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De Halve Maen (ISSN 0017-6834) is published quarterly by The Holland Society. Subscriptions are $28.50 per year, international $35.00. Periodical postage pending at New York, NY, and additional offices. POSTMASTER: Send all address changes to The Holland Society, 122 East 58th Street, New York, NY 10022. EDITORIAL: 122 East 58th Street, New York, NY 10022. Telephone: (212) 758-1675. FAX: (212) 758-2232. E-mail: Hollsoc@aol.com. Website www.hollandsociety.com.

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The Holland Society of New York was organized in 1885 to collect and preserve information respecting the history and settlement of New Netherland by the Dutch, to perpetuate the memory, foster and promote the principles and virtues of the Dutch ancestors of its members, to maintain a library relating to the Dutch in America, and to prepare papers, essays, books, etc., in regard to the history and genealogy of the Dutch in America. The Society is principally organized of descendants in the direct male line of residents of the Dutch colonies in the present-day United States prior to or during the year 1675. Inquiries respecting the several criteria for membership are invited.

Cover: The April 1944 cover of de Halve Maen. This issue was the first to introduce the woodcut of the ship de Halve Maen.
Editor's Corner

At the first joint meeting of The Holland Society’s Trustees and Vice-Presidents, held at the University Club in Manhattan on June 8, 1922, Holland Society President Arthur H. Van Brunt proposed that the Society “publish four times a year an informal bulletin in the form of a leaflet, to be sent to all of the members of the Society, which leaflet will keep them informed of matters of interest occurring in the activities of the Society.” It was suggested that the leaflet be called de Halve Maen after Henry Hudson’s ship of exploration, “a name dear to every American of Dutch descent.” Five months later, in early November 1922, Holland Society Members received in the mail the first October issue of de Halve Maen.

This coming year will be de Halve Maen’s eightieth anniversary. (Because the journal was not published for several years, this will be the seventy-fifth volume.) To commemorate this anniversary, this issue reflects on de Halve Maen’s past eight decades.

Initially, de Halve Maen was a small six by nine inch, four-page orange leaflet prepared by the Society’s Secretary containing items on new members, obituaries, and Society events. In 1923 a series was introduced of brief sketches on the leading personalities of New Netherland, “whose lives most of us know little and of whom, in any event, we need to be reminded.” The first biographical sketch was on Pieter Minuit, but the series was soon discontinued. In 1928 the magazine was expanded to an eight and a half by eleven inch page format. During the next few years the newsletter appeared sporadically, with no issues published in 1930 and 1931.

In 1932 Wilfred B. Talman assumed de Halve Maen’s editorship and began the transformation of the newsletter into today’s journal. Mr. Talman gave a breezy tone to the description of Society events, injected historical fillers, and added woodcuts. When in July 1943 Walter H. Van Hoesen assumed editorship, de Halve Maen was totally revamped in a glossy format. “This issue of De Halve Maen appears in new garb,” he wrote, “with more room in which to record activities of the Society, personal mention of its members and items of general interest. It is the purpose to retain all the features of the quarterly to which members have been accustomed in the past and add others, with particular emphasis on the history and tradition we are pledged to perpetuate.” It was not until 1956, however, when a resolution “designed to improve and expand De Halve Maen and other publications of the Society” was adopted, that historical articles by Society members began to appear with some regularity.

Richard H. Amerman’s assumption of the editorial helm in July 1958 began another transformation of the magazine. “With this issue, the good ship de Halve Maen sets sail on the first of her quarterly voyages under a new skipper,” he wrote. “The Dutch are traditionally good sailors and traders. So, in a literary sense, our ship will have fair sailing and rich cargoes if all bear a hand. In this effort we cordially invite members everywhere to act as reporters and photographers.” The Society’s membership, unfortunately, did not fill his call for participation, and soon non-Society “Guest Writers” began to appear. One of the first Guest Writers was Arthur Peabody, a seventh-grade student at Albany Academy, whose award-winning essay on Domine Johannes Megapolensis was republished in the July 1959 issue. By the 1960s essays by such scholars as Kenneth Scott, Simon Hart, Alice P. Kenney, Rosalie Fellows Bailey, Adrian C. Leiby, and C.S.A. Weslager began to appear in these pages. Amerman also introduced photo illustrations.

When in July 1976 the Rev. Dr. Howard G. Hageman assumed de Halve Maen’s editorship, the magazine truly acquired a scholarly cast. In January 1977 Hageman wrote: “The Editor’s drawer is so full of excellent material for future issues that he is embarrassed to predict just what will be appearing in the next issue. On hand are the splendid paper on Women in New Netherland given by Dr. Sherry Penney at Seminar III, a fine discussion of the first salute of the American flag at St. Eustacious two centuries ago, an introduction to the Delaware papers which are being published by the Society this year, Dr. Alice Kenney’s discussion of religious artifacts of New Netherland, some hitherto unpublished correspondence from Ds. Bertholf, the pioneer of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Jersey, Dr. James Tanis’ study of the posture of the Dutch Reformed clergy during the American Revolution—and not even that exhausts the list!”

In 1990 Howard Hageman passed the torch of de Halve Maen’s rich editorial legacy on to me. Looking to the model of those talented editors who preceded me, and under the generous guidance of James E. Quackenbush, I continue to refine the magazine as a vehicle for disseminating the Dutch colonial period in America. Today, I can say with pride, de Halve Maen is the premiere journal for New Netherland studies, with a readership that extends far beyond The Holland Society. That it is such is due not only to editorial innovations, or to the dedicated work of the editorial staff, Annette van Rooy and Joy Rich, but, above all, to the fascinating people who populate New Netherland and the talented scholars who continue to perpetuate their memory.

David William Voorhees
de Halve Maen Ephemera: Extracts from the Journal’s First Fifty Years

During its first half century, de Halve Maen was primarily a Society newsletter providing members with information on Society events. The historical and genealogical fillers inserted between accounts of banquets, garden parties, and trustees’ meetings were, unfortunately, more often based on folklore and stereotypes rather than on true historical inquiry. Nonetheless, the early volumes of de Halve Maen provide a wealth of social commentary on the twentieth century. Below is a limited selection of excerpts from de Halve Maen’s first half century of publication.

**ANNUAL BANQUET**

(January 1923)

On January 18, 1923, at 7:00 P.M., the thirty-eighth annual banquet of the Society was held at the Hotel Astor, Broadway and 44th Street, New York. The attendance of members and guests, including the representative of other societies, numbered about 237. President Edward De Witt presided as toastmaster. Rev. Dr. William Elliot Griffis said grace. The new Minister from the Netherlands, Jonkheer Dr. A.C.D. de Graeff, was not able to be present. The Consul-General for the Netherlands, Dr. D. H. Andreae, was present and spoke. The other speakers were: Rev. Dr. William Elliot Griffis, author and lecturer, and an authority on the subject, who spoke on “Holland”; Prof. Dixon Ryan Fox, Professor of History at Columbia University, who spoke on the subject “Old New York,” and Robert E. Dowling, life member of the New York Historical Society and an authority on New York conditions, who spoke of “New York of Today.” Mr. Knight MacGregor, who sang at the Society meeting of December 4th, again sang accompanied by Miss Wallace.

**Preserve the Pictures of Old Landmarks**

(April 1923)

The Holland Society has, in its long series of Year Books, preserved for all time a chain of unique records, mostly those of churches, and relating to the early Dutch settlers in New York and New Jersey. Most of the old records have now been published either by this Society or by other agencies, such as the office of the State Historian and local historical societies. There remains a work which I should personally be delighted to have The Holland Society undertake. Excellent memoirs and monographs have been published on the old colonial homes in Massachusetts, Virginia and other localities. No careful attempt has been made to preserve the likenesses of the many houses and other buildings of Dutch origin which still exist, especially in New York and New Jersey. I
would, therefore, suggest that time is ripe for a collection of views of these Dutch buildings. By Dutch, I do not mean necessarily those buildings which were first erected while this was still a Dutch Colony—such a field would be altogether too limited. I mean, in addition, those buildings which were erected by the earlier Dutch settlers and under influences which were predominantly Dutch. Albany, for instance, remained a pre-eminently Dutch city for many years after 1673, and it is comparatively simple to determine what buildings were essentially of Dutch origin.

A collection of this kind would naturally fall into two groups: First, there exist today in historical and private collections many representations of old Dutch landmarks. Some are in the form of paintings or engravings in rare early publications. Second, a comparatively small number of the original buildings are standing today. Many of them are in a sad state of repair, and, unless photographs of them are made soon, all physical representation of them will soon be impossible. It would seem worth while to undertake the cost of obtaining these photographs with a short history of each building, and if the regular funds of the Society are not sufficient for this purpose I feel certain that the necessary amount could be raised by subscription.

I might suggest further that, by cooperation with some publishing house, accustomed to work of this kind, a limited edition could be struck off for members of The Holland Society and a further edition could be offered for public sale. In this way the expense would be materially lessened.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

N.B. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945), a Trustee of The Holland Society from 1923 to 1938, became Governor of New York in 1929 and President of the United States in 1932.

WARNING OF IMPOSTER
(April 1924)

THE MEMBERS ARE advised to be on the lookout for an old man who has personally visited a number of members and obtained money from them on the recital of his story that he is a native Hollander (which he probably is, because he has his appearance and accent of one) without money or work and in need of money to get to a distant city where he has friends. He usually says that his surname is the same as that of the person to whom he appeals, except that his own is the original Dutch spelling. He is tall, thick set, ruddy complexion, smooth shaven, white hair. He has lately been operating in New Jersey after duping New York members.

CHATS WITH A DUTCH UNCLE...III
(April 1936)

THE COLORS OF the uniforms worn by American soldiers during the Revolution had their origin in Holland,” observed the Dutch Uncle. “The coats of the soldiers of William of Orange which invaded Ireland in 1689 were faced with orange buff, and these Hollandish colors became the insignia of the English Whigs, or champions of constitutional liberty. American Whigs naturally adopted these colors.

“Washington, throughout most of the Revolution, wore a uniform coat of blue faced with buff, the uniform of a Virginia colonel of infantry. He prescribed blue coats faced with buff for his officers soon after the Battle of Bunker Hill. Uniformed companies from many of the thirteen colonies had uniforms prevailingly blue with buff or white facings.

“Something else that had its root in Holland is the word ‘caboose,’ the last car of a freight train is the cook’s cabin aboard ship,” he continued. “It really means ‘dish-pipe.’ Old Dutch words were kom, a dish, and buis, a pipe. The kombuis, or cook’s cabin, is the ‘chimney in a ship,’ with references to the cook’s dishes and chimney.

“Another fact not commonly known is that Long Island, and all other islands and islets within ten leagues,” which of course included Manhattan, was granted by Charles I in 1635, when he Dutch held New Amsterdam, to residents of Ireland, to hold as of the Imperial Crown of Ireland in Chief independent of any other but the King immediately.”

LOST LANGUAGE OF HOLLAND
(October 1936)

In 1936 an article by Michel Mok appeared in the New York Post relating his failure in finding anyone in “once Dutch New York who spoke or understood the language of his native land.”

“My first stop,” wrote Mijnheer Mok, “was the headquarters of The Holland Society—swank organization of descendants of the original Dutch settlers—at 90 West Street.

“A look of pained bafflement—a look that I was to observe many times during the day—came into the eyes of the young lady who received me when I bade her a cheery ‘good morning’ in the language of the Netherlands.

“She guessed that I was a Hollander. ‘I’m awfully sorry,’ she said, ‘but I don’t speak Dutch. Nobody speaks Dutch in this organization. . . . We only speak English here.’

The below letter from Hendrick Willem van Loon was written in response:

FROM NON-MEMBER Hendrik Willem van Loon, whose writings and whose addresses have done much to further The Holland Society cause, comes a comment on Michel Mok’s inability to find Dutch-speaking individuals on Dutch-rooted Manhattan Island (De Halve Maen, July 6, 1936).

“You estimable magazine is hardly a
As Europe plunged into war, Holland Society Members gathered for the Society's Fifty-Fifth Annual Banquet at Manhattan's Plaza Hotel on November 16, 1939.

Before World War II, the Annual Banquet was still largely a stag affair.

vehicle for controversy," he says, "and I can well understand that you may not be able to print this. But I shall have done my duty according to the lights of my schoolmaster's soul."

On Dr. van Loon's stationery is emblazoned the line, het is alles koren op mijn molen. All is grist to our mill, too, so the letter appears in full below:

To the Editor of De HALVE MAEN:

Mr. Mok would have been able to speak Dutch in at least one New York hotel (and, in addition he could have ordered himself an excellent Dutch meal) by going to the Astor, where the eminent van Dijk seems to be one of the few Dutchmen who is still willing to speak his mother tongue.

As a matter of fact, he could get something to eat in almost any village on this planet, large enough to support some sort of restaurant, without ever using anything but Dutch. The fault does not lie with the Dutch-speaking members of those communities but rather with the Dutch-from Holland, who seem to have a profound aversion to speaking their native vernacular the moment they have left home.

In the Dutch East Indies, I found the natives speaking a few words of English but not a word of Dutch and I was informed that the learning of the language was not encouraged. Letters from officials in Batavia are invariably writ to me in English. God only knows why! Quite frequently it is pretty bad English, too. I have seen Dutchmen who insisted upon speaking French in Antwerp and English in Capetown, though the people they addressed were not only able but more than willing to speak Dutch. I have had them address me in English, supposing (as they explained afterwards) that after a few years abroad I would probably not speak my native vernacular except with great difficulty.

Why this should be thusly, I know not. Nor does Brother Mok, who has learned his adopted tongue so thoroughly that he can afford to remain faithful to the language of his childhood days without any feeling of embarrassment. And that may explain a great deal.

Hendrik Willem van Loon.

"OBSERVATIONS"

(November 1943)

Freedom for Holland

We are proud to hail the members of the Society who are in the armed forces. They have given up much to serve their country.

Today, with Holland under the heel of the conqueror and every human right curtailed, it is well to look back on the situation three hundred years ago. An Indian war had all but destroyed the Colony of New Netherland and the remnants of the Colony of New Netherland and the remains of a panic stricken people crowded around the Fort for protection.

In those days pioneer Americans looked back to the peace and security of Holland. Holland, in her turn, now looks to us for emancipation.

This country owes much to the little nation of the Zuider Zee. From her came the great freedoms of Worship, Speech and Education. The time approaches when we will aid in restoring freedom to The Netherlands.

REFLECTIONS OF A MEMBER

By ARTHUR H. VAN BRUNT

(January 1944)

Arthur H. Van Brunt was in 1944 the only survivor of the 1885 Holland Society founding members. He served as Society Treasurer in 1898-1919 and as Society President in 1920-1921.

I have been asked, as the sole survivor of the Class of 1885, in which year The Holland Society of New York was organized, to tell something of those early days. I had just finished college and was working hard to establish a law practice, which for a dozen years thereafter kept me from activity in the Society.

The yearly functions were the banquets and the annual meeting. The smoker had not been inaugurated. I attended a number of the affairs and partook liberally of
George DeWitt's famous punch. I also had a number of conferences with Secretary Van Siclen regarding an ambitious scheme of his for a clubhouse.

In 1898 I was elected treasurer and from then on I was in close touch with all Society matters. My first meeting with the trustees, which then consisted entirely of the elder statesmen, was in June of that year. Not one of the members of that board is alive today.

Contacts with other members of the Society revealed that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the methods by which candidates for the board of trustees were nominated. It was not until years later that the constitution was amended to require that one of the five trustees whose terms of office expire each year should not be renominated.

I launched an effort to get some young men on the board and finally succeeded in having Frank Vander Beek installed. It was possibly a little less difficult because Frank, as a boy, had accompanied his father on the original pilgrimage of Society members to Holland. That was in 1886 and he was favorably known to most of the trustees. Afterward new blood came in gradually.

Judge Van Vorst, the first president of the Society continued as such until his death. After that there were so many good men eligible that an unwritten law prevailed against a president having more than one term, which rule was not broken for years. In those times it was also a notorious fact that past presidents never died, so they were numerous at any function.

Early in my career I was drafted to look after the annual banquet and it was then the custom to seat past presidents on the dais with the president, guests of the Society and speakers. Because of this I suggested to one of the dinner committees that the seating problem might be simplified if we put Society members on the dais and the past presidents, guests and speakers on the floor.

I've rambled on much more than expected. I may have more to say later, but this enough for the present and I will finish with best wishes for every success to the Society.

LUNCHEON MEETING AN OLD WEEKLY CUSTOM
(January 1953)

It has been nearly two decades since a group of Society members whose business activities take them to lower Manhattan began meeting at intervals for lunch. The congeniality and interesting discussions which marked the gatherings caused them to become a weekly event and for years each Tuesday at the stroke of twelve is the customary time to assemble.

The first meetings were held at the old Planter's Restaurant at Greenwich and Cedar Streets during the presidency of the late Arthur R. Wendell. It was his habit to leave his business address in Rahway, N.J., every Tuesday morning to be at Headquarters of the Society at 90 West Street. When the noon hour arrived he would ask other officers or members who were at hand to lunch with him. Frequently it was to continue discussion of a matter relating to the affairs of the Society and many decisions of importance have been reached in such a manner.

The old restaurant closed after several years and the group removed to a nearby eating place. Several more years found another move desirable and this time a French style restaurant just off Park Row was chosen.

Early in the 1940's, when Edward M. Van Buren Jr. was secretary, he was instrumental in selection of the restaurant in the New York State Chamber of Commerce building on Liberty Street as a meeting place. A table was assigned for the purpose and on occasion a second table is required depending on whether those in attendance number four or five upward to a dozen or more.

There are some members who seldom miss the weekly gathering. Others are less regular according to the demands of active business routine and still others attend whenever affairs will permit them a trip from out of town. The last mentioned members have been noted from all parts of the United States.

The luncheon group is varied and may

HOLLAND SOCIETY GROUP IN TOUR OF NETHERLANDS
(April 1963)

"Sunday evening, May 19, 1963, the Society gave a reception and banquet at the Amsterdam Hilton to honor representatives of the Dutch localities which, with KLM Royal Dutch Airline, had done so much to make our venture memorable.... The banquet itself made colorful by Burgher Guard parades of the Society's flags and a locally obtained Beaver."
Henry Fonda Honored by Society at Dinner Here
(April 1968)

Henry Fonda received the Holland Society's highest award to a member, the Distinguished Service Medal and Citation, for his conspicuous achievements in the American theater at a formal dinner given in his honor at the Waldorf Astoria here Wednesday evening, April 10. President Walter E. Hopper, Jr., presided and made the presentation.

A congenial social hour preceded the dinner in the Sert Room, where Burgher Guardsmen in colorful 17th century uniforms paraded the Colors and Beaver. The proceedings featured as guest speakers Miss Myrna Loy, the actress; Leland Hayward, the producer, and Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, whose addresses led to the presentation and acceptance speech by Mr. Fonda.

After the invocation by Domine Ernest R. Palen, and orchestral rendition of the National Anthems, three toasts were offered and drunk with cordial good will. That to Her Majesty Queen Juliana was proposed by Mr. Fonda, while the toast to The President was by D.G.R. Middelburg, Netherlands Ambassador to the UN, and that to H.R.H. The Prince of The Netherlands by Secretary Anthony D. Hoagland.

Aspects of Mr. Fonda's many-faceted career were related by the speakers. The first woman to address a Holland Society gathering, Miss Loy, film star and former U.S. representative to UNESCO, told of his artistry and courage. Mr. Valenti paid tribute to the enduring excellence and professional quality of his work. Mr. Hayward, an old friend, who staged "Mr. Roberts" and other productions starring Mr. Fonda, lauded him as a perfectionist who brings complete honesty to every role.

Mr. Fonda, a descendant of the Dutch settler Gillis Douwse Fonda, for whom the village of Fonda, county seat of Montgomery County, N.Y., is named, expressed his appreciation for the award. He recounted experiences from his 43 years in the theater that began when a friend of the family's Mrs. Dorothy Brando, Marlon's mother and an amateur actress, helped him obtain a role in the Omaha Community Playhouse. No profession could have been more rewarding, he said.

Before introducing the speakers, Col. Hopper read messages from Mayor Lindsay and Senator Javits, and presented the Burgher Guard with a streamer for its flags.

Numerous Persons during the past 150 years have attempted to translate portions of the archives of the government of New Netherland. The existing translations represent only a small part of the total volume of these records, and they are for the most part inaccurate and misleading. Since there are no suitable alternatives such translations are still in wide use, resulting in frequent confusion of land titles and erroneous concepts concerning the development of American government and culture and the course of colonial history.

The translations by Edmund B. O'Callaghan (1797-1880) constitute the largest body of work by one person and it is therefore instructive to examine his career. A native of Ireland, he was educated in Dublin, Paris, and Quebec, and became a doctor of medicine in Montreal. Interested in politics, he became successively the editor of a political journal, member of the Canadian Parliament, and a participant in the revolution of 1837. Forced to flee the country, he settled in Albany, New York, where he returned to the practice of medicine for a time, then became editor of another journal, and eventually became involved in the anti-rent movement. This led him to learn Dutch in order to interpret early land records, and from this developed his interest in colonial history. There is obviously little in O'Callaghan's history to this point to suggest that he would settle down to a scholarly career.

He published his History of New Netherland 1846-48 and in the latter year at the age of 51 was appointed to trans-
The fact led to his losing both his appointment, concurrently in the government of the City of New York, 1870-73. He was apparently involved with the Boss Tweed machine, which fact led to his losing both his appointive positions. Thereafter he wrote several magazine articles based upon his studies, the last in 1878.

Works of O'Callaghan which are principally translations include the following, listed in chronological order:

- *Remonstrance of New Netherland* (1856).
- *Names of Persons for Whom Marriage Licenses were Issued Prior to 1784* (1860).
- *Origin of the Legislative Assemblies of the State of New York* (1861).
- *The Register of New Netherland* (1865).
- *Calendar to the Historical Manuscripts in the office of the Secretary of State* (4 vols. 1865-68).
- *Voyages of the Slavers* (1867).
- *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland* (1868).
- *Index of volumes 1, 2, and 3 of Translations of Dutch Manuscripts* (1870).

O'Callaghan also prepared several works which remain unpublished. These include:

- *New York Wills* (1871).

Naturally O'Callaghan's first translation, published only a few years after his first acquaintance with Dutch language and culture, is inferior to his later work. A.J.F. van Laer (1869-1955), the most able of all Dutch translators, wrote about the New York Colonial Tracts: "They represent some of the latest work of Dr. O'Callaghan, made more than 20 years after he wrote his History of New Netherland, and are therefore the result of experience. Nevertheless, they are not free from errors, both of omission and commission... The language in the whole is good, but at time unnecessarily strained, and in case of publication a complete and careful revision with the originals would be necessary."

Frequent examples could be cited of differences between translations by van Laer and O'Callaghan. Not only is the style of O'Callaghan strained by following the Dutch sentence structure word by word; more importantly, it is inaccurate in translating obscure and archaic terms, misspellings, and idioms.

Next to O'Callaghan, the largest producer of translations from the Dutch records prior to van Laer was Berthold Fernow. Beginning in Europe like the others, Fernow's earlier life resembles O'Callaghan's with its variety of schooling, travel, and high adventure, followed by an almost accidental change of career in midlife.

Born in Prussian Poland in 1837, Fernow received a gymnasium education in Germany, studied farming for two years, and served briefly as a lieutenant in the Prussian army reserve in Lithuania. In 1861, he immigrated, becoming in turn an Iowa farmer, an officer in the Union army, and an employee of a steamship company in New York. Returning to Prussia in 1870, he spent four years as a Berlin bank clerk before reappearing in America to become a strawberry farmer in Metuchen, New Jersey. Fernow once humorously described his career to this point as "tramp."

Fluent in Dutch, French, Danish, German, Spanish, English and Russian by his own account (and one would presume he had learned Polish in his native Posen), Fernow was appointed in 1876 to succeed O'Callaghan as translator of State records. By 1883 he had published translations of three volumes of documents despite having been out of office in 1878 and 1879 when the Republicans were out of power. He personally drafted the law transferring custody of the colonial records to the State Library whose staff he joined in 1882 as clerk in charge of historical manuscripts. In 1889 the Chancellor of the University forced his resignation from the State Library (either because of partisan politics, or library politics). Thereafter, Fernow translated numerous volumes while on assignment for a variety of publishers, societies, and government agencies. He died in 1908.

Fernow's publications include the following:

- *Albany and Its Place in the History of the United States* (1886).
- *The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days* (1890).
- *Calendar of Wills, 1628-1836* (1896).
- *Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674* (7 vols. 1897).
- *New Amsterdam Family Names and Their Origin* (1898).
- *New Jersey Archives* (vols. 21, 23, 1898, 1903).
- *Albany and New York Families* (1900).
- *Calendar of Council Minutes, 1666-1783* (1902).
- *Minutes of the Orphanmasters of New Amsterdam* (1902-07).

A.J.F. van Laer says of Fernow that "the translations read smoothly and as a rule are fairly accurate, though Mr. Fernow occasionally makes bad mistakes... Both Dutch and English were acquired languages and, notwithstanding his great linguistic abilities, his knowledge is apt to fail him when it comes to anything particularly involved or technical." Van Laer continues by citing numerous examples, such as "the military should not meddle" where the meaning is really "the military should be gradually removed," "land matters" instead of "affairs of state," "1 small cask of Spanish wine" for "1 small case of Spanish soap" and "1 half radishes" for "1 half tire iron."

In summary, van Laer felt that O'Callaghan was the most capable of his predecessors. Fernow and the other principal translators (an assembly clerk and two ministers) all lacked at least one of the three requisites of a translator: a scholarly mind, Dutch competence, and English fluency.

That O'Callaghan and the others did their best cannot be denied. However it must also be admitted that the existing translations are often inaccurate, and they include only a tiny portion of the total New Netherland archives. Until these documents are translated completely and accurately, and published, the people of New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Curacao are denied both a knowledge of their early history and the effective protection of access to government records.
Medical Practices in New Netherland

By Richard H. Amerman

For eighteen years, from 1958 to 1976, Richard Amerman (1907-1982) served as the editor of de Halve Maen. Under his able editorship, the first true effort was made to turn the Society’s magazine into a scholarly journal. Amerman’s essay on medical practices in New Netherland, published in the January 1957 de Halve Maen, was among the first of several essays that he would contribute. New Netherland medical practices remains a topic that needs comprehensive scholarly study.

WITH A HANDFUL of physicians and surgeons, the Dutch settlement of New Netherland grew up in an era which witnessed the flowering of the renaissance. The time when Dutchmen came here was an age of adventure: of great voyages and discoveries, of great artistic and literary achievements. In the western world this volcanic outburst of creative energy was nowhere more apparent than in Holland, as exemplified in the glories of the Dutch School of paintings. At the same time, however, science and scientific method were in their infancy. The intellectual ferment of the age had scarcely touched the science of healing. Medical men continued to follow traditional learning handed down largely intact from antiquity.

To the Dutch practitioner in both old and new worlds, such as Dr. La Montagne and Surgeon Vanderbeek the works of ancient Greek and Roman physicians were still received as standard authorities. Much of the learning of Hippocrates and Galen had become overlaid with medieval superstition. Thus, in New Netherland, as elsewhere in Europe and colonial America, it was generally thought that diabolic influences created the diseases afflicting mankind. Martin Luther had said that “Pestilence, fever and other severe diseases are naught else than the devil’s work.” Logically it followed that natural remedies could scarcely cure illnesses induced by supernatural means, and indeed that it was sinful to expect more of doctors than from divine providence.

Medical learning was therefore largely a curious miscellany bearing little relationship to physical processes, or the real causes and treatment of disease. Instead, doctors concerned themselves with such matters as humors, sympathies and antipathies. Use of the lancet to bleed patients was well-nigh universal. This practice, supposed to “breathe the veins” and free the body of “hostile humors,” continued into the 19th century.

The most enlightened physicians of the time prescribed an extraordinary number and variety of remedies from such ingredients as gold leaf, ground rubies, pulverized toads, grasshoppers and butterflies. In colonial New England, for example, a doctor gave his patient this cure for insomnia: “Bruise a handful of anise-seeds and steep them in Rose Water and make it up in little bags, and bind one of them to each Nostril.” Even the royal physician in England, Dr. Theodore Mayerne, surpassed competitors in recommending as a remedy for hypochondria his famous Balsam of Bats, a compound, of “adders, bats, sucking whelps, earthworms, and the marrow of the thigh-bone of an ox.”

In Holland the condition of medicine was much the same, despite earlier advances in comparative anatomy by Vesalius, the great Flemish physician. When the 17th century began, doctors cured much more by personality than by their remedies and practices. However, enthusiasm for genuine scientific investigation was soon to arise, following rational methods of research advocated by Rene Descartes and Baruch de Spinoza, world-famous philosophers then resident in Holland.

As a consequence, this era witnessed the discoveries of Antony van Leeuwenhoek, who built the microscope and was the first to describe the corpuscular formation of the blood, and those arising from Christian Huyghens’ epochal studies in the field of optics. The medical school at Leyden attained world eminence, and on its faculty Herman Boerhaave was to become the greatest teacher of his time. A letter from China merely addressed “Boerhaave, celebrated physician, Europe,” is said to have been duly delivered. The study of anatomy became inseparable from medical education. Nor was interest in medicine limited to a few, for anatomy classes were the favorite subject of famous Dutch artists, such as Rembrandt, Michael van Mierevelt, and Thomas de Keyser.

Only fragmentary records survive con-
cerning medical practice in the forty years of Dutch rule in New Netherland from 1624 to 1664. In general, these records relate to five types of practitioners: "zieckentroosters," physicians, surgeons, pharmacists, and midwives. Dutch colonial America was the scene of several probable "firsts," notably the first coroner's inquest (1658), and establishment of the first hospital (1659). In the beginning, the sovereign Dutch West India Company made relatively little provision for health, although in this regard its record was to improve. Company directors originally required the colonists to support a church and the schooling of children. Their concern with health, however, at first was limited to the appointment of "zieckentroosters," or comforters of the sick.

These comforters were lay Bible readers. Their function was to bring religious solace to those afflicted with physical ailments. Officially serving in that capacity and receiving pay from the Company at an early day were Eva Pietersen Evertsen and one Molenaer. Two other comforters of the sick emigrated in 1625. Sebastian Jan Crol and Jan Huyck, Peter Minuit's brother-in-law, Crol later became agent of the Van Rensselaer patroonship near Albany, and Huyck a Company official in New Amsterdam. Of the physicians who came to New Netherland, the leader was Dr. Johannes La Montagne, a Huguenot also known as Jean Mousier de la Montagne. Born in France in 1595, La Montagne's family had migrated to Holland, where his father became a physician and pharmacist. La Montagne took his medical degree at Leyden. He first visited New Netherland in 1624. Thirteen years later he returned here with wife and children, and spent twenty years in the colony. His abilities were such that Director William Kieft appointed him Councillor in 1638, an office he retained under Stuyvesant. He criticized Kieft's dictatorial exercise of power and opposed his rash Indian policy which nearly brought the colony to ruin in 1643. His standing as Councillor remained unimpaired for the reason, it is said, that Kieft was grateful toward the doctor for disarming an enraged farmer who attempted to pistol him. For a time La Montagne acted as schoolmaster. Later he served as commandant at Fort Orange, where in 1664 he surrendered the post to the English. His son, Jan, was one of Manhattan's twenty-eight school teachers in 1664, and his daughter, Rachel, became the wife of Dr. Gysbert van Imbore of Esopus. From the record, Dr. La Montagne was a man of uncommon ability, for besides conducting an extensive medical practice among colonists and the Indians, he discharged important executive duties with distinction.

Two other academically trained physicians in New Netherland took up their professional duties late in the Dutch era. One of them, Dr. Samuel Megapolensis, was the son of Domine Johannes Megapolensis, for many years the most influential clergyman in the colony. Samuel was a Harvard student in New England three years before completing his studies in the Netherlands, where he took degrees both in theology and medicine. He returned to New Amsterdam for a while in 1664, and became the first university-trained physician in Brooklyn. Another medical school graduate, Dr. Johannes Kerbyle, received his degree at Leyden and emigrated to New Netherland in 1664 at the age of 29. During the English administration he was, in 1687, appointed physician to the poor and in 1698 he was elected a member of the Provincial Council. His investigations in 1691 of the mysterious circumstances surrounding the death of Governor Slaughter resulted in his performing probably the first autopsy in America.

During most of the colonial period, surgeons practiced both in New Amsterdam and in New Netherland. Surgery had less professional standing in that day, being entirely distinct from medicine. These practitioners were known as "barber-surgeons," an expression with a curious history. In medieval times tonsured priests served as physicians but were forbidden to perform surgery. Their lay assistants had as their prime duty to shave and bleed the monks. As time went on, these laymen assumed the task of administering surgical treatment outside the religious community and professed to serve the healing art. Guilds of barber-surgeons arose, with the brass basin and red-and-white banded pole symbolic of their public profession. Surgical guilds, dating back to the 15th century in the Netherlands, gradually developed a system of apprenticeship, service and examination. The famous French barber-surgeon, Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), who discovered the method of ligating arteries to control hemorrhage, did much to free surgery from its humble origin and encrusted superstition. In so advanced a country as England, however, it was not until 1745 that the trade of barber was held, by Act of Parliament, to be "foreign to and independent of the practice of surgery."

Public health in New Netherland was largely in the hands of Company-employed barber-surgeons. Many emigrated originally as ship surgeons who were competent to bleed, set bones, extract teeth and to perform minor operations. One of them, Dr. Hans Kierstede, was a native of Magdeburg in Saxony. He arrived in 1638 and practiced here nearly thirty years. His wife, Sarah Roelofs, daughter of Anneke Jans, was famous for her knowledge of Indian languages. Sarah acted as official interpreter in many negotiations with the Indians, including the acquisition of 20,000 acres in Bergen County and the peace treaty at Esopus. Kierstede received several land grants from the Company, and in 1640 a legacy of surgical instruments from a colleague, Dr. Jan Pietersen, of Fort Nassau on the Delaware (now Gloucester, N. J.). He died in 1666, highly esteemed for long and faithful service.

Another well-known surgeon was Dr. Paulus Vanderbeck, who came to New Amsterdam with a company of soldiers from Curacao in 1643 during Kieft's Indian war. He married the Widow Bennett and went to Brooklyn to live on her 930-acre farm which the Indians had plundered. Paulus restored the property and cultivated the land, besides taking up the practice of his profession. Later he acted as tithe-collector and ferrymaster. In the latter capacity he was subject of reprimand by Stuyvesant's Council, which took him to task for making ferry passengers wait "half the day and night before he would carry them across the river." To obtain ferry service, passengers had to blow the horn fastened to a nearby tree and to pay fare of six stivers in wampum, or six cents. Paulus prospered in his multiple activities, attained the burgher recht, and when he died was accounted a wealthy man.

To another surgeon, Dr. Jacob Hendrichsen Varvanger, goes the honor of founding probably the first hospital in America. Varvanger, a Company surgeon in the Stuyvesant administration, was a practitioner of standing and likewise attained burgher recht status. For several years he imported medicine from Holland at personal expense, later reimbursed. Humane and conscientious, he took steps to have a building set aside where Company employees and soldiers could receive

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proper attendance and treatment when sick. In 1658 he petitioned the Director and Council to arrange “a proper place for the reception of such patients, to be taken care of by a faithful person who is to assist them bodily with food and fire.” The Council approved his petition, and soon afterward established a hospital with Hiltje Wilbruch as matron at a regular yearly stipend of 100 florins. In 1658 Varvanger and his colleague, Kierstede, performed the first recorded coroner’s inquest in America.

Dr. Gysbert van Imborch, who married Dr. La Montagne’s daughter, Rachel, served as surgeon in what is now Ulster County, New York. An able and versatile man, he had emigrated originally as a merchant. His medical knowledge derived, it is said, from apprenticeship with his father-in-law. He also served his community as schoolmaster and town councillor. Indians carried off his wife in the attack on Esopus in 1664, but she escaped and personally led Dutch troops to the Indian camp. When van Imborch died in 1665, inventory of his estate included 40 textbooks on medicine and surgery, among them the writings of Ambroise Paré and the famous Dutch anatomist, Nicolas Tulp.

Other surgeons whose identities are known attained standing in the colony. One of the first to arrive was Harman Mynderts van den Bogaert, who emigrated in 1631 as surgeon aboard the ship Eendracht. He became part-owner of La Glace privateer, Company commissary at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, and died in a Mohawk wigwam fire in 1647. In 1638 Gerrit Schult and Pieter Van der Linde came to New Netherland. Of Schult nothing further is known. Van der Linde, in 1640, became Company inspector of tobacco and in 1648 schoolmaster and church clerk, evidently leaving the colony afterward. In 1647 William Hayes and Peter Brucht practiced here. Later the names of several ship surgeons appear, among them John Can, Jacob Mollenauer and Isaac Jansen. At Fort Orange, Abram Staats and Jacob D’Hinnes became well known practitioners. Two of Dr. Staats’ sons, Samuel and Jacob, were also physicians. Jacob De Commer practiced in New Amsterdam in 1660 and later in New Amstel (now Newcastle, Del.). Between 1658 and 1680 are found the names of Drs. Peter Vandenburg, Cornelius Van Dyke and Herman Wessels.

In the 1650’s controversy developed in New Amsterdam between the ship surgeons and resident practitioners. The city men believed themselves exclusively entitled to practice as barbers and surgeons on shore. On the other hand, the nautical doctors insisted on the right to shave people on land while their ships were in harbor. In 1652 the city surgeons brought this dispute before Director and Council. After argument the Council issued the first ordinance regulating the practice of medicine in America. The ordinance provided, as to shaving, “... that no man can be prevented operating on himself nor to do another the friendly act, provided it is through courtesy and not for gain, which is hereby forbidden.” The decree further ordered that “ship barbers shall not be allowed to dress any wounds nor administer any potions on shore without the previous knowledge and special consent of the petitioners, or at least of Dr. Montagne.”

Rembrandt, the Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp, 1632. Mauritshuis, The Hague.
Later in Stuyvesant's administration, in 1657, the Director and Council enacted an ordinance with police provisions familiar to latter-day doctors. When called to dress a wound, surgeons were ordered to ascertain and report the circumstances to the authorities.

Pharmacy, then as now, had close relation to medical practice. Most physicians had a stock of herbs, simples, Indian remedies and other materials from which they compounded prescriptions. To their skill in preparing medicine may be attributed the fact that many contemporary cookbooks were written by doctors. A natural remedy known to us as quinine greatly reduced mortality from malaria when introduced late in the colonial era. Called “Cinchona bark” in that day, it took its name from Count Cinchona, Spanish viceroy of Peru in the 1630's. Several apothecaries practiced in the colony, among them the Huguenot Peter Le Feber who in 1652 obtained Council permission to sell medicinal waters at wholesale and retail.

To women was very largely entrusted the field of obstetrics. Midwives practiced in New Netherland, in many cases as Company appointed and compensated officials. Elsewhere in the American colonies a midwife's pay largely depended on skill and success. A Virginia lady in the 1630's paid a midwife a dozen hens for attendance. On eastern Long Island, midwives were elected in town meeting. In New Amsterdam, Lysbert Dircksen held the official post of town midwife in 1638 and lived in a house built for her at public expense. In 1644, Tryntje Jonas was the official midwife and had her own house on Pearl Street. When Tryntje died, her daughter Anneke Jans collected arrears of pay from the Company for services rendered. Later, Hellegond Joris received appointment as midwife and served many years in that capacity.

Since the population of New Netherland in 1664 hardly exceeded 10,000 persons, of whom no more than 1500 lived in New Amsterdam, the number of medical practitioners here indicates genuine concern with public health. In the light of modern achievement, professional knowledge and skill was rudimentary, in some ways even harmful. Imperfectly trained and largely unregulated, the physicians here nevertheless appear to have done their best to fight periodic epidemics of influenza, smallpox, dysentery, malaria and scarlet fever, besides the lesser maladies.

Fortunately the climate was healthful. Adrian Van der Donck remarks in his Description of New Netherland (1655) that the local Galens had only "meager beer." For this reason virtually every practitioner followed one or more additional callings, such as the ministry, teaching, farming, barbering, and the like. There is no recorded instance of a Dutch doctor attributing curative failure to witchcraft, an excuse commonly made by physicians elsewhere. The colonists themselves were of sturdy stock, and had the physical resources to resist organic disease. Many attained the Biblical three score and ten, among them Bergen County's Albert Zabriskie who died in 1711 at about 73.

Pioneer life in general provided abundant and wholesome food, houses which were not overheated, and a simplicity of outlook relatively free from tensions characteristic of the present time. Large families were the rule; and it is assuredly fact that the descendants of these hardy Dutchmen are numerous to this day.

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have received recognition. But in the highly competitive and commercial atmosphere where beaver pelts, trading and the acquisition of land were the foremost subjects of interest, the fine arts in general and literature in particular have been largely neglected by the chroniclers of New Netherland.

One of the chief reasons for this omission was, undoubtedly, the lack of a definitive source or authority on this subject. Even now, some 290 years after the passing of New Netherland from Dutch to British rule, only fragmentary parts can be discovered in print. And these can be found only after careful scanning of perhaps a dozen or more volumes whose main topics are not concerned with the literary merits or the literary works of these early Dutch colonists.

Perhaps the best source available today is Ellis Raesley’s Portrait of New Netherland, published in 1945 by the Columbia University Press. Although Raesley’s book was criticized by scholars of the Dutch colonial period for a number of careless errors, it nevertheless contains the most informative accounts of the writers, poets and just plain rhymers in New Netherland. Additional factual data is offered in the monumental Manual of the Reformed Church in America, written by the late Rev. Edward T. Corwin, D.D., particularly in regard to the pastor-poet, Domine Henricus Selyns (or Selyns). But most of the material is scattered throughout various books and records of many different kinds. And in many of these sources, only general references to the literature of New Netherland are made.

For example, a quotation from one of these books, The Story of New Netherland, by Rev. William Elliot Griffis concerning Dutch literary efforts says: “There were poets and prose writers, and not all the works printed in Dutch were volumes of sermons.” As recently as 1954, the Annual Report of the New York Historical Society, listing gifts made to that society, noted that “…indicating that the Dutch were not solely hard-headed planters and traders, is a volume of manuscript verses, largely in Dutch, by the first minister in Brooklyn, Domine Henricus Selyns who died in 1701.” Later the same report cites another type of literary work—this time by an Englishman who lived under Dutch rule in New Netherland—Daniel Denton, who wrote the first separate publication in English relating to the province, A Brief Description of New York in 1670.

In 1953, the New York Historical Society’s report also made note of a literary landmark of New Netherland: “Of the many treasures added to our rare book shelves this year we will mention only four: (first) Jacob Steendam’s Den Distelvink (The Thistlefinch), Amsterdam 1649—the first book of verses by New Amsterdam’s first poet; complete in three parts with a four-page index.”

Steendam, who was born in 1616, was a renowned traveler who made among other voyages, a trip to New Netherland. The date of this trans-Atlantic crossing is unknown because Steendam left no account of it. But he must have been in New Amsterdam by the year 1653 because records show he owed a tax of 100 florins, levied on the citizens to cover the building of a stockage and to repair the fort at the Battery.

Den Distelvink is composed of three books. The first deals with poems of love, pastorals and May songs, a popular form of verse at the time. The second includes nuptial songs, eulogies and some lines dealing with the poet’s adventures in Africa, a place he had visited some time before he came to New Amsterdam. The third book contains “heaven songs” which resemble the Psalms of the Holy Bible.

Other poetic works of Steendam were Klacht van Nieuw-Amsterdam (Complaint of New Amsterdam), an allegory in which the city was characterized as a beautiful woman of high-born parentage, and, in 1661, ’T Lof van Nieuw-Nederland (The Love of New Netherland), a poem written to entice Dutch citizens to migrate to New Netherland by advertising the virtues of the province.

A contemporary of Steendam was Nicasius deSille, prominent provincial official of New Netherland. Perhaps deSille is best known as a City Schout, Captain-Lieutenant of Provincial Forces on the western shore of Long Island and later Schout-Fiscal of the Province. But he was also an adept writer of note whose talents were not limited to penning interesting letters.

His most ambitious work was in the role of “a simple chronicler” of the Founding or Beginning of New Utrecht in what is now Brooklyn. This “history” covers the years 1657 through 1660. It contains rhymed lines including this philosophical viewpoint on the death of a young baby:

“Here lies the first of Cortelyou from life withdrawn,
The first child in the village of our Utrecht born.
Brought forth in innocence, snatched hence with-out a stain,
God gave it being here, a better life to gain.”

Like Den Distelvink, deSille’s New Utrecht has three parts; throughout the
ogy displays deSille's great faith in the courage and belief in the strong, productive earth to "a flowering garden'. The final part of the trilogy displays deSille's great faith in the Divine Power, coupled with deSille's courage and belief in the strong, protective arm of God:

"His power with strength shall always us endow,
Our wants to meet, our cattle to increase.
Ourselves from savages and foes release,
For which to Him devoutly let us bow".

In another form of verse, deSille wrote what are called "poetic epitaphs" for the Rev. Johannes Megapolensis and Director-General Peter Stuyvesant. Stuyvesant's epitaph, as written by deSille, was a stirring tribute to the irascible, steadfast old soldier and a verse-sum-up of Stuyvesant's stormy career in New Netherland:

"Move gently on this sand for here lies Stuyvesant,
Who once commanded all that was New Netherland,
And much against his will delivered it to his foes.
If sorrow and regret can smite a heart, his heart
Did die a thousand deaths so lethal was the smart,
His first years were too sweet; his last, too full of woes!"

His many-sided career as soldier, poet, civil servant, and deSille's use of his gracious talents earned him for the high regard of not only his fellow-Dutch in New Netherland, but also the esteem of the English Governor Francis Lovelace who commissioned deSille a notary public for Midwout in the poet's later years. Although deSille's burial place is unknown, his own epitaph—the briefest of all—has survived to mark the fullness of a life spent in the service of his fellow men:

"Comes no reply; know then the silent one is I!"

One of the most versatile versifiers of New Amsterdam was the Dutch Dominie Henricus Selyns. Some literary critics have suggested that this parson took up writing riddles, puns and doggerel as an escape from the more serious writing of sermons and pastoral letters. His letters to the Classis of Amsterdam in Holland, however, show that the Domine was also an able letter-writer who seemed to delight in the various expressions and meanings he could obtain with words.

Among the uses to which he put his poetry was the wooing of his bride-to-be, Machtelt Specht, whom he married in 1662. He won her, it is said, only after repeated poetic pleas. Nor did he stop after the marriage. Once a year Selyns wrote a rhyme in praise of his wife. One of these was called "Machtelt Specht My Housewife"; another was "New Year's Prayer for Machtelt Specht".

The titles of Selyns' poems were often self-explanatory. For example, "Upon a Certain Maiden Ready to Say ‘Yes’ on the First Evening" (the arrival of a Leap Year prompted him to write this one); "Upon Stout and Domineering Maidens" (presumably a dispute with a stubborn huisvrouw was responsible for this one). Other poems of his were contemptuous of "scolds and hoidens"; still others expressed affection for a particular person. His longest poem, called "Bridal Torch for a Brooklyn Parson" was written for Domine Luyck, a fellow parson, and his bride, Judith van Idendoom on the occasion of their wedding.

Selyns was also a voluminous correspondent who wrote letters to heads of government in other colonies and with distinguished men outside New Amsterdam. For the famous Cotton Mather of Massachusetts, he wrote a Latin poem lauding Mather for his famous Church History of New England. One of the finest tributes to Selyns' talents and craftsmanship was written by Mather who said:

"He (selyns) had so nimble a faculty of putting his devout thoughts into verse, that he signalized himself by the greatest frequency, perhaps, which ever man used, of sending poems to all, persons in all places on all occasions; and upon this as well as upon greater accounts was a David unto the flocks of Our Lord in the wilderness."

Prose writing in New Netherland was generally in the form of letters, journals or pamphlets of one kind or another. The distinctly modern types like the novel, the short story and the essay are not to be found among the surviving efforts of the New Netherlanders. But the apt turn of phrase, the ability to describe an Indian village or the lush appearance of a good harvest, although it might have been lacking in modern sophisticated phraseology, was nonetheless complete and usually easy to visualize. Immediately after his arrival in New Amsterdam in August of 1628, the Rev. Jonas Michaelius wrote a long letter to the Rev. Adrian Smoutius, one of the ministers of the Collegiate Churches of Amsterdam. In this letter, Michaelius describes in a detailed manner the death of his wife, the voyage to New Netherland, the church services in New Amsterdam, the natives, their character and difficult language, the housekeeping problems and customs, farming conditions, the food, the harvests, the industries, civil matters in the colony, the climate and, in general, the best word-picture of the province to be obtained at that early date.

Another Dutch Reformed Church minister, Rev. Johannes Megapolensis, who had been called to preach at the well-known patroonship of Rensselaerswyck, in 1642, wrote an extensive pamphlet called "A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians, their country, language, figure, costume, religion and government" in 1644 which was published seven years later in Alkmaer, Holland. Megapolensis drew heavily on his years of personal contacts with the Mohawks. During this time, he was engaged in missionary work among these Indians but his powers of observation and ability to put down on paper what he saw resulted in the first complete account of how an American Indian tribe lived at that time.

At least two others deserve to be mentioned as contributors to the descriptive literature of New Netherland and the new world. Captain David Pietersen de Vries, whose Various Voyages is a narrative of his explorations in and about the province of New Netherland, and Adrian Van der Donck who wrote an early Description of New Netherland. Like many of their contemporaries, both devries and Van der Donck were explorers and colonizers rather than authors. Therefore, as purely literary efforts, their accounts lacked the literary finesse and phrasing that literary critics look for today. But as first-hand descriptions of a wonderfully new and interesting land which they saw for the first time, these narratives are magnificent pieces of writing.
IN THE LAST few years historians have learned many things about the commerce, religion, social structure and craftsmanship of the Hudson Valley Dutch and have demonstrated that their way of life remained for generations far more like that of the Netherlands than that of the English colonists. Historical demography is a new method of social research which promises to add further dimensions to this picture. Combining the approach of the genealogist with that of the statistician, it is of particular interest to members of the Holland Society because its sources include registers of baptisms, marriages and burials like those of the Albany Dutch Reformed Church published in the Society's Year Books for 1904-08 and 1922-27.

This article depicts generally, and its subsequent parts will describe in detail, a demographic study of these Albany registers, designed to yield statistical information about Hudson Valley Dutch social structure which will provide a basis for comparison with similar studies for other colonies and for the Netherlands, and also a broader context for genealogists' knowledge of particular families.

The Albany Dutch repeated the patrician social pattern characteristic of cities in the Netherlands throughout the Middle Ages. In these cities, which existed primarily as trading centers and whose most important index of status was wealth, the richest merchants contributed substantial sums to purchase privileges of self-government from neighboring feudal lords and served on the city councils which exercised these privileges. Their descendants intermarried and remained in the city, keeping their fortunes invested in its commerce and dominating its affairs for generations. These patricians often admitted men of newer wealth to their ranks by intermarriage, and sometimes were compelled by civic disorder to make room in the government for wealthy artisans, particularly the masters of guilds who were the mediaeval equivalent of industrialists.

Normally, however, the plebeians of the cities and the surrounding countryside acquiesced in patrician rule, considering the liberties (i.e. the privileges) of their own community, via a vis other communities, to be far more important than the individual liberty which Englishmen (and Americans) have stressed. This pattern emerges most conspicuously in Albany in the eighteenth century, two generations after the Hudson Valley was conquered by the English, when two distinct groups of patricians, fur traders and general merchants, emerged from a plebeian population about which, as yet, very little is known.¹


Historical demography, the study of numbers, distribution and movement of population, makes use of just the sorts of information which are available about these Dutch plebeians. Census returns are a convenient place to begin, but no house-to-house rolls have survived from several censuses in colonial New York. Nevertheless, recorded totals for Albany County...
show gradual increase to about 2,000 people in 1689, sudden depopulation to about 1,400 during the Indian war of the 1690’s, immediate recovery when the war was over and steady expansion to about 10,500 in 1749, and a population explosion from the French and Indian War to the first federal census in 1790, which counted about 72,000.

Lists of voters, taxpayers and militia-men indicate how many adult men with taxable property lived in the various districts at different times, but tell nothing about the numbers of their dependents and omit families too poor to vote or pay taxes and those with no men of military age—for example, widows with daughters or with sons under sixteen. Comparing such lists for different years suggests the extent of immigration to and emigration from the district. Linguistic analysis of surnames indicates distribution of ethnic groups; for example, the Revolutionary militia of Albany, Schenectady and the West District of Rensselaerswyck contained a heavy majority of Dutchmen, and Claverack, Halfmoon and the East District of Rensselaerswyck were about half and half, but in the rest of the country, including the old Dutch settlements of Kinderhook and Schaghticoke, Dutch militiamen were decidedly in the minority. (See table below.) From such records, therefore, a profile of the population as a whole can be constructed and the proportion of it which was of Dutch descent inferred.¹

Much more can be learned about the Dutch, patricians and plebeians, from the baptism and marriage registers of the Albany Dutch Reformed Church, which begin in 1683 when the English authorities established throughout the colony the English system of local government, in which churches were required to keep such records, and run continuously until 1809, when the congregation split. These registers, as published by the Holland Society, appear to be complete except for a few gaps between pastors; although the very poor and the very indifferent then as now avoided these ceremonies and the fees that went with them, most people were anxious to have their marriages and their children’s births legally recorded.

Albany burial registers have also been published, but since they were legally unimportant next to probate records, they were less carefully kept and do not include people who were buried on their own farms rather than in the churchyard. (The dates of their deaths can often be recovered from probate records and genealogies.)

The most obvious way of studying these registers is to count the number of events in each year and plot the totals on graphs, a process called “aggregation.” Such graphs immediately reveal peak years for baptisms, which may be related to earlier peaks in marriages or to waves of immigration—linguistic analysis of the parents’ surnames suggests which—and peaks in burials during epidemics or wars. These figures can then be used to calculate birth rates, fertility rates, mortality rates, and many other statistics giving a running profile of the Dutch community, although only in the earlier years will this profile in any way represent the total population of the upper Hudson Valley. Similar registers of seven Dutch Reformed churches organized in rural communities near Albany are included in this study, but those of other denominations are not.

In the Dutch period and after, there were a few obstinate Lutherans who refused even these sacraments from Reformed ministers, and the post-conquest British garrison included Anglicans who attended a mission in Albany after 1714, although St. Peter’s Church remained unimportant until British military officers and civil officials built it up during the French and Indian War. In 1763 Scots merchants founded a Presbyterian church, after which Albany rapidly became multidenominational; “aggregation” statistics can be expected to reflect this change in many ways.²

Still more information can be extracted from church registers by sorting out the events according to families and bringing together all of those concerning each individual, a method called “family reconstruction” which resembles that of genealogists except that genealogists are usually interested in tracing a few families from place to place, while demographers work with all the families named in a particular register but seldom go beyond it. “Reconstitution” consists of listing the names of the parties and the date of each marriage in the register on a form, on which are also entered the dates of baptism and death of the couple and their children, with cross-references to similar forms for the couple’s parents and the children’s children.

From this data can then be figured the age of both partners at first marriage, which is one of the most important indices of social structure, the size of families, the intervals between children, the length of women’s child-bearing period, the length of marriages and of periods of widowhood, proportions of mortality among mothers and infants, longevity, and many other statistics. Since averages can be calculated for families or groups of families as well as for the entire population included in the register, they provide a basis on which genealogists can place particular families in the context of their society. Social structure so described can also be compared with that of other colonies—several similar projects are under way in New England–and European countries such as the Netherlands, in which demographers in recent years have been particularly active.³

In order to make these statistics reveal all they can tell about patricians and plebeians in the Hudson Valley, it is necessary to turn to the public records and find out which families were ruling and which were ruled. Analysis of the personnel of the Albany Common Council shows a definite group of “patrician” families who held most of the offices most of the time, although there were usually some plebeians in civic positions and on occasion the patricians were forced to admit powerful plebeians to their ranks.

Since the source of both power and status among the Dutch in America as in the


² Albany baptism and marriage registers are in Holland Society of New York, Year Book, 1904-08, 1922-27; burial registers 1664-1883 are in Dutch Settlers Society of Albany, Yearbook, 1932-34 and 1963-64; registers of many rural parishes are available on microfilm of typed transcripts in the Vestal collection, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, or have been published in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record; the method of aggregation is described in E. A. Wrigley, ed., Introduction to English Historical Demography (New York, 1966), Ch. 3.

³ Albany baptism and marriage registers are in Holland Society of New York, Year Book, 1904-08, 1922-27; burial registers 1664-1883 are in Dutch Settlers Society of Albany, Yearbook, 1932-34 and 1963-64; registers of many rural parishes are available on microfilm of typed transcripts in the Vestal collection, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, or have been published in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record; the method of aggregation is described in E. A. Wrigley, ed., Introduction to English Historical Demography (New York, 1966), Ch. 3.

PERCENTAGES OF DUTCHMEN IN REVOLUTIONARY ALBANY COUNTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICTS AND PERCENTAGES</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>0-25%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>641</strong> Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dutch</strong>: 43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Livingston Manor</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stephentown</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East District (Schoedack)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Albany</strong></td>
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| **Totals Include Fragmentary District Records as well as County Committees** |

Netherlands was wealth it is important to investigate the possessions of all these families as recorded in deeds and wills. The nature and frequency of people’s contact with their government can be learned from the records of law courts and administrative bodies. Such facts, many of which can also be studied statistically, provide a context within which demographic statistics can be translated into social and human terms.

It will be possible to find out, for example, what proportion of the population were patrician, whether there were any significant demographic differences between patrician and plebeian families, how the wealth of patricians (usually merchants) compared with that of plebeians (usually artisans) and rural (farming) families, and how and how much the different groups participated in local government, provincial affairs, and the American Revolution.

The accompanying table on Page 14 [see above on this page] shows the proportions, expressed in percentages, of Dutch officers, militiamen and Tories in the various districts of Albany County. Most of the officers were patrician, reflecting patrician domination of local and provincial appointing bodies. The militiamen and the Tories, on the other hand, were plebeians about whom little is known beyond their names and (for the Tories) their offenses. Demographic analysis can be expected to reveal the whole family and social structure of their districts, and so throw a flood of light on local motivations of loyalty.

These three demographic methods offer three complementary procedures for studying the Hudson Valley Dutch. Aggregation places the Dutch ethnic group in the context of the total population of the region. Family reconstitution studies the relationship in time of the fundamental personal events on which any social structure rests.

Community analysis investigates the acts by which families participate in the public affairs of their society. The demographic approach is particularly important in understanding the Dutch tradition because in that tradition the continuing family is the basic social unit.

Nevertheless, the procedures of this research are not nearly as complicated as might be expected; except for the initial organization and the more sophisticated statistical computations, amateurs can perform most of them and produce original and significant work which is sometimes invaluable because it includes their special knowledge of their own families and localities. Although they would certainly have difficulty with documents written in barely-literate seventeenth-century Dutch, many of the most important church registers and public records of colonial New York have been translated, indexed and published, and numerous genealogies and local histories have been written.

I am finding that calculation and interpretation of statistics and investigation of public records offer a wide range of meaningful research projects to ordinary undergraduates in several departments at my small women’s college, and hope that it will be possible to bring to bear the special knowledge and special skills of others who would like to learn more about the Dutch tradition.

Therefore, from time to time throughout this series I will invite members and friends of the Holland Society to participate in the project in various ways. To begin with, would anyone who reads Dutch easily be interested in translating articles on Netherlands demography from Dutch journals? I will locate the articles and send them to you. It is also necessary to assemble a critical bibliography of Albany genealogies, which I am hoping to publish separately.

Since members of a family usually know their own lineage better than strangers, it would be a great help if anyone descended from any family (-ies) named in the Albany Dutch Church registers (of Dutch, English or other descent) would let me know what genealogies of your family have been published as books or periodical articles and whether you consider them accurate. Do you know of any unpublished genealogies, or collections of genealogical information? Please give author, title, publisher, place of publication, date and number of pages for books; author, title of article, name of magazine, number and date of issue(s) for periodical articles, and tell where unpublished materials are located. I shall be looking forward to integrating your contributions into the history of the Dutch patricians and plebeians of the Hudson Valley.

* Albany County in 1773 included the upper Hudson Valley between Ulster and Duchess Counties and Lake George, and between the Schoharie Valley and the Berkshires, now the counties of Albany, Columbia, Rensselaer, Saratoga, and Schenectady, and parts of Greene, Schoharie, Warren and Washington Counties.


Society Activities

Annual Banquet

THE 115th HOLLAND SOCIETY of New York Annual Banquet was held at the Union Club in Manhattan on November 15, 2001. About seventy-five Members and their guests attended to honor William “Chip” Reynolds, captain of the reconstructed vessel Half Moon, for Maritime Excellence.

After a convivial cocktail hour, Members and guests were introduced to Captain Reynolds, his family, and crew members of the Half Moon. President Walton Van Winkle formally opened the evening with a welcoming address and asked the assembly to stand for the traditional Parading of the Beaver and to remain standing until the conclusion of the toasts. The singing of the National Anthems was led by Holland Society Librarian Dora Koutelas. The Rev. Everett Zabriskie gave the invocation, which was followed by the singing of the Dutch hymn “We Gather Together.” Toasts were given to HRM Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands by President Walton Van Winkle, to the President of the United States by Consul General of the Netherlands in New York The Hon. Bob Hiensh, to the Medalist by Banquet Chairman Ferdinand L. Wyckoff, and to The Holland Society and its guests by Captain Reynolds.

President Van Winkle introduced honored guests Mrs. Ernest P. Brinkley, directress of the General Society of Daughters of Holland Dames, John Mauk Hilliard, Jr., president of the Saint Andrew’s Society, Clarence Harvey Kelley, president of the New England Society of New York, Samuel D. Williams, president of the Saint Nicholas Society, James W. Thomas, president of the Saint David Society, David Sherrill, governor of the Society of Colonial Wars, Sean Sawyer, executive director of the Pieter Claesen Wyckoff House and Museum, and Jippe Hiemstra, president of the Netherland Club of New York. A special booklet describing the House of Orange was put at each place setting as a gift from the Netherlands Consulate in New York.

President Van Winkle introduced Mr. Hiensh, who spoke about the attack on America on September 11 and the compassion of the Dutch nation for the American people. He concluded his speech with the remark that from the moment the Dutch saluted the newly independent United States at St. Eustatius on November 16, 1776, they have felt a kinship with America that has never diminished.

Following a delicious dinner, with dancing between courses to music by the Lester Lanin Orchestra, Mr. Wyckoff gave a warm and humorous speech. President Van Winkle introduced Captain Reynolds and read excerpts from telegrams and faxes received from Dr. Andrew Hendricks, president and founder of the New Netherland Museum, Dr. Charles Gehring, president of the New Netherland Project, and Robert Van Vranken, president of the Holland Society’s Patroon Branch. All spoke of Captain Reynolds’ “extraordinary leadership and organizational abilities” and great dedication in promoting New Netherland’s legacy. President Van Winkle asked Captain Reynolds to come forward to the podium, where President Van Winkle invested him with the Gold Medal and Mr. Wyckoff read the scroll text and presented the scroll to Captain Reynolds. Captain Reynolds gave a dynamic acceptance address in which he talked about his experiences as Captain of the Half Moon and his program “Voyage of Discovery.” This program has hosted over nine thousand students and teachers from area public schools and ties New Netherland history with hands-on experience for fourth and seventh graders. He also spoke emotionally about his experience on September 11, when the Half Moon was anchored in New York Bay. He expressed his admiration for the composure of the boys and girls who were present on the ship and the heroism of everyone who was there. He thanked his family and crew and all the people who were important during his many voyages.

Mr. Wyckoff presented flowers to Society Secretary Annette van Rooy and Society Librarian Dora Koutelas. He then asked everyone to stand and join him in the singing of “God Bless America.”

This was a very special evening. Members continued talking and dancing far into the evening. A bond of kinship was felt throughout the night.
Ulster and Dutchess Counties Branch Meeting

A COMBINED MEETING of the Ulster and Dutchess County branches of The Holland Society of New York took place on Saturday, October 6, 2001. It was the first meeting in quite a while in this area, and everyone was happy to have made a new beginning. The presidents of the Ulster and Dutchess County branches, Kenneth Hewes Barricklo and George Banta, greeted the guests at the historic Hoffman Tavern, located in the National Historic Dutch Stockade District of Kingston, New York. This large stone house was built prior to October 1679. In addition to its primary purpose of serving as a residence to the Hoffman family over the years, it is believed the building served as an early fortification and lookout within the stockade. When the British plundered and burned Kingston on October 16, 1777, the house was severely damaged but was restored by the family shortly thereafter.

Kenneth Barricklo, who is doing historic preservation work on a number of Dutch stone house projects in the area, gave a slide show about some of his various projects, featuring the restoration of the Matthews Persen House in Kingston. The Matthews Persen House will become a county-wide museum, interpreting Ulster County’s regional history, with an emphasis on the early Dutch history of Kingston and the surrounding area, as well as a permanent exhibit on Sojourner Truth, the famous African-American abolitionist born in Ulster County. This double stone Dutch house has been the source of a great many archaeological finds from the Dutch families who once lived there.

Hors d’oeuvres were served during cocktail hour, followed by a choice of three entrees, coffee and dessert. The event was attended by over thirty Members and guests, including Mr. and Mrs. William Van Winkle, James M. Van Buren and his guest Ellen McCorquodalc Martin, Mr. and Mrs. John O. Delamater, David William Voorhees, Paul F. Palen and his guest Bruce Palen, Mr. and Mrs. Ed Vrooman, the Reverend and Mrs. Louis O. Springsteen, Kenneth Hewes Barricklo and his wife Gioia Timpanelli, Mr. and Mrs. George Banta III, Mr. and Mrs. Norman Van Valkenburgh, Mr. and Mrs. Richard R. Hasbrouck, John E. Delamater and his guest Laura Pedersen, Alice Hasbrouck, widow of Kenneth Hasbrouck, Geddy Sviekauskas, publisher of local newspapers, and his daughter Genia Sviekauskas, Neil Larson and Jill Fisher of Neil Larson Associates, Architectural Historians, and Peter Sinclair, President of The Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture.

Here and There With Members

THE GOOD SAMARITAN Foundation has created a chair for ophthalmology research in honor of Holland Society Member Dr. E. Michael Van Buskirk, chief of ophthalmology at Legacy Health System. Mr. Van Buskirk also has received the Treasure of Good Samaritan Award for Outstanding Work. The Van Buskirk Chair for Ophthalmology Research will support the work of Discoveries in Sight, the research arm of Devers Eye Institute at Legacy. Van Buskirk came to Devers Eye Institute in 1987 and became chief of ophthalmology in 1990. He established the Discoveries in Sight research unit at Legacy Health System. The Good Samaritan Foundation Board of Trustees has endorsed the effort to endow the new chair at $1.25 million and has offered to match gifts up to $250,000 received by December 31, 2002. The fund has a starting amount of $750,000.

HOLLAND SOCIETY MEMBER Alan Voorhees was inducted into the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute Alumni Hall of Fame at ceremonies held in the Alumni Sports and Recreation Center of Rensselaer, Troy, New York, on September 21, 2001. Mr. Voorhees was recognized for his work as a world-renowned city planner.
Robert Coykendall

Holland Society of New York Life Member the Hon. Robert Coykendall died at his home in Youngstown, New York, on December 27, 2001, at the age of seventy-eight. Mr. Coykendall was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, on March 4, 1923, the son of the Reverend Glenn Brown Coykendall and Dorothy May Black. He claimed descent from Jacob Luners van Kuykendaal, who came to New Netherland from Amsterdam in 1646.

Mr. Coykendall became a Life Member of The Holland Society in 1983. His keen interest in flags inspired him to present to the Holland Society Headquarters in 1984 a replica of the Dutch West India Company flag, which is still displayed at Society functions.

Mr. Coykendall matriculated at Columbia University in 1942, but his education was interrupted by World War II, when he was called to serve in the United States Navy. In 1946 he returned to Columbia, graduating from Columbia College in 1949. In the latter year the U.S. Navy recalled him to serve as Navy Legal Officer during the Korean War. At the same time he attended The New York Law School, graduating from there in 1951. Upon discharge from military service, Mr. Coykendall moved to Niagara Falls, New York, where he served as an Administrative Law Judge with the New York State Workers' Compensation Board. He retired from that position in 1989.

Mr. Coykendall devoted much time to community interests of the broadest scope. His father, the Rev. Glenn Coykendall, had been a noted Episcopal missionary to the Seneca Nation on Cattaraugus reservations in western New York. Mr. Coykendall followed his father as diocesan historian for the Episcopal Diocese of Western New York. He was also founder of the Diocesan Historical Society. He wrote and lectured on local Niagara history, the origins of the American flag, and Episcopal Church history. He was author of June 14, 1777, A Story of Flag Day, a work devoted to the origin and history of the United States flag.

Mr. Coykendall was an active member of The Holland Society's Niagara Frontier Branch. In addition to his membership in The Holland Society he was a member of the North American Vexillological (Flag) Association, the Youngstown, New York, Yacht Club, and the Buffalo Association, Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York. He also served as warden and vestryman to St. John's Episcopal Church in Youngstown, New York.


Mr. Coykendall is survived by his wife of forty years, three sons, Glen MacAdam, of Rochester, New York, William Maxwell of Youngstown, New York, and Edward Ross of Shailer, Massachusetts, and five grandchildren.

A memorial service was held at St. John's Episcopal Church, Youngstown, New York, on January 5, 2002, with the Reverend James S. Massie, Jr., officiating.

Carl Allan Willsey

Former Holland Society of New York President Carl Allan Willsey died on July 3, 2001, at the Greenwich Woods Health Care Center, Greenhwich, Connecticut, just two months beyond his ninetieth birthday. Mr. Willsey was born in Ithaca, New York, on May 8, 1911, the son of Verne Willsey and Veda Perkins. He claimed descent from Philippe Maton Wiltz, who he wrote came to New Netherland from Luxembourg in 1623. Mr. Willsey served as President of The Holland Society in 1977.

Mr. Willsey graduated from Ithaca High School in 1932 and went on to Cornell University, where he graduated with a B.S. degree in Ornamental Horticulture. While at Cornell Mr. Willsey was on the football and La Crosse teams, won several swimming and diving awards, and also played baseball and basketball. He was a member of Alpha Sigma Phi Fraternity.

Upon graduation Mr. Willsey was employed by the Equitable Life Assurance Society in Ithaca, New York. During World War II, he was assigned to the Management Department of the Rand Corporation, Elmira, New York, which was then manufacturing bomb sites and related materials. At the time, he published and edited an interactive newsletter for Chemung County servicemen in all the theaters of the war.

Mr. Willsey spent his professional career in real estate. In 1945, he headed his own residential firm in Elmira, New York. By 1960 he was in Manhattan as vice-president of several major commercial real estate firms. In 1956 he was president of the New York State Association of Realtors; in 1958 and 1959 he served on the Education Committee of the National Association of Realtors, becoming the vice-president in the latter year. While on that committee he devised a basic course in real estate, officially approved by the Association's Board and used by many colleges and boards. In 1960, he traveled to six European countries as a speaker on real estate education and investment opportunities in the United States. The following year he was chosen Realtor of the Year by the New York Association. In 1973, he returned to his own commercial real estate company, Carl A. Willsey, Inc., Greenwich, Connecticut, from which he developed office buildings, housing developments, and golf courses.

On November 29, 1941, Mr. Willsey married Ruth Elaine Schnall in New York City. The couple had a daughter, Rita Claire Willsey, born on April 13, 1947, in Manhattan, and a son, Carl Allan Willsey, Jr., born on May 11, 1949, in Rochester, New York.

Throughout his life he maintained an interest in sports, playing squash, tennis, and golf. Gardening was also a lifetime hobby. Mr. Willsey joined The Holland Society in 1965 and gave the Society valuable time as its President and as a member of the Society's Connecticut-Westchester Branch. In addition to The Holland Society, Mr. Willsey was a past president of the Cornell Club of Elmira, New York, past president of the Junior Cornell Club of Michigan, member of the Cornell Club of New York, member of the Elmira, New York, Country Club and Kiwanis Club and a past president of the Junior Association of Commerce for Elmira. He was a member of the St. Barnabas Episcopal Church in Greenwich, Connecticut. He was a Republican.

Mr. Willsey is survived by his wife of almost sixty years, his daughter Rita Claire Neher of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, his son Carl Allan, Jr., of Greenwich, Connecticut, and four grandchildren.

Services were held at St. Barnabas Church, Greenwich, Connecticut. Inter-
Records of
The Reformed
Protestant Dutch
Church of Flatbush,
Kings County,
New York

Volume I
1677-1720

Translated by
David William
Voorhees

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