Mary at Dickninge, a continuation of the convent of Ruinen represented a benedictine stronghold in the north, in Drenthe. A steward there managed the estates, as the middleman between the convent and the farmers. He collected the rents, took care of the paperwork, supervised the work on the estate. The abbey of Saint Lawrence had an important position in the Great Land Development east of the city of Utrecht. The abbey came in the possession of large tracts of land by gifts and purchases.

The abbot was entitled to tithes and had the legal power of lower legislation³⁸. The power and influence of the abbey diminished like the power in the rest of the church diminished. The abbey went bankrupt. In 1574 this led to the sale of the abbey goods in the bog lands near de Bilt, and additionally in Buren, the land of Altena, the land around Vianen and in Lopik on order of king Philips II. In 1580 the buildings were demolished and in 1582 the remaining estates were sold.

Much land and countless farms³⁹ in Nijkerk⁴⁰ and Putten in the Gelderland Valley belonged to German benedictine convents in Elten, Werden and the convent of Abdinghof near Paderborn from the 9th till the 19th century. For 1000 years



Steward House Dickninge Abbey



Saint Pauls Abbey M. Brouerius 1719 [G.A.U.]



Payment of Tithes, Bruegel Younger 1618

³⁵ Gids voor historisch onderzoek naar het boerenbedrijf in de provincie Utrecht; T.W.B. Blekkenhorst, J. Renes en R.N.J. Rommes Uitgave: Het Utrechts Archief i.s.m. de Stichting Stichtse Geschiedenis p.23

³⁶ Geschiedenis katholicisme Noord Nederland in de 16^e 17^e eeuw L.J. Rogier Urbi et orbi, Amsterdam 1947 (2e druk) p.17.

³⁷ INVENTARIS Archief laurensabdij Oostbroek;

http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/archiefbank/archieftoegangen/zoekresultaat?miview=inv2&micode=85-2&mizig=210&mizk_alle=#inv3t1

³⁸ <http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/collectie/archiefbank/archieftoegangen/zoekresultaat?mivast=39&mizig=210&miaet=39&miaet=1&micode=85-2&minr=848849&miview=inv2>

³⁹ Bron: Gelders Archief, 0012 Gelderse Rekenkamer 1543-1795 (A.H. Martens van Sevenhoven), inv. 1561, Index Eltense goederen 1652-1736.

⁴⁰ <http://nijkerk.serc.nl/geschiedenis-nijkerk/>

wealthy families had close family relations with these con-vents. Their sons and daughters entered the convents, that came into the possession of evermore land, farms and money by inheritance. In due course these convents became powerful property owners. Till as late as 1800 many medium sized and large farms in Nijkerk were under control of one of these German convents. It was during the French occupation of the Netherlands (1795-1813) that all convent estates fell to the Dutch state that subsequently sold them to high value individuals, who still own the lowlands around Nijkerk and Putten. This system could last so long, because the counts of Gelre joint hands with the convents and gave them protection in exchange for part of the revenues.

The residence of the steward of the benedictine convent of Elten was the House of Kemna⁴¹ in Nijkerk. He collected the rent and supervised the serfs, unfree farmers. Although a serf could remain on the monastery farm by succession, he had many personal duties. He had to perform all kinds of unpaid services for his lord and needed his permission to marry. The mandatory deliveries to his lordship existed of grain, hogs, geese and brushwood. In Putten⁴² in the so-called kelnarij resided the steward for the benedictine convent the Abdinghof in Paderborn.



Steward house of the Elten Convent

3.3 The Great Land Development

In the 11th century the Netherlands⁴³ were still largely covered in peat moors. Filled with peat moss living on poor rainwater, because the bog had grown so fast that the vegetation was cut loose from the ground water. These uninhabited moors of rotten vegetation were wet and spongy⁴⁴, with drainage worse than a swamp. This was soil totally unfit for cultivation and was⁴⁵ hardly accessible until the middle of the 9th century. The (few) remaining farmers -living on the higher grounds- were self-supply oriented in crops and cattle.

The development of the peat lands started as early as the 950^s and lasted till the 1350^s or even the 1550^s depending on the inclusion of the introduction windmills. The fight against water continued, through the following ages, especially in the delta part of the plain where land is swallowed by water continuously.

Many names of rural villages in the Netherlands plain echo the great land development. New developed villages got suffixes behind their names. Next to Hoogland -the high land- lays Hooglanderveen [Highland-bog]. There's Nijkerk and Nijkerkerveen [NewChurchbog]; Kootwijk and Kootwijkerbroek [Kootwijkmarsh]; up north in Drenthe Meppelerveen [Meppelbog] and Meppel. There's Hei en Boeicop with the suffix -cope referring to the long rectangular parcels of land called copes. These are all new agricultural settlements.

The lord keeps one homestead lot free for a church, preferably on firmer ground. Around the church develop non-farming activities like inn, school, courts, shoemaker and smith. The middle age pattern of settlement that grew then is hardly changed. As a current picture of the river village of Well in Gelderland may illustrate.



The Village of Well on the Bergsche Meuse Bommelerwaard [Gld.]

The farms are built in a ribbon on the river wall of the Bergsche Maas; the plots with their willows along the ditches are placed rectangular on the development base of the wall.

The contours of the Great Land Development and the contours of the Bishopric of Utrecht in medieval times coincide perfectly. Hardly a coincidence. It is easy to understand that the bishopric government became and remained the driving force behind the Great Land Development. The posi-

⁴¹ <http://www.mijngelderland.nl/#/nijkerk/kloosters-worden-grootgrondbezitters/huis-kemna>

⁴² De Kelnarij van Putten; de verkoop van heggen en hout by Peter Bijvank

⁴³ Ary Leo Buitelaar De Stichtse ministerialiteit en de ontginningen in de Utrechtse Vechtstreek, Uitgeverij Verloren 1993 Hilversum

⁴⁴ Dutch rural economy in the golden age 1500-1700 New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1974, Jan de Vries p.50.

⁴⁵ <http://www.natuurlandschap.nl/wouter2/landschappen-in-nederland/veenweidelandschap/>

tion of power of the Prince Bishop of Utrecht was greatly enforced by the accumulation of wealth by the substantial enlargement of arable land in its power domain.

Everywhere in the plain, an ever more elaborate dike system is built. The damming of Rhine river in 1122⁴⁶ near Wijk bij Duurstede by bishop Godebald in 1122 and the great Dam along the river Rhine from Amerongen to Vreeswijk, to prevent the city of Amsterdam and the County of Holland from drowning for example, were two crucial events.

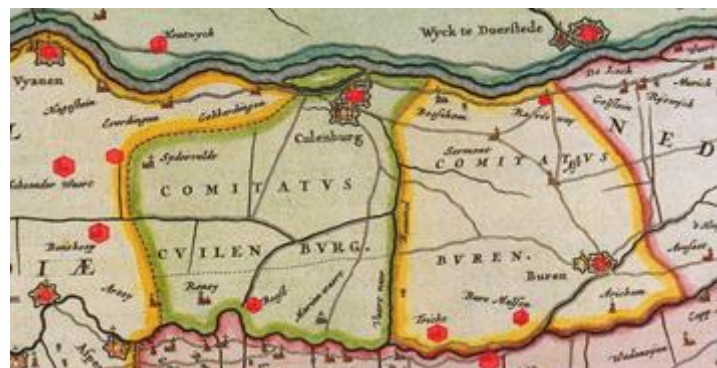
Expanding dike building techniques made it possible to settle down in originally very wet areas. Also organizational possibilities, like the typical Dutch way of dealing with water management and the central authority of the church and its affiliates stimulated the development of the bog areas on a larger and more systematic scale from the 1050's onwards. The struggle to keep the lands dry was not over soon, the need grew to build embankments, dams that developed into proper dikes. First these dikes were short and did not close in the land altogether, but overtime they were linked together. Ever more drainage canals were dug.

Around 1500 the entire territory of the Netherlands Plain is open for settlement, with exception of the bog areas that lie higher. From the 1450^s the lands have sunk metres and watermills are introduced to keep the land dry. This is roughly 100 years before the beginning of the revolt against Habsburg Spain that leads to almost a century of warfare and plunder.

Around the year 1000 the levees of the Lek and Linge rivers were densely populated while the lower area remained virtually uninhabited. The habitation was concentrated in little settlements, like in the medieval market towns of *Vianen, Hagestein, Leerdam, Everdingen and Arkel*, where the 5 Lords ruling over this land resided. To guarantee safety in their area [Vijfherenland⁴⁷: Fivelordsland] they made an agreement in 1284 to keep the region dry.

The farmers live dispersed on the high sandy levees, farms are situated like a ribbon along the Lek and Linge dikes, built in the 11th or 12th century.

On the high sandy levees in Vijfheerenland we find mainly agriculture and *cultivation of fruit*. Characteristic in the landscape are the high stem orchards with windbreaks of trees and bushes; the grasslands and wet fields where willows are grown for convenience purposes are in the lower land basins [komgrounds].



Vijfheerenland [Fivelordsland]

The cultivation of hemp becomes more important because shipping becomes more important. The earnings are so good, *that in the 16th and 17th century most Forhouses [houses for the farm] are built in brick with a cellar and a front room to show off [pronkkamer or opkamer] and sometimes stain glass windows.* Notable of course are the extensive floodplains. On the map above a large part of Vijfheerenland is shown. The red dots represent villages where emigrants to New Netherland came from.

Development started on a small and private scale, later it became more systematic and controlled⁴⁸. At first groups of private developers follow a natural water way or the edge of an earlier cultivated area as a base for the cultivation. Ditches connected to a natural or artificial waterway of already developed settlements drained the bog enough to make it arable. Farmers built their farms on their strip and so the ribbon shaped settlements appeared on the dikes along the roads. Or as the poet said: "ribbons in the void". Because of the absence of a central authority the pattern during the early development was irregular with strips of different seize and form. The first colonists could extend their parcels as far as they wanted, only stopped by brooks or land that was developed earlier. When the strips got too long, the initial settlement would be relocated. The first development started in the northwest of the plain, ownership there remained in private hands relatively more often. As time



Hellouw Tielerswaard [Gld]
Poldermill, 1627

⁴⁶ De Lekdijk van Amerongen naar Vreeswijk [the Lek Dike from Amerongen to Vreeswijk] Ad van Bommel

⁴⁷ Ibid. p 176-177.

⁴⁸ INZOOMEN OP DE HISTORISCH-GEOGRAFISCHE ONTWIKKELING VAN HET NEDERLANDSE LANDSCHAP deel II [zooming in on the historical geographical development of the Dutch landscape, part II] p. 11.

went by and central authority grew, parceling became more systematic. The tracts to be developed were divided into standard measurements, usually set on 1200 to 1350 meters deep and 250 meters wide.

These tracts were called "copes". In the area at hand the bishops of Utrecht and to a lesser degree the counts of Holland had picked up authority over the development. They and their vassals promoted this approach to land development and profited of the sale of the copes. The words buying and selling [kopen and verkopen] are derived from the word cope. An indication of the pervasive impact the development had on the people. The development made it possible to grow crops, because the land was high and dry for centuries, to come. Rye and oats were the primary crop of income.

Then gradually the land dried out by the drainage through countless ditches. The bog oxidated and the level of the land sunk by a few meters. The land sank even lower through the extraction of peat for fuel in a later stage. In the 1500s the farmlands in the bog areas became so wet again, by the up coming ground water that it became increasingly difficult for farmers to grow crops. Leaving the one economically viable option open, grazing of cattle.

Although the development⁴⁹ of the bog lands had brought a substantial enlargement of arable land, many of the negatives from the days before the cultivation remained however. To a large extend the land was still unforgiving, a wet spongy ground of decomposing vegetation, that has a poorer drainage than a swamp. Soil unfit for cultivation but can be cut and dried and used for fuel⁵⁰.

Today's grassland so typical for this part of the country has been there since the late middle ages, just grass, with the exception of willows providing wood for practical use on the farm and the bushes around the duck decoys.

The farmers of the plain, descendants of the creators of their own landscape must have developed a strong attachment to this land, to their farms and their religion. In many cases almost a 1000 years later, the farm plots, the canals and farms are still there, as are some of the families.

The effect of the drying out of the land may have motivated people to go elsewhere. The region of Waverveen, Loosdrecht spring to mind, because...



an island barnyard on a cope

3.4 Water management: defense and poldering

Water management in the Netherlands is a form of survival, in the regions at hand in the river delta⁵¹ with its islands [waarden] and in the low lands on the edge of the inland sea, like Vecht - and Eemland and the Gelder Valley had their own challenges. The constant inflow of water from the high grounds of Europe, kept up to speed by the east west fall of the Netherlands Delta.

For example the area of the islands in the delta remained under regular siege of the water masses that reached the Delta from the higher grounds of Europe. It is not hard to imagine that the Rhine and Waal river merged into one big river dragging and destroying everything that was built by men or nature in its torrent. The low lands, close to the former inland Sea had to deal with regular floods as well.



Flood Area Lek River [green] 1747 Utrecht stays dry behind dike of Crooked Rhine and Yssel

⁴⁹ Ibid. p163.

⁵⁰ Dutch rural economy in the golden age 1500-1700 New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1974, Jan de Vries p.50

⁵¹ INZOOMEN OP DE HISTORISCH-GEOGRAFISCHE ONTWIKKELING VAN HET NEDERLANDSE LANDSCHAP [zooming in on the historical geographical development of the Dutch landscape] deel II : de historisch-geografische ontwikkeling van het Nederlandse landschap: achtergronden per landschapstype by Landview, bodemonderzoek en landbouw. p13-15.

At the end of the 12th century flooding in the delta made it urgent to raise the dams. Not earlier than the 1300's the connection between individual stretches of dikes came into existence, first downstream. Dike rings around the islands between the Lek and Maas rivers were closed first in the vulnerable Alblasserwaard and *Vijfherenland* in the 1300's, then followed the *Bommelerwaard* and the *Tielerwaard* in the 1400's, the ring around the *Betuwe* was only closed in the 1500's. Also dikes on the side of the lower land basins [komgrounds] along the river were built to prevent water coming in from there.



Diefdike near Schoonrewoerd Wiel

The consequence of linking the dikes together however was to push up the water level in the rivers even higher. This way the impact of a flood became even bigger causing much more damage. Seepage water coming through the dikes became a considerable nuisance, especially in the western lower grounds of the delta. The drainage here like in the bog lands had led to the subsiding of the surface.

Breakthrough To be on the safe side houses were built on mounds [woerde, like in Schoonrewoerd] from the 13th till the 15th century. Heavy floods in the 13th and 14th century also urged to lay out dikes right-angled on the rivers, defending the eastern sides of settlements from the water coming in. For example on the eastern edge of the village of Schoonrewoerd and the polder of Kortgerecht -where so many colonists to New Netherland came from a so-called cross dike was built. The Dief-dike [1284] runs from the Linge river to the Lek river⁵². At first the dike was a low embankment that was heightened and strengthened over and over again till in 1587 it reached its current height.

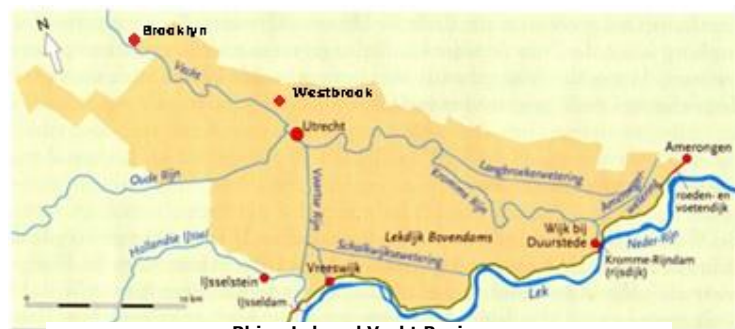
There were 5 breakthroughs⁵³ in the meantime like in 1523, 1558, 1565, 1571 and 1573. Incredibly large deep ponds [wiels] were forced by the powerful water masses from the river. Most destructive was the force of the water in 1571. Because of a breakthrough of the dikes further upstream in the Betuwe the two rivers bordering the delta, the rivers Rhine and Waal merged into one big river. The Diefdijk was crushed in a soft spot, where now lies the Wiel of Bassa, near Schoonrewoerd. The water took ice blocks, houses, barns, mills, trees and animals while it roared through the hole in the dike to the Vijfheerenlands. Masses of sand and gravel were churned in the depth of the pond that was formed and poured out into the surroundings by the floodwaters.



Dikebreakthrough 1624 Between Rhine and Lek

The recurring destructive floods had a profound impact on the hearts and minds of the Dutch to collectively survive. In the Dutch language exists a verb derived from the noun "polder".

Polder as in the polders in de Central Netherlands Plain. The verb is "to polder". We polder, means we deliberate for an agreement, involving all stakeholders. In maintaining good governance in watermanagement. It is not just talking, it also means to keep the dikes safe and in times of high water to keep the land dry. For example the dike at Amerongen shown on the right side of the map below would be defended at high water by the so-called dike army of a town close by.



Rhine-Lek and Vecht Region

⁵² in the counties of Buren and Culemborg the Aalsdike [15th c^y] was built; in the Alblasserwaard further to the west, the Zouwedike[1277].

⁵³ RAAP-RAPPORT 1531 Schone slaper - Hollands hoop in bange dagen Cultuurhistorisch advies voor de verbetering van de 'Diefdijklinie'

These [drainage] authorities⁵⁴ are regional government bodies charged with managing water barriers, waterways, water levels, water quality and locks. They are among the oldest forms of local government in the Netherlands, in this region founded in the 12th century. In the Central Netherlands Plain the care for water management was in the hands of the local townships, run by a sheriff appointed by local gentry and landowners. For the water management council the local communities constituted separate executive councils, the council for water control. The Utrecht Quarters of the Northwest and the Southeast share the same water management authority, as is shown in the table below.

	Dikesections
A	Amerongen, Leersum, Doorn, Driebergen-Rijsenburg, Zeist
B	Stoetwegen, Overlangbroek, Nederlangbroek
C	Wijk, Cothen, Nijendijk, Werkhoven, Odijk, Bunnik-Vechten
D	De Bilt- Oostbroek, Herbertscop, Oostveen
E	Achtienhoven, Westbroek, Maarsseveen-Tienhoven

The list of dike maintenance sections [in Dutch: hoefslagen, the dike section a farmstead needs to maintain] in the Rhine-Lek and Vecht region dike shows that structural communication between farmsteads along these waterways was in place to be able to fulfill their obligations to uphold the water defense. During the yearly inspection of the state of the water defense on behalf of the dike count all of the villages mentioned in the table below⁵⁵ needed to comply with the same rules and regulations.

In the 17th and the 18th century the polder zone between fortifications near Amsterdam and Gorinchem was part of a military defense line called the old Holland Waterline. It was a barrier in the shape of a flooded area of land, as defense against invaders of western Holland. The people of the western Netherlands plain shared this discomfort. Especially the area west of the Diefdike, in the Vijfherenland, where Schoonrewoerd lies is part of that barrier. At the same time of course this dike is a vital part of the water defense system for the area west of it.

3.5 Revolt: Beggars and Papists, on the slow road to protestantism

The Netherlands plain was Christianised from the 750^s. In 777 Charlemagne donated estates in Eemland and the Rhine-Lek region to the Utrecht church. A text from the time of the christianisation gives a prescribed dialogue of the baptizing missionary and the baptized.

" Forsachs tu diabolae? Ec forsacho diabolae. En de alium diaboles wercum? (Do you forsake the devil and all of the devils `work?). End ec forsacho allum diaboles wercum and wordum. Thunaer ende Wodan ende Saxnote ende allum them umholdum the hira genotas sint (I forsake all works and words of the devil, of Donar and Wodan and Saxnoot and all of their cronies). Gelobistu in Got alamechtigan fadaer? Ec gelobo in Got alamechtigan fadaer. Gelobis tu in Crist, Gotes suno? Ec gelobo in Crist, Gotes suno. Gelobis tu in halogan gast? Ec gelobo in balogan gast" (I believe in God the almighty Father. I believe in Christ Gods son; I believe in the Holy Ghost).⁵⁶

Christianisation started and proved to be a process of many centuries. All sorts of rituals remained, promoted by an adaptive Christianity. Old feasts were transformed into Christian celebrations, like lent. Final or deep christianisation was reached in the 12th century, when heathen festivals did not need to be forbidden anymore. Remarkably not long before the first signs of the dawn of the reformation would become evident⁵⁷. In 1548 Charles Vth held the alleged shortcomings of the late medieval clergy responsible for the wholesale apostasy from the catholic faith. According to the formula reformationis he forbade the accumulation of functions and required the bishops to organize visitations and synods to implement reforms⁵⁸. When on his behalf the Spanish Duke of Alva was sent to the Netherlands to make amends, he organizes visitations into the state of the church.

For example on both sides of the Rhine-Lek region. A motive for a visitation of the Culemborg church was the suspicion that local clergy had terminated the catholic worships and had more or less introduced protestantism. This change occurred in the early days of the refor-

⁵⁴ Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500 - 1700 Jan de Vries New Haven and London, Yale University press p.28

⁵⁵ De Lekdijk van Amerongen Negen eeuwen bescherming van Utrecht en Holland naar Vreeswijk Ad van Bommel, Hilversum Verloren 2009 p. 102.

⁵⁶ Frits van Oostrom, Stemmen op schrift. Geschiedenis van de Nederkandse literatuur vanaf het begin van 1300, Amsterdam 2006

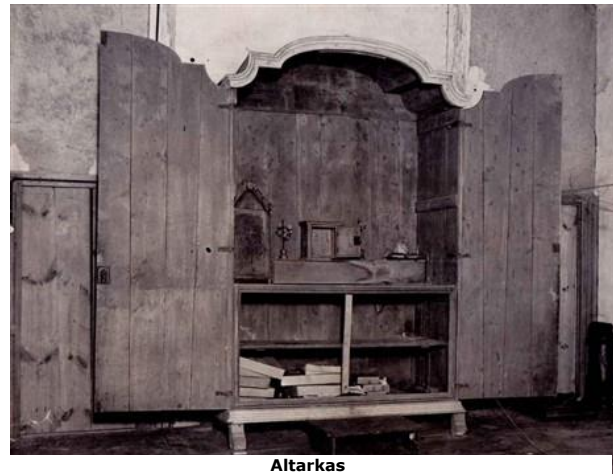
⁵⁷ Geuzen en Paepen; Kath. en Protestant tussen Vecht en Eem 1550-1800, red. Henk Michielse, Jan Out, Gerrit Schutte, Hilversum Verloren p.63,64.

⁵⁸ Reformation and revolt in the Low Countries, by Alaster Duke The Hambledon Press London and Ronceverte, 1990 p. xiii.

mation, at the time of the iconoclasms. The visitation reports of the Spanish on the situation of the Culemborg church in 1570 show local abuse beyond all boundaries. Religious life is degenerated in all its aspects. We meet a young notorious priest, that frequents pubs and prostitutes; he does not own a breviary, only a translation of the new testament by Erasmus, can reproduce 4 out of 7 sacraments et cetera; the conclusion is that it is unlikely that this imposter is a priest. Another functionary of the church in Culemborg uses the seal of the church to formalize false certificates, he took the coffer of the church to his own home, steals cattle and land, beats up a colleague during a meeting, smashes a stained glass window in rage, spends nights in the pub, and throws the dice to determine who will celebrate mass. He is a dodgy type who gets locked up immediately by the investigators. In the same area though well functioning priests do their job as required. A similar report comes from Schalkwijk in the Rhine-Lek region around 1570, here serves a priest who ⁵⁹ is called a good priest by his noble parishioners. Despite the fact that he has children with his domestic, uses strong language, is ill tempered and is swift with his knife. He himself dishes up a colorful story about a serious fight with one of his parishioners⁶⁰. These negative situations did not stand in the way however of Culemborg and Schalkwijk to remain catholic because of the support of local gentry, on both sides of the Lek river.

A placard issued by the governing body of the province, the States of Utrecht heralded the formal start of the reformation in the Utrecht region in 1580, a few years later than in the province of Holland. In the placard it was decided that for example church properties would be transferred to the cities or the States of Utrecht.

The placard forbade "exercising the catholic religion in the entire Nedersticht" and set other rules. The right to appoint ministers was transferred from the so-called archpriests to the members of the executive committee of the States of Utrecht. Catholic priests were still allowed to preach on Sunday, but were not allowed to say anything in disadvantage of the reformed religion, nor in favor of the catholic religion. They were also allowed to baptize children, although but without catholic ceremony. Villages desiring to change religion should be allowed to do so. Working on Sunday, drinking and gambling in inns and taverns during the sermon of the reverend would be penalized with a fine of 3 Carolus-guilders. It is the start of the underground catholic church. People are allowed to gather but in buildings that do not look like a church from the outside, they gather in hidden churches that look like farms, the altar sometimes hidden in a cupboard.



Altarkas

The placard set a process of gradual protestantiation in motion, like the oaths of loyalty did centuries earlier at the introduction of Christianity. And like the oaths in early Christendom the execution of the placard left much to be desired. In the province of Utrecht the Calvinist party was relatively weak. The States of Utrecht prevented the formation of a governing body of the Reformed Church until 1620⁶¹. After a quarter century⁶² the reformation was still weak in many places. The visitations started by Charles V as quality assurance of the execution of the faith continue after the change in power. This time the main goal is to monitor the progress of the process of protestantiation. A committee of the States of Utrecht reports in 1593 on the state of affairs⁶³. The reason for these visitations was that this process was not perceived as speedy as it should be. The sketch of the catholic clergy should be taken with some reservation naturally.

Visitation reports: For example in 1606 in the Gooij-, Vecht and Eemland. The membership of the Reformed church was rather limited; like in the village of Bunschoten just north of Amersfoort only 28 members were counted, in Kortenhoef in Gooijland 14 members. The verger refused to provide his services in the reformed reunions, in Soest the village council forbade the schoolmaster to teach the children to sing psalms.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 489.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 24.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. xv.

⁶² Geuzen en Paepen; Kath. en Protestant tussen Vecht en Eem 1550-1800, red. Henk Michielse, Jan Out, Gerrit Schutte, Hilversum Verloren p.125.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 28.

We learn that the priest of Bunschoten is guilty of daily intoxication, prostitution, playing the dice, and cheating. From the close by Maartensdijk we hear that the priest used to exploit a brothel in Utrecht, in Maartensdijk he is still exploiting a dancing. The priest in Westbroek is a big drunk. The priest in Maarssen offers his concubine for sale.

The fishing village of Huizen, where Crailo lies knows a particular story although mainly protestant now, there was no overnight change because for example the catholic pastor became the first reverend. It was a slow process of first being without a priest for 25 years⁶⁴, with altars in the church as was complained about by the reverend of Loosdrecht. Only at the end of the century the reformed church is there. On either side along the Vecht river to the north of Utrecht, we find larges minorities of catholics.

In Amerongen the reverend complains about his flock, that they leave the church as they like after communion; the old festivals continue like the Cunerafeasts and fairs.⁶⁵ In December 1642 the evil custom of new yearssinging and the conduct of innkeepers is discussed.

3.6 Catholic clay

Warfare in the revolt against Habsburg Spain, euphemistically called the *troubles*, and the religious strife induced by the reformation undoubtedly strained economic and social ties and altered land tenures and social position⁶⁶. Warfare was still very much present in the first quarter of the 1600s. Like in 1629 when a Habsburg army captured Amersfoort and reinstated the mass in the churches there. Such events underscored the precarious position of the Union of Utrecht and the vulnerability of Reformed Protestantism⁶⁷ especially in this area. A city like Amersfoort retained a strong catholic identity [close to 50%] after the reformation. Which may not be all that surprising, because Amersfoort used to be one of the most important pilgrim towns in the Northern Netherlands.



1650 Farm in Hei en Boeicop near Schoonrewoerd

Landownership of the agricultural lands by church and convents on the eve of the reformation can be estimated at a 30 to a 40% on the basis of tax collectors data; taking into account the landownership of the bishop as lord of the Sticht the percentage of landownership of the church becomes even higher. Other important landowners were citizens, nobles and the farmers themselves. In the course of time the development of the bog lands had contributed considerably to the development of abbey property in the Utrecht area.

Although distribution of ownership differed from region to region, there is some pattern. Especially directly around the cities religious institutions and burghers owned a lot of land. The Utrecht St. Paul abbey for example owned the small lordship of Papendorp south of Utrecht city.

In the west of the province of Utrecht the church owned considerably less land. It was there where the largest part of the land was granted to the farmer-developers who, developed and cultivated the bog area in the early days of the development. Although a part of the land owned by farmers was transferred into others hands, for all sorts of reasons, the farmers of the lower Vecht region and Vinkeveen for example still owned at least half of the land in the 16th century.

This situation contrasted sharply with the distribution of ownership in eastern Utrecht villages like Cothen, Stoutenburg or Zeist, where hardly any ownership by farmers existed.

We are in the region of the former benedictine abbey of Saint Lawrence of de Bilt, just east of the city of Utrecht and in the region of the norbertine abbey of Marienweerd near Beesd in the small stewardship of the same name on the other side of the Lek river.

Developments in the tenant population of the norbertine abbey of Marienweerd give an interesting insight in the development of the number⁶⁸ of tenants over the early years of the reformation. The

⁶⁴ Geuzen en Paepen; Kath. en Protestant tussen Vecht en Eem 1550-1800, red. Henk Michielse, Jan Out, Gerrit Schutte, Hilversum Verloren p. 152.

⁶⁵ De kerk van het Heylig Cruys en Sint Andries; 1000jaar geschiedenis van de Andrieskerk in Amerongen, Piet Tuik, Amerongen 2004, p.60,71,87

⁶⁶ Descendants of Cornelis Aertsen VanSchaick, Inc., Chestnut Hill, Mass., John R VanScoyoc; see also dr. Marcel S.F. Kemp

⁶⁷ Reformation and revolt in the Low Countries, by Alaster Duke The Hambledon Press London and Ronceverte, 1990, p. 235.

⁶⁸ Goederenverwerving en goederenbeheer van de abdiij Marienweerd (1129-1592), BJP van Bavel, Holversum Verloren 1993 p.396.

number of tenants of this abbey declined by 39% from 134 to 93 in the 1550 -1580 period, while the average seize of the leaseholds grew by 71% from 1530 -1580.

The appearance of *super* tenants became obvious, at the expense of small and medium tenants. Just ten tenants used over 50% of the available land. The most important trigger for this development was warfare due to the revolt against Spain that began in 1567.

The core mechanic behind this development is that medium seized tenants had less of a financial buffer than the super tenants, so they were hit harder by the crises evoked by the troubles. The smaller tenants had invested a relatively a high portion of their capital, if not all in sowing seed and cattle. As a consequence they were less well equipped for a restart after being plundered or due to other sufferings from warfare.

The super tenants on the other hand profited most from higher margins resulting from the lower tenant prices and the higher food prices during the troubles; this way and because they were able to create a financial buffer in the first place, they could recuperate easier from the consequences of war. This concentration of leaseholds that had already started before the troubles, accelerated as a consequence of the war.

Tax collector's assessment data of the Goy and Houten in the Rhine-Lek region of the year 1536⁶⁹ name all owners and users of the estates. In the Goy and Houten a total of 1828 morgen land is in use⁷⁰ at that time; roughly 1700 hectares. How is the division of landownership and users at that time? In the list in total 96 names of users are mentioned. Exactly half, 48 persons uses less that 15 hectares per person; and exactly a quarter uses between 15 and 30 hectares. The remaining quarter, 24 persons use 30 hectares ore more. The 24 super farmers till 1056 morgen of land, more than half of the available land; while the first half of the farming population tills 232 hectares or 12% of the available land.

Do we take a look at the landowners something else stands out. Kemp makes a distinction between 3 groups: first the church and all related institutions, then the landlords, be they landed gentry or town patricians; and finally the natives, people of which can be evidenced that they live and farm in Houten and the Goy. Kemp can categorize all the land except for 5%, he proves that 900 morgen roughly half of the land is are owned by the church with the German Order as majority owner. Of the other half, 450 morgen is in the hands landed gentry or town patricians and the natives themselves own another 400 morgen. In the Schonouwen polder the proportions are even less balanced. Of a total of 750 morgen almost two third: 475 morgen is owned by the church and religious institutions; landed gentry and town patricians have 125 morgen, the native themselves 160 morgen, that is 20%. For the year 1600 the same data were preserved, at this point in time an extra 23 users are mentioned than in 1536, no 96 but 119 users.

At the same time Kemp sees that for Houten and 't Goy the group of super users in comparison to 1536 has hardly changed. In 1600 72 persons use 15 hectares or less; 26 use between 15 and 30 hectares and 21 more than 30 hectares. In 1536 24 super farmers used 900 morgen, in 1600 21 farmers use 935 morgen, more than 50%! The proportions in landownership had become more unbalanced.

Finally, Kemp makes a list of the largest farmers in 1600 and we include Wulven, Oudwulven, Schalkwijk, Odijk and Bunnik [the entire Rhine-Lek region] there are 30 names that till between 30 and 70 hectares. Of those names it can be evidenced that 25 descend either directly or indirectly of the most favored group of the year 1536. Kemp concludes that: *"The Reformation as religious movement hardly got a hold on the residents of this region, as a social movement it passed by Houten unnoticed"*.

Like in the central Netherlands plain, the economy of Drenthe suffered during the period of the troubles. Many farms laid waste for years (in 1600 about 33%!).⁷¹ Arable land in Drenthe of the 17th Century was controlled by a few large owners with little opportunity for small farmers to own their land. The Roman Catholic church and related religious institutions owned extensive farmland in Drenthe, like the benedictine stronghold of the double convent of Saint Mary at Dikninge, a continuation of the convent of Ruinen. The convent was located on the territory of the lordship of Ruinen, where the lord held "high" jurisdiction over death penalty. This lordship was originally given in loan by the bishop of Utrecht. Little is known of this convent, the last abbot died in 1577 and the nun convent was abolished in 1602 by the government of the Landscape of Drenthe, the

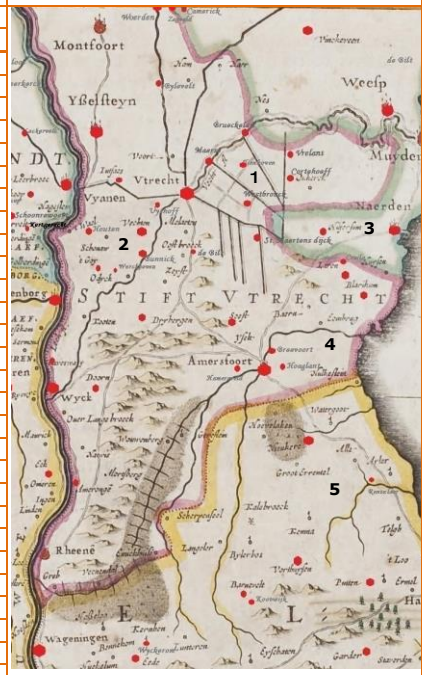
⁶⁹ Rijksarchief Utrecht 143 deel 2

⁷⁰ Houten in de 16e eeuw; een kleine kroniek 'scandaleuze'. By dr. Marcel S.F.Kemp p. 36. TUSSEN RIJN EN LEK, TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR DE GESCHIEDENIS VAN HET GEBIED TUSSEN KROMME RIJN EN LEK 12e jaargang nr. 2 juni/juli 1978

⁷¹ D. J. Wijmer, "Steven Coerts His Family and is Dutch Background," Through a Dutch Door, Van Voorhees Association, 1992, p. 4.

remaining inhabitants were removed with alimentation⁷². Not until 1598 did William Louis, stadtholder of Drenthe, Groningen and Friesland, secularize the Drenthe property of the former orders⁷³. The land rent continued to be paid at Dikninge, but now to the civil authorities. In that same year the organization on the Drenthe reformed church starts with the first meeting of the classis. In 1603 29 dominees worked Drenthe; often-unwilling priests although obliged to leave their vicarage and church stayed put until armed forces removed them, like the priest in Ruinen. Country folk held on to roman customs like placing of crucifixes and statues on the public roads. The Drenthe government had all crosses removed in 1639, but crosses were still being placed on the cemetery of Ruinen in 1641⁷⁴. The process of protestantiation in Drenthe can be seen by its later appearance as a movie that is played in slow motion; but it does not differ in principle of the developments in the provinces. In assessing the case of the Voorhees family, J. Poortman argues⁷⁵ that the rent conditions fluctuate, due to yearly tenders, leading to uncertainty for the farmers. As a consequence of the transfer of the former church and monastery estates into the hands of the province and the cities after the Reformation⁷⁶ rent continued to be paid to the new large estate owners. While the cities were in a regular shortage of money, they sold many of these former church estates in the 17th century. Buyers were city burghers, noblemen and farmers. In the northwest of the Utrecht province rich Amsterdammers bought land and homesteads that were rebuilt into countryseats, especially along the Vecht River, between the cities of *Breukelen* and *Maarsssen*. In the Rhine-Lek region noblemen and farmers were the principal buyers of land. The Netherlands kept a substantial catholic population. It is safe to say, that in the province of Utrecht in the middle of the 1700's more than 50% of country folk remained catholic⁷⁷. Take for example the Gooy-, Vecht and Eemland⁷⁸. As is shown in the table below.

Émigré villages in the Utrecht Quarters, as well as Gooyland and Gelder Valley					
1. Lower Quarter [NW]	Inh.	RC %	3. Gooyland	Inh.	RC %
Breukelen	1096	60	City of Naarden	1809	92
Maarsssen	1149	40	City of Weesp	2937	
Villages			Villages		
Waverveen	297	M	Blarikum	533	96
Vinkeveen	329	68	Laren	940	98
Vreeland	527	30	Hilversum	3410	66
Kortenhoeft	685	M	Loenen, Stigt, N'sluis	583	33
Tienhoven	303	11	Nieuw-Loosdrecht	625	9
Westbroek-Maartensdijk	501	26	Mynden	144	G
Kameryk	948	43			
Zegveld	503	44			
Veldhuizen	89	75	4. Eemland ⁷⁹		
Harmelen-Bylevelt	459	60	Hoogland-Breevoort	1449	80
			Bunschoten	779	1
			Leusden-Hamersveld	885	57
			Soest	1277	67
			Stoutenburg-Asschat	543	85
2. Higher Quarter [SW]					
City of Wyk bij Duurstede	1480	56			
IJsselstijn	2531	56			
Villages					
Driebergen-Rijsenburg	453	60	5. Gelder Valley		
de Bilt-Oostbroek	1001	21	Borough of Nijkerk		BC
Werkhoven	389	73	Villages		
Odyk	260	77	Bennekom ⁸⁰	800	
Bunnik-Vechten	398	70	Wekerom	200	
Schalkwyk	660	84	Borough of Putten		BC
Houten-'t Goy	601	67	Huinen	200	
Vreeswyk	648	41	Hell-Rensselaer	100	
Schonauwen	140	67	Borough of Barneveld		BC
Jutphaas	860	53	Voorthuizen	700	
Cothen	626	79	Garderen	200	
			Kootwykerbroek	400	



⁷² Geschiedenis katholicisme Noord Nederland in de 16^e 17^e eeuw L.J. Rogier Urbi et orbi, Amsterdam 1947 (2e druk) p. 584.
⁷³ Historical Handbook, Van Voorhees Association, 1935, p. 14. Dr. H. P. Schaap, on p. 148 of Through a Dutch Door, suggested that secularization in Drenthe occurred after 1603.
⁷⁴ Geschiedenis katholicisme Noord Nederland p.588.
⁷⁵ Steven Coerts Voorhees, een Drents landverhuizer uit 1660 door J. Poortman, voor de Nieuwe Drentsche Volksalmanak 1943
⁷⁶ Dutch rural economy in the golden age 1500-1700 New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1974, Jan de Vries
⁷⁷ Geschiedenis katholicisme Noord Nederland in de 16^e 17^e eeuw L.J. Rogier Urbi et orbi, Amsterdam 1947 (2e druk) p. 410
⁷⁸ The percentages added are all from the 1839 census.
⁷⁹ Geschiedenis katholicisme Noord Nederland in de 16^e 17^e eeuw L.J. Rogier Urbi et orbi, Amsterdam 1947 (2e druk). p. 45
⁸⁰ <http://www.dorpsraadbennekom.nl/>

As the Revolt became more successful and the reformed church fulfilled her role in the public domain, the reformed church drew more people from the undecided middle group. At the same time authorities replaced their policy of fighting the Catholic Church to a more permissive policy.

Vecht and Eemland

In *Eemland* the polder area around Amersfoort remained very catholic [57-85%], The city of Amersfoort also retained a strong catholic identity [50%]. Which may not be all that surprising, because Amersfoort used to be one of the most important pilgrim towns in the Northern Netherlands.

In *Gooyland*⁸¹ we see a similar pattern, with the towns of Laren and Blaricum almost a 100% catholic.

In the lower Quarter of the province [the Vechtreion] high protestant percentages in the strip de Bilt-Oostbroek - Westbroek -Maartensdijk-Achtthhoven and Tienhoven and Loosdrecht and some high percentages of Catholicism, for some villages descriptions from the period indicate strong catholic presence⁸².

The area west of the city of Utrecht has a catholic majority in towns like IJsselstein and Jutfaas and closer to Utrecht in f.e. Harmelen and Veldhuizen; to the north in the really low bog lands where Vinkeveen and Waverveen lie, again majorities; to the south closer to the Old Rhine substantial catholic minorities in Kamerik and Zegveld.

Between Rhine and Lek

The region *between Rhine and Lek* also remained very catholic⁸³ from Bunnik, Houten till Wyck bij Duurstede. On the south banks of the Lek River this catholic concentration continues into the county of Culemborg and the stewardship of Beesd. This catholic area on both sides of the Lek sends a great number of the 17th century settlers.

Gelder Valley

In the *Gelder valley*, villages are strongly, sometimes completely protestantised, except for Wageningen and Arnhem [20% and 40% catholic]. Remarkably, as was shown earlier the influence of German benedictine convents was extremely present in areas around Nykerk and Putten. Countless farms belonged to these convents for 1000 years and wealthy citizens had close family relations with these institutions. The representative of the convents supervised the serfs, unfree farmers; who were to perform all kinds of unpaid services and needed permission to marry.

Sand and Clay

The sandy grounds on and near the Utrecht Hill Ridge is also strongly, sometimes completely protestantised⁸⁴, this in sharp contrast to the western low lands of clay and bog, that preserved a predominantly catholic population. Remarkably this geological contrast coincides with a religious contrast.

The Islands

The Betuwe radically protestantised in the west, except the towns of *Culemborg and Beesd*, [55 and 48%], *Hurwenen, Rossum and Varik* [53, 48 and 27%] and *Tiel* [31%]; On the island of the Alblasserwaard all villages were overwhelmingly protestant, like *Noordeloos, Streefkerk, Meerkerk, Schoonrewoerd, Hei- en Boeikop, Lexmond en Schelluinen*. The Bommelerwaard in the south along the Meuse River was less protestant than the north. Towns on the south bank of the Lek had a strong minority of Catholics like Gorinchem [25%] and Zaltbommel [25%], Vianen and Hagestein [28 and 65%].

Local gentry played a vital role in remaining catholic or becoming protestant.

3.7 Gentry and patchwork counties, a special case

Church and convent estates⁸⁵ played a role in the actions of noblemen who gathered enormous wealth by reforming the church in order to take over the land; or city authorities needing land beyond the city walls and by "secularizing" the land were also freed of supporting city convents. In the early days of the revolt against Spain the lords of Asperen, Vianen and Culemborg promoted a seigniorial Protestantism in their lands along the Lek and Linge, which *attracted little local support*. Ironically these nobles secretly allowed the activities of Catholic priests in their lordships later on and held the authority of the Reformed church [*classes and synods*] in contempt.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Geschiedenis katholicisme Noord Nederland in de 16^e 17^e eeuw L.J. Rogier Urbi et orbi, Amsterdam 1947 (2e druk). p. 415

⁸² Ibid. p. 411

⁸³ Ibid. p. 411

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 414

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 5

⁸⁶ See A.C. Duke, 'An Enquiry into the Troubles in Asperen, 1566-1567', *BMHG*, LXXXII (1968), pp. 207-27; O.J.de Jong, *De reformatie in Culemborg* (Assen, n.d. = 1957), ch. III; H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', *Hel Boek*, XXX (1949-51), pp. 3-41; Floris van Egmond may have connived at the evangelicals who found refuge in his lordship at IJsselstein in the 1520s and 1530s.

This apparent exception proves the rule that the early Reformation in the Netherlands was '*an urban event*'. Only where the countryside shed its agricultural character did Protestantism leave its mark before the Revolt. Elsewhere the rural Reformation resembles an exotic plant, only able to flourish in an exceptional microclimate⁸⁷.

The case of Culemborg showed that the lord wants one thing and the population another. Culemborg County was an *allodium*, in fact a free state that was not a part of the United Netherlands or of the Netherlands judicial system until 1714. In Amsterdam the expression "to go the Culemborg," meant to be safe from your creditors who were not allowed into the city.

The count of Culemborg at the time was Floris van Pallandt, he was also a commander of the *Beggars*, the united front of Dutch noblemen against the king of Spain. In a more official context he was a member of the Pact of Nobles, a covenant of gentry in the Habsburg Netherlands that submitted a petition to the regent Margaret of Parma to ease the sanctions for not complying to state and church legislation. This petition played a crucial role in the events leading up to the revolt. Previously Floris had undergone a thorough catholic upbringing, ironically partly together with the same Margaret in the castle of Culemborg.

Floris had personally⁸⁸ led the iconoclasm in his county -like his colleague in Asperen- and had introduced, or rather imposed the reformation very early on, maintaining the residing clergy. Catholic sources⁸⁹ see in this case an example of a policy of protestantization driven by the desire for an economic reform of the church organization and an attack on the property position of the church, rather than religious motives. Floris' successors however did not prosecute Catholics; they even allowed the founding of a catholic school for women with an elite background to educate the support of religious tasks [Kloppen].

Next to Culemborg there were some other free lordships with an own jurisdiction including the right to judge on capital crimes who behaved like independent states: *Buren*, *Leerdam*, *IJsselstein* [owned by the Princes of Orange Nassau] and *Vianen* [owned by the Brederode family], free havens for bankrupts, delinquents and abducted minors.

⁸⁷ Reformation and revolt in the Low Countries, by Alaster Duke The Hambledon Press London and Ronceverte, 1990, p. 233.

⁸⁸ Geschiedenis katholicisme Noord Nederland in de 16^e 17^e eeuw L.J. Rogier Urbi et orbi, Amsterdam 1947 (2e druk) p. 178.

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 20.

4. Emigration, circumstance and motivation

The Golden Age emigrants to the Atlantic Province were farmers with a few exceptions. Farmers in the Netherlands worked in a less feudal environment than in the rest of Europe. They were able to sell their produce to the cities and by the import of cheap grain they could specialize in intensive agriculture and by growing crops for the industry, like hemp or hop. This commercial approach and specialization made Dutch agriculture highly profitable. The majority of peasant households were not cultivators alone, they divided their time between dairying, peat digging, boat and wagon transport, reed gathering, freshwater fishing, fowling, sea-faring, spinning, dike and ditch labor, and a wide variety of household activities. An entrepreneurial lot.

At first sight there was no reason for emigration. Although a crew of a staggering 317,00 men in 1700 ships of the Dutch United East India Company [UEC] seems to suggest otherwise. The number of emigrants to New Netherland was much lower; in the 1630s less than 1,000 people lived in an under-populated colony. In these early years workers were single young men, contract workers in the service of the Dutch West India Company [WIC], who returned to the fatherland when their contract expired. Permanent stay by families was not promoted, so a social fabric did not develop in the colony. The single focus on fur trade and the tight control on what was essentially company farming in the first 15 years did not favor the development of private farming. Company farming ended in 1651, when farm no. 1 was sold to Peter Stuyvesant. Few of the WIC plans promoting settlement materialized. Contracted farmers fell for the fur trade. In 1636 van Rensselaer in an ultimate attempt equips a ship and sends 38 colonists of junior and senior farmers and craftsmen. These people were more successful than the earlier arrivers. They make a career. Almost all of them start as farm hands or assistant farmer and most of them become farmer in their own right in their 2nd term of contract. Half of the settlers on this voyage were recruited from four regions of the Netherlands plain. The States of Holland however are not are not satisfied with developments and issued an ultimatum to the WIC to increase New Netherland's population or they would take over. In 1640 the answer of the WIC came, two plans were launched that gave colonists the right to trade freely and gave prospective colonists the incentive that if a house-hold head emigrated with 5 additional people, they were entitled to 200 acres of land. Both of these aspects attracted immigrants and encouraged agriculture. Free land did so for obvious reasons, but also the liberalized commerce, as it allowed farmers to spread their interests. This corresponded to the way agriculture was conducted in the Netherlands; a farmer had his businesses on the side. After 1654, when the Republic had lost Brazil farms in the colony were widespread. The surprising surge in immigration after 1657 may reflect an all-out campaign by the WIC and the Dutch government to provide New Netherland with the people it had long needed. Some hard-hitting propaganda, perhaps written at the Company's request, may have been effective in turning around the once poor image of New Netherland.

Agriculture and open trade stabilized this society, and had its roots sunken deep enough into the Hudson Valley and in some of the valleys of northeastern New Jersey that survived after the end of Dutch jurisdiction. The settlements that were established and developed after 1640, like in the Esopus and North East New Jersey, were able to grow. Population growth can be estimated to nearly 10,000 till 1664 also as a consequence of the influx of families [70% of the emigrants].

Roughly half of the names of country and farmer folk that left for New Netherland come from the Netherlands plain. Farmers must have heard the call of WIC or patroons, by their recruiters, by middlemen like dominees, or family and acquaintances. By reading pamphlets, or meeting each other in the marketplace, or in the polders repairing the dikes. In the latter stage there even was a certain normality in the emigration. People left with an attestation and with investment money from their hometown. On arrival they were taken in in a familiar social setting, they became member of the RDC and may have pre arranged the acquisition of an existing farm. People may have heeded the call, because at home the land became too wet and because of the uncertain battle behind the dikes, arbitrary land rents, concentration of landownership, and even serfdom or possibly because of the economic downturn after the 1650^s.

Certain developments may have had the upper hand in some regions. The battle behind the dikes may have been more of an issue in the river delta; in the north west, in the Vecht-region the sinking in of the land may have played a larger role, the consequences of reformation and concentration of landownership seem to stand out in the Eemland and the Rhine-Lek region, tight control by the German convents seems to be more conspicuous in the Gelder valley. The Meppel region shows arbitrary land rents.

Although these developments are only circumstantial evidence, it seems to be consistent for all the émigré regions. Effects of the 80-year war seem to be pervasive and were felt well into the 1650^s. Circumstantial evidence can be made personal in some cases. This exploration is far from complete, individual family histories may provide more insights. Nonetheless, there seems to be a shared motivation of most immigrants to the New World to create a "better opportunity for life", be it material or immaterial.

4.1 Introduction

The Netherlands does not have a feudal tradition. Dutch farmers were not as dependent on the nobility as in the rest of Europe, where farmers produced only for their own consumption. In the 16th and 17th Dutch farmers were able to sell their produce to the cities and by the import of cheap grain they were able to specialize in profitable crops, like in intensive agriculture and by growing crops for the industry as hemp.

As a consequence of this commercial approach and specialization Dutch agriculture became highly profitable. Farmers could afford to pay high taxes for example for to Charles V. In return for their financial contribution to central government local government earned substantial regional autonomy.

It is an error to think of peasants simply as cultivators. Even peasants working on large tracts of land could not fully occupy themselves with agriculture. Except in certain small, geographically favored districts, the low marginal returns to the peasants' labor on the ill drained, often flooded fields forced the farmer to utilize the land in an extensive and extractive manner and to direct a large part of his and his family's labor to other activities⁹⁰. So the great majority of rural folk pieced together a livelihood by whatever means were at their disposal. Freshwater fishing and fowling were important sidelines; as was peat digging for thousands of rural inhabitants. Spinning occupied women, and sometimes men as well. In the Gooy, Loosdrecht, Naarden Westphalian wool was distributed to peasants for spinning⁹¹. Other sidelines included: *boat and wagon transport, reed gathering, seafaring, dike and ditch labor, and a wide variety of household activities.*⁹²

Landownership of arable land differed from region to region. We saw that in the west of the province of Utrecht 50% was owned by farmers, in the east hardly any ownership by farmers existed. The concentration of land usage is speeded up by the revolt. After the reformation the former church estates were transferred to the civil authorities. While the cities were in a regular shortage of money, they sold much land. In the northwest to rich Amsterdammers, in the Rhine-Lek region noblemen and farmers were the principal buyers of land. In the 2nd half of the 17th century the profitability of property declined⁹³. Especially after 1700 urban property-owners began to sell off their farms and land.

In the Netherlands the reformation lies in the shadow⁹⁴ of the revolt against Habsburg Spain [1568 – 1648]. The fall of Antwerp in 1585 and the stream of refugees heralded and propelled the Dutch Golden Age. When the peace treaty of Munster that formally concluded the revolt in 1648, it was almost 40 years ago since Hudson sailed up the North river and 8 years since the 2nd charter of Freedoms and Exemptions lifted the tight control on all things economical and agricultural by the Dutch West Indian Company [WIC]. The Netherlands in the 1600^s is a world still glowing from the energies unleashed by the revolt and the Reformation. It is a world still full of tension between the old and the new.

At first sight, none of the recognized motives for emigration to make people overcome their natural psychological barriers of leaving the fatherland forever seem to be operating in the Northern Netherlands of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands⁹⁵. The American view, as voiced by the American Historical Association in 1931 was: "that there was no religious or intellectual restraint, no political unrest, and no social discontent. "Quite the contrary by the development of commerce a growing population was absorbed". "In fact the Dutch in the Northern Netherlands had many reasons *not* to leave⁹⁶ during this golden Age with its booming economy". Although a crew of a staggering 317.000 men, in 1700 ships of the Dutch United East Indian Company [UEC] seems to suggest otherwise, it is hard not to see a difference in scale and attraction. The UEC settlement policy for the Dutch possessions in South Africa was more lenient compara-

⁹⁰ IBID. p.61

⁹¹ Dutch rural economy in the golden age 1500-1700 New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1974, Jan de Vries p.60

⁹² IBID. p.62

⁹³ Dutch rural economy in the golden age 1500-1700 New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1974, Jan de Vries

⁹⁴ Reformation and revolt in the Low Countries, by Alaster Duke The Hambledon Press London and Ronceverte, 1990, p. Ibid. p. ix.

⁹⁵ Originally Published in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* 1931 Volume I, Pages 103-441 Washington, 1932

⁹⁶ The colony of New Netherland A Dutch Settlement in 17th century America . by Jaap Jacobs, Cornell University PressIthaca and London p. 33.

tively speaking to that of the WIC in New Netherland. Especially because of perks like free passage, farms, cattle, and implements that were offered to the emigrants. Despite these inducements, a constant call for labor remained in South Africa, like in the case of New Netherland. The need for human resources could not be satisfied by emigration from the Netherlands Holland alone. As a consequence many of the present-day Afrikaners in South Africa are not only descendants of Hollanders but also of the hundreds of German and Huguenot families, which were imported to colonize the Cape⁹⁷. So in this respect the multi-national emigration pattern to South Africa is comparable to the one to New Netherland, or for that matter to the UEC as a whole. Those who were inclined to immigrate to New Netherland were much smaller in numbers.

Like many of those who sailed with the UEC, the emigrants to New Netherland did not want to become expatriates in a foreign land. In the early years of the New Netherland Colony the workers were single young men, contract workers in the service of the WIC, who returned to the fatherland when their contract expired.

In the 1630s less than a 1,000 people were in the Colony. Permanent stay was not promoted, and families were not particularly attracted to make the passage. The social fabric of the colony was therefore unstable and of a temporary nature. This pattern was present even in the most viable patroonship, Rensselaerswyck. Its dominant immigrant group, as shown in the 1630-1644 records, consisted of single young men.⁹⁸ A "distinct minority" of immigrants who did arrive in family groups at that stage "generally stayed in the Colony...[and] made up the stable core of its population."⁹⁹

4.2 WIC Settlement Policy

4.2.1 Starting on the wrong foot: Company farming

For over 50 years the Hudson Valley was in Dutch hands. An energetic, consistent and continuous policy of settlement¹⁰⁰ during this period would have given the region an ethnic stamp which would have profoundly changed all social development in the middle colonies and beyond. But the policy was neither energetic nor consistent or continuous. Despite the high ambition of the Dutch West India Company [WIC] that New Netherland should be the granary of its western Atlantic empire.

Contemporary comments: "No one wanted to remain longer than the expiration of his bounden time" , "and therefore did not apply themselves to agriculture."¹⁰¹ The first were simply servants of the WIC, many returned home "carrying with them nothing except a trifle in their purse and as for the country, it had a reputation of great hunger".¹⁰² One early exception occurred in 1624 when 30 Walloon families not employed by the WIC were settled on Manhattan cultivating Indian maize and European wheat on *small farms*.¹⁰³ "It has been so long proclaimed, in New Netherland, that more people were coming, that the Indians laugh at it and say: "The Dutch do nothing but lie."¹⁰⁴ As late as 1650 the authors of the 'Representation of New Netherland' complained¹⁰⁵ that the WIC "sought to stock this land with their own employees, which was a great mistake for when their time was out, they returned home." New Netherland would have been in better shape, they argued, "had the Honorable WIC sought population instead of running to great expense for unnecessary things" from day one.

Rensselaerswyck was described by Jesuit missionary Isaac Jogues who visited New Netherland in 1644 as having "little land fit for tillage, being crowded by hills which are bad soil."¹⁰⁶ "Composed of about a 100 persons...[who had] found pieces of land which the savages had prepared and in which they sow wheat and oats for beer and for their horses..."¹⁰⁷ (Only later settlers cleared oak for new land and found the soil fertile).

" Only have patience for a short period of years; " the patroon wrote to his new schout Planck in 1635. " The

⁹⁷ George M. Theal, History and ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi, from . . . September, 1505, to ... September, H95 (3 vols. London , 1907-1910), II, 186, 190, 313,330-349.

⁹⁸ Rink, p.149

⁹⁹ *ibid.* p. 149

¹⁰⁰ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* For the year 1931 Volume I, Pages 103-441 Washington, 1932]

¹⁰¹ E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), Documents relative to the Col. Hist. of the State of NY. (15 vols., Albany, 1858-1887) , Volume IV, p.5

¹⁰² *IBID.* VOLUME I, p. 296.

¹⁰³ Rink, p. 144

¹⁰⁴ *IBID.* VOLUME p. 263.

¹⁰⁵ Jameson, J. Franklin ed. Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664 Charles Scribner's Son, Albany NY (1909); P321

¹⁰⁶ E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), Documents relative to the Col. Hist. of the State of NY. (15 vols., Albany, 1858-1887) , Volume IV, P24

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, P23, 24

Lord will bless our undertaking as we have a much better object than the WIC, since we seek to populate the country andmany people to propagate the teaching of the Holy Gospel, while they on the contrary, employing only a few people, seek only the profits of the fur trade."

According to Dutch dominie Jonas Michaelius, Manhattan was somewhat less fertile than other spots and gave more trouble on account of the multitude of roots of shrubs and trees¹⁰⁸. This is confirmed by Nicolaes van Wassenaer who calls the land "full of weeds and poor¹⁰⁹ soil.

Another eyewitness, Isaac De Rasiere, is more specific. "*Most of the land was in need of manure; it was partly worn out by weeds. "Because of the weeds, not all the arable will be sown, the more so because the farmers are hired men." Farms no. 1 and 2 are the best, according to De Rasiere; the other farms have also good soil but not as much and it is more sandy...*"¹¹⁰.

Wassenaer states "*the winter grain has turned out well there, but the summer grain which ripened before it was half grown in consequence of excessive heat, was very light*".¹¹¹ Michaelius, gets to the heart of the matter: "*we need nothing so much as horses and cows, and industrious workers for the building of houses and forts, and to make our farming more profitable, in order that we may have sufficient dairy produce and crops*"¹¹².

New Netherland was not effectively focused on agriculture¹¹³. It was prevented from developing into the agricultural powerhouse by the WIC, because of its lust for the fur trade. This limited vision and policy did not only stifle agriculture, but also free trade and population growth. Commercial gain was unquestionably the overriding purpose of the WIC establishment" and to that end the fur trade became "highly organized."¹¹⁴ This single focus on fur and the tight control on what was essentially Company farming in the first 15 years did not particularly favor the development of private enterprise in agriculture, but led to the failure of Company farming. The era of Company farming on Manhattan came to a close in March 1651, when the WIC directors sold farm no. 1 to Peter Stuyvesant for fl 6.400.-¹¹⁵.

Company farming starts in 1625, when next to the founder farmers 6 complete families with some freemen, 45 settlers in all arrive in a WIC convoy with the ships Paert, Koe and Schaap (Horse, Cow, Sheep). One ship carries horses, one cattle and the third hay; each animal is tended by its own caretaker. The people aboard took tools, seeds with them needed for dairy and sowing. Among the founder farmers is Wolfert Gerritsz van Couwenhoven from Amersfoort and his wife left for New Netherland with their 3 sons.

The colony planted on the Manhatens, now increased to 200 souls. Verhulst -the investor- was instructed that, the cattle, horses, and other animals be distributed by lot to the head-farmers, under direction of the Council, "*each one shall have to be content, it being his duty to care for the allotted animals to the best of his ability. To each head-farmer and his family shall be allotted four horses and four cows to be selected from the best that are being sent over*".

4.2.2 Second attempt the Patroonship plan

Although the records of the WIC abound in recommendations for promoting settlement, few of the plans materialized. Still the WIC eased their rigid stand, for the 1st time in 1628 and 1629. The Amsterdam Chamber, which since 1626 had been given sole responsibility for the American colony, passed the *Patroonship Plan*. Five patroonships were created, Pavonia, Swanendael, Achter Col, Staaten Eylandt and Rensselaerswyck. This system meant to interest "*men of means*", but the rewards of the fur *trade* with the *Indians* were so alluring that they turned to this source of profit and even *their farmers* -introduced at great expense- found it possible to desert to the woods and engage in the barter for furs.¹¹⁶

The Patroon, who had to be a stockholder since 1623, was granted his own mini-colony on condition that he brought out 50 colonists within 4 years.¹¹⁷ The idea was to create little pockets of agriculture and trade funded by private capital. They had to send 25% of the total number of colonists the first year. As soon as the WIC

¹⁰⁸ Letter of August 8, 1628. Eekhoff, Jonas Michaelius, 109.

¹⁰⁹ J. Franklin Jameson, ed., Narratives of New Netherland (New York, 1909), 88.

¹¹⁰ "De 'Memorie' van Isaack de Rasiere," 267.

¹¹¹ Jameson, Narratives of New Netherland, 88.

¹¹² Eekhoff, Jonas Michaelius, 109

¹¹³ The Failure of West Indian Company Farming on the Island of Manhattan - Jan Folkerts

¹¹⁴ Condon, Thomas New York Beginnings New York University Press, New York (1968), p. 76.

¹¹⁵ Charles Gehring, Guide to Dutch Manuscripts Relating to New Netherland. 426: 58.

¹¹⁶ IBID. VOLUME IV p. 4.

¹¹⁷ Rink, Chapter 4

instructions were given van Rensselaer started recruitment of the necessary number of colonists. It seems that even a dozen could not easily be found.

Early 1630 van Rensselaer contracted Wolfert Gerritsz and Gerrit de Reus two of the 5 WIC founder farmers. Wolfert, as superintendent of farms, his principle task being the laying out of farms and the purchase of cattle. He arrived in New Amsterdam in May 1630, 6 weeks before the first land was bought from the Indians.

Livestock for the farms was needed most for the development of Rensselaerswyck. Kilian bought livestock and farm implements at Manhattan from founder farmers including Pieter Bijlevelt and Minuit.

De Reus also sold his share of the increase of animals. The WIC directors did not take ¹¹⁸ the transfer of company cattle to Rensselaerswyck, lying down; it was only after van Rensselaers' threat to sue for damages matters were referred for final decision to the new DG Wouter van Twiller thus delaying the process for 2 years. The WIC refused the patroon the necessary supplies via its ships or via Manhattan; and its carpenters were forbidden to build houses for the colonists in the patroonship. On top of all this Indians slaughtered the colonies cattle, as a revenge caused by the commis of the WIC.

In 1632 a court of schout and schepens was installed in Rensselaerswyck. The schout had no guidance for judicial matters, except the curious clause that all persons "who neglect the profit of their patroon" must be corrected and punished according to the laws of Holland. Very specific instructions are given for the administration of the colony regarding to way to hold Sunday religious services, to look after the laying out of the farms, the distribution of animals, the selling of farm products, the buying of venison from the Indians for purposes of trade at Manhattan and elsewhere, and finally, to make plans for the exploitation of a hill of rock crystal.

Matters in the Patroonship Rensselaerswyck came to a standstill. Most of the early colonists left as soon as their 3 years' contract were up and owing to the uncertainty, no new colonists were sent. Van Rensselaer offered to sell his colony to the WIC. The other patroons did the same and Pavonia and Swanendael were actually sold.

The sale of Rensselaerswyck did not work out, it survived, and because of its location it formed a convenient source of supply for the WIC major fur-trading post of Fort Orange and kept English traders out. In the 1630^s New Netherland *languished*, an under-populated and under-utilized colony. The WIC's vision was still of limited settlement and priorities remained elsewhere, partly due to the internal politics of the Amsterdam Chamber. Proponents to a more liberal and ambitious vision for New Netherland, headed by Kiliaen van Rensselaer, had to deal with the majority that wanted to keep the colony as a Spartan outpost, churning out furs for monopoly profit.¹¹⁹ The States General gave the push needed to grow at the end of the decade.

4.2.3 A fresh start in the colony of Rensselaerswyck

In 1636, van Rensselaer equips a ship with Gerard de Forest, and sends 38 colonists. We find junior and senior farmers on the ship, as well as junior and senior craftsmen. Some of them come as a family, but the vast majority are single men. These people are clearly more successful than the early arrivers, who returned to the fatherland almost without exception. Quite a few of the new comers make a career and amass fortunes. For some of them it is not evident to work for the patroon, they rather be independent, so they leave the colony not necessarily New Netherland. A small number come as free colonists, these are all craftsmen.

Fifty percent of the settlers on the 1636 voyage are recruited from the Netherlands plain. They are from around the city of Utrecht. From Schoonrewoerd in the delta between the Lek and the Waal, south of the city and from Westbroek and Vreeland from the Vechtreion just north of the city or from Bunnik-Vechten and Houten just southeast of the city from the Rhine-Lek region. They come from the small farming communities in the polders as indicated in the paragraph on mapping out the villages.

They are all farmers. Almost all of them start as farmhands or assistant farmer and most of them become farmer in their own right in their 2nd term of contract. This remains the general pattern visible in the passenger lists and in the documentation of early settlement, like DRC birth, marriage and death registers, as well as census lists and list of oaths. These lists help to fill in the gap of missing passenger list especially for the period 1644-1654.

The increase in population required a more robust administration. The patroon entrusted judicial and administrative matters temporarily in the joint care of 3 proxies: van Curler, de Meulenmaecker and van Schlick; van Schlick as CEO, while van Curler was appointed CFO. These 3 men managed the affairs of the colony for 2 years, in a manner by no means satisfactory to the

¹¹⁸ Ibid. P. 227

¹¹⁹ Rink, Chapter 4

patroon. Like Planck, who had failed to send accounts and left. The patroon thought that he found the right person for this task in Adriaen van der Donck, a young man who had studied law at Leiden and who offered his services in 1641. Due inquiries having been made as to his moral character, for as the patroon said, "one can not always get the best to go thither," van der Donck was appointed officer of justice and sailed by den Eyckenboom in May 1641.

An angry shareholder suspicious of his proxies

Kilaen felt that the farmers were taking advantage of him and blamed van Schlick not protecting his rights. "I cannot find out, what service van Schlick has rendered me in his capacity as my representative. If, because he is a farmer, he should side with the others, he would be no use to me and it would be a lesson to me not to grant any of my offices or commisen any farms, for instead of looking out for me they would look out for themselves."

He suspected de Meulenmaecker of charging more for sawing boards than he ought to under his contract and van Curler consulted the council, where he ought to have acted on his own authority. "You need not ask such things of the council, "the patron writes to him," for I see that the council instead of being my council is their own council. If they act that way I shall appoint others. I am surprised that they dare call themselves an independent community, as they are altogether my servants and subjects and everyone has promised to submit himself willingly to the laws and ordinances which I made and might make."

But what the patron most disliked in van Curler was that he failed to send accounts. "Just think for yourself, "he writes to him in July 1641,"you have now received goods by 4 ships, besides what you have received now and then since the year 1637 when den Calmer sleutel sailed, and thus far I have not heard of a single settlement of accounts, nor in all that time received any books." It was evident that a firm hand was needed to set things straight.

Van der Donck utterly failed to meet the patroon's expectations. The first thing he did was to disregard the patroon's instructions as to the place of his residence. Instead of living near the entrance of the settlement, where he could keep an eye on the people, he took up a farm at the extreme upper end of the colony, near the Mohawk. Then, he criticized the council and the patroon's administration and showed an overweening ambition. Finally, he was hotheaded and argued with fractious colonists instead of summoning them before the court and so failed in his principal duty.

The patroon was angry; he wrote van der Donck a long treatise on his duties, which, he said, it took him the better part of 4 days to compose. "That the council lacks dignity," the patroon said, "is not strange, for they never have had an able leader and I have therefore sent your honor to give them proper dignity among the people." "Your principal fault has been that you have wanted to prevail over Curler and that you have gone ahead too independently in some matters without recognizing his proper rank, consisting not in that he is my cousin but in his representative character according to his previous instructions." "It is not proper for you and you far exceed your bounden duty in criticizing my administration and this once more on slanderous statements that I am sending informers into the country and that I place a confidence in them that is both blind and deaf." "If you have imagined that you can extort the directorship from me, you will be much deceived, for that is not the way to get it." In speaking of informers van der Donck may have had in mind Domine Megapolensis a learned and elderly minister, whom the patroon had sent over in 1642 and whom he had duly instructed to arbitrate and report disputes arising between the officers of the colony and to remind them occasionally of their duty.

Despite urgent requests Van Curler sent no accounts to Kilaen. As a consequence of the fur trading privileges granted by the 2nd charter of Freedoms and Exemptions in 1640 traders began to flock to Rensselaerswyck dealing with the colonists, against the ordinances of the patroon, who wished to reserve the trade to himself. In 1643 to turn this around van Rensselaer issued a public statement in which he gave minute directions for governing the colony, proclaimed the staple right of Barren Island, ordered the erection of a fortified post to be named Rensselaers Steyn and generally complained about the behavior of the colonists. This elaborate document, issued in the form of a printed pamphlet, was about the last administrative act of the first patroon. In 1646, Kilaen died and his eldest son, Johannes took over, with van Twiller and van Wely as his guardians. They combined the offices held by van Curler and van der Donck in the function of director of the colony and van Slichtenhorst who arrived in 1648, was appointed. He got in conflict with Stuyvesant on the legal mandate of Rensselaerswyck. In 1652 Stuyvesant declared *Beverwyck independent of Rensselaerswyck* and established a *court of justice* there that was merged by the 1st English governor, with the court of Rensselaerswyck thus further reducing the significance of the colony. After 1654, when the Republic had lost its last stronghold in Brazil and the dreams about a Dutch western Atlantic empire came to an end, farms in the colony were nevertheless so widespread that no one doubted the possibilities of the rich lands in there.

4.2.4 Finally the WIC gives way to proper colonization

The States realized that if the WIC did not follow the example of the English in New England and Virginia to focus on populating their colony, it would die. The States issued an ultimatum to the

WIC to increase New Netherland's population or they would take over and do it themselves.¹²⁰ The Amsterdam Chamber responded appropriately with a plan of 'Articles and Conditions' approved by the States in 1639. In 1640 the WIC renewed the 'Freedoms and Exemptions' plan that had initially launched the patroonships. The 2 plans gave colonists the right to trade freely – even in the fur trade - and gave prospective colonists the incentive that if a *household head emigrated with 5 additional people, they were entitled to 200 acres of land.*¹²¹ Both of these aspects attracted immigrants and encouraged agriculture. Free land did so for obvious reasons, but also the liberalized commerce, as it allowed farmers to *spread their interests.*

In conclusion, the WIC belatedly realized that "the key to control in America lay in colonization rather than in trade alone."¹²² Despite its disregard for colonization in New Netherland's first 30 years, a Dutch society *gained a foothold* in North America. Agriculture, the family and open trade stabilized this society, and its roots had *sunken deep enough into the Hudson Valley* -and for that matter in some of the valleys of north eastern New Jersey- that it was not destroyed by the end of Dutch jurisdiction.

The settlements that were established and developed after 1640, like in the Esopus and NE New Jersey, unlike Beverwyck and other older towns, with an *economic situation of basically unrestricted* trade. They were able to grow without WIC prerogatives hindering or diverting their development.

Rink estimates a population growth by around *3,900 to nearly 10,000* from later records covering the period till 1664, because for the period 1644-1657 virtually no records remain. This immigration is a consequence of the *increase in families* coming to New Netherland, as can be deduced from several records leading to a colony-wide dominance of the family. Rink based his calculations on a revision of the documents recording the immigrant ships bound for New Netherland between 1657 and 1664 as originally compiled by O' Callaghan. Rink concluded that families made up nearly 70% of the recorded influx. Single men, who totaled 60% in the Rensselaerwyck figures of 1630-1644, represented only 25% (Single women made up 6%).¹²³

4.3 Lure and networks

4.3.1 Incentive, lure and contracts

The surprising surge in immigration after 1657 may have reflected an all-out campaign by the WIC and the Dutch government to provide New Netherland with the people it had long needed. Some hard-hitting propaganda, perhaps written at the Company's request, was effective in turning around the once poor image of New Netherland¹²⁴.

*In 1650, Cornelius van Tienhoven, Secretary of the New Netherland colony, published a pamphlet intended "to encourage families to migrate thither." There were descriptions of the land, crops, planting times, building plans and so on.*¹²⁵

Five years later Dr. Adriaen van der Donck's Description of the New Netherlands (sic) was published. Van der Donck's work gave glowing descriptions of New Netherland — it was a paradise.

In the Anthology of New Netherland or translations of the early Dutch poets of New York¹²⁶ Jacob Steendam speaks of New Netherlands in his poem Pride of New Netherland: "thou noblest spot on earth". And in the poem Spurring Verses: "Choose you New Netherland...".

One anonymous pamphlet titled "Short Account of New Netherland's Potential Virtues" ¹²⁷ created an idyllic Eden in the American forest, where democracy would rule supreme and all would accept every decision reached by "free living Christians". So suited was this paradise to "Dutch industry and thrift" that only riches and happiness awaited those willing to emigrate.

This combination of incentives and motivations must have had some effect, for the colony boomed in the late 1650s and early 1660s. It is reasonable to assume that prospective emigrants knew about New Netherland, also people probably knew of the opportunities directly from people who went to New Netherland before them.

¹²⁰ Holland on the Hudson An economic and social history of Dutch NY: Oliver. A Rink, 1986 Cornell University Rink, P134

¹²¹ ibid. P137

¹²² Trelease, P56

¹²³ ibid. p. 165,168

¹²⁴ Holland on the Hudson An economic and social history of Dutch NY: Oliver. A Rink, P149 1986 Cornell University

¹²⁵ *Historical Handbook*, Van Voorhees Association, 1935, p. 14. Dr. H. P. Schaap, on p. 17

¹²⁶ Reprint of the Anthology of New Netherland or translations of the early Dutch poets of New York, with thememoirs of their lives by Henry C. Murphy NY 1865 the poems and memoirs of Jacob Steendam and Henricus Selyns, and the poet Nicasius de Sille.

¹²⁷ Kort Verhael van Nieuw-Nederlants Gelegenheit, Deughden, Natuurlijke Voorrechten, en bij andere bequaembeidt (*Amsterdam, 1662*), p. 61.

Farmer contracts¹²⁸ were made for 2 to 6 years; most were set for 3 years. Generally the fare was paid by the employer, next to wages bed and board were furnished. Wages varied from as low as fl 20,- to fl. 60,- for farm hands to fl. 90,- to fl. 150,- for foremen and farmers, depending on age and experience. Payments usually were in money, and sometimes in beaver skins, see want, strung or loose and even in corn. Wolfert Gerritsz van Couwenhoven the principle farmer for Kilian van Rensselaer was paid fl. 240, - a year in 1630, providing his own board.

Salaries for merchant assistants were higher, and for an officer such as Anthony de Hooges amounted in 1650 fl. 30,- a month as secretary, fl. 100,- a year as "gecommitteerde," fl. 300,- a year as precentor, and fl. 40,- a year as "gerichtsbode" (court officer)¹²⁹.

To get a rough idea of purchasing power at that time in New Netherlands a record of 1639¹³⁰ gives us various prices. A mare cost fl. 200,-, a milk cow fl. 100,-, a pound of butter or a pound of pork cost fl 0,30 [6 stuyvers]. A shirt costs fl. 3,-, a very fine one fl 6,- or one beaver skin. A pair of farmer's shoes and a woman's "ryglyf" (laced bodice) could each be bought for fl. 4,-. For an English cap with green velvet you had to pay fl. 8,-. Most of the time payments were made in money, sometimes in salable beaver skins, see want, strung or loose, or even in corn. For single maid servants, wages were fl. 50,- a year, next to board and bed. The passage fee had to be refunded if the girl married before the expiration of her contract.

Although the sequence of events is not always clear from the available evidence, we know that before the first contracts with the farmers expired, they were replaced. This took place on January 8, 1630, when the Company rented 6 farms to 6 individuals as of May 1, 1630.

In these contracts the Company control was relaxed. No longer did the animals stay in possession of the company; this time to each farmer were sold 4 horses, 4 cows, 2 yearlings, 6 sheep and 6 swine, and all farming implements for fl. 600,-, but the farmers, in addition, had to pay 2 horses of 3 years, 2 cows of 2 years, 3 sheep and 3 swine as soon as they would be available¹³¹.

According to Van Tienhoven in 1650, this Company policy was a success: the people who obtained these conditions all prospered during their residence on the Company's lands¹³². As Van Tienhoven wrote a defence of the Company policy in New Netherland and as he was secretary of the colony, *he cannot be considered an impartial observer beyond any doubt*. But was it? Not all observers seem to have been very enthusiastic about the quality of Manhattan's soil.

van Tienhoven: *The farmers were granted the farm, barn, "bergh," and tools for 6 years, together with 4 horses, 4 cows, 2 yearling, and 6 pigs and 6 sheep in proportion¹³⁴. The farmers had to return this same number of cattle on expiration of the contract. All the increase remained with the farmer. The farmers were allowed to sell the milk of their cows for their own profit¹³⁵. As rent, the farmers annually paid fl. 100,- and*

Live stock on Manhattan, May 1, 1630. ¹³³					
farm	Mares	Stallion	Cows	Bulls	Sheep
Commander's Bowery	7	2	8		
Bijlevelt	5		6		
Wolfert Gerritsen	4	1	9	2	20
Jehan Ides off Gerrit de Reux	5		4	4	14
Jacob Walichs ofte Claes Cornelysen	6	2	6	2	22
Geurdt van Gelder	6		10	1	
Evert Focken off Rutger Hendricksen Soest	4		4		15
Jan Lampo ofte Cornelis van Vorst	5		3	1	8
Total:	42	5	50	10	79

80 pounds of butter to the Company. The risk of the cattle dying was shared in common. According to a 1626 letter colonists sowed grain in mid May and reaped mid August. They sent back to the Company their samples of summer grain such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans and flax¹³⁶. To each farmer a suitable farm with a house, hay barrack, and barn was rented, together with about 50 morgens of land, for the term of 6 years. On the first of May 1630, almost 5 years after the start, there were 8 farms on the island with 47 horses, 60 cattle and 79 sheep. If we assume that 81 horses and cattle survived the voyage and the seasoning period, the increase in these years had been 32%¹³⁷.

¹²⁸Ibid. p. 69.

¹²⁹ This checks with amounts given in VRB: 825.

¹³⁰ Not. de Vos, 3 Mar.1639

¹³¹ Notice served on the directors of the West India Company by notary Justus van de Ven, in the name of Kilian van Rensselaer, Apr. 27, 1634. De Roever, "Kiliaen van Rensselaer," 72 (bijlage C); see for an English translation VRBM, 290-291.

¹³² ARA, Archives of the States-General, inv. nr. 12564,30a. "Bedenckinge over het aenvaerden ", 1650

¹³³ KB, Manuscript Collections, 129 C 15, "Generaele Staet vande Bestialen in Nijewnederlant in majjo 1630 ."

¹³⁴ "In proportion." This Condition seems to have been worked out as four horses, four cows, two *vaarzen* or yearlings, six sheep, and six swine, see VRBM, 163.

¹³⁵ Wassenaer, Historisch Verhael, 11: 39.

¹³⁶ Letter from J.P. Schagen to the States-General: Nov. 5, 1626, ARA, Archives of the States-General, inv. nr. 5751 II.

¹³⁷ See, however, Michaelius' statement in his Aug. 8, 1628, letter about more cattle having died as a consequence of "*versuymenisse*." If we have to take him literally, his wording "*door ongeluck ende versuymeniss vele afgestorven sijn*," may mean that fewer than 82 head finally survived. Eekhoff, Jonas Michaelius, 101.

A letter of September 1630 gives the impression of much activity by stating that the farmers plough much land daily¹³⁸. Soon after this, however, the situation of agriculture on the island began to deteriorate.

Unfortunately, contracts between WIC and individual farmers of 1625 did not survive. Van Tienhoven gives some details. One of the individual contracts with the patroon of Rensselaerswyck, that survived is with the early settler Kees Theunis van Breukelen.

Contract of Kees Theunis van Breukelen¹³⁹, uit Westbroek April 5 1634

I,Cornelis Theunissen van Breuckelen¹⁴⁰, 30 years old, acknowledge by this my signature, that I have entered the service of Killian van Rensselaer, patroon of the Colony called Rensselaerswyckfor the period of 3 years commencing with my arrival there in the aforesaid colony to help in carpentering, bricklaying, farming or such other work as I shall be ordered to do or be capable of doing, without distinction of work, and that I will not engage, without the consentin any fur trade or obtain furs by gift or barter, upon forfeiture of all my goods or pain of peremptory correction touching my person or goods, and this for the sum of 180 guilders a year, the aforesaid patroon shall procure passage for me in the ship which is being fitted out and pay my board at 6 stivers a day and besides making me a present of 25 guilders for my passage going and coming, which I acknowledge that I have received, without deduction from my wages, and if within the aforesaid period of 3 years, I quit his service without his express consent, he shall not be bound to pay me a single penny of all that I have earned and I nevertheless be held to satisfy him for the remaining time. I also bind myself under all such regulations and instructions as my aforesaid patroon has already made or shall cause to be made hereafter or which shall be made in his name, to regulate myself accordingly, under penalties and punishment thereto attached, it being understood that over and above the 180 guilders, I shall have also free board, and in case the patroon or his agents should not be satisfied with my service, they shall be free to discharge me before the expiration of the aforesaid three years at any time they please. All this in good faith and in witness of the truth, I have signed this together with Jacob Dirksz Vogel, formerly baker, who offers himself as surety for the aforesaid Cornelis Theunisz, in Amsterdam, this fifth of April, sixteen hundred and thirty four. [1634]

Also received from the hands of the aforesaid the sum of five guilders in order that I may equip myself the better with axes, adzes, trowels and other tools, which will not be deducted, from my wages. Done as above. 2RD at 50 stivers f5. Signed Cornelis Theunissen.

4.3.2 Recruiters, rich uncles and chain immigration

The "rich uncle from America" phenomenon may already have originated in the 17th century and may well have provoked an interest in a venture in the colony overseas. A special case to show the opportunities of the colony was that emigrants left money to the ones that stayed behind, like Jan Jansz Damen of Bunnik, in the Rhine-Lek region. He amassed considerable wealth¹⁴¹. At his death in 1650 he left 400 Carolus guilders to the poor of Bunnik.

The Albany reverend Godefridus Dellius from Cothen also in the Rhine-Lek region, earned a capital following a land transaction, from that capital¹⁴² a charity fund was established that still functions into the 21st century. Pieter Bijlevelt did a comparable thing. He and his wife Geertruid Willemsdochter belonged to the first emigrants to New Netherland in 1626, although they had an unsuccessful farm there and returned in 1635, Pieter made a fortune in the "East Indies" and his wife established a retirement home in 1664 that only was to close down in 1968.

Chain emigrations and networks

Networks of family, friends and acquaintances were of great importance to persuade people. Leading to a chain of emigrations. In the first period recruitment by a representative of the WIC or the van Rensselaers may have prevailed. The van Rensselaers¹⁴³ and their representatives recruited many of the settlers for the Rensselaerswyck patroonship from around Utrecht, Amersfoort and Nykerk. Early representatives like Wolfert Gerritsz van Couwenhoven [married into the van Rensselaer family], Gerrit de Reus, Wouter van Twiller¹⁴⁴ son of Maria van Rensselaer, sister of Killiaen. Jan van Rensselaer, 2nd son of the first patroon engaged a group of farmers¹⁴⁵ in 1651. From the region around Crailo in the Gooijland where Kiliaen had his country estate people came from

¹³⁸ Letter of Simon Dirckz. Pos to Kiliaen van Rensselaer, Sept. 16, 1630, De Roever, "Kilian van Rensselaer," 70 (bijlage B).

¹³⁹ His full name was Cornelis Anthonisz van Slyck. [Broer Cornelis] from Westbroek/Maartensdijk, earliest magistrate of Rensselaerswyck with Brant Peelen, Gerrit de Reus, Pieter Cornelissen van Muncickendam and Dirck Janssen.

¹⁴⁰ Contract between Killiaen van Rensselaer and Cornelis Teunisz van Breuckelen from the 'Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts Letter Book,' p. 27.

¹⁴¹ The inventory of his personal property fills 10 folio pages in the records; he was co-owner of the privateer La Garce

¹⁴² Het Delliusfonds (1740-2012) Nalatenschap predikanten in Cothen, NY, Halsteren, C'borg by Ad v Bemmel, Hist. reek Kromme-Rijngeb 13., 2012

¹⁴³ The American Genealogist, Whole Number 114 Vol. 29, No. 2 April 1953, Random notes concerning settlers of Dutch descent By William J.

Hoffman, M.Mech. Eng., Laplume, Pa. p.66

¹⁴⁴ IBID. 13 Nov. 1641 Not. J. van de Ven

¹⁴⁵ IBID. p. 68-69.

nearby towns Hilversum, Blaricum and Laren. Although Rijckart van Rensselaer the 5th son of Kilian was appointed treasurer of the city Vianen on the Lek river as late as 1681 by the Countess of Brederode, it may show ties to the region with towns like Schoonrewoerd and Beesd, where so many settlers came from. Representatives of the New Netherlands Company the precursor of the WIC may already have planted the seed of the thought to go to distant shores. Like Lambert van Tweehuisen whose family owned much land in one of the last developed bog lands in the polder Mastenbroek near Hasselt, 15 miles from Meppel. In the period after 1640 well-known New Netherland family names like Lansing and Beekman appear from Hasselt, where Kilian was born and where his mother came from. Representatives of the WIC may have personally been involved in recruiting colonists. Peperga the village where Peter Stuyvesant was born is close to Steenwijk and Meppel, from where many came to New Netherland. Is this geographical neighbourhood a coincidence or did Stuyvesant induce people from his home turf to come to the new world, either actively or because people knew of this neighbor and his exploits.

Adriaen van der Donck, the lawyer, farmer and writer of the Description of the New Netherlands when selecting farmers for his Colony of Colendonck (Yonkers), followed the same procedure, and found people in the Meijerij van Den Bosch in the province of Brabant where he was born in Breda. As did the leading baker¹⁴⁶ in New Amsterdam, Hendrik Willems, native of Esens, Holstein, when Joost Theunissen from Norden, his colleague, in Amsterdam at the time, hired a baker's apprentice from Esens. Joost himself hired an apprentice from his hometown.

Early days

In the early days of the Colony the process of protestantiation was still very much at work. In the Vecht and Eemland, as well as the Rhine-Lek region as was indicated in paragraph 3. Placards of the authorities ordering to end services and all forms of display of Catholicism did not help a bit¹⁴⁷. Thus while most farming families of the region remained Catholic, family members becoming Protestant found themselves at disadvantage sometimes cut off from family benefits and forced to seek fortunes elsewhere. The cases of Wolfert van Couwenhoven's brother in Hoogland, Gerrit de Reus and Cornelis Aerts van Schayck in Houten do resemble each other. These families lost a long time lease and seem to have changed religion.

Take for example Soest. The reformed parish there came to some fruition only after 1619. The parish never grew large in comparison to the catholic community. In 1663 the reformed church had 39 confirmed church members on a total of 750 inhabitants in Soest. According to contemporary sources they were described as mainly "humble" persons ["kleine luyden"], farmhands and farm laborers. Humble persons are a description commonly used in the Netherlands in relation to emancipatory movements.

In Eemnes just west of Amersfoort, almost all inhabitants remained faithful to the old religion, only farmhands became reformed. This situation is illustrated in a letter of the mayoress of Eemnes to the provincial authorities. When urged to nominate a member of the reformed church to become a magistrate, she writes in response: "we should be apprehensive with reason that disorders will follow if a day laborer is nominated to be the mayor [of Eemnes], exercising authority over the wealthy burghers [mostly farmers of course] where he has to earn his bread in manual labor"¹⁴⁸.

In the Bog region of the Vecht River Ankeveen remained very catholic. In the first half of the 1600s the little protestant congregation there was the target of harassments on a regular basis by the catholic majority. During the service the doors of the Inn opposite the church remained open and dancing was going on before the church and people were singing at the top of their voice. Sometimes the church door was nailed down or cows were grazing on the church grounds. The sheriff allowed it all and the Protestants wore their fate.

In the 1625 WIC convoy with the ships Mackerel, Paert, Koe and Schaap Mr. de Reus from Houten and Mr. van Couwenhoven from Amersfoort came to New Netherland as two of the five founder farmers. One ship carries horses, one cattle and the third hay. Next to the founder farmers 6 complete families go with some freemen, 45 settlers in all. The colony was planted on the Manhatens, now increased to 200 souls. The people aboard took all with them needed for dairy, sowing and tools. Verhulst the investor was instructed that, *the cattle, horses, and other animals be distributed by lot to the head-farmers, under direction of the Council, each one shall have to be content, it*

¹⁴⁶ In the second half of the 17th century, *Icon; Manh.* II:261; 2 Feb. 1650, Not. H. van Velsen

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p.179.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p.166.

being his duty to care for the allotted animals to the best of his ability. To each head-farmer and his family shall be allotted four horses and four cows to be selected from the best that are being sent over.

In 1630 and 1632 Kiliaen van Rensselaer the patroon of Rensselaerswyck contracted these two previous WIC founder farmers. [Bowery's no. 4 and 7.] Mr. van Couwenhoven was contracted as super intendant of farms also responsible for buying cattle. Both were had fathers who were in a long-term lease. From these two men a chain emigration started from Eemland and the Rhine-Lek region.

In 1630 Wolfert Couwenhoven recruited 5 men from the Eemland area.

In 1632 he was discharged of his contract. Wolfert married [to a 2nd cousin of Killiaen] *protestant* relatively early, given the gradual process of protestantiation in general and this region in particular, where farmers remained overwhelmingly catholic. When living in Coelhorst¹⁴⁹, it would seem there was little that would have attracted him to the Reformed faith. This may explain why none of his children are found in the baptismal registers of Amersfoort or Leusden. When he cultivated contacts with Reformed businessmen like Killiaen van Rensselaer, he may have found it expedient to affiliate with their church.

His father may already have been a tenant farmer of the property called "Couwenhove", rented from the "de Wijs" family, who owned the property, formerly given in loan by the lords of Montfoort. His son Willem Gerritsz van Couwenhoven and Wolferts brother was the farmer of this property in the next generation. Wolfert himself worked as a baker and subsequently as a bleacher in the city of Amersfoort. Wolferts endeavor as a bleacher did not seem successful, a general malaise in the weavers trade in Amersfoort may have caused this in this period¹⁵⁰. He sold up and paid off his mortgages. This may have been the direct reason for Wolfert to emigrate, this and his family relationship with the van Rensselaers.

Wolfert and his wife left for New Netherland with their 3 sons in 1625, after having paid of all of their mortgages. Wolfert knew how to finance!

Five years later in March 1630 Wolfert takes Rutger and Pieter Hendricksz from Soest¹⁵¹ with him to New Netherland. Rutger was meant to be the 1st schout of the colony; he was never sworn in however.



Hofstede Jan de Wijs, Couwenhove, below rented by brother of Wolfert



Farm no. 36 Wolfert Gerritsz van Couwenhoven

¹⁴⁹ Descendants of Wolphert Gerretse Van Kouwenhoven;

<http://worldconnect.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=wolphert&id=I279&style=TEXT>

¹⁵⁰ Jaarboek CBG, deel 50,1996:De herkomst van Wolfert Gerritsz, stamvader van de Am. familie van Kouwenhoven by dr. Marcel S.F. Kemp p. 168.

¹⁵¹ Settlers of Rensselaerswyck, 1630-1658 by A. J. F. VAN LAER (1908), based on the Bowier Manuscripts.

In 1636 Wolfert establishes the 1st European settlement on Long Island shown on the Manatus Map of New Netherland as farm no. 36, near the Indian long house of the Keskachau Tribe. His house was surrounded by palisades, was the focal point of the village of New Amersfoort. He called his "plantation" Achterveldt, like Achterveld, in the lordship of Stoutenburg one of the many overwhelmingly Roman Catholic villages around Amersfoort, like Soest, Hoogland, Eemnes Blaricum and Laren ¹⁵².

Is there an echo of a motive why Wolfert went abroad leaving Achterveld? Like in the other regions warfare may have been an inducement to leave, the same market mechanism that concentrated property ownership in the Rhine Lek and Delta region worked here. While some were in dire straits others profited; who had money could buy land relatively cheap¹⁵³. Or was it another parallel with the other regions, the fact that the farmer owners remained supporter of the catholic faith. This seems to be a pattern, the reasons for going abroad.

The *Rhine-Lek region* also shows a chain of immigrations, be it a bit larger. In what he calls a "genealogical sociogram" dr. Marcel S.F. Kemp¹⁵⁴ connects all of the settlers¹⁵⁵ from this region through family ties. The chain is set in motion as early as 1625 by Gerrit de Reus one of the 5 founder farmers of New Amsterdam in the service of the WIC.

The de Reus family stems from 't Goy and owned a substantial estate in Rijsbrugge and Vechterbroek. The reason to emigrate may well has been that the family suffered from the eventful times during the revolt against Habsburg Spain and lost heavily before the turn of the 17th century.

Mr. de Reus came in the 1625 WIC convoy. In 1632 Kilian van Rensselaer contracted him to boost the farming business in the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck. For two reasons, Mr. de Reus was an experienced farmer having worked on one of the first WIC farms on Manhattan, and he was willing to sell his cattle to the patroon, which led to a political issue with the WIC. Mr. de Reus was to establish a farm on Blommaerts kill, on Laets Island [Laetsburg] near Albany. Kilian gives an interesting insight into how Gerrit may have worked to lure people to come to the colony. According to the Bowier manuscripts he is supposed to have given the following opinion of Gerrit: "*All these quarrels originated with Gerrit de Reus deceased, who made the people believe whatever he saw fit*". It seems that one of the strengths of Gerrit was a smooth talker with a speciality to persuade people to come to the colony.

In the same year he gets his contract de Reus visits Utrecht, as a representative of the van Rensselaer family he visits Utrecht and returns to New Amsterdam on the ship the Soutberg in 1633 with 4 young farm laborers under his care from the towns of Bunnik, Culemborg, Maartensdijk and Meerkerk. Thus covering the full extend of the core of the area of origin of the 17th century settlers. Two will be working for him; one is his cousin¹⁵⁶. Four years later in 1637 he visits the region again and recruits Crijn Cornelisz and his brother Roelof from Houten in the Rensselaerwyck mission.

Mr. Cornelisz starts to work as a farmhand on a farm in Greenbush [Greenen Bos] on the Rensselaerswijck estate. After the De Reus's death Crijn would take over the farm as farmer with a partner. Another three years later in 1640 Crijn Cornelisz comes back as a recruiter himself, to sail with five lads from Houten on de Waterhondt. This trip seems to conclude the chain of immigration, although a cousin of the wealthy Jan Jansz Damen from Bunnik immigrated to New Netherland in 1650. In 1651, Crijn Cornelisz and partner received permission to erect a sawmill on a creek on the west side of the river, a little north of Beeren Island.

The van Schayck family suffered financial reverses and lost their lease on the Overdam farmstead in near Houten about 1600 after 18 years of occupancy. Cornelis Aertsen van Schayck -who came to Houten, by way of Woerden and West-broek- was Protestant. He married reformed in Sloterdijk and was active in the DR church at New Amsterdam. In contrast, all 4 of his father's brothers and 2 sisters remained Catholic¹⁵⁷, or married Catholics, only his two sisters married reformed. Kemp

¹⁵² Geuzen en Paepen; Kath. en Protestant tussen Vecht en Eem 1550-1800, red. Henk Michielse, Jan Out, Gerrit Schutte, Hilversum Verloren p.277.

¹⁵³ Monumenten in Hoogland en Amersfoort Ed. Gerard Raven; and Arie van den Heuvel, Gijs Hilhorst and Nellie van Vulpen. p. 17. Uitgeverij Thoth. Bussum

¹⁵⁴ Krommerijners in de nieuwe wereld. Een onderzoek naar de achtergrond en onderlinge verwantschap van vroege kolonisten in Nieuw Nederland afkomstig uit het Utrechtse Krommerijng gebied. door M.S.F. Kemp. p.414.[Nederlandsche Leeuw Jaargang CIX, nr. 10-11 oktober-november 1992].

¹⁵⁵ Settlers of Rensselaerswyck 1630 - 1658 by A.J.F. van Laer

¹⁵⁶ Jan alias Frederick van Schayck, is married to Geertruyt de Reus, was a brother of Aert Jansz's father and a great uncle of Gerrit de Reus.

¹⁵⁷ as Marcel Kemp shows from the records of their marriages

cites one clear-cut case of a brother disinheriting his siblings for religious reasons and he suggests that religion may be why Aert left the family circle at Houten and why Cornelis Aertsen never used the family name Van Schayck.

Religion may have cost some farmers renewals of their leases on lands taken over by the Reformed church, but other factors were at work. For whatever reasons, by 1700 all the nephews and cousins of Cornelis - most of whom had remained Catholic- had left farming for other pursuits, and some had died in poverty.

In New Netherland Cornelis settled across the Hudson from New Amsterdam in Pavonia¹⁵⁸. In 1649 he is named by Jan Jansz Damen of Bunnik to administer his estate [with Egbert Wouterszen from Ysselsteyn],



OVERDAM Manor Farm, HOUTEN Rhine-Lek Region

Cornelis' family had close ties with the families of Andries Hoppe (whose wife was his sister in law), Jan Aertsen van der Bilt and Peter Cornelissen van Steenwyck (who married a daughter). He left his heirs about 65 acres of Manhattan farming land upon his death in 1669, most of his farming had been on leased lands, on Peter Stuyvesant's farm in the 1650's and on the Jan Jansen Damen farm in the 1660's. A tragedy befell Cornelis when he was living at Pavonia (Paulus Hook). His buildings and property were destroyed in the February 1643 Indian uprising [Kieft's war].

Wouter van Twiller, who also came on the Soutberg mission in 1636 together with Gerrit de Reus, ran his farms by hiring tenants from his own native region in the Gelder valley from the polders close to the former Zuyder Zee. In this neighborhood in a radius of 10 miles around the bog-lands of Huinen, close to the old landscaped brook areas of Voorthuizen, Garderen, Kootwijk, Barneveld, Putten and Nykerk. This is the region of origin of the van Rensselaers, the van Twillers and the van Curiers, who by the way were all related. Albert Terhune and over 50 other less well-known emigrants came from this area as well.



Manor farm in the polder between Nykerk & Putten [near Hell] early 17th C'

First, in 1639, he contracted Aert Willems of Garderbroek and his wife to manage the Manhattan farm for fl 200,- per year and a free passage. Two years later, he hired 2 young men from Voorthuizen and Putten to work on his farm. It was not coincidental that these people all came from this region. In the contract of 1641 it is stated that the 2 farm hands had to sow, mow, plough, etc. in the Gelderse manier, the way they were used to in Gelderland¹⁵⁹.

Cosyn Gerritsen a wheelwright from Hell came to New Netherland from the same region. Why did he immigrate to New Netherland?¹⁶⁰

Firth Haring Fabend's theory is that Wouter van Twiller, his exact contemporary¹⁶¹ from neighborhood encouraged him to do so. Wouter had his farm close to Cosyn's bouwerie is on the Manatus

¹⁵⁸ Cornelis Aertsen VanSchaick; A Biography and his Forebearers; svnschaick.tripod.com

¹⁵⁹ Amsterdam Notarial Archives, 1332, 45., and: Amsterdam Notarial Archives, May 13, 1646, 1060, 89, 89v.

¹⁶⁰ Cosyn Gerritsen van Putten: New Amsterdam's Wheelwright Posting of an article that appeared in de Halve Maen (the Journal of The Holland Society of New York), Vol. LXXX (Summer 2007), 2:23-30. by Firth Haring Fabend

Map of 1639. Wouter, planning to grow tobacco on his large property, would have needed a wheelwright to make his farm implements and keep them in repair. *Cosyn and Wouter must have known each other from childhood and perhaps had gone to school together, worshiped in the same church, played ball together in the fields, skated together on the ice ponds, fished and hunted in the same lakes and forests.* Networks of family and friends were of great importance in the seventeenth century, and most people expected to and did reap benefit from them.¹⁶²

In 1651 Jan van Rensselaer, 2nd son of the first patroon engaged a group of 12 farmers¹⁶³, who were natives of this area, where the family had a homestead close by hamlet of Hell in Putten feudatory to the Elten abbey in Germany. They sailed in the Gelderse Blom and came from Amersfoort, Bunschoten, Nijkerk, Horst, Wekerom and Veldhuyzen en de Bilt near Utrecht.

Later chains and networks

Private individuals did not repeat the mistake of the WIC to concentrate on one activity to the exclusion of all other activities. The end of WIC policy of restriction and monopoly contributed to agriculture becoming the colony's core activity. The new immigrants came to New Netherland because of the general economic liberalization rather than the particular freedom to engage in the fur trade¹⁶⁴. "The economic pattern in New Netherland, which these immigrants helped to establish, was basically agricultural, with the Indian trade in most areas a common but relatively minor side line."

In Wageningen in the Gelder Valley Gerrit Gerritsen¹⁶⁵ (b. in 1630) and his wife¹⁶⁶ Anna Hermansse booked a passage on the ship 'Faith' to New Netherland in December 1660. Wageningen used to be part of the bishopric of Utrecht; it lies in the polder on the Rhine River. As the name suggests it is a place where wagons can be brought to the other side of the river. Today Wageningen is world famous for its Agricultural University. Gerrit and Anna took two neighbors to the city council, on 17 November 1660, *to testify of their good character*. The testimony was taken down and attested to by a 'private seal' of the city. What makes the certificate interesting is that it reveals the motivation of the couple to make the big step of immigrating to New Netherland, "to find greater convenience".

The Certificate of Character granted Gerrit and his wife reads¹⁶⁷:

" We, burgomasters, aldermen, and councilors of the city of Wageningen, declare by these present, that appeared before us Hendrick Ellisen and Jordiz Spiers, citizens of this city, at the request of Gerritt Gerritsen and Annetjie Hermansse, his wife.

They have testified and certified as they do by these present, that they have good knowledge of the above named Gerrit Gerritsen and Annetjie Hermansse, his wife, as to their life and conversation, and that they have always been considered and esteemed as pious and honest people, and that no complaint of any evil or disorderly conduct has ever reached their ears; on the contrary, they have always led quiet pious and honest lives, as it becomes pious and honest persons. They especially testify that they govern their family well and bring up their children in the fear of God and in all modesty and respectability.

"As the above named persons have resolved to remove and proceed to New Netherland, in order to find greater convenience, they give this attestation, grounded on their knowledge of them, having known them intimately, and having been in continual intercourse with them for many years, living in the same neighborhood.

"In testimony of the truth, we the burgomasters of the city have caused the private seal of the city to be hereto affixed. "

Done at Wageningen, 27 Nov. 1660, by the ordinance of the same. J. Aqueline."

Upon landing at New Amsterdam, on 23 Dec 1660, Gerrit and Annetjie moved to New Jersey and settled at Communipaw, in the town of Bergen. On 16 Oct 1662, WIC Director General Peter

¹⁶¹ Jaap Jacobs, *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in 17th-Century America* (Leiden,Boston,2005), p.78, hereafter *NewNetherland*; and David William Voorhees, *American National Biography*, Van Twiller entry, pp. 252-253.

¹⁶² References to Van Twiller's land in Phelps-Stokes, *Iconography*, are in vol. 6, pp. 104, 114, 129, 157, 161-162, 164, 187, 190-191. In addition to this farm, he acquired over his short stay in NA 4 islands (Roosevelt, Wards, Randalls, and Governors), as well as land on Long Island and on the upper east side of Manhattan. Phelps-Stokes describes Bouwerie #10 as of 250 acres. The deed says it was 200 acres. See Jaap Jacobs, "A Troubled Man: Director Wouter van Twiller and the Affairs of New Netherland in 1635," *New York History* (Summer 2004), pp. 213-232.

¹⁶³ *IBID.* p. 68-69.

¹⁶⁴ Trelease, Allen W. *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY (1960) P62

¹⁶⁵ Our DUTCH ancestors in AMERICA van WAGNERS AND van HOUTENS COMPILED BY STEPHEN L. NEBEKER

¹⁶⁶ Historical Sketch of the County of Passaic, 1877

¹⁶⁷ According to the book History of the Van Wagener-Van Wagenen Family, by Frank A. Van Wagenen,

Stuyvesant appointed him one of three schepenen (aldermen) for Bergen. In the same year Gerrit was one of the petitioners for the settlement of a domine at Bergen, and pledged himself to contribute fl 6- a year for his support. It seems that the couple came well prepared. They were welcomed by the Bergen community and were supporters of the first Dutch Reformed Congregation. Gerrit and Annetjie were one of the first to settle in Bergen. In the period following the surrender to the English in 1664 a great many farmers would follow them from the Hudson Valley and Long Island.

In Beesd, opposite the Rhine-Lek region, "The spirit of emigration made many people in Beesd pack up and leave for New Netherland, in which they had a safe precedent in no less a person than the village pedagogue—much revered was he and looked up to in those days, —good Master Gideon Schaets"¹⁶⁸ And so with, "every bit of news that wafted home from time to time in friendly letters served to quicken interest in the new country, they yielded to the flattering offers held out by the colonists, and agreed to leave for that distant land".

Dominie Gideon Schaets was schoolteacher in Beesd and a member of the Beesd Reformed Church until his appointment as minister of the Albany Reformed Church in 1652.

May 9, 1661, De Bever¹⁶⁹ leaves for New Amsterdam with a larger group from Beesd.

A letter¹⁷⁰ by WIC Directors to Stuyvesant gives details of the group of colonists from Beesd.

"With these ships go over a reasonable number of colonists and other passengers, and among these many good farmers who will be specially useful there, is found one Huijgh Barents de Kleijn of Beesd in Gelderland, baker, grocer and farmer who, by his enthusiasm, has brought from there about 36 souls with the expectation that more shall follow. We think it right not only to recommend Your Honors to accommodate and help all of them as much as possible, but would also like to see that Your Honors, when a suitable occasion arises, benefit the afore said Huijgh Barents de Kleijn in some way or another, preferably at no cost to the Company, in order that he and his companions will write a favorable report so that more of their fellow-countrymen in Gelderland will travel there".

The group includes 6 families the one of Huijgh (7 children) of Pieter Marselis (4 children) and 2 servants, of Aert Pietersen Buys (1 child) and Frans Jacobsen (2 children) and widow Geertje Cornelis (6 children), widow Adriaentje Cornelis and a daughter. As well as Hendrick Bries and Goosen Jansen Van Noort (shoemakers), Neeltjen Jans and Geertruyt Theunissen (son Gijbert Cornelis, Albany 1667, woodworker and builder in Kinderhook; Geertje daughter m. Juriaen Calyer of Kinderhook (ESB 2:16 and various references in ERA, CMA).

From the same region the brothers Jan en Michiel Bastiaensen sons of Sebastian van Kortryk [Kortright family] left for the colony in April 1663. Jan lived in Beesd at the time and Giel lived a bit down the Linge in where the Kortgerecht polder lies. Kortgerecht is a neighborhood of Schoonrewoerd west of the Diefdike. A place under siege of the water 5 times in the 1500^s, a dangerous place to live. The Diefdike was crushed there in a soft spot, where now lies the Wiel of Bassa, a large deep pond forced by the powerful water masses from one enormous river, a merge of the rivers Waal and Lek. The brothers and their young families sailed on the ship Bontekoe. Upon their arrival, they first went to Stuyvesant's Bowery, though soon after they came to Harlem. Jan was the "Kortryck" who owned a Bouwery on Staten Island in 1674¹⁷¹. His children Hendrick and Belitie move to the Esopus. Michiel lived several years at Harlem, and with his son-in-law, Hendrick Kiersen, hired farms to the north of Harlem. In 1673, he was elected a magistrate at Fordham, and was on the roll of the Night Watch at Harlem, as well as being identified with the Dutch church there.

From the northern region of Meppel a chainmigration starts in 1652.

This region has all the hallmarks of a bog land, like in the central Netherlands plain. An area, that until this day evokes images of how the Netherlands must have looked like in the beginning of time, like the Romans saw it. Two of the most iconic towns in the Netherlands, just south of Meppel and Steenwijk are Giethoorn, the Venice of the north and Staphorst.

¹⁶⁸ THE COURTRIGHT (KORTRIGHT; KORTGERECHT) FAMILY DESCENDANTS OF BASTIAN VAN KORTRYK, A Native of Belgium who Emigrated to Holland about 1615 BY JOHN HOWARD ABBOTT TOBIAS A. WRIGHT Printer and Publisher 150 Bleecker Street, New York 1922 p 14-15.

¹⁶⁹ LIST OF PASSENGERS, 1654 TO 1664. FROM NEW YORK COLONIAL MSS., VOL. 14, PP. 83-123.

¹⁷⁰ Letters by WIC Directors from Amsterdam to Peter Stuyvesant, dd. 9 May 1661. (NYCM Vol 14 p 20, lines 55-61); " the van der Hoof project".

¹⁷¹ N. Y. Col. Mss., XXIII, 403

There were other similarities with the central Netherlands plain in the 1600s, like the strong imprint the Roman Catholic Church as a landowner and a rent collector. The Benedictines had a strong stronghold here, with the double convent of Saint Mary at Dickninge, a continuation of the convent of Ruinen. It is from this Ruinen that the chain immigration started.

Between 4 regions of origin of the early settlers -the Meppel region, the Rhine and Lek region, the Gooij-& Eemland region and the Delta region- exists a remarkable and early link. The link is Catalyntje Martense van Astyne born in Houten in 1616, daughter of Marten Van Alstyne born in Houten in 1585. Marten moves [back] to Meppel judging by the fact that two of his children are born in Meppel¹⁷². In 1635 Catalyntje marries Cornelis Maasen van Buren from Buurmalsen. Another link between north and is made in the marriage on May 16 1673 of Hendrick Kiersen [b. 1650] from in Gees, Drenthe and Metje Michiels Kortright [1655] daughter of Giel Bastiaensen from Schoonrewoerd¹⁷³.

The villages where settlers for the new world came from lie in an almost a straight line from the southwest and the northeast that links Meppel, Ruinen [Hees en Ruinerwold] Dwingeloo, Bijlen, Zwiggelte and Westerveld. Around 1652 Jan Stryker and Pieter Lott from Ruinen and Ruinerwold set this chain in motion. In 1658 Jan Roelofszen Seuberige followed, both Jan's are related to Steven Coerts van Voorhees who sailed in 1660 along with many others; as in 1662 and 1663, when two large groups, many young families emigrate form the Meppel region, like Lubbert Lubbertse van Westervelt with his wife and 4 children.

Regularly a dominee may perform a role as a guide's man or as an inspiration to go to the colony, creating a regional network. In the case of the Meppel region ds Polhelmus -who preached in Gieten and in Meppel, where he left for New Netherland in 1634 after doctrinal differences- may have performed such a role. Steven Coerts probably rented a farm in the Meppel area during at least part of ds Polhemius' preaching tenure in that city.¹⁷⁴ Thus, Steven could have listened to him. Steven would probably remember him many years later when he heard that his former pastor was now in New Netherland serving the Midwout community on Long Island where brother-in-law Jan Strycker was an important figure — and so, another personal attraction to New Netherland existed.

In 1598 the new protestant leaders secularized the property of the former orders¹⁷⁵, compared to the other provinces it was quite late. The rent continued to be paid to Dikninge. The new administrators exacted high rents and were not overly prompt with building repairs. A local historian asks himself the question whether "this playing around with rent conditions and the knowledge, that someone else who needed land could "unrent" land and house against a higher compensation was a motive to leave. He concludes that it is not improbable; in any case at an advanced age he left for a new existence in a foreign land.¹⁷⁶

Steven's brother, Albert — the oldest of the 3 sons of Coert — assumed the land lease for Voorhees around the time of secularization and occasionally experienced difficulties with paying the rent.

"Time and again Albert requested the governing body of Drenthe for reduction of rent: he did so in 1635, 1645, 1647, 1653, 1654 and 1659. The request of 1659 — a year before Steven's emigration — sent by the steward of Dikninge on Albert's behalf to Drost and Deputies of Drenthe, shows us the bad state of affairs at Voorhees. Speaking of the farm, the request states: "... (that) his house, barn and sheepfold need urgent repairs, before it falls totally into decay .."¹⁷⁷

The situation in Drenthe was comparable to the situation in the other regions that were still recovering from the effects of the troubles. The economy suffered during the period of conflict. Many farms laid waste for years (in 1600 about 33%!).¹⁷⁸ The religious turmoil had a further important impact. Only from 1627 onwards the situation improved little by little, and after 1630

¹⁷² Jannetje in 1614 and Jan in 1623

¹⁷³ Sources: Author: Ed. Samuel S. Purple, M.D. Title: Records of the RDC in New Amsterdam and New York; Marriages from 1639 to 1801 Publication: Name: Vol. 1 of the Collections of the NYG&BS. New York, 1890.; Location: Facsimile reprint Heritage Books, Bowie, Maryland.; Date: 1997.;

¹⁷⁴ D. J. Wijmer, "Steven Coerts His Family and is Dutch Background," *Through a Dutch Door*, Van Voorhees Association, 1992, p. 28

¹⁷⁵ Historical Handbook, Van Voorhees Association, 1935, p. 14. Dr. H. P. Schaap, p. 148 of *Through a Dutch Door*, suggested that secularization in Drenthe occurred after 1603.

¹⁷⁶ Steven, een Drents landverhuizer uit 1660 door J. Poortman voor de Nieuwe Drentsche Volksalmanak 1943

¹⁷⁷ J. Folkerts, "Drenthe and New Netherland Two Outer Provinces at the Time of Emigration," *Through a Dutch Door*, Van Voorhees Association, 1992, p. 109.

¹⁷⁸ D. J. Wijmer, "Steven Coerts His Family and is Dutch Background," *Through a Dutch Door*, Van Voorhees Association, 1992, p. 49.

Drenthe was completely safe again. From around 1625 to 1650 the economy grew, although 1650 marked the beginning of a long depression that lasted until 1750. As a consequence earnings declined, costs of production increased and the tax burden grew, since the introduction of the land taxes of 1643.

A few large owners controlled arable land in 17th Century Drenthe, so there was little opportunity for small farmers to own land. The landrenter was subject to the economic decisions of landlords. A farmer He would not be able to own a farm and would probably be limited to renting small farms. Steven

Because of this Coerts probably shared a motivation common to most immigrants to the New World, namely "better opportunity" for him and his family. Upon landing at New Amsterdam, on 15 April 1660 Steven Coerts settled in Amersfoort, the village founded by Wolfert Gerritsen van Couwenhoven. His arrival resembles that of Gerrit Gerritsen from Wageningen 8 months later. He brought the money and in November he purchased land with a house a brewery in Amersfoort. His wife and he became members of the DRC in Vlacked Bos [Flatbush]. In 1664 he was appointed Magistrate.

4.3.3 Tobacco and other special crops

Sometimes a special crop and specialized knowledge of that crop was the reason to be recruited for the Colony, especially from the Eemland and the Gelderland Valley.

In 1641 Wouter van Twiller¹⁷⁹ - the son of Maria van Rensselaer the sister of Kilian- engaged two young men from Voorthuizen and Putten "to sow, to mow, to plow, to dig ditches and to do farm work in the Gelderland manner"¹⁸⁰."

As early as 1610 the Middelburg doctor Casper Pelletier mentions tobacco raising in the Netherlands around the town of Veere in the province of Zeeland. In a few years time, it proved that the sandy soil in the Amersfoort region was better suited for the tobacco growth, than the clay soil in Zeeland.

It was not by accident that the Amersfoort region was the first area where tobacco growth of some seize started. Farmers had sufficient and fertile lands, and apparently daring enough to take on a new crop. Besides the market in the cities of Utrecht and Amsterdam was close by; but most important the *knowledge to grow these plants was available*, a rare commodity at the time.

The region around Amersfoort became tobacco-land¹⁸¹ full of plantations and huge tabaccobarns, located on a sand ridge. The number of workers estimated to have a steady job in growing of tobacco¹⁸², in the Amersfoort region including villages, like Hoogland and Stoutenburg amounts to 1200. In 1636 50 tobacco-growers were established there, in 1670 that number had risen to 120 and 10 years later to 200.

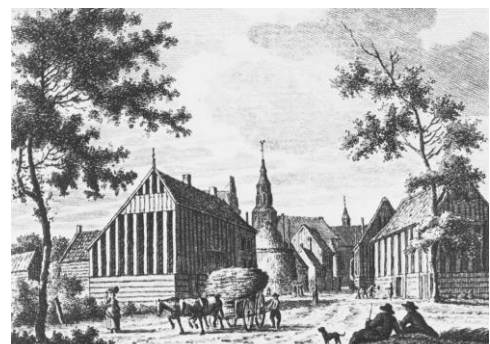
Also the Gelderland Valley¹⁸³ in villages like Nijkerk, Rhenen, Wageningen but also Arnhem, developed into an important center of the tobacco trade. And it showed: for



view on Amersfoort by Matthias Withoos in 1670



Eem River Amersfoort Tobacco Barns in the middle, Nykerk in the background



Entrance street to Nijkerk, pendrawing by Bendorp

¹⁷⁹ ibid, 13 Nov. 1641 Not. J. van de Ven

¹⁸⁰ New World Immigrants: A Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists, Vol. 1 ed. by Michael Tepper p.113 Gerrit Coerten van Voorthuizen [21y], bro. Of Harmen, who came february 12,1659 in De Trouw (the faith), with his family; and Wouter Aertsz [21y] from Putten/Nijkerk, wheelwright in Albany.

¹⁸¹ Sporen van tabaksschuren bij Amersfoort, traces of tobacco barns near Amersfoort; Ron A. Hulst Senior archeoloog BAAC. BV. VITRUVIUS Nr. 17 Oktober 2011

¹⁸² ibid. p. 73

¹⁸³ Zeven Eeuwen Amersfoort; H Halbertsma

example in Nykerk the landscape there showed big barns for hundreds of years as well as high alder hedges along the tobacco-fields to protect the plants against the wind. Tobacco was a lucrative business, also in the Colony. Tobacco gave work to many settlers.

In 1631 the ship *de Eendracht* sailed with people recruited for growing tobacco.

SKETCH OF THE COLONISTS ON THE 1631 PASSAGE OF THE EENDRACHT

To grow tobacco Maryn Adriaensen FROM VEERE, ZEELAND was contracted for 3 years as a planter. He sailed with his family and farm several laborers, like Jasper Ferlyn van der Gouw FROM MIDDELBURG, also a planter. He farmed on Godyns Burg, south of Fort Orange.

In 1637 van Twiller director of New Netherlands wrote to his successor William Kieft that he should assign some of the young men on board "Den Calmer Sleutel" to tobacco growing, otherwise they were to serve with the farmers. These young men were inexperienced, it seems. One, Elbert Elbertz¹⁸⁴, from Nijkerk [18 yrs.], was a weaver. In 1638, they arrived at Delaware in 1638, Gijsbert Adriaensz from Bunnick, Arent van Curler, Elbert Elbertsz, Gerrit Hendricksz and Claes Jansz all from Nykerk. In 1649¹⁸⁵ Arent Arentsz Otterspoor¹⁸⁶ from Jutfaas [33 yrs.] comes to Bethlehem Island, Rensselaerswyck as a farm hand to cut wood and to plant tobacco. In 1651 Cornelis Evertsz Wijnkoop [24 yrs.] arrives from Wekerom, he will be employed in construction, cultivation, woodcutting, and *tobacco planting*.

Tomys Swartwout [b. Groningen 1607] and his two younger brothers were the first to buy and sell American tobacco in Holland in 1629. They started their wholesale tobacco business in Amsterdam. In 1660 *De Bonte Koe* sailed.

SKETCH OF THE COLONISTS ON THE 1660 PASSAGE OF DE BONTE KOE

ROELOFF SWARTWOUT, farmer. On his return to New Netherland, recruited CORNELIS Jacobsz Van Leeuwen, Arent Mertensz, Ariaen Huijbertsz.

Also came Albert Heymans Roosa Herwijnen, farmer, wife and 8 children.

Annetie Harmens, maiden, resides with Paulus Leendertsz Van de Grift.

Beletie Foppe, resides with Jacob Leendertsz Van de Grift.

¹⁸⁴ Early settlers of Kings C', Long Island, N.Y., From its 1st settlement by europeans to 1700; With contributions to their biographies and genealogies, compiled from various sources, by Teunis G. Bergen, Elbertsen family p.284

¹⁸⁵ Notary. v.d. Ven

¹⁸⁶ VRB: 840.

Saw Mills

To build a sawmill 3 Norsemen were recruited. FROM COPENHAGEN came Laurens Laurensz. He and the Norsemen, Barent Thonisz FROM HELLESUND and Andries Christensz and Cornelis Goverts (Gerritsz) FROM FLECKER were engaged for 3 years, Laurens became schep en in 1632, by then he is as miller on de Laets kill [Mill Creek in the city of Rensselaer]. Laurens and Barent probably left at the end of his term of service in 1634. Andries did not come to the colony.

Two more farmhands sailed, Cornelis Maessen¹⁸⁷ from Buurmalsen contracted for 3 years, like Jan Tyaerts from Franeker engaged for Cornelis Teunisz from Breuckelen. He probably left the colony summer 1637.

1630 - 1640 SHIPS

1630 SHIP DE EENDRACHT: Wolfert van Couwenhoven hires for farms on Castle Island

SOEST: Rutger and Pieter Hendricksz contracted 4 yrs. for the farm Rensselaers Burg, resp. as farmer and shepherd or ploughboy.

NYKERK: Brant Peelen as farmer for the farm the Welys Burg and Barent Jansz as his farmhand.

1631 SHIP DE EENDRACHT:

BUURMALSEN: came Cornelis Maessen¹⁸⁸ contracted for 3 years as a farmhand.

1633 SHIP DE SOUTBERG:

NYKERK: Wouter van Twiller, and 3 others: Thomas Witsent, Johan Tiers and Gerrit Willems Oosterum [a well known Utrecht name]..

MAARTENSDIJK: Cornelis Jacobsz [Stille], 23 yrs serves Rutger Hendricksz, on Rensselaers Burg

BUNNIK: Gerrit de Reus hires for his farm and Rutger Hendricksz, farm on Rensselaers Burg and Brant Peelen, on Welys Burg

BUNNIK: Hendrick Fredericksz 26 yrs, cutting straw, thatching roofs, threshing & other work; foreman on de Reus's farm.

CULEMBORG: Marcus Mensen 17 yrs farmboy for Brant Peelen on Welys Burg.

MEERKERK: Cornelis Teunisz 20 yrs, cutting and hauling timber; visits Holland on the ship the Harinck in 1639.

1634 SHIP DE EENDRACHT:

BREUKELEN Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick [Van Slyck¹⁸⁹; Broer Cornelis] carpentering, bricklaying and farming¹⁹⁰; manages a farm next to the farm de Vlachte [the Schuyler Flatts] until 1661; receives 1st patent at Catskill

BLARICUM Lubbert Gijsbertsz, wheelwright; with wife Divertgen Cornelis and 3 sons, Gijsbert, Theus and Jan

1637 SHIP DE RENSSELAERSWIJCK, recruited are:

VREELAND in Gooijland: Michel and Maurits van Broeckhuijs;

WESTBROEK Kees Teunisz Bos farmhand for Cornelis Maessen [BUURMALSEN, 1631] and wife Catalijntje Martense, work on farm on Papscaenee Isl.

WESTBROEK Goossen Gerritsz van Schaick farmer.

BUNNIK Thomas Jansz farmhand under Brant Peelen [NYKERK] and Symon Walichsz [WIJNGAARDEN].

HOUTEN, the Crooked Rhine region: Crijn Cornelisz; NEARBY VECHTEN: Teunis Cornelisz.

UTRECHT Jacob Pietersz [Veeltje] serves Brant Peelen [NYKERK]s.

SCHOONREWOERD, Rutger¹⁹¹ Jacobsen¹⁹² [bro. Teunis, 1640], hired by Cornelis Anthonisz van Schlick ¹⁹³

SCHOONREWOERD, Barent Pietersz Coeymans and 3 brothers David, Jacob & Arent

BUURMALSEN, Stewardship Buren: Cornelis Maessen.

WIJNGAARDEN neighboring Alblasserwaard: Symon Walichsz.

1637 den Calmer Sleutel VOYAGE

NYKERCK Arent van Curler, with Gerrit Hendricksz shoemaker, servant for Albert Andriesz. and Claes Jansz a tailor.

NYKERCK Elbert Elbertsz a weaver 18 yr. In 1646 he married the widow of Gerrit Wolphertsz.

BUNNIK Gijsbert Adriaensz 22 yr farmservant to Brant Peelen; Brother of Rutger Adriaensz, tailor, 1646.

1637 - 1638 Den Harinck VOYAGE

NAARDEN Claes Jansz Ruyter, house carpenter 33 yrs; he and Pieter Cornelisz and Albert Andriesz, agree to build a sawmill.

¹⁸⁷ The founder of the Van Buren family in the USA.

¹⁸⁸ He is the founder of the Van Buren family in the USA.

¹⁸⁹ Van Slyck's Island, opposite Schenectady, is called after one of his sons, Jacques, to whom it was granted end of 1662 by Director Stuyvesant.

¹⁹⁰ Contract between Killiaen van Rensselaer and Cornelis Teunisz van Breuckelen, the 'Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts Letter Book,' page 27.

¹⁹¹ His family line adopted Rutgers as family name

¹⁹² http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=pete_witze&id=I03450

¹⁹³ Van Slyck's Island, opposite Schenectady, is called after one of his sons, Jacques, to whom it was granted end of 1662 by Director Stuyvesant.

KAMPEN Jacob Jansz flodder (Gardenier) carpenter; a servant then leassor of several gristmills

1638 HET WAPEN VAN NOORWEGEN VOYAGE

AMERSFOORT Jan Dircksz farm laborers. Claes Gijsbertsz; in 1641, serves Michiel Jansz

[PUTTEN] Willem Meynten serves Cornelis Maessen [Van Buren] farmlaborer, then Teunis Dircksz van Vechten.

SCHOONREWOERD Rijck (Rijckert) Rutgersz farmer serving Teunis Dircksz van Vechten; leases Bethlehem's Island, left 1650, Jan Reyersz, from Houten, succeeded him on the farm.

VECHTEN Teunis Dircksz [Poentje] with wife, a child, 2 servants, farmhand 2 yrs; then farmer on Pieter Bijlvelt's farm at the Manhatans and on a farm at the south end of Greenbush; had an interest in the colony's brewery in Greenbush. Infamous for calling people names.

1639 den Harinck VOYAGE

Jan Cornelisz Timmerman [surnames "Viselaer" and "Gouw."] tobacco planter and master carpenter employing carpenters, designated to build the church. Appears before the Albany court on a variety of matters. Co-owner of a mill on the Poestenkill; then an appraiser and a "firewarden."

[SCHOONREWOERD] Barent Pietersz Kojjemans [see Rensselaerswijck]

1640 DE WATERHONDT:

DE BILT Adriaen Teunisz, farmlaborer for Symon Walichsz

VECHTEN Dirck Teunisz son of Teunis Dircksz van Vechten [Poentje] [1636]

HOUTEN Crijn Cornelisz [arr. 1637] recruits his bro. Jan as farmer and sons Cornelis and Jan Crijnen, and Jan Reyersz, Nijs Jacobsz as farmhands.

SCHOONREWOERD Teunis¹⁹⁴ Jacobsen [bro. Rutger, 1636] farmhand for Symon Walichsz [arr. 1636], later CA van Slick

SCHOONREWOERD: Cornelis Cornelisz Vos[je] farmlaborer; Claes Gerritsz Claes farm laborer by Brant Peelen [NYKERK], Michiel Jansz [VECHTEN], C.A.van Slick[BREUKELLEN], and on the farm called de Vlackte.

NYKERK: Lysbeth en Gerritje Brants daughters of Brant Peelen van Nykerck.

Gijsje Berents [Barents] wife of Pieter Jacobsz; constapel of Fort Orange.

¹⁹⁴ His descendents became known under the family names van Woert (Schoenderwoert)