

I Images of Hasselt

The last fourteen years of the sixteenth century were the first fourteen years of life for young Kiliaen van Rensselaer. He spent these years in Hasselt, in the province of Overijssel. During that time, Hasselt had a population of around one thousand, and although it was a small town that had always been in the shadow of the nearby larger towns of Kampen and Zwolle, it had nevertheless because of its location on the Zwarte Water become a trading center, particularly for the oak that was imported from the forests of northern Westphalia along the rivers Vecht and Regge. Some Hasselt traders also traveled to the springtime oxen markets in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein and drove back great numbers of oxen which grazed in the meadows around Hasselt until they were fat enough to be slaughtered in the fall. Agriculture was another important source of income. The town was prosperous enough to have walls, watchtowers, and gates. At night and in times of danger the town's gates were closed, and two magistrates had responsibility as wallmasters. Since the late fifteenth century, the printing business of Peregrinus Barmentlo had been productive, making the town one of the first to be known for the art of printing and typography. But the war that began in 1568 destroyed the town's prosperity.¹

The Eighty Years War²

In the sixteenth century, the Dutch provinces became part of the Holy Roman Empire under Charles V (1500-1558). In 1555, Charles was succeeded by his son Philip II as ruler of the Netherlands, and one year later Charles also transferred his Iberian kingdoms Aragon and Castile to him. Philip's empire then consisted of Spain and later (1580) Portugal, as well as possessions in Italy and the colonies. But the Holy Roman Emperor's crown went to Charles's brother Ferdinand, who thus became the ruler of the German and Austrian territories. In August 1559 Philip, who preferred Southern Europe, took leave of the Netherlands

¹ Information for this paragraph was drawn from Jos Mooijweer and Wim Coster, "*Uit den ashkolk der vergetelheid.*" *Geschiedenis van de stad Hasselt 1252-2002*. (Kampen: Stichting IJsselacademie, 2003), especially pp. 19, 38, 54.

² Information for the following paragraph was drawn from Noortje de Roy van Zuydewijn, *Van koopman tot icoon. Johan van der Veken en de Zuid-Nederlandse immigranten in Rotterdam rond 1600* (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 2002), 17-28, and from Simon Groenvelt, *De kogel door de kerk? De opstand in de Nederlanden 1559-1609* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1991), 14-140.



The Northern and Southern Netherlands in 1609.

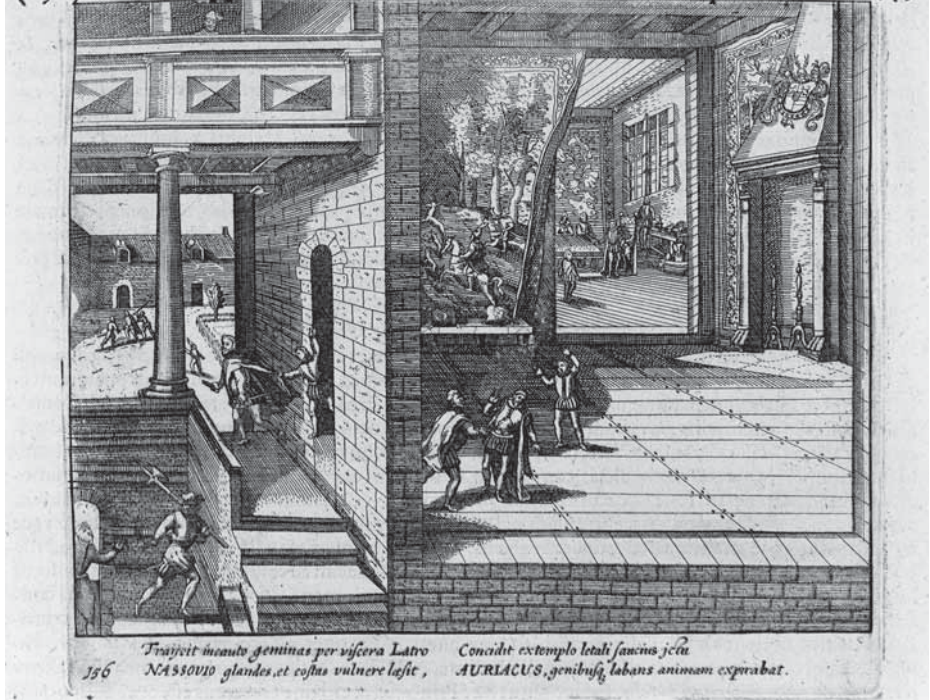
Portrait of Philip II (1521-1598) after Anthonie Mor (1519-1575). Philip, son of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, was born in 1521 in Valladolid. In 1549 he came to the Netherlands for the first time, and was by each province appointed as his father's future successor as Lord of the Netherlands. He would take his father's religious and political advice as a guideline for the rest of his life. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



in an extraordinary meeting of the States General at Ghent, ceding the government of the region to his half-sister, Margaretha van Parma, whom he appointed governess.

Charles V had already combated Protestantism, but under Philip, Protestant revolutionaries gained more and more followers. Of the several forms in which Protestantism manifested itself, militant Calvinism, which had originated in France, was most widespread in the Netherlands, especially in the province of Flanders. The pious Philip, however, considered Roman Catholicism the only true religion, and he thus became a fanatical adversary of the "heretics." His harsh position, together with the economic decline that manifested itself in the Netherlands after 1560, eventually led to revolt. In the summer of 1566 an iconoclastic fury spread from southwest Flanders over large parts of the Netherlands. Incited by stirring sermons of Calvinist preachers, people traveled around in groups and destroyed churches and monasteries. In 1567, Philip II sent the Duke of Alva, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, to the Netherlands with 10,000 troops to restore order. Alva,

(156) Sub Philippo Secundo, Gubernante Parma, & Principe Auriaco . 445



The murder on William of Orange, July 10, 1584, depicted in various stages by Franz Hogenberg (1535-1590) in Willem Baudartius, *Polemographia Avraico-Belgica*, (Scriptore Wilhelmo Baudartio Deinsiano Flandro), dated 7 October 1584. First, Orange is in the dining room in the background, right, getting up after having enjoyed lunch with his wife Louise de Coligny, three daughters, his sister and a few guests. As he walks to the door of the other room in the foreground he is attacked by Balthasar Gerards. The third phase of Hogenberg's print work shows Gerards fleeing, while the page is running after him. Gerards had studied law. He had been educated in a strict Catholic fashion, and his family was known to be very predisposed toward Spain, and who hated the heretic William of Orange. *Atlas van Stolk*, Rotterdam.

nicknamed the "Iron Duke," stayed until the end of 1572. He instituted a special court, the Council of Troubles – or "Blood Council," as it became known – under which more than one thousand people were executed and over eleven thousand banished. Many noblemen involved in the disturbances lost their possessions, and when Alva introduced a tax of 10 percent, protests were rekindled and the revolt turned into a civil war. Many of its leaders left the country. William of Orange, stadholder of the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, became the leader of the opposition and was outlawed by Alva's special court. He fled to Germany, and from there he undertook raids with small armies into the Netherlands; his son Philips Willem (son of his first wife, Anna van Buren), who studied at Louvain in the southern Netherlands, was taken prisoner and sent to Spain; he would not

return to the Netherlands until 1596. Although William of Orange's raids were initially not very successful, they were the beginning of what was later called the Eighty Years' War.³

In 1572, the tide turned in favor of the rebels. On April 1, the *Watergeuzen* (Sea Beggars), a group of Dutch privateers and rebels who had been harassing Spanish ships, attacked the town of Den Briel by surprise. The town, although strategically located, was not well defended, and quickly fell to the rebels. Encouraged by their success, they sailed to Vlissingen (Flushing), which also fell quickly. For economic as well as political and religious reasons, many cities in the Maas estuary, including the important city of Dordrecht, swung to support the rebels, and not long after, Rotterdam and other cities in Holland and Zeeland followed suit. Only Middelburg and Amsterdam remained loyal to the lawful authorities.

In July 1572 the rebel provinces gathered in Dordrecht and, in the first Free States meeting, they reelected William of Orange stadholder and gave freedom to Roman Catholics and Protestants.⁴ This was in agreement with William's wishes, as he advocated religious tolerance. A year later, however, Roman Catholic worship was prohibited and the Calvinist church became the sole public church. This made the reformation of the rebel provinces a fact, although it would be a long time before the people gave up their Roman Catholic beliefs. Amsterdam was the last of the Holland towns to choose the side of the rebels, in 1578. Calvinists took over city governments, and Antwerp and Ghent became Calvinist city republics after the example of Geneva, Calvin's headquarters.

By that time, the rebels found themselves fighting a formidable Spanish army under the leadership of Margaretha van Parma's son, the military genius Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma. Between 1579 and 1585, Farnese was able to take all the important cities in Flanders and Brabant. On January 6, 1579, the provinces of Artois and Hainault in French Flanders reached a peace with Farnese and recognized him as their governor. Seventeen days later, on January 23, the northern provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Stad en Lande (Groningen), Gelre (Gelderland), and Overijssel concluded the Union of Utrecht, in which they declared themselves united as if they were one province, while retaining their individual rights and privileges. In matters of war and peace they would decide by unanimous votes, or sometimes by majority of votes. They also agreed that no one should be persecuted for religious reasons. Peace negotiations were initiated by Emperor Rudolph II in May, with representatives of Philip II on the one side and the States General on the other. Philip did not want to give in on the matter of religion, and the negotiations were unsuccessful. In March 1581, Philip actually outlawed William of Orange, the leader of the rebel provinces, upon which the northern states renounced Philip as their lawful king: on July 22, 1581 they signed the Act of Abjuration [*Acte van Verlatinghe*].⁵ On July 10, 1584, William of Orange was assassinated. In 1585, Farnese, after a long siege of Antwerp, entered the

3 De Roy van Zuydewijn, *Van koopman tot icoon*, 18.

4 Groenveld, *De kogel door de kerk*, 114; see also Roger A. Blondeau, *Geuzen in de Westboek. Het epicentrum van de beeldenstorm* (Gent: Reinaert – Het Volk N.V., 1988).

5 Groenveld, *De kogel door de kerk*, 139.

city in triumph. Its capitulation on August 17, 1585 concluded the Spanish recapturing of the Netherlands south of the great rivers. The northern and southern Netherlands were driven apart, which led to their separation. Farnese allowed the rebels to either become Catholic again or to depart, granting them time to arrange their affairs.

After William of Orange's assassination, his second son, Maurits (son of his second wife, Anna van Saksen), who was born at Dillenburg in Germany in November 1567, succeeded his father as leader of the rebels. He was educated at Dillenburg, and later at the University of Leiden, which had been founded at his father's initiative in 1575. After his father's death he was brought into the foreground by the statesman Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, twenty years his senior, who realized that Maurits' strength was in the military area. Van Oldenbarnevelt himself had become Advocate of the province of Holland in 1586, and as such he guided the political development of the north. He is considered the founder of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands because he created the confederation of the provinces that had separated themselves from Spain. Together with his cousin Willem Lodewijk, stadholder of Friesland, with whom he had been educated at Dillenburg, Maurits reformed the army. They united the provincial armies into one great States army, which the provinces supported according to their means. Maurits became the captain-general of the armies of Holland and Zeeland and was given authority over all troops on the Brabant and Flanders frontiers. Under Maurits' leadership some innovations were introduced. An instruction book for handling arms, the *Wapenhandelinge van roers, musquetten ende spiesen*, was introduced, for example; it had illustrations by Jacques de Gheyn II, and became the first Dutch soldiers' handbook.⁶ The South-Netherlandish mathematician Simon Stevin, who was Maurits' most important advisor, published several works about the building of fortresses.

To organize naval warfare, admiralty colleges were established in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn-Enkhuizen, Middelburg and Dokkum, the five cities in Holland, Zeeland and Friesland that were most favorably situated for shipping. They were responsible for the equipping and maintenance of warships and the carrying out of maritime-military enterprises. Maurits became admiral-general of the joint fleet, so that now he was in charge of military operations on both land and sea.⁷ As stadholder and commander of the army and fleet he was not equal to the States General but was subject to them; they retained final authority. His first great success took place at Breda in the province of Brabant in 1590. His soldiers entered the city hidden in a peat ship. After this victory Maurits, with his tightly organized and disciplined army, conquered one city after another: eastern towns such as Zutphen, Deventer, Delfzijl, Hulst, and Nijmegen fell into his hands, followed by Steenwijk and Coevorden a few years later. The conquest of eastern fortified towns, such as Rijnberk on the Rhine in Cleves, Groenlo, Enschede and Olden-

6 De Roy van Zuydewijn, *Van koopman tot icoon*, 23-24.

7 Anne Doedens and Henk Looijesteijn, *Op jacht naar Spaans Zilver. Het scheepsjournaal van Willem van Brederode, kapitein der mariniers in de Nassause vloot (1623-1626)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), 39-40.

A shooting musketeer in Jacques de Gheyn II, Wapenhandelinghe van Roers, Musquetten en Spiesen (handling of various arms muskets, pikes) (1607). Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.



zaal in the late 1590s added the regions of the Achterhoek and Twente to the territory of the Seven Provinces.

In September 1598 King Philip II died. The Netherlands, which had been only a small part of his great empire, he bequeathed to his daughter Isabella on the condition that she would marry Archduke Albrecht of Austria, always remain Catholic, and would structure her government in accordance with that of Spain. If she died childless, the Netherlands would fall to Philip III, her younger half-brother. After their wedding Isabella and Albrecht settled in Brussels, and thenceforth the Southern Netherlands revived, leaving no room for Protestantism. The couple supported the Counter-Reformation, which tried to strengthen the position of the Catholic Church in Europe and led to a revival of architecture and the arts in the southern towns.

The war, however, continued. To finance it, “general means” were introduced in the Republic, which consisted of, among others, taxes, excises, sales of goods confiscated from the Catholic Church or from persons who had fled, foreign subsidies, custom duties and privateering, which was legalized by the distribution of privateer letters allowing trade with the enemy. Private credit was also an impor-

tant source of funding. Merchants of the Republic and some wealthy immigrants from the Southern Netherlands played an important role in this: they had the necessary liquid assets at their disposal, and they could use their European trading networks to effect payment in foreign currencies.⁸ Spain, on the other hand, had an almost inexhaustible stream of silver from overseas colonies to use to finance the war. When, after 1585, merchants took initiatives to make trading connections with America, Asia and Africa, they had to ask Maurits and the States General for approval. Maurits, as head of the Admiralty, was aware of Spain's financial resources, and began contemplating military actions outside Europe, supporting various expeditions to the West Indies.⁹

In 1604 Ambrosio Spinola, then the young commander-in-chief of the Spanish army, conquered Oostende after a four-year siege. Located on the Flemish coast, it had been occupied by States troops. This was an important victory for the Spaniards, because the opposition had blockaded the coast and the entrance to the river Scheldt, Antwerp's artery.

Hasselt during the war¹⁰

The war was also felt in Hasselt. Following their successes at Den Briel in 1572 the *Watergeuzen* had taken several towns. They occupied Hasselt in that year, but they were driven away by the Spaniards before its end. In 1579 the town distanced itself from the Union of Utrecht and two years later it refused to renounce the Spanish king. For economic reasons (the town had requested Alva's permission to build a bridge across the river Zwarte Water), probably some traditional resistance against its nearby competitors Zwolle and Kampen, a tradition of loyalty to the sovereign, and a strong aversion to the billeting of soldiers, the town remained loyal to the Spanish king and barely accepted the Protestant faith. But the town's location was important: the war's front cut right through Overijssel, dividing the province in a western States half and an eastern part whose government was supported by the Spanish. In October 1582 a company of William of Orange's soldiers took Hasselt and, from time onwards, the town was on the side of the revolutionaries. People seemed to become Protestant overnight. Churches, the town hall, and the archives were robbed of their treasures. Churches, stripped of their gold, silver and iron decorations were put to other uses, the pilgrimage chapel of the Holy Place [*Heilige Stede*] was demolished, its bells hung in the great St. Stephanuskerk, and the wall around its churchyard was torn down.¹¹

To defend Hasselt in its position on the front, States soldiers were stationed

8 De Roy van Zuydewijn, *Van koopman tot icoon*, 28.

9 Doedens and Looijesteijn, *Op jacht*, 39-40.

10 Information was drawn from Westerhof and Mooijweer, *Tussen Hasselt en Amerika*, 30-32, and Mooijweer and Coster, "*Uit den ash kolk*," 66-79.

11 *Ibid.*, 66-78; for the Holy Place see also Willem Frijhoff, 'The Holy Shrine of Hasselt.' In: Willem Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief: Ten Essays on Religious Culture in Dutch History* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 234-74.



View of the town, published by Merian in 1655. Stedelijk Museum Zwolle.

in town almost continuously. In 1585 States troops were succeeded by English troops, which in 1587 were relieved by another States garrison. In 1590 Frisian troops were encamped in Hasselt, but following a visit by Maurits they were relieved by States troops in 1593. Billeting of the soldiers weighed heavily on the inhabitants, who had to face the uncertainties, insecurities and burdens of the war against the Spanish king under the leadership of an unreliable magistracy.

A States soldier in Hasselt

Sometime in or before 1584 a States army of the duke of Upper Saxony came to Hasselt. It was led by Captain Johan van Rensselaer from the town of Nijkerk in the province of Gelderland. His twin brother Hendrick, a member of the same army, met a Hasselt girl of an influential family, Maria Pafraet. Her father was Johan Pafraet, the son of the well-known Deventer printer Albert Pafraet, and her mother was Peter ter Becke, a native of Hasselt.¹² When Johan's army left in 1584, Hendrick stayed behind and married Maria. He managed to acquire the position of representative of his district and wall master in 1586; in the last position he supervised the city defenses and collected contributions toward their maintenance. Between 1588 and 1590 he was one of the town's magistrates. The couple had a son, Kiliaen, in 1586, who was baptized in the St. Stephanuskerk. But Maria died

¹² Westerhof and Mooijweer, *Tussen Hasselt en Amerika*, 21-22.

the following year while giving birth to their daughter Maria. Hendrick was councilor to the town board at that time, and he and Mayor Lephart Schulten had just returned from a journey to discuss with Stadholder Maurits and Advocate Oldenbarnevelt the heavy burden of housing and feeding the soldiers. The tour had lasted from March until June 29, and it had taken them to Hoorn, Utrecht, Den Haag (The Hague) and Amsterdam. Together with Maria's mother, Petra ter Becke, Hendrick took charge of Kiliaen and Maria, but not for long: in 1590 he returned to Maurits' army, leaving the care of his small children to their grandmother. According to Westerhof he returned only once, in 1593.¹³

The St. Stephanuskerk had become Protestant in 1582, and Kiliaen probably went often during his childhood to hear the sermons by *Dominee* Thomas Root-husius, who had been minister there since 1583. When the boy was ten years old his grandmother died and his mother's brother Richard Pafraet may have taken care of the children for the next four to six years.¹⁴ Despite problems financing the town's schoolmaster, Kiliaen probably received a good education. It is possible that he attended the Latin school at the town of Zwolle, a little further south on the Zwarte Water, boarding with a relative or a teacher there. In the Latin school he would have learned calligraphy, religion, and Latin grammar and literature. Latin schools at that time, however, experienced a backlash due to conditions of the war and the introduction of the Reformation: Catholic teachers and principals fled or were fired, and there was a great decline in the number of students, which took several decades to reverse. The school at Zwolle, formerly famous for its high-quality education, declined with the others, and had only few students left by 1590. But judging from a letter that he wrote when he was eighteen, it seems that Kiliaen received a good education.¹⁵

In 1602 news came that Hendrick van Rensselaer had died in a battle at Oost-ende against Spinola's 9,000-man army. A year earlier his twin brother Johan had died near Deventer. When, according to Hasselt's town laws, the children's guardians appointed by the town board claimed the estate left by Van Rensselaer, his relatives from Nijkerk spoke up. Guardians exercised control over children's property until they were of age, and in July 1603 Hendrick's sister Engele, who did not want the Hasselt guardians to manage the children's estate at Nijkerk, came to Hasselt. When she tried to assert her case, claiming that orphans older than fourteen years had the right to choose their own guardians, she was told that, by local law, a woman could not take action independently. Jan van Rensselaer, another relative, then came to Hasselt and initiated the case on her behalf. On August 22 Kiliaen, then almost seventeen, went to the home of the bailiff [*hoog-*

13 Ibid., 36-42; see also Mooijweer and Coster, "Uit den ash kolk," 79.

14 Westerhof and Mooijweer, *Tussen Hasselt en Amerika*, 46.

15 Mooijweer and Coster, "Uit den ash kolk," 76; Westerhof and Mooijweer, *Tussen Hasselt en Amerika*, 48, 50; P.Th.F.M. Boekholt and E.P. de Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland vanaf de Middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1987), 61-63; see also H.W. Fortgens, *Meesters, scholieren en grammatica. Uit het middeleeuwse schoolleven* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1956), and Willem Frijhoff, *Wegen van Evert Willemsz: Een Hollands weeskind op zoek naar zichzelf, 1607-1647* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1995), 673-75.

schout], and objected to the town board's custody proposal. The bailiff ruled in Engle's favor, stating that the town by-law should not have been applied and that children of seventeen and fifteen should be allowed to choose their guardians. By then Hendrick's will had been found, in which he ordered that guardianship of his children should be awarded to the Van Rensselaers at Nijkerk.¹⁶ From then on the children's lives were oriented toward their Nijkerk relatives.

Hendrick's choice

It was not surprising that Hendrick made this choice for his children. During the six years that he lived in Hasselt he had observed the town's great economic decline. Maria Pafraet's relatives – and later Hendrick – had status in the town and were even represented on the town board, but for a young man Hasselt did not offer much opportunity. The situation of being a town on the war's front carried the constant threat of attack and, as a result soldiers were stationed there continuously: soldiers who ate, drank, stayed in the residents' homes and took what they wanted. At times the inhabitants may have perceived these soldiers as enemies rather than as defenders. Insecurity and danger had stopped almost all of the town's trade over the Zuiderzee, terminating the once-prosperous trade in wood and oxen. The trade in wood was lost to Holland: in 1590, when Hasselt needed wood for pilings on its wharves, it had to buy it at Enkhuizen. Agriculture likewise suffered greatly from passing troops and from loose soldiers who prowled the countryside. Plunder, extortion and the expropriation of grain made normal farming impossible. When at last nobody was willing to rent lands because of the lack of profit and the town needed oxen to graze on the vacant land, it had to buy them at the market at Hoorn, painfully illustrating the decline of that trade as well.¹⁷

As early as 1587, while on his tour with Burgomaster Lephart Schulten, Hendrick may have noticed the difference. In Holland he had seen the growing businesses, the thousands of immigrants, the import of Scandinavian wood, the building of new ships at the wharves of Hoorn and Enkhuizen, the increasing number of warehouses in Amsterdam, and the excitement surrounding the departure of ships sailing to Norway, the Baltic, Spain, Portugal, the White Sea, and the Mediterranean. Later, when Hendrick was back in the army, he spoke with relatives from around Nijkerk, some of whom had moved to Amsterdam; he learned that they had flourishing businesses, and that they invested in voyages to the East and West Indies that brought great profits.

Wolphert and Jan van Bijler, two of Hendrick's relatives from Barneveld a town southeast of Nijkerk, had escaped their birthplace, where the war had left destruction in its wake. The 1580s had been years of disaster for the entire province of Gelderland. Then, in 1593-94 States troops went to the nearby Bommelerwaard,

16 Westerhof and Mooijweer, *Tussen Hasselt en Amerika*, 44-46.

17 Mooijweer and Coster, "Uit den ash kolk," 37, 70-71.

where they consumed all the fruit, beans, wheat and oats, leaving the population there and in the Veluwe and Betuwe starving. The Van Bijler brothers had established successful businesses in Amsterdam, where the war may have seemed far away.¹⁸ They certainly had made Amsterdam their home. Jan had become a *poorter* [full citizen] in May 1589, and Wolphert, after he had returned from a decade in England, trading jewelry at the English court, settled in Amsterdam around 1594.¹⁹

The Van Bijlers and Van Rensselaer maintained contact. They may have talked about their children when they met, for instance, in 1599 when Wolphert asked Hendrick to collect a debt from one Jan van Munster.²⁰ They may have discussed how Amsterdam offered all kinds of possibilities to its inhabitants, especially young men. Wolphert may have told Hendrick about his nephews who also had left the Veluwe for Amsterdam, where they found great opportunity in the growing jewelry trade. He may have offered to take on Hendrick's son as a merchant-apprentice for a number of years. That definitely provided a better future than staying in Hasselt!

It is unclear where Kiliaen and Maria lived during these years. On December 18, 1603 the bailiff of Veluwe appointed Johan van Rensselaer and Rijckelt van Nuldt guardians of the children. Maria would remain with relatives at Nijkerk, while Kiliaen may already have been in Amsterdam, where he was apprenticed to Wolphert van Bijler to learn the jeweler's trade.²¹ On November 30, 1604 a transaction was made between the children's relatives at Hasselt and those at Nijkerk. Richard Pafraet bought the children's share of the inheritance for 534 Philips guilders, which he paid to Aunt Engele, of which half was to go to Kiliaen. With an annual grant of one hundred Flemish pounds [f 600] from his uncle Johan van Rensselaer, this inheritance became Kiliaen's starting capital.²²

18 P.J. Meij, W. Jappe Alberts et al., *Geschiedenis van Gelderland 1492-1795*, Boek 2 (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1975), 119, 127.

19 W.A. van Bijlert, *Enkele genealogische bijzonderheden betreffende een in de zeventiende eeuw te Amsterdam en Dordrecht woonachtige familie Van Bijlaer (Later van Bijler en Van Bijlert)* (Rhenen: C. Waiboe, 1942), 6, 11; GAA, Kwijtscheldingen deel 39, folio 59^v-60^v.

20 GAA, NA 53/510 (10 August 1599).

21 It is not clear when exactly the children left Hasselt. In September 1615 Kiliaen wrote that he had served Wolphert van Bijler for almost fourteen years, which would mean that he had left Hasselt in 1601, and that he came back to the town in 1603 for his meeting with the *hoogschout*. RMD 7, 17 September 1615.

22 Westerhof and Mooijweer, *Tussen Hasselt en Amerika*, 46-52; see also NYSL, Van Laer Papers, Box 17. It is hard to estimate the exact value of a Philippus guilder at that time. They were made in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and thereafter the coins remained in circulation. In 1603 the value was up to two guilders and seven stivers, but it was strange to settle a debt in Philippus guilders at a time that Carolus guilders were being used. It may even have been difficult to collect five hundred of them in Hasselt at that particular time. Arent Pol of the Geldmuseum at Utrecht suggests that it may concern an old contract, perhaps from before 1520. If they were calculated at 25 stivers, the inheritance would have been 667.50 guilders, and if they were calculated at 47 stivers, the inheritance would have been 1,254.90 guilders. Roughly converted into present-day value it would perhaps be a value of some 65,000 to 125,000 Euros. Personal correspondence, Arent Pol, 5 February 2008.