

The Colonial Family: Kinship and Power

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Bruce C. Daniels in a 1985 book review wrote: "Each year since the late 1960s one or two New England town studies by professional historians have been published; their collective impact has exponentially increased our knowledge of the day-to-day life of early America."¹ One wonders why, if this is so useful an historical approach, we do not have similar town studies for New York. It is not for lack of records that no attempt has been made. Nor can one credit the idea that modern professional historians, armed with computers, should feel in any way incapable of dealing with the complexity of a multinational, multiracial, multireligious community.

One very considerable problem for studying the colonial period was the mobility of New Yorkers, especially the landed and merchant class. Do the communities of New York, Albany, Schenectady and Kingston lend themselves to treatment discreetly, or do too many of the same people and families appear in most of those communities?

In fact, the most unifying force in colonial New York was not the community. Thomas J. Archdeacon's analysis of Leislerian New York City demonstrates the existence of neighborhoods that were ethnic, economic, and geographic entities, and in strong opposition to each other.² Sung Bok Kim's study of the Hudson Valley manors reveals the existence of a strongly divisive Dutch/Yankee dichotomy throughout the valley.³ In another study, Kim has suggested that in revolutionary Albany County, allegiances derived from location, Rensselaerswijck tenants in most parts of the manor siding with the Patroon and against the Crown, while persons outside or on the fringes of the manor sided with the Crown and against the Patroon.⁴

Divisive factors which Kim did not consider were that Loyalist communities were largely non-Dutch and Lutheran, while the parts of the Manor aligned with revolution were mostly Dutch and Reformed. In contrast to these ethnic divisions, Patricia U. Bonomi has shown that political divisions were neither permanent nor along party lines, but rather changed from issue to issue according to personal and family self interest.⁵

There is a good deal of evidence in the literature, therefore, that in fact the New England town model may not at all be the ideal form to use in studying colonial New York social structure. The real basis of society was not the community at all, but the family. The late Alice P. Kenney made the first step in the right direction with her study of the Gansevoort family.⁶ It is indeed the family in colonial New York that historians should be studying, yet few historians have followed Kenney's lead. A recent exception of note is Clare Brandt's study of the Livingston family through several generations.⁷ However, we should note that Kenney and Brandt have restricted their attention to persons with one particular surname, ignoring cousins, grandparents, and grandchildren with other family names but nonetheless certainly members of the family.

Americans have long been fascinated with the myth of the self-made man, and the enduring figures in our fiction are such rootless characters. Most biographers would have us believe that Washington, Lincoln, Hamilton, and Franklin became great men in spite of their families, rather than because of them. Despite the myth, the fact remains that the person whose parents were healthy, wealthy and wise had a great advantage over the person whose parents were sickly, poor and ignorant, and despite all the rhetoric to the contrary we do in fact judge people by their families. Individuals come and go; families endure. The family is not some curious institution of the colonial past, but the most permanent and enduring of social institutions. One cannot possibly understand either the individual or society at large without a good comprehension of the family.

To begin our study of the nature of the Hudson Valley's colonial family we might take a moment to look at one prominent family on both sides of the Atlantic. Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the first Patroon of Rensselaerswijck, had been a small boy when his father died. Kiliaen was apprenticed to his uncle Nicolaes van Byler, one of the wealthiest merchants in Holland. Kiliaen worked hard and became a partner. Of course he also had the good sense to marry his uncle's ward, niece, and heir Helligond van Byler. After her death he married another

cousin, Anna van Wely, whose father Jan was also an extremely wealthy merchant. The two companies were merged with Van Rensselaer as principal owner, and at his death his estate was valued at 250,000 guilders, not including the colony of Rensselaerswijck. There is a lesson to be learned here, because we find it repeated throughout the colonial period in the Hudson Valley: keep the money in the family.⁸

We might, for instance, note some of Van Rensselaer's relatives who were appointed to important posts in America. As a major stockholder of the West India Company, he was able to have his nephew Wouter van Twiller appointed Director General of New Netherland. In his position as owner of Rensselaerswijck the Patroon appointed a cousin's son, Arent van Curler, to several offices including magistrate. After the Patroon's death, the family chose as directors of Rensselaerswijck the Patroon's sons, Jan Baptist, Nicolaes, and Jeremias, Jeremias' brother-in-law Stephanus van Cortlandt, and Brant van Slichtenhorst who was married to a Van Rensselaer relative, Aeltgen van Wencom. Her relative, Gerrit van Wencom, served the colony as *onder schout* (deputy court officer).⁹

This inclination to keep the operation within the family was not a peculiarity of the Van Rensselaer family. Throughout the colonial period the Hudson Valley was controlled by no more than a dozen families including the Van Rensselaers, the Van Cortlandts, the Philipse, the Schuylers, and the Livingstons. Most of the marriages contracted by members of these families were with other members of the same families, so that in fact the wealth remained concentrated in a very few hands, instead of becoming dispersed after several generations.

Bringing a new family into the select circle was a very great undertaking, which we assume could normally have occurred only after extended family discussions. However, the Van Cortlandts joined the select group as a result of Jeremias van Rensselaer's deciding to marry Maria van Cortlandt without having sought family approval. In fact it was not until after the wedding that he wrote home to break the news to his brother Jan Baptist: "After giving my greetings to mother you will please announce to her also that I have married Maria van Cortlandt." Why had he not announced his plans ahead of time? Why had he not written directly to his mother?¹⁰ Obviously he was afraid of her reaction—not that Mother van Rensselaer could have objected to Maria personally, since they had never met, but the Van

Rensselaers may well have been acquainted with Maria's father and we have to assume that it was to the family that Anna van Rensselaer might have raised an objection.¹¹ However, what was done was done, and the Van Cortlandts became part of the club. Maria's sister Catherine married Frederick Philipse of Philipsburgh Manor, their brother Stephanus van Cortlandt became a manor lord in his own right, and married Gertrude Schuyler. Gertrude's sister Alida married Nicolaes van Rensselaer. Gertrude and Alida were already related to the Van Rensselaers through their mother Margaret van Slichtenhorst.¹² Not that the Van Cortlandts were dependent upon the Van Rensselaers to get rich; they managed very well on their own, but the marriage gave them an increased degree of social respectability which other well-to-do settlers, such as the even wealthier Jacob Leisler, were never able to acquire.

The English conquest in 1664 changed the roster somewhat as to who was socially acceptable and politically important, but did not change the fact that one needed family connections to get ahead. One person who was well aware of how the game was played was Robert Livingston. Born in Scotland and raised in the Netherlands, Livingston was comfortable in both the English and Dutch languages, which gave him a great advantage in New York. After 1668 trade with Holland was forbidden, which meant that most Dutch merchants needed a partner with English connections. Livingston did not. However, there were limits as to how far he could go in a society controlled by Dutch merchants. He solved the problem by marrying Alida Schuyler, widow of Nicolaes van Rensselaer. Both admired and despised for his ambition, business acumen, and political savvy, Livingston had neutralized opposition by contracting the marriage with Alida, for to spite him the Dutch families would also have had to spite her. They balked at his efforts to take control of Rensselaerswijck, but he was mollified by the governor with a manor of his own.¹³

After 1664 the English held the political power in the colony, but power is not particularly useful unless it can be translated into something tangible, such as land or money. We find a nice example in the Nicolls family. The first of the family here was Matthias Nicolls, who participated in the English conquest and then served in a number of important government offices including provincial secretary, captain of cavalry, mayor of New York, and judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. His son William followed in his footsteps: Attorney General, Queens County Clerk, member of the provincial

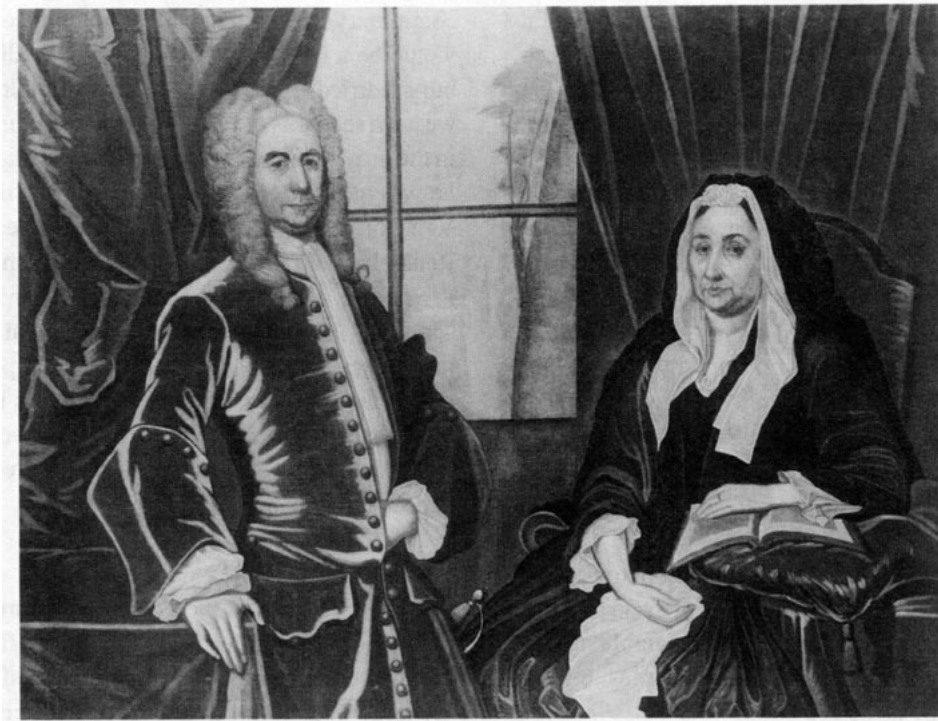


Fig. 25. Portrait of Capt. Johannes Schuyler (1668-1747) and his wife Elizabeth Staats; ca. 1725-30; attributed to John Watson. Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society, New York City.

Council—but he went one step further. He married a Dutch girl—not just any Dutch girl, but Anna van Rensselaer, daughter of Jermias, widow of her cousin Kiliaen the third patroon, and sister of Kilaen the fourth patroon. William Nicolls had been a leading political figure and a prominent lawyer, and now as an associate of the landed aristocracy, he soon became possessed of property on Long Island, in New Jersey, and in the Hudson Valley. His son Rensselaer Nicolls inherited from his uncle Kiliaen van Rensselaer land in Bethlehem where young Nicolls settled, married a Dutch-English wife, and enjoyed the comforts of being connected to both the English political system and the Dutch landed aristocracy.¹⁴

Albany was Dutch. It was also anti-English and anti-New York City. Every monopoly granted to New York, every tax granted to New York to be collected on imports and exports, every privilege of that sort was money out of the pockets of the Albany merchants. They hated New York, and they hated the English with a passion. The one way that an Englishman could get Albany to forgive him for his nationality was to marry a Dutch woman. One of the few English merchants to make a success of business in Albany despite having an English wife was William

Loveridge, the hatmaker, and that because he was the only hatmaker in the city. His son William, Jr., was a tavernkeeper, and Albany had plenty of tavernkeepers without having to put up with an English one. Young Loveridge was brought to court so many times on so many nuisance charges that he finally took the hint and moved to New Jersey.¹⁵

While in Albany, the younger Loveridge had purchased a large tract of land which became a valuable property for his daughter Temperance who married a Dutchman, William van Orden, and for various relatives of Loveridge's Huguenot wife Margaret du Mond, including her sister Jannetie's children surnamed Van Vechten. Having partially obliterated their Englishness, the Du Monds and Van Ordens moved to the Loveridge Patent, which developed into the present village of Catskill. Later generations intermarried several times over with their local Van Vechten relatives and controlled Greene County economically and politically until well into the nineteenth century.¹⁶

The most important position in Albany that was under English control was the post of commandant at the fort. Even that could be strongly influenced by the local

community, and in order to be successful in the position, a Dutch wife was a necessity to the incumbent. John Baker, army captain with a bad temper and an English wife, became embroiled in feuds and fights with the inhabitants and was eventually fired by the Governor. His successor, Sylvester Salisbury, was just as English but had a Dutch wife, and not only had a comfortable career as a soldier, but was even elected sheriff of Albany. The first English mayor of Albany was Edward Holland, whose father was commandant at the fort. How could an Englishman appointed mayor be acceptable to Albany in the eighteenth century? Among other recommendations, he had as his wife Frances Nicolls, daughter of William Nicolls and Anna van Rensselaer. Englishman Richard Pretty was appointed by the Governor as Albany tax collector in 1674, but he found it almost impossible to collect taxes in Albany, and the government was finally forced to give the job to Robert Livingston, who as we have noted was married to Alida Schuyler, and was therefore more palatable to the inhabitants. We could continue with examples, but the point is obvious by now.¹⁷

If it were an advantage to have some Dutch connections in an Albany family, it was equally an advantage to have English connections in order to succeed with the colonial government. A nice example of that is provided by Thomas Chambers. Prior to the English takeover in 1664, Chambers had been a plantation manager in Rensselaerswijck, and later one of the first settlers of Esopus. When the English arrived, they cast about in each Dutch community for trustworthy persons to serve in government posts, and for the most part they did not trust Dutchmen. Therefore Chambers, the only Englishman in the Dutch community of Esopus, received a series of appointments beginning as head of the militia and chief magistrate, progressing to justice of the peace, and finally he became a manor lord. Despite all this his neighbors continued to accept him as one of their own, and accorded him a remarkable degree of respect, no doubt due in part to the fact that he had married the widow of a Dutch Reformed minister. Chambers was one of those people who prospered because he was English in court and Dutch at home.¹⁸

Chambers adopted his wife's son, who eventually inherited Chambers' manor lands. Another of Mrs. Chambers' children was a girl who married Francis Salisbury, son of the aforementioned Sylvester Salisbury, commandant at the fort in Albany. Francis Salisbury and his wife had a daughter Elizabeth, part English

and part Dutch, connected to both the English political community and the Dutch landholding society.¹⁹ Who would be a fair spouse for such a girl? Elizabeth Salisbury married Rensselaer Nicolls of Bethlehem, who as we have seen was the son and grandson of major officials in the provincial government, while on his mother's side he was a Van Rensselaer and related to the Schuylers, Van Cortlandts, and Livingstons. Nor does it end there. Rensselaer and Elizabeth Nicolls had a son Francis, who married his second cousin Margaretha van Rensselaer.²⁰ Thus we see that throughout the colonial period the landowners and the wielders of political power married within the group, so that their children's birthright and inheritance was a ready access to a network of kinfolk who could help them advance their careers, and who expected favors in return.

The American Revolution changed the scope of relationships, but not their essential nature. Thus Betsy Schuyler married, not a local political figure, but the up-and-coming Alexander Hamilton, aide-de-camp to General Washington and future Secretary of the Treasury. Her cousin Elizabeth Nicolls married Richard Sill of Connecticut, former army officer who more recently had read law in the office of Aaron Burr. Hudson Valley society was becoming less parochial, but no less interested in maintaining contact among the wealthy and powerful.²¹

But what of the people who were not at the top rung of the ladder? Actually, the same rules applied. They tried not to marry beneath their station but rather tried to contract a marriage with someone who could raise them up through business or political connections. There appears to be a conundrum here: how could advancement depend upon an advantageous marriage if nobody were willing to marry below his station? If a fellow with good prospects but an undistinguished name were to come courting, a girl with a good name and no money would be interested. Or an impoverished gentleman might well marry a girl from a family of rich nobodies. When people married out of their group, it was almost always a matching of someone with good connections to someone with either money at hand, or ability and good prospects. A careful study of marriages can indicate to us where a family was at any particular moment in relation to the rest of society, even though we have no account books or social calendars to back up our assessment.

Let us take a look at a middling family on its way up. In 1637 the brothers Albert and Andries Bratt arrived in

Rensselaerswijck, Albert remaining in Bethlehem, Arent moving eventually to Schenectady. They operated at various times a tobacco plantation, some sawmills, a fur trading business, apple orchards, cattle herds, and speculated in real estate.²² If on the one hand they had no connections with the Governor and Council, or with the Patroon's family, on the other hand neither were they on the poor rolls at the church. Marriages contracted by various members of the family suggest exactly where they stood in the great range between the wealthy and the poor.

The best positions in Rensselaerswijck not held by members of the Patroon's family were colonial secretary and vice-director. Arent Bratt married the daughter of vice-director Andries de Vos. Albert Bratt's daughter Eva married colonial secretary Anthony de Hooges, and after De Hooges's death she married Esopus schout Roelof Swartwout. Others of the family married into local families of merchants and public officials, tying the Bratts to the Slingerlands, Lansings, Van Schaicks, Glens and Gansevoorts.²³ These families intermarried, cousins married cousins, and again we have a pattern of a group holding its position in society by restricting family membership to those of a certain class. The class in this case is that group of merchants, plantation managers, and middle level public officials just below the top rank, all looking for the chance to move up if someone slipped. It is perhaps not surprising that it is in this group that we find some sentiment for the radical change in social structure offered during the Leisler rebellion. Richard Pretty during the Leisler regime regained his former office as Albany County sheriff; former Esopus schout Roeloff Swartwout was appointed a justice of the peace.²⁴ As George Orwell noted in his novel, *1984*, revolutions do not affect the welfare of the poor; they only exchange the relative positions of the upper and middle classes.

The earliest families in Albany clustered together in the area from Fort Orange to State Street. The next generation of those families, together with newcomers, settled in neighborhoods around the core. A half century later the wealthy lived on country estates, while in the city the upper middle class was in the downtown area, the lower middle classes in the encircling neighborhoods, and on the fringes against the city palisades were the next generation and the very late comers, including such foreign elements as English, French, and Germans. Out on the fringes there was little value in a tight family structure; people wanted to move up, not stay where they

were.²⁵ We might note for an example the family of John Radcliff. Radcliff, or Radley, was only a corporal in the English fort and so a person of no great consequence in society. He did marry a Dutch girl, Rachel van Valkenburg, which gave him access to some very minor city offices such as city porter and rattle watch. After his death his Dutch wife was able to make use of her late husband's English connections, such as they were, to secure a meager income as bell ringer and cleaning lady at the Anglican Church. Certainly we are dealing here with a class of citizen below the Bratts and Slingerlands, and far from the Van Rensselaers and Schuylers. It is therefore not surprising that we find no particular pattern in the marriages contracted by the children of John and Rachel Radley. There were at least three Dutch spouses, Lambert Huyck, Anna van Zandt, and Eilletje Hoogenboom, one who was half Dutch and half English, Celia Yates, and two from recently arrived French (possibly Roman Catholic) families, Catharine Bovie [Beaufils] and Martha Benoit. One daughter, Margarita, married her cousin Jacobus van Valkenburg. What we have here is a mixture of nationalities, of incomes from middling to poor, and about all that they have in common is that these are people out on the fringes. Some branches of the family moved up during the next couple of generations, others stayed about where they had started out.²⁶

Beginning in 1710 great numbers of Palatine Germans poured into the Hudson Valley, and while most of them eventually improved their status, in the early years the majority were desperately poor, many of them on the public relief rolls. In 1714 a German widow, Anna Barbara Asmer, married Peter Christiaan, the slave of Jan van Loon. Two years later she died, and Christiaan married another Palatine woman, Elizabeth Brandemoes.²⁷ One has to assume that whatever security there was in a slave household, the situation was preferable to the lot of an unattached German woman in the Hudson Valley.

We have placed a great emphasis so far upon political and economic considerations of marriage. There are, of course, other factors (other than such imponderables as actual affection) which go into making a choice. To select just one we might pick church membership, which can be readily documented. While the Dutch Reformed Church predominated in the Hudson Valley throughout the colonial period, there were a few others, but the only other denomination with any considerable number of parishioners was the Lutheran Church. It would appear that the Lutherans were shut out of the top level of

society, but otherwise ran through the full gamut of society from upper middle class to slave. What we find is a structure very much like that of society at large, with certain groups of families within the church intermarrying and excluding other families. We find a number of interfaith marriages, particularly between members of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. However, for analysis we chose to look at only those die-hard Lutherans who married other Lutherans, recorded in the Athens church records.

Half of the marriages that we examined included at least one member of four leading families, the Van Loons, Van Hoesens, Hallenbecks, and Evertses. All four families had certain characteristics in common: they had fairly large landholdings, and they held a number of positions on the church council. We were not surprised to find that the well-to-do families held the power in the church. What was of further interest was the fact that the marriages that included at least one person from these families, in fact included two. Not only did they marry Lutherans but they married Lutherans within their own social class. More surprising is the fact that of the marriages in which both people came from these four families, half the time they had the same last name. Out of thirty seven marriages, there were seven between Van Loons, eight between Hallenbecks, and four between Van Hoesens. While further research needs to be done to determine whether this was a representative sample, the evidence so far seems to confirm what we noted earlier: that families tried to keep the wealth within the family with much marrying of cousins, or at least within the

social, economic, and political class to which the family belonged. A high incidence of interfaith marriages, noted but not studied, may suggest that social distinctions were of greater significance than religious or ethnic ones.²⁸

We must conclude that in the colonial Hudson Valley the family served many of the purposes later assumed by labor unions, chambers of commerce, political parties, and lobbyists. The family provided jobs to its members, exerted political pressure, and caused the writing of laws favorable to the interests of the family. Bonds of kinship encouraged people to work together for their mutual benefit, even when there was considerable personal animosity, as, for instance, between Maria van Rensselaer and Robert Livingston. They might have fought within the family, but against outside pressures they were united. Politics and religion were secondary factors which might help to strengthen the bonds within the family in the struggle to rise above other families, but they seem not to have been nearly as important as economic considerations.

The techniques that we have used to develop these theses are the traditional ones used by the genealogical researcher. Were the genealogist and the historian to make better use of each other's skills and research, the work of each would be enhanced, with the result a clearer understanding of the role of the family in the historical development of society. If not, this promising perspective of colonial New York must remain unfulfilled.

Notes

- ¹Bruce C. Daniels, "A Review of Christine Leigh Heyrman's *Commerce and Culture*," *The American Historical Review*, 90, no. 5 (Dec. 1985): 1264.
- ²Thomas J. Archdeacon, *New York City, 1664–1710: Conquest and Change*. (Ithaca: Cornell Univ., 1976).
- ³Sung Bok Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York: Manorial Society, 1664–1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1978). Resistance to this important work has come from historians comfortable with the radical and populist work written during or shortly after the Great Depression, and from descendants of Anti-Rent rioters who generally ascribe worthy, and even noble, motives to their forebears.
- ⁴Sung Bok Kim, "Impact of Class Relations and Warfare in the American Revolution: The New York Experience", *Journal of American History*, 69 (1982), no. 2: 326–46.
- ⁵Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).
- ⁶Alice M. Kenney, *The Gansevoorts of Albany: Dutch Patricians in the Upper Hudson Valley* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969).
- ⁷Clare Brandt, *An American Aristocracy: The Livingstons* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986).
- ⁸The patroon's family in Holland and his part in the founding of the West India Company is discussed by Nicolaas de Roever, "Kiliaen van Rensselaer and his colony of Rensselaerswijck," translated by Mrs. Alan H. Strong, 42–49, A.J.F. van Laer, tr. and ed., *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1909); hereafter cited as *VRBM*. The value of the estate at Kiliaen's death is examined by S.G. Nissenson, *The Patroon's Domain* (New York, Octagon Books, 1973 [reprint of the 1937 ed.]).
- ⁹For Van Twiller and Van Curler see De Roever, "Kiliaen van Rensselaer," *VRBM*, 60, 78. The genealogical relationship of Van Curler and the Van Wencoms to Kiliaen is demonstrated by William J. Hoffman, "An Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent", *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, (hereafter abbreviated *NYG&B*), LXIII (July 1933): 244; LXX (April 1940): 135. Brief biographical notes on the earlier directors are in *VRBM*, 838, 843, 846; for Nicolaes van Rensselaer and Van Cortlandt see A.J.F. van Laer, tr. and ed., *Correspondence of Maria van Rensselaer, 1669–1689* (Albany, The University of the State of New York, 1935), 4.
- ¹⁰Jeremias marries Maria in A.J.F. van Laer, tr. and ed., *The Correspondence of Jeremias van Rensselaer* (Albany, The University of the State of New York, 1932), 296–97, 300–1.
- ¹¹Maria's grandparents and great-grandparents lived next door to a Jacob van Byler family, and the Van Rensselaers had relatives named Van Byler. See Hoffman, "An Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent," *NYG&B*, LXV (July 1935): 3.
- ¹²For Frederick Philipse see Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), 14: 538. For the others see Florence A. Christoph, *The Schuyler Genealogy*, I (Albany: Friends of Schuyler Mansion, 1987).
- ¹³*Ibid.*, for the marriage. There is a large literature on Livingston the merchant; see in particular Lawrence H. Leder, *Robert Livingston, 1654–1728, and the Politics of Colonial New York* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1961). Livingston's attempts to take control of Rensselaerswijck are discussed by Nissenson, *The Patroon's Domain*, 293–302; his principal opposition came from Maria (van Cortlandt) van Rensselaer, who expressed herself often on the subject of Livingston; for examples see van Laer, *Correspondence of Maria van Rensselaer*, 126–28, 135–36, 168. Sung Bok Kim discusses the granting of Livingston Manor in *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York*, 39–40.
- ¹⁴There are no reliable biographical articles on either Matthias or William Nicolls. The entries for them in the *Dictionary of American Biography* provide adequate summaries of their careers, except that dates and other information derived from family tradition are consistently wrong. There is nothing in print worth mentioning concerning Rensselaer Nicolls. Nissenson, *The Patroon's Domain*, 386–87, analyzes the economics of family relations up to the Van Rensselaers' estate settlement in 1695.
- ¹⁵An important study of ethnic relations is by Donna Merwick, "Becoming English: Anglo-Dutch Conflict in the 1670s in Albany, New York", *New York History*, LXII, no. 4 (October 1981): 389–414. References to young Loveridge's problems appear in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of British Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York, 1664–1776* (Gregg Press, Ridgewood, N.J., 1968; reprint of 1866 ed.), 45, 49, 63–4, 67–9, 73; Van Laer, tr. and ed., *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady*, (Albany, The University of the State of New York, 3 v.,

1928–32), 2: 127, 191–92, 288–90, 321, 326; P.R. Christoph and F.A. Christoph, *Records of the Court of Assizes for the Colony of New York, 1665–1682* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 199, 202–3; Christoph and Christoph, *The Andros Papers, 1674–1676* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989).

¹⁶The New York State Library has several collections of Van Orden and Van Vechten family papers which provide good insights into the families' economic infrastructure over several generations.

¹⁷Baker's problems can be studied in P.R. Christoph, ed., *Administrative Papers of Governors Richard Nicolls and Francis Lovelace, 1664–1673* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980), 103–18. Pretty's difficulties can be seen throughout volumes 2 and 3 of Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck and Schenectady*. Information on the Holland family can be found in Jonathan Pearson, *Contributions for the Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Ancient County of Albany from 1630 to 1800* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1978), 63. Much confusion has been caused by Frances' tombstone in the Nicoll-Sill cemetery in Cedar Hill, obviously erected about a century after her death and giving the dates of her niece Frances, daughter of Rensselaer Nicolls, instead of her own: F. Christoph and P. R. Christoph, eds., *Records of the People of the Town of Bethlehem* (Selkirk: Bethlehem Historical Association, 1982), 159.

¹⁸For Chambers at Rensselaerswijck see van Laer, *VRBM*, 835; as public official see Dingman Versteeg and Samuel Oppenheim, trs., *Kingston Papers*, 2 vols., ed. by Peter R. Christoph, Kenneth Scott and Kenn Stryker-Rodda (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1976), in the indices 2: 769, 793–95; for his marriage see Gustave Anjou, *Ulster County, N.Y. Probate Records, In the Office of the Surrogate, and in the County Clerk's Office at Kingston, N.Y.* (Rhinebeck, N.Y.: Palatine Transcripts, Arthur C. M. Kelly, 1980; reprint of 1906 ed.) 1: 190.

¹⁹See Chambers' will in Anjou, *Ulster County*, 2: 107–8; Salisbury genealogy in J.B. Beers, *History of Greene County, New York* (Cornwallville: Hope Farm Press, 1983; reprint of 1884 ed.), 436–37.

²⁰Pearson, *First Settlers of...Albany*, 83, 130; Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley before 1776* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965; reprint of the 1929 ed.), 89.

²¹Reynolds, *Dutch Houses*, 90–1. Note that Elizabeth (and others of the family) dropped the final *s* in Nicolls.

²²Brief biographical notices of the brothers appear in *VRBM*, 809–10.

²³For De Vos, see Pearson, *A History of the Schenectady Patent in the Dutch and English Times*, ed. by J. W. Mac Murray (Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1883); see De Hooges in Van Laer, *VRBM*, 825–26. For Eva Bratt see Pearson, tr., *Early Records of the City and County of Albany, and Colony of Rensselaerswyck, 1656–1675* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1869), 49–50. For the relationships among these families see Pearson's above-mentioned *First Settlers of Albany*, and his *Contributions for the Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady, from 1662 to 1800* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1873). The reader is cautioned that Pearson intended his work to assist the researcher and not to serve as final arbiter.

²⁴Swartwout's commission is described in O'Callaghan, *Calendar*, 188, Pretty's on 189.

²⁵Donna Merwick, "Dutch Townsmen and Land Use: A Spatial Perspective on Seventeenth-Century Albany, New York", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, xxxvii, no. 1 (January 1980), p. 53–78.

²⁶For genealogical data on the various families mentioned, see Pearson's two volumes cited in note 23. For Radley as corporal see "Colonial Muster Rolls", *Third Annual Report of the State Historian of the State of New York, 1897* [published 1898], 456; as rattle watch and city porter, "The City Records," *The Annals of Albany* 10 v., (Albany: J. Munsell, 1850–59), 2:101, 3:28–29; for Rachel as bellringer, "The City Records," 10:18 and Joseph Hooper, *A History of Saint Peter's Church in the City of Albany* (Albany, Fort Orange Press, 1900), 62. The Bovie (Beaufils) and Benoit families seem to have been among the fur traders who moved into the Saratoga area from Canada before 1680, none of which are in the membership roles of the Reformed Church at Albany.

²⁷John P. Dern, ed., *The Albany Protocol* (Ann Arbor: John P. Dern, 1971), 545–46.

²⁸Records of Zion's Evangelical Lutheran Church at Athens, Greene County, New York, 1704–1872, photostat, New York State Library, 1935.