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### Juan Rodriguez and the Beginnings of New York City

Anthony Stevens-Acevedo

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Leonor Alvarez Francés

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**DOMINICAN**  
**STUDIES INSTITUTE**

*Research Monograph*

# Juan Rodriguez and the Beginnings of New York City

Anthony Stevens-Acevedo  
Tom Weterings  
Leonor Álvarez Francés







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## **Dominican Studies Research Monograph Series**

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## Foreword

### Remembering Juan Rodriguez on the Eve of the Fourth Centennial of His Arrival in the Hudson Harbor

The City University of New York Dominican Studies Institute (CUNY DSI) at The City College of New York is proud and excited to contribute to the dissemination of the heretofore little-known story of Jan Rodrigues or Juan Rodriguez<sup>1</sup>, a dark-skinned free man from the Spanish colony of La Española (today the Dominican Republic and the Republic of Haiti) who arrived in the Hudson Harbor in 1613 on board a Dutch ship and stayed there until at least 1614. According to all indications in the available historical records, Juan Rodriguez participated very actively in the first effective interactions between the earliest Dutch explorers of the Hudson and the local Native Americans, and has gone into the historical record as the first person of non-Native ancestry to have ever resided for a substantial length of time in the area that was later baptized as New Amsterdam by the Dutch and then as New York by the English.

Mentioned for the first time by historian Simon Hart in 1959 as he uncovered the earliest encounters of explorers and merchants from the Netherlands with the Hudson region and its Native inhabitants in the early seventeenth century, the story of Juan Rodriguez disappeared into near-oblivion in American historical scholarship until the 1990s, when some scholars interested in the early history of New York's African Americans became aware of him and began to highlight his historical importance as the earliest recorded settler and a precursor of the presence of African Americans in the City and the State of New York. In the process, some commentators would mention in passing Rodriguez's origin in La Española or Santo Domingo, the earliest and oldest Spanish colony in the Americas, which had been developing as a mixed-race and mixed-culture society, with a large black and mulatto population, as early as 1493. Yet little interpretation was produced in the scholarship analyzing Juan Rodriguez's presence in the Hudson Harbor in 1613-1614 within the socio-historic context of the society he is known to have come from. This monograph highlights Juan Rodriguez's past in connection to his society of origin, Santo Domingo/La Española, to provide the missing links of this man's life and history. Juan Rodriguez came to the Hudson Harbor as an adult man, and like most immigrants, he came from a specific culture, a history, and a people.

Juan Rodriguez's story belongs to the history of all New Yorkers as residents of a port city with a uniquely multi-ethnic population that since its very beginnings next to the mighty Hudson River in the early 1600s has been a community of interactions and intermingling of races and ethnicities, despite the efforts of some to remain enclosed within their own ethnic and racial groups. He also has a very special meaning for African Americans as the first dark-skinned man of African ancestry who has been recorded in the historical record as having resided in New York. We think it is time to highlight his condition as an individual socialized within early Spanish-Caribbean culture, more precisely within the earliest form of Dominican culture. When placed within the context of what we know about late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century society in Santo Domingo/La Española, Rodriguez appears to be a typical person of that time and place, as well as a very early predecessor of the large Dominican population that thrives in New York City today. This publication therefore aims to expand what is known about Juan Rodriguez by adding aspects of his life that have been overlooked in U.S. historiography, particularly the historiographies of New York State and New York City. We hope to thus contribute to a fuller, more nuanced view of Juan Rodriguez in preparation for the forthcoming commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of his arrival in New York to be celebrated in 2013.

We hope that policy-makers, administrators, professionals, and practitioners from the New York City Education Department find the present publication useful. And we hope that they could include it in the

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1 In Dominican archival records of the 16th and 17th centuries, the name Juan Rodriguez appears written as Juan Rodriguez and as Joan Rodrigues. Based on this, we decided to use Juan Rodriguez throughout the monograph.



instructional curriculum offered to the more than 1,000,000 children in the public school system, of whom more than 15% are of Dominican ancestry. In a society where role models serve as sources of inspiration, it is in the best interest of Dominican children to learn about one of their own who contributed to the formation of the city that they, as many others, have inherited.

Except for the recent pioneering inclusion of the story of Juan Rodriguez by the New York Historical Society and El Museo del Barrio in the educational materials they produced in connection with the exhibit *Nueva York: 1613-1945*, an article on “The Legacy of Juan Rodriguez” in *East Harlem Preservation*, and a text and sound entry on the National Park Service’s *African Burial Ground* website, we know of no other material sponsored by any city or state education agency or private educational entity disseminating the story of Rodriguez as part of the early beginnings of the history of New York City.

In this publication the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute offers the result of pioneering research, which includes a photographic reproduction of the original Dutch manuscripts mentioning Juan Rodriguez which were used by Simon Hart in his book published in 1959. This research also includes the first-ever typed Dutch transcription of the documents used by Hart. By providing a copy of the original Dutch manuscripts and the transcriptions of these historical records, we make them accessible to the scholarly community and the public at large who have not mastered the paleography of early seventeenth-century written Dutch. These documents contain the history of Juan Rodriguez in the Hudson Harbor as it was written by the Dutch notary before whom the sailors who had traveled with Juan Rodriguez gave their depositions in 1613 and 1614. This research also includes a revised, improved version of the pioneering English translation of these texts that Simon Hart published, which has been rendered more accurate in a few details. And finally, we are also presenting to readers the first-ever Spanish translation of the Dutch documents on Juan Rodriguez.

The research for the present monograph was undertaken by a team of experts. CUNY DSI relied on a team of researchers who are well-trained in the fields of early modern Dutch literary and historical studies, as well as Spanish colonial history. Tom Weterings was in charge of the Dutch archives and of revising the English translations originally produced by Simon Hart in 1959, improving them in subtle but important ways. He retrieved the Dutch original notarial records mentioning Juan Rodriguez from the Amsterdam City Archives and produced the Dutch transcriptions of these documents offered in this monograph. In the case of the second document, two transcriptions were done. The first is a verbatim transcription that follows rigorously the awkward organization of the original manuscript. The second transcription reorganizes the paragraphs in a sequence suggested in the margin of the original manuscript. We are sure the readers will appreciate having access to both versions. An equally important contributor to this work is Leonor Álvarez Francés who translated the seventeenth century Dutch notarial records mentioning Juan Rodriguez into Spanish. CCNY graduate student Laura Rivas conducted the meticulous research on La Española’s sixteenth-century demographic data that appears summarized in Graph 1, p.65. Anthony Stevens-Acevedo completes and heads the team of researchers. As the leading researcher, he developed the methodology guiding the research and constructed the argument to demonstrate Juan Rodriguez’s Dominicaness, a relevant fact that has been completely ignored in the scholarship on Juan Rodriguez until now. He was in charge of studying archival records pertaining to Juan Rodriguez’s era in the Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla and the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo. This perusal uncovered six homonymous men who could match the Juan Rodriguez that arrived in New York in 1613. The digging into the archives to trace the history of each one of these men will continue.

Professor Sarah Aponte, Chief Librarian of the Dominican Library of the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute, meticulously compiled an annotated bibliography that was fundamentally important for this research. Nelson Santana and Jaiana Casanova Portalatín worked on editing the bibliography while Jessy Pérez ensured that all citations included in the monograph were accurate. Mariel Acosta and Carolina Rodríguez read and made valuable comments to improve the content of the monograph; and Timothy Williams’ editing ensures coherence, clarity, and a smooth reading of the challenging argument proposed here.

Each of these contributors has been extremely meticulous in their work. They have reflected a lot as they moved forward and have questioned the prevailing knowledge about Juan Rodriguez. In the end, they have produced a scholarly monograph that marks a hiatus between old and new knowledge about Juan Rodriguez.

We are indebted to Dr. Charles Gehring, Director of the New Netherland Research Center in Albany, New York, for putting us in contact with the researchers in Amsterdam who undertook the transcription and translation of the original Dutch manuscripts. We would also like to thank the wonderful staff at the following institutions: The Amsterdam City Archives, Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, and Archivo Archidocesano de Santo Domingo for granting us permission to reproduce their documents in a gesture that speaks to their commitment to public service. Dr. Frank Moya Pons graciously granted us permission to use one of the maps contained in his now classic *Manual de historia dominicana*, currently in its fourteenth edition. Dr. Leonel Fernández Reyna, former President of the Dominican Republic, lent his support to this project from the start. Upon an invitation from CUNY DSI, President Fernández visited the exhibit *Nueva York: 1613-1945* in his capacity as head of state in the first official trip he took to New York after the opening of the exhibit. New York City Councilman Ydanis Rodriguez, in addition to championing naming a street in New York City after Juan Rodriguez, was a permanent source of encouragement as we moved the project forward. Finally, our warm appreciation goes to journalist and Dominican diplomat Sully Saneaux, who three years ago casually mentioned the name Juan Rodriguez at a working meeting at CUNY DSI, lighting the spark in that very instant of a sustained collective effort, in typical CUNY DSI fashion, to study Juan Rodriguez as a Dominican.

This research would have not been possible without the financial support of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Dominican Republic. The Chamber perceives Juan Rodriguez as a man who represents the spirit of entrepreneurship, a universal quality shared by many, whether in New York City, the U.S., or in Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic.

We are eternally grateful to all these individuals for excellent team work and for their commitment and dedication in bringing to fruition this work on Juan Rodriguez.

Abrazos,  
Ramona Hernández, Ph.D.  
Director, CUNY Dominican Studies Institute  
Professor of Sociology, The City College of New York  
Doctoral Faculty, CUNY Graduate Center

## **A Long, Long History of Trade Connections**

For an American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) executive living in Santo Domingo, the idea that the first non-Native American to establish permanent residence in Manhattan was from Santo Domingo is intriguing, to say the least. I first heard about Juan Rodriguez when I tuned into a National Public Radio program on-line back in October of 2010. And as I began to investigate the story, I was delighted to see that the most recent information about Juan Rodriguez was coming from the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute.

For the past 20 years, our Chamber has made a concerted effort to reach out to the Dominican diaspora in order to celebrate and commemorate the contributions of Dominicans living in the United States. One of our closest partners in these efforts has been Dr. Ramona Hernandez, Director of the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute. And so in 2011, I arranged to meet with her and Anthony Stevens-Acevedo to learn more about the story of Juan Rodriguez.

They explained that much of what they knew so far was from a secondary source, published in the 1950s, but that the primary texts cited (the archives of a commercial dispute still preserved in the Netherlands) had never been officially transcribed. In order to validate the story they needed to do the paleographic transcriptions from 17th century Dutch and have the existing English translation revised. Also, considering Amcham's interest in disseminating the story among the Spanish-speaking audience, a Spanish translation seemed in order. It being 2011, with 2013 (the 400th Anniversary) not far away, I asked how long that would take. Dr. Hernandez said it shouldn't take more than six months for the transcriptions and subsequent translations, assuming they could find funding. With commerce between Santo Domingo and what was to become the United States at the heart of the story, and a track record of successful collaborations with the Dominican Studies Institute over the years, it did not take our Board of Directors very long to approve sponsoring the transcription and translation; and the rest, as you shall read, is history.

Beyond the novelty of a young man from Santo Domingo being "the first New Yorker," part of the appeal of this story is the context and period in which it took place. This is the moment when the Netherlands and England are initiating their long term presence in the Americas, forever changing the human, cultural and economic scenario of the continent. In that broad process, the Caribbean territories had a big role, and places like La Española were greatly involved in it, though its case has so far been studied much less. AMCHAM, dedicated to promoting the economic interaction between the Dominican Republic and the United States for the wellbeing of both sides, is excited to support a study that reminds us that the interaction began long ago.

Many thanks to Dr. Ramona Hernandez and Anthony Stevens-Acevedo for uncovering, and polishing, this historical jewel. The story of Juan Rodriguez strikes a powerful chord, reminding us of the breadth and depth of the bonds between our two cultures. And it is worth noting that we learn of it from the archives of a commercial dispute, between trading ships. The history of our hemisphere is in many ways a chronicle of the expansion of trade, and the evolution of the institutions through which it is carried out. And as it was, so it is.

William M. Malamud  
Executive Vice President,  
American Chamber of Commerce of the Dominican Republic

## Research Authors

**Leonor Álvarez Francés** is a student of the Golden Age of the Netherlands in the Research Master's program in History of the Universiteit van Amsterdam (the Netherlands). Her thesis studies the translations of Spanish plays into Dutch in the seventeenth century. Álvarez Francés' contribution to this monograph is the translation of the seventeenth century Dutch notarial records mentioning Juan Rodriguez into Spanish. Her experience reading and transcribing Dutch notarial records of this period started with her collaboration in the Universiteit van Amsterdam's project "De culturele industrie van Amsterdam in de Gouden Eeuw." She currently works in a project sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, Science and Education of the Netherlands that studies the sale of new parcels of land related to the expansion of the city of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century.

**Anthony Stevens-Acevedo** is assistant director of the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute (CUNY DSI). He is a Foreign Corresponding Member of the Dominican Academy of History (Dominican Republic). A historian and expert in sixteenth-century Spanish paleography, his research focuses on the early colonial history of the Dominican Republic. He is the lead investigator in CUNY DSI's Dominican colonial research projects including the Paleography Digital Teaching and Learning Tool, which was awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Start up Grant in 2011. He is the author of "El uso del molino de rodillos horizontales dobles en las haciendas azucareras de la isla Española en el siglo XVI: viejas y nuevas evidencias" in *O Açúcar Antes e Depois de Colombo. Seminário Internacional de História do Açúcar* (2009); and coauthor with Ramona Hernández of "Dominican Americans" in *Multicultural America: An Encyclopedia of the Newest Americans* Vol. I (2011).

**Tom Weterings** studied Medieval and Early Modern History at Leiden University, and Editing at the University of Amsterdam, attaining his Masters' degrees in 2007 and 2009, respectively. His thesis on letters from early Dutch settlers in Suriname won the Flemish-Dutch Award for Text Edition in 2009. He has done work on Dutch texts from all over the world, including from New Netherland and has published on Caribbean and Dutch history. Weterings' contributions to this monograph include obtaining the photographic reproduction of the original notarial records mentioning Juan Rodriguez in the Amsterdam City Archives, producing the first ever Dutch transcription of these documents and revising the English translations originally produced by Simon Hart in 1959. He is currently desk editor at Brill Academic Publishers and works as an independent researcher.



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## Introduction

### Juan Rodriguez: A Largely Unknown Historical Figure

There is solid archival evidence that in the Spring of 1613 a Dutch merchant ship named *Jonge Tobias* arrived in the Hudson Harbor to explore the potential wealth of the area, especially the potential for trade with the local Native Americans for animal furs that could be resold in Europe's garment market. The ship's crew included a black or mulatto free man "born in Saint Domingo" (the Spanish colony-island in the Caribbean also known as *La Española*) and whose name appears spelled as Jan Rodrigues<sup>2</sup> in the few pages of Dutch notary records that have survived on the matter, currently held in the City Archives of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. After spending some time in the Hudson area, the sources state that the Dutch captain decided to return to the Netherlands with his crew, only to find out that Juan Rodriguez did not want to continue the trip to Europe and wanted to stay in the Hudson Harbor instead, and even threatening to jump overboard at the first opportunity if he was forced to go on the ship to the Netherlands. Ultimately, the captain agreed to leave Rodriguez behind and left for Europe.

The following year, 1614, another Dutch expedition arrived from the Netherlands with the intention of engaging in fur trading with the Native Americans of the area as the 1613 expedition had done. They found Juan Rodriguez in the Hudson Harbor area and hired him to work for them. Shortly afterwards the captain of the ship that brought Rodriguez to the Hudson the year before arrived on a second expedition and found Rodriguez working for the crew that had arrived a few weeks before him. A confrontation erupted between the two competing expeditions and in the process Rodriguez hurt some individuals while himself sustaining a wound. When the warring merchants returned to Holland, they went before the Dutch authorities to dispute each other the concession of a trade monopoly in North America. In presenting their case, they described the incidents and skirmishes in which they had been involved on the other side of the Atlantic, in the Hudson Harbor, including a few comments about the participation of the "black" or "mulatto" man from Santo Domingo in the events. We do not know exactly how the dispute between the trading crews concluded in the Netherlands, and subsequently the notarial records containing the testimonies or depositions given by the Dutch sailors from both crews seem to have gone into a lengthy archival silence of more than three centuries, until well after World War II. No additional data has been found on Rodriguez in the Dutch historical records.

Indeed, more than three hundred and forty-six years passed before Juan Rodriguez was mentioned again in any written source that we know of, until 1959, when historian Simon Hart included a narration of the 1613-1614 Dutch expeditions to the Hudson in his book *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company: Amsterdam Notarial Records of the First Dutch Voyages to the Hudson*, including in it the brief data about Juan Rodriguez originally shared by the Dutch sailors in the depositions they gave to a notary in the Netherlands at the time. Hart also included, as an appendix at the end of his book, what we now know are full translations of the few pages of testimonies given by the sailors. These scant pages became the only solid source on Juan Rodriguez and his stay in the Hudson Harbor in 1613-1614.

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2 The same spelling remains in U.S. historiography.

## **The Historical Data about Juan Rodriguez in the Hudson Harbor: What We Know From the Archival Sources**

What we know for sure about Juan Rodriguez's days in what is today New York City –to the extent that the accepted procedures of constructing historical knowledge allow us– is essentially what Simon Hart's initial research based on archival documents uncovered in the late 1950s. Rodriguez was a black or mulatto man from Santo Domingo who appeared in the Hudson Harbor at the early date of 1613 on board a Dutch ship that, as per all indications, was exploring the Northeast Coast of North America for its economic potential in the fur trade. The name *Santo Domingo* was used at the time as an alternate of the older name of *La Española* (which in Spanish means precisely "The Spanish One"). *La Española* was the name given in 1492 by Christopher Columbus to the island, the oldest European colony in the New World. In 1605 the Spanish Crown had forcefully concentrated the population of *La Española* on the Eastern regions of its territory, shortly before the arrival of Rodriguez in Hudson Harbor. This relocation would have a decisive impact on *La Española's* society, as the region subsequently evolved into what is today the Dominican Republic.

We also learned from Hart that after docking in the Hudson Harbor in 1613, Rodriguez was left in the area for a few months as the rest of the crew returned to the Netherlands, and that he was still in the Hudson Harbor the next year, when other Dutch ships came back to the region, then populated by the Lenape peoples. Nothing else, in terms of first-hand evidence, has been firmly documented on Rodriguez ever since. Little more has been learned, since the publication of Hart's book, about this peculiar aspect of the very early years of New York as a modern, multicultural, enclave of European colonialism in the Americas.

Hart's publication included some Dutch notarial documents dated August 1613 and July 1614, in which some Dutch sailors described the incidents of the trip in 1613 that had taken them, presumably from the Caribbean, to the Hudson Harbor, as part of the expansion of the Dutch Republic into the Western Hemisphere during the first half of the seventeenth century. In their depositions, the sailors referred to a dark-skinned man "from Saint Domingo" named "Jan Rodrigues" who had come aboard one of the Dutch ships captained by Thijs Mossel, apparently as a sailor.

According to the Dutch documents, once in the area in 1613, Rodriguez is said to have resisted the captain's decision to continue the trip to the Netherlands, remaining in the Hudson Harbor area (possibly interacting in the meantime with the local Native American groups of the area) until the following year when more Dutch ships arrived. One of those ships seems to have hired Rodriguez during the crew's attempt to trade in furs with Native Americans. Then Rodriguez's former captain returned to the Hudson on another trip, and finding Rodriguez working for another Dutch ship master seems to have sparked a scuffle between Rodriguez and his former fellow crew members. In the fight Rodriguez is said to have disarmed one of his opponents but at the end he was wounded and overpowered, before being rescued by his new co-workers. No further first-hand information about Rodriguez seems to have been identified by the historical scholarship since Hart's book and, as a result, after 1613-1614 Rodriguez disappears from the known historical record. No additional data on Rodriguez has been found since.

## Juan Rodriguez and the Public Historical Memory of New York City: The Existing Scholarship

As it has been said before, it was in 1959, thanks to the data published by Dutch archivist and historian Simon Hart in his book *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company*,<sup>3</sup> that the short but significant story of Juan Rodriguez was first made available to contemporary scholars of New York history and to the public at large. Yet still today it seems no exaggeration to say that for most of the larger public or readership, either general or scholarly (including Dominican Americans at large), Rodriguez's story is almost unknown.

For reasons that we can speculate about later, Rodriguez's peculiar and intriguing story was largely ignored for roughly a quarter of a century, until in the 1990s some scholars rightfully interested in vindicating the historical agency of black people in U.S. history, noticing Rodriguez's blackness, began to mention his role in the early beginnings of the history of the City of New York and, by extension, of the State of New York. But even then, the dissemination of the facts about Rodriguez remained restricted to academic circles, until in the early 2000s they slowly began to appear in more widely circulating printed venues and other media, including one Public Radio broadcast.<sup>4</sup> This wider dissemination of Juan Rodriguez's story into the mainstream of New York's public culture is still a work in progress, as illustrated by the fact that an important exhibition curated in 2009 by the Museum of the City of New York on the Dutch period of the city's and the state's history completely omitted it.<sup>5</sup>

In the 1990s some scholars believed to have found additional information on the intermingling of Rodriguez with the Native American ethnic groups or peoples of the Hudson area at the time and to a subsequent life as an early merchant-diplomat in the Hudson Harbor. A text of a reported treaty that involved the local Native American population was cited. But it seems clear now that the authenticity of the historical source on which this additional information was based has come into question. The reported source's authenticity has been vetted and questioned thoroughly enough by specialists on the early Dutch presence in New York, to the point that it has been discredited or reasonably debunked. Yet, given that this debate and debunking has occurred strictly within the paper walls of a very specialized academic journal with a small circulation, it remains to be seen when exactly the counter-revised story of Rodriguez will reach a larger audience.<sup>6</sup>

Since its appearance in 1959, Hart's book has been the only source of information on Juan Rodriguez. This publication has the enormous merit of contributing a key piece of data on the earliest presence of black and Latino people in the city's history at a time when colored and non-European minorities and their historical achievements and contributions were still being silenced by the mainstream media. In his monograph, Hart summarized what he found on Rodriguez (pp.23;26) and, most importantly, included an English translation of the 1613 and 1614 Dutch notarial records where the name of Juan Rodriguez appeared, and which are kept at the Amsterdam City Archives (pp.74-75; 80-83). As we will see, in subsequent decades different

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3 Hart, Simon: *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company*. Amsterdam: City of Amsterdam Press, 1959.

Hart provides his views on Rodriguez on pages 23 and 26, and an English translation of the Dutch archival documents that mention Rodriguez on pages 75, 80, 81 and 82.

4 "The First African American in the Hudson Valley – Juan "Jan" Rodrigues" [2004] In *Talking History, Aural History Production. The Radio Archive*. [www.albany.edu/talkinghistory/arch2009jan-june.html.] NPR Broadcast

5 *Amsterdam, New Amsterdam: The Worlds of Henry Hudson*. April 4, 2009-September 27, 2009. www.mcny.org/exhibitions/past/Henry-Hudson.html

6 The best summary we know of regarding the non-Hart based interpretations of Juan Rodriguez's circumstances after 1613-1614 has been articulated by historian Mark Meuwese in his paper "Spanish or African? Reconstructing the Career and Identity of Juan Rodriguez, 1609-1614," presented at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory held in Quebec City, Canada, specifically on pages 2-4 and then summarized in his 2003 doctoral dissertation "For the Peace and Well-Being of The Country: Intercultural Mediators and Dutch-Indian Relations in New Netherland and Dutch Brazil, 1600-1664." Unpublished Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2003. Pp. 55-57.

scholars and authors who have decided to keep alive or strengthen the memory on Rodriguez have retold the story, essentially reinterpreting, with varying degrees of imagination, the data provided by Hart, fleshing out the image and actions of Rodriguez in 1613-14 in different ways, though not always explaining how they constructed such interpretations nor alerting the readers to their additions, often presented as facts.

In 1968, Thomas Condon's *New York Beginnings: the Commercial Origins of New Netherland* was published, a book primarily based on Hart's *Prehistory*. Upon reviewing this book, we found that Juan Rodriguez is mentioned only in two pages: 30 and 190. Notes 88 and 89 are references to the wrong sources and the two references to Juan Rodriguez in footnotes happen to be totally inaccurate. Note 88 refers to information on Rodriguez allegedly in John Romeyn Brodhead's 1859 *History of the State of New York: First Period, 1609-1664. V.I.*, pages 96-97, but in fact Brodhead does not mention Juan Rodriguez (or Jan Rodrigues) in his book. Note 89, which discusses Jacob Eelkens' staying in Fort Nassau in 1614, is allegedly based on Hart's *Prehistory*, pages 23, and 26-27, but this is also an inaccurate reference.

Also in 1968, almost ten years after Hart's book, an article by Lawrence Gwyn Van Loon appeared in the journal *The Indian Historian* that would have a lasting impact on how the story of Juan Rodriguez would be viewed and retold in the following decades by some scholars and authors. Under the title "Tawagonshi, the beginning of the Treaty Era," the article presented for the first time a photographic reproduction, transcription and English translation of what was described as a 1613 treaty between the Mohawk Native Americans and two Dutch merchant captains. As we will see later in this section, it was not until 1987 that a group of scholars conducted a comprehensive analysis of Van Loon's treaty and concluded that it was inauthentic. Yet the treaty would continue to be considered a valid piece of historical evidence by several of the scholars who have written about Juan Rodriguez in subsequent decades, apparently unaware of the severe—and in our view, convincing—criticism and questioning of the piece in 1987.

In 1969, *Peltries or Plantations: the Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639* was published by Van Cleef Bachman. Bachman, interpreting information provided in Hart's book, suggests that in 1613 Dutch merchant Thijs Mossel "before sailing for home, left on the river a mulatto from San Domingo with a supply of hatchets and knives to continue trade until his return the following winter" (pp. 6-7). That mulatto was Juan Rodriguez. Bachman adds that "Thijs Mossel had left his mulatto factor during the spring and fall of 1613" as what he believes was a contribution by the New Netherland Company in the form of "the establishment of a year round trading post" (11).

Seventeen years would pass after the publication of Bachman's study, until Oliver Rink's *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* appeared in 1986. In his description of the early arrival of the Dutch in the region, Rink followed Hart's notarial records closely, but replaced Rodriguez's society of origin, La Española, with the phrase "the West Indies": "Moreover, a crewman aboard the *Jonge Tobias*, a mulatto from the West Indies identified as Juan Rodrigues, jumped ship (allegedly with the connivance of Captain Mossel) and fled into the forest with trade goods consisting of eighty hatchets, some knives, a musket, and a sword" (p.34). On page 42, Rink continues with a rendition that provides additional details on Juan Rodriguez's activities on the Hudson in 1614 not found in Hart's writing nor based on new documentation: "Hendrick Christiaensen arrived first in the Hudson River. He encountered Juan Rodrigues, the alleged runaway from the *Jonge Tobias* from the year before. Rodrigues had been busy making himself welcome among the local Indian tribes. He had acquired a working familiarity with the local tongue and displayed little loyalty to his previous employers, quickly agreeing to sign on with Christiaensen as an interpreter and trader. When Mossel dropped anchor in the river a few weeks later, he was furious to find his deserter working for his competitor."

As briefly mentioned earlier, in 1987 Charles Gehring, William Starna, and William N. Fenton published an important critical analysis of the article published by L. G. Van Loon in 1968. Van Loon's article included a copy of a presumed treaty signed in 1613 between the Dutch and the Mohawk Native Americans

of the Hudson area. The article, published in *New York History*, was a rebuttal and debunking of Van Loon's 1968 article "The Tawagonshi Treaty of 1613: The Final Chapter." The three scholars concluded "that the 'Treaty of Tawagonshi' is not an authentic document of 1613 but a document conceived and created in the mid-twentieth century," and that it is "marked by linguistic and historical anomalies that render its authenticity extremely unlikely" (p. 375). Yet, as mentioned before, this dismantling of the claim of a 1613 bilateral treaty does not seem to have reached an ample audience, since the reported treaty has continued to be cited as fact by others, academics or not. Furthermore, some observers even add that Juan Rodriguez became a mediator between the Dutch and the Native Americans with the signing of the 1613 treaty.

Eight years later, in 1995, Peter Bakker in his article "First African into New Netherland, 1613-1614," published in the journal *De Halve Maen*, warned that many American historians did not know that there were Africans in New Netherland "at least more than a decade earlier than 1625-1626" since "much of the evidence has appeared in French-language publications" (p. 50). But despite this allusion to plurality of French publication only one was actually referred to by Bakker. The article cites historian Th. J. Kupp's article "Quelques aspects de la dissolution de la Compagnie de M. de Monts, 1607," published in *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* (1970) as a source. Based on the same French source, Bakker went on to say that "Mulattoes were often used as interpreters by Europeans who traded with the Indians of New England and Virginia and they were paid real salaries and some marginal advantages. The Dutch who traded on the Hudson River in the years 1612-1613 also had a mulatto in their service, Jan Rodriguez" (p. 50). Partially using Hart, and again going into an explicit supposition, Bakker indicated that "Rodriguez assisted Mossel, presumably as an interpreter with the Native tribes" (p. 50) and added that "such black interpreters as Rodriguez were of high value to the Europeans" (p. 52). Referring to the goods Rodriguez received from Mossel, Bakker further suggests that it is unclear whether Rodriguez received them "... as payment for his services or as trade goods with the Natives ..." (p. 50).

In 1996, renowned North American slavery historian Ira Berlin published one of the most influential articles on the subject, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," in *The William and Mary Quarterly*. The article is devoted to the "Atlantic creoles," the segment of the African and Afro-descent population that during colonial times lived in the Atlantic world. According to Berlin "'Atlantic creole' ... refers to those who by experience or choice, as well as by birth, became part of a new culture that emerged along the Atlantic littoral—in Africa, Europe or the Americas—beginning in the 16th century. It departs from the notion of 'creole' that makes birth definitive... Circumstances and volition blurred differences between 'African' and 'creole' as defined only by nativity, if only because Africans and creoles were connected by ties of kinship and friendship. They worked together, played together, intermarried, and on occasion stood together against assaults on their freedom. Even more important, men and women could define themselves in ways that transcended nativity. 'African' and 'creole' were as much a matter of choice as of birth. The term 'Atlantic creole' is designed to capture the cultural transformations that sometimes preceded generational change and sometimes was unaffected by it" (p. 254).

Berlin identifies Juan Rodriguez as "Atlantic creole." In fact, Berlin is the first known scholar to label Juan Rodriguez as a bona fide member of the "Atlantic creole" community: "Juan<sup>7</sup> (Jan, in some accounts) Rodrigues, a sailor of mixed racial ancestry who had **shipped**<sup>8</sup> from Hispaniola in 1612<sup>9</sup> on the *Jonge Tobias*, offers another case in point. The ship, one of the several Dutch merchant vessels vying for the North American fur trade before the founding of the Dutch West India Company, anchored in the Hudson River sometime in 1612 and left Rodrigues either as an independent trader or, more likely, as ship's agent. When a rival Dutch ship arrived the following year, Rodrigues promptly shifted his allegiance, informing its captain that, despite his color,

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7 Note the spelling of Juan.

8 Emphasis added.

9 We have not come across a source mentioning that a Dutch ship left from La Española in 1612.

‘he was a free man.’ He served his new employer as translator and agent collecting furs from the native population. When the captain of the *Jonge Tobias* returned to the Hudson River, Rodrigues changed his allegiance yet again, only to be denounced as a turn-coat and ‘that black rascal.’ Barely escaping with his life, he stood up residence with some friendly Indians” (p.276).<sup>10</sup> It is important to note that Berlin’s description of Juan Rodriguez seems to inform a good portion of the prevailing academic scholarship.

In 1997 two authors mentioned Juan Rodriguez. The first, William Loren Katz, in his book *Black Legacy: a History of New York’s African Americans*, described Juan Rodriguez as a free “African” and interpreter, without mentioning that Rodriguez came from Santo Domingo. The other was Willie Page, in *The Dutch Triangle: the Netherlands and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1621-1664*. Citing Hart’s book, Page mentions Rodriguez and describes him as a mulatto from Santo Domingo who, the author conjectures, remained with the native traders (pp. 138-139).

Two years later, in 1999, Edwin Burrows and Mike Wallace, in their award-winning and acclaimed *Gotham: a History of New York City to 1898*, also mentioned Rodriguez’s presence in New York. Burrows and Wallace, using Hart’s documents, acknowledged Rodriguez’s Santo Domingo origins and, understanding that Rodriguez worked for Dutch merchant-sailor Adriaen Block, concluded that Rodriguez “remained on Manhattan with a stock of goods to organize trade pending Block’s return” (p.19). Hart’s 1959 book states that it was Captain Thijs Mossel, not Block, who gave those goods to Rodriguez in 1613 before returning to Holland.

Also in 1999, the overview *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863*, by historian Graham Russell Hodges, was published. The book included several interpretive comments on Juan Rodriguez that have since been echoed in a number of publications of great public impact.<sup>11</sup> The work makes an important contribution in highlighting the fact that “Rodrigues was the first nonindigenous resident of Manhattan Island,” and that he was “as well the earliest known African American on the island” (p. 7). Yet the historical records found cited by Hart and used by everyone else afterwards do not provide any geographical detail with that degree of precision; they refer simply to the Hudson River as the main location for Rodriguez and these earlier Dutch merchants. On the other hand, some of the comments in the book seem to be based on misinterpretation, conjectures, and inconsistent references to sources. For instance, Hodges compresses into 1613 two experiences that Rodriguez actually had in two different years: 1613 and 1614. The author concludes that Rodriguez was “marooned on Manhattan Island by a Dutch explorer in 1613” (p.2) not mentioning that the sources on the case indicate that it was Rodriguez who had verbally rejected the idea of traveling to the Netherlands and who decided to stay in the Hudson Harbor area of his free volition, diminishing in the process Rodriguez’s agency.

This book also argues that Rodriguez “entered Christiansen’s service as an interpreter with local Rockaway Indians and facilitated a trade agreement between the Indians and Christiansen” (p. 6). Hodges’ citation on this matter, the “Jacob Eelkens, Agreement with Indians,” identified as Manuscript 14164 of the New York

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<sup>10</sup> There are several important details included in Berlin’s account regarding Rodriguez’s experience in the Hudson area that deserve to be examined carefully: (a) The beginning of Rodriguez’s stay in New York is dated in 1612; (b) Rodriguez is described as having changed allegiance two times between different Dutch traders; (c) Rodriguez seems to have been left in the Hudson to work on behalf of a Dutch captain; and (d) Rodriguez seems to have settled among some friendly natives. These are new details included in Berlin’s account about Rodriguez. Berlin cites four authors as the sources for this information: Hart (1959); Condon (1968); Bachman (1969); and Rink (1986). Yet, a good deal of the information provided by the authors who wrote after Hart, is either chronologically inaccurate, speculative, or does not appear in the sources they referred to.

<sup>11</sup> Russell Hodges’ interpretation of the facts relating to Juan Rodriguez has also been picked up by other media besides print publications. For instance, the website of the National Park Service’s prominent *African Burial Ground* in New York City ([www.nps.gov/afbg/index.htm](http://www.nps.gov/afbg/index.htm)) features both a page containing a biographical profile of Rodriguez as well as a sound bite on him. Staff from the institution has confirmed that amongst the sources used to construct the site’s profile on Rodriguez are Hart’s *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company* and Russell Hodges’ *Root and branch. African Americans in New York & East Jersey*. Also see the “Letter to the editor” section of *The Villager* (2005), an online source [http://thevillager.com/villager\\_110/letterstotheeditor.html](http://thevillager.com/villager_110/letterstotheeditor.html).

Colonial Documents, New York State Archives, seems to be the same Tawagonshi treaty of 1613 published by L.G. Van Loon in his 1968 article, which, as we mentioned earlier, has been discredited by Gehring and others since 1987. This is to say that, until new sound evidence is found, the belief that Rodriguez became a sort of major diplomatic mediator between the Dutch and the Native Americans is mere speculation rather than historical fact.

Similar concerns are raised by the notion, stated as a fact in Hodges, that once the Dutch expeditions (presumably those occurring in 1614, though it is not specified) returned to Holland, “Rodrigues remained behind and fathered several children with Rockaway Indian women” (p. 6). Since the only additional sources mentioned for these interpretations are Hart’s 1959 work and Bachman’s 1969 book, and none of them, after a close examination, offer this information, again this is not convincing. Matters become further complicated when we examine the five different pages of Bachman’s book referred to by Hodges as his source and find that the information these pages provide does not relate to the topic of Juan Rodriguez.<sup>12</sup>

Jeffrey Kroessler’s book, *New York Year by Year: A Chronology of the Great Metropolis*, published in 2002, describes Rodriguez as a black sailor and interpreter who remained among the Rockaway Indians (p. 8). On the other hand, let us consider Marcus P. Meuwese’s “Spanish or African? Reconstructing the Career and Identity of Juan Rodriguez, 1609-1614,” a paper presented at a conference in 2002. The author sought to find more concrete information about Juan Rodriguez. He reviewed most of the scholarly sources published up to the moment of his writing, and more particularly a document regarding an expedition of a Juan Rodrigo, a Spaniard military sergeant who participated in an expedition in 1609 along the Atlantic coast of Spanish Florida. Contrary to other authors, Meuwese is meticulous in his reading and examination of sources that discussed Juan Rodriguez, clearly distinguishing historical facts from speculations. He did not find any evidence regarding Rodriguez but concluded that the “Atlantic creole culture” was also shared by people of European descent since sergeant Rodrigo was exposed to similar experiences and social practices—including different languages, relationships and familiarity with Dutch maritime merchants and others (2002:10).<sup>13</sup>

Four publications in 2003 commented on Juan Rodriguez. In a new book, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves*, noted historian Ira Berlin continues to describe Rodriguez as in his first version of 1996 (see for instance pp. 31; 53; 290-291). In *Unearthing Gotham. The Archeology of New York City*, Anne-Marie Cantwell and Diana diZerega Wall mention Juan Rodriguez as “the first non-Indian known to have stayed on Manhattan Island” indicating that he was “described in contemporary accounts as “a mulatto” from San Domingo (in today’s Dominican Republic)” (p.151).<sup>14</sup>

Leslie Harris’ *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*, following Hodges, reports the 5 most cited descriptions about Juan Rodriguez today: That Juan Rodriguez was (1) the first non-Native American settler in Manhattan; (2) of African and possibly Afro-European descent; (3) a free man and sailor from a Dutch vessel; (4) fluent in Native American languages; and (5) married into the Rockaway tribe (see pp. 12-13 and 293-294). Marcus P. Meuwese, in his Ph.D. dissertation *For the Peace and Well-Being of The Country: Intercultural Mediators and Dutch-Indian Relations in New Netherland and Dutch Brazil, 1600-1664*, incorporated some of the views on Rodriguez he had argued in the 2002 paper already cited above (see for instance pp. 55-57; 67-68; 464; and 506).

In 2005 Tom Lewis, in his *The Hudson: a History* includes a brief mention of Juan Rodriguez as a “West Indian mulatto” (pp. 51-52). The same year, Christopher Moore, in an insert entitled “Manhattan’s First Merchant” in Leslie Harris and Ira Berlin’s *Slavery in New York*, mentions Juan Rodriguez as coming from

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12 See for instance page 282, endnote 1, for chapter 1 of *Root and Branch*.

13 Unpublished paper shared by the author with Anthony Stevens Acevedo.

14 See end note, p. 151, which refers to p. 318, note 2.



the West Indies to the Hudson Bay as well as his stay of several months until found by captains Adrian Block and Hendrick Christiaensen the following year (p.34).

The 2006 Encyclopedia of *African American History, 1619–1895: From the Colonial Period to the Age of Frederick Douglass*, an online publication edited by Paul Finkelman, includes three articles where Juan Rodriguez is mentioned. In “Rodrigues, Jan” written by Graham Hodges, the author uses many of the comments he previously made in his book in 1999 (discussed above) as well as other reported new details about Juan Rodriguez. In this article Juan Rodriguez is described for the first time as a “creole pilot” and settler. Similarly, Hodges adds that the Creole Jan de Fort Orange, a half-free creole resident of New Amsterdam, who worked for the Dutch West Indies Company in 1624, and appears again in the records as a fully-free individual and a plot owner in the 1640s, may have been the same Juan Rodriguez of 1613. A second article by Hodges, “Historiography of Early Black Life,” refers to Rodriguez as a “Creole” similar to “other employees of the Dutch in New Amsterdam” [...] with “sufficient savvy to negotiate for their freedom and limited prosperity”. The final article, “New York in the Colonial Period” also authored by Hodges, reiterates previous comments he has made on other publications about Juan Rodriguez. None of the encyclopedias entries mentioned the origins of Juan Rodriguez in La Española (www.oxfordreference.com. Accessed, June 2nd, 2009).

Also in 2006, Lois Horton, in his book *Slavery and the Making of America*, dedicated a paragraph to Juan Rodriguez, citing Hart’s and Berlin’s works and referring to Rodriguez’s role in the founding of New Netherland. Horton says that “As early as 1613 the Van Tweenhuysen Company, a Dutch trading enterprise, employed Jan (or Juan) Rodrigues, a free African sailor with mixed racial heritage from San Domingo, to organize a fur trade with Native Americans. Rodrigues settled on what is now Governor’s Island, just off Manhattan in New York Bay, becoming the first non-Native American resident of the colony” (p.34).

The final writing to be discussed here, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: the Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley*, published in 2006 by Paul Andrew Otto, indicates that “Rodrigues spent the summer among the Indians, presumably trading and certainly learning more about the Indians and their language” (p. 55). L. Lloyd Stewart, for his part, in his book *A Far Cry from Freedom: Gradual Abolition (1700-1827)*, also published in 2006, incorporates the prevailing descriptions of Juan Rodriguez as: (1) the first non-indigenous settler on Manhattan island; (2) a facilitator of trade between the Dutch and Native Americans (Rockaway); (3) an interpreter; (4) the father of several children with Rockaway Native American women; and (5) acculturated into both European and Native American life.<sup>15</sup>

The next section introduces an argument that looks at Juan Rodriguez’s society of origin and contextualizes him and his actions in 1613-1614 as a product of that society.

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<sup>15</sup> Some other citations were left out because they essentially include information about Juan Rodriguez similar to that contained in the sources discussed in this writing. See for instance Karen Silversten’s Ph.D dissertation of 2007, *Babel on the Hudson: Community Formation in Dutch Manhattan*.

## **The Historical Context of Juan Rodríguez's *La Española*: Imperial Monopoly, Colonial Smuggling, and Forceful Depopulation**

Juan Rodríguez was a product of his particular milieu: the society of late sixteenth-century *La Española*. As in the case of any other individual in history, we argue that Juan Rodríguez's actions during the 1613-1614 events in the Hudson Harbor should be interpreted within the socio-historic context that he came from. This includes a historical legacy—the collective experience and memory of the communities which had been evolving in *La Española* for over a century—and Juan Rodríguez's own individual experience of belonging to the society of a specific area, namely the Western and Northern areas of *La Española*, as explained below. He came from late sixteenth-century *La Española*—according to statements by his fellow (Dutch) sailors, he was known to have been born there. During the sixteenth century, *La Española* had grown into a very particular social setting relative to the overall Spanish Empire in the New World. Analyzing *La Española* society of that time will help us understand Juan Rodríguez's attitude and way of behaving socially both with his employers and others when he arrived in Hudson Harbor.

By 1613 *La Española*, or *Santo Domingo*, as the island of *La Española* was alternatively called at the time, was home to a colonial society more than a century old, with a relatively small and very scattered population where people of black African descent had constituted the majority since before the mid sixteenth-century. (See graph 1, p. 65.) This long-established predominance of dark-skinned inhabitants (blacks as well as an infinite variety of skin colors among mulattoes) was the result of a combination of local factors, such as (1) the early importing of enslaved Sub-Saharan Africans brought over to replace the dwindling native Taíno population that had succumbed to the mining work regime imposed by the early Spanish settlers in the first two decades of colonization (1492-1508); (2) the increased importing of enslaved black Africans (males and females) triggered by the establishment of a cane sugar plantation system from the mid-1510s onwards until late in the century; (3) the unwelcoming socio-economic conditions facing the new settlers arriving from Iberia, imposed by a local colonial oligarchy of Spaniards that quickly developed and exerted tight control over access to agricultural lands; (4) the decreasing attractiveness of *La Española* to settlers leaving Spain for the Americas, as the agricultural plantation and cattle-ranching colony lost importance as a destination, once the big silver and gold mines were discovered in the mainland colonies (Mexico and Peru) that offered much better prospects for acquisition of wealth or socio-economic improvement; and (5) the intermingling of segments of the small white male settler population with the black female slave population of the colony, which produced a predominantly mulatto population. This majority of dark-skinned inhabitants would remain consistent throughout the entire colonial period in *La Española*. The census of 1606 recorded 15,648 people in *La Española*, of whom 9,648 were black slaves and the remaining 6,000 were whites, free blacks, and mulattos (Moya Pons 1986: 32).

The geographical isolation of the western parts of *La Española* was created on the ground by the central and southwestern mountains and the thick vegetation, and on the seas by the eastward currents flowing along the southwestern coasts, hindering ships trying to sail westward from the city of Santo Domingo. This rendered transportation of goods between the settlers' villages of the western regions and the port city of Santo Domingo so difficult and expensive as to be economically unfeasible (Rodríguez Demorizi 1945: 114).

Equally decisive in the shaping of early seventeenth-century *La Española*, and rather unique in the Spanish empire at the time, was the long-lived externally oriented smuggling economy that became ever more rampant on the island throughout the second half of the sixteenth-century, especially in the remote western and northern coastal regions located far from the colonial capital city of Santo Domingo, where all administrative functions of *La Española* resided. The history of contraband in *La Española* is well known in Dominican historiography for its long-term impact on Dominican society. (Franco 1992: 88, 90-92; Cassá 1994: 87-92; Moya-Pons 2008: 52-57) Surprisingly, this phenomenon seems to have gone relatively unnoticed—like many other remarkable aspects of early colonial Dominican history—by scholars from outside the Dominican Republic specializing in the early colonial history of Latin America, particularly in the U.S.

In addition, from the third decade of the sixteenth century onwards Spain's conflicts with other European countries like France and England led to pirate attacks by those countries against Spanish ships and colonies in the Caribbean, including La Española.<sup>16</sup> In fact, as early as "in 1522 Jean Florin, a French corsair, attacked a Spanish ship that was coming from Santo Domingo to Seville, carrying sugar" (Moya Pons 2008:42). The French bandit robbed the cargo from the Spanish ship and took it to his country.

As a strategy to protect the Spanish ships from the complicated state of affairs in the Atlantic, Spain tightened control over its ships' navigation to and from the Americas, grouping its commercial vessels in fleets that would travel for the most part only twice a year at more or less fixed times, determined by the Crown, and via more direct routes to the most economically valuable ports of its colonies in Mexico and South America, largely by bypassing La Española (Rodríguez Demorizi 1945: 113).

This meant that the residents of the western and northern regions lacked access to the Spanish empire's prevailing transatlantic trade network. Thus the inhabitants of these areas of La Española, known as *Banda del Norte* (Northern Strip), resorted early to circumventing the Spanish Crown's rules, shipping out their cow hides and sugar, and importing the myriad of goods that they needed from the incoming ships coming from across the Atlantic, developing in the process a well-integrated smuggling business that became pervasive. Juan Bosch argues that practically all social segments of the scattered colonial populations in the area and those who lived in the few existing villages were involved in smuggling, including those who were officially designated as local colonial authorities on behalf of the Spanish Crown, who often became involved in the illicit traffic due to fear of village uprisings. (1983:44). Bosch added that "when a smuggling ship arrived, shots were fired to the air, signaling villagers that the ship had arrived. People then would come with their goods; some would come by foot, some riding on horses, and some others by canoe" (1983:44). Spanish authorities, who tried to prevent people from engaging in smuggling, were often attacked by the villagers, who sometimes locked up those officials who did not manage to escape and hide in the dense woods until the smuggling transactions had ended and the foreigners had left.

Bosch based his comments on a report issued in 1577 that discussed the state of affairs in La Española. The report written by Royal Notary of La Yaguana, Jerónimo de Torres, assessed smuggling among residents in the *Banda del Norte*, specifically in the towns of Bayajá, La Yaguana, Montecristi, and Puerto Plata (see map of *Devastaciones*, p. 64).<sup>17</sup> In his report de Torres concluded that smuggling had two sides: one, involving residents of these towns who were involved in smuggling to sell their products circumventing the official monopoly guiding trade in the city of Santo Domingo; the other involving corsairs who provided slaves and all kinds of goods the residents of La Española were in need of. De Torres wrote that foreign smugglers priced their goods at a much lower price—as compared to Spanish merchants selling goods bought in Seville and Medina, the two largest Spanish commercial centers of the time. De Torres concluded that Spanish merchants stopped coming to the *Banda Norte*; they simply could not compete with the low prices offered by the foreign smugglers. De Torres proposed to the Crown to change the manner in which smuggling was being combated. The standard practice was for colonial authority to come at the time when smugglers were expected to arrive in La Española and arrest people who were caught in the act. In addition, Spanish judicial officials obtained their salaries from the goods they were able to seize from caught smugglers; a practice that was counterproductive to ending smuggling, since this after-the-fact approach meant that the authority always had an incentive not to impede the smuggling from taking place but to let it happen and then try to seize the merchandise, which in fact allowed for a lot of items to go unseized. He asked the Crown to increase the number of local police, to pay them a regular salary, and to maintain a permanent surveillance

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<sup>16</sup> Moya Pons states that French corsairs waited near the Canary Islands for ships coming from La Española since as early as 1513 (2008: 42). Authors' translation.

<sup>17</sup> The map does not include the town of Guaba. Guaba was located in what is today the Bay of Gonaives, part of the Republic of Haiti.

system in the areas involved in illegal trafficking. He also argued against the idea of depopulating the affected areas, an idea previously advanced by some authorities (Rodríguez Demorizi 1945:114).

In 1601, Archbishop Agustín Dávila Padilla, who had been appointed to the Archdioceses of Santo Domingo in 1599, reiterated the recommendations made by de Torres in 1577 that illicit trade in La Española be eliminated. Dávila Padilla made two further recommendations to the Crown. He suggested that ships going from Spain to the Americas stop on La Española; he also suggested legalizing trade between settlers and foreign merchants (Rodríguez Demorizi: 114).

Since exporting via the port of Santo Domingo was economically unfeasible, the colonists from *La Banda Norte* of La Española continued to blatantly disregard the monopolistic regulations decreed by the Spanish Crown, which prohibited trading with non-Spaniards. Taking advantage of the colonial authorities' very limited military and administrative access to their region, *La Banda del Norte's* colonists cultivated their illicit negotiations through engaging in what became pervasive maritime smuggling with the French, British, Dutch, and Portuguese corsairs and merchants, who refused to accept Spain's claims to exclusive access to the economy of its colonies and were eager to benefit from all goods, but particularly hides, which they could obtain from the colonists of this region of La Española (and the rest of the Caribbean). Juan Bosch argues that it was precisely "... the abundant amount of cattle and the scarcity of basic goods to satisfy people's daily needs that created the basis for the development of a system of commerce based on contraband" (1983: 43).<sup>18</sup>

Spain's strategy focused prioritized its most naturally wealthy mainland colonies, which were already yielding most of the empire's riches in the form of vast quantities of gold and silver that the Crown used to sustain its long term attempt at continental military predominance in Europe. This left La Española disconnected from the Spanish imperial economy and social mores, with its peculiar geographical fragmentation and coastal currents, its ruralized population of cattle ranches and sugar plantations populated mostly by black Africans, mulattoes, mestizos, and a minority of Spanish ancestry settlers and inhabitants disconnected from the Spanish imperial economy and social mores. La Española was left with a local economy largely based on bartering and very limited currency, and with very few resources invested in its local defense, either in the form of a well-paid defensive force, well-built defensive walls, sufficient armaments, and enough armed ships for transporting those forces, patrolling its coasts, and successfully confronting the frequent attacks and visits by enemies.

The inhabitants of La Española for their part responded precisely by taking advantage of the marginalization to which the metropolis had condemned them, engaging in an ambiguous style of negotiation with Spain's enemies that guaranteed the colonists' material survival while blatantly disobeying some of the fundamental laws of the Spanish Empire. The occasional attempts by the Crown or their few loyal local officials in Santo Domingo to allocate military forces to fight foreign smugglers and pirates, and the attempts by some judicial officials to punish the colonists for their smuggling practices, were never consistent or substantial enough to get the population of La Española to adhere to the imperial mandates and abandon the illegal commerce.

By the early years of the seventeenth century, the situation in La Española had become so lax that a Dutch expedition arriving at the western coastal village of La Yaguana dared to offer the inhabitants formal Dutch political and military protection against the Spanish King if the settlers switched their political loyalties to the Dutch Republic. Furthermore, Lutheran smugglers were known to have been distributing Lutheran Bibles amongst the locals and befriending them as godparents in baptisms of local children (Moya Pons 2008:54). This kind of infringement on Spanish sovereignty occurred in addition to the rampant evasion of taxes inherent in smuggling, and finally led the Spanish Crown to react with a harsh measure that they considered a worthy punishment and solution, but which actually produced entirely adverse results in the long run for its imperial interests on the island.

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18 Authors' translation.

In 1603 the Crown ordered its governor in La Española to empty the western and northern regions of the island of all inhabitants by forcing them to abandon their villages, farms, sugar mills, and ranches and move with their cattle herds, through mountains and forests, to the eastern territories of the island closer to the city of Santo Domingo, with the hope that there would no longer be vassals of the King of Spain linked by trading or friendship to Spain's enemies in the colony. The concept of forced removal of the population as a solution to coastal smuggling was first discussed at the Spanish court decades before, around 1573, when an order for the transfer further inland of villages closest to the shore on western La Española was issued by the Crown but, for some reason still unknown, seems never to have been implemented by the colonial authorities. Yet in 1605, despite widespread dissent by locals throughout the island, including many colonial officials and city councils, such as de Torres' report and Dávila Padilla's recommendations. Villages in western La Española were burned to the ground by official mandate, and hundreds of the island's western and northern residents and their cattle were moved to eastern La Española, forming the new towns of Monteplata and Bayaguana in areas northeast of Santo Domingo (see map of *Devastaciones*, p. 64).

The militarily imposed uprooting of the western and northern settlers of La Española in 1605 was led by Santo Domingo's governor Antonio Osorio, who had to travel in person to the western and northwestern coasts of the island to deal with the colonist-smugglers. Osorio was appalled at the evidence of widespread smuggling that he witnessed before intervening. He was also surprised by how little deference his presence inspired amongst the locals, who were supposed to submit to his authority as the appointed representative of the Spanish Crown (Rodríguez Demorizi 1945: 288). In the process, some inhabitants, such as those of the village of Bayahá (in the north of what is the Bay of Gonaive in today's Republic of Haiti), resisted and raised up arms, under the pretext that they needed more time to prepare themselves for the forced move.

Three of the individuals who rebelled against Osorio's demand bore the name Juan Rodríguez and appeared on a list of settlers indicted by La Española's Spanish authorities in 1605 under the accusation of engaging in illegal trade with the enemies of Spain (see Appendix no. 6.2, a.2). In any event, the 1605 operation, known in Dominican historiography as "las Devastaciones," alluding to the desolation and destruction left by Osorio's actions, seems to have removed most, but by no means all, of the inhabitants of the western and northern area at the time, the heirs of generations of settlers, the first of whom had established themselves there in the early sixteenth century. In fact, in the years immediately after the depopulation operation was officially completed, it was well known in La Española amongst the colonial authorities that some groups of blacks had managed to stay and survive, particularly in the western areas.

A document recently posted on the *Portal de Archivos Españoles* (PARES) makes reference to the fact that in January 1611, the Governor of Santo Domingo, Diego Gómez Sandoval, tried to send an expedition to the area of Cabo Tiburón, on the westernmost tip of La Española, to prosecute "smuggling by maroon blacks." The information is contained in the proceedings of a trial Governor Gómez initiated against Sargento Mayor García de Torres for delaying and refusing to go on this mission, alleging a bad state of health and the harshness of the mission's undertaking.<sup>19</sup> The overall result of the depopulation campaign, as some keen observers had already warned the Spanish Crown as early as in 1577, was in the long-run counterproductive to Spain's imperial interests in the island. The removal of the Spanish colonists from these regions finally enticed the French to gradually occupy the area and, in time, with the help of France's victories against Spain in subsequent wars in Europe, Spain was forced to officially yield the entire western territory to France permanently in the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

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19 Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo, 19, Número 2. The document is available on PARES, [http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=3&txt\\_id\\_desc\\_ud=395110&fromagenda=N](http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=3&txt_id_desc_ud=395110&fromagenda=N) Retrieved on September 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012. Authors' transcription.

In 1605, the people of La Española spoke the various languages of the foreigners with whom they had established relationships for almost a century. These relationships—whether religious, commercial, or *compadrazgos*<sup>20</sup>—angered the Spanish Crown, but the villagers defied and disobeyed Spanish rules. The early Dominican Juan Rodriguez who arrived in the Hudson Harbor in 1613 knew the Dutch very well; he also knew how to act independently, defy authority, and behave as the master of his destiny. He had learned this in the place he came from: Santo Domingo.

The next section examines the Dutch historical records on Juan Rodriguez. It also scrutinizes other archival official papers from the Archdiocese of Santo Domingo and the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville, which have been brought to light for the first time in relationship to Juan Rodriguez's life. Based on these documents, we advance an interpretation that identifies Juan Rodriguez as an early member of the Dominican people.

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<sup>20</sup> “*Compadrazgo* describes the relationship among parents and those who baptized—the godmother and the godfather—the child. It is a religious precept and involves the highest of trust and respect among the individuals involved. In the Dominican Republic, the godmother and the godfather are expected to take the role of the parents in the event that either one dies” (Hernández 2011: 156).

## Historical Records on Juan Rodriguez: Old and New

In trying to find more information on Juan Rodriguez and his immediate historical context before his arrival in the Hudson in 1613, we reexamined the Dutch notarial records that mention Rodriguez and were first commented upon by Simon Hart, who also included their English translation in his 1959 book. We studied as well two sets of records in archives in the Dominican Republic: (a) judicial colonial records from La Española that mention a number of residents of the colony (three of them named “Juan Rodriguez”) who were all indicted in 1605 for engaging in smuggling with non-Spanish maritime merchants, including Dutch merchants; and (b) colonial records from the Cathedral of Santo Domingo in the 1590s that include two adult individuals and one boy named Juan Rodriguez.

### *The Dutch Notarial Records:*

For the first time ever, in so far as the authors are aware, photographic copies of the only known documents that explicitly mention the Juan Rodriguez who arrived in the Hudson in 1613 are offered here. These are the same documents that historian Simon Hart used for writing his 1959 book, translated into English and included in an appendix in the same book. These manuscripts essentially contain the depositions given in Holland before a notary in 1613 and 1614 by two groups of Dutch sailors, members of the crews of two competing Dutch expeditions which, after visiting the Hudson area and interacting with Juan Rodriguez during each of those years, respectively, returned to the Netherlands. These statements seem to stem from the legal and political efforts launched by the captains of both expeditions to prove they had a right to enter into business relations with the natives of the Hudson area. These are the archival records cited by everyone writing on Juan Rodriguez since 1959. The purpose of including these records here is to make them accessible for the scrutiny of the general public and other scholars who may want to take part in the study of Juan Rodriguez.

We also provide here our own transcription of the manuscripts of the Dutch notarial records on Juan Rodriguez. This is the first time a transcription of the Dutch original manuscript has been published. The idea is to provide readers who do not know the paleography of early seventeenth-century Dutch handwriting with direct access to the contents of the archival manuscripts on Rodriguez.

Finally, we include a revised version of the English translation of the Dutch notarial records on Juan Rodriguez published in 1959 by Hart. As in the case of the laborious transcribing of the very cumbersome original Dutch manuscript, the revised translation entailed a careful comparison of Hart’s English version against the Dutch originals. We found several errors in Hart’s translation, some that pertain to the spelling of the names of individuals involved in the events described, and others that relate to words that depict types of actions and activities engaged in by the participants, sentiments and values expressed in some of their testimonies, objects used, and places where actions took place. Though these errors do not alter the basic information conveyed in the documents, the suggested corrections introduce a more nuanced and precise description of what occurred in 1613 and 1614 in the Hudson Harbor.

One correction to Hart’s translation, however, does alter the description of an event involving Juan Rodriguez in 1614. In the deposition given by the sailors in July of that year, Hart’s translation says that Rodriguez, after coming on board Captain Hendrick Christiaensen’s ship to offer his services, and not finding the captain present, then returned “a second time” to the ship (Hart:80). We did not find the mention of Rodriguez returning to Captain Hendrick Christiaensen’s ship a “second time” in the Dutch original document. According to the original Dutch document, Rodriguez only went aboard the ship once. Instead, the individual who is referred to in the document as actually arriving on board was Captain Christiaensen himself. The image that one may read in Hart’s translation, of a rather anxious Rodriguez trying insistently to be hired by the Dutch merchant, does not match with the records we examined.

For the transcription we used the following methodology:

- (1) Most abbreviations contained in the original Dutch archival manuscript have been spelled out in our transcription (excepting the common abbreviation 'voors.', meaning 'voorschreven': 'aforementioned').
- (2) The spelled out abbreviations were then indicated in italics;
- (3) Unreadable texts were indicated with exes (XXX), one ex (X) indicating one character;
- (4) For unreadable texts or characters we proposed “tentative” readings;
- (5) These tentative readings were marked in bold;
- (6) Strikethroughs in the original Dutch manuscript were maintained.
- (7) Capitalization was normalized according to modern usage.

The methodology we used to indicate the revisions made to Hart’s translation was as follows:

- (1) We crossed out and marked in bold the incorrect word;
- (2) Next to the crossed out word, we inserted the correct word, typed in bold and underlined.

### ***The Judicial Records from La Española:***

In August of 1605, La Española’s colonial governor Antonio Osorio, following the orders of the Spanish Crown, launched a military campaign to forcefully remove the inhabitants of the remote western and northern coastal regions of the colony and move them and their cattle across the colony to, roughly, the southeastern-most quarters of the island. This provoked an open armed rebellion of the settler-residents of the Valley of Guaba who were using the port of Guanaibes to conduct unauthorized trafficking with Dutch and other non-Spanish merchants.

Those suspected of being involved in the rebellion were indicted and a list of them was included in the judicial proceedings from the case. Three of the people whose names appear in that list were named Juan and had the surname Rodriguez, sometimes spelled with an “s,” sometimes with a “z,” as in the case of others with similarly ending surnames (see Judicial Records in the Appendix). The list of the accused was included in a copy of the judicial proceedings that, as customary, was sent to Spain for review by the metropolitan authorities. During the following centuries it made it to the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville, where most of the documentation pertaining to the old Spanish colonies is kept, and thus survived into our times.

Among the three Juan Rodriguezes included in the list, there is only one who does not have a second surname. This individual appears listed only as Juan Rodriguez (see Judicial Records in the Appendix).

The list of the 1605 rebel-smugglers was organized according to village of residence by those in charge of the judicial inquiry, distinguishing between those from the valley of Guava and from the town of Bayahá. A third category was included in the list, “extravagantes,” to include people who were suspected of being vagabonds without a permanent, known place of dwelling.

The *extravagantes* are defined by a lifestyle of constant mobility that was, according to the existing Dominican scholarship, characteristic of the local individuals popularly called *tangomangos*. The *extravagantes* or *tangomangos* were an important part of the smuggling system; their task was to carry smuggled goods back and forth between the inner areas of the colony’s western and northern regions and their shores.

These judiciary proceedings clearly show that there were men named Juan Rodriguez in La Española just a few years before Rodriguez arrived in the Hudson who were actively involved in smuggling with the Dutch. These men were used to visit the Dutch ships off-shore acting as stevedores and were also used to show the highest levels of defiance against the official colonial authorities based in Santo Domingo City during the authori-



ties' occasional attempts to repress and suppress the smuggling, often taking up arms against those government officials, using "mosquetería" or muskets (see Judicial Records in the Appendix). As we may recall, the Juan Rodriguez who came to the Hudson Harbor also used a "musket" to defend himself in the 1614 skirmishes that took place amongst the competing Dutch merchant crews on the Hudson.

On the other hand, these documents give us a glimpse of a resistance to imperial rule practiced at the very basic unit of colonial society, the socially pervasive smuggling activity in La Española that included individuals of both sexes and all ages, as is clearly shown by the mentioning of wives, mothers, and sons in the list of accused. By 1605 this trafficking in collusion with foreigners had become a family matter in La Española.

### ***The Ecclesiastical Records from La Española.***

The oldest surviving original records of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, dating from the 1590s,<sup>21</sup> mention one adult individual with the name Juan Rodriguez, who married an Ana Gonzalez on May 27, 1591 at the Cathedral of Santo Domingo. The priest officiating the wedding and signing the certificate was listed as Bachiller Paulo Ribilla, while the witnesses were three men: (1) Francisco del Aguila; (2) Francisco de Frias; (3) and Juan de Arciniega (see Ecclesiastical Records in Appendix). Thirteen months later, on July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1592, we find Juan and Ana baptizing a boy named Antonio, also at the Cathedral, and again with Bachiller Paulo Ribilla acting as priest at the ceremony, while a Luis de los Olivos was registered as the official godparent (see Ecclesiastical Records in Appendix). Then, seven years later, on January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1599, we find another couple, consisting of a Juan Rodriguez and a Maria Magdalena, baptizing a child of theirs named Juan. Priest Pedro de Frias officiated, with a Francisco Jubel and a Geronimo Pedralvarez acting as godparents (see Ecclesiastical Records in Appendix).

We do not know whether these mentions of a Juan Rodriguez indicate two different men marrying two different women or the same Juan Rodriguez of 1591, who may have become a widower at some point in the 1590s and remarried in 1599. Neither do we know whether any of them would later feel attracted, or pressured, for whatever reason, to become a sailor on a Dutch ship that would end up taking him to the Hudson Harbor by 1613. In any event, a reasoned reckoning would lead us to figure that in either case it would be a man born at least in the early 1570s or 1580s, if not earlier, which would then put him in his early 40s or 30s at the time our Juan Rodriguez arrived in what is today New York, a plausible age for the kinds of activities we know Rodriguez engaged in during his 1613-1614 stay in the Hudson area.

Any of the two men mentioned in the church records could have been, therefore, with respect to age, the Juan Rodriguez commented upon in this research report. And either of the two could have been as well, in terms of age, any of the men named Juan Rodriguez listed in the 1605 judicial investigation as indicted for smuggling with foreigners in the western and northern areas of La Española. Obviously we would need more information on these individuals to confirm that any one of them was indeed the Juan Rodriguez who arrived in 1613 in what is today New York City. The possibilities, though, suggest an important circumstantial confirmation of the fact that a man like the Juan Rodriguez showing up in the Hudson in 1613, in more than one way, perfectly matches the Juan Rodriguez we have found in the records of La Española at the time; a man who carried with him the accumulated historical experiences of the society he came from.

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21 Amongst all the historical archives of the Dominican Republic, the Santo Domingo Diocese Archives (Archivo Diocesano de Santo Domingo) holds the earliest known surviving original documents preserved in the country from the early colonial times of La Española, beginning from the 1590s. The vast majority of the documentation pertaining to local affairs of sixteenth-century La Española, the first such documentation generated in the colonial Americas, including its church records, city council records, notarial records, and private business management records, is believed to have been destroyed. There is frequent reference to such documentation in the communications that were regularly sent by the colonial authorities and the local settlers to the metropolis during the sixteenth century.

## **APPENDIX**

### **A. DUTCH ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS ON JUAN RODRIGUEZ**

A.1 August 20, 1613. City of Amsterdam. Deposition by Gerbrant Janssen, Jan Claesen and Hendrick Ribbelinck, crew members of the ships of Adriaen Block and Thijs Mossel.

A.1.1 Manuscript 1

Source: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (notary Jan Franssen Bruijningh), 5075-197, f. 614v.

### A.1.2 Transcription<sup>22</sup>

Op huijden *den xxen* augustus *anno xvi ende*  
derthien compareerden voor mij etc. ter  
presentie van etc. Gerbrant Janssen  
van Colhorn, out omtrent acht en dertich  
jaeren, Jan Claesen van Medemblick, out  
omtrent *xxiiij* jaeren, ende Hendrick  
Ribbelinck van Hamborch, out omtrent  
twee en twintich jaeren, dewelcke  
bij waere christelijcke woorden, eere  
trouwe ende haer conscientien in plaatse  
van solemnele eede, ter instantie  
ende versoecke van schipper Adriaen Block,  
burger deser voors. stede *verclaert*  
getuicht ende geattesteert hebben hoe waer  
is dat zij deposanten de *verledene* joncste  
reijse gevaeren hebben gehad naementlijck  
die voors. Gerbrant Jansen ende Jan  
Claesen, met, ende op *den* schepe vanden voors.  
producent ende die voors. Hendrick  
Rijbelinck op *den* schepe van schipper Thijs  
Mossel van Munnickedamme, daer  
commis op was Jan Jorissen, ende dat het  
schip vande voors. Mossel gearriveert  
is inde Reviere van Nova Virginia,  
omtrent *seven* weecken laeter, als t schip  
vanden voors. producent aldaer gecommen was  
wel wetende ende seeckerlijck gehoort *ende verstaen*  
hebbende, dat die voors. Thijs Mossel  
ende Jan Jorissen commis doenmaels  
voor die eerste reijse in Virginia gecommen  
zijn, ende te vooren aldaer niet geweest *en*  
waeren, ende dat het des producents derde  
reijse was, weeten oock vastelijck, dat  
d'voors. Thijs Mossel, met zijn commis  
sochten ende trachten om *den* voors. producent  
zijn handelinghe aldaer te bederven, *ende* instellich  
te maecken gelijk zij oock eenen deels gedaen

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<sup>22</sup> Most abbreviations have been written out in full (indicated by *italics*), except for the common abbreviation 'voors.' ('voorschreven' = aforementioned).



#### A.1.4 Transcription

hebben overmits zij tweemaal soo veele goederen van gelijcke qualiteijt *ende* quantiteijt gaven off leverden voor een bever als die producent te voeren, eer sij aldaer waeren gearriveert, gegeven hadde, te weeten drije stux daer bij den producent maer een was geleverd, *ende* opt leste als die voors. mossel met sijn schip uijte reviere seijlde, is ter selver plaatse aen landt gebleven een gebooren malaet van St Domingo, die metter schip vande voors. Mossel aldaer gecommen was, den welcke maelaet zij gegeven hadden tachtentich bijlen, eenige messen met een musquet *ende* een sabel, ende dat die voors. Thijs Mossel ende sijn comms selfs verclaerden, dat die Spangiaert vant schip geloopen *ende* aen lande gegaen was, tegens haere danck *ende* wille, ende dat sij hem d'voors. goederen in betaeling van sijn maentgelden hadden gegeven, ende over sulcx met hem *en* niet meerder te doen hadden, seijden oock daer benevens dattet volck vande producent hem wel mochten doot schieten, alsoo hij verclaringe hadde gedaen dat hij naer dese landen niet wilde comen Jae soo se hem niet *en* hadden willen laeten gaen dat hij overboort soude hebben gespronghen, sonder dat ijemant anders van het volck vande voors. Mossel in Virginia voors. aen lande is gebleven, als d'voors. Spangiaert gelijk zij deposanten verclaeren dat hen wel bewust is, presenteerde sij deposanten t'gemet voors. is etc. sonder fraude Gedaen binnen der voors. stede van *Amsterdamme* ten huijse mijns Notaris ter presentie van Jeuriaen Corvin *ende* Sijbrant Cornelis getuijgen hijer toe versocht

A.1.5 Revised English Translation<sup>23</sup>

To-day the 20th of August in the year 1613 appeared before me etc., in the presence of etc. Gerbrant **Jansz Janssen** from Kolhorn, aged about 38 years; Jan Claesen from Medemblik, aged about 24 years and Hendrick Ribbelinck from Hamburg, aged about 22 years.

At the instance and request of captain Adriaen Block, citizen of the said city, they declared, testified and bore witness with true Christian words, on their honour, ~~faith~~ and ~~their~~ conscience instead of a solemn oath, that it is true that the deponents sailed on the last voyage [as follows:] **Namely , namely** the aforementioned Gerbrant **Jansz Janssen** and Jan Claesen with and on the ship of the aforementioned plaintiff [= captain Adriaen Block] and the said Hendrick Rijbelinck on the ship of skipper Thijs Mossel, from Monnikendam, on which Jan **Joriss [Hontom] Jorissen** was supercargo. The said Mossel's ship arrived in the river of **New Nova** Virginia [= the Hudson River] about seven weeks later than the said plaintiff's ship arrived there. They know, heard and understood that the aforementioned Thijs Mossel and Jan **Joriss Jorissen**, the supercargo, arrived then for the first time in Virginia and that they had not been there before and this was the plaintiff's third voyage.

They also truly know that the aforementioned Thijs Mossel and his supercargo sought and tried to spoil the trade of said plaintiff there. **They made him suspicious partly In this they partly succeeded as** they gave or supplied twice as many good of the same quality and quantity for a beaver as the plaintiff gave before they arrived there, namely three pieces, where the plaintiff gave only one.

Finally [they declare] that when the said Mossel sailed away from the river with his ship, a mulatto born in St. Domingo, who arrived there with the ship of said Mossel, stayed ashore at the same place. They had given this mulatto eighty hatchets, some knives, a musket and a **sword sabre**. The said Thijs Mossel and his supercargo themselves declared that this Spaniard had run away from the ship and gone ashore against their intent and will and that they had given him the said goods in payment of his wages and therefore had nothing more to do with him. Moreover they **testified said** that the crew of the plaintiff ought to have **killed shot** him, seeing that he had declared that he would not come to this country [Holland] and that he would have jumped overboard if they had not allowed him to depart. The deponents declare also to have knowledge that nobody of the said Mossel's crew stayed ashore in the said Virginia other than the said Spaniard. The deponents present without untruth what is written before, etc.

Done in the said city of Amsterdam at the home of my notary, in the presence of Jeuriaen Corvin and Sijbrant Cornelis, asked to be witnesses.

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23 As with the rest of the Dutch manuscripts presented here, this English version is a revised version of Simon Hart's 1959 translations offered in his *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company*, pp. 74-75.

The [etc.] denotes common legal formulas which were not given in the original, but would have been included in the official version of the document. In this case it would have read (in English):

"[...] appeared before me, Jan Franssen Bruijningh, public notary in Amsterdam residing, to the court of Holland admitted in the presence of the below mentioned witnesses [...]" (Note by Tom Weterings.)

### A.1.6 Spanish Translation<sup>24</sup>

A día de hoy, 20 de agosto de 1613, han comparecido ante mí [etc.] en presencia de [etc.] Gerbrant Jansen, natural de Kolhorn, de unos treinta y ocho años; Jan Claesen, natural de Medemblik, de unos veinticuatro años y Hendrick Ribbelinck, natural de Hamburgo, de unos veintidós años, lo cuales han declarado, testificado y certificado con verdaderas palabras cristianas, por su honor, fe y consciencia en lugar de por solemne juramento, a instancia y petición del capitán Adriaen Block, ciudadano de la arriba mencionada ciudad, que es cierto que los declarantes han navegado en el último viaje de la siguiente manera; los arriba mencionados Gerbrant Jansen y Jan Claesen con y en el barco del demandante y el arriba mencionado Hendrick Rijbelinck en el barco del capitán Thijs Mossel natural de Monnickendam, en el que Jan Jorissen era sobrecargo. Asimismo han declarado que el arriba mencionado barco de Mossel llegó al río de Nueva Virginia unas siete semanas después de que el barco del arriba mencionado demandante hubiera llegado allí; sabiendo y habiendo oído y comprendido sin lugar a dudas que los arriba mencionados Thijs Mossel y Jan Jorissen, en aquel momento sobrecargo, llegaron entonces por primera vez a Virginia, no habiendo estado allí con anterioridad; y que era el tercer viaje del demandante. Saben con igual seguridad que el arriba mencionado Thijs Mossel buscó y trató, junto con su sobrecargo, de arruinar y desacreditar el comercio del mencionado demandante. Esto consiguieron en parte, dando o proveyendo el doble de cantidad de bienes de la misma calidad y cantidad a cambio de un castor que la que el demandante había entregado antes de que ellos llegaran allí; a saber tres piezas en lugar de una, como el demandante había hecho; y finalmente cuando el mencionado Mossel se alejó del río navegando con su barco, quedó allí en tierra un mulato nacido en Santo Domingo. Éste había llegado a aquel lugar en el barco de Mossel y se le habían entregado ochenta hachas, unos cuantos cuchillos, un mosquete y un sable. Thijs Mossel y su sobrecargo han declarado que este español se había escapado del barco y había ido a tierra firme en contra del deseo y voluntad de ambos, y que le habían hecho entrega de los mencionados bienes como pago de su mensualidad, y que en este aspecto nada tenían pendiente con él. Han añadido que la tripulación del demandante podría haberle disparado, dado que había declarado no querer venir a estas tierras y que habría saltado por la borda si no le hubieran permitido escaparse. Asimismo los declarantes informan tener conocimiento de que nadie más de la tripulación del arriba mencionado Mossel se quedó en tierra en Virginia a excepción del mencionado español. Los declarantes han presentado sin fraude lo aquí comprendido [etc.] Realizado en la mencionada ciudad de Ámsterdam en la residencia de mi notario en presencia de Jeuriaen Corvin y Sijbrant Cornelis, habiéndoseles solicitado ser testigos.

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24 As in the rest of the Spanish translations of Dutch documents offered here, certain criteria were used to organize the translations. Geographic indications have been adapted to contemporary orthography; and the geographic names have been translated into Spanish in the case where there is an accepted equivalent name in Spanish. Example: Hamborch (Hamburg) has been translated as Hamburgo. Yet names of persons have been kept with the orthography used when they were written on the notarial records.

Although the original document is written in continuous sentences (typical of the Netherland's language of the time), periods or dots have been introduced to ease the reading and comprehension, without altering, of course, the meaning of the text at any moment. (Note by Leonor Álvarez Francés.)

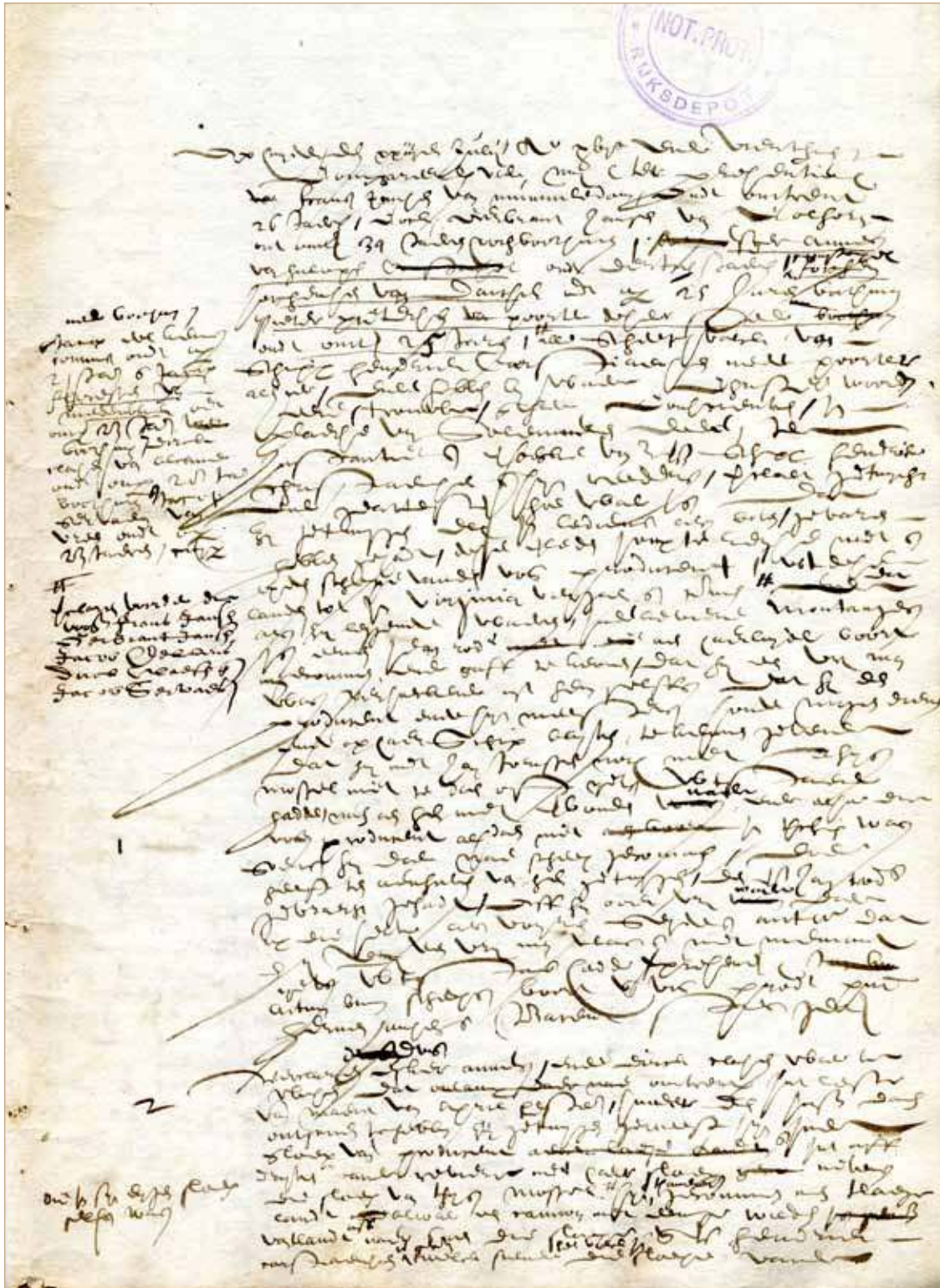
The [etc.] denotes common legal formulas which were not given in the original, but would have been included in the official version of the document. In this case it would have read (in English):

"[...] appeared before me, Jan Franssen Bruijningh, public notary in Amsterdam residing, to the court of Holland admitted in the presence of the below mentioned witnesses [...]" (Note by Tom Weterings.)



A.2 July 13, 1614. Harbor of the City of Amsterdam, on a ship of Hendrick Christiaensen. Deposition by Frans Jansen, Gerbrant Jansen, Esger Annes, Jochem Jochemsen, Pieter Pietersen, Jacob Eelkens, Jacob Floressen, Dirck Claesen and Jacob Servaes, crew members of the ship of Hendrick Carstiaensen.

A.2.1 Manuscript 3



Source: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (notary Jan Franssen Bruijningh), 5075-198, f. 97

### A.2.2 Verbatim Transcription<sup>25</sup>

med coopman  
ende Jacop Eelkens  
commies out  
21 jaeren ende Jacop  
Floressen van  
Medemblick oet  
omtrent 23 jaeren we  
bootzman, Dirck  
Clasen van Alcmaer  
oud ong. 28 jaeren  
bootzman Jacop  
Servaes van  
Vree oudt ong  
23 jaeren cuiper  
#  
verclaeren voorde die  
voors. Frans Jansen  
Gerbrant Jansen  
Jacob Eelkens  
Dirck Claessen ende  
Jacob Servaes,

Op huijden den xxiijen julije anno xvie ende vierthien  
Compareerden voer mij *etc.* ter presentie *etc.*  
va Frans Jansen van Munnickedam, oude omtrent  
26 jaeren, cock, Gerbrant Jansen van Colhorn  
out omtrent 39 jaeren hoochbootzman, ~~xxx~~ Esgert Annes  
van Hnlopen xxxsdorpe oudt dertich jaeren, constabel, en Jochem  
Jochemsen van Dantsich oudt ong. 25 jaren bootzman  
Pieter Pietersen va poorter deser stede bootzman  
oude omtrent 25 jaeren, # alle scheepsvaeren van  
schipper Hendrick Carstiaensen [*sic*] mede poorter  
alhier, ende hebben op waer Christelijcke woorden  
eere, twelcke, rechte Conscientie, in  
plaetse van solemnelen eede, ter  
instantie en versoecke van voorschreven schipper Hendrick  
Christaense en sijn reeders, verclaer getuijcht  
ende geattesteerd hoe waer is dat  
sij getuijgen elc in bedienst als boven, gevaren,  
hebben gehad, dese verleden joncte reijse met en  
opden schepe vanden vorschreven producent, uut dese  
lande tot in virginia vergaen ende xxxxx # ende dat  
als sij leggende waeren inde reviere montanges  
is eenen Jean Rodrigues met die aen haerluijde boort  
gecommen ende gaff te kennen, dat hij een vrij man  
was versoeckend uijt hem selfs dat hij den  
producent ende sijn meesters soude mogen dienen  
ende op haer schip blijven tekennen gevende  
dat hij met Jan Jorissen noch met Thijs  
Mossel niet te doen ofte ijets uutstaend  
1 hadde, noch aen hen met verbonden was waer ende alsoe die  
vors. producent alsdoen niet aen boort in tship was  
xxxxx hij daer nae sloop gecommen, die  
heeft ten aenhueren van hen getuijgen, den vers. Jan Rodrigues  
gevraecht gehad, off hij oock vrij was waer daer  
op die gelijk als vorschreven seijde en antwoorde dat  
hij vernoemde een vrij man was en met niemant  
iets uutstaen hadde tpresente ~~jan h~~  
xxxxx van scheeps boort van vrs. prodt present  
Hermen Jansens Barent Staes getuigen

2 verclaren dese vrs. Esker Annes, ende Dirck Clasen waer te  
wesen dat ~~ontlang daer nae~~ omtrent int leste  
vande maent van april lester, sonder de precies dach  
onthouen te hebben sij getuijgen geweest vrs. inde  
sloop vande producent aent laege lande en int aff  
erijsen vande reviere met haer sloop gen nevens  
de sloop van Thijs Mossel # sijn tsamens gecommen aen tlaege  
lande xx alwaer een cannoo met eenige wilden is geschr:  
vant lande aff naer en aen die sloepe van vers. Hendrick  
Carstiaensen is gevaeren twelck siende het volck van die sloepe vande

die in sijn eigen sloop  
selfs was

<sup>25</sup> The original manuscript of the July 13, 1614 depositions of the crew members of Hendrick Christiaensen's ship presents a number of complexities stemming from the textual additions inserted in the margins of the page and in between lines, as well as some alterations in the order of the paragraphs. In the original manuscript one finds numbers written in the left margins that seem to indicate the order in which the deposition should be read. The above is a verbatim transcription. This transcription shows the transcribed text in the same fashion as it appears on the manuscript, that is, with annotations in the margins. The transcription maintains the incorrect order as well as any crossouts.



#### A.2.4 Verbatim Transcription

voors. Thijs Mossel **se** hebben xxxxxx ~~sxx hebben~~ **sijlende** heeft  
het volck die daer in waeren naede selve vrs. cannoe,  
geschooten, die welcke gecommen ~~na sijnde~~ aende  
sloep **vande** producent ~~snel hebben~~ hadden tvolck inde  
saloupe van Mossel sijnde haer riemen toegeleg  
**ende** die musketen **en** sabels vaerdich gemaect  
ende gevuert opde sijde vande sloep **vande** producent  
<ende die canoe> geroeijt en aengecommen in sulcke haetse dat  
die canoen **aen** stucken **brack** barste, ende  
hebbe voirts medt **bijlen** toegehouden om die canoe  
voirder te **best** beschadigen, waer deur sij bij **naest**  
nae **een** man van **den** **producents** volck het hoofd  
hadde geclooft alsoe die slach nevens sijn hoofd  
2 neder quam, en sonder dat hij geweken hadde soude  
**hem** tleven **gecost hebben** verloren hebbe doer welcke overlast  
die wilden uijte canooen ~~vxxx~~ inde saloupe  
**vande** producent daer op sij vastlaegen, sijn  
geloopen ende als sij getuijgen den **vers**. Thijs  
Mossel **terhale** vant selve geweld en on-  
gelijec aenspraken, seijde hij **dat** part en deel  
te begeeren inde handels oft vellen, daer op  
seggend ick wils anders **verjaegen** ende  
als sij getuijgen oft eenige van haer volck daer  
op antwoorden, dat sij haer beste deden om te  
handelen **en** dat sij oock haer beste moesten  
doen, selve replicede die **vers**. Thijs Mossel  
dat hij sijn **goet** coopmanschap soe goet niet **en**  
was als die vrs goeters **vande** producent, ende  
dat hij daeromme part begeerde in **sijn** **goederen** vellen  
**presentie** Adam ft Frans en Barent Staes getuijgen

wij vrs **verclaren** xxxxxxx de voors. getuijgen alle **gelijckelijck** waer te wesen  
dat als die sloep van Hans Jorissen oft Thijs  
Mossel gecommen was **aen** **aen** boort vand tship  
jans van May van Hooren, soe is **tvaeren** **over**  
**haer** **tente** **over** d'selve mette tente **daer** over  
die sloep **blijven** leggen twee dagen **ende** twee  
3 nachten lanck sonder dat sij eenige goederen over  
gelevret oft gethoont hebben gehadt aende  
geenen die daer toe waren gestelt om die  
goederen te sien **en** te over sellen, verclaren Dirck  
Clase **ende** Frans Jansen te saem waer te wesen dat Jan  
Rodrigues die in dienste **vande** prod. was **en** met  
selve cargasoen **aen** lande waere om **xxx** te **verhande**  
een schoot heeft **geschien** daer over sij getuijgen  
met hen vijven inde schuijte sijn gesprongen ongewapen  
de naer landt toe gevaren sonder eenich  
naedencken ~~off~~ ~~gxxxxxxx~~ van moeijte of gevaere daer soe  
haest sij nae landt toevaeren, hebben gesien dat  
veel van tvolck van Mossel # mede **dertich** xxxxxx  
vande back aff, met haer schuijt sijn gebracht gewape  
ndt **gemel** musquetten **en** **branden** **lonten** ende  
sijn ~~vaxxx~~ **de** **aen** lande gevaren alwaer vier van haer  
volck **daters** Jan Rodrigues hebben aengevallen **en**  
hem sijn musquet die hij hadde ontweldicht  
drijven hem int water **ende** **mennen** **hem** nemen den vrs. met geweld  
gevangen # **te** **nemen** twelck sij getuijgen siende  
deden haer beste **hem** om den selve te ontzetten ende sijn int  
water gesprongen om hem te grijpen **en** hebben den  
selve Jan Rodrigues, die gequetst wert, in hun getuijgens

daer onder Hans  
Jorisen selfs voer  
aen was

en dan als daer dese  
Jan Rodrigues ontnomen  
heeft een van tvolck  
van Hans Jorisen  
die hem vasthielt  
sijn sabel



### A.2.6 Verbatim Transcription

- so denoterende  
vers. Jan Rodrigues
- die Jan Rodrigues  
van tvolck van  
Hans Jorissen  
ontweldigt hadde  
**aexxxxeij** met  
gewelt sij xxxx sijnde  
ofte **handel** noch  
**maecken**
- noch ook d'vers.  
Adriaen Block
- en negotie
- gedaen op de  
reede voor dese  
stede Amsterdam  
int schip van voors.  
producent ter presentie  
van Herman Janssen Adam  
Franssen
- 40 schuijte gebracht ende sijn alsoe naer tship gevaren, ende dat alsdaer een van hen *getuijgen* tegens Hans Jorissen seijd waerom sij Jan Rodrigues wilde gevangen nemen en **bescher**xxx antw. die vers Hans Jorisen, swerten schelm # daer ons schade, wij sedert dat wij ons **huijre** niet en sxxxx xxxxx krijgen ende dat vers. Dirck sandere daegs ~~de~~xxxx sabel # weder gebracht heijd xxxxx aen tship van Cornelis Jacobsen Maij, ende die musquet van Jan Rodrigues **wede** geheijst de sij hem weijgerde te *geven* verclaren ende *getuijgen* attesteren sij *getuijgen* alle gelijkens xxxx waer te wesen dat soe lange als sij luijde met haer schip in Virginia en daer omtrent sijn geweest noijt gesien gehoort verstaen oft **vernomen hebben** gehadt, dat
- 5 haere schipper oft commus noch handels volck # medt gewelt *verhindert* belet oft tegen gestaen hebben gehadt dat schipper Thijs Mossel Hans Jorissen en of haer volck, in ~~exxxx~~handel oft haere handels # ~~xxxxijten doen~~xxte, medt dat elc ijder sijn beste heeft gedaen die handels te *doen* maer dat te xxxxx van d'ander sijde getracht is **gexxx hexxs** in haer handels te *verhinder* en te beletten # ~~gelijck hoe vaijeren is geattesteert~~ en Stoffel Pieters haer Barent Staes *getuijgen*.
- verclaren Jacop Floressen, Jochen Jochemsen ende Jacop Servaes x dat Jacop Eelkens aen lande den wilt affh heef gepersuadeert om seker bevers vel twelc sij hadde aen haer sijn boort te brengen, die meende te varen aen tship van Mossel ende gelijck gevolcht is, en dat die producent
- 4 dat ter wijlen sij *leggende* waren in revier eenige wilden aen haer vrs. schip *gecomen*, claegend dat het volck van Mossel hen met gewelt ~~haer te twe~~ twe bever vellen hadde *ontweldicht* en niet betaelt die de wilde seijden ~~te sel~~ **voer genen** te hebben om te brengen aen desen *producents* schip ~~he~~ en dat die *producent* om vredes wille en ~~te verhaen~~ te **verhaen** di erger **de den** te onts. aen die wilden *betaalt* heeft deselve 2 ve huijden,

A.2.7 Reordered Dutch Transcription<sup>26</sup>

Op huijden den *xxiiij* julije *anno xvie* ende vierthien  
 Compareerden voer mij *etc.* ter presentie *etc.*  
*va* Frans Jansen van Munnickedam, oude omtrent  
 26 jaeren, cock, Gerbrant Jansen van Colhorn  
 out omtrent 39 jaeren hoochbootsman, ~~xxxx~~ Esger Annes  
van Hnlopen axxsorpe oudt dertich jaeren, constabel, en Jochem  
Jochemsen van Dantsich oudt ong. 25 jaren bootsman  
Pieter Pietersen va poorter deser stede bootsman  
oude omtrent 25 jaeren,  
 med coopman  
 ende Jacop Eelkens  
 commies out  
 21 jaeren ende Jacop  
 Floessen van  
 Medemblick oet  
 omtrent 23 jaeren we  
 bootsman, Dirck  
 Clasen van Alcmaar  
 oud ong. 28 jaeren  
 bootsman Jacop  
 Servaes van  
 Vree oudt ong.  
 23 jaeren cuiper  
 alle scheepsvaeren van  
 schipper Hendrick Carstiaensen mede poorter  
 alhier, ende hebben op waer Christelijcke woorden  
 eere, twelcke, rechte Conscientie, in  
 plaetse van solemnelen eede, ter  
 instantie *en versoecke van voorschreven* schipper Hendrick  
 Christaense *en* sijn reeders, *verclaer* getuijcht  
 ende geattesteerd hoe waer is dat  
 sij getuijgen elc in bedienst als *boven*, gevaren,  
 hebben gehadt, dese *verleden* joncte reijse met *en*  
 opden schepe vanden *vorschreven* producent, uut dese  
 lande tot in Virginia vergaen *ende* ~~xxxxx~~  
*verclaeren* voorde die  
 voors. Frans Jansen  
 Gerbrant Jansen  
 Jacob Eelkens  
 Dirck Claessen *ende*  
 Jacob Servaes,  
 ende dat  
 als sij leggende waeren inde reviere montanges  
 is eenen Jean *Rodrigues* met die *aen* haerluijde boort  
 gecommen ende gaff te kennen, dat hij een vrij man  
 was versoeckend uijt hem selfs dat hij den  
 producent ende sijn meesters soude mogen dienen  
 ende op haer schip blijven tekennen gevende  
 dat hij met Jan Jorissen noch met Thijs  
 Mossel niet te doen ofte ijets uitstaend  
 hadde, noch *aen hen* met *verbonden* was waer ende alsoe die  
 vors. producent alsoe niet ~~aen~~ boort in tship was  
~~xxxxx~~ hij daer nae skeep gecommen, die

## A.2.8 Literal English Translation

To-day the 23rd July the year 16 and fourteen  
 appeared before me etc. in presence etc.  
 Frans Jansen of Monnikendam, old about  
 26 years, cook, Gerbrant Jansen of Kolhorn,  
 old about 39 years, chief boatswain, Esger Annes  
 of Hindelopen, old about thirty years, constable, and Jochem  
 Jochemsen of Danzig, old about 25 years, boatswain,  
 Pieter Pietersen, citizen of this city,  
 old about 25 years,  
 fellow merchant  
 and Jacob Eelkens,  
 supercargo, old  
 21 years and Jacob  
 Floessen of  
 Medemblick, old  
 about 23 years,  
 boatswain, Dirck  
 Clasen of Alkmaar,  
 old about 28 years,  
 boatswain, Jacob  
 Servaes of  
 Vree, old about  
 23 years, cooper,  
 all crew of  
 skipper Hendrick Carstiaensen, also citizen  
 here, and have at true Christian words'  
 honour, which, true conscience, in  
 stead of solemn oath, at the  
 instance and request of mentioned skipper Hendrick  
 Christiaense and his shipowners, declare, testify  
 and attest how true is that  
 they testify, each in service as above, sailed  
 have had, this last youngest journey with and  
 on the ship of the aforementioned plaintiff, from this  
 land into Virginia went and ?????  
 declare further the  
 aforementioned Frans Jansen,  
 Gerbrant Jansen,  
 Jacob Eelkens,  
 Dirck Claessen and  
 Jacob Servaes,  
 and that  
 as they lying were in the river Montanges  
 is one Jean Rodrigues on their board  
 came and made known, that he a free man  
 was, requesting from himself that he the  
 plaintiff and his masters should may serve  
 and on their ship stay, known made  
 that he with Jan Jorissen nor with Thijs  
 Mossel nothing to do or to do  
 had, nor to them attached was and because the  
 aforementioned plaintiff then not in the ship was  
 and when he there after ship came, he

<sup>26</sup> This transcription re-organizes the paragraphs of the manuscript in its intended reading order. The annotations written in the margins were relocated within this sequence.

## Reordered Dutch Transcription (Continued)

heeft *ten aenhueren van hen* getuijgen, *den vers.* Jan Rodrigues gevraecht gehadt, off hij oock vrij ~~was~~ waer daer op die *gelijck* als *vorschreven* seijde *en* antwoorde dat hij *vernoemde een* vrij man was *en* met niemant iets uutstaen hadde tpresente Jan ~~hx~~ xxxxx van scheeps boort *van vrs.* prodt *present* Hermen Jansens Barent Staes *getuijgen*

verclaren ~~dese~~ vrs. Esker Annes, ende Dirck Clasen waer te wesen dat ~~omtang daer nae~~ omtrent int leste *vande* maent van april lester, sonder de *precies* dach onthouen te hebben sij getuijgen geweest vrs. inde sloep *vande* producent aent *laege* lande *en* int aff erijsen *vande* reviere met haer sloep *gen* nevens de sloep van Thijs Mossel die in sijn *eigen* sloep selfs was sijn tsamens gecommen aen tlaege lande xx alwaer een cannoo met eenige wilden ~~is geschr.~~ vant lande aff naer *en* aen die sloepe *van vers.* Hendrick Carstiaensen is *gevaeren* twelck siende het volck *van* die sloepe *vande* voors. Thijs Mossel ~~se~~ hebben xxxxxx ~~sxx hebben~~ *sijende* heeft het ~~volck die daer in waeren~~ naede *selve* vrs. cannoe, *geschooten*, die welcke gecommen ~~na~~ *sijnde* aende sloepe *vande* producent ~~snel hebben~~ hadden tvolck inde saloupe van Mossel *sijnde* haer riemen toegelegt *ende* die musketen *en* sabels vaerdich gemaect *ende* gevuert opde *sijde* *vande* sloepe *vande* producent ~~<ende die canoo>~~ geroeijt *en* aengecommen in sulcke haetse dat die canoo aen stucken ~~brack~~ barste, *ende* hebbe voirts medt bijlen toegehouden om die canoo voirder te ~~bese~~ beschadigen, waer deur sij bij ~~naest~~ nae *een* man van *den* *producents* volck het hoofd hadde geclooft alsoe die slach nevens sijn hoofd neder quam, *ende* sonder dat hij *geweken* hadde soude hem tleven ~~gecost hebben~~ verloren hebbe doer welcke overlast die wilden uijte canooen ~~vxxx~~ inde saloupe *vande* producent daer op sij vastlaegen, sijn geloopen *ende* als sij getuijgen *den vers.* Thijs Mossel ~~terhalve~~ vant selve gewelt *en* ongelijec aenspraken, seijde hij ~~dat~~ part *en* deel te begeeren inde handels oft vellen, daer op seggend ick wilse anders *verjaegen* *ende* als sij getuijgen oft eenige *van* haer volck daer op antwoorden, dat sij haer beste deden om te handelen *en* dat sij oock haer beste moesten doen, selve repliceede die *vers.* Thijs Mossel dat hij sijn ~~goet~~ coopmanschap soe goet niet *en* was als die *vrs* goeders *vande* producent, *ende* dat hij daeromme part begeerde in *sijn* ~~goederen~~vellen *presentie* Adam ft Fransen *en* Barent Staes *getuijgen*

wij *vrs* ~~verclaren~~ xxxxxxx de voors. getuijgen alle *gelijckelijck* waer te

## Literal English Translation (Continued)

has in the hearing of them witnesses, the *aforem.* Jan Rodrigues asked had, if he also free was, to which he immediately as mentioned said and answered that he *aforementioned* a free man was and with nobody anything to do had, in the present on ship's board of *aforementioned* plaintiff present Hermen Jansens, Barent Staes, witnesses.

declare *aforementioned* Esker Annes and Dirck Clasen true to be that about in the last of the month of April last, without the exact day remembered to have, they witnesses were *aforementioned* in the sloop of the plaintiff and in the down travelling of the river with their sloop besides the sloop of Thijs Mossel who in his own sloop himself was are together came on the low land where a canoe with some savages from the land down to and at the sloop of *aforem.* Hendrick Carstiaensen is sailed, which seen the crew of the sloop of the *aforementioned* Thijs Mossel ?? have ??? at the *aforementioned* canoe shot, which come having at the sloop of the plaintiff had the crew in the sloop of Mossel being their oars laid down and the muskets and sabres ready made and fired at the side of the sloop of the plaintiff and the canoe rowed and arrived in such haste that the canoe to pieces burst, and had further with axes hewed in order the canoe further to damage, through which they almost a man of the plaintiff's crew the head had cleaved, as the stroke next to his head down came, and without that he gave way had would the life lost have, through which disturbance the savages from the canoe in the sloop of the plaintiff which to the attached lay, have walked [ran] and as they witnesses the *aforem.* Thijs Mossel therefore about the same violence and *injustice* approached, said he part and parcel to desire in the trade or skins, thereafter saying I want them otherwise drive off and as they witnesses or any of their crew thereupon answered, that they their best did to trade and they also their best should do, same replied the *aforementioned* Thijs Mossel that he his merchandise so good not was as the goods of the plaintiff, and that he therefore part wanted in his skins presence Adam Fransen and Barent Staes witnesses.

We ?????? the *aforementioned* witnesses all equally true to be



**Reordered Dutch Transcription (Continued)**

wesen dat als die sloepe van Hans Jorissen oft Thijs Mossel gecommen was aen aen boort vand tship jans van May van Hooren, soe is tvaeren over haer tente over d'selve mette tente daer over die sloepe blijven leggen twee dagen ende twee nachten lanck sonder dat sij eenige goederen over gelevret oft gethoont hebben gehadt aende geenen die daer toe waren gestelt om die goederen te sien en te over sellen, verclaeren Dirck Clase ende Frans Jansen te saem waer te wesen dat Jan Rodriguees die in dienste vande prod. was en met selve cargasoen aen lande waere om xxx te verhande een schoot heeft geschien daer over sij getuijgen met hen vijven inde schuijte sijn gesprongen ongewapen de naer landt toe gevaren sonder eenich naedencken off gexxxxxx van moeijte of gevaere daer soe haest sij nae landt toevaeren, hebben gesien dat veel van tvolck van Mossel daer onder Hans Jorissen selffs voer aen was mede dertich xxxxxx vande back aff, met haer schuijt sijn gebracht gewapend gemel musquetten en branden lonten ende sijn vaxxx de aen lande gevaren alwaer vier van haer volck daters Jan Rodrigues hebben aengevallen ende hem sijn musquet die hij hadde ontweldicht drijven hem int water ende menen hem nemen den vrs. met geweld gevangen ende dan als daer dese Jan Rodrigues ontnomen heeft een van tvolck van Hans Jorissen die hem vasthielt sijn sabel te nemen twelck sij getuijgen siende deden haer beste hem om den selve te ontzetten ende sijn int water gesprongen om hem te grijpen ende hebben den selve Jan Rodrigues (die gequetst wert) in hun getuijgens schuijte gebracht ende sijn alsoe naer tship gevaren, ende dat alsdaer een van hen getuijgen tegens Hans Jorissen seijd waerom sij Jan Rodrigueus wilde gevangen nemen en bescherxxx antw. die vers. Hans Jorisen, swerten schelm so denoterende vers. Jan Rodrigues daer ons schade, wij sedert dat wij ons huijre niet en sxxxx xxxxx krijgen ende dat vers. Dirck sandere daegs de xxxx sabel die Jan Rodrigues van tvolck van Hans Jorissen ontweldicht hadde aexxxxij met

**Literal English Translation (Continued)**

that as the sloop of Hans Jorissen or Thijs Mossel come had on board of the ship of May of Hoorn, so is the same with the awning over the sloop remained lying two days and two nights long without that they any goods down handed or showed had had to those who thereto were appointed to the goods to see and to on sell, declare Dirck Clase and Frans Jansen together true to be that Jan Rodrigues who in service of the plaintiff was and with same cargo on land were in order to trade a shot has ?????? about which they testify with all five in the boat had jumped unarmed to land sailed without any thought of hardship or danger there so hurry they to land to sailed, have seen that many of the crew of Mossel among which Hans Jorissen himself fore most was also ????? ?????? against the wind[?], with their boat were brought armed ??? muskets and burning matches[?] and had ?? to land gone where four of their crew ??? Jan Rodrigues have attached and him his musket which he had taken away drove him into the water and take the aforem. with violence prisoner and then there this Jan Rodrigues taken away had one of the crew of Hans Jorissen who him held his sabre which they testify seeing [this] did their best in order the same to set free and have in the water jumped in order him to grab and have the Jan Rodrigues (who hurt was) in their witnesses boat brought and have thus to the ship sailed, and that there one of them witnesses to Hans Jorissen said why they Jan Rodrigues want capture and ????? answered the aforementioned Hans Jorisen black rascal meaning aforementioned Jan Rodrigues because that we our ??? not not ??? ??? get and that aforementioned Dirck the other day sabre which Jan Rodrigues from the crew of Hans Jorissen taken away had ????? with

## Reordered Dutch Transcription (Continued)

gewelt sij xxxx sijnde  
ofte **handel** noch  
**maecken**  
weder gebracht heijd xxxxx  
aen tship van *Cornelis Jacobsen Maij*, *ende* die musquet van Jan  
Rodrigues *wede* geheijst de sij hem weijgerde te *geven*  
verclaren Jacop Floessen, Jochen Jochemsen *ende* Jacop  
Servaes x dat Jacop Eelkes aen lande den wilt  
affh heef gepersuadeert om seker bevers vel  
twelc sij hadde aen haer sijn boort te brengen, die  
meende te varen aen tship van Mossel ende  
gelijck gevolcht is, ende dat die producent  
dat ter wijlen sij *leggende* waren in revier eenige wilden  
aen haer vrs. schip *gecomen*, claegend dat het volck  
van Mossel hen met geweld *haer te twe*  
*twe* bever vellen hadde ontweldicht *en* niet  
betaelt die de wilde seijden **te sel voer**  
**genen** te hebben om te brengen aen *desen* *producents* schip  
*he* *ende* dat die *producent* om vredes wille  
*ende te verhaen* te *verhaen* di erger **de den** te onts.  
aen die wilden *betaalt* heeft deselve 2 ve  
huijden,  
*verclaren* *ende* *getuijgen* *attesteren* sij *getuijgen* alle gelijckens  
xxxx waer te wesen dat soe lange als sij  
luijde met haer schip in Virginia *en* daer  
omtrent sijn geweest noijt gesien gehoort  
*verstaen* oft **vernomen hebben** *gehad*, dat  
haere schipper oft commus noch handels  
volck  
noch ook d'*vers*.  
Adriaen Block  
medt geweld *verhindert* belet oft  
tegen gestaen hebben *gehad* dat schipper Thijs  
Mossel Hans Jorissen *ende* of haer volck, in ~~xxxx~~ *handet*  
oft haere handels  
*en* *negotie*  
xxxxijten *doen* *xxte*, medt dat elc ijder  
sijn beste heeft *gedaen* die handels te *doen*  
maer dat te xxxxx van d'ander sijde *getracht* is **gemist**  
**hert** in haer handels te *verhinder* *en* te  
*beletten* *gelijck* *hoe* *vaijeren* is *geattesteert*  
*gedaen* op de  
*reede* voor dese  
*stede* *Amsterdam*  
*int* schip van voors.  
*producent* ter *presentie*  
van Herman Janssen Adam  
Franssen  
*en* Stoffel Pieters *haer* Barent Staes *getuijgen*.

## Literal English Translation (Continued)

violence they ?? are  
or ????? still  
?????  
back brought had ?????  
to the ship of Cornelis Jacobsen maij, and the musket of Jan  
Rodrigues demanded they him refused to give  
declare Jacob Floessen, Jochem Jochemsen and Jacob  
Servaes that Jacob Eelkes on land the savage  
has persuaded to certain beaver skin  
which they had on his board to bring, he  
thought to sail at the ship of Mossel  
as happened has, and that the plaintiff  
that while they laid in river some savages  
to their aforementioned ship came, complaining that the crew  
of Mossel them with violence  
two beaver skins had taken away and not  
paid which the savages said ????  
????? to have in order to bring to this plaintiff's ship  
and that the plaintiff for peace's sake  
and to ?????? ?? worse ?????? ??????  
to the savages paid had the same 2  
skins.  
Declare and attest they witnesses all equally  
true to be that as long as they  
people with their ship in Virginia and there  
abouts have been never seen heard  
understood or learned have, that  
their skipper or supercargo nor merchant  
crew  
nor also the aforementioned  
Adriaen Block  
with violence hindered prevented or  
obstructed have had that skipper Thijs  
Mossel, Hans Jorissen and or their crew in  
their trade  
and business  
that each  
his best has done the trade to do  
but that ?????? from the other side attempted was ????  
????? in their trade to hinder and  
prevent  
Done on the  
harbour before this  
city Amsterdam  
in the ship of aforementioned  
plaintiff in presence  
of Herman Janssen, Adam  
Franssen  
and Stoffel Pieters, Barent Staes witnesses.

A.2.9 Revised English Translation<sup>27</sup>

To-day the 23rd of July, 1614, appeared before me etc. in the presence of etc., Frans Jansen from Monnikendam, aged about 26 years, cook; Gerbrant Jansen from Kolhorn, aged about ~~34~~ **39** years, chief boatswain; Esger Annes from Hindelopen, aged 30 years, constable; Jochem Jochemsen from Danzig, aged about 25 years, boatswain; Pieter Pietersen, citizen of this city [= Amsterdam], aged about 25 years, **also boatswain fellow merchant** Jacop Eelkens, supercargo, aged about 21 years; Jacop Floessen from Medemblik, aged about 23 years, boatswain; Dick Clasen from Alkmaar, aged about 28 years, boatswain and Jacop Servaes from **Vrede Vree**, aged about 23 years, cooper, all crew of Skipper Hendrick Carstiaensen, also citizen of this place [Amsterdam].

At the instance and request of the said skipper Hendrick Christiaensen and his shipowners they declared, testified and bore witness with true Christian words upon their honour, **faith and true** conscience in place of a solemn oath, that it is true that they, the witnesses, (each in the above mentioned capacities) have sailed this last voyage out and back with and on the ship of the said producer from this country to Virginia.

The aforementioned Frans Jansen, Gerbrant Jansen, Jacob Eelkens, Dirck Claesen and Jacob Servaes further declare that when they were lying in the river Montanges [= the Hudson River] a certain Jean Rodrigues came on board their ship who said that he was a free man and requested of his own accord to serve the **producer plaintiff** and his partners and stay on their ship giving them to understand that he had nothing to do with and had no business with either Jan Jorissen or Thijs Mossel, and that he was not bound to them. Since the said **producer plaintiff** was not on board the ship then, he [~~J.R.~~ **the plaintiff**] came aboard their ship **a second time**. In the presence of the witnesses the **producer plaintiff** then asked the said Jan Rodrigues if he was free. The same replied as above and gave answer that he was a free man and that he had nothing to do with anybody in the present. Done on board of the ship of the said **producer plaintiff** in the presence of Herman Jansen and Barent Staes, witnesses.

The aforementioned Esker Annes and Dirck Clasen declare it to be true that at the end of last April (they knew not the exact day) the witnesses were in the **producer's plaintiff's** sloop and sailed down the river with their sloop, together with Thijs Mossel's sloop, which he was aboard. They arrived together on the lowland where a canoe with savages came from the shore to the sloop of the said Hendrick Carstiaensen. When the crew in Thijs Mossel's sloop saw this, they fired at the said canoe, which came to the sloop of the producer. The crew in Mossel's sloop put the oars down and got their muskets **and sabres** ready and rowed across to the sloop of the producer and the canoe. They arrived there with such a speed that the canoe was smashed to pieces. Further, they hewed with their hatchets to damage the canoe further, thereby almost cleaving the head of a man of the **producer's plaintiff's** crew with a blow that struck near his head and he would have lost his life if he had not turned aside. On this attack the savages **ran fled** from the canoe to the producer's sloop, to which **they were tied theirs [canoe] was attached**. When the witnesses applied to the said Thijs Mossel about this same violence and **difference injustice**, he said that he wanted to take part in the skin-trade adding: Otherwise I will drive them away. When the witnesses and some members of their crew answered **to** this, that they did their best to trade and that the others should also do their best, the said Mossel replied, that his merchandise was not as good as the producer's goods and that he therefore wanted part of their skins.

<sup>27</sup> This is Simon Hart's translation as it appeared in his *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company*, 1959, pp. 80-83, with Tom Weterings' revisions incorporated. The crossing-outs represent the text by Hart that has been found inaccurate. The text underlined is presented here as an improved translation in lieu of the cross-out text or as text missing from Hart's version.

Both instances of "etc." denote common legal formulas which were not given in the original, but would have been included in the official version. In this case it would have read (in English):

"[...] appeared before me, Jan Franssen Bruijningh, public notary in Amsterdam residing, to the court of Holland admitted in the presence of the below mentioned witnesses [...]"

In the presence of Adam Fransen and Barent Staes, witnesses.

**AH We** the said witnesses jointly depose it to be true, that when Hans Jorissen's or Thijs Mossel's sloop came up to May's ship, from Hoorn, the same sloop remained lying there [next to May's ship] covered by an awning for two days and two nights without having turned over or shown any goods to those who were appointed to see and **check sell on** the goods. Dirck **Claesen Clase** and Frans Jansen both declare it to be true that Jan Rodrigues, who was in the producer's service and who was on shore with **certain trading goods some of his cargo** for trade, fired a shot. Thereafter they, the witnesses, jumped **all five** into the boat **with five men** and **went ashore rowed to shore in a hurry**, unarmed without thought of the difficulty or danger. **As soon as they came ashore There** they saw that many members of Mossel's crew of whom Hans Jorissen was **the leader foremost**, also immediately **followed came** with their boat, leaving the mess[?], armed with muskets, and burning matches[?]. They also went ashore where four members of their crew immediately attacked Jan Rodrigues. They took away his musket, drove him in the water and arrested him by force. (Then the said Jan Rodrigues took the **sword sabre** away from one of the crew of Hans Jorissen who held him.)

~~When they, the witnesses, saw this,~~ **This they witnessed and** they did their best to rescue him. They jumped in the water to get him and they took the said Jan Rodrigues; (who was injured); into their boat and rowed to their ship. And when one of the witnesses then asked Hans Jorisse why they should arrest and injure[?] Jan Rodrigues, the said Hans Jorissen answered that 'that black rascal', referring to the said Jan Rodrigues, [here some words are wanting] in order to get the money[?] due us. And the other day when the said Dirck brought the sword (that Jan Rodrigues had taken away from the crew of Hans Jorissen) back to the ship Cornelis Jacobsen May, he saw Jan Rodrigues' musket (which the crew of Hans Jorissen had taken away from Jan Rodrigues by force) but they refused to give it him.

Jacop Floressen, Jochem Jochemsen and Jacop Servaes declare (that Jacop Eelkens ashore persuaded a savage to bring a certain beaver-skin which he they had on board of his ship. The savage expected to come aboard of Mossel's shop and did the same and that the producer) plaintiff that while they were lying in the river some savages arrived at their ship, who complained that Mossel's crew had taken away from them by force two **bear-skins beaver-skins** and not paid for the same. The savages said that they had the skins with them; to bring them to the **producer's plaintiff's** ship. For the sake of peace and to prevent something worse which might have arisen from it, the producer had paid the savages for the same two skins. **Finally all All** the witnesses jointly declare **and attest** it to be true that as long as they were with their ship in Virginia and thereabouts, they never saw, heard, understood or learned that their skipper or supercargo or their **crew, or trade-crew, nor** the said Adriaen Block violently **prevent, obstruct or resist hindered, prevented, or obstructed** skipper Thijs Mossel and Hans Jorissen and their crew in their trade and business and that everyone did his best to promote trade. It was the opposite in the other party, which tried to **hinder and** prevent **and obstruct** their trade.

Done in the **roads harbour** before this city of Amsterdam aboard the ship of the said producer, in the presence of Herman Jansz and Adam **Fransz Franssen**, while Stoffel Pietersen and Barent Staes were **present** witnesses.

A.2.10 Spanish Translation<sup>28</sup>

A día de hoy, 23 de julio de 1614, han comparecido ante mí etc. en presencia de etc. Frans Jansen, natural de Monnickendam, de unos 26 años, cocinero; Gerbrant Jansen, natural de Kolhorn, de unos 39 años, maestre<sup>29</sup>; Esger Annes, natural de Hindeloopen, de 30 años, guardia; Jochem Jochemsen, natural de Gdansk, de unos 25 años, contra maestre<sup>30</sup>; Pieter Pietersen, ciudadano de esta ciudad, de unos 25 años, compañero comerciante; Jacop Eelkens, sobrecargo, de 21 años; Jacop Floressen, natural de Medemblik, de unos 23 años, contra maestre; Dirck Claesen, natural de Alkmaar, de unos 28 años, contra maestre y Jacop Servaes, natural de Vree, de unos 23 años, barrilero; toda la tripulación del capitán Hendrick Carstiaensen, también ciudadano de esta ciudad. Han declarado, certificado y testificado con verdaderas palabras cristianas, por su honor, fe y consciencia en lugar de por solemne juramento, a instancia y petición del arriba mencionado capitán Hendrick Christaense y los propietarios de su barco, que es cierto que ellos, los testigos, cada uno llevando a cabo las tareas arriba descritas, han navegado en el último viaje desde aquí hasta Virginia ida y vuelta con y en el barco del arriba mencionado demandante. Los arriba mencionados Frans Jansen, Gerbrant Jansen, Jacob Eelkens, Dirck Claessen y Jacob Servaes, declaran además que cuando se encontraban en el río Montanges<sup>31</sup> un tal Jean Rodrigues subió a bordo de su barco haciendo saber que era un hombre libre, solicitando por decisión propia servir al demandante y sus socios y permanecer en su barco comunicándoles que no tenía relación, unión, ni contacto alguno con Jan Jorissen o con Thijs Mossel. Dado que el demandante no se encontraba en ese momento en el barco, al subirse a él preguntó, según oyeron sus testigos, al mencionado Jan Rodrigues si era un hombre libre, a lo que él respondió de la misma manera que se ha indicado arriba, contestando que sin duda era un hombre libre y que no guardaba relación con nadie. Declaración ocurrida a bordo del barco del mencionado demandante con Hermen Jansens y Barent Staes como testigos.

Los arriba mencionados Esker Annes y Dirck Clasen declaran que es cierto que a finales del pasado abril, sin recordar exactamente el día, estaban en el balandro del demandante y al descender el río con su balandro junto con el balandro de Thijs Mossel, el cual se encontraba en persona en el mismo, llegaron juntos a la tierra baja. Allí, una canoa con salvajes se dirigió navegando desde tierra firme hacia el balandro del arriba mencionado Hendrick Carstiaensen. Al ver esto, la tripulación del balandro del arriba mencionado Thijs Mossel disparó en dirección a la mencionada canoa, que había llegado al balandro del demandante. Con los remos fuera y los mosquetes y sables preparados llegaron remando a tal velocidad que la canoa se hizo añicos, después de lo cual la tallaron con hachas para provocarle mayores daños; y al hacerlo casi atraviesan la cabeza de un miembro de la tripulación del demandante, pues el hachazo le pasó al lado de la cabeza, y si no se hubiera apartado habría perdido la vida. Debido al ataque, los salvajes huyeron al balandro del demandante, al que su canoa estaba amarrada. Cuando los testigos se dirigieron a Thijs Mossel para preguntarle por esta violencia e injusticia, éste dijo que deseaba tomar parte en el comercio de pieles, añadiendo: de lo contrario los ahuyentaría. Cuando los testigos o algunos miembros de su tripulación contestaron que ellos se esforzaban en comerciar y que ellos debían hacer lo mismo, el arriba mencionado Thijs Mossel respondió que su mercancía no era tan buena como los bienes del demandante, y que por ello deseaba parte de sus pieles. En presencia de Adam Fransen y Barent Staes, testigos.

Nosotros, los arriba mencionados testigos, afirmamos que es cierto que cuando el balandro de Hans Jorissen o Thijs Mossel había llegado a bordo del barco de May, natural de Hoorn, estuvo dos días y dos noches

28 See prior note on the Spanish translations offered here.

29 NT: Traducido del neerlandés ‘hoochbootsman’, que se ocupaba de las jarcias y vigilaba al ‘kwartiermeester’, la principal función de éste último siendo el control de las tropas.

30 NT: Traducido del neerlandés ‘bootsman’. Su función era la de encargarse de todas las tareas relacionadas con el mástil mayor y la de vigilar a los ‘bootsgezellen’, quienes tenían varios quehaceres como limpiar el barco, cargarlo y descargarlo y hacer guardias.

31 Río Hudson

cubierto con un toldo sin que entregaran ni mostraran ningún bien a aquellos a los que se les había asignado la tarea de ver y vender los bienes. Dirck Clase y Frans Jansen declaran conjuntamente que es cierto que Jan Rodriguees, que estaba al servicio del demandante y que estaba en tierra con su cargamento para comerciar, disparó. Entonces los cinco testigos saltaron al bote, desarmados, navegaron aprisa hacia tierra firme sin pensar en las dificultades o el peligro, y vieron que gran parte de la tripulación de Mossel, entre ellos Hans Jorissen, que iba a la cabeza, estando armada con mosquetes y mechas encendidas, era llevada en bote hacia tierra firme, donde cuatro de ellos atacaron inmediatamente a Jan Rodrigues. Le quitaron el mosquete y le llevaron hacia el agua, y arrestaron con violencia al arriba mencionado. Y entonces, este Jan Rodrigues tomó el sable de un miembro de la tripulación de Hans Jorissen que le estaba sujetando. Los testigos presenciaron esto, por lo que hicieron lo posible para liberarlo, saltando al agua para agarrarlo, y llevaron a Jan Rodrigues, que había resultado herido, a su bote para después navegar hacia el barco. Y cuando uno de los testigos le preguntó a Hans Jorissen por qué querían arrestar a Jan Rodrigues, el mencionado Hans Jorissen respondió “ese granuja negro”, refiriéndose al mencionado Jan Rodrigues [fragmento ilegible] y que el arriba mencionado Dirck otro día llevó el sable que Jan Rodrigues había sustraído de la tripulación de Hans Jorissen de vuelta al barco de Cornelis Jacobsen Maij, se negaron a darle el mosquete de Jan Rodrigues.

Jacop Floressen, Jochen Jochemsen y Jacop Servaes declaran que Jacop Eelkes persuadió en tierra firme a un salvaje para que tomara ciertas pieles de castor que tenía a bordo y las llevara al barco de Mossel, lo cual ocurrió. El demandante estaba en el río cuando unos salvajes llegaron al mencionado barco quejándose de que la tripulación de Mossel les había sustraído con violencia dos pieles de castor sin pagarles, las cuales los salvajes dijeron tener para traerlas al barco del demandante. El demandante, por mantener la paz, les pagó por esas dos pieles. Los testigos declaran y certifican que es cierto que durante todo el periodo que permanecieron con su barco en Virginia e inmediaciones, nunca vieron, oyeron o se enteraron de que su capitán, sobrecargo o comerciantes ni tampoco el arriba mencionado Adriaen Block impidieran, obstaculizaran u obstruyeran con violencia que el capitán Thijs Mossel, Hans Jorissen o su tripulación hicieran transacciones comerciales o negocios, los cuales cada uno hacía lo mejor que podía; pero que la otra parte intentó impedir y obstaculizar su comercio.

Realizado en el puerto ante esta ciudad de Ámsterdam en el barco del arriba mencionado demandante en presencia de Herman Janssen y Adam Franssen; Stoffel Pieters y Barent Staes siendo testigos.

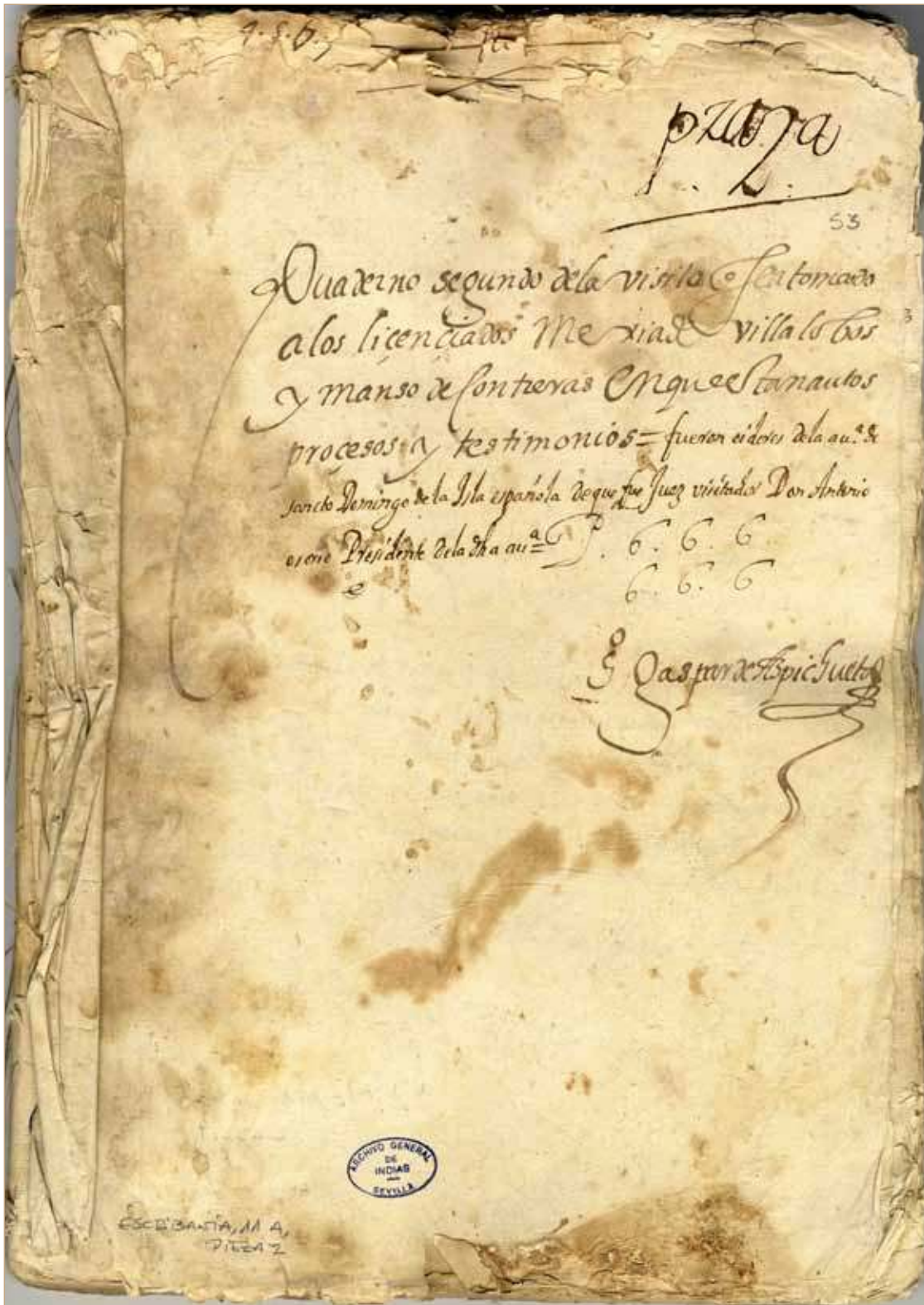


**B. DOCUMENTS FROM LA ESPAÑOLA ON LOCAL INHABITANTS  
SMUGGLING WITH FOREIGNERS**



**B.1 August 2, 1605. Savanna of Cantagallo, District of the village of Bayaha, Island of La Española.  
Judicial inquiry on the July 31st, 1605 rebellion at the port of Guanaibes.**

**B.1.1 Manuscript 6**



Source: Archivo General de Indias, Sección Escribanía de Cámara, Legajo 11, Pieza 2, folio 53r.

### B.1.2 **Transcription**<sup>32</sup>

Quaderno segundo de la visita q[ue] se a tomado/  
A los liçenciados Mexia de Villalobos/  
Y Manso de Contreras en que estan autos/  
Proçesos y tstimonios = fueron oidores de la au[dienci]a de/  
Sancto Domingo de la Isla Española de que fue juez visitador don Antonio/  
Osorio Presidente de la d[ic]ha au[dienci]a<sup>a</sup> == p. 6.6.6.  
6.6.6  
[escribano?] Gaspar de Azpichueta [Mark]

### B.1.3 **English Translation**

Second booklet of the visita that has been done/  
to licenciados Mexia de Villalobos/  
and Manso de Contreras in which are the writs, /  
records and testimonies = they were judges of the [audiencia] of/  
Santo Domingo of the island of La Española where [don] Antonio /  
Osorio President of the said Audiencia was visiting judge == p. 6.6.6.  
6.6.6 /

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32 Pages or folios 53v.—54v., in blank on the original.

B.1.4 Manuscript 7

41

746  
55

**S**tañca donde Di Bm la audia de fanta  
 doable que fucto en na zuba digon de la  
 cu dao que roll amo de Baya d en dos dias  
 Del mes de agosto de mill y reu con toa e ser  
 coa el **S**tañca donde to mo de **S**ouo cauallee  
 zo de la ardon mil tar de el año contra ob  
 del congo de el **S**tañca y mozena de **P**reuo de  
 en la **S**tañca charubetaria de la ciudad de **S**an  
 to domingo goouernador y **S**tañca en **S**tañca  
 estay **S**tañca anoda **S**tañca que **P**orque mo to  
**S**tañca de **S**tañca mozena de **S**tañca de **S**tañca  
 la ficho mozo de **S**tañca de **S**tañca de **S**tañca  
 los del **S**tañca de **S**tañca que **S**tañca de  
 de la **S**tañca de **S**tañca y la **S**tañca de  
 de **S**tañca **S**tañca **S**tañca **S**tañca **S**tañca  
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ESCRIBANIA, A. A.

Source: Archivo General de Indias, Sección Escribanía de Cámara, Legajo 11, Pieza 2, folio 55r.

### B.1.5 Transcription<sup>33</sup>

ii-1                    tt                    746

r Estando donde dizen la savana de Canta/  
gallo que fue termino e juridiçion de la/  
ciudad que se llamo de Bayaa en dos días/  
del mes de agosto de mill y seisçientos e sin/  
co a[n]os el señor don A[n]tonio Ossorio cavalle/  
ro de la horden militar del señor Santiago/  
del consejo del rrey n[uest]ro señor su precidente [sic]/  
en la rreal chancilleria de la ciudad de San/  
to Domingo gobernador y capitán general en/  
esta isla Española [etc?] dixo que por quanto/  
aviendo el rrey n[uest]ro señor por su rreal sedu/  
la [sic] fecho merced a esta d[ic]ha isla de perdonar/  
los delitos de rrescates que muchos v[e]z[in]os/  
de[e]lla avian cometido y las penas en que/  
por ello avian incurrido con que los/  
pueblos de la vanda del norte que/  
era en cuyos t[e]r[ri]n[os] los d[ic]hos rrescates/  
mas se avian frequentado se trasladazen/  
a los contornos de la dicha ciudad de/  
Santo Domingo y aviendoze publicado y pre/  
Gonado la d[ic]ha rreal cedula y para la d[ic]ha/  
Mudança y trasladaçion despoblado su/  
Señoria los d[ic]hos pueblos y manda/  
do a los fecinos y moradores de[e]llos/  
con graves penas que se rredujesen y pa/  
ssasen a vivir a los nuevos citios [sic] que/  
se le señalaron o a la d[ic]ha ciudad de San/  
to Domingo llevando sus ganados y demás/  
haciendas y aviendose hecho por su se/  
ñoria muchas diligencias en esta rraçon/  
con los vecinos y moradores de la ciu/  
1/

### B.1.6 English Translation

ii-1                    tt                    746 /

r Being where they call the savanna of Canta /  
gallo which was district and jurisdiction of the/  
city that was named Bayaa [sic], in two days /  
of the month of august of one thousand and six hundred and five/  
years the gentleman don Antonio Osorio, knight /  
of the military order of lord Santiago/  
of the king's council, its president /  
of the royal chancellery of the city of San/  
to Domingo governor and captain general in /  
this Española island [ et cetera?] said that, since /  
the king our lord by his royal decree has /  
granted to this island the grace of pardoning/  
the crimes of bartering that many denizens /  
of it had committed and the penalties which/  
for this they had incurred, if the/  
villages of the Northern Strip, which /  
was [the place] in whose districts the said bartering /  
had been most frequent, are relocated /  
to the surroundings of the said city of/  
Santo Domingo and, having publicized and/  
announced the said royal decree and, in regards to the said/  
move and transfer, [having] depopulated his/  
honor the said town and ordered/  
the denizens and dwellers in them/  
under great penalties to gather themselves and /  
pass on to live in the new locations that/  
have been indicated to them or to the city of /  
Santo Domingo carrying their cattle and other/  
properties and, having his honor taken /  
steps in this matter/  
with the denizens and dwellers of the city/  
1/

<sup>33</sup> The following is a line by line transcription of the original Spanish manuscript. All abbreviations have been spelled out by including between brackets the letters abbreviated in the manuscript. The initials of all names have been capitalized. Doubtful spellings have been transcribed between brackets followed by a question mark.

## B.1.7 Manuscript 8

das que fue de bayas y del balle de Guaba  
 como no de los dios que los detaxanda  
 del norte y mendo y obligacion a lo hacer y au  
 de las y au como suma de no to mardo a  
 mayor mudo de el dho y auon de suma  
 ocotas de queos bado y cooran muchos pelloe  
 con dho fimo y dho mosenor y de  
 sus conrengas y mmenos y ugoe de esse  
 mandatos de auuy y uenoz natural  
 y de dho q uo rna no lo au pue zido  
 ni queren en dho y au eee haciendo tumul  
 to y al boro seguntaron y conrengas  
 en dho dho balle de bayas de dho persona  
 que se ontienen en la memoria que ces  
 en la cauepra de dho y uo rna y ott rna  
 que an al rna de dho dho a dho  
 rna y me nue rna to mardo y dho  
 rna y au rna y au dho a hcinando de m  
 rna de no de los dho rna de bayas  
 a y au que no ce de rna rna a dho  
 de mudo me dho rna y au rna  
 rna y rna a dho dho rna y conre  
 rna en dho rna rna rna rna rna  
 de rna de rna rna rna rna rna  
 que ce amone rna rna rna rna rna  
 de rna rna rna rna rna rna rna rna  
 y de rna que de lo conrengas se hcinando de  
 rna rna y el ce no que por ce lo m  
 rna rna rna rna rna rna rna rna  
 de rna rna rna rna rna rna rna rna  
 y salubre con dho rna no lo au rna rna

Source: Archivo General de Indias, Sección Escribanía de Cámara, Legajo 11, Pieza 2, folio 55v.

### B.1.8 Transcription

dad que fue de Baya [sic] y del valle de Guaba/  
como uno de los dichos pueblos de la vanda/  
del norte y teniendo obligaçion a lo hacer y cun/  
plir assi como su magestad lo manda/  
mayormente por el d[ic]ho perdón de su ma/  
gestad de que gozado [sic] y gossan muchos de[e]llos/  
con poco temor de dios n[uest]ro señor y de/  
sus consençias [sic] y en menospreçios de sus/  
mandatos de su rrey y señor natural/  
y de su rreal justicia no lo an querido/  
ni quieren a[n]tes haciendo tumul/  
to y alboroto se juntaron y congregaron/  
en este d[ic]ho valle todas las personas/  
que se contienen en la memoria que esta/  
en la cavessa de prosseso [sic] y otros/  
que an assado las obedecías [sic] a su mages/  
tad y sus ministtros tomando por/  
su cavessa y caudillo a Hernando de Mon/  
toro uno de los d[ic]hos vecinos de Baya/  
a y aunque con ellos su señoria a usado/  
de muchos medios suaves para los aso/  
segar y rreducir a la obediencia [sic] y congre/  
gallos en los nuevos sitios enviándoles/  
personas de confianssa [sic] y satisfffacion/  
que se lo amonestassen y diesen a enten/  
der la obligaçion que tienen a obedecer/  
y desservi[ç]io que de lo contrario se haría a su/  
magestad y el castigo que por ello mere/  
cian y enbiandoles assi mesmo su señoria/  
perdón general de los d[ic]hos delitos /  
y salvoconduto dello no lo an querido ni/  
1/

### B.1.9 English Translation

that was Baya [sic] and of the valley of Guaba/  
as one of the said towns of the Northern/  
Strip and having an obligation to do and comply with it/  
as thus his majesty mandates it/  
as thus his majesty mandates it/  
mostly as per the said pardon by his  
majesty which many of them enjoy and have enjoyed,/  
with little fear of god our lord and of/  
their consciences and, in disregard of their /  
mandates of their king and natural lord/  
and of his royal justice, they have not wanted /  
nor want it, instead making commotion/  
and tumult they gathered and congregated/  
at this said valley all the persons /  
that are contained in the report that is /  
at the head of these proceedings and others/  
that have ceased their obedience to his majesty/  
and to his ministers, taking as /  
their head and leader Hernando de Montoro, /  
one of the said denizens of Bayaa /  
and though his honor has used with them/  
many soft means to quiet them/  
and bring to obedience and to congregate/  
them in the new locations by sending them /  
trusted and satisfactory persons /  
who would warn and make them understand /  
the obligation they have to obey/  
and [the] disservice that would otherwise be done to his/  
majesty, and the punishment that for this they deserved,/  
and, having sent them as well his honor/  
general pardon for the said crimes/  
and guaranties of it, they have not wanted nor/  
1/

B.1.10 Manuscript 9

747<sup>56</sup>

querred a Betna Por no l de far como no ande  
 dudo quanto sueto con fumbra denees  
 catan y contra tar fon los dnat de ene  
 mosobe delafho y de lney nro eno de y para  
 de fender se ena sin lde e lionny al rom ar  
 to mado las vmas contra el ray nro eno  
 y sus mo nroos romanos lca a y compran  
 do las d maceos de los d hore d d raris  
 y me mios y auendo sus enoua en p d raris  
 Bemdo al d h bales de ouabaty re r d o  
 de bay a a des hauer l adha junta y al sam  
 lee Balio anones tar e nagedit o que  
 republico y daco de g sen las armas se  
 de lto q uizim a l rui y o bes ena d l su  
 ma o et ad. y p r d g rando lee el no lo auer  
 hto y lo que en ello auan de l m quido  
 Sa eta entonca p r o t e r a n d o no t r o a n  
 con r u p r a l o c q u e l o c o n t r a r i o f i z i e r  
 no s t o n o s e a n q u i d o z e c o n i n d e g a  
 La armas a l d e r e a n b a l i d o y a r a  
 sus p r e t e n c i o n e s d e l o c m i d m o s s u e  
 m e o c d n a t a s m e t r e n d o t e e n t e  
 no b i o c d e l o s q u e a t a n e e n e l z u e r  
 to d i g u a n a b e y o t t r o s d r e t a y d o  
 y c o n e l o s m e m o s d e t o m a d o l a e a r  
 m a e y d e l e a d o c o n l o s m i n i s t r o s d e  
 l u m a o e t a s c o m o l o s i z i e r a n d o m o m i  
 d a n d o d r o t t r e n o d e d e l m e l d e  
 z u e l l o d e p r e d r o a n a n e a u e n d o e n  
 t e n o u a c o n s e n t e y d o e n e q u i m i n t o  
 d e l o s d e d e a l s m o s y d e l e t r a d o s  
 z

Source: Archivo General de Indias, Sección Escribanía de Cámara, Legajo 11, Pieza 2, folio 56r.

### B.1.11 Transcription

747/

quieren azetar por no dejar como no an de/  
Xado su anti [sic] gusto [sic] costumbre de rres/  
catar y contratar con los piratas ene/  
migos de la ffe y del rrey n[uest]ro señor y para/  
defenderse en su rrebelion y alsami[ent]o an/  
tomado las armas contra el rrey n[uest]ro señor/  
y sus ministros tomandolas y conpran/  
dolas para ello de los d[ic]hos piratas/  
y enemigos y aviendo su señoria en persona/  
benido al d[ic]ho balle de Guaba y ter[mi]no/  
de Bayaa [sic] a deshacer la d[ic]ha junta y alsami[ent]o/  
les balio amonestar por su edito que/  
se publico y dixo dejasen las armas y se/  
rredujizen al servi[ç]o y obediencia [sic] de su/  
magestad perdonandoles el no lo aver/  
hecho y lo que en ello avian delinquido/  
hasta entonces y protestando castigan [sic]/  
con rrigor a los que lo contrario ffiziesen/  
no solo no se an querido rreducir y dejar/  
las armas a[n]tes se an balido para/  
sus pretensiones de los mismos ene/  
migos piratas metiéndose en los/  
nabios de los que estan en el puer/  
to de Guanaybes y otros de [e]sta isla/  
y con ellos mismos a[n] tomado las ar/  
mas y peleado con los ministros de/  
su magestad como lo hizieron el domingo/  
pasado postrero dia del mes de/  
julio de [e]ste d[ic]ho año que aviendo su/  
señoria con jente ido en seguimiento  
de los d[ic]hos allssados y rretirados

2

### B.1.12 English Translation

747/

want to accept it, not stopping, as they have not/  
their old like and custom of bartering/  
and contracting with pirates enemies/  
of the faith and the king our lord and to/  
defend themselves in their rebellion and uprising they have/  
taken up arms against the king our lord/  
and his ministers, taking and buying /  
them for this from the said pirates/  
and enemies, and having his honor in person/  
come to the said valley of Guaba and district /  
of Bayaa to undo the said gathering and uprising,/  
he [had] to admonish them of their crime in his edict, which/  
was published, and told them to give up their arms /  
and to subject themselves to the service and obedience of his/  
majesty, forgiving them for not having done so/  
and for what in this they had committed /  
so far, and announcing he would punish /  
with rigor those who did the contrary, /  
not only have they not wanted to surrender and give up/  
their arms, rather they have resorted/  
to the enemies for their purposes to the same enemies/  
pirates, going into the /  
vessels that are in the port/  
of Guanaybes and others of this island/  
and with them they have taken up arms/  
and fought against the ministers of/  
his majesty as they did the past Sunday/  
last day of the month of/  
July of this said year when, having/  
his highness gone with people in pursuit/  
of the said uprisen and departed/  
2



B.1.13 Manuscript 10

Por un castro ha el dho Puerto  
 de Guayana y de la tuxon los ruyos dho de  
 los n dho Capitan de que all se traen a  
 yntos dondes se tan en p kados y ay ueda de  
 d. dho en emora de subieron con fapen de  
 de p senora con muchos artilleria y nro  
 que te ca y de aca que todo suma de ta de  
 sea n formado y los al p adde se las  
 ti o ue n mande mado que se traen  
 foma de n y auer uen con la pad de  
 fizo en lamaneza siguiente donato  
 mo o rroio a p em de dho de aca que  
 ta escribano.

Memoria de los Viecos de Guayana que  
 tienen a dho en e de dho Valle

Hernando de Montoza  
 Joaquin de Castellanos y de y de noe  
 Alonso de...  
 merchor de...  
 Juan de...  
 donamque...  
 marian con...  
 Alonso...  
 Joaquin...  
 Joaquin...  
 Juan...  
 Francisco...  
 Francisco...

2  
 Escribania, 114

Source: Archivo General de Indias, Sección Escribanía de Cámara, Legajo 11, Pieza 2, folio 56v.

#### B.1.14 Transcription

y por su rrastró hasta el d[ic]ho puerto/  
de Guanaybes salieron los susso d[ic]hos de/  
los navios de piratas que allí estaban/  
surtos donde estan rretirados y ayudados/  
de los enemigos pelearon con la gente/  
de su señoría con mucha artillería y mos/  
queteria y para que todo su magestad/  
sea ynformado y los culpados se cas/  
tiguén manda e mando que se haga in/  
formaçion y averiguaçion la qual se/  
hizo en la manera siguiente Don A[n]to/  
nio Ossorio a[n]te mi Gaspar de Aspichue/  
ta escribano \_\_\_\_\_ /

r Memoria de los vecinos de Guaba que/  
Tienen aziendas en este d[ic]ho valle/

r Hernando de Montoro  
r Joan de Catellanos y su m[adr]e y her[ma]nos/  
r Alonso Peres/  
r Melchor de Rojas /  
r Joan Pinson y su madre e/  
r Doña Maria viuda mujer que fue de/  
Marron con sus hijos dos/  
r Alonsso Sepeda/  
r Joan Ffernandes Castroverde/  
r Tomas Garçia/  
r Alonsso Lopes/  
r Joan Rrodrigues de Rribera/  
r Francisco Hernandez [B]odonel [sic]/  
r Francisco Hernandez su hijo/  
2/

#### B.1.15 English Translation

and [going] after their tracks up to the said port/  
of Guanaybes, the aforesaid came out of the said vessels/  
of the pirates that had dropped anchor there /  
where they are departed and helped  
by the enemies, [and] they fought against the people/  
of his honor with a lot of artillery and muskets,  
and so that his majesty is informed of everything/  
and the culprits be punished/  
he orders and ordered that an inquiry/  
and report is done, which /  
was done in the following fashion. Don Antonio/  
Ossorio, before me Gaspar de Arspichueta/  
notary \_\_\_\_\_ /

r Account of the denizens of Guaba that/  
have farms in this said valley/

r Hernando de Montoro  
r Joan de Catellanos y su m[adr]e y her[ma]nos/  
r Alonso Peres/  
r Melchor de Rojas /  
r Joan Pinson y su madre e/  
r Doña Maria viuda mujer que fue de/  
Marron con sus hijos dos/  
r Alonsso Sepeda/  
r Joan Ffernandes Castroverde/  
r Tomas Garçia/  
r Alonsso Lopes/  
r Joan Rrodrigues de Rribera/  
r Francisco Hernandez [B]odonel/  
r Francisco Hernandez su hijo  
2/

B.1.16 Manuscript 11

57  
748

x La baronherman de B  
 x Francisco Pacheco y sumadre  
 x Francisco moriquez moritaysum  
 x Jusepe ruy  
 x Rodrigo Jaree  
 x Sebas Francisco  
 x Antonio de Aragón  
 x Francisco de la Cruz y sumadre  
 x Ubiana de la Cruz y sumadre  
 x como de que y sumadre  
 x Bartolome sepezo  
 x aduan de la Cruz  
 x Sebas. Fran. me. Cruz de catalina  
 me. Cruz

x Memoria de los vecinos de Baya Fran  
 x Juan de los ruyes de Coura  
 x Felipe de la Cruz y sumadre  
 x el Bayle de Baya Fran  
 x Juan Martin de Baya Fran  
 x Juan de la Cruz y sumadre  
 x Leonar de Baya Fran  
 x Xpo Valo nene  
 x Juan de la Cruz  
 x Manuel de Baya Fran  
 x alvaro poncaee y sus hijos  
 x Juan de la Cruz  
 x Juan de la Cruz  
 x Sebas. Fran. me. Cruz

3

ESCRIBANÍA, 11 A

Source: Archivo General de Indias, Sección Escribanía de Cámara, Legajo 11, Pieza 2, folio 57r.

### B.1.17 Transcription

748/

└ Lazaro Hernandez/  
└ Francisco Pacheco y su madre/  
└ Francisco Rrodrigues Moreta y su m[adr]e/  
└ Jusepe Rruys/  
└ Rodrigo Peres/  
└ Sebastian Gonçales/  
└ A[n]tonio Dias aragones<sup>34</sup> /  
└ Françisco de Acosta y su madre/  
└ Vibiana de Acosta viuda/  
└ Cosme de Queto y su madre/  
└ Bartolome Sepero/  
└ Adrian de Beroas  
└ Sebastian Mexia hijo Catalina/  
└ Mejia/\_  
  
\_└ Memoria de los vecinos de Bayaha/  
└ Joan Rrodriguez de Segura/  
└ Felipe de Usedia Grimaldo/  
└ El Bachiller Catano/  
└ Joan Martin Vermejo [sic]/  
└ Tomas de Gusman y su hijo y [hijos?] [siguientes?]/  
└ Leonardo de Herrera/  
└ [Cristo]val Gonçales/  
└ Joan Velasques/  
└ Manuel de Viera/  
└ Alvaro Gonçales y sus dos hijos/  
└ Joan Bonilla/  
└ Pedro Arias/  
└ Pedro de Leon/  
└ Sebastian Gonçales/  
3/

### B.1.18 English Translation

748/

r Lazaro Hernandez/  
r Francisco Pacheco and his mother/  
r Francisco Rrodrigues Moreta and his mother/  
r Jusepe Rruys/  
r Rodrigo Peres/  
r Sebastian Gonçales/  
r A[n]tonio Dias aragones /  
r Françisco de Acosta and his mother/  
r Vibiana de Acosta widow/  
r Cosme de Queto and his mother/  
r Bartolome Sepero/  
r Adrian de Beroas  
r Sebastian Mexia son [of?] Catalina/  
r Mejia/  
  
\_r\_ Account of the denizens of Bayaha/  
r Joan Rrodriguez de Segura/  
r Felipe de Usedia Grimaldo/  
r El Bachiller Catano/  
r Joan Martin Vermejo [sic]/  
r Tomas de Gusman and his son and [children?]/  
r Leonardo de Herrera/  
r [Cristo]val Gonçales/  
r Joan Velasques/  
r Manuel de Viera/  
r Alvaro Gonçales and his two sons/  
r Joan Bonilla/  
r Pedro Arias/  
r Pedro de Leon/  
r Sebastian Gonçales/  
3/

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34 Instead of a noun indicating regional origin, it could also be a surname. The reason we are transcribing it as a regional indicator is because a number of the names are followed by nouns that add comment to the names.

B.1.19 Manuscript 12

Andrés de Burdo  
Tomás Velázquez  
Joan de Bente  
Alonso Lo duque  
Esteve ame  
Manuel oome  
Baltasar de Quintero  
Joan Vuneg  
Pedro martín  
Andrés de Castro  
Joan de Medina  
Donalo montado  
Diego hernán  
Diego hernán  
Memoria de los escribanos  
Tomás de las Peñas  
Juan de las Peñas  
Juan de las Peñas  
Baltasar de León  
domingos hernando  
Joan de Cuena  
Francisco neaste  
Bucio hernando de las Peñas  
Merchoz de las Peñas  
Alonso pazumay  
Tomás de las Peñas  
Joan de las Peñas  
Luce de las Peñas  
hernando de las Peñas

3

Source: Archivo General de Indias, Sección Escribanía de Cámara, Legajo 11, Pieza 2, folio 57v.

### B.1.20 Transcription

r Andres de Burgos/  
r Tomas de Herrera/  
r Joan Vizente/  
r Alonso Rrodriguez/  
r Esteban Mexia/  
r Manuel Gomes/  
r Baltassar de Queto  
r Joan Nuñes/  
r Alejos [sic] Martin/  
r Andres de Acosta/  
r Joan de Medina/  
r Gonçalo Montero/  
r Diego Hernandes/  
r Diego Hernandes de Herrera/

\_r\_ Memoria de los estrravagantes

r Tomas de Castellanos/  
r Francisco de Herrera/  
r Joan de Castro/  
r Andres Hernandez/  
r Baltassar de Leon/  
r Domingo Hernandez/  
r Joan de Dueñas/  
r Francisco Negrete/  
r Bricio hermano de Andres Brabo/  
r Merchor [sic] de los Rreyes/  
r Alonsso Garcia Maya/  
r A[n]tonio Zea/  
r Joan de Nebleda/  
r Luis de Pantoja/  
r Hernan Lopez/  
3/

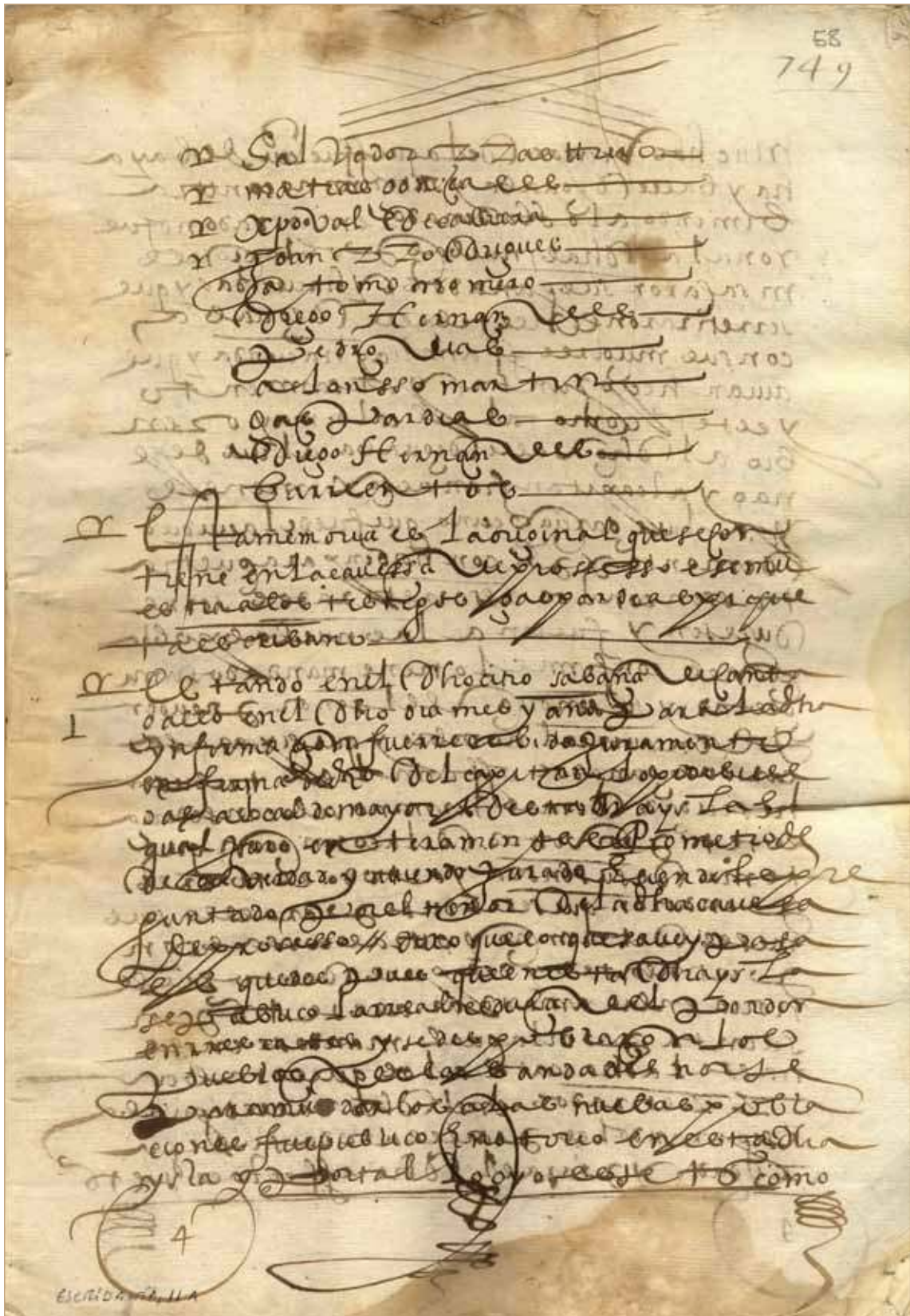
### B.1.21 English Translation

r Andres de Burgos/  
r Tomas de Herrera/  
r Joan Vizente/  
r Alonso Rrodriguez/  
r Esteban Mexia/  
r Manuel Gomes/  
r Baltassar de Queto  
r Joan Nuñes/  
r Alejos [sic] Martin/  
r Andres de Acosta/  
r Joan de Medina/  
r Gonçalo Montero/  
r Diego Hernandes/  
r Diego Hernandes de Herrera/

\_r\_ Account of the vagrants

r Tomas de Castellanos/  
r Francisco de Herrera/  
r Joan de Castro/  
r Andres Hernandez/  
r Baltassar de Leon/  
r Domingo Hernandez/  
r Joan de Dueñas/  
r Francisco Negrete/  
r Bricio hermano de Andres Brabo/  
r Merchor [sic] de los Rreyes/  
r Alonsso Garcia Maya/  
r A[n]tonio Zea/  
r Joan de Nebleda/  
r Luis de Pantoja/  
r Hernan Lopez/  
3/

B.1.22 Manuscript 13



Source: Archivo General de Indias, Sección Escribanía de Cámara, Legajo 11, Pieza 2, folio 58r.

### B.1.23 Transcription

749/

r Salvador Rrasttrero/  
r Matias Gonçales/  
r [Cristo]val de Cabrera/  
r Joan Rrodrigues/  
A[n]tonio Rromero/  
Diego Hernandes/  
Pedro Dias/  
Alonso Martin/  
Gaspar Dias/  
Diego Hernandes/  
Barrientos /

\_r\_ Esta memoria es la original que se con/  
tiene en la cavessa de proresso e se mu/  
estra a los testigos Gaspar de Aspichue/  
ta escribano/

\_r\_ Estando en el d[ic]ho citio Sabana de Canta/  
1 gallo en el d[ic]h odía mes y año para la d[ic]ha/  
Ynformaçion fue rrecebido juramento/  
en forma de d[e]r[ech]o del capitán Lope de Bille/  
gas alcalde mayor de[e]sta isla el/  
qual juro enteramente e prometió de/  
decir verdad y aviendo jurado e siéndole pre/  
guntado por el tenor de la d[ic]ha cavesa/  
de proceso // dixo que lo que sabe y pasa/  
es que después que en esta d[ic]ha isla/  
se publico la rreal cedula del perdón/  
en rrescates y se despoblaron los/  
pueblos de la vanda del norte/  
para mudarlos a las nueva pobla/  
ciones fue publico e notorio en esta d[ic]ha/  
isla y por tal lo oyo este t[e]s[tig]o como/  
4 /

### B.1.24 English Translation

749/

r Salvador Rrasttrero/  
r Matias Gonçales/  
r [Cristo]val de Cabrera/  
r Joan Rrodrigues/  
A[n]tonio Rromero/  
Diego Hernandes/  
Pedro Dias/  
Alonso Martin/  
Gaspar Dias/  
Diego Hernandes /  
Barrientos /

\_r\_ This account is the original that is contained/  
at the head of the proceedings and is/  
shown to the witnesses. Gaspar de Aspichueta/  
notary/

\_r\_ Being at the said site Sabana de Canta /  
1 gallo on the said day, month and year for the said/  
account, sworn deposition was received /  
in due legal form from captain Lope de Bille/  
gas alcalde mayor of this island, who /  
swore fully and promised to/  
say the truth, and having sworn and being/  
asked as per the content of the beginning /  
of the proceedings // said that what he knows to have happened /  
is that, after in this the said island/  
they published the royal decree of pardon/  
of bartering, and they depopulated the /  
towns of the northern strip /  
to move them to the new towns /  
it was public and noticeable in this said/  
island, and as such this witness heard it as/  
4 /

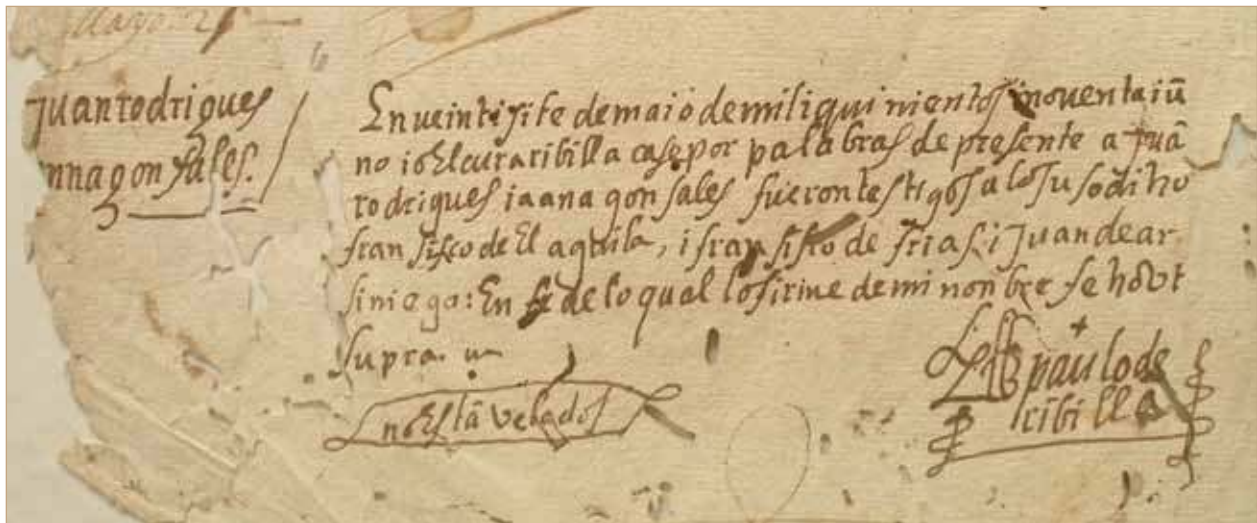




**C. ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS FROM LA ESPAÑOLA MENTIONING  
INDIVIDUALS NAMED JUAN RODRIGUEZ**

**C.1 May 27, 1591. Marriage record of Juan Rodriguez and Ana Gonzalez, married at the Cathedral of the City of Santo Domingo.**

**C.1.1 Manuscript 14**



Source: Archivo Diocesano de Santo Domingo: *Catedral de Santo Domingo. Libro de Matrimonios. 1590-1601, 1610-1642, I. Folio 1v.*

**C.1.2 Transcription**

“Mayo 27 /

Juan rodriguez [sic] En veintisete [sic] de maio de mil i quinientos i noventa i u/  
 anna gonsales [sic] / no io El cura ribilla case por palabras de presente a jua[n] /  
 rodriguez [sic] i a ana gonsales [sic] fueron testigos a lo suso di[c]ho /  
 fransisco [sic] de El águila, i fransisco de frias i juan de ar/  
 siniega i en fe de lo qual lo firme de mi nombre fe[c]ho ut/  
 supra/  
 no Esta[n] velados El B[achiller] paulo de /  
 [Rúbrica] ribilla” [Rúbrica]/

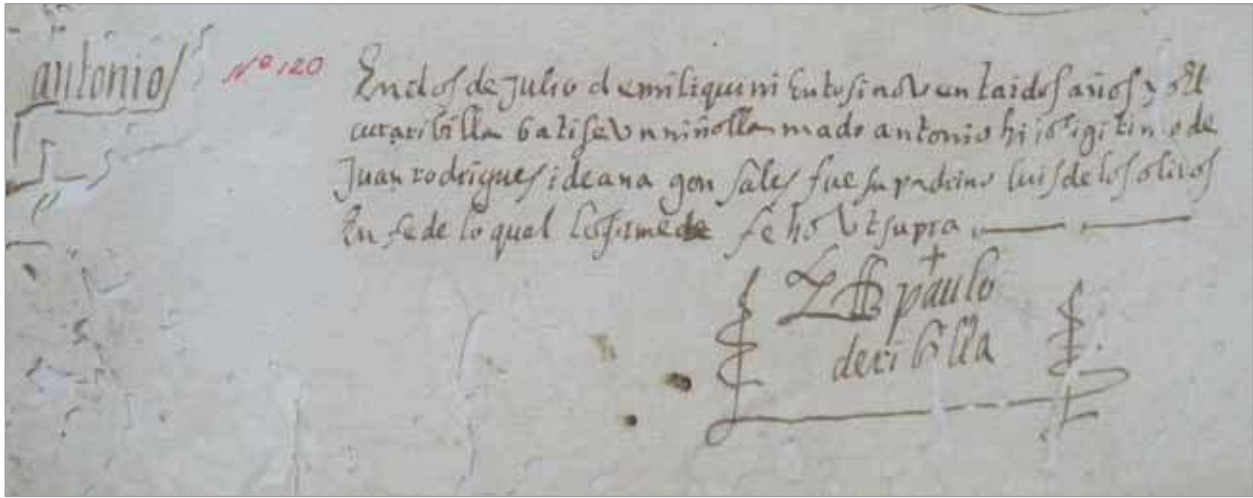
**C.1.3 English Translation**

“May 27th

Juan Rodriguez On the twenty seventh of May of year one thousand and ninety one, I priest Ana  
 [A]nna González Ribilla married Juan Rodriguez and Ana Gonzalez by word in presence.  
 Witnesses to the aforesaid Francisco de El Águila, Francisco de Frias and Juan  
 de Arciniega. In testimony of it I signed it with my name. Done as above. They  
 have not beent veiled. [Signature:] El Bachiller Paulo de [Rubric] Ribilla.” [Rubric]

**C.2 July 2, 1592. City of Santo Domingo. Baptism record of a boy named Antonio baptized at the Cathedral of Santo Domingo. He was the son of a Juan Rodríguez and Ana González.**

**C.2.1 Manuscript 15**



Source : Archivo Diocesano de Santo Domingo: *Catedral de Santo Domingo. Bautismo. 1, 1590-1638. Folio 27r.*

**C.2.2 Transcription**

“Antonio / En dos de julio de mil i quinientos i noventa i dos años yo El /  
cura ribilla batisen un niño llamado antonio hijo legitimo<sup>35</sup> de /  
Juan rodriguez [sic] i de ana gonsales [sic] fue su padrino luis de los olivos/  
En fe de lo qual lo firme [crossed out : de] fe[c]ho [sic] ut supra/  
[Rúbrica] [El Bachiller] Paulo/  
De Ribilla” [Rúbrica]

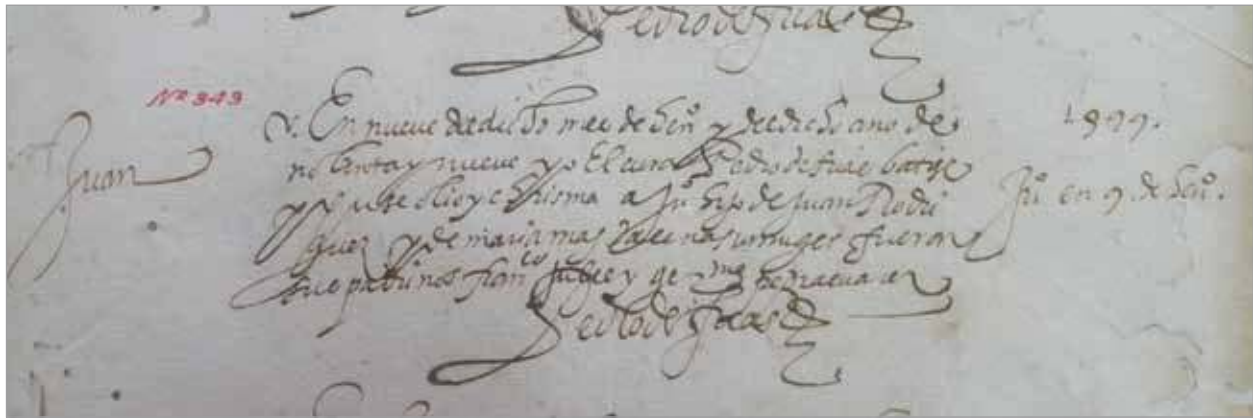
**C.2.3 English Translation**

“Antonio / On the second of july of year one thousand five hundred and ninety two I the/  
Priest Ribilla baptized a boy named Antonio legitimate son of/  
Juan Rodriguez [sic] and of Ana Gonsales [sic] his god father was Luis de los Olivos/  
In testimony of which I signed it [crossed out: with] done ut supra/  
[Mark] [Signature: ] Bachiller Paulo/  
De Ribilla” [Mark]

35 The ‘m’ only partially legible because of a hole on the paper.

**C.3 January 9, 1599. City of Santo Domingo. Baptism record of a boy named Juan, baptized at the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, whose parents names were Juan Rodriguez and Maria Magdalena.**

**C.3.1 Manuscript 16**



Source : Archivo Diocesano de Santo Domingo: *Catedral de Santo Domingo. Bautismo. 1, 1590-1638. Folio 75r.*

**C.3.2 Transcription**

Juan	“En nueve del dicho mes de he[ner]ºy del dicho año de noventa y nueve yo El cura Pedro de frias batisé / y puse olio y chrisma a Jºan hijo de juan Rodri juez y de maria Magdalena su muger fueron/ sus padrinos fran[çis]ºo jubel y ger[oni]ºmo pedralvarez / [Firma:] Pedro de frias” [Rúbrica] /	1599 /  Jº[a]n en 9. de hen[er]º.
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**C.3.3 English Translation**

Juan	“On the ninth of said month of January and of said year of 1599 ninety nine I priest Pedro de Frias baptized/ and put the oil and [ ] to John son of Juan Rodriguez and John on January 9th Maria Magdalena his wife. The godparents were Francisco Jubel and Geronimo Pedralvarez [Signature:] Pedro de Frias” [Rubric]
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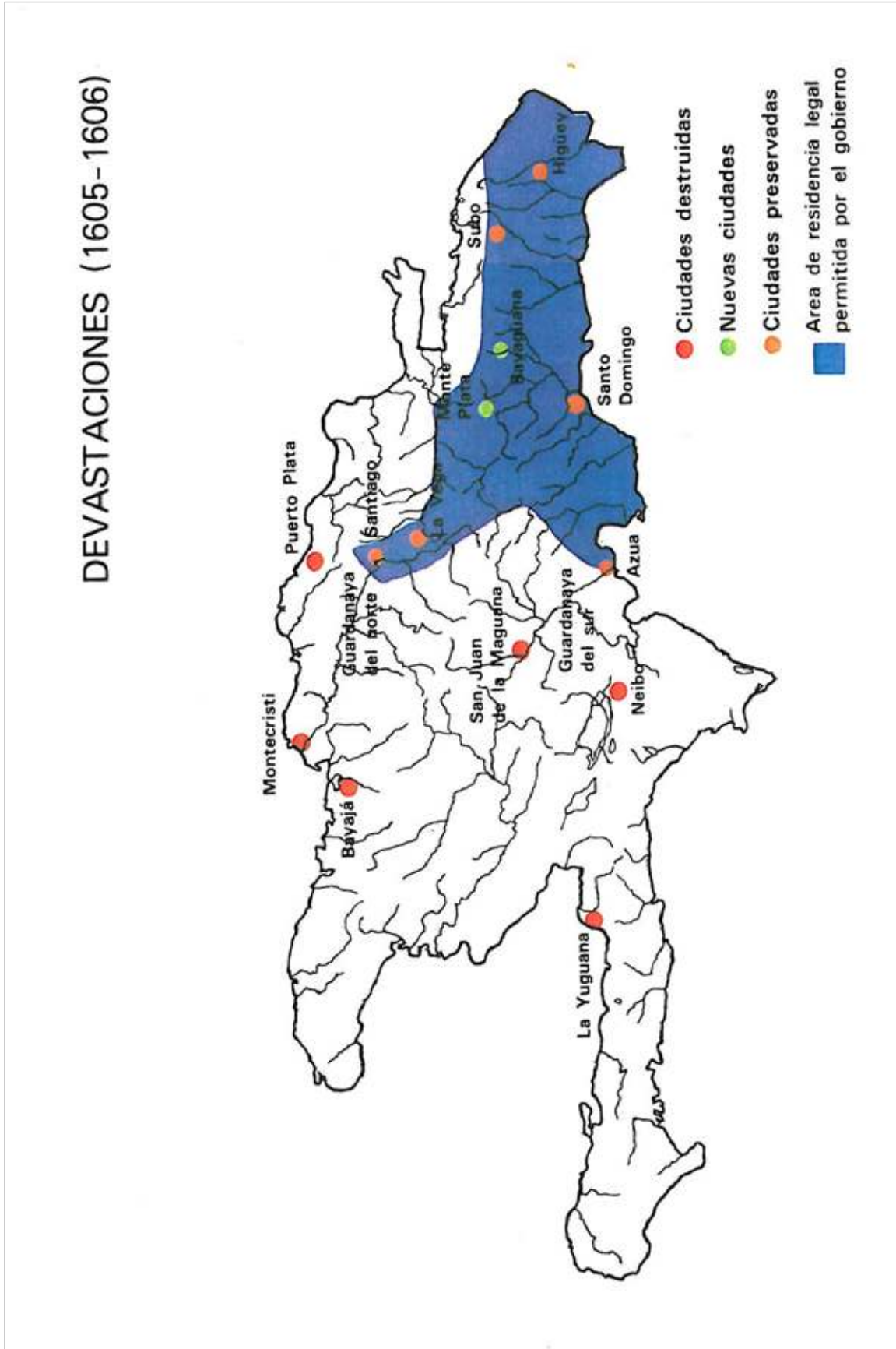
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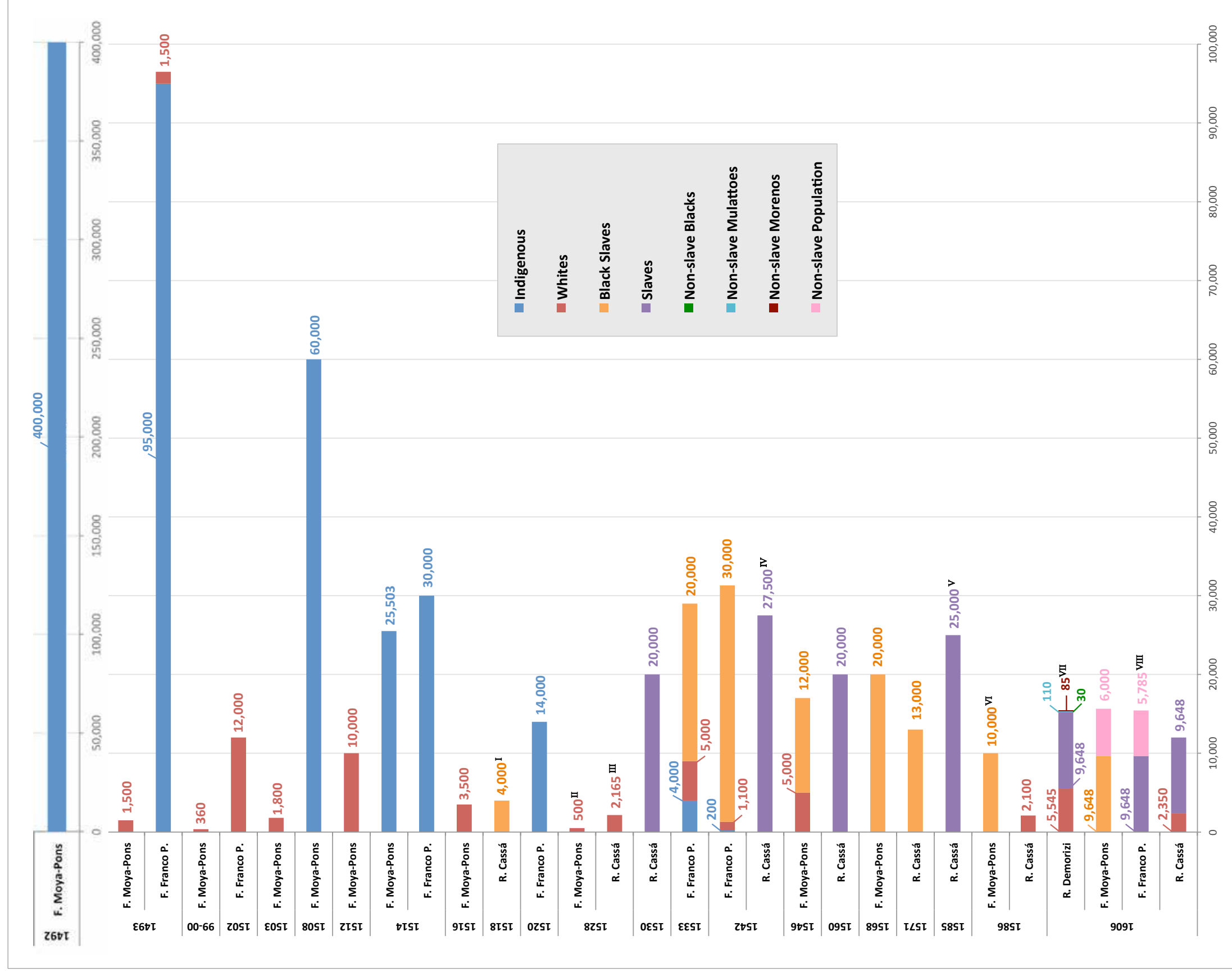


Map



Source: Moya Pons, Frank. *Manual de historia dominicana*. 14th ed. Santo Domingo: Editora Búho, 2008.

Graph 1



Sources:

- Cassá, Roberto: *Historia social y económica de la República Dominicana*. Vol. I. Santo Domingo: Editora Alá & Omega, 2003. pp. 187; 188.
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Notes: All three authors use the term 'vecino' to refer to non-slave members of a household. The accepted average formula is 5 individuals per 'vecino'.

- I) The number of slaves given for this year refers only to rural working adult slaves, and does not include minor nor household/urban slaves.
- II) Population of whites in the island excluding those in Santo Domingo and Azua.
- III) Cassá counts 433 'vecinos' for 1528. If the accepted formula of 5 individuals per 'vecino' as head of household is applied, the total is 2,165.
- IV) The author gives an approximate number between 25,000-30,000 slaves.
- V) The author gives an approximate number between 20,000-30,000 slaves.
- VI) Based on sources reproduced by Américo Lugo, Moya-Pons states that the Black population shrank to "one half" of what it had been in 1568.
- VII) Demorizi classifies 'morenos' and 'mulattoes' as separate categories.
- VIII) Franco subdivides the population only into two categories: 'vecinos libres' and 'slaves'.





