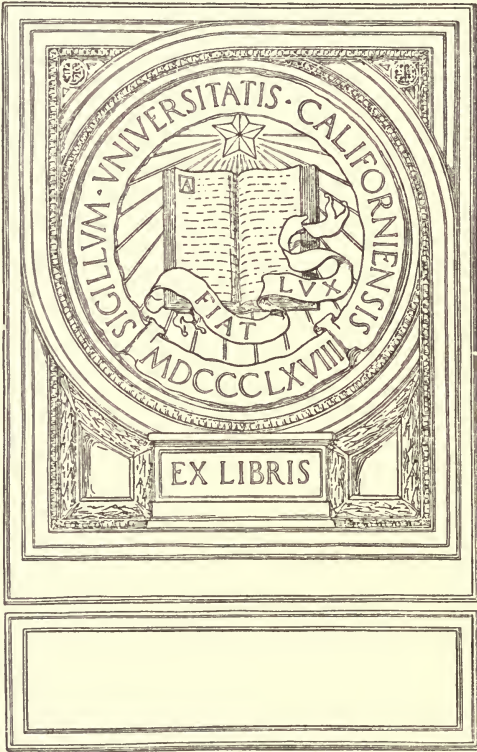


THE DUTCH AND QUAKER  
COLONIES IN AMERICA



JOHN FISKE

GIFT OF  
A. F. Morrison











*Illustrated Edition*

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THE DUTCH AND QUAKER  
COLONIES IN AMERICA

By JOHN FISKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I











J. Poyrre Jan

# THE DUTCH AND QUAKER COLONIES IN AMERICA BY JOHN FISKE

11

ILLUSTRATED WITH  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, FACSIMILES,  
CONTEMPORARY VIEWS, PRINTS, AND  
OTHER HISTORIC MATERIALS  
IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOLUME I.

*Nieuw Nederland is een seer schoon aengenaem gesont en lustigh lantschap daer het voor alderley slagh van menschen beter en ruymmer aen de kost of gemackelycker door de werelt te geraken is als in Nederlandt offte eenige andere quartieren des werelts mijn bekend.*

ADRIAN VAN DER DONCK, 1656

*For I must needs tell you, if we miscarry it will be our own fault; we have nobody else to blame; for such is the happiness of our Constitution, that we cannot well be destroyed but by ourselves.*

WILLIAM PENN, 1679



BOSTON AND NEW YORK  
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY  
The Riverside Press, Cambridge  
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GIFT OF  
A. F. MORRISON

To  
MY OLD FRIEND  
JOHN SPENCER CLARK  
WHO HAS LONG FELT A DEEP INTEREST  
IN THIS WORK  
I now dedicate it  
WITH SINCERE AFFECTION





## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

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IN preparing this edition of *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, the publishers have been able to secure for illustration original manuscripts and other material never before reproduced. They have also followed the plan adopted by Mr. Fiske in previous cases, and have used only illustrations that possess distinct historical interest.

Credit is given in the list of illustrations for many courtesies, but special thanks are due to Wilberforce Eames of the New York Public Library, Gen. James Grant Wilson of New York, R. V. R. Stuyvesant, Esq., of New York, A. J. Van Laer of the State Library, Albany, N. Y., Samuel A. Green of the Massachusetts Historical Society, T. J. Kiernan of the Harvard University Library, William Nelson of the New Jersey Historical Society, and Albert C. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society.

BOSTON, October, 1903.





## PREFACE

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IN the general sequence of my volumes on American history, the present work comes next after "The Beginnings of New England," which in turn comes next after "Old Virginia and Her Neighbours." It will be observed that these books leave the history of New England at the overthrow of James II., while they carry that of the southern and middle colonies, with some diminution of details, into the reigns of the first two Georges. It is my purpose, in my next book, to deal with the rise and fall of New France, and the development of the English colonies as influenced by the prolonged struggle with that troublesome and dangerous neighbour. With this end in view, the history of New England must be taken up where the earlier book dropped it, and the history of New York resumed at about the same time, while by degrees we shall find the histories of Pennsylvania and the colonies to the south of it swept into the main stream of Continental history. That book will come down to the year 1765, which witnessed the ringing out of the old and the ringing in of the new, — the one with Pontiac's War, the other with the Stamp Act. I hope to have it ready in about two years from now.

In connection with the present work I have to express my thanks especially to my friend, Colonel William Leete Stone, for several excellent suggestions, and for procuring for me a

beautiful set of the "Records of New Amsterdam," edited by Mr. Berthold Fernow; and likewise to Mr. James Roberts, the State Comptroller, for a similar set of the "Colonial Laws of New York."

CAMBRIDGE, May-day, 1899.

# CONTENTS

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## CHAPTER I

### THE MEDIÆVAL NETHERLANDS

	PAGE
Fénelon's remark about Amsterdam . . . . .	1
Significance of the fact that New York is the daughter of Amsterdam . . . . .	2
Kinship between the English and Dutch people . . . . .	2
Dutchland and Welshland . . . . .	3
Belgians and Batavians . . . . .	4
Flemish and Frankish speech . . . . .	6
The Frisians as heathen . . . . .	7
The Frisians as Christians . . . . .	8
Lotharingia, the Middle Kingdom . . . . .	9
Lorraine . . . . .	10
The Crusades; feudal states in the Low Countries . . . . .	10, 11
Political circumstances which favoured the Netherlands . . . . .	11
Favourable industrial circumstances . . . . .	12
Agriculture; dikes and canals . . . . .	12, 13
Horticulture and manufactures . . . . .	13, 14
The fine arts . . . . .	14
Scholarship . . . . .	15
Erasmus . . . . .	16
Dutch literature . . . . .	16
The Bible in the Netherlands . . . . .	17
Public schools . . . . .	17
Urban and rural population . . . . .	17, 18
Modern features of the mediæval Netherlands . . . . .	18-20
Political development in England . . . . .	20
Contrast in the political development in the Netherlands . . . . .	20
The guilds . . . . .	21
The local lords; the overlords . . . . .	21
The disaster of Roosebeke in 1382 . . . . .	22
Philip the Good, and Charles the Bold . . . . .	22-24
Lady Mary and the Great Privilege . . . . .	24

Philip of Austria . . . . .	25
Charles V. . . . .	26
Dutch and Flemish liberties in danger . . . . .	26

## CHAPTER II

## DUTCH INFLUENCE UPON ENGLAND

Non-English elements in the American people . . . . .	27
Patriotic bias; Anglophobia . . . . .	27, 28
Free public schools; the fallacy of <i>post</i> and <i>propter</i> . . . . .	29
A Bohemian view . . . . .	29, 30
Flemings in mediæval England; politics and wool . . . . .	30, 31
Trade between Flanders and England . . . . .	31
Immigration from the Netherlands into England . . . . .	32
Netherlanders in East Anglia . . . . .	32
Puritanism was especially strong in the eastern counties of Eng- land . . . . .	34
The Lollards . . . . .	34, 35
Influence of the Netherlands upon English Puritanism . . . . .	35, 36
Antagonism between priestcraft and commerce . . . . .	36, 37
Some features of the revolt of the Netherlands . . . . .	38
The Netherlands broken in twain . . . . .	39
Hegira of Dutch and Flemish Puritans into England . . . . .	40
Dutch family names anglicized . . . . .	41
Migration of Flemish Protestants into Holland . . . . .	42
Growth of the Dutch provinces at the expense of the Flemish . . . . .	42
Relations of the Low Countries with Portugal . . . . .	43
Death of Don Sebastian: seizure of Portugal by Spain . . . . .	43, 44
The Dutch in the East Indies . . . . .	44
How they introduced tea and coffee into Europe . . . . .	46
The Dutch in the Moluccas, and in Australasia . . . . .	47, 48
The affair of Amboyna . . . . .	48
The Dutch in Brazil . . . . .	49
Arctic explorations; Linschoten and Barendz . . . . .	49, 50
Antarctic voyages, and discovery of Cape Horn . . . . .	51

## CHAPTER III

## VERRAZANO AND HUDSON

The Newfoundland fisheries . . . . .	52
The voyage of Dieppe sailors in 1508 . . . . .	53
Giovanni da Verrazano, the Florentine . . . . .	54

He visits a "new land" in 1524 . . . . .	55
And stands "between two boundless seas" . . . . .	55, 56
The Sea of Verrazano . . . . .	56
He visits the harbour of New York . . . . .	57
And finds a "port of refuge" in Narragansett Bay . . . . .	58
He sees the peaks of the White Mountains, and turns his prow seaward from the mouth of Penobscot River . . . . .	58
His letter to Francis I. . . . .	59
He is captured by Spaniards and hanged . . . . .	60
The voyage of Estevan Gomez in 1525 . . . . .	60
The voyage of Jean Allefonsce in 1542, and the French fort at Albany . . . . .	60, 61
The Norumbega question . . . . .	61
The River of the Grand Scarp . . . . .	62
Difficulties in the study of old maps . . . . .	63, 64
Importance of Cabo de Arenas . . . . .	64, 65
The Gastaldi map . . . . .	65
Mercator's map of 1569 . . . . .	66
Allefonsce's manuscript . . . . .	67
Testimony of other maps; probability that the "City of Norumbega" was a village near the site of the present City Hall in New York . . . . .	67
Temporary cessation of French activity on the ocean . . . . .	68
Beginnings of English maritime enterprise; the Muscovy Company . . . . .	69
Henry Hudson, the alderman of London . . . . .	69
Thomas Hudson, of Mortlake . . . . .	70
Thomas Hudson, of Limehouse . . . . .	70
Christopher Hudson . . . . .	70
Henry Hudson the Navigator . . . . .	70
His first and second voyages . . . . .	71
He enters the service of the Dutch East India Company . . . . .	72, 73
In his third voyage he is baffled at Nova Zembla . . . . .	73
What next? Lok's map and John Smith's letter . . . . .	74
The whale fishery . . . . .	75
Sun spots . . . . .	75
Hudson goes in search of the Sea of Verrazano . . . . .	75, 76
The Half Moon in the harbour of New York . . . . .	76
The Half Moon in the Catskills . . . . .	76-78
Indian hospitality . . . . .	78, 79
Hudson returns to service of the Muscovy Company . . . . .	80
His last voyage and tragic fate . . . . .	80, 81
Hudson in folk-lore . . . . .	81, 82

## CHAPTER IV

## THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

Significance of the year 1609 . . . . .	83, 84
The American question in Holland . . . . .	84
The Calvinist or Orange party . . . . .	85
The Arminian or Republican party . . . . .	86
William Usselinx . . . . .	87
Founding of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 . . . . .	88
Its indifference to America . . . . .	88
Dutch pioneers at Manhattan, 1613 . . . . .	89
The Ordinance of 1614 . . . . .	90
Voyage of Adrian Block . . . . .	90, 91
Voyage of Cornelius May . . . . .	91
First appearance of the name of "New Netherland" . . . . .	91
Fort Nassau, and the vale of Tawasentha . . . . .	92
Treaty with the Five Nations . . . . .	94
Triumph of the Orange party . . . . .	94, 95
Petition of the Leyden Pilgrims to the States General, 1620 . . . . .	95
It is rejected by the States General . . . . .	96
By accident the Mayflower, intended for Delaware Bay, arrives in Cape Cod Bay . . . . .	96
Founding of the Dutch West India Company, 1621 . . . . .	98
English claims upon the coast of North America . . . . .	99
John Smith's voyage to New England, 1614 . . . . .	99, 100
Thomas Dermer's voyages, 1619-20 . . . . .	100
The Council of New England . . . . .	100, 101
A government for New Netherland . . . . .	102
Arrival of the ship New Netherland at Manhattan . . . . .	102
Fort Orange, on the North River . . . . .	102
Fort Nassau, on the South River . . . . .	103
Fort Good Hope, on Fresh River . . . . .	103
Walloon Bay . . . . .	103
Why England did not interfere . . . . .	104, 105
Accession of Frederick, Prince of Orange . . . . .	105
Purchase of Manhattan by Peter Minuit, 1626 . . . . .	105
The building of Fort Amsterdam . . . . .	106
Mohawks and Mohegans . . . . .	107, 108
Minuit's discussion with Governor Bradford . . . . .	108
Crushing naval defeats of the Spaniards by the Dutch . . . . .	110, 111

## CHAPTER V

## "PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS"

The English people as colonizers . . . . .	112
Contrast with the French . . . . .	113
Why Huguenots did not go to New France . . . . .	114
Influence of habits of self-government upon colonization . . . . .	114
There was no self-government in New Netherland . . . . .	115
Contrast with Plymouth and Virginia . . . . .	116
Slow growth of the Dutch colony . . . . .	116
The patroons . . . . .	118-120
Limitations upon trade and manufactures . . . . .	120
Feudal features in the charter of 1629 . . . . .	121
David de Vries, and his colony of Swandale, 1630 . . . . .	122
Staten Island and Pavonia . . . . .	123
Rensselaerwyck . . . . .	123
Disputes between the Company and the patroons . . . . .	124
Recall of Minuit . . . . .	124
The affair of the ship Eendragt revives the English claim . . . . .	125
Queen Elizabeth's doctrine . . . . .	125
What constitutes occupation of a country? . . . . .	125, 126
Why Charles I. refrained from pressing the question . . . . .	126
Appointment of Van Twiller as Director General . . . . .	126
His portrait by the veracious Knickerbocker . . . . .	127
An unwelcome English visitor . . . . .	128
A broadside of bumpers . . . . .	129
True explanation of the affair . . . . .	129
A Dutch fortress on the Schuylkill . . . . .	129
Portentous growth of New England . . . . .	130
Mohegans in the Connecticut valley . . . . .	130
Completion of Fort Good Hope . . . . .	131
Disputes with New England . . . . .	131
Plymouth men on the Connecticut River . . . . .	132
Troubles with the Pequots . . . . .	132
The English fort at Point Saye-Brooke . . . . .	133
The founding of Connecticut . . . . .	134
The Pequot war . . . . .	134
Van Twiller's chivalrous intervention . . . . .	135
The reason why there was so much bravado with so little fighting between English and Dutch . . . . .	136, 137

## CHAPTER VI

## KING LOG AND KING STORK

Comical notions associated with the name "Dutch" . . . . .	138
Silly generalizations . . . . .	139
The Athenian prejudice against Bœotians . . . . .	139
Irving's Knickerbocker . . . . .	140
Capture of English intruders on the Delaware River . . . . .	140
Growth of New Amsterdam . . . . .	142
Van Twiller's purchases of land . . . . .	142
Bibulous magnates . . . . .	143
How Van Twiller was removed from office . . . . .	144
Arrival of William Kieft . . . . .	145
Kieft's method of governing . . . . .	146
Illicit trade in peltries; Kieft's proclamations . . . . .	147
Quality of the New Netherland population . . . . .	148
The proposals of the patroons . . . . .	148
The abolition of monopolies . . . . .	150
New inducements to emigration . . . . .	150
English settlements on Long Island Sound . . . . .	151
The republic of New Haven . . . . .	151
Wampum as currency . . . . .	152
The wampum treasures of Long Island . . . . .	153
Advance of the English on Long Island . . . . .	154
The Algonquin tribes . . . . .	154
Selling firearms to the Iroquois . . . . .	155
Kieft undertakes to tax the Algonquins . . . . .	156
The Raritans destroy De Vries's plantation on Staten Island . . . . .	156
Murder of Claes Smit . . . . .	157
The board of Twelve Men . . . . .	157
Reforms proposed . . . . .	158
English settlers in New Netherland . . . . .	158
The Bogardus wedding . . . . .	159
A murder at Hackensack . . . . .	159
Arrival of Mohawk tribute-gatherers; panic among the Algon- quins . . . . .	160
Kieft's insane conduct; massacres of Indians . . . . .	160
General rising of Algonquins . . . . .	161
Massacre of Mrs. Hutchinson's household . . . . .	162
Departure of De Vries . . . . .	162
John Underhill arrives upon the scene . . . . .	162
And destroys the Algonquin fortress at Stamford, with a wholesale slaughter of Indians . . . . .	163
Peace . . . . .	163



## CHAPTER VII

## A SOLDIER'S PATERNAL RULE

The board of Eight Men . . . . .	164
Financial necessities . . . . .	164, 165
Kieft's excise ; protest of the Eight Men . . . . .	165, 166
Kieft's rudeness . . . . .	166
The Eight Men address a petition to the States General, and beg for self-government . . . . .	166-168
Appointment of Peter Stuyvesant as Director General . . . . .	168
Kieft's treaty with the Algonquin tribes . . . . .	169
Quarrels between Kieft and Bogardus . . . . .	170
Arrival of Stuyvesant ; his theory of government . . . . .	171
His name and family . . . . .	172
His character . . . . .	172
His autocratic behaviour . . . . .	173, 174
Petition of Kuyter and Melyn for a judicial inquiry into Kieft's conduct . . . . .	174
Stuyvesant befriends Kieft . . . . .	174
Who attacks Kuyter and Melyn . . . . .	175
Kieft and Bogardus, Kuyter and Melyn, all sail for Holland in the same ship . . . . .	177
Which is wrecked on the English coast ; Kieft and Bogardus are drowned, while Kuyter and Melyn, with their papers, are saved . . . . .	176
Stuyvesant's board of Nine Men . . . . .	177
A Director's difficulties . . . . .	178
Rensselaerwyck . . . . .	179
Feudal insubordination of Van Rensselaer . . . . .	180
"Weapon right" . . . . .	180
Beverwyck and its traffic . . . . .	181
Staple right . . . . .	181
The Bear Island incident . . . . .	182
Adrian van der Donck, the Jonkheer . . . . .	182
Selling firearms to the Indians . . . . .	183
Insubordinate conduct of Schlechtenhorst at Beverwyck . . . . .	183
Stuyvesant's wrath and Schlechtenhorst's defiance . . . . .	184
What the Mohawks thought of "Old Wooden Leg" . . . . .	184
Stuyvesant's quarrel with Van der Donck . . . . .	186
A deadlock . . . . .	188
Return of Melyn . . . . .	188
Memorial to the States General . . . . .	188, 189
The <i>Vertoogh</i> , or Remonstrance . . . . .	189

## CHAPTER VIII

## SOME AFFAIRS OF NEW AMSTERDAM

How the late Lord Sherbrooke once tried to measure historic events with a foot rule . . . . .	190
Importance of homely beginnings . . . . .	191
English self-government . . . . .	192
Differences between the English and Dutch migrations . . . . .	193
Government by a commercial company . . . . .	193, 194
Spontaneous reproductiveness of English institutions . . . . .	194
Differences between insular and continental conditions . . . . .	195
The Dutch West India Company and the States General . . . . .	196
Incorporation of New Amsterdam . . . . .	198
Five phases of colonial growth . . . . .	198
Recovery of strength after the Indian war . . . . .	200
Influx of sects; polyglottism and cosmopolitanism of Manhattan Island . . . . .	200, 201
Lutherans and Baptists . . . . .	201, 202
The Quakers; shameful persecution of Hodshone . . . . .	202, 203
The case of Henry Townsend; protest of the men of Flushing . . . . .	203, 204
The glory of Flushing . . . . .	204
Stuyvesant is rebuked by the Amsterdam Chamber . . . . .	205
Origin of New Sweden . . . . .	206
Peter Minuit and his Swedes on the Delaware River . . . . .	206-208
Affairs of New Sweden . . . . .	208
John Printz, the ponderous governor . . . . .	209
He receives a visit from De Vries . . . . .	210
Fall of New Sweden . . . . .	210

## CHAPTER IX

## DUTCH AND ENGLISH

Change in the relations between England and the Netherlands . . . . .	211
Government and political circumstances of the Netherlands . . . . .	212
Marriage of William II. to the Princess Mary . . . . .	213
Schemes of William II. and Mazarin . . . . .	214
Death of William II. . . . .	214
Proposed union between England and the Netherlands; its fail- ure . . . . .	216
The Navigation Act, and the resulting war between England and Holland . . . . .	218
The second and third Dutch wars . . . . .	218-220

Grant of Long Island to Lord Stirling . . . . .	220
Affair of the San Beninio . . . . .	221-223
Extradition of criminals between New Haven and New Nether- land . . . . .	223
Czar Stuyvesant and his Nine Men . . . . .	224
Stuyvesant's visit to Hartford . . . . .	225
The treaty of Hartford, September 19, 1650 . . . . .	226
Wrath of the Nine Men . . . . .	227
Origin of Wall Street . . . . .	227
The excise . . . . .	228
Absurd rumours as to Stuyvesant's endeavouring to incite the In- dian tribes to a concerted attack upon the English . . . . .	229
The grain of truth . . . . .	230
Underhill's manifesto . . . . .	231
He seizes Fort Good Hope . . . . .	231
Exit Underhill . . . . .	232
A panic . . . . .	232-234
Disaffection upon Long Island . . . . .	234
A popular convention, and a remonstrance . . . . .	235
Triumph of Stuyvesant . . . . .	236
Van Dyck shoots a squaw . . . . .	237
New Amsterdam thronged with redskins . . . . .	237
Massacres at Hoboken, Pavonia, and Staten Island . . . . .	238
Conference at Esopus . . . . .	238
Bloodshed at Esopus . . . . .	239
Growth of New Netherland . . . . .	240
Growth of New England . . . . .	240
Colonization of Pelham Manor . . . . .	241
The Connecticut charter, 1662 . . . . .	241
English and Dutch claims . . . . .	242
The English view . . . . .	243
The Navigation Laws . . . . .	244
Signs and omens; intriguers against New Netherland . . . . .	244
The Dutch envoys at Hartford . . . . .	245
The rise and fall of President Scott . . . . .	246, 247
Grant of New Netherland to the Duke of York, 1664 . . . . .	247
Colonel Richard Nicolls and his commission . . . . .	248
Arrival of the English fleet in the Lower Bay . . . . .	249
New Amsterdam helpless . . . . .	249
Nicolls's letter to Winthrop; Stuyvesant tears it to pieces, but Nicholas Bayard puts the pieces together . . . . .	250, 251
Popular murmurs . . . . .	251
On this occasion Stuyvesant's pen was not mightier than Nicolls's sword . . . . .	251

Stuyvesant surrenders . . . . .	252
How the Dutch took their revenge . . . . .	253
Political consequences . . . . .	253
Stuyvesant's visit to Holland . . . . .	254
His last years and death . . . . .	254-256

## NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

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PETER STUYVESANT ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From the original painting in the Library of the New York Historical Society, by the kind permission of the owner, R. V. R. Stuyvesant. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i>	
	Page
AMSTERDAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . . .	1
From an old Dutch engraving.	
ROMAN OCCUPATION OF HOLLAND . . . . .	5
From an engraving after the original by F. v. Bleyswyck.	
JACOB CATS . . . . .	7
From Cats's Works, 1700, in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
RADBOD REFUSING BAPTISM . . . . .	9
From an engraving after the original by L. F. du Bourg.	
JOSEPH SCALIGER . . . . .	15
From an old print.	
ERASMUS ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	<i>facing</i> 16
From the painting by Holbein in the Louvre. Autograph from facsimile MS. in the Boston Athenæum.	
THE SYNDICS OF THE CLOTH GUILD . . . . .	19
From the original painting by Rembrandt in the Ryks Museum, Amsterdam.	
CHARLES THE BOLD . . . . .	23
From the original painting by Rubens, in the Imperial Gallery, Vienna.	
FACSIMILE OF TITLE OF BOOK PRINTED FOR DUTCH REFUGEES AT NORWICH, ENGLAND . . . . .	33
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
A PAGE FROM WYCKLIF'S NEW TESTAMENT, CIR. 1380. THE GOSPEL OF JOHN . . . . .	34
From the Banister copy in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library. The only perfect copy in existence which belongs to the fourteenth century.	

CHARLES V. OF SPAIN . . . . .	37
From the original by Titian in the old Pinakothek, Munich.	
WILLIAM THE SILENT. . . . .	39
From the original by Michael J. van Mierevelt, National Gallery, Amsterdam.	
ANTWERP IN 1576 . . . . .	40
From an engraving in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF BOOK DESCRIBING THE FIRST DUTCH VOY- AGE TO THE EAST INDIES, 1595-97 . . . . .	45
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
ABEL TASMAN . . . . .	47
From a print in the Boston Public Library. Autograph from Tasman's <i>Journal</i> , facsimile edition, Amsterdam, 1898, in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
WILLIAM BARENDZ . . . . .	50
From an old Dutch engraving.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF SCHOUTEN VAN HORN'S JOURNAL, 1618 . . . . .	50
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
SCHOUTEN VAN HORN AND MAGELLAN . . . . .	52
From the same.	
EXTRACT FROM THE CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS, 1512, DESCRIB- ING THE BRINGING TO ROUEN OF SEVEN WILD MEN FROM AMERICA . . . . .	53
From the same.	
GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . . <i>facing</i>	54
From the engraving in <i>Uomini Illustri Toscani</i> . After the painting by G. Tocchi. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
MAIOLLO'S MAP, 1527, SHOWING VERRAZANO'S DISCOVERIES . . . . .	56
From a photograph in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library. The original is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.	
MANHATTAN, IN THE ENGLISH MAP OF AMERICA, 1610 . . . . .	58
Facsimile from contemporary copy preserved in the Simancas archives, a tracing of which was first reproduced in Brown's <i>Genesis of the United States</i> . This is the earliest known map in which the name Manhattan appears.	
NEW NETHERLAND IN THE "CARTE FUGURATIVE," 1612 . . . . .	60
From facsimile in O'Callaghan's <i>History of New Netherland</i> .	

PART OF GASTALDI'S MAP MADE IN VENICE IN 1556 . . . . .	64
From the copy engraved in Ramusio, <i>Navigazioni e Viaggi</i> , Venice, 1556.	
GERARD MERCATOR ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	facing 66
From Mercator's <i>Atlas</i> , 1613. In the Library of Harvard University. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
PART OF MERCATOR'S MAPPEMONDE, MADE IN DUISBURG, 1569 . . . . .	68
From the facsimile published at Berlin, in 1891, by the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde.	
HUDSON COAT-OF-ARMS . . . . .	71
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF HUDSON'S JOURNAL, DESCRIBING THE DISCOVERY OF NEW YORK HARBOUR . . . . .	77
From Purchas's <i>Pilgrimes</i> . In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
SIR DUDLEY DIGGES . . . . .	79
From Brown's <i>Genesis of the United States</i> .	
WEST INDIA COMPANY'S WAREHOUSE . . . . .	85
From an old Dutch engraving.	
MAURICE OF NASSAU, PRINCE OF ORANGE ( <i>photogravure</i> ) facing . . . . .	86
From Brown's <i>Genesis of the United States</i> . Autograph from Wilson's <i>Memorial History of New York</i> .	
HUGO GROTIUS . . . . .	87
From an engraving in the Library of Harvard University.	
WILLIAM USSELINCX . . . . .	89
From the portrait by Steelink in the Ryks Museum, Amsterdam. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
GRANT TO "THE UNITED NEW NETHERLAND COMPANY," OCTOBER II, 1614 . . . . .	93
From a photograph, loaned by General James Grant Wilson, of the original MS. in the Royal Archives at the Hague.	
JOHN OF OLDEN BARNEVELD ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	94
From the original painting in Amsterdam. Autograph from Wilson's <i>Memorial History of New York</i> .	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF WEST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER, 1621, FIRST EDITION . . . . .	97
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
SIR DUDLEY CARLETON . . . . .	101
From Brown's <i>Genesis of the United States</i> .	
SEAL OF NEW BELGIUM . . . . .	102
From O'Callaghan's <i>Documentary History of New York</i> .	

- AUTOGRAPH OF PETER MINUIT. . . . . 105  
 From Winsor's *America*.
- SCHAGHEN LETTER, ANNOUNCING THE PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND FOR TWENTY-FOUR DOLLARS . . . . . 106  
 From a photograph in the possession of General James Grant Wilson.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF HEYN'S CAPTURE OF THE SPANISH SILVER FLEET . . . . . 109  
 In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- THE BEGINNING AND END OF A LETTER OF DOMINE JONAS MICHAELIUS, FIRST MINISTER OF THE REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA, DATED AT MANHATTAN, 11 AUGUST, 1628 . . . . . 115  
 From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library. A full translation of the letter is given in the 1896 *Year Book* of the (Collegiate) Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF "PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS," PRINTED IN 1630, THE FIRST PRINTED BOOK ON NEW NETHERLAND . 117  
 In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- HEADING OF "PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS" AND TWELFTH ARTICLE RELATING TO THE ISLAND OF MANHATTAN . . . 119  
 In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- NEW AMSTERDAM ABOUT 1630 . . . . . 122  
 From Hartgers's *Virginia*, 1651. This reproduction is reversed for reasons suggested by J. H. Innes in his *New Amsterdam and Its People*. The fact that old engravers often reversed the original which they reproduced may also account for the error.
- WOUTER VAN TWILLER (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 126  
 After the painting by Washington Allston. Autograph from Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF WOUTER VAN TWILLER . . . . . 127  
 From Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH AND SEAL OF JOHN WINTHROP . . . . . 133  
 From *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*.
- AUTOGRAPH AND SEAL OF THOMAS HOOKER . . . . . 134  
 From the same.
- EARLIEST KNOWN PLAN OF NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1640 . . 137  
 Made by John Vingboons for the Dutch West India Company about the year 1640. Reduced facsimile from *L'Illustration*, July 2, 1892, of the original MS. plan in the possession of Mr. Henry Harrisse of Paris.



- FACSIMILE TITLE OF IRVING'S KNICKERBOCKER, 1809, FIRST EDITION . . . . . 141  
 In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- ANTHONY VAN CORLEAR . . . . . 145  
 After the drawing by C. R. Leslie, reproduced in Irving's *Knickerbocker*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM KIEFT . . . . . 146  
 From Winsor's *America*.
- WILLIAM KIEFT INTRODUCING A NEW MODE OF PUNISHMENT FOR BEGGARS . . . . . 149  
 After the drawing by C. R. Leslie, reproduced in Irving's *Knickerbocker*.
- FACSIMILE OF BEGINNING AND END OF DAVENPORT AND EATON LETTER, 1638 . . . . . 151  
 In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- DAVID PIETERS DE VRIES (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 156  
 From an engraving by Cornelius Visscher, in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library. Autograph from the State Library, Albany.
- AUTOGRAPH OF EVERARD BOGARDUS . . . . . 159  
 From Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF CORNELIUS MELYN . . . . . 164  
 From Winsor's *America*.
- SEAL OF PETER STUYVESANT . . . . . 169  
 From the original seal in the possession of R. V. R. Stuyvesant.
- PETER STUYVESANT REBUKING THE COBBLER . . . . . 173  
 After the drawing by C. R. Leslie, reproduced in Irving's *Knickerbocker*.
- RENSSELAERWYCK SEAL . . . . . 179  
 From O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*.
- KILIAN VAN RENSSELAER (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 180  
 From the original portrait in the possession of the family. It was painted over two hundred years ago, and was brought from Holland in 1844. Autograph from Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF ADRIAN VAN DER DONCK . . . . . 182  
 From Winsor's *America*.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF CORNELIUS MELYN'S BREEDEN-RAEDT, PRINTED IN 1649, THE SECOND PRINTED BOOK ON NEW NETHERLAND . . . . . 185  
 In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF VAN DER DONCK'S VERTOOGH, 1650, THE THIRD PRINTED BOOK ON NEW NETHERLAND . . . . . 187  
 From the same.

FACSIMILE OF ORDER APPORTIONING COST OF STOCKADE AT CAMBRIDGE . . . . .	190
From the original MS. in the State Library, Boston.	
FIRST PAGE OF THE RECORDS OF THE BURGOMASTERS AND SCHEPENS, 1653 . . . . .	194
From the original MS. in the City Hall, New York city.	
STADT HUYS OF NEW YORK IN 1678 . . . . .	197
Restoration from Dankers and Sluyter's map.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF VAN DER DONCK'S DESCRIPTION OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1655, FIRST EDITION . . . . .	199
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
AUTOGRAPH OF JOHANNES MEGAPOLENSIS . . . . .	201
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
VISSCHER'S MAP OF NEW NETHERLAND, WITH A VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM, 1655 . . . . .	202
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF THE FLUSHING PROTEST, DECEMBER 27, 1657 . . . . .	204
From the original MS. in the State Library, Albany, New York.	
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS . . . . .	207
From the original painting by Van Dyck.	
AUTOGRAPH OF PETER HOLLENDER . . . . .	208
From Winsor's <i>America</i> . Lieutenant Peter Hollender was a nobleman, since he signed himself "Ridder."	
AUTOGRAPH OF QUEEN CHRISTINA . . . . .	209
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
WILLIAM II. OF ORANGE . . . . .	213
From an old Dutch engraving.	
JOHN DE WITT ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	<i>facing</i> 214
From the original painting in Amsterdam. Autograph from the State Li- brary, Albany, New York.	
CARDINAL JULES MAZARIN . . . . .	215
From Gruyer's <i>Peinture au Chateau de Chantilly</i> , after the painting by Pierre Meynard.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF "THE COMMONWEALTH'S GREAT SHIP" . . . . .	217
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
THE FOUR ADMIRALS . . . . .	219
GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.	
From <i>National Portrait Gallery</i> , after the original painting by Sir Peter Lely.	

MARTIN HERBERTSZ TROMP.

From an engraving in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.

MICHAEL DE RUYTER.

From the same.

ROBERT BLAKE.

After the painting in Wadham College, Oxford.

- WILLIAM ALEXANDER, EARL OF STIRLING . . . . . 221  
From Walpole's *Noble and Royal Authors*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF VAN TIENHOVEN . . . . . 222  
From O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*.
- THE OLD WALL RESTORED . . . . . 229  
From Valentine's *Manual of the City of New York*.
- AUTOGRAPH AND SEAL OF JOHN UNDERHILL . . . . . 231  
From *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF THE SECOND PART OF THE AMBOYNA  
TRAGEDY, 1653 . . . . . 233  
From the collection of Mr. E. D. Church, New York city.
- AUTOGRAPH OF GEORGE BAXTER . . . . . 236  
From the State Library, Albany, New York.
- AUTOGRAPH AND SEALS OF SAMUEL MAVERICK . . . . . 245  
From *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*.
- JAMES, DUKE OF YORK (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 246  
From an engraving in Boston Athenæum. Autograph from facsimile MS.  
in the same library.
- AUTOGRAPH OF GEORGE CARTWRIGHT . . . . . 248  
From Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF ROBERT CARR . . . . . 248  
From Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF RICHARD NICOLLS . . . . . 250  
From Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF NICASIVS DE SILLE . . . . . 252  
From the State Library, Albany, New York.
- FACSIMILE OF ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR THE SURRENDER  
OF NEW NETHERLAND TO THE ENGLISH IN 1664 . . . . . 252  
From original broadside in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Li-  
brary.
- THE PETER STUYVESANT HOUSE . . . . . 254  
From Valentine's *Manual of the City of New York*.
- THE STUYVESANT PEAR-TREE . . . . . 255  
From Valentine's *Manual of the City of New York*.





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# THE DUTCH AND QUAKER COLONIES IN AMERICA

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## CHAPTER I

### THE MEDIEVAL NETHERLANDS

“WHEN one beholds this city,” says Fénelon, in speaking of Amsterdam, “one is inclined to believe that it is not the city of a particular people, but the common city of all the peoples in the world, and the centre of their commerce.” If now after the lapse of two centuries the good archbishop could return to this world and visit the New Amsterdam at the mouth of Henry Hudson’s river, how could he better record his impressions than by using the selfsame words? Among great cities New York is especially conspicuous and notable for its cosmopolitanism, and this feature, as we shall have occasion to observe, has belonged to it from the beginning. It is not altogether a consequence of the vast commercial growth upon Manhattan Island, but in great part a direct inheritance from the mother-city at the mouth of the Amstel. The differences in social physiognomy between the Boston and the New York of to-day are surely not greater and are probably less than between the village of John Endicott and the village of Peter Stuyvesant. The coming of the Dutch to the coast of North America introduced an element of variety that has always been of high interest and importance. They were then indisputably the foremost commercial people in the world, and they seized upon a position marked out by its geography as an imperial centre for trade. Many things in

Amsterdam  
the mother-  
city of New  
York

American life are implicated with the fact that New York is virtually the daughter of Amsterdam.

The circumstances, moreover, which brought the Dutch to America were complicated and interesting. They form an important chapter in the history of the process by which the great period of maritime discovery ended in the transfer of commercial supremacy from the Latin to the Teutonic world. It is worth our while to pass briefly in review the career of the people of the Netherlands, and note the steps whereby they achieved their high position, and the vicissitudes by which they were made to bear the brunt of the great struggle for liberty that convulsed the sixteenth century. With the Dutch, as with the English, the beginnings of colonization and of maritime empire were intimately associated with the work of curbing the aggressive power of Spain. The supreme crisis in modern history found the two peoples closely allied.

To us who speak English the people of the Netherlands are especially interesting as our nearest cousins. Of all foreign speech to-day the Dutch comes closest to ours. If I say that "Sokrates was de wijste onder de Grieken," all can understand me; but that is good Dutch. The chief divergence between the languages arises from the well-known effect of the Norman Conquest upon English; if we had kept on saying *chapman* instead of *merchant* and *againbite* instead of *remorse*, the divergence would be very slight. If we take the oldest specimens of Flemish and Frisian, and compare them with the English of King Alfred and the Norse that was spoken by the settlers of Iceland, we realize how very close was the kinship a thousand years ago among the people on all the coasts of the German Ocean. The Teutonic conquerors of Britain, with the Angles or English of Sleswick for their right wing, and the Saxon tribes between the Elbe and the Ems for their centre, had their left wing made up of Frisians from the region where long afterward, in the twelfth century, the boisterous ocean broke in and formed the Zuyder

Kinship  
between  
the English  
and Dutch  
peoples

Zee, or "Southern Sea." All these learned to call themselves English in their new home, where under various names their next of kin invaded their coasts, and ended by reinforcing their ranks, whether led by Guthorm the Dane, or by Harold of Norway, or by William the Norman. Among all these children of Thor and Wodan the family likeness is strong. Men of stalwart frame, indomitable in fight, at home upon the wave, venturesome, fond of good cheer, fierce sticklers for liberty, prone to encourage individuality and do their own thinking. Of these various cousins, as I said, those who speak Dutch are our nearest kin; and their historic interest for us consists largely in this, that they may be regarded as that portion of our race which has remained upon the continent of Europe, and has thus during fourteen centuries been affected by political and military conditions different from those which have shaped the career of its insular brethren. From the Netherlands we may learn some of the ways in which English history might have been modified in the absence of that silver streak of water which defied Farnese and Bonaparte.

Looking across that narrow bit of sea, the English have always applied in a special sense to their next of kin the name "Dutch," which means "people" or "folks," and is the vernacular name for the whole Teutonic race away up to the Highlands of Austria and the Tyrol. The dwellers in those mountain regions, along with the greater part of the lowland population, we call by a Latin name, "Germans," as if we had first learned about them by reading Cæsar's Commentaries. One can see how the popular name "Dutchland" would naturally remain associated especially with that bit of shore with which our forefathers had most to do. For a century after Hengist and Horsa the green island which they were conquering was a "Welshland," or abode of strangers, while the "Dutchland," or home of "the folks," was the half-sunken coast they had left behind them.

Dutchland  
and  
Welshland

The first glimpse we get of the Low Countries is in the

year 57 B. C., when Cæsar defeated the Nervii in a great battle on the Sambre, not far from the site of Valenciennes. The people of the confederated cantons, whose strength he broke in that campaign, were known as Belgians, Belgians and their land was then as now, ethnologically as and Batavians well as geographically, a border between Germans and Kelts. No people in Gaul offered a more obstinate resistance to the conqueror. To the north of them we find the Batavians, without being subdued, entering into alliance with the Romans and contributing to the strength of their legions. It was a brilliant charge of Batavian cavalry that gave victory to Cæsar on the great day of Pharsalia. A century later they seem to have grown restive under the connection. In 69 A. D., a noble Batavian, known to the Romans as Claudius Civilis, took advantage of the struggle between Vitellius and Vespasian to set up an independent confederacy of Belgic and Low German tribes. His superb resistance and gradual discomfiture are described in immortal colours by the greatest of Roman historians, whose narrative fails us in the very crisis of his fate. When Civilis steps out upon a bridge for a private interview with the Roman commander, there the manuscript breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and how it fared with the Batavian hero and his people we are not likely ever to know, unless some of the Egyptian tombs which have given back to us a lost essay of Aristotle and lost poems of Bacchylides should by and by yield up the missing books of Tacitus. Important, however, the Batavians surely remained. On many occasions their cavalry was noted as the best in the Roman service. In the year 357, when the youthful Julian the Apostate overthrew the Franks and Allemans in a tremendous battle at Strasburg, it was once more a resistless charge of Batavians that won the day.

After this we hear little more of Netherlanders under the name of Batavians, but in all probability they were Frisians the same as the Frisians, part of whom in the next century joined in the English invasion of Britain, while part



ROMAN OCCUPATION OF HOLLAND

remained in their old seats by the delta of the Rhine. Nothing is more common in ages of shifting sovereignty than thus to meet with old friends under new names; as, for instance, with the near neighbour of the Frisians, that renowned warrior, Clovis, whom we know first as a Sicambrian prince, but afterward only as the head of a permanent confederation of Low German tribes known as the "freemen," or "Franks." Where Civilis failed Clovis was successful, and with prodigious results; for his Franks were not only converted to the Catholic form of Christianity, but extended their power throughout the whole of Gaul and a large part of Germany, thus doing much to determine the form which European life should take during the Middle Ages. Many old tribal names on the lower Rhine become lost in the wider designation of Franks. The descendants of the old Belgian tribes who made so much trouble for Cæsar were surely included among them. The Flemish language, which to this day is spoken throughout a great part of Belgium, is a form of Frankish speech. It is very much like Frisian, which comes so close to Anglo-Saxon, while between Flemish and Frisian stands the Dutch of literature, the noble tongue in which are written the histories of Cornelius Hooft, the poems of Cats, and the tragedies of Vondel, to whom John Milton has been thought to have owed so much.

It is interesting to consider what a Netherlandish affair the Frankish monarchy was. When the sceptre was ready to fall from the hands of the degenerate descendants of Clovis, it was seized by the so-called Carolingians, who were a family of Brabant. The Flemish-speaking Pepin of Landen, between Brussels and Liège, was the founder of their fortunes; and his great-grandson, Charles Martel, the saviour of Europe from the Saracens, was grandfather of the mighty Charlemagne. When the powers of this wonderful family had failed, there once more came to the front a man from the lower Rhine, Robert the Strong, ancestor of the

Capetian kings who have occupied the throne of France till within the memory of men now living.

Into the Frankish and Christian empire all of the Netherlandish people seem to have entered willingly except the redoubtable Frisians, who insisted upon maintaining their independence and worshipping Wodan and Thor. Delightfully characteristic is the old monkish story of the Frisian



JACOB CATS

chief Radbod. Having been very thoroughly beaten in battle by Charles Martel, the redoubtable Frisian was persuaded to accept Christianity, and Bishop Wolfram was called upon to administer the rite of baptism. Radbod had already thrust one stalwart leg into

The Fri-  
sians as  
heathen

the consecrated font when a startling query presented itself to his mind, and he suddenly exclaimed, "Where now are the souls of my ancestors?" With a frankness not sufficiently tempered by prudence the bishop replied, "In Hell, with all other unbelievers!" "Very well, then," said Radbod, withdrawing his leg, "none of your baptism for me; I will feast in Valhalla with my forefathers rather than dwell in Heaven with your paltry band of Christians."

The noble English missionaries, Willibrod and Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface, proved more persuasive than the Frankish arms. It is pleasant to think of England doing this great service for the Netherland, which in later ages was destined in so many ways to repay it. Before the end of the eighth century the Frisians were a Christian people. They had also, after years of warfare in which we are told that a hundred thousand lives were lost, come to terms with Charlemagne and consented to be ruled by his governors, provided it should be according to their own laws. One of their customs was the free allodial proprietorship of land; and this they succeeded in maintaining throughout the Middle Ages, while most parts of Europe accepted in different degrees the feudal system. The great emperor not only respected the local liberties of the Netherlands, but had one of his favourite homes there at Nymwegen, overlooking the lovely meadows of the Waal and the lower Rhine.

The Fri-  
sians as  
Christians

With the memorable family compact of Verdun in 843, by which the Empire was divided among the three grandsons of Charlemagne, we begin to see a foreshadowing of the modern map of Europe, and our Netherland region becomes somewhat better defined than before. The eldest brother, Lothair, takes the centre and core of the Frankish dominion, the whole of Friesland with the left bank of the Rhine, from the sea up to its sources in the Alps, thence going southerly and taking in the whole of the old Burgundian kingdom east of the Rhone, together with Italy. This long strip of territory, from the German Ocean to the





RADBOD REFUSING BAPTISM

Straits of Messina, came to be known as the Middle Kingdom, or more often as Lotharingia. It contained the political capital, which we now call Aix-la-Chapelle, as well as the ecclesiastical capital, Rome, and its sovereign, Lothair, was recognized as Emperor of the West. To the east his brother Louis took the lands east of the Rhine and north of the Alps; while the domain of Charles on the west comprised what has since become France, with as much of Spain as had been rescued from the Saracens. Thus we get France on the left and Germany on the right, with Lotharingia between them, first in point of dignity but least even then in political coherence and military strength. After a quarter of a century this Middle Kingdom is divided between its stronger neighbours; France takes the Burgundian part, but Germany gets Friesland with all the left bank of the Rhine, and not long afterward acquires Italy and the imperial dignity.

This might seem to have ended the Middle Kingdom, but

Lotharingia, the Middle Kingdom

there was a sense in which it continued to live on for ages. While France and Germany waxed in strength on either side of it, this middle region acquired a somewhat chaotic semi-independence. Large portions have remained until the present day a debatable ground between the two great neighbours. The name Lotharingia, called Lothringen <sup>Lorraine</sup> by the Germans and Lorraine by the French, still remains attached to a part of the territory which changed hands, possibly not for the last time, in 1871. The country of Lorraine, with Alsace on its east, the Franche Comté or free countship of Burgundy to the south, and the Flemish-Dutch countries to the north, — these have for centuries represented the old Middle Kingdom. Surely it would be difficult to point to a region more full of historical and romantic interest. In journeying through it, all the way from Strasburg to Rotterdam, one is perpetually struck with the general diffusion of intelligence and refinement, strength of character and personal dignity; and there is reason for believing that at any time within the past four or five centuries our impression would have been relatively very much the same. In certain ways the Middle Kingdom has evidently been a favoured portion of the earth. It has had, in particular, two kinds of advantages, *first*, political, *secondly*, industrial. Let us devote a few words to each of these.

The ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries were a period of extreme turbulence, though in some ways full of promise.

<sup>The Cru-</sup> At its beginning no such movement as that of <sup>sades</sup> the Crusades would have been possible; but at the end of it we see the armed hosts of Christendom joyously rushing forth to beat back the common enemy, until after repeated spasms of giant struggle we find civilized Europe thrilling as never before with the sense of a religious life in common, the popular feeling that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries built churches of unspeakable sublimity and carried the Papacy to the height of its power. Now in the turmoil of the tenth century monarchy reached perhaps its lowest extremity of weakness; duchies, counties, and

barons did each what was right in its own eyes, and warfare between such small combatants was perpetual. But in the fourteenth century, along with a marked advance toward order and quiet, we find monarchy waxing so strong as to begin to suppress the feudal system. During those four centuries little states grew up in the Low Countries, which as fiefs of Germany were in a measure protected from the aggressions of French royalty, while on the other hand the absorption of German energy in the great struggle between Pope and Emperor was so complete that they were left pretty much to themselves. Thus out of lower Lorraine grew up the Duchy of Brabant; thus the Earls or Counts of Flanders acquired autonomy; thus came into existence the semi-independent Duchy of Luxemburg, the countships of Limburg, Hainault, and Namur, — names heavily fraught with historic associations; thus waxed in importance the bishoprics of Liège and Utrecht, while in the Frisian territory grew up such communities as Zeeland and Overijssel, and in the tenth century a certain Frisian lord, named Diedrich or Dirk, emerged into fame as Count of Holland.

Feudal  
states in  
the Low  
Countries

Now in France the growth of such small feudal countships and duchies was overshadowed by the simultaneous growth of the royal power. Either the small communities or a great fief full of them would be added to the royal domain, or where they continued to be governed by their local lords the king's law and the king's officers were always present. The power that could be called forth for the suppression of local liberty was overwhelming. It was far from being so in the eleventh century, but it came to be more and more so. But in the Low Countries, on the other hand, the political and social development of Holland under its count, or Brabant under its duke, went on without any curbing or cramping at the hands of an all-devouring royal power. The force that could be called forth for the suppression of local liberty was itself in the main local and such as could be resisted. Zeeland and

Favourable  
political  
circum-  
stances

Holland and the other Netherlands were indeed fiefs of the Empire, but precious little they cared for the imperial diet at Frankfort. The central power in Germany grew weaker instead of thriving as in France, so that after a while the connection of the Netherlands with the Empire came to be merely nominal. Among their little states there was a vast amount of bickering and clashing, but it was the turbulence of health and freedom and seems to have done small harm to the manly qualities of the people. In this way the political circumstances of the Netherlands were favourable.

They were also highly favoured by industrial circumstances. Taken lengthwise, the Middle Kingdom, from Basel to the Zuyder Zee, is the most direct pathway for commerce from Italy and the Levant to the British Islands and Scandinavia, while at the same time all trade between France and Germany must run across it. For example, the city of Bruges in Flanders would take copper and iron, pitch and tar, and lumber from Sweden, hides and tallow and furs from Russia, and send in exchange to those countries nearly all manufactured articles from a spade to a clock. So Bruges would likewise send ale from Hamburg all over Europe, and clothing and blankets of English wool, with cargoes of salted fish from Iceland, and in return would distribute the wines of France, the fruits and oils of the Mediterranean, the ivory and spices, the Bagdad silks and India shawls, that came by way of Cairo and Venice. We may thus form some conception of the brisk commercial life of the Low Countries during the four centuries preceding the Discovery of America. But some further detail is desirable.

The Dutch and Flemish states were scarcely less eminent for agriculture and manufactures than for commerce. The broad alluvial meadows afforded fine pasturage, and Dutch cattle were esteemed the best in Europe. Among the exports of the Netherlands were dairy products; in the Middle Ages the cheeses of Edam and Limburg were famous as now. Hop gardens also flourished in the Nether-

Favourable  
industrial  
circum-  
stances

Agricul-  
ture

lands, whence they crossed the channel into Kent, and the first steps in the perfecting of beer by the use of the hop are claimed for the brewers of Holland. It is worthy of note that by the fourteenth century the Low Countries depended largely upon the Baltic trade for their supplies of wheat and rye, but this grain was ground in their own wind-mills, which they were the first to build in great numbers, and on improved plans for this and other kinds of mechanical work.

The name "Holland" means simply hollow or marshy land. In Old English, as in Dutch, it is a common noun, and the fen country in southern Lincolnshire has been known from time immemorial as "the holland." In its unregenerate state the land of the Dutch was a mere mud-hole over large parts of which the ocean flowed at high tide, while rivers like the Rhine and Scheldt were by no means confined within their banks. The problem of redeeming the country by dikes made the inhabitants expert in hydraulic engineering; an elaborate system of canals and locks was developed, to the manifest benefit of commerce, while the ability to drown specific areas of country at will was of great value for purposes of military defence; in this advantage the northern provinces had a larger share than the southern. In cities like Amsterdam and Bruges one might go from house to house in a boat, very much as in Venice.

With their skill in hydraulics the Dutch took the lead in drainage, by the use of fertilizers they increased the size and the frequency of crops, they introduced new varieties of vegetables and were the first to use hotbeds sided with boards and roofed with glass. Their preëminence in horticulture was admitted in the thirteenth century, and no one who has read Dumas's famous story, "The Black Tulip," is likely to forget what it was in the seventeenth. Haarlem and Leyden were the first cities in Europe to have botanical gardens, and it was in Holland that Linnæus found the materials for his great work in classification.

The soil of the Low Countries is favourable not only to gardening but to the arts of the brickmaker and the potter. Immense quantities of bricks were made, while the mere mention of Dutch tiles for roofing or flooring, and of exquisite Delftware for the table, tells its own story. Other industries of prime importance were spinning and weaving. The best cloths of woollen and of linen were made in the Low Countries. Arras was famed for its rich tapestries, Brussels for its carpets, Cambrai for its fine *cambric*, Lille for its thread and the fabrics woven from it. Gingham and galloon were first made in Flanders. The rough *frieze*, or woollen cloth of Friesland, was noted for its warmth. The bleacheries about Haarlem were so famous that linens from many countries were sent there to be whitened. For centuries the world has been familiar with the fine linen called "Hollands," and the handmade paper prepared from it for printing books is unequalled for strength and beauty.

When we come to mention lace — which at once suggests such names as Mechlin and Brussels and Valenciennes — we arrive at the borderland where industrial art shades into the fine arts, where the artisan becomes the artist; and we are reminded also of the close commercial relations and interchange of ideas between the Netherlands and Italy. Nowhere did the artists of Italy find more apt pupils than among the Flemings and Dutchmen. The names of Hans Memling and Hubert and John Van Eyck show the progress which painting had made in the earlier period of the Renaissance, while in modern times there are, of course, no greater names outside of Italy than Rubens and Rembrandt. But in one department of art, the latest to come to maturity, in the art of music, the Netherlanders were the pioneers and came to be the masters. From the tenth century onward the art of counterpoint was developed by Flemish musicians, until in the fifteenth century and early in the sixteenth we meet with the first two composers of world-wide and everlasting renown. From their names

one might suppose that Josquin was a Frenchman and Orlando Lasso an Italian; but these are embellished names, and both men were pure-blooded Flemings, natives of Hainault. From these great masters the sceptre passed with Palestrina to Italy, whence two centuries later it was won for Germany by Handel and Bach.

In an industrial society of such keen intelligence and ar-



JOSEPH SCALIGER

tistic capacity one might expect also to find high scholarship, along with a general diffusion of the reading habit. <sup>Scholar-</sup>  
A well-known statue and inscription at Haarlem <sup>ship</sup>  
claim for a native of that city, Laurens Janszoon Koster, the invention of printing with movable type, but the claim rests upon insufficient evidence, and the priority of Guten-

berg is not shaken. But in the work of multiplying books the change from parchment to paper was scarcely less important than the change from blocks to type, and here the abundant linen of the Netherlands furnished the needed material. Soon the Dutch presses turned out more work than any others, and had no rivals for excellence save in Venice. Thus their country became a principal centre for the diffusion of the new learning, and for the reproduction of Greek and Latin classics and of the Bible. Under such circumstances we need not wonder that the greatest scholar of the sixteenth century, Joseph Scaliger, made his home at Leyden, where his pupil, Hugo Grotius, became one of the most illustrious of jurists. Vesalius, the founder of modern anatomy, was a native of Brussels, Boerhaave, prince of physicians and botanists, was born a few miles from Leyden. The seventeenth century witnessed the profound philosophical speculations of Spinoza and the discovery of the undulatory theory by Huyghens; and during the same period the telescope, microscope, and thermometer were invented in Holland.

These examples bring us quite out of the Middle Ages and into modern times, but it is needful to cite them as instances of fruition for which the seed was sown long before and under mediæval conditions. The literary name which before all others in Europe illuminates the close  
Literature of the Middle Ages is that of the mighty Erasmus, whose birth in 1467 is commemorated by an inscription over the door of a little house in Rotterdam. One of the profoundest and most widely accomplished scholars of the Renaissance period, Erasmus was master of a literary style scarcely inferior to that of Voltaire. So dreaded was the power of his pen that even the Papacy deemed it prudent to leave him unmolested. The mention of this great style reminds us forcibly that the literary eminence of the Netherlands bears no sort of proportion to their eminence in art and science and scholarship, and this is chiefly because their best writers have so often written in Latin or French. In





UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Erasmus no 1.



this respect their cosmopolitanism has perhaps been excessive. Neither Dutch nor Flemish possesses a body of literature which adequately represents the national genius.

One of the most important parts of the work of Erasmus consisted in the editing and textual criticism, and in the translating of the Scriptures, and one of its effects was to make the Netherlands a centre of Biblical scholarship. The first English translation of the Bible was published at Antwerp in 1535, and before that date there had been published more than fifteen editions in Dutch and Flemish. During the sixteenth century the Bible was nowhere else so generally read by the common people.

The great Florentine historian, Guicciardini, whose testimony is of the highest value, assures us that in his day, or before 1540, even the peasants in Holland could commonly read and write their own language. State archives of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland show that free schools, supported by public taxes, were the subject of legislation at various times during the sixteenth century.

The impression produced by this accumulation of facts is that at the close of the Middle Ages civilization had assumed a more modern type than in any other part of Europe. There are other ways in which we are led to this conclusion, and one of them is closely concerned with the density of population and with the concentration of people in cities. At the present day it is well known that Belgium is the most densely peopled area in Europe, while England comes second, and Holland third. Holland is a trifle larger, Belgium a trifle smaller, than the state of Maryland; the two taken together are less than half as large as the state of New York, and have a population of over 11,000,000, or about equivalent to New York and Pennsylvania together. Rather more than one third of these people live in cities of more than 20,000 inhabitants, and of these cities the largest, such as Amsterdam or Brussels, have about half a million inhabitants. Now in the sixteenth century the Netherlands covered somewhat more territory

than now, for France has since then pared off slices from Flanders and Hainault. The population was about 5,000,000, or nearly the same as that of England, and it was much more dense than that of any similar area elsewhere in Europe. France, for example, had then about 9,000,000 people. Of the ratio of urban to rural population in the Low Countries at that time, one cannot speak with precision, but it was probably larger than at the present day. Bruges in its prime was four times as populous as now. Ghent could put into the field an army of 50,000 men. Antwerp, which has lately taken on fresh life and come to rank next after London, Liverpool, and New York, as the fourth seaport of the world, has scarcely yet recovered its old dimensions. On the whole, we may safely conclude that during the later Middle Ages city life played a greater part in the Netherlands than elsewhere; for while Italy had its great cities, the ratio of urban to rural population was certainly less.

Now a civilization characterized by the predominance of great commercial cities carrying on international trade, with manufactures highly developed, with a higher standard of comfort than had ever before been attained, with wealth fairly distributed and education widely diffused, with eager attention paid to scientific inquiry and to the fine arts, — such a civilization was of course comparatively modern in its features. One of its most conspicuous aspects is its bringing into the foreground the solid and sober middle classes. As the typical figure in the England of those days was the country gentleman in his noble hall, the typical figure of the Netherlands was the burgher in his city house, no mere huckster of narrow intelligence and sordid views, but the merchant prince accustomed to manage great enterprises, the magistrate learned and grave. Such types of men, with their strength and shrewdness, their look of comfort, their charming refinement and bonhomie, have been immortalized in one of the world's greatest pictures, the so-called "Syndics" of Rembrandt. It was indeed characteristic of Netherland art that

Modern  
features of  
the mediæ-  
val Neth-  
erlands



THE SYNDICS OF THE CLOTH GUILD

it took a new departure. While the ancient Greek carved statues of gods and heroes to stand in his public square, while the mediæval Italian decorated his church with sublime paintings of martyrs and saints, the Netherlander was the first to find in domestic life worthy subjects of artistic treatment; he painted dewy landscapes with sleek cattle, or cosy kitchens and alehouses, or the sports of children on the village green, and in this new departure we see most distinctly the modern character of Netherland civilization.

In order to acquire for the burgher class the measure of freedom which it enjoyed at the close of the Middle Ages, a prolonged and complicated struggle was necessary. The forces engaged were so many and worked so often at cross purposes that it is difficult to make a clear and coherent story of the beginnings of civil liberty in the Netherlands.

Political  
develop-  
ment in  
England

The contrast with England is very strongly marked.

In England, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we see the royal power so far curbing the great barons as to secure national unity of administration, and to establish the king's peace throughout the land. Then to prevent the crown from acquiring despotic power, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw the rural aristocracy allied with the merchants and craftsmen of the towns securing steady representation through a parliament, with control over the public purse. The result was that, although the power of parliament declined somewhat during the fifteenth century, yet it remained too strong to be overridden by the crown at its strongest. Even Henry VIII. could not defy parliament, but was obliged to cajole it or else to pack it by means of rotten boroughs.

In the Netherlands the growth of constitutional liberty was by no means so steady or so sure-footed. The parties

Political  
develop-  
ment in the  
Nether-  
lands

were more numerous, the alliances more shifting, and the results more fragmentary and precarious.

There were *first*, the rural squires with the peasantry, but the condition of the latter was better than in most parts of the continent, and serfdom disap-

peared as early as in England. *Secondly*, there were the dwellers in the cities among whom we first recall the craft-guilds and merchant-guilds that made the strength and wealth of those communities. Life in the cities was so attractive that many of the feudal aristocracy lived in them, as in the Italian cities, instead of dwelling apart in the country. The cities thus became the scene of struggles, sometimes violent and bloody, between the middle class of tradesmen and artisans and the arrogant folk who prided themselves on doing nothing. But besides this the guilds were often heavily hampered by dissensions between one <sup>The guilds</sup> another, as in Ghent, for example, between the weavers and the fullers. Moreover, there were quarrels between neighbouring cities, as in Italy, though less prolonged and deadly. Thus when the guilds were in control of Ghent and the notable people were in control of Ypres, the men of Ghent laid siege to Ypres; and we are not surprised to learn that the gate was opened to them by a party of their friends within, just as was continually happening in ancient Greece.

Then, as another belligerent party, there was the great local lord or ruler, the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Brabant, the Marquis of Antwerp, the Count of Holland, and so on. The local rulers tried to assert <sup>The local lords</sup> a sovereignty which the cities would not allow. In general they governed the rural districts more despotically than the cities, where their chief opponents were the sturdy guildsmen. Usually the local ruler favoured the notables of the cities as his allies against the guilds; for example, in the affair just alluded to, when the craftsmen of Ghent marched against Ypres, the Count of Flanders sent a party of knights there to defend the notable people.

The last of the belligerent parties was the overlord, either the Emperor or the French king, who laid claim to <sup>The overlords</sup> some of the southern Netherlands as French fiefs. Interference came much more often from France than from the Empire, the energies of which were otherwise occupied. Sometimes the French got the worst of it, as in the great

battle of Courtray, in 1302, when Philip the Fair was so badly beaten by the Flemings, one of the first battles that proved the superiority of infantry to men-at-arms. But sometimes French intervention was highly effective and disastrous, as in 1382, in the famous struggle between Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, and the men of Ghent led by Philip van Artevelde. That popular leader was winning a goodly fight for liberty when he was overwhelmed and slain by the French at Roosebeke. It is such events as this that make all lovers of liberty thank God for the English Channel. In 1264, in the midst of the great war that put an effectual curb on the English crown, a powerful French army was raised to aid the king, but as has happened more than once since, it could not cross those few miles of water.

In spite of all untoward circumstances, however, including occasional bloody overthrows, as at Roosebeke, the liberties of the Low Countries grew from more to more. Whether the citizens with lances and cross-bows wrenched from their feudal lords the privilege of being governed according to law, or whether they bought immunities and franchises and paid for them in hard cash, they had succeeded by the fifteenth century in building up a goodly body of liberties. A notable change then occurred in their political condition, which in course of time resulted in one of the world's most memorable revolutions. This change was their gradual absorption into the dominions of the House of Burgundy.

In 1363 King John of France granted the duchy of Burgundy to one of his younger sons, Philip the Hardy, a gift which the next three kings of France saw reason to regret. For this line of dukes began acquiring in one way or another — by marriage, purchase, or usurpation — the different provinces of the Netherlands. The third duke, the versatile rascal known as Philip the Good, by cheating his unhappy cousin Jacqueline out of her dominions of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault, nearly completed the acquisition. As ruler over so many great commercial and

The disaster of Roosebeke, 1382

Philip the Good, 1419-67





CHARLES THE BOLD

manufacturing cities, Duke Philip was the most powerful sovereign in Europe. At the beginning of his reign in 1419, when in revenge for the murder of his father he allied himself with the King of England, it made the English masters of France; and when in 1436 he quarrelled with the Duke of Gloucester about Cousin Jacqueline, and withdrew his aid from the English, their stay in France was speedily ended. Philip's court was the most magnificent in Europe, and so great was his power that it seemed quite proper that he should be made a king. Controlling the Netherlands, with parts of Alsace and Lorraine, as well as the duchy and

county of Burgundy, he might well ask to be recognized as the restorer of the old Middle Kingdom, or Lotharingia.

This ambition shaped the policy of his terrible son, Charles the Bold, and under the rule of these two the Netherlands had a foretaste of the long woes that were to come. The fifteenth century witnessed few more frightful crimes than the massacres at Dinant and Liège, which had ventured to disown the jurisdiction of these tyrants. Such lurid examples showed what honest burghers everywhere might expect should they refuse to contribute to public enterprises in which they felt no sort of interest. For a time it seemed as if Charles the Bold was on the point of succeeding in his schemes and becoming king of a renovated Lotharingia, when his evil star brought him into collision with the Swiss. His death in battle left a young daughter to succeed him, whereupon his duchy of Burgundy was forthwith seized by France, and soon the Lady Mary retained little of her father's possessions except the Low Countries. Her marriage to Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, was followed by her death in 1482, and again we see illustrations of the fact that feudal sovereignty had grown to be too strong over the Netherlands.

The death of Charles the Bold had seemed to offer a golden opportunity to the sturdy Dutch and Flemish burghers. Intent upon putting an end to tyranny, they extorted from the Lady Mary a charter of liberties, known as the Great Privilege. Among other things it provided that no new taxes should be imposed save by consent of the provincial estates, and that no war, either offensive or defensive, should be begun without such consent first obtained. Any edict or command of the sovereign that conflicted with the privileges of a city was to be held invalid. The sovereign must come in person before the estates, to make his request for money, and no city should be compelled to raise supplies which it had not itself freely voted. The sovereign must also be bound by the decisions of the courts

Charles  
the Bold,  
1467-77

Lady  
Mary,  
1477-82

The Great  
Privilege

of justice; and citizens were to be guaranteed against arbitrary arrest. While such wholesome measures were under discussion at Ghent, an embassy was sent by the estates to the King of France. Two of the envoys, Imbrecourt and Hugonet, old servants of Mary's father, so far forgot themselves as to take a secret message from her to Louis XI., craving his aid against her subjects. On the return of the envoys to Ghent the king betrayed their treasonable secret, whereupon they were quickly seized and beheaded in the market-place in Mary's presence, and in spite of her frantic tears and prayers. In the mind of the citizens it was the merited punishment of traitors, but contemporary chroniclers, in whose eyes all burghers were merely a canine rabble, called it a foul murder, and were more shocked by it than by the wholesale massacre of Dinant. The prompt and sharp action of the men of Ghent heralded the time when kings could be brought to the public scaffold for treason against their subjects.

After Mary's death left her infant son Philip sovereign over the Netherlands, his father, the Archduke Maximilian, acted as regent and found many opportunities for revenging himself upon the freedom-loving burghers. Alone he was hardly equal to the task of curbing them, but <sup>Philip of Austria</sup> with an army furnished by his father, the Emperor, he was able to bring them to terms. During eleven years his knavish tyranny was such as England never witnessed in her darkest days. Since the coming of Hengist and Horsa no English king could have behaved like Maximilian and stayed upon the throne eleven weeks. In 1494, shortly after Maximilian had become emperor, the boy Philip entered upon the task of governing the Netherlands, and in taking his oath of office did not even deign to mention the great charter which his mother had granted. Evidently the Netherlands were not so favourably situated as England for defending their liberty. Our forefathers who crossed to the island occupied a better strategic position for that purpose than their cousins who remained on the continent. The chief

danger for the latter was that freedom might at any time be overwhelmed by sheer brute force. Such a catastrophe was suggested by the battle of Roosebeke, and far more forcibly by the rule of the House of Burgundy. At the end of the fifteenth century a great crisis was preparing. Young Philip married Joanna of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the year 1500 saw the birth at Ghent of Charles V. that Charles who was to be king of Spain and lord over the Netherlands and emperor, with half the military force of Europe at his beck and call, and all the treasures of Mexico and Peru within his reach. What hope could there be for Dutch and Flemish liberties if attacked by such prodigious power? The Low Countries had been the garden of freedom; were they not in danger of becoming its grave?

Thus we come to the great struggle of the sixteenth century in which mightier issues were consciously involved than in any other crisis of history before or since. In considering it we shall find the courses of English and Dutch history running very closely together, and at times intermingling, while we come upon the circumstances that led to the planting of a Dutch colony in North America.

## CHAPTER II

### DUTCH INFLUENCE UPON ENGLAND

THE earlier writers on American history were apt to ignore or pass over in silence the contributions to American civilization that have been made by other people than the English. Perhaps this may have been because our earliest historians were men of New England whose attention was unduly occupied with their own neighbourhood. At all events there can be no doubt of the fact. The non-English elements in our composite civilization were not so much denied as disregarded, like infinitesimals in algebra. Your historian would not deny that the settlement of New Netherland counted for something, nevertheless his general group of statements would fail to take it into the account.

Non-English elements in the American people

Against this narrowness recent years have witnessed a reaction. Various historical societies, grouped upon a principle of nationality, have begun to do excellent work in collecting fresh materials for the study of the colonization of America. Such work deserves our warmest encouragement, and it would be highly unreasonable to complain because it sometimes shows an excess of enthusiasm. In reading the memoirs and proceedings of Huguenot societies, Holland societies, Jewish societies, Scotch-Irish societies, etc., one is sometimes inclined to ask whether the people about whom we are reading for the moment ever left anything for other people to do. Your Ulsterman is clear that the migrations of Englishmen to Virginia and New England were small affairs compared with the migration from Ulster to Pennsylvania; your Huguenot sees in men of his race and faith the chief builders of the United

Patriotic bias

States ; and statements are made about the Jew which seem quite incompatible with the size of the home market for pork. These patriotic writers are wont to act upon the maxim of the late Zachariah Chandler, and "claim everything ;" and amid so many claims that of England to further recognition as the mother country of the United States seems for the moment overridden. Added to these influences comes that of Anglophobia, which now and then bursts out with virulence when such topics are discussed. A notable illustration was furnished a few years ago, in a book by the late Douglas Campbell, of Cherry Valley, N. Y., entitled "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America." This work is inspired not so much by love for Holland as by hatred of England, which the author inherited from Scotch-Irish ancestors ; if the abuse of England, most of it irrelevant, were omitted, the two bulky octavos would shrink at once into one small duodecimo, and the clearness and force of the argument would be greatly enhanced. In the century of American development before the Scotch-Irish came, Mr. Campbell holds that the dominant influence here was Dutch ; while it cannot be denied that the Dutch were comparatively few in number, it is nevertheless held that their ideas and institutions prevailed to such an extent that the Republic of the United States is far more a child of the Dutch Republic than of England. Throughout the book the animus is one of unwillingness to admit that anything of value in our own much-vaunted country can have come from the land where unjust laws were once made for the men of Ulster.

It is to be regretted that historic inquiries should so often be conducted in such a spirit. In the present case the first result is to cast some discredit upon an argument which contains many strong points. There can be no doubt that the influence of the Netherlands upon the formation of the United States has been great in many ways. In the history of the planting of our Middle Colonies that influence will now and then come up for discussion ; we shall have occasion

to consider what the Dutch influence has been. In the mean time, while freely admitting that it has been great, we must let drop a word of caution as to the method to be pursued in arriving at conclusions. We must be on our guard against the common fallacy of *post* and *propter*. For example, if in the sixteenth century we find free public schools in operation in the Netherlands but not in Eng-  
Free public schools  
 land, we must beware of too hastily inferring that the free schools of New England in the seventeenth century were introduced or copied from Holland. A different explanation is quite possible. One of the cardinal requirements of democratic Calvinism has always been elementary education for everybody. In matters of religion all souls are equally concerned, and each individual is ultimately responsible for himself. The Scriptures are the rule of life, and accordingly each individual ought to be able to read them for himself, without dependence upon priests. Hence it is one of the prime duties of a congregation to insist that all its members shall know how to read, and if necessary to provide them with the requisite instruction. In accordance with this Calvinistic idea some form of universal and compulsory elementary education sprang up during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wherever Calvinism had become dominant, — in the Protestant parts of France and Switzerland, in Scotland, in the Netherlands, and in New England. Obviously, then, it might be held that free schools in New England were a natural development of Calvinism, and do not necessarily imply any especially close relation with Holland.

One further illustration I am tempted to cite for its extreme aptness, as well as for its delicious naïveté. We have in these days a good many fellow-citizens of Bohemian birth or parentage, especially in the states of Illinois and Wisconsin; and in 1894 a "History of Bohemia,"  
A Bohemian view  
 by Mr. Robert Vickers, was published in Chicago, a book with many sterling merits. In his preface the author urges that a knowledge of the history of Bohemia is indispensable for every American, and adds: "Citizens will perhaps hear

with incredulity the assertion that the civil constitution of Bohemia is the parent of that of England and of our own." Truly in the face of such a statement incredulity is the proper frame of mind. The institutions of Bohemia and those of England are in many points traceable to a common primitive Aryan source, and the family likeness may often be plainly discerned; but it is not likely that any single feature of old English life was derived from Bohemia. Mere speculation on such points is liable to be as hazardous as when in philology we base conclusions purely upon the resemblances or identities between words. In Calcutta you may hear a ship called "nava," an Old Aryan word that has survived not only in Sanskrit but in Latin, whence it has been adopted into English; we have the word "navy," but we did not get it from India. In similar wise there are points of family likeness between the village institutions of New England and those of Russia, resemblances that have survived a long night of ages; but we did not get our town meetings from Russia.

In considering the contributions made by the Low Countries to civilization in America, we must begin by considering their contributions to civilization in England, and we shall find that these were many and important. There is no doubt that the commercial and social relations between Britain and the Continent were greatly multiplied and strengthened by the Norman Conquest. In particular, the relations with Flanders grew closer, and we find a party of Flemings, driven from home by floods, seeking and obtaining permission from William Rufus to make a settlement in England. This was accomplished about 1112 under Henry I., who planted the new colony in Pembrokeshire to serve as a buffer against the Welsh. Thence, if Fabyan is correctly informed, they spread into other parts of the island, and already they were known as skilful weavers, insomuch that about 1150 David I. of Scotland, by special privileges, induced some of them to come and settle north of Tweed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fox-Bourne, *English Merchants*, i. 9-11.



But a long time was yet to elapse before England was to become a manufacturing country. For the next two centuries all the better grades of woollen cloth came from the Flemish cities. The wool grown on British sheep was the best in the world, and most of it went <sup>Politics</sup> <sub>and wool</sub> to Flemish looms, whence some of the fine cloths made from it came back to clothe the people of Britain, while the rest were sent all over Christendom, and even into the dim, vast Orient. Throughout the later Middle Ages, and into the seventeenth century, one is struck with the singularly close and steady alliance between the Low Countries and England. Along with divers political causes for this alliance there was one permanent and pervading economical cause. A failure in the supply of English wool was as paralyzing to the Flemish weavers as the failure in the supply of American cotton during our late Civil War was paralyzing to the great manufactories of England; while conversely any flagrant disturbance of manufacturing in Flanders would spoil the market for the English sheep farmer. Wool was symbolic of the wealth of the two countries. In glorification of Netherland industry Duke Philip of Burgundy instituted the order of Knights of the Golden Fleece, and in the House of Lords at Westminster the Lord Chancellor still sits upon the woolsack.

But other things than wool passed back and forth across the Channel. How it was in the time of Henry VIII. we may learn from the accurate observer, Guicciardini. "To England," he says, "Antwerp sends jewels and precious stones, silver bullion, quick-silver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin, galls, linen fine and coarse, serges, demi-ostades, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantity, glass, salt fish, . . . arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. From England Antwerp receives vast quantities of fine and coarse draperies, fringes and other things of that kind to a great value, the finest wool, excellent saffron in small quan-

Trade between Flanders and England

tities, a great quantity of lead and tin, sheep and rabbit skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry and leather, beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions ; also Malmsey wines, which the English import from Candia.”<sup>1</sup> He might have added that many a cargo of delicate Moselle wine found its way across the Channel westward. It will be observed that in Guicciardini's list the English exports are mostly of provisions or of raw materials, while the imports from Flanders are mostly products of skilled labour. This is only one among many indications that the superiority in material civilization was on the side of the Continent.

The introduction of skilled labour into England, especially so far as concerns textile fabrics, was largely due to the actual immigration of workmen from the Netherlands. This migration began to assume considerable proportions in the fourteenth century, in the reign of Edward III. That was not, as we sometimes find it carelessly asserted, the beginning of woollen manufactures in England. I have already mentioned the Flemish weavers there in the twelfth century, and we know that some English cloths were exported in the thirteenth.<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting from first to last how close was the intercourse between the two sides of the Channel, and how the Netherlanders appear in the attitude of teachers. Edward III. encouraged artisans with special privileges, and there were many who found life, liberty, and earnings more efficiently protected by the English Parliament than by any power their civic governments could put forth on the Continent.

The first influx of this Netherland population was into the East Anglian counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. In the reign of Henry V. the cloth industries were mainly centred in Norfolk, whose capital, Norwich, then ranked as the second city in the kingdom. Another Norfolk town, Worsted, has fallen into oblivion in spite of its splendid Gothic church, but the name of the thread

Immigra-  
tion from  
the Nether-  
lands into  
England

Nether-  
landers in  
East An-  
glia

<sup>1</sup> Traill's *Social England*, iii. 369.

<sup>2</sup> Traill, iii. 399.

CHRONYC.

**Historie der**

**Nederlandscher Doctoren**

hen / Troublen en opsoeken oorspronck / an-  
uanc en eynde / Item den Standt der Re-  
ligien / tot desen Jare 1580. Beschriuen  
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Liefhebberen der Christelicker  
Religion seer profytelick  
sade ten dienste wt-  
ghegeuen.

*Wt den Hoohduytschen in onse Ne-  
derlantsche sprake getruuwelick ouergeset*

Mitzgaders diuersche Copien vā Sent  
briuen, Placcaten, Accoorden van reysen, V-  
nien, Articlen en verbontenissen, in Nederlant  
gepubliceert en wtgegeuen.

Gedruet tot Noortwitz

na de Copie van Easel.

Anno 1579.

first made there is known to all the world. From East Anglia the making of cloth gradually extended southwestward to Winchester and Salisbury and northwestward into Cheshire until by the time of James I. the share of the West in it had begun to predominate. To go back to Henry V., the company of Merchant Adventurers, devoted exclusively to the exportation of manufactured woollens, was chartered in 1407; for three centuries it was a body of much importance, and after its type were constructed some of the greatest of modern mercantile companies.

Thus the Flemish influence upon mediæval England was commercially of great significance. But there was much more in it than spinning and weaving. One cannot long study the period of the Reformation, say from Henry VIII.

Puritanism in the eastern counties of England to Oliver Cromwell, without observing that the eastern counties were the stronghold of democratic ideas and of Puritanism. The contrast with the West was finely illustrated in the two universities; Oxford was sure to be High Church and Tory, while Cambridge was Liberal and more or less Puritan. During the Civil War the Eastern Counties Association furnished the backbone of the Parliament's army. Three of the oldest county names in America — Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, curiously put wrong end first on the map — remind us that a large majority of the earliest settlers of New England came from those old world counties. Quite in keeping with this is the fact that of the 280 martyrdoms in the brief fury of Bloody Mary, 240 occurred east of a straight line which you might draw from Brighton through London to the Wash.<sup>1</sup> It is utterly impossible that these relations should be accidental.

But let us go back to the fourteenth century and to the preaching of Wyclif. The career of Lollardism is unsurpassed in importance by any other phenomenon in English history. Lollardism was the earliest phase of Protestantism in England, as the Catharism of the

<sup>1</sup> Green, *History of the English People*, ii. 259, 260.



100

y to ye künende. desir. set. boye to uie  
 sechende frirt of uiaile. t to god ye  
 doctrine of manste be kept  
 in ye sigifying was ye word  
 y is godis sone. t ye wrd was at god  
 t god was ye wrd. yis was i ye bign  
 yng. at god alle thinge ben ind by  
 hy. t wponreun hy is maad uorty  
 thing. yat is ind. was lif in hyra. t  
 ye lif was lzt of men. t ye lzt thy  
 ney in derknesse. t derknesse gy  
 heuidentu di token not it. t a man  
 was sent fro god: to who ye name  
 was ion. ys man cam i to wtruelng.  
 yt he shulde beru wtruelng of ye  
 lzt yat alle men shulden bulceue by  
 hy. he was not ye lzt: but y he  
 shulde beru wtruelng: of ye lzt  
 it was yre lzt. ye wtruelng. lztary

they told out. t ys is ye wtruelng  
 of ion. whan zeues seuten fro. yrlu  
 qstis t delores to hy. y yei shulden  
 sren hy who art y. t be knowle  
 ched. t demede not. t he knowleche  
 de. for. i am not de. t yei sreden hy  
 what yfoxe. art y eue. t he seide.  
 i am not. art y a yfete. t he answe  
 re. nay. yfoxe yei seiden to hy. w ho  
 art y. y. i wece yme answeye to ye  
 yat seuten vs. what seist y of ykale.  
 he sey. i a vois of ceude in desert. y  
 dresse. t ee ye weue of ye load. as y  
 saue ye yfete seide. t yei yat were  
 sent. weren of ye far. isis. t yei ar  
 edeu hy. t seide to hy. what yfoxe  
 baptista y. it y art not de. ney eue  
 ney yfete. ion answeye to be lei  
 cnde. t hantise in ysat. soyh ye mid

u  
y

19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26

12 hile reicemeten not hy forþop þou  
waupe eue reſcymeten hy: he ȝaf  
to hem pouer to be mid þe ſou' of  
god. to hem þat beleueu in his  
uame. þe wiche not of blodis. na  
þ of þe wil of fleſch. ney of þe wil of  
man. but þen born of god. and þe  
ward þ' is godis ſone is mid fleſch  
or man. ⁊ hay dwelid in us ⁊ wee  
13 han ſee þe glorie of hy. þe glorie.  
as of þe onebigeten of þe fað. þe  
ſome ful of grace ⁊ truþ. þou beþ  
14 uirtuellung of hy. ⁊ ceþ ſeinde.  
þs is iſhom i ſeid. he þat is to co  
15 meu aftur me. is mid biforn me. for  
þe was þe forme þan ⁊ and of þe  
16 pleite of hy wee alle hem taken.  
⁊ goe for: goe for þe laue is ȝouu  
17 bi mouſes: forþe ge ⁊ trewe is  
mid bi þu et. no man eue ſais  
18 god. no but þe oue goten ſone  
þat is in þe boũ of þe fað: þe

þe tynſong of his ȝoo. þe tynſ  
28 þen don in beſhampe on jorday: w<sup>er</sup>  
+ 29 þou was baptyſende. an oþ diſſon  
ſaz. þu comende to hy: ⁊ he ſey. lo  
þe lomb of god: lo þat doy auſey  
þe ſynes of þe worlde. þs is of who  
30 i ſeid. aftur me comey a man. þat  
is mid biforn me. for he was þe for  
me þan ⁊ ⁊ i luez hy not. but þ'  
31 he be ſheuid in re. þfore i cam bap  
tyſende i watur. ⁊ þou bar wirtuel  
32 ſung ſeinde. for i ſaz þe ſpirt comē  
de don as alu þro heuene ⁊ dwel  
leude on hy. ⁊ i luez hy not. but  
33 he þat ſente me to baptyſen i wa.  
tu: ſeide to me. wpon iſhom þou  
þat ſee þe ſpirt comende don ⁊  
dwellende on hy: þs it is þat bay  
34 tley in þe holi goſ. ⁊ i ſaz ⁊ bar  
uirtuellung: for þs is þe ſone of  
35 god. an oþ diſſon. ⁊ two of  
his diſcypis. ⁊ he biholdeade þu





Albigenses was the earliest phase of Protestantism in France. The tenets of the Cathari were very different from those of the Lollards, but as forces disintegrating to Catholic theology and the Papacy they were quite similar. If the Albigenses had not been exterminated in the thirteenth century, France would probably have become a Protestant country in the sixteenth. If the House of Lancaster had succeeded in exterminating the Lollards, very likely the reformation under the House of Tudor would have stopped where it was left by Henry VIII. But the eastern counties were always the stronghold of Lollardism, and it was among the weavers of Norwich and Worsted and Lynn and Colchester and other such towns that Wyclif found his earliest and staunchest disciples. About a hundred Lollards were burned in the course of the fifteenth century, and of these cases more than half occurred in the single county of Norfolk. So late as 1520, Longland, bishop of Lincoln, reported that in the course of a single visitation of his diocese more than 200 persons were brought before him under the charge of Lollardism. Such testimony shows how far from true is the statement, often carelessly made, that the Lollards were suppressed in England. It is true that their ministers were prevented from preaching openly, but the multitude of them went on quietly reading Wyclif's Bible and keeping up their own thinking until the stirring times when the eloquence of Latimer and Hooper and the theology of Calvin brought them into the foreground of history as the Puritans.

From the foregoing group of facts it is extremely probable that the beginnings of Puritanism in England were intimately related to the influence exerted upon England by the Netherlands. On general principles it would not be strange that the eastern side of the island, looking toward the Continent, should have exhibited earlier symptoms of progressiveness than the west side, backed by the wild mountains of Wales. In modern times, since England has become a great maritime power, other

Influence  
of the  
Nether-  
lands upon  
England

conditions prevail and the west and north have become more important than the east ; but in the Middle Ages the east side was favoured as we have seen. The centre of commerce, of art, of learning, of cosmopolitan life, was in northern Italy ; and from that centre the light of civilization shone upon the north of Europe along the great pathways of trade, nearly all of which were interlaced with one another in the Netherlands, making that region second only to Italy as a centre of cosmopolitan culture. In the time of Henry VIII. civilization was further advanced in the Low Countries than in either France or England. The towns were far cleaner, there was more domestic comfort, less squalor and poverty, more general education, finer pictures and better music, more knowledge of the great world. Life in England, abounding in racy vigour, was comparatively rural, provincial, narrow-minded.

A general survey of the Middle Ages would lead one to the conclusion that there was a certain antagonism between the ecclesiastical and the commercial spirit, or, as a priest of those days might have seen fit to phrase it, between God and Mammon. Clearly where commerce was most highly developed, the priesthood never attained its full measure of political power. The most striking illustration of this is the failure of the Papacy, at the zenith of its tyranny in the thirteenth century, to fasten the Inquisition upon Venice.<sup>1</sup> That baleful institution never acquired a secure foothold in the mediæval Netherlands ; in 1430 it had been almost forgotten at Lille what should be done with the forfeited estates of persons burned for heresy.<sup>2</sup> Yet there can be little doubt that in a quiet way much thinking was done outside of ecclesiastical lines. In northern Italy Catharism was never thoroughly stamped out as it was in France, and Catharist notions hovered in the air all the way down the Rhine from the mountains to the sea. Catharists found their way as far as Holland, where the Dutch corrupted their name into "Kettlers ;"

Antago-  
nism be-  
tween  
priestcraft  
and com-  
merce

<sup>1</sup> Lea, *Inquisition*, ii. 249-253.

<sup>2</sup> Id., i. 521.



CHARLES V. OF SPAIN

they were forerunners of the Mennonites and Anabaptists of a later day. Among the Dutch gardeners and Flemish weavers were also to be found Waldenses from Savoy, members of the earliest of the sects that are now reckoned among Protestants. In those manufacturing and commercial cities people of sectarian opinions contrived to live side by side with remarkably little strife. Such a society contained all the materials for a mighty rebellion against priestcraft.

Commercial intercourse with such a society and the receiving of immigrants from it could not fail to stimulate progressive thought in England. It is evident, too, that such a society could not well pass through the crisis of the Reformation without a paroxysm of persecution and torment.

This was made practically certain by the exposed situation of the Netherlands. I showed in the preceding chapter that, as long as cities like Antwerp or Rotterdam could protect themselves against military coercion at the hands of

some feudal superior, it was possible for them to develop a great amount of practical freedom. The position of the patchwork Middle Kingdom, between France and Germany, and without any general head of its own, was wonderfully favourable to such development.

But when the powerful feudal superior came, in the shape of the House of Burgundy, the danger soon became apparent. When a proud city like Dinant could be levelled with the ground and 8000 of its people massacred, at the behest of a feudal prince, it was a day of ill omen for human liberty. Far worse was it when the Netherlands came to have for their lord the most powerful monarch on earth. The little finger of Charles of Spain was thicker than the loin of his great-grandfather, Charles of Burgundy. The conflict, moreover, was irrepressible. The revolt of Martin Luther made it necessary for those who would maintain the old order of things to attack the liberties of the Netherlands. Since the suppression of the Albigenses persecution had been spasmodic until the founding of the modern or Spanish Inquisition in 1480; but with the advent of Protestantism it became systematic and persistent. The reign of the Emperor Charles was largely occupied with the attempt to exterminate heresy in the Low Countries. If the statement of Grotius can be accepted, that more than 50,000 heretics were put to death, it was a persecution almost beyond precedent. It was a fit preparation for the most desperate and tragic revolt against tyranny of which we have any record. Americans must always remember with pride that it

Revolt of  
the Neth-  
erlands

was an American historian who first adequately portrayed the sublime figure of William the Silent and described the magnificent epoch in history known as "The Rise of the Dutch Republic." He who would refresh his memory as to the incidents should go back to Motley's glowing narrative. But there are a few points which we are here especially concerned to mention.

Let us first observe that the success of the revolted provinces in winning their independence was but partial. The

mighty struggle broke the Netherlands

The Netherlands broken in twain

in twain. The Flemish provinces, the land of the Nervii, were once more compelled to bow the knee unto Cæsar, but the Frisian descendants of sturdy Radbod triumphantly defied him. The free United States of the Netherlands came commonly to be known by the name of their most important commercial state, Holland, very much as if the United States of America were to be



WILLIAM THE SILENT

commonly called New York. The Flemish provinces, remaining attached to the House of Hapsburg, were called Spanish Netherlands until that family was superseded in Spain by the House of Bourbon. Then they were known as Austrian Netherlands until the French Revolution. The European Congress of 1815 created a kingdom of the Netherlands, which comprised both the Dutch and the Flemish

portions, but this arrangement was short-lived. The line of cleavage established by the great separation of 1579 had in the following two and a half centuries become only more pronounced; and in 1830 the Flemish provinces were erected into a distinct kingdom and comprehended under the ancient classic name of Belgium. Some mutual effects of the separation of 1579 upon the Dutch and Flemish provinces will presently call for notice; but some mention must first be made of the effects upon England of that great war of liberation.

The first effect was the migration of Netherlanders to England on a larger scale than ever before. This migration began before the middle of the century, as a consequence of the persecutions under Charles V.; it was checked for a moment during the reign of Mary Tudor, but began again with the accession of Elizabeth. In 1560 the Spanish ambassador reported to Philip II. that there were more than 10,000 recent Flemish refugees in England, and two years later he gave the number as at least 30,000. In 1568 there were more than 5000 in London alone, and as many more in Norwich.<sup>1</sup> The Cinque Ports were full of Dutch and Walloon refugees; in 1566 they numbered in the town of Sandwich 120 householders, as against 291 English householders; that is, they were nearly one third of the population. They introduced into Sandwich the manufacture of paper and silk. In Maidstone the next year such refugees established the linen thread industry. To Honiton and other Devonshire towns they brought the dainty art of lace-making. They began the steel and iron works of Sheffield, and the making of baizes and serges at Leeds. They revolutionized the art of glass-making in England, and raised market-gardening and horticulture to quite a new level. There is thus no doubt that to the very marked and rapid rise in the standard of domestic living, which characterized the age of Elizabeth, this influx of Netherlanders contributed in no small degree. It is part of Elizabeth's

Hegira of  
Dutch and  
Flemish  
Puritans  
into Eng-  
land

1560 the Spanish ambassador reported to Philip II.

<sup>1</sup> Campbell, i. 488; Froude, vii. 270, 413; Traill, iii. 368; Griffis, 154.











legitimate glory that during most of her long reign and through her own policy, profound internal peace was preserved in England throughout one of the stormiest periods of history. Thus the Netherland influences quickly took root and greatly thrived. After the capture of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma in 1585, more than one third of the merchants and shipmasters of that opulent city found homes on the banks of the Thames, and in such ports as Yarmouth and Lowestoft, Boston and Hull. During the reign of Elizabeth probably more than 100,000 Dutchmen and Flemings became Englishmen. They were picked men, and it is safe to say that nearly all were Puritans. In point of blood every Netherlander was more than half English already; a slight change of speech was enough to complete the transformation, and probably the first generation of children were indistinguishable from native Englishmen. To this immigration we owe not only such family names as Fleming, Hollander, and Gaunt, together with numerous Vans which tell their own story, but also many others less obvious, such as Hickman or Bentinck, and others that refer to the arts of the Weaver and Fuller and Dyer, the Flaxman and Whittier, the Bleecker and Limer. Besides this, the immigrants often modified their names by spelling, as De Witt into Dwight, or simply translated them, as Groen into Green, Goudsmid into Goldsmith, Timmerman into Carpenter, or Koopman into Chapman. There is thus strong ground for the assertion of Mr. Griffis, that many Americans who boast of their "unmixed English stock" are descended from Dutch or Flemish ancestors who first saw England in the Duke of Alva's time. One hardly sees how it could be otherwise. In the days of Charles I. a considerable part of the rank and file of Puritans were children and grandchildren of Netherlanders, and of these surely many must have been included among the 20,000 who came to New England between 1629 and 1640.

Dutch family names  
Anglicized

Let us next observe that the separation of 1579 between the southern and northern states of the Netherlands was fol-

lowed by an extensive migration from the former into the latter. Of those who could on no account be induced to accept the political situation and bow the knee to Spain, many went northward into Holland, mostly Protestants, skilled artisans, and large and small capitalists. The general result was greatly to strengthen Holland, and by the same token to diminish the life and vigour of the Flemish provinces. The latter became less enterprising and more submissive, and the part which they have played in the world since the separation has been far less important than that which they played in the Middle Ages. After the year 1600 we hear much less of Antwerp and Ghent, and much more of Amsterdam and Rotterdam than before. Of the famous cities of Belgium some, such as Bruges, are absolutely smaller now than in the fourteenth century; all save Brussels are relatively of less weight; and while the grade of civilization is very high, it is plain that the old preëminence has passed away.

The contrast with Holland became so conspicuous soon after the separation as to seem highly dramatic. After Parma's capture of Antwerp in 1585, men fled from it as from a wreck. Within twenty years its population had fallen away by more than 50,000, while at the same time Amsterdam was increasing so fast that temporary booths and fragile shanties had to do duty while better shops and houses were building<sup>1</sup> — very much as in an American western "boom."

The fortunes of war, indeed, were adverse for Antwerp; for the Dutch held Flushing at the mouth of the river Scheldt and took toll of all ships going up. But the causes lay deeper than this, and were connected with the rapidly growing power of the Dutch upon the ocean, which was itself a consequence of the change in the routes of trade wrought by the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese. Before the fall of Antwerp these causes had been steadily at work for eighty years, strengthening the Dutch at the expense of their Flemish

Migration  
of Flemish  
Protest-  
ants into  
Holland

Growth of  
the Dutch  
provinces  
at the ex-  
pense of  
the Flem-  
ish

<sup>1</sup> Motley, *United Netherlands*, iv. 551.

brethren, insomuch that we may look here for one of the reasons why the latter succumbed to Spain and the former did not. Let us note what had happened.

Early in the sixteenth century, after the Turks had closed up the Mediterranean routes of Asiatic trade, there was a decline in the volume of commercial transactions of Venice and Genoa, and the effects of this were soon apparent in the Low Countries. At the same time the ocean route to the East Indies, sought in vain by Columbus, was discovered by the Portuguese, who soon controlled the trade of the Indian Ocean and began building up for themselves an Asiatic empire. This led to a rapid development of maritime trade between the Netherlands and Lisbon. The shawls of India, the silks of China, the dye-wood of Sumatra, the spices of the Molucca Islands, which had formerly come through Alexandria to Venice, and thence down the Rhine country to the Netherlands, now came around the Cape of Good Hope to Lisbon, and thence to the Netherlands by water. This change favoured the Dutch at the expense of the Flemish provinces, by reason of the much greater length of the Dutch coast-line. While Belgium has only forty miles of seacoast, Holland has about three hundred and fifty. By dint of marvellous energy and skill the two little states of Zealand and Holland came to be virtually one vast seaport, the great distributing centre between Lisbon and the North. A powerful merchant marine had long since been called into existence by the herring fisheries; now its volume was rapidly and steadily increased by the Lisbon trade, and a considerable share of the prosperity thus gained for Amsterdam and Deventer and Bergen-op-Zoom was deducted from the prosperity of Bruges and Ghent and Namur. By the end of the sixteenth century the Dutch were the foremost power on the sea.

Relations  
with Portu-  
gal

Now it happened that in 1578 one of the grandsons of Charles V., that King Sebastian of Portugal who has been made the theme of so many romantic legends, led an expedition into Morocco and there was slain in battle, leaving

no issue. His kinsman, Philip II. of Spain, then laid claim to the throne of Portugal, and in 1580 seized that kingdom for himself. This was the end of the heroic age of Portugal, which for the next sixty years was held in unwilling subjection to Spain. Now in 1580 the war in the Netherlands was in its most acute phase. The Spanish seizure of Portugal suddenly cut off the India trade of the Dutch, but at the same time it transformed all the Portuguese colonies politically into dependencies of Spain, and thus left the Dutch free to attack and conquer them wherever they were able. The English alliance was now of great service to them. The work of crippling the Spanish treasury by attacks upon the colonial sources of supply, which had been begun by Elizabeth's captains, was vigorously kept up by the Dutch. After the defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588 they proceeded at once to invade the colonial world of Portugal. They soon established themselves in Java and Sumatra, and by 1607 they had gained complete possession of the Molucca Islands. Sometimes their ships were taken by Spaniards and their sailors thrown overboard or carried home for the next *auto-de-fé*; but this happened less and less often. Dutch ships became so fleet, so strongly armed, and so ably handled, that none save the English could compete with them. Thus they soon superseded the Portuguese in controlling the Indian Ocean, and began to build up the noble empire which Holland possesses to-day in the East Indies, with a rich territory four times the size of France, a population of 30,000,000, and a trade of which the floating capital is more than \$150,000,000.

At the close of the sixteenth century the formation of joint-stock companies for large enterprises was just coming into vogue. Nowhere else were such associations so successful as in London and Amsterdam. The founding of the English East India Company in 1600 and of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 mark an epoch of cardinal importance in modern history. The latter was "the first great joint-stock

Seizure of  
Portugal  
by Spain

The Dutch  
in the East  
Indies

THE  
DESCRIPTION

of a voyage made by certaine Ships  
of Holland into the East

INDIES.

With their aduentures and successe:

Together

With the description of the Countries,  
Townes, and inhabitantes of the  
same:

Who set forth on the second of April 1595. and  
returned on the 14. of August,  
1597.

*Translated out of Dutch into English by W. P.*



LONDON  
Imprinted by *John Wolfe*. 1598.

company whose shares were bought and sold from hand to hand ;” and so remarkable was its prosperity that it soon paid dividends of sixty per cent.<sup>1</sup> So fast grew the Dutch colonial empire at Spain’s expense that by 1619 it was found desirable to bring it together under a general system of administration, and in Java the city of Batavia was built to serve as a colonial capital, a kind of Oriental Amsterdam. From Java the Dutch dealt with China. One memorable result of their presence in the East was the introduction of tea and coffee into Europe. They bought tea at Chinese ports, but presently took the island of Formosa and worked it for themselves. At first they carried Mocha coffee from Arabia to Europe around the Cape of Good Hope, but after a while they took the Arabian coffee and planted it in Java, thus originating a new and excellent variety. Within half a century the numerous cafés in Paris and coffee-houses in London testified to the social virtues of the new beverage. The monopoly of the tea and coffee trade was a source of great wealth, and not less so was the trade in pepper and spices. The possession of the Moluccas was worked for all it was worth from the monopolist’s point of view. The Dutch in the islands were too few to occupy all the cultivable soil ; therefore they occupied the best spots, and destroyed the spice trees elsewhere as far as possible, so as to keep all European rivals out of the field. Moreover, if their crop happened to be very large they would burn a part of it in order to keep up the price. When they had ousted the Portuguese from all their old settlements on the coast of Malabar, they acquired a similar control of the market for pepper. To this day on the mainland of India, in such towns as Chinsurah and Negapatam, and in sundry ports on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, may be seen canals bordered with quaint brick houses roofed with tiles, relics of the time when the Dutch were masters in those neighbourhoods.<sup>2</sup>

With the Malay peninsula and the island of Ceylon in their

<sup>1</sup> Payne, *European Colonies*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vi. 363.



possession, and with the places just mentioned in Hindustan, the Dutch found it desirable to have a half-way station between Europe and the East, and this led to the founding of their colony at the Cape of Good Hope. In the arduous work



*Abel Tasman*

of maritime discovery their captains took some part. It is often said that Australia was discovered by the Dutch in 1605. There can be little doubt that the coast of that remote continent was visited by Portuguese sailors as early as 1542,<sup>1</sup> but that event lapsed into oblivion, and in 1605 the discovery was made for the second

The Dutch  
in Austral-  
asia

<sup>1</sup> Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, pp. 440-452.

time by the Dutch. For two centuries thereafter Australia was commonly called New Holland. Between 1640 and 1650 the great navigator Abel Tasman explored its coasts,<sup>1</sup> and also discovered New Zealand and the island which he named after Anthonie Van Diemen, governor-general of the Indies, but which is now more fitly called after himself, Tasmania.

The English had no mind to allow the Dutch a monopoly in these remote enterprises. When Drake, in 1579, and Cavendish, in 1588, were circumnavigating the globe, they visited the Spice Islands and Java, and most friendly overtures were made to them by the native chiefs, who detested the Portuguese. England's hour had not quite come, but these things were remembered. Soon after 1600 the English East India Company began visiting Hindustan and trading in Malaysia, and thus they came into collision with the Dutch. In 1619 an amicable arrangement was effected, whereby the two powers established a joint protectorate over the Spice Islands. The produce was to be shared in the proportion of one third for the English and two thirds for the

Dutch. But peace was not preserved. A small party of Englishmen settled in the little island of Amboyna and went to gathering cloves. For a while the Dutch endured the presence of these rivals, but the heart of monopoly is hard. Certain Japanese servants accused the English of a conspiracy for seizing the fort and getting control of the island. English historians maintain that these Japanese were suborned by the Dutch. However that may be, Captain Towerson and nine of his men were seized and tortured until they confessed themselves guilty. Then they were killed and the rest of the English were driven from the island. This affair, which occurred in 1623, has ever since been known in England as "the massacre of Amboyna." Though a slight affair for so grewsome a name, it was historically important. The close alliance between Dutch and English, which with rare exceptions had been maintained for centuries, was fast giving way before their keen commercial

<sup>1</sup> Collingridge, *The Discovery of Australia*, Sydney, 1895, p. 279.

rivalry, and such an incident as that of Amboyna sowed seeds of hatred and strife. The English, however, did not feel strong enough to dispute the Dutch supremacy in the Malay Archipelago. So they bent their minds to the Indian mainland and within a few years had built the city of Madras and laid the foundations of their vast Asiatic empire.

One of Portugal's dependencies, Brazil, lay west of the Atlantic, and thither the Dutch made their way in 1624. It had been found that sugar plantations there, worked by gangs of slaves imported from Africa, yielded large profits. For twenty years the Dutch held the country and kept one of the Nassau princes there as stadholder. But The Dutch in Brazil the revolt of Portugal from Spain was the signal for a revolt in Brazil against the Dutch, who were bitterly hated as monopolists and as heretics. The Portuguese thus recovered that spacious country, but of nearly all their other possessions they remained shorn, and never again was Portugal the power that it had been in the sixteenth century.

The great length of the voyage to the Spice Islands, whether eastward around the Cape of Good Hope or westward through the Strait of Magellan, led to persistent attempts to discover water routes, which it was supposed would be more direct, through North America or around the north of Asia. Not until the seventeenth century was far advanced did Europeans obtain definite ideas concerning the interior of North America and the vast continental expanse of Siberia. In the next chapter we shall see Henry Hudson looking for a northwest passage at Manhattan Island, and a long tale of suffering and death was necessary before men could give up the belief in a pleasant summer sea stretching over the unexplored region now known to us as icy Siberia. It was Sebastian Cabot, in his old age, who advocated this northeastern route to Cathay, and the Arctic explorations Muscovy Company was founded in London for the purpose of exploring it. The first expedition sailed in 1553, and rounded the North Cape. Two ships were lost with all their hands on the wild coast of Lapland; we are told that the

gallant commander, Sir Hugh Willoughby, was frozen to death as he sat writing in his cabin;<sup>1</sup> the third ship, more fortunate, entered the White Sea, and returned to England after a hospitable entertainment by the Russians. Within the next few years English mariners discovered Nova Zembla. Then the Dutch undertook to go farther, but there was a difference of opinion among them. The grand pensionary, Olden Barneveldt, believed that after passing the strait between Nova Zembla and the Russian mainland, an open sea would be reached over which one might comfortably sail to China. But the Amsterdam pilot, William Barendz, thought



WILLIAM BARENDZ

it more promising to sail between Nova Zembla and the pole. Both methods were tried in the years 1594 to 1597. Linschoten sailed through the strait to find a sea choked with icebergs and an atmosphere heavy with blizzards. The gallant Barendz discovered Spitzbergen and came within ten degrees of the pole, or nearer than any navigator had

come before. He passed around the northern extremity of Nova Zembla and was delighted to find a broad, open sea before him, but in less than three days a sudden accumulation of drifting ice had driven him back. Nothing in all the history of Arctic adventure is more full of romance and heroism than the three voyages of William Barendz, in the last of which he perished from hardship. A born leader of men,

<sup>1</sup> The story is discredited by HARRISSE, *John Cabot and Sebastian his Son*, p. 347.



I O V R N A E L

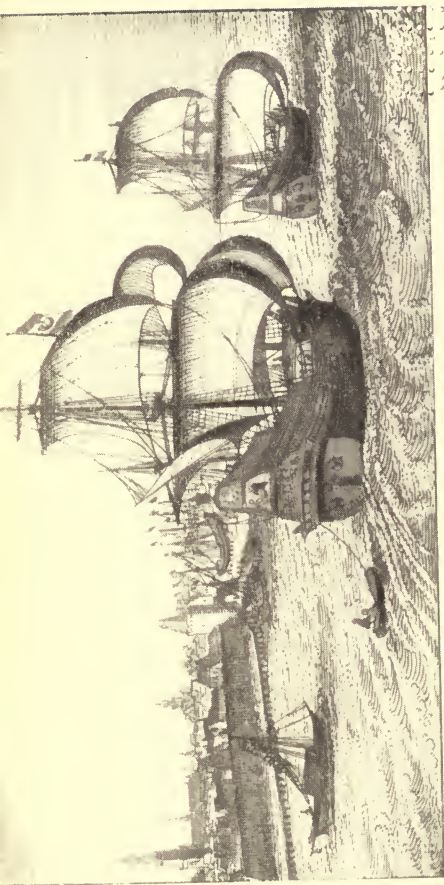
Ofte

# Beſchryvinghe van de

Wonderlijke reyse/ ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz  
Schouten van Hoorn, inde Jaren  
1615. 1616. en 1617.

Howe hy bezuyden de **S**trate van Magel-  
lanes een nieuwe Passagie tot inde groote Zuid-  
see ontdeckt/ en boort den gheheelen Aerd-  
kloot omghezept/ heeft.

Wat Eylanden, vreemde volcken en wonderlicke



't Amsterdam,

By Willem Jansz. op't water inde Sonnetopfer / 1618.

TITLE OF SCHOUTEN VAN HORN'S JOURNAL

3000



a true devotee of science, endless in resources, of zeal unquenchable, great-hearted, blithe, and lovable, he stands in the front rank of the world's great sailors.

Curiously enough, only three years after Barendz had reached the highest northern latitude as yet attained, another gallant Dutch captain approached nearer to the south pole than man had ever been before. In 1502 Americus Vesputius had astonished Europe by his voyage to South Georgia, in latitude  $54^{\circ}$  south, where he found an antarctic climate, and proved that Pomponius Mela was to that extent right. In 1599 this record was surpassed by Dirk Gerrits, who discovered the desolate country now called South Shetland, which seems to be a part of the great antarctic continent. At that time sailors who passed from the Atlantic Ocean into the Pacific still threaded the difficult strait of Magellan, for nothing was known about the termination of South America. But in 1616 Schouten van Horn discovered and doubled the cape which still bears his name.

The Dutch  
in the Ant-  
arctic  
Ocean

The facts here grouped together show us vividly how, just at the time when the first English colonies were being planted in America, Dutch enterprise was finding its way to every corner of the globe. Every part of the story has points of interest. But that which most nearly concerns us is the search for a northern route to China, for it is this quest which brings upon the scene that illustrious navigator, Henry Hudson, and indirectly leads to the founding of a New Netherland in the most commanding commercial position on the coast of North America.

## CHAPTER III

### VERRAZANO AND HUDSON

IT seems to be not uncommonly believed, even to-day, that Henry Hudson was the discoverer of the river that bears his name. But the student of history gets accustomed to finding that the beginnings of things were earlier than had been supposed. So many famous discoveries have turned out to be rediscoveries that we become cautious about asserting that any event or achievement was the first of its kind. With regard to the Hudson River, there can be no sort of doubt that it was visited by many Europeans before Hudson, and in the story of these earlier voyages there is much that is of interest.

The expeditions of John and Sebastian Cabot, in 1497 and 1498, found no traces of civilization, or of spices, or gold, or precious stones, on the coasts which they visited, and hence their efforts were not followed up as otherwise they might have been. But one source of wealth attracted their atten-

The New-  
foundland  
fisheries

tion, the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. Englishmen were rather slow in availing themselves of this information, inasmuch as they had long been accustomed to find codfish and haddock in plenty in the waters about Iceland. But sailors from Portugal and the Basque provinces of Spain, and in still greater numbers from Normandy and Brittany, soon flocked to the Newfoundland fishing grounds. From 1504 to the present moment there has probably never been a year when the French flag has not been seen and the French language heard upon those waters. The name of Cape Breton, which is perhaps the earliest European name north of the West Indies, tells its own story. It is only natural to suppose that now and then some hardy









¶ Septem hoies syluestres ex ea insula (que terra  
 noua dicit̃) Rothomagū adducti sunt cū cym-  
 ba/ vestimētis & armis eorū. Fuligine lūt colo-  
 ris/ grossis labris/ stigmata in facie gerentes / ab  
 aure ad mediū mentū/ instar liuidę venulę per  
 maxillas deducta. Crine nigro & grosso vt eqna  
 iuba. Barba p̃ totā vitā nulla/ neq; pubes/ neq;  
 vllus in toto corpe pill⁹ preter capillos & super-  
 lia. Baltheū gerūt: in quo est bursula q̃dā ad tes-  
 gēda verēda/ idioma labris formāt. religio nul-  
 la: cymba eorū corticea / quā homo vna manu  
 euehat in humeros. Arma eorū: arcus latī/ chor-  
 dę ex intestinis / aut neruis aialiū. Sagitte: cānæ  
 saxo/ aut osse piscis acuminatę. Cibus eorū: car-  
 nes tostę. Potus: aqua. Panis & vini & pecunia-  
 rū: nullus oino vllus. Nudi cedūt: aut vestiti pel-  
 libus aialiū/ vrforū/ ceruorū/ vitulorū marinorū/  
 & similiū. Regio eorū paralellus septimi climatis  
 plus sub occidente q̃ Gallica regio supra oc-  
 cidentem.

EXTRACT FROM THE CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS, 1512, DESCRIBING THE BRINGING  
TO ROUEN OF SEVEN WILD MEN FROM AMERICA

skipper, impelled by curiosity or in quest of further gains, would cruise along the mainland and enter the mouths of the broad rivers; and so in fact it seems to have happened.

The local annals of Dieppe assure us that on the 10th of August, 1508, two ships from that port entered a mighty river which they named after the patron saint of that day, St. Lawrence.<sup>1</sup> They ascended the river for eighty leagues, driving a lucrative trade in peltries, and when they returned to Europe they carried to Rouen seven wild men, who are thus described in a chronicle printed at Paris in 1512: "They are of a sooty colour, . . . with hair black and coarse like a horse's mane; having no beard throughout the whole life. . . . They have

Voyage of  
Dieppe  
sailors,  
1508

<sup>1</sup> Desmarquets, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Dieppe*, Paris, 1785, i. 100.

a speech, but no religion. Their canoe is bark, which a man can lift on his shoulders with one hand. Their weapons are large bows, the strings being intestines or sinews of animals; their arrows are canes barbed with flint or fishbone. Their food is boiled flesh, and of bread, wine, or money they have no knowledge." <sup>1</sup>

The documentary evidence for this voyage is not all that could be desired, but there seems no good reason for doubting that it was made. As to the naming of the St. Lawrence, it is pretty clear that Jacques Cartier gave that name to the gulf on the 10th of August, 1535; but that is eminently one of the kind of incidents that might happen twice.

In this voyage of 1508 the name of one of the captains is given as Thomas Aubert, a Frenchman, and that of the other as Jean Vêrassen, a Frenchified form of the Italian name, Giovanni da Verrazano. Concerning the early life of this famous

navigator our details are meagre. He was born in Florence about 1480, and evidently received a good education. He was one of the most highly trained scientific pilots of his time, was deeply versed in geographical lore, and had a naturalist's eye for the physical contour of countries and for their plants and animals. The Norman city of Dieppe was then one of the busiest ports in France, and the place where most attention was given to ocean navigation. As Verrazano was engaged there, and in command of a ship, at the age of twenty-eight, it was apparently after long experience and mature reflection that he offered his services to Francis I. to conduct an expedition for the discovery of a westward passage to Cathay. In the autumn of 1523 he sailed from Dieppe with four ships, but all were disabled in a storm and obliged to put back. Starting again with only two ships, he ran down to the Madeira islands, and seems to have suffered some further mishap, for when he again weighed anchor, on January 17, 1524, it was only with a single ship, La Dauphine. On the 10th of March he sighted land on the North Carolina coast, a little north of

Giovanni  
da Ver-  
razano

<sup>1</sup> *Eusebii chronicon*, Paris, 1512, fol. 172.





CALPORN

Janus ver. a Janus : 9



Cape Fear, — “a new land,” Verrazano calls it in his letter to the king, “a new land never before seen by men in ancient or modern times.” He called it <sup>A new land</sup> “Diepa,” an Italianized form of Dieppe. This is an eloquent reminder of the date of the voyage. Twenty years earlier Verrazano would probably have supposed himself to be on the coast of Japan, or perhaps of China. But since the Portuguese, sailing eastward, had reached the Spice Islands in 1511, it had become obvious that there was an immense difference in longitude between eastern Asia and the coasts discovered by Columbus. Before Verrazano started on this voyage he must have heard of the circumnavigation of the earth by Magellan. So now he did not call the American coast by any Asiatic name, but simply a “new land.” Nevertheless the fragrance of spring herbs and flowers in the Carolina woods set him thinking about spices, and the yellow soil suggested gold, as it did in later days to the English settlers of Virginia.

In his letter Verrazano tells us: “My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the newly discovered land some such obstacle as I found.” The problem before him was to find a passage through this obstacle, and with this object in view he sailed slowly northward, keeping the coast in sight and occasionally landing and parleying with the natives. His vigilance, however, seems now and then to have been relaxed. He must have passed the entrance to Chesapeake Bay by night or too far offshore, or perhaps in a fog, for he makes no allusion to such an opening; but when next he landed, it must have been, I think, on the Accomac peninsula. There he stayed three days, and there he may well have got the glimpse of a western sea which had curious results.

A tramp of ten miles might have taken his party to some point like the present site of Hoffmann's Wharf, whence he might look out upon a waste of waters stretching north, south, and west, as far as the eye could reach; and how was he to know that this

A narrow neck of land between two boundless seas

water was not the Pacific Ocean, but only a bay which future generations were to call by the name of Chesapeake? If any such incident happened, it may seem strange that it should not be mentioned in his letter to Francis I. But that letter is extremely brief and unsatisfactory, and was evidently never intended as a report in any full sense of the word. Against this negative evidence may be set the fact that after the return of the expedition to Europe, the navigator's brother, Girolamo Verrazano, made a map which shows a long narrow isthmus just about where the Accomac peninsula is situated, and on it is the inscription: "From this eastern sea one beholds the western sea; there are six miles of land between the two." From Florida indefinitely westward the map shows a narrow mass of continent connecting with Mexico and running up to about the 37th parallel. Next comes the isthmus just mentioned, and to the north of that we come to a region which might include the states of New York and Pennsylvania, with New England and Canada, and which is called Francesca, after Francis I. This Chesapeake isthmus is in the map-maker's mind the only land connection between the Florida region to the south, which he leaves in possession of Spain, and the region just mentioned to the northward, which he claims for France.

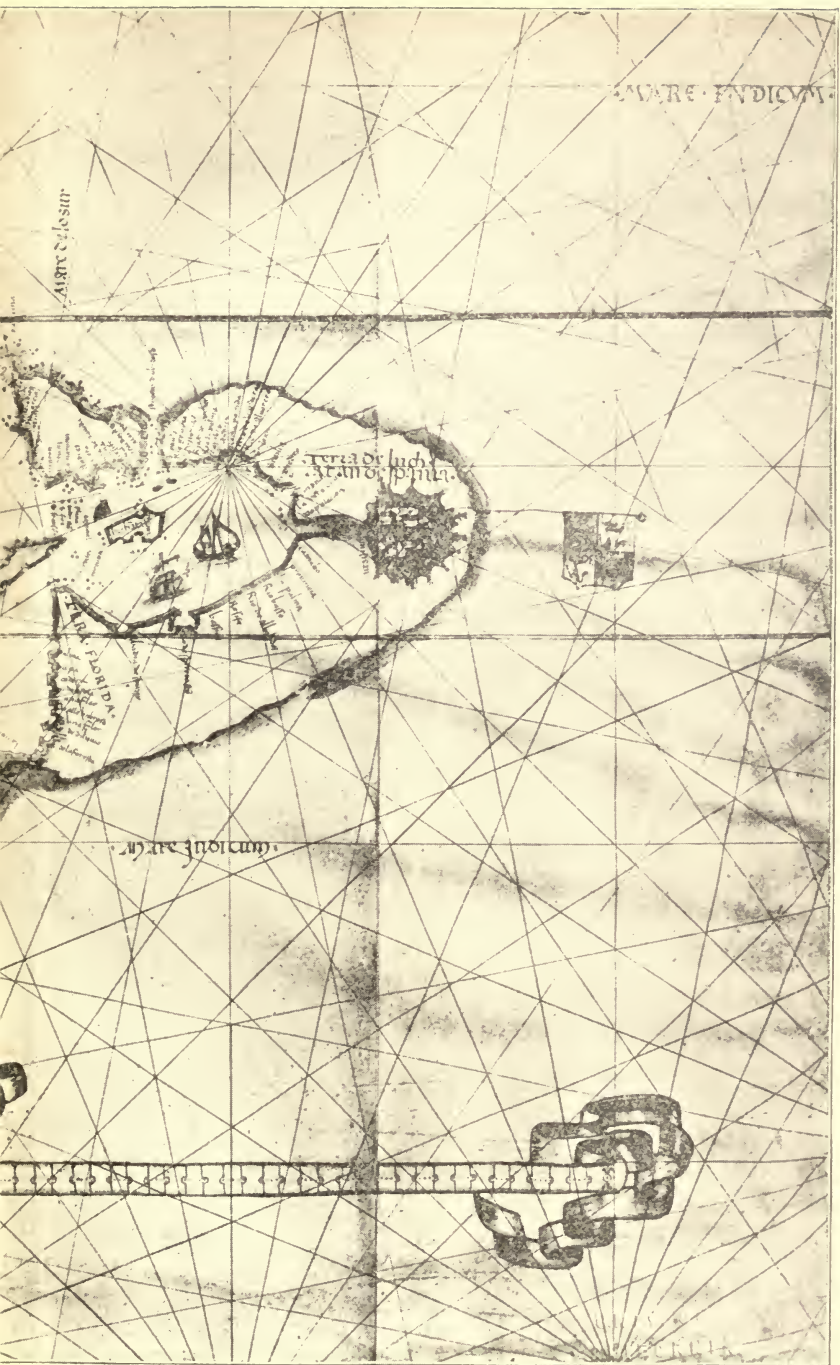
The western shore of the narrow isthmus is washed by a mighty ocean, which covers nearly the whole area of the United States, and is continuous with the Pacific, thus making an uninterrupted waste of waters from Accomac to China. This imaginary sea soon came to be known as the Sea of Verrazano, from its discoverer. We find it repeated on the important map made by Vesconte Maiollo in 1527, now in the Ambrosian library at Milan,<sup>1</sup> and on a series of other maps, including the one which Dr. Michael Lok, of London, made for Sir Philip Sidney in 1582.<sup>2</sup> The seventeenth century was well advanced before

<sup>1</sup> There is a beautiful reproduction of it in Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas, Atlas*, xiv.

<sup>2</sup> It is given in my *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, i. 64.







VERRAZANO'S DISCOVERIES





belief in the Sea of Verrazano had become extinct. It is not easy to rid oneself of the feeling that this colossal blunder must have originated in gazing upon Chesapeake Bay from the Accomac shore. The late Dr. Justin Winsor suggested that the water actually seen might have been Pamlico Sound looked at from inside of Cape Hatteras. To this view my objection is that Pamlico Sound is too near Verrazano's first landfall at Cape Fear, and not near enough to New York. His narrative implies a greater interval of time between Cape Fear and the place where he made his three days' stop than between the latter place and New York.

However that may have been, there can be no doubt whatever as to Verrazano's entering New York harbour. Why he should have passed Delaware Bay and its sentinel capes without mention is not obvious, but such difficult questions perpetually encounter us in the letters of these old navigators. At all events, his description of the approach to New York is unmistakable. About the middle of April he arrived at Sandy Hook, which he called Cape St. Mary, as we learn from Maiollo's map. Northward the channel now called the Narrows seemed full of promise. The neighbouring hillsides were alive with peering savages as the French ship passed between Staten Island and the Gowanus shore and entered the great landlocked harbour which Verrazano compares to a beautiful lake. At the upper end of it was a delightful place among small steep hills, between which *una grandissima riviera*, a very great river, emptied into the bay. Canoes, filled with red men in paint and feathers, darted hither and thither. Verrazano does not call the river a strait, and did not ascend it in order to find an entrance to his western sea; so that his inferences from what he saw seem here to have been correct. He sailed out between Sandy Hook and a point of land which appears on Maiollo's map as Angoulême, the name of Francis I.'s countship before he became king; this may have been Coney Island. Here the general trend of the Atlantic coast changes, he tells us, toward the east. He cruised along the

The har-  
bour of  
New York

southern shore of Long Island, noticing the throng of natives gathering wampum at Rockaway Bay, then presently discovered Block Island, which he called Louise, after the king's mother; then passing Point Judith, which appears on the map as Cape St. Francis, he found himself in Narragansett Bay and had a lively parley with the Indians. Here he stayed a fortnight and explored the whole of the bay, which seems greatly to have pleased his fancy. He called it Refugio, and on several maps of the next half century it appears as Port de Refuge. The accuracy of Verrazano's astronomical observations is shown by his statement that this bay "is situated on the parallel of Rome, in  $41^{\circ} 40'$ ." Now Newport is in  $41^{\circ} 29'$  and Providence is  $41^{\circ} 49'$ , so that as an average between them his figure is correct within thirty seconds; or if intended for the entrance the error of only eleven minutes was a very small one for the astrolabes of the sixteenth century.

From this harbour of refuge the worthy Florentine set sail on the 6th of May, passed to the south of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, which he mistook for portions of the mainland, rounded Cape Cod, and went ashore probably somewhere between Nahant and Cape Ann. Here the sailors had a scrimmage with the Indians, who shot stone-tipped arrows among them without killing anybody. Some of these belligerent redskins wore copper earrings. The country there was densely wooded, but as La Dauphine approached the Piscataqua neighbourhood it became more open, and far inland against the northwestern horizon loomed the peaks of the White Mountains, some of them still streaked and patched with snow. Thence, following the coast northeasterly, as far probably as the mouth of the Penobscot River, Verrazano was struck with the multitude of small islands, all near to the continent, making many beautiful bights and canals like those on the coast of Illyria and Dalmatia. At length on the 10th of June, as the supply of food was running short, La Dauphine turned her prow seaward and after a voyage of eight-and-twenty days arrived safely at Dieppe.

The coast  
of Maine





All the blue is done by the relations of the Indians

MANHATTAN, IN THE ENGL  
The earliest known map in whi



AMERICA, 1610  
*Manhattan appears*



A few years ago an attempt was made to discredit this letter of Verrazano to Francis I. as an ingenious forgery based on the Ribeiro map of 1529 by some Florentine man of letters. But this notion, which never had much to recommend it, has been completely exploded.<sup>1</sup> The date of the Maiollo map has been fixed beyond a doubt at 1527; and for the information contained in it and in the map of Girolamo Verrazano concerning the American coast from North Carolina to Maine, there was no possible source except actual exploration. The letter was dated from Dieppe, in July, 1524, immediately after the ship's return, and its <sup>Verrazano's</sup> statements are strictly borne out by the two maps. <sup>letter</sup> Now up to that time there was absolutely no map or document of any sort in Europe which could have given a forger any information about New York Bay or Narragansett Bay, or could have told him that our coast turns eastward from Sandy Hook and northward after passing Cape Cod. No man of letters, in his study at Florence, could have imagined inland mountains visible from a ship's deck, as the White Mountains are, and then have passed on to the islands of the Maine coast and so happily compared them to those of Illyria. This was probably the first voyage that was made by Europeans between Chesapeake Bay and the Bay of Fundy, unless we go back to the Icelanders. It is possible that John Cabot in 1498 may have come as far south as Cape Cod;<sup>2</sup> Americus Vesputius with Vicente Pinzon in that same year came perhaps as far north as Chesapeake Bay.<sup>3</sup> For the first exploration of the intervening coast, the first mention of New York and Narragansett bays, of the White Mountains and the romantic coast of Maine, we have to thank the Florentine captain, Giovanni Verrazano.

<sup>1</sup> Evidence enough to set the question at rest is adduced in HARRISSE'S *Discovery of North America*, pp. 214-228.

<sup>2</sup> HARRISSE is disposed to allow that Cabot may have followed the coast as far south as Florida; see his *Discovery of North America*, p. 43; *John Cabot and Sebastian his Son*, p. 137. But the evidence is far from satisfactory.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Discovery of America*, ii. 89.

This interesting voyage was not vigorously followed up by the French. Their terrible defeat at Pavia in 1525 and the captivity of the king seem sufficient to account for this. As for Verrazano, he did not long survive. The MS. archives of the city of Rouen prove that he sailed again in May, 1526, for the American coast, and two documents in the archives of Simancas tell us how in the autumn of 1527 he was captured by a Spanish squadron and taken to Cadiz, where he was hanged as a pirate.<sup>1</sup>

The next captain to visit the Hudson River was the Spaniard, Estevan Gomez, who in 1525 crossed the ocean to Labrador and coasted southward to Florida, looking for a passage. Gomez took notice of Cape Cod, Narragansett Bay, and both the Hudson and Delaware rivers.

After Gomez we hear no more of Spaniards coming so far north, but there can be little doubt that French skippers from time to time visited the River of the Steep Hills, and even ascended it as far as the site of Albany, in order to get furs from the Mohawks. About 1540 they built a fort on a long low island on the west side of the river, "near the present southern limits of the city of Albany,"<sup>2</sup> but their work was partially destroyed by violent freshets. The pilot, Jean Allefonsce, of Saintonge, makes mention of this incident in the journal of his voyage in 1542. Allefonsce came to Canada in that year with Roberval, and in the course of the summer made a voyage by himself and was the first to explore in some detail the shores of Massachusetts Bay. He may also have been the first to approach New York harbour through Long Island Sound; in one passage he has been supposed to describe the dangers

<sup>1</sup> The often repeated story that Verrazano was devoured by Indians is based upon a statement of the Venetian historian Ramusio, who misunderstood a passage in Oviedo (lib. xxv. cap. vi.), which tells how one "Johan Florin" was eaten by Indians in Venezuela in 1528. Verrazano was often called "Johan Florin," or John of Florence, so that Ramusio's mistake was a natural one.

<sup>2</sup> Weise, *The Discoveries of America*, p. 361.





DE J

Grijt is  
36 voeten  
laanck als  
26 wijt  
Jut fort

Maso involmen tve (7) om 93 boef  
nijt tfoogjes vnde bodinger vunde  
16 jonden de Fransuyser met slen  
bovey atz haer land / met tjuerlin

Fortuin Nassouen is binn de veld  
mit vier sant / 8  
nedyt 18 rosten

MARVAAS

Cunmakers

Fortuin Nassouen

SENNECAS

N I E

woeffen  
vold

GACHOI  
CAPITAN  
NASSES

MAHIC

Riviere Vinow  
Vries  
Mantius

MINOVA AS, vande maquas  
Ogelage ghenewit

MAN HATES

Sandbay

Schippunt

AOVAMACKEVKES

De vande bany





of Hell Gate, but his meaning is not perfectly clear. As for his mention of Frenchmen trading far up the Hudson River, it is corroborated by important Dutch testimony. In 1614 a syndicate of Dutch merchants applied to the States General of the Netherlands for a special license to trade up and down that river, and they affixed to their petition a manuscript map enriched with explanatory notes and memoranda.<sup>1</sup> In these notes it is stated that the French were the discoverers of the river and had traded there with the Mohawks long before Hudson's time. Such testimony seems conclusive.

Before passing from the French to tell of the coming of the Dutch, some mention should be made of a question over which geographers and historians have long been puzzled. Immediately after Verrazano's voyage there began to appear upon maps the name "Norumbega," a name which evidently had for contemporaries much meaning, but which in less than a century fell out of use without making ample provision for gratifying the curiosity of later generations. Neither the maps nor the allusions of explorers have as yet enabled us fully to solve the difficulties presented by this name. We find it applied to three things: *first*, a spacious territory; *secondly*, a river somewhere in that territory; *thirdly*, a town or village somewhere upon that river.

The Norumbega question

Now the territory called Norumbega does not present much difficulty; it may be roughly defined as the land included between the Hudson and the Penobscot rivers. It is thus not far from equivalent to New England. But when we come to the river there is a wide difference of opinion, and as to the origin of the name there has been much brave guessing. Perhaps the most common opinion is that the Penobscot was the River of Norumbega, with a village on its bank somewhere up country, where European skippers

<sup>1</sup> The original map is in the Royal Archives at the Hague; there is a copy in the State Library of New York, at Albany. It is engraved as frontispiece to O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*, vol. i.

traded with the natives for furs ; and the name is often said to be Indian.<sup>1</sup>

But a very different explanation of Norumbega, suggested in 1884 by Arthur James Weise, of Troy, has some strong points in its favour.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Weise maintains that the River of Norumbega was the Hudson and that the town was on Manhattan Island. The name is evidently connected with Verrazano's<sup>3</sup> voyage, and the Hudson River is the only one which in his letter he speaks of entering. How many other streams he may have entered without seeing fit to mention the fact, we cannot say ; but clearly the Hudson River and Narragansett Bay were the two localities which most deeply impressed him. He describes the Hudson as a very broad river running between small steep hills, which indicates that he may have gone up as far as Spuyten Duyvil. Now if this was really the River of Norumbega, visited and described by this party of Frenchmen, it is fair to ask if the name may not be some French epithet, mutilated and disguised in its pilgrimage among the map-makers. Might not the map-name *Norumbega* be simply a Low-Latin corruption of *Anor-*  
The Palisades *mée Berge*? In sixteenth century French that means *Grand Scarp*, and where could one find a better epithet for the majestic line of cliffs that we call the Palisades? a feature so unusual and so striking that one could hardly fail to select it for description. The River of Norum-

<sup>1</sup> In recent years it has been maintained, by the late Professor E. N. Horsford, of Cambridge, that the River of Norumbega was the Charles, and that at its junction with Stony Brook stood a city founded by Northmen early in the eleventh century ; we are asked to believe that after keeping up a trade with Europe for three hundred years this Norse colony vanished, leaving no trace in European tradition, but the Indians remembered its name for two centuries longer and imparted that name to the whites, *Norumbega* being the Indian attempt at pronouncing *Norvega*, the Latin form of Norway. In accordance with these views a tower with a commemorative inscription has been somewhat prematurely erected on the supposed site of the city.

<sup>2</sup> *The Discoveries of America to the Year 1525*. New York, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> It first appears as *Aranbega* on Hieronimo da Verrazano's map, of which there is an engraving in Brevoort's *Verrazano the Navigator*.

begs, then, is simply the River of the Grand Scarp. It is in favour of this view that on some old maps the name occurs as *Norumberg* and *Anorumberga*. But far more important testimony may be drawn from the maps.

Here the question may arise in some minds, why should not the maps at once and decisively settle the question? If the River of Norumberga is given upon maps under that name, why should we be in doubt as to whether it is to be identified with the Penobscot, or the Hudson, or with some river between them? <sup>Old maps</sup> A modern map would not leave us in doubt. Very true. A modern map is based upon full and correct knowledge of the country depicted, and its names have become firmly attached to the places and objects which they denote. The maps of the old explorers were based upon scant and fragmentary knowledge, eked out by an indefinite quantity of inference, some of it sober and more of it wild. Names, moreover, once given, were liable to be migratory, for an honest skipper might suppose himself to be at some particular spot which his predecessor had baptized, and yet in reality he might be two or three hundred miles away from it. Thus the next map might move the name two or three hundred miles. Even descriptions would suffer in this way; for your worthy skipper, observing some hill or river or wild beast which his predecessor had not mentioned because it was not there, would go and add it to his predecessor's descriptions, thus mingling two true pictures to make one false one. It would be hard to find a subject more abounding in pitfalls for the unwary than the geography of the great ages of discovery, and by the same token it would be hard to find a subject more full of fascination.

In most of the sixteenth century maps the coast between Chesapeake Bay and the Bay of Fundy, the region first mapped by Verrazano, appears in a very abridged and sketchy shape. Just obliterate all the names now familiar to us, take away Long Island Sound, and reduce to insignificance Nova Scotia, Cape Cod, and the Delaware capes, and the map of

our Atlantic coast, thus bedevilled, loses much of its instructiveness. Most of the older maps give to the region now occupied by New England a very squeezed look, and the way in which your mind works depends more or less upon which side you start from. If you carry your eye westward from Nova Scotia to a river which seems in the right place for the Penobscot, and then look for some other familiar feature of New England, ten to one you are confronted with something in Maryland. Or if you start from Chesapeake Bay and look north and east for the Hudson River, you may find it in a plausible position, but your next movement eastward is likely enough to drop you in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Hence it is not strange that there has been so much difficulty in locating the River of Norumbega.

Nevertheless the old maps have important testimony to offer. On many of them we find certain important names recurring in the same order of sequence. One of those names is Cape St. Helen, in latitude  $32^{\circ}$ , evidently one of the capes at the mouth of Savannah River. Farther north we observe a very prominent cape, one of the most prominent features on the whole Atlantic coast; it is usually called Cabo de Arenas, or "Sandy Cape," but sometimes appears in French as Cap des Sablons, which means the same. This prominence has often been identified with Cape Cod, but there are serious obstacles to this view. On most, if not all, the sixteenth century maps where it appears, this sandy cape is placed below the 40th parallel, and usually with much persistence at the 39th. In the very interesting maps of Diego Ribeiro (1529)<sup>1</sup> and Alonso de Santa Cruz (1542),<sup>2</sup> the Atlantic coast between Florida and Newfoundland is divided into two great regions called the Land of Ayllon and the Land of Gomez. The former corresponded roughly with the territory of the Virginia Company, and was named for Lucas d'Ayllon, who in 1526 made a disastrous attempt

<sup>1</sup> Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas; Atlas*, xv.

<sup>2</sup> A facsimile was published by the Swedish Staff-General, with notes by E. W. Dahlgren, Stockholm, 1892.





# PARTE INCOGNITA



NA TERRA DE LABORADOR





to found a Spanish colony on James River.<sup>1</sup> The region named for the navigator Gomez corresponded roughly with New England. Now both Ribeiro and Santa Cruz place the Cabo de Arenas in the northern part of the Land of Ayllon, a position which might answer for Cape Henlopen, but not at all for Cape Cod. Again, the historian Gomara, in a deeply interesting passage wherein he gives many distances along the Atlantic coast, not only gives the latitude of Cabo de Arenas as 39°, but makes it 210 Spanish leagues distant from the Savannah River, thus clearly indicating Cape Henlopen.<sup>2</sup> The large river, then, which appears on many old maps immediately north of Cabo de Arenas is the Delaware. It is called Rio de San Antonio, a name which Gomez bestowed probably upon the Hudson, but which was often shifted to the Delaware.<sup>3</sup>

The correct identification of Cabo de Arenas is of vital importance. Fifty leagues or so to the north of it the coastline bends rather abruptly to the eastward. Now if Arenas is Cape Cod, this eastward trend must be that of the Maine coast, and the great river hard by, which often bears the name of Norumbega, must be the Penobscot. But if Arenas is Cape Henlopen, the eastward trend must be that of the coast of Long Island, and the River of Norumbega must be the Hudson.

In this connection the map made by Gastaldi, in Venice, in 1556, is instructive.<sup>4</sup> It is under obligations to Verrazano; it calls the Coney Island region Angoulême, and Narragansett Bay a Port of Refuge. The Hudson River is carried up to its junction with the Mohawk, and even higher, to an imaginary junction with the St. Lawrence.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Discovery of America*, ii. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*. Saragossa, 1552, cap. xii.

<sup>3</sup> On Dr. Dee's map (1580) the Delaware is called San Antonio and the Hudson (on which appears Norumbega) is called the River Gamas (i. e. Gomez). A rough sketch of this map is given in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 98.

<sup>4</sup> It is engraved in Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, Venice, 1556, iii. 353.

Now on this map Norumbega is plainly comprised between the Hudson River and Narragansett Bay, over the mouth of which Block Island keeps a strict watch.

But far more decisive is the testimony of the great Flemish geographer, Gerard Kramer, whose Latinized name of Mercator is familiar to everybody who uses an atlas or sails a ship. Mercator made several maps of the world, which are all of the highest value as showing the progress that was achieved between them. On one of these maps, made at Duisburg in 1569,<sup>1</sup> the Hudson River is so clearly indicated, midway between Cabo de Arenas (Cape Henlopen) and Claudia (Block Island), that there could be no two opinions about it even if it had no name attached. But it has a name attached, and that name is *Rivière Grande*, the Great River, a name appropriated to the Hudson at that day and by which it continued to be known long after Hudson's time. The bay of New York is at its foot, and far up country the Mohawk is seen entering it; hypothetical mountains are shown as the source of both rivers. Now on this map the territorial name, *Norumbega*, has its first three letters on the west side of the Hudson River and its final *a* comes due north of Block Island, thus agreeing with the Gastaldi map just mentioned. But there is something better yet. East of the river and at the head of New York Bay is a tiny picture of a village with a fort, and this village is labelled *Norumbega* in smaller type than the territorial name just above it. Here, then, we seem to have the testimony of one of the greatest geographers of the sixteenth century, that the River of Norumbega was the Hudson, and that the village of Norumbega was at the head of the bay into which it empties, that is to say, on Manhattan Island.

<sup>1</sup> The original is preserved in the Stadtbibliothek at Breslau. A superb facsimile, in eight sheets of elephant folio size, was published at Berlin in 1891 by the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde. There is a reproduction of the part which gives the American coast in Weise's *Discoveries of America*, p. 360.

Mercator's  
map of  
1569



Gerardus Mercator.





The original of this map is in the National Library at Paris, and in the same library is a manuscript folio of 194 leaves written by Jean Allefonsce, the navigator already mentioned. From this document it would appear that Allefonsce sailed up the River *Norombègue* at least as far as the site of Poughkeepsie, for he found the water tasting salt at a distance of ninety miles from the sea. This is true of the Hudson, but could not be said of the Penobscot, where the tide rises only as far as Bangor, about sixty miles from the sea. We further learn that the French fort of *Norombègua* was situated on a small island [or partly submerged isthmus] in a lake upon the island of Manhattan. In other words it was a little north of the present City Hall. The lake, which the Dutch used to call sometimes the Collect, sometimes the Fresh Water, was a familiar feature in New York until after the present century had come in. John Fitch used it for experiments with a small steamboat in 1796. It covered a large part of the Five Points neighbourhood. Here, we are told, French fur traders had a village and blockhouse <sup>1</sup> in 1540; and such was then the city of *Norumbega*. It may well have been in its origin an Indian village, most opportunely situated between the peltries of the upper country and the great aboriginal wampum fields of Long Island.

The details of Mercator's map are closely followed by another eminent geographer, Abraham Ortelius, in his map of 1570;<sup>2</sup> and the same conclusion as to *Norumbega* seems borne out by the maps of Rascicotti (Venice, 1583)<sup>3</sup> and Cornelius Wytfliet (Louvain, 1597).<sup>4</sup> In strong contrast with these is the vague and confused treatment of Cornelius de Judæis (Antwerp, 1593)<sup>5</sup> and Matthias Quadus

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps on the isthmus between the Collect and Little Collect, where a powder magazine was built in 1728. See below, vol. ii. pp. 64, 67, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile-Atlas*, xlv.

<sup>3</sup> *Remarkable Maps of the Bodël Nyenhuis Collection at Leyden*, Amsterdam, 1894, xii.

<sup>4</sup> Nordenskjöld, li., but the good Wytfliet's latitudes are out of joint.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, xlvi.

Alle-  
fonsce's  
manu-  
script

Other  
maps

(Cologne, 1608);<sup>1</sup> while a haziness of conception that lends itself readily to the Penobscot theory may be seen in the maps of Pierre Desceliers (Arques, 1546)<sup>2</sup> and Franciscus Hœcius (Amsterdam, cir. 1600).<sup>3</sup> The tendency to identify the River of Norumbega with the Penobscot grew with the lapse of time, and there the good Champlain searched for "the city" in 1604 as far as the site of Bangor, but sought in vain.<sup>4</sup>

This solution of the Norumbega problem seems to me the one that best harmonizes with such data as are accessible, but the subject is not one which admits of dogmatic assurance. However it may come out with Norumbega, it is clear that for a quarter of a century or more after the voyage of Verrazano the Hudson River was visited by French fur traders, and that they had blockhouses on Manhattan Island and at Albany. Then there seems to have been a falling off in these French visits; at least we hear no more about them; and this falling off may well have been the reason why the position and meaning of Norumbega were forgotten. Of expeditions supported by the crown there seem to have been none after Roberval and Allefonsce until the beginning of the seventeenth century, — an interval of sixty years. This cessation of maritime enterprise was probably due to the absorption of France in the Huguenot struggle, including thirty-six years of civil war. From the accession of Henry II. in 1547 down to the Edict

Temporary  
cessation  
of French  
activity on  
the ocean

<sup>1</sup> Nordenskjöld, xlix.

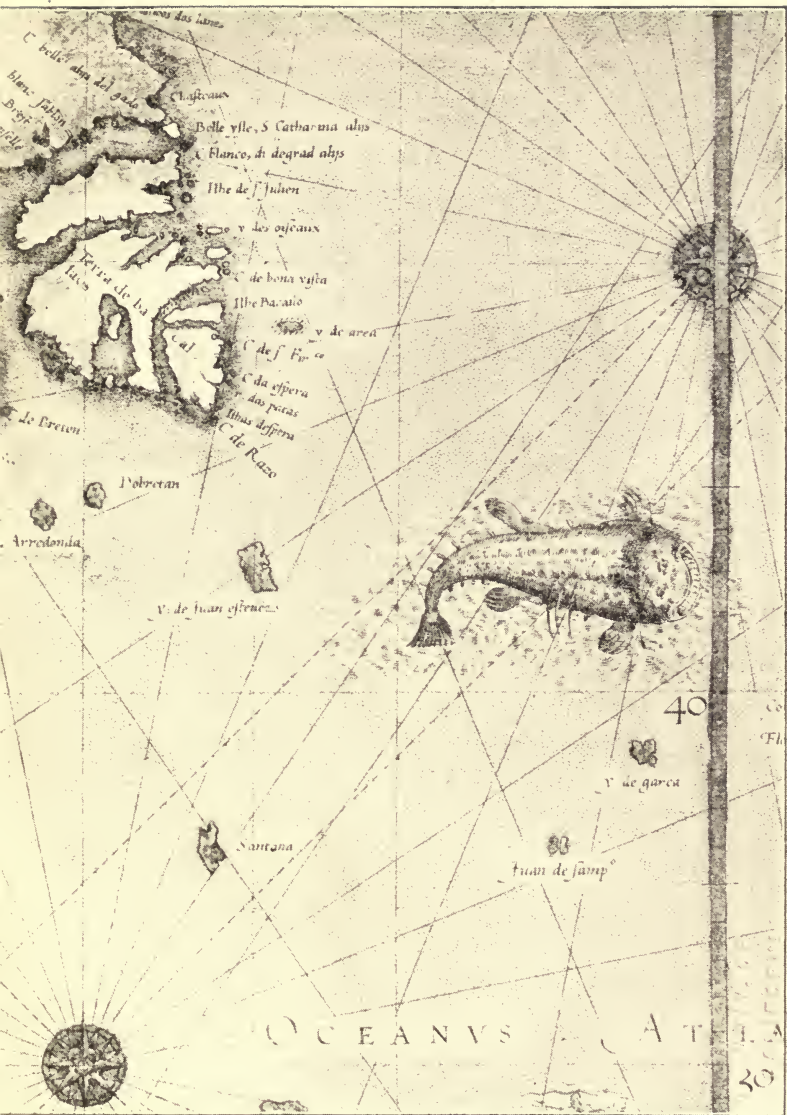
<sup>2</sup> Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas; Atlas*, xvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Remarkable Maps*, etc., vii. In this map C. de Arenas is placed below 40°, but its shape is made strikingly like that of the Cape Cod peninsula; and the river usually labelled Grande is moved eastward from the name Grande, which is attached to a much smaller river.

<sup>4</sup> On Champlain's map of 1612 (see Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 381), the Penobscot River is called Naranberga. Perhaps the latest occurrence of the name is on the map made by Lucini for Robert Dudley's *Arcano del Mare*, Florence, 1647, an engraving of which is given in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, Albany, 1849, vol. i. Here the territorial name stands upon the locality of the White Mountains.







REG MAPPEMONDE, 1569



of Nantes in 1598, we need not be surprised at the absence of any traces of French voyages to America, except for the fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, which was an industry too solidly established to be easily overthrown.

It was early in this period of French quiescence beyond sea that the English formed their first joint-stock company for the prosecution of maritime trade and colonization. This was the Muscovy Company, incorporated in February, 1555, for the purpose of trading with Russia and discovering a northeastern passage to the Indies. Its first governor was the veteran navigator, Sebastian Cabot, who had lately returned from the Spanish into the English service, and one of its founders and directors or assistants was a Henry Hudson. With the careless prodigality of spelling characteristic of that age, the name of this gentleman occurs in more than thirty different forms, including such aberrations as Herdson, Hodgson, Huddesdon, and Hogeson, so that when modern scholars began looking him up, a good deal of patient research was required to prove his identity under so many disguises. This Henry Hudson, described in legal documents as Gentleman, was a citizen of London, a member of the guild of Tanners, one of the twelve companies from which the Lord Mayor must be chosen. He was alderman of London at the time of the founding of the Muscovy Company, and is often mentioned as Alderman Hudson. Beside his great wealth acquired in trade, he was lord of at least a dozen ancient manors, some of which had been conferred upon him by Henry VIII. out of the spoils of the monasteries. This Alderman Hudson died of a malignant fever in December, 1555, and was buried in the church of St. Dunstan's in the East, where his monument is still to be seen. He was noted for his public spirit and benevolence, and had the respect and confidence of all classes of people.

Of Alderman Henry Hudson's eight sons, the eldest, Thomas Hudson, who lived at Mortlake on the Thames, was a friend of the learned and eccentric philosopher, Dr. John

Dee, whose private diary, published by the Camden Society, gives interesting information about him. We learn that among his intimate friends were Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Rev. Richard Hakluyt, and the great Arctic navigator, John Davis. We find that in 1583 this Thomas Hudson took part in a conference of such choice spirits in planning the voyages which have left the name of Davis upon the western gateway to the Arctic Ocean; and a cosy picture it is when Queen Elizabeth one winter day, after a noon dinner at Walsingham's house at Richmond, passes Dr. Dee's door and calls out to him, whereupon he walks by her horse's side and chats with her till they reach Mr. Hudson's dwelling.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to have been a different Thomas Hudson, of Limehouse, below London, who in 1579, in the service of the Muscovy Company, commanded an expedition to Archangel, and thence across country and down the Volga to Astrakhan, and so on over the Caspian Sea to Persia. Hakluyt's narrative shows this Captain Hudson to have been a man of nerve and resource.

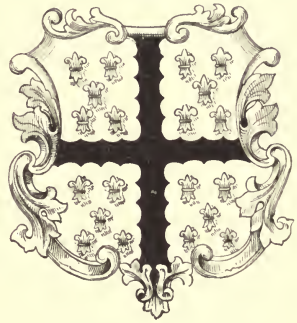
There was also a Christopher Hudson, whose career as agent of the Muscovy Company we can follow from his appointment in 1560 to 1601, when we lose sight of him. He was a man of great and varied abilities, and deeply interested both in Arctic exploration and in what was then called "western planting" or the founding of colonies in America. He seems to have been a son of Sir Christopher, brother of Alderman Hudson. Into the relationships of these worthies we can go just far enough to be tantalized, for in matters of genealogy a miss is as bad as a mile; but there are fair grounds for believing them all to have been kinsmen. It

has been conjectured that Henry Hudson the Navigator was the grandson of Alderman Hudson. The moment at which history first actually knows him is the first day of May, 1607, when he sailed from Greenwich in command of an Arctic expedition, but we also know

<sup>1</sup> Read's *Hudson*, p. 54.



that he was a citizen of London ; and the Dutch historian, Van Meteren, who was consul at London, tells us that there was a warm friendship between Henry Hudson and Captain John Smith. We learn from documents collected by Hakluyt that it was a custom for members of the Muscovy Company to apprentice their children in the art of navigation for the Company's service. It therefore seems highly probable that Henry Hudson, as member of a family which had already for two generations been devoted to the interests of Arctic navigation,



HUDSON COAT OF ARMS

had grown up in the employ of the Company. In 1607 and 1608 he made two voyages in its service. In the first he tried to penetrate between Greenland and Spitzbergen, in the hope of passing across the North Pole and finding beyond some available stretch of water over which he could sail to the eastern ports of Asia. In the second voyage Hudson tried to pass between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. In this high latitude he tells us that on the morning of the 15th of June two of his sailors saw a mermaid, who came close to the ship's side and gazed earnestly at them. Her face and breasts were those of a woman, but below she was a fish as big as a halibut, and in colour like a speckled mackerel.<sup>1</sup> It has been plausibly conjectured that this creature might have been a seal, an animal which at that time had seldom been seen by English sailors.

His first  
and second  
voyages

Although neither of these voyages accomplished its purpose, yet on his return to England in August, 1608, Hudson

<sup>1</sup> *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, iii. 575. The same explanation suits the mermaid seen by Captain Richard Whitbourne, off the Newfoundland coast ; see my *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, i. 248.

found himself famous. He had been nearer the pole than any man before him, and his superb seamanship was widely reported. Naturally the Dutch East India Company felt that if he were to undertake a third voyage, it had better be in their behalf than in that of their English rivals. Their offers were probably made through his friend, the Dutch consul Van Meteren, but how they prevailed upon him to leave the English service, we do not know. One Dutch historian, Adrian van der Donck, who wrote in 1650, assures us that Hudson had before 1607 spent several years in Holland, and this may be the source of the tradition which paints him as in some indescribable way half a Dutchman, and affectionately calls him Hendrik Hudson. But Van der Donck is notoriously untrustworthy for matters outside of his own personal knowledge; he no more thinks of sifting his statements than any other old gossip. If Hudson had spent much time in Holland he could hardly have failed to know something about the language, which is so like our own and so easy to learn. It was Hudson's friend Van Meteren who declared that English was only "broken Dutch."<sup>1</sup> But Hudson in 1608 knew scarcely a word of Dutch. In the fourteenth century, a set of sailing directions for the northern seas was written in Icelandic by Ivar Bardsen, steward of the bishopric of Gardar, in Greenland. This was translated into Dutch about 1592 by the illustrious pilot, William Barendz, of whom I gave some account in the preceding chapter. When this version was shown to Hudson he was unable to use it, and it was then translated into English for his especial behoof. This English version, used by Hudson, was published at Albany in 1869. As for Hudson's name, the Dutch contract drawn up by Dutch lawyers at Amsterdam, under which he sailed, calls him Henry. Instead of being half naturalized in Holland, he was evidently a stranger there, invited because of

Hudson enters the service of the Dutch East India Company

<sup>1</sup> William Bradford, on the other hand, an excellent linguist, calls Dutch a "strange and uncouth language" (*History of the Plimoth Plantation*, p. 11); but he heard it with the ears of an exile.

the sudden fame of his two recent voyages. He was the Nansen of the year 1608.

Others than the Dutch directors were eager to secure the great sailor's services. Henry IV. of France wished to establish a French East India Company and find work for it, so that he too was interested in an Arctic passage to Cathay, and his ambassador at the Hague approached Hudson on the subject. One grave source of weakness in the Netherlands was an excess of state sovereignty, which was apt to impair unity of action. Even the great commercial company must have its separate chambers to represent the interests of different localities. The Amsterdam chamber had no power to make a contract that would bind the whole Company, and the next general meeting would come too late for starting such a voyage in the spring of 1609. But while things were thus pending, news of the French ambassador's overtures reached the Amsterdam directors, and they instantly assumed the responsibility of sending Hudson out. Thus we may with peculiar propriety call New York the child of Amsterdam.

It was on the 4th of April, 1609, that Henry Hudson set sail on the Zuyder Zee. His equipment for penetrating the polar seas was such as to make us marvel at the mighty courage which could undertake such arduous work with such slender means. One little yacht, of eighty tons burden, with a crew of sixteen or eighteen sailors, — that was all. The mate was a Netherlander, and about half the crew were English. The records of voyages were now much better kept than in Verrazano's time. Sebastian Cabot had introduced sailors of the Muscovy Company to the practice of keeping the log-books, with observations systematically recorded from day to day. Hudson's movements, therefore, present us with comparatively few difficulties. He doubled the North Cape on the 5th of May, and headed for Nova Zembla. But the sea was so full of ice that the prospect of getting through was dismal, and the little crew became mutinous. Hudson was required by his instructions to return to Amsterdam in case of failure

Hudson  
baffled at  
Nova  
Zembla

to find a passage here, but he had expedients of his own in mind, and probably felt that in an enterprise of such magnitude his own discretion must be allowed to count for something. He had not yet tried the northwestern routes; he might sail through either Davis Strait or Frobisher Strait and see what he could find beyond.

But yet another and perhaps more promising course was open. There was the great Verrazano Sea, behind Virginia; he might try to find a passage into that. Nothing had as yet occurred to refute the belief in such a sea. It is true that Fernando de Soto had reached the Mississippi River, and Cabeça de Vaca had gone through Texas, and Coronado had visited the pueblos of New Mexico. These discoveries are reflected in Michael Lok's map of 1582, which shows a solid continent from Florida to the Gulf of California, reaching up in many places to the 40th parallel. But north of

Lok's map  
and John  
Smith's  
letter

this and west of Norumbega this map shows the enormous Sea of Verrazano sweeping over the whole of North America, and divided from the Atlantic only by a narrow isthmus just at the 40th parallel. One might still hope somewhere about here to find a strait. In the preceding summer John Smith had explored Chesapeake Bay and entered the Potomac, Patapsco, and Susquehanna rivers. There was no passage there, but there might be one a little farther north. So Smith thought, and so he had written to Hudson, who had received the letter at Amsterdam and had it with him now. When Hudson explained the matter, it was decided to cross the Atlantic and look for a northwest passage in latitude 40°. Thus curiously is the name of John Smith linked with the beginnings of American history in the middle as well as in the southern and northern zones. Smith was the saviour of Virginia, he gave to New England its name, and he was instrumental in sending the Dutch to Manhattan!

These northern voyages of Hudson, aside from their intrinsic interest in the history of navigation, are memorable for two things. First, they revealed the existence of whales

in vast numbers about Spitzbergen, larger and better in bone and blubber than any hitherto known, and thus they led to a revival and extension of whale-fishery, in which Holland kept the lead until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Secondly, on the 21st of May, 1609, while doubling the North Cape on his return to the Atlantic waters, Hudson made the first recorded observation of a sun spot. It was a year and a half later that sun spots were observed by Hariot and again by Galileo, to the holy indignation of good Aristotelians, who deemed it flat blasphemy to say that the Eye of the Universe could suffer from ophthalmia!

Nine days after passing the North Cape, the little Half Moon put in at the Faroe Islands, and the casks were filled with fresh water. On the 3d of June the sailors were surprised at the force of the current which we call the Gulf Stream. On the 18th of July they arrived in Penobscot Bay, with foremast gone and sails much the worse for wear. Here they anchored and went ashore to cut a pine-tree for a new foremast. It took them a week to make the mast and repair their sails, and meanwhile they must have lived like princes, for they caught fifty cod, a hundred lobsters, and one great halibut. They were visited by two French shallops full of Indians, who offered them fine beaver skins in exchange for red cloth. Nine days after leaving Penobscot Bay the Half Moon anchored near Cape Cod, and another day brought her to Old Stage Harbour, on the south side of that peninsula. On the 18th of August, amid gusts of wind and rain, she was off the Accomac peninsula and sighted an opening, probably Machipongo Inlet, which Hudson mistook for the James River. "This," he says, "is the entrance into the King's River in Virginia, where our Englishmen are." He made no attempt to visit them, perhaps because he may have been conscious that Dutch explorers upon this coast would be regarded by Englishmen as poachers. Presently turning northward, he entered Delaware Bay on the 28th of August, and began taking

soundings. He found many shoals, and several times the Half Moon struck upon the sands ; the current, moreover, set outward with such force as to assure him that he was at the mouth of a large and rapid river. This was not encouraging, for a large river, discharging loads of sand, implied something more than a narrow neck of land behind it. Before daybreak he weighed anchor, and on the 3d of September dropped it again somewhere between Sandy Hook and Staten Island, as Verrazano had done eighty-five years before.

When the Half Moon entered the great bay, says the mate's journal, "the people of the country came aboard of us, seeming very glad of our coming, and brought greene tobacco, and gave us of it for knives and beads. They goe in deere skins loose, well dressed. They have yellow copper. They desire cloathes, and are very civill. They have great store of maize or Indian wheat, whereof they make good bread. The countrey is full of great and tall oakes. . . . Some of the people were in mantles of feathers, and some in skinnes of divers sorts of good furies. Some women also came to us with hempe. They did weare about their neckes things of red copper. At night they went on land againe, so wee rode very quiet, but durst not trust them."

It soon appeared that this suspiciousness was well founded. Next day the ship's boat was sent out toward Bergen with five men to make some observations ; on their way back they were assailed by a score of Indians in canoes, and one Englishman was killed with an arrow. As the Half Moon passed on up the river she was occasionally saluted with flights of arrows, and sometimes these volleys were answered by musket shots with deadly effect. On the 14th of September the ship passed between Stony and Verplanck's points and entered upon the magnificent scenery of the Catskills. On the 22d she had probably gone above the site of Troy, and the boat found only seven feet of water, so that progress was stopped. On the way down there were

The Half  
Moon in  
the harbour  
of New  
York

The Half  
Moon in  
the Cats-  
kills

A very good Harbour.

The people of the Country come aboard, they are very ciuill. Yellow Cop- per.

Tall Oakes.

The great Bay in 40. degrees and 30. minutes.

Dried Currants.

Mantles of

Feathers, Furs, Hempe.

Red Copper.

farther vp. So we sent our Boate to sound, and found that it was a very good Harbour; and foure and five fathoms, two Cables length from the shoare. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our Boate went on Land with our Net to Fish, and caught ten great Mulletts, of a foot and a halfe long a pece, and a Ray as great as foure men could hale into the ship. So we trimmed our Boate and rode still all day. At night the wind blew hard at the North-west, and our Anchor came home, and we droue on shoare, but tooke no hurt, thanked bee God, for the ground is soft sand and Oze. This day the people of the Country came aboard of vs, seeming very glad of our comming, and brought Greene Tabacco, and gave vs of it for Knives and Beads. They goe in Deere skins loose, well dressed. They haue yellow Copper. They desire Cloathes, and are very ciuill. They haue great store of Maiz or *Indian Wheate*, whereof they make good Bread. The Country is full of great and tall Oakes.

The fifth, in the morning as soone as the day was light, the wind ceased and the Flood came. So we heaued off our ship againe into five fathoms water, and sent our Boate to sound the Bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the Souther shoare. Our men went on Land there, and saw great store of Men, Women and Children, who gaue them Tabacco at their comming on Land. So they went vp into the Woods, and saw great store of very goodly Oakes, and some Currants. For one of them came aboard and brought some dried, and gaue me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboard, some in Mantles of Feathers, and some in Skinnes of diuers sorts of good Furres. Some women also came to vs with Hempe. They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper, they did weare about their neckes. At night they went on Land againe, so wee rode very quiet, but durst not trust them.

some adventures. "The people of the mountaynes," says the journal, "came aboard us, wondring at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skinnes of them for trifles. This afternoone, one canoe kept hanging under our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got up by our rudder to the cabin window, and stole out my pillow, and two shirts, and two bandeleeres. Our master's mate shot at him . . . and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their canoes, and some leapt out of them into the water." We manned our boat and got our things againe. Then one of them that swamme got hold of our boat, thinking to overthrow it. But our cooke took a sword and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebbe was come, and we weighed and got down two leagues." On another occasion there was quite a skirmish, the barbarians swarming by hundreds in their bark canoes and shooting persistently, though with little effect, while the ship's cannon sank them and musketry mowed them down. But the meetings were sometimes more friendly. Somewhere near the site of Catskill, "I sailed to the shore," says Hudson, "in one of their canoes, with an old man, who was the chief of a tribe, consisting of forty men and seventeen women; these I saw there in a house well constructed of oak bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being well built, with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize . . . and beans of the last year's growth, and there lay near the house for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some Indian hospitality food was served in well made red wooden bowls; two men were also despatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it with great haste, with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night, but I returned after a short time on



board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, and it also abounds in trees of every description."

This picture of Indian hospitality, with its festal dish of dog, is one with which we are all familiar in books. On coming out of the great river, on the 4th of October, Hudson



SIR DUDLEY DIGGES

left behind him the shore which the natives called Manna-hatta, and on the next day he sailed out through the Narrows and headed for Europe. On the 7th of November the Half Moon arrived at Dartmouth, and the Englishmen in the crew compelled the captain to land there. He sent to Amsterdam a report of the voyage, with a request for more money and half a dozen fresh men in place of the unruly ones ; then he

proposed to start in March on a fresh search for the north-west passage. When this letter reached Amsterdam the directors instructed Hudson to come first to Holland. But meanwhile King James had interfered with an order forbidding him to leave the country. The foreigners were not to be allowed to have so valuable a man, and so Hudson was unceremoniously brought back into the service of the Muscovy Company. The Half Moon was sent on her way to Amsterdam, a new ship was fitted up by Sir Dudley Digges and others, and in the following April our bold navigator set sail once more for the New World.

The voyage was full of hardship as the ship made her way into the great inland water which has ever since been known as Hudson's Bay, but ought rather to be called Hudson Sea, since it is bigger than the Black and Caspian together. From the 3d of November, 1610, till the 18th of June, 1611, the ship was locked in ice in James's Bay, at its southern extremity. During this long and unexpected delay the supply of food fell short and Satan found mischief for idle hands and busy brains. The crew insisted upon returning home as soon as the ice should break up, but the captain, nourishing his great purpose and finding himself on this broad western sea, naturally wished to press on westward. Perhaps the summer might show that he had already cleared the barrier between the Atlantic Ocean and the waters that washed the coast of Asia. An Indian came on board one day with a poniard, which Hudson believed to be of Mexican make, and this confirmed him in the belief that he must be near the Pacific coast, where he might find fresh supplies. Fish could be caught in considerable numbers, but there was scarcely bread enough to last a fortnight. On the ship was a young man named Henry Green, of worshipful parents but of froward and unseemly life, whom the captain had befriended and sought to reform and to have for his secretary. This viper devised a mutiny; and on midsummer day, three days after leaving winter quarters, Henry Hudson,

Hudson returns to the service of the Muscovy Company

His last voyage

with his son John Hudson,<sup>1</sup> and seven sick men, were set adrift in an open boat upon that waste of waters, while the ship faced about for England. Our <sup>His tragic</sup> fate chronicler tells us with satisfaction that before reaching the ocean the faithless Green and his abettors were slain by the Indians. On arriving in England the crew were thrown into jail and an expedition was sent out in search of the great navigator ; but in spite of diligent seeking no more was ever seen or heard of Henry Hudson.

The man who came to such an untimely end was a notable instance of the irony of human destiny. Of all the searchers for a northerly route to the Indies none was ever more persistent or more devoted than he. In the brief four years during which we can follow his career he tried four ways of finding it, — the way across the pole, the way by Nova Zembla, by the imaginary sea of Verrazano, and by the veritable sea of Hudson. Had his life been spared we should doubtless have seen him enter the bay afterward discovered by Baffin, the route by which success could be attained, but only with modern resources and in the middle of the nineteenth century. In all that he attempted he failed, and yet he achieved great results that were not contemplated in his schemes. He started two immense industries, the Spitzbergen whale-fisheries and the Hudson Bay fur trade ; and he brought the Dutch to Manhattan Island. No realization of his dreams could have approached the astonishing reality which would have greeted him could he have looked through the coming centuries and caught a glimpse of what the voyager now beholds in sailing up the bay of New York. But what perhaps would have surprised him most of all would have been to learn that his name was to become part of the folk-lore of the beautiful river to which it is at- <sup>Hudson in</sup> tached, that he was to figure as a Dutchman, in <sup>folk-lore</sup> spite of himself, in legend and on the stage, that when it is thunder weather on the Catskills the children should say it is Hendrik Hudson playing at skittles with his goblin crew.

<sup>1</sup> Asher's *Hudson*, p. 122 ; Read's *Hudson*. pp. 167, 172.

Perhaps it is not an unkindly fate. Even as Milton wished for his dead friend Lycidas that he might become the genius of the shore, so the memory of the great Arctic navigator will remain a familiar presence among the hillsides which the gentle fancy of Irving has clothed with undying romance.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

To any one whose mind is accustomed to dwell upon the tremendous and world-wide nature of the issues that were decided in 1759 upon the Heights of Abraham, there is something romantic in the fact that in the summer of 1609 the first founders of the Dutch, the French, and the English powers in America were pursuing their adventurous work but a few hundred miles apart. While Hudson in September was sailing on the “River of the Mountains,” we may wonder if any rumour can have reached him of the wild fight in July, when Champlain defeated the Mohawks by the forest-clad shores of the beautiful “Lake of the Iroquois,” better known now by the name of the victor than of the vanquished. In that same September, hard by the falls of the James River, John Smith was holding friendly parley with the tribe that had adopted him, and bought of them the tract of land where the city of Richmond now stands. In the previous summer of 1608 Smith had met a party of Iroquois on the Susquehanna, and had entertained them in amicable discourse. Thus the first Englishman ever seen by those tawny lords of the wilderness came to them as a friend, while the French were now making them deadly enemies. The shots fired by Champlain, so few miles from the river on which the Half Moon was sailing, determined that whatever colony hostile to France should be planted at the mouth and along the banks of that river should enjoy the friendship and alliance of the strongest confederacy of Indians upon the American continent. It made the Iroquois the allies first of the Dutch and afterward of the English;

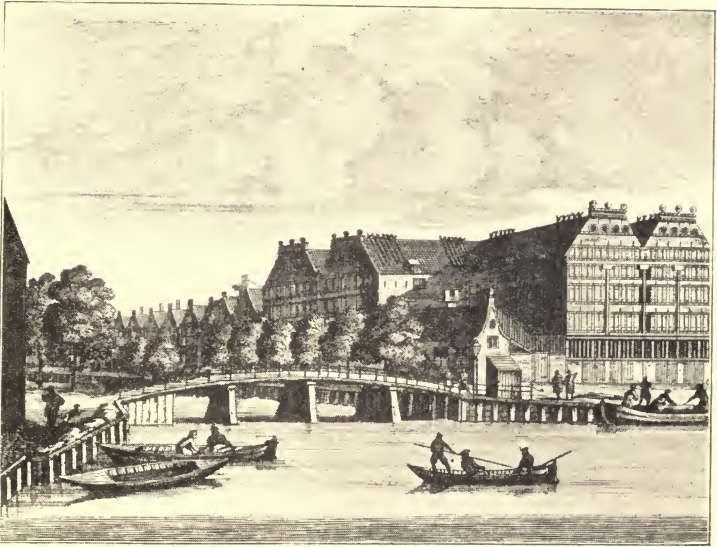
Signifi-  
cance of  
the year  
1609

and this is one of the great central and cardinal facts in the history of the New World. Had the Iroquois been the allies of the French, it would in all probability have been Louis XIV., and not Charles II., who would have taken New Amsterdam from the Dutch. Had the Iroquois not been the deadly enemies of the French, Louis XIV. would almost certainly have taken New York from the English.

The year 1609 was thus an eventful date in the history of the colonial world. It was so for yet other reasons. It was the year in which the star of empire for Spain finally disappeared below the horizon, when after forty years of war she was compelled virtually to acknowledge what had long been an accomplished fact, the independence of the Dutch Netherlands, and when, with suicidal superstition, she sought to appease the wrath of God by driving from her soil a million of her most intelligent and thrifty people, the Christian descendants of the Moors.

The downfall of Spain left France, England, and the Netherlands in the foreground; and now Holland stepped forward to occupy for a brief season the commercial centre of the American coast, to which Henry Hudson had led her. His reports of the abundance of fur-bearing animals stimulated the commercial zeal of the Dutch. But in spite of this, the proposal to occupy a portion of the American coast encountered some vigorous opposition in Holland, and when she came forward it was by no means with a stride or a bound. The opposition to a settlement in America was closely connected with the peculiar relations of the Dutch to the Flemish Netherlands and to Spain. A few words of explanation as to the Dutch political situation will not be superfluous.

I have said that in 1609 Spain was compelled virtually to acknowledge the independence of the Dutch. But the arrangement concluded that year was only provisional. There was to be a truce for twelve years, with many chances of a renewal of bloodshed at the end of that time. Now there was a party in the Dutch Netherlands that wished to have



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S WAREHOUSE

the war renewed and kept up until independence should be achieved for the Flemish Netherlands also. There were in Holland more than 100,000 Flemish refugees who were of this way of thinking, and they were among the most esteemed citizens. They wanted to see every rood of Netherland soil freed from the Spaniard's polluting presence; they wanted to see the docks of Antwerp once more merry with bustle; they wanted to go back to the homes of their childhood, in Bruges, in Lille, in Mechlin, in Valenciennes. They proposed to fight until these things should be accomplished. Among their leaders were most of the Calvinist clergy, and at their head was Prince Maurice of Orange, son of the idolized William the Silent, and himself the most famous soldier of the age,—doubtless the greatest general between the death of Alexander Farnese and the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus.

The Calvinist, or Orange party

Opposed to this war party were most of the municipal dignitaries of the Dutch Netherlands, and especially of Hol-

land. In this province the principal civic offices had become hereditary in a few families. Thus an oligarchy came near controlling Holland, and with it all the Dutch Netherlands, for in wealth and population Holland was at least equal to the other six provinces together. She contributed more than half the revenue and exercised a proportional influence over public policy. A large part of Holland's preponderance was due to the fact that within her territory were most of the large cities which received the 100,000 Flemish refugees, picked men for enterprise and wealth. The oligarchs did not wish to see these men return to the homes of their childhood; they preferred to have them stay and add to the greatness of Amsterdam and Leyden, Gouda and Rotterdam. Accordingly they were opposed to the renewal of war with Spain; they held it better to remain satisfied with what had been accomplished than to take new risks, or to incur certain damage with doubtful results. At the head of this peace party was the illustrious John of Olden Barneveld, and one of its greatest leaders was Hugo Grotius. Arminian theology seems to have suited the politics of these men better than Calvinism. Whenever you met an Arminian in Holland you might safely assume that he belonged to the party of these friends of peace. It was often called the Arminian party; but otherwise the Republican party, for one of its points was jealousy of the Orange princes, whom it accused of aiming at monarchy. On the other hand, the war party was called the Calvinist, or otherwise the Orange party. In numbers the Orange party was much the stronger, while its policy was broader and more national. But the Republican party, with a narrower and more sectional policy, was very strongly entrenched in the monopoly of municipal offices and in the interests of such cities as Amsterdam. It is needless to add that both parties were truly patriotic, while each was prone to suspect the other of treason. In the year 1609 the Twelve Years' Truce marked the moment when the power and influence of the Republicans were at their height.





Maurice de Nassau:



Now these two parties differed in their views of colonization, of maritime commerce, and the best methods of conducting naval warfare. The most thoroughgoing and unre-served advocates of an aggressive policy on the ocean were to be found among the Flemish exiles, among whom <sup>William</sup> one of the most eminent was <sup>Usselinx</sup> William Usselinx, one of the great merchants who had come from Antwerp to Amsterdam. After the defeat of the Armada he was one



HUGO GROTIUS

of the first to urge upon the Dutch government the desirability of imitating the policy of England in striking at the Spaniard's sources of revenue in the New World and in the East Indies. In his views of the importance of planting a Protestant colony in America that should be self-supporting, Usselinx may be compared with Gilbert and Raleigh. In 1592 this far-seeing man formed a scheme for organizing a West India Company, but it was premature and failed for

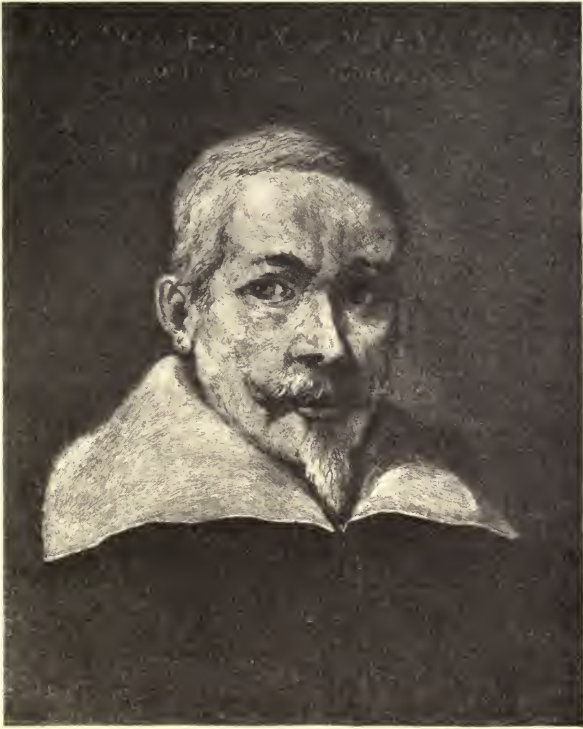
want of support. Dutch enthusiasm on the subject of America was aroused but slowly. But the necessity for controlling the East Indies was quickly appreciated, since the trade with Portugal had created powerful Dutch interests in that direction. The India trade must not be allowed to languish, and here the aggressive policy won its first victory. The astute Olden Barneveld realized the situation, and saw that it would not do to let such a lucrative trade redound to the political credit of the Orange party; he must get the control of this trade into the hands of his own followers; with this end in view he was foremost in creating the Dutch East India Company in 1602, and he contrived that the Republicans should always have an overwhelming majority in the board of directors.

This East India Company confined its operations mainly to the regions formerly controlled by Portugal, and did not meddle with America. The fact that Uselinx and the Orange party were eager to emulate Raleigh's policy in America was of itself enough to make the Republicans condemn such a policy. But besides this the Republicans, especially after the truce was concluded, were unwilling to irritate Spain more than was absolutely necessary. They wished to see the truce followed by a permanent peace; and while Spain was now biting her nails in unavailing rage, like Bunyan's giant in his cave, because of the new English settlement on James River, it was not deemed wise to goad her to madness with a Dutch settlement on the same coast. So felt the Republican directors of the East India Company. They had sent out Hudson to find a northeast passage; in defiance of their instructions, he had crossed the Atlantic; and they did not now propose to take advantage of what he had thus done. So the East India Company shrugged its shoulders and let Manhattan Island severely alone.

Nevertheless it was impossible for the commercial mind tamely to let go such a chance for fine peltries as the reports of Hudson's voyage suggested. During the next four years

The Dutch  
East India  
Company,  
1602

Its indiffer-  
ence to  
America



*Willem Jz. van Zwolle —*

sundry Amsterdam merchants fitted up small ships for themselves and found it very profitable to get skins of beaver and otter and mink in exchange for blue glass beads and strips of red cotton. By 1613 four rude houses had been built upon Manhattan Island, and Hendrick Christiansen was sailing to and fro, on all the waters near at hand, drumming up Indian customers. Now came a warning, not from Spain but from England. In November, 1613, young Captain Argall, who had just broken up the Jesuit settlements at Port Royal, in Acadia, and at Mount Desert, and was on his way back to Virginia with more

Dutch  
pioneers at  
Manhat-  
tan, 1613

French prisoners than his ship could comfortably carry, thought it worth his while to come in through the Narrows and see what was going on. He contented himself with scolding Christiansen and making him haul down the Dutch flag and raise that of England. Not dismayed, however, but perhaps rather stimulated by this rebuff, the Dutch merchants who were becoming interested in furs sought and obtained from the states of Holland and Friesland a monopoly of the trade during the time that might be required for

six voyages. A curious document is this Ordinance of March 27, 1614 : you may look through it in vain for any allusion to America or Manhattan Island or furs ; yet it grants most unmistakably the monopoly requested. The object is attained by circumlocution ; instead of the unpleasantly definite proper names we have common nouns of glittering generality. It is provided that the discoverers of " new Courses, Havens, Countries, or Places . . . shall alone resort to the same or cause them to be frequented," and for anybody else who shall venture to poach upon this preserve there is a penalty of 50,000 ducats. In case of diplomatic complications there might be safety in this vagueness of utterance. But we can also see, on the part of the states of Holland and Friesland, a desire to encourage exploration and acquire a title through discovery followed by settlement.

Just at this time a fresh attempt was made by Usselinx and his friends to get a charter for their projected West India Company, but the peace party was still too strong. Explorers, however, suddenly became active, stimulated by the Ordinance of 1614. Three good ships, commanded by Hendrick Christiansen, Cornelius May, and Adrian Block, set sail for Manhattan. Scarcely had they arrived when Block's ship, the Tiger, caught fire and was burned to the water's edge. Then the sturdy skipper built him a yacht 44½ feet

in length by 11½ feet in breadth of beam, and named her the Restless. With this little craft he made a voyage through waters as yet unfamiliar to Europeans, though they may possibly have been visited

The  
Ordinance  
of 1614 .

Voyage of  
Adrian  
Block

by Allefonse. Block passed through the East River, which he called "Hellegat," after a branch of the Scheld. The name seems to have pleased the English, for it has been retained to this day with its meaning narrowed down to the rocky and dangerous point where the waters of the East River merge in those of Long Island Sound. So far as the form of the Dutch name goes, it may mean "entrance to hell," but it may equally well mean "a clear passageway." Block saw the Housatonic River, and ascended the Connecticut as far as the site of Hartford; he explored Narragansett Bay quite thoroughly, and rounding Cape Cod went on as far as the site of Salem. His name has remained upon Block Island, known to earlier navigators as Louise and as Claudia.

While Block was thus passing through the Sound, the south side of Long Island was carefully studied by Cornelius May, who continued his voyage southward till he reached and explored Delaware Bay. Of the two <sup>Cornelius</sup> <sup>May</sup> capes which sentinel that bay, one is named after this captain, Captain May, the other after Henlopen, a town in Friesland. Some time afterward Captain Hendricksen, in the *Restless*, ascended the Delaware River as far as the Schuylkill.

The merchants in Amsterdam who were interested in these explorations now obtained from the States General a monopoly of the trade along the coasts and rivers which their agents had thus explored. The grant was made to them under the style of "The United New Netherland Company." This is the first appearance of the name New Netherland, which always, by the way, occurs in the <sup>New Neth-</sup> <sup>erland</sup> singular and never in the plural. The European Netherlands are plural because they are an aggregation of small states; but there was only one New Netherland, and to speak of it in the plural, as many persons do, is to commit a solecism. The southern limit of New Netherland was the South River, as the Delaware was then commonly called. The northern limit was the 45th parallel, to avoid collision with the French on the St. Lawrence. The eastern limit, accord-

ing to Dutch ideas, was Cape Cod, or as far east as Block and Christiansen had sailed ; but new-comers were soon to dispute this claim. The noble stream which Verrazano had called Grand River, which Gomez knew as River of St. Anthony, which appears on Mercator's map of 1569 as River of Norumbega, and which Henry Hudson called the River of the Mountains, now received more formal baptism as Prince Maurice's River ; but in course of time all these epithets succumbed to the name of Hudson himself. At the same time the Dutch very commonly called it the North River, as we still do to-day, and practically New Netherland was the country between the North and South rivers. To the west it had no definite limits, but never extended many miles from the west shore of the Hudson.

One of the first things done by the agents of the New Netherland Company was to visit the old fortress which the French had built in 1540, just below the site of Albany. They found an enclosure in the form of a square 58 feet on a side and surrounded by a moat 18 feet wide ; within were the remains of a strong house 36 feet by 26. These works, which were dilapidated and partly in ruins, the Dutch thoroughly repaired and furnished with a dozen cannons mounted on swivels and a garrison of a dozen men. They called the place Fort Nassau. Jacob Eelkens was left in command, a man whose name deserves to be remembered, since his personal qualities were such as to win the esteem of the Mohawks ; among the influences that brought about the all-important Iroquois-Dutch alliance, his sagacity and tact must not be omitted. It was soon found necessary to change the site of Fort Nassau ; floods and freshets made it difficult to keep it in good repair, and it was accordingly moved four miles down-stream near "the groves of singing pine-trees, in the green and silent valley" of Tawasentha.

Here on one of the hills that overlooked the vale of Tawasentha was held in 1618 a memorable conference between the commandant of Fort Nassau and the principal chiefs of the

Fort Nassau, and the vale of Tawasentha



*[Faint illegible text]*

11 October  
1614

*[Handwritten Dutch text, likely a patent or grant document, written in a cursive script. The text is dense and covers most of the page. Some legible words include: 'grante', 'rechten', 'vrijheid', 'handelen', 'verhandelen', 'handel', 'schepen', 'varen', 'wegen', 'dieren', 'visschen', 'planten', 'maken', 'handelen', 'verhandelen', 'handel', 'schepen', 'varen', 'wegen', 'dieren', 'visschen', 'planten', 'maken', 'handelen', 'verhandelen', 'handel', 'schepen', 'varen', 'wegen', 'dieren', 'visschen', 'planten', 'maken'. The document appears to be a formal grant of rights or privileges, possibly related to trade or industry in the colony.]*

*[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom left, possibly a signature or additional reference.]*

Five Nations. Since the fight at Ticonderoga, nine years before, these Indians had learned from their enemies on the St. Lawrence that thunder and lightning could be wielded by red men as well as by pale-faces, provided they were supplied with the proper talismans. A solemn treaty was now made by which the Dutch agreed to supply the Iroquois with muskets and ammunition in exchange for peltries. This treaty was never violated or seriously infringed. The Five Nations were always more or less steadfast allies of the Dutch, and afterwards of the English, until after 1763 their policy came to be less clear and certain.

By the charter of the New Netherland Company its monopoly lasted only three years, so that it was necessary to make large profits if one were to get riches in so short a time. In 1618 the Company tried to get an extension of the monopoly, but there was so much opposition to this on the part of other merchants that decisive action was delayed, and the Company went on with its trade and prospered even without the monopoly. It soon became evident that there was more than trade enough for those who were engaged in it, and the New Netherland Company began to entertain more extensive schemes of colonization. But before anything could come of this, their enterprise was destined to be absorbed in a greater organization. The Orange party, friendly to the establishment of a West India Company, was getting the upper hand, and in May, 1619, its victory was celebrated by a shameful judicial murder, when John of Olden Barneveld, the foremost citizen of the Netherlands, after forty years of the noblest public service, was beheaded on an absurd charge of treason. It reminds one curiously of the murder of Sir Walter Raleigh the year before, and it is a foul blot upon the career of Maurice of Orange, although morally less guilt attaches to him than to King James. Wherever Olden Barneveld was concerned, Prince Maurice's intellectual vision was hopelessly distorted, and he slew him in much the same spirit in which an opponent of Irish Home

Treaty  
with the  
Five  
Nations

Triumph of  
the Orange  
party



Gray abdubarwibira



Rule a few years ago might have devoutly prayed for the sudden death of Mr. Gladstone. The overthrow of the Republicans meant a strengthening of national unity in the loose Netherland confederation, it portended a renewal of war with Spain at the expiration of the truce, and it promised to afford Prince Maurice an opportunity of devoting his superb military talent to the task of setting free the Flemish Netherlands. The triumph of the war party meant that Usselinx and his friends would have their way and obtain a charter for the long-talked-of West India Company.

Just at this time, in February, 1620, a petition was addressed to the stadholder, Prince Maurice, by the directors of the New Netherland Company. They wished to found a substantial colony at Manhattan, and overtures had lately been made to them by Rev. John Robinson, an English preacher versed in the Dutch language and dwelling in Leyden. The Pilgrims from Scrooby and Austerfield and other English refugees had now sojourned for twelve years in Holland, and some of them wished to go and make a settlement in America. Mr. Robinson thought he could answer for 400 families, some from Holland, some from England, to go at once to New Netherland. It is true, the Pilgrims had already obtained a patent from the London Company for Virginia, authorizing them to plant a colony wherever they liked in Virginia south of the 40th parallel. But the king refused to give them a charter guaranteeing religious liberty; so they preferred to see, first, what could be done under Dutch auspices. In a Dutch colony they would have no fear of being molested for their opinions on theology or ecclesiastical polity. All that Robinson asked was that the United States of the Netherlands should guarantee the protection of these colonists in case of military disturbance. The New Netherland Company caught eagerly at the proposal; they promised to transport the Pilgrims to the North River free of charge and to furnish every family with cattle; but as for the desired military protection, that was a question for government to decide. Hence the

Petition of  
the Leyden  
Pilgrims to  
the States  
General,  
1620

directors petitioned the Prince of Orange, and he referred the matter to the States General.

But the States General now had larger aims in view than simply to found a small colony and send two or three war-ships to defend it. They were already at work upon the constitution of the West India Company, a gigantic commercial monopoly whose gains were to be employed where

The petition is rejected by the States General

occasion required in dealing out blows to Spain. The founding of a Protestant state in America was part of the scheme, but it was thought that the details of it had better be left to the West India

Company. Moreover, the Dutch statesmen were well aware that the English government regarded the North River and Manhattan Island as part of Virginia, and was likely to resent any attempts of theirs to found a state there. In view of the coming war with Spain it would be prudent to avoid a quarrel with England. The States General might harbour in their own country Englishmen whom King James regarded as half rebellious, but if it should come to planting a colony of such Englishmen on territory which King James called his own, and then undertaking to guarantee them against intrusion, such conduct would be likely to bring on a quarrel at once. The Dutch could not afford thus to hamper themselves, and in any case a war between the two great Protestant powers would be a scandal; so the States General rejected the petition, and the Pilgrims, instead of sailing for Manhattan, went on and organized their expedition under the auspices of the London Company. It was their intention to

By accident the Mayflower, intended for Delaware Bay, arrives in Cape Cod Bay

go to Delaware Bay. Had they done so and landed on the Jersey shore, they would have found themselves in New Netherlands as unwelcome guests. The Dutch on Manhattan, who might have loved them as fellow-citizens, would feel differently toward them as neighbours under foreign jurisdiction. As

it happened, the Mayflower, under stress of weather, ran somewhat out of her course and carried the Pilgrims north of Cape Cod and out of the jurisdiction of the London Com-

# OCTROY,

194

By de Hooghe Mogende

Heeren Staten Generael/ verleent aende West-

Indische Compagnie / in'date den derden

Junij 1621.



JN S'GRAVEN-HAGHE,

By Hillebrant Jacobsz, Ordinaris ende Ghesworen

Drucker vande Ed: Mo: Heeren Staten van Hol-

landt en VVest-Vrieslandt. Anno 1621,

pany. About fifty years afterward, Nathaniel Morton, secretary of Plymouth Colony, said that he had heard a report that certain Dutchmen had bribed the skipper of the *Mayflower* to take the Pilgrims out of their course, and this tale has been often repeated by writers of history. But a solitary hearsay rumour fifty years after the event cannot be accepted as testimony; and in this case the tale is silly unless we assume that the bribers could read the future and foresee that the Pilgrims, instead of persisting in finding the London Company's territory, would choose the bolder alternative of squatting upon the Plymouth Company's land and getting a title afterwards.

In the spring of 1621, while the Pilgrims were building their first permanent houses at Plymouth, the constitution of the West India Company was advancing toward completion at the Hague. The charter, which was issued in June, 1621, gave that Company exclusive jurisdiction over Dutch navigation and trade on the barbarous coasts of America and

The Dutch  
West India  
Company Africa. No citizen of the Netherlands could sail to any point between the tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope, or between Newfoundland and the Strait of Magellan, except in the name or by the consent of the Company, under penalty of forfeiting ships and goods. The powers with which the West India Company was invested were well-nigh imperial. It was authorized to appoint and remove all governors and other public officers within its territories, to administer justice, to build forts, make treaties with barbaric chiefs or princes, and resist invaders. Formal declaration of war could be made only after obtaining the consent of the States General, which were then bound to furnish the Company with a fleet of twenty warships, to be manned and supported at the Company's expense. Besides this, the Company must keep in commission a fleet of its own, also to consist of twenty warships. Supreme appointments, such as those of governors-general, needed to be confirmed by the States General. The government of the Company was in the hands of five separate chambers or boards,



representing different sections of the Netherlands ; but there was one executive board, sometimes known as the College of Nineteen. Eight of these directors were from Amsterdam, four from Zealand, two from Dordrecht, two from North Holland, two from Friesland and Groningen, and one was a director-at-large, a spokesman for the States General.

Upon the issue of this charter subscription books were opened, and it was announced that until New Year's Day, 1622, anybody who liked, whether a Dutchman or a foreigner, might become a stockholder of the company. After that date no new members could come in. But in fact the subscription was kept open for two years, while the charter underwent some slight modifications and various matters of detail were arranged. On the 21st of June, 1623, the subscription was closed, and the career of the West India Company was begun.

Meanwhile, if we go back three years to the spring of 1620, when the request of the Pilgrims to be guaranteed in making a settlement in New Netherland was under consideration, we find the attention of England drawn toward the movements which the Dutch were making. In the original charter of Virginia, issued in 1606, King James asserted dominion over the American coast from English claims the 34th parallel, which cuts through the mouth of Cape Fear River, to the 45th, which now divides Vermont from Canada. All the country between Cape Fear and Potomac rivers was open for the London Company to colonize ; all between the Bay of Fundy and Long Island Sound was open to the Plymouth Company ; all between Long Island and the Potomac was open to the competition of the two companies. From the English point of view the Dutch in New Netherland were poaching partly upon the Plymouth Company's preserves, partly upon the neutral region. The energetic Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth in Smith's New England voyage, 1614 Devonshire, and one of the most active members of the Plymouth Company, had in 1614 sent Captain John Smith to explore the coasts assigned to that

company. While Block was sailing through Long Island Sound, Smith was scanning the shore from Penobscot Bay to Cape Cod. The result was an excellent map of that coast, and the name New England, by which it has ever since been known. The next year Smith started on a second expedition, but was captured by a French squadron and carried to France. In 1619 and 1620, Gorges sent one of Smith's comrades, Thomas Dermer, to make further investi-

Dermer's  
voyages,  
1619-20

gations. Dermer sailed over the same waters and by the same coasts formerly visited by Block. In 1619 he passed from the Sound through East River and out at the Narrows without stopping at Manhattan, and apparently without seeing any Dutchmen. But in the spring of 1620 he visited Manhattan and found a multitude of traders all busy with furs. Dermer warned them that they would not be allowed to stay there, inasmuch as the country belonged to the English and would presently be taken possession of by the Plymouth Company. The Dutchmen replied that they did not understand it in that way, and had found no Englishmen there when they came; so they hoped that they had not given offence. This answer was certainly quite to the point. It was Queen Elizabeth who had laid down the doctrine that in order to acquire a valid title to wild lands beyond sea, mere discovery followed by neglect is not enough; discovery must be followed up by occupation. Now in the spring of 1620 the English had occupied no part of the American coast except the peninsula between the York and James rivers. It would therefore be difficult to dispute the claim of the Dutch, that they took possession of New Netherland as an unoccupied territory to which they had as good a right as anybody else.

But when Dermer carried to London the news of the multitude of fur traders at Manhattan, and of their reply to his friendly notice to quit, the king was gravely concerned. In the autumn of that year, 1620, while the *Mayflower* was on the ocean with her company of Pilgrims, there was drawn up a charter which created

The Coun-  
cil of New  
England

## THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

an executive body known as the Council of New England, and in this charter New England was defined as including all the land between the 40th and 48th parallels from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. This bold document declared that King James was credibly informed that no other Christian people were as yet settled within these limits, wherefore he took possession of the territory within them and hereby



SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

warned off all intruders. Apparently the king's information was not of a trustworthy sort, for his definition of New England made it include not only New Netherland but New France.

A year later, in the autumn of 1621, Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador at the Hague, was instructed to call the attention of the States General to the fact that Dutchmen were trespassing upon English territory at Hudson's River. The matter was discussed for more than a year, and ended

nowhere; it does not appear that any answer was ever made to the English government. Meanwhile Dutch skippers traded with the Indians not only at Manhattan, but on the Connecticut River and the shores of Naragansett and Buzzard's bays; and the West India Company proceeded to organize a government for New Netherland. The province was made equivalent for dignity to a countship, and its

A government provided for New Netherland

official seal was a shield bearing a beaver, surmounted by a count's coronet, and encircled by the motto, *Sigillum Novi Belgii*, or "Seal of New Belgium," a recourse to the old Latin usage in which the name Belgium did not exclude the Dutch provinces. The government was especially assigned to the Amsterdam chamber.

The principal executive officer, or, as we should say, the governor, was styled Director General, and the first person chosen to fill this office, in 1623, was Cornelius Jacobsen May.

In the spring of 1623 the good ship New Netherland, with the first party of permanent colonists, arrived at Manhattan, and came upon a French skipper in the very act of planting the fleur-de-lis on the shore.

A Dutch yacht, armed with two cannon, was at once detailed to wait upon him, and so he and his ship were politely escorted down the harbour and bowed out at the Narrows. Some people were put ashore at Manhattan, and the rest sailed in the New Netherland up to Fort Nassau, in the vale of Tawasentha. Once more the site of the fort was changed; this time it was moved a few miles up-stream, and built within the present limits of the city of Albany. Its name was changed to Fort Orange.

Arrival of the ship New Netherland, 1623

Fort Orange on North River



SEAL OF NEW BELGIUM

In after years its exact site was for a long time occupied by the Fort Orange Hotel, which was burned in 1847. Eighteen families settled in the neighbourhood of the fort, and with them stayed May's lieutenant, Adrian Joris, of Tienpont. Such were the beginnings of Albany. In the course of the next month another Fort Nassau was built on the east bank of the South River, opposite the land now covered by Philadelphia. Yet another party of Dutchmen visited the Connecticut River, which they called the Fresh River of New Netherland, to contrast it with the salt Hudson. On the site of Hartford they began building a fort which they called Good Hope, but it was some years before it was finished.

Fort Nassau, on South River

Fort Good Hope, on Fresh River.

Yet another party of the New Netherland's passengers settled on the shore of Long Island at a deep bay where now is the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The name *Wallabout Bay* is one of those very common cases of unconscious tautology of which *Berkshire County* is a familiar instance. *Wallabout* by itself means Walloon Bay. King Alfred would have called it *Wealha Bight*, that is, Welshmen's or foreigner's bay. As the English applied to their neighbours who did not speak Teutonic the name *Welsh*, or strangers, so the Dutch called *Walloon*s, or strangers, those inhabitants of the southern Netherlands who spoke French instead of Flemish. At the present day about one third of the population of Belgium are thus to be classed as Walloons.<sup>1</sup> Spanish persecution drove many Walloons into Holland, and a party of them entertained the idea of migrating to Virginia, but failed to come to a satisfactory agreement with the Virginia Company. While their negotiation was pending the Dutch West India Company offered better terms and secured them as colonists.

Walloon Bay

In this expedition the Dutch may be said to have taken

<sup>1</sup> Another less probable explanation of *Wallabout* has been suggested, as from *Waal-bocht*, or "curving bay." See Putnam, *Origin of Breuckelen*, Half Moon Series, vol. ii. No. xi.

possession of New Netherland. It was their intention, by occupying such positions as those on the upper Hudson, the Connecticut, and the Delaware, besides the central position at Manhattan, to proclaim themselves the owners of that wide territory. The fact that they had come to stay was signalized in 1625 by the arrival of two shiploads of cattle and horses, swine and sheep. And now their position was to be assured for the present by the political turn of events. The attitude of England furnished the chief source of anxiety. We have seen James I. in 1621 complaining to the States General. Now in January, 1625, the ship *Orange Tree* from Amsterdam, on her way to New Netherland, stopped at Plymouth in Devonshire, whereupon Sir Ferdinando Gorges detained her there for several weeks, while the matter was discussed in the Privy Council. It was decided to let her go on her way, for war was impending between Spain and England, and it was deemed best not to irritate the Dutch. Six years of the Thirty Years' War had now elapsed, and the English people were warmly in sympathy with the Protestant princes of Germany. The daughter of James I. was wife of the Elector Palatine, and now that Spanish troops had overrun the Palatinate and were holding it, the king was ready to go to war in behalf of his son-in-law's party. James died in March; in September Charles I. entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Dutch. It was agreed that both countries should maintain fleets for the purpose of destroying Spanish commerce, and that the ports of each country should be open to the ships of the other. This was the famous treaty of Southampton. At the time when it was concluded there was much indignation in England over the so-called "massacre of Amboyna," to which allusion was made in my second chapter. The news of this affair was fresh in England, and the king declared that nothing in the treaty should prevent his demanding justice. The implication was that the States General were ready to grant justice if the facts could be proved. Nothing was said about New Netherland, and it

Why Eng-  
land did  
not inter-  
fere

was evident that so long as the two countries were once more allied in a war against Spain, the English would refrain from molesting the Dutch colony. Indeed, New Netherland was now safe for nearly forty years. The English were fighting against both Spain and France until 1630; then the quarrel between Charles I. and his Parliament so absorbed English energy that small heed was paid to America; the chronic unrest of the Commonwealth period had a similar effect; and so New Netherland was safe until the days of Charles II.

The death of James I. was followed within a few weeks by that of Maurice, Prince of Orange, who was succeeded in the stadholdership by his half brother, Frederick, youngest son of William the Silent by Louise, daughter <sup>Changes of rulers</sup> of Coligny. Frederick was an excellent general, if not so great as Maurice, but as a statesman and a man he was far superior. In the province of New Netherland, too, there was a change of rulers. In 1624 Cornelius May gave place to

*Peter Minuit Directeur*

William Verhulst, and in 1625 Verhulst was succeeded by Peter Minuit, a native of the duchy of Cleves. Early in May, 1626, Minuit arrived at Manhattan and took command of New Netherland.

The first important act of Minuit's administration was the purchase of the island of Manhattan from the natives. For the name Manhattan many explanations have been suggested, and among other things we have been told that the island was named after the tribe which inhabited it. But this is getting the cart before the horse. These Indians were a branch of the great Lenni-Lenapé confederacy, afterwards known as Delawares. Now <sup>Purchase of Manhattan by Peter Minuit, 1626</sup> in the Lenni-Lenapé language *Manatey* means "island" and *Manhattanis* are "those who dwell upon an island."<sup>1</sup> Evi-

<sup>1</sup> Beauchamp, *Indian Names in New York*, p. 45; cf. Brinton, *Lenapé-English Dictionary*, s. v. *Manatey*.

dently, therefore, the Manhattans were simply the island tribe of Delawares. Throughout the seventeenth century the island was designated indifferently *Manatey* and *Manhattan*. When we say "Manhattan Island" it is a case of unconscious tautology, like those formerly cited. From these island Indians Minit bought their whole island, containing about 22,000 acres, for the value of 60 guilders in beads and ribbons. These 60 guilders are usually mentioned as equivalent to 24 gold dollars of the present day; but the purchasing power of gold was then five times as great as now, so that the price paid for Manhattan was really equivalent to about 120 dollars.<sup>1</sup> That must have furnished enough ribbons and beads to give every brave and every new squaw a chance.

The next thing to be done was to build a suitable fort. The site selected was where the row of steamboat offices now stands, on the south side of Bowling Green. At first it was simply a blockhouse encircled by red cedar palisades backed by earthworks. This was called Fort Amsterdam. East of it, along the shore of East River, stretched a line of one-story log-houses with bark roofs, some thirty or more in number, which gave shelter to the greater part of the population of 200 souls. Such was the beginning of

#### <sup>1</sup> HIGH MIGHTY SIRs:

Here arrived yesterday the ship The Arms of Amsterdam which sailed from New Netherland out of the Mauritius River on September 23: they report that our people there are of good courage and live peaceably. Their women, also, have borne children there, they have bought the island Manhattes from the wild men for the value of sixty guilders, is 11,000 morgens in extent. They sowed all their grain the middle of May, and harvested it the middle of August. Thereof being samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, small beans, and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is: 7246 beaver skins, 178½ otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 mink skins. 36 wild-cat (lynx) skins, 33 minks, 34 rat skins. Many logs of oak and nut-wood. Herewith be ye High Mighty Sirs, commended to the Almighty's grace, In Amsterdam, November 5, Ao. 1626.

Your High Might.'s Obedient,

P. SCHAGHEN.





1785

1005 / Hooghe Mogende Heeren

Guk is gister t'besep twegen van Amsterdam  
 aenkoming inde is des 23<sup>en</sup> Septem. met twee Tien  
 Lant gezegt met de Heere Mauritius. rapporte  
 dat ons volck dat klor is te vredding Leb. 3.  
 Sake Krommings geest ooc kindes atant gesant  
 geest t'ylant mankater van de veld. gheest, voo  
 de veld say 60. Gul. is groot 11000 mags.  
 geest alle kroy geest met geest. die geest  
 auguste gemaet. dat van zynende minstebale  
 van zomk-kroy, alle tande, Hoge, gekt, gekt  
 bouwigt. knuizagt, boontje te vlas.

'S RIJKS  
 ARCHIEF.

Het Congres van t'afz sech is.

7246 6666 6666

1785 6666 6666

36. Catalogue - v. 11

33 Minutes

34 Motto v. 11

Wesl. G. v. 11, & Not. G. v. 11.

Geuk mede

Goede Mogghen Gees, zyt ds Demoghe  
in v. 11 v. 11.

In Amsterdam den 5. novem a. 1626.

Deze Hoo: Moo: Dien: Ew: N: ghe

J. Schagen

SCHAGEN LETTER, ANNOUNCING THE PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND  
FOR TWENTY-FOUR DOLLARS



Pearl Street, the oldest street in New York ; at that time its east side was the river bank ; since then three blocks have grown up to the east of it on made land. Communication with the little settlement at Wallabout was kept up from the site of Peck Slip. There Cornelius Dircksen owned a farm or bouwerie, and used to ferry passengers across in a row-boat for a fare of three stivers in wampum, equivalent to three farthings of that time, or about six cents of to-day. Near the site of Canal Street the primeval forest resounded nightly with the growl of bears, the wailing of panthers, and the yelps of wolves, while serpents lurked in the dense underbrush. For the present the neighbouring Indians were not dangerous ; and Minit, who was an eminently just, honourable, and sensible man, knew how to win their confidence and keep them well-disposed toward the settlers.

For a moment, however, the party at Fort Orange were in danger of a breach with the Mohawks. The nearest neighbours of this formidable tribe were the Mohegans of the Housatonic valley. These people belonged to the great Algonquin family, and between them and the Mohawks burned the fires of hatred, diabolical and unquenchable. In 1626 a war party of Mohegans approached Fort Orange and besought the garrison to aid them in an attack upon the Mohawks. The commander, a rather dull person by the name of Krieckebeeck, allowed himself to be persuaded, and set out with them, taking along six of his men. After a few miles they were surprised and badly defeated by the Mohawks. Krieckebeeck was killed by an arrow, his Indians were put to flight with heavy slaughter, and the victors dined that day on roast Dutchman. Having thus won the field and discharged all blood-dues to their tutelary deities, the Mohawks showed remarkable forbearance. Their envoys came to Fort Orange and justified their conduct, while they blamed the Dutch for wantonly attacking them at the request of their enemies. The Mohawks, they truly said, had never offended the Dutch ; and if in this unfortunate affair a few Dutchmen had been slain by their arrows, it was the

Dutchmen's fault and not theirs. After this plain speaking, which the new commander took in good part, the old treaty of alliance was renewed, and things went on harmoniously. The Dutch had learned a lesson. This meddling in inter-tribal quarrels was extremely dangerous, although sometimes hard to avoid. It was similar meddling that some years later made it necessary for the settlers of New England to crush the Narragansetts in self-defence. It was just such indiscretion that had led Champlain to attack the Mohawks, and make them the irreconcilable enemies of Frenchmen. Probably the Dutch could not have adjusted the matter so easily as they did if the Mohawks had not been keenly alive to the value of an alliance which supplied them with firearms. This prevailing need, and the hope of punishing the French, gave to the Dutch, and to the English after them, a very firm hold upon the Iroquois tribes.

But while all was quiet on the upper Hudson, there was some uneasiness among the people at Fort Orange, and Minit brought them all down to Manhattan, leaving only a garrison of sixteen men in the exposed position. The little colony at Fort Nassau, on the Delaware River, was also withdrawn, and the building of Fort Good Hope, on the Connecticut, was suspended. All the settlers were concentrated at Manhattan for greater security. But their ships found their way up the rivers and into all the bays and inlets where red men could be found with peltries to sell. Among other tribes with which they traded were the Wampanoags, on Buzzard's Bay, and thus they were brought into immediate contact with the Pilgrims of Plymouth. Dutch envoys visited Governor Bradford and were received most hospitably. Letters passed between Bradford and Minit in which the courtesy and kindness of expression is evidently more than merely formal. It is clear that both writers highly value the alliance between their two nations against their common enemy, the Spaniards; both are mindful of the friendly relations sustained for centuries between the Netherlands and England; both are anxious to maintain

Discussion  
between  
Minit and  
Bradford

WEST-INDISCHE  
TRIVMPH-BASVYNE,

Tot Godes erc/ ende roem der Batavieren gesteken / van we-  
gen de veroveringe der Spaensche Silver-bloet van Nova  
Hispania/ inde Bay van Matanca/ door de Scheyen vande Ge-  
otroogeerde West-Indische Compagnie/ onder het beleyd  
vande E. Manijaste Herten See-Helden PIETER  
PIETERSZEN HEYN, Generaet/ ende HEYN-  
RICK KORNELISZEN LONK, Admiraet/  
geschied den 8. Sept. 1628.

DOOR

SAMVEL AMPZING,

*Bediener des Goddelijken Woords inde Gemeyne des Heren binnen Haerlem*



TOT HAERLEM.

By Adriaen Roodman, Ordinaris Stads-Boeck-Drucker.  
clo 16 c xxix.

such friendship. Yet Bradford thinks it necessary to say that he doubts whether the Dutch have a right to plant colonies or trading stations within the limits of New England, which include everything above the 40th parallel. To this claim, which would have left nothing of New Netherland except the southern part of New Jersey, the Dutch governor replied that he derived his authority from the United States of the Netherlands, and was in duty bound to maintain it. He did not even feel that he had any right to yield to Bradford's suggestion that the Dutch might at least forbear to trade with the Narragansetts and Wampanoags — "which is, as it were, at our doors." But while he could not make concessions, Minit's courtesy never failed him; his letter was accompanied by two Holland cheeses and a runlet of sugar, to sweeten its flavour. This friendly controversy is one among many proofs that the English always disputed the title of the Dutch to New Netherland. In 1627 it was settled for the time by a proclamation of Charles I. declaring that in accordance with the treaty of Southampton all trade with England and her dependencies was free to the Dutch. This was equivalent to full permission to trade anywhere upon the American coast claimed by England, while it in no way recognized the Dutch title to New Netherland. Matters rested for some years upon this basis.

While these things were going on in America, the Dutch and English fleets were carrying everything before them on the ocean, while the power of Spain was declining year by year. That piece of insane wickedness, the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, had deprived her of recuperative power by spoiling her principal industries, while the work of destruction, begun long ago by Hawkins and Drake, was approaching completeness. For example, in a tremendous battle off San Salvador, May 20, 1627, the Dutch admiral, Peter Heyn, knocked to pieces and sank twenty-six Spanish warships. On September 5 the same skilful commander captured the whole Spanish silver fleet of nineteen vessels, with booty equivalent to thirty mil-

Crushing  
defeats of  
the Span-  
iards



lion dollars. We need not wonder that the West India Company declared large dividends. As for Spain, the extent of her humiliation may be inferred from the fact that in 1629 the proposal for a renewal of the truce came from her and was rejected by the Dutch, who preferred to keep up the war in which all the expense was borne by their old oppressors. No wonder that a war which brought limitless pelf and ample revenge, along with naval glory, should have been popular. It was supported by the zeal of the Calvinist clergy as well as by the cupidity of the mercantile classes. In 1630 England made a separate peace with Spain. Charles I. was entering upon his experiment of governing without Parliament, and wished to disencumber himself of all complications. But the naval war was kept up successfully eighteen years longer by the Netherlands, until the general European settlement of 1648.

While the Dutch flag was thus covered with glory on the high seas, the progress of the colony on Hudson's River was not quite what was desired. The nature of the weakness which began to become apparent about 1628, and the attempts that were made to mend matters, will claim our attention in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### “PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS”

FEW facts in history are more conspicuous than the pre-eminence of England in the work of founding colonies. The fact is often mentioned, and not unfrequently the question is asked, Why have the English been so much more successful than other people? Such questions never can be answered by a single sentence or paragraph, for there are too many factors concerned. A full discussion of the subject would involve a great many considerations. Some points, however, are so obvious as to need but brief mention. Of course the case of a colony in which a small group of invaders hold sway over a large subject population, as in Spanish Peru or British India, is very different from the case in which masses of civilized men move into the wilderness and organize themselves into new states, as with the English in North America and in Australasia. Properly speaking, it is only the latter that are really colonies; the former may be called dependencies, but only in a loose sense colonies. With regard to dependencies, like Peru and India, the advantage possessed by people accustomed to a free government is manifest enough. The sway of the English over India, which is one of the most wonderful and romantic things in the world, may or may not be permanent; but there can be no doubt that its moment of mortal peril, forty years ago, was brought on by carelessly shocking Hindu religious prejudices. Now in any Spanish dependency that has ever existed, such shocking of prejudices would not have been an instance of momentary carelessness, but part of a deliberate policy. The English approached the people of India with missionary preachers, but in Mexico and Peru the

The Eng-  
lish people  
as colo-  
nizers

Spanish Inquisition has been at work even since the nineteenth century came in. It is pretty clear that Spanish methods would never have won Hindustan or held it with increasing firmness for two centuries.

As regards real colonies, planted in a wilderness, it is obvious that success cannot be achieved unless large numbers of people go thither to stay. The successful colony must first become a home. Trading posts or fishing stations or gold diggings, where people flock together for temporary profit, expecting to go back to their old homes, are not likely to become self-supporting colonies unless aided by other circumstances.

Contrast  
between  
English  
and French  
as colo-  
nizers

Creating a state involves creating new homes. Now we sometimes hear it said that France has had so little success as a colonizing nation because Frenchmen are such stay-at-home people, never quite happy outside of their own beautiful country, whereas an Englishman can make himself at home anywhere. There is truth in this, but are we not in danger of inverting the relation between cause and effect? May it not be that Frenchmen are such stay-at-home people because they have not been successful colonizers, and thus have not cultivated the habit of moving to foreign lands? In the seventeenth century no people took up the work of remote exploration with more zeal than Frenchmen, and for indomitable energy such leaders as Champlain and La Salle, Brébeuf and Frontenac have never been surpassed. These men could leave home behind and throw themselves into the work of carrying civilization into the wilderness with as much self-devotion as any Englishman ever showed. The suggested explanation will not fit their case. Again, the close of the seventeenth century witnessed an emigration from France incomparably greater than any that has ever gone out from England. In the course of twenty-five years nearly a million Huguenots, or about seven per cent. of the whole population, left their native country. Compared with this colossal movement the migration of 20,000 Puritans to New England seems a small affair. It is true, these French-

men were subjected to persecution more vexatious than any that England ever witnessed. But the event showed that in order to better their condition they could leave their country, just as the Puritans did. Suppose these Huguenots had poured in great masses into Canada and Louisiana, as many of them would have been glad to do, would not the history of North America have been seriously altered? Perhaps they might have taken New York and held the country west of the Alleghanies and ousted the Hudson Bay Company. At all events, I doubt if we should have heard much about the natural incapacity of Frenchmen for founding colonies.

Now the reason why the Huguenots did not come over to New France was simply that they were not allowed to do so. Although Louis XIV. was sorely vexed and alarmed at the slowness of increase in the population of Canada, he would not allow a heretic to be received there on any terms. The Huguenots, therefore, were obliged to lose their nationality and their speech, as the Pilgrims would have done if they had stayed in Holland. They became absorbed in the populations of northern Germany, Holland, England, and the English colonies. Here, then, we come back to the advantage possessed by people with a free government. As between a Spanish colony, with its Inquisition and its arbitrary taxes, and an English colony, with its freedom of the press, its *habeas corpus*, and its popular assemblies, it is easy to see which is most likely to attract settlers.

The capacity for self-government, the kind of political training which combines civil liberty with respect for law, which enables every town or village to govern itself while at the same time national unity is not impaired, is doubtless the most important prerequisite for success in founding colonies. A village accustomed to manage its own affairs will continue to do so if transported into the wilderness, but this is far more difficult for a village which has always been governed by prefects

Why the  
Huguenots  
did not go  
to New  
France

Influence  
of self-gov-  
ernment  
upon colo-  
nization



2 dr

Verblijdige Heere  
De goede genaden die my  
by souder ghezelede, volghende nu  
vay des droevige zake, versta  
(die my mi op de 16. jare ca  
gduoot geboort hadde) uf te nu  
ly bynde my mi souder had  
hiedt alledie. Soeg ik het ge  
gelyc medeand van stilly. En  
moddy hebbe des die genade die  
drager, die de couragie die my a  
outdally door des ghezelede  
Januarij tot des 7. Aprilis a  
die te hebbe by gelyc geboort  
des Lande: te boort de goede

voor al ez ditte my gelyc dat my  
te begaen de versta my nu dan  
gebbely. Soe dave gelyc van  
Eifirery, gelyc souder my van gelyc  
Zwinder day byndigis, te my sel  
Verblijdige Vergevenis  
Soe wil ick mi te is ally des  
geoud te gelyc des te tot des versta  
Ut gelyc Ege  
Nederland, 6

1571.  
 De Wre in Cyro, gantsige vintend  
 L. on als mbe. E ho segm vry dy ray ick in lath voor-  
 w ho doels. E op dat ick my in dese rominlicke  
 die hooff des hueren beuoft my mynen godde parture  
 d'ingt same, godrombe dy gantsig liefstallige gocki-  
 rby myns 7. vobly gub h-land' godarrivedelabary  
 dy g'uep s'ide godstromodubt, mit myne 3. kinder-  
 gely. De hueren s'ere gubst g'et godady: h'gely v'v'ichy  
 d' ick oock v'v'ichy, v'v'ichy dat alle d'ingy s'ly godde  
 v'v'ichy. G'oppe d'ezal v'v'ichy myns r'v'v'ichy l'v'v'ichy h'  
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 De v'v'ichy h'v'v'ichy l'v'v'ichy g'v'v'ichy, namel' v'v'ichy 29.  
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S MICHAELIUS, FIRST MINISTER OF THE REFORMED  
 O AT MANHATTAN, 11 AUGUST, 1628





sent from a distant capital. Mr. Parkman has abundantly shown the weakness which this lack of training in self-government entailed upon New France. If we look at modern Germany, we see that its people easily overcome the disposition to stay at home. Thousands leave Germany every year, but they do not try to plant new colonies; they find their way to the United States or to Australia. If we ask why England has been preëminent as a colonizer, we may call attention to the fact that nearly all the free constitutions in the world have been consciously copied either from England or from the United States during the nineteenth century. Between these two facts the connection is far from accidental.

In the Dutch colony on the Hudson a most liberal policy was pursued with regard to the admission of immigrants. New Netherland never suffered from this source of weakness which afflicted New France. Nobody was excluded for heresy. But as regards the transfer of self-government to America, the Dutch were not wholly successful. In the course of this narrative we shall observe the difficulties which they encountered. At first, the government was simply that of the agent of a commercial company. Laws for the settlers were chiefly made in the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company. They were administered by Peter Minuit, the Director General, assisted by a council of five members appointed in Amsterdam. This council united executive with legislative and judicial powers. It could make local regulations, subject to approval or reversal at Amsterdam. It was a court for the trial of civil and criminal cases, and could inflict fine and imprisonment, but not the death penalty. Persons convicted of capital crimes must be sent to Holland. Two important officers were the *Koopman*, who was secretary and the Company's bookkeeper; and the *Schout*, who discharged the duties of sheriff and collector of customs. This was a very simple government, suited for an infant community, but the people took no part in it. It was not government of the

There was no self-government in New Netherland

people, by the people, and for the people; but it was government of the people, by the Director and Council, for the West India Company. The 300 inhabitants of New Amsterdam, in 1628, lived compactly enough to hold town meetings, yet there was nothing of the sort. At that same time the 300 inhabitants of Plymouth made laws for themselves in a primary assembly and elected their governor; while the 4000 inhabitants of Virginia, distributed in a dozen communities, had their elected house of representatives, without whose consent the governor appointed by the crown could not raise so much as a penny by taxation. So far as it goes, the contrast seems hardly in keeping with the hypothesis that our free institutions were derived not from England but from Holland. It is true that the English government in Virginia began with an autocratic governor and council, agents of a commercial company in London, and thus it was like the Dutch government in New Netherland; but it took Virginia only eleven years to outgrow such a situation and secure a representative assembly. We shall hereafter see how differently it fared with New Netherland.

The years 1628-30 mark the beginning of a new era in the colonization of North America. More than 1000 Englishmen came to Massachusetts Bay, and more kept coming until in a dozen years the population of New England was 26,000. Lord Baltimore was at the same time preparing to make a settlement in Maryland. But the colony at Manhattan grew very slowly. Traders came and went, but the number of new homes did not come up to the Company's expectations. The country was well fitted for agriculture, but farmers were too few. It required a very strong inducement to draw the Dutch farmer away from Holland. Since the Spaniards had been expelled, there was no country pleasanter to abide in. Complete security for person and property, full toleration of differences in religion, with general thrift and comfort, were things too good to run away from. Had there been more poverty and dis-

Contrast  
with Ply-  
mouth and  
Virginia

Slow  
growth of  
the Dutch  
colony

# VRYPHEDEN

By de Vergaderinghe van  
de Regenthiene van de Geoctroyeerde  
West-Indische Compagnie vergunt aen allen  
den ghenen / die eenighe Colonien in Nieu-  
Nederlandt sullen planten.

*In het licht ghegheven.*

Om bekent te maken wat Profijten ende Voordeelen  
aldaer in Nieu-Nederlandt, voor de Coloniers ende der  
selver Patroonen ende Meesters, midtsgaders de  
Participanten, die de Colonien aldaer  
planten, zijn becomen.



*Westindjen kan sijn Nederlands groot gewin.  
Verkleynt sijands Macht brengt silver-platen in.*

T A M S T E L R E D A M,

By Marten Iansz Brandt Boeckvercooper / woonende by  
de nieuwe Kerck, in de Oerfpremerde Gaterijstraet, Anno 1630.

content in the mother country, New Amsterdam would doubtless have grown more rapidly, and farmsteads would have sprung up on the banks of its noble river.

To encourage agriculture and to create permanent homes, the West India Company in 1629 issued its famous charter of "Privileges and Exemptions." This charter declared that any member of the Company who should within the next four years bring to New Netherland fifty grown-up persons and settle them in homes along the Hudson River should receive a liberal grant of land, to hold as "patroon" or lord of the manor. The estate was to be on the Hudson or some adjacent navigable river, and might have a frontage of sixteen miles if all on one shore, or of eight miles on both shores. As to the depth of these lots, they might run as far back into the country as circumstances should make feasible. The patroon was full proprietor of the estate, and could devise it by will. He had the exclusive right of hunting and fishing within the boundaries, but could of course grant to others a share in these privileges on such terms as suited him. The patroon was chief magistrate on his estate, and could hold manorial courts, from which, if the matter in dispute involved more than the value of 50 guilders, an appeal could be taken to the Director and his council at New Amsterdam. In practice, the patroons evaded this provision by exacting from their colonists at the outset a promise not to make any such appeal. The colonists were to be exempted from all public taxation for the term of ten years, but during that period they were not at liberty to leave one estate and become tenants of another or to change their abode from country to town. This was not serfdom, inasmuch as it was regulated by a purely voluntary contract, but it reminds one of serfdom enough to seem a curious provision when we remember that the last vestiges of that institution had disappeared from the Netherlands three centuries before this charter was written. It shows how strongly the Company was bent upon obtaining a population of farmers. Restlessness must be discouraged. In return for the



**Uygheden ende Exemptien vooz**  
**de Patroonen / Meesters ofte Particulie-**  
**ren / die op Nieu-Nederlandt eenighe Colonien**  
**ende Vee sullen planten / gheconsidereert ten dienst**  
**van de generale West-Indische Compagnie in**  
**Nieu-Nederlandt / ende het voordeel van de Pa-**  
**troonen / Meesters ende Particulieren.**

**§ 33.**

Ende also d'intentie van de Compagnie is het Ey-  
 landt van de Manhattes vooz eerst te populeren / sal al-  
 daer provisionelijck oock zijn de stapel van alle Vrych-  
 ten ende Waren / die op de Noordt-Striver ende Lan-  
 den daer ontrent wassen / eerste vorder versonden sullen  
 moghen worden: Wegghenomen die uyt denacupre /  
 selfs daer niet nut zijnde / ofte niet als met grooten on-  
 dienst van de Eyghenaers daer gebacht souden moe-  
 ten worden. In welcken ghevalle de Eyghenaers van  
 dien ghehouden sullen zijn soodanighe ongheleghent-  
 heyd aen de Compagnie alhier / ofte den Comman-  
 deur ende Raden aldaer / tijdelijck by gheschryfte te re-  
 monstreren / om daer in voorszien te werden / als na ghe-  
 leghentheyt van saken bevonden sal werden te behooren.

HEADING AND TWELFTH ARTICLE OF “PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS”

exemption from taxes, the settler must bind himself to stay in one place and develop its resources. Of capital with which to start he had no need, for the patroon bore the expense of clearing the land, building the farmhouses and barns, and providing the tools and cattle. In return for these extensive outlays, the patroon received a fixed rent, usually payable in stock or produce, as in the old manors of Maryland. Be-

sides this fixed rent, the patroon was entitled to a part of the increase of cattle and a part of the crop. He could also buy all the remainder, or as much as the farmer could spare; in other words, the farmer must not sell any stock or produce to other parties without first offering to sell it to the patroon. Furthermore, the farmer must grind all his grain at the patroon's mill, and he could hunt and fish only with a license from the patroon. If a farmer died intestate the patroon was his legal heir.<sup>1</sup>

As for trade, the patroons had full liberty to buy whatever goods they wanted (except furs) in New Netherland or in the French and English colonies. But before such goods could be sent to Europe they must stop at New Amsterdam and pay an export duty of five per cent. to the Company. The fur trade was expressly reserved from this permission. Nobody but the Company, through its appointed agents or factors, could deal in furs.

As for the weaving of any kind of cloth, whether woollen or linen or cotton, that was absolutely prohibited; the market for the products of the looms in Holland must not be curtailed. The use of slaves in tilling the soil or in household service was sanctioned, and the Company somewhat vaguely promised to supply the colonists "with as many blacks as they conveniently could," but not "for a longer time than they should think proper." No land within New Netherland could be appropriated for settlement without paying the Indian possessors such a price as they would deem satisfactory. We sometimes hear this scrupulousness in paying the Indians cited as peculiar to the Dutch and Quaker colonies, but there could not be a greater mistake. It was the general custom of the English. Not a rood of ground was taken by the settlers of New England without paying for it, except in the single instance where the Pequots rashly began a war and were exterminated. Between the moral attitude of the Dutch and English in such matters there was really no difference.

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. U. Studies*, iv. 16.

Finally having thus carefully prescribed the relations of patroons and their tenants to each other and to the Company, the charter promised that Fort Amsterdam should speedily be strengthened and the settlers defended against all invaders. It was further recommended that prompt provision should be made for the support of a parson and a schoolmaster, “that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool and be neglected among them.” Such a recommendation was most certainly called for. Twenty years had elapsed since Henry Hudson sailed up the river, fifteen since settlements began at Manhattan, six since the West India Company had taken possession, and still in a population of 300 souls there was neither a minister nor a schoolmaster. Nothing could show more forcibly how little the thought of making permanent homes had entered into the minds of the traders who had come hither for furs.

This famous charter of 1629 was clearly the outcome of careful study, but it fell far short of producing the effect that was intended. The feudal system had never acquired more than a slight hold upon Holland, yet this charter, drawn up by Dutchmen, introduced some characteristic features of the feudal system into the New World. Its provisions were not oppressive, like those which tormented the peasantry in France, but they certainly did not hold out strong inducements to the prosperous farmer in Holland to cross the ocean and begin life anew on the banks of an American river. His position as tenant of a patroon was to be less free and less dignified than his position before leaving home. It seems rather strange that the makers of the charter failed to see this.

Feudal features in the charter of 1629

With regard to the patroons the aim was more accurate. In a community of merchants there is always a fair chance of finding some who are willing to exchange their avocation for the lordship of great landed estates. In Amsterdam and other cities of Holland there were wealthy burghers to whom the change seemed like a rise in the social scale. No doubt there were some to whom the vague prospects of adventure

were attractive. At first men showed more readiness to come as patroons than as tenants.

The first manor that was granted under the charter lay beyond Delaware Bay, west of Cape Henlopen, within the present state of Delaware. It was taken by Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, two of the Company's board of directors, and next year they took a district sixteen miles square on the opposite shore, including Cape May. Then



NEW AMSTERDAM ABOUT 1630

five other directors were taken into partnership to increase the capital, and Captain David Pieters De Vries for the sake of his ability as a man of business. Two ships were sent out in December, 1630, with colonists, tools, and cattle. One was captured by pirates; the other reached Delaware Bay in April, 1631, and landed its people — 32 in number — a few miles above Cape Henlopen. A house surrounded with a stockade was built, and the place was called Zwaanendal, that is, Swandale. De Vries followed with reinforcements, but before his arrival the Indians burned the house and massacred all the colonists, so that he found nothing but charred timbers and

De Vries  
and his  
colony of  
Swandale,  
1630



bleaching skeletons. De Vries had the rare gift of knowing just how to deal with barbarians. He had not force enough with him to attack the Indians, and besides he preferred other methods. He persuaded them that it would be for their advantage to have his men as neighbours. But famine was a more pitiless foe than the red men. De Vries had been more intent upon catching whales than upon planting corn, but whales were scarce on that coast and bread gave out, so that it was necessary to return to Holland. The partners had already begun to quarrel, and on his return the partnership was dissolved, the land titles were sold back to the Company, and such was the somewhat ignominious end of Swandale, the first of the patroonships.

The career of the next was different but not successful. In the summer of 1630, Michael Pauw, one of the directors, secured for himself Hoboken, with the region now covered by Jersey City, and the whole of Staten Island, so called in honour of the *Staat*en, or States General. To this noble manor Pauw gave his own name with a latinizing twist, making it Pavonia. His small colony maintained itself on the site of Jersey City for about seven years, but the neighbouring Indians were very troublesome, and the enterprise did not pay expenses. So Pauw sold out to the Company, but his name remains to-day in Pavonia Ferry.

Staten  
Island and  
Pavonia

More prosperous fortunes waited upon Kilian Van Rensselaer, a jeweller or lapidary who was one of the members of the Amsterdam Chamber. By purchase from the Mohawks he secured the greater portion of the land now contained in Albany and Rensselaer counties, excepting Fort Orange itself, which remained the property of the Company. Rensselaer's party of colonists, consisting mostly of farmers, were carefully selected and instructed, and very completely equipped. Industry thrived at Rensselaerwyck, and the value of the property came to be enormous.

Rensse-  
laerwyck

In such wise a few great estates came to be planted on the Hudson River, while the attempts on the Delaware were unsuccessful and on the Connecticut none were as yet made.

Very soon the patroons began to incur the censure of the Company by engaging on their own private account in the fur trade. They justified themselves in this by what would be called in modern phrase a "loose construction" of the charter. This led to fresh regulations on the part of the Company and to renewed evasions on the part of the patroons. In truth, the trade in furs was so lucrative that it was not in human nature to let it alone. The Company had some reason to feel that in creating the patroonships it had let loose an unruly elephant. Not only did their private Indian trade interfere with the monopoly expressly reserved to the Company, but it tended to defeat the very object for which the patroonships had been created, for it prevented the growth of a healthy interest in agriculture. The Company charged the patroons with failure to keep their engagements; but the patroons retorted in kind. Had not the charter promised to defend the settlers against all invaders and yet failed to prevent the destruction of Swandale by the Indians? Amid such recriminations the dispute was referred to the States General, and one of the incidental results was the recall of the Director General, Peter Minuit, who was accused of showing too great partiality for the patroons. There were probably motives working below the surface to which we have no adequate clue. Minuit, who was an eminently just and honourable man, always felt that his treatment on this occasion was harsh and unfair.

One of the last achievements of Director Minuit's administration was the launching of the great ship *New Netherland*, built at Manhattan in 1631. She was a merchantman of 800 tons burthen, armed with 30 guns, with which she might stoutly defend herself against pirates or privateers. She was for some time famous as one of the largest ships afloat, and her building at Manhattan proves that at least some of the mechanic arts were well represented there.

On hearing of his dismissal, Minuit left the government in the hands of the council, and sailed for the Old World in

March, 1632, in the good ship *Eendragt*, or “Union.” A fierce gale in the English channel compelled the *Eendragt* to take refuge in Plymouth harbour, where Captain John Mason, member of the Council for New England, at once put her under arrest on the charge of illegally trading within King Charles’s dominion in America. Instantly there came a protest from the Dutch embassy in London, messages were sent to Amsterdam and the Hague, the king and his attorney-general were interviewed, and a very pretty dispute was begun, in the course of which the States General drew up an able statement of the Dutch claim to New Netherland, and challenged the English government for an answer.

The English claim again

The argument was a difficult one for England to refute, inasmuch as it was Queen Elizabeth who had announced the doctrine that mere discovery of a wild country is not enough to give a title to it; discovery must be followed by occupation. Now while England claimed the coast of North America on the strength of Cabot’s discovery in 1497, she did not effectively occupy any part of it until the settlement of Jamestown in 1607. The Dutch maintained that they discovered the North River in 1609, a claim which might have been successfully disputed by France, but not by England. They alleged, with truth, that Dutchmen had been present in that region, which they found unoccupied, ever since 1610; that they had kept up forts and garrisons there since 1614; and that since 1623 their colony had been steadily growing.

Queen Elizabeth’s doctrine

Against this strong argument Englishmen sometimes urged in conversation, that Hudson’s discovery of the North River should be counted to the credit of England rather than of Holland, because of his nationality and without regard to the service in which he was sailing. But this could not be seriously urged, because by the same logic it would follow that John Cabot, a native of Genoa, had discovered North America for the Republic of Genoa, and not for England. A more plausible argument hung upon the question

as to what constituted occupation of territory. In 1606 James I. had defined Virginia as extending from the 34th to the 45th parallel, and had granted it by charter to two joint-stock companies. If such an act of sovereignty as granting the land was to be reckoned as equivalent to taking possession of it, then the Dutch might be regarded as intruders. This theory was set forth by the English. They flatly denied the jurisdiction of the States General, or of the West India Company, over New Netherland; as for individual Dutchmen or families of Dutchmen, there was no objection to their settling there, only by so doing they abandoned their nationality and became subjects of Charles I. Such was the English view of the case.

King Charles, however, had so many embarrassing questions on hand that he was not disposed to press this one to an issue. So after a detention of nearly two months the *Eendragt* was allowed to proceed on her way, "saving any prejudice to his Majesty's rights." No attempt was made to meddle with the cargo of 5000 beaver skins which she was carrying to Amsterdam. The action of the English government was merely an emphatic protest, intended to justify a policy which might hereafter be carried out should circumstances prove favourable.

The Company's choice of a successor to Minit was not a happy one. Wouter (or Walter) van Twiller was one of the clerks in the Company's warehouse at Amsterdam. He had married a niece of Kilian van Rensselaer, and one of the Rensselaers had married his sister. To this family connection Twiller seems to have owed his appointment. His qualifications were slender. He had little knowledge of anything beyond the routine which he had learned in the counting-room, and his character seemed often strangely irresolute. This peculiarity did not escape the notice of that veracious chronicler, Diedrich Knickerbocker, who indulges himself in a smile over it. "With all his reflective habits, he never made up his mind on a subject. . . .

What constitutes occupation?

Van Twiller, the new Director General





To this has been attributed his surname of Twiller ; which is said to be a corruption of the original Twijfler, or, in plain English, *Doubter*.” The description of the personal appearance of this Walter the Doubter is almost too well known to need citation : “He was exactly five feet six inches in height, and six feet five inches in circumference. His head was a perfect sphere, and of such stupendous dimensions, that Dame Nature, with all her sex’s ingenuity, would have been puzzled to construct a neck capable of supporting it ; wherefore she wisely declined the attempt, and settled it firmly on the top of his backbone,

His portrait, by the veracious Knickerbocker



just between the shoulders. . . . His legs were short, but sturdy in proportion to the weight they had to sustain ; so that when erect he had not a little the appearance of a beer-barrel on skids. His face, that infallible index of the mind, presented a vast expanse, unfurrowed by any of those lines which disfigure the human countenance with what is termed expression. . . . His habits were regular. He daily took his four stated meals, appropriating exactly an hour to each ; he smoked and doubted eight hours, and he slept the remaining twelve of the four-and-twenty. Such was the renowned Wouter van Twiller, — a true philosopher, for his mind was either elevated above, or tranquilly settled below, the cares and perplexities of this world.”

The worthy Knickerbocker goes on to inform us that it is “with infinite difficulty” that he has collected these personal details, which is his pleasant way of confessing that they are drawn from the depths of his own imagination. The picture is suggested by certain incidents in Twiller’s

career, but there were some features of strength and sense in the man that are lost in this broad caricature.

When the new Director arrived at Manhattan in April, 1633, in the warship *Soutberg*, or *Salt Mountain*, bringing with him a force of 104 soldiers, he was accompanied by Dominie Everardus Bogardus, the second clergyman, and Adam Roelandson, the first schoolmaster, of New Netherland. Van Twiller had been ashore but a few days when he received a visit from Captain De Vries, returning from the ruined colony at Swandale, and there occurred an incident which may have first suggested to Irving his grotesque description. At noontide, while De Vries and Van Twiller were sitting at dinner, a ship bearing on her foremast the red cross of St. George,<sup>1</sup> came blithely up the bay, and presently dropped anchor before Fort Amsterdam and sent a boat ashore. In the boat came our old friend Jacob Eelkens, the same who made the treaty with the Iroquois chiefs in the vale of Tawasentha fifteen years ago. Eelkens had incurred the displeasure of the Company in 1623, and had been dismissed from its service. He was now in the employ of Clobery & Co., merchants, of London,<sup>2</sup> and had come in the ship *William* to buy furs on the shores of Henry Hudson's river. That English sailor had discovered the country, and it belonged to King Charles. "Don't talk to me about Henry Hudson's river," retorted Van Twiller, "it is the River Mauritius!" and he swore that no English ship would be permitted to go up; so he hoisted the blue, white, and orange flag over the fort and fired a salute of three guns in honour of Prince Frederick. But Eelkens coolly went on board the *William* and fired a salute for King Charles. After this exchange of defiances the English ship waited a few days, and then without further ado weighed anchor and stood up-stream. At this saucy behaviour Van Twiller was for a moment speechless with rage. The citizens of New Amsterdam were already gathering in groups

An English  
visitor

<sup>1</sup> Preble, *History of the United States Flag*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, i. 143.



about the fort ; Van Twiller sent the crier to summon everybody. Then he broached a mighty cask of Rhenish wine, and generous bumpers were drunk to the confusion of the renegade skipper and his English ship. De Vries was vexed at such frivolity. “Why did you let him sail out of range? A shower of iron beans would have brought him to his senses. We did not put up with such things in the East Indies, I can tell you ; these English think they own the earth, but we taught them how to behave.” Walter appears to have spent several days in doubting. Then he sent a pinnace and a caravel up the river with part of his troops. They found Eelkens near Fort Orange, collecting a rich cargo of beaver skins, all of which they confiscated. The ship William was then escorted down to the Narrows and sent on her way with no cargo save ballast. This affair started up a fresh discussion between the English and Dutch governments, in which the old arguments were once more beaten threadbare.

A broad-  
side of  
bumpers

De Vries enjoys a high reputation for veracity, and his picture of the plethoric governor taking deep draughts of Dutch courage on the Bowling Green is surely quite comical. But when we remember that the English and Dutch governments were anxious to avoid a quarrel, the situation loses much of its absurdity. Perhaps if De Vries had been the responsible magistrate, instead of a mere friendly adviser, he would have been less ready to fire upon the unwelcome vessel. And after all, when it came to deeds, the action of doubting Walter, though tardy, was quite to the point.

The true  
explana-  
tion

However it might fare with the law and logic of such cases, one fact was growing painfully evident. The English were coming over to America much faster than the Dutch. On Chesapeake Bay it was understood that Lord Baltimore's long projected colony was just coming upon the scene. Preparations were accordingly made for renovating Fort Nassau, and Arendt Corsen, crossing the Delaware River, bought of the Indians a tract

A Dutch  
fortress  
west of the  
Delaware

of land on the Schuylkill, where a fort was afterwards erected, called *Bevers reede*, or "Beaver Road Fort." Thus we see the Dutch leaving a landmark upon Pennsylvania, as well as upon Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut.

In 1633 the last-named quarter was the one which excited most interest. The outlook in the direction of Portentous growth of New England Massachusetts Bay was truly portentous. For some time after the coming of Peter Minuit, the little colonies at Manhattan and at Plymouth had kept about evenly balanced, each with about 300 inhabitants; but now within five years Winthrop's new colony had grown from nothing to 4000 souls, and was already rivalling Virginia. Englishmen were coming to Boston at the rate of 1000 a year and were beginning to push inland. Plainly no time was to be lost in securing the river which Adrian Block, its discoverer, had called the Fresh River of New Netherland, in contrast to the salt Hudson, but which was known to all the Algonquin tribes as Long River, or Connecticut.

It will be remembered that in 1623, under Director May, the Dutch had begun to build Fort Good Hope, on the present site of Hartford, but had soon desisted. Their numbers were too small for the territory they wished to cover. But Mohegans in the Connecticut valley in 1628 Indian affairs drew their attention eastward. The Mohegans of the upper Housatonic valley were driven from that region by the Mohawks; in the central hill country of Massachusetts their progress was blocked by the Nipmucks; so they moved down into the lower Connecticut valley, among their own kinsmen, whose chief sachem dwelt at Mattabeseck, on what is now known as Indian Hill, in the city of Middletown. The newcomers, under their sagamore, Sequeen, occupied the site of Wethersfield. Their coming led to complications with the Pequots of the Thames valley, the most powerful tribe in New England. After three defeats the Mohegans submitted to pay annual tribute to the Pequots, but at the same time they appealed to the Dutch for protection. Now the

Dutch, as allies of the Mohawks, could hardly strike a blow in behalf of the Mohegans or furnish them with firearms, though they were otherwise ready to trade with them on most friendly terms. So in 1631 the Mohegans sent an envoy to Boston to seek English aid, but none was granted. In the summer of 1632 Dutch agents bought of the Mohegans large tracts of land on both sides of the river, and at its mouth, at a point which they named *Kievit's* Hook, after the little bird which we call *Pewit*, they nailed to a large tree the arms of the States General. In the next summer Van Twiller sent Jacob van Curler, who built Comple-  
tion of Fort  
Good Hope Fort Good Hope with yellow brick from Holland and armed it with two cannon. The fort was finished early in June, 1633.

While Captain De Vries was carrying the news of these proceedings to Holland, there was some excitement along the shores between Cape Cod and Cape Ann. The Plymouth people talked of taking up arms, and Winthrop sent an envoy from Boston to New Amsterdam, by way of Long Island Sound, to notify Van Twiller that the Connecticut River was within the dominions of the king of England. The Disputes  
with New  
England envoy and his friends were treated with the greatest cordiality, and after five weeks returned to Boston with a polite note from Van Twiller to Winthrop, suggesting that the English should defer their “pretence or claim” to Connecticut until the States General and the king of England should come to some agreement with regard to such matters. “In this part of the world,” said Van Twiller, “are divers heathen lands that are empty of inhabitants, so that of a little part or portion thereof, there needs not any question.” He therefore hoped that Christians might dwell there, like good neighbours, without bickering. He did not withdraw his garrison from Fort Good Hope, however; and the government of Plymouth decided to interfere, while Massachusetts remained quiescent. The action of Plymouth had unforeseen consequences.

It seems that a small band of Indians probably a sept of

Mohegans, had been expelled by the Pequots from their home at the present site of Windsor, a few miles above Fort Good Hope. The Plymouth government bought this land from the banished Indians and proposed to reinstate them. The frame of a blockhouse, all ready for raising, was packed on a barge, and in this craft Lieutenant William Holmes, with a party of Plymouth men and their cinnamon-skinned comrades, on a bright September day sailed up the Connecticut River. As they passed Fort Good Hope, the Dutch commander shouted to them to turn and go back, under penalty of a volley from the two cannon. Holmes replied that he was under orders from the governor of Plymouth, and should go on, volley or no volley. "So they passed along," says our chronicler, "and though the Dutch threatened them hard, yet they shot not." On reaching the site of Windsor they quickly put up their frame house and built a strong stockade around it. They were not long in hearing that their dealings with the banished Indians had given mortal offence to the Pequots. Yet the blow, when it came, did not fall upon these men of Plymouth, but upon another party of Englishmen; and the whole story affords a good illustration of the difficulty of keeping clear from Indian complications.

Early in the following January, as Captain Stone, a skipper from Virginia, was sailing up the Connecticut River with seven companions, on an errand to Fort Good Hope, he imprudently allowed a dozen Pequots to come on board his little vessel. At night, when Stone and his men, or most of them, were asleep, these Indians murdered them all. Shortly afterward they surprised and slew several of Sequen's Indians at Wethersfield. Van Curler, the commander at Fort Good Hope, felt that it would not do to allow such things within his jurisdiction; so, catching some Pequots who were known to have had a hand in these murders, he had them hanged. The wrath of the powerful tribe was thus turned against the Dutch, but they deemed it wise to get the assistance of white men. So they

Plymouth  
men on the  
Connecti-  
cut River

Troubles  
with the  
Pequots

sent emissaries to Boston, offering to cede more land on the Connecticut, to surrender the surviving Indians concerned in the Stone massacre, and to pay a handsome tribute in wampum beside, in exchange for English protection. These overtures led to the intervention of the Boston government to keep peace between the Pequots and Narragansetts, but otherwise nothing came of them, and the murderers of Stone were not surrendered.

While these things were going on, Van Twiller sent a party of 70 men, in December, 1634, to drive the Plymouth men from their blockhouse at Windsor, but on reconnoitring the situation and finding that the little garrison refused to budge, these humane and philosophic troopers returned to New Amsterdam, where doubtless a fresh cask was tapped for them, for such was the Doubter's way. The next year witnessed a further trial of his temper. Two English noblemen, Lord Saye and Lord Brooke, had in 1632 obtained a grant of the Connecticut River and lands adjacent. Now in November, 1635, the younger John Winthrop, acting under their orders, brought a party to Kievit's Hook, the name of which he changed to Point Saye-Brooke, after his two patrons. These Englishmen tore down the arms of the States General from the tree to which the Dutchman had fastened them, and nailed up in their place a board with a ludicrous and insulting picture. A Dutch sloop, sent from Manhattan to interrupt the pro-

*John Winthrop.*



ceedings, arrived upon the scene ; but finding a couple of English cannon in possession, she quietly turned and retired up the Sound. Then Winthrop built a fort at Saybrook, by the hands of Lyon Gardiner, an accomplished engineer, who had formerly served in Holland under the Prince of Orange. The narratives of the time abound in

such instances, which show the closeness and frequency of the intercourse between the two nations. Gardiner remained in command of Fort Saybrook, which practically cut off Fort Good Hope and isolated it from New Amsterdam, for overland communication through the primeval forest was full of difficulty and danger.

But now this forlorn hope of eastern New Netherland was about to be not merely isolated, but in a measure overwhelmed in a new tide of English migration. The majority of the people in Cambridge, Watertown, and Dorchester disapproved of some theocratic features in the government of Massachusetts, and in particular of the restriction of the suffrage to church members. In 1636, under their great leader, Thomas Hooker, the Cambridge congregation came in a body through the wilderness to the fields which Fort Good Hope vainly aspired to command, and began build-

ing Hartford. So wholesale was the move that only eleven families were left in Cambridge, which, but for a new arrival from England, would have presented the appearance of a deserted village. In similar wise, the Dorchester congregation came to Windsor and quite swallowed up the little Plymouth settlement; and the Watertown congregation came to Wethersfield. The English population of 800 souls, thus suddenly brought into Connecticut, far outnumbered all the Dutch in New Netherland. Against such odds there was small hope of success, but the Dutch remained for some years unmolested at their Hartford fortress, for the English could well afford to disregard them.

The ferocious Indian war that followed this migration hardly belongs to the history of New Netherland, except for an incident which reflects great honour upon the Dutch governor and has been too little noticed. We may briefly recall to mind how certain Narragansetts murdered an English trader at Block Island, whereupon

The found-  
ing of Con-  
necticut

*Tho: Hooker:*



The Pe-  
quot war

John Endicott came with three vessels and slew Indians and burned wigwams at Block Island, and then, coming over to the mainland, peremptorily demanded of the Pequots that they surrender to justice the Stone murderers, and getting only an evasive answer went on to shed Pequot blood and set fire to Pequot wigwams. How this grim Puritan thus came near uniting against the English the two most powerful tribes of New England, each numbering more than 1000 warriors; how the diplomacy of Roger Williams averted this serious danger and won over the Narragansetts; how the Pequots butchered English settlers until human nature could no longer bear it, and one terrific blow, such as Cromwell might have struck, removed that tribe from the face of the earth; — all this is a familiar story. But what Van Twiller did is seldom mentioned. In the spring of 1637, shortly before the final catastrophe, a band of Pequots rushed into Wethersfield, killed nine men, and carried two young women into captivity. On hearing the news, Van Twiller, without wasting a moment in doubting, sent a sloop to the Thames, with orders “to redeem the two English maids by what means soever,” even though it should involve war with the Pequots. The sloop was stopped by the English at Fort Saybrook, but was allowed to go on when her captain made a written statement of his friendly purpose. On arriving in the Thames River, a large ransom was offered and rejected. Then the Dutch skipper succeeded in capturing half a dozen Pequot warriors for hostages; with these he effected an exchange, and with the two girls safe in his cabin went on his way rejoicing and delivered them to their mourning friends.

Van Twil-  
ler's chival-  
rous inter-  
vention

Surely this rescue was a most neighbourly and Christian act on the part of Director Van Twiller. It lights up the commonplace figure of the puzzled Amsterdam clerk with a gleam of true chivalry; and when one thinks of it one is inclined to forgive him for many shortcomings. Though he had more than once sent home to Holland for permission to attack the English, though the latter indeed were dreading

an assault from him in the midst of their troubles, yet when it came to leaving Christian women in the power of the barbarians, all quarrels of Dutch and English were for the moment set aside, and in the promptness with which he acted there was little to remind one of Walter the Doubter.

With regard to his alleged pusillanimity in not attacking the English at Windsor and at Saybrook, as also in not firing upon the ship *William* at Manhattan, there has been much unjust criticism. The scenes are so funny that they fail to get serious attention. The spectacle of a band of armed men marching up to a fortress and demanding its surrender, and then, when the demand is refused, marching meekly away, reminds one irresistibly of *Dogberry* : —

*Dogb.* You shall comprehend all vagrom men: you are to bid any man stand, in the Prince's name.

*2 Watch.* How, if a will not stand?

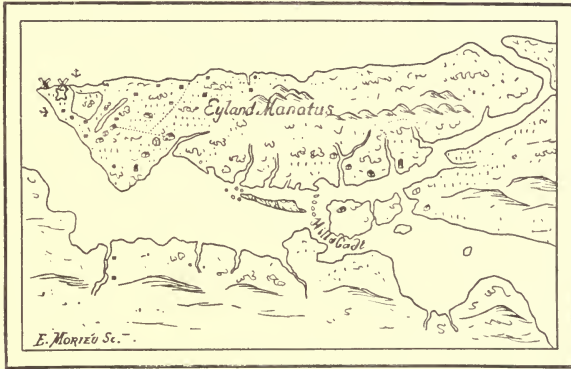
*Dogb.* Why then, take no note of him, but let him go; and presently call the rest of the Watch together, and thank God you are rid of a knave.

It is scenes like this that have aroused the humour of Irving and the contempt of many writers who have not paused to consider the very peculiar situation in which Van Twiller was placed. He was expected to assert the Dutch territorial claims as loudly as possible, but if he were to fire upon an English ship or an English fort, he would certainly incur the censure of the States General for such belligerent conduct. He asked for permission to use his own discretion as to bringing on a fight, but he never received such permission, and thus was always confronted with a dilemma; which was a state of things well calculated to encourage the habit of doubting. The truth is that the Dutch and English people were quite friendly inclined to one another, and their governments were determined not to quarrel; sentiment and policy alike forbade it. At the same time their antagonism and rivalry in America was a geographical necessity, from which they could not escape. Under such circumstances



the only available resource was a game of bluff, and such games are apt to have their ludicrous side.

In making these remarks I am not at all concerned to defend Van Twiller, but only to do justice. Even small facts in history are worth the effort required to see them in their true light, for the habit thus fostered is helpful when we come to deal with great facts. As for the Dutch governor, no literary legerdemain can ever make him a hero, or anything but a commonplace character, with some grave faults; as we shall see in the next chapter when we shall have done with his career and can see how it fared with New Netherland under his successor.



EARLIEST KNOWN PLAN OF NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1640

## CHAPTER VI

### KING LOG AND KING STORK

I HAVE sometimes wondered why we are inclined to associate something slightly comical with the names "Dutch" and "Dutchmen." That there is some such inclination is, I think, undeniable; but the origin of it is not obvious. All Germans call themselves Dutch, while Dutchmen call themselves by a territorial designation, as Hollanders or Netherlanders; but when we call a German a Dutchman we do it with a smile. It seems to be implied, though ever so slightly, that there is something funny in being a Dutchman. We cannot ascribe this feeling to the effect left upon our minds by Irving's humorous pictures of old dignitaries and his charming legends of the Hudson, for the feeling is older than Irving and gave him his clue for the Knickerbocker chronicles. I think it must be referred to the seventeenth century, that period of keen rivalry and occasional warfare between the English and their Netherland cousins, when they were more in each other's minds than ever before or since. It is then that we begin to encounter such disparaging expressions as "Dutch comforters" for those who bid you thank God it's no worse, "Dutch bargains" where the wits are clouded with beer, "Dutch courage" such as comes from ardent spirits, or "Dutch defence" for a premature and cowardly surrender. Shakespeare never uses any of these phrases, and I have not found them in any of the Elizabethan playwrights, but they were in common use by the time of Charles II. Some of them are very silly, coming from people who had lately found in Dutchmen the toughest antagonists they had ever encountered. There is more savour of spleen than of wit in such phrases.

Comical  
notions  
about the  
Dutch

But besides this we must bear in mind that neighbouring or closely related communities are apt to make generalizations about one another that are either ill-natured or patronizing, and in either case convey some implication of superiority. With communities that are widely different there is less temptation to do this. The existence of <sup>Silly gen-</sup>eralizations wide differences is taken for granted, and our own immeasurable superiority, on whichever side we may happen to be, goes without saying. When the differences are slight, self-flattery thrives by harping upon them, and sometimes leads to queer statements. For example, there is a kind of American humour to which Englishmen do not always quickly respond, and forthwith we hear it said that Englishmen have no sense of humour, — a strange charge to bring against the countrymen of Dickens and Thackeray and Lewis Carroll! The Englishman sometimes brings the same charge against the countrymen of Scott and Burns! Every one has heard the famous remark of Sydney Smith, but the delicious reply of the great Scottish humourist, John Wilson, is not so generally known. Smith had said, “You cannot get jokes into a Scotchman’s head without a surgical operation.” “Ay, to be sure,” retorted Wilson, — “English jokes!”

It was in the spirit here illustrated that ancient Athenian writers used to allude to their near neighbours, with such effect that the prevailing popular conception of Bœotians is that of a thick-witted people with small interest in art or literature. Yet from this people came Hesiod and Pindar and Plutarch, with the painters, Nicomachus and Aristeides, and the general, statesman, orator, and scholar, Epaminondas, in whom the moral grandeur of a Washington was united with the brilliant versatility of a Raleigh. In a learned monograph on the Bœotians, in which a modern Welsh scholar, Professor Rhys Roberts, shows how little there is to support the traditional view, there is a chapter on the Bœotians as the Dutchmen of Greece. The references there collected show that other Greeks regarded them as comfortable and easy-going people, fond of good dinners,

The Athenian prejudice against Bœotians

and not averse to a social glass. The conception answers very closely to Irving's picture of the inhabitants of New Netherland. When his Knickerbocker was first published, in 1809, many people of Dutch descent in New York and Albany read it with fierce indignation. In certain quarters there was an attempt to frown the youthful author out of society. Nine years afterward, Mr. Gulian Verplanck, in an address before the New York Historical Society, called it a "coarse caricature." Irving might have replied that it was meant for caricature and is not coarse. One sometimes wonders what there can be in the climate of North America that makes its inhabitants so morbidly sensitive to banter. But the kindness of Irving's humour, the total absence of malice, ended by winning all hearts ; and the name of Knickerbocker has come to be regarded almost as a title of nobility by the children of those whom it once so sorely offended.

At the close of the preceding chapter we left Director Van Twiller in great and growing difficulties on his Connecticut frontier. In the opposite direction there was further cause for anxiety. Lord Baltimore's people began coming to Maryland in 1634, and the next year a small party from Virginia came up the Delaware River and took possession of Fort Nassau, which the Dutch had abandoned. As soon as Van Twiller heard of this, he despatched a warship thither, which captured all the English and brought them to New Amsterdam. The question what should be done with them called for all the Doubter's powers of meditation ; but Captain De Vries, who had stopped in the harbour on his way to Virginia, relieved his perplexity by carrying all the prisoners to Point Comfort. There they found a second English ship just starting for Fort Nassau, but the return of this first company, with its tale of discomfiture, put an end to the enterprise.

The history of Van Twiller's administration is in great part a monotonous record of such bickerings with the English. But this did not prevent very brisk commercial inter-

Irving's  
Knicker-  
bocker

Capture of  
English  
intruders  
on the  
Delaware

A HISTORY  
OF  
NEW YORK,

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD TO THE  
END OF THE DUTCH DYNASTY.

CONTAINING

Among many Surprising and Curious Matters, the Unutterable  
Ponderings of WALTER THE DOUBTER, the Disastrous  
Projects of WILLIAM THE TESTY, and the Chivalric  
Achievements of PETER THE HEADSTRONG, the three  
Dutch Governors of NEW AMSTERDAM; being the only  
Authentic History of the Times that ever hath been, or ever  
will be Published.

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BY DIEDRICH KNICKERBOCKER.

*W. Irving*  
De waarheid die in duister lag,  
Die komt met klaarheid aan den dag.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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PUBLISHED BY INSKEEP & BRADFORD, NEW YORK;  
BRADFORD & INSKEEP, PHILADELPHIA; WM. M'IL-  
HENNEY, BOSTON; COALE & THOMAS, BALTIMORE;  
AND MORFORD, WILLINGTON, & CO. CHARLESTON.

.....  
1809.

W. M'P.

course. Salt and tobacco were carried in Dutch vessels from Manhattan to Boston and Salem, and horses and oxen of the finest breeds were brought over from Holland for use in New England. The voyage between Amsterdam and Boston usually took from five to six weeks. In the general increase of commercial activity which was due to the founding of so many English colonies, New Amsterdam had its share ; and its profits were enhanced by the prerogative known as "staple right," according to which all passing vessels must either stop and unload their cargoes to be sold on the spot, or else pay a duty for the privilege of passing. Quite a number of yellow brick houses were built, as also a wooden church and parsonage, a few shops, three windmills, and a brewery. Two houses were also built at Pavonia, on the Jersey shore, and nine at Fort Orange. Agriculture made some progress at Manhattan, and it is worthy of note that the first successful crop was tobacco. Of the Virginians who were taken prisoners at Fort Nassau, two or three found New Amsterdam so pleasant that they stayed there and introduced the culture of tobacco. It was not long before tobacco grown near the site of the present City Hall was exported in considerable quantities to Holland, where it brought nearly as good prices as tobacco from Virginia. Large estates were bought by Van Twiller and his friends, in the expectation of a rise of values. Among these was the little island in the bay, which the Indians called Pagganck, and the Dutch Nut Island, but which ever since Van Twiller's purchase has been known as Governor's Island. Other such estates were on Long Island, comprising the present town of Flatlands. The Indian occupants of these lands were paid for them after the usual fashion, but in order to get a valid title under the West India Company's regulations, it was necessary that such purchases should be formally approved in the Amsterdam Chamber. Van Twiller foolishly disregarded this rule, and thus laid himself open to imputations of dishonest dealing, imputations that were damaging, even if not sustained

Growth  
of New  
Amsterdam

Van Twil-  
ler's land  
purchases

by adequate proofs. It was also observed that his farms prospered much better than those of the Company, and it was hinted that he took advantage of his position to secure for himself the best service that was to be had, without a proper regard for the interests of his employers.

While he indulged in these irregularities, Van Twiller's arbitrary temper got him into many quarrels with merchants and skippers and magistrates, and presently with Dominie Bogardus, who once called him a "child of Satan" and threatened to preach him such a sermon next Sunday as would make him shake in his shoes! From such indications we may gather that the parson's gentleness was not precisely dove-like, and in fact he was said to be a sturdy guzzler, like the Director. According to De Vries the orgies at Manhattan were frequent and unseemly. In June, 1636, <sup>Bibulous</sup> that excellent mariner, returning from Virginia, <sup>magnates</sup> had his leaky ship hauled up and careened on the site of Maiden Lane for repairs. Van Twiller informed him that Cornelius van Voorst had just arrived as superintendent of Pauw's estate of Pavonia. Van Voorst had brought with him a few cases of prime claret, and so the Director, with De Vries and Bogardus, went over to pay their respects to him. The sequel suggests that the claret must have been followed by cognac or schnapps. The Director, the parson, and the superintendent got into a hot altercation over a murder lately committed in the neighbourhood; but presently peace and good-will were restored. As the visitors were stepping down to their boats, Van Voorst gave them a parting salute with an old swivel which stood in front of his house, but bungled it in such a wise as to shower sparks on the roof, and in less than half an hour the building was reduced to ashes. A few weeks later, on a warm morning in August, as De Vries was about to weigh anchor for Holland, the constable of New Amsterdam gave him a farewell banquet, under a large open tent where the assembled company could look down upon the blue water and catch the salt breeze blowing over the bay. Wine flowed freely, and the hilarity

was growing somewhat boisterous, when suddenly the trumpeter, Anthony van Corlear, blew a blast and made several persons jump. Thereupon the koopman of stores and the koopman of cargoes upbraided the trumpeter and called him by divers opprobrious names, until that doughty musician assaulted them both and thrashed them soundly. The koopmen, with aching sides, ran home to get their swords, vowing with mighty oaths that they would carve and eat Van Corlear; but the pot-valiant threat was never fulfilled.

Among the officers at New Amsterdam who disapproved of the Director's methods and manners was the schout-financial, or treasurer, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, one of the ablest men in the Company's service. His criticisms were so freely expressed that the angry Van Twiller dismissed him from office and sent him back to Holland. On the Director's part this was a rash proceeding, for Van Dincklagen immediately drew up a formal complaint against him and lodged it with the States General. It was a moment of bitter discontent and disapproval of the course which things had taken in New Netherland. There was nothing there yet that could with confidence be called a permanent colony; there was only a considerable trading station, with a group of tiny settlements. Colonists would not come out in any number as tenants on the great manors, and the patroons, neglecting agriculture for the more lucrative fur trade, kept working at cross purposes with the Company. During the last five years the population of Manhattan had slightly diminished, while the neighbouring English colonies to the east and to the south were rapidly expanding and threatening to overwhelm it. Something must be done to mend matters, and first of all the competency of the government must be ensured. The States General instructed the Company that they must either refute the charges against Van Twiller or recall him. This was throwing the burden of proof upon the Company. They could not refute the charges, and accordingly Van Twiller was removed from office. He continued for some years to live in New Amster-

How Van  
Twiller was  
removed  
from office



dam, but played no important part there. We have the record of his death in Holland, early in 1657, but nothing is known of the circumstances of his return.

The person appointed to succeed Van Twiller as Director

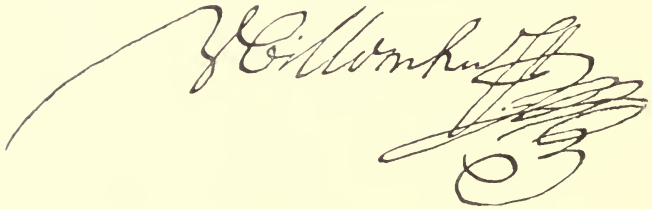


ANTHONY VAN CORLEAR

General was named William Kieft. He was appointed in September, 1637, and arrived at New Amsterdam in March, 1638. He was a very different sort of person from his predecessor, and the change was like that from King Log to King Stork. Kieft was a man of restless activity. The picture of him given by Knicker-

Arrival of  
William  
Kieft

bocker is of course based upon fancy, but it gives a correct impression of his type of character ; “ a brisk, wiry, waspish little old gentleman,” with sharp features, “ cheeks scorched into a dusky red by two fiery little gray eyes ; his nose turned up and the corners of his mouth turned down, pretty much like the muzzle of an irritable pug dog.” This Kieft



seems to have had a good education, and is said to have been fond of interlarding his talk with scraps from Greek and Latin authors. As a merchant he had once been bankrupt, and his enemies accused him of crooked conduct on at least one occasion, when, as it was said, he had been entrusted with money for redeeming certain Christian captives from Turkish bondage, and had secreted part of it for his own use and behoof. Either the Company did not believe these charges, or perhaps they were willing to accept his energy as covering up a multitude of sins. Unfortunately they did not take sufficient pains to inquire into his character for prudence and tact ; in these qualities he was woefully wanting.

In coming to this new country Director Kieft knew that he would be held responsible for the government of his province, and therefore he wished to have absolute control, so far as possible. Therefore, while he retained the advisory council, he reduced it to two persons, — himself and one councillor. In this council of two the Director had two votes and the other man one, so that Kieft was practically an autocrat. The choice of a councillor, however, was a good one, — Jean de la Montagne, a keen and forceful Huguenot physician. The only other officers of importance were the koopman, or commissary of the Company, and the schout, or treasurer and general executive

Kieft's  
method of  
governing

officer. Kieft's ordinary method of governing was to issue proclamations or edicts, and it was the business of the schout to see that they were duly enforced. On extraordinary occasions special councillors, usually some of the company's salaried servants, were added to the council, and Kieft followed their advice or not, just as he pleased.

Our petty autocrat found a sad state of things in New Netherland. We have seen how it was complained of Van Twiller that he devoted more thought to his own interests than to those of his employers, surely a grave offence in a governor. With the patroons, who were open to the same charge, the offence was perhaps somewhat more venial; but the bad example infected the whole community. Illicit traffic in peltries was universal.

Illicit  
trade in  
peltries

People visited the warehouses and bought for themselves the most valuable furs, until only the poorest ones were left to be shipped on account of the Company; and by this means not only were its receipts diminished, but its reputation suffered in the European market, and in the keen competition with Russian traders the Dutch found themselves losing ground.

Accordingly one of Kieft's first acts was to issue a proclamation forbidding the Company's servants trading in peltries, under penalty of forfeiting their wages and all such claims as they might have against the Company. No person whatever was to engage in trade of any sort, within the limits of New Netherland, without a license. Any trader who could not show a license

Kieft's  
proclama-  
tions

was to suffer confiscation of all his goods, and was liable to further punishment at the discretion of the Director. Communication between people ashore and ships in the bay was most jealously guarded, and no sailor was allowed to stay on shore after sundown without express permission, under penalty of forfeiting two months' wages for the first offence and instant dismissal without any pay for the second offence. Life and property were so insecure that it had been found necessary to modify the provision that capital punishment should not be inflicted in the colony. A gallows in Holland was too

remote to inspire terror in evil-doers, and accordingly murderers were publicly executed at Manhattan. Kieft's earliest proclamations announced that no mercy would be shown to criminals. Penalties were fixed upon hard drinking. Any keeper of a tavern or alehouse who sold liquor to tipsy customers or allowed brawls upon his premises was liable to a fine of 25 guilders and the loss of all his stock. No doubt, if proclamations could reform society, the waspish and wiry little governor would have had the millennium in full operation in New Netherland within a twelvemonth.

But one of the lessons which history inculcates with strongest and most reiterated emphasis is this: that by no conceivable ingenuity of legislation or vehemence of proclamation can you ever make a sound society out of unsound individuals. Now at the time of Kieft's arrival the small

Quality of  
the New  
Netherland  
population  
in Kieft's  
time

population of New Netherland was unquestionably poor in quality. That it did not represent the good people of Holland seems quite clear. In Holland, even in the humblest society, it was very unusual to find a person who could not read and write; and so it had been for more than a century at the time of which we are treating. But in Manhattan it was only a small minority of the population that could read or write.<sup>1</sup> For the most part it was still a waterside population of sailors, wharf-keepers, and longshoremen, including a fair proportion of rough and shiftless characters. The thrifty and respectable people of Holland had not yet begun to come in any considerable numbers to the New World.

And now the patroons came forward with a proposal which, had it been adopted, would have made matters still worse. They laid before the States General their so-called

The propo-  
sal of the  
patroons

“New Project,” concerning which it is not worth our while here to notice more than one provision. Since the inducements offered under the manorial system had not proved sufficient to draw free and thrifty yeomanry from Holland to America, the patroons requested

<sup>1</sup> O'Callaghan, i. 187.

the States General to furnish them with white servile labour such as England was then sending to Virginia, — convicts and vagabonds, outcasts and paupers, to serve under indentures for a term of years and then to receive their freedom.

Fortunately this request was not granted, but recourse



WILLIAM KIEFT INTRODUCING A NEW MODE OF PUNISHMENT  
FOR BEGGARS

was had to far more wholesome measures. In September, 1638, after consultation with the States General, the West India Company issued a proclamation which marked the beginning of a new era. The previous monopolies, alike in trade and in agriculture, were renounced and abolished.

The fur trade and the right to hold and cultivate land in free allodial proprietorship were thrown open to the whole world. The same privileges in New Netherland were extended to foreigners as to Dutchmen, while all alike were subject to a few moderate regulations. The only monopoly retained by the Company was that of carrying the settlers with their merchandise and cattle, at a reasonable charge for the service rendered. At the same time the prohibition upon manufactures was removed.

Besides this abandonment of monopoly, certain direct encouragements for immediate emigration were provided. A farmer who was willing to start at once for New Netherland was carried thither with his family without any charge; on his arrival he was furnished, for a term of six years, with a farm of such size as he could profitably cultivate, together with a house and barn, four horses, four cows, sundry sheep and swine, and the needful tools; for all of which he was to pay a yearly rent in money equivalent to about \$200 of the present day, besides 80 pounds of butter. At the end of the six years he was to restore the equivalent of the live stock originally furnished, retaining for himself all the increase. Provisions were made for supplying clothes and other necessaries on credit, in certain cases, as well as loans of money.

The effect of these measures was remarkable. Settlers of excellent quality began coming in considerable numbers, so that, for example, in the year 1639 the seven farms or bouweries on Manhattan increased to more than thirty. Not only single families came, but large parties conducted by men of substance. The first of these parties came with De Vries at Christmas, 1638, and began building houses on Staten Island. In the following June came Joachim Kuyter, of Darmstadt, and Cornelius Melyn, of Antwerp, whom we shall meet again in the course of our story. About the same time Antoine Jansen, a Huguenot, began the settlement at Gravesend. Englishmen came also. Some came from Virginia and engaged in planting

Abolition  
of monop-  
olies

Induce-  
ments to  
emigration

Beneficial  
results

710A  
It may please the worthy & much honored Governour,  
Deputy, and Assistants, & with them, y<sup>e</sup> present Court  
to take knowledge that our Desire of staying within this  
patent was Reall & Strong, if the eye of Gods providence  
(to whom we have committed our waies especially in so im-  
portant an enterprise as this, which we Confess, is farre above  
our Capacities) had guided us to a place convenient for  
our families, & for our friends, which as our words have  
often expressed, so, we hope, y<sup>e</sup> truth thereof is sufficiently  
declared by our almost nine months patient waiting  
in expectation of some opportunity to be offered us, for that  
end, to our great charge & hindrance, many waies.

In all which time we have, in many prayers comended y<sup>e</sup>  
quidance of our apprehensions, judgements, spirits, resolutions  
& wayes into the good hand of y<sup>e</sup> onely wise God, whose  
prerogative it is to determine y<sup>e</sup> bounds of our habitations  
according to y<sup>e</sup> ends for which he hath brought us into  
those Countreys, and we have considered, as we were able  
by his helpe, whatsoever place hath been propounded to us,  
being ready to have, with contentment accepted (if by our stay  
any publick good might be promoted) Smaller Accomoda-  
tion, & upon dearer terms (if they might be moderately  
conceded) they we believe, most men, in y<sup>e</sup> same case, with  
us, in all respects, would have done. And, whereas a place for  
an Inland plantation, beyond Waterpown, was propounded  
to us, and pressed with much importunity by some, whose  
words have y<sup>e</sup> power of a law with us, in any way of God,  
we did seriously, and seriously deliberate thereupon, it being  
y<sup>e</sup> subject of y<sup>e</sup> greatest part of a dayes discourse, the con-  
clusion was, that if y<sup>e</sup> Inland should answer y<sup>e</sup> middore ground  
in goodness and desirableness (rather of yet there is some  
ground of doubting) yet, considering that a Boate cannot pass  
from y<sup>e</sup> Bay thither, nearer then 8 or 10 miles distant, and  
that it is so remote from y<sup>e</sup> Bay, & from any town, nor  
could not soo honor our dwelling there would be advantage-  
ous to those plantations, or compatible with our condition  
or convenient for our families, nor for our friends:  
Nor can we satisfy our selves that it is expedient for our  
whorem, or for our friends, that we chuse such a condition  
whorem we must be compelled to have our dwelling  
houses so farre distant from our farms, as Boston, or  
Charles town is from that place, few of our friends be-  
ing able to bear the charge thereof. nevertheless

Nevertheless we are bound to consider and some of  
 them that are able not being persuaded that it is remo-  
 val for them to live continually from the greatest part  
 of their families, as, in this case, they would be no consid-  
 eration to doe the Season of 7 years, & other weighty  
 Considerations, compell us to hasten to a full & final  
 resolution which we are, at last, come unto, by Gods appointment and  
 direction, whithersoever, in mercy, & have sent letters to  
 Connecticut for a speedy transacting the purchase of yo  
 parts about 20000 pieces from yo Natives which may  
 be proved to the true merits. By which it was abso-  
 lutely, & irrevocably, engaged that we say, and we are  
 persuaded that God will order it for good unto those  
 plantations, whithersoever so abundantly above our desire  
 or expectations, express, in your desire of our abode in  
 those parts, as we shall ever retain in thankfull  
 memory, so we shall account our selves to be thereby  
 obliged to be any way instrumental, and serviceable  
 of those plantations as well as of those, which the Di-  
 vine providence hath combined together in as strong  
 a bond of Brotherly affection, by the sameness of their resolu-  
 tion, as goal and abode, whithersoever, while several armies  
 did mutually strengthen them both against several  
 enemies. 12. som. 10. 9. 10. 11. or rather they are joynd  
 together, as Hippocrates his grinnice, to stand, and fall  
 together, as Hippocrates his grinnice, to stand, and fall  
 together, as Hippocrates his grinnice, to stand, and fall  
 together. In witness whereof, the prompt  
 together. In witness whereof, the prompt

The 12<sup>th</sup> day  
 of the first month  
 Anno 1638

John Davenport.  
 Joseph: Eaton.



tobacco, or in raising orchards of peaches and cherries. Many also came from Massachusetts, where they were finding the rule of the theocracy oppressive. Englishmen, indeed, came in such numbers that, in view of possible complications with the English government, it was deemed wise to make sure of their being on the right side. An oath of allegiance to the States General, to the Prince of Orange, and to the Director of New Netherland was accordingly required of them. This question of allegiance having once been disposed of, no distinction whatever was made in New Netherland between Dutchmen and foreigners, but the same rights and privileges were enjoyed by all.

Even now, however, the rate of increase was far from keeping pace with that of New England. The pursuit and slaughter of the wretched remnant of Pequots had just revealed to English eyes the rich and beautiful shores between Saybrook and Fairfield, when there came another great wave of migration from the mother country. Under the lead of Eaton and Davenport these people sailed from Boston to the place which the red men knew as Quin-  
English settlements on Long Island Sound  
 nipiack, and which Adrian Block had baptized as Roodenberg, or Red Mount ; there they founded the town and colony of New Haven in 1638. By June of the following year there were fifty houses at Stratford ; Norwalk and Stamford had come into existence, and two houses marked the beginning of Greenwich, within thirty miles of New Amsterdam. This year 1639 witnessed that league of three river towns which began the organization of the state of Connecticut. Of these towns Hartford already had more than a hundred houses, with a spacious church. Fort Good Hope still existed on sufferance, though there were brawls between the garrison and the neighbouring farmers.

It must be borne in mind that of the new settlements along the Sound, the towns of New Haven, Guil-  
The republic of New Haven  
 ford, Branford, Milford, and Stamford, together with Southold, on the opposite shore of Long Island, were about this time united into the federal republic of New

Haven, the most theocratic and aristocratic of the New England colonies ; while the intervening towns of Stratford, Fairfield, and Norwalk, whose settlers came chiefly through Hartford and Windsor, were joined to the comparatively liberal and democratic colony of Connecticut. The fort at Saybrook remained separate, and as for Greenwich, the Dutch laid hands upon it. Quite recently Jonas Bronck had reared an outpost for New Amsterdam in the region now known as Westchester County, where Bronx River still bears his name. Thoroughly alarmed at the solid and steady advance of the English settlers, Director Kieft lost no time in buying from the Indians the triangle between Norwalk and the site of Sing Sing. He then so far overawed the settlers of Greenwich as to make them acknowledge Dutch jurisdiction ; and thus the republic of New Haven and the countship of New Netherland actually touched one another.

But the chief controversy was now concerned with Long Island. The Dutch already had settlements at Wallabout and Gravesend, and on the site of Flatlands, and at Breuckelen, so called after a pretty village on the road between Amsterdam and Utrecht. Presently they acquired from the red men a title to all the territory now comprised within the counties of Kings and Queens. Until the arrival of the New Haven people the greater part of the island remained undisturbed in the hands of its aboriginal possessors ; but the Dutch had free access to its shores, and this was of great value to them. Those shores were a kind of primitive American mint. For ages untold the currency of the red men had been wampum, or strings of beads made from sea-shells. There were two sorts, the white beads made from a kind of periwinkle, and the black beads made from the clam. It had some of the features of a double standard, inasmuch as black wampum was worth about twice as much as white ; but as no legal tender act obliged anybody to take the poorer coin for more than its intrinsic value, no confusion resulted. It was good currency, for it had an intrinsic value that was well understood and

Long  
Island

Wampum  
as currency

remarkably steady so long as Indians continued to form an important portion of the trading world. For any material to be fit to serve as a currency three conditions are indispensable : 1. It must be an object of desire for its own sake, apart from its use as currency. 2. It must be difficult to obtain. 3. Its value must not be subject to fluctuations. Wampum satisfied these conditions. It was used for a number of purposes, and in particular was highly prized for personal adornment. In order to find it, one must go to its native coasts and gather the shells and prepare them, and the areas in which these shells occurred were limited. Since wampum thus cost labour it could easily serve as a measure of other labour. The amount of effort involved in getting a beaver skin could readily be estimated in terms of the effort involved in getting a fathom of beads. The relations between wampum and beaver were subject to but slight variation ; immemorial custom, the net result of ages of barbaric experience, had determined them. As for gold and silver, the red men cared much less for them than for the venerated medium of traffic and diplomacy, the repository of tribal records, the coveted decoration alike for men and women. Throughout the seventeenth century wampum played almost as important a part in the northern colonies as tobacco played in Virginia, and as a medium of exchange it was far better than tobacco. It has been well said that "wampum was the magnet which drew the beaver out of interior forests ;"<sup>1</sup> or in other words, it was for the white man a currency redeemable in those peltries which were wanted throughout the civilized world.

Now the shores of Long Island abounded in the shells of which wampum is made, and the Indians upon those shores were the chief manufacturers of wampum on the whole Atlantic coast. The Pequots in swarms of canoes used to cross the Sound and make raids upon this convenient mint ; and when the dreaded Mohawk came down the River of the Mountains, collecting tribute from all the Algonquin tribes, it is said that he would now

The  
wampum  
treasures  
of Long  
Island

<sup>1</sup> Weeden, *Economic History of New England*, i. 39.

and then prolong his journey and levy blackmail upon the primeval treasuries of Great South and Shinnecock bays. Here Indians were wont to throng, and one of the many earmarks of truth in Verrazano's narrative is his notice of the fact.

The presence of this treasure, at the very doors of the Dutch, had given them great advantages in trading with the Indians. They were the first to perceive the economic significance of these wampum shores, and it was now with great disgust that they witnessed the approach of the English. In 1635 the Earl of Stirling obtained a grant of Long Island, and soon afterward proceeded to dispose of portions of its territory. In 1639 Lyon Gardiner bought Gardiner's Island, and in the following year a party from Lynn advanced as far as Cow Bay in Queens County. There they tore down the arms of the States General and carved a fool's head on the tree to which they had been hung. These invaders were presently driven away by Kieft's orders, and then retreated to the eastern part of the island, and on its south shore built Southampton. The founding of Southold, on the north shore, by the New Haven people, came at the same time.

The policy of Director Kieft, however, was destined to do more to shake the hold of the Dutch upon Long Island than all these aggressive advances of their rivals. The circumstances of New Amsterdam were such as to call for sagacity and tact on the part of the government in dealing with the Indians of the neighbourhood; but Kieft had neither tact nor sagacity in such matters. In explaining the case, it must be remembered that all the Indians upon the lower Hudson and on both sides of it, all the way from the Delaware River to the Connecticut and far beyond, belonged to the Algonquin family. Under various local names, — such as Raritans, Manhattans, Weckquaesgecks, Tappans, etc., — most of those with whom our story deals were either members or detached fragments of the widespread and extremely loose Algonquin confederacy known as Delawares

The Eng-  
lish on  
Long  
Island

The Algon-  
quin tribes

or Lenni-Lenapé. All had suffered unspeakable humiliation at the hands of the terrible Iroquois, to whom they were now compelled to pay tribute. No enmity known to history was ever more deadly than that between Algonquin and Iroquois. Now the Dutch had from the first entered into a treaty of friendship with the Iroquois, and such a fact was of itself calculated to discredit them with their Algonquin neighbours. Nevertheless the Dutch had hitherto contrived to keep on very pleasant terms with these also. Minit and Van Twiller had treated them well, and the influences of De Vries upon them was always excellent. But under Kieft the increase of farming population began to cause inconvenience to the red men ; they complained bitterly that stray cattle spoiled their unfenced fields of growing corn, and sometimes they protected their crops by killing the cattle, which led to reprisals.

But far more serious trouble came indirectly from supplying the Iroquois with firearms. A rule of the West India Company, approved by the States General, forbade the selling of such weapons to any Indians whatever, under penalty of death. Now the government at Manhattan rigorously enforced this prohibition in the neighbourhood, but with regard to the distant Iroquois the enforcement was comparatively lax. When a Mohawk was glad to give twenty beaver skins for a musket, he was pretty sure to get it ; and as the Iroquois had great wealth of furs at their disposal, no other red men enjoyed such facilities for acquiring firearms. The effects of this were prodigious. Already the superior organization of the confederated Iroquois tribes had made them invincible ; now, armed with the white man's weapons, they became irresistible. In the next half century they reduced to a tributary condition nearly all the northwestern tribes as far as the Mississippi River.

Selling fire-  
arms to the  
Iroquois

Now when the Algonquins around Manhattan found that the Dutch would sell firearms to the Iroquois but not to themselves, they were not only offended but alarmed ; for

how could such a preference for their deadly enemies forbode anything but mischief? At this juncture the unhappy Kieft ventured upon what seemed to him a brilliant stroke of policy. He was spending a good deal of money in repairing Fort Amsterdam and other works which he said were a protection to the Indians as well as to the white men; therefore they must be made to pay their share for such protection, they must be taxed! Accordingly he sent his collectors to the Tappans, demanding corn, furs, and wampum. The Indians were sarcastic; surely, they said, the white sachem at Fort Amsterdam must be a mean fellow to ask them to give him their property for nothing. Protection, indeed! his fort was no protection to them. They had not asked him to build it, and were not going to help maintain it.

While these things were going on new settlements were springing up around Manhattan. Cornelius Melyn and his people occupied portions of Staten Island, where the little colony of De Vries was flourishing. That able patroon also began a new colony, called Vriesendael, on land which he had bought from the Indians at Tappan. In 1641 another settlement was made at Hackensack. And now came an explosion.

Some wretches in the Company's service, on their way to the South River, landed on Staten Island and stole some pigs belonging to De Vries. The offence was charged upon the Raritans, and Kieft, without investigation, sent out a party of fifty men who slew several of those Indians and burned their crops. In revenge the Raritans swooped upon De Vries's plantation and destroyed it, and massacred his people. Then Kieft issued a proclamation offering a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum to every one who should bring in a Raritan's head.

It was thus already a very pretty quarrel when a further complication arose. Fifteen years before, while Minuit was building Fort Amsterdam, an Indian of the Weckquaesgeck tribe, at Yonkers, came down to Manhattan with furs to sell, and was foully waylaid and murdered by white men. His



ALP

Samuel Pietschmanns von ...





little nephew, who witnessed the deed, silently vowed revenge. On a summer day of 1641 this nephew, grown to manhood, stopped at the lonely house of one Claes Smit, a wheelwright, on the East River, near the site of Murder of Claes Smit Forty-fifth Street. He wanted to buy a piece of coarse cloth known as duffels, and when the unsuspecting Dutchman turned to get it, the Indian seized an axe and beat his brains out. As soon as this was known, Kieft sent up to Yonkers and demanded the murderer, but the Weckquaesgeck sachem refused to give him up. He had only been doing a sum in Indian arithmetic, just balancing a little account ; why should he be given up ?

And now there came up the situation which has so often recurred in the history of despotism. A war is expensive, and when the ruler would undertake it he must sometimes consult his people, no matter how disagreeable such a step may be. Kieft therefore reluctantly convened an assembly of heads of families, to consider the question of peace or war. "In case the Indians persist in refusing to surrender this murderer, is it not proper to destroy their whole village? and if so, when and how shall this The Twelve Men best be done?" The assembly chose a board of Twelve Men, with De Vries for chairman, to consider these questions. The board, after deliberation, agreed that the surrender of the murderer must be insisted on, but they would not consent to a war at present because the necessary preparations had not been made. To this decision Kieft, though chafing, felt it prudent to yield. In the following winter, as no reparation had been made for the murder, the Twelve Men promised to support the Director in his war measures, in return for a redress of grievances. We have seen how ingeniously Kieft had constructed his council, with only one member besides himself. When sometimes for the sake of appearances he had thought fit to enlarge it, he had been wont to call to it not the most able and upright men of the colony, in whom the settlers would be sure to have confidence, but only the inferior agents of the Com-

pany — “common folk” who were dependent upon him for their salaries, and were accordingly afraid to oppose his wishes. The Twelve Men now demanded that the council should hereafter be composed of not less than five Reforms proposed members, of whom four should be chosen by a popular vote, and that the “common folk” of the Company should no longer be admitted to seats in the council. In return for this and some other concessions of less importance, the Twelve Men gave their consent to an expedition against the Weckquaesgecks. This reform would have gone far toward limiting the Director’s absolutism in future, and in the emergency Kieft’s behaviour was that of the typical despot. He began by denying the competency of the Twelve Men to undertake to bind him by any such agreement ; next he promised, though in a sulky and gingerly fashion, to grant the demands of this tiny parliament ; finally, he dissolved it and forgot all about his promise. He did not forget, however, to proclaim that no public meetings should be held in New Amsterdam without his express permission.

The first expedition into Westchester County was a ridiculous fiasco ; it served to scare the Indians into promising to give up Smit’s murderer, but the promise was not kept. There was a moment’s respite, during which more outlying and exposed settlements were made, chiefly by English people who found Massachusetts an uncomfortable place for free English settlers thinkers. One was Rev. Francis Doughty, who, while preaching at Cohasset, was dragged from his pulpit and thrust out of doors for saying that “Abraham’s children ought to have been baptized.” Doughty brought a party of adherents with him, and received a tract of 13,000 acres on Long Island. Another of these heretics was John Throgmorton, who settled with 35 English families on the peninsula now known as Throg’s Neck, opposite Flushing. A third was the celebrated Anne Hutchinson, who came with her large family to Pelham Neck, the next peninsula east of Throg’s Neck. So many English had now come to New Netherland that it was found necessary to have an Eng-

lish secretary as one of the permanent colonial officials ; and so many coasting vessels stopped at Manhattan that a large stone tavern was built on Pearl Street, fronting on the East River. The next thing we need, said De Vries, is a respectable church, and he subscribed 100 guilders toward it. A few days afterward the daughter of Dominie Bogardus was married, and at the wedding breakfast, after wine had circulated pretty freely, Kieft passed around a paper and got it covered with such generous subscriptions that the morrow dawned upon some repentant

The Bogardus wedding

souls. The church was built of stone within the enclosure of Fort Amsterdam.

While this church was building, on an evening of January, 1643, De Vries, with his musket shouldered, was walking from Vriesendael toward the new settlement at Hackensack, when he met a drunken Indian. Some people at Hackensack had plied him with brandy and then had stolen his coat ; he was going for his bow and arrows in order to square accounts by killing somebody. De Vries tried in vain to soothe him, and when he arrived at Hackensack he warned the people to be on their guard. But next day one of the settlers who was thatching the roof of a house was slain by an arrow shot by this revengeful Indian. Then the chiefs of the murderer's tribe were seized with fear. They durst not for their lives go near Kieft, but they hastened to De Vries at Vriesendael and sought his advice and aid. They were willing to pay a liberal weregild, 200 fathoms of wampum, to the murdered man's widow, and thought that any reasonable person ought to be satisfied with this. De Vries went with them to Fort Amsterdam, but Kieft would hear of nothing but the surrender of the

A murder at Hackensack

murderer. But the chiefs said he had fled up the river to the Haverstraws, and thereupon Kieft sent to Pacham, the wily chief of the Haverstraws, a peremptory demand for his surrender.

February arrived, and Pacham had not obeyed, when suddenly a force of 90 Mohawks, every one of them armed with a musket, came down to gather tribute from the river tribes. These human tigers were not particular as to how many of their tributaries they might happen to kill. Thus they drove before them several hundred terror-stricken fugitives, who swarmed into Vriesendael and begged the patroon for aid against their tyrants. De Vries explained that the Dutch were bound by treaty with the Iroquois and could not interfere between them and Algonquins, but he would give the refugees such shelter as he could. Hour by hour the stampede of river Indians increased till there were more than 1000 encamped by the oyster banks at Pavonia, while another force crossed to Manhattan and occupied the fields near Corlear's Hook, on the East River, not far from the site of Grand Street Ferry.

Now the wise De Vries saw that the moment had come when a courteous and pacific intervention might call off the Mohawks without offending them, and also win the gratitude of the persecuted Algonquins. To such diplomacy he was doubtless equal. But the short-sighted and waspish Kieft saw nothing but the chance for striking a blow at the Algonquins who had put themselves within his reach without ever having given up the assassins of Smit and the roofer at Hackensack. His views were upheld by a hot-headed creature named Adriansen; and in spite of the passionate protests of De Vries, of Dr. La Montagne, and of Dominie Bogardus, the infatuated Director proceeded to strike his blow. It was a base and cruel affair. At midnight of Feb-

Arrival of  
Mohawk  
tax-gather-  
ers

Massacres  
of Indians

bruary 25, Sergeant Rodolf with a party of soldiers rushed into the sleeping encampment at Pavonia and massacred 80 Indians, while Adriansen in similar wise murdered 40 more at Corlear's Hook. In the morning the

soldiers marched exultingly back to Fort Amsterdam bringing many severed heads of their victims. Kieft called it a truly Roman achievement. It seemed as if madness lurked in the very air and infected those who breathed it. The Marechkawiecks of Breuckelen were a strong tribe and had never offended the Dutch, but in the general fury some settlers of Flatlands attacked a party of them without provocation; slew three or four warriors, and carried off two wagon-loads of their corn.

The results of this insane conduct were appalling. Eleven Algonquin tribes at once took up the hatchet, and on every trail between the Raritan River and the Housa-  
 tonic was repeated the direful spectacle of burning  
 homesteads and mangled corpses. Even Vriesen-  
 dael was attacked; the cattle, crops, and outhouses were de-  
 stroyed, and the settlers were besieged in the stout manor-  
 house; but at this stage something happened worth noting. An Indian arriving upon the scene spoke in praise of De Vries and expostulated with the besiegers, whereupon they all desisted and went away, declaring their regrets for the slaughtered cattle, and leaving even the brewery undisturbed, much as they craved its copper kettle to make arrow-heads.

Popular indignation waxed strong against Kieft, and there was some talk of putting him on a ship and sending him back to Holland. His alarm revealed the meanness of his spirit, as he tried to throw the blame upon his advisers, and especially upon Adriansen. This man's farm had just been destroyed by the Indians, and his temper was ugly.

Hearing what had been said, Adriansen seized pis-  
 tol and cutlass and with half a dozen comrades rushed into the Director's room, called him a liar, and was just pulling trigger when Kieft's servants grappled with him. One of his comrades fired at Kieft and missed, whereupon he was instantly shot and his head mounted on the public gallows.

After some weeks of such anarchy and distress, the efforts of De Vries secured a peace, first with the Long Island

General  
 rising of  
 Algon-  
 quins

Quarrels

tribes, and afterwards with the tribes along the North River. But the respite was of short duration. Pacham, the crafty chief of the Haverstraws, believed it possible to exterminate the white men, and at his instigation the war was renewed in August by attacking a boat on its way down from Fort Orange with 400 beaver skins. In September a party of Weckquaesgecks destroyed Mrs. Hutchinson's <sup>More</sup> homestead and murdered that lady with all her <sub>massacres</sub> household except a little eight-year-old granddaughter, who was carried into captivity. Throgmorton's settlement was the next to be destroyed, and then Doughty's; and so everything on Long Island was overwhelmed, save at Gravesend, where Lady Moody, an Anabaptist from Salem, with her forty brave colonists, repulsed the barbarians. Before the end of October nothing was to be seen at Hackensack and Pavonia but smoking ruins, while on Manhattan itself, from the site of Canal Street up to Harlem River, no more than <sup>Departure</sup> five or six bouweries remained. At this time New <sub>of De Vries</sub> Netherland lost its ablest citizen; circumstances obliged De Vries to return to Holland. He left in gloom and bitterness, declaring that God would avenge upon the Director's own head the shedding of so much innocent blood.

But while the province lost this excellent patroon, who ought for all these years to have been its Director instead of such men as Van Twiller and Kieft, she received compensation in the shape of an eminently skilful and accomplished soldier. <sup>John</sup> Captain John Underhill, who <sub>Underhill</sub> divided with John Mason the laurels of the Pequot War, had in his versatile capacity of swashbuckler, heretic, and gay Lothario, found Boston an uncomfortable home. After trying his fortune in the Piscataqua country, and then at Stamford, he came at this most critical moment and gave the tottering colony of New Netherland the benefit of his military skill and experience. Perhaps it would not be extravagant to call him the saviour of New Netherland. Things had reached a point where the civilized methods of De Vries were of no more avail. An annihilating blow was needed, and

Underhill was the man for such work. His crowning exploit was almost an exact repetition of the storming of the Pequot village, except for the absence of the element of surprise. The Indians had a very strong palisaded village in the rugged mountain country north of Stamford, and there in March, 1644, more than 700 warriors were congregated. Underhill came from Manhattan, with 150 Dutch soldiers, in three yachts, and landed at Greenwich, whence a long day's march took them to the mountain. There was a full moon, as on the Pequot night, and the white snow made it like day, when at midnight they rushed upon the stronghold. The Indians were keeping a vigilant watch, but fared no better than the Pequots. Before daybreak all was over. The village was in ashes, eight Indians had escaped and seven hundred corpses lay reddening the snow, while the Dutch had lost but fifteen men.

Destruction of the Algonquin stronghold

The immediate result of this appalling blow was the breaking up of the formidable league of tribes against the Dutch. By the middle of April the tribes of Long Island and Westchester sued for peace, and before the close of the summer every tomahawk was quiet. Thus ended a war which endangered the very existence of New Netherland, and was fraught with manifold consequences the consideration of which must be deferred to the next chapter.

Peace

## CHAPTER VII

### A SOLDIER'S PATERNAL RULE

THE terrible Indian war of 1641-45, which threatened to terminate the existence of New Netherland, was complicated with sundry political questions. We have seen how at the outset Director Kieft was obliged to call a meeting of the people, and how this primary assembly elected a representative board of Twelve Men, to consider the Director's policy and proposals. We have seen how this board authorized the raising of money for war expenses, and was dissolved, after having wrung from the Director certain promises that were never kept. In the summer of 1643, after the renewal of hostilities by the Haverstraws, the desperate nature of the crisis compelled Kieft again to call a meeting of the people.

The Eight Men This time a board of Eight Men was chosen. Five were Dutchmen, of whose names that of Cornelius Melyn, the patroon of Staten Island, is best remembered ; one was a German — Joachim Kuyter, from Darmstadt ; and two were Englishmen, one of whom, Isaac Allerton, was one of the Mayflower Pilgrims ; in 1638 he had removed to New

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Cornelius Melyn". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The first letter 'C' is large and loops around the start of the name. The 'y' at the end has a long, sweeping tail.

Amsterdam, and was one of the most prosperous merchants in the town. The other Englishman, Thomas Hall, was from Virginia. In the spring of 1644, soon after Underhill's wholesale slaughter of Indians near Stamford, this board of Eight Men was confronted with the problem of raising money under difficulties. The provincial treasury was empty, all business was at a standstill, and most of the farms were de-



stroyed, so that voluntary contributions were not forthcoming. The stone church, begun in 1642, was not yet finished, for part of the money subscribed had to be used for war purposes. Nor could any help be had from the West India Company, for recent operations in Brazil had made it well-nigh bankrupt. A bill of exchange, which Kieft had drawn upon the Amsterdam Chamber, actually came back protested for want of funds. Some money could be had from time to time by cruising in the West Indies and capturing Spanish ships, but this was too irregular to be relied on, and necessities were pressing. There was a strong stockade to be built across the Island at the place where it afterwards gave its name to Wall Street. There were also soldiers to be hired and maintained. A company of 130, withdrawn from Brazil, had landed at Curaçoa, and were promptly sent by Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of that island, to New Amsterdam. These soldiers were quartered on the citizens of Manhattan; it was understood that the cost of their board would be defrayed by the Company when its fortunes should be mended; meanwhile it had neither suitable clothes for them nor money to pay their wages.

Kieft therefore proclaimed that brewers should make an exact return of the quantity of beer they might brew, and should pay an excise of three guilders on every tun. In modern money this would be equivalent to rather <sup>Kieft's excise</sup> less than four fifths of a cent per gallon. Besides this an excise was imposed upon wines and spirits at the rate of four stivers or forty cents per quart; and likewise upon every beaver skin one guilder, or two dollars. Such were war taxes in 1644.<sup>1</sup>

Now in issuing this proclamation Kieft acted in flat opposition to the Eight Men who had been chosen as his advisers. They argued that imposing taxes was an attribute of sovereignty which the West India Company had never delegated

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that the value of gold was then five times as great as now, so that in reading of a pound sterling in the days of Charles I. we must think not of \$5 but of \$25.

to its agent, the Director of New Netherland; moreover, it was the business of the Company, not of the settlers, to hire and equip soldiers, since the Company had expressly guaranteed military protection to the colony; besides, the settlers were ruined and could not pay taxes. If ready money must be had, why not clap a heavy tax upon sundry traders and speculators who somehow contrived always to amass wealth even while everybody else was on the road to the poorhouse. We can seem to see the wicked smile which puckered the Director's weazened face as he exclaimed, "In this country I am my own master and may do as I please; for I have my commission, not from the Company, but from the States General."

A specimen of Kieft's official courtesy lights up the sober pages of the Dutch colonial documents. His arbitrary proclamation was received by the people with murmurs and growls, whereupon he sent for three of his board — Kuyter, Melyn, and Hall — to come next morning at eight o'clock and confer with him as to the best means of allaying the popular discontent. Apparently, however, he had not the matter very closely at heart, for he was up with the dawn and off somewhere on other business, while the three gentlemen duly arrived at his office at eight and sat there unheeded till past noon, when they went off to their dinners "as wise as they came." Then the brewers refused to pay their tax of three guilders, and the question was carried into court, or, in other words, before Kieft himself and his subservient council, who speedily gave judgment against the men of malt, and punished their contumacy by confiscating sundry casks of beer and handing them over to the thirsty soldiers.

After six months of such wrangling, while the embers of the Indian war still smouldered, the Eight Men could bear it no longer, and they addressed an eloquent letter to the States General: "Our fields lie fallow and waste; our dwellings and other buildings are burned; not a handful can be either planted or sown this autumn

Protest of  
the Eight  
Men

Kieft's  
rudeness

Petition of  
the Eight  
Men

on the deserted places ; the crops which God permitted to come forth during the past summer remain on the fields standing and rotting ; . . . we have no means to provide necessaries for wives or children ; and we sit here amid thousands of barbarians, from whom we find neither peace nor mercy. . . . There are among us those who . . . for many long years have endeavoured at great expense to improve their lands and villages ; others, with their private capital, have equipped with all necessaries their own ships ; some, again, have come hither with ships independent of the Company, freighted with a large quantity of cattle, and with a number of families ; who have erected handsome buildings on the spots selected for their people, cleared away the forest, enclosed their plantations and brought them under the plough, so as to be an ornament to the country and a profit to the proprietors, after their long laborious toil. The whole of these now lie in ashes through a foolish hankering after war. For all right-thinking men here know that these Indians have lived as lambs among us, until a few years ago. . . . These hath the Director, by various uncalled-for proceedings, so embittered against the Netherlands nation, that we do not believe that anything will bring them and peace back, unless the Lord, who bends all men's hearts to his will, should propitiate them." The memorial goes on to give an account of the origin and progress of the war, and of the Director's methods of government ; and it warns the States General against putting their trust in an elaborate report which Kieft had himself sent over to the Hague. " If we are correctly informed by those who have seen it," says the memorial, " it contains as many lies as lines." Then the Eight Men conclude their petition as follows : " Honoured Lords, this is what we have, in the sorrow of our hearts, to complain of : that one man who has been sent out, sworn and instructed by his lords and masters, to whom he is responsible, should dispose here of our lives and property according to his will and pleasure, in a manner so arbitrary that a king would not be suffered legally to do. We shall end here, and

commit the matter wholly to our God, who, we pray and heartily trust, will move your Lordships's minds and bless your Lordships's deliberations, so that one of these two things may happen — either that a Governor may be speedily sent with a beloved peace to us, or that their Honours [i. e. the Company] will be pleased to permit us to return, with wives and children, to our dear Fatherland. For it is impossible ever to settle this country until a different system be introduced here, and a new Governor be sent out with more people, who shall settle themselves in suitable places, one near the other, in form of villages and hamlets, and elect from among themselves a bailiff, or schout, and schepens, who shall be empowered to send deputies to vote on public affairs with the Director and Council; so that hereafter the Country may not be again brought into similar danger."

Request  
for self-gov-  
ernment

This petition thus asked for a new governor and for some limitation of his power by representatives of the people. The first part of the request was promptly granted. It was decided that the government of New Netherland should be vested in a Supreme Council of three persons, — the Director General, a Vice Director, and a Fiscal, or Treasurer. After some changes of plan, the person selected for Director General was Peter Stuyvesant, lately governor of the island of Curaçoa. Having lost a leg in a fight with the Portuguese at San Martin, he returned to Holland in the autumn of 1644, and was appointed in May, 1645, to replace Kieft in the government of New Netherland. Various causes, however, delayed the Company in completing its preparations and instructions, so that it was only after the lapse of two years, in May, 1647, that Stuyvesant arrived at Manhattan.

Peter Stuy-  
vesant

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1645, a solid peace was made with the Algonquin tribes. The terrific blow struck by Underhill in the preceding year had put an end to anything like concerted action among the tribes, and some had hastened to make terms for themselves, while others had kept up a

vexatious desultory warfare. By this time all had come to realize that, since every white man's scalp cost several Indian lives, fighting was too expensive a luxury. On the 30th of August there was a concourse

Treaty  
with the  
Algonquin  
tribes

of citizens in front of Fort Amsterdam, their sober doublets and dark peaked hats contrasting strongly with the parti-coloured blankets, the scarlet feathers, and shining bead-work of the cinnamon-hued sachems of Weckquaesgecks and Sing Sings, Tappans and Haverstraws, Hackensacks and Marechkawiecks, Wappinecks and Raritans, with other Algonquins who had come to smoke the pipe of peace. In a group by themselves sat the Mohawk envoys, who represented the great Iroquois league, the friends of the Dutch and overlords of the Algonquins, upon whom their small eyes glowered in a Satanic ecstasy of contempt. Pipes were smoked and belts of wampum passed. The articles of the treaty were read and received with acquiescent grunts. One of them prescribed that in case of any injury done to an Indian by a white man, the proper remedy was not



SEAL OF PETER STUYVESANT

to murder white men, but to make complaint to the Director at New Amsterdam; and similarly, in case of damage done by Indians, the Dutch were to complain to his sachem. Various provisions were made for avoiding quarrels, and by a special article the Indians bound themselves to restore the captive granddaughter of Anne Hutchinson. This promise was fulfilled, and it is said that the little girl, now eleven years old, could speak Algonquin much better than English and was unwilling to come back to civilized life.

The return of peace did not regain for Kieft whatever popularity he may once have had. The news that he had been superseded was hailed with general rejoicing. It is

said that more than one citizen threatened to give him a flogging as soon as he should have taken off the livery with which his masters had bedecked him. Such allusions to Kieft as a public servant were sure to throw him into a rage; he called it seditious talk, and punished it with fine and imprisonment. He would allow no appeal from his own decisions to Holland, and on this point many sturdy citizens assailed him. Dominie Bogardus thundered at Kieft and Bogardus him from the pulpit: "What are the great men of this country but vessels of wrath and fountains of woe and trouble? They think of nothing but to plunder the property of others, to dismiss, to banish, to transport to Holland!" When it came to this pass, the wrathful Director tried to out-thunder the man of God. He kept a squad of soldiers waiting just outside the church, and when the parson ventured upon any such invective, a deafening roll of drums would respond; then the voice of Bogardus would wax louder and his words more defiant, and the roar of cannon from the fort would reinforce the rattle, but in vain; the stentorian Dominie could neither be silenced nor browbeaten. Kieft therefore had recourse to legal proceedings, and summoned Bogardus before the court to answer a list of accusations, with a preamble, of which the following extract is a specimen: "You have no less indulged in scattering abuse during our administration. Scarcely a person in the entire land have you spared, not even your own wife and your sister; especially when you were in good company and tipsy. Still mixing up your human passion with the chain of truth, you associated with the greatest criminals of the country, taking their part and defending them," and so on. This last allusion is explained by a clause of the indictment, which charges the Dominie with upholding Adriansen after his attempt to assassinate the Director. The arraignment is a long one, but reduces itself to this, that Bogardus is an ill-mannered drunkard, who stirs up the people to sedition. When this document was served upon the fiery parson, he refused to appear and plead to it, declaring that the Director had no legal

right to summon him, and here the matter stayed. In spite of endless discussion the Dominie held his ground. He was not only a much stronger character than Kieft, but he likewise had the people on his side; so he naturally prevailed, and the mortified director had to submit. Of the marriage of Bogardus to the pretty and wealthy widow, Anneke Jans, and the century of litigation over the title to her farm, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

At length, in May, 1647, Peter Stuyvesant arrived, and the glee of the people sought expression in such profuse military salutes that nearly all the powder in the fort was used up. Stuyvesant's speech was brief and to the point, but it was not exactly that of a ruler who meant to be guided by public opinion rather than his own. "I shall govern you as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers, and this land;" in these words he summed up his view of the situation, and he summed it up correctly. In his mind the contrast between bad and good government was not the contrast between paternal and popular government, for the latter he would have ruled out as mere idiocy; it was the contrast between selfish and unselfish paternal government. If his rule was to be better than Van Twiller's and Kieft's, it was because God had given him more honesty or more sense, or both. But he had no notion of resigning any of a ruler's prerogatives. He was first and always a man of masterful personality.

There is something curious about this man's family name. When Diedrich Knickerbocker tells us that *Twiller* is a corruption of *Twijfler*, or "Doubter," he is of course simply laughing with us. But in all seriousness the name Stuyvesant is a compound of *stuyven*, to stir up, with *sand*. It seems to have been originally the name of a breezy locality on the shore of the Zuyder Zee, where the sand blew about pretty freely; and nothing is more common than the adoption of a place-name for a family-name, as Bolton, Greenfield,

<sup>1</sup> See below, vol. ii. pp. 250, 251.

or Frothingham. But if we were inclined, like Knickerbocker, to a little harmless jesting, we might interpret Stuyvesant, not without some show of propriety, as he who kicks up a dust. Peter Stuyvesant, son of Rev. Balthazar Stuyvesant, was born in 1592. He had a college education, and always prided himself on his attainments in Latin. After leaving college he entered the army, but very few details of his life are known until we find him, as governor of Curaçoa, losing a leg in battle. He married Judith Bayard, granddaughter of Nicholas Bayard, a French Protestant clergyman who fled to the Netherlands in 1572, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Tradition connects him with the family of Bayard, the knight without fear and without reproach. Judith Bayard's brother Samuel married Peter Stuyvesant's sister, and their sons, Nicholas, Balthazar, and Peter, were the progenitors of the Bayards in America. The ship which brought Director Stuyvesant to Manhattan brought also his wife and sister and these three nephews.

We are not obliged to draw upon the worshipful Knickerbocker's imagination for a picture of Peter, for among the collections of the New York Historical Society there is a fine portrait of him painted from life, and probably in Holland shortly before his coming to New Netherland, for the face is that of a man rather more than fifty years old. It is a strong face, such as might have belonged to one of Cromwell's sturdiest Ironsides. "A valiant, weather-beaten, mettlesome, obstinate, leathern-sided, lion-hearted, generous-spirited old governor," — such are the epithets applied to him by the admiring but judicious Knickerbocker. Years of military service had made him a rigid disciplinarian, and in public places there was much less of the *suaviter in modo* to be seen about him than of the *fortiter in re*. Interference and meddling, or what he chose to call so, had short shrift at his hands. On the voyage to New Netherland, his little squadron captured a Spanish ship, and he invited his Vice Director, Van Dincklagen, to a consultation as to

Stuyvesant's name and family

His character



how the prize had best be disposed of. The Treasurer, Van Dyck, also came into the cabin to give advice, whereupon Stuyvesant gave him a push and exclaimed, "Get out of here! when I want you I'll call you!" When he formally assumed command at Fort

His  
autocratic  
behaviour



PETER STUYVESANT REBUKING THE COBBLER

Amsterdam, he sat with his hat on, as our informant tells us, "quite like the Czar of Muscovy," while a group of the principal inhabitants stood before him bareheaded and waited quite long enough before he condescended to take personal notice of them. He soon began issuing proclamations with

as much zeal as Kieft had shown. The usual provisions were made against drunkenness, brawling, and selling liquor to the Indians, and the time-honoured anathemas were hurled at smugglers. The export duties on all furs were increased, and a new excise was laid upon wines and spirits, much to the disgust of a good many people. Some said the new governor was not so much of a father, after all ; some asked, with a sigh, if this was not just the sort of thing they had complained of in Director Kieft.

Now the affairs of ex-Director Kieft were about to give some kind of an answer to this question, and to show on which side Stuyvesant's natural sympathies were enlisted. On the day when Kieft handed over his office to his successor, it was proposed that the conventional vote of thanks should be given him for his official conduct ; where-  
Petition of  
Kuyter and  
Melyn upon two of the ablest of the Eight Men, Kuyter and Melyn, spoke out boldly, saying they had no reason to thank him, and would not. Presently these two gentlemen came forward with a petition for a judicial inquiry into Kieft's policy and behaviour from the time, in 1639, when he first tried to impose taxes upon the Indians. They wished to propound a series of interrogatories, and they intended to base upon the answers a report to be carried over to Holland and used as a weapon against the late Director.

Stuyvesant was not so dull as to overlook the bearings of this bold proposal. If such a weapon could be forged against Kieft, another of like metal might some day be sharpened against himself. The sacredness of the Directorship must be sustained. Stuyvesant felt as in later days the Emperor Joseph II. felt when he warned his sister Marie Antoinette that the French government was burning its fingers  
Stuyvesant  
befriends  
Kieft in helping the American rebels. I, too, like your Americans well enough, said he, but I do not forget that my trade is that of king, — *c'est mon métier d'être roi !* So it was Stuyvesant's trade to be a colonial governor, and the business must be respected. He at once took Kieft's part. He declared that the officers of the government must

not be obliged to disclose government secrets simply on the demand of two private citizens. Moreover, to petition against one's rulers was flat treason, no matter how much cause there might be for it. This was practically equivalent to the abominable doctrine set forth a few years later by Sir Robert Filmer, that "a thing may by the king be commanded contrary to law, and yet obedience to such a command is necessary." But there was no standing up against Stuyvesant in the council, and the petition of Melyn and Kuyter was rejected.

This refusal, however, was not enough to soothe the ruffled dignity of the Director. It was now his turn to assume the aggressive; the two "malignants," as he called them, must be made to smart. He ordered that Kuyter and Melyn should be interrogated concerning the origin and conduct of the Indian war. Here Kieft, finding Stuyvesant so ready to take his part, came forward and accused them of being the real authors of the memorial which the Eight Men had sent to the West India Company, and which had led to his removal. That memorial, said Kieft, was a false libel which those two malignants had contrived to send to Holland without the knowledge of their colleagues. Kieft urged that they should be compelled to produce all their correspondence with the Company, and to show cause why they should not be summarily banished as "pestilent and seditious persons." When Stuyvesant granted this request and summoned the two gentlemen to answer, they soon began to show such superabundant evidence in support of their accusations against Kieft that it became necessary to drop this line of proceeding and find some other. Indictments were accordingly brought against Kuyter and Melyn, on sundry trumped-up charges, chiefly alleging treacherous dealings with the Indians, and attempts to stir up rebellion. With shameless disregard of evidence a prearranged verdict of guilty was rendered; Melyn was sentenced to seven years' banishment and a fine of 300 guilders, Kuyter to three years' banishment and a fine of 150 guilders. Stuyvesant wished to have Melyn sentenced to death, but it was felt that this

Attacks  
upon  
Kuyter  
and Melyn

would be going too far.<sup>1</sup> Melyn and Kuyter were to be sent to Holland, but they must beware of telling their tale of woe to the authorities. "If I thought there were any danger of your trying an appeal," quoth Stuyvesant to Melyn with a baleful frown, "I would hang you this minute to the tallest tree on the island!" On another occasion he observed, "If any man tries to appeal from me to the States General, I will make him a foot shorter, pack the pieces off to Holland, and let him appeal in that fashion." This was brave talk, but if hard-headed Peter supposed his victims were going back to Holland without using their tongues, he did not show his wonted good sense. On the 16th of August, 1647, Kieft set sail for Holland, with his fortune, which his enemies said was ill gotten, while they rated it at 400,000 guilders. He took with him Kuyter and Melyn as prisoners, and in the same ship went Dominie Bogardus.

Kieft  
sails for  
Holland

And now there happened one of those singular incidents which we sometimes hear called "special providences." By some error of reckoning the ship which carried this discordant company got into the Bristol Channel, struck on a rock, and was beaten to pieces. In the presence of death Kieft confessed to Kuyter and Melyn that he had grievously wronged them, and he begged their forgiveness. At day-break the ship went down in the presence of hundreds of Englishmen on the strand, who did what they could to rescue the passengers. Eighty-one persons, including Kieft and Bogardus, were drowned; twenty reached the shore in safety, and among these were Kuyter and Melyn. No sooner were they landed than these canny men,

Ship-  
wrecked

<sup>1</sup> As for Kuyter, he was, in Stuyvesant's opinion, little better. He had shaken his finger at Kieft, and that great jurisconsult, Josse De Damhouder, maintained that he who threatens a magistrate or clergyman, even by a frown, is guilty of assaulting him; how much more guilty, then, if he shakes his finger at him? Kuyter had also spoken ill of the ex-Director, and, according to the learned Bernardinus de Muscatellus, "he who slanders God, the magistrate, or his parents, must be stoned to death." O'Callaghan, *Hist. New Netherland*, ii. 33.

caring even more for reputation than for life, had the shallow waters dragged for three days, until they brought up a box which contained their most important papers unharmed. Armed with these documents they were enabled completely to justify themselves before the States General, and in the course of this story we shall again encounter them.

In spite of Stuyvesant's hot and arbitrary temper he soon showed that he had more sense than Kieft. He found the military defences of New Amsterdam in a shocking state of dilapidation, and his instructions required him to use all possible despatch in putting everything into excellent repair. Much money was required for this, and the only way to get it was to yield in some degree to the popular demand for representation. The excise on beer and wines was universally detested and partially evaded, and more revenue was indispensable. It was necessary to give New Amsterdam at least some semblance of a free town government; and naturally the framework of government introduced was that with which the Dutch people were already familiar. In the Netherlands, since the thirteenth century, every town below the grade of a city was governed by what old writers call "A Tribunal of Well-born Men," elected by all the inhabitants entitled to vote. This tribunal was not only an executive body, but also sat as a court in criminal and civil cases. The number of the Well-born Men varied, but was usually nine. The analogy of this board was commonly followed in the case of representative bodies chosen by a group of constituencies. In such cases the local lord sometimes participated; the people would choose twice the number of representatives required, and out of these the lord would select half. On this principle Stuyvesant ordered an election, in September, 1647, in which the people of Manhattan, Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Pavonia chose eighteen of their "most notable, reasonable, honest, and respectable" persons, from whom the Director and his council were to select the board of Nine Men, to assist, when called upon (for, mind you, Director Stuyvesant had no notion of

letting them assemble without permission), — *to assist, when called upon*, in providing for the general welfare. It was only at first that these dangerous Nine Men were to be obtained through the incendiary expedient of a popular election. There was to be an annual meeting of the board in December, at which six members were to go out and nominate twelve candidates to succeed themselves, and out of these twelve the Director and council would select six. Thus the Nine Men formed a self-perpetuating body, calculated to fall more and more under the Director's influence. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the Nine Men contrived to maintain a more or less independent attitude and to represent with some efficiency the interests of the people. The beginnings of constitutional government were somewhat more visible than under Kieft.

But before we go on to recount some of Stuyvesant's adventures with his Nine Men, affairs at the north of New Netherland call for a moment's mention. The position of the Director of this New World province had some curious points of resemblance, albeit on a petty scale, with the position of a feudal king in the Middle Ages. He had to be perpetually alert to meet the invasion of barbarians on the encroachments of civilized neighbours; he had to pay some heed to the distant States General, which interfered very little with him, as the Emperor meddled but little with remote vassals; he had to pay much more heed to the distant Company, which interfered a good deal, as the popes meddled much with kings; at his own doors he had to consider how to make both ends meet without surrendering his sovereignty to a parliamentary body; and finally he had to assert over neighbouring feudal chiefs an authority which they refused to acknowledge. Of this insubordination there was a curious instance in New Netherland.

A Director's difficulties

In sketching the administration of Peter Minuit I observed that of all the early patroonships there were none that flourished like that which was founded by Kilian van Rensselaer

far up the river. This greater prosperity was due partly to Van Rensselaer's more intelligent policy, and partly to geographical situation. Among the colonists <sup>Rensse-</sup>  
<sup>laerwyck</sup> were many thrifty farmers who took pains in cultivating their estates, and for general education and respectability the standard was much higher than down at Manhattan.

The advantage of situation lay in the proximity of the Mohawks. It will be remembered that in the early days of Fort Orange there were Mohegans in the neighbourhood, between the Hudson and Housatonic valleys, and the Dutch here came near being drawn into the intertribal quarrels of Algonquin and Iroquois. But in 1628 the Mohawks drove the Mohe-



RENSSELAERWYCK SEAL

gans into the lower valley of the Connecticut; on the Berkshire Hills they made a solitude and called it peace. Fort Orange and its neighbourhood thereafter were secure in Mohawk protection. In the terrible war of 1641-45 Rensselaerwyck and Fort Orange were unmolested. In after times the relations of the great manorial lords to the Indians of the Long House — especially of the Dutch Schuylers at Albany and the Irish Johnsons in the Mohawk valley — made Albany until after the Revolutionary War one of the most important places in North America.

This situation also made Van Rensselaer's feudal domain comparatively independent. All the patroons, as we have seen, were inclined to assert for themselves a freedom of action, especially in buying and shipping furs, which the government at New Amsterdam was not at all disposed to allow. The exercise of such freedom was of course much easier at a distance of 150 miles than in Staten Island or Pavonia. It was also easier in a manor that was large enough to be suffi-

cient unto itself. Already at his first coming the Amsterdam jeweller, Kilian van Rensselaer, had held his hand somewhat high, asseverating that he held his patroonship directly from the States General and was not amenable to the authorities at Manhattan.

The venerable Knickerbocker's humorous description comes near to the letter of history and is entirely true to its spirit. As despatches came now and then to Van Twiller and his council, narrating sundry usurpations of authority on the part of the lordly Kilian, "at each new report," says Knickerbocker, "the governor and his councillors looked at each other, raised their eyebrows, gave an extra puff or two of smoke, and then relapsed into their usual tranquillity. At length tidings came that the patroon of Rensselaerwyck had extended his usurpations along the river, beyond the limits granted him by their High Mightinesses; and that he had even seized upon a rocky island in the Hudson, commonly known by the name of Bearn or Bear's Island, where he was erecting a fortress, to be called by the lordly name of Rensselaerstein. Wouter van Twiller was aroused by this intel-

ligence . . . and despatched a letter to the patroon of Rensselaerwyck, demanding by what right he had seized upon this island, which lay beyond the bounds of his



patroonship. The answer of Kilian van Rensselaer was in his own lordly style, *By wapen regt* [= *By weapon right*], that is to say, by the right of arms, or in common parlance by club-law. This answer plunged the worthy Wouter in one of the deepest doubts he had in the whole course of his administration."

Now there was nowhere a livelier trade in beaver skins





Julian Van Rensselaer



than on Van Rensselaer's manor, insomuch that the tiny hamlet hard by Fort Orange, which was its commercial centre, and which in course of time developed into the city of Albany, was significantly baptized Beverwyck. Van Rensselaer as patroon claimed and exercised the right of engaging in this trade for his own private behoof, a claim which the Company and the government at New Amsterdam steadfastly denied. He also undertook to forbid all other persons from trading in furs, within the limits of his manor, for their own private benefit. But his attempts to restrain such traders, though more successful than the Company's attempts to restrain him, were far from satisfactory. In 1644 it was estimated that between three and four thousand furs had been carried away during the past twelvemonth by unlicensed traders. The patroon then bethought him of his fortress of Rensselaerstein which he had erected on Bear Island by "weapon right." He now proceeded to invest that place with another kind of right, also familiar to most people in the Middle Ages. At Dordrecht it was called "staple right," by which name it came to be well known throughout Europe. The word "staple," which is common to English and Dutch, means originally a pile or heap; and staple right, conferred upon a town, was the right to compel any passing vessel either to pay a duty for the privilege of passing by, or else to unload its cargo to be sold to customers in the town. The heaps of unloaded cargo piled up on the docks or in the market-place were the staples, whence in modern times the word has acquired a wider application to merchandise bought or sold in great quantities.

Now Van Rensselaer in 1644 invested Bear Island with staple right, and appointed Nicholas Koorn as his "wachtmeester" (*watchmaster*) or guard in command of the fort. Koorn's instructions were to collect a toll of five guilders from every vessel passing up or down the river, except the Company's own ships. Every skipper, too, must strike his colours in homage to the patroon. So it happened that on

a summer day, as Govert Loockermans, on his way from Fort Orange to New Amsterdam in his yacht Good Hope, was passing Bear Island, a charge of powder was fired from the fort and a figure on the rampart shouted, "Strike thy colours!" "For whom shall I strike?" asked Loockermans. "For the Lord Kilian and the staple right of Rensselaerstein," cried the watchmaster; to whom quoth the sturdy Loockermans, "I strike for nobody but the Prince of Orange and their High Mightinesses the States General." Koorn then fired three shots, the first of which tore a sail and cut a rope, while the second passed overhead, and the third made a hole in the flag. For this arrogant behaviour Koorn was summoned to New Amsterdam and mulcted in damages, against which he made a formal protest, asserting the right of his master, the patroon, to keep out free traders and to exact homage from all persons entering or leaving his domains.

Early in 1646 the death of Kilian van Rensselaer left his youthful son Johannes as representative of his vast estates, and for a moment the boy's uncle, Van Twiller the ex-Director, emerges from obscurity as one of his guardians.



Brandt van Slechtenhorst was appointed commissary to govern Rensselaerwyck, and Nicholas Koorn was promoted from his fort on Bear Island to be schout-fiscal or collector and treasurer of the patroonship. The person whom he replaced was a man of erudition, an interesting character, Adrian van der Donck, of Breda. He had been schout-fiscal of Rensselaerwyck for five years, but had lately married a daughter of Rev. Francis Doughty, and now moved to New Amsterdam. It was Van der Donck's wish to become a patroon, and he bought from the Weckquaesgeck tribe a tract of land north of Spuyten Duyvel Creek. The people used to call him *Fonkheer* ("young lord") Van der

Adrian van  
der Donck

Donck, which indicates that his father was either a nobleman or a personage of some consequence; his manor was commonly known as "de Jonkheer's Landt," and the name to us is now familiar as Yonkers. We <sup>Yonkers</sup> shall presently meet with this "young lord" as one of the Nine Men.

Director Stuyvesant was not long in getting into trouble with Rensselaerwyck. One effect of the late war was to make him particularly determined to suppress the practice of selling firearms to the Indians. The <sup>Selling  
firearms  
to Indians</sup> people of Manhattan and its neighbourhood, surrounded by unfriendly Algonquins, cordially supported him in this policy, but in Rensselaerwyck, where there were none but friendly Iroquois within reach, the feeling was different. It was not felt to be necessary to obey the Director General, and Van Slechtenhorst seized the first opportunity of showing his insubordination. Stuyvesant appointed the 26th of April, 1648, to be a day of fasting and prayer, and when the proclamation was received in Beverwyck, Van Slechtenhorst refused to have it read, and made a formal protest against it as trespassing upon the authority of his lordship the patroon. On hearing of this, the Director went up to Fort <sup>Insubor-  
dinate  
conduct at  
Beverwyck</sup> Orange with a small military guard, and exchanged defiance with Van Slechtenhorst. It was Greek against Greek; the commissary was as blunt and obstinate as the Director. Stuyvesant handed over a list of peremptory orders; Slechtenhorst declared he would not obey this one any way, nor this, nor that, nor the other, and he asked with a sneer if the Director supposed himself to be patroon of Rensselaerwyck. The quarrel had its comical side, as most quarrels have. The hamlet of Beverwyck snuggled so close to Fort Orange that Stuyvesant thought it wise to forbid the building of houses within range of its guns, lest they might interfere with firing. He also ordered that the wall of palisades should be replaced by a wall of stone masonry. As soon as Stuyvesant had departed, Slechtenhorst began putting up some houses within pistol-shot of the fort, and

he issued an order forbidding any servants of the Company to quarry stone or cut timber upon the patroon's estates.

We can imagine Stuyvesant's wrath on hearing of this contumacious conduct. He sent up a squad of soldiers to Fort Orange, with orders to Van Brugge, the commandant, to pull down the houses that were just begun, and to arrest Van Slechtenhorst and serve upon him a summons to appear at Fort Amsterdam. At the same time notice was sent that no more firearms should be supplied to the manor of Rensselaerwyck except upon express orders from the Company.

Van Brugge was a courteous officer, and refrained from meddling with the houses or trying to arrest the patroon's commissary. But he served the summons, which Slechtenhorst answered by a letter to Stuyvesant, in which he told him he should not obey it. As for his houses, they were going to stay just where he had put them, and as for Stuyvesant's taking stone or timber from the manor, he would like to see him try it! The Director replied by ordering Van Brugge to take the stone and timber by force if necessary, and to pull down every house within musket range of the fort. He also sent a peremptory notice to Slechtenhorst to appear at a court to be held at New Amsterdam in April.

This controversy caused much excitement in the quiet hamlet of Beverwyck, and mightily astonished a party of Mohawks who happened to be tarrying there. The question of jurisdiction was too complicated for their understandings, but one of its practical aspects especially struck them. "Is n't old Wooden Leg a queer fellow," they said, "to wish to pull down houses that would shelter you in winter!" But the government in Holland approved what Wooden Leg was doing. Early in 1650 the dispute was settled, the Director was sustained at every point, and the hopes of Rensselaerwyck for independence were forever dashed.

Meanwhile the troubles which had been growing between

Stuyvesant's  
wrath

Slechtenhorst's  
defiance

A Mohawk  
comment

# Breeden-Raedt

29.

A E N D E

## Vereenichde Nederlandsche PROVINTIEN.

Gelreland.	-	5	-	12	-	3
Holland.	-	50	-	5	-	2
Zeeland.	-	2	-	3	-	0
Wrecht.	-	2	-	10	-	7
Vriessland.	-	11	-	12	-	2
Over-Yffel.	-	2	-	11	-	5
Groeningen.	-	5	-	16	-	2

100

Gemaecht ende gestelt wjt diverse waere en waerachtige memoijen  
Door I. A. G. W. C.

Tot Antwerpen,

Ghedrukt by François van Duynen, Boeckverkooper by  
de Beurs in Erasinus 1649.

the Director and the Nine Men came at length to a crisis. Debts due to the Company to the amount of 30,000 guilders, which Kieft had left uncollected, were now called in by Stuyvesant, and distress was thus occasioned. Moreover, trade suffered from an unwise commercial policy. The experiment of high custom-house duties was being tried with a thoroughness which aroused much discontent, and the Director's favourite punishment for attempts at evasion was a wholesale confiscation of goods. Thus Manhattan began to get a bad name among seaports, and ships from the West Indies were afraid to come in there. There was so much complaint that the Nine Men proposed that a delegation should be sent to Holland, to set forth the present condition of the colony and to ask for divers reforms. At first the Director strongly approved of this suggestion, but presently it appeared that he intended to have the delegation sent in his name. On the other hand, the Nine Men insisted that it should go in the name of the people, and should give their own statement of the case. They were willing to promise not to send anything to Holland without giving the Director a copy, so that he might answer it if he wished, but they were not willing to entrust to him the statement of their case. Adrian van der Donck, the "young lord" already mentioned, had lately become a member of the board of Nine Men, and was at once recognized as a natural leader. He was a full match for Stuyvesant, who had now made up his mind that no formal representation of facts should be allowed to go to Holland which did not emanate from himself. Thus the issue was drawn. The case is peculiarly interesting, since there were no atrocities or instances of gross oppression to be complained of, nor even any grievous mismanagement such as Kieft's Indian war. Stuyvesant was not a vulgar tyrant, but an honest and conscientious man, who was governing New Netherland as well as he knew how. The purpose of the Nine Men, as expressed by their spokesman Van der Donck, was equally honourable. It was simply one theory of government contending against another.

Stuyvesant's quarrel with Van der Donck



VERTOOGH

VAN

# Nieu-Neder-Land,

Weghens de Gheleghentheydt,  
Vruchtbaerheydt, en Sober-  
ren Staet deffelfs.



IN 'S GRAVEN-HAGE,

Ghedruckt by *Michiel Stael*, Bouck-verkooper woonende  
op 't Buyten-Hof, tegen-over de Gevange-Poort, 1650.

Thus there came about a deadlock, which the Nine Men proposed to undo by calling a great council or assembly of citizens to consider the points at issue. But Stuyvesant would not call together such an assembly. New Amsterdam, however, was a small town, so that Van der Donck and his friends could go from house to house in a neighbourly way and learn the sentiments of every family. Van der Donck made a note of such things in a journal, whereat Stuyvesant threw him into jail and seized all his papers. Then he summoned a council of his own choosing, and charged Van der Donck with bringing allegations calculated to throw the government into contempt ; let him either prove these allegations or retract them ; and meanwhile let him be unseated from the board of Nine Men.

This decree, to call it by its right name, was received with tame acquiescence, and the outlook for the popular party seemed gloomy, when all at once came a thunderbolt. A ship arrived from Holland, bringing Cornelius Melyn. He and Kuyter, saved from shipwreck, had made their complaint to the States General, and Stuyvesant's harsh treatment of them had been condemned. Melyn now returned to Manhattan with a safe-conduct from their High Mightinesses, and he brought with him also a writ of *mandamus*, citing the Director to appear at the Hague and defend himself. When Melyn landed at Fort Amsterdam the people were assembled in church, and he had the keen satisfaction of reading the judgment and the *mandamus* to the entire company.

This was a staggering blow for Stuyvesant. He declared that he should at once obey the *mandamus* by sending his attorney to speak for him at the Hague. He was so far sobered as to refrain from further annoyance of Van der Donck, with whom the sympathy of the people was freely expressed. Thus the Nine Men had their way and prepared a memorial to the States General, asking for three things : *First*, that their High Mightinesses should oust the Company and assume the direct gov-

A deadlock

Return of  
MelynMemorial  
to the  
States  
General

ernment of New Netherland ; *Secondly*, that they should give New Amsterdam a suitable municipal government ; *Thirdly*, that they should establish the boundaries of New Netherland beyond question by treaty with friendly powers.

In the course of this memorial the Nine Men invite the attention of the States General to the golden example set by their neighbours of New England, where, as they say with emphasis, "neither patroons, nor lords, nor princes are known, but only the people." Such is the kind of government they wish to imitate in New Netherland.

Apparently the thesis of the late Mr. Douglas Campbell, that American free institutions are derived not from England but from Holland, had not occurred to the Nine Men.

Attached to this memorial was an eloquent *Vertoogh*, or Remonstrance, full of rich historical meat. Both <sup>The Re-</sup> papers were written by Van der Donck, who was <sup>monstrance</sup> chosen, with two colleagues, to go to the Hague and lay them before the States General ; and so we will leave them in mid-summer, 1649, speeding with a fair wind across the Atlantic, while the good wishes of the people go with them.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SOME AFFAIRS OF NEW AMSTERDAM

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, when the late Lord Sherbrooke, better known as Robert Lowe, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, he made a very shallow speech on the uses of a classical education, in the course of which he amused himself with belittling the Greeks and Romans. Their history, he said, was hardly worth the time spent on it. Measuring events with a foot rule The battle of Marathon, for example, was of less account than a modern explosion in a coal mine, which often slays a greater number of victims than the 192 Greeks who perished in withstanding the hosts of Darius Hystaspes. The moral intended was that the newspaper is a better text-book than Herodotus. Now I can imagine that too exclusive attention to the newspaper, with its myriad disconnected items of fact and fancy, might so destroy one's sense of perspective as to blind one to the importance of an event upon which hung the whole future of European civilization. No one with any sense of historic perspective needs to be told that the battle of Borodino, where 70,000 were killed and wounded, was a trivial event, even for Russians, compared with the battle of Marathon. In history we cannot measure things with a foot rule.

Possibly it may have occurred to some of my readers that the events recounted in the three foregoing chapters are extremely petty, almost beneath what some people call the dignity of history, whatever that may mean. We have the squabbles of rather commonplace men in a wilderness, intrigues and fulminations over the possession of some crazy blockhouse, campaigns in which there is more cursing than slaying, varied by the protests of a small trading village

34  
The Court  
Deputy Goods  
Mr. Ludlow  
Capt. Judson  
Mr. Neavill  
Mr. H. Johnson  
S. Spearhead  
—

Meeting of Affiliates at Boston  
February 23. 1831

It was ordered that should be first found & only be paid out  
of by all planters not subject to the penalty of April 1st  
towards the ~~all~~ making of a rally had about  
the most ones of ~~at~~ the new town  
Chalbone to Mr. Adams in ~~the~~ the new town  
the same with 20. Boston with ~~the~~ Marble yard  
Dorchester with 20. ~~the~~ the new town  
The man Knower hath bound himself in 20 to make of  
a small apparatus with the new Court to hold  
at Boston the first of May in every year to confer  
to such things as shall be ordered against June.

Knower  
—



against misgovernment. There is not much that is inspiring in it, and the pettiness stands to some extent confessed. There is certainly no fateful Marathon here, yet here too we find that events physically small may have large consequences. Champlain's victory over the Mohawks at Ticonderoga in 1609 was in itself a small affair compared with Montcalm's victory over British and American troops at the same place in 1758; yet Champlain's fight is an event of prime importance in American History, while Montcalm's is but a subordinate incident.

But even where the moral significance of an event is less marked than in this instance, there is real interest in the study of the minute and homely beginnings out of which great communities have grown. It is to be hoped that students of history will never forget the refusal of the men of Watertown in 1631 to pay part of the cost of a stockade at Cambridge; nor is it in any wise beneath the dignity of history to recall the fact that the sitting of the Massachusetts legislature in two chambers instead of one was determined by the grotesque incident of the Widow Sherman's stray pig.<sup>1</sup> So in New Netherland the disputes of the Director with his board of Nine Men, the questions of jurisdiction between the Company and the patroons, involve principles of permanent interest to any one who studies the building of states. Oftentimes, indeed, there is an advantage in contemplating political and social phenomena on a small scale. The forces at work and the personalities of the actors seem to stand out more sharply and distinctly against the simple background. In spite of Mr. Robert Lowe, there is no better elementary training in history than that which one gets from studying the small city-states of ancient Greece, or the town life of Italy and Flanders in the Middle Ages.

In the beginnings of European colonization in America it is instructive to watch the kind of political seed sown in a virgin soil and see what it tells us concerning the fruition

<sup>1</sup> See my *Beginnings of New England*, Illustrated Edition, pp. 112-116.

attained by the country from which it came. In the memorial addressed by the Nine Men of New Amsterdam to the States General at the Hague, we have seen that three things were asked for : 1. Government by the States General instead of by a commercial company ; 2. A free municipal government at New Amsterdam instead of the arbitrary rule of the Director ; 3. An adjustment of boundaries by treaty with the English government, so as to afford some security for the future. At the same time the Nine Men took occasion to express their admiration for the easy and spontaneous way in which free government had sprouted up in the English colonies all around them. There were many

English  
self-gov-  
ernment

things of which they did not approve in their neighbours of New England, but they did approve of the town meetings and selectmen, the elected governors and the free legislative assemblies. These were time-honoured English institutions, which the Puritans brought with them as inevitably as they brought their English speech, their Bibles, and their steeple hats. Under the influence of the feudal system the ancient English township meeting had differentiated into the open vestry for ecclesiastical and the manorial courts for civil purposes. The migration to New England was mainly a movement of organized churches ; the manor with its courts was left behind, while the open vestry, resuming civil functions, became the town meeting. The change was almost automatic and unconscious ; it did itself. The genesis of the legislature was equally simple. The representation of towns and boroughs by elected deputies in a county court had been for ages familiar to every Englishman, and the principle that only by such chosen representatives could he be taxed had been admitted for four centuries, though now and then a king had partially succeeded in evading it. When the Company of Massachusetts Bay — with its governor, its deputy-governor, and board of assistants — transferred itself across the Atlantic, it was only necessary to add to it the elected representatives, as was done after the Watertown protest, and



there was at once a miniature parliament. When the towns on the Connecticut River organized themselves into a state with a written constitution, they naturally followed the same model. It was the form in which the English idea of government found spontaneous expression.

Now we do not find in New Netherland any such immediate and irrepressible reproduction of the free institutions of Holland. One explanation for this contrast at once suggests itself. The migration to New England was a migration of communities already organized in England; the parish, crossing the ocean, became the township, and, in its relations to the powers above it, assumed a shape essentially similar to that which it had maintained in the old country. The most fundamental fact in the case was that government by the primary assembly had not lost its vitality in rural England. What did not cross the ocean at that time, but was at a later period made the subject of conscious imitation, was the urban form of representative government, with the mayor at its head. Now the Dutch migration to New Netherland was not a migration of churches but of individuals. It brought with it no preëxisting organization. The resulting community was for a long time a fortuitous aggregation of traders, more at home on a ship's deck than in the farmyard, and without that abiding interest in creating and sustaining homes which an agricultural community feels.

This shifting mercantile community was governed by a commercial company whose prime interest in it was to make large dividends for its stockholders. The Director General was the salaried servant of the Company, and felt responsible to the Company rather than to the people whose affairs he administered. An honest officer, like Stuyvesant, never forgot that his first duty was to do things according to the Company's wishes, and he sometimes confessed, with a sigh, that he would be glad if it were consistent with duty to be more agreeable to people. A man of doubtful character, like Kieft, had little or nothing

Differences between the English and the Dutch migrations

Government by a commercial company

to restrain him from pursuing his own selfish ends at the expense of the people and in the name of the Company. In this rule, then, of a great commercial corporation, we see a grave obstacle to the ready transference of Dutch freedom from the Old to the New Netherland. We understand why the Nine Men in 1649 begged the home government to oust the Company and govern Dutchmen in America on the same principles as in Europe. We observe that sooner or later the same kind of petition was apt to go forth from English colonies under the government of proprietaries, as in the case of the Carolinas and Georgia. And perhaps we may feel like concluding that the principal cause of the difference between New Netherland and New England was the rule of the West India Company.

But the example of Virginia shows that such an explanation does not quite cover the ground. During the first seventeen years of its existence Virginia was governed by a great commercial corporation; during the first eleven years its population was quite as nondescript as that upon the island of Manhattan; and among its early rulers the unscrupulous Argall and the honest Dale were quite as despotic as Kieft and Stuyvesant, and far more harsh. Yet while New Netherland had to struggle so long, and with meagre success, for self-government, Virginia got it in full measure simply for the asking. The creation of a House of Burgesses in 1619 was as remarkable an instance of the reproductiveness of English institutions as anything that can be cited from New England. It was the work of two illustrious members of the Virginia Company, Sir Edwin Sandys and the Earl of Southampton, far-sighted statesmen who did not need to be told that a self-supporting English colony should be governed on the same principles that had made England great. It was easy to make this House of Burgesses because its constituencies, the parishes, had already sprung up spontaneously in Virginia. It immediately asserted the principle that no power save itself could lay taxes upon Virginians, and as early as 1635

Spontaneous reproductiveness of English institutions



Middelburg: Martini Reijnders  
 Vrijheids Liefde van de Mar  
 van de W  
 van de W

Het Gode geboren Burgermeester en Edele Raad van  
 die Amsterdam en de de de de de  
 Swaats dat by de de de de de de de de  
 het Gode de de de de de de de de  
de de de de de de de de  
 Hoogheide de de de de de de de de  
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Alfred Antolin M: van Goye, p...  
Van Goye

Comat (M...)

Comat (M...)  
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we find it deposing an unpopular governor and sending him back to England. Thus in spite of the fact that Virginia, like New Netherland, started under the rule of a commercial company, there can be no doubt that English liberties flourished in Virginia as notably as Dutch liberties languished in New Netherland. The example of Maryland is similarly instructive. In 1632 the need for a representative assembly in an English colony was recognized by making express provision for one in Lord Baltimore's charter. The growth of parishes, manors, and hundreds in Maryland is a further illustration of the spontaneous reproductiveness of English free institutions.

If we go to the bottom of the question, I think we shall see that the framework of political liberty on a national scale had never been so thoroughly organized in the Netherlands as in England. In some points the Dutch of the seventeenth century were still struggling with ideas which the English had mastered in the thirteenth and fourteenth. This was because the continental people of the Netherlands had been exposed to vicissitudes from which their insular cousins had been free.

Differences  
between  
insular and  
continental  
conditions

There was always the risk of a set-back from such a catastrophe as Roosebeke, or horrors like those of Liège and Dinant. Meanwhile Netherlandish liberty was won chiefly by walled cities, by guilds of craftsmen and traders. It was not uniformly diffused through the rural and urban populations, as in England. The Netherlands had never seen anything like the rising of the barons under Henry III. The burgomaster and the country squire had never learned to coöperate with each other as freely and naturally as in that House of Commons where the county magistrate, heir to a dukedom, sat side by side with the weaver and the locksmith. The form which the Dutch political constitution should assume on a national scale was not yet fully determined. For rural organization in the Dutch colony, the Dutch mind had reached only the patroonship; for urban organization the burghers asked for that with which they

were familiar, a representative municipal government. The uses and powers of the primary assembly no longer retained their vitality, as in England.

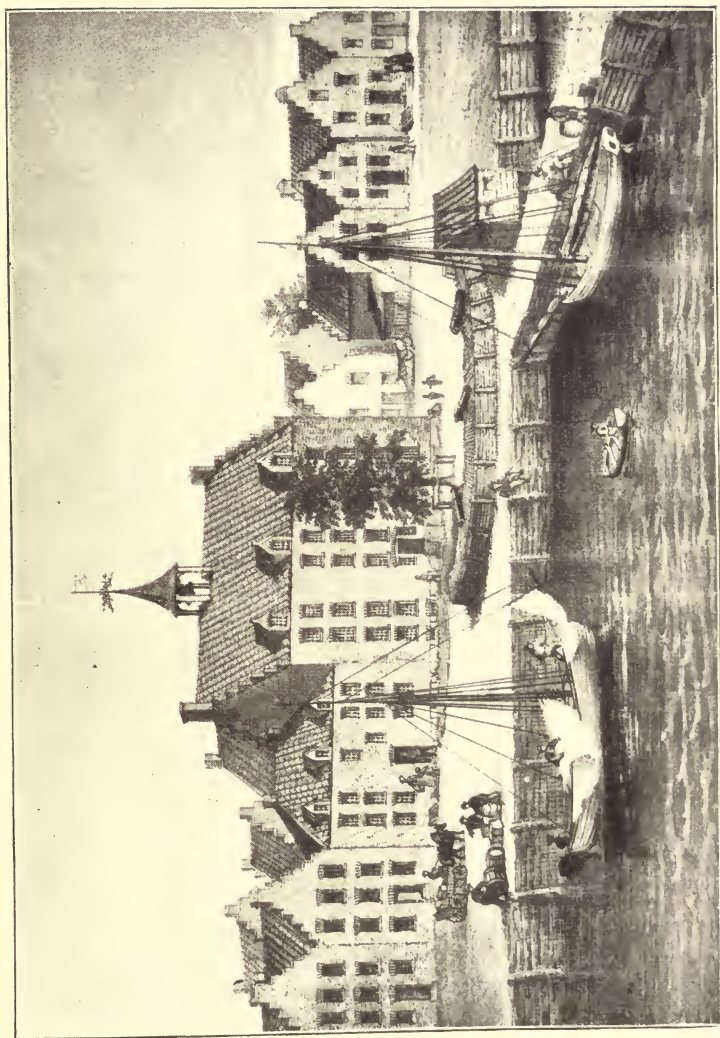
When Mr. Douglas Campbell, in the midst of his asseverations that American free institutions are derived almost entirely from Holland and scarcely at all from England, comes to the point where such contrasts as the above need to be taken into consideration, he turns away his head and assures us that at least we learned from Holland the practice of recording deeds and mortgages !

Resuming our narrative where it was broken off at the close of the preceding chapter, we may note that Van der Donck's mission to the Hague achieved some of the results contemplated, albeit slowly and in spite of desperate opposition. The States General did not feel able to take over to themselves the government of New Netherland, for the interests enlisted in behalf of the West India Company were too

The Com-  
pany and  
the States  
General

powerful to be overridden. So the first article of the Nine Men's petition was not granted. As to the second article, the States General were willing that New Amsterdam should have a municipal government, with a schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens, and they recommended to the Company various wholesome measures, at the same time resolving that Stuyvesant should again be summoned to the Hague to give an account of his conduct. As to the third article, there was no serious objection to a commission for settling boundaries. The chief discussion was over the second article. The Company was opposed to the States General in every particular, denied the need for any reforms at New Amsterdam, sneered at the Nine Men, and upheld Stuyvesant in everything. This encouraged him to go on with his arbitrary ways. He began by insulting the Nine Men. The consistory of the church had assigned them a certain pew for their sole use ; Stuyvesant forbade their using it. Then he stigmatized them in public as promoters of "schisms, factions, and intestine commotions." Finally





STADT HUYS OF NEW YORK IN 1678

a brilliant idea came to him ; when a vacancy occurred in the board he refused to allow it to be filled, and by this ingenious method the obnoxious body was practically dissolved. But before such a consummation was reached, the Nine Men again appealed to the States General. At last, in 1653, the opposition gave way, and New Amsterdam was incorporated as a city. Its population had reached something like the number of 800 souls. It was declared with a flourish that the municipal government was to be as nearly as possible like that of the mother-city Amsterdam ; but the Company's ideas of possibility were evidently quite limited, for Stuyvesant retained in his own hands the appointment of schout, burgomasters, and schepens, and insisted that he had still the right in his own person to make ordinances or to publish interdicts binding upon the city of New Amsterdam. The ordinary meetings of the city government were held on Monday mornings in the City Tavern which Kieft had built on Pearl Street ; the building was thereafter known as the Stadt Huys, or City Hall. There the burgomasters and schepens at nine o'clock opened their sessions with prayer, and then proceeded to civic business. Stuyvesant often sat in the room and stamped on the floor with his wooden leg when things were not going as he wished.

This year 1653 may be cited as marking a new era for the Dutch province. Down to this time its progress in numbers and wealth had been slow and precarious. Looking back to the arrival of Henry Hudson in 1609, we can seem to distinguish five successive phases of colonial life : 1. The period of occasional visits of fur traders, from 1610 to 1614 ; 2. The period of unorganized and desultory effort under the New Netherland Company's monopoly, from 1614 to 1623 ; 3. The first experiments of the West India Company, under May, Verhulst, Minit, and Van Twiller, from 1623 to 1638, including the establishment of patroonships ; 4. The administration of Kieft, from 1638 to 1647, beginning with the attempt to attract colonists by

Incorporation of New Amsterdam

Five phases of colonial growth

B E S C H R Y V I N G E  
Van  
**NIEUVV - NEDERLANT.**

( *Ghelijck het tegenwoordigh in Staet is* )

Begrijpende de Nature, Aert, gelegentheyt en vruchtbaerheyt van het selve Lant; mitsgaders de proffijtelijcke ende gewenste toevallen, die aldaer tot onderhout der Menschen, (soo uyt haer selven als van buyten ingebracht) gevonden worden.

A L S M E D E

**De maniere en onghemeyne eygenschappen  
vande Wilden ofte Naturellen vanden Lande.**

Ende

Een bysonder verhael vanden wonderlijcken Aert  
ende het Weesen der BEVERS,

DAER NOCH BY GEVOEGHT IS

**Een Discours over de gelegentheyt van Nieuw Nederlandt,  
tusschen een Nederlandts Patriot, ende een  
Nieuw Nederlander.**

*Beschreven door*

A D R I A E N vander D O N C K,  
Beyder Rechten Doctoor, die teghenwoordigh noch in Nieuw Nederlandt is.



PAEMSTELDAM,

By Evert Nieuwenhof, Boeck-verkooper / woonende op 't  
Austande in 't Schyff-boeck / Anno 1655.

throwing down all monopolies, and ending with the exhaustion consequent upon a great Indian war; 5. The first six years of Stuyvesant, during which the province was rapidly recovering from this loss of strength.

This rapid recovery was in part the tardy effect of the wholesome liberal measures of 1638. Colonists were beginning to come during Kieft's administration in much greater numbers than before, and had it not been for the <sup>Recovery</sup> <sub>of strength</sub> Indian war the population would surely have shown an increase. In point of fact it diminished. But in 1649 the mission of Van der Donck to the Hague gave a more decided impulse to colonization than anything that had happened before. The long and animated discussion in the States General, and the personal eminence of Van der Donck, who was an advocate in the Supreme Court of Holland and a Doctor of Laws in the University of Leyden, created an interest in America hitherto unknown. In 1653 Van der Donck published his "Description of New Netherland," which was very widely read, — an excellent book for whatever had come within the author's direct knowledge, but often uncritical in what he gives us from hearsay. To the fresh interest in New Netherland thus excited on the continent of Europe there was added the knowledge that the traditional Dutch policy of religious toleration had been consistently carried out by Director Kieft. Of this there were several conspicuous instances, some of which I mentioned in a former chapter.

It was thus that many men of many creeds and tongues <sup>Influx of</sup> <sub>sects</sub> were drawn to New Amsterdam. During Stuyvesant's rule there was a great influx of Waldenses from Piedmont and of Huguenots from France, and besides these there were Scotch Presbyterians, English Independents, Moravians, Anabaptists, and Jews. In 1655 you might have gone from the Penobscot all the way to Harlem River without meeting any other civilized language than English, but in crossing the island of Manhattan you might have heard a dozen or fifteen European languages spoken. At

that early stage the place had already begun to exhibit the cosmopolitan character which has ever since distinguished it. The increase of population consequent upon such a general migration was remarkable. In 1653 the population of New Netherland was about 2000, including the 800 in the city. By 1664 the total population was nearly 10,000, of which about 1600 were in the city. Thus while the population of Manhattan doubled in those eleven years, that of the whole province increased fivefold. Farmers had come, at last, and rural settlements had greatly expanded on Long Island and Staten Island, and on both shores of the Hudson, while the remotest northern frontier was pushed out from Beverwyck to Schenectady. The universal tolerance which made New Amsterdam so cosmopolitan was simply the traditional Netherlandish custom. It was not prescribed by the Company; on the contrary, one of the Company's rules forbade the setting up of any church except the Calvinistic Dutch Reformed. At first this restriction made no trouble. For several years there was no regular clergyman except Dominie Bogardus, and not enough people to make it worth while to establish other churches, while the general spirit was charitable and tolerant. But with the wholesale influx of sects under Stuyvesant a change was witnessed and attempts were made to

*J. Gannon Megapolensis* inaugurate a persecuting policy. In this particular either Stuyvesant

was less intelligent than Kieft or else his sense of duty to the Company was greater; and moreover the pastor at New Amsterdam, the most influential clergyman in the colony, Dominie Megapolensis, was something of a heresy hunter. By 1658 there were quite a number of Swedish and German Lutherans in New Amsterdam, who instead of going to church to listen to Megapolensis preferred to hold conventicles in private houses. They petitioned the Company for leave to set up a Lutheran church, with a pastor of their own, but the permission was refused.

Lutherans

Stuyvesant imprisoned several persons for attending private meetings, but for this he was censured by the States General. In 1657, when Rev. Ernestus Goetwater arrived at Manhattan, with a commission from Amsterdam to act as pastor for the Lutherans, Dominie Megapolensis had him arrested and sent back to Holland.

The heavy hand of the law was also laid upon a few humble Baptists at Flushing. William Hallett, the sheriff, had the audacity to hold conventicles in his own house, and there "to permit one William Wickendam to explain and comment on God's Holy Word, and to administer sacraments, though

Baptists not called thereto by any civil or clerical authority."

For this heinous offence Hallett was removed from office and fined 500 guilders; while Wickendam, "who maintained that he was commissioned by Christ and dipped people in the river," was fined 1000 guilders and ordered to quit the country. On inquiry it appeared that he was "a poor cobbler from Rhode Island," without a stiver in the world; so the fine was perforce remitted, but the Baptist was not allowed to stay in New Netherland.

The worst sufferers, however, were the Quakers, a party of whom, expelled from Boston, landed at New Amsterdam in August, 1657. Several were at once arrested, but one of them, Robert Hodshone, kept on to Heemstede, on Long Island, where he spoke to several persons about the new society of Friends and its benevolent aims. While walking in an orchard he was seized and taken before a local magistrate, Richard Gildersleeve, who locked him up and went

over to consult with Stuyvesant. Presently Gildersleeve returned with a squad of soldiers, who took away Hodshone's Bible and papers, tied him to a cart's tail, and dragged him over a rough road to the Brooklyn ferry. On arriving in New Amsterdam he was thrown into a filthy cellar among vermin and kept there half starved for several days. Then he was brought before Stuyvesant and the council, but was not allowed to speak in his own defence. He was sentenced to two years' hard labour

Quakers:  
shameful  
persecu-  
tion of  
Hodshone





VISCHER'S MAP OF NEW NETHERLAND.







with a wheelbarrow, or else to pay 600 guilders. As he had no money, the first alternative was imposed upon him. So on a sultry August morning the poor Quaker was brought out from his dungeon, chained to a wheelbarrow, and ordered to load it. He said he had done no evil and broken no law, and he would not obey. Then he was stripped to the waist, and a stalwart negro with a piece of rope beat him until he fell to the ground. This was repeated for several days, on one of which Hodshone was brought before Stuyvesant, who warned him that the whipping would go on until he should submit to his sentence. This, he assured the Director, he would never do. Then he was kept for two nights and a day without bread or water, and then hung up to the ceiling by his hands while a heavy log of wood was tied to his ankles. In this position he was cruelly beaten with rods. As he remained obdurate, the same torture was repeated after two days. But public sympathy was now aroused for Hodshone. An English woman came and bathed his wounds, and her husband sought to bribe the schout with a fat ox to let him come to his house until he should recover. It could not be done, said the schout, unless the whole fine were paid. There were those who were ready to make up the sum, but the Quaker would not allow it; a principle was at stake, and he would rather die. At length Stuyvesant's sister, Mrs. Bayard, a woman of sense and spirit, came to her brother and implored and upbraided him until in sheer self-defence he was obliged to set the prisoner free.

This outrageous treatment of Hodshone was condemned by public sentiment. We do not know what was said, but we may infer its tone from what happened a fortnight later at Flushing. One Henry Townsend, an upright and respected citizen, had some Quaker meetings in his house. He was fined eight pounds Flemish, or was else to be flogged and banished. The town officers of Flushing doggedly refused to enforce the sentence; and they set their names to a magnificent protest, in which they say: "The law

of love, peace, and liberty, extending in the state to Jews, Turks, and Egyptians, forms the true glory of Holland ; so love, peace, and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemn hatred, strife, and bondage. But inasmuch as the Saviour hath said that it is impossible that scandal shall not come, but woe unto him by whom it cometh, we desire not to offend one of His little ones, under whatever form, name, or title he appear, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, or Quaker. . . . Should any of these people come in love among us, therefore, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands on them. We shall give them free ingress and egress to our houses, as God shall persuade our consciences." In so doing, they said, they were convinced that they were conforming to the law of God, to the spirit of their charter, and to the wishes of the States General.<sup>1</sup>

The names of thirty-one valiant men are signed to this document. I do not know whether Flushing has ever raised a fitting monument to their memory. If I could have my way I would have the protest carved on a stately obelisk, with the name of Edward Hart, town clerk, and the thirty other Dutch and English names appended, and would have it set up where all might read it for the glory of the town that had such men for its founders.

From Director Stuyvesant it brought them persecution. The town clerk was kept three weeks in jail ; the two justices of the peace were suspended from office, the sheriff was cashiered and condemned to pay 200 guilders and costs, or, in case of refusal, to be banished from New Netherland, and various penalties were inflicted upon some of the other signers.

We sometimes hear the tolerant policy of New Netherland commended in loose general terms which seem to imply that the record of that colony is unstained by acts of persecution. Unfortunately that is not the case. Quite a number of instances of persecution might be added to those

<sup>1</sup> O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, ii. 350.



Right honorable

Now have bene pleased to send up unto us  
certain Proposition or Demand that we should  
not receive or entertain any of those requests  
called Petitions bearing they are supposed to  
be by some friends of the people for our  
renewal of London them in this respect whether we  
should or our hands against them to punish  
banish or persecute them for out of whyles god  
is a consuming fire and it is a fearful thing  
to fall into the hands of the living god  
desire therefore in this case not to judge least in  
judgment whether to condemn least to London  
but rather let every man stand and fall to his own  
merit we are bound by the same to see good done

Tabitha

The mark **W** of William no 88

William Edwards

Neirchis Blane  
ford

The mark of William Thoms Junior

Edward Tarkett

The mark of **M**  
Bee

John Hinton

The mark of P

1 Nathaniel  
2 Benjamin DeLubard.

The mark of

The mark of William Spidgion

The mark of George Deers

A PORTION OF THE SIGNATURES

FACSIMILE OF THE FLUSHING PROTEST, DECEMBER 27, 1657





which I have cited. But they were certainly exceptional cases, condemned by public opinion, and wholly at variance with Dutch policy. They redound to the discredit not of New Netherland, but of Stuyvesant. Had there been any effective constitutional method of restraining the Director's arbitrary will, they would not have occurred; and therefore we cannot hold the people of New Netherland responsible to such an extent as we hold the people of Massachusetts responsible for the hanging of Quakers on Boston Common. As for Stuyvesant, his violent zeal carried him too far. There were narrow-minded men in the Amsterdam Chamber who did not favour the setting up of Lutheran or Baptist churches; but when it came to active persecution, the condemnation was unanimous; and a sharp rebuke was sent across the ocean to the over-zealous Director. Thus ended the letter of censure from the Amsterdam Chamber: "The consciences of men ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile to government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and toleration by which the magistrates of this city have been governed; and the consequences have been, that the oppressed and persecuted from every country have found among us an asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps, and you will be blest."

Stuyvesant  
rebuked by  
the Am-  
sterdam  
Chamber

The refined and courteous tone of this reprimand took nothing from its severity. Stuyvesant interfered no further with liberty of conscience. The case illustrates a tendency of his to err through excess of zeal, which made him sometimes a trial to the impatience of his employers. It was more than once decided to recall him to Holland, but the decision was often reconsidered. The points in his favour were his absolute integrity and loyalty, his executive ability, and the general confidence in his military capacity. The time was one when such a public officer could not well be spared. New Netherland was beset with rivals and enemies. Something must be said of the colony of New Sweden and

of the rupture between Holland and England which had such momentous consequences in America.

It will be remembered that the original projector of the Dutch West India Company was the exiled Antwerp merchant, William Usselinx. After the incorporation of that company, in 1623, Usselinx visited Sweden and submitted a similar project to the consideration of Gustavus Adolphus. It was hoped that Gustavus would soon take part in the great war that was raging, which we now remember as the Thirty Years' War. Usselinx wished to see the Spaniards driven

from the Flemish Netherlands, and an important step toward this desirable end was to add to the number of Spain's enemies on the ocean. In 1624 Gustavus issued a manifesto for the establishment of a trading association to be known as the Australian Company, with extensive privileges of traffic with Asia, Africa, and America. If Swedish colonies could be established anywhere on the American coast, it would be well. There was plenty of room for them, and they might prove to be safe places of retreat for political and religious refugees. The scheme met with much favour, and the subscription list, headed by the king, contained the names of many of the nobility and clergy, with some of the most enterprising merchants and craftsmen. But the war in Germany absorbed so much attention that nothing was done until 1635, after the death of Gustavus. Then the Chancellor Oxenstjerna formed a specific scheme for planting a colony in America under the auspices of this corporation, which had now come to be known as the South Company.

The person selected to conduct the expedition was none other than Peter Minit, who had formerly been Director

General of New Netherland and had reason to feel that his dismissal was undeserved and unjust. In 1638 Minit landed his colonists on the west shore of Delaware Bay, and bought of the natives a tract of land on and about the present site of Newcastle and Wilmington, stretching northward as far as the

Origin  
of New  
Sweden

Peter  
Minit and  
the Swedes  
on the  
Delaware  
River



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

Schuykill and westward as far as circumstances might determine. This region he called New Sweden, and built a blockhouse to guard it, which he called after the queen, Fort Christina. He sent a sloop to Jamestown for a cargo of tobacco, and while she waited at anchor in James River the treasurer of Virginia wrote to England for permission to oust these Swedes from the Delaware, which he described as the boundary between Virginia and New England. Protests were soon heard also from Lord Baltimore's colony. When the Swedish sloop went up the Delaware River she was challenged by the Dutch commander at Fort Nassau,

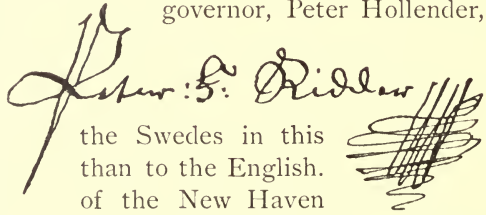
and presently a notice came from Director Kieft, warning Minit that he had better go away. But Minit paid no heed to protests or threats. He worked away at his fort until everything was quite secure and comfortable, left it abundantly stocked with food and ammunition, and started home for reinforcements. While stopping at the island of St. Christopher in the West Indies, the worthy Minit perished in a hurricane, but his ships returned safely to Sweden.

Now in spite of Kieft's warning, the Swedes well knew that the Dutch would be extremely unwilling to enter into hostilities against them. The Thirty Years' War was still raging. The Swedish generals, Banér and Torstenson, able pupils of Gustavus, were inflicting heavy defeats upon the Imperialists; and the sympathies of Holland were with Sweden. She did not wish to interfere with such good

Affairs of  
New  
Sweden

work. Accordingly, when a richly laden Swedish vessel was arrested at Enckhuysen for illegally trading within the West India Company's American dominions, and when the Swedish minister at the Hague demanded her release, she was at once set free in the most courteous and obliging manner. For these reasons the little Swedish colony at Fort Christina was unmolested, and in 1640, along with a new governor, Peter Hollender,

it received considerable accessions. The Dutch were more hospitable to neighbourhood. The good people

 Peter B. Ridder

the Swedes in this than to the English. of the New Haven

colony seem always to have found something attractive in the shores to the south of Sandy Hook. In 1641 they made a settlement near Salem, on the Jersey side of the Delaware River, and another on the Schuylkill, and declared that these settlements formed a part of the republic of New Haven. But in 1642 Kieft sent a couple of sloops with a small force of soldiers who arrested all the English in these two settlements, and carried them to Fort Amsterdam,

whence they were sent back to New Haven. In the work of arresting them, a party of Swedes assisted. No blood was shed, but the English complained that they had suffered damages to the amount of £1000 sterling.

In that same summer Queen Christina sent out John Printz, who had been a lieutenant of cavalry, to be governor of New Sweden, and she guaranteed military protection to the colony. Printz was instructed to maintain as pleasant relations with both Dutch and English as might be consistent with not allowing either of them to encroach a foot



upon his territory. Within its limits nobody was to be permitted to trade in peltries except the agents of the Swedish Company. The Lutheran was to be the established church, but the Dutch Reformed Church was to be tolerated. Early in 1643 the new governor arrived at Fort Christina, accompanied by the pastor and historian, John Campanius, and two shiploads of settlers. Printz built on Tinicum Island, on the west shore, about twelve miles below the site of Philadelphia, a fortress of heavy logs, which he called New Gottenburg. Between here and Fort Christina many farms were planted. Opposite New Gottenburg, on the east shore whence the New Haven people had lately been driven, Printz built a triangular fort which he called Elsingburg and armed it with eight cannon. Now the Dutch Fort Nassau was a few miles higher up the river, and these twin fortresses, New Gottenburg and Elsingburg, watched over the approach to it like Bunyan's lions before Palace Beautiful. Every ship coming up must strike her colours and wait for Governor Printz's permission to pass on. The first person to arrive upon the scene was our old friend

David De Vries, the genial mariner and colonist, the racy and charming chronicler. He was coming up the river in a Rotterdam ship when the challenge came from Elsingburg, and the skipper asked him if he had not better lower his flag. "Well," said De Vries, "if it were my ship I should n't lower to these intruders;" but the skipper's view of the case was "anything for a quiet life," and he hauled down his colours. Then an officer came aboard, and they passed on to New Gottenburg, where they were cordially welcomed by Governor Printz, "a brave man of brave size," says De Vries, "for he weighed more than 400 pounds." Printz was delighted at meeting a man of whom he had heard so much, and the fate of whose colony at Swandale had aroused such wide interest. He produced a colossal jug of Rhenish wine, and the evening was passed in friendly discourse.

For a dozen years more the colony of New Sweden was suffered to exist, and the altercations which from time to time arose stopped short of warfare. But in Stuyvesant's time, after the peace of Münster, Holland had no longer the same reasons for wishing to keep from interference with Sweden. Moreover, Queen Christina was dead, and her successor, Charles X., was absorbed in that mighty war with Poland which forms the theme of Sienkiewicz's brilliant novel "The Deluge." It was the golden opportunity for New Netherland, and Stuyvesant seized it in the summer of 1655. With a force of seven warships and 700 soldiers he swooped into Delaware Bay and up the river; and there was nothing for New Sweden, whose total population was barely 500 souls, to do but surrender. The settlers were not interfered with, but only changed their allegiance.

The time was coming when a precisely similar fate was to overtake Peter Stuyvesant and New Netherland. The relations between the Dutch and British governments were suddenly altered, and into the causes and consequences of this change we shall inquire in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IX

### DUTCH AND ENGLISH

THE year 1651 was an important date in English history. The passage of the Navigation Act in that year marked the beginning of a commercial policy which soon led to disturbances in Massachusetts and Virginia, and in the end played a considerable part among the causes of the separation of the American colonies from the mother country.

It also marked a sudden and violent change in the relations between the English and the Dutch. From time immemorial there had been unbroken friendship between the two peoples, and for three centuries the intimacy had been extremely close.

Change  
in the  
relations  
between  
England  
and the  
Nether-  
lands

In 1584, after the assassination of William the Silent, the people of the Netherlands sent to Elizabeth of England a formal invitation to become their sovereign ; but this honour she declined, while she actively intervened in their behalf and sent an army across the Channel to aid them. Now in 1651, after the premature death of William's grandson, William II., a similar proposal to unite the two countries under one government was made by the English and refused by the Dutch. Let us observe how peculiarly the two countries were then situated with reference to each other.

The treaty of Münster, in 1648, had at last and forever rid the Dutch of the incubus of Spain. The United Netherlands ranked as the wealthiest nation in the world, with by far the largest merchant marine, and a navy which was rivalled only by that of England. The seven states were united in a loose confederation somewhat like that of the American States between 1776 and 1789. Their States General, assembled at the Hague had more the character of

of a diplomatic body than of a sovereign legislature ; it was more a congress than a parliament. State rights flourished at the expense of national unity and strength, but there was a party that dreaded too much national unity, very much as it was dreaded in America by Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams. The States General constituted but one chamber, but there was another body which discharged many of the functions of an upper house and which represented the nation at large. This was the council of State, consisting of eighteen men, who were obliged to forswear allegiance to their own states and to take an oath of allegiance to the United Netherlands. The principal executive officer was the *Stadholder*, a word which is commonly misspelled with a *t* after the first *d*, because it looks as if it meant "town-holder," or perhaps "state-holder." In reality it means "stead-holder," a substitute or deputy. It is exactly translated by "lieutenant." The stadholder was in the old days the sovereign's lieutenant, and there was one in each of the provinces, the chief executive magistrate and commander of the army. In 1555 the Emperor Charles V. appointed William, Prince of Orange, his stadholder for Holland and Zealand, and after the rebellion had broken out those states and others continued him in his place by election and under the old title. His two illustrious sons, Maurice and Frederick, succeeded him by election, and there was visible the usual tendency for an elective life-magistracy to lapse into hereditary monarchy. The great personal qualities of these men and their incomparable services to their country made this tendency very strong. William the Silent might have been king had he been willing to accept such a dignity. There was nothing too good for the House of Orange ; such was the feeling in most of the states, but it was by no means universal. There were those who dreaded the tendency toward monarchy, and this Republican party was strongest in the state or province of Holland, which contained most of the large cities, and in population and wealth outweighed the other six provinces

Government of the Netherlands



together. This party had once been represented by Olden Barneveld; its present leader, just coming to the front, was John De Witt; it had grown in strength since the peace of 1648 made it no longer necessary to smite the Spaniard; and



WILLIAM II. OF ORANGE

it sympathized warmly with the Roundhead party in England.

On the other hand, there was at this moment strong sympathy between the House of Orange and the House of Stuart. The great stadholder Frederick died in 1647, and was succeeded by his son William II., then twenty-one years of age. In the opinion of De Witt this young prince was an abler man than his father or his uncle. At the age of fifteen he had been married to Mary, daughter of Charles I., so that he was formally admitted to

Marriage  
of William  
II. to the  
Princess  
Mary

the fellowship of crowned heads. The son of this marriage was that William III. under whom for a few years at the end of the century England and Holland were to be united.

Now the first great event in this young stadholder's administration, the treaty of Münster, was a bitter disappointment to him, as it was to his neighbour and ally, Cardinal Mazarin. If the war could be continued both hoped to profit by the misfortunes of Spain. William II. thirsted for military glory, and would have been glad to free the Flemish Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. The treaty of Münster was as odious to him as the Twelve Years' Truce had been to his uncle Maurice. But perhaps it was not irrevocable. The treaty had been the work of the Republican party, the burghers of Amsterdam and other great cities, the extreme advocate of state sovereignty. But the Orange party, which stood for Dutch national unity, and which had a majority in all the states except Holland, would be glad to see the interminable war renewed. Accordingly Mazarin made secret overtures to the States General in the hope of inducing them to cancel the treaty, and William entered into a compact with Mazarin, some features of which have not been known until recently, while other aspects of it were correctly inferred at the time from the general situation. On the whole it was a very ambitious programme. The combined armies of France and Holland were to set free the Flemish Netherlands, and also to interfere in England in behalf of Charles II. When this scheme was devised, in October, 1650, the battle of Dunbar had just been fought, and one is inclined to wonder how it would have fared with young William of Orange and his cousin, Marshal Turenne, if they had succeeded in landing an army in England, and had come into collision with the mighty Oliver.

But scarcely had the compact been made when the young prince suddenly died, and the Orange party in the Netherlands instantly became powerless. Within a week after William's death the babe was born who was

Scheme of  
William II.  
and  
Mazarin

Death of  
William II.



Holzgen de Witt



to become illustrious as William III. Until this child should grow up there was nobody to represent the monarchical principle that held the party together. A long minority is a misfortune to an established monarchy; it is likely to be fatal when the monarchy is only a matter of aspiration. The



CARDINAL MAZARIN

Republican ascendancy now became pronounced. Nobody was elected to the stadholdership, but the office was held in abeyance for more than twenty years, while John De Witt, as Grand Pensionary or president of the States General, was virtually chief magistrate of the Netherlands. The Dutch Republic now proceeded to recognize the English Common-

wealth, and two ambassadors, Walter Strickland and Oliver St. John, were sent by Parliament to the Hague, to negotiate a league of perpetual friendship between the two nations. What was proposed was a kind of federal union under a council of Englishmen and Dutchmen, which was to hold its meetings in London. To many persons such a union seemed much more natural than the union of England and Scotland under a single sovereign. The relations between English and Scotch had for centuries been hostile, while those between English and Dutch had been friendly. It was important for civilization that the alliance between two great liberal and Protestant powers should be made perpetual.

Proposed  
union be-  
tween Eng-  
land and  
the Nether-  
lands

Matters, however, were not well managed. St. John and Strickland insisted as a preliminary that all English fugitive royalists should be expelled from the Netherlands, but the Dutch policy was to make their own country an asylum for political fugitives, and they could not be persuaded to break this rule. Now James, Duke of York, and his sister the Princess Royal were then tarrying at the Hague, and almost daily they drove slowly past the ambassadors' house, staring and pointing at it in an insulting fashion, while a rabble would gather and hoot at the nation which had sacrilegiously beheaded the royal grandsire of the baby Prince of Orange. The ambassadors were further warned that royalist fanatics at Rotterdam were planning to murder them. So after six months they returned to London with nothing to show for their mission.

Failure  
of the  
proposal

There was a circumstance which tended to alienate the English and Dutch nations in spite of the many ties of friendship between them. This was their keen commercial rivalry. Now that the common enemy, Spain, was out of the way this rivalry became a predominant motive, and even while the discussion with St. John and Strickland was going on, the States General concluded a treaty with Denmark concerning the customs of the Sound, which was calculated to work mischief to the English. The shores of the Baltic

THE  
COMMONWEALTHS  
GREAT SHIP  
Commonly called the SOVERAIGNE  
of the SEAS, built in the yeare, 1637.

With a true and exact Dimension of her Bulk and Burden, and those Decorements which beautifie and adorne her, with the Carving work, Figures, and Mottoes upon them.

*Shee is besides her Tunnage 1637. Tuns in burden: Shee beareth five Lamborns, the biggest of which will hold ten per son: to stand upright, without shouldring or pressing one another. With the names of all the Ropes, Masts, Sailes, and Cordage that belong unto a SHIP.*

As also the names of all our Commanders at Sea, the number of Men and Gunnes which every Ship carrieth both in their Admirall, Vice Admirall, and Rearc-Admirall.

With all the Fights wee have had with the Hollander, since the Engagement of Lieutenant-Admirall Trompe neere DOVER, against the English Fleet under the Command of Generall Blake, at the same time that three of their Embassadours were here treating of P E A C E.

With a perfect rehearfall of an Act for increase of Shipping, and Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation, which so much displeaseth the H O L L A N D E R.

---

*Goe not forth hastily to strive, lest thou know not what to doe in the end thereof when thy neighbour hath put thee to shame.*

---

L O N D O N,

Printed by M. Simmons, for Tho: Jenner, and are to be sold at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange, 1653.

Sea were a great storehouse for naval materials, and this treaty hindered England's access to them. In re-  
The Navi-  
gation Act venge the Long Parliament passed the Navigation Act, which turned out to be the first nail in the coffin of Dutch maritime supremacy. Before 1651 three fourths of England's carrying trade had been done in Dutch vessels by Dutch skippers.

As an immediate consequence of the Navigation Act, the two nations, instead of embracing, came to blows, and the English Channel saw some of the hottest sea fighting that the world has ever known. Equal heroism and skill were shown by the two sides ; Monk and Blake were fairly matched against Tromp and De Ruyter. One marvels at such splendid fighting, and wishes it had been done in some worthy cause, and not in this wicked fratricidal quarrel. One fact was elicited by the fighting. The English had been improving the build of their warships, increasing the weight and strength without losing in agility, and the war revealed their superiority. The Dutch merchant shipping suffered so severely that in 1654 they were anxious for peace, and Cromwell, who had lately turned out the Long Parliament, and had sorely grieved over such a war between the two Protestant powers, was glad to make peace. He insisted upon the permanent exclusion of the baby Prince of Orange from the stadholdership, and the state of Holland, in submitting to such dictation, prevailed over the other six states.

On the restoration of the Stuart monarchy the Dutch in-  
Second  
Dutch war stantly repealed this exclusion clause. Charles II. had of course no objection to this. The second war with Holland, which began in 1664 with the capture of New Amsterdam, and ended in 1667 with the treaty of Breda, was purely a quarrel between commercial rivals. In the course of it Dutch warships actually entered the Medway and the Thames, but the terms of peace left the English in possession of New York.

The third Dutch war, which began in 1672 and ended in





Monk

Tromp  
De Ruyter

Blake

THE FOUR ADMIRALS

1674, was different from the others. It marked the beginning of that period of infamy when Charles II. became the paid tool of Louis XIV. in his great assault upon political liberty. Then came the Dutch frenzy, the cruel murder of De Witt and his brother, the election of William III. to the stadholdership, and the magnificent resistance in which Holland defied the united forces of Louis and Charles.

This period of shame for England ended with the expulsion of James II. and the union of the English and Dutch nations for thirteen years under the masterful leadership of the third William of Orange. We must now turn our attention to New Netherland, and see how it was affected by the course of events in the Old World.

Bickerings between the Dutch and English communities in America continued to go on in Stuyvesant's time as in the times of Van Twiller and Kieft. Upon the breaking up of the Council for New England in 1635, Charles I. granted Long Island to William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, who was secretary of state for Scotland. The attempts of his agents to take possession of the island were always resisted by the Dutch, although, as we have seen, many English people settled there. Shortly after Stuyvesant's arrival in New Amsterdam a strange visitor from Scotland called upon him. His name was Andrew Forrester, of Dundee, and he had been sent out by Lord Stirling's widow to take possession of Long Island. He would fain inspect the Dutch Director's commission; if it should turn out to be a better document than his own power of attorney from Lady Stirling, he would give way to Stuyvesant; otherwise Stuyvesant must give way to him. In the Director's bosom for a moment amusement may well have contended with indignation for the mastery. He lost no time in putting the bold Scotchman on board a ship bound for Holland, but the ship happened to stop at an English port and her prisoner escaped.

Grant of  
Long  
Island  
to Lord  
Stirling

At about the same time, Van Tienhoven, the secretary of New Netherland, happened to go to New Haven, and there in the harbour he found a Dutch ship, the San Beninio, which had been quietly riding at anchor for several weeks,



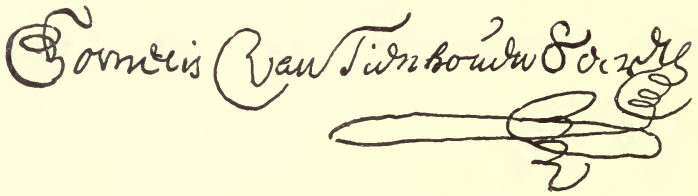
WILLIAM ALEXANDER, EARL OF STIRLING

doing a brisk trade with the English, in total defiance of the rules which required a license from the West India Company. The owners of the cargo requested a license from New Amsterdam, promising to pay the customary exorbitant duties. On his return to Manhattan the secretary obtained the license and sent it to New Haven. A fortnight later one of the owners, Mynheer Samuel Goedenhuyzen, made his appearance at Manhattan, but as to paying duties or even showing his invoices, gave

Affair of  
the San  
Beninio

no sign. When, therefore, he let fall the imprudent remark that the *San Beninio* was about ready to sail for Virginia, it was not unnaturally inferred that he was meditating a fraud upon the Company. It was now the Director's opportunity to show the long reach of his arm. He had recently sold one of the Company's ships to Stephen Goodyear, the deputy

Governor (Van Tinsborgh & Co.)



governor of New Haven, and had agreed to deliver her at that port. In this vessel Stuyvesant now embarked a military force under Captain Paul van der Grist, with orders to seize the *San Beninio* in New Haven harbour and bring her to Manhattan. It was a venturesome deed, as the *San Beninio* mounted ten guns, but it was most neatly and successfully done. On a Sunday morning in October, when all the people were in church, — and very little truancy on such occasions was permitted by the magistrates of that devout colony, — the Dutch captain brought his ship alongside of Master Goedenhuyzen's craft, when in a trice he boarded her, overpowered her crew, and steered her out of the harbour. There was clamour and cursing enough to disturb Parson Davenport's sermon, and some rushing from the pews to the meeting-house door ensued, but it was too late to stop the exultant Dutchman as he sped away with his prize up the Sound before a spanking breeze. On the next day the *San Beninio* was condemned at New Amsterdam and duly confiscated for violating the Dutch revenue law; on Tuesday Stuyvesant issued a proclamation declaring that New Netherland extended from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod, and that duties would be rigorously levied by him upon all vessels trading at ports on the Sound.

His notification of these proceedings to Governor Eaton,

of New Haven, was considered by that gentleman discourteous; on the following Monday he thus wrote to Stuyvesant: "Sir, by your agent, Mr. Govert, I received two pages from you, the one sealed the other open, but neither of them written either in Latin, as your predecessors used, or in English, as you yourself have formerly done, both to me, and to the other colonies; but in Low Dutch, whereof I understand little; nor would your messenger, though desired, interpret anything in them, so that part, at least, must lie by me till I meet with an interpreter." Governor Eaton knew enough of what had happened, however, to bring a heavy indictment against the Director for "disturbing the peace between the English and Dutch in these parts." He pressed the matter so earnestly as to call forth a soothing reply from Stuyvesant, who could be made to realize the imprudence of proceeding to extremities.

Meanwhile three delinquent servants of the West India Company had fled to New Haven, where they were arrested and sent to jail. Provisions for the mutual extradition of fugitives had been in force since 1643 between New Netherland and the United Colonies of New England, and Eaton had accordingly promised to surrender these prisoners. But now that Stuyvesant had claimed sovereignty over New Haven, Eaton was unwilling to do anything that malicious critics might interpret as obeying the behest of an overlord, and therefore he withheld the prisoners and took them into the service of the colony. The General Court at Boston wrote to Eaton, seeking to dissuade him from this course, but he was obdurate. Stuyvesant thereupon in retaliation proclaimed that "if any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor, yea, to the lowest prisoner included, run away from the Colony of New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance." This measure was generally condemned. The good people of New Amsterdam feared it might make their pleasant little town a refuge for criminals, and the Company deemed it

Extradition of criminals

unwise to give needless offence to England. Stuyvesant was thus placed in an awkward position, from which he withdrew himself by a sudden stroke of genius. He contrived to convey to the fugitives in New Haven an assurance of full pardon and kind treatment if they would at once return to Manhattan. They were prompt to avail themselves of this promise from a man whose word could be trusted; and as soon as they had safely arrived, the Director was enabled with easy grace to annul his rash proclamation.

The seizure of the *San Beninio* was but a single incident in a general policy so rigorous as to frighten away many skippers who would have been glad to trade with Manhattan, and Stuyvesant's conduct met with sharp criticism at the firesides of the burghers and in the board of Nine Men. His unselfish devotion to the interests of the Company was a continual source of irritation to the people, whose obvious needs sometimes suffered neglect. The year 1650 came in with weather so cold that "ink froze in the pen," and while Manhattan was actually suffering from dearth of food the Director obeyed the Company's order to send a supply of food away to Curaçoa. By the next August civil dudgeon had grown so high that Stuyvesant drove out the Nine Men from the pew in church "with which they had been honoured by the consistory," and caused the seats to be removed, so that they might not return to it. As Van Dincklagen, from Melyn's stockaded domain on Staten Island, wrote to Van der Donck at the Hague: "Our great Muscovy Duke goes on as usual, resembling somewhat the wolf; the older he gets the worse he bites." It was but natural that the Nine Men, speaking for the people of New Amsterdam, should address a memorial to the States General, begging for a change of government. But, curiously enough, the Director found supporters and apologists among the English settlers on Long Island. The Englishman who wielded most political influence at that time was George Baxter, of Gravesend, who was Stuyvesant's English secretary of state. The letters addressed by the magistrates

Czar Stuy-  
vesant and  
the Nine  
Men

of Gravesend and Heemstede to the Amsterdam Chamber breathe a spirit of sycophancy toward the Director.<sup>1</sup> They express a fervent hope that no change will be made; they are deeply convinced of the desirableness of a strong government; and, in particular, they disapprove the suggestion that the people of New Netherland should elect their own governor, forasmuch as the sure result would be anarchy and ruin. Thus did Stuyvesant, the faithful servant of the Company, find himself in a singular position, defended by his alien subjects while condemned by nine in ten of his own countrymen.

It was at this time that he visited Hartford and engaged in a conference with the Federal Commissioners of New England. As he rode through the flourishing townships along the shore of the Sound, and then proceeded up the beautiful valley of the Connecticut,

Stuyvesant's visit to Hartford

he was everywhere greeted with marked courtesy, but every mile must have impressed him with the utter improbability that the English grasp upon that country could ever be shaken. The idea of ousting the inhabitants was ridiculous; and as for extending his jurisdiction over them, it would be impossible without a much greater force than the States General were ever likely to be able to send him. Even the two colonies, Connecticut and New Haven, would be more than a match for him; but an attack upon either of these would be an attack upon the Confederacy, and would at once bring Massachusetts and Plymouth into the lists. In case of war, while the Netherlands could still cope with England on fairly even terms, they were not likely to have much spare energy to devote to America. Stuyvesant was too much of a soldier not to realize the military weakness of his position. His claim to the whole coast from Delaware Bay to Cape Cod, and his masterful demeanour toward his neighbours at New Haven, were fine exhibitions of bluff. But when he came face to face with the commissioners for settling questions of jurisdiction that gravely concerned the peace of

<sup>1</sup> *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, ii. 154-156.

Christendom, he showed his good sense by knowing how to yield.

At the start, however, Stuyvesant put forth the customary bravado. He wrote a statement of his case, which he dated at "Hartford in New Netherland," and in the course of which he took pains to twit Connecticut and New Haven with their lack of charters by calling them "pretendant colonies." But after a few quips and grimaces thus evoked had cleared the atmosphere, business went on serenely. The Dutch claim promptly receded from Cape Cod to Point Judith, but presently the whole question of boundaries was left to a board of four arbiters. One of those selected by Stuyvesant was his own English secretary, George Baxter, already mentioned; why he should have appointed another Englishman (Thomas Willet, merchant, of Plymouth) has not been satisfactorily explained. This board of arbitration speedily decided that on Long Island the boundary between the Dutch and English jurisdictions should run across from Oyster Bay to the Atlantic Ocean. On the mainland it should start west of Greenwich Bay, four miles from Stamford, and thence run northerly, but was never to come within ten miles of Henry Hudson's river. As for the disputed region near Hartford, the Dutch were to have jurisdiction only over such lands as were actually in their possession and determined by metes and bounds.

Such was the famous treaty of Hartford, September 19, 1650, by which Stuyvesant practically abandoned all claim to New England territory. It astounded the Dutch. "All the arbitrators were English," wrote Van der Donck, and "they pulled the wool over the Director's eyes."<sup>1</sup> Or, as another writer said, "they entertained him like a prince" at Hartford, but "he never imagined that such hard pills would be given him to digest. New England speaks of him in terms of great praise, . . . because he hath allowed himself to be entrapped by her courtesy."<sup>2</sup> When the Director heard the

<sup>1</sup> *N. Y. Colonial MSS.*, ii. 458, *Holland Documents*, vi.

<sup>2</sup> *News from New England*, 1650.



decision of the board, he is said to have cried out, "I've been betrayed; I've been betrayed!" It is pretty clear, however, that he was not so much astonished as other people; he was simply yielding after his own fashion to what he knew was inevitable. On returning to New Amsterdam he kept the matter a secret from his council, and late in November an indignant letter from the Nine Men to Van der Donck says: "The annexed news from New England, which has been brought here and thrown into a certain English house, where the English themselves laugh at the Director, is, we fear, too true, as it is also confirmed by daily rumours." It is significant that Stuyvesant, in his report to the Company, withheld the text of the treaty, and no authoritative copy of it reached Holland until 1656, when the States General, by ratifying it, plainly indicated their consciousness that the concessions made were inevitable. Attempts were made to induce the English government to ratify it, but in vain. England never extended to New Netherland the recognition which such an act of ratification would have involved.

Wrath of  
the Nine  
Men

In the midsummer of 1652 broke out the first war between the Dutch Republic and England. On the western shores of the Atlantic there was no inhabited spot which had such good cause for alarm as New Amsterdam. The little fortress which had watched over it since the days of Peter Minuit was unequal to the demands of such a crisis. Not only must the fort be repaired, but a wall must be built across the island at the northern limit of the city, for hostile forces might be landed at almost any point above. This wall, which was finished by May-day of 1653, was the beginning of one of the most famous streets in the world, one of the chief centres of commerce and finance, none other than Wall Street. There was a line of round palisades, six inches in diameter and twelve feet in height, strengthened at intervals of a rod by stout posts to which split rails were fastened at a height of ten feet from the ground. Within this line of palisades was a sloping

Origin of  
Wall  
Street

earthwork four feet in height. The wall ran up the East River a little way to the Water Gate, near the present junction of Pearl and Wall streets, and then followed the line of the latter to the Land Gate at the corner of Broadway, and thence westward to the steep bluff which overlooked the North River near the site of Greenwich Street.<sup>1</sup>

The building of these fortifications was a fresh source of contention between Stuyvesant and the burghers. The duties from exported furs, amounting to scarcely 23,000 guilders (\$9000) yearly, were not enough to cover public expenses in war time ; and a public loan had been made, but still more money was needed. The burghers held that it was the business of the Company to defend them. The excise on wine and beer, which had been established in Kieft's time, was always unpopular ; and the burghers now insisted that Stuyvesant must apply this excise to the military needs of

The excise

the city before they would consent to another loan.

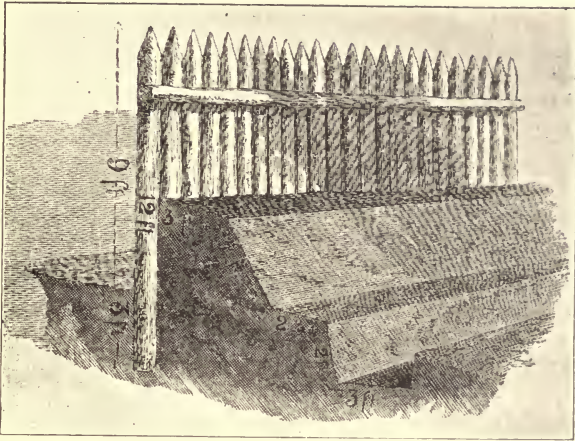
In this matter the Director was obliged to give way, though but partially and with an ill grace.<sup>2</sup> He consented to surrender to the city the excise upon liquors consumed within its limits ; a fair source of revenue, one might suppose, since we are told that one fourth of the entire number of buildings in New Amsterdam were inns or tap-houses for the sale of beer and spirits.<sup>3</sup> One of the most striking features of the great cosmopolitan city in these modern days is the frequency of places for quenching thirst, insomuch that the wayfarer upon Third Avenue or Sixth Avenue, who passes whole blocks consisting entirely of tap-rooms, is inclined to wonder how so many competitors can earn a livelihood. It is interesting to find that this feature of city life already characterized New Amsterdam, and we are assured by De Vries that from the outset the beer brewed there vied in excellence with that of the Fatherland.

<sup>1</sup> See Villard's *Early History of Wall Street*, in that excellent little group of monographs "The Half Moon Series," New York, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *New Amsterdam Records*, anno 1653.

<sup>3</sup> Cutting, *Old Taverns and Posting Inns*, Half Moon Series, ii. 246.

The strength of Stuyvesant's palisadoes was never put to the test of war. The Director's wish to preserve peace found support in Massachusetts, the strongest of the New England colonies, and thus the fire-eaters of New Haven



THE OLD WALL RESTORED

and Connecticut were restrained. It was rumoured that the Mohegan chief Uncas had accused Stuyvesant of inciting the Nyantics and other neighbouring tribes to make a concerted attack upon the English. As soon as the Director heard of this slander he met it with <sup>Absurd</sup> <sup>rumours</sup> prompt and vigorous denial. The chiefs in question also denied it, and the Nyantic sachem Ninigret undertook to show its absurdity, so far as he was concerned. He had visited Manhattan with a pass from John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut. His object in going there was to try the efficacy of some Dutch medicine of which he had heard, but his reception was not such as to make him love Dutchmen. "It was winter time," said Ninigret, "and I stood a great part of a winter day before the governor's door, and he would neither open it nor suffer others to let me in. I am not wont to find such carriage from my English friends." But these denials did not satisfy the people of Connecticut

and New Haven. It was asserted that Ninigret brought back from Manhattan a stock of powder and ball, besides "wild-fire which, when shot with arrows, will burn anything;" and he was moreover said to have promised his thirsty braves unstinted fire-water. Moreover, some Dutchmen at Manhattan, it was said, had threatened the English with an "East India breakfast, in which, it is conceived, they allude to the horrid, treacherous, and cruel plot and execution at Amboyna."<sup>1</sup> Commissioners from the New England Confederacy visited Manhattan to make inquiries of Stuyvesant, whom they treated with great rudeness, while they gave heed only to such sayings and acts as might seem to incriminate his people.

In these accusations there was perhaps just a grain of truth. Agents of Stuyvesant had probably sounded sundry Indians to learn whether their help could be obtained in case of an attack upon Manhattan by the English. Such measures had been recommended, as a matter of prudence, by the Amsterdam Chamber. The employment of barbarian allies was easily tolerated in that age, nor was it effectively condemned until since the beginning of the nineteenth century. But between what Stuyvesant may have honestly intended and the outrage with which he was charged, the difference was a very wide one. In the midst of his denials of treachery, he did not hesitate to declare that, should the English make war on him he should get from the Indians what help he could.

The eccentric John Underhill here appears once more upon the scene. To this doughty champion, as to the Gow Chrom on the North Inch of Perth,<sup>2</sup> it seems to have made little difference on which side he fought. He now busied himself in gathering testimony in support of the charges against Stuyvesant. This led to his arrest and brief imprisonment at New Amsterdam. On his return to his home on Long Island he boldly hoisted the Parliament's flag at

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> In Scott's novel, *The Fair Maid of Perth*.

Heemstede and Flushing, and issued a manifesto setting forth the reasons which impelled him to abjure the iniquitous government of Peter Stuyvesant over the people living on Long Island. That tyrant, said the manifesto, had seized upon land belonging to private individuals, he had imposed taxes that were excessive and without due warrant of law, he had violated liberty of conscience by acts of religious

*Jo: Underhill*



persecution, he had kept men in prison without trial, he had "imposed magistrates on freemen without election and voting," he had "treacherously and undoubtedly conspired to murder all the English," he had "been guilty of the unheard-of act of striking with his cane an old gentleman, a member of his council," and he had "publicly threatened every freeman" who failed to conform to his pleasure. "The above grounds," continued Underhill, "are sufficient for all honest hearts that seek the glory of God and their own peace and prosperity to throw off this tyrannical yoke. Accept and submit ye, then, to the Parliament of England, and beware ye of becoming traitors to one another, for the sake of your own quiet and welfare."<sup>1</sup>

When this address was published, Underhill was immediately ordered to quit New Netherland. He fled to Narragansett Bay and sent a letter to the Federal Commissioners at Boston, offering them his military services, while for the moment he accepted a commission from Providence Plantations analogous to a letter of marque, giving him authority to capture Dutch vessels. The same privilege was conferred upon William Dyer, first secretary of Rhode Island.<sup>2</sup> Underhill's first exploit shows him to have been a master of the art of "liberal construction;" if he might capture a Dutch ship on the high sea, why not a

Underhill  
seizes Fort  
Good Hope

<sup>1</sup> *New York Colonial MSS.*, ii. 154, *Holland Documents*, vi.

<sup>2</sup> Husband of the Quaker lady who seven years afterward was cruelly hanged on Boston Common.

Dutch fortress on the mainland? So he sailed up the Connecticut River to Hartford and nailed a placard upon the abandoned Fort Good Hope, declaring that he confiscated it as a piece of Dutch property, and held it subject to the General Court of Connecticut. Then he proceeded to sell the property for his own behoof; but in quiet disregard of all this, the General Court next year laid hands upon it as public domain.<sup>1</sup> Thus was the last vestige of Dutch dominion in New England wiped out.

In this conquest of any empty blockhouse there was not much glory for Underhill. As he will not come into our story again, we may here dismiss him with the remark that he lived to see New Amsterdam become New York, and his last years were spent at Oyster Bay, on Long Island, where he died in 1672.

The letters of marque issued by the Narragansett Bay magistrates gave rise to more or less privateering on the Sound, which came perilously near to piracy, as when Edward Hull captured a French ship, and when Thomas Baxter preyed upon Dutch and English commerce with strict impartiality and unimpeachable loyalty to self. More serious warfare was averted, chiefly through the action of Massachusetts. The fear of Indian attack kept the towns along the Connecticut River and the Sound in perpetual agitation, and they clamoured for a campaign that might overthrow New Netherland and bring all the neighbouring Algonquin tribes under English control. The government of Massachusetts, more remote from the frontier panic, seems to have realized Stuyvesant's situation more accurately and to have understood that there was more safety in maintaining peace than in rushing into war. For this attitude the men of Boston were roundly blamed at Hartford and New Haven, and there were moments when the strain seemed so severe as to threaten the dissolution of the Confederacy. There were excited meetings of armed men at Fairfield and Stamford, and an appeal was made to

<sup>1</sup> *Hartford Records, Towns and Lands*, i. 77, 81, 86-88.

The Second Part of the

# TRAGEDY

OF

## Amboyna:

OR, A

# TRUE RELATION

OF A

Most Bloody, Treacherous, and  
Cruel Design of the Dutch in the New-  
Netherlands in America.

For the total Ruining and Murthering of the  
English Colonies in New-England.

Being extracted out of several Letters very late-  
ly written from New-England to several Gentle-  
men and Merchants in *London*.

---

*London*, Printed for *Thomas Matthews*, at the sign of  
the Cock in *S<sup>t</sup> Pauls Church-yard*. 1653.

Oliver Cromwell. A pamphlet appeared in London, entitled "The Second Part of the Amboyna Tragedy; or, True account of a bloody, treacherous, and cruel plot of the Dutch in America, purporting the total ruin and murder of all the English colonists in New England." The Amsterdam Chamber without delay brought out a Dutch translation of this pamphlet and stigmatized it as "an infamous, lying libel, at which the Devil in Hell would have been startled."<sup>1</sup> How far Oliver may have been influenced by such tales is uncertain, but he was persuaded by the agents of New Haven and Connecticut to send four ships of war to America. This little fleet, upon which 200 soldiers were embarked, was commanded by Major Robert Sedgwick and Captain John Leverett. They carried a letter from the Lord Protector to the New England governors, requesting prompt and hearty coöperation. Massachusetts refused to take an active part in the enterprise, but allowed 300 volunteers to enlist; Plymouth promised to contribute 50 men, but failed to get them ready; Connecticut raised 200 men, and New Haven 133; so that in all there were 833, a force with which Stuyvesant could not cope. The days of New Netherland seemed numbered, when suddenly on a July day of 1654, just as Sedgwick's fleet was preparing to sail out from Boston harbour, an English ship came sailing in with the news that peace had been made between their High Mightinesses and the Lord Protector.

A weight was lifted from the anxious hearts of the worthy burghers at Manhattan. To the danger from without there had been added danger from within. The English upon Long Island, who had once been Stuyvesant's staunch supporters, now showed strong symptoms of disaffection. In a spirit of mistaken caution the West India Company had instructed the Director to give the public offices to none but Dutchmen; whereupon it began presently to appear that the men of Gravesend and Flushing were no longer so fond of "strong government"

Disaffec-  
tion upon  
Long  
Island

<sup>1</sup> *Albany Records*, viii.; O'Callaghan, *Hist. N. N.*, ii. 571.



as formerly; they had come to dread anarchy less and tyranny more. Foremost among the leaders of this opposition was George Baxter, who had once been a confidential agent of the Director and one of the arbiters in the treaty of Hartford. The political troubles came to a crisis in December, 1653, when the Director, with extreme reluctance, allowed a "landdag" or popular convention to assemble at New Amsterdam for a discussion of public affairs. Four Dutch and four English towns<sup>1</sup> were represented in this convention by ten Dutch and nine English delegates. A remonstrance addressed to the States General was drawn up by George Baxter and adopted by the convention. It grouped the grievances of the people under six heads: 1. "Our apprehension of the establishment of an arbitrary government amongst us;" 2. The protection afforded by government against the Indians is grossly inadequate; 3. Officers and magistrates are appointed without the nomination or consent of the people, and contrary to the laws of the Netherlands; 4. Long-forgotten orders and decrees of the Director and council are raked up for the confusion and punishment of persons who could not be supposed to know them; 5. Promised grants, on the faith of which large tracts of land had been improved, have been withheld; 6. Immense estates have been granted to favourites, whereby sundry villages and towns have suffered detriment.

A popular convention, and a remonstrance

This Remonstrance was signed by all the nineteen delegates, and sent to the Director, with the request that he would return a specific and categorical answer to each of its allegations. His answer was neither specific nor categorical, but it was characteristic. It was full of the evasions and subterfuges in which unconstitutional rulers in all ages and countries have been wont to indulge. "Arbitrary government, indeed!" he would like to know what they meant by

<sup>1</sup> The Dutch towns were New Amsterdam, Brooklyn, Flatlands, and Flatbush; the English were Flushing, Middleburg, Hempstead, and Gravesend.

that. Had not all the remonstrants sworn to obey the present government? Well, then, if they would make out their case it was incumbent on them to show that it was more arbitrary than Kieft's! As for appointments contrary to the laws of the Netherlands, what did George Baxter, an Englishman, know about the laws of the Netherlands? And as for this convention, whose acts "smelt of rebellion," by what right did it come together to heap unprovoked affronts and contumely upon those in authority? What nonsense — to say that "the law of Nature" authorizes men to hold meetings to concert measures for the protection of their

*Geo: Baxter*

lives and property! It is only magistrates and not common folk who have any right thus to assemble. "We derive our authority from God and the Company, not from a few ignorant subjects, and we alone can call the inhabitants together." With such words did hard-headed Peter turn the convention out of doors. It had sat four days.<sup>1</sup>

When the West India Company heard of these proceedings, it emphatically approved Stuyvesant's conduct, only chiding him gently for his misplaced courtesy in condescending to parley with the leaders of the rabble. Thereupon the Director expelled from their civil offices the two gentlemen, George Baxter and James Hubbard, who had sat as delegates for Gravesend. They retorted briskly by flying the English flag at Gravesend and proclaiming Oliver Cromwell, whereupon Stuyvesant sent a party of soldiers who arrested Hubbard and Baxter, brought them up the bay to Fort Amsterdam, and locked them up. The Director's triumph was complete.

But trouble soon came from a new quarter. In the summer of 1655 occurred the grand expedition to the Delaware River, when an end was put to the political existence of New Sweden, as narrated in the preceding chapter. While Stuy-

<sup>1</sup> *Holland Documents*, xv. 168-175; *Albany Records*, ix. 5, 15, 17-24, 26, 28-56.

vesant was absent on that expedition, with nearly the whole military force of the colony, an Indian war suddenly broke out.

Among the philanthropic friends of the red man there are some who not only are inclined to accredit him with all the Christian virtues, but in particular maintain that he is by temperament a lover of peace, and would never think of lifting the tomahawk unless goaded beyond endurance by unscrupulous white men. The advocates of this paradox must take pleasure in recalling the circumstances of the Indian massacre of 1655. The blame seems to rest entirely on one Dutchman, Hendrick van Dyck, who had been schout-fiscal of New Netherland. Van Dyck's comfortable house, with its garden and orchard, stood on the west side of Broadway, a little way above the Bowling Green; and next to him lived Paul van der Grist, the sturdy sea-dog who had captured the San Beninio in New Haven harbour. The front part of this veteran's house was a shop in which he retailed groceries, dry goods, and knickknacks. On a September afternoon Van Dyck came upon an Indian squaw in his orchard, stealing peaches, and instantly drew his pistol and killed her. It was a cruel act and incredibly stupid. For ten years, ever since the conclusion of Kieft's war, the Indians had made no trouble. Stuyvesant in his dealings with them was firm, truthful, and just, and had reason to feel proud of his success in winning their friendship. The wretched Van Dyck put an end to this peace and security. Before daybreak of September 15, while the little town was still wrapt in slumber, a swarm of canoes came gliding through the water, and nearly 2000 tawny Algonquins from Esopus and Hackensack, Tappan and Stamford, leaped ashore on Manhattan and thronged through the streets. They offered no violence to anybody, but here and there a party of them burst into a house, under pretence of searching for Mohawks. Some of the city magistrates succeeded in getting the sachems to come into the fort, where a parley was held. As a result of

Van  
Dyck's  
cruelty

New Am-  
sterdam  
thronged  
with red-  
skins

the conference the warriors took their canoes and paddled off to Governor's Island, but at sundown they returned. A party of them landed at the Battery, rushed up Broadway to Van Dyck's door, and sent an arrow through his heart, while his neighbour Van der Grist, coming to the rescue, was struck dead with a tomahawk. The citizens turned out so promptly that the Indians retreated to their canoes and aimed their blow at the villages on the mainland. Hoboken and Pavonia were laid in ashes, and then Staten Island was devastated. Within three days 100 persons had been murdered, 150 had been carried into captivity, and 300 had lost their homes. Not less than 500 head of cattle were killed or driven away, and an immense quantity of grain was burnt. Of the victims seven men and one woman were put to death in cold blood, with fiendish cruelties.<sup>1</sup>

Stuyvesant was hastily summoned back from the Delaware River, but by the time he returned the Indians, having assuaged their thirst for vengeance, had become eager to get rid of their prisoners, whose board made alarming inroads upon their larders. So the Director succeeded in ransoming some of them, at the rate of 78 pounds of gunpowder and 40 staves of lead for 28 Christians. But the Esopus chiefs insisted on keeping several of their prisoners as hostages for Dutch good behaviour; and so matters languished for a while. In May, 1658, the Indians at Esopus killed a farmer and burned two houses, whereupon Stuyvesant went up the river with 50 soldiers, and called the sachems to account. There was a conference under an ancient tree of vast expanse, and the cinnamon-skinned chieftains vied in oratory with Father Wooden Leg. He scolded them soundly and threatened them with war should they fail to deliver up the murderer. The Indian reply was characteristic: they could not surrender the culprit, for he was not one of their tribe, but a Minisink, and he had fled into the great woods, no one could say just where, but doubtless many days' journey. Then with more frankness he com-

Massacres

Conference  
at Esopus

<sup>1</sup> *Albany Records*, x. 165.

plained of the damage wrought by the white man's fire-water ; but as for attacking the settlers, they had done it not through any malice, but simply because their young men were rabid with desire to kill somebody.

If the dusky speaker had felt called upon to explain this thirst for blood, he might have said that in no well-regulated Indian community can a youthful warrior hope to win favours from the young squaws until he can point to the scalps of enemies whom he has slain. This *causa teterrima* has been responsible for countless secret assassinations and open massacres ; and the confession of the Esopus chieftain has all the earmarks of truth.

Father Wooden Leg's retort was prompt and fierce. If the young braves were so eager for scalps, let them come on and try. He would match twenty of his Dutchmen against forty of them. What ! why this hesitation ? Surely, they cannot be afraid ! Yes, the Algonquin valour had evaporated, and the chiefs came forward with belts of wampum, begging for peace and forgiveness. A village with a blockhouse was then built at Esopus, but in the autumn the troubles were renewed. Once more we find the white men <sup>Bloodshed</sup> to blame. A party of Indians employed by one of <sup>at Esopus</sup> the settlers got hold of a jug of fire-water and made the night air so hideous with their tipsy yells that a panic was started among the farmers, and in spite of stringent orders from the commander of the blockhouse, some foolish people fired at the Indians and wounded two or three. This was the first act in a war in which several Dutchmen were burned at the stake, and the Algonquin braves gathered a plentiful harvest of scalps. It became necessary to call in the aid of the Mohawks to chastise these fractious tributaries, and it was not until July, 1660, that peace was made.

But in the very act of making this peace the worthy Director unwittingly sowed the seeds of another war. Instead of setting all his prisoners free, he shipped some of them off to Curaçoa, and thus created a fresh blood-debt which the braves at Esopus patiently awaited their chance to liquidate.

The growth of the settlements in that neighbourhood was watched by these barbarians with an evil eye. When the blow fell, in June, 1663, it was like a thunderbolt. More bloodshed Two villages were reduced to ashes, and the fields far and near were strewn with mangled corpses of men, women, and children, the victims of one of the worst of Indian massacres. The ensuing war lasted nearly a year, in the course of which the red men were thoroughly beaten. The last treaty of peace between Dutchmen and Algonquins was made in May, 1664.

These Indian wars of Stuyvesant's time were small affairs in comparison with the war that Kieft had provoked in 1643. The earlier conflict imperilled the existence of the colony ; the later ones did not perceptibly retard its progress. The nine years of Stuyvesant's rule after the fall of New Sweden, the period during which these wars occurred, was a period of unexampled growth and prosperity. Growth of New Netherland By 1664 the population of New Amsterdam had reached 1600, and signal improvements in the building and furnishing of its houses marked the general increase in wealth and comfort. At the same time the entire population of the province had reached 10,000 souls.

Nevertheless, the military situation of New Netherland, at the time of the Restoration of Charles II., was lamentably weak. The population of New England was not less than 50,000, that of Virginia was about 35,000, and that of Maryland about 15,000. The emigration from England, Growth of New England therefore, had been ten times as voluminous as the emigration from Holland. But this is an understatement of the case ; for in New Netherland itself there were so many Englishmen that, as we have seen, there had for years been two secretaries of state, one Dutch and one English. The principal English strength was in the towns on Long Island, and in recent years these towns had shown symptoms of restlessness under Stuyvesant's rule. Since 1655 the New England population, overflowing the boundary at Greenwich, had pressed into Westchester

County. In that year Thomas Pell, without so much as saying "By your leave" to the government at New Amsterdam, had bought from the Indians and begun to colonize the domain now known as Pelham Manor, but then as Pelham Manor Annie's Hook, the peninsula where the unfortunate Anne Hutchinson had made her last home on earth. Stuyvesant protested against this act as a violation of the treaty of Hartford, and ordered the said Pell to depart within fifteen days — "with your people, servants or slaves, furniture, cattle, implements, and every article of property you and your nation have brought hither" — or take the consequences.<sup>1</sup> But the said Pell did not budge, and whatever the consequences may have been, they were not fatal.

Although Massachusetts had in 1653 refused to go to war with New Netherland, yet it could not be overlooked that her charter gave her sovereignty as far west as the Pacific Ocean, and hints were sometimes heard that the patroon of Rensselaerwyck owed allegiance to a suzerain at the mouth of the Charles River rather than of the Hudson. In 1662 the learned and courtly governor of Connecticut, the younger John Winthrop, went to London with a charter in his pocket which he had drawn up himself, and which fully sanctioned the free republican government under which Connecticut had been living from the day of its foundation by The Connecticut charter, 1662 Thomas Hooker. It is said that when Winthrop was admitted to an audience by Charles II., he wore upon his finger a very handsome ring which Charles I. had presented to his grandmother. Before entering upon business he called attention to this ring, and drawing it from his finger gave it to the king, whose feelings were strongly moved thereby. At such a moment it would have seemed ungracious not to sign the charter, and Charles II. was not ungracious. Besides, he had some spiteful impulses of his own to gratify. New Haven must be punished for sheltering the regicides, and stiff-necked Massachusetts must be made to see the unwelcome sight of a rival sister waxing as strong as

<sup>1</sup> *New York Colonial MSS.*, ii. 162, *Holland Documents*, ix. Letter G.

herself. So New Haven was summarily annexed to Connecticut, and that commonwealth was made virtually as big as Massachusetts by assigning the Pacific Ocean as her western boundary.

In this famous charter the existence of New Netherland was simply ignored, as the English government had always ignored it. When Stuyvesant heard of it, he said with truth that it completely nullified the treaty of Hartford, and left him legally and morally free to renew his old claims upon all the territory west of Cape Cod. After an angry correspondence with Winthrop, the latter called upon the people of Westchester and the Long Island towns to choose representatives to sit in the next General Court of Connecticut. In so far as any principles of international law in such matters could as yet be said to be recognized by the foremost nations of Europe, the Dutch would seem to have held New Netherland by as good a title as that by which the English held New England. The first nation which laid claim to the

English and Dutch claims. New World, by the right of discovery, was Spain; but in order to set aside this claim, and justify herself in the possession of the Atlantic coast of North America which the Cabots had discovered for her grandfather, Queen Elizabeth in 1580 laid down the principle that "prescription without possession is of no avail." According to this principle France would have a valid title to Canada, because she had actually taken possession of the country; but Spain could not set up a valid claim to the Atlantic coast of North America, because, except in the case of Florida, she had never taken possession of it. In the seventeenth century Spain was in no condition to dispute this principle with England; and as it was England that first announced and maintained the principle, she was clearly bound to abide by it. But without deserting this principle, how could England call in question the Dutch title to New Netherland? In the charter of 1620, providing for the colonization of New England, it was expressly declared that the king granted no land that was already occupied by "any other Christian prince



or estate." The Dutch could maintain that since their colony of New Netherland had been in existence since 1614, it was clearly covered by the terms of this proviso; but the English would reply by denying that the scanty settlement made in 1614 constituted an occupation of the country in any proper sense of that word. In 1621 the House of Commons distinctly reaffirmed Queen Elizabeth's doctrine, and laid it down as a principle of international law by which the English government must be guided.

But the English never admitted that the case of New Netherland was covered by this general principle. According to the English view of the matter, James I. took possession of the whole American coast between the 34th and 45th parallels when he issued his great charter for the London and Plymouth companies in 1606. In pursuance of The English view the scheme then set on foot, permanent occupation began in 1607 at Jamestown and in 1620 at Plymouth. The English would say that no Dutch occupation of the Hudson River worthy of the name took place before 1623, and then that territory, as lying between Jamestown and Plymouth, was virtually preoccupied by the English. The Dutch might plant trading stations there and boweries and manors, and from such beginnings towns might grow, but from first to last for everything they had on that soil they owed allegiance, not to the States General, but to the English crown. If they had put on airs of sovereignty there for forty years and more, it was only upon sufferance, and at any moment the English crown had a perfect right to step in and take possession of its own. To this view, though based upon very questionable premises, the English persistently clung, and there is no reason for doubting the honesty of their convictions.

By the time of Charles II. it was clear that there were strong reasons for stepping in and asserting the claim upon New Netherland. Among the provisions of the Navigation Laws it was enacted that no European goods should be brought into the English colonies in America except in Eng-

lish ships sailing from England. Not so much as a Dutch cheese could be carried in a Dutch ship from Amsterdam to Boston without being subject to confiscation. But there was nothing to hinder the Dutch cheese from being carried to New Amsterdam and there exchanged for a pound of tobacco grown in Virginia; and as the Dutch commercial policy was very liberal, a brisk and thriving trade went on between the English colonies and New Netherland in spite of all the navigation laws it might please Parliament to enact. Obviously none of these restrictive laws could be enforced in America so long as the Dutch retained control of New Netherland, and this alone would sufficiently explain the desire of the English to wrest the province from their rivals. When we add that the Hudson River was the main pathway of the lucrative fur trade which England sorely coveted, and also that the control of this region was absolutely necessary for the military command of the continent, it is quite clear that the doom of the Dutch colony was sooner or later inevitable. From so rich a prize the hands of England could not be kept off.

In the summer of 1663 there were beheld such dire signs and portents as in ancient heathen philosophy proclaimed the deep sympathy of nature in the presence of impending calamity. An earthquake shook the valley of the Hudson, all the way from Beverwyck down to Fort Amsterdam, and sent reverberations far into Canada and Acadia. Then the mighty river overflowed its banks in a freshet of unprecedented magnitude which ruined the standing corn. There was a fearful visitation of small-pox, and for a climax to the misery and gloom came the horrible Indian massacre at Esopus. Many said that the wrath of God was kindled against New Netherland.

The curtain was soon to rise upon the last act of the drama. Busy intriguers were near the throne. There was George Baxter, now ready to turn the tables on Stuyvesant; and with him John Scott, a bold unscrupulous adventurer who had been dismissed

The Navigation Laws

Signs and omens.

Intriguers against New Amsterdam.

from the royalist army for a misdemeanour, and had afterward been upon the Cromwellian side, but who knew how to gain the ear of Charles II. Along with Baxter and Scott was Samuel Maverick, who had some old scores to settle with Massachusetts, and was glad to assist the king in making up his mind that the time had come



*Samuel Maverick*



for him to assert his royal authority decisively and forcefully along the American coast. These men assured Charles that the Navigation Act would never be anything but a dead letter so long as the Dutch controlled the Hudson River. One result of all their conferences was that Scott sailed for America in the autumn, armed with royal letters of recommendation to Winthrop and the other New England governors.

As for Winthrop, he clearly realized Stuyvesant's helplessness. In October, while Scott was upon the ocean, the Director sent envoys to Hartford, where they found cold comfort. They protested against the claim of Connecticut to Westchester County and the Long Island towns west of Oyster Bay. A committee of the General Court was appointed to confer with them, and the preliminary skirmish was ominous. "If Connecticut extends to the Pacific Ocean, where lies New Netherland?" asked the Dutchmen. "We know not," said the men of Hartford, "unless you can show us your charter." Then the Dutchmen referred to the charter of the West India Company, but the Hartford men replied that by such a charter their High Mightinesses had only conferred trading rights upon the West India Company; they could not grant away territory that belonged to the King of England. Then the astonished Dutchmen asked, if the Hudson River belonged to the King of England, in what light was the treaty of Hartford to be regarded. As mere waste paper, was the reply; it had never been ratified by any governing authority in England,

The Dutch  
envoys at  
Hartford

whether parliament, lord protector, or king. As to the domains immediately in dispute, the Connecticut men insisted upon having Westchester, but were willing to keep their hands off from Flushing, Hempstead, and the neighbour towns, provided the Dutch would do the same. But to such humiliation the indignant Dutchmen would not stoop, and so the conference ended.<sup>1</sup> Then Stuyvesant wrote home to the Company, begging them to send soldiers and supplies; otherwise, said he, "we declare that it is wholly out of our power to keep the sinking ship afloat any longer."<sup>2</sup>

When Scott arrived in December he was well received in Connecticut and by the Long Island towns. The latter had just taken matters into their own hands and proclaimed King Charles. Stuyvesant then accepted the Connecticut terms; he gave up Westchester and agreed in leaving the Long Island towns to themselves. Scott announced that Long Island was about to be granted to the Duke of York. Meanwhile the towns of Hempstead, Gravesend, Flushing, Oyster Bay, Middleburgh, and Jamaica formed themselves provisionally

President  
Scott

into a league and chose Scott for their president. All things did not go smoothly, however. The son of a burgomaster refused to take off his hat to the English flag, and President Scott dealt him a blow, whereupon he was told that he had better strike grown men, not boys, and altercations ensued which grew into a series of petty riots. There was so much turbulence that Stuyvesant sent his able and accomplished councillor, Nicasius de Sille, across the East River with an armed force, to protect the Dutch towns, Brooklyn and Flatbush.

The crisis was so serious that in April, 1664, a *landdag* or convention was assembled in New Amsterdam, to consider what should be done. Jeremias van Rensselaer, from Rensselaerwyck, presided. Very little was accomplished, for the more the situation was discussed the worse it looked. It was agreed that it would not be prudent to use military force

<sup>1</sup> *Albany Records*, xvi. 292-315.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Colonial MSS.*, ii. 484, *Holland Documents*, xii. No. 7.



James.



against President Scott, inasmuch as Connecticut would aid him, and New Netherland was not a match for Connecticut. So said Cornelius Beekman, and the convention mournfully assented. But Connecticut, on her part, concluded that Scott was putting on too many airs of sovereignty; Governor Winthrop had him arrested and locked up in Hartford, and then visited Long Island in person to win the favour of the people. In June he had an interview with Stuyvesant at Gravesend, but it came to nothing.

Fall of  
President  
Scott

During this prolonged state of tension in the New World there was profound peace between the Netherlands and England. Peace had now lasted ten years. Nevertheless Charles II. had made up his mind to seize New Netherland by surprise. Some sovereigns would have waited for the next war, a few might have picked a quarrel on purpose, but Charles knew better. He preferred to take the almost certain chance of bringing on a war by seizing the coveted treasure in the first place. According to the English theory it was rightfully his already; surely he could expel intruders from his own territory without asking permission or notifying anybody! So Lord Stirling's claim upon Long Island was bought up for £3500, and then the island was granted to the king's worthy brother, James, Duke of York and Albany, with all the rights of a lord proprietary. Together with Long Island the grant included the mainland with its rivers west of the Connecticut River as far as the Delaware. This covered not only the whole of New Netherland, but half of the actual territory of Connecticut, to say nothing of Connecticut's extension to the Pacific Ocean. It was thus in flat violation of the charter granted two years before to Winthrop, but no Stuart king ever heeded such trifles as merely giving away to one man what he had already given away to another.<sup>1</sup>

Grant of  
New Neth-  
erland to  
the Duke of  
York, 1664

An expedition was organized in deepest secrecy, lest their High Mightinesses should take alarm and send a fleet to the

<sup>1</sup> See my *Old Virginia and her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, i. 271.

defence of New Amsterdam. Four ships were fitted out, and 500 veteran troops were embarked in them, under command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, groom of the bed-chamber to the Duke of York, and already appointed governor of the province about to be seized, or — as he would have phrased it — from which a trespassing

Nicolls and  
his com-  
mission

*George Cartwright*

government was to be expelled. In spite of all precautions, some rumours were whispered in New England and found their way to the ears of Stuyvesant, who prepared for defence as best he might, and in particular detained some warships which were ready to start for Curaçoa. But a despatch from Amsterdam induced a false feeling of security. It announced that the English squadron was sent out with the purpose of enforcing Episcopacy upon the New England colonies. For this report there was a sufficient basis. The expedition had a double purpose which served finely to mislead the Dutch. Along with Colonel Nicolls were embarked Colonel George Cartwright, Sir Robert Carr, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, and these four gentlemen were a royal commission empowered to look into American affairs generally, and in particular to overhaul and investigate the arrogant theocratic government of Massachusetts. Boston was, indeed, the little fleet's immediate destination, and this circumstance helped to lull suspicion at New Amsterdam.

*Robert Carr*

The royal commissioners were authorized to raise troops in New England, but from Massachusetts they got no help worth mentioning. So far as the Navigation Act was concerned, she was not anxious to see it enforced, and Dutch rule at Manhattan was more convenient for her than English. For the Stuart king she had no love, and his commissioners were to her simply men of



Belial. The ingenuity of the able Boston magistrates was devoted to baffling their designs upon Massachusetts, and, naturally enough, small zeal was shown in aiding their designs upon New Netherland.

With Connecticut, of course, the case was very different, and it was well understood that her whole military force was at Colonel Nicolls's disposal. The fleet lingered a month in Boston harbour, while the commissioners were engaged in subtle argument with the hard-headed and sharp-witted Puritan magistrates, and nobody in public as much as winked in the direction of New Amsterdam. So the Director allowed the Curaçoa ships to go on their way, and then, he was obliged to go up to Rensselaerwyck, where the red men were burning and scalping. The unquenchable feud between Mohawk and Mohegan had once more burst into flames, and some skulls of the Mohawks' white allies were cleft by Mohegan tomahawks. While Stuyvesant was busy with this affair a courier came spurring in wild haste to tell him that the English fleet had sailed from Boston and was hourly expected to show itself off Coney Island. Leaving the people of Rensselaerwyck to deal with the savages, Stuyvesant hurried down the river. The day after his arrival at Manhattan, the stately black frigates, with the red ensign of England flying at their mastheads, were seen coming up the Lower Bay, where they anchored just below the Narrows, and sent ashore a company of soldiers, who seized the blockhouse on Staten Island.

Arrival of  
the English  
fleet in the  
Lower Bay

The situation was without a single ray of hope. Stuyvesant had at his command about 150 trained soldiers, besides 250 citizens capable of bearing arms, and among these there were many disaffected. Fort Amsterdam mounted 20 guns, with a very inadequate supply of powder; at the north was the Wall Street palisade, and both the river banks were completely defenceless against the approach of four frigates carrying not less than 120 guns, while the enemy's men, including New England volunteers, must have numbered nearly 1000. Yet Stuyvesant was determined to

New Am-  
sterdam  
helpless

resist. On Saturday, August 30, Colonel Cartwright came up the bay with a summons to surrender the province of New Netherland, with an assurance that no harm should be done to life or property. It was found that Nicolls had forgotten to sign this paper, and while it was taken back for his signature, Stuyvesant consulted with the burgomasters and schepens, and found them strongly inclined to submission, but all the while all hands were kept bravely at work repairing the crazy fortifications.

On Tuesday morning a boat with a flag of truce rowed up to Whitehall, and Governor Winthrop, with half a dozen other gentlemen, came ashore. They were escorted to the

*Richard Nicolls*

parlor of the nearest tavern, where Stuyvesant and the city magistrates received them politely.

Winthrop in his most kindly manner tried to persuade the gallant Director to accept the inevitable, but his arguments fell upon deaf ears. Then

Winthrop handed a letter to Stuyvesant, and the English gentlemen returned to their boat, while the Dutch dignitaries proceeded to the fort. The letter, addressed by Nicolls to Winthrop, was then read aloud by Stuyvesant: —

“MR. WINTHROP: As to those particulars you spoke to me, I do assure you that if the Manhadoes be delivered up to his Majesty, I shall not hinder, but any people from the Netherlands may freely come and plant there or thereabouts; and such vessels of their own country may freely come thither, and any of them may as freely return home, in vessels of their own country; and this and much more is contained in the privilege of his Majesty’s English subjects; and thus much you may, by what means you please, assure the Governor from, Sir, your very affectionate servant,

“RICHARD NICOLLS.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Book of General Entries*, i. 12.

This wise and kindly document wrought a visible effect upon the burgomasters present, and they wished that it might be read to the citizens who were gathered in a vast crowd outside. But Stuyvesant, who did not wish to have any such effect produced, stoutly refused, and when the burgomasters insisted, he flew into a rage and tore the letter into small pieces. Thereupon several of the magistrates, gravely offended, left the room. The news was told the throng of people, who received it with hisses and growls. Three prominent citizens came in where the Director was standing, and demanded the letter. Amid vociferous uproar Stuyvesant retreated into the council-chamber, while Nicholas Bayard, who had gathered up the fragments of the letter, pieced them together and made a true copy, which was read aloud to the people with marked and wholesome effect. There were many in the town who did not regard a surrender to England as the worst of misfortunes. They were weary of hard-headed Peter's arbitrary ways and disgusted with their High Mightinesses and the West India Company for leaving them unprotected; and in this mood they lent a willing ear to the offer of English liberties. Was it not better to surrender on favourable terms than to lose their lives in behalf of — what? their homes and families? No, indeed, but in behalf of a remote government which had done little or nothing for them! If they were lost to Holland, it was Holland's loss, not theirs. With such a temper the tact and moderation of Colonel Nicolls were likely to prevail.

Meanwhile Stuyvesant wrote an elaborate argument to prove the justice and soundness of the Dutch title to New Netherland, and sent it by four trusty friends to Nicolls. The reply was what might have been expected. Nicolls was not there to argue the point. He stood upon no question of right; that was a matter for his Majesty and their High Mightinesses. He was only a soldier acting under orders, and if his terms were refused he must

Stuyvesant  
tears the  
letter to  
pieces

Nicholas  
Bayard  
puts the  
pieces to-  
gether

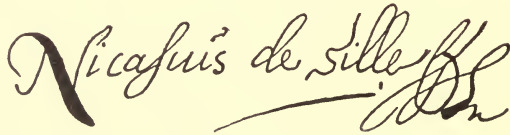
Popular  
murmurs

The pen,  
this time,  
not might-  
ier than  
the sword

attack. "On Thursday," quoth he, "I shall speak with you at the Manhattans." He was told that he would be welcome if he were to come as a friend. "I shall come with ships and soldiers," said Nicolls, "hoist a white flag at the fort, and I may consider your proposals."

Accordingly on Thursday, September 4, two of the frigates came up and dropped anchor near Governor's Island, while Nicolls marched with three companies to the site of the Brooklyn end of Fulton Ferry, where he was joined by a large force from Connecticut and the English towns of Long Island. Among these appeared the quondam President Scott, who had been freed from durance upon the arrival of the fleet and now commanded a small troop of cavalry. The other two frigates came on past Fort Amsterdam under full canvas and with all their guns loaded. "Resistance is not soldiership," said De Sille, "it is sheer madness." But Stuyvesant hesitated while the gunners,

Stuyve-  
sant's  
despair



with lighted matches, awaited his order. Then Dominie Megapolensis laid his hand upon the veteran's shoulder, and mildly said, "Of what avail are our poor guns against that broadside of more than sixty? It is wrong to shed blood to no purpose." The order to fire was not given, and the frigates passed quietly into the North River. Leaving De Sille in command of the fort, the Director took 100 men and hurried up town to check any attempt of the enemy to land. He was met by a remonstrance signed by 93 leading citizens, among whose names he read that of his own son, Balthazar. Women and children flocked about the brave old man and added their tearful entreaties. "Well, let it be so," he said, "I had rather be carried to my grave."<sup>1</sup>

He sur-  
renders

<sup>1</sup> "Doch de Requirant het selve tot het laeste toe hadde geweygert, seggende dat hy veel liever daaruyt gedragen wilde werden." *Holland Documents*, xii. 279; deposition of Adrian Lock.



# A R T Y K E L E N,

*Van 't overgaen van*

# NIEUW-NEDERLANDT.

Op den 27 Augustij, Oude Stijl, Anno 1664.

**S**Ymon Gilde van Rarop, Schipper op 't Schip de Gideon, komende van de Menates, of Nieuw-Amsterdam in Nieuw-Nederlandt, rapporteert dat Nieuw-Nederlandt, met accoord, sonder eenighe tegenweer den 8 September Nieuwe-Stijl, aen de Engelsen is over-gegeven, op Condition als volgt:

**I.** **W** e slaen toe dat de Staaten Generael: ofte de West-Indische Compagnie sulien behouden / ofte byspecijk besitzen / alle de Bouwerken en Huysen (verstaende die in de Forten soude mogen staen) en dat het haer vermaent woerd om binnen ses maanden alle soaninge Wapenen en Ammunitie van voorsigh haer toebehoorende / te verboeren / ofte voer de selve betaelt te woerden.

**II.** Alle publijcque Huysen / sulien blyden / tot dat ghebdruck haer toe sy nu gebdruckte woerden.

**III.** Heer cen sal sijn een Wy-Booger / en behouden haer Landereyen / Huysen / Goederen / Scheypen / waer die oock soude mogen sijn in dese Contrepen / ende na sijn weigebalst haer over disponieren.

**IV.** Indien eenigh Intwoonderhoorening waer om selss te verracken / sy sal geminten en jaer en ses wercken / om hem selve / Douw / kinderen / Dienaers en goedere te reanponieren / en hier van sijn Landereyen te disponieren.

**V.** Indien dat eenige Dooge ofte publijcque Ministere van sints soude mogen sijn / om naer Engelant te verracken / sy sulien Daacht byp ober behoert werden / in sijn Maestings 3 regatten / als deselbe derwaerds sulien baren.

woerden / dat sy is een byp Booger van dese Plaets / als oock byp druytgegeben woerden om te negotieren.

**XV.** Alle subalterne Boogheers / Officiers / en Magistraten sulien / inden 't haer gelieft / continueren in haer plaets / tot den gewoone sijnen tijde / in verichte de dienste Eliche gedaren woerd / als dan sulien der niculve gehooren worden voer haer selven met dese conbitter / dat de nieuwer gehooren Magistraten sulien moeten doen het Eet van getrouwing-berod aen sijn Maestreyt van Engelandt / eer dat sy hare Officie aenbaerden.

**XVI.** Sy adien het sal blycken datter eenige publijcque onkosten sijn gedaren / en een middel bereaemt / om dese onkosten te betalen / het is geaccordeert dat dit middel sal standt geypen / ter sijn toe dat dese onkosten sulien volbaeren sijn.

**XVII.** Alle voer-gemaecte Contracten / Schulden en Weer-schulden / binnen dese Pobyntien permanent taekende / sulien volgers de Duytsche wyse / gebojbert woerden.

**XVIII.** Sy adien het kan blycken dat de West-Indische Compagnie van Amsterdamm aen permanent haer eenige somme gebois schuldigh is / het is geaccordeert / dat de recogitite van de Scheypen en andere schuldige inhousen der Scheypen naer Nederlandt waerde / sulien ses Maenden langer continueren.

**XIX.** De Militaire Officieren en Soldaten sulien uyttrecken met volle gheleer / blygende Dacbel / en slaende Crommel / ende sulien vermaent haer selve / sooth blyden.

aanleide / en dat doog 1598 aengiet een oorsprong tot zwaartoot.

VIII.

De Duitse alhier sullen behouden / ende ghemeten bygehoudt van consistentie in Godelvriens ende herlicheitse Oorsprong.

IX.

Geen Duitseman ofte Duitseman's Schip / sal hier in eenige ghelegentheit mogen geyest worden ten Oeflogge / regens hoedanige Datis hier oock soude sijn.

X.

Geen Manatshang Man ofte Inwoonder sal eenige inquantiteinge ongetest woerden / ten in behoorighe factis actie en betalinge doos haer Offiters daer voos ghebaen woort / en daer dese gelegentheyde / by alden in het Forz alle de Soldaten uer konnen looren / soo sullen de Surgenesters ghehouden sijn / doos haer Offitieren eenighe Kuyssen / tot dien eynde te beschicken.

XI.

De Duitse sullen (aengnende haer eenensse) behouden haer eygen gewoonten.

XII.

Alle publicque Gescheyden en bewysen (betreffende de Effensse van nemander ofte herlicheitse wegteringe / Diarone ofte Wees-kamer) sullen sozghoudighlyk bewaert worden / van de gene / onder welke sy berustende sijn / ende sulcke Gescheyden / die de Staaten Generael sijn compererende / sullen t'erniger tijt haer toegelonden werden.

XIII.

Geen ondeel hier voos de sterchdanc gepasset / sal weder in recht mogen gherocken worden / maer indien nemant berinent dat hem geen recht geschiet is / soo sijn hem verborgh tot de Staaten Generael / de andere partij sal ghehouden sijn hem t'geschuyden / merde ongeschick te verantwoorden.

XIV.

Soo ernigh Duitseman hier woonschigh t'ernigher tijt geheet te sijn / ofte in Engle / samt koopmanichap te zijden / ofte in eenige van sijn Manatshang Plaetsen / ofte met de Indianen / soo sal hem op sijn gebaen request aen de Gouverneur en Sijeste betrent

Was *quadrerecken*

- J. d. Decker.
- N. Verlet.
- Sam. Megapolensis.
- Cornelis Steenwijk.
- O. Stevenz. Cortlant.
- Jacque Coufau.

de voet over gelebert worden.

XXI.

De Stadt op de Manatshang sal vernomen haer Gedeputerde te verniesen / ende dese Gedeputerde / sullen haer vane stemmen hebben in alle publicque Besounges / soo wel als andere Gedeputerde.

XXII.

Welcke eenige Kuyssen mochten hebben in de Postresse Oeangie sullen vernomen / soo sy willen / de Forificatie stercken / en besonden ofte besitten haer Kuyssen / gelyck een pe gelick doer daer geen Forz en is.

XXIII.

Indiender nemandt van de Soldaten soude willen vertrecken naer Hollandt / ende indien de West-Indische Compagnie van Amsterdamm / ofte eenige vane Perfoon alhier haer seken soude willen transporeeren / soo sullen sy licygen een vpp Passpoort van Coloniel Richard Nicolls gedepureerde Gouverneur onder sijn konincklijcke Hoogheyt / en van andere Gouvernere / om die Scheyden te beschermen die foodanige Soldaten overvoeren / de goederen daer in zijnde voos vergh-gemoupen te worden / ofte terengs eenige vnanblycke actie / welke soude mogen van sijn Majesteyts Scheyden ofte Ouderbanen / aengedaen werden.

XXIV.

Dat de Copie van des konincklycs Datus / aen sijn konincklijcke Hoogheyt / en de Copie van sijn konincklijcke Hoogheyt's Commissie aen Coloniel Nicolls (onderverclent en getuyghet doos noch thare Oecommitterdeng in Mr. Jan W. in schrop / dat het waere Compien sijn) sullen over-gelevert worden aen de eerwaerdige Mr. Suyseland de tegrivoozige Gouverneur / op Manatshang toekomende / s' ingegengs ten acsten / by de oude Woer- / Dree-Gouverneur van sijn Hoogheyt / en dat van thure nieren daer nae / het Forz en de Stadt / gheraent. Dierw. Amsterdamm / op t' Eplandt Manatshang / sal over-gegeven worden / in handen van den voos-gemelden Coloniel Richard Nicolls / doos den dienst van foodanige / als by daer toe sal deputeren / onder sijn hande en Zegel.

- Robbert Carr.
- George Cartwright.
- John Winthrop.
- Sam. Willes.
- Tho. Clarcks.
- John Phinchon.

Ick staec dese Artijckelen toe (in gremcken)

RICHARD NICOLLS.





In a few moments the white flag fluttered over the ramparts of Fort Amsterdam, and so the rule of Holland in America came peacefully to an end.

It would be hard to find any canon of political morality upon which this achievement of Charles II. could be defended.<sup>1</sup> It may well be said to have merited the revenge which the Dutch took in the ensuing war, when they sailed up the Medway, burned the fleet at Chatham, and blockaded the Thames — the sorest military humiliation that England has ever known since William the Norman landed in Sussex. If the conquest of New Netherland itself was bloodless, on the other hand the ensuing carnage at Lowestoft and the North Foreland has hardly been equalled in the annals of naval warfare.

Looked at merely with reference to its place in the chain of historic causation, the acquisition of New Netherland by the English was an event scarcely second in magnitude to the conquest of Canada in later days. The position of Nicolls in the seventeenth century answers to that of Wolfe in the eighteenth. The earlier conquest was the first great link in the chain of events that brought about the latter, for it brought the British frontier into direct and important contact with the French frontier, all the way from the headwaters of the Hudson River to those of the Ohio. It gave to the English the command of the commercial and military centre of the Atlantic coast of North America; and by bringing New England into closer relations with Virginia and Maryland, it prefigured and made possible a general union of Atlantic states.

About a year after the surrender of New Amsterdam, the Director returned to Holland to make his report to the States General. His reception was at first rather a cold

<sup>1</sup> Professor Thorold Rogers (*The Story of Holland*, p. 265) makes the surprising statement that "Charles disavowed the acts of Nicolls, and even imprisoned him, but made no restitution." One would like to know what could ever have suggested such a blunder.

one. The directors of the West India Company were angry and wanted somebody to punish, and so the vials of their wrath were poured out upon poor Stuyvesant. But when he wrote to New York for testimony in justification of his conduct, it came in such plentiful amount and of such unimpeachable character that the good man was triumphantly vindicated, and the tongues of his detractors were silenced. He returned to New York in 1667 and passed the brief remainder of his life in peaceful retirement on his bowery, which occupied the space now bounded by Fourth Avenue and the East River, and by Sixth and Seventeenth streets. His wooden house, of two stories with projecting rafters, stood at a point a little east of Third Avenue and just north of Tenth Street. The approach to it led through a garden, bright with Dutch flowers arranged in beds of geometrical pattern, after the

Stuyvesant's visit to Holland

His last years, and death



THE PETER STUYVESANT HOUSE

stiff fashion that has generally prevailed in continental Europe. There the aged Stuyvesant spent in private life what were doubtless his happiest years. His city house, known

as the Whitehall, about on the site of the South Ferry, became the official residence of his successor, Governor Nicolls. A warm friendship sprang up between the genial Englishman and the gallant old Dutchman, and many were the toothsome dinners, well salted with wit and moistened with good Rhenish, of which Nicolls partook at the bowery. Stuyvesant was much interested in church affairs and in city improvements, and his venerable figure was one of the picturesque sights of the town. The long stormy day had a bright sunset.



THE STUYVESANT PEAR-TREE

He died at the bowery in 1672, at the age of eighty, and was buried in the little church that stood just east of his house. The will of his widow, who died in 1687, founded St. Mark's church, and upon the very same site the present church edifice was built in 1802. A tablet in its walls tells us that Peter Stuyvesant lies buried within. Memorials of him remain in sundry local names, and until lately there stood at the corner of Third Avenue and Thirteenth Street, encircled by an iron fence, a solitary pear-tree which he planted there on his return from Holland in 1667. After weathering two hundred winters it was crushed and blown down in the great snowstorm of February, 1867. A scion from it was afterward planted within the same railing, a pleasant testimony to the enduring interest which attaches to the memory of the noble, honest, headstrong, opinionated, generous, kindly, conscientious, eager, lion-hearted old sol-

dier, under whose rule the greatest of American commonwealths first took on strength and assumed coherent shape. Stuyvesant is one of the most picturesque figures of a strenuous and stirring time, none the less lovable and admirable because he stood for principles of government that have become discredited. He was a sterling gentleman of the old stripe, of whom there have been many that have deserved well of mankind, loyal and sound to the core, but without a particle of respect for popular liberty or for what in these latter days are known as the "rights of man." From such a standpoint the principles of Thomas Jefferson would have seemed fraught with ruin to the human race. This arbitrary theory of government has never flourished on the soil of the New World, and its career on Manhattan Island was one of its first and most significant failures.

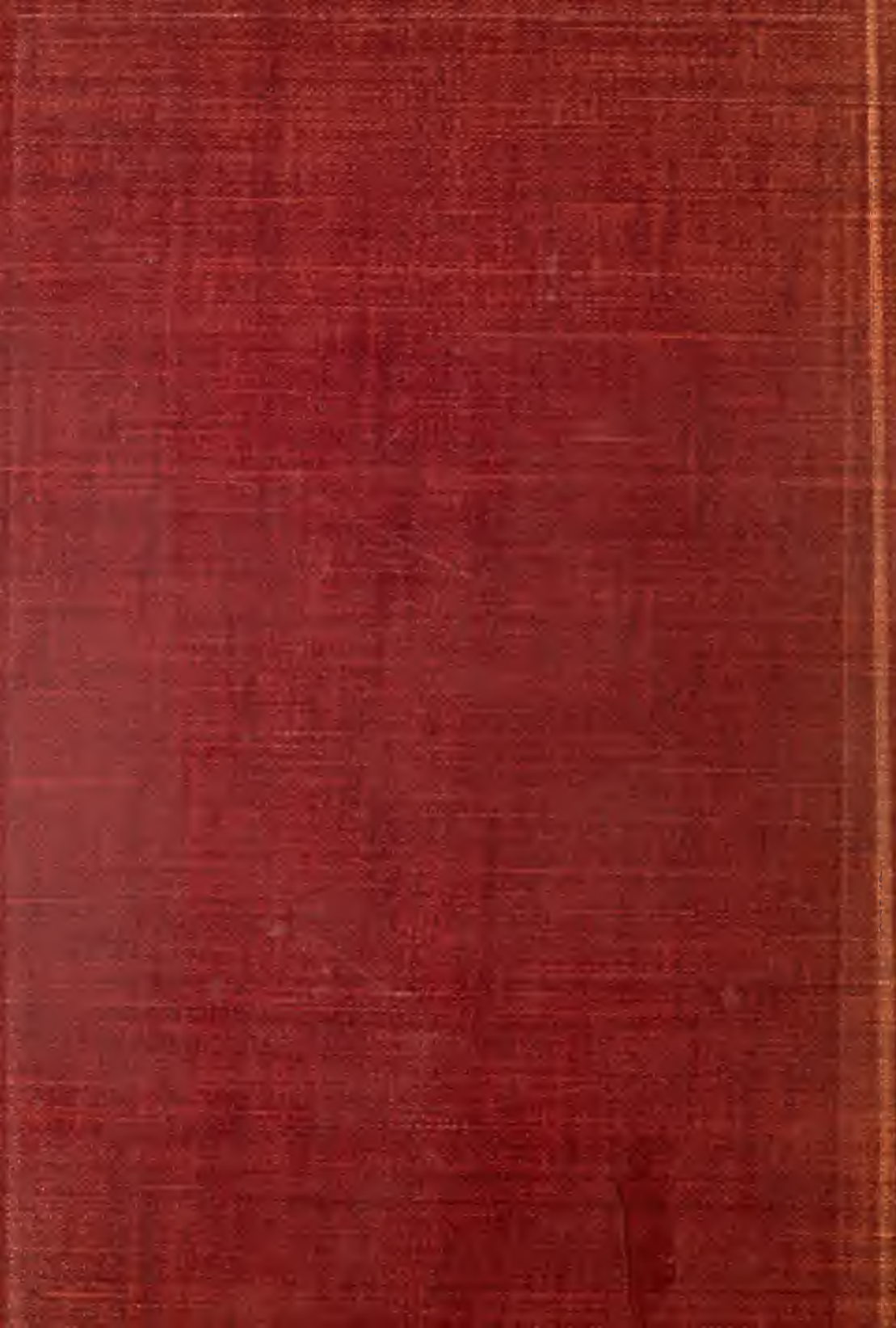
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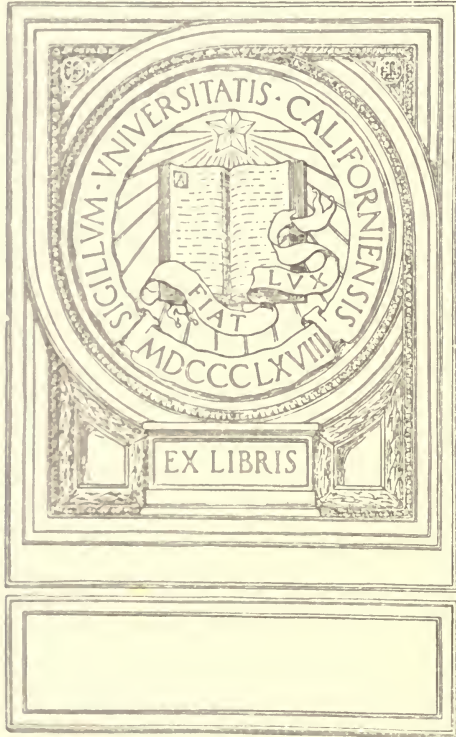


THE DUTCH AND QUAKER  
COLONIES IN AMERICA



JOHN FISKE

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THE DUTCH AND QUAKER  
COLONIES IN AMERICA

By JOHN FISKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II









*Wm. Penn*

# THE DUTCH AND QUAKER COLONIES IN AMERICA BY JOHN FISKE

ILLUSTRATED WITH  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, FACSIMILES,  
CONTEMPORARY VIEWS, PRINTS, AND  
OTHER HISTORIC MATERIALS  
IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOLUME II.

*Nieuw Nederlant is een seer schoon aengenaem gesont en lustigh lantschap  
daer het voor alderley slagh van menschen beter en ruymmer aen de kost  
of gemakelycker door de werelt te geraken is als in Nederlant offte  
eenige andere quartieren des werelts mijn bekenet.*

ADRIAN VAN DER DONCK, 1656

*For I must needs tell you, if we miscarry it will be our own fault; we have  
nobody else to blame; for such is the happiness of our Constitution, that we  
cannot well be destroyed but by ourselves.*

WILLIAM PENN, 1679



BOSTON AND NEW YORK  
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

The Riverside Press, Cambridge

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# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER X

### THE ENGLISH AUTOCRATS

	PAGE
Peaceful transfer of New Netherland to English rule . . . . .	1
Admirable character of Governor Nicolls . . . . .	2, 3
Carr's shameful conduct at New Amstel . . . . .	4
Fall of the republic of New Haven . . . . .	6
The Connecticut boundary . . . . .	6, 7
Yorkshire, Dukes County, and Cornwall . . . . .	7
Cartwright sails for England, but lands in Spain . . . . .	7
Pleasant Saturday evenings in Boston . . . . .	8-11
Maverick moves to New York . . . . .	11
Settlements west of the Hudson River . . . . .	12
The grant to Berkeley and Carteret . . . . .	12
Founding of Elizabethtown . . . . .	13
The name New Jersey ( <i>Nova Cæsarea</i> ) . . . . .	13
Unwillingness of New Haven leaders to be annexed to Connecticut . . . . .	14
Exodus from New Haven to New Jersey . . . . .	17
Robert Treat and Abraham Pierson . . . . .	17
Constitutional troubles in New Jersey . . . . .	18
Lord Berkeley sells out his interest to a party of Quakers . . . . .	19
Nicolls returns to England, and is succeeded by Francis Lovelace . . . . .	19, 20
Abolition of the distinction between great and small burghers . . . . .	20
The first mail on the American continent, monthly between New York and Boston, starts on New Year's Day, 1673 . . . . .	21, 22
The postman's route . . . . .	22-25
The English towns on Long Island protest against arbitrary taxation . . . . .	26, 27
Charles II. abandons the Triple Alliance, and joins with Louis XIV. in attacking Holland . . . . .	27
Admiral Evertsen's fleet in the West Indies . . . . .	27
Evertsen captures the city of New York, and names it New Orange . . . . .	28

Anthony Colve is appointed governor of New Netherland . . . . .	28
The English towns on Long Island are refractory . . . . .	29
Danger of an attack by the New England Confederacy . . . . .	30
How Governor Colve pulled down houses to improve his fort . . . . .	31-33
Lovelace's purchases and debts . . . . .	34
Schemes of Louis XIV. . . . .	35
Ingenious double-dealing of Charles II. . . . .	36
The treaty of Westminster restores New York to the English . . . . .	37
Conflicting grants and claims . . . . .	37
The duke sends Edmund Andros to govern New York . . . . .	38
Character of Andros . . . . .	38
His early life . . . . .	39
Anthony Brockholls and William Dyer . . . . .	39
Arrival of Andros in New York . . . . .	40
The English towns on Long Island declare that they belong to Connecticut, but in vain . . . . .	40
The oath of allegiance ; protest of leading burghers . . . . .	40, 41
Andros showed a want of tact in this affair . . . . .	42
Demand for a representative assembly ; the duke's letters . . . . .	42, 43
Andros's zeal for municipal improvements . . . . .	44
He tries in vain to reform the currency . . . . .	44
And fulminates against excessive tippling . . . . .	44
He lays claim to Connecticut for the duke . . . . .	45
King Philip's War breaks out . . . . .	46
Connecticut prepares to resist Andros, and Captain Bull baffles him at Saybrook . . . . .	46, 47
Invasions of the Mohawk country by the French . . . . .	48, 49
Jesuit intrigues with the Long House . . . . .	50
Mistaken policy of the Duke of York . . . . .	50
Journey of Andros into the wilderness . . . . .	51
Arendt van Corlear and his melancholy fate . . . . .	51
Corlear's village, Schenectady . . . . .	52
Andros arrives in the Oneida country and holds a grand pow- wow with the Indians . . . . .	52
He organizes a Board of Indian Commissioners . . . . .	53
Robert Livingston . . . . .	53
Andros's relations with New England . . . . .	54
King Philip in the Berkshire mountains . . . . .	55
War with the Tarratines . . . . .	56
Andros visits England, is knighted, and returns to New York . . . . .	58



## CHAPTER XI

## NEW YORK IN THE YEAR 1680

The great comet, and how it was regarded in New York . . . . .	59
Approach to New York from the harbour; Fort James . . . . .	60
Pearl Street and Broad Street . . . . .	60, 61
The Water Gate and Maiden Lane . . . . .	61, 62
Shoemaker's Land; the Land Gate . . . . .	62, 63
Bowery Lane and the Common . . . . .	63
The Collect, or Fresh Water; Wolfert's Marsh . . . . .	64
The Kissing Bridge; the Bowery Village . . . . .	65, 66
Kip's Bay and Turtle Bay . . . . .	66
Harlem . . . . .	67
The Great Kill, and Lisperard's Meadows . . . . .	68
Origin of Canal Street . . . . .	68
Sappokanican, or Greenwich; Minetta Brook . . . . .	69, 70
Visit of the Labadist missionaries, Dankers and Sluyter . . . . .	70
Their experience at the custom-house . . . . .	71
They cross the East River and pass through Brooklyn . . . . .	72
They are entertained at Gowanus by Simon de Hart . . . . .	73
They proceed to Najack (Fort Hamilton) . . . . .	74
Their description of an Algonquin household . . . . .	75-77
They pass a hilarious night at Harlem, where they meet James Carteret . . . . .	77, 78
They are charged a high fare for crossing Spuyten Duyvil . . . . .	79
They compliment the good beer of Greenwich . . . . .	80
But are not pleased with the New York dominies . . . . .	80
Rev. James Wolley praises the climate of Manhattan . . . . .	81
His Latin supper with the Calvinist and Lutheran parsons . . . . .	81, 82
Charges of heresy brought against Dominie Van Rensselaer . . . . .	82
Estates and revenues of New York . . . . .	84
Formation of an independent Classis . . . . .	84
The flour monopoly . . . . .	85
Affairs in New Jersey . . . . .	86
Andros asserts sovereignty over East Jersey . . . . .	86
Carteret resists, and Andros deposes him . . . . .	88
Shameful arrest of Carteret . . . . .	89
His trial, acquittal, and return to Elizabethtown . . . . .	89, 90
The duke relinquishes East Jersey to the Carterets . . . . .	90
And West Jersey to Byllinge and his friends . . . . .	91
Which brings William Penn upon the scene . . . . .	91

## CHAPTER XII

## PENN'S HOLY EXPERIMENT

Religious liberty in Pennsylvania and Delaware . . . . .	92
Causes of intolerance in primitive society; identity of civil and religious life . . . . .	92, 93
Military need for conformity . . . . .	93
Illustration from the relations of the Antinomians to the Pequot War . . . . .	94
The notion of corporate responsibility . . . . .	95
Political and religious persecutions . . . . .	95, 96
Reasons for the prolonged vitality of the persecuting spirit . . . . .	96, 97
Evils of persecution; importance of preserving variations . . . . .	97
From a religious point of view the innovator should be greeted with welcome . . . . .	98
Sir Henry Vane's "heavenly speech" . . . . .	98, 99
Cromwell's tolerance . . . . .	99
Quietists and Quakers . . . . .	99
Career of George Fox . . . . .	100
Origin of the epithet, "Quaker" . . . . .	101
James Naylor and other crazy enthusiasts . . . . .	101
Missionary zeal of the early Quakers . . . . .	102
Their great service in breaking down the Massachusetts theocracy . . . . .	104
Charles II. and the oath of allegiance . . . . .	104
Early years of William Penn . . . . .	105
His conversion to Quakerism . . . . .	106
It makes trouble for him at home . . . . .	107
Penn's services to Quakerism . . . . .	108
His steadfastness and courage . . . . .	109
Some of his writings: "Innocency with her Open Face" . . . . .	109
If you will not talk with me, says Penn. I must write . . . . .	110
You call names at me instead of using argument . . . . .	110
If you do not blame Luther for asserting the right of private judgment, why blame me? . . . . .	111
When you persecute others, you assume your own infallibility, as much as the Papists do . . . . .	111
But you cannot hurt us, for if God is with us, who can be against us? . . . . .	111
"No Cross no Crown". . . . .	112
Religion thrives not upon outward show . . . . .	112
It is but a false cross that comports with self-indulgence . . . . .	114
Religion is not a fetish, but a discipline . . . . .	114
Better resist temptation than flee from it . . . . .	114

The wholesomeness of solitude . . . . .	115
The follies of fashion . . . . .	115, 116
"Thee" and "thou" . . . . .	116, 117
The use of "you" in place of "thou," says Penn, is undemocratic . . . . .	118
Memorable scene in the Lord Mayor's court; futile attempt to browbeat a jury . . . . .	118-120
The recorder declares that England will never prosper until it has a Spanish Inquisition . . . . .	120
Penn's marriage, and charming home in Sussex . . . . .	120, 121
He goes on a missionary tour in Holland and Germany . . . . .	121
Elizabeth, the Princess Palatine . . . . .	122
Anna Maria, Countess of Hornes . . . . .	122
Penn preaches to the servants in the palace . . . . .	122
At the inn he meets a young merchant of Bremen . . . . .	123
Penn tells the ladies of his conversion . . . . .	124
At which a Frenchwoman of quality is deeply moved . . . . .	124
A meeting on Sunday at the palace; emotion of the princess . . . . .	125
Penn takes leave, and goes to preach in Frankfort and neighbouring towns . . . . .	125, 126
At Duysburg he gets a gruff greeting from Count von Falkenstein . . . . .	126
At Leeuwarden he has a talk with "an ancient maid," Anna Maria Schurmann . . . . .	127
He rebukes some fellow-travellers . . . . .	128
Historic significance of the journey . . . . .	129
How Penn became interested in West Jersey . . . . .	129
The founding of Salem on the Delaware . . . . .	129
Beginnings of a Quaker colony in West Jersey . . . . .	130
Peremptory demeanour of Andros . . . . .	130, 131
Founding of Burlington . . . . .	131
Thomas Hooton's letter to his wife . . . . .	131
Penn's idea of a democratic constitution . . . . .	132
High tariffs and "spoils of office" have introduced new phases of tyranny unforeseen by Penn . . . . .	132
Andros claims West Jersey for the Duke of York . . . . .	133
Penn's ingenious though defective argument . . . . .	133, 134
Final release of the Jerseys . . . . .	135
Penn's claim against the crown . . . . .	135
How he conceived the "holy experiment" . . . . .	136
Boundaries of Penn's province; seeds of contention . . . . .	136, 137
Name of the new commonwealth . . . . .	138
The charter of Pennsylvania compared with that of Maryland . . . . .	138, 139
Significance of the contrast . . . . .	139

Influence of the king's experience with Massachusetts . . . . .	140
Penn's humane and reasonable policy . . . . .	140
His letter to the colonists . . . . .	142
A Quaker exodus . . . . .	144
Penn comes to the New World . . . . .	144
How Chester got its name . . . . .	145
The founding of Philadelphia . . . . .	146
Penn's opinion of the country . . . . .	146
The Shackamaxon treaty; Penn's skill in dealing with Indians .	148
Some incorrect impressions regarding the purchase of Indian lands . . . . .	149
Not only in Pennsylvania and New Netherland, but in all the New England colonies, in Virginia, in Maryland, and in New Sweden, the colonists paid the Indians for their lands . . . . .	150
The price paid to four Delaware chiefs for the tract between the Delaware and the Susquehanna . . . . .	151
Increase Mather's "confusion of title" . . . . .	152
Unstinted credit is due to the Quakers for their methods of deal- ing with the red men; nevertheless in the long peace enjoyed by Pennsylvania the controlling factor was not Quaker justice so much as Indian politics . . . . .	152, 153
Penn's return to England . . . . .	154

## CHAPTER XIII

## DOWNFALL OF THE STUARTS

Andros returns to England, and in his absence the duke's customs' duties expire . . . . .	155
And the collector, William Dyer, for insisting upon the payment of duties, is indicted for treason . . . . .	156
The demand for a representative assembly is renewed . . . . .	156
The duke grants the assembly, and sends out Thomas Dongan as governor . . . . .	158
Meeting of the first assembly in Fort James . . . . .	158
Death of Charles II.: the duke becomes king . . . . .	159
Dongan and the Marquis Denonville play a game of diplomacy with the Long House . . . . .	159-162
Louis XIV. plans the conquest of New York . . . . .	162
But the warriors of the Long House checkmate him by invading Canada . . . . .	163
James II. undertakes to improve the military strength of the north- ern colonies by uniting them under a single government . . . . .	163
And sends out Sir Edmund Andros as viceroy . . . . .	164

New York is accordingly annexed to New England . . . . .	164
Tyrannical rule of Andros in Boston . . . . .	165
Dr. Mather detains King William's letter . . . . .	166
Overthrow and imprisonment of Andros . . . . .	166
The old governments restored in New England . . . . .	166
New York is disturbed by rumours of war . . . . .	168
Causes of the anti-Catholic panic . . . . .	169
Jacob Leisler refuses to pay duties . . . . .	170
Character of Leisler . . . . .	170, 171
Popular discontent in New York . . . . .	171
Fears of a French attack upon the city . . . . .	172
Nicholson's rash exclamation . . . . .	172
Leisler takes command of Fort James, and issues a "Declaration" tion" . . . . .	173, 174
Nicholson sails for England . . . . .	174
Leisler proclaims William and Mary, and Fort James becomes Fort William . . . . .	174
King William's letter arrives in New York . . . . .	175
A committee of safety appoints Leisler to be commander-in-chief	175
He assumes the title of lieutenant-governor . . . . .	176
He needs revenue and revives the Colonial Act of 1683 . . . . .	178
His authority is defied . . . . .	178
His friend Jacob Milborne returns from a visit to England . . . . .	178
The French war-parties . . . . .	179
The situation at Schenectady . . . . .	180
The massacre . . . . .	180-182
Albany yields to Leisler . . . . .	182
Election of an assembly; Leisler calls together the first American Congress, May, 1690 . . . . .	182, 183
Unsuccessful attempt to invade Canada . . . . .	184
Frontenac attacks the Long House . . . . .	184
The king sends Henry Sloughter to be governor of New York, with Richard Ingoldsby for lieutenant-governor . . . . .	185
Leisler loses popularity . . . . .	186
Two historical novels . . . . .	186
The marriages of Leisler's daughters . . . . .	186, 187
Arrival of Ingoldsby . . . . .	187
Leisler refuses to surrender Fort William . . . . .	188
Ingoldsby therefore waits . . . . .	188
Leisler fires upon the king's troops . . . . .	188
Governor Sloughter arrives, and arrests Milborne and Leisler . . . . .	189
Trial and sentence of the Leislerites . . . . .	190
Execution of Leisler and Milborne . . . . .	190, 191
Leisler's purpose was unquestionably honest . . . . .	191

His motives . . . . .	192
The execution was ill-advised . . . . .	192

## CHAPTER XIV

## THE CITADEL OF AMERICA

Commanding position of the Dutch and Quaker colonies . . . . .	194
The war with France . . . . .	195
Some effects of the accession of William and Mary . . . . .	196
Sloughter's representative assembly . . . . .	196
Death of Sloughter; Benjamin Fletcher comes to govern New York	198
Peter Schuyler, and his influence over the Mohawks . . . . .	198, 199
He defeats Frontenac . . . . .	199
Party strife between "Leislerians" and "Aristocrats" . . . . .	200
Fletcher rebukes the assembly . . . . .	200
His experience in Philadelphia . . . . .	202
And at Hartford . . . . .	204
Causes leading toward the Stamp Act . . . . .	205
Penn's plan for a Federal Union . . . . .	205, 206
The golden age of piracy . . . . .	207
The pirates' lair on the island of Madagascar . . . . .	208
Enormous profits of the voyages . . . . .	208
Effects in the city of New York . . . . .	209
William Kidd, and his commission for arresting pirates . . . . .	210-213
Fletcher is accused of complicity with the pirates, and is superseded by Lord Bellomont . . . . .	213
More party strife; Bellomont's levelling tendencies . . . . .	214, 215
The election of 1699 . . . . .	215
Strange rumours about Kidd; Bellomont goes to Boston, where he receives a message from him . . . . .	215, 216
How Kidd turned pirate . . . . .	216
The King's proclamation; Kidd's desperate situation . . . . .	217
He lands in Boston; is arrested and sent to London . . . . .	218
His trial and execution . . . . .	220
Death of Bellomont . . . . .	220
Violent proceedings of the Leislerians . . . . .	220
The Aristocrats petition the crown . . . . .	222
Shameful trial of Bayard and Hutchings . . . . .	222
The air is cleared by the arrival of Lord Cornbury . . . . .	224
The question as to a treasurer for the assembly . . . . .	224
The governorship of New Jersey is united with that of New York . . . . .	225
Disputes over salaries . . . . .	226

Lord Cornbury's debauchery and debts . . . . .	226
A bootless expedition against Canada . . . . .	228
Visit of four Iroquois chiefs to Queen Anne's court . . . . .	228
Arrival of Robert Hunter as governor . . . . .	228
Another abortive attempt against Canada . . . . .	229
Difficulty of raising money for military purposes . . . . .	230
Constitutional discussions . . . . .	230
Hunter is succeeded by William Burnet . . . . .	231
The Caughnawagas and their trade . . . . .	231
Its dangers . . . . .	232
Founding of Oswego, and closer relations with the Mohawk valley . . . . .	232, 233
William Cosby comes out as governor, and has a dispute with Rip van Dam . . . . .	233
William Bradford and John Peter Zenger; their newspapers . . . . .	234
Persecution of Zenger . . . . .	237
An information is filed against him for libel, and his counsel, William Smith and James Alexander, are disbarred for contempt of court . . . . .	238
Whereupon the venerable Andrew Hamilton comes from Philadelphia to defend him . . . . .	238
The words of Zenger's alleged libel . . . . .	242
Departing from the English law of that time, Hamilton contends that the truth of a so-called libel is admissible in evidence . . . . .	243, 244
Great importance of the step thus taken . . . . .	244
Extract from Hamilton's speech . . . . .	244-247
His peroration . . . . .	247
Triumphant acquittal of Zenger . . . . .	248

## CHAPTER XV

## KNICKERBOCKER SOCIETY

The city of New York in 1735 . . . . .	250
The farm of Anneke Jans . . . . .	250
Narrow limits of the province . . . . .	251
Some causes of its slowness of growth . . . . .	252
Comparative weakness of the assembly . . . . .	253
Whigs and Tories . . . . .	253
Great value of New York at the present day as a "doubtful State" . . . . .	254
The colonial aristocracy . . . . .	254
The Connecticut type of democracy . . . . .	255
Peasantry and populace of New York . . . . .	255

The manors and their tenantry . . . . .	256
Mrs. Grant's description of the Schuyler manor . . . . .	257
The mansion . . . . .	258
The servants' quarters . . . . .	259
The bedrooms . . . . .	259
The approaches . . . . .	260
The spacious barn . . . . .	260, 261
Mrs. Grant's description of Albany . . . . .	261-263
A Flatbush country-house . . . . .	264
The stoop . . . . .	265
The dining-room . . . . .	265
The cellar . . . . .	266
The sideboard . . . . .	266
Chests and secretaries . . . . .	267
Beds . . . . .	268
A specimen inventory . . . . .	269
Dress . . . . .	270
Cheerfulness of New York . . . . .	271
Amusements and holidays . . . . .	272
Clubs and inns . . . . .	272
Reading and literature . . . . .	272
William Smith and Cadwallader Colden . . . . .	273
White servants . . . . .	274
Negro slaves . . . . .	274-276
The negro plot of 1712 . . . . .	276
The "Great Negro Plot" of 1741 . . . . .	277
Dread of Catholic priests . . . . .	277
The war with Spain . . . . .	278
Hughson's Tavern, and the informer, Mary Burton . . . . .	278
Alarms of fire . . . . .	280
The alleged conspiracy ; wholesale executions . . . . .	280
Revulsion of feeling . . . . .	281

## CHAPTER XVI

## THE QUAKER COMMONWEALTH

Friendship between William Penn and James II. . . . .	282
Macaulay's hasty charges against Penn . . . . .	285
The Maids of Taunton . . . . .	285
Macaulay's discreditable blunder . . . . .	286
Penn was not awake to James's treacherous traits . . . . .	287
The affair of the Seven Bishops . . . . .	288
Penn's lack of sympathy with the popular feeling . . . . .	289



Absurd stories about him . . . . .	290
Suspected of complicity with Jacobite plots . . . . .	290
Anecdote of Penn and Locke . . . . .	291
William III. deprives Penn of his proprietary government . . . . .	291
George Keith's defection . . . . .	292
The king restores Penn's government . . . . .	292
His return to Philadelphia . . . . .	293
His home and habits . . . . .	294
Some democratic questions . . . . .	295
Disagreements between Delaware and Pennsylvania . . . . .	296
The revised charter . . . . .	296, 297
Reasons why Penn could not fully sympathize with William III. . . . .	298
Could Quakers fight in self-defence? . . . . .	298
Penn returns to England, leaving John Evans as deputy-governor . . . . .	299
Evans's folly . . . . .	299
Powder money . . . . .	300
Penn's wretched son . . . . .	301
Misdeeds of the Fords . . . . .	301
Penn's long illness and death . . . . .	302
Character and accomplishments of James Logan . . . . .	302, 303
David Lloyd . . . . .	303
How Benjamin Franklin sought and found a more liberal intellectual atmosphere in Philadelphia than that of Boston . . . . .	304
Attitude of Quakers toward learning . . . . .	306
The first schools in Pennsylvania . . . . .	307
Printing, and the Bradfords . . . . .	308
The first American drama . . . . .	311
Beginnings of the theatre . . . . .	312
Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures . . . . .	313
Redemptioners . . . . .	314
Negro slaves; Quaker opposition to slavery . . . . .	314
Crimes and punishments . . . . .	315
Philanthropy . . . . .	315
Andrew Hamilton's tribute to Penn . . . . .	316
Significance of Pennsylvania's rapid growth . . . . .	316

## CHAPTER XVII

## THE MIGRATIONS OF SECTS

New York and Pennsylvania were the principal centres of distribution of the non-English population of the thirteen colonies . . . . .	317
The Jews; their fortunes in Spain . . . . .	318
Their migration to the Netherlands . . . . .	319

Arrivals of Jews in New Netherland and Rhode Island . . . . .	320
The synagogue in New York . . . . .	321
Jews in Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia . . . . .	322
Huguenots; causes of their failure in France . . . . .	323
Effect of the extermination of the Albigenses . . . . .	324
Defeat of Coligny's schemes for a Huguenot colony in America . . . . .	324
First arrivals of Huguenots in New Netherland . . . . .	325
Arrivals of Waldenses and Walloons . . . . .	325
Walloon settlements on the Hudson River . . . . .	326
Decrees of Louis XIV. against Huguenots . . . . .	326
The <i>dragonnades</i> . . . . .	326
The Huguenot exodus, and its lamentable results for France . . . . .	327, 328
Huguenots in Massachusetts . . . . .	328
Huguenots in New York; beginnings of New Rochelle . . . . .	329
The Jay family of Rochelle, and their migration to New York . . . . .	330
Jay, Laurens, and Boudinot . . . . .	331
Benjamin West's picture of the Commissioners . . . . .	331
Dimensions of the Quaker exodus from England . . . . .	331
Migration of Mennonites and Dunkers to Pennsylvania . . . . .	332
The Ephrata Community . . . . .	332
Migration of Palatines to New York and Pennsylvania . . . . .	333
Specimen of the Pennsylvania German dialect . . . . .	333
The name "Scotch-Irish" . . . . .	334
The Scotch planting of Ulster . . . . .	335
Exodus of Ulster Presbyterians to America . . . . .	335
Difference between Presbyterians in Scotland and in Ireland . . . . .	336
Union of the Palatinate and Ulster streams of migration in the Appalachian region . . . . .	336
Fruitfulness of Dutch ideas . . . . .	337

## APPENDIX I. SOME LEISLER DOCUMENTS.

A. Affidavits against Nicholson . . . . .	339
B. Leisler's Commission to be Captain of the Fort . . . . .	339
C. Leisler's Commission to be Commander-in-Chief . . . . .	340, 341
D. Schuyler's Protest against Milborne . . . . .	341, 342
E. Leisler to the Officers of Westchester . . . . .	342
F. Leisler to his Commissioners at Albany . . . . .	342, 343
G. Leisler to Governor Slougher . . . . .	344
H. Dying Speeches of Leisler and Milborne . . . . .	344-348

## APPENDIX II. CHARTER FOR THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYL-

VANIA, 1681 . . . . .	349-361
INDEX . . . . .	363

## NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

---

WILLIAM PENN ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From the painting in Independence Hall by H. J. Wright. After the original in the possession of Robert Henry Allen, Blackwell Hall, County Durham, England, painted by Francis Place in 1696, when Penn was fifty-two. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
FACSIMILE OF GOVERNOR NICOLLS'S LETTER, SEPTEMBER 13, 1664 . . . . .	Page <i>facing</i> 1
One of his first official orders as governor of New York. In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1650 . . . . .	2, 3
From an engraving in the Collection of the New York Historical Society.	
FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF THE DUKE'S LAWS . . . . .	5
From contemporary MS. in the Library of the New York Historical Society.	
VIEW OF NEW YORK ABOUT 1670 . . . . .	6
From Allard's <i>Views</i> , about 1690, in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF NICOLLS'S CONDITIONS FOR NEW PLANTERS IN TERRITORIES OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK, 1665 . . . . .	9
From the unique broadside in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.	
FACSIMILE OF THE DUKE'S GRANT OF NEW JERSEY . . . . .	12
From the original in the Library of the New Jersey Historical Society.	
AUTOGRAPH OF GEORGE CARTERET . . . . .	13
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN BERKELEY . . . . .	13
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
ELIZABETH CASTLE, JERSEY, CARTERET'S STONGHOLD . . . . .	14
From an engraving in the Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society.	

FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM ABRAHAM PIERSON TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP . . . . .	15
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF ABRAHAM PIERSON'S "SOME HELPS FOR THE INDIANS" . . . . .	16
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM GOVERNOR LOVELACE TO GOV- ERNOR WINTHROP, DECEMBER, 1672 . . . . .	20
From the original in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.	
VILLAGE OF HARLEM IN 1765 . . . . .	21
After the original MS. in the British Museum.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF COLLES'S "SURVEY OF THE ROADS" . . . . .	23
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
MAP OF HARLEM ROAD FROM NEW YORK . . . . .	24
From Christopher Colles's <i>Survey of the Roads</i> , in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
CORNER OF BROAD STREET AND EXCHANGE PLACE . . . . .	25
Supposed view. From Valentine's <i>Manual of the City of New York</i> .	
CORNELIUS EVERTSEN . . . . .	29
From an engraving in the Boston Athenæum.	
CORNELIUS STEENWYCK ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	30
From the original painting in the Collection of the New York Historical Society.	
AUTOGRAPH OF ANTHONY COLVE . . . . .	31
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
THE ANDROS SEAL . . . . .	38
The official seal used in New England. From Andros's <i>Tracts</i> .	
AUTOGRAPH OF ANTHONY BROCKHOLLS . . . . .	39
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
AUTOGRAPH OF COURCELLE . . . . .	48
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
AUTOGRAPH OF ARENDT VAN CORLEAR . . . . .	52
From Wilson's <i>Memorial History of New York</i> .	
ROBERT LIVINGSTON ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	54
From the original painting in Albany, N. Y., in the possession of Mrs. Daniel Manning, a direct descendant.	

FACSIMILE TITLE OF WOLLEY'S "TWO YEARS' JOURNAL IN NEW YORK," 1701 . . . . .	57
From original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
MAP OF NEW AMSTERDAM AS IT WAS IN 1661 . . . . .	60
From a facsimile in Harvard University Library. The original manuscript dated 1664 in the British Museum. A manuscript facsimile made from the original in 1858 for Dr. G. H. Moore is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society, and is the source of all the facsimiles printed in America.	
SMIT'S V'LEI . . . . .	61
From Valentine's <i>Manual of the City of New York</i> .	
THE COLLECT POND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . . .	64
From the same.	
KISSING BRIDGE . . . . .	65
From the same.	
LISPENARD'S MEADOWS IN 1785. FROM THE CORNER OF BROADWAY AND WASHINGTON PLACE . . . . .	67
From the same.	
CANAL STREET IN 1759 . . . . .	69
From the same.	
DANKERS AND SLUYTER'S VIEW OF NEW YORK FROM BROOKLYN HEIGHTS IN 1679 . . . . .	70
From Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society.	
AUTOGRAPH OF SIMON DE HART . . . . .	74
From Stiles's <i>History of King's County</i> .	
SIMON DE HART'S HOUSE . . . . .	75
From the same.	
JOHN MILLER'S MAP OF NEW YORK IN 1695 . . . . .	80
From a facsimile in Harvard University Library. The original MS. is in the British Museum.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF DENTON'S "NEW YORK," 1670 . . . . .	83
The first English book in New York. From Columbia University Library.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF "A FURTHER ACCOUNT," 1676 . . . . .	87
One of the earliest books on New Jersey. In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
AUTOGRAPH OF PHILIP CARTERET . . . . .	88
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	

FACSIMILE OF ORDER EXPELLING MRS. HUTCHINSON FROM BOSTON . . . . .	94
From the original in the State Library, Boston.	
GEORGE FOX ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	<i>facing</i> 100
From the original painting by Sir Peter Lely, by the kind permission of Friends' Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania. Autograph from Boston Athenæum.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF NAYLOR'S "MILK FOR BABES AND STRONG MEAT FOR MEN" . . . . .	103
From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
WILLIAM PENN . . . . .	105
From the original painting owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.	
ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PENN . . . . .	107
From the original painting by Sir Peter Lely in the Greenwich Hospital. The photograph was kindly loaned by the J. P. Lippincott Company.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF "NO CROSS, NO CROWN," 1669 . . . . .	113
From the original in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF THE "PEOPLE'S ANCIENT AND JUST LIBERTIES," 1670 . . . . .	119
From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
GULIELMA MARIA PENN . . . . .	121
From Webb's <i>Penns and Penningtons</i> .	
ELIZABETH, PRINCESS PALATINE ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	122
From the original painting by Geraud Honthorst in the National Portrait Gallery.	
GEORGE KEITH . . . . .	123
From an engraving in the Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.	
ANNA MARIA SCHURMANN . . . . .	127
From Bullart's <i>Academie des Sciences et des Arts</i> .	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF THE OLDEST BOOK ON TRAVEL THROUGH THE NETHERLANDS . . . . .	128
From Muller's <i>Onze Gouden Eeuw</i> .	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF FENWICK'S PROPOSALS, 1675 . . . . .	129
From the original in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.	
TITUS OATES . . . . .	134
From Smith's <i>British Mezzotint Portraits</i> .	
FACSIMILE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CHARTER OF 1682 . . . . .	138
From an original in the State House, Harrisburg.	

THE SEAL OF PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .	139
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF PENN'S "SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA," 1681 . . . . .	141
One of the earliest publications in that province. This contains the patent or charter.	
From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM MARKHAM . . . . .	142
From MS. in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF THE ARTICLES OF SETTLEMENT, 1682 . . . . .	143
From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
LETITIA COTTAGE, PENN'S HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA . . . . .	145
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
FACSIMILE OF HOLME'S MAP OF PHILADELPHIA . . . . .	146
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE TITLE OF A LETTER FROM WILLIAM PENN, 1683 . . . . .	147
From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	148
From the original painting by Benjamin West, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.	
SECTION OF HOLME'S MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA . . . . .	150
From Winsor's <i>America</i> . The original was printed and published in London in 1683, and it has been republished in Philadelphia in 1846, and again in 1870.	
AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM DYER . . . . .	156
From MS. in the Boston Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM GOVERNOR DONGAN TO GOVERNOR PENN . . . . .	157
From the original MS. in Myers Collection, New York Public Library.	
SEAL OF DONGAN CHARTER . . . . .	159
From the original, belonging to the city, temporarily deposited in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF FIRST SHEET OF DONGAN CHARTER OF 1686. <i>The First Charter of the City of New York</i> . . . . .	160
From the same.	
LOUIS XIV. . . . .	161
From engraving in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
AUTOGRAPH OF FRANCIS NICHOLSON . . . . .	164
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	

- INCREASE MATHER . . . . . 167  
From Winsor's *America*. Autograph from the same.
- AUTOGRAPH OF FREDERICK PHILIPSE . . . . . 168  
From the State Library, Albany, New York.
- AUTOGRAPH OF STEPHANUS VAN CORTLANDT . . . . . 168  
From the same.
- AUTOGRAPH OF NICHOLAS BAYARD . . . . . 169  
From the same.
- WILLIAM III. OF ORANGE . . . . . 173  
From an old Dutch engraving.
- AUTOGRAPH OF JACOB LEISLER . . . . . 175  
From Winsor's *America*.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF "A MODEST AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE," 1690 . . . . . 177  
From the original in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, one of only two copies known.
- LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE . . . . . 181  
From Winsor's *America*. Autograph from the same.
- SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS . . . . . 183  
From Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF RICHARD INGOLDSBY . . . . . 185  
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- AUTOGRAPH OF HENRY SLOUGHTER . . . . . 189  
From the same.
- AUTOGRAPH OF JAMES GRAHAM . . . . . 196  
From the original MS. in the State Library, Albany, New York.
- FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM GOVERNOR FLETCHER TO COLONEL MARKHAM. FACSIMILE OF ADDRESS OF ABOVE LETTER . 197  
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library. It is interesting to note that the letter, dated in New York, September 23, was not received in Philadelphia until September 29.
- PETER SCHUYLER (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 198  
From the original, painted in London in 1710, now in possession of the Schuyler family, Albany, New York.
- ABRAHAM DE PEYSTER (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 200  
From the original painting in the possession of the family of General J. Watts de Peyster. Autograph from MS. in possession of the family.



- FACSIMILE TITLE OF "FLETCHER'S JOURNAL OF THE LATE AC-  
TIONS OF THE FRENCH IN CANADA" . . . . . 201  
London, 1693. From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York  
Public Library.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF "ACTS AND LAWS OF NEW YORK" . . . . . 203  
Printed by W. Bradford, 1694. One of the earliest books printed in the  
Province. In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- CAPTAIN WILLIAM KIDD'S COMMISSION . . . . . 211, 212  
October 10, 1695. From the original edition, 1701, in the Lenox Collection,  
New York Public Library.
- RICHARD COOTE, EARL OF BELLOMONT (*photogravure*) . *facing* 214  
From an engraving in the Library of Harvard University. Autograph  
from Winsor's *America*.
- FACSIMILE OF PETITION OF MRS. WILLIAM KIDD, 1699 . . . . . 219  
From the original MS. in the State Library, Boston.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF KIDD'S TRIAL, 1701 . . . . . 221  
From the original edition in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF BAYARD'S TRIAL, 1701-02 . . . . . 223  
From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- AUTOGRAPH OF CORNBURY . . . . . 224  
From Winsor's *America*.
- FOUR INDIAN KINGS . . . . . 227  
KING OF THE MAQUAS.  
EMPEROR OF THE SIX NATIONS.  
KING OF THE GENERETHGARICH.  
KING OF THE RIVER NATION.  
Exhibited in London in 1710. From original engravings in the Lenox  
Collection, New York Public Library.
- AUTOGRAPH AND SEAL OF ROBERT HUNTER . . . . . 229  
From Winsor's *America*.
- THE CITY OF NEW YORK IN 1717 . . . . . 230  
By William Burgess (dedicated to Robert Hunter), from the unique ori-  
ginal in the New York Historical Society. This is the largest and most im-  
portant of all the early views of the city.
- WILLIAM BURNET (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 232  
From the original painting in the State House, Boston. Autograph from  
State Library, Boston.

MAP OF THE COUNTRY OF THE FIVE NATIONS (AND OF THE WHOLE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK), ENGRAVED IN 1724 . . . . .	232
This was the first map engraved in New York. From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM JOHNSON . . . . .	233
From Winsor's <i>America</i> .	
AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN MONTGOMERY . . . . .	233
From the original MS. in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
LARGE SEAL OF THE MONTGOMERY CHARTER . . . . .	234
From the original temporarily deposited in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM BRADFORD . . . . .	234
From the original MS. in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF AN EARLY NUMBER OF BRADFORD'S "NEW YORK GAZETTE" . . . . .	235
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library. The <i>Gazette</i> was the first newspaper published in New York. Zenger's <i>Journal</i> was the second.	
FACSIMILE OF NO. 1 OF ZENGER'S "NEW YORK WEEKLY JOURNAL," NOVEMBER 5, 1733 . . . . .	236
Original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
LEWIS MORRIS'S BOOK-PLATE . . . . .	237
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
AUTOGRAPH OF JAMES ALEXANDER . . . . .	238
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF ZENGER'S SEDITIOUS SONGS . . . . .	239
Printed by Zenger, and ordered to be burned by the hangman. In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
FACSIMILE OF PROCLAMATION AGAINST ZENGER . . . . .	240
In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
RIP VAN DAM . . . . .	241
From the original portrait in the possession of the New York Historical Society. Autograph in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.	
ANDREW HAMILTON ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .	<i>facing</i> 238
From the original painting in the Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Autograph in the same collection.	
LORD MANSFIELD . . . . .	243
After the original by Sir Joshua Reynolds.	

- FACSIMILE OF PROCLAMATION AGAINST ZENGER'S "JOURNAL" . . . 245  
 From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF ZENGER'S TRIAL, 1736 . . . . . 246  
 From original edition in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- JAMES LYNE'S MAP OF NEW YORK IN 1728 . . . . . 250  
 From the original in the possession of William Loring Andrews. The so-called "Bradford Map of 1728" is merely an imitation, first published in 1834, and frequently reprinted. The original Bradford Map is undated, but the year of its publication is indicated nearly by the inscription "Montgomerie's Ward," which was first created by the Charter of 1730.
- ANNEKE JAN'S MARK . . . . . 251  
 From an original MS. in the State Library, Albany, N. Y.
- MRS. GRANT OF LAGGAN (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 256  
 From the original painting by Sir John Watson Gordon. The photograph was loaned by General J. Grant Wilson. Autograph from Boston Athenæum.
- SCHUYLER MANSION AT THE FLATS, ERECTED IN 1666 . . . . . 257  
 From photograph by Colonel Augustus Pruyn.
- OLD DUTCH CHURCH, ERECTED IN 1715 . . . . . 260  
 From the same.
- ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ERECTED IN 1714 . . . . . 263  
 From the same.
- THE SCHUYLER MANSION, ERECTED IN 1761 . . . . . 265  
 From the same.
- NORTH PEARL STREET, FROM STEUBEN STREET, SOUTH . . . . . 268  
 From the same.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF SMITH'S HISTORY, 1757 . . . . . 275  
 In the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF HORSMANDEN'S BOOK ON THE GREAT NEGRO PLOT . . . . . 279  
 From the same.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF BUDD'S "GOOD ORDER ESTABLISHED IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY," 1685 . . . . . 283  
 From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF PENN'S "A FURTHER ACCOUNT," 1685 . . . . . 284  
 From the same.
- AUTOGRAPH OF GEORGE KEITH . . . . . 292  
 From the original MS. in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

- HANNAH CALLOWHILL . . . . . 293  
From the original painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.
- THE "SLATE-ROOF HOUSE" . . . . . 295  
From Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN EVANS . . . . . 299  
From the original MS. in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- JAMES LOGAN (*photogravure*) . . . . . *facing* 302  
After the only known original in the possession of the Philadelphia Library Company. Autograph in the same collection.
- AUTOGRAPH OF DAVID LLOYD . . . . . 304  
From the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- FACSIMILE OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE" . . . . . 305  
From the first number published by B. Franklin, 1729; containing his address to the reader. From the original in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- BENJAMIN FRANKLIN . . . . . 307  
From the earliest portrait of adult years, painted in London in 1726, when Franklin was twenty years old. In Memorial Hall, Harvard University.
- FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF THE "AMERICAN WEEKLY MERCURY," 1719 . . . . . 309  
The first newspaper published in the Middle Colonies. From facsimile in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.
- FACSIMILE OF SECOND PAGE OF THE "AMERICAN WEEKLY MERCURY," 1719 . . . . . 310  
From the same.
- DAVID RITTENHOUSE . . . . . 311  
From the original painting in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
- OLD SOUTHWARK THEATRE . . . . . 313  
From an old engraving in the Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- FACSIMILE OF PROTEST (1688) AGAINST THE BUYING AND KEEPING OF NEGROES . . . . . 314  
From the original MS. in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- SPINOZA . . . . . 319  
From a painting (artist unknown) in Wolfenbüttel.



**A**ll Masters of Ships Sloops or any  
 Vessells whatsoever as well English as Foreigners  
 are hereby Required, that all their Arrivall into  
 this Port, or the places and Rivers Adjacent,  
 they shall immediately repair to the Customes  
 and Acquaint me, from whence they came, and  
 whether they are bound together with the contents  
 of their Lading; And in Case they intend to unload  
 any Goods, they are first to make a true Inventory  
 and Report of all such Goods and Merchandise  
 as here and they shall have on board (as more  
 plainly is sett forth in an Act of Parliament  
 intituled An Act for Encouraging of Trade)  
 And further that all Masters of Ships Sloops  
 or any other Vessells that shall Land any Goods  
 in this Port or the Places and Rivers Adjacent  
 within his Majesty's Command, must first make  
 Entry of his ship Sloop or Vessel before he  
 take any Goods or Merchandise in and Declare  
 what Port or Place he is bound for, And all  
 the said Entries are to be made both of ship &  
 Goods as well Inward as Outward bound before  
 Mr. Thomas Delarall who hath Commission  
 from me to Receive the same Duties they are not  
 to Juste Upon Penalties the first time  
 and five next mentioned in the said Act of Parliament  
 my hand att James Fort the 13<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1664

R. Nicolls

# THE DUTCH AND QUAKER COLONIES IN AMERICA

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## CHAPTER X

### THE ENGLISH AUTOCRATS

WHEN baffled Peter Stuyvesant with an aching heart turned over to Colonel Richard Nicolls the fair province of New Netherland, and the old local names — not yet old in years but destined to be forever venerable in memory — gave place to the name and titles of the new master ; when the little town on the tip end of Manhattan Island became New York, and Fort Amsterdam, its quaint citadel, became Fort James, and far up in the northern wilderness Dutch Orange received Scotch baptism as Albany ; the revolution was more quiet and peaceable than almost any other that is recorded in history. A peaceful revolution Few political changes have been greater in their consequences. By transferring from Dutch into English hands the strategic centre of antagonism to New France, it brought about an approach toward unity of political development in the English colonies and made it possible for them at length to come together in a great Federal Union. Such remote results were not within the ken of James, Duke of York. Thoughts of commerce rather than of empire filled his mind, and none could deny that the trade in peltries and the possession of a superb seaport were fit objects of princely care. A bigot and despot by natural temper, he had nothing to gain and everything to lose by exhibiting such qualities as Lord Proprietor of this Dutch domain. But for tact and moderation



VIEW OF NEW

this bloodless conquest could hardly have been made ; without continued moderation and tact it might prove hard to keep. Conciliation was the watchword, and no better person could have been found to carry out such a policy than Richard Nicolls, one of the most genial and attractive figures in early American history. He was honest and sensible, frank but courteous in speech, open-hearted and liberal-minded, a man of refined tastes and an excellent scholar withal, fond of his Greek and Latin books, and speaking Dutch and French like a native. Wherever he went he won all hearts, and so it was in New Amsterdam. The citizens were undisturbed in person or property, and it was soon felt that their rights were better protected than ever before. The old Dutch local government of burgo-masters, schepens, and schout was retained for a year, and then those officers were replaced by mayor, aldermen, and sheriff. A code of laws was promulgated, known as "The Duke's Laws," and none could complain of it as wanting in liberality. The patroons were confirmed in their estates, henceforth called manors, jury trial was introduced and the criminal code amended, and it was provided that no Christian





AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1650

should be in any wise molested for his religious opinions. The arrival of Englishmen upon the scene brought the Church of England and its services; but everything was amicably arranged, and for a time the Dutch Reformed service was held in the morning and the English in the afternoon at one and the same meeting-house.

While in these respects the duke's laws were so liberal, they provided nothing like constitutional government for the people of New York. There was no legal check upon Nicolls's arbitrary will; and if the four years of his governorship were long remembered as a kind of golden age in the history of the colony, it was purely because of his admirable character. As Samuel Maverick wrote to Lord Arlington, it was wonderful how this man <sup>A good autocrat</sup> could harmonize things in a world so full of strife; even the Indians felt the effects, and were "brought into such peaceful posture" as never before.

One of the most important series of transactions under the first English governor of New York was that which determined the boundaries of the province. Cartwright was sent up the North River, and met with no opposition at

Rensselaerwyck, Fort Orange, and Esopus. The submission was as peaceful as it had been at Manhattan. On the South River it was otherwise. Sir Robert Carr was sent with two of the frigates to demand the surrender of the Dutch fort at New Amstel. The garrison were ready to submit to the inevitable, but the commandant, Alexander Hinnoyossa, was determined to resist. A couple of broadsides from the frigates and a rush of English soldiers soon settled the business; the fort was carried by storm, and of its defenders there were three killed and ten wounded. Carr now showed that he was made of very different stuff from Nicolls. He confiscated property for his private use and that of his son and friends; he shipped the Dutch soldiers to Virginia, to be sold into servitude; and he rifled people's houses, carrying away everything of value, even to the wearing apparel. It became necessary for Nicolls to follow him to the Delaware River and make him disgorge some of his plunder. The name New Amstel was changed to Newcastle, and Captain John Carr, son of Sir Robert, was put in command of the district. According to the charter which Lord Baltimore had obtained from Charles I., this whole western shore of Delaware Bay was part of Maryland;<sup>1</sup> but the Duke of York showed small respect for his father's grants. He insisted upon keeping his own officers there, and thus Delaware remained an appendage to New York until 1682, when it was given to William Penn.

The eastern boundary was the next matter that required attention. It will be remembered that the charter obtained by Winthrop in 1662 made Connecticut extend to the Pacific Ocean, but the charter granted to the Duke of York in 1664 made the province of New York begin at the Connecticut River. If this latter provision had been sustained, it would have spoiled Connecticut, crippled Massachusetts, and prevented the existence of Vermont. The question had many complications. Both Connecticut and New Haven had ex-

<sup>1</sup> See my *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 130.

# Absence.

any Justice of the Peace or High Constable shall be absent for  
 the space of three dayes in that regard where he inhabits or from the  
 place of his residence he shall pay for every dayes absence Ten  
 pence, and every day (credibly for cause default shall pay) five  
 pence, unless one of the overseers who shall be nominated of the  
 Jury doe give attendance on the Court in his place. It is further  
 provided also that no Justice shall be excused for his absence  
 upon J. Bench is discharged any Constable from his appearance  
 if they shall thinck fit.

Absence.

# Actions.

That all Actions of debt Accounts and other Actions of Law  
 concerning debts and accounts shall be tried within the County where  
 the Cause of Action doth arise.

Actions to be tried

In all actions of what nature soever not exceeding the value of five  
 pounds between Neighbour and Neighbour Arbitration of two Justices of  
 the neighbourhood the parties shall present a writ by name of  
 the Constable of their Towne before it be brought to a Towne Court  
 and if either or both parties shall refuse to give any Reason within  
 ten dayes after the writ is returned to the Constable of their Towne  
 shall present a writ of Arbitration to the Justice of Peace upon complaint of the  
 other party. If the Justice is to nominate Arbitrators and if either party  
 refuse then the Justice is to give forth his warrant as if heon require.

It shall be

In all differences under five pounds not tryable in Sessions the Justice  
 is to have one shilling for nominating Arbitrators. To whom it  
 difference shall be referred they shall have two shillings each  
 shilling for the peace for nominating each of Arbitrators. Two shillings  
 for the peace each.

shall be

In Towne Courts if possible and due regard be to give their  
 Judgement by a Mayor or other whose see with of Constable or Justice in his  
 absence are competent. Equivalent to a Jury and if Constable or  
 Justice is to have a Casting Vote.

shall be

exercised jurisdiction over portions of Long Island. The charter of 1662 extinguished the New Haven colony by annexing it to Connecticut, but the New Haven people had resisted this provision. Stamford posed for the moment as an independent republic, but Connecticut claimed jurisdiction over Stamford and over Westchester County as well. The action of New Haven tended to simplify matters. By the duke's charter New York would have swallowed that colony. So between two unpalatable cups New Haven chose the less bitter. The "Christless rule" of democratic Connecticut was not so bad as the equally Christless rule of despotically governed New York. New Haven preferred to submit to the Winthrop charter. Everything now depended upon the justice and wisdom of Nicolls; his representations would have great weight with the Duke of York and the king. Had he insisted upon the Connecticut River boundary he would probably have got it. But such a disregard for the Winthrop charter seemed to him both dishonourable and contrary to public policy, and he soon accepted a boundary line which seemed fair to all parties. Connecticut was to have Stamford, but Westchester County was to belong to New York. The dividing line was to start at Mamaroneck Creek and run north-northwest until it should intersect the southern boundary of Massachusetts, keeping always as much as twenty miles distant from the Hudson River. This sounded reasonable enough, but people's knowledge of American geography was still very slender. New York historians have accused the Connecticut commissioners of playing a trick upon Governor Nicolls.<sup>1</sup> Such charges are easy to make, but difficult to prove. It does not seem likely that the Connecticut men, had they correctly conceived the geography of the case, would have proposed a line so ridiculous as to invite speedy exposure. A line starting at Mamaroneck Creek and running north-northwest would have crossed the Hudson River at Peeks-

<sup>1</sup> See, *e. g.*, Brodhead's *History of the State of New York*, ii. 56.



NIEU A  
d. N. 8



*Carolus Allard auct. cum Priv. ord. Holl. et Vofffr.*

STERDAM  
ГОРЪТ

78.



10. VIKU  
#80711A0



kill and would have intersected the prolonged boundary of Massachusetts near the northwestern corner of Ulster County, five-and-thirty miles west of the river! The error was soon discovered, and was rectified in 1683, when the boundary was placed very nearly in its present position, though it was long before all questions connected with it were settled. This decision furnished a basis for determining afterwards the western boundary of Massachusetts and still later that of Vermont.

On the other hand, the whole of Long Island, having been expressly mentioned and given a central place in the grant to the Duke of York, was declared to be his. Nicolls named it Yorkshire and divided it into three ridings. Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were likewise annexed to New York, and so remained until 1692, when they were handed over to Massachusetts. The name of Dukes County still commemorates the brief season when Martha's Vineyard was the property of James Stuart, Duke of York. The island of Pemaquid also, with a district of mainland between the Kennebec and St. Croix rivers, called the County of Cornwall, was included in James Stuart's proprietary domain; but this, with all the rest of Maine, was added to Massachusetts after the accession of William and Mary.

While Nicolls was busy settling boundaries and making the change from Dutch to English rule as pleasant as possible for all parties concerned, his colleagues Cartwright and Maverick were wasting breath and losing their tempers in the effort to outwit or browbeat the magistrates and parsons at Boston, — such men as Bellingham and Norton, Leverett and Simon Willard. In the summer of 1665 Cartwright sailed for England, carrying with him papers tending to convict the Massachusetts people of disloyalty. With this evidence he hoped to persuade the king to rescind their charter; but in mid-ocean he was captured by a Dutch cruiser, who seized all his papers and set him ashore in Spain, jocosely remarking that the climate

Yorkshire,  
Dukes  
County,  
and  
Cornwall

Cartwright  
sails for  
England,  
but lands  
in Spain

would cure the gout under which he was groaning. By the time Cartwright arrived in London the king was too busy with the Dutch war to molest Massachusetts. Thus the English capture of New Amsterdam, with the resulting complications, would seem to have given a fresh lease of life for twenty years to the charter of the stiff-necked Puritan republic.

After Cartwright's departure, Maverick stayed some time in Boston, ready to welcome the news of a *quo warranto*; but none such came. In January, 1667, Sir Robert Carr came to Boston from Delaware, intending to embark for England. One cold Saturday evening Carr and Maverick, with half-a-dozen boon companions, had grown somewhat noisy over a steaming bowl of grog at the Ship Tavern, when a constable stepped in and told them to break up and go home. They were desecrating the Sabbath, which it was then the fashion to regard as beginning at sundown of Saturday. But the company defied the constable and drove him away with blows. On the next Saturday evening the party again assembled at the tavern, but prudently adjourned across the street to the house of a merchant named Kellond, where another constable, Arthur Mason, found them in a hilarious mood. He told them it was well for them that they were in a private house, for had he found them across the way he would have haled them off to prison. Angry words ensued, in the course of which Carr said that it was he who beat the constable, and he would do it again. Mason retorted that it was lucky for the party that he was not the constable who found them at the tavern. "Sir Robert asked if he dare meddle with the king's commissioners. 'Yes,' says Mason, 'and if the king himself had been there I would have carried him away'; upon which Maverick cried out, 'Treason! Mason, thou shalt be hanged within a twelve-month.' Sir Robert Carr spake to Sir Thomas Temple and some others of the company, to take notice of what passed, and the next day Maverick sent a note to Mr.

Pleasant  
Saturday  
evenings in  
Boston

T H E  
C O N D I T I O N S F O R N E W P L A N T E R S

In the Territories of His ROYAL HIGHNESS

T H E

D U K E O F Y O R K



THE Purchases are to be made from the *Indian Sachins* and to be Recorded before the *Governour*.

The Purchasers are not to pay for their liberty of purchasing to the *Governour*.

The Purchasers are to set out a Town, and Inhabit together.

No Purchaser shall at any time contract for himself with any *Sachin*, without consent of his Associates: or special Warrant from the *Governour*?

The Purchasers are free from all manner of Assessments or Rates for five years after their Town-plot is set out, and when the five years are expired, they shall only be liable to the publick Rates, and Payments according to the Custom of other Inhabitants both *English* and *Dutch*.

All Lands thus Purchased, and posselt shall remain to the Purchasers, and their Heires, as free Lands to dispose of as they please.

In all Territories of his ROYAL HIGHNESS, Liberty of Conscience is allowed, Provided such Liberty is not converted to Licentiousness, or the disturbance of others, in the exercise of the Protestant Religion.

The severall Townships have liberty to make their particular Laws, and Deciding all small Causes within themselves.

The Lands which I intend shall be first Planted, are those upon the West side of *Hudson-River*, at, or adjoining to the *Sepes*, but if any number of men sufficient for two or three, or more Towns, shall desire to plant upon any other Lands they shall have all due encouragement proportionable to their Quality, and undertakings.

Every Township is Obliged to pay their *Minister*, according to such agreement as they shall make with him, and no man to refuse his Proportion, the *Minister* being elected by the Major part of the Householders Inhabitants of the *Town*.

Every Township hath the free choice of all their officers both Civil, and Military, and Men who shall take the Oath of Allegiance to his *Majesty*, and are not Servants, or Labourers, but are admitted to enjoy *Town-lots* are esteemed freemen of the Jurisdiction, and cannot forfeit the same without due process in L<sup>aw</sup>.

R. Nicolls.



Bellingham the governor, charging Mason with high treason for the words spoken."<sup>1</sup> The governor behaved with tact and bound Mason over with sureties to answer at the next court. Presently Maverick, whose wrath had had time to cool, asked permission to withdraw his charge, inasmuch as he felt satisfied that Mason's words, though "rash and inconsiderate," were not malicious and indicated no "premeditated design" against his Majesty's government. Bellingham astutely replied that "the affair was of too high a nature for him to interpose in." The sagacious grand jury found simply "that the words charged were spoken," and the verdict of the court was that Mason should be "admonished in solemn manner" by the governor. Thus were the skirts of Massachusetts cleared of any insinuations of complicity with treason in which gossip-mongers might indulge. Hutchinson is right in saying that though the anecdote may seem trivial, it is full of instruction. As for the pot-valiant Sir Robert Carr, he sailed for England and died suddenly the day after landing. Maverick found the social atmosphere of Boston too austere, and was glad to remove to New York and accept from the duke the present of a house on Broadway, where he seems to have spent the remainder of his days.

The feeling of Nicolls toward Boston may be inferred from his remark, "Our time is lost upon men who are puffed up with the spirit of independency." He seems to have had no more sympathy than Stuyvesant with popular government; and like his predecessor he found more or less trouble with the towns upon Long Island, which preferred the methods in vogue upon the Connecticut River to those of Manhattan. But his unflinching tact and good sense overcame all obstacles and made him a pattern for beneficent despots.

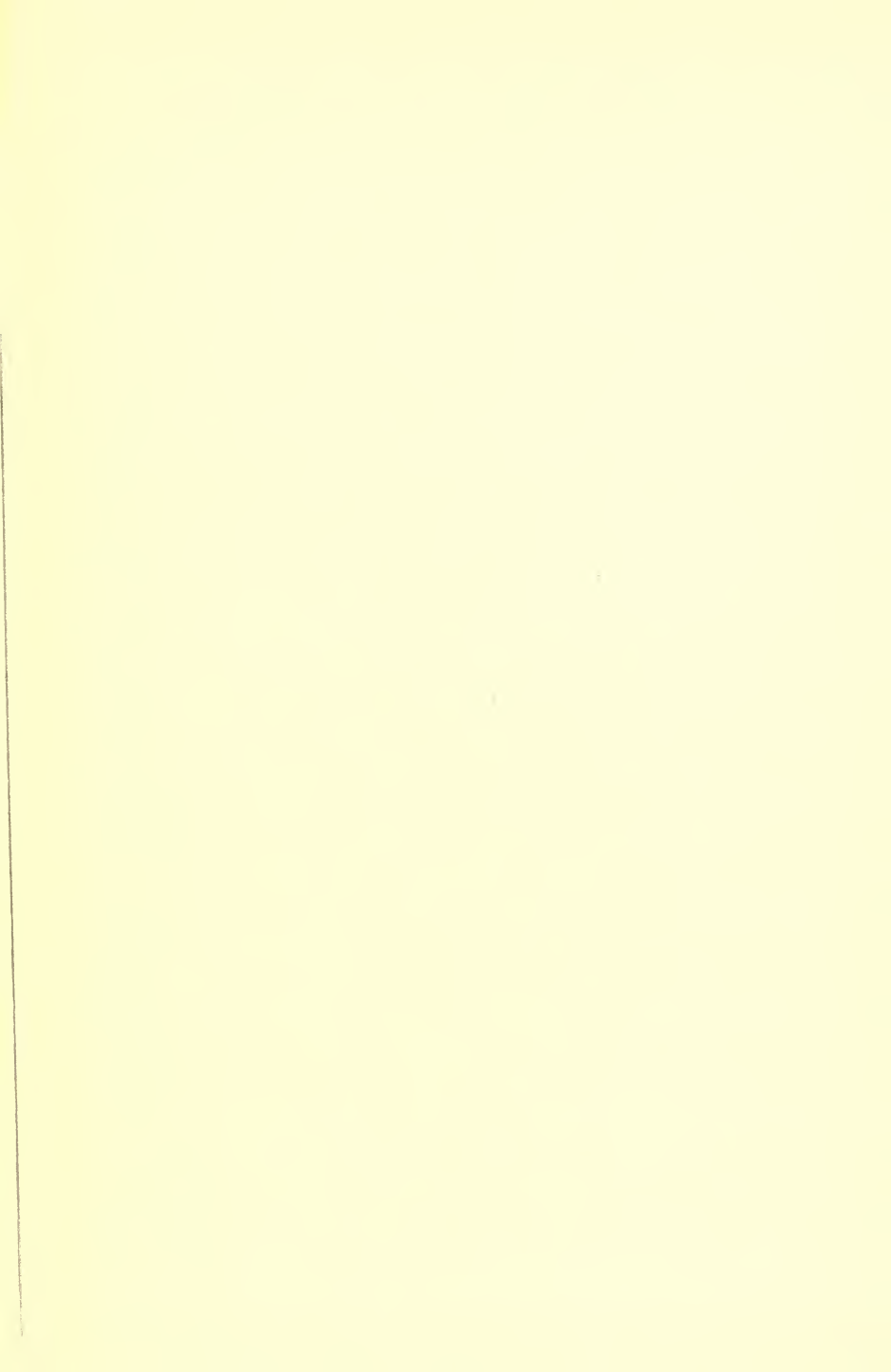
His attention was soon called in an unexpected way to the mainland west of the North River's mouth. Except for the settlements at Hoboken and Pavonia, and more recently at Bergen, in what is now Jersey City, little had been done in

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, Boston, 1764, i. 254.

that direction. The Passaic and Raritan rivers flowed through a wilderness as yet untrodden by white men. Nicolls named this fair country Albania and felt a lively interest in its development. In 1664 he granted the region west of the Achter Koll, or Back Bay—which we now call Newark Bay—to several families from Jamaica on Long Island. From this place an Indian trail furnished easy overland access to the hamlets on the Delaware. The patentees—John Ogden, Luke Watson, and their associates—numbered in all some eighty persons. They had scarcely begun to take possession when Nicolls learned that the Duke of York had already given away the whole territory between the North and South rivers. It was so easy for a prince to show his gratitude for favours received by making wholesale gifts of unknown land in America! The grantees were Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley of Stratton. The latter was the brother of Sir William Berkeley, the famous governor of Virginia, and figures occasionally in the history of that commonwealth and of Carolina. Carteret belonged to a family which had for several generations been prominent in the island of Jersey. He defended his island stoutly against the Roundhead soldiers, and he was the last commander on British soil to lower the king's flag. Both Carteret and Berkeley seemed worthy of a reward for their conspicuous and devoted loyalty, and one can easily fancy James's comfortable sense of generosity tempered with thrift as he looked over the map of New Netherland and marked off this spacious unknown wilderness to bestow upon his friends. But when the affair came to Nicolls's ears, he made such representations to the duke as to weaken his belief in the thriftiness of the transaction and cause him to repent of his haste. He persuaded Berkeley and Carteret to give back the land between the North and South rivers, in exchange for an extensive tract to the west of the latter. But this was encroaching upon Maryland, and gave rise to an altercation between the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore.

Settle-  
ments west  
of the  
Hudson

The grant  
to Berkeley  
and  
Carteret











The net result was that nothing further was done, and accordingly Carteret and Berkeley took possession of their proprietary domain.<sup>1</sup>

In August, 1665, Philip Carteret, a cousin of Sir George, arrived with several families and established himself just behind the Achter Koll, in the very region which Nicolls had granted to Ogden and his associates. The settlement was called Elizabethtown, after Elizabeth, wife of Sir George Carteret, a lady of somewhat Puritan proclivities, concerning whom Pepys testifies that "she cries out against the vices of the court, and how they are going to set up plays already. She do much cry out upon these things, and that which she believes will undo the whole nation."<sup>2</sup> Philip Carteret undertook to satisfy Nicolls's patentees by making compensation for the lands to which they laid claim, but Berkeley and Sir George refused to sanction this, on the ground that the Duke of York no longer owned the territory when his agent Nicolls made a grant of it ; so that the grant was simply void. Out of these circumstances grew various legal disputes which were not all disposed of until more than a century had elapsed.

The province thus carved out of New Netherland was named Nova Cæsarea, after the Latin name of the island of Jersey; the home of the Carterets. People, however, preferred the vernacular form of the name, and called it New Jersey. The form of government established by the proprietors, in their instrument known as the "Concessions," was a striking contrast to Nicolls's amiable



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<sup>1</sup> Mellick, *The Story of an Old Farm, or Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century*, Somerville, N. J., 1889, p. 105 ; a monograph of remarkable merit.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys' *Diary*, October 15, 1666.

despotism in New York. The sway of the governor, Philip Carteret, was limited not only by a council but also by an assembly elected by the people. Most liberal terms for purchasing lands were offered to settlers, and entire religious liberty was promised. The result of this was an immediate influx of settlers from New England. A party from the Piscataqua country founded Piscataway by the river Raritan; others from Haverhill and Newbury made the beginnings of



ELIZABETH CASTLE, JERSEY, CARTERETS' STRONGHOLD

Woodbridge; but the most important accession, in some respects, came from the lately extinguished republic of New Haven. There were many persons in that colony who could not endure the thought of annexation to Connecticut. The two communities stood for widely different ideas. Among all the New England colonies the Puritan theocracy was most dominant in New Haven, whereas in Connecticut it was weaker than anywhere else except Rhode Island. In New Haven none but church members qualified for communion could vote or hold office; in Connecticut there was no such restriction. The tendencies of Connecticut, under the impress of the genius of Thomas Hooker, were democratic; those

Unwilling-  
ness of  
New Haven  
leaders to  
be annexed  
to Connect-  
icut

Handwritten signature: *Handwritten signature*

Our bounden cordial respects to yo<sup>r</sup> self  
and Mrs Winthrop yo<sup>r</sup> friend. I do acknowledge  
- lodge yo<sup>r</sup> great kindness, to me, and  
mine, for a long space & continuance of y<sup>r</sup> most  
pleasant & great proof of yo<sup>r</sup> love  
and singular kindness, your bowels &  
liberality of doing your most loving  
extending great affection for of Him  
that is abundant in goodness & mercy. your great  
last mercy bread upon yo<sup>r</sup> waite, after  
many days of you both find it again  
well & great recovery. I am upon  
my knees if god shall health &  
life I do lowly pray to you an  
and Entraine me in everlasting kind  
and to bestow <sup>more</sup> & condescend for  
his grace, yo<sup>r</sup> Duke of York  
and encouragement of yo<sup>r</sup> make and love  
to know you & yo<sup>r</sup> with his loving  
kindness & special favour



So pray for  
Branford Sept. 27. 67.

Be yo<sup>r</sup> greatly  
ingaged in love  
Abram. Dorrson

LETTER TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP

S O M E  
HELPS FOR THE  
INDIANS

*Shewing them*

How to improve their natural Reason, To know the True GOD, and the true Christian Religion.

1. By leading them to see the Divine Authority of the Scriptures.
2. By the Scriptures the Divine Truths necessary to Eternal Salvation.

Undertaken

At the Motion, and published by  
the Order of the COMMISSIONERS  
of the United Colonies.  
by ABRAHAM PEIRSON.

Examined, and approved by Thomas  
Stanton Interpreter-General to the U-  
nited Colonies for the Indian Language,  
and by some others of the most able  
Interpreters amongst us.

C A M B R I D G,  
Printed by Samuel Green 1658.

of New Haven, under the guidance of John Davenport, were toward an aristocracy of "the saints." The civil magistrates there were "pillars of the church." Annexation to Connecticut meant giving votes and offices to men of unregenerate hearts; it meant administering justice by codes of secular law instead of the inspired law of Moses; it meant letting in a flood of democracy and ending forever the rule of the saints. Accordingly, when Davenport heard of the decision of the royal commissioners, he sadly exclaimed, "The cause of Christ in New Haven is miserably lost!"

At this crisis the offer of complete civil and religious liberty in New Jersey produced a notable effect upon the New Haven towns. Those persons who were willing to be citizens of Connecticut (and these were a majority of the population, including probably most of the unenfranchised) might stay at home and be contented. The minority who could not abide the change might go to New Jersey and there live according to their theocratic notions. The removal of these irreconcilables tended to make the change easier for Connecticut. In 1665-67 several parties from Guilford, Branford, and Milford settled on the Passaic River and made the beginnings of a flourishing town there, which was at first called Milford, from the home of one of its founders, Robert Treat. But the name was soon changed to Newark, after the English home of its pastor, the venerable Abraham Pierson, a true spiritual brother of Davenport. As for Robert Treat, he returned in 1672 to Milford, played a distinguished part in King Philip's War, and afterward became governor of Connecticut. It is Pierson who must be regarded as the continuator of the New Haven colony's existence in that of its daughter, Newark. The larger part of his Branford congregation followed him thither, and their town constitution provided that none but communing church members should vote or be eligible to office. Sixty-four men signed this constitution, of whom twenty-three were from Branford, and forty-one from New Haven, Milford, and Guilford. Six out

Exodus  
from New  
Haven  
to New  
Jersey;  
Robert  
Treat and  
Abraham  
Pierson

of this number made their marks,— a small proportion of illiteracy for the seventeenth century. It has been well said that, “after 1666 the New Haven of Davenport and Eaton must be looked for upon the banks, not of the Quinnipiac, but of the Passaic. The men, the methods, the laws, the officers, that made New Haven town what it was in 1640, disappeared from the Connecticut colony, but came to full life again immediately in New Jersey.”<sup>1</sup> As for the aged Davenport, he moved to Boston and became pastor of the First Church there.

The government of New Jersey was similar in form to the earlier governments founded in Virginia, Maryland, and the New England colonies; all alike were developments from the ancient English county court. The New Jersey legislature consisted of governor, council, and representative assembly, and it was as well understood as in New England or Virginia that there could be no taxation save through the assembly. But important constitutional questions came up at once for discussion, as in the first years of Massachusetts. The representatives of the people were annoyed at the veto power exercised over them by the governor and council, and accordingly they insisted upon meeting in joint session where their own numbers were sure to prevail. This attempt was successfully resisted by the proprietors, but the immediate result was that Governor Carteret's first assembly, which met in 1668, broke up in some disorder, and it was seven years before there was another legal assembly. There was also the quarrel over quit-rents, which broke out in New Jersey as in so many other colonies. Quit-rents were always extremely unpopular. Carteret's colonists refused to pay them, and their opposition, organized as it was in town meetings, was too strong to be overcome. In 1671 the towns chose an illegal assembly, with James Carteret, a weak and debauched creature, a younger son of the lord-proprietor, for its president. For the moment constitutional

Constitutional troubles in New Jersey

<sup>1</sup> Levermore, *The Republic of New Haven*, Baltimore, 1886, p. 120.



government, according to the "Concessions," seemed overthrown, and Philip Carteret returned to England. The persistent energy of Sir George Carteret, backed by the Duke of York, presently restored order, but meanwhile Lord Berkeley lost his faith in the success of the enterprise and sold out for £1000 all his interest to a Quaker, John Fenwick, in trust for another Quaker, Edward Byllinge. This panic sale from Lord Berkeley to Quakers was one of the pivotal events in American history, for it soon resulted in bringing William Penn to the New World. But before we can enter upon this eventful story we must return for a while to the island of Manhattan and see what was going on there.

Lord Berkeley sells out his interest to a party of Quakers

The peace of Breda, signed on St. Bartholomew's day, 1667, formally ceded New Netherland to the English, in exchange for Surinam in South America and the island of Poleron, one of the Banda group near the Moluccas. On New Year's, 1668, the peace was proclaimed in New York, and Governor Nicolls was able to add the welcome announcement that, for the next seven years at least, that province was to enjoy free trade with the Netherlands. Private affairs demanded Nicolls's presence in England, and the duke accepted his resignation. In New York there was universal sorrow at his departure ; seldom has a public man been so beloved. At the house of the Dutch mayor, Cornelius Steenwyck, near the Whitehall, there was a farewell banquet. The *menu* has not come down to us, but an inventory of the things in the house has been preserved ; and one feels that in those tapestried rooms, with their carved French cabinets, their velvet and Russia leather chairs, the muslin and "flowered tabby" curtains, the tall clock in the corner, and the paintings by Antwerp masters, there were the elements of refined comfort. The Netherlanders at that time lived more luxuriously in their houses than any other people, and their habits had been carried with them to the New World. From

Departure of Governor Nicolls

these last pleasant scenes the upright governor made his way back to England. He was soon to die a soldier's death. In the third naval war between the English and Dutch he served on the fleet and was killed at the battle of Solebay, May 28, 1672, at the early age of forty-seven.

Nicolls's successor, Francis Lovelace, a man of far less distinction for character and ability, was nevertheless a worthy person, and New York was prosperous under his rule. The year of his arrival is memorable for the abolition of the two classes of "great burghers" and "small burghers," introduced by Stuyvesant in 1657. The distinction was imitated from the custom in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities. Members of the council, burgo-masters and schepens, officers of the militia, and ministers of the gospel, with their descendants in the male line, were enrolled as great burghers; and other persons could be admitted to that class on payment of 50 guilders into the city treasury. These great burghers were eligible to public offices, and in case of conviction for a capital offence were exempt from confiscation or attainder. The class of small burghers comprised all other persons born in the city, or who had dwelt there for a year and six weeks; all men who were married to the daughters of burghers; all salaried servants of the West India Company; and all persons who kept a shop or permanently transacted business in the city. Strangers temporarily in the city could be enrolled in this class by paying a fee of 25 guilders. The privileges pertaining to it scarcely extended beyond sundry facilities for trading.<sup>1</sup> This division into classes proved very unpopular, and it was abolished in 1668 with general satisfaction.

Several families from Boston now bought estates in New York and came there to live, willing perhaps, like Maverick, to escape from the saintly rule of the "lords brethren." The most important and memorable act of Lovelace's administration was the establishment of a regular monthly

<sup>1</sup> O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, ii. 341.



Dear Sir  
Fort James 27 of Decbr 1672

I have presented you with 2 rareties; a pageant of  
 the latest intelligence I wrote meelo withall, and a Post-  
 by the first you will see what has been acted on the Stage  
 of Europe, by the latter you will meete with a Monthly  
 fresh Supply, so that if it recieve. But the Same ardent incli-  
 nations from you, as first it hadd from my selfe; by our  
 monthly advices, all publick occurrences, may be transmitted  
 betwixt us together with severall other grate Conventions  
 of publick importance; Consonant to the Commands layd upon  
 us by his Sacred Ma, who strictly injoines all his American  
 Subjects, to enter into a close correspondency with each other; this  
 I hope upon us the most Compendious means to buyt a  
 mutuall understanding, and that it may recieve all the  
 Countenance from you, for its future duration, I shall acquaint  
 you with the modelle I have proposed, and if you please but  
 to make an addition to it, or subtraction, or any other alte-  
 ration, I shall be ready to comply with you; this person

most facill way for a Post, which in proceess  
 wise passages, and accomodation at Rivers, four  
 on this Subject, showing you understand the Scope  
 of it, if this is so in case your Zeale to so publick  
 interest from me (the Volunte) this next Spring

Lastly

being both Active & Steady, and in order to  
to his fidelity, I have affixt an annuall Gallery on him, which  
together with the advantage of his Letters, and other small  
portable Treasures may afford him a handsome lucky hood, Hart-  
ford is the first Stage I have design'd him to change his  
course, where Confrantly I expect he should have a fresh road  
to open, all the Letters outward shall be deliver'd gratis  
with a Signification of Post pay'd on the <sup>same</sup> Subscription, and  
reproachfully we expect all to us free, each Monday of the  
Month hee sets out from New York, and is to returne within  
the Month from Boston to us againe, the Maile has divers  
Days according to the Townes the Letters are design'd too,  
which are all Seal'd up, till their arrivment, with the Seal  
of the Secretaries office, whose care it is on Saturday night to  
Seal them up, only Dy-Letters are in an open bagg to be deliver'd  
by the Wayes. Thus you see the Scheme I have drawn to pro-  
mote a happy Circulation, I shall onely beg of you your further  
pance to so universall a good work, that is to afford him directions  
where, and to whom to make his application too, upon his arriv-  
at Boston, is likewise to afford him what Letters you can to esta-  
blish him in that employment there, I would see much advantage  
you to our designe, if in the intervall you discovr any  
game of the most able witt-men, to make out the best end

time would be the Kings best high way, as like  
or other necessary acts, but I neede not enlarge my selfe  
tell as my selfe, and therefore I intirely recommend it to you  
neede, to have the possibility of receiving a personal  
me with all respect

Your very affectionate friend  
Tha Lovell



mail service through southern New England between New York and Boston. This event may best be described by quoting the letter which Lovelace sent to Winthrop, at Hartford, in December, 1672: "I here present you with two rarities, a pacquett of the latest intelligence I could meet withal, and a Post. By the first, you will see what has been acted on the stage of Europe; by the latter you will meet with a monthly fresh supply; so that if it receive but the same ardent inclinations from you as at first it hath from myself, by our monthly

The  
monthly  
mail be-  
tween New  
York and  
Boston



VILLAGE OF HARLEM IN 1765

advisees all publique occurrences may be transmitted between us, together with severall other great conveniencys of publique importance, consonant to the commands laid upon us by His sacred Majestie, who strictly enjoins all his American subjects to enter into a close correspondency with each other. This I look upon as the most compendious means to beget a mutual understanding; and that it may receive all the countenance from you for its future duration, I shall acquaint you with the model I have proposed; and if you please but to make an addition to it, or subtraction, or any other alteration, I shall be ready to comply with you. This person that has undertaken the employment I conceived most proper, being both active, stout, and indefatigable. He is sworne as to his fidelity. I have affixt an annuall sallery on him, which, together with the advantage of his letters and other small portable packes,

may afford him a handsome livelyhood. Hartford is the first stage I have designed him to change his horse, where constantly I expect he should have a fresh one lye. All the letters outward shall be delivered gratis, with a signification of *Post Payd* on the superscription; and reciprocally, we expect all to us free. Each first Monday of the month he sets out from New York, and is to return within the month from Boston to us againe. The maile has divers baggs, according to the townes the letters are designed to, which are all sealed up till their arrivement, with the seale of the Secretarie's Office, whose care it is on Saturday night to seale them up. Only by-letters are in an open bag, to dispense by the wayes. Thus you see the scheme I have drawne to promote a happy correspondence. I shall only beg of you your furtherance to so universall a good work; that is to afford him directions where and to whom to make his application to upon his arrival at Boston; as likewise to afford him what letters you can to establish him in that imployment there. It would be much advantagious to our designe, if in the intervall you discoursed with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile way for a Post, which in processe of tyme would be the King's best highway; as likewise passages and accommodation at Rivers, fords, or other necessary places."<sup>1</sup>

The first mail on the American continent started from New York for Boston on New Year's day, 1673. The postman followed the Bowery Lane till it merged into the wagon-road just finished to the new village of Harlem, where even then the beer gave a foretaste of the preëminence in brewing to which Manhattan has since attained. After a cooling draught he was ready to go on his way past "Annie's Hook," or Pelham Manor, to Greenwich and Stamford, and so on to New Haven, Hartford, and Springfield, crossing all rivers and arms of the sea in boats, as was necessary until the last years of the eighteenth

The post-  
man's  
route

<sup>1</sup> *General Entries*, iv. 243; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Trumbull Papers*, MSS., xx. 110.



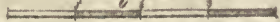
*A SURVEY*  
 of the  
*Roads*  
 of the  
*UNITED STATES*  
 of  
*AMERICA*  
 by Christopher Colles.

1789

**REFERENCES.**

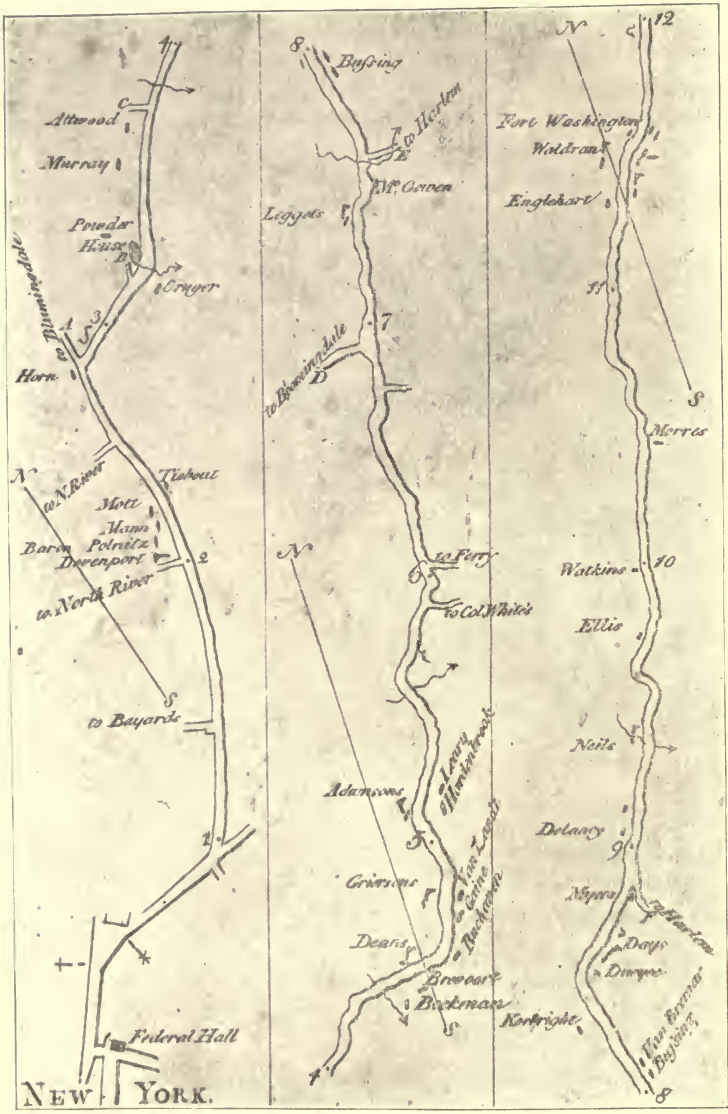
<i>Episcopal Church</i> ..... † <i>Presbyterian Do.</i> ..... † <i>Town House</i> ..... 6 <i>Mill (for Grist) Except</i> <i>otherwise mark'd</i> ..... 6	<i>Tavern</i> ..... † <i>Blacksmith Shop</i> ..... 6 <i>Bridges mark'd by the</i> <i>Road cutting the River</i> ..... 6 <i>Coal</i> ..... #
--	---

*Scale of one Mile.*



*Without Susp.*

TITLE OF COLLES'S "SURVEY OF THE ROADS"



MAP OF HARLEM ROAD FROM NEW YORK

century. Now it was a stretch of newly built English wagon-road that our postman followed, but oftener a mere bridle-path, or an ancient Indian trail, and sometimes the way must needs be indicated by marking trees in the virgin forest. From Springfield eastward his path must have followed the same winding watercourses of which the Boston and Albany railroad now takes advantage, climbing near Quabaug (Brookfield) to a thousand feet above sea-level, then gently descending into the pleasant valley of the Charles. While our indefatigable carrier was thus earning his "handsome livelyhood," a locked box stood in the secretary's office in New York awaiting his return, and in it from day to day the little heap of eastward bound letters grew. When the postman returned with his prepaid mail



CORNER OF BROAD STREET AND EXCHANGE PLACE

*Supposed View*

he emptied his New York bag on a broad table in the coffee-house where citizens most did congregate. That locked box and that coffee-house table had in them the prophecy of the great post-office that now stands in the City Hall Park, and indirectly of all the post-offices, urban and rural, in English-speaking America. There was admirable foresight in Governor Lovelace's scheme. That indefatigable horseman of

his was an indispensable instrument in "begetting a mutual understanding;" he was one of the pioneers of our Federal Union.

Another prophetic incident of Lovelace's administration was the establishment of the first Merchants' Exchange, — a weekly meeting, on Friday mornings, at about the site where Exchange Place now crosses Broad Street. Some of the first American ships, moreover, were built at New York under this governor, and they were staunch craft.

Lovelace's rule, like that of Nicolls, was autocratic but in no wise oppressive. The change from Dutch to English rule had not yet bestowed English self-government upon the province of New York. The despotism of Kieft and Stuyvesant was continued, only now, instead of the iron clutch, it was a stroke of velvet. This was simply due to the different personal qualities of the rulers. The most restive part of the population, under this prolonged autocracy, was

to be found in the English towns on Long Island. Their people persistently grumbled at this sort of government to which no Englishmen had from time immemorial been subjected. They wanted a representative assembly. In 1670 there was an approach toward an explosion. A tax was levied upon these Long Island towns to pay for repairs upon Fort James in New York. The case was quite similar to that of the tax levied by the governor and council of Massachusetts in 1631 upon the men of Watertown, to pay for a palisadoed wall in Cambridge. The men of Watertown refused to pay the tax, on the ground that they had no share in electing the authorities who levied it; and this protest led at once to the introduction of representative government into the new-born commonwealth of Massachusetts. The first John Winthrop did not represent a would-be despotic authority in England, but Governor Lovelace did. Hence the protest of Long Island in 1670 was not so successful as that of Watertown in 1631. The towns drew up a remonstrance in which they declared that they would not yield to a demand for money to

The Long  
Island pro-  
test against  
arbitrary  
taxation

repair the fort; they might next be called upon to support the garrison, and there was no telling to what lengths the affair might go. They stoutly maintained that the principle of "no taxation without representation" — which England had asserted in 1265 and the Netherlands in 1477 — was their inalienable birthright. This remonstrance was pronounced seditious, and Lovelace ordered it to be publicly burned in the street before the City Hall. It is needless to add that Long Island remained disaffected and more or less turbulent.

Events in Europe were fast bringing about a fresh surprise for Manhattan. After the peace of Breda, Charles II. had entered into the famous Triple Alliance with Sweden and Holland, for the purpose of curbing the aggressive power of Louis XIV. As Bishop Burnet said, this was the best thing Charles II. ever did, and had he only adhered to this sound and manly policy it would have covered him with glory. But Louis well knew his cousin Charles's weaknesses. The blandishments of a new French mistress, and the promise of money enough to dispense with parliaments, were quite too much for the degenerate grandson of Henry of Navarre. He broke away from the Triple Alliance, scarcely two years old, and joined hands with Louis XIV. for the destruction of Holland. There followed, in rapid sequence, the fall and shameful murder of De Witt, the stride of the third William of Orange into the historic foreground, and one more wicked and terrible war between Englishmen and their Dutch cousins.

And thus it happened that in the Christmas season of 1672, while the worthy Lovelace was setting afoot his postal scheme, a powerful Dutch fleet of fifteen ships, commanded by Cornelius Evertsen, was cruising in the West Indies to harass the English. By reinforcements this fleet was increased to three-and-twenty war-ships, carrying, besides their crews, 1600 troops. After finishing their business in the West Indies, these Dutchmen,

The Triple Alliance

War between England and Holland

Admiral Evertsen's fleet

in July, 1673, visited Chesapeake Bay, destroying merchant vessels; and thence they kept on for New York, which had from the outset been their ultimate destination. Its recapture had been planned in Holland. On the morning of August 7 the ships dropped anchor off Staten Island; the next day they came up through the Narrows; the next they were ready to proceed to extremities.

The case was virtually a repetition of that of 1664. Governor Lovelace was absent on business, over on Long Island, but had he been on the spot it would have made no difference. The garrison of Fort James numbered scarcely eighty men. There was a brief exchange of volleys between the feeble fort and the majestic fleet, and a few lives were sacrificed, but resistance was hopeless. Before sunset of August 9 the ensign of the Dutch Republic floated over the fort, and the city on Manhattan passed once more under the sway of its founders. Once more there was a general change of nomenclature. The province resumed its old name of New Netherland, its eastern limit was pronounced to be that of the Hartford treaty of 1650,<sup>1</sup> and the whole of Long Island was declared to belong to it, but no claims were made upon Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, or Pemaquid. Westward the claim took in whatever had been ruled by Stuyvesant, including New Sweden. Fort James was rechristened Fort Willem Hendrick, after the new stadholder, and the city was called New Orange. Esopus, which had exchanged its Indian name for Kingston, was now called Swanenburg. Albany received the name of Willemstadt, and its blockhouse that of Fort Nassau. As for Carteret's domain of New Jersey, it was baptized Achter Koll, or "Back Bay," from the broad sheet of water across which Elizabethtown was approached. A council of war was held by the officers of the fleet, and they appointed Anthony Colve, a captain of infantry, to be governor of New Netherland. All the places mentioned as within his jurisdiction sub-

Capture of  
New York  
by the  
Dutch

Anthony  
Colve, gov-  
ernor of  
New Neth-  
erland

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 226.

mitted gracefully, and some of them very cheerfully, except on Long Island. There the Dutch towns, such as Brooklyn and Flatbush, rejoiced in the change of rulers; even



CORNELIUS EVERTSEN

some of those towns where the English were a majority, such as Flushing and Jamaica, made no resistance. But the purely English towns in the East Riding — Southampton, Easthampton, Brookhaven, Southold, and Huntington — were extremely unwilling to yield; and although they succumbed for a moment to the inexorable situation,<sup>1</sup> yet South-

<sup>1</sup> The "oath of fideliti," which the inhabitants of these towns were required to take, is interesting as a quaint specimen of English written by a Dutch secretary: "Wee do sware in the presents of the Almighty God, that wee shall be true & faithfull to y<sup>e</sup> high & mighty Lords y<sup>e</sup>

ampton published a protest and sent it all over New England, "in order to take off any aspersion cast upon us, as though we should freely submit to this foreign government." It became necessary for Governor Colve to "admonish" these froward eastern towns, but they did not cease to be thorns in the flesh. The appeal of Southampton was heard by sympathetic ears. Connecticut joined in the protest, angry letters passed between Colve and Winthrop, and presently Connecticut troops crossed the Sound. Scrimmages and reprisals on the high seas went on until Massachusetts also was aroused. Having seen some of her own ships captured and confiscated, Massachusetts decided that "God doth call them to do something in a hostile way for their own defence." Plymouth acquiesced in this policy, declaring that "just ground of a war" existed. Rhode Island, which was not a member of the Confederacy, took measures to defend her harbours against Dutch attacks; while the three confederated colonies were planning an expedition which might have threatened not only Long Island, but Manhattan itself, for Evertsen's great fleet had sailed for Europe, leaving one frigate and one sloop-of-war to sustain Colve's government.

Danger of  
an attack  
by the New  
England  
Confederacy

It was indeed a precarious situation which depended upon the continued presence of a Dutch fleet in the midst of a European war that was straining Holland's resources. Fort Willem Hendrick, if good for anything, ought to be able to make it dangerous for hostile ships to enter either the East River or the North; but as an instrument of war that fortress was now but little better than on the day when Dominie Megapolensis warned Stuyvesant of the folly of using it.

States Gennerrall of y<sup>e</sup> united Belgick Provinces, & his Serene hignesse the Prince of Orange, & to their Govern<sup>r</sup> here for the time being, and to y<sup>e</sup> utmost of our power to prevent all what shall be attempted against the same, but uppon all occasions to behave ourselves as true & faitful subiects in conscience are bound to do, provided that wee shal not be forced in armes against our owne Nation if theij are sent bij a Lawful commission from his Majesty of England. Soo help us God." *New York Colonial Documents*, ii. 602.





Paul Steenwyck



Houses had been built and gardens planted so close to it as to interfere with firing. Colve felt bound to make an effective weapon of it, and he decided that the offending houses must either be moved away or be pulled down. It was done as considerately as possible; and here perhaps a few extracts from the contemporary records will help to bring the situation vividly before us.

How Governor Colve pulled down houses

It was announced that all persons injured in their property by the proposed work should be indemnified, either in

money or by a gift of real estate in some other locality. At a meeting held in the City Hall of New Orange, October 10, 1673, at which were present Governor Anthony Colve, Councillor Cornelius Steenwyck, and three burgomasters, Johannes van Brugh, Johannes de Peyster, and Ægidius Luyck, a number of petitions were heard, of which the following are samples: —

The petitions

“Peter de Riemer is willing to remove his house, but requests Muyen’s lot or one at the Water side instead.

“Lodewyck Pos requests the house next the City Hall; otherwise ’t will be impossible for him to move.

“Jacobus van de Water request’s Pattison’s house in Pearl Street, or a lot as near his former residence as possible, with satisfaction.

“George Cobbett says he is unable to move unless assisted.

“Jan Dircksen Meyer says he knows not whither to turn, but finally requests a lot behind The Five Houses, in Bridge Street.

“Andrew Meyer in like manner requests a lot there.

“Gerritt Hendricks, butcher, says he has been ruined by the English and is unable to move; requests help and assistance.

“ Peter Jansen Slott, by his father, requests a lot behind the City Hall.

“ Simon Blanck requests accommodation for the winter, as his house cannot be moved ; asks a lot behind the Five Houses.

“ Peter Stoutenburgh, absent.

“ Martin Jansen Meyer says he is not able to move ; is offered a lot next to Kip in the valley, or recommended to look up another.

“ Lysbeth Tyssen is told that her small houses will be examined, to see whether they cannot be spared.

“ Peter Harmensen’s little house is in like manner to be examined.

“ Peter Jansen Mesier requests a place on the Water side ; otherwise cannot remove.

“ Ephraim Herman requests satisfaction with others.

“ Dr. Taylor’s wife says that her husband is willing to risk his house, and to abide the result.”

Steenwyck and the three burgomasters were then authorized to make an appraisal of the houses and lots which were to be destroyed or surrendered, and likewise of the houses and lots which they should think proper to bestow as indemnity. By permission, two carpenters were added to this committee of appraisal. After their work had been done a proclamation was issued, October 16 :—

“ Whereas Fort Willem Hendrick and the city of New Orange situate on Manhatans Island is seriously encumbered and weakened by the houses, gardens, and orchards which lie so close under its walls and bulwarks that it is impossible to defend it properly when occasion requires against its enemies, unless at least some of those houses, lots, and orchards be demolished and removed. It is therefore considered necessary by the Governor-General, by and with the previous advice of his Council, to demolish, pull down, and remove the undernamed houses, gardens, and orchards, and the owners thereof are hereby most strictly ordered and commanded instantly to commence demolishing

The procla-  
mation

and pulling down their houses, gardens, and orchards, and to remove them to such lots as are laid out within this city by the Governor's order to that end and shall be shown to each of them by the Burgomasters."

A list of the doomed estates follows. The penalty for non-compliance with the order was forfeiture of the indemnity. In order to meet this extraordinary public outlay, a temporary tax was imposed. "It is resolved and ordered to collect from now henceforth until said indemnity and damage shall be prompt paid to said persons and no longer, to wit: —

"From all Beavers and peltries which will be exported from this government to Patria [the Netherlands] or elsewhere after the publication hereof, two and one half per cent.

"From Duffels and Blankets imported from Patria or elsewhere into this government, two per cent.

"And from powder, lead, muskets, wines, brandies, distilled waters, and rum, five per cent."

To this general proclamation was added the following specific notice: —

"Willem van Vredenburgh:

"You are hereby required and ordered, pursuant to the Proclamation, to demolish from garret to cellar your house and lot lying and being in Broadway, and to remove to the Company's garden, No. 1, for which removal you are allowed by arbitrators the sum of 330 florins, Wampum value, which shall be handed and paid you out of the extra duty which is ordered to be paid for that purpose."

A note in the records informs us that "a similar order is sent to the house of all the others mentioned in the Proclamation, except Dr. Taylor, Lysbet Tyssen, and Peter Harmsen, whose houses shall be still further examined, in order if possible to spare them."<sup>1</sup>

Colve was certainly a man of energy, for by the spring of 1674 his fortress was not only far advanced toward completion, but mounted 190 guns, collected from far and near, so that it might have made warm work for ships attempting

<sup>1</sup> *New York Colonial Documents*, ii. 630-635.

to enter either of the rivers. To meet such expenses the treasury had recourse not only to extraordinary duties, but also to wholesale confiscations. As no articles of capitulation had been agreed upon when New York surrendered to Admiral Evertsen, and no fettering promises had been made, it was considered quite right and legitimate to confiscate all English and French property found in the city. Property belonging to persons actually living in Virginia, Maryland, or New England was exempted from this seizure. Those who suffered most were the friends and agents of the Duke of York, among them Lovelace, the ex-governor. This gentleman was of a speculating turn of mind, and had bought sundry snug bits of real estate and parcels of chattels, but without always paying for them on delivery; so that quite naturally he became involved in a Cretan labyrinth of debt. One of his purchases has achieved fame as the initial step in one of the most pertinacious cases of litigation known to modern history. In 1671 he bought the greater part of the "Dominie's Bowery," a farm of sixty-two acres on the North River between the present Fulton and Christopher streets, and mostly west of West Broadway. Lovelace bought it of the heirs of Anneke Jans, the widow of the stout Dominic Bogardus, who has already played his part in our narrative. The hitch in the transaction, which afterward opened the sluices of litigation, was the fact that one of the heirs did not join in the sale to Lovelace. But for that worthy himself there was a more fatal hitch, when the Dutch governor confiscated this purchase with all the rest of his property in New Netherland. No sooner had Lovelace returned from Long Island to Manhattan after its capture by the Dutch, than his creditors arrested him for debt. Concerning the great catastrophe the unfortunate man thus wrote to Governor Winthrop: "To be brief — it was *digitus Dei*, who exalts and depresses as he pleases, and to whom we must all submit. Would you be curious to know what my losses amount to — I can in short resolve you. It was my all which ever I had been

Lovelace's  
purchases  
and debts

collecting ; too greate to misse in this wilderness . . . I am now intending for England, with all the conveniency I may, unlesse prevented."<sup>1</sup> He was told that he might go within six weeks if he could first pay his debts, but as this was impossible, and there seemed to be nothing to be gained by holding him in durance, he was allowed to sail in the fleet for Holland.

The burgomasters and schepens of New Orange had requested the States General to undertake the government of the province of New Netherland, so auspiciously won back. Their High Mightinesses assented to this, and appointed, for governor of the province, Joris Andringa, who had been secretary to Admiral de Ruyter. For the moment it looked as if New Netherland, set free from the narrow and selfish tyranny of the West India Company, was about to enter upon a period of enhanced prosperity under the more liberal and far-sighted policy of the States General. But it had been otherwise decreed. The prosperity was indeed to come, but under other rulers. Diplomacy quickly undid the work of Admiral Evertsen.

This war, in which France and England were united against Holland, very closely concerned the interests of the House of Hapsburg, in Spain and Austria. The purpose of Louis XIV. was to conquer and annex to France as much as possible of the ancient Middle Kingdom, or Lotharingia, and more especially Franche Comté and the Spanish Netherlands. It therefore became Spain's interest to defend her old adversary, the Dutch Netherlands ; and the interest of the Empire was similar, since if France should succeed in swallowing Franche Comté she would next attempt to swallow Alsace. As for the Dutch, they were hard pressed by the united strength of France and England, and willing to pay something for relief. Under these circumstances Spanish diplomacy prevailed upon the States General to make peace with England upon the basis of a mutual restoration of conquests and the payment of

The situation in Europe

<sup>1</sup> Brodhead, ii. 215.

a liberal war indemnity from the Dutch into the English treasury. Upon such terms Charles II. was willing to make peace, the more so since the recent events had brought about the rise of his nephew, the Prince of Orange, to the head of affairs and the downfall of De Witt. Moreover, since Spain and the Empire were coming into the lists against France, it became possible for Charles to gain his personal ends

New policy  
of Charles  
II.

without the trouble of fighting. His abiding need was of money, to preserve as far as possible his independence of Parliament, and to support his innumerable mistresses. "There are two paymasters to whom we may apply. The one is Parliament, the other is Louis XIV. In these years he sets himself up to auction. As the feeling against France is constantly growing in Parliament, it becomes a principle with Charles that by opposing Louis he can obtain money from Parliament, and on the other hand that on condition of restraining, thwarting, or prologuing Parliament, he can obtain money from Louis. During this period Louis is contending against a great coalition. It lies with Charles to decide the issue of the European war, which is particularly dependent on him. He has ceased to aid France; what if he should strike in on the other side? If Louis does not wish to see this happen, Louis must pay!"<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with this Machiavellian policy, Charles prologued his Parliament in 1675, and got £100,000 from his French cousin; in 1677 he made his demand greater and got £180,000 for a similar service; in 1678 he wanted £600,000 for turning Parliament out of doors, and upon Louis's refusal our merry monarch turned around and got £600,000 from Parliament, in the expectation that it would be used in a war against Louis!

Such was the course upon which Charles was feeling inclined to enter at the beginning of the year 1674, and accordingly it became easy to detach him from the alliance with France. At the eleventh hour Louis came forward

<sup>1</sup> Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy*, ii. 213.



with a handsome offer of money, but it was too late. A treaty was signed at Westminster, February 19, between the British king and their High Mightinesses at the Hague, and among its provisions was one which finally shaped the destiny of New Netherland, and made it an English province. On the 11th of July following, the treaty was proclaimed at the City Hall of New Orange. It marked the beginnings of greater changes than anybody could foresee. The end of the unnatural estrangement between English and Dutch was approaching; children born that year in London and Amsterdam were still in the schoolroom when the Prince of Orange was hailed as King of England.

The treaty of Westminster, Feb. 19, 1674

The treaty of Westminster did not put New Netherland back into the hands of the Duke of York. The crown lawyers decided that his title was extinguished by the Dutch conquest, and that the treaty handed it over from the States General to Charles II. Accordingly that monarch granted it afresh to his brother. The new grant was not a confirmation of the old grant of 1664; it made no allusion to it and took no heed of several important things that had been done under it. It gave to the Duke of York the whole territory between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, in utter disregard alike of Nicolls's arrangements with Winthrop and of the claims of Berkeley and Carteret. Thus were the seeds of further vexation and bickering plentifully sown. As for the sturdy Carteret, he entered his protest immediately and with so much vigour that he quite won over Charles, and then James thought it best to yield. But like a true Stuart he could not do anything without creating fresh entanglements. He had once granted New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret jointly; he now made a fresh grant of the eastern part to Carteret in severalty, while he took no notice of the western part, which Berkeley had sold to a couple of Quakers, and for which he had pocketed the purchase-money, £1000. Lord Berkeley had gone as ambassador to France; and as for such little

Conflicting claims

folk as Friends Byllinge and Fenwick, the duke had apparently forgotten their existence. The boundary between East Jersey and West Jersey was declared in Carteret's patent to be a straight line running from Barnegat Creek on the seacoast to a small tributary of the Delaware River next below the mouth of Rankokus Kill. The patent conveyed the territory of East Jersey to Carteret, but without any powers of sovereignty. As for Staten Island, concerning which some question had arisen, it was "adjudged to belong to New York."

The next thing to be done was to send a governor to take possession of New York. Poor Lovelace had fallen from favour. The Dutch had once confiscated his property; the Duke of York now confiscated it again, to satisfy debts due to himself, amounting — as he said — to £7000. The unfortunate ex-governor died before his accounts were settled. For his successor the duke's

Edmund  
Andros, the  
new gov-  
ernor

choice fell upon an energetic young man whose name has left behind it in America some harsh and jarring memories, — Edmund Andros, major in Prince Rupert's regiment of dragoons.



THE ANDROS SEAL

Massachusetts writers have been apt to deal too severely with Andros, for it was in Boston that his hand was felt most heavily. To class him with vulgar tyrants would be grossly unjust. As to

his personal integrity and his general rectitude of purpose there can be no doubt. His administrative ability also was unquestionable; but while broad-minded in some ways, there were streaks of narrowness in his mind and he was deficient in tact and sympathy. He was not the sort of man who would find it easy to wield arbitrary power according to James Stuart's notions without making it oppressive. But he was immeasurably better in all ways than the princes whom he served; and if his career in the New World had ended with his governorship of New York,

His charac-  
ter

his name would have escaped the odium which has been visited upon it.

Andros belonged to a family eminent in the history of the little island of Guernsey, where his father was lord of the manor of Sausmarez and bailiff of the island. The father was also an officer of the royal household. Edmund was born in London in 1637, was brought up at court with the children of Charles I., and shared their exile. At that time he served for a while in the Dutch army, and became familiar with the Dutch language, while he could also speak French fluently. These were useful ac-<sup>His early</sup>complishments in a governor of New York. Of the dozen or more languages in vogue there, next after Dutch and English came French, because of the large numbers of Huguenots and Walloons who had found homes in Manhattan.

We shall have occasion hereafter to comment upon the peculiar comradeship between Quakers and Roman Catholics which signalized the courts of the last two Stuart kings. We may see an illustration of it in some of James's appointments for New York. Governor Andros was a member of the Church of England. With him was joined, as lieutenant-governor, Anthony Brockholls, who was a Roman Catholic, disqualified from holding office in England; while the collector of the port was William Dyer, formerly secretary of Rhode Island, whose Quaker wife had been cruelly hanged on Boston Common in 1660.

On an October day of 1674 the English frigates Diamond

*Anthony Brockholls*

and Castle sailed into the bay of New York, bringing Major Andros and his companions, among whom was Philip Carteret returning to the governorship of New Jersey. The

surrender of the city by Colve was an affair of bows and smiles and pretty speeches. Andros regaled the city officials in his cabin with "ye beste of vitayles and drink," and Colve, not to be outdone in hospitality, presented to his successor his own handsome carriage with three finely caparisoned horses. The liberal terms formerly granted by Colonel Nicolls were renewed; the "Duke's Laws" were proclaimed once more in force; city officers were appointed, of whom some were English, some Dutch, and some French; and the Andros government seemed to be going into peaceful operation. At Albany and Kingston there was no opposition, but on the eastern end of Long Island there was grumbling. On November 14 Andros issued a proclamation reinstating the magistrates of the several towns who had been in office under Lovelace at the moment of the Dutch conquest. When this document was received on Long Island the towns of Southold,

Arrival of Andros in New York Easthampton, and Southampton held town meetings and instructed their magistrates to inform the governor that they were not under his jurisdiction, but under that of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. With the help of that colony they had cast off the rule of the Dutch, and they did not feel authorized to separate themselves from her without her express consent. Andros replied that if the three towns did not at once comply with his proclamation they would be dealt with as if in rebellion; at the same time he thanked Connecticut for her services in restoring these towns to the Duke of York's allegiance; and thus Winthrop and the three towns, on the whole, deemed acquiescence the best policy.

More serious trouble broke out at Manhattan in the following March, when Andros issued a proclamation requiring all citizens of the province of New York to take the same oath of allegiance which Nicolls had exacted in 1664. The articles of capitulation between Nicolls and Stuyvesant had contained provisions that the Dutch might "enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church

The Long Island towns

The oath of allegiance

discipline," that they might retain "their own customs concerning their inheritances," that all public records should be respected, and various other safeguards against oppression. When Nicolls demanded the oath of allegiance, Cornelius Steenwyck and several other burghers were unwilling to take it unless Nicolls should expressly declare that the articles of capitulation were "not in the least broken or intended to be broken by any words or expressions in the said oath;" and to this Nicolls readily assented. Now the same objection was urged before Andros by eight leading burghers. Four of these — Cornelius Steenwyck, Johannes van Brugh, Johannes de Peyster, and Jacob Kip — had urged it before Nicolls; the others were Nicholas Bayard, William Beekman, Ægidius Luyck, and Anthony de Milt. It was evident that the action of these gentlemen would determine that of many other citizens, and Andros saw fit to charge them with a wish to stir up rebellion. He insisted that they should take the oath without any qualification or proviso. Then the eight recusant burghers replied that if they could not be allowed to take the oath now as they had taken it for Nicolls, they hoped they might be permitted to sell their estates and move away from New York. The governor answered by sending them to jail, from which they were released only on giving bonds to appear before the next court of assizes, to be tried for mutinous and inflammatory behaviour. The case came up in the following October, when the accusation was adroitly modified, and the defendants were charged with having violated an act of Parliament by engaging in trade without having taken the oath of allegiance. On this charge conviction was inevitable, and the penalty was forfeiture of goods. Thus driven to the wall, the recusant burghers were fain to secure a remission of the penalty by taking the oath unconditionally; and such other citizens as had been waiting to follow their example presently came forward and took the oath likewise.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of Common Council*, i. 9-11; *Colonial Documents*, iii. 233-239.

The affair thus ended in a complete victory for Andros, but it was not to his credit for wisdom and tact that there should have been any such affair at all. His refusal to grant the very reasonable request of the burghers was indeed not a heinous act of tyranny ; his inability to see anything but sedition in it was a kind of weakness not uncommon with arbitrary rulers ; and his willingness to remit all penalties on carrying his point was surely not the mark of a truculent temper. The incident shows Andros in no worse light than that in which Stuyvesant often appeared, but at the same time it plainly shows his inferiority to Nicolls. His want of tact was the more blameworthy in that Nicolls had once granted the same request that was now made, and no harm whatever had come of it. Andros showed himself in this instance incapable of profiting by his predecessor's experience.

The popular discontent, which in the city and throughout the province had so readily acquiesced in the first change from Dutch to English rule, was still far from abated. Many of the best citizens had hoped that the change would result in self-government with a regular legislative assembly. The question had been more or less talked about under Nicolls and Lovelace ; now it was brought up afresh, and the demand for an assembly was so emphatic that Andros felt it necessary to consult his master about it. At first Andros was opposed to the demand, as we learn from the following letter written to him by the Duke of York, in April, 1675 :—

“ Touching Generall Assemblies w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> people there seem desirous of in imitacōn of their neighbour Colonies, I thinke you have done well to discourage any mocōn of y<sup>t</sup> kind, both as being not at all comprehended in yo<sup>r</sup> Instructions nor indeed consistent w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> forme of governm<sup>t</sup> already established, nor necessary for y<sup>e</sup> ease or redresse of any grievance y<sup>t</sup> may happen, since y<sup>t</sup> may be as easily obtained by any peticōn or other addresse to you at their Generall Assizes (w<sup>ch</sup> is once a yeare) where the same per-

Andros  
showed a  
want of  
tact

Demand  
for a repre-  
sentative  
assembly

The duke's  
letters

sons (as Justices) are usually present, who in all probability would be their Representatives if another constitucōn were allowed." <sup>1</sup>

But apparently in the course of that year the views of Governor Andros underwent some change, for in January, 1676, the duke thus advises him:—

"I have formerly writt to you touching Assemblies in those countreys and have since observed what severall of your lattest letters hint about that matter. But unless you had offered what qualificacōns are usuall and proper to such Assemblies, I cannot but suspect they would be of dangerous consequence, nothing being more knowne then [*i. e.* than] the aptnesse of such bodyes to assume to themselves many priviledges w<sup>ch</sup> prove destructive to, or very oft disturbe, the peace of y<sup>e</sup> governm<sup>t</sup> wherein they are allowed. Neither doe I see any use of them w<sup>ch</sup> is not as well provided for, whilst you and your Councell governe according to y<sup>e</sup> laws established (thereby preserving evary man's property inviolate) and whilst all things that need redresse may be sure of finding it, either at y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Sessions or by other legall and ordinary wayes, or lastly by appeale to myselfe. *But howsoever if you continue of y<sup>e</sup> same opinion, I shall be ready to consider of any proposalls you shall send to y<sup>t</sup> purpose.*" <sup>2</sup>

The last sentence, which I have italicized, indicates that the governor had suggested the feasibility and prudence of yielding to the popular demand for a legislature. It seems, moreover, to show the duke in one of his gracious moods. Nothing, however, came of the discussion, and the rule of Andros continued without constitutional check. There can be no question as to his faithfulness to his master, or as to his unflagging zeal for the interests of the city and province which had been committed to his care. In municipal reforms he was most energetic, and he found an able ally in the wealthy and accomplished Stephanus van Cortlandt,<sup>3</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *Colonial Documents*, iii. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, iii. 235.

<sup>3</sup> His name is commemorated in Cortlandt Street, leading from Broadway down to the Pennsylvania Railroad's ferry.

first mayor of New York who was born in the city. Van Cortlandt's beautiful wife, Gertrude Schuyler, was an especial favourite with Mrs. Andros, and there was warm friendship between the husbands, so that mayor supported governor with more than ordinary alacrity. Van Cortlandt laid out and graded Broadway for some distance beyond the city wall; and seven wells were sunk, which proved useful in cases of fire, though the water was too brackish for drinking. Andros was a stickler for cleanliness and obliged every householder on certain stated days to set out by the wayside his litter and garbage in barrels or tubs, for the city's carts to take away. Andros also built a market-house on Broad Street, and a wharf on the East River, he had decrepit houses thoroughly repaired, or if not worth repairing and liable to become dangerous, he had them pulled down. Tidy housekeeping was a hobby to which he was always ready to give personal supervision. When building was going on he would stand by and give orders to the workmen, or would even in his zeal pick up a foot-rule and measure a board to see if it would fit. It goes without saying that trade and currency would engage the attention of such a man. He fostered trades and tradesmen with rules and regulations until it was a wonder that New York had any trade left. Even the quantity of brine in which the farmer might immerse his blocks of fat pork was minutely prescribed. As for prices, they were of course fixed by ordinance. The currency of the province was in that unfathomable chaos which has always had so many admirers in the New World, — specie, beaver skins, white and black wampum, with relative values perpetually shifting, — and in the attempt to introduce something like order and stability Andros struggled manfully but in vain. Another crying evil was intemperance. It was said, perhaps with some exaggeration, that one quarter of all the houses in the city were places for retailing beer and spirits, and it could not be denied that the streets were too noisy with tipplers. The vehement mood in which Andros ap-

Municipal  
improve-  
ments

Currency

Dram-  
shops



proached such matters is shown by his ordinance that if any man were to be seen drunk on the street, and the magistrates should be unable to discover where he had got his liquor, they were empowered forthwith to clap a fine upon every house in that street! How far this superlative edict was enforced we do not know.

In spite of his zeal and diligence the prosperity of New York did not come up to its governor's wishes and expectations, and although inducements were held out to immigrants, yet the population did not increase so rapidly as was desired. It seemed to Andros necessary for the general welfare that the thriving towns and teeming fields of Connecticut should be added to his province; or, as he himself would have honestly said, to assert the duke's Andros covets Connecticut rightful authority over this eastern portion of his province. At the same time both Andros and the duke knew that some discretion was needful in proceeding against a colony chartered by the king, to say nothing of the facts that Connecticut single-handed was stronger than New York, and that she was loosely confederated with Massachusetts and Plymouth, upon whose aid in certain emergencies she could count.

In the spring of 1675 Andros sent a message to Hartford, requesting the General Court to make arrangements for turning over that town and all the country west of the Connecticut River to the Duke of York. The court replied by alleging the award of the royal commissioners of 1664, which gave to Connecticut a boundary twenty miles east and lays claim to it of the Hudson River. Andros rejoined that the alleged award had never been confirmed by the king, and was now quite superseded by the new royal grant to the duke. The men of Connecticut refused to admit this claim, and their contumacy was declared by Andros and his council to be tantamount to rebellion. In June "hee sent home Capt<sup>n</sup> Salisbury for England to let his Royal Highness know how impossible it was for this Government to subsist without the addition of Connecticut."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Governor Dongan's report of 1687 to the Lords of Trade, in O'Cal-

In the answer to Salisbury's message, which did not come for nearly a year, the duke's secretary wrote to Andros: "Upon the whole you will see that His Roy<sup>ll</sup> H<sup>ss</sup> is willing things should rest as they are at present, but he is not sorry you have revived this clayme because possibly some good use may be hereafter made of it."<sup>1</sup>

But the ship that carried Captain Salisbury had scarcely sailed (July 2, 1675) when a courier from Hartford came spurring down the Bowery Lane (July 4) with the shocking news of the Indian massacre at Swanzey. The long-drawn chapter of horrors known as King Philip's War had begun. Andros at once wrote to Winthrop: "I am very much troubled at the Christians' misfortunes and hard disasters in those parts, being so overpowered by such heathen. Hereupon I have hastened my coming to your parts, and added a force to be ready to take such resolutions as may be fit for me upon this extraordinary occasion, with which I intend, God willing, to set out this evening, and to make the best of my way to Connecticut River, His Royal Highness' bounds there."<sup>2</sup>

If the good people at Hartford had been at all slow to dread the coming of Andros with his Danaan gift of reinforcements, this last ominous allusion would have quickened them. They promptly recalled the force which they had despatched in aid of Plymouth, and they sent Captain Thomas Bull, with 100 men, to hold the fort at Saybrook. The General Court was at once assembled, and unanimously adopted a protest against "Major Andros and all his aiders and abettors, as disturbers of the public peace of his Majesty's good subjects." It was resolved that they should "use their utmost power and endeavour (expecting laghan's *Documentary History of New York*, i. 187. Dongan goes on to say, "Much less can it subsist now without it, being at more expense than in the time of Sir Edmond, having lost Delaware, etc. . . . I hope his Ma<sup>ty</sup> will bee graciously pleased to add that Colony to this which is the Centre of all His Dominions in America."

<sup>1</sup> *Colonial Documents*, iii. 236.

<sup>2</sup> *Connecticut Colonial Records*, ii. 579.

therein the assistance of Almighty God) to defend the good people of the Colony from the said Major Andros's attempts."

On the 8th of July Andros arrived at Saybrook with three sloops-of-war, and found the fort already occupied by Captain Bull, and the royal standard floating over it, upon which it was neither prudent nor proper to fire. Andros sent a message up to Hartford, renewing his demand for territory, and asking for a "direct and effectual answer," for which he said he should wait. As for his aid against Indians, he hinted that the Connecticut people did not seem over eager for it. Captain Bull told him that if he wished to be helpful against Philip's Indians he had better lose no time in sailing to Mount Hope Bay.

Andros  
baffled at  
Saybrook

After two days Andros came ashore and had an interview on the river's bank with Bull and his officers. Andros insisted upon having the duke's patent read aloud, but Bull's party refused to listen and walked away, saying it was no business of theirs. When the reading was finished, Andros said he should now depart unless they wished him to stay. The officers replied that they were not instructed to ask him to stay, but they had something to read aloud for his benefit, and they went on to read the protest of the General Court in which Andros was set down as a disturber of the public peace. He exclaimed that this was a poor requital for his kindness in offering aid against the savages; and so the colloquy ended. As his vessels got under weigh he was courteously saluted by the guns of the fort, and the salute was returned. Then with swelling canvas the governor's ships sailed out of the beautiful river and sped away over the majestic waters of the Sound with prows turned southward for Long Island. When the affair was reported to the Hartford magistrates, they commended Bull and his officers for what they had done, but wished that it might have been done less mildly. It would have been well, they said, if the reading of the patent had been drowned in a boom and clatter of drums.<sup>1</sup> Eighteen years later, as we shall see, a very

<sup>1</sup> *Connecticut Colonial Records*, ii. 262, 334, 339-343, 579-584. Dr.

doubtful tradition credits Captain Wadsworth with remembering this hint and acting upon it.<sup>1</sup>

From Southold, where Andros landed, he sent a few soldiers to protect his master's islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. He returned through Long Island to Manhattan, and exacted fresh assurances of good behaviour from all the Algonquin sachems in the neighbourhood. After a few weeks the rumour of Jesuit intrigues in the Mohawk valley led him to visit the Long House in person, to counteract this dangerous influence.

The Iroquois league was now at the height of its power. These barbarians had never forgotten Champlain's attack

COURCELLE

upon them at Ticonderoga,<sup>2</sup> and seldom let slip any opportunity for harassing the French. They became so vexatious that early in 1666 Courcelle, the governor of Canada, set out with a party on snow-shoes to invade the Mohawk country. Courcelle with much difficulty reached Schenectady, the most advanced outpost of New Netherland, where he first learned of the capture of the province by Colonel Nicolls. He was obliged to retrace his steps without chastising the barbarians, for, hard as the advance had been through a frozen wilderness, he feared that sudden thaws and vernal mud might make retreat impossible. In the autumn of the same year Courcelle returned with the Marquis de Tracy, lieutenant-general of New France, and a powerful force of 1300 men, and they succeeded in burning five of the Mohawk "castles," or palisaded villages, and destroying an immense

Trumbull's account, in his *History of Connecticut*, i. 330, perhaps needs a little pruning.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 83.

quantity of food that had been stored for the winter. The French beheld with astonishment how much these keen-witted barbarians had learned from the Dutch.<sup>1</sup> Not only had they grown expert in the use of firearms and many carpenters' tools, but their forts were stout quadrangles twenty feet high, with formidable bastions at the corners. The destruction of these elaborate strongholds made a deep impression upon the dusky brethren of the Long House, for it showed them that their eastern door, at least, might be beaten in by Onontio<sup>2</sup> and his pale-faced children.

Governor Nicolls held that this French invasion of the Mohawk country was a trespass on the territory of New York, since he recognized a kind of Dutch overlordship over the Long House, and held that their rights of suzerainty had now passed over to the English. For a moment Nicolls dreamed of a general attack upon Canada, in which the New England colonies should take part, but such a scheme found little favour. A war against New France meant a war against Algonquins and in aid of Iroquois, and was likely to infuriate the Algonquins of New England, whose love for their brethren of Canada may not have been strong, but whose hate for the Iroquois surpassed the hatreds of hell. Nicolls encouraged the Mohawks to resist the French, but neither under his administration nor that of Lovelace were adequate measures taken for securing a permanent Anglo-Iroquois alliance.

Meanwhile the sagacious and indefatigable rulers of New France were as ready to try persuasion as violence, and they found consummate instruments in the Jesuits. These de-

<sup>1</sup> Parkman, *Old Régime*, i. 257.

<sup>2</sup> *Onontio* (occasionally written *Yonnondio*) means Big Mountain, and is the Iroquois translation of the name of Charles de Montmagny, who was governor of Canada from 1636 to 1648. All the French governors of Canada were thereafter called Onontio by the Iroquois, among whom it was customary for the hereditary chief to inherit the name as well as the office of his predecessor. In like manner all the governors of Pennsylvania were called *Onas*, which means Quill, and is a translation of the name Penn. See Parkman's *Jesuits*, ii. 102.

voted missionaries addressed themselves to the task of converting the Iroquois to Christianity and turning their hearts to an alliance with Onontio. With the Mohawks, who had suffered the chief damage from the French, the case was hopeless; but the other tribes — Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas — were more ready to listen. Some headway was made, and a few tawny warriors were baptized, while Courcelle began building a fortress at Cataraqui, where the river St. Lawrence flows out of Lake Ontario. This stronghold, which was finished in 1673 by Frontenac, and bore his name for more than eighty years, stood on the site of the present city of Kingston. Its immediate purpose was to serve as a base for expeditions across Lake Ontario against the central and western tribes of the Long House, and to cut off the lucrative fur trade in which these barbarians were the purveyors for the Dutch and English in New York.

The moment when Andros was governor of New York was therefore a critical moment. If the Jesuit missionaries had won over the Long House, it is not improbable that New York would have become, and might perhaps have remained, a French province. Possibly the formation of the American Union might have been prevented. Certainly the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would have been modified in many important particulars.

There was imminent danger that the short-sighted policy of the Duke of York would play directly into the hands of the French. For a while James did what he could to favour the Jesuit missionaries, wishing to see the heathen of the New World brought into the fold of Rome, and failing to realize that every point gained by those good Jesuits was a nail in the coffin of his own American interests. At times, however, he seemed to wake up to the gravity of the situation, which Andros, being on the spot, understood much better than he. In the terrible summer of 1675, when the Wampanoags were working such

French  
intrigues  
with the  
Long  
House

A critical  
moment

The duke's  
mistaken  
policy

havoc in the Plymouth colony and the Nipmucks in the central highlands of Massachusetts, while on the other hand the frontier settlements in Virginia and Maryland were being goaded into a war set afoot by wandering Susquehannocks,<sup>1</sup> it was clearly a time for preserving friendly relations with the formidable Long House. Scarcely had Andros returned from his Connecticut expedition when he made up his mind to go in person to the Mohawks and secure their favour and that of their confederates.

His journey took him far into the Indian country. It was a pleasant voyage, of course, to Albany, making a brief stop at Esopus. After landing at Albany his party struck into the great Indian trail, the course of which has been closely followed in later days by the Erie Canal and the New York Central Railroad. After a march of about sixteen miles they came upon the Mohawk River, at a fording-place, where there was a tiny Dutch hamlet founded fourteen years before by Arendt van Corlear, a man of noble and generous nature. As a commissioner of Rensselaerwyck he had long been well known to the Indians, in whose minds his name stood as a synonym for truth and integrity. In 1667 this good Corlear came to a melancholy end. As he was sailing on Lake Champlain he passed a rock whereon the waves were wont to dash and fly up wildly, and Indian folklore told of an ancestral Indian who haunted the spot and controlled the weather, so that passing canoes always threw a pipe or other small gift to this genius of the lake and prayed for a favourable wind. But Corlear not only neglected this wise precaution, but in his contempt for such heathen fancies made an unseemly gesture as he passed the rock; whereat the offended spirit blew a sudden gust which capsized his boat and drowned him.<sup>2</sup>

The Indian name of the village founded by Corlear was Onoaligone, but the village itself was known to Indians

<sup>1</sup> See *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, ii. Illustrated Edition, 51-55.

<sup>2</sup> Colden's *History of the Five Nations*, London, 1755, i. 32.

and French simply as "Corlear's." The Dutch inhabitants, however, transferred to it the Iroquois name Schenectady, which was originally applied to the country about the site of Albany.<sup>1</sup> At this Dutch village of Schenectady, the remotest western outpost of civilization, the governor and his retinue made a brief halt. At that fording-place the trail divided, one branch crossing the river, the other following its windings closely upon the southern bank. This southern trail would bring Andros through the three principal Mohawk castles; the first one being on the west bank of Schoharie Creek at its junction with the river, the second at Canajoharie, and the third on the site of the present town absurdly named "Danube," in Herkimer County. Soon after leaving this stronghold the trail passed from the territory of the Mohawks into that of the Oneidas, and there was no other stopping-place until the party arrived at a hill around the base of which the trail made a very noticeable curve. Here at the Oneida stronghold known as Nundadasis, or "around the hill," hard by the site of the city of Utica, this inland journey came to an end.

Andros  
arrives in  
the Oneida  
country

To this rendezvous in the depths of the primeval forest came chiefs from all the Five Nations, even from the furthest Seneca villages on the southern shore of Lake Erie. There was a grand powwow which lasted for several days. It was the season for green succotash and for mallards and teal, with the red man's inevi-

Great  
conference  
with the  
Indians



<sup>1</sup> The meaning of Schenectady is variously rendered. Morgan, whose familiarity was greatest with the Seneca dialect, makes it mean "Beyond-the-openings" (*i. e.* in the hills); see his *League of the Iroquois*, Rochester, 1851, p. 415. David Cusick, the Tuscarora (in his *History of the Six Nations*, Lockport, 1848) makes it mean "Beyond-the-pine-plains," and Beauchamp (*Indian Names in New York*, Fayetteville, 1893) got the same interpretation from some Onondagas.



table gala dish of boiled dog. Solemn speeches were made, wampum belts were exchanged, and many a ring of blue smoke curled from the pipe of peace, as it was made clear to all that the wicked Onontio sought to bring ruin upon the Long House, while the English were its steadfast friends, even as the Dutch had been before them. The Indians' vivid sense of the continuity between these two was shown when they bestowed upon Andros the name of their old friend Corlear. As in their minds the Dutch power whose friendship they valued was personified in Corlear, the particular Dutchman with whom they chiefly had dealings on matters of public interest, so now the English power was personified in Andros. Since he stood for exactly the same things as their former ally, he too was Corlear, and by that name the governors of New York were henceforth known in the Long House for more than a hundred years.

An immediate result of this auspicious conference with the Five Nations was the organization of a Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs, with its headquarters at Albany. From that time forth the proximity of Albany to the Long House made it one of the most important towns in English America, as was shown in 1754, when it was selected as the place of meeting for the famous Congress at which Benjamin Franklin's plan for a Federal Union was propounded. For secretary of his Board of Commissioners Andros appointed a young Scotchman, the scion of a family long famous in Scotland and destined to further fame in America. Robert Livingston was the son of an eminent Presbyterian minister of Roxburghshire, who migrated to Rotterdam soon after Charles II. came to the throne. At about the age of twenty Robert came to America and settled in Albany, where he was almost immediately made town clerk. His appointment within another year to such a responsible post on the Indian Commission was an early testimony to the ability and force of character that were afterward shown in many ways. In 1679 he married Alida, sister of Peter

The Board  
of Indian  
Commis-  
sioners

Robert Liv-  
ingston

Schuyler and widow of Dominie Nicholas van Rensselaer, — an alliance of three names potent in the history of the New World. Peter Schuyler, who was afterward mayor of Albany, exerted greater influence over the Iroquois than any other man before the arrival of William Johnson in the next century. On the whole, the founding of the Indian Commission was probably the most important act of Andros's administration, and the value of the work accomplished by a little group of able men at Albany is not likely to be overrated.

Andros continued, like his Dutch predecessors, to supply the Iroquois with muskets and ammunition, and this was probably the source of the rumour, which was believed in Boston, that Philip's Indians were supplied with powder at Albany. The governor was naturally indignant at this vile slander. He had left most stringent orders at Albany prohibiting the sale of firearms or powder to any Algonquin, under penalty of £10 fine for every quarter of a pound of powder, or in aggravated cases the offender might even be put to death. Therefore "hee sent two gentlemen to Boston to complaine of such an aspersion, demanding itt might bee made appeare, or falce informer punished; They by a letter cleare the Magistrates butt nott Generalty, still asperced w<sup>th</sup>out any known cause, complaint, or notice." The "Generalty" of people anywhere in the New England Confederacy were not willing to deprive themselves of any excuse for hating the representative of that "man of sin," James Stuart, and even when Andros sincerely wished to aid them his generosity must reach them through that colony of heretics with which the "lords brethren" refused to own fellowship. "Upon notice of want, though unasked, hee sent six barrels of powder and some match to Roade Island, which they thankfully accepted, and afterward lent part of it to New England fforces in want, att their fight in Narrogansett country."<sup>1</sup> Some of the powder burnt in destroying the swamp fortress on

Andros's  
relations  
with New  
England

<sup>1</sup> *New York Colonial Documents*, iii. 254.



RO: Livingston Sec.  
CALIFORNIA

and the governor at once wrote to Hartford and to Boston for permission to bring a force of English and Iroquois into New England to attack their Algonquin foes. The request was refused, which indicates that it was suspected of being a ruse to cover a real design upon the west bank of the Connecticut River. Then Andros went up to Albany with six sloops and there met a large force of exulting Mohawks, loaded with the scalps of Philip's warriors whom they had defeated and chased through Berkshire.<sup>1</sup> It was immediately after this defeat that Philip, moving eastward, attacked Lancaster with a strong party of Nipmucks.

After the summer of 1676 the war came to an end in southern New England, with the almost complete extermination of Narragansetts, Wampanoags, and Nipmucks, but it was kept up two years longer by the Tarratines on the Maine coast. Massachusetts and Connecticut wished to deal directly with the Mohawks, to obtain military aid from them, but Andros would not allow this. He was willing, however, to have envoys from Boston and Hartford meet envoys from the Long House in his presence at Albany and negotiate to their hearts' content. Sundry questions connected with the Indian troubles at the South, which had ensued after the overthrow of the Susquehannocks by the Senecas, brought envoys likewise from Virginia and Maryland to Albany. In 1677 Andros dealt a blow at

War with  
the Tarratines

the Tarratines in the interest of the Duke of York.

He sent a force which took possession of Pemaquid and built a fort there: but here he contrived to irritate Massachusetts by forbidding the curing of fish except upon the islands and one small spot near the fort.

In the autumn of 1677 Andros went to England on private business, leaving Brockholls in charge of his province. He was knighted in approval of his official conduct, and returned to New York in the autumn of 1678. With him

I wrote it, I knew Mather's story, to which I attached no importance, but I had not seen the paper in the New York archives.

<sup>1</sup> *New York Colonial Documents*, iii. 255.

A two Years  
JOURNAL  
IN  
*New-York* :  
And part of its  
TERRITORIES  
IN  
*AMERICA.*

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By C. W. A. M.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Dickenson* Boys in *Lowth*;  
and *George Barton* in *Boston*, MDCCI.

MD

came Rev. Charles Wolley, a young Cambridge graduate, who, after his return to England three years later, published a book which was widely read, entitled "A Two Years' Journal in New York." It was in the next year, moreover, that New York was visited and carefully described by two very keen and intelligent Dutch observers, the so-called Labadist emissaries, Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter. Let us seize this occasion for taking a survey of the city as it appeared in the days of the Duke of York's autocratic governors. For this purpose, we shall do best to take our start in a new chapter.

Andros  
visits Eng-  
land, is  
knighted,  
and returns  
to New  
York

## CHAPTER XI

NEW YORK IN THE YEAR 1680

LATE in the autumn of 1680 the good people of Manhattan were overcome with terror at a sight in the heavens such as has seldom greeted human eyes. An enormous comet, perhaps the most magnificent one on record, <sup>The great comet</sup> suddenly made its appearance. At first it was tailless and dim, like a nebulous cloud, but at the end of a week the tail began to show itself and in a second week had attained a length of 30 degrees; in the third week it extended to 70 degrees, while the whole mass was growing brighter. After five weeks it seemed to be absorbed into the intense glare of the sun, but in four days more it reappeared like a blazing sun itself in the throes of some giant convulsion and threw out a tail in the opposite direction as far as the whole distance between the sun and the earth. Sir Isaac Newton, who was then at work upon the mighty problems soon to be published to the world in his "Principia," welcomed this strange visitor as affording him a beautiful instance for testing the truth of his new theory of gravitation.<sup>1</sup> But most people throughout the civilized world, the learned as well as the multitude, feared that the end of all things was at hand. Every church in Europe, from the grandest cathedral to the humblest chapel, resounded with supplications, and in the province of New York a day of fasting and humiliation was appointed, in order that the wrath of God might be assuaged. Let us take a brief survey of the little city on Manhattan Island, upon which Newton's comet looked down, while Dominie Nieuwenhuysen and Dominie Frazius were busy with prayers to avert the direful omen.

<sup>1</sup> Newton's *Principia*, book iii. prop. 41.

To a visitor sailing up the harbour the most conspicuous objects would have been Fort James, standing on the present Battery and mounting forty-seven guns, and a little to the west of it the principal town windmill.<sup>1</sup> On the other side, near the present South Ferry, scarcely less conspicuous, was the stone Government House, built by Stuyvesant, the name of which was afterward changed by Governor Dongan to Whitehall. Hard by was the governor's dwelling-house. Going up Whitehall Street, one would espy the warehouse and bakery that had once belonged to the West India Company, and the brewery, convenient for governor and dominie. Near it stood the Dutch parsonage with its quaint flower-beds gorgeous in colours and bordered with closely trimmed box. Coming to the Bowling Green, the belfry of Kieft's church of St. Nicholas would be seen peering over the walls of the fort at the graveyard on the west side of Broadway. Just north of the wall stood the town pump. Stepping back to Whitehall and turning eastward, we come upon the jail and the stocks. Pearl Street, the oldest in the city, was then the river bank, and was often called Waterside or the Strand, but the old name has prevailed, which is said to have been given it from the abundant heaps of oyster-shells, highly prized for the excellence of their lime. The quaint Dutch houses, with their gables and weathercocks and small-paned dormer windows, were built of bricks baked in Holland, cemented with mortar made from this lime. They retained the high stoop (*stoep*, *i. e.* steps), which in the Fatherland raised the best rooms above the risk of inundation, and thus bequeathed to modern New York one of its most distinctive architectural features.

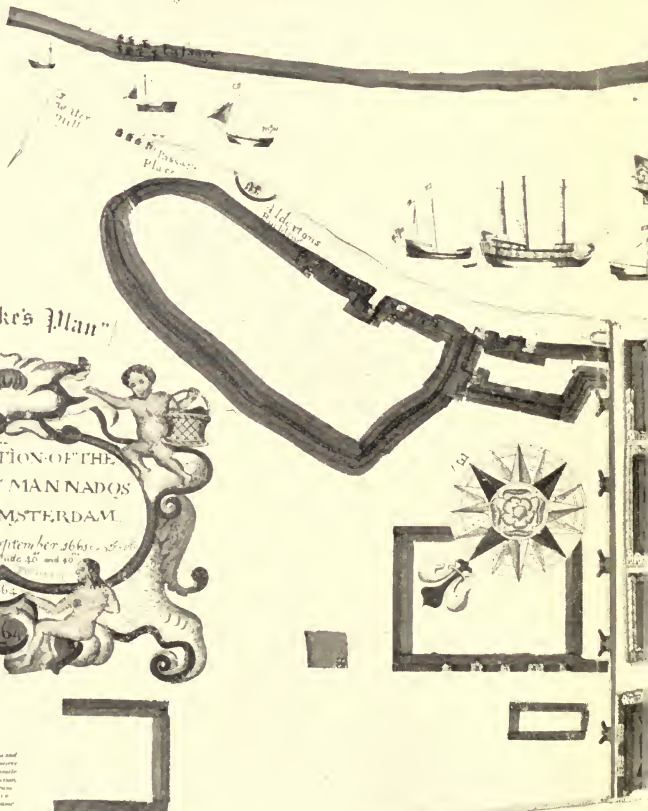
From Pearl Street in a gentle curve ran northward to the city wall a street most suggestive of Holland, with a stream flowing through its centre diked on both sides like a Dutch

<sup>1</sup> This description partly follows the map of "The Towne of Manados, or New Amsterdam, in 1661," of which the original is in the British Museum.





# LONGE ISLE



"The Duke's Plan"



*In collecting materials for a Catalogue of the Maps and Plans in the Library of the Hon. Socy of Antiquaries I discovered that this Map of the Town of Manadoss was in the King's original and being a copy of the original I have it in the Library of the Socy of Antiquaries. It is supposed to have been drawn by Willem Blaeuw in 1664 in which the right of discovery is said to have been made.*

New York December 1664

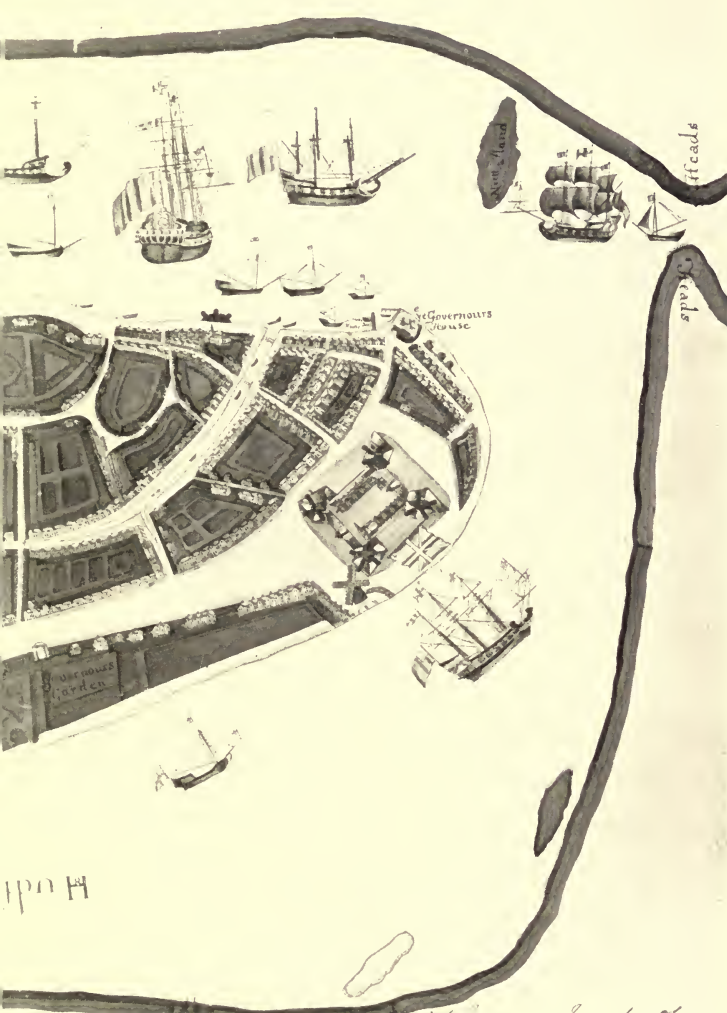
*1664*

This Scale of Five Hundred yards is for the Towne



AND

LAND.



THE MAIN.

which has been brought off  
 I hereby certify that I have closely examined the copy of a map of the Town of Providence as here described now in the Library of the British Museum and find that it agrees in every particular with the original  
 Richard Smith Keeper of the Library



canal. This was rightly called Broad Street, for it was seventy-two feet in width. Its canal was spanned by several wooden foot-bridges and one "for cat-tell and waggons." At about the time which our narrative has reached, Governor Andros had the canal effaced and the road built solidly over it, and from that day to this the stream has continued to flow under Broad Street, doing



SMIT'S V'LEI

duty as a sewer.<sup>1</sup> Two spacious docks were then built at the foot of the street, between the jail and Whitehall, which greatly increased the facilities for shipping. Walking up Pearl Street as far as the present No. 73, opposite Coenties Slip, one would come upon the old Stadt Huys, which served as a city hall until 1699, when a new one was built on Wall Street, facing the head of Broad. In that new City Hall the eccentric Charles Lee spent the year 1777 as a prisoner, and on its balcony in 1789, the object of his jealous hatred, George Washington, was inaugurated President of the United States.

Where Pearl Street crossed Wall, there was the Water

<sup>1</sup> Hill and Waring, *Old Wells and Water-Courses of the Island of Manhattan*, p. 310.

Gate through the tall palisadoed structure. A little below, the burgher's battery of ten guns frowned upon the river ; just at the gate was a demi-lune called the Fly Water Gate (V'lei) blockhouse ; and a short distance above stood the slaughter-houses, which Andros had banished from the city. Proceeding northward, we enter a bright green marshy valley drained by a brook, where groups of laughing women might be seen washing clothes, as one often sees them to-day in France. The brook and the verdure have long since departed, but the brookside path still keeps the name of Maiden Lane. On the East River, at the foot of this path, is a busy blacksmith's forge, from which the valley is known as Smit's Vallei, shortened in common parlance to V'lei. A few steps above the smithery bring us to the site of Peck Slip, where a boat is moored to a tree growing on the bank. A horn hangs upon this tree, and if we take it down and blow, a farmer will emerge from his house near by and ferry us over to Brooklyn for three stivers in wampum, or about six cents in our modern reckoning. But we will leave the horn unsounded, for after a brief visit to Isaac Allerton's big tobacco warehouse, between the present Cliff Street and Fulton Ferry, we must walk through Shoemakers' Land. Until 1676 the tanneries were on Broad Street, but Andros then declared them a nuisance and ordered them out of the city ; whereupon their owners bought the land now enclosed between Broadway, Ann, Gold, and John streets, and did there tan hides and make boots. After twenty years this odorous business was moved a little further north, to Beekman's Swamp, which has remained for two centuries the principal home of the city's leather trade.

From the western border of Shoemakers' Land a southward walk on Broadway outside the wall, a country road among woods and fields, brings us down to the Land Gate. Of peril from savage foes or from wild beasts in this open country, not much was to be apprehended in 1678, although

the young parson Wolley tells with much unction of the part which he took in a bear hunt near Maiden Lane. But the military defences were kept up and increased until the end of the century, chiefly in view of <sup>The Land Gate</sup> possible danger from France. At the Land Gate (Broadway and Wall Street) a large stone salient was added, mounting several guns, and known by the name "Hollandia;" while a similar structure, called "Zelandia," stood where Wall was crossed by King (now William) Street. The site of Greenwich Street was then a long steep bluff with its base washed by the North River, and presently the wall was continued and carried southward, crowning the bluff and reinforced by three stout bastions, until it reached Fort James. There were no buildings of note west of Broadway except the Lutheran church and parsonage, near the Land Gate.

Manhattan north of the city wall was an undulating woodland, with many rocky hills and considerable areas of salt marshes partially drained by sluggish streams. In several favoured localities were flourishing boweries (Dutch *bouweries*, *i. e.* farms) with smiling orchards and gardens. The main thoroughfare started at the Land Gate as the northward extension of Broadway; at the site of Ann Street it was deflected eastward and followed the direction of Park Row and Chatham Street into the Bowery Lane, so called from Stuyvesant's country seat, which it passed. Walking northward from the point of deflection, one would have on the right hand Beekman's Swamp and on the left hand the grazing-ground long known as the Flats, then as the Common or the Fields, now as the City Hall Park. In time <sup>The Common</sup> it came to supersede the Bowling Green as a place for great open-air assemblies; there it was, in 1774, that the youthful Alexander Hamilton, a student at King's College, began his public career, just a century after the first coming of Andros to govern New York. During those hundred years the changes of landscape in that neighborhood were not great. The most notable feature was the large pond which covered the area now bounded by Baxter, White,



THE COLLECT

Elm, Duane, and Park streets. Around the shores of this bright and sparkling sheet of water stood a village of Manhattan Indians before the white intruders came to their island. For Indians, Dutch, and English it was a bountiful reservoir of dainty fish, and in the winter it was the gay scene of skating parties. It was sometimes called the Fresh Water, sometimes the Collect, of which more anon. To the south of it was a much smaller pond known as the Little Collect, and on the narrow isthmus between, about at the present junction of Duane and Centre streets, the City Magazine or Powder House was built in 1728. There it has been supposed that the French fort of Norumbega may have stood in 1542, when it was visited by Jean Allefonsce.<sup>1</sup>

This deep and limpid lake, the Collect, was at the divide between the two watersheds into the East and North rivers. Its surface was at the level of a ridge of high land, from which, in the southeast and northwest directions, there ran two deep depressions, separating the lower end of Manhattan from the broader region above. These depressions were salt marshes. The easterly one, called Wolfert's Marsh, extended to the East River, and through it

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 67.



flowed the Old Kill on about the line of Roosevelt Street. The wayfarer on his way up from the city, just before reaching the brink of Wolfert's Marsh, might quench his thirst at a copious spring, called the Tea Water Pump, which remained famous until the middle of the nineteenth century. After passing this natural fountain, he would come to the



KISSING BRIDGE

descent into the marshy ravine, a descent so steep that the high road was constrained to make a sharp curve from the line of Park Row eastward through a bit of William and Pearl, and back again. After the descent, he would cross the Old Kill upon the Kissing Bridge, where, if he happened to be walking or driving with a lady companion, it was his privilege to kiss her. On the further

The  
Kissing  
Bridge

side of the stream another sharp curve (the cause of the opening at Chatham Square) was made necessary by the abrupt ascent.<sup>1</sup> At the top of the hill stood Wolfert Webber's tavern, and a little beyond it a tall windmill built in 1662. In this neighbourhood were a few farms kept by free negroes. Some distance further out one would pass the ancient mile-stone, which still stands on the Bowery opposite Rivington Street, "on which, if it does not happen to be covered over with bills, one may still read the legend, *2 miles to City Hall.*"<sup>2</sup> Still further north, near the Ninth Street station of the Third Avenue elevated railroad, came the cluster of settlements known as the Bowery Village, founded by Stuyvesant on his own territory. There were the clanking smithery, the church where the town schoolmaster, Dominie Selyns, preached on Sundays, and the inn where good entertainment was furnished for man and beast.

The  
Bowery  
Village

About a mile above the Bowery Village, the road began to make its way over wild and rugged hills, with few traces of human occupation save at the well-kept farm of Jacobus Kip, at that deep bight of the East River between Thirty-third and Thirty-seventh streets which is still known as Kip's Bay. Kip's massive and stately house, which he built in 1655, being then secretary of New Netherland, was demolished in 1851, because it occupied the space where Thirty-fifth Street now crosses Second Avenue. After leaving this farm behind and proceeding for another half mile, one would come upon another indentation of the river, which the Dutch called Deutel (*i. e.* Wedge) Bay, a name which in English mouths soon became Turtle Bay. Into it, near the foot of Forty-seventh Street, emptied a brook which, from its sources near Ninth Avenue and Seventy-second Street, meandered across the island, leaving a modern vestige of itself in the lake near the Plaza in Cen-

<sup>1</sup> In this account I have been much assisted by Hill and Waring, *Old Wells and Water-Courses*, an admirable monograph.

<sup>2</sup> Hewitt's *The Bowery*, p. 372.



LISPENARD'S MEADOWS

tral Park. Some of this brook's water was utilized in turning the wheels of Mynheer de Voor's grist-mill, whereby it was commonly known as Voor's Mill-stream. The bridge on which our high road was carried over it afforded our wayfarer a second opportunity for kissing the damsel beside him without fear of rebuke. Just above this bridge there stood for more than a century Old Cato's Inn, renowned for its suppers of fish and game. Nothing else do we encounter that calls for mention here until we arrive <sup>Harlem</sup> at the Flats, where the village of Harlem had reached a flourishing condition by 1660.

We may now return to the place where Broadway was deflected into Park Row, and thence take a fresh northward start on the other side of the Common, along the present line of Broadway. In the days of Andros this was merely a walk across the fields, but afterwards the prolongation of Broadway began as a ropewalk. By 1776 that thoroughfare, with the streets west of it, had been laid out and partially occupied with houses as far up as Reade Street. There the land descended into the great hollow through which flowed the Collect's western outlet down to the Hudson River. Its breadth was rather more than half a mile, from

the line of Duane to that of Spring Street, which received its name from one of the rivulets which swelled the volume of the Groote (*i. e.* Great) Kill, as the main outlet was called. Up this Groote Kill the red men used to paddle their canoes laden with oysters, and from the heaps of shells on the shores of the pond came the Dutch name Kolch Hoek (*i. e.* Shell Point), which the English corrupted into Collect. The wide region which the stream imperfectly drained was afterward long known as Lispenard's Meadows. Part of it was excellent grazing-land, but it was largely swamp, with treacherous quagmires here and there in which cattle were engulfed. Its perils were illustrated by grewsome incidents, as when a puzzled pedestrian after nightfall, losing his way where Greene Street now crosses Grand, stepped into a deep pool and was drowned. Through its insidious and spongy wastes, musical with bull-frogs, many a zealous angler made his way, while the fowler with his shot-gun was sure to find woodcock and snipe abounding. After 1730 the region was regarded as a lurking-place of miasma, and from time to time portions were filled in by dumping stones and earth. At length the whole space was filled up, while the Groote Kill was straightened and deepened and confined between plank walls, so as to become a canal in a street one hundred feet wide. Such was the origin of Canal Street. Early in the nineteenth century the city had come to envelop the beautiful Collect, which became a receptacle for rubbish and filth until it was voted a nuisance and obliterated. On a rising ground to the west of the water had formerly stood the gallows. In 1838, on a spot which had been in the central portion of the lake, was built the city prison, that noble but dismal specimen of Egyptian architecture commonly known as The Tombs.

On the bank of the North River, half a mile or so above the northern confines of Lispenard's Meadows, there was an interesting hamlet, at first accessible only by the river and afterward by foot-paths. It was originally an Indian

village rejoicing in the name of Sappokanican, and occupied a very defensible position between the steep river bank and Minetta Brook, a stream which still flows in its old course, though no longer visible. Two rivulets, arising the one near the site of Calvary Church and the other at Sixth Avenue and Seventeenth Street, came together between Fifth and Sixth avenues a little below Twelfth Street. Their junction formed Minetta Brook, which, after curving eastward enough to touch

Sappokanican, or Greenwich.



CANAL STREET

Clinton Place, flowed across Washington Square and down into the North River, through a small swamp between Charlton and West Houston streets, known as Minetta Water. It was a clear swift brook abounding in trout, and its left bank was high and covered with dense forest. The space enclosed between its right bank and the North River (through the centre of which Christopher Street now runs) was a vast and smiling field, salubrious and fertile. Indian

hamlets not unfrequently migrate with very little ado, and as to what became of Sappokanican we are not informed, but it is on record that Director Van Twiller procured it for his own behoof in 1633 and made it a tobacco plantation. It was known in his time as the Bossen Bouwerie (*i. e.* Forest Farm), and the quality of its tobacco was highly esteemed. By 1727 there was a flourishing village there and the English had begun to call it Greenwich. It was then connected with the city by a good road, nearly identical with Greenwich Street, crossing Lisperard's Meadows and the Minetta Water on causeways.

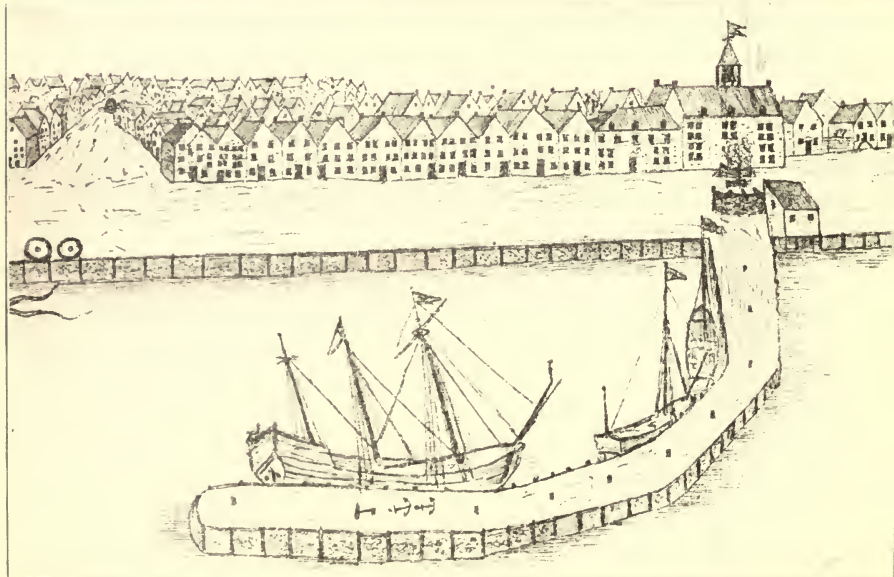
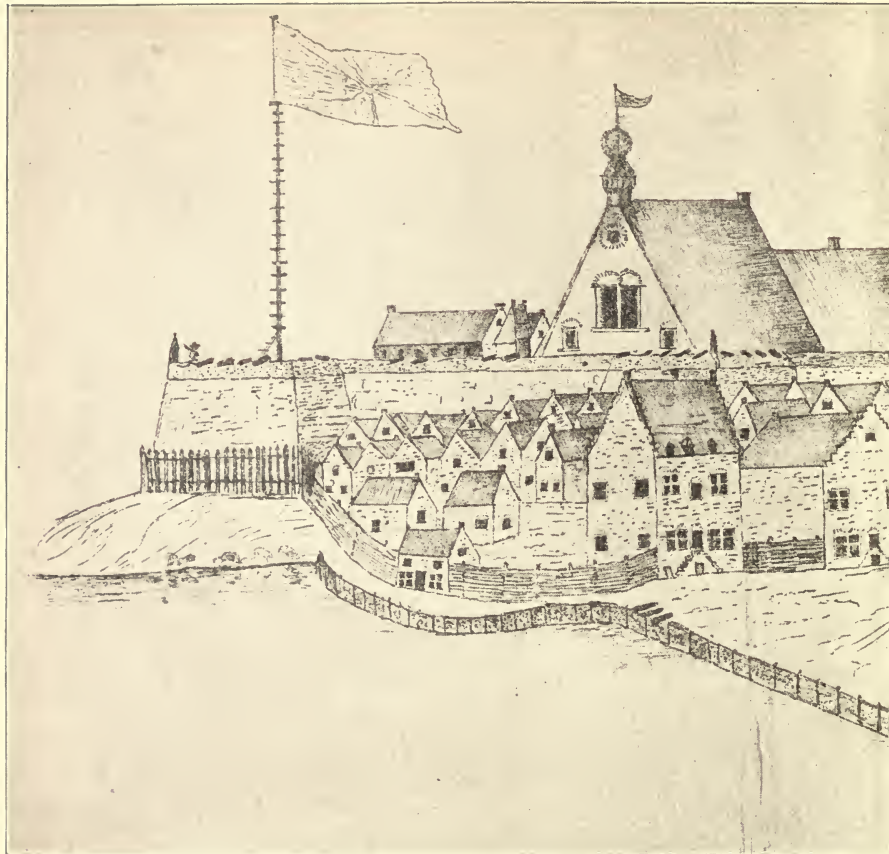
In the time of Andros, and long after, there was nothing on the west side of the island above Greenwich that calls for special mention in our narrative. Greenwich is mentioned, by its old Indian name, in the journal of the two Labadist emissaries, Jasper Dankers and Peter Dankers and Sluyter Sluyter, who visited New York in the autumn of 1679. They were representatives of a small sect of Mystics or Quietists lately founded by one Jean de Labadie. While their theology was mainly that of the Reformed Dutch Church, their aim was to restore sundry customs of primitive Christians, including community of goods. The result of this visit to New York was the grant of a large tract of land on Bohemia Manor, in Maryland, on which a company of Labadists settled in 1683.<sup>1</sup> The worthy brethren, Dankers and Sluyter, left an interesting journal of their visit, which was discovered a few years ago; and they made some quite artistic pencil sketches of the city withal, which are extremely precious as historical documents.<sup>2</sup> A few extracts from their diary will be found instructive.

The ancient custom of robbing innocent travellers for the gratification of thick-witted and sordid hucksters, which still

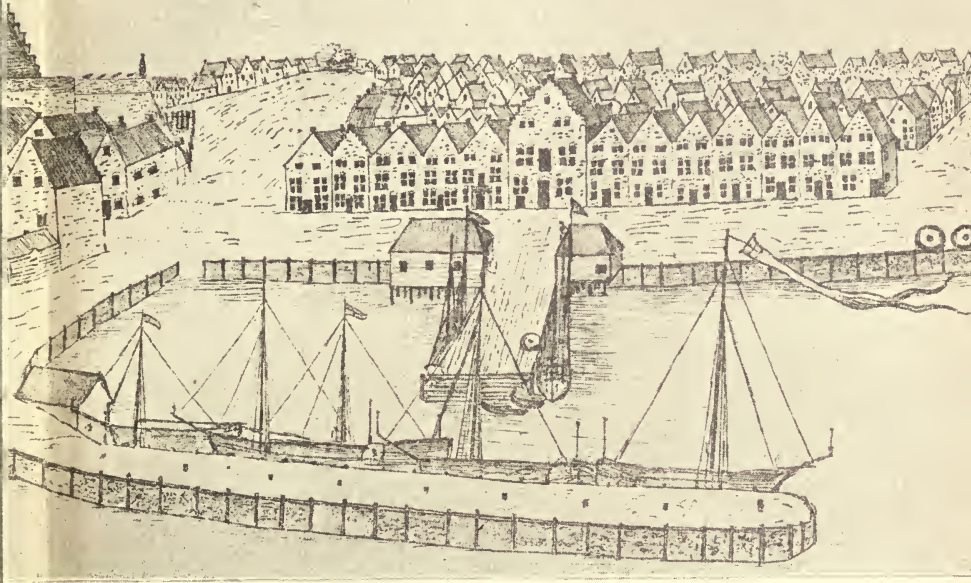
<sup>1</sup> See *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 128.

<sup>2</sup> An English translation of their Journal, edited by H. C. Murphy, forms the first volume of the *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*. Brooklyn, 1867. It contains excellent engravings of the pictures.











prevails at the port of New York, was attended with more or less delay and personal inconvenience, as it is to-day. If all the curses upon "protectionism" that have been wasted during two and a half centuries on those inhospitable docks could some day take effect and bury the foul iniquity deeper than Malebolge, what a gain for civilization it would be!

"S' io avessi le rime aspre e chioce,  
Come si converrebbe al tristo buco!"<sup>1</sup>

It would indeed take rhymes rough and hoarse to do justice to such a theme. The unvarnished tale of Messrs. Dankers and Sluyter has a familiar sound. Arriving in the harbour on Saturday evening, they were allowed to go ashore for Sunday and hear some New World preaching. On Monday morning "we went on board ship in order to obtain our travelling bag and clothes for the purpose of having them washed, but when we came on board we could not get ashore again before the afternoon, when the passengers' goods were to be delivered. All our goods which were between decks were taken ashore and carried to the public store-<sup>The cus-</sup>house, where they had to be examined, but some <sup>tom-house</sup> time elapsed before it was done, in consequence of the examiners being elsewhere. At length, however, one Abraham Lennoy, a good fellow apparently, befriended us. He examined our chest only, without touching our bedding or anything else. I showed him a list of the tin which we had in the upper part of our chest, and he examined it and also the tin, and turned up a little more what was in the chest and with that left off, without looking at it closely. [A little shamefast wert thou then, worthy Lennoy, at the dirty work for which government hired thee? or, perchance, did a Labadist guilder or two, ever so gently slipped into thy palm, soften the asperities?] He demanded four English shillings for the tin, remarking at the same time that he had observed some other small articles, but would not examine them closely, though he had not seen either the box or the pieces

<sup>1</sup> Dante, *Inferno*, xxxii. 1.

of linen. This being finished, we sent our goods in a cart to our lodgings, paying for the two heavy chests and straw beds and other goods from the public storehouse to the Smit's Valey, 16 stivers of zeawan (*i. e.* wampum), equal to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  stivers in the money of Holland. This finished the day, and we retired to rest. On Tuesday we remained at home for the purpose of writing, but in the afternoon, finding that many goods had been discharged from the ship, we went to look after our little package, which also came. I declared it, and it was examined. I had to pay 24 guilders in zeawan, or 5 guilders in the coin of Holland. I brought it to the house and looked the things all over, rejoicing that we were finally rid of that miserable set and the ship, the freight only remaining to be paid, which was fixed at 4 guilders in coin.

"As soon as we had dined we sent off our letters, and this being all accomplished we started at two o'clock for Long Island. . . . The water by which it is separated from the Manhattans is improperly called the East River, for it is nothing else than an arm of the sea, beginning in the Bay on the west and ending in the sea [*i. e.* the Sound] on the east. After forming in this passage several islands, this water is as broad before the city as the Y before Amsterdam,<sup>1</sup> but the ebb and flood tides are stronger. . . . We three crossed, my comrade and self, with Gerrit [a fellow-passenger returning from Holland] for our guide, in a rowboat, which in good weather and tide carries a sail. When we had crossed . . . we went on up the hill along open roads slightly wooded, through the first village, called Brooklyn Breuckelen, which has an ugly little church standing in the middle of the road. Having passed through here, we struck off to the right in order to go to Gowanes. We went upon several plantations where Gerrit was acquainted with almost all the people, who made us very welcome, sharing

<sup>1</sup> A slight exaggeration. The Y or Ij, an arm of the Zuyder Zee, is considerably more than a mile in breadth before Amsterdam, while the East River, at Peck Slip, in the seventeenth century, was about three fifths of a mile.

with us bountifully whatever they had, whether milk, cider, fruit, or tobacco, and especially and most of all, miserable rum or brandy brought from Barbadoes and the other islands, and called by the Dutch *kill-devil*. All these people are very fond of it, most of them extravagantly so, although it is very dear and has a bad taste. It is impossible to tell how many peach trees we passed, all laden with fruit to breaking down, and many of them actually broken down. We came to a place surrounded with such trees from which so many had fallen off that the ground could not be discerned, and you could not put your foot down without trampling them, and notwithstanding such large quantities had fallen off, the trees were still as full as they could bear. The hogs and other animals mostly feed on them. This place belongs to the oldest European woman in the country. We went into her house where she lives with her children. She was sitting by the fire, smoking tobacco incessantly, one pipe after another. We inquired after her age, which the children told us was about a hundred years. . . . She had been about fifty years now in the country, and had above seventy children and grandchildren. We tasted here for the first time smoked twælf [i. e. twelfth, meaning striped bass], a fish so called because it is caught in season next after the elft [i. e. eleventh, meaning shad]. It was salted a little and then smoked, and although now a year old, it was still perfectly good and in flavour not inferior to smoked salmon. We drank here also the first new cider, which was very fine.

“We proceeded on to Gowanes, . . . where we arrived in the evening at one of the best friends of Gerrit, named Symon.<sup>1</sup> He was very glad to see us, and so was his wife. He took us into the house and enter- Gowanus  
tained us exceedingly well. We found a good fire, half way

<sup>1</sup> This was Simon de Hart. Our Labadists follow the ancient usage in which the forename was of more importance than the surname. The house where they were so well regaled “is still standing, having been in the possession of the descendants of Simon de Hart ever since.” Mrs. Lamb’s *History of the City of New York*, i. 287.

up the chimney, of clear oak and hickory, of which they made not the least scruple of burning profusely. We let it penetrate us thoroughly. There had been already thrown upon it, to be roasted, a pailful of Gowanes oysters, which are the best in the country. They are quite as good as those of England, and better than those we ate at Falmouth. I had to try some of them raw. They are large and full, some

*Simon Aesen*

SIMON AESEN (DE HART)

of them not less than a foot long. . . . Everybody keeps the shells for the purpose of burning them into lime. They pickle

the oysters in small casks, and send them to Barbadoes and the other islands. We had for supper a roasted haunch of venison, which he had bought of the Indians for 3½ guilders of zeawan [*i. e.* 15 cents] and which weighed 30 lbs. The meat was exceedingly tender and good, and also quite fat. It had a slight spicy flavour. We were also served with wild turkey, which was also fat and of a good flavour; and a wild goose, but that was rather dry. . . . We saw here, lying in a heap, a whole hill of watermelons as large as pumpkins, which Symon was going to take to the city to sell. . . . It was very late at night when we went to rest in a Kermis bed, as it is called,<sup>1</sup> in the corner of the hearth, alongside of a good fire."

Next morning, after their host and hostess had gone with their marketing to the city, our three friends made their way on foot to Najack (Fort Hamilton), where they came upon a great field of ripe maize, which their diary calls "Turkish wheat." The epithet is interesting as a survival from the time when America was supposed to be Asia. Just as the American bird which in French is called "Indian fowl" is called in English a "turkey," so this "Turkish wheat" is only another name for "Indian corn."

<sup>1</sup> Kermis was a great fair or festival, in the Low Countries, with much dancing and frolic. A Kermis bed would be an extra bed for such occasions when the house was full of company.

The adjective occurs with the same meaning in the next sentence : " We soon heard a noise of pounding, like threshing, and went to the place whence it proceeded, and found there an old Indian woman busily employed beating Turkish beans out of the pods by means of a stick, which she did with astonishing force and dexterity. Gerrit inquired of her, in the Indian language which he spoke perfectly well, how old she was, and she answered eighty years ; at which we were still more astonished that so old a woman should still have so much strength and courage to work as she did. We



SIMON DE HART'S HOUSE

went thence to her habitation, where we found the whole troop together, consisting of seven or eight families, and twenty or twenty-two persons. Their house was low and long, about sixty feet long and fourteen or fifteen wide. The bottom was earth, the sides and roof were made of reed and the bark of chestnut trees ; the posts or columns were limbs of trees stuck in the ground

An Algon-  
quin  
household

and all fastened together. The ridge of the roof was open about half a foot wide from end to end, in order to let the smoke escape, in place of a chimney. On the sides of the house the roof was so low that you could hardly stand under it. The entrances, which were at both ends, were so small that they had to stoop down and squeeze themselves to get through them. The doors were made of reed or flat bark. In the whole building there was no iron, stone, lime, or lead.

“They build their fire in the middle of the floor, according to the number of families, so that from one end to the other each boils its own pot and eats when it likes, not only the families by themselves, but each Indian alone when he is hungry, at all hours, morning, noon, and night. By each fire are the cooking utensils, consisting of a pot, a bowl or calabash, and a spoon also made of a calabash. These are all that relate to cooking. They lie upon mats, with their feet towards the fire on each side of it. They do not sit much upon anything raised up, but, for the most part, sit upon the ground, or squat on their ankles. Their other household articles consist of a calabash of water, out of which they drink, a small basket in which to carry their maize and beans, and a knife. The implements are, for tillage, merely a small sharp stone; for hunting, a gun and pouch for powder and lead; for fishing, a canoe without mast or sail, and not a nail in any part of it, though it is sometimes full forty feet in length, fish-hooks and lines, and scoop to paddle with in place of oars. . . .

“All who live in one house are generally of one stock, as father and mother, with their offspring. Their bread is maize pounded in a block by a stone, but not fine; this is mixed with water and made into a cake, which they bake under the hot ashes. They gave us a small piece when we entered, and although the grains were not ripe, and it was half-baked and coarse grains, we nevertheless had to eat it, or at least not throw it away before them, which they would have regarded as a great sin, or a great affront. We chewed



a little of it and managed to hide it. We had also to drink out of their calabashes the water, which was very good.

“Here we saw the Indians who had come on board the ship when we arrived. They were all joyful at the visit of our Gerrit, who had long dwelt thereabouts and was an old acquaintance of theirs. We gave them two jews-harps, whereat they were much pleased and at once began to play them, and fairly well. Some of their chiefs — who are their priests and medicine-men and could speak good Dutch — were busy making shoes of deer-leather, which they make soft by long working it between the hands. They had dogs, besides fowls and hogs, which they are gradually learning from Europeans how to manage. Toward the last we asked them for some peaches, and their reply was ‘Go and pick some,’ which shows their politeness! However, not wishing to offend them, we went out and pulled some. Although they are such a poor miserable people, they are licentious and proud, and much given to knavery and scoffing. As we noticed an extremely old woman (not less than a hundred, one would think), some saucy young fellows jeeringly answered, ‘Twenty years.’ We observed the manner in which they travel with their children, a woman having one which she carried on her back. The little thing clung tight around her neck like a cat, and was held secure by a piece of duffels, their usual garment.”

A most admirable and lifelike description of an aboriginal dwelling! Our Labadist friends were keen observers, and deft with pen as well as pencil. We cannot recount all their experiences, but may follow them on their trip to the extreme north of Manhattan. After leaving <sup>A night at Harlem</sup> the Bowery Tavern they proceeded “through the woods to New Harlem, a rather large village directly opposite the place where the northeast creek [Harlem River] and the East River come together, situated about three hours’ journey from New Amsterdam, like as the old Harlem in Europe is situated about three hours’ distance from the old Amsterdam. As our guide, Gerrit, had some business here,

and found many acquaintances, we remained over night at the house of a man named Geresolveert,<sup>1</sup> the schout of the village, who had formerly lived in Brazil, and whose heart was still full of it. His house was all the time filled with people, mostly drinking that execrable rum. He had also the best cider we have tasted. Among the crowd <sup>James</sup> Carteret we found a person of quality, an Englishman, namely, Captain Carteret,<sup>2</sup> whose father is in great favour with the king, and he himself had assisted in sundry exploits in the king's service. He commanded the English forces which went in 1660 to retake St. Kitts. . . . The king has given to his father, Sir George Carteret, the entire government of the lands west of the North River, in New Netherland, with power to appoint as governor whom he pleases ; and at this present time there is a governor over it by his appointment, another Carteret, his nephew, I believe,<sup>3</sup> who resides at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey. . . . This son is a very profligate person. He married a merchant's daughter here, and has so treated his wife that her father has been compelled to take her home again. He runs about among the farmers, and stays where he can find most to drink, and sleeps in barns on the straw. If he would conduct himself properly he might hold the highest positions, for he has studied the moralities, and seems to have been of a good understanding ; but that is all now drowned. His father, who will no longer acknowledge him as his son,<sup>4</sup> allows him yearly as much only as is necessary to live."

<sup>1</sup> O delicious ! a Dutch translation of Resolved, a Puritan forename by no means uncommon in those days. The person meant was Resolved Waldron, constable of Harlem.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 18. James Carteret was a legitimate younger son of Sir George, not an illegitimate son, as has sometimes been said. See Burke's *Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> W. L. Stone (*Hist. New York City*, p. 63) makes him a brother of Sir George ; Broadhead (*Hist. New York*, ii. 84) makes him a cousin ; and Burke does not elucidate the matter. The names Philip and George had for at least four centuries been so thickly iterated among the Carterets that their use as distinctive appellations was lost.

<sup>4</sup> Hence probably the rumour of illegitimacy.

The morning after this hilarious night at the schout's, our friends set out from Harlem village to go up to the end of the island, and perhaps it may have been the thirst which sometimes ensues upon such nights that made them exclaim over the deliciousness of the juicy morning peaches. "When we were not far from the point of Spyten Duyvil we could see on our left hand the rocky cliffs of the main-land on the other side of the North River, these <sup>Spyten</sup> <sup>Duyvil</sup> cliffs standing straight up and down, with the grain, just as if they were antimony. We crossed over the Spyten Duyvil in a canoe, and paid nine stivers fare [or about eighteen cents] for us three, which was very dear. We followed the opposite side of the land, till we came to the house of one Valentyn, a great acquaintance of our Gerrit's. He had gone to the city, but his wife, though she did not know Gerrit or us, was so much rejoiced to see Hollanders that she hardly knew what to do for us. She set before us what she had. We left after breakfasting. Her son showed us the way, and we came to a road entirely covered with peaches. We asked the boy why they left them to lie there, and why the hogs did not eat them. He answered, we do not know what to do with them, there are so many; the hogs are satiated with them and will not eat any more. . . . We pursued our way now a small distance through the woods and over the hills, and then back again along the shore to a point where lived an Englishman named Webbling, who was standing ready to cross over. He carried us over with him, and refused to take any pay for our passage, offering us at the same time some of his rum, a liquor which is everywhere.

"We were now again at New Harlem, and dined with Geresolveert, at whose house we had slept the night before, and who made us welcome. It was now two o'clock; and leaving there we crossed the island, which takes about three quarters of an hour to do, and came to the North River, which we followed a little within the woods, as far as Sappokanican, where Gerrit had a sister and some friends.

There we rested ourselves and drank some good beer, which was very refreshing. We then kept on our way along the shore to the city, where we arrived in the evening very tired, having walked this day about forty miles. I must add, in passing through this island we sometimes encountered such a sweet smell in the air that we stood still, because we did not know what it was we were meeting."

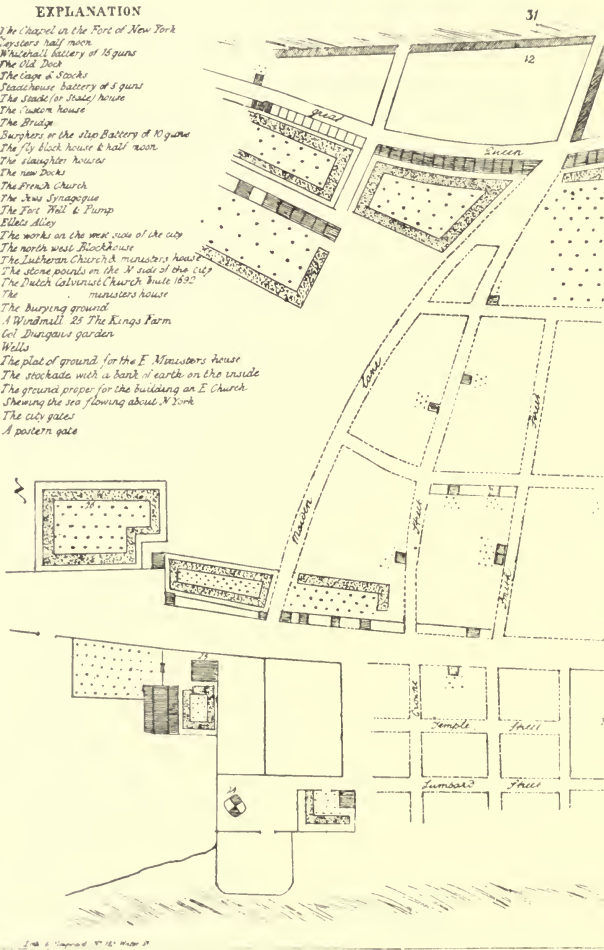
In the course of their adventures our worthy friends inform us that they talked with "the first male born of Europeans in New Netherland," a brewer named Jean Vigné. His parents were from Valenciennes, and he was now about sixty-five years of age." Their pictures of the clergy are not flattering. They heard a venerable minister "from the up-river country at Fort Orange," who was called Dominie Schaats, whose demeanour was so rough and outlandish that they suspected him of indulgence in the ubiquitous rum. They tell us that Dominie Nieuwenhuysen was "a thick, corpulent person, with a red and bloated face, and of very slabbering speech." On one Sunday they went at noon "to hear the English minister, whose service took place after the Dutch church was out. There were not above twenty-five or thirty people in the church. The first thing that occurred was the reading of their prayers and ceremonies out of the prayer-book, as is done in all Episcopal churches. A young man then went into the pulpit and preached, who thought he was performing wonders; but he had a little book in his hand out of which he read his sermon, which was from a quarter to half an hour long. With this the services were concluded, whereat we could not be sufficiently astonished.

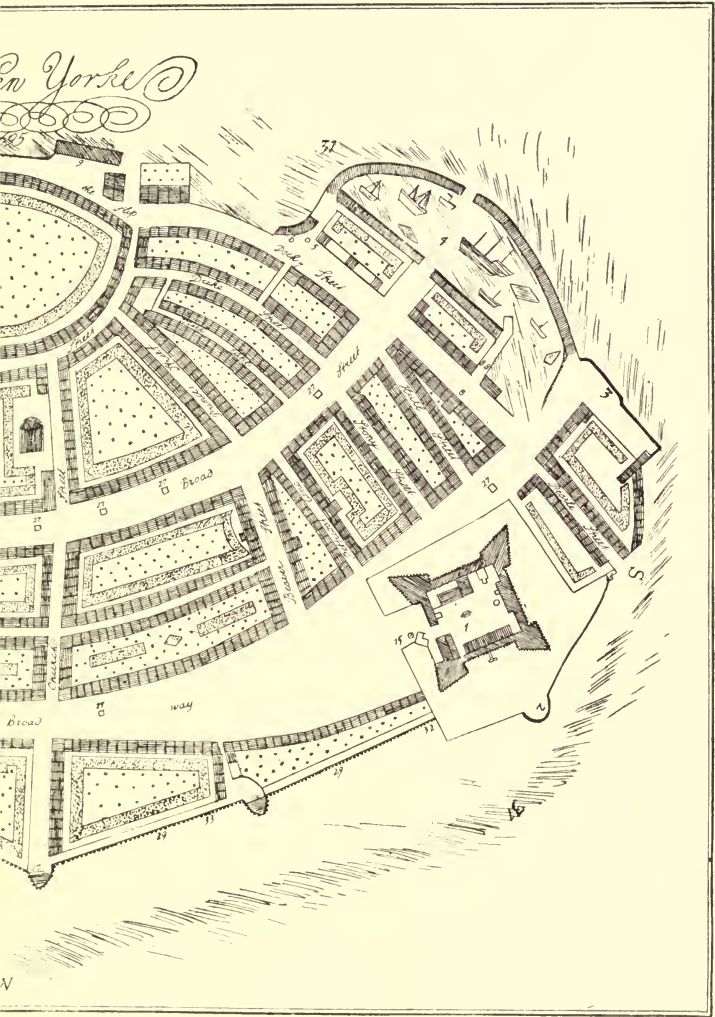
This young parson was Mr. Charles Wolley, who came in 1678 with Andros. We may now let him speak for himself, and first as to the climate: "It is of a sweet and wholesome breath, free from those annoyances which are commonly ascribed by naturalists for the insalubriety of any Country, viz. . . . stagnant Waters, lowness of Shoars, inconstancy



EXPLANATION

- 1 The Chapel on the Fort of New York
- 2 Jaysters half moon
- 3 Waterhall battery of 15 guns
- 4 The Old Dock
- 5 The Cape & Stocks
- 6 Tenachouse battery of 5 guns
- 7 The Stocke (or Stacks) house
- 8 The Custom house
- 9 The Bridge
- 9 Surphers or the also Battery of 10 guns
- 10 The fly block house & half moon
- 11 The slaughter house
- 12 The new Docks
- 13 The French Church
- 14 The Jews Synagogue
- 15 The Fort Wall & Pump
- 16 Ellets Alley
- 17 The works on the west side of the city
- 18 The north west Block House
- 19 19 The Dutchess Church & ministers house
- 20 20 The stone points on the N side of the city
- 21 The Dutch Calvinist Church built 1632
- 22 The ministers house
- 23 The burying ground
- 24 A Windmill 25 The Kings Farm
- 26 Col. Disignes garden
- 27 27 Wells
- 28 The plat of ground for the E. Ministers house
- 29 29 The stockade with a bank of earth on the inside
- 30 The ground proper for the building an E Church
- 31 31 Shewing the sea flowing about N York
- 32 32 The city gates
- 33 A pattern gate





NEW YORK IN 1695





of Weather [!], and the excessive heat of the Summer [!!]; it is gently refreshed, fanned, and allayed by constant breezes from the Sea. . . . Nature kindly drains and purgeth [the land] by Fontanels and Issues of running waters in its irriguous Valleys, and shelters it with the umbrellas of all sorts of Trees . . . ; which Trees and Plants do undoubtedly, tho' insensibly, suck in and digest into their own growth and composition those subterraneous Particles and Exhalations, which otherwise wou'd be attracted by the heat of the Sun, and so become matter for infectious Clouds and malign Atmospheres. . . . I myself, a person of a weakly Stamen and a valetudinary Constitution, was not in the least indisposed in that Climate during my residence there, the space of three years."

Mr. Wolley  
on the  
New York  
climate

Allowing for a somewhat too roseate tint in the references to the freedom from fickle weather and torrid heat, this is an excellent description of the breezy and salubrious air of Manhattan. As for the people, they impressed Mr. Wolley as extremely "high-flown religionists," but he had never visited Boston or New Haven. Even in this comparatively tolerant New Netherland, the ministers of different churches sometimes would not take tea together, and our young Cambridge friend did not relish such narrowness.

"There were two Ministers, or Dominies as they were called there, the one a Lutheran or High-Dutch,<sup>1</sup> the other a Calvinist or Low Dutchman,<sup>2</sup> who behaved themselves one towards another so shily and uncharitably as if Luther and Calvin had bequeathed and entailed their virulent and bigoted Spirits upon them and their heirs forever. They had not visited or spoken to each other with any respect for six years together before my being there, with whom I being much acquainted, I invited them both with their Vrows to a Supper one night unknown to each other, with an obligation that they should not speak one word of Dutch, under the penalty of a bottle of Madeira,

A Latin  
supper

<sup>1</sup> Dominie Bernhardus Frazius.

<sup>2</sup> Dominie Nieuwenhuysen.

alleging I was so imperfect in that Language that we could not manage a sociable discourse. So accordingly they came, and at the first interview they stood so appalled as if the Ghosts of Luther and Calvin had suffered a transmigration, but the amaze soon went off with a *salve tu quoque* and a Bottle of Wine, of which the Calvinist Dominie was a true Carouzer, and so we continued our *Mensalia* the whole evening in Latine, which they both spoke so fluently and promptly that I blushed at myself with a passionate regret that I could not keep pace with them. . . . As to the Dutch language, in which I was but a smatterer, I think it lofty, majestic, and emphatical.”<sup>1</sup>

The intemperate zeal of red-faced Dominie Nieuwenhuysen sometimes hurried him into a pace which he could not keep up. Dominie Nicholas van Rensselaer, having been ordained in England by a bishop, had come to be minister at Albany as colleague to the aged Dr. Schaats, whose oratory seemed to our Labadist visitors so uncouth. Nieuwenhuysen denied that ordination by an English bishop could confer the right to administer sacraments in the Dutch Reformed Church, and he therefore insisted that Van Rensselaer should be forbidden to baptize children; but when the point was argued before Andros and his council, the zealous Calvinist was obliged to recede from his position. An attempt was soon afterward made to convict Van Rensselaer of doctrinal heresy. Charges of “false preaching” were brought against him by Jacob Leisler, a wealthy German, one of Nieuwenhuysen’s deacons, and a young English protégé of his, named Jacob Milborne. The result of the trial was the acquittal of Van Rensselaer, while Leisler and Milborne were obliged to pay the costs. We shall by and by meet the deacon and his friend under very different circumstances. Already this incident shows the existence of two mutually repugnant trends of feeling in the Dutch church at New York; the one aristocratic, liberal, mellow, and inclined to fraternize with Episcopacy; the

<sup>1</sup> Wolley’s *Journal*, pp. 55, 56.

A  
Brief Description  
OF  
NEW-YORK  
Formerly Called  
New-Netherlands.

With the Places thereunto Adjoyning:

Together with the  
Manner of its Scituation, Fertility of the Soyle,  
Healthfulness of the Climate, and the  
Commodities thence produced.

ALSO

Some Directions and Advice to such as shall go  
thither: An Account of what Commodities they shall  
take with them; The Profit and Pleasure that  
may accrew to them thereby.

• LIKEWISE

A Brief RELATION of the Customs of the  
Indians there.

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By DANIEL DENTON.

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• LONDON,

Printed for John Hancock at the first Shop in Popes-Head-Al'ey in  
Conduit at the three Bibles, and William Bradley at the three Bibles  
in the Minories, 1690.

other democratic, fanatical, bitter, and Puritanical. Such antagonisms were to bear fruit in deadly feuds.

According to Andros's own report, the province of New York consisted of twenty-four towns, villages, or parishes, divided into six precincts for courts of quarter sessions. The total value of the estates was about £150,000, equivalent to at least \$3,000,000 of the present day. A merchant worth £1000 (\$20,000) was deemed rich, and a planter with half that amount in chattels was accounted very well off. The population of the city since 1664 had increased from about 1600 to about 3500. Three ships, eight sloops, and seven boats were owned in the city, and of these craft four had been built there. The revenue of the province was £2000, not enough "by a greate deale," which was a source of worry to the Duke of York. The lack of servants was also quite generally felt; there were a few black slaves, chiefly from Barbadoes, worth about £30 a head. The principal exports were furs, lumber, tar, and bolted flour; which paid for £50,000 of manufactured goods imported from England. There were no beggars in the province, but of all poor and disabled persons due care was taken. There were twenty churches — Reformed Dutch, Lutheran, Independent, Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker, and Jew — all self-supporting; but there was a scarcity of ministers, which was an inconvenience in respect of funerals, weddings, and christenings.<sup>1</sup>

The scarcity of clergymen led the way to an interesting development. We have already seen that the Reformed Dutch Church in New York accepted ordination at the hands of an English bishop as sufficient qualification for the ministry; but this was not enough. The methods of the Dutch Church must be expanded to fit the occasion. In 1678 Laurentius van Gaasbeeck was sent out to be minister at Esopus, under the authority of the Classis, or supreme ecclesiastical body, of Amsterdam. Before his arrival the spiritual interests of Esopus

Estates  
and  
revenues

Formation  
of an inde-  
pendent  
Classis

<sup>1</sup> *New York Colonial Documents*, iii. 245, 260-262.

were cared for temporarily by Petrus Tesschenmaecker, a young graduate of Utrecht, who had lately come over. Tesschenmaecker was a bachelor of divinity, but had not been ordained. Upon the arrival of the new dominie at Esopus, this young man received a call to the church at Newcastle on the Delaware, which furthermore requested that he might be ordained without the cumbrous formality of crossing the ocean to Holland. Hereupon Andros directed Nieuwenhuysen with any three or more clergymen to form themselves into a Classis, and after duly examining Tesschenmaecker to ordain him if they saw fit. This was done, the action of the New York dominies was approved by the Classis of Amsterdam, and thus in a most pleasant and sensible fashion was the Dutch Church in America made practically independent of the fatherland.<sup>1</sup>

The insufficiency of revenue was to a great extent remedied by the ordinances concerning the bolting of flour. First it was ordered that all flour for exportation should be bolted and duly inspected and the barrels properly marked before they could be shipped. Then it was further ordered that all inspection of flour must take place in the city of New York. These arrangements conferred upon the city for some years a lucrative monopoly.

One order, to which the duke attached great importance, required that all vessels with cargoes bound for any port within the original territory of New Netherland should enter at the New York custom-house. The duke insisted that Sir Edmund should rigorously enforce this order, and the immediate result was trouble with New Jersey.

It will be remembered that in 1664 the Duke of York had granted New Jersey jointly to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley as lords proprietary, and under this grant had exercised powers of sovereignty in the eastern and northern parts of that fine province. Practically there had come about an ill-defined separation between Carteret's actual do-

<sup>1</sup> Dankers and Sluyter's *Journal*, iii. 222; *Book of General Entries*, xxxii. 61; Demarest, *History of the Reformed Dutch Church*, p. 183.

main and the southwestern region, which Berkeley soon sold to a couple of Quakers. The Dutch conquest of Affairs in New Jersey 1673 was held to have extinguished all these rights, and apparently vested them in the States General, which by the treaty of Westminster next year handed them over to Charles II., who forthwith by a bran-new patent granted New Netherland over again to his brother James. Then James granted East Jersey to Carteret in severalty, but without conferring upon him any power of sovereignty. The Quaker purchasers of West Jersey were ignored, but a boundary line between the two Jerseys was summarily indicated. Now the affairs of West Jersey need not concern us at present ; we shall by and by come to them in connection with the career of William Penn. But with regard to East Jersey an interesting question is suggested. Did the new grant to Sir George Carteret make him a lord proprietor, responsible only to the crown ? or was he simply a lord of the manor, answerable to his immediate overlord, the Duke of York ? In other words, was East Jersey a part of the province of New York, or was it quite distinct and independent, as Maryland was independent of Virginia, and Connecticut of Massachusetts ? The style of the grant, which conferred upon Sir George no power of sovereignty, would plainly imply the former alternative. But Governor Philip Carteret, from the moment of his return in 1674, acted upon the latter. He called an assembly, which enacted laws as formerly, and he declared Elizabethtown to be a free port.

The duke's order, that all ships bound to any port within the original New Netherland must enter and clear at New York, brought this question to a trial. In the spring of 1680, acting upon express instructions from the duke, Sir Edmund Andros began seizing ships which went on their way to Elizabethtown without entering and paying custom-house fees at New York. He accompanied this action with a polite note to Governor Carteret, announcing his design to build a fortress at Sandy Hook. But in thus taking New Jersey soil for a

Andros asserts sovereignty over East Jersey

20  
A  
FURTHER ACCOUNT  
OF  
New JERSEY,

In an Abstract of  
L E T T E R S  
Lately Writ from thence,  
By several Inhabitants there Resident.

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*Printed in the Year 1676.*

public purpose, he would gladly satisfy all claims of individual proprietors who might be dispossessed or damaged. Thus did Sir Edmund blandly assert the right of eminent domain over the territory that had been granted to Carteret. The reply of Philip Carteret denied Sir Edmund's right either to make Jersey-bound ships pay fees and duties at the port of New York, or to put up any public building on Jersey soil. This attitude of the governor of East Jersey was warmly supported by the assembly, which voted to indemnify the owners of any ship that might be seized by the governor of New York.

In reading what follows it should be borne in mind that Andros and Carteret had for many years been warm friends; their wives also were devotedly attached to each other; and often did their boats ply to and fro past Bergen Point for suppers and other social merriment at each other's houses.

Now when Carteret declared that any attempt of New York



to build a fort at Sandy Hook would be resisted, Sir Edmund answered this defiance of his old friend by sending his secretary to Elizabethtown, to read aloud before the people a proclamation forbidding "Captain Philip Carteret, with all other pretended magistrates civil or military authorized by him," from exercising any kind of jurisdiction over his Majesty's subjects anywhere within the bounds of the king's patent to the Duke of York. Not content with thus implicitly deposing Carteret from his governorship, the proclamation called upon the people to surrender him as a prisoner to Andros.<sup>1</sup> This fulmination met with no cordial reception. Carteret sent an appeal to the king and began gathering troops.

Andros  
deposes  
Carteret

It was not an army, however, but only his ordinary retinue,

<sup>1</sup> Leaming and Spicer, *Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of New Jersey*, London, 1758, pp. 112-137, 674-677; Whitehead's *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, p. 71; *Newark Town Records*, p. 78; Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, pp. 277-347.



that Sir Edmund took with him a week later, when he crossed the Achter Koll. He was politely received, and took dinner at Carteret's house, and over their nuts and Madeira the twain argued the question of jurisdiction and quoted parchments and letters at each other, but all to no purpose. So Andros went back to his sloop, escorted by his affectionate friend, with compliments to Lady Andros and the usual military salute. But after three weeks had passed without Carteret's giving any sign of sub-<sup>Arrest of Carteret</sup>mission, on the last day of April, Andros sent a party of soldiers to arrest him. The order was carried out with shocking brutality. These ruffians broke open Carteret's doors at midnight, dragged him from his bed, and carried him in his night-dress to New York, where some clothes were given him, and he was flung into jail to await his trial on a charge of riotously presuming to exercise unlawful jurisdiction over his Majesty's subjects.

Of this shameful affair Carteret wrote to a friend in England, "I was so disabled by the bruises and the hurts I then received, that I fear I shall never be the same man again."<sup>1</sup> He was an athletic and high-spirited gentleman, and evidently was not taken without a desperate struggle. A few black eyes and a broken jaw or so, fairly distributed among his captors, would have been no more than their desert. After four weeks of jail, a special court of assizes was assembled, and Sir Edmund took his seat as presiding justice amid the rattle of drums and fanfare of trumpets. Arraigned before this tribunal, Carteret first demurred to its jurisdiction, but was overruled. Then he argued that his conduct as governor of East Jersey had been entirely legal "and by virtue of power derived from the king." His arguments and proofs convinced the jury, and they acquitted him. Andros could not conceal his chagrin; he tried to browbeat the jurors, and sent them out twice to reconsider their verdict, but they were immovable, and Carteret scored a triumph. Even now,

His trial  
and ac-  
quittal

<sup>1</sup> *New Jersey Colonial Documents*, 1st series, i. 316, 317.

however, Andros would not allow him to return to New Jersey until he had extorted from him a promise that he would not "assume any authority or jurisdiction there, civil or military."<sup>1</sup>

At length, early in June, the deposed governor was escorted back to Elizabethtown, with much politeness and ceremony, by his loving friends, Sir Edmund and Lady Andros. One would like to know how the dinner passed off at Mrs. Carteret's, and what Sir Edmund had to say about the conduct of his ruffians. Attempts have been made to excuse him for his part in the transaction, on the ground that he was only carrying out the duke's orders. Nevertheless, while it would be hardly just to charge upon Andros all the brutality of his myrmidons, the whole affair helps us to understand the intense hatred which he inspired in people at a later period. In his eagerness to serve his master, we see him carrying out orders with needless violence and even behaving most reprehensibly, as in his attempt to overawe the jurymen. Our old comparison recurs to us as we feel that such was not the way in which Nicolls would have given effect to the duke's orders.

The people of East Jersey submitted to the appointment of sundry officers by Andros, but their assembly refused to adopt the Duke's Laws. News of all these proceedings was sent by the deposed governor to Lady Carteret, widow of Sir George, who had lately died. These were people of great influence at court, and accordingly the duke deemed it best not to take to himself too much responsibility for the acts of his agent. He told Lady Carteret that he "doth wholly disown and declare that Sir Edmund Andros had never any such order or authority from him for the doing thereof," — a characteristic specimen of Stuart veracity. Presently James executed a paper relinquishing his claim upon East Jersey, and con-

Carteret's  
return to  
Elizabethtown

The duke  
relin-  
quishes  
East Jer-  
sey to the  
Carterets

<sup>1</sup> Leaming and Spicer, *Grant's Concessions, etc.*, pp. 678-684; Dankers and Sluyter, *Journal*, pp. 347-351; Whitehead's *East Jersey*, pp. 73, 74.

firming it in the proprietorship of young Sir George Carteret, grandson and heir of the original grantee; and so the quarrel ended in the discomfiture of Andros.

Questions of ownership and jurisdiction had been coming up in West Jersey likewise, which ended in this same year 1680 in the duke's relinquishing all his claims in favour of Friend Byllinge and other Quakers. But I must reserve this story for a while until it can fall into its proper place in the line of causation which led to the founding of Pennsylvania. We must bid adieu for a season to the pleasant country between the North and South rivers of New Netherland. We have to view the career of a man of extraordinary and varied powers, uniting after a fashion all his own the wisdom of the serpent with the purity of the dove,<sup>1</sup> who was able at once to be a leader of one of the most iconoclastic and unpopular of Christian sects, and to retain the admiring friendship of one of the most bigoted kings that ever sat upon a throne. We must make the acquaintance of William Penn, who, take him for all in all, was by far the greatest among the founders of American commonwealths.

and West  
Jersey to  
Byllinge  
and his  
friends

<sup>1</sup> I leave this sentence as I first wrote it in 1882. I was not then aware that Benjamin Franklin had alluded to Penn as uniting "the subtlety of the serpent with the innocence of the dove." (See his *Works*, ed. Sparks, iii. 123.) Franklin's phrase, however, is intended for a sneer, as his context shows, while mine is meant to convey accurate but unstinted praise.

## CHAPTER XII

### PENN'S HOLY EXPERIMENT

AT the time of our Declaration of Independence the only states in which all Christian sects stood socially and politically on an equal footing were Pennsylvania and Delaware, the two states which had originally constituted the palatinate or proprietary domain of William Penn. Rhode Island, indeed, had been founded upon equally liberal principles, but during the strong wave of anti-Catholic feeling that passed over the country in the time of James II., a clause depriving Papists of the franchise found its way into the statute book and it was not repealed until 1783. If Roger Williams had lived a few years longer, it is not likely that this one stain upon the noble record of Rhode Island would have been permitted. As for Pennsylvania, if there was anything which she stood for in the eyes of the world, it was liberty of conscience. Her fame had gone abroad over the continent of Europe. In Voltaire's writings Pennsylvania more than once receives admiring mention as the one favoured country in the world where men can be devoutly religious and still refrain from tearing one another to pieces.

There was something more than satire in the suggested antithesis; as with most of Voltaire's keen-edged remarks, there was deep and earnest meaning behind it. Until quite modern times toleration was found only in union with indifference. In religious matters the Gallio, who "cared for none of those things," might refuse to play the part of a persecutor, but the most devout and disinterested zeal for religion was apt to be combined with more or less fanatical intoler-

Religious  
liberty in  
Pennsylva-  
nia and  
Delaware

ance. Various causes from time to time contributed to this, but the deepest and most abiding cause was the imperfect separation between religion and politics. If we carry our thoughts back to primeval ages, we see that there was no such separation ; religious life and civil life were identical. The earliest glimpses we can get of the human race show us nowhere anything like a nation, but everywhere small tribes perpetually encroaching upon one another and perpetually fighting to escape annihilation. The state of things among the American Indians of the seventeenth century may serve to illustrate what had been going on over a large part of the earth's surface for at least 300,000 or 400,000 years. From the Australian stage of human existence up to the Iroquois stage there was in many respects an enormous advance toward civilization, but the omnipresence of exterminating warfare continued, and enables us to understand that feature of primeval times. In such a stage of society almost every act of tribal life is invested with religious significance, and absolute conformity to tribal rules and observances is enforced with pitiless rigour. The slightest neglect of an omen, for example, might offend some tutelary deity and thus bring on defeat ; it is therefore unhesitatingly punished with death. It is an important part of the duties of medicine-men to take cognizance of the slightest offences and lapses. In early society the enforced conformity relates chiefly to matters of ritual and ceremony ; questions of dogma arise at a later stage, after a considerable development in human thinking. But to whatever matter the enforcement of conformity relates, there can be no doubt as to the absolute necessity of it in early society. No liberty of divergence can be allowed to the individual without endangering the community.

Identity of civil and religious life in primitive ages.

Need for conformity

As a kind of help toward the illustration of this point, let me cite a familiar instance of persecution in modern times and in a highly civilized community, where some of the conditions of primitive society had been temporarily reproduced.

About mid September. It is ordered that 1000 dollars given by  
 the Capt of this month, & if few bar not given before. Now it is to  
 be sent away by the Council without delay by the first opportunity  
 for the charges of keeping mid September, or for it to be  
 given by the Council. If it be not satisfactory to long it by  
 dispatch of the Council's orders.

FACSIMILE OF ORDER EXPELLING MRS. HUTCHINSON FROM BOSTON

In 1636 there were about 5000 Englishmen in New England, distributed in more than twenty villages, mostly on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, but some as remote as the Connecticut

River. Such a concerted Indian assault upon them as was actually made forty years later, in King Philip's war, might have overwhelmed them. Such an assault was contemplated by the Pequots and dreaded throughout the settlements, and the train-bands were making ready for war, when a certain number of Boston men refused to serve. There were a few persons of influence in Boston, called Antinomians, of whom the one best remembered is Anne Hutchinson. According to them it made a great difference to one's salvation whether one were under a "covenant of grace" or only under a "covenant of works." The men who in a moment of peril to the commonwealth refused to march against the enemy alleged as a sufficient reason that they suspected their chaplain of being under a "covenant of works," and therefore would not serve with him. Under such circumstances Mrs. Hutchinson and

the other Antinomians were banished from Boston. A disagreement upon a transcendental question of theology was breeding sedition and endangering the very existence of the state. Those who defend the government of Massachusetts for banishing Mrs. Hutchinson rest their defence upon such grounds. Without feeling called upon to decide that question, we can see that the case is historically instructive in a high degree.

Now when we come to early society, the military urgency is incessant and imperative, and all other things must yield to it. It is sustained by the feeling of corporate responsibility which is universal among tribal communities. The tribe is regarded as responsible for the acts of each one of its individuals. Religious sanctions and penalties are visited upon everything. What we call conventionalities are in the tribal stage of society regarded as sacraments, and thus the slightest infringement is liable to call down upon the whole tribe the wrath of some offended tutelary deity, in the shape of defeat or famine or pestilence. In such a stern discipline there is no room for divergence or dissent. And such was undoubtedly the kind of training under which all our ancestors were reared, from far-off ages of which only a geologic record remains down to the mere yesterday that witnessed the building of the Pyramids. Under such rigid training were formed, through wave after wave of conquest, the great nations of prechristian times.

It is not strange that it has taken the foremost races of men three or four thousand years to free themselves from the tyranny of mental habits which had been engrained into them for three or four hundred thousand. A careful study of the history of religious persecution shows us that sometimes politics and sometimes religion have been most actively concerned in it. The persecution of Christians by the Roman emperors was chiefly political, because Christianity asserted a dominion over men paramount to that of the emperor. The persecution of the Albigenses by Pope Innocent III. was largely political, be-

Corporate  
responsi-  
bility

Political  
and reli-  
gious per-  
secutions

cause that heresy threatened the very continuance of the Papacy as part of the complex government of mediæval Europe. Innocent, like the heathen emperors, was fighting in self-defence. So, too, a considerable part of the mutual persecutions of Catholics and Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was simply downright warfare in which A kills B to prevent B from killing A. But if we consider the nature of the religious motives that have entered into persecution, whether they have been dominating motives or have simply been enlisted in furtherance of political ends, we find that they have always been rooted in the ancient notion of corporate responsibility. Let us get rid of the unclean thing lest we be cursed for its sake; such has been the feeling which has more than anything else sustained persecution. The Spanish prelates, for example, who urged the banishment of the Moriscos, loudly asseverated that the failure to suppress the Dutch Netherlands was a mark of God's displeasure that such people were allowed to stay in Spain. Was God likely to aid the Spaniards in exterminating infidels abroad while they were so sinful as to harbour infidels in their own country? So when Queen Mary Tudor was led by domestic disappointments to fancy herself undergoing divine punishment, she quickly reached the conclusion that she had not been sufficiently zealous in purging the kingdom of heresy, and this particular act of logic kindled the flames for more than fifty Protestants. In the sixteenth century this way of looking at things (which I now take pains to explain to my readers) would not have needed a word of explanation for anybody; it was simply a piece of plain common sense, self-evident to all!

Now inasmuch as this notion of corporate responsibility is a survival from the very infancy of the human race, since the rigorous restriction of individuality persisted through countless generations of men to whom it proved indispensably useful, it is not strange that, since it has come to be recognized as harmful and stigmatized as persecution, it has been found

Reasons  
for the  
prolonged  
vitality of  
the perse-  
cuting  
spirit



so hard to kill. The conditions of tribal society long ago ceased to exist in Europe. Instead of tribes, the foremost races of men are organized in a complicated fashion as nations; instead of tutelar deities they have reached sundry more or less imperfect forms of monotheism; and with the advance of knowledge the conception of natural law has destroyed a host of primitive superstitions. Religion is no longer in the old materialistic way but in a much higher and more spiritual way implicated with each act of life. Part of this great change is due to the mighty influence exerted by the mediæval Church as a spiritual power distinct from and often opposed to the temporal power. In Christianity the separation of church from state took its rise; and while religion was made an affair of mankind, not of localities or tribes, the importance of the individual was greatly increased.

Now if we look at religious persecution from the point of view of modern society, it is easy to see that it is an unmitigated evil. The evolution of a higher civilization can best be attained by allowing to individual tastes, impulses, and capacities the freest possible play. Procrustes-beds are out of fashion; we no longer think it desirable that all people should act alike. From a Darwinian standpoint we recognize that an abundance of spontaneous variation is favourable to progress. A wise horticulturist sees signs of promise in many an aberrant plant and carefully nurtures it. If you wish to produce a race of self-reliant, inventive, and enterprising Yankees, you must not begin by setting up a winnowing machine for picking out and slaughtering all the men and women who are bold enough and bright enough to do their own thinking, and earnest enough to talk about it to others. Such an infernal machine was the Inquisition; it weeded out the sturdiest plants and saved the weaker ones, thus lowering the average capacity of the people wherever it was in vigorous operation. As a rule it has been persons of a progressive type who have become objects of persecution, and when they have fled from their native land they have added

Importance  
of preserv-  
ing varia-  
tions

strength to the country that has received them. In the history of what has been done by men who speak English, it is a fact of cardinal importance that England has never had an Inquisition, but has habitually sheltered religious refugees from other countries.

Such is the scientific aspect of the case. But it has a purely religious aspect from which we are brought to the same conclusion. The moment we cease to regard religious truth as a rigid body of formulas, imparted to mankind once for all and incapable of further interpretation or expansion; the moment we come to look upon religion as part of the soul's development under the immediate influence of the Spirit of God; the moment we concede to individual judgment some weight in determining what the individual form of religious expression shall be, — that moment we have taken the first step toward the conclusion that a dead uniformity of opinion on religious questions is undesirable. In the presence of an Eternal Reality which confessedly transcends our human powers of comprehension in many ways, we are not entitled to frown or to sneer at our neighbour's view, but if we give it due attention we may find in it more or less that is helpful and uplifting which we had overlooked. Thus, instead of mere toleration we rise to a higher plane and greet the innovator with words of cordial welcome. Such a state of things, on any general scale, can hardly yet be said to have come into existence, but in the foremost communities many minds have come within sight of it, and some have attained to it. So in past times we find here and there some choice spirit reaching it. Especially in the seventeenth century, when Protestantism was assuming sundry extreme forms, and when one of the symptoms of the age was the demonstration, by Hobbes and Locke, of the relativity of all knowledge, there were active leaders of men who attained to this great breadth of view. For example, Sir Henry Vane, whom Milton, in that sonnet which is the most glorious tribute ever paid by a man of

From a religious point of view the innovator should be welcomed

Vane's heavenly speech

letters to a statesman, calls Religion's "eldest son," — Sir Henry Vane once exclaimed in Parliament, "Why should the labours of any be suppressed, if sober, though never so different? We now profess to seek God, we desire to see light!" Roger Williams called this a "heavenly speech." It merited Milton's encomium: —

" To know

Both Spiritual and Civil, what each means,  
What serves each, thou hast learn'd, which few have done."

It was greatly to the credit of Oliver Cromwell as a statesman that he usually exhibited this large-minded and generous tolerance. It was Cromwell, for example, who encouraged Jews to come to England, where they <sup>Cromwell's tolerance</sup> had not been allowed since 1290.<sup>1</sup> So a Rhode Island statute of 1684, the year after Roger Williams's death, and in accordance with his principles, expressly admits Jewish immigrants to all the rights and privileges of citizens. These men — Vane and Williams, Milton and Cromwell — had reached a very modern standpoint in such matters.

Just at the zenith of Cromwell's career that notable phase of religious development known as Quakerism appeared upon the scene. Quakerism was the most extreme form which Protestantism had assumed. In so far as Protestantism claimed to be working a reformation in Christianity by retaining the spiritual core and dropping off the non-essential integuments, the Quakers carried this process about as far as it could go. There have always been two sides to Quakerism, the rationalistic side, whereby it has sometimes drawn upon itself the imputation of Socinianism or Deism, and the mystic side, where- <sup>Quietists and Quakers</sup> by it shows traces of kinship with various sects of Quietists. John Tauler, the mighty Dominican preacher in the days of the Black Death, seems in many respects a forerunner of the Quakers. Thomas à Kempis, author of the most widely read Christian book after the Bible, belonged to the same class of minds. Without much organization or ma-

<sup>1</sup> Masson's *Milton*, v. 71.

chinery as a sect, such men were known in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as "Friends of God." A group of them which attained to some organization in Holland about 1360 came to be known as "Brethren of the Common Life." It was among these people that Thomas à Kempis was trained at Deventer; their influence upon Dutch culture was very great, and I dare say the mildness and tolerance of the Netherlands in matters of religion owes much to them.

The founder of Quakerism, George Fox, was born in Leicestershire, in 1624, the son of a prosperous weaver, known to his neighbours as "righteous Christopher Fox." An origin among Leicester weavers is suggestive of Dutch influences, but in the lack of detailed evidence it is George Fox easy to make too much of such suggestions. At an early age and with scanty education, George Fox became a lay preacher. His aim was not to gather disciples about him and found a new sect, but to purify the Church from sundry errors, doctrinal and practical. The basis of his teaching was the belief that each soul is in religious matters answerable not to its fellows, but to God alone, without priestly mediation, because the Holy Spirit is immediately present in every soul, and is thus a direct source of illumination. From this central belief flowed two important practical consequences, both essentially modern; one was complete toleration, the other was complete equality of human beings before the law, and hence the condemnation of slavery, in which Quakers have generally been foremost. Fox's extreme democracy was shown in the refusal to take off his hat, and in the avoidance of the plural pronoun of dignity. His rejection of a priesthood extended to all ordained and salaried preachers. He cared little for communion with bread and wine in comparison with communion in spirit, and set more value upon the baptism of repentance than upon the baptism of water. He regarded the inner light as a more authoritative guide than Scripture, since it was the interpreter to which the sacred text must ultimately be



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THE VIBU  
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referred ; but he was far from neglecting the written word. On the contrary, his deference to it was often extremely scrupulous, as when he understood the injunction, "Swear not at all," as a prohibition of judicial oaths, and the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," as a condemnation of all warfare. Fox was a man of rare executive power ; "I never saw the occasion," said Penn, "to which he was not equal." He was a man of lofty soul and deep spiritual insight ; and before his commanding presence and starlike eyes the persecutor often quailed.

It was customary at that moment of religious upheaval for independent preachers and laymen to invade the pulpits and exhort the congregations after the unceremonious manner described by Sir Walter Scott in "Woodstock." Unseemly brawls were apt to result, in the course of which the preacher was dragged before the nearest magistrate. Fox tells us how on one of these occasions, at Derby in 1650, he was taken before Justice Bennett, "who was the first that called us Quakers, because I bade him tremble at the word of the Lord." Fox and his early followers were often put in jail, not so much for teaching heresy as for breaking the peace. The absence of ecclesiastical organization made them seem like vagrant ranters, and their refusals to pay tithes, or to testify under oath, or to lift their hats before a magistrate, kept them perpetually liable to punishment for contempt of court. Cromwell was indisposed to annoy them, and his relations with Fox were friendly, yet between 1650 and 1658 several hundred Quakers were put into jail, usually for such breaches of custom and etiquette.

Origin of the epithet "Quaker"

It was, moreover, not always possible to distinguish off-hand between the followers of George Fox and those of other enthusiasts who were swarming in England. Such a preacher was James Naylor, who had been a cavalry officer in Cromwell's army, but turned prophet and went stark mad, calling himself "the Prince of Peace, the Fairest among Ten Thousand, and the Altogether Lovely."

Crazy enthusiasts

This Naylor marched through the streets of Wells and Glastonbury, while the people threw down their cloaks to serve as mats for his feet, and sang "Hosanna in the highest." On one occasion he was believed to have raised a dead woman to life. Other prophets, not easy to deal with, were those who thought it needful to remove all their clothing in order to "testify in the sight of the Lord." In a very few instances disciples of Fox seem to have taken part in such performances, but so little care was taken to discriminate that Quakers had to bear the odium of the whole. They were regarded as a set of ignorant and lawless fanatics, like John of Leyden and the Anabaptists of Münster; and until the truth about them came to be better understood, the general feeling toward them was one of horror and dread.

Under these circumstances it was impossible for Quakers to avoid persecution had they wished to avoid it. But, on the contrary, they courted it. It was their business to reform the whole of Christendom, not to gather themselves into some quiet corner where they might worship unmolested. They were inspired by an aggressive missionary zeal which

Missionary  
zeal of the  
Quakers

was apt to lead them where their company was not wanted, and so it happened in the case of Massachusetts. The ideal of the Quakers was flatly antagonistic to that of the settlers of Massachusetts. The Christianity of the former was freed from Judaism as far as was possible; the Christianity of the latter was heavily encumbered with Judaism. The Quaker aimed at complete separation between church and state; the government of Massachusetts was patterned after the ancient Jewish theocracy, in which church and state were identified. The Quaker was tolerant of differences in doctrine; the Calvinist regarded such tolerance as a deadly sin. For these reasons the arrival of a few Quakers in Boston in 1656 was considered an act of invasion and treated as such. Under various penalties Quakers were forbidden to enter any of the New England colonies except Rhode Island. There they were welcomed, but that did not content them. The pen-



Milk for Babes;<sup>2</sup>  
AND  
Meat for strong Men.  
A  
FEAST  
OF  
FAT THINGS:  
WINE *well refined on the LEES.*

O come yong Men and Maidens, old Men and Babes, drink abundantly of the Streams that run from the Fountain, that you may feel a Well-spring of living Water in your selves, springing up to Eternal Life; that as he lives (even CHRIST JESUS) from whence all the Springs do come, so you may live also, and partake of his Glory that is ascended at the right-hand of the Father, far above Principalities and Powers.

Being the breathings of the Spirit through his Servant *JAMES NAYLOR*, written by him in the time of the confinement of his outward man in Prison.

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*The Third Edition.*

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*London, Printed in the Year, 1668.*

alties against them were heaviest in Massachusetts, and thither they turned their chief attention. They came not to minister unto sound Rhode Island, but unto sick Massachusetts. The Puritan theocracy was their man of sin. They made up their minds to overthrow it, and they succeeded, because the party of the unenfranchised people in Boston were largely in sympathy with them. The furious scene in the council-room, when the venerable Endicott smote upon the table and threatened to go and end his days in England, marked the downfall of the theocratic ideal. Henceforth there was to be room for heretics in Massachusetts. The lesson has since been well improved, and all that now remains is to set up, on Boston Common, the scene of their martyrdom, a fitting monument to the heroes that won the victory.

The accession of Charles II. is commonly cited as the cause of this victory of the Quakers in Boston; but there can be no doubt that the chief cause was the disagreement between the people of Boston and their theocratic government, and the moment when it proved impossible to execute the sentence upon Wenlock Christison, the battle was virtually decided. As for Charles II., we shall see how his policy led him more and more to extend his favour to Quakers. At first their refusal to take the oath of allegiance cost them dear; for many people, unable to understand their scruples, could not see in such contumacy anything but an evidence of disloyalty. Many were sent to Barbadoes and Jamaica, where they were sold into temporary slavery, like that of the white servants in Virginia. In 1662 they were forbidden to hold meetings, and their meeting-houses were closed by the police.

Charles II.  
and the  
oath of  
allegiance

It is at about this time that William Penn may be said to have made his first appearance in history. He was born in London in 1644. His father, Sir William Penn, was a distinguished admiral in the navy of the Commonwealth, but afterward became a warm friend of Charles II. His mother was a Dutch lady, Margaret Jasper, daughter of a wealthy

merchant of Rotterdam,—a fact which was probably of importance in view of Penn's future social relations and connections upon the continent of Europe. As a child Penn was educated at Chigwell, where dwelt the eccentric John Saltmarsh, whose book entitled "Sparkles of Glory" is one of the most remarkable productions of English mysticism, and in some places reads

Early years  
of William  
Penn



WILLIAM PENN

like a foreshadowing or prophecy of Penn's own ideas. It is not unlikely that Saltmarsh's book may have suggested to Penn the memorable experience which he had at the age of eleven. One day when alone in his chamber "he was sud-

denly surprised with an inward comfort ; and, as he thought, an external glory in the room, which gave rise to religious emotions, during which he had the strongest conviction of the being of a God, and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communication with Him. He believed also that the seal of Divinity had been put upon him at this moment, and that he had been awakened or called upon to a holy life." <sup>1</sup> From that time forth he felt that he had a mission in the world. After the Chigwell school, he studied with a private tutor on Tower Hill until he was sixteen, when he saw the formal entry of Charles II. into the city across London Bridge. Admiral Penn was that year elected to Parliament, and William was matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he remained two years. There he acquired a high reputation as a scholar and as an athlete, enthusiastic in field sports, a good oarsman, and a lover of Greek. Among the languages which he could speak fluently were Latin, Italian, French, German, and Dutch. At Oxford, along with sundry other students, he became converted to

His conversion to Quakerism

Quakerism, refused to wear surplices, forsook chapel worship, and got into trouble. There is a story that he was expelled from the college, but it is not well supported, and it seems more likely that his father took him away. He was then sent with some fashionable friends to Paris, in the hope of curing him of his Quaker notions. He was in his nineteenth year, tall, lithe, and strongly built, a picture of manly beauty, with great lustrous eyes under wide arching brows, a profusion of dark hair falling in curls upon his shoulders, a powerful chin, a refined and sensitive mouth. He seems to have been a skilful swordsman, for when attacked one evening on the street by a desperado who threatened his life, Penn overcame and disarmed the wretch without wounding him. He spent a year or more in hard study at the Huguenot college in Saumur, and then travelled for a year in Italy. After that he studied law at Lincoln's Inn, and presently visited Ire-

<sup>1</sup> Stoughton's *Penn*, p. 8.

land, where he was thrown into prison for attending a Quaker meeting at Cork.

Sir William Penn, who was a good churchman, was shocked and disgusted at the sort of reputation his son was earning, and we get glimpses of contention in the household.



ADMIRAL PENN

“You may *thee* and *thou* other folk as much as you like,” quoth the angry father, “but don’t you dare to *thee* and *thou* the king, or the Duke of York, or me.”<sup>1</sup> Young William did dare, however, even so far as to wear <sup>Trouble at home</sup> his hat in the royal presence, which only amused the merry monarch. One day when William met him, the king took off his hat. “Why dost thou remove thy hat, friend

<sup>1</sup> For the use of these pronouns in the seventeenth century, see below, p. 116.

Charles?" quoth the young man. "Because," said the king, "wherever I am, it is customary for only one to remain covered!" But the admiral did not take it so pleasantly; he threatened to turn his obstinate son out of doors without a shilling. Lady Penn implored, and one of the family friends, a nobleman of the court, insisted that Sir William ought to be proud of a son of such varied accomplishments and lofty character, in spite of a few eccentricities of demeanour. It is sad to relate that the father's threat was carried out; but it was only for a time. Admiration for dauntless courage and high principle at length prevailed with the old naval hero, and he called his son home again and ever after held him in reverence.

In 1670 the admiral died, commending William with his last breath to the especial care of the Duke of York. William was left in possession of an ample fortune, and devoted himself to writing and preaching in defence and explanation of Quakerism. His learning and eloquence, with a certain sobriety of mind that qualified his mysticism, made many converts; nor is it unlikely that his high social position and gallant bearing were helpful to the cause in some quarters. It was largely due to Penn that current opinion gradually ceased to confound the disciples of Fox with the rabble of Antinomian fanatics with which England was then familiar, and to put them upon a plane of respectability, by the side of Presbyterians and other Dissenters. Again and again, while engaged in this work, Penn was thrown into prison and kept there for months, sometimes in the Tower, like a gentleman, but once for six months in noisome Newgate, along with common criminals. These penalties were mostly for breaking the Conventicle Act. The reports of the trials are often very interesting, by reason of the visible admiration felt by the honest judges for the brilliant prisoner. "I vow, Mr. Penn," quoth Sir John Robinson from the bench one day, "I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you. You are an ingenious gentleman, all the world must allow you, and do allow you,

Penn's services to Quakerism

that ; and you have a plentiful estate ; why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people ? ” Sometimes the prisoner’s ingenuity and resourcefulness would baffle the prosecutor, and in despair of other means of catching him the magistrate would tender the oath of allegiance. But Penn’s subtlety was matched by his boldness : once when the judge insulted him by a remark derogatory to his character, the reply came quickly and sharply, “ I trample thy slander as dirt under my <sup>His</sup> feet ! ” And this boldness was equalled by his <sup>courage</sup> steadfastness : once the Bishop of London sent word to him in the Tower, that he must either withdraw certain statements or die a prisoner. “ Thou mayest tell him,” said Penn to the messenger, “ that my prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot, for I owe obedience of my conscience to no mortal man.”

During these years Penn kept publishing books and pamphlets, controversial or expository, wherein he argues and persuades with logic and with eloquence, and is not always meek ; sometimes the keen blade leaps from the scabbard and deals a mortal thrust. Mrs. Samuel Pepys read one of these treatises aloud to her husband, who calls it extremely well written and “ a serious sort of book, not fit for every one to read.” The titles of these books give an inkling of their savour : “ Truth Exalted,” “ The Guide Mistaken,” “ A Seasonable Caveat against Popery,” etc. The <sup>Some of</sup> one which Mr. Pepys would not recommend to all <sup>his writings</sup> readers was entitled “ The Sandy Foundation Shaken,” which was clearly open to the charge of Socinianism. Grave accusations of heresies were brought against Penn, to which he made reply in his “ Innocency with her Open Face,” some quotations from which will give us an impression of his style : —

“ It may not be unreasonable to observe, that however industrious some (and those dissenters too) have been to represent me as a person disturbing the civil peace, I have not violated any truly fundamental law which relates to external

propriety and good behaviour, and not to religious apprehensions; it being the constant principle of myself and friends to maintain good works and keep our consciences void of offence, paying active or passive obedience, suitable

If you will  
not talk  
with me, I  
must write

to the meek example of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nor would I have any ignorant how forward I was by messages, letters, and visits, to have determined

this debate in a sober and select assembly, notwithstanding the rude entertainment we had met with before; but contrary to their own appointments our adversaries failed us, which necessitated me to that defence;<sup>1</sup> and finding the truth so prest with slander, I cannot but say I saw my just call to her relief; but alas! how have those two or three extemporary sheets been tost, tumbled, and torn on all hands, yea, aggravated to a monstrous design, even the subversion of the Christian religion, than which there could be nothing more repugnant to my principle and purpose; wherefore how very intemperate have all my adversaries been in their

You call  
names at  
me instead  
of using  
argument

revilings, slanders, and defamations! using the most opprobrious terms of seducer, heretic, blasphemer, deceiver, Socinian, Pelagian, Simon Magus, impiously robbing Christ of his divinity, for whom the vengeance of the great day is reserved, etc. Nor have these things been whispered, but in one book and pulpit after another have been thundered out against me, as if some bull had lately been arrived from Rome; and all this acted under the foul pretence of zeal and love to Jesus Christ, whose meek and gentle example always taught it for a principal mark of true Christianity to suffer the most outrageous injuries, but never to return any. . . . Tell me,

<sup>1</sup> A discussion in a Presbyterian meeting-house in London, between Penn with some friends and the Presbyterian minister, Thomas Vincent, had ended in an attempt to silence the Quakers by uproar. Penn persisted even after the lights were put out, but then yielded to Vincent's promise to meet him again in a fair and open discussion. It proved impossible, however, to make Vincent keep his promise, and so Penn had recourse to the press, and published his *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*. See Stoughton's *William Penn*, p. 57.



I pray, did Luther, that grand reformer whom you so much reverence, justly demand from the emperor at the Diet of Worms . . . that none should sit upon his doctrines but the scripture ; and in case they should be cast, that no other sentence should be passed upon him than what Gamaliel offered to the Jewish council ? If it were not of God it would not stand ; and if you will not censure him who first arraigned the Christian world (so called) at the bar of his private judgment (that had so many hundred years soundly slept, without so much as giving one considerable shrug or turn during that tedious winter-night of dark apostasy), but justify his proceedings, can you so furiously assault others ?

If you do not blame Luther for asserting the right of private judgment, why blame me ?

“ But above all you, who refuse conformity to others, and that have been writing these eight years for liberty of conscience, . . . what pregnant testimonies do you give of your unwillingness to grant that to others you so earnestly beg for yourselves ? Doth it not discover your injustice, and plainly express that only want of power hinders you to act ? But of all Protestants in general I demand, do you believe that persecution to be Christian in yourselves that you condemned for anti-christian in the Papists ? You judged it a weakness in their religion, and is it cogent argument in yours ?

When you persecute others, you assume your own infallibility, as much as the Papists do

Nay, is it not the readiest way to enhance and propagate the reputation of what you would depress ? If you were displeased at their assuming an infallibility, will you believe it impossible in yourselves to err ? Have Whitaker, Reynolds, Laud, Owen, Baxter, Stillingfleet, Poole, etc., disarmed the Romanists of these inhuman weapons, that you might employ them against your inoffensive countrymen ? Let the example and holy precepts of Christ dissuade you, who came not to destroy but save ; and soberly reflect upon his equal law of doing as you would be done unto. . . . Have a care you are not upon one of Saul's errands to Damascus, and helping the mighty against God and his anointed ; and rather choose by

But you cannot hurt us, for if God is with us, who can be against us ?

fair and moderate debates, not penalties ratified by imperial decrees, to determine religious differences. . . . But if you are resolved severity shall take its course, in this our case can never change nor happiness abate; for no human edict can possibly deprive us of His glorious presence, who is able to make the dimmest prisons so many receptacles of pleasure, and whose heavenly fellowship doth unspeakably replenish our solitary souls with divine consolation.”<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to see how Penn’s argument partly anticipates that of John Stuart Mill, in his famous “Essay on Liberty.” The extent to which the sense of an ever present God replenished his soul with divine consolation is shown in one of his most important works, “No Cross, no Crown Cross, no Crown,” written in the Tower of London in the year 1668. It is as beautiful as its title, albeit we must make allowance for the peculiar prolixity which English writers of the seventeenth century seldom succeeded in avoiding. In spite of this drawback the book abounds in the eloquence that wins the soul: —

“This made the prophet David say, ‘The King’s daughter is all glorious within, her clothing is of wrought gold.’ What is the glory that is within the true church, and that gold that makes up that inward glory? Tell me, O superstitious man! is it thy stately temples, altars, carpets, tables, tapestries; thy vestments, organs, voices, candles, lamps, censers, plate, and jewels, with the like furniture of thy worldly temples? No such matter; they bear no proportion with the divine adornment of the King of heaven’s daughter, the blessed and redeemed church of Christ. Miserable apostasy that it is! and a wretched supplement in the loss and absence of the apostolic life, the spiritual glory of the primitive church.

“But yet some of these admirers of external pomp and glory in worship would be thought lovers of the Cross, and to that end have made to themselves many. But alas! what hopes can there be of reconciling that to Christianity, that

<sup>1</sup> Penn’s *Select Works*, London, 1825, i. 163–165.

N O

# Cross, no Crowvn :

Or several Sober

## REASONS

Against

*Hat-Honour, Titular-Respects, You to a  
single Person, with the Apparel and  
Recreations of the Times :*

Being inconsistent with Scripture, Reason, and the  
Practice, as well of the best Heathens, as the holy Men  
and Women of all Generations; and consequently  
fantastick, impertinent and sinfull.

With Sixty Eight Testimonies of the most famous Persons,  
of both former and latter Ages for further confirmation.

In Defence of the poor despised *Quakers*, against  
the Practice and Objections of their Adversaries.

---

By W. Penn j.

*An humble Disciple, and patient Bearer of the  
Cross of Jesus.*

---

*But Mordecai bowed not, Esth. 3. 2. Adam where art thou? Gen. 3.  
In like manner the women adorn themselves in modest Apparel, not  
with brodered hair, &c. 1 Tim. 2. 9. Thy Law is my Meditation all  
the day, Psal. 119. 97.*

---

Printed in the Year, 1669.

the nearer it comes to its resemblance, the farther off it is in reality? . . . It is true, they have got a cross, but it seems to be in the room of the true one ; and so mannerly, that it will do as they will have it that wear it ; for instead of mortifying their wills by it, they made it and use it according to them ; so that the cross is become their ensign that do nothing but what they list. Yet by that they would be thought his disciples, that never did his own will but the will of his heavenly Father.

It is but a false cross that comports with self-indulgence

“ This is such a cross as flesh and blood can carry, for flesh and blood invented it ; therefore not the cross of Christ that is to crucify flesh and blood. Thousands of them have no more virtue than a chip ; poor empty shadows, not so much as images of the true one. Some carry them for charms about them, but never repel one evil with them. They sin with them upon their backs ; and though they put them in their bosoms, their beloved lusts lie there too without the least disquiet. They are as dumb as Elijah’s mock-gods ; no life nor power in them (1 Kings xviii. 27). . . . Is it possible that such crosses should mend their makers ? Surely not. . . .

Religion is not a fetish, but a discipline

“ Nor is a recluse life (the boasted righteousness of some) much more commendable, or one whit nearer to the nature of the true cross ; for if it be not unlawful as other things are, it is unnatural, which true religion teaches not. The Christian convent and monastery are within, where the soul is encloistered from sin. And this religious house the true followers of Christ carry about with them, who exempt not themselves from the conversation of the world, though they keep themselves from the evil of the world in their conversation. That is a lazy, rusty, unprofitable self-denial, burdensome to others to feed their idleness ; religious bedlams, where people are kept up lest they should do mischief abroad. . . . No thanks if they commit not what they are not tempted to commit. What the eye views not, the heart craves not, as well as rues not.

Better resist temptation than flee from it

The cross of Christ is of another nature ; it truly overcomes the world, and leads a life of purity in the face of its allurements. They that bear it are not thus chained up for fear they should bite, nor locked up lest they should be stole away ; no, they receive power from Christ their captain, to resist the evil and do that which is good in the sight of God. . . . What a world should we have if everybody, for fear of transgressing, should mew himself up within four walls ! . . .

“Not that I would be thought to slight a true retirement ; for I do not only acknowledge but admire solitude. Christ himself was an example of it ; he loved and chose to frequent mountains, gardens, seashores. They are requisite to the growth of piety ; and I reverence the virtue that seeks and uses it, wishing there were more of it in the world ; but then it should be free, not constrained. What benefit to the mind to have it for a punishment, not for a pleasure ? Nay, I have long thought it an error among all sorts that use not monastic lives, that they have no retreats for the afflicted, the tempted, the solitary, and the devout ;<sup>1</sup> where they might undisturbedly wait upon God, pass through their religious exercises, and being thereby strengthened may with more power over their own spirits enter into the business of the world again ; though the less the better, to be sure. For divine pleasures are to be found in a free solitude.”<sup>2</sup>

The wholesome-  
ness  
of solitude

From such sweet reflections we come now and then upon quaint arguments in justification of sundry peculiarities of the Friends, as for example their plainness of attire : “Were it possible that any one could bring us father Adam’s girdle and mother Eve’s apron, what laughing, what fleering, what mocking of their homely fashion would there be ! surely their tailor would find but little custom, although we read

<sup>1</sup> It was such a want that the noble and saintlike Nicholas Ferrar sought to satisfy in his Protestant monastery of Little Gidding. See my *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, i. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Penn’s *Select Works*, i. 368–371.

it was God himself that made them coats of skins. . . . How many pieces of ribband, and what feathers, lace-bands, and the like, did Adam and Eve wear in Paradise or out of it? What rich embroideries, silks, points, etc., had Abel, Enoch, Noah, and good old Abraham? Did Eve, Sarah, Susannah, Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary use to curl, powder, The follies  
of fashion patch, paint, wear false locks of strange colours, rich points, trimmings, laced gowns, embroidered petticoats, shoes with slippers laced with silk or silver lace and ruffled like pigeons' feet, with several yards of ribbands? How many plays did Jesus Christ and the apostles recreate themselves at? What poets, romances, comedies, and the like did the apostles and saints use to pass away their time withal? . . . But if I were asked, whence came them [these follies]; I would quickly answer, from the Gentiles that knew not God, . . . an effeminate Sardanapalus, . . . a comical Aristophanes, a prodigal Charaxus, a luxurious Aristippus . . . [from] such women as the infamous Clytemnestra, the painted Jezebel, the lascivious Campaspe, the most immodest Posthumia, the costly Corinthian Lais, the impudent Flora, the wanton Egyptian Cleopatra, and most insatiable Messalina; persons whose memories have stunk through all ages and carry with them a perpetual rot. These and not the holy self-denying men and women in ancient times were devoted to the like recreations and vain delights."<sup>1</sup>

Or, as concerns the use of "thou" and "thee" for "you," the modern reader needs to be reminded of the English usage in Penn's time, which made the Quaker innovation seem especially heinous. The usage in English was like that in French to-day, and analogous to the German, Italian, and Spanish usage. The singular pronoun was reserved for solemn invocations to the Deity, or for familiar intercourse with the members of one's family, including the servants; for addressing parents, however (especially the father), or social superiors or equals

<sup>1</sup> Penn's *Select Works*, i. 482.

outside the circle of familiarity, the plural was necessary. The rule was much like that which governs the use of the Christian name to-day; you may call your wife, or sister, or brother, or children, or the housemaid, by the forename; but to address father or mother in that way is felt to be disrespectful, and to address a lady so, unless she is an intimate acquaintance, is an unwarrantable liberty. In the seventeenth century, to "thou" (French *tutoyer*) a lady was as rude as to call her Lizzie or Jane; to "thou" one's father was much like addressing him as Tom or Jack. Probably few things did so much to make the Quakers shock people's sense of the proprieties as their use of the pronouns, which was in later days imitated by the Jacobins of the French Revolution. "There is another piece of our non-conformity to the world, that renders us [*i. e.* makes us seem] very clownish to the breeding of it, and that is, Thou for You, and that without difference or respect to persons; a thing that to some looks so rude, it cannot well go down without derision or wrath." Nevertheless, says Penn, we Friends have good reasons and high authorities on our side. "Luther, the great reformer, was so far from condemning our plain speech that in his 'Ludus' he sports himself with You to a single person as an incongruous and ridiculous speech, viz. *Magister, vos estis iratus?* 'Master, are You angry?' as absurd with him in Latin as 'My masters, art Thou angry?' is in English. Erasmus, a learned man and an exact critic in speech, not only derides it, but bestows a whole discourse upon rendering it absurd; plainly manifesting . . . that the original of this corruption was the corruption of flattery. Lipsius affirms of the ancient Romans, that the manner of greeting now in vogue was not in use among them. . . . Is it not as proper to say, 'Thou lovest,' to ten men, as to say, 'You love,' to one man? . . . Is it reasonable that children should be whipt at school for putting You for Thou, as having made false Latin; and yet that we must be (though not whipt) reproached, and often abused, when we use the contrary propriety of speech? . . . It can-

not be denied that the most famous poems, dedicated to love or majesty, are written in this style [*i. e.* with Thou]. Read of each in Chaucer, Spenser, Waller, Cowley, Dryden, etc. Why then should it be so homely, ill-bred, and insufferable in us? This, I conceive, can never be answered. . . . [The other style] was first ascribed in way of flattery to proud popes and emperors, imitating the heathen's vain homage to their gods; . . . for which reason, You, only to be used to many, became first spoken to one. It seems the word Thou looked like too lean and thin a respect; and therefore some, bigger than they should be, would have a style suitable to their own ambition. . . . It is a most extravagant piece of pride in a mortal man to require or expect from his fellow-creature a more civil speech . . . than he is wont to give the immortal God his Creator, in all his worship to him. . . . Say not, I am serious about slight things; but beware you of levity and rashness in serious things. . . . But I would not have thee think it is a mere Thou or Title, simply or nakedly in themselves, we boggle at, or that we would beget or set up any form inconsistent with severity or true civility; . . . but the esteem and value the vain minds of men do put upon them constrains us to testify so steadily against them."<sup>1</sup>

The use of  
"you" in  
place of  
"thou" is  
undemo-  
cratic

Other things in Penn's career beside the free circulation of his heretical books occur to remind us that in the England of Charles II., in spite of grave shortcomings, we are in a free country. Attacks upon liberty are made in courts of justice, but are apt to fail of success. Such a damnable iniquity as the Dreyfus case, which has made every true lover of France put on mourning, shows us that the Paris of Zola still has lessons of vital importance to learn from the London of Congreve and Aphra Behn. In 1670 Penn was arraigned before the Lord Mayor's court for infringing the Conventicle Act and provoking a riot by speaking in Gracechurch Street to an

Memorable  
scene in the  
Lord Mayor's  
court,  
1670

<sup>1</sup> Penn's *Select Works*, i. 421-428.



12.

THE  
Peoples {Ancient  
and Just} Liberties  
ASSERTED,  
IN THE  
**TRIAL**  
OF

*William Penn, and William Mead,*

At the Sessions held at the *Old-Baily* in *London*, the  
first, third, fourth and fifth of *Sept. 70.* against  
the most Arbitrary procedure of that Court.

---

*Iſa. 10. 1, 2. We unto them that Decree Unrighteous Decrees, and  
write grievouſneſs, which they have preſcribed; to turn away the  
Needy from Judgment, and to take away the rights from the Poor, &c.  
Pſal. 94. 20. Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowſhip with thee,  
which frameth miſchief by a Law.*

---

Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas.

*Old-Baily, 1ſt. 3d. 4th, 5th of Sept. 1670.*

---

Printed in the Year, 1670. £

unlawful assembly. He argued his own case, and proved much more than a match for the recorder. The twelve jurors failed to agree, and were sent out again and again after a scolding from the Court. At length they brought in the verdict, "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street," but this was not enough. So they were locked up for the night "without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco," and next morning the question was put to them, "Guilty, or not guilty?" The foreman replied, "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street," and stopped, whereupon the Lord Mayor added, "to an unlawful assembly." "No, my lord," said the foreman, "we give no other verdict than we gave last night." So these brave men were scolded again, locked up again for several hours, and again brought into court, but their spirit was not quelled. "Is William Penn, the prisoner, guilty or not guilty?" asked the mayor. "Not guilty, my lord." Then the mayor, quite beside himself with rage, proceeded to fine each of the jurors in a sum equivalent to about \$30, with jail until it should be paid. "What is all this for?" exclaimed Penn. "For contempt of court," quoth the Lord Mayor. But his was not the last word on the subject. The case was taken to the Court of Common Pleas, which summarily quashed the mayor's order and set free the sturdy jurors. Thus justice triumphed, and Penn straightway published his own account of the affair, in a pamphlet entitled, "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted."<sup>1</sup>

In 1672 Penn was married to Gulielma Maria, daughter of Sir William Springett, a noted officer of the Parliamentary army who had lost his life in the Civil War. This lady was celebrated for beauty, wit, and accomplishments, and had withal a handsome estate at Worm-

Penn's  
marriage,  
and charm-  
ing home

<sup>1</sup> Penn's *Select Works*, i. 179-223. At one point in the trial, the recorder, John Howell, exclaimed: "Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them. And certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." *Id.* p. 194.

inghurst, in Sussex, overlooking the beautiful South Downs. There all the things that make life delightful seemed to be combined,—books and flowers, cultivated friends, the supreme restfulness of rural England with its tempered sunshine, its gentle showers, and the tonic fragrance of the salt sea. In this blest retreat Penn spent his happiest days, but he was often called upon to leave it. One of his first visitors was his friend George Fox, who had lately returned from a journey through the American colonies, and had much to tell. The time had arrived when matters of business were to turn Penn's attention decisively toward America, but while these matters of business were taking shape he visited Holland and travelled in the lower



*Guli Penn*

parts of Germany with a party of friends, holding meetings at all times and places, here and there meeting with rebuffs and insults, but finding many spirits to whom his words were an inspiration and a solace.

His missionary  
tour in  
Germany

There can be no doubt that this journey had far-reaching results in afterward turning the attention of Germany towards Penn's colonizing work in America. Penn afterward published a diary of this missionary tour.<sup>1</sup> A general outline of the route and a few of the interesting scenes must suffice for the present narrative.

<sup>1</sup> It is contained in his *Select Works*, ii. 398-503.

Leaving his wife at the beautiful Sussex home, Penn sailed for Rotterdam on a July day of 1677. Among his companions were George Fox, Robert Barclay, and George Keith, and at Rotterdam they held a great meeting at the house of Benjamin Furly, with such effect, says Penn, that "the dead were raised and the living comforted." With similar success they visited Leyden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. There the party left Fox behind, but Furly accompanied them into Hanover. After talking with "the man of the inn" at Osnabrug, and leaving with him "several good books of Friends, in the Low and High Dutch tongues, to read and dispose of," the missionaries proceeded next day to Herwerden in Westphalia, where Elizabeth, the Princess Palatine, had her court. This Elizabeth, sister of Prince Rupert, cousin to Charles II., and aunt to the German prince who afterwards became George I. of England, was a woman of liberal and cultivated mind. It may have been from her grandfather, James I., that she inherited her bookish proclivities. She had received lessons in philosophy from the immortal Descartes, who was reported to have said that he "found none except her who thoroughly understood his works." She had for a time given protection to Jean de Labadie, and now she cordially welcomed Penn and his companions. After a pleasant day with the Princess Elizabeth and her friend, Anna Maria, Countess of Hornes, the party were invited to return next morning and continue their conference upon sacred themes. So "the next morning we were there between eight and nine; where Robert Barclay falling into some discourse with the princess, the countess took hold of the opportunity, and whispered me to withdraw, to get a meeting for the more inferior servants of the house, who would have been bashful to have presented themselves before the princess. And blessed be the Lord, he was not wanting to us; but the same blessed power that had appeared to visit them of high, appeared also to visit them of low degree; and we were all sweetly tendered and broken

Princess  
Elizabeth

Penn  
preaches to  
the ser-  
vants



VIRU  
EOLIAO

together, for virtue went forth of Jesus that day, and the life of our God was shed abroad amongst us as a sweet savour, for which their souls bowed before the Lord and confessed to our testimony. Which did not a little please that noble young woman, to find her own report of us, and her great care of them, so effectually answered. . . . I must not here



GEORGE KEITH

forget that we found at our inn, the first night at supper, a young merchant, of a sweet and ingenuous temper, belonging to the city of Bremen, who took occasion from that night's discourse, the sixth day at dinner and supper, and the seventh day also, to seek all opportunities of conference with us ; and, as we have reason to believe, he stayed twenty-four hours in [Herwerden] on

A merchant of Bremen

our account. . . . We asked him, in case any of us should visit [Bremen], if he would give us the opportunity of a meeting at his house ; which he readily granted us. So we gave him some books, etc. . . . It being now three in the afternoon, we went to the princess's ; where being come, after some little time, the princess and countess put me in remembrance of a promise I made them in one of my letters out of England, namely, that I would give them an account (at some convenient time) of my first conviction, and of those tribulations and consolations which I had met withal in this way of the kingdom which God had brought me to. After some pause I found myself very free, and prepared in the Lord's love and fear to comply with their request ; and so, after some silence, began. But before I had half done it was supper time, and the princess would by no means let us go, we must sup with her ; which importunity not being well able to avoid, we yielded to, and sat down with her to supper.

“Among the rest present at these opportunities, it must not be forgotten that there was a countess, sister to the countess, then come in to visit her, and a Frenchwoman of quality ; the first behaving herself very decently and the last often deeply broken ; and from a light and slighting carriage toward the very name of a Quaker, she became very intimately and respectfully kind and respectful to us. Supper being ended, we all returned to the princess's chamber ; where making us all to sit down with her, she with both the countesses and the Frenchwoman pressed from me the continuance of my relation ; . . . which, though late, I was not unwilling to oblige them with, because I knew not when the Lord would give me such an opportunity.”

The ladies listened “with a earnest and tender attention,” and afterwards a meeting was appointed for the next day, Sunday, at two o'clock, in Princess Elizabeth's palace ; and so toward midnight the evening came to an end. The next day, at the inn dinner, “there were several strangers that

Penn tells  
the ladies  
of his con-  
version

A French  
lady



came by the post-wagon, among whom there was a young man of Bremen, being a student at the college at Duysburgh, who informed us of a sober and seeking man of great note in the city of Duysburgh. To him we gave some books. . . . The second hour being at hand we went to the meeting; where were several as well of the town as of the family. The meeting began with a weighty exercise and travail in prayer, that the Lord would glorify his own name that day. And by his own power he made way to their consciences and sounded his wakening trumpet in their ears, that they might know that he was God, and that there is none like unto him. O, the day of the Lord livingly dawned upon us, and the searching life of Jesus was in the midst of us! O, the Word, that never faileth them that wait for it and abide in it, opened the way and unsealed the book of life. Yea, the quickening power and life of Jesus wrought and reached to them; and virtue from him, in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth and blessedly distilled upon us his own heavenly life, sweeter than the pure frankincense; yea, than the sweet-smelling myrrh that cometh from a far country. . . . As soon as the meeting was done the princess came to me and took me by the hand (which she usually did to us all, coming and going) and went to speak to me of the sense she had of that power and presence of God that was amongst us, but was stopped. And turning herself to the window brake forth in an extraordinary fashion, crying out, 'I cannot speak to you; my heart is full;' clapping her hands upon her breast.

A meeting  
at the palace

Emotion of  
the princess

"It melted me into a deep and calm tenderness, in which I was moved to minister a few words softly to her, and after some time of silence she recovered herself, and as I was taking leave of her, she interrupted me thus: 'Will ye not come hither again? Pray call here as ye return out of Germany.' I told her, we were in the hand of the Lord, and being his, could not dispose of ourselves;

Penn takes  
leave

but the Lord had taken care that we should not forget her and those with her.”<sup>1</sup>

From Herwerden our friends proceeded to Paderborn, “a dark popish town, and under the government of a bishop of that religion.” Thence in floods of rain, with “only naked carts to ride in,” to Hesse-Cassel, and thence to Frankfort. At every place they made converts; at Frankfort “a Lutheran minister was broken to pieces,” “a doctor of physic was affected and confessed to the truth.” These things happened in the parlour of a young maiden lady, who declared herself ready to go to prison, if need be, for harbouring such preachers. At some places on the route the Quakers were forbidden to preach, but they paid small heed to the injunction. As they made a little circuit through Mannheim, Worms, and Mayence, and back to Frankfort, people thronged from neighbouring towns and villages, in coaches and wagons or afoot, in order to listen to them. Down the beautiful Rhine they went to Cologne, and so on toward Duysburg, near which towered the castle of the gruff old Count von Falkenstein. They carried a letter of introduction to his daughter, “an extraordinary woman,” but on the way they met the father, who said that he had no need of Quakers and ordered them to get out of his dominions. The walk to Duysburg was so long that when they arrived there they found the city gates shut and had to sleep under the open sky. As they entered the city in the morning they met with a messenger from the young Countess von Falkenstein, “a pretty young tender man, near to the kingdom, who saluted us in her name with much love; telling us that she was much grieved at the entertainment of her father towards us, advising us not to expose ourselves to such difficulties and hardships, for it would grieve her heart that any that came in the love of God to visit her should be so severely handled; for at some he sets his dogs, upon others he puts his soldiers to beat them.” Our pilgrims begged the young man to assure the lady

<sup>1</sup> Penn's *Select Works*, ii. 414-418.



ANNA MARIA SCHURMANN

“that our concern was not for ourselves, but for her,” *i. e.* since they understood her father’s reputation for cruelty. A walk of eight English miles after dinner brought them to their next resting-place, and so they kept on, making some impression wherever they stopped, until they arrived at Amsterdam.

Thence Penn set out once more, in company with a certain Jan Claus, and visited Leeuwarden, where he met “an ancient maid, above sixty years of age,” Anna Maria Schurmann, the celebrated mystic and friend of Labadie, and “of great note and fame for learning in languages and philosophy.” This ancient maiden “told us of her former life, of her pleasure in learning, and her

Anna  
Maria  
Schurmann

love to the religion she was brought up in ; but confessed she knew not God nor Christ truly all that while . . . she never felt such a powerful stroke as by the ministry of Jean de Labadie. She saw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death." From Friesland Penn entered Germany again at Emden, and after a stop at Bremen, returned once more to the Princess Elizabeth and her ladies at Herwerden. Thence after affectionate farewells it was a wearisome journey to Wesel: "We rode three nights and days without lying down on a bed or sleeping, otherwise than in the wagon, which was only covered with an old ragged sheet. The company we had with us made twelve in number, which much straitened us. They were often if not always vain ; yea, in their religious songs, which is the fashion of that country, especially by night. They call them Luther's songs, and sometimes psalms. We were forced often to reprove and testify against their hypocrisy, — to be full of all vain and often profane talk one hour, and sing psalms to God the next ; we showed them the deceit and abomination of it. . . . All was very well ; they bore what we said."

Fellow-  
travellers  
rebuked

From Wesel through the Netherlands the journey was brief, and at the end of October, after an absence of three months, Penn arrived at Worminghurst, and found wife, child, and family all well. "I had that evening a sweet meeting amongst them, in which God's blessed power made us truly glad together."

At home  
once more

A charming picture is this of the highly gifted young man, with his noble face, commanding presence, and magnetic demeanour, going about to win souls to a higher life. It was because they felt the divine authority in the nature of his utterances that his hearers were so "broken" and contrite. It was a renewal of Christ's teaching that religion is an affair of the inner soul and not of externals ; and there can be little doubt that the Christian ideal has been, on the whole, more perfectly realized among the Quakers than with any other sect of Christians.



**REYS - BOEK.**

*Door de Vereenigde Nederlande en Derselver  
aen Grensende Landtschappen en Koninckrycken*



*Amsterdam . Bij Jan ten Hoorn . Boekverkooper .*

FRIENDS,

3 Street on the 20 Hill London 8



THESE are to Satisfie you, or any other who are Sobber, and are any wise minded to go along with me, and Plant within my COLONY; That we shall no doubt find, but this New CESAREA or New JERSEY, which is the Place which I did Purchase: Together with the Government thereof, is a Healthy Pleasant, and Plentiful Country: According to the Report of many Honest Men, Friends, and others who has been there, and the Character given thereof, by John Ogilby in his AMERICA, which I herewith send. The Method I intend for the Planting of all, or so much thereof, as I shall reserve to my self, my Heirs and Assigns for ever. Is thus:

1. **W**HOEVER is minded to Purchase to them and their Heirs for ever, may for Five Pound have a Thousand Acres, and so Ten Thousand Acres; and thereby be made Proprietors or Free-Holders.

2. Who is minded to Carry themselves, (and not Purchase) with their Families at their own Charges, are to have the Freedom of the Country when they Arrive, and one hundred Acres for every Head they carry above the Age of Fourteen, to them and their Heirs for ever. At the yearly Rent of a Penny for every Acre, to Me, my Heirs and Assigns for ever.

3. Who are minded to go as Servants, who must be Carried at my Charges, or any other Proprietor, or Purchasers, or Carries themselves with Servants at their own Charges as aforesaid, they are to Serve 4 years, and then to be made Free of the Country: Their Masters are to give them a Suit of Cloaths, and other things futable; a Cow, a Hog, and so much Wheat as the Law there in that Case allows; with Working Tools to begin with: And then he is to have of me, or his Master out of his Propriety, a hundred Acres, Paying the yearly Rent of a Penny for every Acre: To me and my Heirs for ever, or to his Master and his Heirs.

And as for the Planting of the Whole, with Ease, Satisfaction and Profit, as well to the Poor as the Rich: this Method is intended, and approved of by many that are preparing to go with me, which I intend will be about the middle of the next Month call'd April, or the end thereof without fail, if the Lord please.

First, 10000. Acres being pitch'd Upon, and divided according to every mans Propriety; then Lots shall be cast, and when every one knows where his Lot lies, there being also a place Chosen and set out for a Town or City to be Built, in which every Purchaser must have a Part, by reason of Delaware River for Trade. Then every one must joyn their Hands, first in Building the Houses, and next in Improving the Land, casting Lots whose Houses shall be first built, and whose Land first Improved: And as the Land is Improved so it shall be for the Use of all the Hands and their Families which are joyned in this Community, until the whole 10000. Acres be Improved; Then every one to have his own Lot to his own Use: And so this Method to be used till the Country be Planted.

If any like not this Method, they may be left to Improve their Propriety alone. If any happen to go who is not Able to get a Livelihood here, nor to Pay their Debts out of their Stocks, the Governor and his Council shall take care, upon notice given thereof by the Creditors, that such shall make Satisfaction out of their Estates, as the Lord shall give a Blessing to their Labours, and an Increase of their Substance. Provided the Creditors hinder not their Passage, but give the Governor and his Council a Particular of their Debts.

The Government is to be, by a Governor and 12 Council to be Chosen every year, 6 of the Council to go out, and 6 to come in; whereby every Proprietor may be made capable of Government, and know the Affairs of the Country, and Priviledges of the People.

The Government to stand upon these two Basis, or Leges, viz. 1. The Defence of the Royal Law of God, his Name and true Worship, which is in Spirit and in Truth. 2. The Good, Peace and Welfare, of every Individual Person.

This Sh. of the 1st. Month,  
1675.

I am a Real Friend and Well-wisher to all Men  
J. Fenwick

The importance of this journey in relation to the European peopling of the middle zone of the United States is obvious. It made Penn and his ideas familiarly known to many excellent men and women in Germany, persons of character and influence. At the time when he made the journey his American schemes were rapidly developing. We have now to observe the manner in which his attention was directed to the New World.

It will be remembered that in 1673 Lord Berkeley sold his half share in the province of New Jersey to a Quaker, John Fenwick, in trust for another Quaker, Edward Byllinge. Fenwick, who is described as a "litigious and troublesome person," soon got into a quarrel with Byllinge, and the affair was referred to William Penn as arbitrator. He adjudged one tenth of the Berkeley purchase to Friend Fenwick, along with a certain sum of money, and directed him to hand over the other nine tenths to Friend Byllinge. At first Fenwick was sorely dissatisfied with the award, and refused to abide by it, whereat he was gravely rebuked by Penn. Meanwhile Byllinge became insolvent. Presently Fenwick yielded, and made over nine tenths of the property to William Penn, Gawaine Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, as trustees for the benefit of Byllinge's creditors. In 1675 Fenwick sailed for the Delaware River with a party of colonists, and landed at the mouth of a small stream which the Dutch had called by the unromantic name of Varkenskill, or "Hog's Creek," hard by the Swedish settlement of Elsingburgh. There he laid out a town and called it Salem. These proceedings aroused the ire of Andros, who demanded by what authority was Fenwick taking on airs of proprietorship within the Duke of York's dominions. Not getting a satisfactory reply, Andros summoned Fenwick to New York, and when he refused to come the summons was followed by an officer who seized the obstinate Quaker and carried him off to Fort James.

Historic  
significance  
of the jour-  
ney

Penn  
becomes  
interested  
in West  
Jersey

Salem  
founded by  
Fenwick

Meanwhile an important question was settled between the proprietors in England. The joint proprietorship of New Jersey between Carteret and Berkeley had passed almost unconsciously into two proprietorships of East and West Jersey in severalty; and the boundary between the two had been declared to be a straight line running from Barnegat to Rankokus Creek. This was felt to be an inequitable division, and in 1676 the matter was readjusted by what was known as the Quintipartite Deed, between Sir George Carteret on the one hand, and Penn, Laurie, Lucas, and Byllinge on the other. By this instrument it was agreed that the boundary between East and West Jersey should be a straight line running from Little Egg Harbour to the northernmost branch of the Delaware River in latitude  $41^{\circ} 40'$ .

In the summer of 1677 the good ship *Kent*, Gregory Marlow, master, dropped down the Thames with 230 passengers bound for West Jersey, including a small board of commissioners for organizing a government for that province. As they were gliding down-stream, King Charles in his pleasure barge came alongside and asked whither they were bound. Hearing the name West Jersey, he asked if they were all Quakers, and gave them his royal blessing. On arriving at Sandy Hook the *Kent* dropped anchor while the commissioners went up to New York to pay their respects to Andros. The governor received them politely, but was particular to ask "if they had anything from the duke, his master? They replied, nothing particularly; but that he had conveyed that part of his country to Lord Berkeley, and he to Byllinge, etc., in which the government was as much conveyed as the soil. The governor replied: 'All that will not clear me. If I should surrender without the duke's order, it is as much as my head is worth; but if you had but a line or two from the duke, I should be as ready to surrender it to you as you would be to ask it.' Upon which the commissioners, instead of

The lines  
between  
East and  
West Jer-  
sey

Quakers go  
to West  
Jersey

Peremptory  
demeanour  
of Andros



excusing their imprudence in not bringing such an order, began to insist upon their right and strenuously to assert their independency. But Andros, clapping his hand on his sword, told them that he should defend the government [of West Jersey] from them till he received orders from the duke to surrender it. He, however, softened and told them he would do what was in his power to make them easy till they could send home to get redress; and in order thereto, would commissionate the same persons mentioned in the commission they produced. This they accepted, and undertook to act as magistrates under him till further orders came from England, and to proceed in relation to their land affairs according to the methods prescribed by the proprietors.”<sup>1</sup>

This incident throws a strong sidelight upon the behaviour of Andros toward Philip Carteret. Neither personal friendship nor any other consideration could avail against his mastiff-like fidelity to his master. By their well-timed plicancy Penn's commissioners probably saved themselves from forcible detention in Fort James. After coming to terms with the governor of New York, the immigrants went on to the Delaware River and proceeded far up-stream, above the Rankokus Creek, as if it were part of their purpose to assert ownership of what had once belonged to East Jersey. Here they founded a village which they called Burlington, after the town in Yorkshire whence a goodly number of them came. Andros now, having sufficiently carried his point, released Fenwick.

Founding  
of Burling-  
ton

A letter from one of the settlers, Thomas Hooton, to his wife in England, dated October 29, 1677, is full of interest: “My dear, — I am this present at the town called Burlington, where our land is; it is ordered to be a town for the ten Yorkshire and ten London proprietors. I like the place well; our lot is the second next the water side. It's like to be a healthful place and very pleasant to live in. I came hither yesterday with some friends that

Hooton's  
letter

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *History of Nova Cæsaria, or New Jersey*, Burlington, 1765, pp. 93, 94.

were going to New York. I am to be at Thomas Olive's house till I can provide better for myself. I intend to build a house and get some corn into the ground; and I know not how to write concerning thy coming or not coming hither. The place I like very well, and believe that we may live here very well. But if it be not made free, I mean as to the customs and government, then it will not be so well, and may hinder many that have desires to come. But if those two things be cleared, thou may take thy opportunity of coming this [*i. e.* next?] summer."

The two things that thus needed clearing up were surely of supreme importance to the colonists. In sending them to New Jersey, Penn and his colleagues supposed they were founding a self-governing community. Penn had drawn up a constitution for it, providing that "no man was to have power over another man's conscience. A governing assembly was to be chosen by ballot; every man was eligible to vote, and to be voted for; each elected member was to receive a shilling a day as the servant of the people. Executive power was to be in the hands of ten commissioners appointed by the assembly; and justices and constables were to be elected by popular vote; and it is added, 'All, and every person in the province, shall by the help of the Lord and these fundamentals be free from oppression and slavery.'" Here we have democracy in quite modern shape, containing some of the features which are now found to be objectionable (such as an elective judiciary), as well as those which time and experience have approved. A friendly message, commenting on the above provisions, exclaimed, "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent, for we put the power in the people."<sup>1</sup> Our worthy Quakers did not foresee the day when the people, lured by the bait of high tariffs and the "spoils of office," would consent to be brought into bondage under

A democratic constitution

New phases of tyranny

<sup>1</sup> Stoughton's *William Penn*, p. 119.

petty tyrants as cheap and vile as ever cumbered the earth. They would have been sorely astonished if told that nowhere could be seen a more flagrant spectacle of such humiliating bondage than in the great commonwealth which bears Penn's name.

Now according to the claim which Andros asserted for the Duke of York, these Quakers were merely landowners in New Jersey under the sovereign jurisdiction of New York; their taxes were to be levied not by their own representative assembly, but by the despotic governor of New York; and at Newcastle on the Delaware there was a custom-house, where goods imported into West Jersey had to pay duties into the New York treasury. Under such circumstances, no wonder that some of the settlers felt dubious about staying and bringing over their wives and children. Nevertheless, people kept on coming and agitating, and as the population grew the question was more and more warmly discussed.

Andros  
claims West  
Jersey for  
the Duke  
of York

In 1679 there was a strong anti-Catholic excitement in England, due largely to Titus Oates and his alleged detection of a Popish plot in the previous year. The horrors in Scotland and the defeat of Claverhouse by the Covenanters at Drumclog also produced a great effect; and amid it all the friends of the Habeas Corpus Act, led by the Earl of Shaftesbury, wrenched from the king his signature to that famous measure. The Duke of York, as a Romanist, was threatened with exclusion from the throne, and so strong was the feeling against him that he deemed it prudent for a time to leave the country. During his absence the West Jersey question was discussed. Penn argued that Berkeley's conveyance expressly included powers of government along with territorial possession, and that the Duke of York had no authority to levy duties on the colonists in West Jersey, or exclude them of their "English right of common assent to taxes;" and then, skilfully alluding to "the duke's circumstances and the people's jealousies," it was suggested that since he had now an opportunity to

Penn's  
ingenious  
argument

free West Jersey with his own hand, "so will Englishmen here [in England] know what to hope for, by the justice and kindness he shows to Englishmen there, and all men to



TITUS OATES

see the just model of his government in New York to be the scheme and draft in little of his administration in Old England at large, if the crown should ever devolve upon his head." <sup>1</sup>

This argument was certainly defective in ignoring the

<sup>1</sup> Broadhead's *History of the State of New York*, ii. 339; an excellent and scholarly work, though occasionally disfigured by a proneness to ascribe unworthy motives to New York's neighbours, whether in Massachusetts, or Connecticut, or Pennsylvania.

legal facts attendant upon the loss and recovery of New Netherland in 1673-74, which should have made it plain that Penn and his friends could have no rights of sovereignty over West Jersey without an explicit release from the Duke of York.<sup>1</sup> Apparently their minds were not clear on this point; or perhaps they acted upon the maxim of worldly wisdom that it is just as well to begin by "claiming everything." The hope of Penn's subtle and weighty argument lay not so much in this preamble as in the suggestion of the duke's true interests. So the duke evidently understood it, and in August, 1680, he executed a deed whereby he released all his powers of sovereignty over West Jersey to Byllinge, Penn, and their colleagues. Two months later he released to the Carterets all his powers over East Jersey, and due notification of these measures was sent to the peremptory Andros. Thus were the Jerseys definitively set free from New York.

In the course of these discussions Penn had acquired a wide knowledge of American affairs, and his mind was turned more and more to thoughts of colonization. The new settlements at Salem and Burlington were flourishing, and in England there were thousands of industrious and thrifty Quakers who would be likely to flock to a new colony founded expressly in their own behoof by their trusted leader. Circumstances combined to favour such a scheme. Penn inherited the claim to a debt of £16,000 due from the crown to his father, and there was no way in which such a debt could more easily be paid than by a grant of wild lands in America. Penn, as he said of himself, was not destitute of "a moderate and seasonable regard" to worldly interests, and he was shrewd enough to see that such an American domain might prove to be better property than the hard cash, even if he were ever likely to get cash from the needy spendthrift who sat on the throne or the niggardly brother who was expected to succeed him. Uppermost in his mind, however, was the

Final  
release of  
the Jerseys

Penn's  
claim  
against the  
crown

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 37.

hope of planting a free and self-governing community wherein his own ideal of a civil polity might be realized. Irrespective of nationality, from the banks of the Rhine and Weser, or from those of the Thames and the Severn, he might draw people of various kinds and grades of free thinking, and deliver them from the vexations which pursued them in their old homes. The more he dwelt upon this scheme, the more it seemed to him "a holy experiment" which with God's help it was his duty to try. "The Lord is good to me," he wrote to a friend, "and the interest his truth has given me with his people may more than repay [this claim upon the crown]. For many are drawn forth to be concerned with me, and perhaps this way of satisfaction hath more the hand of God in it than a downright payment. . . . For the matters of liberty and privilege I purpose that which is extraordinary, and [to] leave myself and succession no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."<sup>1</sup>

Penn's petition to the privy council asked for "a tract of land in America, lying north of Maryland, on the east bounded with Delaware River, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward to extend as far as plantable." The determining of these bounds was, as usual, attended with hard feelings and hard words. Lord Baltimore's charter fixed his northern boundary at the 40th parallel of latitude, which runs a little north of the site of Philadelphia. This latitude was marked by a fortress on the Susquehanna River, and when the crown lawyers consulted with Baltimore's attorneys, they were told that all questions of encroachment would be avoided if the line were to be run just north of this fort, so as to leave it on the Maryland side. Penn made no objection to this, but an inspection of maps soon showed that such a boundary would give his province inadequate access to the ocean. Of all the English colonies, his was the only one that had no seaboard, and he was eager to get an outlet at the head of Chesapeake

<sup>1</sup> Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, i. 288.

Bay. His position as a royal favourite enabled him to push the whole line twenty miles to the south of the Susquehanna fort. But this fell short of attaining his object; so he persuaded the Duke of York to give him the land on the west shore of Delaware Bay which the Dutch had once taken from the Swedes. By further enlargement the area of this grant became that of the present state of Delaware, the whole of which was thus, in spite of vehement protest, carved out of the original Maryland.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the colonial period Delaware and Pennsylvania, though distinct provinces with separate legislative assemblies, continued under the same proprietary government, and the history of the little community was to a considerable extent merged in that of the great one.

On the east the Delaware River was a boundary sufficiently definite, and the circumstances of a later day determined at precisely what remote points in the interior the western limit should be fixed. Five degrees of longitude were allowed in the charter, but rather more than this was ultimately obtained. The northern boundary is placed in the charter at the 43d parallel, but in the final compromise between the Penns and Calverts in 1760, when it was decreed that Mason and Dixon should run their division line at  $39^{\circ} 43' 26.3''$  north, the privy council also insisted that the northern boundary of Pennsylvania Seeds of contention should be at  $42^{\circ}$  instead of  $43^{\circ}$ . This arrangement, like Penn's original charter, ignored the claim of Connecticut, under her Winthrop charter of 1662, to the strip of land between  $41^{\circ}$  and  $42^{\circ}$  as far as the Pacific Ocean; an unsettled question which led to the Pennamite-Yankee conflicts, disgraceful alike to both parties. It has been truly said that Penn's charter was the source of more boundary disputes than any other in American history.<sup>2</sup>

It was Penn's intention to call his province New Wales,

<sup>1</sup> See *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 130-132.

<sup>2</sup> The subject is ably and succinctly treated in Hinsdale's *Old Northwest*, pp. 98-119.

because he had heard that there were hills west of the Delaware River. But as the king for some reason objected to this, he changed it to Sylvania, or Woodland. When the king had in hand the draft of the charter, with this correction, he added the name Penn before Sylvania. When Penn saw this he was not at all pleased. It had an egotistical look, and he insisted that his own name should be crossed off; but Charles II. was quick-witted. "We will keep it," said he, "but not on your account, my dear fellow. Don't flatter yourself. We will keep the name to commemorate the admiral, your noble father." If there were any answer for this, Penn had it not forthcoming, and the king's emendation remained. Penn afterward laughingly argued that, since in the Welsh tongue *pen* means "hill," the compound Pennsylvania might well mean Hilly Woodland or Wooded Hills.<sup>1</sup>

The charter which made Penn lord proprietor of this goodly domain was drawn up by himself in imitation of the charter of Maryland, but differed from it in two very important particulars. Laws passed by the assembly of Maryland were valid as soon as confirmed by Lord Baltimore, and did not need even to be looked at by the king or his privy council; but the colonial enactments of Pennsylvania were required to be sent to England for the royal approval.

<sup>1</sup> See his letter to his friend Robert Turner, in Stoughton's *William Penn*, p. 169. The reader must pardon me for throwing the king's remark into the *oratio directa*, thus paraphrasing but scarcely amplifying what Penn tells us. The king spake as I have quoted him, or "words to that effect," as the lawyers say.

It is said that Penn once told the Rev. Hugh David that he was himself of Welsh origin and descended from the Tudors. "My great-grandfather, John Tudor, lived upon the top of a hill or mountain in Wales and was generally called John Penmunnith, which in English is *John-on-the-Hilltop*. He removed from Wales into Ireland, where he acquired considerable property," and afterward removed to London. His Welsh nickname became abbreviated to John Penn, and in the new surroundings the old name Tudor was forgotten. See Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, i. 119. I relate the tradition for whatever it may be worth.





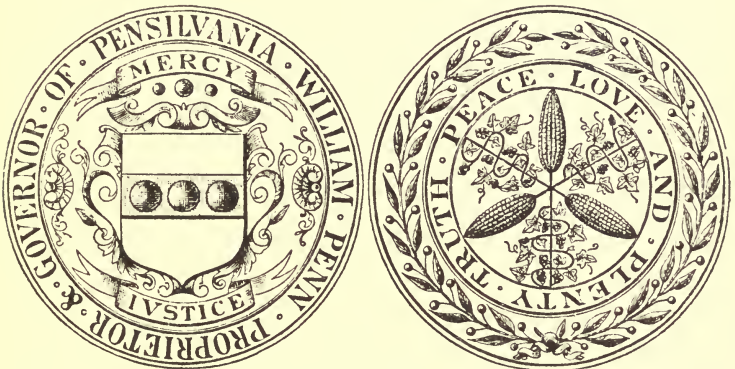






It was, moreover, expressly provided in the Maryland charter that the crown should never impose any taxes within the limits of the province; and although nothing is said about the authority of parliament in such matters, there is no doubt that the proviso was understood to mean that the right of taxing the colony was entirely disclaimed by the government in England. For the views of Charles I. were unquestionably identical with those of his father, who declared in 1624 that the government of colonies was the business of the king, and that parliament had nothing whatever to do with it.<sup>1</sup> But in the charter of

The charters of Pennsylvania and Maryland



THE SEAL OF PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania, half a century later than that of Maryland, the right of parliament to levy taxes in the colony was expressly maintained. The younger colony was therefore less independent of the mother country than her elder sister, and the position of Penn was distinctly less regal than that of Baltimore.

This noticeable contrast marks the growth of the imperial and anti-feudal sentiment in England during those fifty years, the feeling that privileges like those accorded to the Calverts were too extensive to be enjoyed by subjects. It also marks the great decline in the royal power and the concomitant increase in the power and

Significance of the contrast

<sup>1</sup> See *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, i. 207.

importance of parliament. We see that august body putting forth claims to a voice in the imposition of American taxes, claims which the American colonies could never be brought to admit, but which were naturally resented and resisted with more alertness and decision by the older colonies than by the younger.

The limitations in Penn's charter show also the influence of the conflict which had been going on for twenty years between Charles II. and the colony of Massachusetts. That stiff-necked Puritan commonwealth had coined money, set the navigation acts at defiance, prohibited the Episcopal form of worship, snubbed the royal commissioners, and passed laws inconsistent with those of England. Hence in the Pennsylvania charter we see imperial claims more carefully guarded. Massachusetts, moreover, had neglected to appoint an agent or attorney to represent her interests at the English court, for, in the rebellious phrase of a later era, all she asked was to be let alone. Accordingly the Pennsylvania charter required that such an agent should be employed. The toleration of Episcopal forms of worship was also expressly provided for.

But in spite of these few limitations in the charter,<sup>1</sup> Penn was allowed the widest latitude in shaping the policy of his colony, and nothing could have been less like the principles of the Stuarts than the kind of civil government which he forthwith proclaimed. Absolute freedom of conscience was guaranteed to everybody. It was declared, in language which to the seventeenth century seemed arrant political heresy, that governments exist for the sake of the people, and not the people for the sake of governments; and side by side with this came the equally novel doctrine that in legislating for the punishment of criminals, the reformation of the criminal is a worthier object than the wreaking of vengeance. The death penalty

<sup>1</sup> These were probably added by Lord Chief Justice North, who revised the document.

Influence  
of the  
king's ex-  
perience  
with Mas-  
sachusetts

Penn's  
humane  
and reason-  
able policy

SOME  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
PROVINCE  
OF  
PENNSILVANIA  
IN  
AMERICA;  
Lately Granted under the Great Seal  
OF  
ENGLAND  
TO

William Penn, &c.

Together with Priviledges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof.

Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts.

---

LONDON: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark  
Bookfeller in George-Yard Lombard-street, 1681.

was to be inflicted only in cases of murder or high treason ; a notable departure from the customary legislation of those days. In Massachusetts, for example, there were fifteen capital crimes, including such offences as idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, adultery, bearing false witness, and cursing or smiting one's parents.<sup>1</sup> In such wise, with his humane and reasonable policy, did Penn seek to draw men to his new colony. To all who should come he offered land at forty shillings (equivalent to something between \$40 and \$50) for a hundred acres, subject to a quit-rent of one shilling a year.

In April, 1681, Penn sent his cousin, William Markham, to be deputy-governor of Pennsylvania, and with him a letter to the colonists already settled west of the Delaware River : "My friends : I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God, in his providence, to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly.

His letter  
to the  
colonists



I hope you will not be troubled at your change and the king's choice, for you are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great ; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with, and in five months I resolve, if it please God, to see you. In the mean time pray submit to the commands of my deputy, so far as they

<sup>1</sup> *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts*, pp. 14-16.



THE  
ARTICLES,  
Settlement and Offices  
Of the FREE  
SOCIETY  
OF  
TRADERS  
IN  
PENNSILVANIA:  
Agreed upon by divers  
MERCHANTS  
And OTHERS for the better  
Improvement and Government  
OF  
TRADE  
IN THAT  
PROVINCE.

LONDON,

Printed for Benjamin Clark in George-Yard in Lombard-street,  
Printer to the Society of Pennsylvania, MDCLXXXII.

are consistent with the law, and pay him those dues (that formerly you paid to the order of the governor of New York) for my use and benefit, and so I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true friend, — William Penn.”<sup>1</sup>

So great was the success of the “holy experiment” that in the course of the first year more than twenty ships sailed for the Delaware River,<sup>2</sup> carrying perhaps 3000 passengers. Penn did not come, as he had hoped, within five months of the date of his letter. Business connected with the new colony was driving him, and probably for the next year not a man in the three kingdoms worked harder than he. It is worthy of note that at this time he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society. Devising a frame of government for his colony, making grants of land, sending out detailed instructions to his deputy, and keeping up a huge miscellaneous correspondence, consumed all his time. In the midst of it all he did not forget to preach. He went with Fox one day to a meeting (once more an “unlawful assemblage” in Gracechurch Street!); and Fox informs us that while Penn was speaking “a constable came in with his great staff, and bid him give over and come down; but William Penn held on, declaring truth in the power of God.” Late in the summer of 1682 he sailed for the New World, leaving his wife and children in England.

A Quaker exodus Penn comes to the New World He sailed from Deal, in the ship *Welcome*, with a hundred passengers, mostly Quakers. In the two months’ voyage more than thirty of this company died of smallpox. Toward the end of October Penn landed at Newcastle, amid the welcoming shouts of Dutch and Swedish settlers in woodland garb, the men in leather breeches and jerkins, the women “in skin jackets and linsey petticoats.”<sup>3</sup> Penn showed his deeds of enfeoffment, and

<sup>1</sup> Hazard’s *Annals of Pennsylvania*, p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Proud’s *History of Pennsylvania*, i. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Watson’s *Annals of Philadelphia*, i. 19.

two of the inhabitants performed livery of seisin by handing over to him water and soil, turf and twig. Thence he went on to Upland, where there had been for some time a settlement. Turning to his friend and shipmate, Thomas Pearson, he said, "Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou that I shall call this place?" "Call it Chester," replied Pearson, who had come from that most quaint and beautiful city of old England.<sup>1</sup> At this new Chester an

Chester



LETITIA COTTAGE, PENN'S HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA

assembly was held, which passed sixty-one statutes known as the Great Law of Pennsylvania. After visits to New York and Maryland, Penn sought the spot just above the confluence of the little Schuylkill and the great Delaware rivers, and there laid out the squarest and levellest city, no doubt, that our planet had ever seen.<sup>2</sup> The plan was like a

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *History of Delaware County*, p. 139. This Pearson was maternal grandfather of the painter, Benjamin West. *Id.* p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> But not so level as it has since become. Many inequalities have been smoothed out.

checkerboard, and the first streets were named after the trees and shrubs, pine and spruce, chestnut and walnut, sassafras and cedar, that grew luxuriantly in the areas now covered with brick and mortar. The settlers at first came

more rapidly than log huts could be built, so that many were fain to become troglodytes for a while in caves along the river's bank. Building went on briskly, and settlers kept coming, until by the end of 1683, this new Philadelphia, this City of Brotherly Love, contained 357 dwellings, many of them framed wooden houses, many of them stoutly built of bright red brick, and sometimes so uniform in aspect that a chalk-mark would seem needed to distinguish one from its neighbours, as in the Arabian tale of the Forty Thieves. The great city on the Delaware, like the great city on the Hudson, had its characteristic features strongly marked from the very outset.

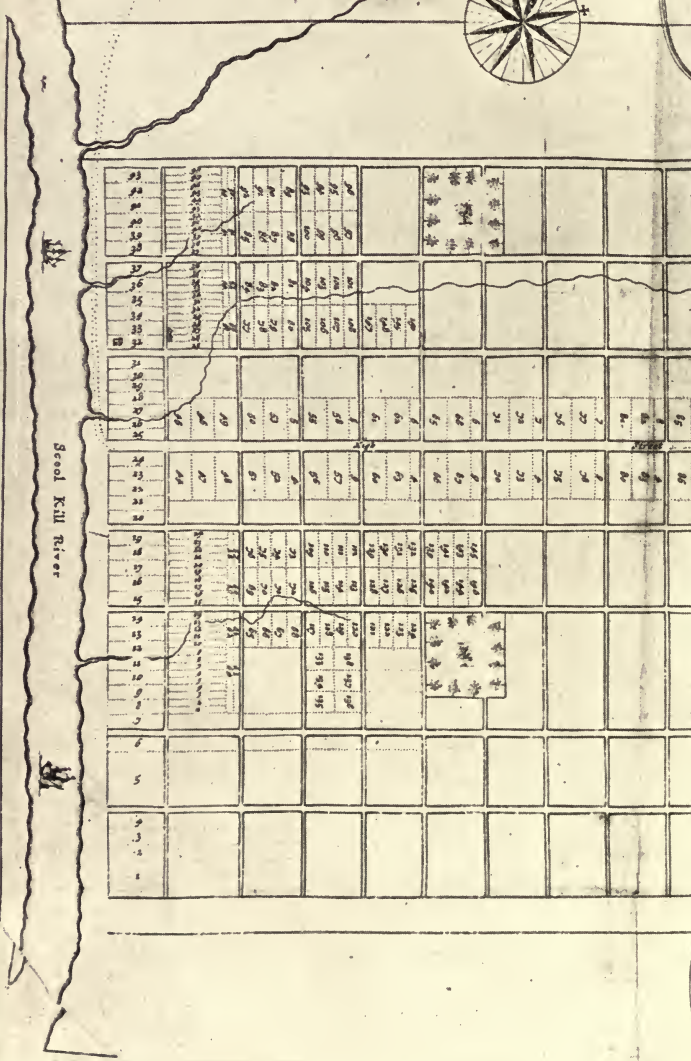
Penn was charmed with his woodland. In a letter he exclaims, "O how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woeful Europe!" Again, he says, the land

is like "the best vales of England watered by Penn's opinion of the country brooks; the air, sweet; the heavens, serene like the south of France; the seasons, mild and temperate; vegetable productions abundant, chestnut, walnut, plums, muscatel grapes, wheat and other grain; a variety of animals, elk, deer, squirrel, and turkeys weighing forty or fifty pounds, water-birds and fish of divers kinds, no want of horses; and flowers lovely for colour, greatness, figure, and variety. . . . The stories of our necessity [have been] either the fear of our friends or the scarecrows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered hath been salt meat, which by fowl in winter and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty

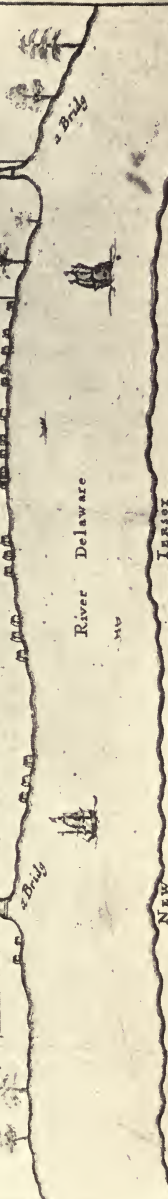
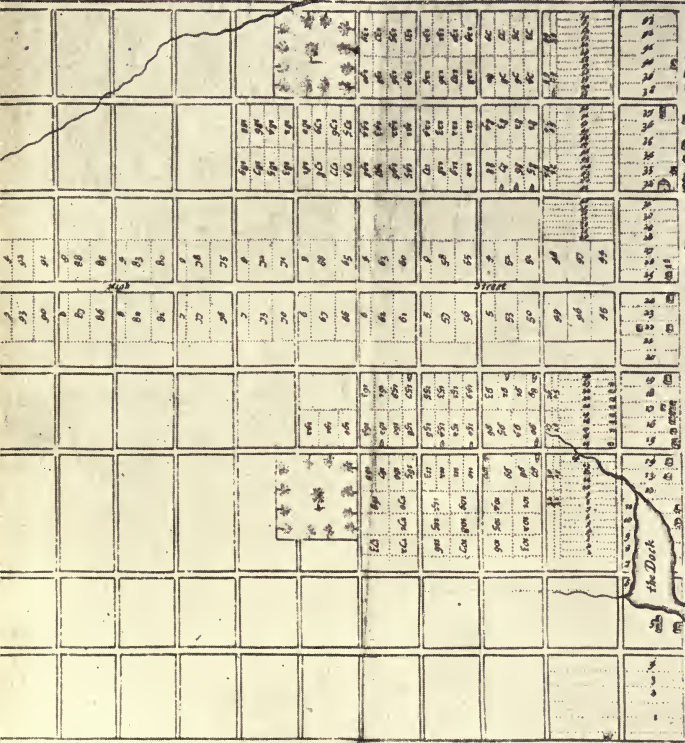
of venison, the best part of the year has been made A fickle climate very passable."<sup>1</sup> As regards the climate, however, the writer does not find it always mild and temperate; in

<sup>1</sup> Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, i. 350, 402.





City  
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Delaware R





A  
L E T T E R  
F R O M  
William Penn  
Proprietary and Governour of  
P E N N S Y L V A N I A  
In America,  
T O T H E  
C O M M I T T E E  
O F T H E  
Free Society of Traders  
of that Province, residing in London.

C O N T A I N I N G

A General Description of the said Province, its Soil, Air, Water, Seasons and Produce, both Natural and Artificial, and the good Encrease thereof.

Of the Natives or Aborigines, their Language, Customs and Manners, Diet, Houses or Wigwams, Liberality, ease way of Living, Physick, Burial, Religion, Sacrifices and Canties, Festivals, Government, and their order in Council upon Treaties for Land, &c. their Justice upon Evil Doers.

Of the first Planters, the Dutch, &c. and the present Condition and Settlement of the said Province, and Courts of Justice, &c.

As also an Account of the CITY of

P H I L A D E L P H I A

Newly laid out.

Its Scituation between two Navigable Rivers, Delaware and Skulkill.

W I T H A

Portraiture or Plat-form thereof,

Wherein the Purchasers Lots are distinguished by certain Numbers inserted.

And the Prosperous and Advantagious Settlements of the Society aforesaid, within the said City and Country, &c.

---

Printed by Appointment of the said Committee, by Andrew Sowle, at the Crooked-Billet in Holloway-Lane in Shoreditch, 1683

another letter he says, "the weather often changeth without notice, and is constant almost in its inconstancy," — an excellent description of nearly all weather in the United States, except on the coast of California.

One of the most famous events of Penn's first visit to the New World was his treaty with a tribe of Delawares or Lenapé Indians under the elm-tree at Shackamaxon. Documentary evidence concerning this affair is extremely deficient, but there is little doubt that such a treaty was made,<sup>1</sup> probably in November, 1682, at Shackamaxon, under a great elm which was blown down in 1810. There is no doubt that the Indians from the first were greatly pleased with

The Shack-  
amaxon  
treaty Penn's looks and manners. None can appreciate better than the red man that union of royal dignity with affable grace which characterized the handsome young cavalier. A lady who was present at a conference between Penn and the Indians, near Philadelphia, gave some detailed accounts of it which were afterward used by the antiquarian John Watson: "She said that the Indians, as well as the whites, had severally prepared the best entertainment the place and circumstances could admit. William Penn made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and hominy. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and outdanced them all!

Penn  
dances for  
the Indians

We are not prepared," continues the worthy Watson, "to credit such light gaiety in a sage Governor and religious Chief; but we have the positive assertion of a woman of truth, who said she saw it. There may have been very wise policy in the measure as an act of conciliation, worth more than a regiment of sharpshooters. He was then sufficiently young for any agility; and we remem-

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Pennsylvania Historical Society*, vol. iii. part 2, p. 143.





ber that one of the old journalists among the Friends incidentally speaks of him as having naturally an excess of levity of spirit for a grave minister." <sup>1</sup>

The testimony of the "woman of truth" seems to me eminently credible, as the act was highly characteristic. Penn, like Frontenac, knew instinctively what chords in the Indian's nature to touch. The red men always remembered affectionately their *Onas*, for by this Algonquin word, meaning "feather" or "quill," they translated the name of Penn; the name thenceforth always designated the governor of Pennsylvania, and it was an unshakable Lenapé tradition that Onas was a good fellow.

Of the Shackamaxon covenant Voltaire pithily observes that it was "the only treaty between savages and Christians that was never sworn to and that was never broken." <sup>2</sup> The Quaker policy toward the red men was a policy of justice and truth, and deserves all that has been said in its praise. Nevertheless in connection with this subject sundry impressions have obtained currency which are not historically correct. Many people suppose that Penn's conduct, in paying the Indians for the land which he occupied, was without precedent. There could not be a greater mistake. The Dutch settlers of New Netherland were careful to pay for every tract of land which they

Some incorrect impressions

<sup>1</sup> Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, i. 56.

<sup>2</sup> "Il commença par faire une ligue avec les Américains ses voisins. C'est le seul traité entre ces peuples et les chrétiens qui n'ait point été juré et qui n'ait point été rompu." *Dictionnaire philosophique*, s. v. Quakers, in his *Œuvres*, Paris, 1785, tom. xliii. p. 18. A new sight it was indeed, he goes on to exclaim, that of a sovereign to whom everybody could say Thou and address him with hat on, etc.: "C'était un spectacle bien nouveau qu'un souverain que tout le monde tutoyaient, et à qui on parlait le chapeau sur la tête; un gouvernement sans prêtres, un peuple sans armes, des citoyens tous égaux à la magistrature près, et des voisins sans jalousie. Guillaume Pen pouvait se vanter d'avoir apporté sur la terre l'âge d'or, dont on parle tant, et qui n'a vraisemblablement existé qu'en Pensilvanie." But the good Voltaire, in his enthusiasm, gets his geography mixed up, and places Pennsylvania "au sud de Mariland."

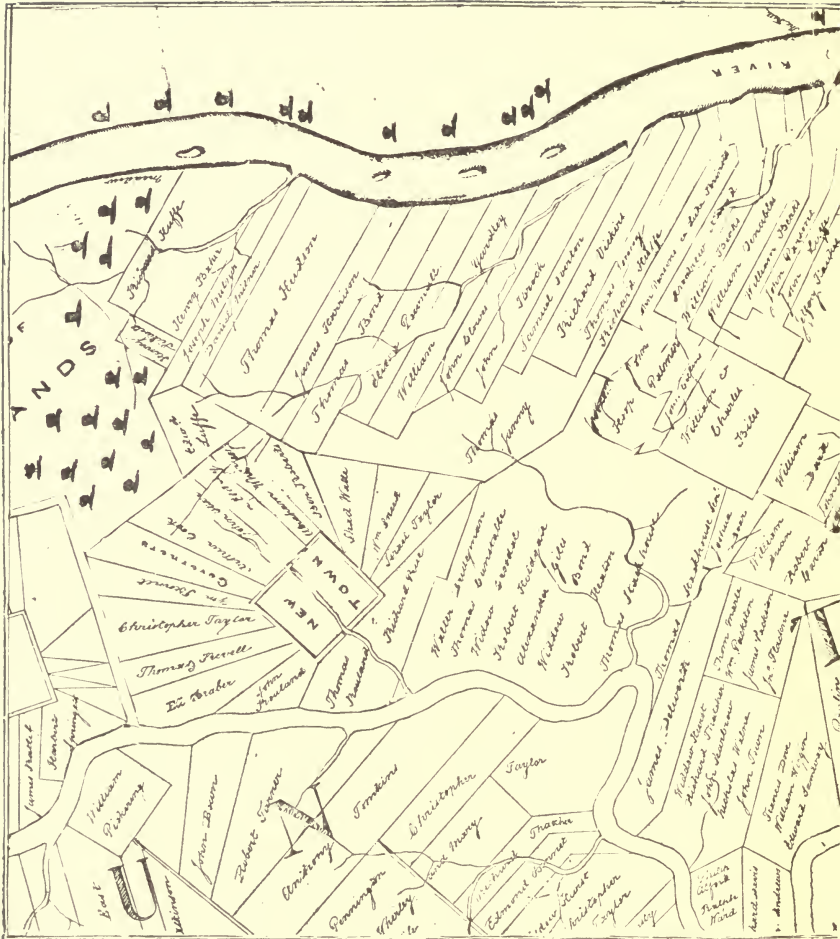
took, and New York writers sometimes allude to this practice in terms which imply that it was highly exceptional.<sup>1</sup> But similar purchases by the Puritan settlers of New England occurred repeatedly. In the time of King Philip's war, Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth, said, in a report to the Federal Commissioners: "I think I can clearly say that, before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indians."<sup>2</sup> So the lands of the Providence plantation were bought from Canonicus by Roger Williams; the island of Aquedneck was duly paid for by Hutchinson and Coddington; and Samuel Gorton obtained Shawomet by fair purchase.<sup>3</sup> The first settlers of Boston found in that neighbourhood a solitary survivor of an Algonquin tribe extirpated by the recent pestilence, and they made a payment for the land to him. An Indian village at Beverly was afterward bought from its tawny occupants for £6 6s. 8d., equivalent to about \$158, which was more than Minuit paid for Manhattan. In 1638 Davenport's company bought their New Haven lands for "12 coats of English cloth, 12 metal spoons, 12 hoes, 12 hatchets, 12 porringers, 24 knives, and 4 cases of French knives and scissors;" and in 1666 the pilgrims from the New Haven republic paid for the site of Newark in "50 double hands of powder, 100 bars of lead; of axes, coats, pistols, and hoes, 20 each; of guns, kettles, and swords, 10 each; 4 blankets, 4 barrels of beer, 50 knives, 850 fathoms of wampum, 2 anchors of liquor, and 3 trooper's

<sup>1</sup> "Of this purchase [of Manhattan Island by Director Minuit], so unique and rare an episode in the history of American colonization, there fortunately exists unassailable proof." Wilson, *Memorial History of the City of New York*, i. 158.

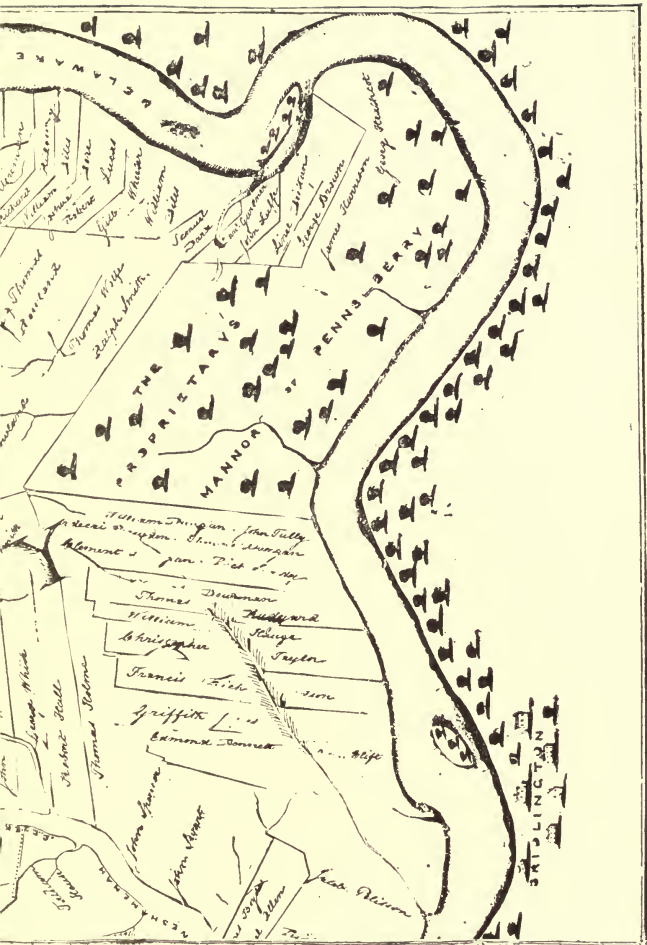
<sup>2</sup> See Hubbard's *Narrative*, 13. For the general temper of New England legislation for Indians, see *General Laws of Massachusetts*, pp. 74-78; *General Laws of Connecticut*, pp. 32-34; *Plymouth Records*, ii. 74, 89, 167; iv. 66, 109; Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 120; Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, i. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, i. 70, 125; ii. 112.









SECTION OF HOLME'S MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1683



coats." So in 1610 Captain West bought the site of Richmond, in Virginia, from The Powhatan; in 1634 Leonard Calvert bought the Algonquin village on St. Mary's River; and in 1638 the Swedish settlers paid for their land on the Delaware.<sup>1</sup>

It appears, therefore, that the custom of paying the Indians a price for their lands was not peculiar to the Quakers, or to the Quakers and Dutch. On the contrary, the European settlers on the Atlantic seaboard of the United States seem all to have entertained similar ideas on this matter.

As for the proceedings at Shackamaxon, they seem certainly to have included the welding of a "chain of friendship," with the customary exchange of keepsakes and civilities. Whether any treaty of purchase was then made is uncertain. At all events, it can hardly have been completed until a later date, for in 1685, after Penn's return to England, the council concluded a negotiation with four chiefs — Shakkopoh, Sekane, Tangoras, and Malibore — for a large tract of land extending from the Delaware to the Susquehanna. The price paid was 44 lbs. of red lead, 30 pair of hawks' bells, 30 fathoms of duffels, 60 fathoms of "Strandwaters;"<sup>2</sup> of guns, kettles, shirts, combs, axes, knives, bars of lead, pounds of powder, pair of scissors, pair of stockings, glasses, awls, tobacco-boxes, 30 each; 12 pair of shoes, 20 tobacco-tongs, 2 papers of beads, 6 draw-knives, 6 caps, 12 hoes, 200 fathoms of wampum. The worthy chronicler who cites this curious inventory tells us that he feels "almost ashamed" to name such a shabby compensation;<sup>3</sup> but who can tell what might have been an adequate price to the untutored Indian? We have no standard by which to estimate such things.

Looking back at the situation from the vantage ground of

<sup>1</sup> See Ellis, *The Red Man and the White Man*, p. 337; and my *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, i. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Duffels* and *Strandwaters* were coarse kinds of cloth.

<sup>3</sup> Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, i. 143.

our present knowledge, we must regard it as highly creditable to the early settlers in North America that they felt bound to give the aborigines some compensation for the lands of which they deprived them. When this had been done they could not understand why the Indians did not remain satisfied. But we can understand the case if we remember that alike in all instances the transaction was not like a free bargain and sale between members of a civilized community ; it was much more like an exercise of eminent domain, in which compensation is allowed. The white men

A "confusion of title"

came to America uninvited, and having come they did not ask the red man's permission to stay. It may be doubted if even William Penn would have

consented to abandon his "holy experiment" at the behest or entreaty of Shakkopoh, Sekane, Tangoras, and Malibore. It was said by Dr. Increase Mather that "the Lord God of our fathers hath given to us for a rightful possession" the lands of "the heathen people amongst whom we live,"<sup>1</sup> whereupon Dr. Ellis has wittily observed that "between holding lands by fair purchase from the Indians and receiving them as a rightful possession from the Lord God, there is certainly a confusion of title." But in spite of the inconsistency, Mather gave expression to the principle upon which all the colonizers implicitly acted. Everywhere alike the bottom fact in the situation was that the white man came here to stay, without saying "By your leave."

It has often been said, and is commonly supposed, that the kind and just treatment of the Indians by the Quakers was the principal reason why more than seventy years elapsed before Pennsylvania suffered from the horrors of Indian warfare. This opinion seems closely connected with the notion that the red man is an exceptionally high-minded and peaceably disposed personage, who would never plunder and slay except under the stimulus of revenge for grievous wrongs. Such views

Incorrect notions about red men

<sup>1</sup> Mather's *Brief History of the War with the Indians*, Boston, 1676, *ad init*

appear to me inadequately supported. The red man is not, indeed, an unmitigated fiend, but in his wild state he is a man of the Stone Age, whose bloodthirsty policy is swayed by considerations of passion and self-interest, even as the policy of more civilized men is governed. The most successful way of managing him is to keep him impressed with the superior power of the white man, while always treating him with absolute justice and truthfulness. Great credit is due to the Quakers of Pennsylvania for their methods of dealing with the Indians. Their way was the right way, and their success is one of the bright features in American history. Nevertheless it seems to me quite clear that in the long peace enjoyed by Pennsylvania, the controlling factor was not Quaker justice so much as Indian politics. If Penn's colony had been placed in New England, in the days of Pequot supremacy, followed by the days of deadly rivalry between Narragansetts and Mohegans, it is not likely that its utmost efforts could have kept it clear of complications that would have brought on a war with the Indians. On the other hand, if the Puritans of New England had established themselves on the Delaware River about fifty years after the founding of Boston, they <sup>Indian</sup> <sup>politics</sup> would almost certainly have been unmolested by Indians until after 1750. The powerful Iroquois tribe of Susquehannocks, after a long and desperate struggle with their kinsmen of the Long House, finally succumbed in 1675, left their old hunting-grounds, and wandered southward, working mischief in Maryland and Virginia. The red men with whom Penn made his Shackamaxon treaty were Algonquins, remnants of the once formidable confederacy of Lenni Lenapé, called Delawares. They had been so completely broken in spirit by repeated defeats inflicted by the Long House, that they had consented to a treaty in which they were described as "cowards" and "women," and humbly confessed themselves to be vassals and payers of tribute to the terrible Five Nations. Now the Long House, as we have seen, was the irreconcilable foe of Onontio, the power

on the St. Lawrence, and the steadfast friend of Corlear, the power on the Hudson, whether Dutch or English. By the same token it was bound to befriend Onas. For the next seventy years, if any misguided Lenapé had undertaken to ply the tomahawk among Penn's people, Corlear had but to say the word, and the waters of the Susquehanna would soon swarm with canoes of befeathered Senecas and Cayugas, eager for the harvest of Lenapé scalps. Under these circumstances a ruffianly policy, like that of Kieft in New Netherland, might have goaded the Delawares to hostilities; but nothing short of that could have done it. Practically Penn's colony occupied an exceptionally safe position until its westward growth brought it within reach of the Algonquin tribes on the Ohio. These facts in nowise diminish the credit due to the Quaker policy, but they help us to a rational view of the Indian situation.

Penn had much reason to feel contented with the success of his noble experiment. Within three years from its founding Philadelphia had 2500 inhabitants, while in the whole province there were more than 8000,—a growth as great as that of New Netherland in its first half century. Having made such an auspicious beginning, Penn heard news from England which made him think it desirable to return thither. He heard of Quaker meetings broken up by soldiers, and the worshippers sent to jail. His presence was needed. He sailed in August, 1684, and arrived at his home in Sussex early in October. He expected soon to return to America, but fifteen years were to elapse and strange vicissitudes to be encountered before he was able to do so.

Penn's  
return to  
England,  
1684

## CHAPTER XIII

### DOWNFALL OF THE STUARTS

THE founding of Pennsylvania helped to accelerate the political revolution which had been preparing in New York ever since the first arrival of Andros. During the spring of 1680 many complaints against that energetic governor found their way across the ocean. Not only was fault found with his treatment of New Jersey, but it was said that he showed too much favour to Dutch shipping, and especially that he allowed Boston people to trade in furs with the Mohawks. These rumours led the duke to summon Andros to London in order to justify himself. The governor sailed in January, 1681, expecting to return so soon that he left Lady Andros in New York.

Andros  
returns  
to England

He had little difficulty in satisfying the duke as to his official conduct, but during his absence serious troubles broke out in New York, which had been left in charge of Brockholls, the lieutenant-governor. The duke's customs' duties, which had been imposed in 1677 for three years, expired in November, 1680, and by some oversight Sir Edmund neglected to renew them by special ordinance. After he had gone, divers merchants refused to pay duties, and Brockholls did not feel sure that he had sufficient authority to renew them, a squeamishness for which the duke was far from thanking him. As soon as the merchants came to realize the weakness of the situation in which Brockholls was placed, the discontent which had smouldered during long years of autocratic rule burst forth in an explosion that had momentous consequences.

Expiration  
of the cus-  
toms law

William Dyer, the duke's collector of customs at the port

of New York, detained sundry goods for non-payment of duties. He was promptly indicted for high treason in taking upon himself "regal power and authority over the king's subjects" by demanding the payment of taxes that were not legally due. Brought to trial before a special court, he began by pleading "not guilty," but after a while called in question the competency of the court. The case was a somewhat novel exhibition of legal ingenuity, which puzzled the judges, and it was decided to send Dyer over to England for trial. He was examined in London by the king's legal advisers, who found that he had "done nothing amiss," and presently he returned to New York to be "surveyor-general of his Majesty's customs in the American Plantations."

The excitement over Dyer's case found vent in a clamorous demand for a legislative assembly. People wagged their heads as they asked whether the arbitrary rule of a lord proprietor was any better than the arbitrary rule of a mercantile company. The old English and Dutch principle of "taxation only by consent" was loudly reiterated. At this juncture the duke's release of the Jerseys and the



founding of Pennsylvania seemed to bring things to a crisis. Here, said the men of New York, in these new colonies, almost at their very door, no laws could be made and no taxes levied except by a colonial assembly of freemen. Why could not James Stuart conduct the business of government upon as liberal principles as his friends, Philip Carteret and William Penn? A petition was accordingly soon sent to the duke, in which the want of a representative assembly was declared an intolerable grievance. The document reached him at a favourable moment. He had been complaining that it was hard to raise a sufficient revenue in his province of New York, that his officers

Demand  
for a repre-  
sentative  
assembly



New York December 13<sup>th</sup> 1683

I give you my hearty sincere thanks for your kind Entertainment. I am afraid this winter season will not give me time to see my good friend in your Province and I very much wish for an opportunity to do it. There is no one more resolved and ready to demonstrate himself ready to do all offices of friendship than I am being very much oblig'd to you, to do so, I have written to his Excellency, & the army as I could in your commendation, yet far short of your Character you merit. This messenger stays, & I have no longer time, then to assure you of my unfeign'd services, & Respects, and that I am Effectively.

Your most Humble affectionate Servant  
Wm. Dongan

Copy of the original in the possession of the Hon. the Secretary of the Navy

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM GOVERNOR DONGAN TO GOVERNOR PENN

there were in difficulties and the air was full of complaints, so that he had half a mind to sell the country to anybody who would offer a fair price for it. "What," cried William Penn, "sell New York! Don't think of such a thing. Just give it self-government and there will be no more trouble." James concluded to take the advice. Andros was made a gentleman of the king's chamber and presented with a long lease of the island of Alderney. In his place James sent a new governor to New York, with instructions to issue the writs for an election of representatives. With all his faults and in spite of his moroseness, this Stuart prince had many excellent men attached to him; and the new governor for New York was one of the best of them, Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irishman of broad statesman-like mind and all the personal magnetism that the Blarney stone is said to impart. His blithe humour veiled a deep earnestness of purpose, long experience with Frenchmen had fitted him to deal with the dangers that were threatening from Canada, and while he was a most devout Catholic none could surpass him in loyalty to Great Britain and its government.

The arrival of Governor Dongan in New York, with the news of his errand, was hailed with vociferous delight. The assembly was duly elected and held its first meeting in Fort James on the 17th of October, 1683. Its composition forcibly reminds us of what places the Duke of York's province consisted. The places represented were Schenectady, Albany, Rensselaerwyck, Esopus, Harlem, New York, Staten Island, Long Island (under the name of Yorkshire in three districts called "ridings"), Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and distant Pemaquid. There were in all eighteen representatives.<sup>1</sup> Several

<sup>1</sup> This assembly divided New York and its appendages into twelve counties, the names of some of which are curious: New York, Westchester, Dutchess (after the duke's new wife, Mary of Modena), Albany, Ulster (after the duke's Irish earldom), Orange (after William, the duke's Dutch son-in-law, destined to supplant him), Richmond (probably after Louise de Keroualle's bastard), Kings, Queens, Suffolk

wholesome laws were passed, and an admirable charter was drawn up and sent to England for the duke's approval. All this took some time, and before he had signed the charter an event occurred which wrought many changes. In February, 1685, a stroke of apoplexy carried off Charles II., and the duke became king. His proprietary domain of New York thus became a royal province, one among a group of colonies over which he now exercised similar and equal control, and his policy



SEAL OF DONGAN CHARTER

toward it was altered. He did not sign the charter, but let it lie in abeyance while he was turning over in his mind an alternative scheme the outcome of which we shall presently see.

Meanwhile the sagacious Dongan had his hands as full as they could hold of French and Indian diplomacy. Happily the determining feature of the situation was in his favour. We have seen how the pivotal fact in

Iroquois  
politics

(a good name for such a Puritan county), Duke's (including Martha's Vineyard and neighbouring islands), and Cornwall (comprising the Maine districts). See Brodhead's *History of the State of New York*, ii. 385, 386.

early American history was the alliance between the Five Nations and the white men on the Hudson River, first Dutch, afterwards English. We have seen how they dealt with the Dutch, exchanged peltries for muskets, and then entered upon a mighty career of conquest. How they destroyed the French missions in the Huron country in 1649 is one of the most lurid chapters in history. By Governor Dongan's time they had reduced to a tributary condition nearly all the tribes east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac. They had lately wiped out of existence the formidable Susquehannocks, and now guaranteed the safety of Penn's new colony. We have seen how in 1675 they bestowed upon Andros the title of "Corlear," and promised to befriend the English as they had befriended the Dutch. Were they ready to go further, if need be, and attack Onontio himself, the Great White Father, in his strongholds upon the St. Lawrence? It was more than they had yet undertaken, and these dusky warriors of the Stone Age well knew the prowess of the soldiers of France. Dongan with a statesman's foresight knew that a deadly struggle between France and England for supremacy in this wilderness must soon begin, and his military eye saw that the centre of the fight must lie between the Hudson and the St. Lawrence. Either Louis XIV. must be checkmated in Canada or he would drive the English from New York. So Dongan's hands were full of Indian diplomacy as he sought to fan the fires of hatred in the Mohawk valley. His opponent, the Marquis Denonville, viceroy of Canada, was also an astute and keen-witted man, as one had need to be in such a position. No Russian game of finesse on the lower Danube was ever played with more wary hand than the game

Some spicy  
letters

between those two old foxes. While their secret emissaries prowled and intrigued, their highnesses exchanged official letters, usually polite in form, but sometimes crusty, and always lively enough, despite the dust of these two hundred years. On one occasion the Frenchman lectures Dongan for allowing West India rum to be sent to











the Long House. "Think you that religion will make any progress, while your traders supply the savages in abundance with the liquor which, as you ought to know, converts them



LOUIS XIV

into demons and their wigwams into counterparts of hell?" One seems to see the Irishman's tongue curl under his cheek as he replies, "Methinks our rum doth as little hurt as your brandy, and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome." But presently the marquis gets a chance for a little fling. Dongan writes at the end of a letter, "I desire

you would order Monsieur de Lamberville<sup>1</sup> that soe long as he stays among those people of the Five Nations he would meddle only with the affairs belonging to his priestly function. Sir, I send you some oranges, hearing that they are a rarity in your parts." In Denonville's reply the polite attention is thus acknowledged: "Monsieur, I thank you for your oranges. It is a great pity that they were all rotten."<sup>2</sup>

In this diplomatic duel the Blarney stone prevailed, and a black and grewsome war-cloud began gathering over Canada. Meanwhile in a chamber of the palace at Versailles the king was maturing his counterplot with the aid of a greater than Denonville, the wily and indomitable Frontenac. That picturesque veteran, now more than seventy years of age, was coming back to Canada, to undertake what could be entrusted to no one less fertile in resources. In a word, he was to surprise New York and wrest it from the English, as the English had wrested it from the Dutch. A force of 1000 French regulars with 600 Canadian militia was to pounce upon Albany and there to seize boats, canoes, and small sloops wherein to glide merrily down the river. In New York harbour a French fleet would arrive in season to meet this force, which no defences there were fit to resist. With the capture of New York the supply of firearms to the Long House would cease. The French could then overcome that barbaric confederacy, after which their hands would be free to undertake the conquest of New England. Such was the ambitious scheme of the Most Christian King, but before coming to the latter part of it, New York, the first conquest, must be purged of its damnable heresies. The few Catholic inhabitants must swear allegiance to Louis XIV., and would then be protected from harm. Huguenot refugees were to be sent back to France. All the rest of the people were to be driven to the woods to shift for themselves. Their houses and lands were to be parcelled out

Plan of  
Louis  
XIV. for  
conquering  
New York

<sup>1</sup> A Jesuit very adroit and busy in political intrigue.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Colonial Documents*, iii. 462-465, 472.

among the French troops ; all their personal property was to be seized and a certain amount of it divided among the troops ; the rest was to be sold at auction and the money paid over into the French treasury.<sup>1</sup>

With these amiable instructions Frontenac was sent to Canada, but when he arrived, in October, 1689, he found things not as he had expected. It was indeed already known in France that the black war-cloud had burst over the colony, but the horrors of that summer had not yet been told. In all directions the ruins of smoking villages bore witness to the frightful ravages of the Iroquois. The environs of Montreal were a scene of mournful desolation, the town itself had barely escaped capture, and the inhabitants, who had looked out upon friends roasted and devoured before the very gates, were sick with terror. It became necessary for Frontenac to send a force at once to Lake Ontario, where the French had abandoned Fort Frontenac after an unsuccessful attempt to destroy it, so that the Iroquois had forthwith occupied it and got hold of more muskets and ammunition than the red man's boldest fancy had ever dreamed of. The fur trade from the upper lakes had been cut off for two years, and so great had been the destruction of property that a military expedition down the Hudson was utterly out of the question.

Thus it was that the scheme of Louis XIV. against New York collapsed at the outset, and thus it soon sank into oblivion, so that we are liable to forget how much we owe to those dreadful Iroquois. Meanwhile in these six years how had it fared with the knightly Irishman and his fair province? James, as we have seen, had undertaken to grant constitutional government to New York, and was about ready to sign a charter, when suddenly he became king and changed his mind. This change of purpose had a military reason.

The Iroquois defeat the plan

Plan of James II. for uniting all the northern colonies

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoire pour servir d'Instruction sur l'Entreprise de la Nouvelle York*, 7 juin, 1689 ; *New York Colonial Documents*, ix. 422.

In order to oppose a more solid front to Canada, James wished to unite all his northern colonies under a single military governor. Circumstances seemed to favour him. Massachusetts, the most populous and powerful of the colonies, had sustained a bitter quarrel with Charles II. during the whole of that king's reign, until just before his death he had succeeded in getting a chancery decree annulling the charter of Massachusetts. In 1686 James II. sent Sir Edmund Andros to Boston to assume the government over all New England. Poor little Plymouth had never had a charter, and those of Connecticut and Rhode Island might be summarily seized. As for New York, the king revoked his half-granted charter and annexed that province to New England. New Jersey soon met the same fate, and legal proceedings were begun

Sir Ed-  
mund An-  
dros vice-  
roy of New  
England

fr: Nicholson

against the charter of Maryland. Apparently nothing was safe except the sturdy infant colony of William Penn, whose good-will the king could not afford to alienate.

In August, 1688, Andros came in state to New York, and with due ceremonies the seal of that province was broken in his presence, and the seal of united New England was ordered to be used in its stead. Ex-Governor Dongan remained in the neighbourhood for about a year, attending to some private business, and then went home to Ireland, where he afterwards became Earl of Limerick. After a stay of two months in New York and Albany, Sir Edmund Andros returned to Boston in October, 1688, carrying off with him such of the New York public records as he wished to have on hand for reference, and leaving Francis Nicholson behind as his representative and lieutenant. No wonder if the good people on Manhattan Island resented this unceremonious treatment. Thus to

New York  
annexed to  
New Eng-  
land

ignore their natural and proper sentiments of local patriotism, and summarily annex them to New England, was an outrage of the worst sort, and put a severe strain upon such feelings of loyalty as they may have cherished toward James II.

But the strain did not endure long. The rule of Andros in Boston had already become insupportable. Arbitrary taxes were imposed, common lands were encroached upon, and the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended.

A strict and vexatious censorship was kept over the press. All the public records of the late New

The rule of  
Andros in  
Boston

England governments were ordered to be brought to Boston, whither it thus became necessary to make a tedious journey in order to consult them. All deeds and wills were required to be registered in Boston, and excessive fees were charged for the registry. It was proclaimed that all private titles to land were to be ransacked, and that whoever wished to have his title confirmed must pay a heavy quit-rent, which under the circumstances amounted to blackmail. The representative assembly was abolished. The power of taxation was taken from the town meetings and lodged with the governor. And when the town of Ipswich, led by its pastor, John Wise, one of the most learned and eminent men in his time, made a protest against this crowning iniquity, the sturdy pastor was thrown into prison, fined £50 (*i. e.* at least \$1000), and suspended from the ministry. In view of such facts the evil repute acquired by Andros in New England cannot well be said to have been undeserved. He earned it by obeying too thoroughly the orders of a master whose conduct Englishmen could not endure. Early in 1688 a commission headed by Increase Mather, president of Harvard College, was sent over to England to expostulate with James II. They found England aglow with the spirit of rebellion. The flames burst forth when on the 5th of November (Guy Fawkes's day!) the Prince of Orange landed in Devonshire. Before Christmas the last Stuart king had fled beyond sea, leaving a vacant throne.

It was of course a moment of engrossing business for the great Dutch prince, and he took the occasion to prepare a short letter for the American colonies enjoining it upon them to retain all King James's arrangements undisturbed for the present until leisure should be found for revising them. Dr. Mather did not wish to have any such instructions sent to Boston, for he saw in them the possibility that Andros might hold over until it would be awkward to get rid of him without interfering with some plan of William III. By skilful pleading with the new king, in which he was aided by Sir William Phips, the wily Mather succeeded in delaying the departure of the letter. This was in February, 1689, and it was not until late in March that the flight of James II. and the success of the Prince of Orange became known in Massachusetts. The glowing embers of rebellion were quickly fanned into a blaze. On the 18th of April armed yeomanry began pouring into Boston in response to the signal on Beacon Hill, and Sir Edmund saw that his hour had come. He tried to escape to the *Rose* frigate in the harbour, in the hope of finding a refuge in New York, but his Puritan foes had no mind to let him off so easily. He was seized and securely lodged in jail, and several of his agents and abettors were also imprisoned, among them Chief Justice Dudley, who had lately had the impudence to tell the people of New England that the only liberty left them was that of not being sold for slaves.

Massachusetts then at once restored her old government as it was before her charter was annulled, and she caused this to be announced in England, explaining that it was done provisionally until the new king's pleasure should be known. Obviously the improvement in her position through Dr. Mather's astuteness was great. No one could interpret her rebellion as aimed at any other sovereign than the dethroned James. Instantly the other New England colonies followed suit. Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut quietly resumed

Dr. Mather  
detains  
King  
William's  
letter

Overthrow  
of Andros

The old  
govern-  
ments  
restored  
in New  
England



*Joseph Mather*

their old governments. James's consolidated New England thus fell to pieces.

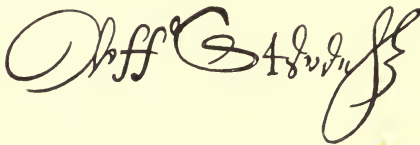
There were people in New York upon whom these events were not for a moment lost. The lieutenant-governor, Francis Nicholson, was in an awkward position. If Andros had come away in the *Rose* frigate to New York, where he could direct affairs from Fort James, all would have been simple enough. If he had been killed there would have been no difficulty, for Nicholson would have become acting-governor. But as Andros was only locked up, Nicholson did not know just in what light to regard himself or just how much authority to assume. He belonged to that large class of commonplace men who are afraid of assuming respon-

sibility. So he tried to get messages to Andros in his Boston jail, but found very little counsel or comfort in that way.

Nicholson's government in New York was supported by three members of the council. They were Dutch citizens of the highest social position: Frederick Philipse, the richest man in the province, Stephanus van Cortlandt, mayor of New York, and Nicholas Bayard, colonel of the city regiment of train-bands. The other members of the council



Rumours of war were scattered, some of them as far away as Pemaquid. These three were the only ones present in the city. On the 26th of April they heard of the imprisonment of Andros, and the very next day they heard that Louis XIV. had declared war against Great Britain and the Netherlands. This report was premature, for war was not declared until May 7th, but the very air was full of premonitions of that bloody struggle which was to last for eight years. Small blame to Nicholson and his three councillors if the grim tidings disturbed them! Small blame to the mass of worthy citizens if something like a panic was created! There were many Huguenot refugees in the city; they had been coming for several years, and especially for the last four years since the king had revoked the Edict of Nantes; and they had been received with warm welcome. They knew, as everybody knew, that Louis XIV.



had a very long arm. There was never a time when an attack by France seemed more formidable than

in 1689. The king had not yet been cast down from his pinnacle of military glory, and the spirit of Catholic propagandism had been taking fuller and fuller possession of him. We now know what his truculent purpose was with regard to New York. Frontenac was just starting to execute it. Of course the burghers of New York did not know of those



secret instructions to Frontenac, but they understood perfectly the danger of the situation. As for the frightful blow with which the Iroquois baffled the scheme of Louis XIV. (which for the sake of clearness we have mentioned by anticipation), it did not come till the summer of 1689, and still further time was needed to disclose its effects. In the spring of that year it was still in the future.

It was not at all strange, then, that the elements of an anti-Catholic panic were rife in New York. Other things contributed to destroy confidence and make men distrustful of one another. In spite of all pre-<sup>Causes of the anti-Catholic panic</sup>tences of liberality, it had always been the design of James II. to force the Catholic faith upon the American

colonies ; so he afterwards told Pope Innocent XI.<sup>1</sup> People were not wrong, then, in suspecting him. The two regiments of regular troops which Andros had brought to America were made up of Irish Catholics, and one had been commanded by Nicholson, who was now in command of New York. Nicholson was really an Episcopalian, but it was rumoured that he had knelt at the Mass once on Hounslow Heath in the presence of King James, and many people believed him to be a Papist in disguise.

At the first news of war Nicholson directed the city train-bands to take turns in guarding Fort James, and a watch was placed upon Coney Island to look out for French

<sup>1</sup> Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, ii. 531.

ships. The money collected as revenue was placed within the fort for safety, and the new receipts after May-day were to be applied to building new fortifications. At this juncture a cargo of wine arrived from Europe, consigned to a well-known wine-merchant, Jacob Leisler. The duty was about a hundred pounds sterling, and Leisler refused to pay it, on the ground that Matthew Plowman, collector of the port, was a Roman Catholic, and that since King James's flight no duly qualified government existed in New York.

This Jacob Leisler was a German of humble origin, born at Frankfort-on-the-Main. In earlier days he had been a soldier in the pay of the West India Company, and had come to New Amsterdam a few years before its capture by the English. A residence of thirty years had made him one of the most prosperous and conspicuous citizens. Through his marriage with Elsie Tymens, a niece of Anneke Jans, he had become connected with the aristocracy, but was not cordially welcomed among such people. One can imagine that Van Cortlandt and Bayard might not feel proud of such a connection, and that occasions would be afforded for Leisler to cherish resentment. Indeed, there had been a bitter quarrel, with one or two lawsuits between Leisler and these two gentlemen, so that their families were not on speaking terms. Leisler was a man of integrity, noted for fair and honourable dealing in matters of business. We hear, too, that he was kind-hearted and generous with money. But he was evidently of coarse fibre, ignorant, stubborn, and vain, — just the man to be seized and dominated by a fixed idea. His letters are those of a man with too little education to shape his sentences correctly. He seems to have had something of the heresy-hunting temper, for we have already met him once in this narrative as deacon of Nieuwenhuysen's church, bringing charges of "false preaching" against Dominic Van Rensselaer, losing his suit, and getting saddled with the costs of it. But his ruling passion was hatred of Popery, and his

dominant idea was rooted in the dread of it. He could see no good in any Romanist; his eyes were blind to the loyal virtues of such a man as Dongan, who was quite above and beyond his ken; he believed Nicholson to be a Papist. These men had been servants of James Stuart, who was now harboured by the French king; what were they staying about New York for if not to deliver it into the hands of the enemy? The Boston men had struck with promptness and decision, New York must do the same, and Jacob Leisler would be God's instrument in bringing this to pass.

Besides this dread of Popery, there was another feeling that Leisler represented. Long-continued arbitrary taxation and the repeated failure to obtain representative government had caused much popular discontent. Though the population of the little city was scarcely more than 4000 souls, a distinction of classes was plainly to be seen. Without regard to race, the small shopkeepers, small farmers, sailors, shipwrights, and artisans were far apart in their sympathies from the rich fur traders, patroons, lawyers, and royal officials. The general disappointment sharpened the distrust felt toward people in high station, especially toward such as had accepted office from the Catholic king, who had not kept his promises. Vague democratic ideas and hopes still hazier were in the air. Along with the indignation at the recent attempt to annex the province to New England, there was exuberant pleasure in the thought that the throne was now to be occupied by a Dutch king; and there was a dim half-shaped notion that a prompt and fervid expression of allegiance to William of Orange would be helpful in winning from him a grant of popular liberties. Coupling all this with the fear that James's officials might betray the city to the French, we find, I think, a certain coherence among the notions that were teeming in Leisler's rugged and fanatical mind. A wealthy and prominent citizen, he was in lack of refinement and education like the mob, and so had its confidence, which was no doubt enhanced by his known integrity and energy.

Vague  
democratic  
ideas

He may well have deemed himself marked out for the leader of a popular movement, and believed that he could establish a claim upon the good graces of William III. by saving for him his province of New York despite the diabolical plots of Catholic officials and the Dutch aristocrats who supported them; for although such men as Bayard and Van Cortlandt were thorough Protestants and deacons in the Dutch Reformed Church, they were none the less to Leisler's distorted fancy a "crew of Papistical renegades."

It is clear that the feelings which found vent in Leisler's conduct had long been gathering in this little community. His refusal to pay his tax was followed by other refusals. Nicholson's act in sheltering the public revenues within the fort was interpreted as part of a deep-laid plan for using them against the people. All through the month of May agitated whispers ran about the town; a French fleet was coming, and traitors in power were ready to welcome it. Popular imagination filled the woods on Staten Island with emissaries of Louis XIV., and it was said that Nicholson had gone over there by night to consult with them. Dongan was down at Navesink, getting his armed brigantine ready to take him back to England; in that golden age of pirates it was necessary for ships to go armed; that innocent vessel was supposed to be intended for a part in the plot.

At last on May 30 Nicholson got into an altercation with an insubordinate lieutenant in Captain De Peyster's trainband. "Who commands this fort, you or I?" shouted the angry governor. Probably the lieutenant made some reference to the city being in danger, which caused Nicholson to retort, "I would rather see the city on fire than take the impudence of such fellows as you," or words to that effect. What he really said may have been quite different in purport, but at all events fire was mentioned, and that was fire enough to kindle insurrection. The rash remark was overheard, it was said that the governor had threatened to burn the town, and next

Fears of a  
French  
attack

Nicholson's  
rash excla-  
mation

morning the streets were in an uproar. Leisler himself was captain of one of the train-bands. His company, led by Joost Stoll, the sergeant, marched to Fort James, shouting,



WILLIAM III. OF ORANGE

“They have betrayed us, and are going to murder us.” The lieutenant whom Nicholson had upbraided let them into the fort, and presently Leisler arrived there and took command. That afternoon while Nicholson and his three councilmen were in the City Hall discussing the situation, Captain Lodwyck, at the head of his company, entered the chamber and demanded the keys of the fort. There was no help for it, so the keys were given him.

Leisler  
takes com-  
mand of  
the fort

Two days of uncertainty followed, while Leisler seems to have been contending with sundry symptoms of timidity and scrupulousness on the part of some of the other captains. On June 3, an English ship from Barbadoes arrived at Sandy Hook. Rumour transformed her first into a French ship and then into a French fleet. Amid wild excitement the militia turned upon their captains and forced them to sign a "Declaration" prepared by Leisler, in which he announced that since the city was in danger and without any properly authorized government, he proposed in behalf of the people to hold the fort until King William should send some duly accredited person to take command. When this announcement was read aloud to the multitude it was greeted with deafening hurrahs. One week from that day the discomfited Nicholson sailed for England in Dongan's brigantine. He thought it best to see the king at once and make his own report. His departure left the three councilmen as the only regular representatives of royal authority in the province. But Leisler now assumed more dignity. Some of the insurrectionary party declared that there had been no lawful Christian government in England since the death of Oliver Cromwell. Leisler likened himself to Cromwell. He had turned out the traitors and the time had come when the Lord Jehovah must rule New York through the sword in the hands of his saints. News came that the new sovereigns William and Mary had been officially proclaimed at Hartford, and that post-riders were on their way to New York with a copy of the proclamation. Mayor Van Cortlandt and Colonel Bayard rode many miles out into the country to meet them, but Leisler's emissaries got ahead of those gentlemen and secured the proclamation first, so that next day it was read aloud by Leisler himself in the fort and by one of his captains in the City Hall, and he could claim the credit of having proclaimed the new sovereigns. At the same time he ordered that Fort James should henceforth be called Fort William.

Leisler's  
"Decla-  
ration"

Nicholson  
sails for  
England

On the 24th of June a copy of that royal proclamation which Dr. Mather had withheld from the knowledge of Boston reached New York and found its way into the hands of Mayor Van Cortlandt. It continued all King James's appointments provisionally until King William should have time to review the situation. Obviously, then, the government of New York, since the imprisonment of Andros and the departure of Nicholson, was legally vested in the councilmen Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard. If this proclamation had arrived a month earlier it would have cut away the ground from under Leisler's feet. Now he had such consolidated popular support as to venture to defy it on grounds of his own. King William was evidently ignorant of the situation. He never would willingly have entrusted responsible command

The king's  
proclama-  
tion

*Jacob Leisler*

to these "popishly affected, lying dogs," not he. These rogues must be put down, and the king must be told why. The very next day Leisler turned the city government out of doors, and two or three gentlemen were roughly handled by the soldiers, but Bayard escaped and made his way to Albany. Leisler called a convention, and a committee of safety was organized which appointed him commander-in-chief over the whole province.

Leisler  
appointed  
command-  
er-in-chief

While these things were going on, Nicholson was in mid-ocean on his way to England. The king, in ignorance of what had occurred, addressed a letter to him with words of advice and counsel; the letter was not addressed to Nicholson by name, but to "Our lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of our province of New York in America." After sundry vicissitudes this letter reached New York early in December and was received by

The king's  
letter

Leisler, who understood it to be addressed to himself.<sup>1</sup> His vanity was tickled to the bursting point. He had sent his friend, Joost Stoll, keeper of a dram-shop, and rather a laugh-  
 able sort of envoy, to explain matters to the king; and now, doubtless, this was the response! So Leisler at once assumed the title of Lieutenant-Governor, appointed a council, and took his seat next Sunday in the gubernatorial pew at church, to the intense disgust and chagrin of the aristocrats among the worshippers.

The summer and autumn had been peaceful, save now and then for a few arbitrary arrests. But now troubles began to thicken about Leisler. As governor he needed revenue and began to look at the collection of taxes from a new point

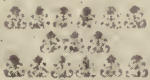
<sup>1</sup> The circumstances under which Leisler obtained the letter should be noted. The bearer of the king's despatches, John Riggs, expected to deliver it to the three councilmen, but in passing through Boston he was told that he ought to deliver it to Leisler, who was actually in command at New York. To Riggs, coming from England, this was puzzling, for he was sure that there was nothing in the packet intended for any such person as Leisler. When Riggs arrived in New York late at night, he met Philipse and Bayard at the latter's house, and they sent for Van Cortlandt, who was out of town. On Van Cortlandt's arrival next morning, Riggs would have delivered the packet to the three councilmen in presence of each other. But early in the morning Leisler sent a party of soldiers who arrested Riggs and took him to Fort William. Van Cortlandt and Philipse, hearing of this, followed him thither, and an altercation ensued, in which Leisler called them rogues and papistical dogs who had nothing to do with government. He showed Riggs his commission from the council of safety, and prevailed upon him to deliver the packet to himself. He gave Riggs a written receipt for the packet.

No doubt Leisler, as a "crank" with his brain dominated by a narrow group of morbid fixed ideas, believed that King William, the Protestant, could not possibly have intended his letters to be received by three ex-officials of King James, the Catholic. His subsequent logic, on opening the letter to Nicholson and understanding it to be addressed to himself, was crank logic. Leisler seems to have felt that others might dispute his conclusion, for he never allowed the contents of the letter to be made public.



A Modest and Impartial  
NARRATIVE  
Of several Grievances and  
Great Oppressions  
Tha. the Peaceable and most Considerable Inhabitants  
OF  
Their Majesties Province  
OF  
NEW-YORK  
IN  
AMERICA  
Lie Under,  
By the Extravagant and Arbitrary Pro-  
ceedings of *Jacob Levster* and his  
Accomplises.

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of view. In default of any new statute, he proclaimed that the Colonial Act of 1683 with regard to customs and excise was still valid and would be rigorously enforced. That act, albeit passed by New York's first popular assembly,<sup>1</sup> that assembly so long desired and prayed for, had never enjoyed popular favour; doubtless because it put an end to the two years of free trade which had ensued upon the departure of Andros in 1681. The history of this piece of legislation was extremely curious. Passed by a popular assembly, it was disallowed by the Duke of York, but was nevertheless continued in operation by Governor Dongan and his council, for want of something better. But neither under Dongan nor under Nicholson was it very strictly enforced.<sup>2</sup> Now by adopting this unpalatable act the unhappy Leisler at once sacrificed a large part of his popular support. People tore down the copies of his proclamation from the walls and trees where they were posted. Merchants declared his title unsound and refused to pay duties to his collector. He retorted savagely with fines and confiscations. Men were dragged to prison till the jails were full. The fact that he could keep up such a course shows how strong at the outset must have been the popular impulse that brought him into power.

Outside the city his authority was more easily defied. When he appointed new sheriffs and justices, and ordered the old ones to give up their commissions, he was sometimes obeyed but often openly derided. Albany flatly refused to acknowledge his authority. Late in the summer the mayor, Peter Schuyler, and his brother-in-law, Robert Livingston, called a convention and took measures for protection against the French, but they would have nothing to say to Leisler. About that time Leisler's old friend, Jacob Milborne, returned from a visit to Europe and became his most energetic supporter. Milborne was an

<sup>1</sup> *Colonial Laws of New York*, Albany, 1894, i. 116-121.

<sup>2</sup> Leisler himself had refused to pay duties under it. See Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, ii. 599.

Englishman of Anabaptist proclivities. He had some book-knowledge and some skill in writing, and was determined to have all the ills in the world mended, say by the year 1700. If he had lived in these days he would have edited some anarchist newspaper. Leisler deemed him a treasure of knowledge and capacity and sent him up the river with three sloops to tame the frowardness of Albany. His persuasive tongue won a number of adherents and succeeded in sowing some seeds of dissension, but Livingston and Schuyler were too much for him, and his mission was unsuccessful.

This was in November, 1689, and Frontenac had arrived in Canada. As we have seen, the Iroquois had been there before him, and his grand scheme for conquering New York dwindled ignominiously into the sending of three scalping parties to destroy the most exposed frontier settlements of the Dutch and English. It was necessary to make some show of strength in order to retrieve in the minds of the Indians the somewhat shaken military reputation of the French. The Algonquin allies must be encouraged and the Iroquois foes confounded, and there was nothing, of course, that the red men appreciated more highly than a wholesale massacre. The distances to be traversed were long and difficult, and this made it all the easier to surprise the remote villages that sometimes forgot to be watchful against the diabolism that lurked in the forest. The first of the three scalping parties was sent to the Hudson River, the second into New Hampshire, the third into Maine. The French war-parties

The first party consisted of 114 French Canadians skilled in all manner of woodcraft, and 96 Christian Indians; their leaders were French noblemen, among them the famous LeMoyne d'Iberville, founder of Louisiana. The march of seventeen days was attended with terrible hardships. It was an alternation of thawing and freezing. On one day they were struggling against a blinding snowstorm, on another they were half drowned in the mud and slush of treacherous swamps, on another their ears and toes were

frozen in the icy wind. Their coats and blankets were torn to shreds in the stubborn underbrush, and their stock of food, dragged on sleds, was not enough, so that they had to be put on starving rations. They could not have encountered more hardship if they had been a party of scientific explorers, and they fought their way through it all with the tenacity and the ferocious zeal of crusaders. Their original plan was to strike at Albany, but as the limit of human endurance was approaching before they could accomplish the distance, they turned upon Schenectady, some fifteen miles nearer. This little Dutch village was the extreme frontier outpost of the New York colony. Its population numbered about 150 souls. It was surrounded by a palisade and defended by a blockhouse in which there were eight or ten Connecticut militia. The Leisler affair had bred civil dudgeon in this little community. Most of the people were Leislerites. The chief magistrate, John Glen, an adherent of Schuyler, was held in disfavour, and out of sheer spite and insubordination the people disobeyed his orders to mount guard. They left their two gates open, and placed at each a big snow image as sentinel. The idea that they could now be in danger from Canada, harrowed and humbled as it had lately been by their friends the Iroquois, they scouted as preposterous. It was argued that the beaten French were not likely to be in a mood for distant expeditions.

And so it happened that toward midnight of the 8th of February, 1690, in the midst of a freezing, lightly whirling and drifting snowstorm their fate overtook them. The French war-party, haggard and glaring, maddened with suffering, came with crouching stealth and exultant spring, like a band of tigers. Noiselessly they crept in and leisurely arranged themselves in a cordon around the sleeping village within the palisade, cutting off all escape. When all was ready, a terrific war-whoop awoke the inhabitants to their doom. "No pen can write and no tongue express," said brave old Peter Schuyler, "the

The situa-  
tion at  
Schenec-  
tady

Massacre  
at Schenec-  
tady



*Le Moyne Deseruelle.*

cruelties that were wrought that night." The work was sharp and quick. About sixty were killed, and the other ninety captured. Then the butchers paused to appease their famine out of the rude cellars and larders of their victims, and to sleep until morning the sleep of the just. The Connecticut militia were all among the slain. The

magistrate was strongly fortified in his house on a hill outside the enclosure, but he was not attacked. He had more than once rescued French prisoners from the firebrands of the Mohawks, and in requital of this kindness Iberville not only spared him and his family, but in a spirit of chivalry gave back to him about sixty out of the ninety prisoners with polite and edifying speeches. Before noon of the next day, leaving Schenectady a heap of ashes, mangled corpses, and charred timbers, the party started on its return march to Montreal, carrying the other thirty prisoners to be tortured to death in a leisurely and comfortable way. The news of the disaster spread quickly through the Mohawk valley, and a sturdy company of warriors of the Long House pursued the French party with sleuth-hound tenacity until near Montreal, when at last they overtook them and partially amended the reckoning by killing fifteen or twenty.

As a fresh demonstration of the danger from France, the affair of Schenectady served to strengthen Leisler's position. He sent Milborne with 160 men to aid in defending Albany. As it was not a time when one would feel like refusing help from any quarter, Milborne and his men were admitted into the town, and Leisler's authority was virtually recognized.

When in April, however, he issued writs for the election of an assembly, his weakness was revealed. Imperative need of the sinews of war drove him to this step. Many people refused to pay taxes, and it was necessary to call an assembly of representatives of the people. But some towns refused to choose representatives on the ground that Leisler was usurping authority. This tone was taken especially by the Puritan towns on Long Island, which wished to be joined to Connecticut and always welcomed a chance to annoy the government at New York, whatever it might be.

Leisler's next step was a memorable event in American history. He called for a Congress of American colonies to concert measures of attack upon Canada ; and this Congress,

Albany  
yields to  
Leisler

Election of  
representa-  
tives

the first of a series which was by and by to end in the great Continental Congress, assembled in New York on the first of May, 1690. None of the southern colonies took part in it. The Carolinas were in their early infancy, Virginia was too remote to feel keenly interested. The task of invading Canada was shared between

The first  
American  
Congress,  
May, 1690



SIR WILLIAM PHIPS

New York, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Maryland. There were to be 855 men from these colonies,<sup>1</sup> and the Iroquois sachems promised to add 1800 war-

<sup>1</sup> The several contingents were, New York 400, Massachusetts 160,

riors. As finally carried out, a part of the expedition, under Sir William Phips, of Massachusetts, sailed up the St. Lawrence and laid siege to Quebec ; while the rest of the allied forces, under Fitz John Winthrop, of Connecticut, proceeded from Albany toward Montreal. But these amateur generals were no match for Frontenac, and when they turned their faces southward it was with wiser heads but sadder hearts than when they started. Boston preachers, with bated breath, spoke of " this awful frown of God." Leisler stormed and raved, and saw disguised Papists everywhere, as usual. The affair ended in bitter recriminations, and Massachusetts was driven to issue paper money, which plagued her till Thomas Hutchinson got her out of the scrape in 1749.

What a picturesque creature was Frontenac ! We can seem to see him now, aristocrat and courtier to the ends of his fingers, with his gleaming black eyes, the frost of seventy winters on his brow, and the sardonic smile on his lips, as he presides over a grim council of sachems ; we see him as he suddenly daubs vermilion on his cheeks and seizes a tomahawk, and leads off the war-dance, screaming like a cougar and inflaming to madness those warriors of the Stone Age. Here it need only be said that after checkmating Leisler he devoted himself to clearing off scores with the Iroquois, and in 1696, in his seventy-eighth year, after one of the most remarkable forest campaigns on record, he dealt the Long House a blow from which it never quite recovered. Again we may reflect how fortunate it was for New York that the Iroquois were there to serve as a buffer against this redoubtable foe.

To go back to the May of 1690, the month of the Colonial Congress, — it saw Leisler's doom approaching. His friend Joost Stoll brought him evil tidings from London. The king had not so much as deigned to look at that gro-

Plymouth 60. Connecticut, 135, Maryland 100 — total, 855 men. The New York contingent was disproportionately large ; on the other hand, Massachusetts furnished most of the naval force.



tesque ambassador. Not a scrap of notice or attention could he get from anybody. But the king had shown favour to Nicholson by making him lieutenant-governor of Virginia. Still worse, he had appointed Colonel Henry Sloughter to be governor of New York, and Major Richard Ingoldsby to be lieutenant-governor. New York was to have a free government with representative assemblies. One of the councilmen was to be Joseph Dudley, the founder of New England Toryism, who had been

*Rich. Ingoldsby*

chief aid and abettor of Andros in Boston. And worst of all, among the old members of the council now reappointed were Philipse and Van Cortlandt and Bayard. As for Jacob Leisler, his existence had not been so much as recognized. There was a terrible sound to this news. Leisler's violence had not spared these members of the council. He had accused them of conspiracy against him. He had seized Bayard and the attorney-general, William Nicolls, and kept them for months in prison and in irons, suffering doleful misery. Now these "Papist rogues," as his distempered fancy called them, were high in the great Protestant king's favour, while Jacob Leisler, most devoted of his Protestant servants, was ominously ignored! I think we may safely suppose that such facts were too much for that poor distorted mind to take in. How could such things be? Stoll must have been deceived; he was a sturdy old toper and must have got things muddled. His news was simply incredible.

Only on the supposition that Leisler's mind was half dazed can we explain his subsequent conduct, which finally reached the heights of madness. Months were yet to pass

before the catastrophe, for various affairs delayed the new governor and his party. Meanwhile Leisler grew more and more tyrannical until petitions against him were sent to London, the dominies came in and rebuked him in the name of the Lord, old women taunted and defied him on the street, and the mob threw stones at him and called him "Dog driver," "Deacon Jailer," "Little Cromwell," "General Hog," and other choice epithets. The great democrat had fallen from grace. It was said that the wedding in January, 1691, when his young daughter Mary was married to his staunch friend Milborne, was more like a funeral than a wedding.

It seems proper here to make some mention of a historical novel, "The Begum's Daughter," by the late Edwin Lasseter Bynner, which is based upon the events of Leisler's time. Though it does not rise to the very high level of the same author's "Agnes Surriage," it is an extremely creditable piece of work. As a study in history, it reflects a trifle too closely, perhaps, the bitter feelings of the aristocrats, but after making a slight allowance for this, "The Begum's Daughter" gives us a truthful picture of the time, and is worth reading by all who are interested in American history.<sup>1</sup>

It was sorely against her will that Mary Leisler consented to become the bride of Jacob Milborne. It was generally believed that she entertained a very decided preference for Abraham Gouverneur, one of two young Huguenot brothers, whose family has played an important part in American history. Against poor Mary's submissiveness to her father's despotic and violent will, Mr. Bynner has furnished us with an impressive contrast in the character which he attributes to her younger sister, Hester. The element of domestic conflict needed

<sup>1</sup> Another story, *In Leisler's Times*, written by Mr. Elbridge Brooks for young readers, but interesting also to older readers, shows a decided leaning of sympathies in the opposite direction, and undoubtedly takes more liberties with the records.

in the story is supplied by having Hester betrothed to the handsome and gallant son of Van Cortlandt, while her father is determined that she shall marry Barent Rynders, the sensible but ungainly son of a blacksmith. Hester's will is as strong as her father's, and in spite of his blustering threats, although nearly benumbed with terror, she shows herself as unyielding as adamant. But after the great catastrophe, when her aristocratic lover imprudently identifies himself with the scorn and hatred felt by his family for her unfortunate father's memory, the high-spirited girl instantly and irrevocably dismisses him. The novel skilfully surmounts whatever difficulties there may be in the way of her transferring her affections to the worthy Barent Rynders. Such situations afford fine opportunities for psychological treatment. As a matter of history, Hester Leisler married Rynders, while her widowed sister Mary, set free to consult her own inclinations, became the wife of the brilliant young Huguenot, Abraham Gouverneur. Mary's son, Nicholas Gouverneur, married Hester's daughter, Gertrude Rynders, and a son of this marriage, Isaac Gouverneur, was the grandfather of Gouverneur Morris, one of the ablest members of the immortal convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. This eminent statesman was thus lineally descended from Jacob Leisler through two of his daughters.

To go back to the winter day of 1691, which witnessed Mary's first dreary wedding, that same day saw the little fleet of the new governor, Henry Sloughter, far out on the broad Atlantic, struggling for its life. The ships were separated by the fury of the storm, and the Archangel frigate, with the governor on board, ran aground on one of the Bermuda Islands, and had to wait for repairs. The other three ships, in one of which was Ingoldsby, the lieutenant-governor, arrived in New York harbour on the 29th of January. A small force of regular troops was on board, and Ingoldsby sent word to Leisler to admit these soldiers into Fort William without delay. Leisler

Arrival of  
Ingoldsby

refused to recognize Ingoldsby's authority or to surrender the fort without a written order from King William or from Governor Sloughter. Unfortunately Ingoldsby had no official documents of any sort with him; they were all in the Archangel. After waiting four days he landed his troops with much circumspection and quartered them in the City Hall. He demanded the release of Bayard and Nicolls, whom the king had appointed as councilmen. But this simply infuriated Leisler, and confirmed him in a notion which he had begun to entertain, that Ingoldsby and his company were Catholic conspirators who had escaped from England and now wished to seize the fort and hold New York for King James.

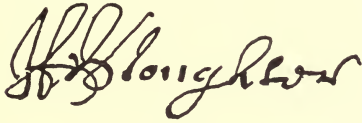
In such wise did things remain for six weeks without any event of importance. Ingoldsby, aided by several of the newly named councilmen, began collecting militia to reinforce his regulars, but willingly took the advice of Governor Treat of Connecticut, that he should bear with Leisler as patiently as possible until Sloughter's arrival should simplify the situation. Meanwhile Leisler received from Governor Treat and from many friends grave warnings to take heed what he was doing and stop before it should be too late.

All such friendly entreaties were lost upon the infatuated Leisler. On March 17th, quite losing his patience, he sent word to Ingoldsby to disband his forces, and gave him two hours to reply. Not getting a satisfactory answer, he fired upon the king's troops, and a few were killed and wounded. And now occurred an incident of evil omen indeed. Leisler had ordered a militia garrison in the Vly blockhouse at the Water Gate to fire upon a party of Ingoldsby's troops in the Slip; but at this juncture the men threw down their arms, abandoned the blockhouse, and dispersed to their homes!

Nothing was done next day, but the next thereafter at nightfall the Archangel frigate arrived at the Narrows. Word was sent down to Sloughter to make all haste. He

came up the harbour in a boat, went straight into the City Hall, and read aloud his commission as royal governor. After taking the oath of office he sent Ingoldsby to demand the instant surrender of Fort William, but with almost incredible fatuity Leisler insisted upon retaining it until a written order from the

Arrival of  
Governor  
Sloughter



king addressed to him, Jacob Leisler, by name should be shown him.

Evidently the poor man's mind was dazed. That in view of all that had happened the king should utterly ignore his faithful Protestant "lieutenant-governor" Leisler was a fact too strange for him to grasp. From a soul thus stiffened and benumbed no rational conduct was to be expected. Toward midnight a second demand was made, and then Leisler sent the diplomatic Milborne to explain that it was against the rules to surrender the fort in the night. Sloughter's only reply was to make a sign to the guards, who forthwith seized Milborne and dragged him off to jail.

Arrest of  
Milborne

In the morning Leisler sent a conciliatory letter to the governor, disclaiming any wish to withhold the fort from him, but asking further explanation on certain points. Sloughter took no notice of the letter, but sent Ingoldsby to order the garrison of Fort William to ground arms and march out, promising full and free pardon to all concerned in the late proceedings except Leisler and his council. The men instantly obeyed, and the forlorn usurper was left alone. In a few moments Bayard and Nicolls, pale and haggard with ill usage, were set free from their dungeon, and Leisler was cast into it, with the same chain upon his leg that Bayard had worn for more than a year.

Arrest of  
Leisler

On March 30th the prisoners were brought before a court over which Dudley presided. They were charged with treason and murder for refusing to surrender the fort upon Ingoldsby's arrival, and for firing upon his troops and thereby causing a wanton and wicked destruction of life. No

notice was taken of Leisler's original usurpation of power, nor was any allusion made to the complaints brought against him for tyranny. After a week's trial Leisler and Milborne with six others were found guilty and sentenced to death.

Trial and sentence of Leislerites An appeal was taken to the king, but before it was heard from, the tragedy was ended. All were pardoned except Leisler and Milborne. The pressure brought upon the governor to execute the sentence in their case was greater than could be resisted. The hatred they had aroused was so violent and bitter that their death on the gallows was hardly enough to appease it. Sloughter himself seems to have regarded them as arrant knaves and unworthy to live, but he hesitated about acting after an appeal had been made to the crown. One chief argument used to overcome his hesitancy was a statement that the Mohawks were disgusted with Leisler's management of the war and with his opposition to their esteemed friend and ally, Peter Schuyler. So angry were these barbarians, it was said, that they would refuse to join in the attack upon Canada until Leisler should be put to death. Tradition asserts that some of Colonel Bayard's friends invited Sloughter to a wedding feast and plied him with wine and schnapps until he was induced to sign the death-warrant without knowing what he was about. This tradition cannot be certified, but as it was in existence as early as 1698, it may very likely have some foundation in fact.

Execution of Leisler and Milborne On a dark and rainy morning in May the unfortunate Leisler and his daughter's bridegroom were led to the gallows, which stood near the present site of the World Building in Park Row. A crowd was assembled in the cold rain to witness the execution, and in that crowd were two parties. Some wept and groaned at the fate of the prisoners, others declared that hanging was too good for them, — they ought to be burned with slow fires in the Indian manner. Milborne spoke in a tone of vindictive anger, but Leisler behaved with Christian dignity. He said: "So far from revenge do we depart

this world, that we require and make it our dying request to all our relations and friends, that they should in time to come be forgetful of any injury done to us, or either of us, so that on both sides the discord and dissension (which were created by the Devil in the beginning) may with our ashes be buried in oblivion, never more to rise up for the trouble of posterity. . . . All that for our dying comfort we can say concerning the point for which we are condemned, is to declare as our last words, before that God whom we hope before long to see, that our sole aim and object in the conduct of the government was to maintain the interest of our sovereign Lord and Lady and the reformed Protestant churches of these parts."

Concerning Leisler's essential integrity of purpose there can be little doubt. His methods were arbitrary and many of his acts tyrannical, and the bitter hatred felt for him had doubtless adequate cause. It has been the fashion with some writers<sup>1</sup> to treat him as a mere demagogue actuated by no other motive than vulgar ambition. Leisler's  
honesty  
of purpose But this theory does not explain his conduct.

Insane as was his persistence after Ingoldsby's arrival, it is not reasonable to suppose that during the two years of his rule over New York he can ever have deliberately intended to resist King William and bring about a revolution. Nor can it for a moment be allowed, as has sometimes been insinuated, that the anti-Catholic panic was either got up by Leisler or used by him as a blind for concealing his real intentions. There can be no doubt, as we have already seen, that there was plenty of apparent ground for the panic, or that Leisler's impulse in assuming the government was thoroughly honest. Unquestionably he believed himself, in holding New York against Papist conspirators, to be doing a great and needed service to his Protestant king; and when he found himself simply ignored and set aside without a word, his mind was confronted with a fact too deep for him to fathom. There is something very pathetic in his utter

<sup>1</sup> Broadhead, for example, can see no good in Leisler.

inability to grasp the fact that there was nowhere a missive from the king addressed to him by name.

Had things gone as Leisler hoped and expected, the aristocratic party and the friends of Andros and Tories like Dudley, and all who had accepted honours or office from James II., would have been snubbed by the new king, while his own prompt action in saving New York would have been cordially recognized by making him governor or at least a member of the council, and thus the cause of democracy would be furthered and helped. Thenceforth the name of Leisler would be inseparably associated with the firm establishment of representative government and the first triumph of democracy in the province of New York. In this dream Leisler was mistaken because he totally misconceived so many essential facts in the case, but the kind of ambition which it discloses is not a vulgar kind or such as to make it proper to stamp him with the name of demagogue. Even as it is, even in spite of his blunders and his failure, in spite of the violence and fanaticism which stain his record, Leisler stands as one of the early representatives of ideas since recognized as wholesome and statesman-like. Moreover, the name of the man who called together the first Congress of American colonies must always be pronounced with respect.

As for the execution of Leisler and Milborne, it was of course entirely legal. They had caused a wanton loss of life while resisting the king's commissioned officers, and there was no court of that day, as there is no court of the present day, which would not regard such an offence as properly punishable with death. Nevertheless it was afterwards generally admitted that the execution was a mistake. It made martyrs of the two victims. Increase Mather declared that they were "barbarously murdered," and there were many in New York who said the same. Four years afterward Parliament reversed the attainder against Leisler and Milborne, and their

The execution was ill-advised



estates were restored to their families. But the legacy of hatred remained, and the spirit of dissension so earnestly deprecated in Leisler's dying speech, far from being buried in oblivion with his ashes, renewed its life from year to year, and it was long before it ceased to vex men's minds.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE CITADEL OF AMERICA

WHETHER from a commercial or a military point of view, the Dutch and Quaker colonies occupied the most commanding position in North America. It is that part of the continent which sends streams flowing in divergent courses into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico. Through deep chasms in the Alleghanies, which run irregularly across it, those superb rivers, the Hudson, Delaware, and Susquehanna, flow into the Atlantic; while the Mohawk, coming from the west, serves to join the valley of the Hudson with the Great Lakes; and in like manner the lovely Juniata, rushing down to join the Susquehanna, has its headwaters not far from the spot where the currents of the Alleghany and Monongahela unite to form the Ohio. With such pathways in every direction, whether for peace or for war, the New Netherland (curious misnomer for a region so mountainous) commanded the continent; and could the Dutch settlement at Manhattan have been adequately supported, it might have threatened or prevented the ascendancy of England in the New World. It was partly owing to this advantage of position that the League of the Iroquois was enabled to domineer over the greater part of the country between the Atlantic and the Mississippi; and through the divergent river valleys and across the chain of mighty fresh-water seas those ferocious but long-headed barbarians in their bark canoes established those lines of trade which modern civilization, with its steamboat and railway, has simply adopted and improved. For a century after its conquest

Commanding position of the Dutch and Quaker colonies

by the English, New York, with the western mountains of Pennsylvania, served as a military bulwark for New England and for the southern colonies. The hardest fighting done in the War of Independence was the struggle for the possession of this vantage-ground; and in the second war with England the brilliant victories of Perry and Macdonough maintained on Lakes Erie and Champlain the sanctity of the citadel of America.

It was not, however, until the great immigration of Presbyterians from Ireland and the crossing of Lake Erie by the French that the Pennsylvania frontier acquired its military significance. At the period with which we are dealing in the present volume, the vital point to be defended in the citadel was the stretch of lakes and woodlands between Albany and Montreal. The upper Connecticut valley and the Maine frontier also presented opportunities to a watchful enemy. The danger was sufficiently constant to be an important factor in the policy of all the northern colonies; in New York it was often the dominant factor. Of the twenty-five years which intervened between the accession of William and Mary and the death of Anne, nineteen were years of deadly warfare between French and English, in the New World as well as the Old. Then after a lull of thirty years, interrupted by a few local outbreaks like that of Norridgewock in 1724, we come to the final contests in which out of twenty-one years sixteen are years of war. The burden, at first borne chiefly by New York and New England, comes at last to bear upon all the colonies; but first and last New York takes the brunt of it. The strife which had begun with the diplomacy of Andros and Dongan, and which had broken out in bloodshed in the time of Leisler, was thenceforth forever present to the minds of those who sat in council at Fort William or in the City Hall on the island of Manhattan. Until the final overthrow of New France, the development of New York was powerfully influenced by the circumstances which made it the citadel of America.

The war  
with  
France

The accession of William and Mary, which precipitated this warfare with the French, marked in other ways an era in New York as it did in other colonies, and notably in Maryland, Plymouth, and Massachusetts. It transformed Maryland into a royal province, and although the proprietary government was by and by to be restored, yet the days of the old semi-independent palatinate were gone never to return.<sup>1</sup> It abolished the separate existence of Plymouth, and it changed the half-rebellious theocratic republic of Massachusetts into a royal province. New York also became a royal province after the fashion of Massachusetts, but the change was in the reverse direction. The days of the autocrats were over. Self-government gained much in New York, as it lost much in Massachusetts, from the accession of William and Mary. Hereafter New York was to be governed through a representative assembly.

The first thing which Colonel Sloughter did after the arrest of Leisler was to issue writs for the election of such an assembly; and the day on which it met in a tavern on Pearl Street, the 9th of April, 1691, marks the beginning of continuous constitutional government in New York. James Graham, of the famous Grahams of Montrose, was chosen speaker of the assembly, in which the party opposed to Leisler had an overwhelming majority. This assembly declared its enthusiastic loyalty to



*Ja. Grahame*

William and Mary, while it ascribed its own existence, not to royal generosity, but to the inherent right of freemen to be governed only through their own representatives. Resolutions were passed, condemning the acts of Leisler. A grant was made for public expenditures, but only for a period of two years. The wave of anti-Catholic feeling attendant upon the mighty war between William of Orange and Louis

<sup>1</sup> See *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 154.

1249 a

J<sup>e</sup>

I have appointed the first Wednesday in October next for the meeting of Commissioners from the neighbouring Colonys and Provinces at New York to consult and agree upon a quota of money money for the Defense of the frontiers You have seen their Statutes Inward to me as Governor of Conflavania for that purpose - You are therefore to get the Council or a quorum together to consider of a fit person for Conflavania & the Country of New Castle as in the advice in the appointment I leave it to your discretion I did expect they would have been more just to their Own Selves

I am yo<sup>r</sup>  
Comy friend

Ben Fletcher

John William Henry  
the 23<sup>rd</sup> Sept 93

FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM GOVERNOR FLETCHER TO COLONEL MARKHAM

Recd: 7 Oct 29: 93 in y Evening

To Col William Markham  
Lt Governor of the Province  
of Conflavania Country  
of New Castle and the  
Territories & parts of Land  
depending thereon in America

FACSIMILE OF ADDRESS OF ABOVE LETTER

XIV. was revealed in an act prohibiting "Romish forms of worship" in New York. At the same time the king was requested to annex Connecticut, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, with Delaware, to the province of New York, which would thus comprise the whole of the original New Netherland, and somewhat more.

In midsummer of that year the worthless Slaughter died so suddenly that suspicions of poison were aroused, but the particular suspicions were proved to be groundless, and a more probable explanation was to be found in delirium tremens. Major Ingoldsby then acted as governor until the arrival of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher in August, 1692. Fletcher was a man of large stature, fair, florid, and choleric, with plenty of energy and a pompous demeanour. One of the conspicuous sights of the little city was his handsome chariot, drawn by six gaily caparisoned steeds and carrying Mrs. Fletcher and her daughters decked in the latest and most gorgeous European finery. He was devoted to the Church of England and to missionary enterprise; as a soldier he was so prompt and vigorous that the Mohawks named him "Great Swift Arrow." Withal it was commonly whispered that he was a consummate adept in the art of feathering his own nest, making both religion and warfare redound to the increase of the credit side of his ledger.

One of Fletcher's first acts was to go to Albany and take counsel of Peter Schuyler, its mayor. This gentleman, granduncle of Philip Schuyler, the eminent general of the War of Independence, was a person of extraordinary qualities. His skill in dealing with red men was equal to that of Frontenac, and the situation called for all such skill that could be had. The danger lay in the possibility that French diplomacy might succeed in detaching the Iroquois from their English alliance. Their loyalty to the alliance was of course based much more upon hatred of Onontio than upon love for Corlear, and could they be brought to fear the French as enemies more than they



L. D. Schuyler





respected the English as protectors, that loyalty was liable to be weakened. The French realized more clearly than the English the importance of the struggle in which they were engaged, and in comparison with their tireless efforts such energy as the English put forth seemed mere listlessness. In the persuasive tongues of Jesuits reinforcing the mailed hand of Frontenac there was an element of real danger. To the board of Indian commissioners at Albany, and especially to the sagacious mayor, Peter Schuyler, eternal gratitude is due for the skill with which it was averted. The Mohawks entertained boundless respect for "Quidor"<sup>1</sup> (as the name Peter became in their guttural speech), and his influence over them was greater than that of any other man of his time.

Fletcher reinforced Albany with troops under Ingoldsby and returned to Manhattan, but the news soon came that Frontenac, with a large force of French and Algonquins, was on the way from Canada to invade the Iroquois country. The active governor hurried up the river with further reinforcements, to find that in a battle near Schenectady Peter Schuyler had defeated Frontenac. The retreat of the French into Canada was accomplished at the expense of terrible hardships and a heavy loss of <sup>the French</sup> life. Such victories for the English were a great help in sustaining the Iroquois alliance. To the Mohawks it seemed

<sup>1</sup> "Quidor" had a happy knack of adapting himself to the customs and habits of his tawny friends, but once in a while it cost him a few qualms; to judge from an anecdote told me in 1881 by one of the family, the late George Washington Schuyler, of Ithaca, N. Y. After a severe tramp in the wilderness, half starved with hunger and cold, Quidor came one evening upon an encampment of Mohawks, where he was cordially welcomed. In a few moments he was seated before a bright blaze, with a calabash of hot soup, the most delicious he had ever tasted. Presently, when he dipped his rude ladle once more into the kettle and brought up a couple of parboiled human fingers, it gave him a queer turn, but he repressed all show of feeling and quietly asked a feathered chieftain, "What is this soup made of?" The Indian as calmly replied, "Of a Frenchman we killed this morning; is'n't it good?"

as if the English were not so much in earnest as the French, and they told Fletcher that if Corlear and all his friends would only join forces they could easily beat the life out of Onontio.

But Fletcher was beginning to find that popular assemblies are crabbed and contentious bodies, and that it was hard enough to get his own people to behave rationally, let alone the difficulty of bringing the other colonies into line. The hatred between "Leislerians" and "Aristocrats" so far pervaded the community as to subordinate other interests. An attempt had been made to appease the friends of Leisler by appointing as mayor of the city Abraham de Peyster, who had been one of his more moderate adherents. The effect was good, but of course insufficient. In the legislature the two parties were far more anxious to trip each other up than to aid the common cause. Besides, many of Fletcher's demands were of very doubtful expediency, and the discussions upon these questions hindered prompt action upon matters of pressing moment. Fletcher was eager to have the Episcopal church established and supported out of the public revenues; and he furthermore wanted the grant of revenue to be made for the lifetime of the reigning king. But the assembly was too "big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta" to follow in the ways which the governor pointed out. Dudgeon grew high between the two branches of government. The assembly passed a bill to which Fletcher added an amendment. The assembly refused to adopt the amendment, and was forthwith pro-  
 Party strife  
 rebuked  
 the as-  
 sembly  
 rogued by the governor with petulant words: "You have shown a great deal of stiffness. You take upon you airs as if you were dictators. I sent down to you an amendment of three or four words in that bill, which, though very immaterial,<sup>1</sup> yet was positively denied. I must tell

<sup>1</sup> O no, good irate governor! very far from immaterial. If it were really of no importance, why this ruffled temper? why so much asperity and gall? The bill provided for the election of rectors by the church



H. D. Beijers

YHUU  
071100

A  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
Late Actions  
OF THE  
French at Canada.

WITH  
The Manner of their being Repuls'd, by  
His Excellency, *Benjamin Fletcher*, Their  
Majesties Governour of *New-York*.

---

*Impartially Related by Coll. Nicholas Reyard, and Lieuten-  
nant Coll. Charles Lodowick, who attended His  
Excellency, during the whole Expedition.*

---

To which is added,

- I. An Account of the present State and Strength of *Canada*, given by Two *Dutch Men*, who have been a long Time Prisoners there, and now made their Escape.
- II. The Examination of a *French Prisoner*.
- III. His Excellency *Benjamin Fletcher's* Speech to the *Indians*.
- IV. An Address from the Corporation of *Albany*, to His Excellency, Returning Thanks for His Excellency's early Assistance for their Relief.

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Licensed, Sept. 11th 1693. EDWARD COOTE.

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London, Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, in *Warwick-Lane*, 1693

you that it seems very unmannerly. There never was an amendment yet decided by the council but what you rejected; it is a sign of stubborn ill-temper. . . . You ought to let the council do their part. They are in the nature of the House of Lords, or upper house. But you seem to take the whole power into your own hands and set up for everything. You have had a very long session to little purpose, and have been a great charge to the country. Ten shillings a day is a large allowance and you punctually exact it. You have been always forward enough to put down the fees of other ministers in the government; why did you not think it expedient to correct your own to a more moderate allowance?"<sup>1</sup>

Even when it came to voting supplies for the defence of the colony against actual invasion, Fletcher found his assembly very intractable. But when he tried to exact authority outside of the colony it was still worse. The difficulty of securing that concerted military action which the Mohawk chiefs recommended had led James II. to try to unite the northern colonies under the single rule of Sir Edmund Andros, unhampered by any representative assemblies. To meet the same difficulty, William III. authorized Fletcher to take control of the militia of Connecticut and the Jerseys. In 1693 the king revoked the proprietary grant of Pennsylvania and Delaware to William Penn,<sup>2</sup> and handed over the administration of those two colonies to

Fletcher as royal governor. Fletcher accordingly spent a few weeks in Philadelphia, where he found the good Quakers so mildly but inexorably intractable that he was fain to write to the king excusing himself from the charge of this additional burden. He left Pennsylvanians and vestrymen, the amendment providing that they must be collated by the governor! No one but Mr. Totts could say "It's of no consequence, thank you."

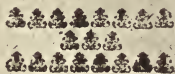
<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Legislative Council*, i. 47, 48. Compare Governor Spotswood's remarks in dissolving his assembly, in *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 353.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 293.

Fletcher  
in Phila-  
delphia

THE  
LAWS & ACTS  
OF THE  
General Assembly  
FOR  
Their Majesties Province  
OF  
NEW-YORK,

As they were Enacted in divers Sessions, the first of  
which began *April*, the 9th, *Annoq; Domini*,  
1691.



At *New-York*,

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, Printer to their Majesties, King  
*William & Queen Mary*, 1694.

vania as he found it, and the next year Penn prevailed upon the king to reinstate him in his proprietary rights.

In Connecticut Fletcher had no better success. He visited Hartford in October, 1693, while the assembly was in session, and demanded that the military forces of the colony should be placed at his disposal, at the same time promising to retain Governor Treat in the immediate command over them as his lieutenant. These proposals were flatly refused, and the angry Fletcher wrote to the secretary of state in London: "The laws of England have no force in this colony. . . . They set up for a free state." There is a tradition that one bright afternoon the train-bands of Hartford were drawn up before the place where the assembly was in session, and Fletcher ordered his secretary to read aloud his commission and instructions; whereupon the sturdy Captain Wadsworth, who had once hidden the charter of Connecticut in an oak-tree, ordered the drums to be beaten. A threatening gesture from Fletcher stopped the drummers, and the reading was begun again. Once more the drums resounded, and once more Fletcher silenced them. Then Wadsworth stepped up to the New York governor and declared that "he would make the sun shine through him" if he dared interfere again. And so the crestfallen Fletcher deemed it wise to retire from the scene.<sup>1</sup> Such is the familiar tradition, but it rests on no good authority, and seems improbable. At all events

<sup>1</sup> Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, i. 393. I think it not unlikely that this story affords an illustration of one of the normal ways in which legends grow. When Andros came to Saybrook in 1675 and tried to read the duke's patent to Captain Bull and his officers, they foiled him by walking away, but the Hartford magistrates are said afterward to have told them it would have been still better if they had drowned the reading with the noise of drums. (See above, p. 47.) Now for popular tradition to change Andros into Fletcher (one New York governor for another), Bull into Wadsworth (one Connecticut captain for another), and the hypothetical drumbeat into an actual drumbeat, would be the most natural thing in the world, exactly the sort of thing that popular tradition is always doing.



Fletcher was baffled, and when the matter was referred to the privy council it was softened into an order that upon proper notice in war time Connecticut should furnish the governor of New York with 120 men.

No wonder that an officer in Fletcher's position, wielding the forces of a weak colony against a formidable enemy, should fret at being unable to get control of the resources of his stronger neighbour; for in wealth and population Connecticut was at least twice as powerful as New York. Fletcher next appealed to Massachusetts for aid, but without success, for the Quebec affair of 1690 had over-taxed the extensive resources of that colony, and she found it, moreover, necessary to guard her eastern frontier. But in the Jerseys Fletcher fared better, for their men and money were placed at his disposal.

In the double difficulty of obtaining adequate supplies from the legislature and securing concerted action among different colonies, we see the principal causes which led seventy years later to the Stamp Act. Because there was no continental power which could raise troops and levy taxes for continental purposes, the British Parliament, with an entirely friendly purpose, undertook to perform the functions of such a continental power. The experience of those seventy years proved that a single head for the English colonies was an absolute necessity. Either Parliament must be that head, or the colonies must enter into a Federal Union; no third course was practicable. It was the conflict with France that taught this lesson, and therefore the calling of a Continental Congress at New York in 1690 by Jacob Leisler was an event of great interest and significance. Of the same order of importance was the Plan of Union presented by William Penn to the Lords of Trade in 1697. In order to accomplish by rational and constitutional means the ends which William III. was seeking when by a mere order in council he invested the governor of New York with arbitrary control over neighbouring colonies, Penn recommended a Federal

Causes  
leading  
toward the  
Stamp Act

Penn's  
plan for a  
Federal  
Union

Union. As the earliest suggestion of so great a step in constructive statesmanship, his plan must always be interesting. It provided for a Congress of two deputies from each colony to meet once a year, and to have for chairman or president a king's commissioner especially appointed for the purpose. The place of meeting might be New York, as conveniently central, and also because the province was a military frontier and under a royal governor. For further convenience this governor might be the king's commissioner, "after the manner of Scotland," and also commander-in-chief of the forces. The business of the Congress should be "to hear and adjust all matters of complaint or difference between province and province. As, 1. where persons quit their own province and go to another, that they may avoid their just debts though they be able to pay them; 2. where offenders fly justice . . . ; 3. to prevent or cure injuries in point of commerce; 4. to consider of ways and means to support the union and safety of these provinces against the public enemies. In which Congress the quotas of men and charges will be much easier and more equally set than it is possible for any establishment made here [*i. e.* in England] to do; for the provinces, knowing their own condition and one another's, can debate that matter with more freedom and satisfaction and better adjust and balance their affairs in all respects for their common safety."<sup>1</sup>

Such was the first simple outline of the scheme which was further developed in Franklin's Plan, in 1754, and again in the Articles of Confederation, until maturity was reached in our present Federal Constitution. When we fully understand that it was the failure to adopt such wise schemes as those of Penn and Franklin that ultimately led to the Stamp Act,<sup>2</sup> we shall be the better prepared to comprehend the

<sup>1</sup> Preston, *Documents Illustrative of American History*, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> This is too large a subject to receive full treatment in the present volume. My next work in the present series will be devoted to the development of the English colonies from 1689 to 1765, under the pressure of the struggle with New France, and it will thus lead naturally to my volumes on the American Revolution.

American Revolution and to deal with it in a fair and impartial spirit.

The difficulties of Governor Fletcher were increased by the prevalence of piracy on the high seas. I have elsewhere shown how the seventeenth century came to be the golden age of piracy.<sup>1</sup> As a sequel to the long maritime wars in which the Dutch and English put an end to the supremacy of Spain, came the age of buccaneers, when freebooters of all nations joined hands in plundering the Spanish coasts of America. Spaniards had come to be regarded by many people as the enemies of the human race, insomuch that it was hardly deemed criminal to rob and slay them, and thus buccaneering retained a slight flavour of respectability. The buccaneer, however, was not apt to be a person of tender conscience, and frequently developed into the full-fledged pirate, whose hand was against everybody without distinction of race, politics, or creed. Piracy thrived greatly in the seventeenth century because maritime commerce expanded far more rapidly than the naval facilities for protecting it. Never before had so many ships been afloat and traversing long distances, loaded with cargoes of such immense value. Moreover the practice of privateering, whereby civilized nations sought to supply the deficiencies in their naval force, was extremely liable to degenerate into piracy. The abominable tariff and navigation acts also, by which commerce was stupidly hampered, aroused in mercantile communities a spirit of lawlessness which tolerated the vile pirate, very much as it aided and abetted the noble army of smugglers. If the pirate could afford to undersell the honest skipper, his customers could easily refrain from asking awkward questions.

The war which brought firebrand and tomahawk upon Schenectady brought many a pirate craft into New York harbour. The principal cruising ground of these rascals was the Indian Ocean, where the richly laden ships of the English and Dutch East India companies were continually

<sup>1</sup> *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. chap. xvi.

passing between the coasts of Hindustan or the Spice Islands to the Red Sea or the Cape of Good Hope. After a pirate had captured one or more of these vessels and taken on board all the treasure he could carry, he would make for

The pirate's lair on Madagascar New York, where he would pull out of his pocket some dog's-eared letter-of-marque and swear that he had taken all this Oriental stuff from Frenchmen

as a lawful privateer. It was usually difficult to convict him of falsehood. A still more common practice was to sail to Madagascar with the plunder.<sup>1</sup> The luxurious tropical forests of that large island furnished an almost inaccessible lair for the pirates, and thither they repaired from all quarters. In the intervals between cruises many of them dwelt in palisadoed castles with moats and drawbridge, approachable only through labyrinthine paths which for further defence were studded with sharp thorns to lacerate the ill-shod feet of the natives. There they guzzled stolen wines of finest vintage, kept harems that might have made the Grand Turk envious, quarrelled and murdered one another, and indulged in nameless orgies, until they wearied of such pastime and sallied forth again to the business of ocean robbery. On the coast of Madagascar was a strongly defended mart or emporium where our pirates would meet some merchant vessel from New York, and exchange their gold pieces and gems and Eastern shawls for rum or firearms or whatever else they needed. Then while the pirate was engaged in fresh robberies the merchant returned to New York, where those who bought her merchandise were not bound to know from whom she got it. The risks of such a voyage were considerable, for the merchant ship might itself fall a prey to some pirate, or it might be captured as a receiver of stolen goods by some East India Company's frigate on patrol. But while the risks were not small, the profits were prodigious. For example, the ship *Nassau*, which sailed from New York in 1698, "was laden

Profits of the voyages

<sup>1</sup> There were several haunts of pirates on the African coast, but Madagascar was the most notorious and important.

with Jamaica rum, Madeira wine, and gunpowder. The rum cost in New York 2s. per gallon, and was sold in Madagascar for £3 per gallon. The wine cost £19 per pipe, and was sold for £300; and the gunpowder we may suppose at a similar advance. In return the Nassau purchased East India goods and slaves of the pirates, and, taking 29 of the latter as passengers, sailed for home. The pirates paid £4000 for their passage, and the voyage is said to have netted the owners £30,000.”<sup>1</sup>

A trade abounding in such profitable ventures was not easy to suppress. The pirates had convenient lurking-places in the West Indies and the Bahamas, and in the crooked sounds and deep inlets of the Carolina coast. Everywhere they had extensive dealings, underselling the regular merchants and defeating the navigation laws. The citizens of Charleston and of New York, who coveted their wares, knew also that their ships were apt to be formidable, and so treated them usually with politeness. Sometimes the pirate captain was a man of polished address and entertaining speech, who could make himself acceptable at dinner tables and in good society. One of them, we are told, before venturing ashore, was careful to send some silks and cashmeres with a trifle or so in the shape of costly gems, to Mrs. Fletcher and her stylish daughters. For a dozen years or more the streets of New York might have reminded one of Teheran or Bassora, with their shops displaying rugs of Anatolia or Daghestan, tables of carved teakwood, vases of hammered brass and silver, Bagdad portières, fans of ivory or sandalwood, soft shawls of myriad gorgeous hues and white crape daintily embroidered, along with exquisite ornaments of ruby, pearl, and emerald. In the little town which had been wont to eke out its slender currency with wampum, strange pieces of gold and silver now passed freely from hand to hand: Greek byzants, Arabian dinars, and mohurs from Hindustan, along with Spanish doubloons and the louis d’or of France. A familiar sight in

Effects in  
the city of  
New York

<sup>1</sup> Todd, *The Story of New York*, p. 171.

taverns was the swaggering blade attired in blue coat trimmed with gold lace and pearl buttons, white knee-breeches and embroidered hose, with jewelled dagger in his belt,<sup>1</sup> paying scot for all who would listen to his outlandish yarns, and tipping everybody, from the pot-boy up (as it was whispered) even to the worshipful governor.

The East India companies, English and Dutch, complained of this state of things, and all merchants who felt interested in the navigation laws added their complaints. But the warships of William of Orange were so fully occupied in the waters about France<sup>2</sup> that the Indian Ocean was inadequately guarded. Under these circumstances a scheme was formed which was highly characteristic of the age, and which introduces us to the most famous name, perhaps, in all the annals of piracy.

Whether Captain William Kidd ever really deserved such a grewsome renown is, however, more or less questionable.

William Kidd     He was certainly no ruffian, but an educated mariner who for the greater part of his life was esteemed a model of integrity. He was probably the son of a Presbyterian minister at Greenock, in Scotland. In his marriage certificate, in 1691, he is styled "gentleman." At that time he had considerable wealth and lived in a pleasant home on Liberty Street. In earlier days he seems to have been a navigator in various parts of the world. In 1695 King William was discussing with Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, and other members of his council, the most feasible means of suppressing piracy, and it was decided to make it a private undertaking. A swift frigate should be sent to the East Indies, under a captain of tried courage and probity, the sea robbers should be vanquished and brought to justice, and their spoil should defray expenses and leave a handsome profit. Robert Livingston and William Kidd happened to be in London, and Livingston recommended

<sup>1</sup> See the description of Thomas Tew, in Todd, *op. cit.* p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Mahan has treated this war in a masterly manner, in his *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, chap. iv.

# Articles of Agreement,

Made the 10th Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1695.

Between the Right Honourable *RICHARD* Earl of *BELLOMONT* of the one part, and *Robert Levingston* Esq;

AND

**Captain William Kidd,**

Of the other part.

**W**HEREAS the said Capt. *William Kidd* is desirous of obtaining a Commission as Captain of a Private Man of War in order to take Prizes from the King's Enemies, and otherways to annoy them; and whereas certain Persons did some time since depart from *New-England*, *Rode-Island*, *New-York*, and other parts in *America* and elsewhere, with an intention to become Pirates, and to commit Spoils and Depredations, against the Laws of Nations, in the *Red-Sea* or elsewhere, and to return with such Goods and Riches as they should get, to certain places by them agreed upon; of which said Persons and Places, the said Capt. *Kidd* hath notice, and is desirous to fight with and subdue the said Pirates, as also other Pirates with whom the said Capt. *Kidd* shall meet at Sea, in case he be impowred so to do; and whereas it is agreed between the said Parties, That for the purpose aforesaid a good and sufficient Ship, to the liking of the said Capt. *Kidd*, shall be forthwith bought, whereof the said Capt. *Kidd* is to have the Command. Now these Presents do witnes, and it is agreed between the said Parties,

I. That the Earl of *Bellomont* doth covenant and agree, at his proper Charge, to procure from the King's Majesty, or from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty (as the Case shall require) one or more Commissions, impowering him the said Capt. *Kidd* to act against the King's Enemies, and to take Prizes from them, as a private Man of War in the usual manner; and also to fight with, conquer and subdue Pirates, and to take them and their Goods; with other large and beneficial Powers and Clauses in such Commissions as may be most proper and effectual in such Cases.

II. The said Earl of *Bellomont* doth covenant and agree, That within three Months after the said Capt. *Kidd's* departure from *England*, for the purposes in these Presents mentioned, he will procure, at his proper charge, a Grant from the King, to be made to some indifferent and trusty Person, of all such Merchandizes, Goods, Treasure and other things as shall be taken from the said Pirates, or any other Pirate whatsoever, by the said Capt. *Kidd*, or by the said Ship, or any other Ship or Ships under his Command.

III. The said Earl doth agree to pay four fifth parts, the whole in Five parts to be divided, of all Moneys which shall be laid out for the buying such good and sufficient Ship for the purposes aforesaid, together with Rigging and other Apparel and Furniture thereof, and providing the same with competent victualling the said Ship, to be approved of by the said Parties; and the said other one Fifth part of the said Charges of the said Ship to be paid for, by the said *Robert Levingston* and *William Kidd*.

IV. The said Earl doth agree, That in order to the speedy buying the said Ship, in part of the said four parts of Five of the said Charges, he will pay down the sum of sixteen hundred Pounds, by way of Advance, on or before the sixth day of *November* next ensuing.

V. The said *Robert Levingston* and *William Kidd* do jointly and severally covenant and agree, That on and before the sixth day of *November*, when the said Earl of *Bellomont* is to pay the said Sum of sixteen hundred pounds as aforesaid, they will advance and pay down *Twenty* hundred pounds in part of the Share and Proportion which they are to have in the said Ship.

VI. The said Earl doth agree, to pay such further Sums of Money as shall complement and make up the said four parts of Five of the Charges of the said Ship's Arrival, Furniture and Victualling, unto the said *Robert Levingston* and *William Kidd* within seven Weeks after the date of these Presents; and in like manner the said *Robert Levingston* and *William Kidd* do agree to pay such further Sums as shall amount to a fifth part of the whole Charge of the said Ship within seven Weeks after the date of these Presents.

A

VII. The

VII. The said Capt. Kid doth covenant and agree to procure and take with him on board of the said Ship one hundred Mariners or Seamen, or therabouts to make what reasonable and convenient speed he can, to set out to Sea with the said Ship, and to sail to such parts or places where he may meet with the said Pirates, and to use his utmost Endeavours to meet with, subdue and conquer the said Pirates, or any other Pirates, and to take from them their Goods, Merchandizes and Treasures, also to take what Prizes he can from the King's Enemies, and forthwith to make the best of his way to *Boston in New-England*, and that without touching at any other port or harbour whatsoever, or without breaking Bulk, or diminishing any part of what he shall so take or obtain, on any pretence whatsoever, of which he shall make Oath, in case the same be desired by the said Earl of *Bellmont*, and there to deliver the same into the hands and possession of the said Earl.

VIII. The said Capt. Kid doth agree, That the Contract and Bargain which he will make with his said Ships-Crew shall be *No Purchase no Pay*, and not otherwise; and that the share and proportion with his said Ships-Crew shall by such Contract have of such Prizes, Goods, Merchandizes and Treasures as he shall take as prize, or from any Pirates, shall not at the most exceed a fourth part of the same, and shall be less than a fourth, in case the same may reasonably and conveniently be agreed upon.

IX. The said *Robert Levingstone* and *Capt. William Kid*, do jointly and severally agree with the said Earl of *Bellmont*, That in case the said Capt. Kid do not meet with the said Pirates which went from *New-England, Roi-Island, New-York*, and elsewhere as aforesaid, or do not take from any other Pirates, or from any of the King's Enemies, such Goods, Merchandize, or other things of Value, as being divided, as herein after is mentioned, shall fully recompence the said Earl for the Moneys by him expended, in buying the said four fifth parts of the said Ship and Premises, that then they shall refund a third to the said Earl of *Bellmont* the whole Money by him to be advanced in Sterling Money or Moneys equivalent thereunto, on or before the five and twentieth day of *March*, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1697. (The Danger of the Seas, and of the Enemies, and Mortality of the said Capt. Kid always excepted) upon payment whereof the said *Robert Levingstone* and *William Kid* are to make the sole property in the said Ship and Furniture, and this Indenture to be delivered up to them, with all other Covenants and Obligations thereunto belonging.

X. It is agreed between the said parties, That as well the Goods, Merchandizes, Treasure and other things which shall be taken from the said Pirates, or any Pirates, by the said *William Kid*, as also all such Prizes as shall be by him taken from any of the King's Enemies, shall be divided in manner following: that is to say, Such part as shall be for that purpose, agreed upon by the said Capt. Kid (so as the same do not in the whole exceed a fourth part) shall be paid or delivered to the Ships-Crew for their use, and the other three parts to be divided into five equal parts, whereof the said Earl is to have his own fifth four full parts, and the other fifth his to be equally divided between the said *Robert Levingstone* and *William Kid*, and is to be delivered them by the said Earl of *Bellmont*, without Deduction or Abatement on any pretence whatsoever, but it is always to be understood, that such Prizes as shall be taken from the King's Enemies, are to be lawfully adjudged Prize in the usual manner, before any Division or other wise intermeddling therewith; than according to the true intent of the said Commission to be granted in that behalf.

XI. Lastly, it is covenanted and agreed between the said parties to these presents, That in case the said Capt. *William Kid* do bring to *Boston* aforesaid, and there deliver to the Earl of *Bellmont* Goods, Merchandizes, Treasure or Prizes to the value of one hundred thousand Pounds or upwards, which he shall have taken from the said Pirates, or from other Pirates, or from the King's Enemies; that then the Ship, which is now speedily to be brought by the said Pirates, shall be and remain to the sole use and behalf of him, the said Capt. *William Kid*, as a Reward and Gratification for his good Service therein.

Memorandum, Before the Sealing and Delivery of these Presents it was covenanted and agreed by the said Earl of *Bellmont*, with the said *Robert Levingstone* Esq; and Captain *William Kid*, that the person to whom the Grant above-mentioned in these Articles, shall be made by His Majesty, shall, within eight Days at the most after such Grant has passed the Great Seal of *England*, assign and transfer to each of them, the said *Robert Levingstone* Esq; and Captain *William Kid*, their Heirs and Assigns one full tenth part (the Ship-Crew's share and proportion being first deducted) of all such Goods, Treasure, or other thing as shall be taken by the said Captain *Kid* by virtue of such Commissions as aforesaid; and the said Grantee shall make such Assignment as aforesaid, in such manner as by the said *Robert Levingstone* Esq; and Capt. *William Kid*, or their Council Learned in the Law shall be reasonably advised and required. And then these Presents were sealed and delivered (the Sixpenny Stamp being first affixed) in the presence of us

*Maris Broken*  
*John Madderick*  
*John Moulder*

BELMONT.

Printed according to Order.

LONDON, Printed for J. Richardson, near Ludgate, 1701.



Kidd to Lord Bellomont as the very man for the enterprise. These three, with several members of the council, entered into partnership, and subscribed £6000. Kidd received letters-of-marque authorizing him to capture French vessels, and a special commission instructing him to arrest all pirates wheresoever found, and bring them to trial. After reserving a royalty of 10 per cent. for the king, the proceeds of the cruise were to be divided among the partners. Kidd was to render a strict account of all prizes to Lord Bellomont, and Livingston became his surety.<sup>1</sup> A 36-gun frigate, the *Adventure*, was duly equipped, and in May, 1696, Kidd sailed from Plymouth, with a crew of 80 men. In New York he picked up about 90 more, and in February, 1697, set sail for Madagascar. The civilized world saw nothing more of him for more than two years.

His commission for arresting pirates

In the mean time the Leislerites brought about the recall of Governor Fletcher. Two of them — Leisler's son Jacob, and Abraham Gouverneur, who was presently to marry the widowed Mary Milborne — were very busy in London. They secured the restoration of Leisler's estates and the rehabilitation of his memory so far as that could be done by an act of Parliament. Lord Bellomont, who was one of the king's most trusted advisers, declared that the execution of Leisler and Milborne was a judicial murder. He was a nobleman of generous and lofty character and entertained sundry democratic notions, so that he soon became a favourite with the Leislerians. They accused Fletcher of complicity with the pirates, or, at the very least, of accepting from them bribes or hush-money. It is difficult to tell how far these charges were founded on fact. Fletcher always resented them, and they were not irrefragably proved; but such charges are apt to be hard to prove, even when true. At all

Charges against Fletcher

He is superseded by Lord Bellomont

<sup>1</sup> Kidd's name often appears in tradition as Robert Kidd, and is sometimes so given in books that should know better. I have sometimes wondered if this might have been a confusion arising from some vague memory of his connection with Robert Livingston.

events, they led to the recall of Fletcher and the appointment of Bellomont to be governor of New York, with explicit instructions to move heaven and earth for the suppression of piracy. This appointment was made before Kidd sailed, but various causes delayed Bellomont so that he did not arrive in New York until April, 1698.

In order to effect as much concentration as possible without creating disturbance, Bellomont was appointed royal governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, as well as New York. His graceful and courteous manners made him generally popular, but his administration was not a tranquil one. As Fletcher quarrelled with the Leislerians, Bellomont kept himself in hot water with the aristocrats. He began by issuing a writ of restitution to put the families of More party  
strife Leisler and Milborne in possession of their estates, and turmoil at once ensued, for many pieces of this property had passed into the hands of innocent purchasers who were now despoiled. He tried to enforce the navigation laws and to confiscate ships and cargoes for non-payment of custom-house dues. This brought on a quarrel with the merchants and with the collector of the port, whom he cashiered for remissness in enforcing the laws. As the Leislerites had accused Governor Fletcher of receiving stolen goods from the pirates, so Bellomont in turn charged some of the members of his aristocratic council with similar practices. Mrs. Bayard one evening wore an extraordinary diamond, which rumour said had been given to her husband as hush-money by some scoundrel who had robbed and murdered an Eastern princess. It was also reported that Gabriel Minvielle had under his bed a big chest full of gold dinars, which, could they have spoken, would have told just as foul a tale. And as for Philipse, why did his son go down to the Narrows in a pinnace, to meet some merchantmen just come from Madagascar?

Bellomont was the more inclined to believe such rumours because of his engrained prejudices against rich men. He was inclined to regard great wealth as incompatible with



*Bellomora*



perfect honesty. The immense landed estates of the patroons and their feudal privileges disgusted him. He lost no opportunity of attacking land grants in which any flaw could be suspected, and he even proposed a bill which should make it illegal for any person in the province to hold more than one thousand acres.

With these levelling tendencies, which accorded well with his Leislerian sympathies, Bellomont was only too ready to believe ill of Bayard and his friends. He accused them of complicity with pirates and removed Bayard, with four other gentlemen, from his council. In their place he appointed able and well-known Leislerians. Much commotion was thus excited throughout the province, and the next election of representatives was fiercely contested. Never before in America had an election day consumed so much grog or broken so many pates. The aristocracy suffered a crushing defeat at the polls, and the government thus became Leislerian in all its branches.

This result created something like a panic among the merchants and great landowners, and a report was circulated that the Leislerians were intending to obtain compensation for all the damages which they had suffered since the beginning of the troubles. The king felt it necessary to warn Bellomont against such a policy, which would tend to drive some of the best citizens away from New York. Bellomont replied that he was not so foolish as to countenance such measures. But the complaints against him multiplied, and were presently complicated by a quarrel with the dominies. In the midst of these dissensions came the rumour that William Kidd, the pirate-catcher, from whom nothing had been heard for two years, had himself turned pirate! This was a dire mortification for the governor. The friends of the displaced councilmen could now wag their heads and cry, "Aha! just see what sort of agents and tools this Earl of Bellomont, so prudish in all such matters, employs!" We can fancy that the need for attending to the affairs of Massachusetts and New

Bellomont's  
levelling  
tendencies

Election  
of 1699

Strange  
rumours  
about Kidd

Hampshire afforded the governor some relief from this stifling atmosphere of contention and distrust. We can also see that it will be likely to go hard with Captain Kidd if ever he falls into the hands of honest Richard of Bellomont.

Nevertheless it happened, curiously enough, that scarcely had the governor been a month in Boston when a message addressed to him by that mariner disclosed his presence in Narragansett Bay. The message informed Bellomont that he was in a sloop with £10,000 worth of goods on board, and was entirely innocent of the acts of piracy which lying rumour had laid to his charge. Let us briefly note some of the events in this career of innocence.

After a tedious voyage of nine months from New York, during which the stores were nearly exhausted and the crew threatened with famine, Kidd arrived off Madagascar in the autumn of 1697. He had encountered neither pirates nor French vessels on the way, and now at the island he found no prey; all the pirates were off on business. So Kidd filled his water-casks, bought food, and sailed over to the Malabar coast without meeting a ship of any sort. Provisions and money were nearly all gone, and the crew insisted upon attacking the first ship they should meet, whether lawful prey or not, in order to get the means of sustenance. Kidd afterward stoutly maintained that he did not follow this advice until he was compelled by his starving and mutinous crew. However that may have been, he did follow it, and began by capturing a few ships of the Great Mogul. Probably his noble patrons in England, on payment of a goodly dividend, would not inquire too closely into damage inflicted upon mere heathen. It seems probable that Kidd did not at first take willingly to this course. He had some disputes with his crew, in one of which he seized a bucket and struck a gunner, William Moore, over the head, inflicting fatal injuries. The work of piracy went on, and presently it was not only heathen but Christian ships that suffered. So things went until December, 1698, when Kidd

Bellomont  
goes to  
Boston

A message  
from Kidd

How Kidd  
turned  
pirate

captured a large East Indiaman, named the *Quedah Merchant*, owned by Armenian traders and commanded by an English skipper. His own ship, the *Adventure*, was badly out of repair; so he set ashore the crew of the *Quedah Merchant*, transferred to her his own armament and crew, burned the *Adventure*, and made for the pirate mart at Madagascar, where his cargo fetched £64,000, equivalent to more than a million dollars of the present day. Of this sum his own portion amounted to \$320,000. After losing two thirds of his men by desertion, and enlisting a new crew, our amateur pirate sailed for the West Indies. There he was met by appalling news. Not only had his acts of piracy been reported in England, but a parliamentary committee had been appointed to inquire into the nature of his commission and the character of the partnership from which he had received it. A royal proclamation had been issued, moreover, offering free pardon to all pirates who would surrender themselves for acts committed before May-day of 1699. Only two pirates were excepted by name; one was a fellow named Avery, one of the worst scoundrels of his time, the other was William Kidd.

The king's  
proclamation

The reason for this was that Kidd's conduct reflected upon the whole group of powerful noblemen who had sent him to the East Indies. He was the agent not only of Belomont, but of the Lord Chancellor Somers, of Orford the First Lord of the Admiralty, of the Earl of Shrewsbury, even in a sense of King William. The Tories exultingly threw his misdeeds in the face of these Whig statesmen; it was their purpose to impeach the Lord Chancellor, and it pleased them to be able to say that he had a pirate in his employ. Under these circumstances the Tories magnified the rumours of Kidd's villainies, while the Whigs could not incur the responsibility of contradicting them; they must wash their hands of him as quickly as possible. Hence he was excepted from the offer of pardon.

Kidd's  
desperate  
situation

Had Kidd fully grasped the hopelessness of the situation, or had he been an unmitigated ruffian, like Blackbeard or

Olonnois, he would most likely have accepted an outlaw's career. With his powerful ship and vast treasure he might roam the seas and play the corsair, or seek refuge in some inaccessible spot. But one may fancy that a castle in Madagascar was not the sort of home that he wanted. The pleasant fireside in Liberty Street, where wife and children awaited him, may well have been in his thoughts; and if he could make Lord Bellomont believe his story, there might be a good chance for him. So he bought at the island of Curaçoa a small sloop, in which he put his gold coins, gold-dust, and jewels, and with a crew of forty men started for New York. At San Domingo he stopped and left the *Quedah Merchant*, with her armament of 50 guns and cargo of immense value. What became of her is not known. As Kidd stealthily approached New York he learned that the governor had gone to Boston. He contrived to get a letter ashore to his wife and children, who joined him at Block Island. Arriving in Narragansett Bay, he sent to Boston the message already mentioned. Bellomont replied that if Kidd could satisfy him of his innocence he might count upon his protection. Accordingly on the first day of July Kidd landed in Boston, and paid his respects to the governor, handing him a present of rare jewels for Lady Bellomont. With the approval of the council Bellomont accepted the present, lest a refusal should put Kidd too keenly on his guard. As his story did not satisfy the governor, he was arrested on July 6, and the jewels were handed to a trustee as part of the documents in the case.

Kidd lands  
in Boston,  
and is ar-  
rested

He is  
sent to  
London

After a while Kidd was sent to London and kept in prison more than a year while evidence was sought in the East Indies. In the spring of 1701 he was brought to trial for sundry acts of piracy and for the murder of William Moore. Kidd's defence as to the first charge was that he had only captured vessels sailing under French colours, except in one or two cases when his crew overpowered him and took the command out of his hands. As to the second charge, he averred that Moore was engaged in



317

To his Excellency the Earl of Bolton, Cap. in Gen. &  
Gov. in Chief of his Maj. <sup>ty</sup> provinces of the Massachusetts  
Bay New York &c. in America, and of the Territories  
thereon depending & vice Admiral of the same.

The petition of Sarah Kidd the wife of  
Cap. William Kidd

Humbly sheweth

That on the sixth day of July Int. Some of the  
Magistrates and officers of this place, came into your  
Pet. & lodgings at the house of Duncan Campbell,  
& did there seize and take out of Mr. Funck a Silver  
Tankard, a Silver Mugg, Silver Porringer, Spoons  
Forks & other pieces of Plate, and Two hundred and  
sixty pieces of Eight, yo<sup>r</sup> Pet. & Sole and proper  
Plate & money, brought with her from New York,  
whereof she has had the possession for several years  
last past, as she can truly make oath; out of w<sup>ch</sup>  
Mr. Funck was also took Twenty five English Crowns  
w<sup>ch</sup> belonged to yo<sup>r</sup> Pet. & Maid

The premises and most deplorable  
Condition of yo<sup>r</sup> Pet. & considered  
she humbly intreats yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>or</sup> &  
Justice, That Redress be made of  
the said Plate & money.

18<sup>th</sup> July 1699.

Sarah Kidd

In Council July 18. 1699.

Resolved that Mr. Kidd making oath that  
she brought the Plate and money abovesaid  
from New York, with her. It be restored unto  
her. As also that Cap. Kidd and Company's wearing  
Apparel under seizure be returned to them.

mutiny and rightfully slain ; nevertheless the homicide was unintentional ; he had not used pistol nor dagger, but only struck the offender with a bucket, and on the worst construction was guilty only of manslaughter. The prosecution did not break down this defence, and one cannot read the report of the trial without feeling that the verdict of guilty was predetermined. Kidd was hanged in May, 1701. In spite of the unfairness of the trial, he had probably done enough to deserve his sentence ; but his preëminent notoriety is clearly due to other causes than preëminence in crime.

Lord Bellomont's stay in Boston was little more than a year, and his acquaintance with New Hampshire was limited to a fortnight. He was much liked in Boston for his personal qualities and his opposition to the Toryism represented by the friends of Joseph Dudley. For his own part he liked the people of Boston, but as a liberal-minded Episcopalian he confessed he could not see how so much learning could coexist with so much fanaticism as in some of the Puritan clergymen and professors. In the summer of 1700 he returned to New York. He had long been troubled with gout, and in the following winter died very suddenly.<sup>1</sup>

His death was the signal for an explosion which had long been preparing. It soon appeared that some of the reports which had been circulated as to the designs of the Leislerians were well founded. That party had a majority both in the assembly and in the council, and now that Bellomont's restraining hand was removed, they brought in a bill to enable the Leisler family to institute lawsuits for damages which they alleged they had sustained at the hands of the aristocracy during the change from the House of Stuart to the House of Orange. They also brought outrageous charges against prominent members of the aristocratic party. They accused Robert Livingston

<sup>1</sup> His mortal remains now rest in St. Paul's churchyard. See Mrs. Lamb's *History of the City of New York*, ii. 446.

THE  
Arraignment, Tryal, and Condemnation  
OF  
Captain William Kidd,  
FOR  
MURDER  
AND  
PIRACY,  
Upon Six several Indictments,

At the Admiralty-Sessions, held by His Majesty's Commission at the *Old-Baily*, on *Thursday* the 8th. and *Friday* the 9th. of *May*, 1701. who, upon full Evidence, was found Guilty, receiv'd Sentence, and was accordingly Executed at *Execution-Dock*, *May* the 23d.

AS ALSO,  
The TRYALS of *Nicholas Churchill*, *James Howe*, *Robert Lanley*, *William Jenkins*, *Gabriel Loff*, *Hugh Parrot*, *Richard Barlicorn*, *Abel Owens*, and *Darby Mullins*, at the same Time and Place for PIRACY.

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*Perused by the Judges and Council.*

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To which are added,  
Captain *KIDD's* Two Commissions:  
One under the Great Seal of *ENGLAND*, and the Other under  
the Great Seal of the Court of *Admiralty*.

---

L O N D O N :  
Printed for *J. Nutt*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1701.

---

of defalcation in his accounts, and petitioned the king to remove him from his office of secretary of Indian affairs; they made a similar charge against the late Stephanus van Cortlandt, and brought suits against his widow. In view of the anticipated passage of their Leisler Act for damages, they invited all the injured persons to bring in an inventory of their losses, and some astounding estimates followed, as when a rusty sword and dilapidated gun, which Governor Sloughter had seized, were valued at £40 (say, nearly \$800).

This last step was unwise, for it seemed to herald a carnival of spoliation and created intense alarm. There was a rumour that Viscount Cornbury had been appointed governor, to succeed the Earl of Bellomont. A petition to the crown was prepared, urging that he might be sent with all possible haste. It had more than 600 signatures, including most of the aristocratic leaders. The chief justice and solicitor-general, who were fierce Leislerians, saw fit to call this paper "seditious," and indictments for high treason were brought against Nicholas Bayard and an alderman named Hutchings, at whose house the petition had been signed.

What followed would have been a ludicrous farce had it not been so execrably wicked. The intention was to avenge the death of Leisler upon the person of his old enemy, Bayard; and in the proceedings all law and decency were trampled under foot. In a scurrilous speech the solicitor-general accused Bayard of complicity with the pirates and of plotting to introduce Popery into New York. Such invective did duty for evidence, a jury, half packed and half browbeaten, quickly found a verdict of "guilty," and the chief justice forthwith sentenced Bayard and Hutchings to be disembowelled and quartered. The poor alderman, it may be supposed, was to atone for Milborne. At about the same time the Leisler Act was passed by the assembly, and Livingston was turned out of his offices, while all his property was confiscated.

A new governor, however, was even then on his way from

Petition to  
the crown

Shameful  
trial of  
Bayard and  
Hutchings

AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
Illegal Prosecution  
AND  
TRIAL  
OF  
Coll. Nicholas Bayard  
In the Province of New-York,  
For Supposed  
High - Treason,  
In the Year 1705.

Collected from several Memorials taken by  
divers Persons privately, the Commissioners having  
strictly prohibited the taking of the Trial in open  
COURT.

---

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, at the Sign of  
the Bible in New-York, M<sup>o</sup> Coll.

England. On March 7, 1702, the king breathed his last, and Anne ascended the throne. Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, was grandson of the great Earl of Clarendon, the statesman and historian, and own cousin to Queen Anne. The late king had appointed him governor, and Anne at once confirmed the appointment. Cornbury was a trained soldier, and not wholly wanting in ability, but his character was far from estimable. He had gross vices, and some contemptible follies.

His strong likeness to his cousin Anne attracted much notice and led him often to make a guy of himself by dressing in elaborate and sumptuous female attire, like a lady of the court. His name is now chiefly remembered for this tomfoolery. Yet much

good was effected by his coming to New York. One of his first acts was to dissolve the assembly. The recent scandalous trials were investigated, and those legal luminaries, the solicitor-general and the chief justice, absconded and hid themselves in Virginia under assumed names. Bayard and Hutchings were set free and reinstated in their property; Livingston was replaced in his offices and estates; the Leisler Act was quashed by the Lords of Trade; and the public alarm was allayed.

Having performed this much needed service, Cornbury went on unwittingly to perform another and soften the animosities between the Leislerites and the aristocracy by uniting them to some extent in opposition to himself. He thus introduced fresh grievances, but some of these were of a kind conducive to growth in constitutional liberty. He obtained from the assembly a grant of £1500 for fortifying

A treasurer  
for the as-  
sembly

the Narrows against French fleets, and was very wroth at the suggestion that the assembly should appoint a treasurer to handle the money. What! did they distrust his integrity? So the business was left to

his integrity and three years slipped by, until one fine afternoon a French warship sailed in through the Narrows, and great was the commotion. The batteries had not been built; what had been done with the £1500? Cornbury protested that he had never seen the money, but the assembly knew better. There was a sound, wholesome discussion, in the course of which the doctrine was plainly stated that the rights of a colonial assembly were precisely the same as those of the House of Commons. The matter was referred to the queen in council, and it is an interesting fact that the assembly was sustained against the governor. Henceforth it appointed a treasurer and saw that his accounts were properly audited.

It was not only with the New York assembly that Cornbury had contentions, for he was also governor of New Jersey. Since the overthrow of Andros, the history of the two provinces of East and West Jersey had been a plexus of difficulties which need not here concern us, until in 1702 all the proprietors agreed in surrendering their proprietary rights of sovereignty to Queen Anne. Their ownership of their landed estates was not disturbed by this surrender. The two provinces were united into one, and thenceforward until 1738 New Jersey was an appendage to New York, in much the same way that Delaware was an appendage to Pennsylvania. There was the same governor, but the assemblies were distinct and independent. This preserved the local life, and prevented New Jersey from being merged in New York, and Delaware from being merged in Pennsylvania. Any such absorption would have been a calamity, for what the civilized world most needs is variety and individual colour in social development, and the more that local independencies can be preserved, in so far as such preservation is compatible with general tranquillity, the better.

Governor Cornbury's first demand upon the New Jersey assembly was for a yearly salary of £2000, to be granted for twenty years. When we bear in mind that this sum repre-

The governorship of New Jersey united with that of New York

sented nearly \$40,000 in our present currency, we shall appreciate the comment of the Quaker member who turned upon Cornbury with the remark, "Thee must be very needy!" The assembly voted only  $\pounds$ 1300 for three years, and thus began its bickerings with the spendthrift governor. Such contentions over salaries were flagrant during the eighteenth century, and must be taken into the account if we would understand how the Townshend Act of 1767 led directly to the War of Independence.

It was Cornbury's fate to antagonize not only the legislatures but the dominies. There were but few Episcopalians in New York, though the civil government was always trying to help that church, and people already noticed that it flourished better in Pennsylvania, under Penn's grand policy of a fair field for all, and no favour. But Cornbury tried to help Episcopacy in his feeble way, by making warfare upon other sects, which in New York were in the majority. In such ways, but perhaps still more through his private affairs, he came to grief. He was steeped in debauchery and never paid his debts; and when, in 1708, Queen Anne yielded to the general clamour and sent out Lord Lovelace to supersede him, no sooner had he ceased to be governor than his creditors sprang upon him. Besieged with bills innumerable from butcher and baker and candlestick-maker, the unhappy Cornbury was thrown into jail and stayed there till next year, when the death of his father made him Earl of Clarendon. Then he paid up his debts and went home, leaving unsavoury memories behind him.

Lord Lovelace, nephew of the governor who succeeded Nicolls, lived but a few months after his arrival. His place was taken by our old acquaintance, Ingoldsby, once more lieutenant-governor. Danger was again threatening from Canada. The strife of Leislerian and anti-Leislerian had absorbed the attention of the province, weakened its resources, and loosened its grasp upon the Long House,





SA GA YEATH QUA PIETH TOW  
*King of the Maquas*



TEE YEE NEEN HO GA ROW  
*Emperor of the Six Nations*



HO NEE YEATH TAW NO ROW  
*King of the Generethgarich*



ETOW OH KOAM  
*King of the River Nation*

insomuch that Onontio had actually achieved a treaty which secured its neutrality. Peter Schuyler now persuaded those barbarians to put on their war paint, and took command of them in person. A force of 1500 men from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, commanded by another of our old acquaintances, Francis Nicholson, marched to Lake Champlain, while 1200 men raised by Massachusetts awaited the arrival of a promised British fleet which was to take them up the St. Lawrence. This force was to attack Quebec while Nicholson advanced upon Montreal. But the loss of the battle of Almanza made it necessary for England to send to Portugal the force designed for America; and so the expedition against Canada came to nothing.

As a partial compensation for this disappointment, Nicholson, in the course of the next year, conquered Nova Scotia. Schuyler was more than ever impressed with the necessity of driving the French from the valley of the St. Lawrence, and in order to urge the matter upon Queen Anne's ministry he went over to England in 1710, taking with him four Iroquois chiefs.<sup>1</sup> These barbarians made as great a sensation in London as Pocahontas had done in the days of Queen Anne's great grandfather. They were received with much ceremony by the queen, on which occasion they made a solemn speech on the necessity for conquering Onontio, and presented her with a belt of wampum. It was agreed that

Visit of  
four  
Iroquois  
chiefs to  
Queen  
Anne's  
court

Arrival of  
Robert  
Hunter as  
governor

Canada should once more be invaded, and Colonel Robert Hunter was sent out to be governor of New York. This Scottish gentleman was the ablest and best of the English governors since Richard Nicolls; broad-minded and sagacious, cultivated and refined, upright and genial, a thoroughly admirable man. He was an intimate friend of Addison and Swift, and could himself write witty poems and essays. He had served with credit in King

<sup>1</sup> One of them was a Mohawk of the Wolf clan, grandfather of the great Thayendanegea, better known as Joseph Brant.

William's army, and now came to oppose the French arms in the New World. His arrival on such an errand was enthusiastically welcomed. The assembly was less niggardly than usual, partly, perhaps, because it was voting away not real money but promissory notes. It issued £10,000 of this pernicious currency, hoping to redeem it within five years. There was a conference of governors at New London, and a plan was made essentially similar to the former one. Nicholson, with the troops from Connecticut, New

*Bo Hunter*



York, and New Jersey, and Schuyler's Indians, was to advance upon Montreal by way of Lake Champlain; while the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island troops, aided by a powerful English fleet, should ascend the St. Lawrence and take Quebec. But the enterprise failed ignominiously. On the last day of July, 1711, the fleet, commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, sailed from Boston Harbour, carrying about 2000 provincial troops, with 5000 regulars under General Hill, commonly known about London as "Jack Hill," brother of the queen's favourite lady, Mrs. Masham. The admiral, who had too much of the proud spirit that goeth before a fall, would not take the advice of his Yankee pilots; wherefore during their second day upon the St. Lawrence several ships were wrecked upon ledges of rock, with the loss of more than 1000 lives. Then with preposterous logic a council of war decided that the mighty river was impracticable for such vessels as theirs, and so the fleet returned to England. The disaster was reported to Nicholson in time

Another abortive attempt against Canada

to prevent his imperilling his army. The affair ended in recriminations, and presently the treaty of Utrecht allowed New France another half century of life.

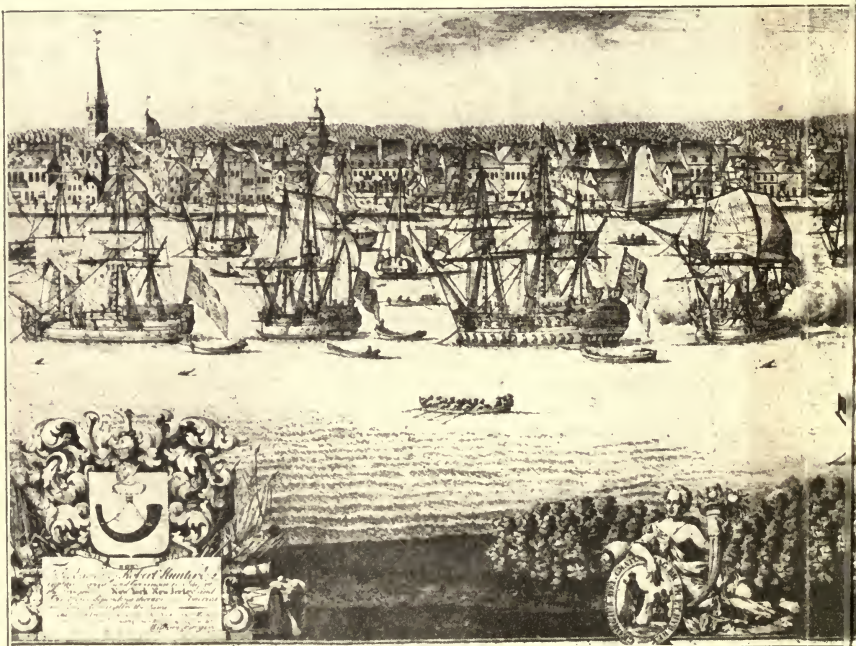
Amid these incidents of war the business of legislation was encumbered with the usual difficulties. The council, though by no means a tool in the governor's hands, was very apt to agree with his views of constitutional questions. The assembly, on the other hand, was almost certain to differ from the governor on questions relating to revenue, if on no others. In most of the colonies military exigencies made a greater demand upon the exchequer than people could comfortably meet. Hence the governor's requests did not usually meet with prompt or adequate response, and operations were apt to languish. There is no doubt that despotic Onontio could mobilize his forces much more speedily than constitution-hemmed Corlear. It was half a century of this sort of experience that led to the Stamp Act.

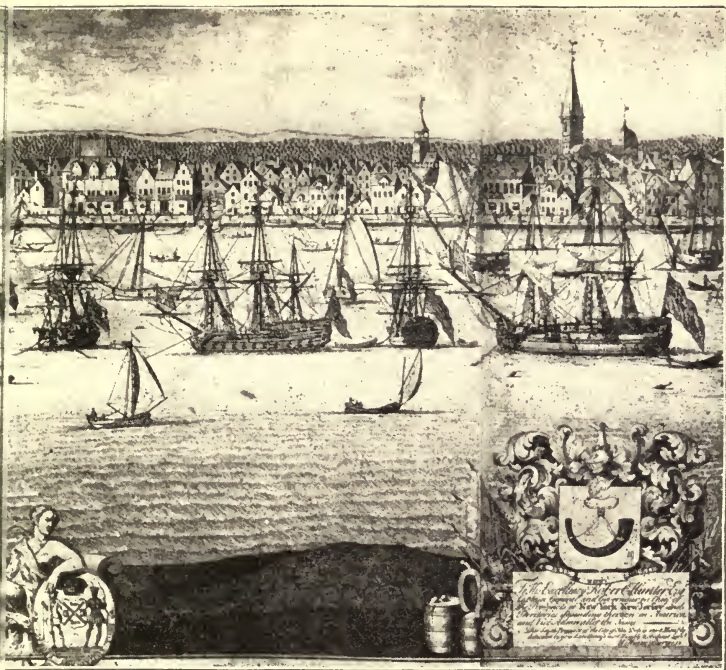
Under these circumstances the constitutional position and functions of the council gave rise to important discussions. The council maintained that it was properly an upper house, like the House of Lords, and this was generally the governor's opinion; but the assembly insisted that the council was merely an advisory board. Especially jealous was the assembly of any pretension on the part of the council to initiate or amend money bills. Then there was the burning question of the governor's salary, which the assembly usually insisted upon granting only for a year at a time, in order to keep a check-rein upon the governor. Sometimes an earnest patriot, like Hunter, bent upon getting things done, would furnish the money from his own pocket. From some of Hunter's letters to Dean Swift we catch glimpses of his feeling about the people's representatives: "This is the fine stair to live upon in the universe; and if our trees and birds could speak, and our assemblymen be silent, the finest conversation also. The soil bears all things, but not for me. According to the custom of the

Difficulty  
of raising  
money for  
military  
purposes

Constitu-  
tional dis-  
cussions











country, the sachems are the poorest of the people. . . . I thought in coming to this government I should have hot meals and cool drinks, and recreate my body in Holland sheets upon beds of down ; whereas I am doing penance as if I were a hermit. . . . I am used like a dog, after having done all that is in the power of man to deserve better treatment."

Notwithstanding such expressions of feeling, and in spite of many altercations with the assembly, Governor Hunter was greatly liked and admired, and there was much sorrow when private business called him back to Eng-  
 land in 1719. His friend and successor, William Burnet, who came next year, was another upright and able governor. He was a son of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, the famous historian, and was himself a man of learning and accomplishments, with much practical sagacity and rare personal charm. One of his first measures, however, was for a time extremely unpopular. There was far too much intercourse between the French and the warriors of the Long House. It was an excellent instance of the shrewdness with which Onontio made trade and religion support each other. Jesuit priests had made converts to Christianity even among their arch-enemies, the Mohawks, and with these converts they formed a colony at Caughnawaga, a place on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, a short distance above Montreal. These Caughnawaga Indians soon became a source of danger to New York. The most prolific source of the furs which made so large a part of the wealth of the province was the country about the Great Lakes, inhabited by Ottawas, Sacs and Foxes, Pottawatomies and other Algonquin tribes, besides Dakotahs. These were commonly called the "Far Indians." Now since the English commercial policy, however narrow, was far more liberal than that of Louis XV., the best supply of goods for the Indians was in New York and Albany, not in Montreal. Knives and guns, powder and blankets, were apt to be plenty and cheap among the

Hunter is succeeded by William Burnet

The Caughnawagas and their trade

English, while scarce and dear among the French. Accordingly the Caughnawagas soon became the middlemen in a brisk and lucrative trade. By way of the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain they brought furs from the Great Lakes to Albany and exchanged them there for tools and weapons, blankets and beads, which they forthwith carried to Montreal and sold to the French traders. It was often in this way only that the Frenchmen obtained the wares which they needed for getting furs from the "Far Indians."<sup>1</sup>

Now this trade through the Caughnawagas was profitable to merchants in New York and Albany, as well as in Montreal. But every Caughnawaga was a Jesuit spy whose presence upon English soil was a possible source of danger. Moreover, the use of the St. Lawrence route played into the hands of the enemy by diverting trade from the safer avenue of the Mohawk valley. With a statesman's glance Governor Burnet comprehended the situation, and his action was prompt and decisive. He procured an act of the assembly prohibiting trade with Montreal under the penalty of £100 fine with forfeiture of goods; while at the same time he bought the land at Oswego from the Six Nations<sup>2</sup> and built a small fort there, and as the assembly was slow in providing the money, he paid the expenses out of his own pocket. Much to the delight of the Long House, some forty young men, headed by Quidor's son, Philip Schuyler, came among them to carry on trade. It was decidedly for the interest of the Six Nations to become the middlemen in a flourishing trade between the "Far Indians" and Albany. Accordingly the measures of Governor Burnet had lasting

Founding of Oswego, and closer relations with the Mohawk valley

<sup>1</sup> See Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict*, i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> After the crushing defeats of the Tuscarora tribe of Iroquois in North Carolina, by Barnwell in 1712 and by Moore in 1713, the remnant of the tribe migrated into New York and were admitted into the confederacy of the Long House, as a sixth nation. The territory there assigned to the Tuscaroras lay south of the Oneidas and southeast of the Onondagas. For their career in North Carolina, see *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 277-286.



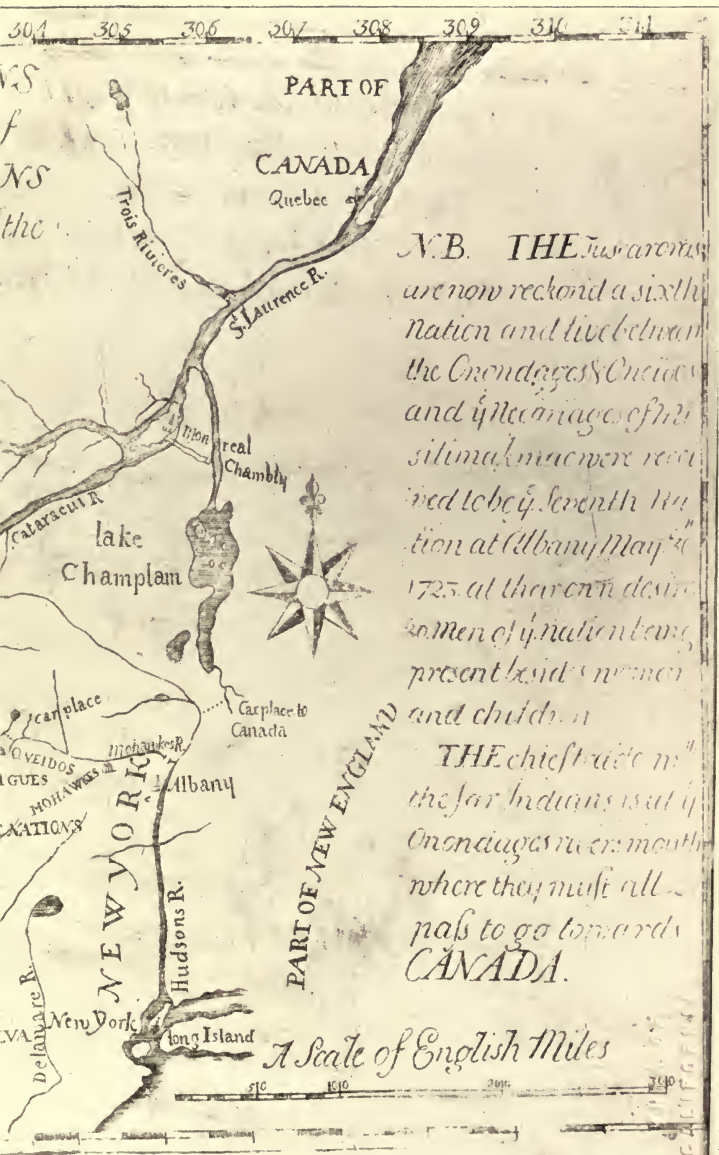
W. Barnes





A MAP of the Countrey of THE FIVE  
belonging to the Province of NEW YORK  
the LAKES near which the Nations of  
live with part of CANADA taken from  
LOUISIANE done by M<sup>r</sup>. De Sisle in





N.B. THE Tuscaroras  
 are now reckoned a sixth  
 Nation and live between  
 the Onondagas & Oneidas  
 and y<sup>e</sup> language of the  
 Six Nations were receiv<sup>d</sup>  
 ed to be y<sup>e</sup> seventh Na<sup>t</sup>  
 tion at Albany May 30  
 1725. at their own desire  
 20 men of y<sup>e</sup> nation being  
 present beside women  
 and children

THE chief trade m<sup>o</sup>  
 the far Indians is at y<sup>e</sup>  
 Onondagas river mouth  
 where they must all  
 pass to go towards  
**CANADA.**

A Scale of English Miles

VS  
 f  
 NS  
 the

place  
 OVEIDOS  
 LGUES  
 MOHAWES  
 NATIONS  
 Delaware R.  
 New York  
 Long Island

NEW YORK  
 Hudsons R.

PART OF NEW ENGLAND

PART OF  
 CANADA  
 Quebec

St. Lawrence R.  
 Trois Rivières

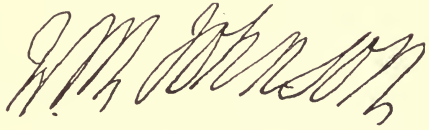
lake  
 Champlain







results, although his prohibitory act was after a few years quashed by the Lords of Trade. The main course of the fur trade was in great measure diverted from Fort Frontenac and Lake Champlain to Oswego and the Mohawk valley. Intercourse between the English and the Six Nations thus grew closer and the danger from Canada was lessened.



Probably the action of Burnet was the most important event in the history of the Anglo-Iroquois alliance between the death of Frontenac in 1698 and the arrival of William Johnson in 1738.

Upon the accession of George II., Burnet was transferred from the governorship of New York to that of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His successor, John Montgomery, died in 1731, and the next year came Colonel William Cosby, who had been governor of Minorca and acquired there a reputation for gross avarice. The principal event of his administration in New York was a money dispute with Rip van Dam, who as president of the council had conducted affairs during the interregnum after Montgomery's death. Out of this dis-

Cosby's  
dispute  
with Rip  
van Dam

*Montgomery.*

pute grew a trial which excited intense interest throughout the English colonies, and deserves mention in every account of the development of political liberty.

Since 1725 New York had had a newspaper,<sup>1</sup> edited by

<sup>1</sup> The first newspaper printed in English America was "Public Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestic," Boston, September 25, 1690. Only this first number was printed. The first permanent newspapers were as follows:—

The Boston News-Letter, Boston, April 17, 1704.

William Bradford, a gentleman who had come from Pennsylvania in 1693 and brought with him the art of printing. He



LARGE SEAL OF THE MONTGOMERIE CHARTER

was printer for the government, and his paper, the "New York Gazette," of which the first number appeared November 1, 1725, was to some extent a government organ.

Bradford and Zenger One of Bradford's apprentices was John Peter Zenger, a German who had come over from the Palatinate in

1710, being then a lad of thirteen. In 1733 Zenger started an opposition paper, called the

*William Bradford*

"Weekly Journal." He had no money, but received help

The Boston Gazette, Boston, December 21, 1719.

The American, Philadelphia, December 22, 1719.

The New York Gazette, New York, November 1, 1725.

The Maryland Gazette, Annapolis, June, 1728.

The South Carolina Gazette, Charleston, January 8, 1732.

The Rhode Island Gazette, Newport, September 27, 1732.

The Weekly Journal, New York, November 15, 1733.

The Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, 1736.

The Connecticut Gazette, New Haven, January 1, 1755.

The North Carolina Gazette, New Berne, December, 1755.

The New Hampshire Gazette, Portsmouth, August, 1756.

See Isaiah Thomas's *History of Printing*, Worcester, 1810, 2 vols.; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 129.



Numb. 113.



# New-York Gazette,



From December 25. to Monday January 1. 1727.

LADIZ, September 12. N.S.

**I**T having been customary to Print Weekly Accounts of the Ships arriving, sailing from, and remaining in the Bay, the French Admiral taking Notice that the English Ships were placed before the French in the said List, has complained of it as an undue Preference; upon which the Governor of this Place sent to the Printer, and ordered him to place the French first; but the British Factory looking on this as a publick Affront, found means to prevent it: However, the Governor has wrote about it to Court, and in the mean time the printing the said List is forbid. Orders are arrived for breaking up the Blockade of Gibraltar, but the said Garriso is not suffered to have Communication with the Country.

*Malaga, Sept. 16. N.S.* By a Ship arrived here we learn that Sir Charles Wager was on the 31st past in the Bay of Tangier with 12 Men of War; and that the Orford, Preston and Weymouth Men of War, from England, joynd him in the said Bay; where he then remained with the said 14 Men of War.

*Marseilles, Sept. 19. N.S.* The French Court is very busy in endeavouring to promote the Navigation of this Kingdom; and Orders are frequently brought to our Magistrates, by which the Ships belonging to Foreign Nations are very much affected. These Orders are judged hereto to interfere with Privileges formerly granted to this Place, and as such will be represented to the Court. Two French Ships are arrived here with 10,000 Quintals of Baccalas from Cape Briton, where they have had a very good Fishery.

*Extra3 of a Letter from Paris, Sept 27.*

We Learn that Count *Rothemburg*, who is gone to *Madrid* in Quality of Ambassador Extraordinary of his Majesty, is not only charged with the Order of the Holy Ghost for the Infant Don Louis, but also to declare that his Majesty still resolves to maintain his Engagements with his Allies, and expects the Preliminaries to be ratified in the Sense which the King of *Great Britain* takes them; that he cannot dispense with desiring his Catholick Majesty to terminate immediately his Differences with *Great Britain* in raising the Siege of Gibraltar, in restoring the Ship Prince Frederick, and in distributing the Effects of the *Flotilla*, that afterwards the Gallies may return home, &c.

LONDON, September 30.

Yesterday the Commissioners of the Customs in Town, viz. Sir *Walter Tonge*, Sir *John Searley*, *Thomas Walker*, Esq; Sir *Charles Peers*, Sir *John Evelyn*, *Bryan Fairfax*, Esq; *Humphry Brent*, Esq; and *Alan Broderick*, Esq; and *Charles Carkesse*, Esq; their Secretary, were introduced to his Majesty at St. James's, by the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Walpole* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand: At the same Time Sir *Robert Baylis*, who was lately in that Commission, and since made Receiver General of the Taxes for the City of *London* and *Westminster*, and the County of *Middlesex*, had also the Honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand.

They had afterwards the Honour to kiss her Majesty's Hand.

They write from *Sheerneck*, That two Ships of War lately put in Commission, are sheathing with all Expedition, for foreign Service, and several of the Workmen being sick, they are supplied with Men from other Yards.

*At a Council held at Fort George, in New-York, November 25. 1727.*

Present, His Excellency *William Burnet*, Esq; &c. Capt. *Walter*, Mr. *Van Dam*, Mr. *Harrison*, Dr. *Colden*, Mr. *Alexander*, Mr. *Lewis Morris*, jun. Mr. *Abraham Van Horst*, Mr. *Kennedy*.

**H**IS Excellency was pleased to declare the General Assembly of this Province Dissolved, with the unanimous Consent and Approbation of this Board, on Account of the following Resolves made by them, viz.

*Die Sabbat. 25 November, 1727.*

*Coll Hicks*, from the Committee of Grievances, reported, That as well by the Complaints of several People, as by the general Cry of his Majesty's Subjects inhabiting this Colony, they find That the Court of Chancery as lately assumed to be set up here, renders the Liberties and Properties of the said Subjects extremely precarious: And that by the violent Measures taken in and allowed by it, some have been ruined, others oblig'd to abandon the Colony, and many restrained in it, either by Imprisonment, or by excessive Bail exacted from them not to depart, even when no Manner of Suits are depending against

LN

Numb. 1.

# THE New-York Weekly JOURNAL.

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestic.

MUNDAY <sup>Novemb</sup> 5, 1733.

Mr. Zenger,

**U**NDERSTANDING you intend shortly to publish a Weekly Paper, I recommend to your disposal the inclosed Verses upon Wisdom; which is so noble a Theme, that whoever takes the Pains seriously to reflect thereon, will find himself happily lost in the boundless Ocean of Benefits and Satisfaction attending it. It is without Dispute the chief Wood of Mankind; the firm Bank that constantly secures us again the impetuous Raging of that turbulent Sea of Passions, which incessantly dash against the Frame of human Nature. It is a Fort impregnable by all Assaults of Vice, Folly, and Misfortunes, and a secure Rock against all the Casualties of Misery. It is a Guide and Security to Youth, Health, and Vigour to Old Age; and a Remedy and Ease in Sickness and Infirmary. It is Comfort in Adversity, it is Plenty in Poverty, and a constant Source of true Joy and Delight. It is infinitely beyond all that the feigned *Fortunatus* ever could wish, or *Gyges's* Treasures purchase; *For her Ways are Ways of Pleasantness, and all her Paths are Peace.* She is of easy access to all that diligently seek her; and refuses none that with Sincerity apply to her, and is always a ready Help in Time of Need: Therefore pray continue to recommend the earnest Pursuit of Her to all Mankind; and you will particularly oblige.

## PHILOSOPHIA.

### ON WISDOM.

✓ *Glorious Wisdom* whose supreme Command  
Extends beyond the Bounds of Sea and Land;  
Tis thou alone that dost reward our Pains,  
With Pleasures that endure, and solid Gains.

But Oh! What art thou, and where dost thou dwell?  
Not with the Hermit in his lonely Cell;  
The fullen Fumes of whose distemper'd Brain,  
Make the dull Wretch torment himself in vain:  
Whilst of the World affectedly afraid,  
He shuns the End for which Mankind was made.

Not with the Epicure in all his Pleasures,  
Nor with the Miser in his Bank of Treasures,  
The one's a Slave bound fast in golden Chains,  
The other buys short Joys with lasting Pains.

Not in the vain Pursuit of partial Fame,  
The gaudy Outside of an empty Name;  
When moved by Chance, not Merit common Breath,  
Gives the false Shadow sudden Life or Death.

Honour, when meritoriously assigned,  
The noble Actions of a God like Mind,  
Is then indeed a Blessing sent from Heaven,  
A bright Reward for human Labour given.

But when 'tis Fame's mistaken Flattery,  
A popular Applause of Vanity,  
The worthless Idol ought to be abhor'd;  
And is by none but Knaves and Fools ador'd.

Thus as I'm searching with the feeble Light  
Of human Reason, in dark error's Night,  
For what has oft escap'd the curious Eye,  
Of lofty Wit, and deep Philosophy,  
From the bright Regions of eternal Day,  
Methinks I see a small but glorious Ray,  
Dart swift as Lightning through the yielding Air,  
To an unspotted Breath, and enter there.

This is the Wisdom I so much adore;  
Grant me but this, kind Heaven, I ask no more,  
This once obtain'd, how happy shall I be?  
Kings will be little Men, compar'd to me:  
They in their own Dominions only great,  
I Conquer of the World, my self and Fate.

Thus arm'd, let Fort une use me as she will,  
I stand prepar'd to meet with Good or Ill,  
If I am born for Happiness and Ease,  
And prosperous Gales salute the smiling Seas;  
This Path I'll tread, (the Blessings to repay)  
Where Virtue calls and Honour leads the Way.

But if the Weather of my Life prove foul,  
Though Storms arise that makes whole Kingdoms  
rowle.

Yet

and encouragement from some of the ablest and best men of the province, including Lewis Morris, Rip van Dam, James Alexander,<sup>1</sup> and others. In point of telling argument and bold sarcasm Bradford was no match for Zenger, and when sundry deeds of Cosby were held up to scorn the governor writhed under the infliction. At last, in November, 1734, the council could endure it no longer. They pronounced four num-



LEWIS MORRIS'S BOOK-PLATE

bers of the "Weekly Journal" "seditious" and ordered the common hangman to make a public bonfire of them in front of the pillory. The mayor and aldermen, however, pronounced this order of the council illegal, and would not allow the hangman to obey it. The papers were accordingly burned by one of the sheriff's negro slaves. Then Zenger was imprisoned on a warrant from the governor and council, who requested the assembly to concur with them in prosecuting him; but the assembly simply laid the request upon the table. He was brought before Chief Justice De Lancey, and his counsel, James Alexander and William Smith, two of the foremost lawyers in the province, wished to have him admitted to bail, but as he was unable to find the exces-

Persecu-  
tion of  
Zenger

<sup>1</sup> This eminent lawyer was a Scotch Jacobite who had found the old country too hot for him after the rebellion of 1715. His son, William Alexander, was the Revolutionary general commonly known as "Lord Stirling."

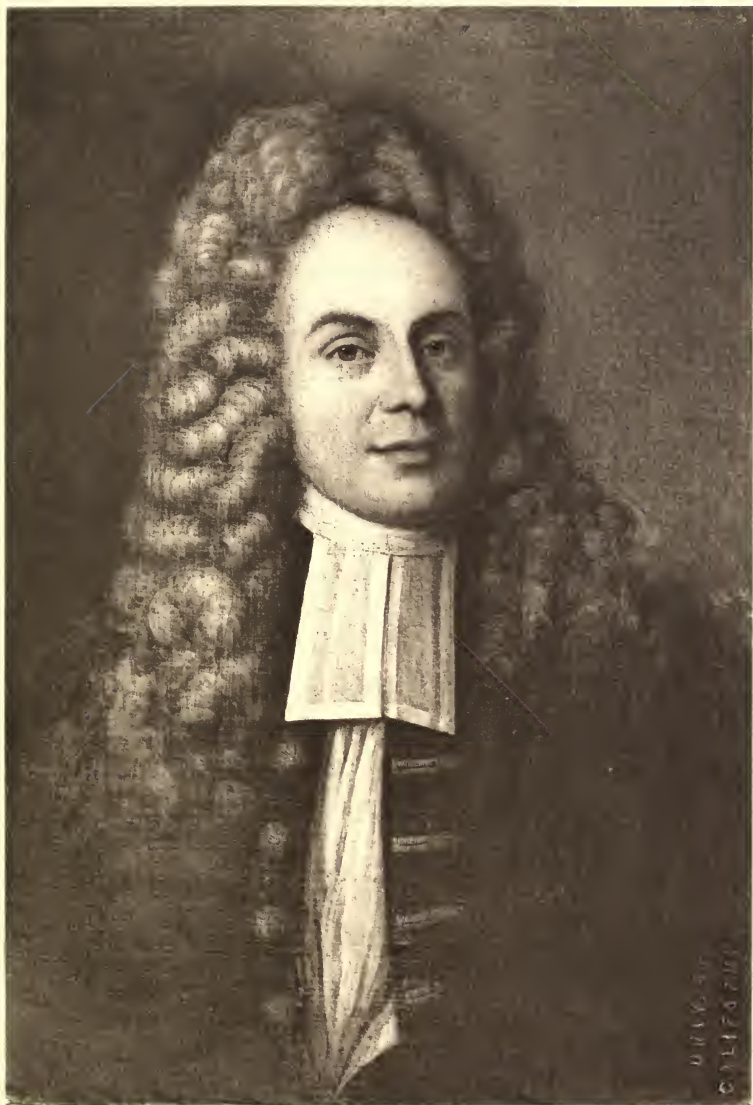
sive sum of £800 which was required, he was remanded to jail, where he continued to edit his paper by dictating to his clerks through a chink in the door. A grand jury was impanelled, but refused to indict him. Therefore the attorney-general filed an "information" <sup>1</sup> against him for "false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libels." Six months elapsed before the trial came on, and meanwhile the plain speaking Zenger was kept in durance. His counsel, Smith and Alexander, attacked the commissions of the chief justice and another judge as unconstitutional, because it had appointed them "during pleasure" instead of "during good behaviour." This was for many years a very sore point with the people, and the move of Smith and Alexander was hailed with applause. De Lancey had but one way of meeting it. He said,

*J. Alexander*

"You have brought it to that point, gentlemen, that either we must go from the bench, or you from the bar;" and he summarily disbarred the two eminent lawyers for contempt of court.

Zenger was thus left without counsel, but the popular sympathy for him was increased, and his friends succeeded in engaging the services of Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, the greatest lawyer in the English colonies, the first, indeed, who attained a truly continental reputation. The thoughts of all English America were then turned upon the poor German printer in a New York jail, and Hamilton undertook the case without fee or reward. If a government could use the law of libel to suppress freedom

<sup>1</sup> An information "differs in no respect from an indictment in its form and substance, except that it is filed at the mere discretion of the proper law officer of the government *ex officio*, without the intervention of a grand jury." Bouvier, *Law Dictionary*, s. v. ; Blackstone's *Commentaries*, iv. 308.



A Hamilton





**A Song made upon the Election of  
new Magistrates for this City.**

To the tune of, To you fair Ladies now  
on land

To you good lads that dare oppose  
all lawless power and might,  
You are the theme that we have chose,  
and to your praise we write:  
You dar'd to shew your faces brave  
In spight of every abject slave ;  
with a fa la la.

Your votes you gave for those brave men  
who feasting did despise ;  
And never prostituted pen  
to certify the lies

That were drawn up to put in chains,  
As well our nymphs as happy swains ;  
with a fa la la.

And tho' the great ones frown at this,  
what need have you to care ?  
Still let them fret and talk amiss,  
you'll shew you holdly dare  
Stand up to save your Country dear,  
In spight of usquebaugh and beer ;  
with a fa la la.

They beg'd and pray'd for one year more,  
but it was all in vain :  
No wolawants you'd have, you swore ;  
By jove you made it plain :  
So sent them home to take their rest.  
And here's a health unto the best ;  
with a fa la la.

**A Song made upon the foregoing  
Occasion.**

To the Time of, Now, now, you Tories  
all shall stoop.

Come on brave boys, let us be brave  
for liberty and law,

Boldly despise the haughty Knave,  
that would keep us in aw.  
Let's scorn the tools bought by a sop,  
and every cringing fool.  
The man who basely bend's a sop,  
a vile inspid tool.

Our Country's Rights we will defend,  
like brave and honest men ;  
We voted right and there's an end,  
and so we'll do again.  
We vote all signers out of place  
as men who did awise,  
Who sold us by a false adress,  
I'm sure we're right in this.

Exchequer courts, as void by law,  
great grievances we call ;  
Tho' great men do assert no flaw  
is in them ; they shall fall,  
And be contemn'd by every man  
that's fond of liberty.  
Let them withstand it all they can,  
our Laws we will stand by.

Tho' pettyfogging knaves deny  
us Rights of Englishmen ;  
We'll make the scoundrel raskals fly,  
and ne'er return again.  
Our Judges they would chop and change  
for those that serve their town,  
And will not surely think it strange  
if they for this should mourn.

Come fill a Jumber, fill it up,  
unto our Aldermen ;  
For common-council fill the cup,  
and take it o'er again.  
While they with us resolve to stand  
for liberty and law,  
We'll drink their healths with hat in hand,  
wboraa ! wboraa ! wboraa !



## By his Excellency

*William Cosby, Captain General and Governour in Chief  
of the Provinces of New-York, New-Jersey, and Territories thereon  
depending in America, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Colonel in His Majesty's  
Army.*

### A P R O C L A M A T I O N .

**W**Hereas Ill-minded and Disaffected Persons have lately dispersed in the City of *New-York*, and divers other Places, several Scandalous and Seditious Libels, but more particularly two Printed Scandalous Songs or Ballads, highly defaming the Administration of His Majesty's Government in this Province, tending greatly to inflame the Minds of His Majesty's good Subjects, and to disturb the Publick Peace. *And Whereas* the Grand Jury for the City and County of *New-York* did lately, by their Address to me, complain of these Pernicious Practices, and request me to issue a Proclamation for the Discovery of the Offenders, that they might, by Law, receive a Punishment adequate to their Guilt and Crime. *I Have* therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of his Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby Promising *Twenty Pounds* as a Reward, to such Person or Persons who shall discover the Author or Authors of the two Scandalous Songs or Ballads aforesaid, to be paid to the Person or Persons discovering the same, as soon as such Author or Authors shall be Convicted of having been the Author or Authors thereof.

*GIVEN under My Hand and Seal at Fort-George in New-York this Sixth Day  
of November, in the Eighth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord G E O R G E  
the Second, by the Grace of G O D of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, KING,  
Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of Our LORD, 1734*

*By his Excellency's Command,  
Fred. Morris, D. Cl. Comr.*

**W. COSBY,**

**G O D Save the KING.**

of speech and of the press, it would be the end of liberty in these colonies. All that Zenger had said, in the paragraph chiefly relied on by the prosecution, was the plain truth. He



*Rip Van Dam*

said that judges were arbitrarily displaced and new courts erected without consent of the legislature, by which means jury trial was taken away whenever a governor felt so disposed; and furthermore he declared that the tendency of

such tyrannical acts was to drive residents of New York away to other colonies. But let us see his very words : —

“One of our neighbours of New Jersey being in company, observing [certain persons] of New York full of complaints, endeavoured to persuade them to remove into Jersey ; to which it was replied, that would be leaping out of the frying-pan into the fire ; for, says he, we both are under the same governor, and your assembly have shown with a witness what is to be expected from them. One that was then moving from New York to Pennsylvania (to which place it is reported several considerable men are removing) expressed much concern for the circumstances of New York, and seemed to think them very much owing to the influence that some men had in the administration ; said he was now going from them, and was not to be hurt by any measures they should take, but could not help having some concern for the welfare of his countrymen, and should be glad to hear that the assembly would exert themselves as became them ; by showing that they have the interest of the country more at heart than the gratification of any private view of any of their members, or being at all affected by the smiles or frowns of a governor ; both which ought equally to be despised when the interest of their country is at stake. ‘You,’ says he, ‘complain of the lawyers, but I think the law itself is at an end.’ We see men’s deeds destroyed, judges arbitrarily displaced, new courts erected without consent of the legislature, by which it seems to me trials by juries are taken away when a governor pleases ; men of known estates denied their votes, contrary to the received practice of the best expositor of any law. Who is there in that province that can call anything his own, or enjoy any liberty longer than those in the administration will condescend to let them, for which reason I left it, as I believe more will.” <sup>1</sup>

If such plain speaking were to be in our days condemned as libellous, which of our newspapers could survive for four-

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Zenger Trial*, Boston, 1738.

and-twenty hours? Hamilton admitted that this paragraph had been printed, whereupon the attorney-general at once claimed a verdict for the crown. But the Hamilton's argument. "information" had described the paragraph as "false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious," and Hamilton fastened



LORD MANSFIELD

upon the allegation of falsehood. He declared that the paragraph simply stated plain and well-known facts. The chief justice and the attorney-general reminded him that the truth of a libel could not be admitted in evidence. This was the English law at that time, and a few years later Lord Mansfield, in commenting upon it, declared that "the greater truth, the greater libel." It was Lord Mansfield's opinion, 1770

then held that the only question for the jury was the fact of publication. But the contrary view was pressing for recognition, and in the famous cases of Woodfall and Miller, in 1770, before the same eminent judge, the jury fairly took the matter into their own hands, deciding among themselves that certain expressions were not libellous, and returning a peremptory verdict of not guilty.<sup>1</sup> The question was put to Fox's Act, 1792 to be the law of England that the truth of a so-called libel is admissible in evidence, and that the jury have a right to examine into the innocence or criminality of the writing and to give their verdict peremptorily without stating their reasons.

We can thus see the vast importance of the step taken by the Philadelphia lawyer, Hamilton, in 1735, when he insisted not only that the jury should listen to proof of the truthfulness of Zenger's paragraph, but should also decide whether it could properly be condemned as libellous, or not. Hamilton may be said to have conducted the case according to the law of the future, and thus to have helped to make that law. In the history of the freedom of the press his place is beside the great names of Erskine and Fox. A few extracts from his speech must be quoted : —

“ Years ago it was a crime to speak the truth, and in that terrible court of Star Chamber many brave men suffered for so doing ; and yet, even in that court a great and good man durst say what I hope will not be taken amiss of me to say in this place, to wit : ‘ The practice of *informations* for libels is a sword in the hands of a wicked king, and an arrant coward, to cut down and destroy the innocent ; the one cannot because of his high station, and the other dares not because of his want of courage, revenge himself in any other manner.’ . . . Our Constitution gives us an opportunity to prevent wrong by appealing to the people. . . . But of what use is this mighty privi-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Erskine May, *Constitutional History of England*, ii. 115.



## By his Excellency

*William Cosby*, Captain General and Governour in Chief  
of the Provinces of *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, and Territories thereon  
depending, in *America*, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Colonel in His Majesty's  
Army.

### A P R O C L A M A T I O N .

**W**HEREAS by the Contrivance of some evil Disposed and Disaffected Persons, divers Journals or Printed News Papers, (entitled, *The New-York Weekly Journal, containing the freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestic*) have been caused to be Printed and Published by *John Peter Zenger*, in many of which Journals or Printed News-Papers (but more particularly those Numbred 7, 47, 48, 49) are contained divers Scandalous, Virulent, False and Seditious Reflections, not only upon the whole Legislature, in general, and upon the most considerable Persons in the most distinguish'd Stations in this Province, but also upon His Majesty's lawful and rightful Government, and just Prerogative. Which said Reflections seem contrived by the wicked Authors of them, not only to create Jealousies, Discontents and Animosities in the Minds of his Majesty's Leige People of this Province, to the Subversion of the Peace & Tranquility thereof, but to alienate their Affections from the best of Kings, and raise *Factions, Tumults* and *Sedition* among them. Wherefore I have thought fit, by and with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby Promising a Reward of *Fifty Pounds* to such Person or Persons who shall discover the Author or Authors of the said *Scandalous, Virulent* and *Seditious Reflections* contained in the said *Journals* or *Printed News-Papers*, to be paid to the Person or Persons discovering the same, as soon as such Author or Authors shall be Convicted of having been the Author or Authors thereof.

*GIVEN* under My Hand and Seal at Fort-George in New-York this Sixth Day of November, in the Eighth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord *GEORGE the Second*, by the Grace of *GOD*, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, *KING* Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the Tear of Our *LORD*  
1734.

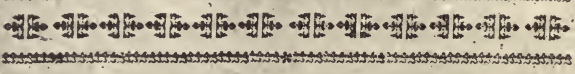
By his Excellency's Command,  
*Ed. Morris*, D. Cl. Conc.

*W. COSBY.*

**G O D** Save the **K I N G .**

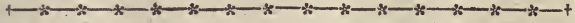
*Universal history vol 5 page 659 The Emperor Joliel abrogated  
 the Law of Majesty & would not suffer any person to be prosecuted for  
 speaking Disrespectfully of himself or other Emperors his predecessors  
 saying - if they should see any Emperor unreasonably they might rather to  
 be justly than punished - If I remember it, it was the a trying piece  
 of Justice to punish them for speaking truth. - (See also L. LVIII  
 page 354)*

23357



*See another  
 volume  
 82 of  
 this*

## A brief Narrative of the Case and Try- al of *John Peter Zenger*, Printer of the *New-York weekly Journal*.



**A**S There was but one Printer in the Province of *New-York*, that printed a publick News Paper, I was in Hopes, if I undertook to publish another, I might make it worth my while; and I soon found my Hopes were not groundless: My first Paper was printed, *Nov. 5th, 1733.* and I continued printing and publishing for them, I thought to the Satisfaction of every Body, till the *January* following; when the Chief Justice was pleased to animadvert upon the Doctrine of Libels, in a long Charge given in that Term to the Grand Jury, and afterwards on the third *Tuesday of October, 1734.* was again pleased to charge the Grand Jury in the following Words.

‘Gentlemen; I shall conclude with reading a Paragraph or two out of the same Book, concerning Libels; they are arrived to that Height, that they call loudly for your Animadversion; it is high Time to put a Stop to them; for at the rate Things are now carried on, when all Order and Government is endeavoured to be trampled on; Reflections are cast upon Persons of all Degrees, must not these Things end in Sedition, if not timely prevented? Lenity, you have seen will not avail, it becomes you then to enquire after the Offenders, that we may in a due Course of Law be enabled to punish them. If you, Gentlemen, do not interpose, consider whether the ill Consequences that may arise from any Disturbances of the publick Peace, may not in part, lye at your Door?’

‘*Hawkins*, in his Chapter of Libels, considers three Points, 1<sup>st</sup>. *What shall be said to be a Libel.* 2<sup>dly</sup>. *Who are lyable to be punished for it.* 3<sup>dly</sup>. *In what Manner they are to be punished.* Under the 1<sup>st</sup>. he says, §. 7. *Nor can there be any Doubt, but that a Writing which defames a private Person only, is as much a Libel as that which defames Persons intrusted in a publick Capacity, in as much as it manifestly tends to create ill Blood, and to cause a Disturbance of the publick Peace; however, it is certain, that it is a very high Aggravation of a Libel, that it tends to scandalize the Government, by reflecting on those who are entrusted with the Administration of publick Affairs, which does not only endanger the publick Peace, as all other Libels do, by stirring up the Parties immediately concerned in it, to Acts of Revenge, but also has a direct Tendency to breed in the People a Dislike of their Governours, and incline them to Faction and Sedition.* As to the 2<sup>d</sup>. Point he says, §. 10. *It is certain, not only he who composes or procures another to compose it but also that he who publishes, or procures another to publish it, are in Danger of being punished for it; and it is said not to be material whether he who disperses a Libel, knew any Thing of the Contents or Effects of it or not; for nothing could be more*

A

easy



lege if every man that suffers must be silent ; and if a man must be taken up as a libeller for telling his sufferings to his neighbour? . . . Prosecutions for libels since the time of the Star Chamber have generally been set on foot at the instance of the crown or his ministers, and countenanced by judges who hold their places at pleasure . . . If a libel is understood in the large and unlimited sense urged by Mr. Attorney, there is scarce a writing I know that may not be called a libel, or scarcely any person safe from being called to account as a libeller. Moses, meek as he was, libelled Cain ; and who has not libelled the Devil? for, according to Mr. Attorney, it is no justification to say that one has a bad name. . . . How must a man speak or write, or what must he hear, read, or sing, or when must he laugh, so as to be secure from being taken up as a libeller? I sincerely believe that if some persons were to go through the streets of New York nowadays, and read a part of the Bible, if it were not known to be such, Mr. Attorney, with the help of his innuendoes, would easily turn it to be a libel; as for instance, the sixteenth verse of the ninth chapter of Isaiah: ‘The leaders of the people (*innuendo*, the governor and council of New York) cause them (*innuendo*, the people of this province) to err, and they (meaning the people of this province) are destroyed (*innuendo*, are deceived into the loss of their liberty, which is the worst kind of destruction).’”

After concluding his argument, the learned counsel, pale and haggard from an illness, turned to the jury with the following impressive peroration:—

“You see I labour under the weight of years, and am borne down with great infirmities of body ; yet, old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service <sup>His peroration</sup> could be of use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon *informations* set on foot by the government, to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating and complaining of the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration

provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions. . . . I wish I could say there were no instances of this kind. But to conclude: the question before the court, and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small or private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying. No! it may in its consequences affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America! It is the best cause, it is the cause of liberty, and I make no doubt but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honour you, as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbours, that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right, — the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing *truth!*”

After this eloquent appeal De Lancey's charge to the jury fell upon deaf ears. They had scarcely left the court-room when they returned with the verdict, “Not guilty.” The scene of the trial was the new City Hall on Wall Street, which had been built in Bellomont's time; and never perhaps, not even on the day that witnessed the inauguration of George Washington as president of the United States, did it hear such a shout as that which greeted the acquittal of John Peter Zenger. The judges tried by threats to quell the tumult; they might as well have tried to stop the flow of the North River. An English naval officer, Captain Norris, of the frigate *Tartar*, called out that hurrahs were as lawful there as in Westminster Hall, where they were somewhat loud when the seven bishops were acquitted. At this popular allusion, renewed cheers upon cheers made the welkin ring. A public dinner was given to the venerable Hamilton by the mayor and aldermen, and when it was time for him to start for Philadelphia he was

Triumphant acquittal of Zenger

escorted to his sloop with drums and trumpets, like a conquering hero.

Here we may leave, for the present, the story of the political vicissitudes of the Citadel of America. We may hope to resume the narrative in a later volume, in its connection with the mighty drama of the rise and fall of New France. At present some features of social life among the Knickerbockers demand our attention.

## CHAPTER XV

### KNICKERBOCKER SOCIETY

AT the time of the Zenger trial the population of the province of New York had reached 50,000, about one fifth of which was in the city on Manhattan Island. On the east side of the city the growth in half a century was noticeable, though very slow if rated by modern standards. Houses had arisen pretty closely as far up as John Street, and more sparsely as far as Beekman Street. Especially noteworthy was the increase in wharves and docks, quays and shipyards, which came close upon one another all the way from Whitehall to near the site of the Catharine Street ferry. Pearl Street was no longer the river bank, for Water Street had been raised above the waves. Looking across to the Brooklyn shore, you would have seen there a dozen or more wooden farmhouses.

On the west side of the island the aspect of things was still more rural. There was no northerly and southerly thoroughfare west of Broadway, but cross streets were opened as far up as Cortlandt Street, and on the North River were two docks. Up near the present foot of Chambers Street was a garden for popular resort, with a new bowling green or skittles ground. Most of the open country between Cortlandt Street and the village of Sappokanican or Greenwich, an area of more than sixty acres, was then known as the King's Farm. It was the land which the blooming widow Anneke Jans had brought to Dominie Bocardus, and it was long known as the Dominie's Bowery. In 1664 it was confirmed by Governor Nicolls to Anneke Jans and her heirs. In 1671 five of the

The farm  
of Anneke  
Jans



# A Plan of the City of New York

To His Excellency  
**JOHN MONTGOMERIE**,  
 1st Gen<sup>l</sup> & Gov<sup>r</sup> in Chief  
 of his Majesty's Provinces  
 of NEW YORK NEW JERSEY

This Plan of the City of  
 NEW YORK is humbly Dedicated  
 by Your Excellency's Obedt<sup>l</sup>  
 & most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
**W<sup>m</sup> Bradford**



- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| K Kings Chapel          | 16 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| L Trinity Church        | 17 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| M Old Dutch Church      | 18 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| N French Church         | 19 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| O New Dutch Church      | 20 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| P Dutch Reformed Church | 21 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| Q Dutch Reformed Church | 22 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| R Dutch Reformed Church | 23 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| S Dutch Reformed Church | 24 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| T Dutch Reformed Church | 25 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| U Dutch Reformed Church | 26 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| V Dutch Reformed Church | 27 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| W Dutch Reformed Church | 28 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| X Dutch Reformed Church | 29 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| Y Dutch Reformed Church | 30 St <sup>l</sup> Church |
| Z Dutch Reformed Church | 31 St <sup>l</sup> Church |

A Scale of Feet 660 Feet  
 One 8 of a Mile

*North River*



*Harbour*



# Map from an actual Survey

Made by James Lyne







heirs sold the farm to Governor Lovelace, and in 1674 the Duke of York confiscated it, so that it was the Duke's Farm until 1685, when with James's accession to the throne it became the King's Farm. In Governor Fletcher's time Trinity Church was founded, and in 1705 Queen Anne granted this farm to the church. It happened that one of the sons of Anneke Jans had not joined in the sale to Lovelace, and the heirs of this son claimed that his failure to join invalidated the sale. At first the property was not of great value, but with the growth of the city its value increased enormously, and suits in ejectment were brought against

Dit merk is gelyc welken  
sij ghy Jant van Amstel Jans ghy  
Voort

ANNEKE JANS'S MARK

Trinity Church by the heirs who coveted the property. Between 1750 and 1847 not less than sixteen or seventeen such suits were brought, with a persistency which seemed to learn no lessons from defeat. In 1847 Vice-chancellor Sanford decided that, after waiving all other points, the church had acquired a valid title by prescription, and all the adverse claims were vitiated by lapse of time.

Above the Freshwater Pond in 1740 there had been little change since 1680, except that there were a few more country houses along the Bowery Lane. While we note the slow rate of growth in the city, we must also bear in mind the limited extent of the province. Its 50,000 inhabitants lived on Long Island and the banks of the Hudson, all save some 2000 Germans who had come in Governor Hunter's time, and had pushed up the Mohawk valley beyond Schenectady, making settlements at German Flats, Palatine Bridge, and Stone Arabia. Far beyond these

Narrow  
limits of  
the pro-  
vince

and quite alone in the wilderness stood the fortified trading-post of Oswego. The territory of the Six Nations, stretching northerly toward the Adirondacks, southerly into the Susquehanna valley, and westward to Lake Erie, was of course claimed by Corlear as protector and overlord; but for the present he had as little control over it as the Grand Turk has over Tripoli. It is important to remember, if we would do justice to the pivotal part played by New York in early American history, that so late as 1776, with a population of 170,000, she ranked only seventh among the thirteen states, while her geographical limits had scarcely changed since 1720. The supreme greatness of New York dates from a period subsequent to the Revolution, and in its origin was closely connected with the westward migration from New England, the settlement of the northwestern states, and the opening of the Erie Canal. In the colonial period the agriculture of New York was considerable, and a great deal of wheat was exported; but the fur trade was always the controlling interest, and was often the source of immense wealth. Nevertheless, inasmuch as New York was preëminently the frontier colony against the French, and as it was made the scene of military operations to a much greater extent than any other colony, it was always necessary to keep up an army. Besides the British regular forces, which were stationed on Manhattan Island, there was a colonial regular army of 2500, and there were more than 15,000 trained militia. These circumstances, as well as the actual frequency of wars between 1690 and 1760, entailed ruinous expense and oppressive taxation, and interfered seriously with the normal growth of the colony. Such a state of things had been to some extent foreseen and dreaded by Andros and Dongan, as it was deplored by the later governors who had to contend with it. One of the worst ills was the chronic affliction of a depreciated paper currency. By the end of the French wars New York had a public debt of £300,000, and the taxation, including direct levies upon real and personal property as well as duties on imports, was an acute annoyance.

Some  
causes of  
slowness  
in growth

It was probably due to the prevalence of warfare that the power of the assembly was somewhat less and the arbitrariness of the governor somewhat greater than in the other colonies. After seventy years of arbitrary rule, representative assemblies and incessant warfare began at just the same time in the citadel of America, with Governor Fletcher. The most important part of the constitutional progress achieved by the assemblies came within the interval of peace between the Treaty of Utrecht and the War of the Austrian Succession. Usually the headquarters of the commanding general were in the city of New York, and various courtly visitors were attracted by the army. More than elsewhere the royal governor had somewhat the air of a sovereign holding court, and the political atmosphere about him was thick and heavy with Toryism. The officials generally were demonstrative in their loyalty, keeping the king's birthday with festivities and speeches. Under such auspices a powerful Tory party was developed in New York, and in the War of Independence it was made to seem all the more powerful in that the Tory Johnsons controlled the military policy of the Long House. Nevertheless the Whig party in New York was also very strong and vigorous, nor was it by any means confined to the lower grades of society. Among the leaders of the Revolutionary party were the Schuylers and Livingstons, Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, Morrises, Alexanders, Clintons, and Jays. It is a common mistake to overrate the strength of New York Toryism. The truth is that both parties were very powerful in their leaders, while beneath there was a surging mass of people with uncertain proclivities, some strongly Whig, some strongly Tory, some independent, some stolidly indifferent to everything outside of private business. The result was seen in excitement and disorder at elections, and occasional violent vicissitudes in party supremacy. In Massachusetts or Virginia you could usually foretell the action of the assembly upon an important question, there was so much homogeneity of thought among the members

Comparative weakness of the assembly

Whigs and Tories

of those purely English communities. But in New York the effects of the few independent thinkers and of the stolid mass were things with which it was difficult to reckon quantitatively. Similar characteristics have distinguished the state of New York down to the present day. The politics of some communities are so swayed by the inert mass of engrained prejudice that independent thinking finds it nearly impossible to reverse the customary verdict. You know beforehand that in these days the vote of Vermont will be Republican and that of Alabama will be Democratic, no matter what are the principles and issues at stake ; but in New York an immense majority on one side may be followed the next year by an equally overwhelming majority on the other side. This uncertainty, combined with the great magnitude of its vote, almost enough of itself to determine a national election, has made New York a factor of inestimable value in American history. It has made that state one of the chief safeguards of the republic, and for it we have largely to thank the spirit of cosmopolitanism which has characterized it ever since the days of Peter Minuit. That cosmopolitan spirit, weakening the grasp of local prejudices, leaves the public mind responsive to the needs and exigencies of the time. One of the worst calamities that could happen in our time would be the conversion of New York into a "sure" state ; one of the greatest benefits would be the change of Pennsylvania into a perennially "doubtful" state.

Returning to our old Knickerbocker community, we may note that the old antagonism between the Leislerians and the Aristocrats was not parallel to the opposition between Whigs and Tories. Some features of Leislerism were reproduced in the democratic views of Jefferson's extreme followers in the days of the French Revolution. Among our Revolutionary leaders there was aristocracy enough in temper and views, as exemplified in Washington, Schuyler, Jay, Trumbull, and Hancock. Especially in New York we may note the conspicuousness of well-born and

Great value  
of New  
York as a  
"doubtful  
state"

The old  
aristocracy

accomplished leaders as hardly less notable than in Virginia. This fact was an outcome of the social conditions established early in the colonial period.

The tone of colonial New York was always aristocratic. Neither Maryland nor Virginia furnished a much stronger contrast to that peculiar type of New England democracy which was exemplified perhaps most completely in Connecticut. In the latter colony, with its lowest stratum of society far above the peasant type, there were few if any great landed estates or accumulations of wealth in any form. Yet nowhere else in America were so large a proportion of the people in easy circumstances; nowhere was there more comfort and refinement "to the square mile." The relation of landlord and tenant was seldom met with in Connecticut. Education was universal, and the country squire was a much more cultivated person than his contemporary in England, as the country minister was more learned. Self-government by town meeting was ubiquitous, public debts were very unusual, taxation was light, governors as well as assemblies were chosen by the people, and the commonwealth was for all practical purposes as independent of Great Britain as it is to-day. Connecticut in the eighteenth century was preëminently the home of unpretentious and refined democracy, a "land of steady habits," but with perhaps a little more monotony and provinciality than its neighbours on either side.

In New York, on the other hand, there was a considerable stratum of peasantry, among the Germans and Dutch at least, and in the city there was something of a "populace" of rough water-side characters, discontented artisans, and idlers in tap-rooms. In New York, as in Boston, it was this sort of populace that now and then relieved the tedium of existence by mobs and riots. Yet neither New York nor Boston could be called an unruly town. Between the peasantry and the patroons, as between the populace and the merchant princes, the social interval was very wide. Of the lowest and poorest classes it must

The Connecticut type of democracy.

Peasantry and populace of New York

be said that there were extremely few paupers or beggars. But at the other extreme of society immense fortunes were accumulated; and there was a distinct consciousness of a gulf between high and low which gave to Leislerism certain features that in Connecticut would have been impossible. The relation of landlord and tenant was extremely common. The great manors of the Cortlandts and Van Rensselaers and Livingstons extended over many square miles and were cultivated by a vast number of tenants. Each of these manors had a representative in the assembly; their lords held court-baron and court-leet, very much as in Maryland,<sup>1</sup> and could even in some instances inflict capital punishment. On rent-days, twice a year, the tenants came flocking to the manor-house and, after paying their rent in coin or produce, were entertained by the landlord with a barbecue and plentiful draughts of 'Sopus ale.'<sup>2</sup> These vast estates were held together by primogeniture, usually somewhat qualified by small legacies to the younger sons and the daughters. The prevalence of this manorial system was often cited, and no doubt correctly, as one reason for the slow increase of population in New York; a small farmer would prefer to be a landowner in New Jersey or Pennsylvania, rather than the tenant of a manor on the Hudson. Most of the manorial privileges were swept away during the War of Independence, and the patroons lost their position of political superiority.

As an example of a rural mansion may be cited that of the Schuylers at the Flats, near Albany, as described by Mrs. Grant of Laggan, in her charming "Memoirs of an American Lady." The estate ran along two miles of the western bank of the Hudson, bordered with drooping elm-trees of enormous girth. "On the right you saw the river in all its beauty, there above a mile broad. On the opposite side the view was bounded by steep hills, covered with lofty pines,

<sup>1</sup> See *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, 131-134.

<sup>2</sup> At Esopus and elsewhere the water of the Hudson has always made a light ale of fine body and extremely delicate flavour.



Lady Anne Grants





from which a waterfall descended. . . . Opposite to the grounds lay an island, above a mile in length, and about a quarter in breadth, which also belonged to the colonel; exquisitely beautiful it was, and though the haunt I most delighted in, it is not in my power to describe it. . . . Southward, on the confines of an interminable wild, rose two gently sloping eminences, about half a mile from the shore. From each of these a large brook descended, bending through the plain, and having their course marked by the shades of primeval trees and shrubs left there to shelter the cattle when the ground was cleared. On these eminences, in the near neighbourhood and full view of the mansion at the Flats, were two large and well-built dwellings, inhabited by Colonel Schuyler's two younger sons, Peter and Jeremiah. To the eldest was allotted the

Description of the Schuyler manor



SCHUYLER MANSION AT THE FLATS, ERECTED IN 1666

place inhabited by his father, which, from its lower situation and level surface was called the Flats. . . . They had also a large house in Albany, which they occupied occasionally."

The mansion at the Flats "was a large brick house of two or rather three stories (for there were excellent attics), besides a sunk story, finished with the exactest neatness.

The lower floor had two spacious rooms, with large light closets; on the first there were three rooms, and in the upper one four. Through the middle of the house was a very wide passage, with opposite front and back doors, which in summer admitted a stream of air peculiarly grateful to the languid senses. It was furnished with chairs and pictures like a summer parlour. Here the family usually sat in hot weather, when there were no ceremonious strangers. . . . The mirrors, the paintings, the china, but above all the state bed, were considered as the family Teraphim, secretly worshipped and only exhibited on very rare occasions. . . . The rooms were shut up to keep the flies, which in that country are an absolute nuisance, from spoiling the furniture. Another motive was that they might be pleasantly cool when opened for company. This house had also two appendages common to all those belonging to persons in easy circumstances there. One was a large portico at the door, with a few steps leading up to it, and floored like a room; it was open at the sides, and had seats all around. Above was either a slight wooden roof, painted like an awning, or a covering of lattice-work, over which a transplanted wild vine spread its luxuriant leaves and numerous clusters. These, though small and rather too acid till sweetened by the frost, had a beautiful appearance. What gave an air of liberty and safety to these rustic porticoes, which always produced in my mind a sensation of pleasure that I know not how to define, was the number of little birds domesticated there. For their accommodation there was a small shelf built round, where they nestled, safe from the touch of slaves and children, who were taught to regard them as the good genii of the place, not to be disturbed with impunity."

The protection which these little birds bestowed "was of more importance than any inhabitant of Britain can imagine.

American insects . . . The insect population is numerous beyond belief. . . . These minute aerial foes are more harassing than the terrible inhabitants of the forest, and

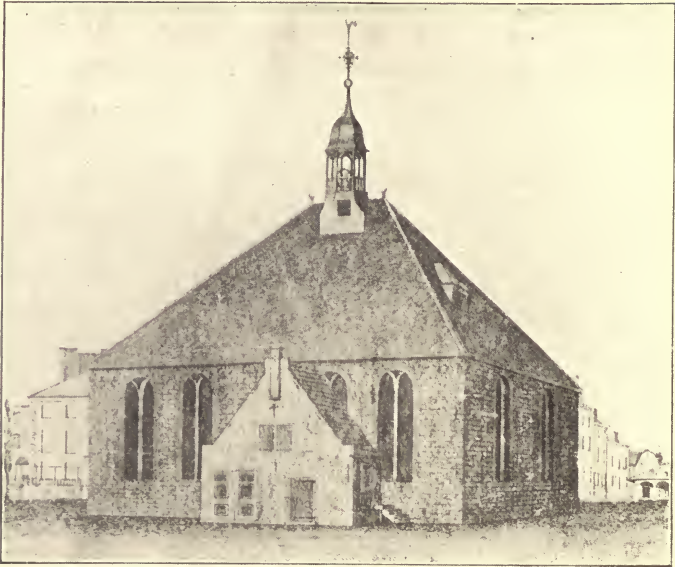
more difficult to expel.<sup>1</sup> It is only by protecting these little winged allies, who attack them in their own element, that the conqueror of the lion and tamer of the elephant can hope to sleep in peace, or eat his meals unpolluted. . . .

“At the back of the large house was a smaller and lower one, so joined to it as to make the form of a cross. There one or two lower and smaller rooms below, and the same number above, afforded a refuge to the family during the rigours of winter, when the spacious summer rooms would have been intolerably cold, and the smoke of prodigious wood fires would have sullied the elegantly clean furniture. Here too was a sunk story, where the kitchen was immediately below the eating parlour, and increased the general warmth of the house. In summer the negroes resided in slight Servants' quarters outer kitchens, where food was drest for the family. Those who wrought in the fields often had their simple dinner cooked without, and ate it under the shade of a great tree.

“One room in the greater house was open for the reception of company; the rest were bed-chambers for their accommodation, while the domestic friends of the family The bed-rooms occupied neat little bedrooms in the attics, or in the winter house. This house contained no drawing-room; that was an unheard-of luxury. The winter rooms had carpets: the lobby had oil-cloth painted in lozenges, to imitate blue and white marble. The best bedroom was hung with family portraits, some of which were admirably executed; and in the eating-room were some fine scripture paintings. . . .

“The house fronted the river, on the brink of which,

<sup>1</sup> A London newspaper of 1710 thus speaks of the mosquito: “The New York people are greatly troubled with a little insect which follows the hay that is made in the salt meadows, or comes home with the cows in the evening. This little animalcule can disfigure most terribly a person’s face in a single night. The skin is sometimes so covered over with small blisters from their stings, that people are ashamed to appear in public.” Mrs. Lamb’s *History of the City of New York*, ii. 490. Among the agreeable features of life in England are the absence of mosquitoes and scarcity of flies.



OLD DUTCH CHURCH, ERECTED IN 1715

under shades of elm and sycamore, ran the great road towards Saratoga, Stillwater, and the northern lakes. A little simple avenue of morella cherry trees, enclosed with a white rail, led to the road and river, not three hundred yards distant. Adjoining to this, on the south side, was an enclosure subdivided into three parts, of which the first was The approaches a small hayfield, opposite the south end of the house; the next, not so long, a garden; and the third, by far the largest, an orchard. These were surrounded by simple deal fences.

“Adjoining to the orchard was the most spacious barn I The barn ever beheld, . . . at least a hundred feet long and sixty wide. The roof rose to a great height in the midst, and sloped down till it came within ten feet of the ground, when the walls commenced; which, like the whole of this vast fabric, were formed of wood. It was raised three feet from the ground by beams resting on stone; and on

these beams was laid a massive oak floor. Before the door was a large sill, sloping downwards, of the same materials. About twelve feet in breadth, on each side of this capacious building were divided off for cattle ; on one side ran a manger, at the above-mentioned distance from the wall, the whole length of the building, with a rack above it ; on the others were stalls for the other cattle. . . . The cattle and horses stood with their hinder parts to the wall, and their heads projecting towards the threshing floor. There was a prodigious large box or open chest in one side built up, for holding the corn after it was thrashed ; and the roof, which was very lofty and spacious, was supported by large cross-beams ; from one to the other of these was stretched a great number of long poles, so as to form a sort of open loft, on which the whole rich crop was laid up. The floor of those parts of the barn, which answered the purposes of a stable and cow-house, was made of thick slab deals, laid loosely over the supporting beams. And the mode of cleaning those places was by turning the boards and permitting the dung and litter to fall into the receptacles left open below for the purpose. . . . In the front of this vast edifice there were prodigious folding doors, and two others that opened behind.”<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Grant’s description of Albany is too much to our present purpose to be omitted : “One very wide and long street lay parallel to the river, the intermediate space between it and the shore being occupied by gardens. A small, steep hill rose above the centre of the town, on which stood a fort, intended (but very ill-adapted) for the defence of the place and of the neighbouring country. From the foot of this hill another street was built, sloping pretty rapidly down till it joined the one before mentioned. . . . This street was still wider than the other ; it was only paved on each side, the middle being occupied by public edifices. These consisted of a market-place, a guard-house, a town hall, and the English and Dutch churches. The Eng-

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of an American Lady*, i. 142, 143, 147, 164-168, 171-173, 176-178.

lish church, belonging to the Episcopal persuasion and in the diocese of the Bishop of London, stood at the foot of the hill, at the upper end of the street. The Dutch church was situated at the bottom of the descent where the street terminated. Two irregular streets, not so broad but equally long, ran parallel to those, and a few even ones opened between them. . . . This city was a kind of semi-rural establishment ; every house had its garden, well, and a little green behind ; before every door a tree was planted, rendered interesting by being coeval with some beloved member of the family ; many of their trees were of a prodigious size and extraordinary beauty, but without regularity, every one planting the kind that best pleased him, or which he thought would afford the most agreeable shade to the open portico at his door, which was surrounded by seats, and ascended by a few steps. It was in these that each domestic group was seated in summer evenings to enjoy the balmy twilight or serenely clear moonlight. Each family had a cow, fed in a common pasture at the end of the town. In the evening they returned all together, of their own accord, with their tinkling bells hung at their necks, along the wide and grassy street, to their wonted sheltering trees, to be milked. . . . At one door were young matrons, at another the elders of the people, at a third the youths and maidens, gaily chatting or singing together, while the children played around the trees, or waited by the cows for the chief ingredient of their frugal supper, which they generally ate sitting on the steps in the open air. . . .

“ At the further end of the town was a fertile plain along the river, three miles in length and near a mile broad. This was all divided into lots, where every inhabitant raised Indian corn sufficient for the food of two or three slaves (the greatest number that each family ever possessed), and for his horses, pigs, and poultry ; their flour and other grain they purchased from farmers in the vicinity. Above the town, a long stretch to the westward was occupied first by sandy hills, on which grew bilberries of uncommon size and flavour in prodigious quantities ; beyond rise heights of a poor



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ERECTED IN 1714

hungry soil, thinly covered with stunted pines, or dwarf oak. Yet in this comparatively barren tract there were several wild and picturesque spots, where small brooks, running in deep and rich bottoms, nourished on their banks every vegetable beauty. There some of the . . . settlers had cleared the luxuriant wood from these charming little glens, and built neat cottages for their slaves, surrounded with little gardens and orchards, sheltered from every blast, wildly picturesque and richly productive. . . . One of their sequestered vales was in my time inhabited by a hermit. He was a Frenchman, and did not seem to inspire much veneration among the Albanians. They imagined, or had heard, that he retired to that solitude in remorse for some fatal duel in which he had been engaged; and considered him an idolator because he had an image of the Virgin in his hut. I think he retired to Canada at last; but I remember being ready to worship him for the

Pictur-  
esque sur-  
roundings

sanctity with which my imagination invested him, and being cruelly disappointed because I was not permitted to visit him." <sup>1</sup>

In the middle of the eighteenth century Albany was much more distinctively Dutch than the city of New York, which was so cosmopolitan. In general Dutch habits held their own with much more conservatism in towns like Esopus, or Schenectady, or Flatbush, than in the centre of travel and traffic. With some Flatbush details we may complete our sketch of the Dutch country house. Ordinarily it had not three stories, like the Schuyler mansion, but was a low and rambling affair, covering much territory but needing few stairs. It was usually built of brick. In the earlier times the front roof swept down without break from ridgepole to eaves and beyond, so as to cover a veranda, while the much longer back roof sometimes came within eight feet of the ground. Sometimes in the front were dormer windows. About the middle of the eighteenth century the hipped roof with dormer windows came into vogue. From tin spouts at the end of the gutters the clear rain water fell into tubs or casks. It was not unusual to have a projecting beam from the gable end of the spacious garret, so that heavy articles might be hoisted into it with tackle, as is often seen in Holland to this day.<sup>2</sup> The shutters were usually of solid wood, with a crescent-shaped aperture near the top, and held back when open by a piece of iron shaped like a letter S. Instead of the huge central chimney of New England houses, there were usually two broad and stately chimneys, one on each gable end. The Dutch front door was almost always divided into an upper and a lower half, so that when the lower half was shut the upper half served the purposes of an open window. The upper half when shut was usually lighted with a large pair of glass bulls'-eyes. Quaint

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of an American Lady*, i. 44-49.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted for many details to Mrs. Vanderbilt's *Social History of Flatbush*, New York, 1881, an excellent and scholarly work; but the absence of an index to such a book is an unpardonable sin.



knockers and spoon-shaped latches of iron or polished brass were the outfit of the door. The spacious "stoop" outside, with its long seats cosily facing each other, <sup>The stoop</sup> was a very important adjunct to the house. In summer time it fulfilled the functions of family sitting-room and reception-



THE SCHUYLER MANSION, ERECTED IN 1761

room; neighbours gathered there and talked politics and gossip amid the fragrance of tobacco smoke.

In the interiors of these Dutch houses the heavy oak beams which supported the upper floor often projected below the ceiling of the room underneath, a pleasing architectural feature. In the humbler houses a plain protecting board, known as a "chair rail," ran round the plaster walls about three feet above the floor; but panelled wainscots were not very uncommon, and sometimes a wainscoting of tiles might be seen. The jamb of the enormous fireplace was usually faced with blue or pink tiles, upon which were often represented scenes from the Bible. In winter time the fireside played a part similar to that of the stoop in <sup>The dining-room</sup> warm weather. The one in the dining-room was likely to be the place of chief resort. Its dancing flames lighted up the china and silver in the cupboard opposite, and the moon's

face on the tall clock in the corner, and afforded enough illumination for a game of backgammon or dominoes on the cherry dining-table, though many worthy Dutch families esteemed such diversions, even to the noble chess, as fit only for alehouse parlours. The same flickering light, eked out perhaps by a couple of dip candles, sufficed for grandma with her knitting, beside the chintz-curtained window in her low rush-seated chair with bright red cushion. Other chairs in the room were of mahogany, high-backed, with claw feet, their broad seats covered with brocade. Often, however, the chairs were of painted wood and rush-work, and the table of deal, and the family living-room the ample kitchen. In the latter case there was usually a separate back kitchen for the servants, who were likely to be negro slaves.

The deep dark cellar, with its coolish and even temperature, was for much more than half the year a storage-place for provisions. The farmers of New York raised upon their own farms the greater part of the food which they consumed, and even in the city, where orchards, kitchen-gardens, and hen-coops were not yet uncommon, there was no such complete dependence upon markets as in our time. A large part of the autumn work was the preparation of the stores that were to be put away in the spacious cellar. The packing of butter in firkins and pickled pork in barrels, the smoking of hams and bacon, the corning of beef rounds and briskets, the chopping of sausage-meat and head-cheese, the trying of lard, the careful and dainty salting of mackerel and other fish, — made it a busy time for all the household. In the cellar might be found all these good things, with kegs of soused pigs' feet, stone jars of pickles, barrels of red and green apples, bins heaped high with potatoes, parsnips, and turnips ; along with barrels of vinegar, cider, and ale, and canty brown jugs of rum. In the houses of the wealthier sort there was also plenty of wine, either of the claret family or some kind of sack, which was a generic name covering sherries, Canaries, and Madeiras. For your new-fangled hothouse notions of

The cellar

Here's  
your good  
health, and  
your fam-  
ily's!

“teetotalism” would have been quite unintelligible to the farmer or burgher of those healthy days of abundant and breezy activity out-of-doors. In the Dutch cupboard or on the sideboard always stood the gleaming decanter of cut glass or the square high-shouldered magnum with its aromatic schnapps.<sup>1</sup>

In the bedrooms, or sometimes in an entry way, you would come here and there upon a long deep chest of cherry or oak, filled with rolls of homespun linen, or with blankets and coverlets. A different kind of fore-<sup>Chests and secretaries</sup>sight was then needed from that of the present day, when all manner of shops are so accessible. Large quantities of linen were spun and woven into pieces, from which tablecloths, sheets, and garments could be cut when wanted. A bride’s trousseau was not ordered all at once from fashionable modistes and milliners, but was taken from family stores of silks and cambrics and laces that years had accumulated.

<sup>1</sup> In connection with the subject of eating and drinking it may be interesting to cite the caterer’s bill for the banquet given by the corporation of New York to Lord Cornbury, upon his arrival as governor, in 1704.

1704. THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN, ETC., <i>Dr.</i>		£	s.	d.
Dec. 19	To a piece of beef and cabbage . . . . .	0	7	6
	To a dish of tripe and cowheel . . . . .	0	6	0
	To a leg of pork and turnips . . . . .	0	8	3
	To 2 puddings . . . . .	0	14	6
	To a surloyn of beef . . . . .	0	13	6
	To a turkey and onions . . . . .	0	9	0
	To a leg mutton and pickles . . . . .	0	6	0
	To a dish chickens . . . . .	0	10	6
	To minced pyes . . . . .	1	4	0
	To fruit, cheese, bread, etc. . . . .	0	7	6
	To butter for sauce . . . . .	0	7	9
	To hire of 2 negroes to assist . . . . .	0	6	0
	To dressing dinner, etc. . . . .	1	4	0
	To 31 bottles wine . . . . .	3	2	0
	To beer and syder . . . . .	0	12	0
		<hr/>		
		10	18	6

This is cited from Todd’s *City of New York*, p. 224.

Chests were therefore indispensable, and tall cases of drawers were very common. A very beautiful piece of furniture was the secretary or covered writing-desk, with drawers below ; it was usually made of mahogany adorned with polished brass, and it was apt to contain secret drawers or pigeon-holes, where gold, coins, or jewels, or valuable papers could be hidden.

The bedstead was almost always the kingly "four-poster," with its feather-beds resting upon a straw mattress supported by tight cords. It was draped with white dimity curtains and coverlet, or, perhaps, instead of dimity a kind of chintz was used, with vines and birds and flowers in bright colours.

Beds The legs of the bedstead were so long that there was plenty of room beneath for the low children's bed which was kept there during the day and trundled out at bedtime. In the days before Satan had invented hot air furnaces and steam radiators, it was apt to be cold in the



NORTH PEARL STREET, FROM STEUBEN STREET SOUTH

bedroom on winter nights. Sometimes water froze in the ewer ; and at such times, in spite of Sergeant Buzfuz, there were those who did trouble themselves about the brass warming-pan, filled with glowing embers, which was thrust

here and there between the linen sheets to take off the chill.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For further information concerning the contents of the house, I cite from an appraisalment in 1792 the following list, in which the pound sterling has approximately its present value : —

	£	s.	d.
25 pewter plates, 1s. each . . . . .	1	5	0
37 earthen plates . . . . .	0	10	0
9 pewter dishes, 4s. each . . . . .	1	16	0
8 earthen dishes, 2s. 6d. each . . . . .	1	0	0
2 waffle-irons, 6s. each . . . . .	0	12	0
1 musket . . . . .	0	16	0
1 saddle and bridle . . . . .	3	0	0
10 keelers (wooden milk-tubs) . . . . .	1	0	0
6 spinning wheels, 12s. each . . . . .	3	12	0
1 pair kitchen andirons . . . . .	0	8	0
2 bookcases, 1s. 6d. each . . . . .	0	3	0
1 bed, bedstead, and curtains . . . . .	10	0	0
1 dining-table . . . . .	16	0	0
1 looking-glass . . . . .	1	10	0
15 Windsor chairs, 6s. each . . . . .	4	10	0
12 rush-bottom chairs, 2s. each . . . . .	1	4	0
4 mahogany chairs, 8s. each . . . . .	1	12	0
8 old chairs, 6d. each . . . . .	0	4	4
1 mahogany dining-table . . . . .	4	0	0
1 writing-desk . . . . .	0	10	0
1 cupboard . . . . .	0	16	0
1 large chest . . . . .	0	16	0
1 looking-glass . . . . .	1	0	0
1 large Dutch cupboard . . . . .	4	0	0
1 bed, bedstead, and curtains . . . . .	15	0	0
1 wild-cherry dining-table . . . . .	1	0	0
1 looking-glass . . . . .	1	5	0
1 eight-day clock . . . . .	14	0	0
1 looking-glass . . . . .	5	0	0
1 desk and bookcase . . . . .	20	0	0
1 mahogany tea-table . . . . .	2	0	0
1 bed, bedstead, and curtains . . . . .	10	0	0
1 Dutch Bible . . . . .	2	0	0
1 English dictionary . . . . .	1	0	0
1 parcel of books . . . . .	7	0	0
6 sets of china cups and saucers . . . . .	3	0	0
27 Delft plates . . . . .	0	13	6

In general, so far as concerned the homestead with its equipments, the style of living in colonial New York was one of much comfort with little display. But when we come to the subject of dress, the case was somewhat different. In all parts of the world, and in all ages down to the present, display has been the primary motive in dress, and considerations of comfort have been distinctly secondary. Of late years marked improvement has been shown, and possibly in the endeavour to subordinate display, too little heed has been given to æsthetic requirements. Early in the eighteenth century the streets of New York were gorgeous with costumes. One eminent citizen is described as clad in a long-skirted coat and knee-breeches of cinnamon cloth trimmed with silver lace; the coat is lined with sky-blue silk, the hose are of dove-coloured silk, and the shoes have large silver buckles. Over his enormous wig, elaborately curled and scented with ambergris, he wears a wide-brimmed hat of black felt with a band of gold lace; through the opening of his red satin waistcoat finely bestrewn with threads of gold peep the dainty ruffles of the white Holland shirt; and at his left side, fastened with a bright scarlet sword-knot, hangs a diamond-hilted sword. And as for the ladies, with blue-and-gold atlas gowns "laced over very tight stays," showing glimpses of black velvet petticoat trimmed with silver, and not falling so low as to hide the crimson stockings and fine Morocco shoes,<sup>1</sup> we should soon lose ourselves if we were to try to describe more closely the dress-stuffs of the time, with their weird names, — "chilloes, betelees, deribands, tapsiels, surbettees, sannoes, gilongs, mulmuls, and cushlashes" that were familiar enough over the shop coun-

1 silver tankard . . . . .	15	00
1 silver sugar-cup . . . . .	14	00
1 silver milk-pot . . . . .	4	00
13 silver table-spoons . . . . .	13	00

This is cited from Mrs. Vanderbilt's *Social History of Flatbush*, pp. 81, 82.

<sup>1</sup> Todd, *The City of New York*, pp. 207, 208, 230.

ters in the days when New York was so near to the Indian Ocean.

One fancies that something of the same undefinable but potent charm for which New York is to-day so eminent among the world's great bustling cities must already have characterized it when its roof-trees sheltered but ten thousand souls. Whether it be in the journals of visitors, or in private correspondence, we always get the impression of a lively and cheerful town, where people like to come, and from which they are sorry to go away. In the old days, indeed, there was a restful sense of leisure which the rapid pace of modern life has ruthlessly destroyed. For architecture, for other fine arts in their various forms, for learning, for intellectual stimulus of whatever sort, the New York of Burnet's time could not be compared with its mother-city, Amsterdam, to say nothing of such centres of civilization as Venice, or Florence, or Paris; but there was about the little city an air of dignity and refinement which scholars and men of the world found attractive. In 1668 Governor Lovelace wrote, in a letter to Charles II., "I find some of these people have the breeding of courts, and I cannot conceive how such is acquired." The explanation was simple enough; the manners of an old and refined civilization had been brought from Europe and retained under the new conditions. Among the settlers who came from the Netherlands there were so many of excellent character, with advantages of education and social position, as to set the standard for the community. The English and French immigrations brought many persons of similar character. Nearly all, outside of the official class and the learned professions, were merchants or tradesmen, among whom there was an abounding appreciation of the amenities of life; while the continual meeting of different nationalities and different mental habits preserved the cosmopolitan spirit and prevented the growth of such self-centred provincialism as has always been a besetting weakness of Boston.

Cheerful-  
ness of  
New York

In the olden times society in New York, as elsewhere, got

up with the dawn, took its dinner at noon, and devoted its evenings to recreation. Sleighing parties in winter and fishing picnics in summer were common amusements; and there were private theatricals, as well as balls and concerts. The first theatre in America was established in Beekman Street, about the middle of the eighteenth century, without serious opposition. There were more holidays than in other parts of America, and for this we have doubtless to thank the Dutch. While in New England we had little beside the annual Thanksgiving and Fast days, and frowned upon Maypoles and Christmas puddings, the Dutch kept the church festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, as well as the heathen St. Valentine's and May-day, and the specially Dutch St. Nicholas's day, and New Year's, and Pinkster, which was a day of June picnics. As for the urchins, they made life hideous with gunpowder and fish-horns on Guy Fawkes's day until the events of 1776 provided them with the Fourth of July instead.

New York has always been preëminent for the excellence of its clubs, and this feature in its social life had become marked as early as Bellomont's time. Pleasant decorum and cordiality ruled in these clubs then as now. At first they were usually domiciled in some tavern or coffee-house, and of these there were many and good ones. At the time of the Zenger trial the most fashionable inn was the Black Horse, kept by Robert Todd, vintner, in William Street, and thither society was wont to repair, not only for a good dinner and a convivial glass, but for concerts, balls, and public receptions. Several of the taverns and coffee-houses took in the newspapers from the different colonies and from London.

Of reading more profitable and solid than the newspaper there was not a great deal in colonial New York. The first public library, with about 1600 volumes, was established in 1729, in a room in the City Hall on Wall Street. It was known as the Corporation

Amuse-  
ments and  
holidays

Clubs and  
inns

Reading  
and litera-  
ture



Library until 1754, when it was merged in the New York Society Library, founded in that year. In the Dutch period there were some good schools, but these declined under English rule. In 1757 the historian William Smith exclaimed: "What a contrast in everything respecting the cultivation of science between this and the colonies first settled by the English. . . . Our schools are of the lowest order; the instructors want instruction; . . . and the evidences of bad taste, both as to thought and language, are visible in all our proceedings, public and private."<sup>1</sup> This William Smith, son of the accomplished lawyer in the Zenger case, was himself one of the few literary men of the province, the author of a "History of New York to the Year 1732," which is sturdy and racy, but so full of partisan bitterness that Smith himself admits it "deserves not the name of a history." As literature, however, it has decided merits. The only other literary name which needs to be mentioned before the Stamp Act period is that of Cadwallader Colden, son of a Scottish parson in Berwickshire. He was born in 1687 and educated at the University of Edinburgh, after which he studied medicine and began the practice of it in Philadelphia. In 1718 Governor Hunter made him surveyor-general of the province of New York. The next year Colden bought a fine estate in Orange County, some 3000 acres, and built a house on it. There he lived for many years in rural quiet, devoting himself to the physical sciences and to history, and keeping up a correspondence with the most eminent scholars and philosophers of Europe. At the time of the Stamp Act he was lieutenant-governor of New York, acting as governor. The work by which he is best known is his "History of the Five Nations."

No outline of the Knickerbocker social life can pass without mention the lower strata of society, the servile classes. These were the same in kind as in Virginia, indented white servants and negro slaves. I have discussed them so elaborately

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *History of New York*, i. 328, ii. 379.

rately in that connection that I need not here repeat myself.<sup>1</sup>

White ser-  
vants In New York, as in Virginia, the indented white servants were either, 1, convicts shipped from Great Britain, to get rid of them; 2, poor men and women kidnapped and sold into servitude; or, 3, redemptioners, who paid their passage by servile labour after arriving in this country. As the great landed estates of New York were mostly worked by free tenant farmers, the demand for servile labour was very much smaller than in any of the southern colonies, and the indented white servants were much less numerous.

Negro  
slaves As for negro slavery in New York, it never seemed to be an economic necessity, as in the southern colonies. The interests of no great staple industry seemed inseparably bound up with it, as was the case in Virginia with tobacco, in South Carolina with rice and indigo. The abolition of slavery was therefore easily accomplished by the act of 1785, which declared that from that time forth all children born of slave parents should be born free.<sup>2</sup>

Negro slaves were brought to New Amsterdam as early as 1625; they were bought and sold during the entire colonial period at an average price, whether for men or for women, of from \$150 to \$250. They were employed in all kinds of service, agricultural and domestic, as ploughmen and gardeners, or as cooks and porters and valets, but children were seldom consigned to their care, as with southern "mummies." Ladies might be seen carried about town in sedan chairs borne by coloured men, or in coaches with negro drivers and footmen. They served in almost every menial capacity. In the city they never, perhaps, formed so large a portion of the population as in 1746, when a census showed 2444 slaves in a total of 11,723. It appears that the slaves were generally not overworked or ill-treated. Mrs. Grant

<sup>1</sup> See *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 159-185.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Critical Period of American History*, Illustrated Edition, p. 76. The census of 1820 showed 10,088 slaves in a total population of 1,372, 111; that of 1830 showed only 75 slaves; that of 1840 only 4.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y

Of the P R O V I N C E of

N E W - Y O R K ,

F R O M T H E

First Discovery to the Year M.DCC.XXXII.

To which is annexed,

A Description of the Country, with a short Account of the  
Inhabitants, their Trade, Religious and Political State, and the  
Constitution of the Courts of Justice in that Colony.

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*Lo ! swarming o'er the new discover'd World,  
Gay Colonies extend ; the calm Retreat  
Of undeserv'd Distress. —————*

*————— Bound by social Freedom, firm they rise ;  
Of Britain's Empire the Support and Strength.*

THOMSON.

*Nec minor est Virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri.*

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By W I L L I A M S M I T H , A . M .

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L O N D O N :

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*New Church in the Strand.*

M.DCC.LVII.

tells us that among the people of Albany "even the dark aspect of slavery was softened into a smile."<sup>1</sup> Manumission was not infrequent; the slave was often allowed to choose his home among the heirs of his deceased master; and it is said that "if a slave was dissatisfied with his master, it was very common for the master to give him a paper on which his age, his price, etc., were written, and allow him to go and look for some one with whom he would prefer to live, and who would be willing to pay the price stated."<sup>2</sup> When the purchaser was found, the master would hand over the slave and take the money, and we may hope that Cuffee found no reason to regret the change.

Even in these kindly circumstances, however, slaves now and then ran away. The statute-book, moreover, shows that they were regarded with some fear by their Dread of the slaves masters. They were prohibited from gathering in groups of more than four, and they were forbidden to carry guns, swords, or clubs, under penalty of ten lashes at the whipping-post. One curious act provided that no slave could go about the streets after nightfall anywhere south of the Collect without a lighted lantern, "so as the light thereof may be plainly seen."<sup>3</sup>

In 1712, during Governor Hunter's administration, there was an attempt at a slave insurrection. A party of negroes, armed with guns, knives, and hatchets, assembled one evening, in an orchard near Maiden Lane, and set fire to The negro plot of 1712 an outhouse. At sight of the flames people came running to the spot, and as fast as they came were shot or slashed. Nine had been killed and six wounded when a squad of soldiers came upon the scene and captured the murderers. Many negroes were arrested, and twenty-one were executed in ways intended to strike terror. One was broken on the wheel, and several were burned alive at the stake, while the rest were hanged.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of an American Lady*, i. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Social History of Flatbush*, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> Morgan, *Slavery in New York*, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Colonial Documents*, v. 341, 346, 356, 367, 371, 525.

The recollection of this affair may have had something to do with the virulence of the panic that was brought on in 1741 by what has been called the "Great Negro Plot." This was a melancholy instance of panic and delusion, not wholly unmingled with fraud, and has often been likened to the witchcraft delusion at Salem Village in 1692. It might also be compared with Titus Oates's miserable "Popish Plot," inasmuch as it was a symptom of a wave of fierce anti-Catholic excitement. To the generally mild and tolerant policy of New York we have now and then had occasion to note some exceptions. At the close of the seventeenth century, when the Counter-reformation was still showing such formidable strength in the giant war between Louis XIV. and William III., the dread of Catholics showed itself again and again in the legislative acts of Protestant countries. For example, in 1700 it was enacted in New York that any Popish priest discovered within the province after the first day of November of that year should be seized and imprisoned for life; and for every such person who should escape and be found at large, the penalty should be the gallows. Any person convicted of aiding or concealing such priest should be set in the pillory for three days and give bonds at the discretion of the court.<sup>1</sup> This act was really and avowedly called forth by the persistent intrigues of Jesuit missionaries with the Long House. Under such circumstances it was not strange that a Catholic priest should be deemed an "incendiary and disturber of the public peace." Considerations of a religious nature had very little to do with the matter.

The  
"Great Negro Plot"  
of 1741

Dread of  
Catholic  
priests

In the year 1741 this act had not yet been repealed, and the feelings that prompted it were once more stimulated into activity by the war with Spain that had been going on for

<sup>1</sup> *Colonial Laws of New York*, i. 428. About the same time the law was passed in Rhode Island, debarring Catholics from the franchise: see Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, ii. 490-494. In Massachusetts a Romish priest was liable to imprisonment for life.

two years. In 1740 the fleet of Admiral Vernon had returned from Cartagena, discomfited by yellow fever rather than the prowess of the enemy. Preparations were now go-

The Span-  
ish war ing on in the colonies for an attack upon Havana. A letter from Governor Oglethorpe in Georgia mentioned a rumour that Catholic priests were to be fur- tively introduced into all the English colonies in the guise of dancing-masters, and at some concerted signal were to set fire to the principal towns, by way of forestalling and crippling the proposed expedition against Cuba.

Shortly before this time a large number of negroes, in- cluding many savages lately kidnapped from Africa, had been brought to New York from Spanish America; and they seem to have aroused a feeling of dread, both for their own uncouthness and on account of the region from which they came. On the last day of February, 1741, a house in

Hughson's  
Tavern Broad Street was robbed of some silverware, coins, and pieces of linen. Suspicion fell upon a negro in the owner's employ; the negro was proved to be in the habit of meeting other negroes at Hughson's Tavern on the North River; a search was made, and some of the stolen articles were found in a pig-pen behind the house.

This Hughson's was a low place; among its inmates was an indentured white servant, Mary Burton, an abandoned girl, only sixteen years of age, who had been brought over

Mary  
Burton from some English bridewell. Arrested on suspi- cion of complicity with the thieves, this creature sought to screen herself by charges and insinuations implicating her master and his family as well as sundry negroes. She found herself suddenly invested with an importance which she was cunning enough to seek to increase by ap- pearing to know much more than she had yet told.

On the 18th of March, owing it is thought to the carelessness of a plumber, a fire broke out in Fort George<sup>1</sup> and the governor's house was consumed, with some other buildings.

<sup>1</sup> So the old Fort Amsterdam was called after the accession of George I.

A  
JOURNAL  
OF THE  
PROCEEDINGS  
IN  
The Detection of the Conspiracy

FORMED BY  
Some *White* People, in Conjunction with *Negro* and other *Slaves*,  
FOR  
Burning the City of *NEW-YORK* in AMERICA,  
And Murdering the Inhabitants.

Which Conspiracy was partly put in Execution, by Burning His Majesty's House in Fort GEORGE, within the said City, on Wednesday the Eighteenth of *March*, 1741. and setting Fire to several Dwelling and other Houses there, within a few Days succeeding. And by another Attempt made in Prosecution of the same infernal Scheme, by putting Fire between two other Dwelling-Houses within the said City, on the Fifteenth Day of *February*, 1742; which was accidentally and timely discovered and extinguished.

CONTAINING,

- I. A NARRATIVE of the Trials, Condemnations, Executions, and Behaviour of the several Criminals, at the Gallows and Stake, with their *Speeches* and *Confessions*; with Notes, Observations and Reflections occasionally interspersed throughout the Whole.
- II. AN APPENDIX, wherein is set forth some additional Evidence concerning the said Conspiracy and Conspirators, which has come to Light since their Trials and Executions.
- III. LISTS of the several Persons (Whites and Blacks) committed on Account of the Conspiracy; and of the several Criminals executed; and of those transported, with the Places whereto.

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*By the Recorder of the City of NEW-YORK.*

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*Quid facient Domini, audent cum talia Furēs? Virg. Ecl.*

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NEW-YORK:

Printed by *James Parker*, at the New Printing-Office, 1744.

Within another week Sir Peter Warren's chimney took fire, but no harm was done. Then a fire broke out in a storehouse, which was traced to the careless dropping of ashes from a tobacco pipe. Three days afterward the hay in a cow-stable was found burning; there was an alarm and the fire was put out, but people had scarcely left the scene, when flames were descried shooting up in a loft over a kitchen where negroes were known to lodge. "The next morning coals were found under a haystack near a coach-house on Broadway. The following day a fire burst forth from the house of Sergeant Burns opposite the fort; and a few hours later, the roof of Mr. Hilton's house near the Fly Market was discovered on fire, and, on the same afternoon, Colonel Frederick Philipse's storehouse was all ablaze." <sup>1</sup>

From such alarming incidents there was nothing at all strange in the rapid genesis of a fierce and bloodthirsty panic. On April 11 the common council offered £100 reward, with a full pardon, to any conspirator who should tell what he knew about a plot for burning the city. This offer elicited a "confession" from Mary Burton, who swore that, in meetings at Hughson's Tavern, certain negroes had matured such an incendiary plot, as the first step in a revolution which was to make Hughson *king* and a darky named Cæsar *governor*. She further averred that Colonel Philipse's Cuffy used to say that "some people had too much and others too little, but the time was coming when master Philipse would have less and Cuff more." The only white people present at these meetings besides herself were Hughson and his wife and a loose woman named Carey. After a while, however, she "confessed" that a poor school-teacher, John Ury, who was known to be a Catholic, had taken part in the affair. The result of these disclosures was a reign of terror which lasted until September. In the course of it, Hughson and his wife, the teacher Ury, and the woman Carey were hanged, and twenty other

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Lamb's *History of the City of New York*, ii. 582.



white persons were imprisoned. One hundred and fifty-four negroes were arrested, of whom fourteen were burned alive at the stake, and eighteen were hanged. Throughout the affair Mary Burton seems to have played the part which at Salem was shared among the "afflicted children," and just as at Salem, when the panic was clearly waning, the end was hastened by her aiming the accusations too high and striking at persons of consequence. The wretched girl received £100, the wages of her perjury. But after the terror was over, it began to be doubted, and has ever since been doubted, whether the "Great Negro Plot" was anything more than a figment of the imagination.<sup>1</sup>

It is only a shallow criticism, however, and utterly devoid of historic appreciation, that would cite this melancholy affair in disparagement of the good people of colonial New York. The panic, as we have seen, arose very naturally from the circumstances, and it was not strange that some of the strongest and clearest heads in the community were turned by it. He would be a rash man who should venture to predict that even in the most enlightened communities <sup>Revulsion</sup> in the world a recurrence of such horrors has for- <sup>of feeling</sup> ever ceased to be possible. It is pleasant to add that by a wholesome revulsion of popular feeling, soon after the panic of 1741, a sentiment was aroused in favour of the negroes; within ten years they were admitted to the franchise, and New York soon became honourably distinguished among the states that actively endeavoured to loosen their chains and insure their welfare.

<sup>1</sup> Dunlap's *History of New York*, chapter xxi.; Smith's *History of New York*, ii. 70, 71; *Colonial Documents*, vi. 186, 196, 199, 201-203; Horsmanden's *Negro Plot*, New York, 1744.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE QUAKER COMMONWEALTH

WHEN William Penn sailed from Philadelphia to England, in the summer of 1684, it was in the hope of soon returning to take personal supervision of the affairs of his rapidly growing colony. But he soon discovered that England was full of troubles for him. The accession of James II. brought Penn into a prominence that had its unfortunate side.

We have seen how it was the dying request of Admiral Penn that the Duke of York should have a care for the welfare of his son. The trust thus confided to James was amply redeemed. There can be little doubt that he was really fond of the young Quaker, and felt in his presence something of the fascination that the brilliant mind will often exert upon minds too narrow and dull to understand it. Moreover, in this case James's policy happened to coincide with his personal inclination. It would be impossible for any two sects within the limits of the Christian Church to differ more profoundly than the Roman Catholics and the Quakers. Yet circumstances were such in Penn's time that this radical hostility did not prevent the existence, for a moment, of something like a tacit alliance between the two; and the same cruel king, who broke the legs and crushed the thumbs of his Scottish Presbyterian subjects with all the zest of an inquisitor, was glad to seize an occasion for setting free the Quakers who crowded the jails of England. This was because Quakers and Catholics differed so far, though in opposite directions, from the opinions generally held by the English people that they were alike condemned by everybody. Even the warmest advocates

Friendship  
between  
Penn and  
James II.

Good Order Established  
IN  
Pennsilvania & New-Jerfey  
IN  
AMERICA,

Being a true Account of the Country ;  
With its Produce and Commodities there made.

And the great Improvements that may be made by means of **Publick Store-houses** for **Hemp**, **Flax** and **Linnen-Cloth** ; also, the Advantages of a **Publick-School**, the Profits of a **Publick-Bank**, and the Probability of its arising, if those directions here laid down are followed. With the advantages of publick **Granaries**.

Likewise, several other things needful to be understood by those that are or do intend to be concerned in planting in the said Countries.

All which is laid down very plain, in this small Treatise ; it being easie to be understood by any ordinary Capacity. To which the *Reader* is referred for his further satisfaction.

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By *Thomas Budd*.

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Printed in the Year 1685.

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## A Further Account of the Province of PENNSYLVANIA, and its Improvements.

*For the Satisfaction of those that are Adventurers, and  
Inclined to be so.*

**I**F has I know, been much expected from me that I should give some farther Narrative of those parts of *America*, where I am chiefly interested, and have lately been; having continued there above a Year after my former *Relation*, and receiving since my return, the freshest and fullest Advices of its *Progress* and *Improvement*. But as the reason of my coming back, was a *difference* between the Lord *Baltimore* and my self, about the *Lands of Delaware*, in consequence, reputed of mighty moment to us, so I wav'd publishing any thing that might look in favour of the Country or inviting to it, whilst it lay under the Discouragement and Disreputation of that Lord's claim and pretences.

But since they are, after many fair and full hearings before the *Lords*, of the *Committee for Plantations* justly and happily *Dismist*, and the things agreed; and that the *Letters* which daily press me from all parts, on the subject of *America*, are so many and voluminous, that to answer them severally, were a Task too heavy, and repeated to perform, I have thought it most easie to the Enquirer, as well as my self, to make this Account *Publick*, lest my silence, or a more private intimation of things, should disoblige the just inclinations of any to *America*, and at a time too, when an extraordinary Providence seems to favour its plantation, and open a Door to *Europeans* to pass thither. That then which is my part to do in this Advertisement is,

First, *To Relate our Progress, especially since my last of the Month call'd August, 83.*

Secondly, *The Capacity of the place for farther Improvement, in order to Trade and Commerce.*

A 2

Lastly,

of toleration were wont to make an exception in the case of Catholics and Quakers, who for different reasons were regarded as hardly within the pale of Christianity. Hence Quakers and Catholics had, for the moment, an interest in common, as opposed to the intermediate Christian sects, and hence, both as duke and afterward as king, the Catholic James found it worth his while to befriend the chief of the Quakers. It was a singular alliance, that between the man for whom such words as pity and clemency were meaningless terms, and the man whose faith in the ethical teachings of Jesus was so genuine that he was eager to see them embodied in civil legislation and made the cornerstone of a new Christian state. It is strange to think of the champion of truthfulness and toleration as a Jacobite, leagued in political bonds of sympathy with a family whose very name has come to be almost a synonym for bigotry and falsehood.

It is this singular alliance which once kindled the wrath of the prejudiced and impetuous Macaulay, and led him to bring some foul charges against Penn's integrity.

Macaulay's  
hasty  
charges

Of Macaulay's charges, the only one that needs mention <sup>1</sup> is that which relates to the affair of the Maids of Taunton. When the handsome Duke of Monmouth was making his silly attempt to dethrone James II., and on a bright June day of the year 1685 rode into Taunton with much bustle and parade, he was met in the market-place by a procession of school-girls, from ten or twelve to sixteen years, all in their prettiest summer gowns. They gave him a royal standard richly embroidered, and the good school-mistress gave him a Bible, and all felt, no doubt, that they

The Maids  
of Taunton

<sup>1</sup> They were conclusively refuted by W. E. Forster, in his preface to a new edition of Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, London, 1850; and by Hepworth Dixon, in his *Life of Penn*, London, 1851; and others. After Macaulay had replied to his critics, the matter was again taken up and treated with consummate ability, by John Paget, in his *New Examen*, London, 1861. Mr. Paget's evidence and arguments are absolutely conclusive, and leave Macaulay in a very sorry plight.

had done what was right. A few weeks later, when Monmouth had begged for life in vain, and the ghastly skulls of his adherents were bleaching over many a city gate, and the execrable Jeffreys was holding his Bloody Assizes, some of the queen's maids of honour asked the king for permission to threaten these poor children, of whose frolic they had heard, in order to extort blackmail from their parents. James granted the infamous permission. The story of the consequent distress and misery at Taunton almost makes one ashamed of belonging to the human race. One young girl was snatched from home and thrown into a dungeon, where she died of fever. Another mustered courage to go into court and declare her innocence of evil intent and beg the hyena Jeffreys for mercy. His only answer was to put on one of his hideous frowns and shout, "Take her away, jailer!" She was led away shivering and sobbing, and died within a few hours, literally frightened to death. Out of such sufferings the queen's ladies tried to make £7000, but were obliged to desist long before their greed was satisfied.

Now, when Macaulay found that the name of the solicitor who represented the maids of honour in this devil's work was "Mr. Penne," it seemed to him to furnish welcome proof that anybody who stood high in favour with James II. must be more or less of a knave. So he seized the occasion for inculcating a moral lesson for the benefit of all admirers of the founder of Pennsylvania. "The maids of honour," says Macaulay, "requested William Penn to act for them, and Penn accepted the commission.

Yet it should seem that a little of the pertinacious scrupulosity which he had often shown about taking off his hat would not have been altogether out of place on this occasion."<sup>1</sup> Macaulay went on to speculate ingeniously as to the arguments by which Penn might have succeeded in silencing the voice of conscience. Many of us can still remember how Macaulay's readers, more than forty years ago, were astounded by this grave accusation. But when, after more

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay's *History of England*, cabinet edition, ii. 235.

careful inquiry, it turned out that the "Mr. Penne" in question was not the great Quaker at all, but a certain George Penne, a notorious pettifogger and pardon-broker at the vile Stuart court, the historian's moral lesson lost much of its point, and one could not help feeling that once more in this dull world there had been some very vigorous barking up the wrong tree!

None of the charges brought against William Penn have been adequately supported; and so far was his character from deteriorating through his intimacy with James II., that at no time in his life does he seem more honest, brave, and lovable than during the years, so full of trouble for him, that intervened between the accession of James and the accession of Anne. As for the king, Penn always maintained that, with all his faults, he was not so black as people painted him; and this we may readily admit. A man who had and retained such friends as Nicolls and Dongan could not have been entirely devoid of redeeming traits. But there was one side of James's character to which Penn was not sufficiently awake. Unlike other Stuarts in many respects, James was as false as any of the race, but his treacherousness was more or less concealed under an appearance of honest and awkward dulness. One would not look for Machiavelism in such a dense atmosphere. Nevertheless, James was able to impress Penn with the belief that in extending royal favour to Quakers he had the interests of religious liberty at heart, and, so long as Penn was thus hoodwinked, his demeanour towards the king was liable to be such as to excite the suspicion of patriots, who realized how dangerous that personage really was. When the great Quaker came to be known as a royal favourite, and scores of people crowded his doorsteps, in order to obtain through him royal aid for their schemes, he was at once placed in a position that could hardly fail to be misunderstood.

Penn was not awake to James's treacherous qualities

The difficulty of his position was well illustrated in the famous case of the Seven Bishops. It should be distinctly understood that in 1687 England was in serious danger, and

that the interests of civil and religious liberty were gravely imperilled. All over Europe the Counter-Reformation had made alarming progress ; and the ground gained by the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, seemed for the moment lost again. The most recent great event was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and Louis XIV. seemed as formidable as in later days Napoleon at Tilsit. Under these circumstances the intense anti-Catholic excitement in England was natural ; it was one of the forms assumed by the instinct of self-preservation. The new king of England intended to destroy Protestantism, and civil liberty with it, wherever he could. To achieve his ends he relied ultimately upon military force to be summoned from Ireland, and aid to be extended by the king of France, as well as upon the development of a strong party loyal to himself in England. For this latter purpose he offered favours to Dissenters, hoping to secure their support until the time when he should feel strong enough to desert and betray them. Hence his attempt, under the hypocritical pretence of liberality in matters of religion, to annul the various test acts which, in the course of his brother's reign, had been passed against Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, as well as Roman Catholics. Parliament would not repeal these acts, and so James tried to override them by a royal Declaration of Indulgence, thus setting himself up above the law. Such favours law-abiding Englishmen were slow to avail themselves of ; there were many, like Richard Baxter, who suspected the trick and warned their fellow-dissenters. The king, by an order in council, commanded the ministers of all persuasions, in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, to read his Declaration aloud to their congregations on two successive Sundays. Before the first Sunday arrived, a petition signed by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six suffragan bishops, protesting against the order in council, was served upon the king. When Sunday came, not more than two hundred clergymen in all England read the Declaration. In West-

The affair  
of the  
Seven  
Bishops



minster Abbey it was read amid such murmurs that not a word could be heard. In another church the minister sarcastically observed that, though he was commanded to read it, the people were not commanded to hear it; so he waited till all had gone out, and then read it to the walls.<sup>1</sup> Forthwith the seven recalcitrant bishops were brought to trial on a criminal information for seditious libel; and in the shouts with which London greeted the verdict of "Not guilty" there resounded the death-knell of Stuart kingcraft.

Now, while this intense popular excitement was thoroughly sound, it cannot be denied that the refusal of the seven bishops was, on the face of it, a protest against a policy of religious toleration, and doubtless, among the motives by which they were actuated, there was something of narrow bigotry as well as of patriotism and reverence for law.<sup>2</sup> It was therefore impossible for William Penn to sympathize with these prelates, or with the popular enthusiasm by which they were supported. He did not suspect the king's double-dealing; his zeal for perfect liberty of conscience was much greater than his dread of the Counter-Reformation; and from Episcopacy he and his friends had met with little save contumely and oppression. Politically, while he was as far as possible from sympathizing with the Tories, Penn was clearly not a Whig. His ideals were strongly republican. With regard to the much-desired boon of religious liberty, the object of his lifelong yearning, it seemed too great a boon to refuse, no matter how objectionable the shape in which it might be offered. He would have preferred to see all test acts abolished by Parliament, but when a king undertook to override such vile laws, he could not find it in his heart to oppose him. Thus did Penn find himself, in this national crisis, quite out of sympathy with the national feeling. The natural results

Penn's lack of sympathy with the popular feeling

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *My Own Times*, iii. 218.

<sup>2</sup> This view of the case is urged, with plausible eloquence but somewhat superficial argument, by Buckle, in his *History of Civilization*, i. 361-373.

followed. He was called "William the Jesuit," an emissary in the pay of Rome; he was accused of saying mass at Whitehall; he was supposed to have prompted the king to his Declaration of Indulgence; and even the high-handed arrest of the seven bishops was laid at his door, although he earnestly disapproved of it. No aspersion was too black to be cast upon him.<sup>1</sup> He suffered all the more injustice because of the noble courage with which he declared his opinions, then as always. When William III. arrived, and it became fashionable to vilify or deride the exiled James, Penn's beautiful fidelity to his old guardian was unimpaired, and he had always his good word to say for the fallen prince.

It followed from all this that many persons believed our good Quaker to be implicated in Jacobite plots, and in the year 1691 he felt that prudence required him to live very quietly in obscure lodgings in the city of London. For an innocent man it seemed better thus than to seek safety abroad,<sup>2</sup> and Penn was sure that he could satisfy William III. of his innocence of any complicity with Jacobite intrigues. For more than two years he continued to live thus in retirement, writing a number of admirable books and pamphlets, one of which, entitled "Fruits of Solitude," is in some respects the most charming of his

Absurd  
notions  
about Penn

Penn sus-  
pected of  
complicity  
with the  
Jacobites

<sup>1</sup> Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, ii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay, indeed, makes him escape to France in the autumn of 1691, but his only authority is the Diary of the book-collector Narcissus Luttrell, as worthless a mess of rubbish as was ever printed. On the other hand, Paget has proved that Penn was in London during the whole of his "retirement."

Macaulay goes on: "Scarcely had he again begun to harangue in public about the unlawfulness of war, when he sent a message earnestly exhorting James to make an immediate descent on England with 30,000 men." (*History of England*, vi. 32.) The memorandum on which this charge is based is, as Macaulay tells us, "among the Nairne MSS. and was translated by Macpherson," whereat the reader is no doubt duly overawed. Macaulay ought to have added that the writer of the memorandum was one Captain Williamson, a hired spy of low character, whose unsupported statements are of no value.

works. During this period an incident occurred which deserves mention for its intrinsic interest in coupling Penn's name with that of John Locke. In 1685, during Monmouth's insurrection, the great philosopher was in Holland. His patron, Lord Shaftesbury, had once supported Monmouth's claim to the succession, and there were <sup>Penn and Locke</sup> dastardly creatures who whispered in King James's ear suspicions of Locke. At that time Penn wrote to Locke, offering him from the king full pardon and amnesty for whatever he might have done, and bidding him feel quite free to return to England; for, quoth Penn most naïvely, "I am sure none can mistrust the king's word!"

But the sagacious Locke did mistrust it. He replied sententiously that "he had no occasion for a pardon, having committed no crime," and he stayed in the Netherlands. Now in 1691, while Penn was under a cloud, Locke stood very high in the favour of William III., and the spirit moved him to do something for his old Oxford friend. He made his way to Penn's lodgings in the city, and offered to secure for him from the king full pardon and grace for whatsoever complications he might have been drawn into. One fancies it must have been with a merry laugh that Penn, in declining the friendly offer, quoted against Locke his own sentiment, "the innocent need no pardon."<sup>1</sup>

King William was doubtless quite satisfied of Penn's innocence of complicity with Jacobite schemes, but other circumstances came in to influence his conduct toward the proprietor of Pennsylvania. In the <sup>William III. deprives Penn of his proprietary government</sup> mighty and irrepressible conflict with the powers of darkness as embodied in Louis XIV., who could tell what would become of the Dutch and Quaker colonies that occupied the citadel of North America? It would not do to leave Pennsylvania in the hands of men who had conscientious scruples about drawing a sword or firing a gun. Military policy forbade such a thing. Accordingly, in March,

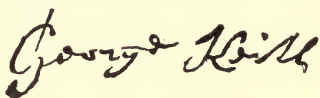
<sup>1</sup> Stoughton's *William Penn*, p. 262; Fox-Bourne's *Life of John Locke*, ii. 24.

1693, an order in council deprived Penn of his proprietary government. Pennsylvania was made into a royal province and consigned to the rule of Benjamin Fletcher, the soldier who then governed New York.

This blow was made all the more shocking for Penn by the news of the defection of his old friend, George Keith, who

George Keith's defection had been one of his companions in the memorable Low German tour of 1677. Keith enjoyed a high reputation for linguistic and scientific attainments.

In 1689 he was headmaster of the first Quaker school in Philadelphia, now known as the William Penn Charter School, and there he began to find fault with his brethren for making too much of the Inward Light and too little of Christ and the Scriptures. His dissent grew more and more emphatic,



and extended to such matters of detail as the condemnation of capital punishment. The Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia rejected his views, but he had many sympathizers, who were known for some time as "Keithian Quakers." It was not long, however, before Keith passed over to Episcopacy. After a visit to England he came back to America in 1700 as the first missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and travelled about the country making converts and organizing new Episcopal churches. Most of the Keithian Quakers likewise went back into the Church of England.

The loss of his province, the defection of his old friend, and the knowledge that some of his fellow-Quakers suspected him of sympathy with Jesuits were blows which it taxed all of Penn's buoyant strength to bear. Added to those calamities came the loss of his wife, in February, 1694. But soon after, in the midst of the valley of the shadow of death, there came voices of comfort. Renewed ex-

The king restores Penn's government

pressions of love and trust on the part of his brethren were followed, in August, 1694, by an order in council restoring to Penn the proprietary government of his woodland in the New World. Again we find



HANNAH CALLOWHILL

him travelling and preaching in England and Ireland: in 1696 he is married to Hannah Callowhill, a "devout and comely maiden" of Bristol; and in 1699, with this new wife and his grown-up children, William and Letitia, he comes once more across the wave to visit his woodland.

When Penn arrived in Philadelphia, the city had scarcely recovered from the panic into which it had been thrown by a deadly visitation of yellow fever. But, in spite of the pale, scared faces, the evidences of prosperity abounded on every side. There were more than

His return  
to Phila-  
delphia

700 houses in the city, indicating a population of not less than 4000 souls. There were some spacious and well-built brick warehouses, and two Friends' meeting-houses, as well as an Episcopal church. Here and there were gardens brilliant with roses, lilies, and carnations. Penn now dwelt for a while in the famous "Slate-roof House," at the corner of Second Street and Norris Alley, which was pulled down in 1867. But he much preferred a country home, called *Pennsbury*, in Bucks county, northeast of the little city. There in 1682 he had begun building a fine house, which cost him £7000. An inventory of the furniture mentions plush couches, embroidered chairs, curtains of camlet and satin, and in the drawing-room such a carpet as was seldom seen outside of a palace. The silver and china were of the finest, and Penn's orders to his steward show that asceticism formed no part of his theory of life. Not vain display, but refined and bountiful comfort, was his ideal. He could appreciate a toothsome haunch of venison, and tells how "the old priest at Philadelphia had rare shads." With such a companion he would sit till a late hour discussing learned questions over a stoup of good ale or wine.<sup>1</sup> He was much interested, like Washington, in the details of domestic affairs; and the devout maiden of Bristol, whose executive ability was marked and manifold, proved a most competent housewife.

Between his rural mansion and Philadelphia, the Lord Proprietor used either to ride his horse by the river's bank, or to go on the river in a six-oared barge, of which he was very fond. "Above all dead things," he wrote to his steward, "take care of my barge." Once, on a stormy day, as he was fighting the waves with it, the governor of New Jersey overhauled him, and expressed surprise that he should thus venture out against such a wind and tide. Quick and pithy was the reply: "I have been sailing against wind and tide all my life."

<sup>1</sup> See Swift's letter to Stella, September 30, 1710, in his *Works*, ed. Scott, ii. 37.

In the government of his New World province he encountered other adverse winds and tides than those of the Delaware River. From the outset, there was a human element of strife in the City of Brotherly Love. There was, first, the question as to how much or how little democracy might best comport with the proprietary rule. Penn was, for his age, an advanced democrat; yet he never ceased to regard himself as a kind of patriarch who knew much better what was good for his little sylvan community than the people themselves. In this assumption he was very likely correct; but it is one of the essential features of thorough-going democracy that those who do not know what is best should have a much greater part in governing than those who do know, since they are much the more numerous.

Democratic  
questions



THE "SLATE-ROOF HOUSE"

In the minds of many people, democracy rests upon the colossal untruth that "one man is as good as another,"<sup>1</sup> so that a large number are more likely to be right than a small number. In reality democracy rests upon the ubiquitous

<sup>1</sup> The only sense in which this can at all be said to be true is the Irishman's: "Why, Patrick," exclaims the landlord, whose mind is dallying with Bentonian ideas, "is n't one man as good as another?" "Faith, he is, your honour, and a d—d sight better!"

fact that all men are directly interested in securing good government, while its successes have often been due to its practical recognition of the truth that some men are born to lead and others to follow. The fact that William Penn was a born leader was too obvious to be questioned, and between him and his people there was not much contention. But with his deputies, when he was absent in England, the case was different. Constitutional questions at once came to the foreground, and one of the first was that which concerned the shares to be taken by the assembly and the council in the work of legislation. It was Penn's original intention to give the sole power of originating laws to the council, while all laws required confirmation by the assembly. But this scheme was never realized. By 1693 all power of law-making was absorbed by the assembly, while the council became a mere board of advisers to the governor ; and thenceforth for a hundred years the government of Pennsylvania was practically unicameral.

Along with such questions there were disagreements between the "province" and the "territories," or between Pennsylvania and Delaware, which resulted permanently in separate legislatures for the two. There were also troubles between Quakers and non-Quakers, especially the members of the Church of England. Some increment of confusion and bitterness came from Keith's apostasy. Meanwhile the quit-rents failed to be collected, and each dissatisfied party was inclined to accuse its antagonists of surreptitious dealings with the ubiquitous pirates.

Penn approached the situation in a most amiable spirit. "Friends," said he, "if in the constitution by charter there be anything that jars, alter it." The revised charter of 1701 comprised but nine articles. The first grants liberty of conscience to all who "confess and acknowledge Almighty God," which, on a strict interpretation, would have admitted Mussulmans and Jews, and would have excluded such persons as Denis Diderot or the late Mr.

Pennsylvania  
and  
Delaware

The revised  
charter



Bradlaugh. At the same time, the right to hold executive or legislative offices was restricted to persons "who profess to believe in Jesus Christ," a provision which ought hardly to have barred out Unitarians, but was sometimes used for that purpose.

The second article "requires an assembly to be chosen yearly by the freemen, to consist of four persons or more from each county. This assembly has full powers to choose its officers, to judge of the qualifications of its own members, to adjourn itself, to prepare bills and make laws, impeach criminals and redress grievances, 'with all other powers and privileges of an assembly, according to the rights of free-born subjects of England.'

"The third requires the freemen to elect two or three people for each position of sheriff or coroner or other court officers, and the governor to choose among them; or, if the governor fails to select, the first named shall serve.

"The fourth declares that all laws shall be issued in the form, 'By the Governor, with consent and approbation of the freemen in General Assembly met.'

"The fifth allows all criminals to have the same privileges of witnesses and counsel as their prosecutors.

"The sixth requires that all cases concerning property shall be decided by courts of justice, and not by governor and council.

"The seventh prevents any one receiving a tavern license who is not recommended by the justices and allows the justices to suppress a disorderly public house.

"The eighth prevents the forfeiture of the estates of suicides or intestates; prohibits any law contrary to this charter without the consent of the governor and six sevenths of the assembly; and pledges the Proprietor to observe inviolably the first article concerning liberty of conscience.

"Lastly, the Proprietor binds himself and heirs not to destroy the liberties of the charter, and declares such actions, if attempted, to be of no force or effect."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government*, pp. 64-66.

Scarcely had this charter begun to go into operation when Penn felt it necessary to return once more to England. There was always a more or less powerful opposition to his lord-proprietorship, and he felt that he must be near the throne in order to protect his interests and ensure the success of the holy experiment. The accession of Queen Anne, in 1701, was in many ways favourable to Penn. The late king, who could admire him for his fearlessness and his breadth of view, was never fully in sympathy with him. Something like a gulf divided the preacher of universal peace and brotherly love from the warlike king to whose lot it had fallen to defeat a most formidable conspiracy for depriving human civilization of all that it had gained since the days of Wyclif. Louis XIV. was the great champion of ideas and methods which would have made Europe no better than Cathay, of the spirit of civil and religious despotism,—the accursed thing which Voltaire afterward stigmatized as “The Infamous.” The policy of *L’Infame* was one of blood and iron, and with blood and iron the mighty Dutchman must oppose it. Thus William of Orange was beset by a chronic temptation to interfere with the holy experiment. In 1701 he asked Pennsylvania to contribute £350 toward erecting fortifications upon the northern frontier of New York, and thus a serious question was raised. Could a Quaker legislature properly vote money for military purposes? Different opinions were expressed. Some worthy Friends, who abhorred warfare as much as any, nevertheless did not feel bound to sit still and let the enemy cut their throats. Others deemed it right to adhere to their principles and trust in Providence for the result. So for four days “there was an unpleasant parley” which ended in a postponement of the vote, while sundry resolutions were adopted, vague and ambiguous enough for any modern political platform. Warned by such symptoms, Penn was careful to leave in the province deputy-governors who were not averse to fighting in self-defence.

Divergence  
in policy  
between  
Penn and  
William  
III.

Could Qua-  
kers fight  
in self-de-  
fence?

In the Christmas time of 1701, Penn arrived once more in England; before Easter the great king had passed away, and by Whitsuntide the gigantic war of the Spanish Succession had begun. Queen Anne was inclined to befriend Penn for her father's sake, and there was no further serious risk of his losing his province. Of his military deputies, however, one contrived, through excess of zeal, to make much trouble. The appointment of this man, John Evans, was one of a number of instances which seem to show that Penn was liable to err in his judgments of character. He was apt to be too generous in his estimates of men. Evans was a youth of five-and-twenty or so, with some scholar-like traits which attracted Penn's admiration, but he soon showed himself unworthy of trust. There was not much danger of an attack upon the little Quaker commonwealth on the Dela-

Penn's  
return to  
England

The  
deputy-  
governor,  
John Evans

ware River; that community did not extend westward enough, nor did the French-Algonquin conflagration, against which New York and New Eng-

land were fighting, as yet extend westward enough; the Five Nations, an insuperable barrier, stood between. But Evans, who was not a Quaker, believed in going forth to smite the hosts of Amalek, and to help the cause of England wherever it was imperilled. His call for troops met with no response, whereupon he resorted to an almost incredibly shameful and puerile trick. On a bright spring day in 1706, while the good people of Philadelphia were holding their annual fair, a courier came spurring into the town with consternation depicted upon his face, and announced that a dozen French warships were coming up the river. The governor straightway sprang upon his horse and cantered about the streets, waving a drawn sword and calling people to arms. At this sudden alarm, which was simply a brazen falsehood, some people threw their silver spoons and goblets into their wells for

His folly

hiding, some ran out to the woods, some crowded into boats and hurried up the river, a few poor women were frightened into miscarriage; but the scare was soon over, and the silly Evans became an object of scorn.<sup>1</sup> The failure of this artificial attempt to create a panic, in the absence of the natural conditions, is instructive. Of the Quakers it is said that very few took part in the momentary excitement. Most of them were gathered at a religious meeting, and during the hubbub they went on quietly with their devotions. Only four Quakers were found under arms at the governor's place of rendezvous.

Still bent upon contributing something to the war against Antichrist, the clumsy Evans persuaded the people of the Delaware settlements to build a fort at Newcastle, and to clap a duty on cargoes passing either to or from Philadelphia. This tax, which was known as "powder money" was a violation of Penn's charter; whereupon three stout Quakers — Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and Samuel Preston, gentlemen of high consideration — ran a sloop down past the fortress, at the cost of a bullet-hole in their main-sail, and when the commander gave chase they captured him and carried him to Salem, on the Jersey shore, where, after some coarse rebuke from Lord Cornbury, who happened

<sup>1</sup> It is of course this false alarm to which one of the old settlers, Thomas Makin, alludes in his *Descriptio Pennsylvaniae*, 1729, dedicated to James Logan:—

Sed semel hæc rumor mendax clamavit ad arma,  
 Incola cui nimium credulus omnis erat.  
 Hæc malesana die fuit acta tragœdia quadam,  
 Cum convenerunt undique turba frequens;  
 Scilicet ut major fieret commotus in urbe,  
 Notior et mutis rumor ubique foret.  
 Usque adeo fuit hac confusus in urbe tumultus,  
 Ut neque tunc leges, ordo nec ullus erat.  
 Hic removeere sua instanti properabat ab hoste,  
 Ille nihil contra jussit ab urbe vehi:  
 Sed quodcunque sibi voluit dementia talis,  
 Hæc damno multis est memoranda dies:  
 Vespere sed tandem fuit hoc stratagema detectum,  
 Fabula tunc istam finiit acta diem.

See Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1797, i. 469.

to be there, he was sent about his business. This was the end of "powder money."

Evans, moreover, disgusted people by his loose living. Rumour attributed to him scandalous adventures with Indian squaws and white women,<sup>1</sup> and he seems to have been something of a tippler and a brawler withal; for once the watchman, "Solomon Cresson, going his rounds at night, entered a tavern to suppress a riotous assembly, and found there John Evans, Esq., the governor, who fell to beating Cresson."<sup>2</sup> On such occasions <sup>Penn's wretched son</sup> one of the governor's boon companions was young William Penn, the unworthy son of the Proprietor. The antics of this graceless boy nearly broke his father's heart.

These troubles were presently followed by a dire calamity. For steward of his province Penn had appointed one Philip Ford, who turned out to be a scoundrel. It was a fresh illustration of Penn's weakest point, an occasional slow- <sup>Philip Ford</sup>ness in recognizing the bad side of human nature. With all the worldly wisdom of which he had so much, Penn now and then showed a streak of guilelessness that reminds one of Tom Pinch. This trait helps us to understand his belief in the honesty of James II. The wretched Ford died in 1706, leaving a very murky set of accounts, and a widow and son as unscrupulous as himself. In these days Penn, in spite of his wealth, often found himself in need of ready money. Large sums were sunk in his holy experiment; his dissolute son had debts amounting to £10,000; and his daughter's husband, William Aubrey, a mean-spirited creature, extorted money from him. At one time Penn borrowed money of Ford, and mortgaged his province of Pennsylvania as security; when he repaid the loan, he neglected to get back from Ford the bond and mortgage. So after Ford's death his widow and son brought against Penn a trumped-up claim for £14,000, and petitioned Queen Anne to hand over to them the proprietorship of Pennsylvania. The base at-

<sup>1</sup> Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, ii. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* ii. 481.

tempt failed, but not until it had led to Penn's incarceration for nine months in the Fleet prison.

By 1712 Penn was on the point of selling for £12,000 his proprietary government to the crown, while retaining the landed estates which he owned in Pennsylvania.

Penn's illness and death But in the course of that year a paralytic stroke nearly put an end to his power of doing business.

He lingered for six years, with memory failing until he could scarcely recognize his nearest friends. The contemplated surrender of the proprietary government was never made; but after divers questions had been decided by the courts, it passed to the founder's three surviving sons by his second wife. Of these the eldest, John Penn, called "the American" because he was born in Philadelphia in 1700, died in England in 1746 without issue. The second brother, Thomas Penn, died in England in 1775, leaving two sons, John and Granville, both of whom attained distinction. The third brother, Richard Penn, died in England in 1771, leaving two sons, John and Richard, who were successively lieutenant-governors of Pennsylvania. When the proprietary government came to an end in 1776, it was in the possession of these heirs of Thomas and Richard. For seven years after the founder's death, while his three sons were still young, the interests of the proprietorship were managed with great ability by his widow.

One of the most important personages in the Quaker commonwealth was James Logan, the friend of the founder and representative of his ideas. This remarkable man, a native of Ulster, was descended from the Scotch Logans of Restabrig who lost their estates for connection with the mysterious

James Logan Gowrie conspiracy. James was an infant prodigy; at the age of twelve his attainments in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew had attracted much notice, and he afterward attained distinction in modern languages, mathematics, physics, and natural history. Penn brought him to Philadelphia on his second coming, in 1699, and for the next forty years he was always in some high position, — secretary of the









James Logan

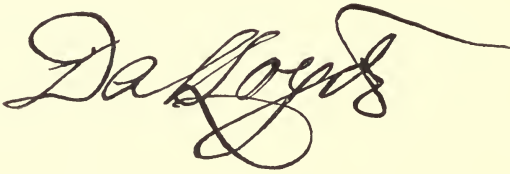


province, member of the council, judge of common pleas, chief justice, mayor of Philadelphia, and, in 1736-38, acting governor of Pennsylvania. Like his friend Penn, he knew how to win and keep the confidence of the red men, and it was in honour of him that the chieftain Tagahjutè received the name of Logan, long to be remembered for the tale of woe which cast such unjust aspersions upon the fame of Captain Michael Cresap.<sup>1</sup> The singular variety of his genius is shown by the fact that his friend Linnæus, in compliment to his botanical attainments, named after him a natural order of herbs and shrubs, the Loganiaceæ, containing some 30 genera in 350 species, of which *strychnos nux vomica* is one of the best known. He published Latin essays on reproduction in plants, and on the aberration of light; translated Cato's "Disticha" and Cicero's "De Senectute;" and bequeathed to the city his library of 2000 volumes, comprising all the Latin classics, and more than a hundred folios in Greek, with the original edition of Ptolemy's "Almagest" and Timon's commentary, "from my learned friend Fabricius, who published fourteen volumes of his 'Bibliotheca Græca' in quarto, in which, after he had finished his account of Ptolemy, on my inquiring from him at Hamburg how I should find it, having long sought for it in vain in England, he sent it to me out of his own library, telling me it was so scarce that neither price nor prayers could purchase it."

A very different figure was that of the stout Welshman, David Lloyd, whom Penn sent over in 1686 to be attorney-general of the province. At various times Lloyd <sup>David</sup> was member of the assembly and of the council, <sup>Lloyd</sup> judge of admiralty, and chief justice of the commonwealth. Without any pretence to such profound and varied attainments as Logan's, he was a learned jurist and had an extensive knowledge of Welsh history and philology. In politics Lloyd represented the popular party, while Logan stood for the proprietary interests and prerogatives of the Penns, and the strife between them was often intense and bitter. The

<sup>1</sup> See my *American Revolution*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 102.

general character of Pennsylvania politics early in the eighteenth century we have already indicated; the details are so closely implicated with the struggle against France that they will be best treated in my future volumes which are to deal with that mighty conflict. Lloyd was contentious, and his methods were sometimes objectionable, but they surely



helped to carry out Penn's democratic ideas to their logical conclusions.<sup>1</sup>

The associations connected with such men as Logan and Penn served at once to give something of a literary atmosphere to Philadelphia, which was greatly heightened after the return of Benjamin Franklin from London in 1726. The founding of the Philadelphia Library in 1731, of the American Philosophical Society in 1743, and of the University of Pennsylvania in 1749-55, were evidences of the rapid development of the Quaker commonwealth in scholarship and in literary tastes. In these respects Philadelphia was in contrast with New York, and by the middle of the eighteenth century her reputation for culture was second only to that of Boston and Cambridge. The immense contributions made by Franklin to the higher life of Philadelphia are a striking commentary upon the excellence of Penn's unflinching insistence upon "soul liberty." Franklin, though born in Boston, was hardly a product of the Puritan theocracy. His parents, who did not quit their ancient home in Northamptonshire until a few years before his birth, were Puritans of a liberal type who had but lately left the Church of England. The atmosphere of Boston was too stifling for the youthful Benjamin, who was born with the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government*, p. 97.

T H E

# Pennsylvania GAZETTE.

*Containing the freshest Advices Foreign and Domestic.*

From Thursday, September 25. to Thursday, October 2. 1729.

**T**H E Pennsylvania Gazette being now to be carry'd on by other Hands, the Reader may expect some Account of the Method we design to proceed in.

Upon a View of Chambers's great Dictionaries, from whence were taken the Materials of the Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, which usually made the First Part of this Paper, we find that besides their containing many Things abstruse or insignificant to us, it will probably be fifty Years before the Whole can be gone thro' in this Manner of Publication. There are likewise in those Books continual References from Things under one Letter of the Alphabet to those under another, which relate to the same Subject, and are necessary to explain and compleat it; these taken in their Turn may perhaps be Ten Years agoon. We therefore do not desire to acquaint themselves with any particular Art or Science, would gladly have the whole before them in a much less Time, we believe our Readers will not think such a Method of communicating Knowledge to be a proper One.

However, tho' we do not intend to continue the Publication of those Dictionaries in a regular Alphabetical Method, as has hitherto been done; yet as several Things exhibited from them in the Course of these Papers, have been entertaining to such of the Curious, who never had and cannot have the Advantage of good Libraries; and as there are many Things still behind, which being in this Manner made generally known, may perhaps become of considerable Use, by giving such Hints to the excellent natural Genius's of our Country, as may contribute either to the Improvement of our present Manufactures, or towards the Invention of new Ones; we propose from Time to Time to communicate such particular Papers as appear to be of the most general Consequence.

As to the Religious Courtship, Part of which has been retail'd to the Publick in these Papers, the Reader may be inform'd, that the whole Book will probably in a little Time be printed and bound up by it self; and those who approve of it, will doubtless be better pleas'd to have it entire, than in this broken interrupted Manner.

There are many who have long desired to see a good News-Paper in Pennsylvania; and we hope those Gentlemen who are able, will contribute towards the making This such. We ask Assistance, because we are fully sensible, that to publish a good News-Paper is not so easy an Undertaking as many People imagine it to be. The Author of a Gazette (in the Opinion of the Learned) ought to be qualified with an extensiv Acquaintance with Languages, a great Exactness and Command of Writing and Relating Things cleanly and intelligibly, and in few Words; he should be able to speak of War both by Land and Sea; be well acquainted with Geography, with the History of the Time, with the several Interests of Princes and States, the Secrets of Courts, and the Manners and Customs of all Nations. Men thus accomplish'd are very rare in this remote Part of the World; and it would be well if the Writer of these Papers could make up among his Friends what is wanting in himself.

Upon the Whole, we may assure the Publick, that as far as the Encouragement we meet with will enable us, no Care and Pains shall be omitted, that may make the Pennsylvania Gazette as agreeable and useful an Entertainment as the Nature of the Thing will allow.

The Following is the last Message sent by his Excellency Governour Burnet, to the Houe of Representatives in Boston.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

**I**T is not with out Hope as to convince you, that I take the Trouble to answer your Messages, but, if possible, to open the Eyes of the declud'd People whom you represent, and whom you are at so much Pains to keep in Ignorance of the true State of their Affairs. I need not go further for an undeniable Proof of this Endeavour to blind them, than your ordering the Letter of Melleurs With and Velcher of the 17th of June last to your Speaker to be published. This Letter is said (in Page 1. of your Vote) to include a Copy of the Report of the Lords of the Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council, with His Majesty's Ap- probation and Order thereon in Council; Yet those Gentlemen had at the same time the unparalleled'd Prejudgment to write to the Speaker in this Manner; You'll observe by the Contents, what is propos'd to be the Consequence of your not complying with His Majesty's Instruction (the whole Matter to be

temperament of a free-thinker, and soon began to hear himself called an "infidel." There can be no doubt that this circumstance was potent in turning the young man's attention to the more liberal Dutch and Quaker commonwealths,<sup>1</sup> and thus his footsteps were led to Pennsylvania, which could furnish more work for printers than New York. Thus Boston's loss was Philadelphia's gain.

In spite of their liberalism, the Quakers attached far less importance to education than the Puritans of New England.

Attitude of Quakers toward learning The majority of their preachers and instructors were men of high moral tone and spiritual insight with scant learning, like George Fox himself. Fox used to say that "God stood in no need of human learning," and that "Oxford and Cambridge could not make a minister." Quakers, in studying the Bible, depended upon their Inner Light rather than that critical interpretation of texts to which the orthodox Puritans attached so much importance. A knowledge of Hebrew, therefore, was not highly valued; and as for Greek and Latin literature, it was the unsanctified work of pagans, while the poets of France and Italy dealt with worldly and frivolous themes. In these respects we must remember that Penn was as far from being a typical Quaker as Milton, with his pervading artistic sense, his love of music and the theatre, and his long curling hair, was from being a typical Puritan. George Fox and John Cotton are respectively the typical men. The latter, who spent twelve hours a day in study and said, "I love to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin before I go to sleep," could write and speak fluently in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, besides carrying a ponderous burden of philological, metaphysical, and theological erudition. Among the Puritan divines of New England, real scholarship was commonly

<sup>1</sup> "I was rather inclined to leave Boston when I reflected that I had already made myself a little obnoxious to the governing party, . . . and farther, that my indiscreet disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror by good people as an infidel or atheist." Franklin's *Autobiography*, ed. Bigelow, 1868, p. 106.

found, and it was sometimes of a high order; and this was because sound scholarship was supposed to be conducive to



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

soundness in doctrines. This explains the founding of Harvard College in the wilderness in 1636.

To the Quaker, whose mind was directly illuminated by light from above, this elaborate equipment was mere rubbish. It was therefore not strange that in colonial times the higher education in Pennsylvania owed little to Quakers. They were nevertheless careful, as people of practical sense, to teach their children "the three R's," <sup>The first schools</sup> and it was unusual to find a member of the community who could not write and cipher. The first school in Philadelphia was opened in 1683, when the town was scarcely a year old.

In that humble establishment the master, Enoch Flower, taught reading for four shillings per quarter ; for six shillings the pupil could add writing, and for eight shillings arithmetic likewise, to his initial accomplishment. In 1689 the Society of Friends set up their public school, which was chartered by Penn in 1711.

The impulse toward literary culture, given from the outset by Penn and his friends, was visible in the early establishment of a printing-press, the first one south of The Brad- New England, by William Bradford, in 1685. In fords 1690 the same Bradford set up a paper-mill on the bank of the Schuylkill. After his removal to New York in 1693,<sup>1</sup> his son Andrew kept up the press, with a considerable bookstore, and in 1719 issued the first newspaper in the middle colonies. In 1735 he was finely established as a bookseller the sign of the Bible in Second Street, whence he afterward moved to South Front Street, and in 1741 began to publish "The American Magazine." In the following year Andrew's nephew, William Bradford, started the "Pennsylvania Journal," which was continued under that name until 1801, when it became "The True American." It was in Andrew Bradford's office that Franklin in 1723 found work as a compositor. The standard English books of the period could be found on the shelves of Philadelphia booksellers, and the demand for such works as Robertson's "Charles V." and Blackstone's "Commentaries" was so great that they were reprinted. Among Pennsylvanians who attained distinction for scientific or literary achievement were the astronomer David Rittenhouse, the botanists John Bartram and his son William, the self-taught mathematician Thomas Godfrey, one of the inventors of Hadley's so-called quadrant,<sup>2</sup> and his son Thomas, author of the first American dramatic

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> This useful instrument, which is more properly called a sextant, was invented by Thomas Godfrey and also by John Hadley. The Royal Society decided that both were entitled to the credit of the invention, and awarded to each a prize of £200.



# The AMERICAN Weekly Mercury,

December 22, 1759.

From the NORTH.

**H**AMBURGH August, 26. All Our Letters from Sweden, are full of the Dismal Ravages committed by the Muscovites there, Those *Semi Christian* have burnt the nine Towns of *Nyking, Nordkopping, North Telle, South Telle, Orvell, Oshammer, Otergrund, Koffenas, Orvela, &c.* with all the Castles and Gentlemens Seats near them & ruined all the Mines, westerly Destroy'd the Copper and Salt Works, burnt the Woods and carried Thousands of the People on Board their Gally's in Order to Transport them into *Russia*, the Damage is computed at several Millions, and a Hundred Years wont Retrieve the Loss the Country has Sustained in their Woods and Mines.

Whatever the End proposed by the Muscovite in the present Ravage of Sweden, may be, we think they have neither pursued the Maxims of Christianity or Human Policy.

It was the Maxim of *Augustus* the greatest and mightiest Czar that ever reigned on the Earth, that Princes who would be truly great should conquer for the Good of Mankind, and triumph only over themselves. The present Czar triumphs not over himself but lets his rage triumph over his Reason, his Passion triumphs over his Christianity, and his Revenge over his Humanity; he is tor for Conquering for the good of Mankind, that he seems to make the Destruction of Mankind the Design of his Conquests.

And we cannot but think that the Czar has Acted a most Impolitick as well as Unchristian part, in making a brave Warlike Nation the Hereditary Enemies of his Country by his Barbarous Usages. In short he has made a powerful Nation Desperate, and a Severe Revenge is become the popular Vow in Sweden, Princes often vow Revenge in their own or other people's Names and are restrained even by their own people, but when whole Nations Vow Revenge, they seldom give it over.

If it be not reckoned prudence to make a private Enemy or Army desperate, much less is it to make a Nation desperate. The Swedes, left in Possession of their Estates and Land, Houses and Towns, though reduced and brought low, nay, though even conquered, had been a Nation of Christians still, and being brought low by their Misfortunes, would, as it is most natural, to all People, have been the more humble and apt to submit to the Conqueror; but the Swedes ruined, starved, beggar'd, irretrievably impoverish'd, strip'd of all, their Houses, Towns, and Ships burnt, and destroyed, the whole Country laid waste, and themselves exposed to Hunger, Want, Nakedness, and all the Horrors of an approaching Lapland Winter; what will this make them, but an enraged Nation of meer desperate disaffected Men? and that is, in plain English, a Nation of wild Beasts; for without any Reproach upon the Swedes, who are a brave and gallant as well as generous and Christian Nation, a Man made desperate is more raging, more furious, more fierce than a Lyon; a Man Strip'd naked, injured, starved, oppressed, as a Bear robbed of her Whelps, and the braver and more daring he is, the more furious raging he grows, made mad by Oppression.

Letters from *Paris* are still surprizingly filled with the Progress of Monsieur *Lawes* and his new Company; the Subscription of fifty Millions in New Actions, which the King gave them Liberty to add to their Stocks, was filled up, in a few Hours; the Price it was fill'd up at being a thousand Livres for every Share of one hundred Livres of Original

Stock, has brought the Company in such an immense sum in Sixe, that it is no Wonder it is should be able to pay off the King's Debts of twelve hundred Millions, seeing they are Gainers by that particular Subscription, seeing they are hundred and fifty Millions at one Blow in ready Money, and 'tis now said they will still have Leave to advance and enlarge their Subscription for fifty millions more, and so on to fifty more, if they please, in which Case they may easily pay twelve hundred Millions, and it is said already from *Paris*, that they have eighteen hundred Millions in Cash now by them, in order to pay the publick Debts, if the People demand their Money, which it is thought no Body would do. They are now, it is talked there, to buy all the Plate with the old Species, and bring it into the Mint, and to oblige the People to part with it. *Mr. Lawes*, they say, has found out a miraculous Expedient for this, so advantageous that no Body will be able to resist it.

They write us further from *Paris*, that the Joy of the People there is not to be expressed, it is impossible to describe it: The poor find themselves all discharged at once from their Taxes and Provisions, which pinched them severely; and when the Turn-Pikes and Watch Houses which were set up at all the Out-Parts of the City were taken down, as they were began to be the 22d, the People went dancing and jumping about Streets as if they were distracted for Joy. They now pay out one Farthing Tax for Wood, Coal, Iron, Oyl, Oil, wine, Beer, Bread, Cards, Soap, Cattle, Fish, or, in a Word, for any thing; and a middling Family can now live cheaper in *Paris*, than they could a Week ago by a fifth Part, at least, of their Expence. The 23d the *Maréchal D'Estree* coming to see the Regent at the Opera, told him in publick, that he came to acquaint him with the good News which he had just received Advice of, that the Company's Ships had actually seized upon the Spanish Port of *Penacula*, at the most navigable mouth of the Mississippi, River in the Gulf of *Mexico*; which News the Regent received with great Satisfaction.

Among all their good News at *Paris* they have one affliction, which is very heavy upon them, that the *Small-Pox* makes terrible Havock amongst their great People; the *Marquis de Lamoignon*, Grandson to the famous Minister of State of that Name, Counsellor and Secretary of State to the late King, is dead of it; his Regiment of Horse is given to *Monsieur de Bismarck*, and his Office of Captain of the Band of a Hundred Swiss, is given to his Son, tho' at present he is not above six Months old.

It Causes some Speculations at *Paris*, that the *Marquis de Scotti* who, it was said, had Propos'd of peace to make from *Spain*, and to whom the Regent Refused to give Passports to go to the *Hague*, because he would not make known those Propositions, has at length, obtained the Passports without communicating his Proposals; and notwithstanding the Emperor opposed the receiving that Minister, as a person not acceptable to his Imperial Majesty.

They continue to say at *Paris*, that the Duke of *Berwick* pursues his March with the French Army towards *Carolina*; but they talk now, that he will not attempt the Siege of *Rofes*, but will march directly into *Carolina*, where the *Musquets* are, as they lay, in a Readiness to revolt, and to procure them the Restoration of all their Privileges whenever a Peace shall be made, and that no Peace shall be made with the King of *Spain*, but upon the same Condition of satisfying those *Miscontents*:

From the Camp before Messina August 6 N. S.

On the 23. past Sir George Byng left Naples and came off the Phare of Messina; and having had an Account that the Spanish Squadron in that Harbour were making ready as if they intended to push to Sea, he sent another Ship to strengthen Captain Walton, who lay within the Phare to watch the Motions of the Spanish Ships, and kept four with himself without the Phare, should they attempt coming out that Way. Hitherto the Spanish Ships continue in Messina, and it will be very difficult for them to get away. General Zuingen having remov'd from his Camp at Francavilla, where he left the Spanish Army in their Intrenchments, march'd by some Passes which were in the Enemy's Possession, and gave him little Opposition in his Way by them to Messina, before which Town the Imperialists are now encamp'd on the South end South West Part of it, and have form'd the Siege. The Pass of St. Alessio, which was taken in their March hither, is maintain'd still by the Imperialists, but they have quitt'd Taormina as lying too far off. General Mercy, arriv'd here from Reggio some Days ago; he has caus'd two Batteries of six Pieces of Cannon each, to be rais'd against the Castle Gozzaga, and has without much Loss carry'd on his Approaches so as to see Miners to work at

Fear of the Wall, by which or by Retach, he hopes to be Master of it in four or five Days. He has also a Battery of 12 Pieces of Cannon against the Bastion of the Town call'd Scretto, which has already done good Execution and last Night a Battery of eight Mortars began to play upon the Town. The Enemy is said to have 3000 Regular Troops in the Citadel and Town, of which the Marquis Spinola is Governor, who oblig'd the Burgesses to take Arms in Defence of the Place. However, it is judg'd that within a Fortnight after the taking of the Castle of Gozzaga, we may be Masters of the Town; tho' the Siege of the Citadel will be a Work of more Time. It is remark'd amongst the Country People that the Marquis de Lede will come to the Relief of the Place. The Hills and Eminences about the Town are possess'd by the Troops, and it will be difficult for the Spaniards to dislodge them. We are yet in no Apprehension they can give us much Disturbance, but promise our selves Success in taking the Town. At General Mercy's desire Sir George Byng came hither in his Boat Yesterday from his Ships which lie without the Phare to confer with him. This Evening Sir George will go over to the Squadron at Protevelia, to confer with Captain Walton who commands the Ships there, after which he will return to those without the Phare.

By subsequent Advices we are inform'd, that on the 7th of August, N. S. the Imperialists took the Castle of Gozzaga, and the Tower of the Phare; and that on the 9th the Town of Messina surrendered to them, without making any Conditions, submitting entirely to the Emperor's Mercy and Generosity.

#### LONDON.

One Mr. Harrius, an Engine-Maker adjoining to the Windmill near Cupid's Bridge on the Thames side, has made a Clock which is kept going by the Natural Motions of the Elements, without any other Supply or winding up to long as the Materials can last. The said Clock will be plac'd in the Front of his Work-house for publick View of such as pass that way by Water: This Clock has already been seen by some Gentlemen of the Royal Society, who have nam'd it the Lunar Chronometer, by Reason its Motion is continued by the Influence of the Moon's Attraction, and the Projector proposes to make St. Paul's Clock go by the same Motions.

PHILADELPHIA, December 22 By the Sloop *Somerset* and *Sarah*, Matthew Phillips Commander from Providence, we have received Advice that the *Spaniards*, having fitted Out Seven Ships, at the Havana with Soldiers and Ammunition to retake *Profecta*, near the Mouth of the *Mississippi River* and after-wards to goe and destroy the English Settlement at Providence were met at Sea by a *British* Squadron, who let but one Lieutenant, escape to carry news of their Wonderful Success.

Boston, Entered Inwards, Ralph Ellinwood, John Wharfe and John Prince, from Pileatoga, Joseph Gou is from New London, Timothy Yeals, from North Carolina, Lemuel Drew, Sterling, Josiah Carver, Unity, Joseph Farrington, Mary and Joseph Newel, Return from Barbados.

Cleared Outwards, Dan. Wah Jos. Jackson, and Thos. Miller for Pileatoga, Jonah, Chase for Rhode Island, Edward Wilkinson for Connecticut, Wm. Gold for Annapolis, Royal, John Jackson for New York, Jos. Prince, James Wall and Job Chamberlin for North Carolina, Edward Cooper, Lemuel Drew, Joseph Douglass and Eben. Newwood for Barbados, Dan. Beckman for South Carolina, Wm. Roby, for Antigua, Josiah Carver for West Indies and Archibald Blackader for London.

Outward Bound, Jos. Johnson, Jer. Simmons and John Royal for North Carolina, Jos. Gorham for Rhode Island and Connecticut, Charles Hogg, Venice, and James Withon Argile, for South Carolina, John Bulkley, John Foster's ship and John Whittemore, Robert for West Indies, Wm. Hedges Speedwell for Lecward Hand, Geo. Burtham, Mary and Abigail for Jamaica, John Ellery, Sarah and Peter Klog, Mary for Barbados, Eben Allen, Joseph and Mary for St. Thomas, John Bolderson, May-Bowser, for Lisbon, and Alex Beckley, Beaton, for Bristol.

New York, December 9th. On the 6th. Instant arriv'd Nathaniel Owen in a Sloop from Jamaica.

Entered Our Tackle, Fred and Bowditch Junior for Curacao, and Nicholas and Web for Barbados, cleared out Poss'd for Jamaica Welman and Rhein Most for St. Christophers.

#### PHILADELPHIA.

Entered Inwards, Sloop Unity Henry Stevens from Jamaica, Mary Galley Stephen Simmonds from London Matthew Phillips from Providence and Sierlock Rivers from Antigua.

Cleared Out, Brigantine Montrose David Lindley and the Dolphin Sloop Robert Palmer, for Jamaica Peck for Barbados, King and Nashy for Madeira, Ralph for Sierock Rivers for Barbados and Hadson for Catalia.

#### Advertisement.

This Paper will be Publish'd Weekly, and shall contain an impartial account of Transactions, in the Several States of Europe, America, &c. All Persons that are willing to Encourage so Useful an Undertaking at the Moderate rate of Ten Shillings, a Year for the City of PHILADELPHIA Fifteen Shillings, for New Jersey, New-York and Maryland Twenty Shillings, for Virginia, Rhode Island, and Boston Proclamation Money, (to be paid Quarterly) are desired to send their Names, and places of abode, to any of the following Persons, Viz.

Mr. William Bradford in New York, Mr. Evan Jones at the City of Annapolis Mr. Robinson, Post-Master at Williams-Burgh, Mr. Jacob Waller, at Hanon in Virginia Doctor Kyles at New-Castle, Mr. Thomas Hill, at Salem Mr. Campbell Post-master at Rhode Island, Mr. John Redley at Amby, Mr. John Cobard at Burlington and Mr. ANDREW BRADFORD, at Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA Printed, and Sold by ANDREW BRADFORD, at the Bible in the Second Street and John Cuyson in Market Street 1779.



DAVID RITTENHOUSE

work, "The Prince of Parthia." This tragedy, rapid and strong in action, and dignified, if somewhat monotonous and conventional in its language,<sup>1</sup> suggests that, had not the author been cut off at the early age of seven-and-twenty, he might have won honourable mention among English poets.

The first  
American  
drama

<sup>1</sup> On a stormy night two arch conspirators thus parley together :—

VARDANES. —Why rage the elements? They are not cursed  
Like me! Evanthe frowns not angry on them ;  
The wind may play upon her beauteous bosom,  
Nor fear her chiding ; light can bless her sense,  
And in the floating mirror she beholds  
Those beauties which can fetter all mankind.

At the time when the first American drama was written, the stage was generally viewed with strong disapproval, except in New York, where the first theatre was opened in 1761, in spite of some feeble remonstrances. In Philadelphia a little company of players undertook in 1749 to give the public a taste of Shakespeare under improvised conditions, but the performance was suppressed by the magistrates. After two or three further abortive attempts, the Old Southwark Theatre went into operation in 1766, and the most vehement efforts to close it were unsuccessful. It is worthy of note that, among the strait-laced persons who deemed it scandalous to look on at "Hamlet" or "Othello," there were not a few who took delight in cock-fighting and bull-baiting.<sup>1</sup>

Beginnings  
of the  
theatre

- LYSIAS. — My lord, forget her; tear her from your breast.  
Who, like the Phoenix, gazes on the sun,  
And strives to soar up to the glorious blaze,  
Should never leave ambition's brightest object,  
To turn and view the beauties of a flower.
- VARDANES. — O Lysias, chide no more, for I have done.  
Yes, I'll forget the proud disdainful beauty.  
Hence with vain love! ambition now alone  
Shall guide my actions. Since mankind delights  
To give me pain, I'll study mischief too,  
And shake the earth, e'en like this raging tempest.
- LYSIAS. — A night like this, so dreadful to behold,  
Since my remembrance' birth I never saw.
- VARDANES. — E'en such a night, dreadful as this, they say,  
My teeming mother gave me to the world.  
Whence by those sages who, in knowledge rich,  
Can pry into futurity and tell  
What distant ages will produce of wonder,  
My days were deemed to be a hurricane.
- LYSIAS. — Then, haste to raise the tempest.  
My soul disdains this one eternal round,  
Where each succeeding day is like the former.  
Trust me, my noble prince, here is a heart  
Steady and firm to all your purposes;  
And here 's a hand that knows to execute.  
Whate'er designs thy daring breast can form,  
Nor ever shake with fear.

See Godfrey's *Juvenile Poems*, ed. Evans, Philadelphia, 1767. The volume contains also, among other things, a poem in pentameter couplets, entitled "The Court of Fancy," a sort of study after Chaucer.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Miss Repplier's *Philadelphia*, p. 69.

The chief occupation of Pennsylvanians was agriculture, but there was also a brisk commerce, and towns grew up rapidly. Soon after the middle of the century, Philadelphia, with a population of 30,000, was the largest city of the English colonies ; Lancaster, with 10,000, was the largest inland town ; York was nearly as large ; while Wilmington and Newcastle, in Delaware, were thriving places. Wheat, timber, and furs were exported in such quantities as to employ more than 500 ships and 7000 sailors. Sugar, wines and liquors, and most kinds of manufactured articles, were imported ; but some manufactures flourished almost from the start. The ale brewed in Philadelphia soon became deservedly famous. Bradford's printing-press and paper-mill have already been mentioned, and good German glass was made at Germantown and Manheim.

Agriculture  
and com-  
merce



OLD SOUTHWARK THEATRE

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the export of pig iron to England reached 3000 tons.

In such a community negro slavery could not come to be regarded as an economic necessity. As a rule, every farmer owned the house in which he dwelt, and the land

which he cultivated with the aid of the members of his family and hired servants. But there were a good many indented white servants,<sup>1</sup> partly convicts and kidnapped waifs, but in greater part Irish and German "redemptioners" who sold themselves into temporary servitude to defray the cost of their ocean voyage. In the eighteenth century, probably more such redemptioners came to Pennsylvania than to any of the other colonies. They were in general kindly treated. The regular term of service was four years, with five days additional for every day of truancy. They could not be sold out of the province without their consent freely given in open court, or before a justice of the peace; and good behaviour entitled them at the end of their service to a suit of clothes and a set of farm tools. These white freedmen often became useful and respectable members of society.

From the first there were negro slaves in Pennsylvania, used mostly for household service, but seldom as field-hands except in Delaware. But the Quaker conscience was aroused on the subject of slavery at a time when other Christians could see nothing wrong in it. The Memorial of 1688, in which the German Friends of Germantown protested against "the buying and keeping of negroes," is still in existence. During the next half-century the assembly laboured assiduously to check the importation of slaves by imposing prohibitory duties on such traffic. Some years before 1776 slaves had ceased to be brought into Pennsylvania. In 1758 the Yearly Meeting enjoined all Friends to set free their slaves, "making a Christian provision for them." Many complied, but a few held out until "in 1776 a declaration of independence for all slaves held by Friends was decreed, and monthly meetings were directed, after proper effort, to exclude from membership all Quakers who refused to comply."<sup>2</sup> Long before the Revo-

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the subject of indented servants at some length in *Old Virginia and her Neighbours*, Illustrated Edition, ii. 159-171.

<sup>2</sup> Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment*, pp. 31-33.



to ye. What? Meeting at 11 o'clock  
I have not time to say more  
I have done as I did at  
a slave for all the time of his life  
How fearful & faithless are many on sea when they see a frigate  
sailing & being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be taken  
I do for slaves into Turkey. How what is this to Mr. Dove  
Turks do? you rather in it, or for them, or say they are Christian  
for we hear that ye most part of such rages are wrought heathen  
against their will, & consent, and that many of them are fallen  
Now tho' they are black, we are not wiser, there is more liberty  
to have them slaves as it is to have they white ones. There is a  
saying that we shall do to a black man, black, as we will be done.  
our selves, making no difference of what generation, descent or  
colour they are. And those who steal or buy men, and those who buy  
or encourage them, are they not all a black? Here is liberty of con-  
science to be with liberty



This is from the ...

John ...  
Francis ...

... 1788 ...  
... but do rather ...  
... of ...

... monthly meeting ...  
... matter ...  
... expectant ...  
... meeting ...

... meeting ...  
... of ...

... meeting ...  
... of ...

END OF PROTEST WITH SIGNATURES

FACSIMILE OF PROTEST (1688) AGAINST "THE BUYING AND KEEPING OF NEGROES"



lution the practice of manumission had been sufficiently frequent to create a much larger class of free blacks than could be found in any of the other colonies.

The Quaker spirit in dealing with pauperism and crime was equally admirable, although with regard to capital punishment it proved impossible to realize the ideal of Penn and confine the death penalty to cases of murder and treason. The list of capital offences grew to fourteen, including highway robbery, horse-stealing, and counterfeiting. In 1731 Catherine Bevan was burned alive at Newcastle for the murder of her husband. It was intended to strangle her before the fire could reach her, but a sudden outburst of flame severed the rope, and drove away the executioner, so that she died in torment. For larceny, fornication, and assault, the usual penalties were pillory and whipping-post. It was said that the indented white servants furnished the great majority of offenders. In 1703 we find the grand jury presenting all persons known to play at cards in public; nine persons at one time for selling strong drink without a license; "John Walker for using Sassafras Street as a ropewalk;" three barbers for "trimming people on First day," etc.<sup>1</sup>

Crimes and  
punish-  
ments

The practice in such matters was therefore not very different from that of the other colonies. But Pennsylvania was honourably distinguished for the good care of prisons and the humanity of prison discipline. Visitors from Europe remarked upon Philadelphia prisons as the best in the world. Philadelphia had also the only lunatic asylum in America that was managed upon something like modern methods. It had, moreover, an excellent hospital, a reform school, and no city in the world devoted a larger share of time and thought to philanthropic purposes. In all this we see the direct influence of Quakerism, and of the ideals of William Penn.

Philan-  
thropy

Indeed, to cite the words of the illustrious lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, on retiring from his place as speaker of the as-

<sup>1</sup> Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, i. 308, 309.

sembly, in 1739: "It is not to the fertility of our soil or the commodiousness of our rivers that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this province has made within so small a compass of years in improvements, wealth, trade, and navigation, and the extraordinary increase of people who have been drawn from every country in Europe; it is all due to the excellency of our Constitution. Our foreign trade and shipping are free from all imposts except those small duties payable to His Majesty by the statute laws of Great Britain. The taxes are inconsiderable, for the sole power of raising and disposing of public money is lodged in the assembly. . . . By many years' experience we find that an equality among religious societies, without distinguishing one sect with greater privileges than another, is the most effective method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practice of moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischiefs which always attend religious squabbling. This is our Constitution, and this Constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn."

Hamilton was right in attributing the extraordinary increase of people drawn from all parts of Europe to the excellency of Penn's ideas. Although Pennsylvania began her existence seventy-five years later than Virginia and fifty-two years later than the colony of Massachusetts Bay, although she was the youngest of all the colonies save Georgia, yet before the Revolution she had come to rank next after Virginia and Massachusetts in populousness. The chief elements in this rapid increase were two great streams of immigration — the Palatinate German and Scotch-Irish streams — which were drawn thither in consequence of Penn's ideas. One of the most interesting aspects in which to consider Pennsylvania is as the chief centre of diffusion of the people who became afterward the pioneers of the democratic West. In our next and concluding chapter, something must be said concerning this matter.

Hamilton's  
tribute to  
Penn

Signifi-  
cance of  
Pennsylva-  
nia's rapid  
growth

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE MIGRATIONS OF SECTS

THE colonies of New York and Pennsylvania were not only more heterogeneous in population than any of the others, but they were the principal centres of distribution of the non-English population from the seaboard to the Alleghany mountains. In the New England colonies, during the seventeenth century, the non-English element might most succinctly be described by saying that there was no such element; in the eighteenth century it was extremely small, though not without importance. Virginia and Maryland also were at first purely English, but the tidewater region, in the eighteenth century, received some foreign accessions and the Appalachian region far more. Among the oldest colonies, therefore, New York was the only one which had any considerable foreign population, and there it formed a large majority of the whole. Of the younger colonies the two Carolinas had a large foreign element among the dwellers on the seaboard, and still larger in the back country. But all this mountain population, in the Carolinas as well as in Virginia and Maryland, entered the country by way of Pennsylvania; and this migration was so great, both in its physical dimensions and in the political and social effects which it has wrought, that Pennsylvania acquires especial interest as the temporary tarrying-place and distributing centre for so much that we now call characteristically American.

Centres of distribution of the non-English population

Of the different classes of non-English immigrants during the colonial times, while all were represented in the city of New York, the Jews and the French Protestants settled chiefly on the seaboard, and on the other hand the Germans

and the so-called Scotch-Irish found their way in great numbers to what was then the western frontier. We must devote a few words to each of these classes.

The city of New York has always been the principal home of the Jews in the United States, and it was in connection with the Dutch enterprise in founding New Netherland that they were first brought here. It was from various quarters, but mainly from the Spanish peninsula that they had come to Holland. In all the history of this wonderful people there is no more brilliant chapter than that of their career in Spain under the Mohammedan dynasties between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. In point of civilization, in the days when Philip Augustus and lion-hearted Richard went together on their crusade, such cities as Toledo and Cordova were as far in advance of London and Paris as London and Paris are now in advance of Toledo and Cordova, and in this Spanish preëminence the Jews played a foremost part. Such men as Ibn Gebirol and Maimonides were the great teachers of their time, and influences wafted across the Pyrenees had much to do with the Albigensian culture in southern France. As the Christians in Spain slowly conquered and drove back the Mussulmans, the persecution of Jews began and steadily increased in virulence, until the year 1492, which witnessed the surrender of Granada and downfall of the last Moorish kingdom, saw also the abominable edict which drove from their homes and their native land 200,000 honest and industrious Spanish citizens of Hebrew race and faith. In that eventful year, when an inscrutable Providence put into the hands of Spain the rich prize of America, did she enter upon that course of wholesale persecution which proved her to be unworthy of such opportunities and incapable of using them. The cost of Columbus's second voyage was partly defrayed with stolen money, the property of Jews who had been dragged on ship-board and carried over to Morocco. Meanwhile several industries received a death-blow, and in particular many cities were left without a single physician or any person qualified

to act as notary public.<sup>1</sup> But the edict of 1492, savagely as it was executed, did not suffice to remove all Jews, and for



SPINOZA

the next century a large part of the work of the Inquisition consisted in burning them and seizing their goods.

The revolt of the Netherlands gave them an opportunity for emigration of which they were not slow even to avail themselves, and by the end of the sixteenth century they were to be found in all the cities of Holland, especially in Amsterdam, whereby Andrew Marvel was provoked to write a poem in which that city is said to

Their mi-  
gration to  
the Nether-  
lands

<sup>1</sup> Graetz, *Les Juifs d'Espagne*, 121.

have its "bank of conscience," where "all opinions find credit and exchange ;" yea, continues the poet, with what is meant for withering sarcasm : —

" The Universal church is only there." <sup>1</sup>

Among these settlers in Holland were some from Poland and Germany, but the great majority were from the Spanish peninsula, and some of the most highly cultivated of these were Portuguese. Of such parents was born at Amsterdam, in 1732, Benedict Spinoza, one of the most exalted names in all the history of human thought and human character.

In Holland, as usual, many of the Jews were bankers. They were liberal subscribers to the stock of the West India Company, and there were several Hebrew names on the list of directors. When the Dutch took possession of Brazil in 1624, a party of Jews went over and settled there ; but in 1645 the Portuguese rose against the Dutch and after nine years of desultory fighting compelled them to sign a treaty in which they gave up all claim to the country. As for the resident Jews, the Portuguese agreed to give them "an amnesty, in all wherein they could promise it," — too vague an assurance to be very assuring. In the autumn of that year, 1654, the barque Santa Caterina arrived at New Amsterdam from Brazil, with 27 Portuguese Jews on board, men, women, and children. They had apparently embarked in haste, taking such effects as they could, for upon their arrival at Manhattan the skipper sold all their goods at public auction to pay for their passage. Another party presently came from the Dutch island of Curaçoa. These arrivals did not please Director Stuyvesant, who wrote home to the Company, begging that "none of the Jewish nation be permitted to infest New Netherland." Before getting an answer he contrived to annoy the newcomers, so that some went to Newport, feeling sure of toleration there, while others stayed at Manhat-

Arrivals of  
Jews in  
New Neth-  
erland  
and Rhode  
Island

<sup>1</sup> Daly, *Jews in North America*, 3.



tan in the hope of being set right by the Company's orders. In that hope they were not disappointed. The Company replied to Stuyvesant that his request "was inconsistent with reason and justice," and the States General followed this up with the act of July 15, 1655, "expressly permitting the Jews to trade to New Netherland, and to reside there, only on the simple condition that they should support their own poor."<sup>1</sup> This condition has been well fulfilled, for such a kind of person as a Jewish pauper has seldom been seen.

The incidents here recounted were the beginnings of thrifty and valuable Jewish settlements in New York and Rhode Island. After the English conquest of New Netherland, the Duke of York was led, as we have seen, by considerations of expediency, to continue the liberal policy of the Dutch. The instructions to Governor Andros, on his first coming, were to give full toleration to persons "of what religion soever," but perhaps the failure to exclude Jews may have been due to oversight; for this clause was omitted from the instructions to Governor Dongan, and when in 1685 the Jewish residents in New Amsterdam petitioned for leave to build a synagogue, he referred the petition to the mayor and common council, who refused to grant it, on the ground that toleration of public worship extended only to sects professing faith in Christ. But Dongan, himself an Irish Catholic, was a man of extremely liberal views. Next year, whether at his own instance or not, a fresh set of instructions was sent him, in which the omitted clause was restored. Probably Dongan took advantage of this to grant the Jews' petition, for neither Andros, who came back as his successor, nor Leisler, was at all likely to take such a step; and we know that in 1691 the Jews had a place for public worship. In 1695 there were 20 families, or probably about 100 souls, in the city, and their little synagogue stood on the south side of the present Beaver Street, midway between Broadway and Broad Street. In 1712 an English clergyman informs us that one can learn

The syn-  
gogue in  
New York

<sup>1</sup> Daly, *op. cit.* 10.

Hebrew in New York as easily as in Europe, because of divers ingenious and learned men of that nation that dwell there. In 1748 the Swedish traveller, Peter Kalm, tells of the fine shops, the large country estates, and the richly freighted ships belonging to the Jews whom he visited in New York. At that time they possessed all civil rights and privileges in common with the other inhabitants, except that of voting for members of the legislature. In 1737 this point was decided by the New York assembly itself in a contested election case. The decision was that, since Jews did not possess the parliamentary franchise in England, they did not possess it in New York, in the absence of any special enactment for that purpose.

It may have been because New York absorbed so large a part of the Jewish immigration that comparatively little was left for Pennsylvania. There were nevertheless a good many Jews in Philadelphia, and some were citizens of great influence. The name of Haym Salomon, a very wealthy Polish Jew, deserves to be coupled with that of Robert Morris for the financial aid which he extended to Congress during the War of Independence. Mr. Salomon advanced to the United States nearly \$700,000, not a cent of which was ever repaid.

The difference in point of liberality between William Penn's idea of toleration and Cecilius Calvert's idea was shown in the fact that Maryland's deservedly famous Toleration Act extended only to Trinitarians. By that very act disbelief in the doctrine of the Trinity was made a crime punishable with death. We need not be surprised, therefore, that Jews did not flock to Maryland. But in Georgia and South Carolina, where a more liberal policy was pursued toward them, a good many found homes and proved valuable citizens. At the time of the Revolution the principal Jewish population of North America was in Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah.

The French Protestants next claim our attention. Dur-

ing the seventeenth century, while the colonization of North America was going on, they met with their final defeats in France, and thereafter continued to exist merely on sufferance until even that privilege was withdrawn. There was something extraordinary in this tragic end of a mighty struggle, and to us who look back upon it after this interval it is one of the most impressive spectacles in history. In 1558, when Elizabeth ascended the English throne, while Martin Luther's Reformation was not yet <sup>The</sup> Huguenots half a century old, its prospects of success seemed at least as bright in France as in England. Within four years at least 2000 Protestant churches had sprung up in France, and with their local consistories and provincial synods, sustaining a national synod, a powerful and aggressive Calvinistic organization was rapidly coming to the front. Half the aristocracy, including a large majority of the noblemen below forty years of age, were in favour of the Reform, and of the clergy a strong party comprising one cardinal, one archbishop, six bishops, and hundreds of priests, were numbered among its friends. But, on the other hand, not more than one tenth of the people had become Protestants. An educated rural middle class, such as played so great a part in England and planted Virginia and New England, did not exist in France. The peasantry through sheer conservatism kept on in the old ways. The popular strength of the reformers was chiefly among the urban middle class, educated craftsmen, merchants, and professional men; this class was hampered in national action for want of rural support. Below it the populace, whether conservative or anarchist, looked upon the respectable middle class chiefly as fit subjects for plunder and murder. The mob of Paris, which in the midst of civilization for age after age remains an untamed primeval tiger, was the deadly enemy of the reformers. There was another circumstance; the submission of the great nobles to the overshadowing power of the crown was not yet completed, so that the Protestant cause, when upheld by these nobles against the crown, ran counter to the popular instinct of national unity.

In spite of all these drawbacks the Protestants made a noble fight, and had it not been for the untoward issue of another great struggle, more than three centuries earlier, even they might very probably have triumphed. One of the blackest chapters in European history is that which records the ruin of a brilliant civilization and wholesale slaughter of a noble people in the thirteenth century in what we are used to call the south of France. It is a commonplace remark that religions thrive upon persecution, and that truth is sure in the long run to prevail. It is nevertheless true that a sufficiently thorough persecution may inflict such damage upon mankind as many long ages may fail to repair. Nothing can be clearer than that France has not yet recovered from the horrors wrought nearly seven hundred years ago in Languedoc. The Albigenses of France were exterminated. When the last 200 of them were shut up within palisades in a high gorge of the Pyrenees and burnt to death in a holocaust, it was the end of all that their preachings and their modes of life could do for France. Could these influences have survived, in all probability the aspirations afterward represented by the Huguenots would have so far prevailed that the moral tone of the whole nation in the seventeenth century would have been far higher than it was, the absolutism reached under Louis XIV. might have been avoided and the awful retribution of 1793 might have been escaped.

Every one will remember how in 1555 the great Coligny entertained the idea, which afterward passed from him to Sir Walter Raleigh, of founding a Protestant state in America. His two attempts, in Brazil and in Florida, both ended in grim disaster. In 1603 a scheme not wholly dissimilar was put into operation by Henry IV., when he made a grant of Acadia to Pierre du Gua, the Sieur du Monts, a sagacious and valiant Huguenot knight of Saintonge. To him was entrusted the enterprise of founding a colony where liberty of conscience was to be respected. Under his auspices the first attempts

Effect of  
the exter-  
mination  
of the  
Albigenses

Defeat of  
Coligny's  
schemes for  
a Huguenot  
colony in  
America

were made in Acadia and Samuel de Champlain founded a trading-post at Quebec ; but the enterprise did not flourish. In 1610 the murder of the great king deprived the Huguenots of their best friend ; and in the course of the next year the Sieur du Monts sold out his rights in New France to Madame de Guercheville, by whom the work of colonization in the New World was handed over to the Jesuits. Thus all hopes of a colony where Huguenots might live peaceably were at an end.

After Henry's death the Protestants in France saw more and more reason for anxiety lest the privileges which he had extended to them in the Edict of Nantes should be curtailed. The brief war which ended with the loss of Rochelle in 1628 was a heavy blow to them. The same reign witnessed the cessation of the meetings of the national legislature, and presently with the failure of the Fronde rebellion the absolute despotism of Louis XIV. was riveted upon unhappy France. At this time many Huguenots fled to Holland, whence some of them made their way to New Netherland. The Bayards, one of whom was the wife of Peter Stuyvesant, were a prominent Huguenot family, and from this time more or less migration from France to the Hudson River was kept up.

First arrivals of Huguenots in New Netherland

In April, 1655, occurred the awful massacre of Waldenses in Piedmont which called forth from John Milton that solemn denunciation, like the message of a Hebrew prophet :—

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,” etc.

The Elector Palatine, who was one of the leading Protestant powers of Germany, offered a refuge to the persecuted Waldenses, and many made their way through Switzerland to the Palatinate, where some stayed while others kept on to Holland and so to America. A colony of these interesting primitive Protestants was formed upon Staten Island in 1662. Many Huguenots also found a refuge in the Palatinate, as well as Walloons, who were be-

Arrivals of Waldenses and Walloons

ginning to suffer fresh molestation in the Flemish Netherlands. A party of such Walloons, led by Louis du Bois, made up their minds in 1660 to remove from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Hudson. They settled in Esopus, in what is now Ulster county, and there made the beginnings of the towns of Kingston and New Paltz, the name of which commemorates their brief sojourn on the Rhine.

In 1661, in his twenty-third year, Louis XIV. took the government of France into his own hands, and in the same year entered upon a series of measures designed to undermine and neutralize the Edict of Nantes. It was decreed that Protestant boys might lawfully abjure the faith of their parents at fourteen years and girls at twelve years. This rule was soon made to justify the most shameless kidnapping. Any child who could be coaxed or bribed with trinkets to enter a church while mass was going on, or even to repeat a verse of Ave Maria in the street, was liable to be forthwith claimed as a Catholic and dragged off to some convent, and the courts paid no heed to the protests and entreaties of the outraged parents. Protestant schools were shut up by sovereign decree. Sometimes the buildings which they had erected for the purpose were confiscated and handed over to Jesuits. The dull egotist at Versailles had but to say what should be done, and it was done. Thus the five great Protestant colleges, including that one at Saumur where William Penn had studied, were broken up. Protestant churches were shut up either on slight pretexts or without a word, or were now and then burned by a mob with the connivance of the magistrates. Huguenots, moreover, were excluded from many public offices, and were forbidden to practice law or medicine, or to print or sell books. Huguenot women were not allowed to be milliners or laundresses.

Finally in 1681 began the infamous *dragonnades*. All over the kingdom troops were quartered upon Huguenot households, as if in an enemy's country, with liberty to commit any outrage short of murder. Upon this

The *dragonnades*

device the king especially plumed himself. At the same time he issued a decree lowering the age at which children might abjure Protestantism to seven years. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes followed in 1685, but the great Huguenot exodus began in 1681. Immediately England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and the Protestant states of Germany offered especial inducements to these people. They were at once to be naturalized, with all the rights and privileges of born subjects; in England sums of money were subscribed toward the expenses of their journey thither, and all their goods were admitted free of custom-house charges; in Holland they were exempted from all taxes for twelve years. Thus there came about such a migration as the civilized world has rarely seen; within twenty years something like a million Huguenots fled from their country, or at least seven per cent. of the entire population. As soon as the king discovered that such an exodus was beginning, he issued decrees forbidding Protestants to leave the kingdom under heavy penalties, and guards were stationed on the frontiers to intercept them, while cruisers patrolled the coasts. But these measures were ineffective, for popular sentiment was very far from keeping pace with the tyrant's besotted zeal, and many fugitives were helped on their way by compassionate Catholics. Drink-money, too, played exactly the same part as now and always. Guards for a small tip, instead of detaining refugees, would pass them on or even furnish them with guides; and captains of ships were equally obliging. Where such methods were unavailable, people travelled on foot by night or disguised as peasants, driving a cow, or carrying a hod, or trundling a wheelbarrow; wealthy men and women, clothed in rags, begged from door to door; and so in one way or another the exodus was accomplished.

The Huguenot exodus

Concerning the damage which this wholesale emigration inflicted upon France, little need be said, for the tale has often been told. It cannot be expressed in statistics. This seven per cent. of the total French population included a far

higher proportion of skilled craftsmen, prosperous merchants, professional men and scholars. So largely was the marine represented that the French navy has never recovered from the loss. And then there was the weeding out of a certain earnest Puritan type of character which no nation can afford to weaken. Altogether this emigration was in many respects a skimming of cream.

The Huguenots were largely represented in the maritime provinces of Normandy, Brittany, Saintonge, and Languedoc, and sometimes they made the voyage directly to America. But more often the first flight was to England or Holland, where parties were formed for crossing the ocean. There was no part of English or Dutch America where they were not welcome. They maintained friendly relations with the Church of England as well as with the Independents in Boston. Numbers came to Massachusetts and Virginia, but much greater numbers to New York and South Carolina. In Boston the marks of them are plentiful. Opposite the hotel named for Paul Revere, in the square named for James Bowdoin, comes the street named for Pierre Chardon, of Touraine, whence it is but a short walk to the public hall

built by the grandson of Pierre Faneuil, of Rochelle. The family of Governor Bowdoin, or Baudouin, was a cultured and respectable one in southwestern France. The French look of the name is not always so well preserved as in those cases; sometimes it is quite anglicized. Thus the name of the Salem family of Brownes, eminent in the eighteenth century, is simply the translation of Le Brun, from the island of Jersey; and the name of Philip English, which is remembered in connection with the witchcraft panic, was L'Anglois, from the same island. So Olney represents Aulnoy, and Dabney, of Massachusetts and Virginia, is curtailed from D'Aubigné; and not only such names as Gillet and Lambert, but now and then a Collins, or a Lewis, or a Basset, or a Lawrence, may indicate French origin. Louis XIV., who had a capacity for details, liked to gather information concerning these refugees. Reports

Terrible  
loss to  
France

The Hu-  
guenots in  
Boston



from Canada assure him that there are many of the "vile miscreants" on the Hudson River, and on a map of Boston, drawn for the king in 1693, the situation of the Huguenot meeting-house, on the south side of School Street, is shown by the words "renegats françois," French renegades. But not all settled in Boston. There were the Le Barons at Plymouth, and the Sigourneys, Bernons, Bondets, Germaines, and Martins at the village of Oxford, up in the Nipmuck country, until an Indian massacre dispersed them in 1696.

Nowhere, however, did Huguenots fill a larger place than in New York. There came Jacques Desbrosses from Poitou, whose grandson was President of the Chamber of Commerce, the first organized mercantile society in America, and whose family name is left upon a well-known street and ferry. There came Étienne de Lancey, from Caen, whose son James was chief justice and lieutenant-governor of New York, and from the neighbouring city of Rouen came Guillaume Le Conte, among whose descendants in these latter days are numbered two of the most eminent men of science that our country has produced. In 1689 a party of these Frenchmen obtained from acting-governor Jacob Leisler a grant of land on Long Island Sound, where they founded the pretty town of New Rochelle. In 1693 they built a church there, but before this was accomplished the settlers used to walk every Sunday morning to New York, a distance of 20 miles, to attend the regular service at the Église du Saint Esprit, in Pine Street, and then they would walk back in the evening. Four times a year — at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Michaelmas — the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered at New Rochelle, but at all other times it was necessary to go to the city. First the young children were carefully gathered together and left in charge of faithful friends. Then the procession started, with measured tread keeping time to music as men's and women's voices joined with fervour in some grand old psalm of Clement Marot. At a half-way place where a huge rock was shaded by cedars

Huguenots  
in New  
York

New  
Rochelle

and fragrant pines they rested and took lunch, and then went on their way. We are assured that it was no unusual thing for men and women to do the 40 miles.<sup>1</sup> For more than half a century they retained their native speech.

In the ancient city of Rochelle, whence most of these devoted worshippers came, one of the most important families was that of the Jays, apparently a branch of the Jays who were lords of Montonneau in Poitou. From that province, as early as 1565, the first Jean Jay whom we know, already converted to Protestantism, had come to live in Rochelle.

The Jay family His descendant, Pierre Jay, who was living there in 1685, was a wealthy merchant. One day in October a corps of 7000 fusileers from Béarn marched into Rochelle and began plundering as if in an enemy's country. The house of Pierre Jay was one of those that had been especially marked out for pillage. He succeeded in getting his wife and children out of the house, and, although the shore was closely patrolled on land by troops of cavalry and watched from the sea by warships, he contrived to elude this guard and put them safely on board a vessel that was just starting for Plymouth in England. After they had sailed out of harm's way they were missed, and Jay was forthwith thrown into prison for assisting them to escape. Some Catholic friends procured his release, but there was manifestly no hope of saving his property. He was expecting, however, one of his own ships from Spain, with a rich cargo of which he was sole owner. Taking into his confidence a bold and faithful pilot, he bade him watch out at sea for the ship and not let her come ashore but bring her to anchor off the island of Rhé. This was punctually done, and Jay, after lying hidden for some hours in the bottom of the pilot-boat, so near to a royal cruiser that he could hear the sailors talk, at length boarded his own ship and sailed away to Plymouth. Shortly afterward his eldest son, Auguste, returning from a

<sup>1</sup> Bolton's *Hist. of the County of Westchester*, 1848, i. 400. A slight pinch of salt seems to be needed, which I will leave it for the reader to supply at discretion.

voyage to Africa, found the homestead deserted and dismantled, and all the property of the family confiscated. He contrived to slip on board a ship bound for the West Indies, and after a while the family were all united in the hospitable city of New York.

One of Pierre Jay's friends and neighbours in Rochelle was the ancestor of Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, and in the next town, only eleven miles away, dwelt the ancestor of Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey ;— three presidents of our Continental Congress from one little corner of the coast of France ! In Benjamin West's well-known picture of the American Commissioners at Paris, in 1783, John Jay and Henry Laurens are standing while the others sit, and Laurens's face is turned with a satisfied expression toward Jay, who had detected and defeated the insidious scheme of France which would fain have made the independent United States stop short at the Alleghany Mountains. When all the past circumstances crowd in upon our memory, there is something deeply impressive in the picture.

Three  
presidents  
of Congress

The Huguenots, as we have observed, were free to come to any of the American colonies, but showed a marked preference for New York and South Carolina. The choice of the Quakers, and of various German sects akin to them, was much more limited, and after the founding of Pennsylvania offered them such strong inducements, they were sure to go there. For the Quakers the state which Penn founded ensured them a much greater and more useful future than they could have had in England, where they have dwindled in numbers to less than 15,000. In America there are probably not less than 150,000. From Pennsylvania they have been to some extent distributed in the west and southwest, and the civilizing work which they have done, especially perhaps in the eighteenth century in North Carolina, has been of inestimable value. It was the coming of the Quakers to Pennsylvania in 1681

Dimen-  
sions of the  
Quaker ex-  
odus from  
England

that brought also the first Germans. They came and made their first home in Germantown, hard by Philadelphia, and the reasons for their coming were closely connected with the sympathy between their views and those of the Quakers. We have seen how William Penn, who was himself half a Dutchman, made visits occasionally to Holland, and extended them into preaching tours through portions of Germany. He thus discovered many kindred spirits and held out inducements for them to come to his new colony. The

The Men-  
nonites and  
Dunkers first to come were the Mennonites, who were spiritual descendants of the mediæval Quietists, and may probably have contained in their ranks a few Waldenses and Anabaptists. Their differences from the Quakers were so slight that they often held meetings together, and it was not uncommon to hear the Mennonites called German Quakers. In Germany and Switzerland they were savagely persecuted by Protestant and Catholic alike; so they gladly followed Penn to the New World. Their leader, Francis Daniel Pastorius, was an enthusiastic scholar, studying science, philosophy, jurisprudence, or whatever came to hand, and reading eight or ten languages. The Mennonites were followed by the Dunkers, a sect of German Baptists who came to Pennsylvania between 1719 and 1729, leaving none of their number behind. There are said to be more than 200,000 in the United States to-day. About 1732, under the preaching of a singular mystic, Conrad Beissel, a portion of this sect broke off as Seventh Day Baptists, and founded a community at Ephrata, in some respects analogous to those of the Shakers. An interesting feature of these German sects is their learning and their devotion to literature. The Ephrata Community printed religious books in handsome type upon very fine paper; and they also knew good music. Besides these sects were the Labadists and Moravians, whom I must for the present dismiss with this mere mention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See in this connection the admirable work of Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1895.

Another migration from Germany, of a different kind and far more numerous, was that which came from the Rhenish Palatinate. The nearness of that province to Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté, upon which Louis XIV. waged a war of conquest, often brought serious trouble upon it. The first devastation of the Palatinate in 1674 is the one dark spot upon the honourable career of Tur-<sup>The Palatines</sup>renne, but it had a strategic excuse. The second devastation, in 1688, partly intended as a chastisement for harbouring Huguenots, was far more barbarously performed. Sad havoc was wrought at Heidelberg and Mannheim, and that beautiful country did not recover itself for more than two generations. Thousands of peasantry were reduced to a state of abject misery. This attracted the attention of British statesmen in the reign of Queen Anne, and a systematic effort was made to induce them to come to England in order to be shipped to America.<sup>1</sup> Thus in the years 1708 and 1709 more than 30,000 Germans crossed the Channel, and were soon afterward brought in English ships to New York and the Carolinas, but above all to Pennsylvania. This was but the beginning of a vast stream of migration in which Palatine peasants were taken down the Rhine to Rotterdam and there shipped to Philadelphia. Some, indeed, came to New York and settled in the Mohawk valley, where they gave us Nicholas Herkimer in the Revolutionary War; but most went into the valley of the Susquehanna in such large numbers, and remained so long without much intermixture, that their language still survives in the dialect which we call Pennsylvania Dutch, but which is really High German with a quaint admixture of English.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A competent scholar assigns the travels of Penn in Germany in 1671 and 1677 as the chief cause of the direction of this wave of migration to Pennsylvania. See Diffenderffer, *The German Exodus to England in 1709*, Lancaster, 1897, p. 30. See, also, Sachse, *The Fatherland*, Philadelphia, 1897, pp. 142-144.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Emerson's verses:

'T was one of the charmed days  
When the genius of God doth flow,

Not all the Palatine immigrants tarried here, however ; there were some, and those, I dare say, the most enterprising, who pressed onward and spread along the Appalachian frontier.<sup>1</sup> Here they have played an important part, usually in association with a race of men of still more vigorous initiative, the so-called Scotch-Irish.

The name Scotch-Irish is an awkward compound, and is in many quarters condemned. Curiously enough, there is no one who seems to object to it so strongly as the Irish Catholic. While his feelings toward the “Far-Downer” are certainly not affectionate, he is nevertheless anxious to claim him with his deeds and trophies, as simply Irish, and grudges to Scotland the claim to any share in producing him.<sup>2</sup> It must be admitted, however, that there is a point of view from which the Scotch-Irish may be regarded as more Scotch than Irish. The difficulty might be compromised by calling them Ulstermen, or Ulster Presbyterians.

It is said to have been the poet Edmund Spenser who first suggested to Queen Elizabeth — perhaps when he came to

The wind may alter twenty ways,  
A tempest cannot blow ;  
It may blow north, it still is warm ;  
Or south, it still is clear ;  
Or east, it smells like a clover farm ;  
Or west, no thunder fear

have thus been rendered into Pennsylvania German : —

'S waar eens vun de harrliche Daage  
Wann dar Himmel scheint uf ze sei ;  
Dar Wind maag zwanzig Wege jaage  
'Es Wetter bleibt doch fei.  
Bloost's vun de Nard, 's is waarm un schee ;  
Oder vun de South, 's bleibt hell ;  
Vun Marrige haer, mar riecht dar Klee ;  
Vun Owet, clear wie 'n Bell.

Zeigler, *Drauss un Deheem : Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch Deitsch*, Leipzig, 1891, — a charming little book.

<sup>1</sup> A good account of this migration is given in Cobb, *The Story of the Palatines*, New York, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Amusing illustrations may be found in the correspondence appended to S. S. Green's excellent pamphlet, *The Scotch-Irish in America*, Worcester, 1895, pp. 42-59.

London in 1594 to look after the publication of his "Faery Queene" — the plan of putting into Ireland a Protestant population that might come to outnumber and control the Catholics. It was in 1611 that James I. began to put this scheme into operation, sending from Scotland and the northern counties of England a Presbyterian company of picked men and women of the best sort, yeomanry and craftsmen like those who settled Massachusetts and Connecticut, with many generations of ancestry behind them on a far higher level of intelligence and training than the native peasantry of Ireland. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the percentage of illiteracy in Ulster was probably smaller than anywhere else in the world. There were then more than a million of these Presbyterians in Ulster. About 1720, when they began coming in great numbers to America, those families that had been longest in Ireland had dwelt there but three generations, so that there is surely some laxity of speech in calling them Irish without some qualifying adjective.

The English experiment of thus scotticizing Ireland was defeated by a crass policy of protectionism combined with petty religious persecution. Flourishing linen and woollen industries had sprung up in Ulster, and sundry legislative handicaps were laid upon them for the "protection" of native industries in England. Thus did government treat its own pioneers as "foreigners" whom it was meritorious to plunder. At the same time divers civil disabilities were enacted for Presbyterians. The result of this twofold tyranny was the largest exodus from Europe to America that ever took place before the nineteenth century. Between 1730 and 1770 more than half of the Presbyterian population of Ulster came over to America, where it formed more than one sixth part of our entire population at the time of the Declaration of Independence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Much detailed information may be found in the *Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress*, published annually since 1889, first at Cincinnati, afterwards at Nashville.

A few of these Presbyterians came to New England, where they have left their mark. But the great majority came to Pennsylvania and occupied the mountain country west of the Susquehanna. Thence a steady migration was kept up southwesterly along the Appalachian axis into the southern colonies. Now there was one very important respect in which these Presbyterians of Ulster had come to differ from their Presbyterian brethren in Scotland. In the "land of cakes" the kirk ruled things pretty much at its own sweet will, and was therefore in favour of keeping civil and spiritual affairs united. But in Ulster, whether in relation to their Catholic neighbours or more especially to the English parliament, Presbyterians were in a harassed minority, and therefore became convinced of the desirableness of divorcing church from state. Accordingly, in spite of a very rigid theology, they stood for a liberal principle, and other Protestant sects, such as Lutherans, Mennonites, and Dunkers, found it possible to harmonize with them, especially in the free atmosphere of Pennsylvania. The result was the partial union of two great streams of immigration, the Ulster stream and the Palatinate stream. It influenced South Carolina and Maryland most powerfully, completely renovated society in North Carolina, and broke down the sway of the Cavalier aristocracy in Virginia. While it sent southward men and women enough to accomplish all this, enough more remained in Pennsylvania to form more than half its population, raising it by 1770 to the third place among the thirteen colonies, next after Virginia and Massachusetts. From the same prolific hive came the pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee, with their descendants throughout the vast Mississippi valley and beyond. In all these directions, as I have elsewhere shown,<sup>1</sup> this sturdy population, distilled through the Pennsylvania alembic, has formed the main strength of American democracy, and its influence upon American life has been manifold.

Presbyterians in Pennsylvania

Union of the Palatinate and Ulster streams of migration

Wide-spread results

<sup>1</sup> *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, chap. xvii.



In thus taking our leave of the Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America, we must not forget that the close association between them was due to no mere accident of contiguity. William Penn was Dutch on his mother's side, and one sees in all his political ideas the broad and liberal temper that characterized the Netherlands before and beyond any other country in Europe. The two great middle colonies present a most interesting subject of comparative study because both have been profoundly influenced by Holland, but in the one case the Dutch ideas have been worked through the crucible of an individual genius, while in the other case they have flowered with random luxuriance. In the cosmopolitanism which showed itself so early in New Amsterdam and has ever since been fully maintained, there was added to American national life the variety, the flexibility, the generous breadth of view, the spirit of compromise and conciliation needful to save the nation from rigid provincialism. Among the circumstances which prepared the way for a rich and varied American nation, the preliminary settlement of the geographical centre by Dutchmen was certainly one of the most fortunate.

Fruitful-  
ness of  
Dutch  
ideas



## APPENDIX I

### SOME LEISLER DOCUMENTS

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#### A

#### AFFIDAVITS AGAINST NICHOLSON

THE deposition of Nicholas Brown Aged Twenty three Years, the said Deponent declares that he being in the Service of ye late King Anno One thousand six hundred Eighty Six some time in July & August, did see Frances Nicholson Ye late lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor of Ye fort at New York Several times in Ye Masse, but especially two times in Ye Kings tent at Hunsloheath in old ingland, being there to Exercise his devotions, & did Ye the same upon his Knees before the Alter in the papist Chappel, where the Mass was said, that himself, this deponent is ready to Confirm and declare upon Oath in testimony of the truth & have hereunto Set my hand, In New York this 12th day of Septem<sup>r</sup> Anno 1689.

Signed

NICHOLAS BROWN.

1689 the 13<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup> in New York.

Then appeared before me Nich<sup>ls</sup> Brown & Sworn before me the aforesaid to be the truth.

Signed

G. BEEKMAN Justice.

#### B

#### COMMISSION FROM THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY

#### APPOINTING JACOB LEISLER TO BE CAPTAIN OF THE FORT

There being a Present necessity that a Capt. of Ye fort at New Yorke should be appointed to be constantly there attending and to Command & order ye Soldiers appointed by this Com-

mittee of Safety to Serve ye fort in behalfe of their Majesties till orders Shall come and to order all matters of ye fortifications of said fort necessary at present this Committee therefore doe think fitt that Cap<sup>tn</sup> Jacob Leisler shall be Captain of said fort as abovesaid Till orders shall come from their Majesties, & that the said Capt<sup>n</sup> Jacob Leisler, shall have all aid and assistance, if need be & demanded by him from City and Country to suppress any foren Enemy & prevent all disorders which Evidently may appear

dated this 8th of June 1689, Signed Sealed

RICHARD DANTON	(L. S.)	SAM <sup>l</sup> EDSALL	(L. S.)
THEUNIS ROELOFSE	(L. S.)	P DELA NOY	(L. S.)
JEAN DE MAREST	(L. S.)	MATHIAS HARVEY	(L. S.)
DANIEL DE KLERCKE	(L. S.)	THO <sup>s</sup> WILLIAMS	(L. S.)
JOHANNES VERMILLYE	(L. S.)	WM LAURENCE	(L. S.)

### C

#### COMMISSION TO CAPT. LEISLER TO BE COMMANDER IN CHIEF

Forasmuch the Committee of Safety do apprehend the difficulty & inconveniency by reason of their remote habitants and ye insuing season of ye year to commence & abide in ye City of New York to advise recommend order, & appoint ye present affairs in hand for the Interest of their most Excelent Majesties King William & Queen Mary and due preservation of ye inhabitants in ye province of New York & some others near adjacent towns. it is thought convenient and concluded by ye Committee for ye most Safety of ye province by reason of Sundry intervals & accidental motions which may arise & for the orderly way to direct all necessary matters touching ye ruling & ordering of ye inhabitants in the Province, it being uncertain whether ye orders shall Come from their Majesties, that Captain Jacob Leisler is hereby appointed to Exercise & use the Power & Authority of a Commander in Chief of the said Province to administer such Oaths to the people, to issue out such Warrants, and to order such Matters as shall be necessary & requisite to be done for the preservation and protection of the peace. of the inhabitants tak-

ing all ways, seasonable advice with Militia and Civil Authority  
as Occasion require Dated ye 16th day Aug<sup>t</sup> 1689 —

Copy was Signed Sealed as followeth,

WILLIAM LAURENCE (L. S.)	SAM <sup>l</sup> EDSALL (L. S.)
D <sup>l</sup> DE KLERCKE (L. S.)	JEAN DEMAREST (L. S.)
JOHANNES VERMILLYE (L. S.)	P. DE LA NOY (L. S.)
RICHARD DANTON (L. S.)	MATHIAS HARVEY (L. S.)
THEUNIS ROELOFSE (L. S.)	THO <sup>s</sup> WILLIAMS (L. S.)

## D

## SCHUYLER'S PROTEST AGAINST MILBORNE

FORT ALBANY y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> day of novemb<sup>r</sup> 1689

Whereas one Jacob Milborne hath with a Comp<sup>e</sup> of armed men, come up to there Maj<sup>s</sup> fort in a hostile manner with full arms and Demanded Possession thereof from y<sup>e</sup> May<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> City who has y<sup>e</sup> Command of y<sup>e</sup> same, who Declared to keep said fort for there Maj<sup>es</sup> William & Mary untill there orders comes but y<sup>e</sup> said Jacob Milborne as a Tumultuous & Mutinous Person doth Proceed to occasion great Disturbance to there Maj<sup>es</sup> Liege People, by again facing to y<sup>e</sup> fort with Loaden arms, Especially so many heathens to witt Maquase being y<sup>e</sup> Spectators thereof who seems to be upon y<sup>e</sup> Point to undertake some Dangerous Design. The Convention of y<sup>e</sup> Civil & Military officers of y<sup>e</sup> City & County of albany now p<sup>'</sup>sent in y<sup>e</sup> fort doe therefore Protest hereby in their Maj<sup>es</sup> King William & Queen Maryes name before god and y<sup>e</sup> world against y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Milborne and his Seditious Troops, for all Dammages, Murthers Bloodsheds Plunderings and oy<sup>r</sup> mischieffs which may Ensue by his Rebellious actions and charge him & them forthwith to withdraw themselves from there s<sup>d</sup> May<sup>es</sup> fort.

P<sup>R</sup> SCHUYLER May<sup>r</sup>  
and Commander of there Maj<sup>es</sup> fort

The Protest being Read hille akus Sister told y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Indians were <sup>very</sup> much Dissatisfyed & if Milborne did not withdraw with his Comp<sup>e</sup> they would fyre upon him, whereupon y<sup>e</sup> May<sup>r</sup> Desyred Doctor Dellius & y<sup>e</sup> Recorder to goe to y<sup>e</sup> Indians to Pacify and quiet them for y<sup>e</sup> Bussinesse was y<sup>t</sup> a Person without Power or

authority would be Master over y<sup>e</sup> gent<sup>n</sup> here which they would nott admitt; the Indians answered goe and tell him that if he come out of y<sup>e</sup> gates we will fyre upon him, which Doctor Delius forthwith Communicated to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Milborne at y<sup>e</sup> head of his Comp<sup>e</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> Presence of a great many Burghers who made no further attempt to goe to y<sup>e</sup> fort, but Marched doune y<sup>e</sup> towne and Dismissed his men.

## E

## LEISLER TO THE OFFICERS OF WESTCHESTER

FORT WILLIAM February 15, 1689 [90]

GENTLEMEN, — Whereas ye ffrench have surprized Schanegtade, & killed & taken Prisonners the most of their Ma<sup>ties</sup> Subjects burning & destroying y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Place: and fearing too great a Correspondency hath bean maintained between y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> ffrench & disaffected P'sons amongst us.

These are in his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Name to will & require you to secure all Such Persons who are resputed Papists or Do any wise despise or reflect against this Govern<sup>t</sup> or hold or maintaine any Commissions from the Late Govern<sup>rs</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Thomas Dongan or S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Andros by virtue of their Authority derived from King James the second & y<sup>e</sup> same Safely to Convey to mee forthw<sup>th</sup> Given under My hand & seale this 15<sup>th</sup> ffeb<sup>y</sup> 1689 and in y<sup>e</sup> first yeare of their Ma<sup>ties</sup> Reigne.

JACOB LEISLER

To the Officers Military & Civill &  
 y<sup>e</sup> Sheriffe of the County of Westchester  
 Ye same to Richmond County  
 Ye same to ye County of Suffolk  
 Ye same to Kings County  
 Ye same to y<sup>e</sup> Country of East Jersey  
 Ye same to Queens County

## F

## LEISLER TO HIS COMMISSIONERS AT ALBANY

A 1690 1st July In Fort William

GENTLEMEN — Yesterday was my last to which I Referr you, You have Referred us to y<sup>e</sup> Messengers who brought our letter but

we cane understand nothing of them, my opinion Is they came here to consult with there parties. If they may safely Receive a Commission of mee what alteration in your place, there Coming here may cause us, the time will learne, beshure they are not well Tutered & kept from us I have writt you our meaning which we hoop you may be able to observe touching the major, Inclosed is a copy of a Letter Received of Governour Treat which I perceive was liff upon the table wherein the major is absolutely Refused If Boston & Connecticut sends not their Compliment Ingaged In y<sup>e</sup> Result & approved by y<sup>e</sup> government they Brook y<sup>e</sup> Covenant & we are not obliged to any article therein the Barers are made sensible y<sup>t</sup> what we propose about y<sup>e</sup> Council of Warr y<sup>t</sup> the Cap<sup>n</sup> by Turnes Every week should bee president In said Council and so in gods name go one without a major — Except Cap<sup>n</sup> Browne accepts of y<sup>e</sup> place but no other whatsoever — Except Mausachusetts, Plymouth & Connecticut Colonyes Comply fully with there promise y<sup>e</sup> ffrench Knight begins to be moved of (our) march and desires to prevent y<sup>e</sup> cruelties of our Indians against y<sup>e</sup> ffrench wimens and children which Indied would bee generous if possible It could be prevented we have sent Mest<sup>r</sup> Stole who has a speciall maxim to gaine the people & is able to assist you much in forwarding y<sup>e</sup> Business and if he should go he most be commissioned he is true, full mettall able and politique the news of Colonell Slayter is quitt vanised It would not hould —<sup>1</sup>we have gott yesterday the Inclosed nues from neu England En send It for the Everi directtet als the copie, to day the 25 I gott the Inclosed from Southampton I wish Ensign Stole was heer En Iff possible also Major Milborn we expeckt the franch ships heer the messenger raports the ar all ships, pray God to grand & give vs courage to resist them after min respects I remain

Sr<sup>e</sup>

Your reall frind to serve your

JACOB LEISLER

*Addressed,* To the Hono<sup>ble</sup> The Commission<sup>rs</sup> Cap<sup>n</sup>  
John De Bruyn, M<sup>r</sup> Johannes Provoost  
and Major Jacob Milborne Esq<sup>rs</sup> In  
Albany

## G

## LEISLER TO GOV. SLOUGHTER

FORT WILLIAM March the 20. 1609-1

May it Please Your Excellency — This his Majesty's fort being besieged by Major Ingoldsby so farre that not a boat could depart, nor Persons conveyed out of the same without to be in danger of their Lives which hath occasioned that I could not be so happy as to send a messenger to give me the certainty of Your excellency's Safe arrival & an account of what was published, of which I am ignorant still but the Joy I had by a full assurance from Ensign Stoll of your Excellency's arrival has been something troubled by the detencon of Ye two my Messengers, I see very well the stroke of my enemies who are wishing to cause me some mistakes at the End of the Loyalty I owe to my gracious King & Queen & by such ways to Blatt out all my faithfull service till now but I hope have care to commit such an error, having by my duty & faithfulness being vigerous to them, Please only to Signify & order the Major in releasing me from his Majesties fort delivering him only his Majesties Armes with all the Stores & that he may act as he ought with a person who shall give Your excellency an exact account of all his actions & conduct, who is with all the request, Your Excellency's Most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JACOB LEISLER

## H

## DYING SPEECHES OF LEISLER AND MILBORNE

Collecons made on the Dying Speeches of Captain Jacob Leisler & Jacob Milborne, his son in Law, who both Suffered in New York City on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May being Saturday in the Year of our Lord 1691.

— The great wise & omnipotent creator of all things visible & invisible who from the time of our first coming a Shore in the Vale of tears, misery & affliction, hath to this present moment protected us be magnified. Praysed & Glorified for ever, Amen,

Gentlemen And Fellow Brethren all I hope in the grace & fear of the Lord Jesus, we are not at present unsensible of our dying State & Condition, as to this world a State which all the Sons &



Daughters of Adam in this globe must now one after another run through ere they can be satisfied with that eternity of which so often by Divines is treated of — In consideration of which for death we may be better prepared, like penitent Mortals here on earth, we Submit our lives. & all that unto us appertaineth into the hands of divine protection prostrating ourselves before the foot Stool that immaculate Lamb of God who taketh away the Sinns of the world hoping that through his meritorious death & passing our iniquities shall be done away & our pardons Sealed on earth before we go hence & are seen no more, humbly imploring that not through our own meritts of Justification but rather through the merit of him that is willing to save our souls, might become precious in the Eyes of God & live forever in the Kingdome of Eternall Glory when time shall be no more — as to our State in this world among the rest of our hard fortunes in this seat of tears it is true we have lately on the important request of a Committee choose by the Major Part of the Inhabitants of this province & taken (to the present grieffe & vexation of our poore afflicted relations left behind) great & weighty matters of State affairs requiring at Such an helme more wise & Cunning powerful Pilotts. then either of us ever was. but considering that in the time of this distracted Countrey's greatness, necessity amongst us — no such Persons could be found but that those that were any wayes, in Capacity of Uniting us against a Common enemy would not undertake, we conceive for the Glory of the protestant interest the Establishment of the present Government under our Sovereign Lord & Lady King W<sup>m</sup> & Queen Mary &c — & the Strengthening against all foreign attempts, of this confused City & Province, thought it a very serviceable Act that our poore endeavours should not be wanting in anything that was needful for the Support of ourselves & posterity hereafter whereby we must confess & often times against our will several enormities have been committed from the day of our first undertakings until the arrival of his excellency the Honorable Col<sup>l</sup> Henry Slougher. who now for his Majesties Sake, we love & Honour & often times, during our unhappy abode in power longed to see that a periode thereby might be put to such distracted orders, as then were raging all of which some we must Confess on our side hath been committed through Ignorance some through a Jealous fear that disaffected persons would not be true to the present interest of the Crowne of England

some peradventure through misinformation & misconstruction of People's intent & meaning, some through rashness by want of Consideration, & then through passion haste & anger, which According to orders for to declare would take up more time than present can be afforded, however for every such offence. seeing there is no recalling of the same, or possibility of given further Satisfaction, first of the great god of heaven & then afterwards of the several offended persons, we humbly begg pardon & forgiveness, desiring them every one with a Christian Charity in our graves with us to bury all malice, hatred & Envy that therein might be incurred & further before God & the World here we do declare & protest as Dying Sinners that we do not only forgive the greatest & most inveterate of our enemies, but According to that most Excellent patron of our dying Saviour. we say to the God of Justice, father forgive them for they know not what they do & so farre from revenge we do depart this world, that we require and make it our dying supplication to every of our relations & friends & acquaintances, that they should in time to come forever be forgetfull of any injury done to us or either of us, so that on both Side, that discord & dessention (which by the devil in the beginning was created) might with our dying sides be buried in oblivion, never more to raise up to the inflammation of future posterity, the Lord grant that the offering up of our blood might be a full satisfaction for all disorders to this present day committed, & that forever after the Spiritt of unity might remaine among our fellow brethren continuing upon earth, knowing that in a Strange land it is the divine providence of heaven not our desarts that have so well protected our unhappy province this day all that for our dying comfort we can say, as concerning the point for which we were condemn'd, is to declare as our last words. before that God whom we hope before long to see that our maine end, totall Intent & endeavors to the fullness of that understanding with which we were endowed — who had no other than to maintaine against popery or any Schism or heresy whatever the interest of our Sovereign Lord & Lady that now is & the reformed protestant Churches in those parts, who ever things otherwise Since have hapined or being misconstructured & Scandalous reports (we at present must confess by divers are thrown upon us) as tho we intended to Support the dying, intrest of the late King James & the Contradiction of which we need not trouble many arguments, being persuaded that every

good protestant of this Country who have been for any time acquainted with our transactions can from his conscience averre the falsehoods & maliciousness of such aspersions, as concerning Major Ingoldesby's coming to demand the Garrison after his arrival, he but in the least produced any Satisfaction of his power to receive the same and discharge us, we would as readily have delivered the fort, as he could demand the same, all of which seeing past & gone is Scarce worthy nothing —

The Lord of his infinite Mercy preserve the King & Queen from all their traytors and deceitfull Enemies, God be merciful unto & bless with peace & unity these their Kingdoms unto which we belong, God preserve this province from greedy outrageous Enemies abroad and Spite full inveterate wretches at home God bless the Governor of this place, God bless the council Assembly & Government now Established that they all may be united to propagate their Majesties interest, the Country's good & the Establishment of Piety, the Lord of Heaven of his infinite mercy bless all that wish well to Zion & Convert those that are out of the way, let his mercies likewise administer true Comfort to all that are desolute, grieved & oppressed in misery & necessity or any other affliction, Especially the deplored Souls of that poor family unto which we did formerly belong, our only comfort, in this case, is that God has promised to take care for the Widows and fatherless, recommending them all this dying moment into the hands of one that is able and willing, to save these that seek him desiring them to put their perpetuall confidence in the mercies of one that never faileth, & not to weep for us that are departing to our God but rather to weep for themselves that are here behind us to remain in a State of Misery and Vexation.

Gentlemen you will, I hope all Christian like be Charitable to our poor distressed family that are to remain among you (as long as God please) that you will Join with us in prayer for the preservation of our immortal Soules in a kingdom of never Dying Glory, unto which God of his infinite mercy bring us all Amen Amen.

The Sheriff asking him if he was ready to die, he replied Yes, & lifting up his Eyes he prayed & then said that he had made his peace with God & that death did not scare him, & desired that his Corpse might be delivered to his wife, and declared that he Educated his family as a good Christian & hoping they should

continue, accordingly & he said that you have brought my body to shame, I hope you will not despise my family therefore, I have not much more to say on this world, for we read in the Lords prayer, forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass Against us, but hereafter we shall appear before God's Tribunal & there shall we be judged, our Lord Jesus Christ suffered so much in this world, why Should I not suffer a little —

Then to his Son Milborne he said. I must now die, why must you die? You have been but a Servant to us & further he declared I am a dying man & do declare before god & the world that what I have done was for king William & Queen Mary, for the defence of the protestant religion & the Good of the Country & therefore I must die upon which I will receive Gods Judgment, and then he said, when this my skin shall be eaten through, with this my flesh shall I see God, my Eyes shall see him & no stranger, when the Handkerchief was put about his head, he said, I hope these my Eyes shall see our Lord Jesus Christ in Heaven I am ready. I am ready.

Of Jacob Milborne —

He prayed for the King & Queen the Governor & Council he pardoned the Judge that had condemned him Saying that the Lord would forgive him, he was ready to lay down his terrestrial coat, being assured that his heavenly father would cloath him with a new one in the Kingdom of Heaven, then to M<sup>r</sup> Levings-ton he said you have caused the King (that) I must now die, but before gods tribunal I will implead you for the same. then to his father he said we are thoroughly wet with rain, but in a little while we shall be rained through with the Holy Spirit The sheriff asked him whether he would not Bless the King and Queen, he answered it is for the King and Queen I die & the protestant Religion to which I was Borne & Bred, I am ready I am ready. father into thy hands I recommend my soule —

## APPENDIX II

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### CHARTER FOR THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA— 1681

CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all whom these presents shall come, *Greeting*. WHEREAS Our Trustie and well-beloved Subject William Penn, Esquire, Sonne and heire of Sir William Penn deceased, out of a commendable Desire to enlarge our *English* Empire, and promote such usefull comodities as may bee of Benefit to us and Our Dominions, as also to reduce the Savage Natives by gentle and just manners to the Love of Civil Societie and Christian Religion, hath humbly besought Leave of Us to transport an ample Colonie unto a certaine Countrey hereinafter described, in the Partes of *America* not yet cultivated and planted; And hath likewise humbly besought Our Royall Majestie to Give, Grant, and Confirme all the said Countrey, with certaine Privileges and Jurisdictions, requisite for the good Government and Safetie of the said Countrey and Colonie, to him and his Heires forever: KNOW YE THEREFORE, That Wee, favouring the Petition and good Purpose of the said *William Penn*, and haveing Regard to the Memorie and Meritts of his late Father in divers Services, and perticularly to his Conduct, Courage, and Discretion under our Dearest Brother JAMES Duke of *York*, in that Signall Battell and Victorie fought and obteyned against the *Dutch* Fleete, command by the Heer *Van Opdam*, in the yeare One thousand six hundred and sixty-five: In consideration thereof, of Our Speciall grace, certaine Knowledge, and meere Motion have Given and Granted, and by this Our present Charter, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, Doe give and Grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heires and Assignes, all that Tract or Parte of Land in *America*, with all the Islands therein conteyned, as

the same is bounded on the East by *Delaware* River, from twelve miles distance Northwards of *New Castle* Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of Northerne Latitude, if the said River doeth extende so farre Northwards ; But if the said River shall not extend soe farre Northward, then by the said River soe farr as it doth extend ; and from the head of the said River, the Easterne Bounds are to bee determined by a Meridian Line, to bee drawne from the head of the said River, unto the said three and fortieth Degree. The said Lands to extend westwards five degrees in longitude, to bee computed from the said Easterne Bounds ; and the said Lands to bee bounded on the North by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a Circle drawne at twelve miles distance from *New Castle* Northward and Westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a streight Line Westward to the Limitt of Longitude above-mentioned. WEE do also give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, the free and undisturbed use and continuance in, and passage into and out of all and singular Ports, Harbours, Bays, Waters, Rivers, Isles, and Inletts, belonging unto, or leading to and from the Countrey or Islands aforesaid, And all the Soyle, lands, fields, woods, underwoods, mountaines, hills, fenns, Isles, Lakes, Rivers, waters, Rivulets, Bays, and Inletts, scituate or being within, or belonging unto the Limitts and Bounds aforesaid, together with the fishing of all sortes of fish, whales, Sturgeons, and all Royall and other Fishes, in the Sea, Bayes, Inletts, waters, or Rivers within the premisses, and the Fish therein taken ; And also all Veines, Mines, and Quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of Gold, Silver, Gemms, and Pretious Stones, and all other whatsoever, be it Stones, Mettals, or of any other thing or matter whatsoever, found or to bee found within the Countrey, Isles, or Limitts aforesaid ; AND him, the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assignes, Wee doe by this Our Royall Charter, for Us, Our heires and Successors, make, create, and constitute the true and absolute Proprietarie of the Countrey aforesaid, and of all other the premisses, Saving alwayes to Us, Our heires and Successors, the Faith and Allegiance of the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, and of all other Proprietaries, Tenants, and Inhabitants that are or shall be within the Territories and Precincts afore-

said; and Saving also, unto Us, Our heires and Successors, the Sovereignty of the aforesaid Countrey; TO HAVE, hold, possess, and enjoy the said Tract of Land, Countrey, Isles, Inletts, and other the premisses unto the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, to the only proper use and behoofe of the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes for ever, to bee holden of Us, Our heires and Successors, Kings of *England*, as of Our Castle of *Windsor* in our County of *Berks*, in free and comon Socage, by fealty only for all Services, and not in *Capite* or by Knights Service: Yielding and paying therefore to Us, Our heires and Successors, Two Beaver Skins, to bee delivered at Our said Castle of *Windsor* on the First Day of *January* in every Year; and also the Fifth Part of all Gold and Silver Oare, which shall from Time to Time happen to bee found within the Limitts aforesaid, cleare of all Charges. And of Our further Grace, certaine Knowledge, and meer motion, We have thought fitt to erect, and We doe hereby erect the aforesaid Countrey and Islands into a Province and Seignorie, and do call itt *PENSILVANIA*, and soe from henceforth we will have itt called.

AND forasmuch as wee have hereby made and ordained the aforesaid *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, the true and absolute Proprietaries of all the Lands and Dominions aforesaid, KNOW YE THEREFORE, That We reposing speciall trust and Confidence in the fidelitie, wisdom, Justice, and provident circumspection of the said *William Penn* for us, our heires and Successors, Doe grant free, full, and absolute power by vertue of these presents to him and his heires, and to his and their Deputies, and Lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the said countrey, to ordeyne, make, and enact, and under his and their Seales to publish any Lawes whatsoever, for the raising of money for the publick use of the said Province, or for any other End, apperteyning either unto the publick state, peace, or safety of the said Countrey, or unto the private utility of perticular persons, according unto their best discretions, by and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the Freemen of the said Countrey, or the greater parte of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies, whom for the enacting of the said Lawes, when, and as often as need shall require, Wee will that the said *William Penn* and his heires, shall assemble in such sort and forme, as to him and them shall seeme best, and the same Lawes duly to execute, unto and upon all People within the said Countrey and the Limitts thereof.

AND wee doe likewise give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, and his heires, and to his and their Deputies and Lieutenants, such power and authoritie to appoint and establish any Judges and Justices, Magistrates and Officers whatsoever, for what causes soever, for the probates of wills, and for the granting of Administrations within the precincts aforesaid and with what Power soever, and in such forme as to the said *William Penn* or his heires shall seeme most convenient: Also to remitt, release, pardon, and abolish whether before Judgement or after all Crimes and Offences whatsoever comitted within the said Countrey against the said Lawes, Treason and wilful and malitious Murder onely excepted, and in those Cases to grant Reprieves, until Our pleasure may bee known therein and to doe all and every other thing and things, which unto the compleate Establishment of Justice, unto Courts and Tribunalls, formes of Judicature, and manner of Proceedings doe belong, altho in these presents expresse mention bee not made thereof; And by Judges by them delegated, to award Processe, hold Pleas, and determine in all the said Courts and Tribunalls all Actions, Suits, and Causes whatsoever, as well Criminal as Civill, Personall, reall and mixt; which Lawes, soe as aforesaid to bee published, Our Pleasure is, and soe Wee enjoyne, require, and command, shall bee most absolute and avaylable in law; and that all the Liege People and subjects of Us, Our heires and Successors, doe observe and keepe the same inviolabl in those partes, soe farr as they concerne them, under the paine therein expressed, or to bee expressed. PROVIDED nevertheless, that the said Lawes be consonant to reason, and bee not repugnant or contrarie, but as neare as conveniently may bee agreeable to the Lawes and Statutes, and rights of this Our Kingdome of *England*; And Saving and reserving to Us, Our heires and Successors, the receiving, heareing, and determining of the appeale and appeales of all or any Person or Persons, of, in, or belonging to the Territories aforesaid, or touching any Judgement to bee there made or given.

AND forasmuch as in the Government of soe great a Countrey, sudden Accidents doe often happen, whereunto it will bee necessarie to apply remedie before the Freeholders of the said Province, or their Delegates or Deputies, can bee assembled to the making of Lawes; neither will itt bee convenient that instantly upon every such emergent occasion, soe greate a multitude should be called



together : Therefore for the better Government of the said Countrey Wee will, and ordaine, and by these presents, for us, our Heires and successors, Doe Grant unto the said *William Penn* and his heires, by themselves or by their Magistrates and Officers, in that behalfe duely to bee ordeyned as aforesaid, to make and constitute fitt and wholesome Ordinances, from time to time, within the said Countrey to bee kept and observed, as well for the preservation of the peace, as for the better government of the People there inhabiting ; and publickly to notifie the same to all persons, whome the same doeth or anyway may concerne. Which ordinances, our Will and Pleasure is, shall bee observed inviolably within the said Province, under Paines therein to be expressed, soe as the said Ordinances bee consonant to reason, and bee not repugnant nor contrary, but soe farre as conveniently may be agreeable with the Lawes of our Kingdome of *England*, and soe as the said Ordinances be not extended in any Sort to bind, charge, or take away the right or Interest of any person or persons, for or in their Life, members, Freehold, goods, or Chattles. And our further will and pleasure is, that the Lawes for regulateing and governing of Propertie within the said Province, as well for the descent and enjoyment of lands, as likewise for the enjoyment and succession of goods and Chattles, and likewise as to Felonies, shall bee and continue the same, as they shall bee for the time being by the generall course of the Law in our Kingdome of *England*, until the said Lawes shall bee altered by the said *William Penn*, his heires or assignes, and by the Freemen of the said Province, their Delegates or Deputies, or the greater Part of them.

AND to the End the said *William Penn*, or heires, or other the Planters, Owners, or Inhabitants of the said Province, may not att any time hereafter by misconstruction of the powers aforesaid through inadvertencie or designe depart from that Faith and due allegiance, which by the lawes of this our Realme of *England*, they and all our subjects, in our Dominions and Territories, alwayes owe unto us, Our heires and Successors, by colour of any Extent or largenesse of powers hereby given, or pretended to bee given, or by force or colour of any lawes hereafter to bee made in the said Province, by vertue of any such Powers ; OUR further will and Pleasure is, that a transcript or Duplicate of all Lawes, which shall bee soe as aforesaid made and published within the said Province, shall within five years after the makeing thereof, be

transmitted and delivered to the Privy Councell, for the time being, of us, our heires and successors: And if any of the said Lawes, within the space of six moneths after that they shall be soe transmitted and delivered, bee declared by us, Our heires and Successors, in Our or their Privy Councell, inconsistent with the Sovereignty or lawful Perogative of us, our heires or Successors, or contrary to the Faith and Allegiance due by the legall government of this Realme, from the said *William Penn*, or his heires, or of the Planters and Inhabitants of the said Province, and that thereupon any of the said Lawes shall bee adjudged and declared to bee void by us, our heires or Successors, under our or their Privy Seale, that then and from thenceforth, such Lawes, concerning which such Judgement and declaration shall bee made, shall become voyd: Otherwise the said Lawes soe transmitted, shall remaine, and stand in full force, according to the true intent and meaneing thereof.

FURTHERMORE, that this new Colony may the more happily increase, by the multitude of People resorting thither; Therefore wee for us, our heires and Successors, doe give and grant by these presents, power, Licence, and Libertie unto all the Liege People and Subjects, both present and future, of us, our heires, and Successors, excepting those who shall bee Specially forbidden to transport themselves and Families unto the said Countrey, with such convenient Shipping as by the lawes of this our Kingdome of *England* they ought to use, with fitting provisions, paying only the customes therefore due, and there to settle themselves, dwell and inhabitt, and plant, for the publick and their owne private advantage.

AND FURTHERMORE, that our Subjects may bee the rather encouraged to undertake this expedicion with ready and cheerful mindes, KNOW YE, That wee, of Our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, Doe Give and Grant by vertue of these presents, as well unto the said *William Penn*, and his heires, as to all others, who shall from time to time repaire unto the said Countrey, with a purpose to inhabit there, or trade with the natives of the said Countrey, full Licence to lade and freight in any ports whatsoever, of us, our heires and Successors, according to the lawes made or to be made within our Kingdome of *England*, and unto the said Countrey, by them, their Servants or assignes, to transport all and singular their wares, goods, and

Merchandizes, as likewise all sorts of graine whatsoever, and all other things whatsoever, necessary for food or cloathing, not prohibited by the Lawes and Statutes of our Kingdomes, without any Lett or molestation of us, our heires and Successors, or of any of the Officers of us, our heires and Successors; savinge alwayes to us, our heires and Successors, the legall impositions, customes, and other Duties and payments, for the said Wares and Merchandize, by any Law or Statute due or to be due to us, our heires and Successors.

AND Wee doe further, for us, our heires and Successors, Give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, free and absolute power, to Divide the said Countrey and Islands into Townes, Hundreds and Counties, and to erect and incorporate Townes into Borroughs, and Borroughs into Citties, and to make and constitute ffaires and Marketts therein, with all other convenient privileges and munities, according to the meritt of the inhabitants, and the ffitness of the places, and to doe all and every other thing and things touching the premisses, which to him or them shall seeme requisite and meet; albeit they be such as of their owne nature might otherwise require a more especiall commandment and Warrant then in these presents is expressed.

WE WILL alsoe, and by these presents, for us, our heires and Successors, Wee doe Give and grant Licence by this our Charter, unto the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, and to all the inhabitants and dwellers in the Province aforesaid, both present and to come, to import or unlade, by themselves or their Servants, ffactors or assignes, all merchandizes and goods whatsoever, that shall arise of the fruites and comodities of the said Province, either by Land or Sea, into any of the ports of us, our heires and successors, in our Kingdome of *England*, and not into any other Countrey whatsoever: And wee give him full power to dispose of the said goods in the said ports; and if need bee, within one yeare next after the unladeing of the same, to lade the said Merchandizes and Goods again into the same or other shippes, and to export the same into any other Countreys, either of our Dominions or fforeigne, according to Lawe: Provided alwayes, that they pay such customes and impositions, subsidies and duties for the same, to us, our heires and Successors, as the rest of our Subjects of our Kingdome of *England*, for the time being, shall be bound to pay, and doe observe the Acts of Navigation, and other Lawes in that behalfe made.

AND FURTHERMORE, of our most ample and esspecial grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, Wee doe, for us, our heires and Successors, Grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, full and absolute power and authoritie to make, erect, and constitute within the said Province and the Isles and Islets aforesaid, such and soe many Sea-ports, harbours, Creeks, Havens, Keyes, and other places, for discharge and unladeing of goods and Merchandizes, out of the shippes, Boates, and other Vessells, and ladeing them in such and soe many Places, and with such rights, Jurisdictions, liberties and privileges unto the said ports belonging, as to him or them shall seeme most expedient; and that all and singuler the shippes, boates, and other Vessells, which shall come for merchandize and trade unto the said Province, or out of the same shall depart, shall be laden or unladen onely at such Ports as shall be erected and constituted by the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, any use, custome, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided, that the said *William Penn*, and his heires, and the Lieutenants and Governors for the time being, shall admitt and receive in and about all such Ports, Havens, Creeks, and Keyes, all Officers and their Deputies, who shall from time to time be appointed for that Purpose by the ffarmers or Commissioners of our Customs for the time being.

AND Wee doe further appoint and ordaine, and by these presents for us, our heires and Successors, Wee doe grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, That he, the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, may from time to time for ever, have and enjoy the Customes and Subsidies, in the Portes, Harbours, and other Creeks and Places aforesaid, within the Province aforesaid, payable or due for merchandizes and wares there to be laded and unladed, the said Customes and Subsidies to be reasonably assessed upon any occasion, by themselves and the People there as aforesaid to be assembled, to whom wee give power by these presents, for us, our heires and Successors, upon just cause and in dudue p'portion, to assesse and impose the same; Saveing unto us, our heires and Successors, such impositions and Customes, as by Act of Parliament are and shall be appointed.

AND it is our further will and pleasure, that the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, shall from time to time constitute

and appoint an Attorney or Agent, to reside in or neare our City of *London*, who shall make knowne the place where he shall dwell or may be found, unto the Clerke of our Privy Counsell for the time being, or one of them, and shall be ready to appeare in any of our Courts att *Westminster*, to Answer for any Misdemeanors that shall be comitted, or by any wilfull default or neglect permitted by the said *William Penn*, his heires or assignes, against our Lawes of Trade or Navigation; and after it shall be ascertained in any of our said Courts, what damages Wee or our heires or Successors shall have sustained by such default or neglect, the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes shall pay the same within one yeare after such taxation, and demand thereof from such Attorney: or in case there shall be noe such Attorney by the space of one yeare, or such Attorney shall not make payment of such damages within the space of one yeare, and answer such other forfeitures and penalties within the said time, as by the Acts of Parliament in *England* are or shall be provided according to the true intent and meaneing of these presents; then it shall be lawfull for us, our heires and Successors, to seize and Resume the government of the said Province or Countrey, and the same to retaine untill payment shall be made thereof: But notwithstanding any such Seizure or resumption of the government, nothing concerneing the propriety or ownership of any Lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, or goods or chattels of any of the Adventurers, Planters, or owners, other then the respective Offenders there, shall anyway be affected or molested thereby.

PROVIDED alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, that neither the said *William Penn*, nor his heires, or any other the inhabitants of the said Province, shall at any time hereafter have or maintain any Correspondence with any other king, prince, or State, or with any of their subjects, who shall then be in Warr against us, our heires or Successors; Nor shall the said *William Penn*, or his heires, or any other the Inhabitants of the said Province, make Warre or doe any act of Hostility against any other king, prince, or State, or any of their Subjects, who shall then be in league or amity with us, our heires or successors.

AND, because in soe remote a Countrey, and scituate neare many Barbarous Nations, the incursions as well of the Savages themselves, as of other enemies, pirates and robbers, may probably

be feared ; Therefore Wee have given, and for us, our heires and Successors, Doe give power by these presents unto the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, by themselves or their Captaines or other their Officers, to levy, muster and traine all sorts of men, of what condition soever or wheresoever borne, in the said Province of *Pensilvania*, for the time being, and to make Warre, and to pursue the enemies and Robbers aforesaid, as well by Sea as by Land, even without the Limitts of the said Province, and by God's assistance to vanquish and take them, and being taken to put them to death by the Lawe of Warre, or to save them, att their pleasure, and to doe all and every other Art and Thing which to the Charge and Office of a Captaine-Generall of an Army belongeth or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and ffreely as any Captaine-Generall of an Army hath ever had the same.

AND FURTHERMORE, of Our especiall grace and of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, wee have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heires and Successors, do Give and Grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heires and Assignes, full and absolute power, licence and authoritie, that he, the said *William Penn*, his Heires and Assignes, from time to time hereafter forever, att his or their own Will and pleasure may assigne, alien, Grant, demise, or enfeoffe of the Premises soe many and such partes and parcells to him or them that shall be willing to purchase the same, as they shall thinke fitt, To have and to hold to them the said person and persons willing to take or purchase their heires and assignes, in ffee-simple or ffee-taile, or for the terme of life, or lives or yeares, to be held of the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, as of the said Seigniory of Windsor, by such services, customes and rents, as shall seeme ffit to the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, and not imediately of us, our heires and successors. AND to the same person or persons, and to all and every of them, wee doe give and grant by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, licence, authoritie and power, that such person or persons may take the premisses, or any parcell thereof, of the aforesaid *William Penn*, his heires or assignes, and the same hold to themselves, their heires and assignes, in what estate of inheritance soever, in ffee-simple or in ffee-taile, or otherwise, as to him, the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes, shall seem expedient: The Statute made in the parliament of *EDWARD*, sonne of King *HENRY*, late King of

*England*, our predecessor, commonly called *The Statute QUIA EMPTORES TERRARUM*, lately published in our Kingdome of *England* in any wise notwithstanding.

AND by these presents wee give and Grant Licence unto the said *William Penn*, and his heires, likewise to all and every such person and persons to whom the said *William Penn* or his heires shall att any time hereafter grant any estate or inheritance as aforesaid, to erect any parcells of Land within the Province aforesaid into Mannors, by and with the Licence to be first had and obeyned for that purpose, under the hand and Seale of the said *William Penn* or his heires ; and in every of the said Mannors to have and to hold a Court-Baron, with all things whatsoever which to a Court-Baron do belong, and to have and to hold View of ffrank-pledge for the conservation of the peace and the better government of those partes, by themselves or their Stewards, or by the Lords for the time being of the Mannors to be deputed when they shall be erected, and in the same to use all things belonging to the View of ffrank-pledge. AND Wee doe further grant licence and authoritie, that every such person or persons who shall erect any such Mannor or Mannors, as aforesaid, shall or may grant all or any parte of his said Lands to any person or persons, in ffee-simple, or any other estate of inheritance to be held of the said Mannors respectively, soe as noe further tenures shall be created, but that upon all further and other alienations thereafter to be made, the said lands soe aliened shall be held of the same Lord and his heires, of whom the alienor did then before hold, and by the like rents and Services which were before due and accustomed.

AND FURTHER our pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heires and Successors, Wee doe covenant and grant to and with the said *William Penn*, and his heires and assignes, That Wee, our heires and Successors, shall at no time hereafter sett or make, or cause to be sett, any impossition, custome or other taxation, rate or contribution whatsoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforesaid Province, for their Lands, tenements, goods or chattells within the said Province, or in and upon any goods or merchandize within the said Province, or to be laden or unladen within the ports or harbours of the said Province, unless the same be with the consent of the Proprietary, or chiefe governor, and assembly, or by act of Parliament in *England*.

AND Our Pleasure is, and for us, our heires and Successors, Wee charge and comand, that this our Declaration shall from henceforth be received and allowed from time to time in all our courts, and before all the Judges of us, our heires and Successors, for a sufficient and lawfull discharge, payment and acquittance ; commanding all and singular the officers and ministers of us, our heires and Successors, and enjoyneing them upon pain of our high displeasure, that they doe not presume att any time to attempt anything to the contrary of the premisses, or that doe in any sort withstand the same, but that they be att all times aiding and assisting, as is fitting unto the said *William Penn* and his heires, and to the inhabitants and merchants of the Province aforesaid, their Servants, Ministers, ffactors and Assignes, in the full use and fruition of the benefitt of this our Charter.

AND Our further pleasure is, and wee doe hereby, for us, our heires and Successors, charge and require, that if any of the inhabitants of the said Province, to the number of Twenty, shall at any time hereafter be desirous, and shall by any writeing, or by any person deputed for them, signify such their desire to the Bishop of *London* that any preacher or preachers, to be approved of by the said Bishop, may be sent unto them for their instruction, that then such preacher or preachers shall and may be and reside within the said Province, without any deniall or molestation whatsoever.

AND if perchance it should happen hereafter any doubts or questions should arise, concerneing the true Sense and meaning of any word, clause, or Sentence conteyned in this our present Charter, Wee will ordaine, and comand, that att all times and in all things, such interpretation be made thereof, and allowed in any of our Courts whatsoever, as shall be adjudged most advantageous and favourable unto the said *William Penn*, his heires and assignes : Provided always that no interpretation be admitted thereof by which the allegiance due unto us, our heires and Successors, may suffer any prejudice or diminution ; Although express mention be not made in these presents of the true yearly value, or certainty of the premisses, or of any parte thereof, or of other gifts and grants made by us and our progenitors or predecessors unto the said *William Penn* : Any Statute, Act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, published, ordained or provided, or any other thing, cause, or



matter whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

IN WITNESS whereof wee have caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witness OUR SELFE, at *Westminster*, the *Fourth* day of *March*, in the *Three and Thirtieth* Yeare of Our Reign.

*By Writt of Privy Scale,*

PIGOTT.



## INDEX

- ACADIA, Monts's colony, ii. 324.
- Agriculture, in Netherlands, i. 12; tobacco culture in New Netherland, 142; monopoly abolished in New Netherland, 150; encouragement in New Netherland, 150. *See also* Manors.
- Albany, N. Y., French fur-traders' block-house on site, i. 60, 68; Fort Nassau built, 92; first settlement, 102; threatened trouble with the Mohawks, 107; pre-Revolutionary importance, 179, ii. 53; called Beverwyck, i. 181; named, ii. 1; and Leisler, 178, 182, 341; in 1765, 261-264.
- Albigenses, extermination in France, i. 35, ii. 324; survivals in Italy and Holland, i. 36.
- Alexander, James, Jacobite, ii. 237 n.; Zenger's counsel, 237; disbarred, 238.
- Allefonse, Jean, French navigator, on the coast of New England, i. 60; explores the Hudson, 67.
- Allerton, Isaac, member of the Board of Eight Men, i. 164.
- Ambonyna "massacre," i. 48.
- Amsterdam, Fénelon on, i. 1; growth with independence, 42.
- Andringa, Joris, Dutch governor of New York, ii. 35.
- Andros, Edmund, governor of New York, character, ii. 38, 41, 89 130; early life, 39; arrival in New York, 39; and the oath of allegiance, 40, 41; and the demand for representation, 42, 43; interest in New York city, 43, 44; and New England in 1675, 44-48, 54, 56, 57; conference with the Iroquois, 50-52; establishes board of Indian commissioners, 53; and King Philip's War, 54-56; sends a force to Maine, 56; knighted, 56; and the New Jersey settlements, 86-89, 120-131; personal relations with Carteret, 86, 87; complaints against, 155; viceroy of New England, 163; tyranny in Massachusetts, 164; overthrow, 166.
- Antarctic explorations, i. 51.
- Antinomianism in Massachusetts, ii. 94.
- Antwerp, Belgium, prosperity, i. 18; decline, 42.
- Arctic explorations, why inaugurated, i. 49; Dutch, 50; Hudson's, 71, 73, 80.
- Argall, Samuel, at Manhattan, i. 89.
- Army, colonial, in New York, ii. 252.
- Artevelde, Philip van, death, i. 22.
- Assemblies, colonial, strife with royal governors, ii. 18, 199-202, 214, 224-226, 230, 252.
- Aubert, Thomas, alleged voyage, i. 54.
- Australia, Dutch discovery, i. 47.
- Baptists, persecution in New Netherland, i. 202; Seventh Day, ii. 332.
- Barentz, William, Dutch navigator, voyages in the Arctic Ocean, i. 50; death, 50; character, 50.
- Bartram, John, botanist, ii. 308.
- Bartram, William, botanist, ii. 308.
- Batavia, Java, founded, i. 44.
- Batavians, alliance with the Romans, i. 4; attempted independent confederacy, 4; and the Frisians, 4.
- Baxter, George, Stuyvesant's English secretary, supports the autocracy, i. 224; negotiates Hartford treaty, 226; disaffected, 234; remonstrance, 235; is arrested, 236.
- Bayard, Nicholas, ancestry, i. 172; and the oath of allegiance, ii. 40; supports Nicholson, 168; and Leisler, 172, 174, 175; imprisoned by Leisler, 185, 189; accused of complicity with pirates, 214, 215; conviction for treason, 222; release, 224.
- Beekman, William, and the oath of allegiance, ii. 41.
- Belgians, Cæsar's victory over, i. 4.
- Belgium, erection of the kingdom, i. 40. *See also* Netherlands.
- Bellomont, Lord, and Kidd, ii. 210, 215, 216, 304; character, 213; governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, 214; favours the Leislerians, 214-216; in Boston, 220; death, 220.
- Berkeley, Lord, grant of New Jersey, ii. 12; sells, 19.
- Bible, Erasmus's edition, i. 17; dissemination in Netherlands, 17.
- Block, Adrian, on coast of New England, i. 90.
- Block Island discovered, i. 58.
- Blommaert, Samuel, patroonship, i. 122.
- Bœotians as the Dutch of Greece, i. 139.
- Bogardus, Everardus, second clergyman in New Netherland, arrives, i. 128; character, 143; and Kieft, 170; drowned, 176.
- Bohemia, claim of influence on America, i. 29.
- Bois, Louis du, leads Walloon emigration, ii. 326.
- Boston, establishment of a post with New York, ii. 20-25; Huguenot settlers, 328. *See also* Massachusetts.
- Boudinot, Elias, Huguenot ancestry, ii. 331.
- Boundaries, New Netherland, i. 91; settlement of Connecticut and New York, ii. 4-6; line between East and West Jersey, 130; Pennsylvania, 136-137.
- Bowdoin, James, Huguenot ancestry, ii. 328.
- Bradford, Andrew, son of William, printer in Philadelphia, ii. 308; *American Magazine*, 308.
- Bradford, William, of Plymouth, on the Dutch language, i. 72 n.; discussion with Minit, 108.

- Bradford, William, New York newspaper, ii. 234; first printer in Philadelphia, 307.
- Bradford, William, nephew of Andrew, printer in Philadelphia, ii. 308.
- Brazil, Dutch in, i. 49.
- Brockholls, Anthony, lieutenant governor of New York, ii. 39; and the custom duties, 155.
- Brothead, J. R., *New York*, ii. 134 n.
- Brooke, Lord, grant in Connecticut, i. 133.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., beginnings, i. 103, 152; in 1679, ii. 72.
- Brooks, Elbridge, *In Leisler's Times*, ii. 186 n.
- Bruges, Belgium, prosperity, i. 18; decline, 42.
- Brugh, Johannes van, and the oath of allegiance, ii. 41.
- Bull, Thomas, and Andros at Saybrook, ii. 46.
- Burgundy, origin of the duchy, i. 22; absorption of the Netherlands, 22; reversion to the French crown, 24.
- Burlington, N. J., founded, ii. 131.
- Burnet, William, governor of New York, character, ii. 231; fur-trade reforms, 231-233.
- Burton, Mary, and the negro plot, ii. 277-281.
- Byllinge, Edward, buys Berkeley's interest in New Jersey, ii. 19; quarrel with Fenwick, 129; insolvent, 129.
- Bynner, E. L., *The Begon's Daughter*, ii. 186.
- Cabo de Arenas, identification, i. 64-66.
- Cabot, John, voyage not followed up, i. 52; extent of discovery, 59.
- Cabot, Sebastian, governor of the Muscovy Company, i. 69.
- Cæsar, victory over the Belgians, i. 4.
- Calvinism and public schools, i. 29.
- Cambridge University, liberalism, i. 34.
- Campbell, Douglas, *Puritan in England, Holland, and America*, i. 28.
- Canada, Iroquois raid in 1689, ii. 163; attack on Schenectady, 179-182; unsuccessful English expeditions against, 184, 228, 229.
- Canals in Netherlands, i. 13.
- Cape of Good Hope, Dutch colony, i. 47.
- Cape Henlopen, Del., and Cabo de Arenas, i. 64-66; named, 91.
- Cape Horn discovered, i. 51.
- Cape May, N. J., named, i. 91.
- Carleton, Sir Dudley, ambassador, presents English claim to New Netherland, i. 101.
- Carr, John, son of Sir Robert, commands on the Delaware, ii. 7.
- Carr, Sir Robert, royal commissioner, i. 248; on the Delaware, ii. 4; in Boston, 9; death, 10.
- Carteret, Sir George, grant of New Jersey, ii. 12; regrant, 37, 86.
- Carteret, James, son of Sir George, in New Jersey, ii. 18; character, 78.
- Carteret, Philip, governor of New Jersey, ii. 13; and Nicolls's grant, 13; power, 13; popular troubles, 18; relationship to Sir George, 78 n.; resists New York's claim to New Jersey, 86, 88; personal relations with Andros, 88, 89; deposed by Andros, 89; arrest and acquittal in New York, 89.
- Cartwright, George, royal commissioner, i. 248; in Boston, ii. 7; captured by the Dutch, 7.
- Catharism. *See* Albigenses.
- Cauhuaawaga, Canada, settlement of Christianized Iroquois, ii. 231; danger to New York, 232; Burnet's measures against, 232.
- Charlemagne, ancestry, i. 6; and the Frisians, 8; division of his empire, 8.
- Charles the Bald, share in Charlemagne's empire, i. 8.
- Charles the Bold of Burgundy, rule in the Netherlands, i. 24; death, 24.
- Charles II. of England, and the Connecticut charter, i. 241; and Louis XIV., ii. 27, 36; and the naming of Pennsylvania, 138.
- Charles V., lord of the Netherlands, i. 26.
- Charters, Dutch West India Company, i. 98; of Privileges and Exemptions in New Netherland, 118; Connecticut, 241; Pennsylvania, ii. 138-140, 349-361.
- Chesapeake Bay and Verrazano Sea, i. 55-57.
- Chester, Penn., named, ii. 145.
- Christiansen, Hendrick, at Manhattan, i. 89, 90.
- Church and State, primitive union, ii. 92-95; fall of theocratic ideals in Massachusetts, 104.
- Civil liberty, development in England, i. 20, 22; development in the Netherlands, 22, 24-25, 195. *See also* Religion, Representation, Zenger.
- Civilis, Claudius, Batavian general, confederacy, i. 4.
- Clovis, power, i. 6.
- Clubs in colonial New York, ii. 272.
- Coffee, introduction, i. 46.
- Colden, Cadwallader, career, ii. 265; *History of the Five Nations*, ii. 273.
- Coligny, Gaspard de, attempted Huguenot colonies, ii. 324.
- Colonies, English, non-English influences, i. 27-30; ii. 317, 336; significance of the year 1609, i. 83-84; land purchases from the Indians, ii. 149-152; first congress, 183; unsuccessful expeditions against Canada, 184, 228, 229; strategic position of New York and Pennsylvania, 194-196; necessity of a single head, 205. *See also* New England and the colonies by name.
- Colonization, divergent Dutch views in 1609, i. 84, 86; reasons for English success, 112-114; reasons for French failure, 113, 114.
- Colve, Anthony, governor of reconquered New Netherland, ii. 28; defensive preparations, 30-34; reception of Andros, 40.
- Connecticut, Dutch fort, i. 103, 130, 131; Dutch and English claims, 131; Plymouth fort, 132; Twiller's failure to attack the English, 133-136; English settlements, 133; Fort Saybrook, 133; Dutch isolated, 134; Hartford treaty with the Dutch, 224-227; charter, 241; claim to New Netherland, 242, 245; settlement of New York boundary, ii. 4; absorbs New Haven Colony, 6; a revival of New York's claim, 44-48; Fletcher's attempt to control the militia, 202-205; social conditions, 255. *See also* Colonies, New England.
- Connecticut River, Block ascends, i. 91. *See also* Connecticut.
- Corlear, Arendt van, settles Schenectady, ii. 51; and the Iroquois, 51; death, 51; Iroquois give his name to governors of New York, 53.
- Cornbury, Viscount, governor of New York, cousin of Queen Anne, ii. 224; character, 224; and the assembly, 224; governor of New Jersey, 224; salary controversy, 225;

- debts, 226; superseded and arrested, 226; return to England, 226.
- Corporate responsibility and religious conformity, ii. 95, 96.
- Corsen, Arendt van, builds fort on the Schuylkill, i. 130.
- Cortlandt, Stephen van, mayor of New York, and Andros, ii. 43; supports Nicholson, 168; and Leisler, 172, 174, 176 n.
- Cosby, William, governor of New York, ii. 233; Zenger's comments on, 237.
- Cotton, John, as a typical Puritan, ii. 306.
- Council, question of its functions in New York, ii. 200, 230; and in Pennsylvania, 296.
- Council of New England, extent of control, i. 100.
- Courcelle, Sieur de, governor of Canada, invasion of the Iroquois country, ii. 48.
- Courtray, Belgium, battle, i. 22.
- Courts, in New Netherland, i. 115; manor, 118, ii. 310; capital punishment in Pennsylvania, 140, 315; law and order in Pennsylvania, 315, 316. *See also* Laws.
- Cromwell, Oliver, religious tolerance, ii. 99.
- Crusades, religious effect, i. 10.
- Curler, Jacob van, builds Dutch fort on the Connecticut, i. 131.
- Dankers, Jasper, in New York, ii. 58, 70; on New York and its neighbourhood, 70-80; on the New York clergy, 80.
- Dee, John, map, i. 65 n.
- Delaware, claims of Maryland and New York, ii. 4; religious liberty, 92; granted to Penn, 137; legislative separation from Pennsylvania, 296. *See also* Colonies, Delaware River.
- Delaware Indians, sell Manhattan Island, i. 106; wars with New Netherland, 154-162, 168, 237-240; Penn's treaty, ii. 148; Pennsylvania land purchases from, 151; why peaceful in Pennsylvania, 153.
- Delaware River, Gomez sees, i. 60; early cartography, 65; Hudson enters, 81; Hendricksen ascends, 91; Fort Nassau built, 103; Swedish colony, 206-210; Carr overthrows the Dutch, ii. 4. *See also* Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania.
- Denonville, Marquis de, governor of Canada, and Dongan, ii. 160.
- Dermer, Thomas, voyages, i. 100; warns the Dutch at Manhattan, 100.
- Desceliers, Pierre, Norumbega on his map, i. 68.
- De Vries, David Pieters, at Zwaanendael, i. 122; and Eelkens, 128; settlement on Staten Island, 150; Vriesendaal, 156; heads the Twelve Men, 157; and the Indians, 159-162; leaves for Holland, 162; and Printz, 209.
- De Witt, John, Republican leader in the Netherlands, i. 213; chief magistrate, 215; murdered, 220.
- Diedrich, first Count of Holland, i. 11.
- Dincklagen, Lubbertus van, treasurer of New Netherland, dismissed, i. 144.
- Dirk. *See* Diedrich.
- Discovery and title to wild lands, i. 100, 125, 242.
- Donck, Adrian van der, manor, i. 182; heads popular demands, 186; imprisoned, 188; goes to Holland with the memorial, 188; success, 196; *Description of New Netherland*, 200.
- Dongan, Thomas, governor of New York, covets Connecticut, ii. 45 n.; character, 158; Indian diplomacy, 159-162; Earl of Limerick, 164.
- Doughty, Francis, settles on Long Island, i. 158.
- Dress, New York colonial, ii. 270, 271.
- Duke's Laws, ii. 3, 40.
- Dunkers, migration to Pennsylvania, ii. 332.
- Dutch, language, i. 2, 6; English kinship, 2; meaning of the word, 3; origin of the disparaging use of the term, 138; influence on American progress, ii. 336. *See also* Netherlands, New Netherland.
- Dutch Church in New York, conditions in 1680, ii. 82; independence, 84.
- Dutch East India Company, formation, i. 44, 88; engages Hudson's services, 62. *See also* East Indies.
- Dutch West India Company, attempts to establish, i. 87, 90; charter and powers, 98; subscription, 99; prosperity, 110; charter of Privileges and Exemptions to New Netherland, 116-121; petition of New Netherland against, 188. *See also* New Netherland.
- Dyck, Hendrick van, provokes an Indian attack, i. 237; killed, 238.
- Dyer, William, collector of the port at New York, ii. 39; indicted for treason, 156; released and rewarded, 156.
- East Indies, Portuguese control, i. 43; Dutch control, 43-46, 88; great trading companies, 44; English in, 48.
- East Jersey. *See* New Jersey.
- Eaton, Theophilus, governor of New Haven, and Stuyvesant, i. 223.
- Economic conditions. *See* Manufactures, Taxation, Trade.
- Edict of Nantes, neutralized, ii. 326, 327; revoked, 327.
- Education, public schools in the Netherlands, i. 17; origin of the New England public schools, 29; New York colonial schools, ii. 273; Quaker and Puritan attitude, 306, 307; colonial schools in Philadelphia, 307.
- Elkens, Jacob, and the Iroquois, i. 92; return to New Netherland in English service, 128; and Twiller, 128.
- Eight Men, board of, in New Netherland, i. 164, 165-168.
- Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and Penn, ii. 121-126.
- Elizabethtown, N. J., settled and named, ii. 13.
- Emigration, Dutch, to England, i. 30, 32, 40, 41; Flemish, to Holland, 42; of sects to America, 113, 214; ii. 317-336; inducements in New Netherland, i. 150; character of, to New England, 192.
- England, development of civil liberty, i. 20, 21; Dutch immigration and commercial influence, 30-33, 40-41; early importance of wool, 31; Dutch religious influence, 34, 35; Lollardism, 34; geography of Puritanism, 35; interest in the East Indies, 48; claim to New Netherland, 90-102, 104, 110, 124, 125, 129, 241-244, 324; success in colonization, 112, 114; Dutch friendship, 211; attempt to unite the Netherlands and the Commonwealth, 215; commercial rivalry with the Netherlands, 216; resulting wars, 218, 220, 253, ii. 19; third Dutch war, i.

- 218, ii. 27, 35-37; personal union with the Netherlands, i. 220; importance of New Netherland to its control of America, 243, 253, ii. 1; affair of the Seven Bishops, 288, 289.
- English, Dutch kinship, i. 2.
- English East India Company, formation, i. 44; activity, 48.
- Ephrata, Penn., Dunker community founded at, ii. 332.
- Erasmus, Desiderius, eminence, i. 60; edition of the Bible, 17.
- Europe, modern map foreshadowed, i. 8.
- Evans, John, deputy-governor of Pennsylvania, false alarm, ii. 299; imposition of powder money, 300; character, 301.
- Evertsen, Cornelius, Dutch admiral, captures New York, ii. 22.
- Falkenstein, Count von, and Penn, ii. 126.
- Fénelon, on Amsterdam, i. 1.
- Fenwick, John, Byllinge's agent, ii. 19; and Penn's award in West Jersey, 129; founds Salem in West Jersey, 129; trouble with Andros, 129, 131.
- Feudalism, culmination, i. 10.
- Fine arts in the Netherlands, i. 14, 18.
- Firearms, Dutch sell to the Indians, i. 94, 155; order against selling, disobeyed at Rensselaerwyck, 183; English supply the Iroquois, ii. 54; sale to the Algonquins forbidden, 54.
- Five Nations. *See* Iroquois.
- Flanders, autonomy of ruler, i. 11. *See also* Netherlands.
- Flemish language, i. 4.
- Flatbush, L. I., type of colonial Dutch houses in, ii. 264-268.
- Flatlands, L. I., settled, i. 152.
- Fletcher, Benjamin, governor of New York, character, ii. 198; and the assembly, 200; as governor of Pennsylvania, 204; and the Connecticut militia, 204, 205; accusations against and recall, 213.
- Flushing, L. I., refuses to enforce religious persecution, i. 203, 204.
- Food, New York colonial, ii. 266, 267 n.
- Ford, Philip, Penn's steward, ii. 301; widow's suit against Penn, 301.
- Forrester, Andrew, Stirling's agent, and Stuyvesant, i. 220.
- Fort Amsterdam, N. Y., built, i. 106. *See also* New Amsterdam, New York city.
- Fort Beaver Road on the Schuylkill, Dutch build, i. 130.
- Fort Christina, Del., built, i. 206.
- Fort Frontenac (Kingston), Canada, built, ii. 50.
- Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut, Dutch build, i. 103, 130, 131; isolated, 134; confiscated by Underhill, 231.
- Fort Nassau on the Hudson, i. 92; rebuilt, 103; on the Delaware, 103; occupied by Virginians, 140; recaptured, 142.
- Fort Orange, N. Y., built, i. 103; threatened trouble with the Mohawks, 107; named Albany, ii. 1. *See also* Albany.
- Fox, George, founder of Quakerism, birth, ii. 100; teachings, 100; character, 101.
- France, overlordship in the Netherlands, i. 21; Albigenses in, 34, ii. 323; temporary cessation of maritime activity, i. 68; failure in colonization, 113, 114; plan to conquer New York, ii. 162; rise of Huguenots, 323; treatment and migration of the Huguenots, 326-328.
- Franklin, Benjamin, in Philadelphia, ii. 304, 308.
- Franks, origin, i. 6; empire, 6, 8.
- Frederick of Orange, Prince, stadholder, i. 105.
- Friends of God, influence on religious toleration, ii. 100.
- Frisians, and the Batavians, i. 4; and the Frankish empire, 6-8; conversion, 8; land system, 8.
- Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Count of, governor of Canada, designs on New York, ii. 162; designs frustrated, 163; character, 184; invasion of the Iroquois country, 184; defeated by Schuyler, 199.
- Frontier, Palatine and Scotch-Irish settlers, ii. 333, 336.
- Fur-trade, French, on the Hudson, i. 60, 68; early Dutch, 89; Dutch monopolies, 90, 91, 120; illicit Dutch, 124, 146; Kieft's reforms, 147; made free in New Netherland, 150; coveted by England, 244; Caughnawaga middlemen, ii. 231; Burnet's measures, 232; controlling interest in New York, 252.
- Gardiner, Lyon, builds and commands Fort Saybrook, i. 133.
- Gastaldi, Jacopo, map, i. 65.
- Geography, Verrazano's map and sea, i. 56; Maiollo's map, 56-58; character of old maps, 63; early cartography of east coast of North America, 63-65; Ribeiro's map, 64; map by Santa Cruz, 64; Gastaldi's map, 65; cartography of Norumbega, 65-68.
- Georgia, Jews in, ii. 322.
- Germany, Penn's missionary tour, ii. 120-129; emigration of sects to Pennsylvania, 331-334.
- Gerrits, Dirk, Dutch navigator, Antarctic voyage, i. 51.
- Ghent, Belgium, former size, i. 18; besieges Ypres, 21; defeated by its count, 21; executes treacherous envoys, 24; decline, 42.
- Glen, John, and the French attack on Schenectady, ii. 180, 181.
- Godfrey, Thomas, mathematician, his quadrant, ii. 308.
- Godfrey, Thomas (second), dramatist, his *Prince of Parthia*, ii. 308.
- Godyn, Samuel, his patronship, i. 122.
- Gomez, Estevan, Spanish pilot, on coast of North America, i. 60.
- Gouverneur, Abraham, marries Mary Leisler, ii. 186, 187, 213.
- Government, growth of monarchy, i. 11; New Netherland, 115, 193, 195; genesis of English colonial, 191-193, 195; Netherlands, 229-231; New York, ii. 3, 185, 196; East Jersey, 13, 17; early, and religious conformity, 93, 96; West Jersey, 132; true basis of democracy, 205; Pennsylvania, 296-298.
- Governors, English colonial, conflicts with the assemblies, ii. 18, 199-202, 226, 230, 231, 253.
- Governor's Island, N. Y., Twiller's purchase, i. 142.
- Graham, James, speaker of New York assembly, ii. 196.
- Grants, Dutch ordinance of 1614, i. 90; to Duke of York, 247, ii. 37; of New Jersey, 11, 37. *See also* Charters.
- Gravesend, L. I., settled, i. 150.
- Great Privilege of the Netherlands, provisions, i. 24; ignored, 25.

- Greenwich, Conn., settled, i. 151; controlled by the Dutch, 152.
- Greenwich village on Manhattan Island, ii. 70, 79.
- Grist, Paul van der, seizes the San Beninio, i. 222; killed by Indians, 238.
- Grotius, Hugh, leader of the Netherlands Republicans, i. 86.
- Guicciardini, Francesco, Italian historian, on English-Flemish trade, i. 31.
- Guilds in the Netherlands, i. 21.
- Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, interest in America, i. 206.
- Hackensack, N. J., settled, i. 156; Indian murder at, 159.
- Hall, Thomas, member of the Board of Eight Men, i. 164.
- Hamilton, Andrew, defends Zenger, ii. 238; reputation, 238; on truth of the libel, 242-244; speech, 244-248; popular honours, 248; on Pennsylvania's progress, 315.
- Harlem, N. Y., in 1679, ii. 77.
- Hartford, Conn., Dutch fort on site, i. 103, 130; settled, 134; Stuyvesant's visit, 225; boundary treaty, 225-228.
- Hell Gate, N. Y., named, i. 91.
- Hendricksen, Cornelius, ascends the Delaware, i. 91.
- Heyn, Peter, Dutch admiral, victories over the Spanish, i. 110.
- Hill, Richard, and the powder money, ii. 300.
- Hinnoyssa, Alexander, at New Amstel, ii. 4.
- History, importance of small things, i. 191.
- Hodshone, Robert, Quaker, persecuted in New Netherland, i. 202-204.
- Hoeius, Franciscus, Norumbega on his map, i. 68.
- Holland, origin, i. 11; meaning of the name, 13. *See also* Netherlands.
- Hollender, Peter, governor of New Sweden, i. 208.
- Hooton, Thomas, on the settlement at Burlington, ii. 131.
- Horn, Schouten van, voyage, i. 51.
- Horsford, E. N., on Norumbega, i. 62 n.
- Horticulture in the Netherlands, i. 13.
- Houses, New York manor, ii. 257-260; New York Dutch country, 264-269.
- Hudson, Christopher, interest in Arctic explorations, i. 70.
- Hudson, Henry, alderman, in the Muscovy Company, i. 69.
- Hudson, Henry, English navigator, probable ancestry, i. 70; conjectured early life, 71, 72; Arctic voyages for Muscovy Company, 71; his mermaid, 71; enters Dutch service, 72; services desired by France, 73; Dutch voyage in the Arctic, 73; seeks a passage to Verrazano Sea, 74; Smith's influence, 74; results of Arctic voyages, 74; on coast of New England, 75; enters Delaware River, 75; in New York harbour, 76; ascends Hudson River, 76; and the Indians, 76-78; returns to Europe, 80; detained in England, 80; voyage to Hudson's Bay, 80; death, 81; fame, 81.
- Hudson, Thomas, of Limehouse, voyage and journey in Russia, i. 70.
- Hudson, Thomas, of Mortlake, interest in Arctic explorations, i. 70.
- Hudson River, Verrazano enters, i. 57, 62; Gomez enters, 60; French traders on, 60; and Norumbega, 61, 65-67; early cartography, 66; Allefonse ascends, 67; Hudson ascends, 76-79; various names, 92.
- Hugonet, Netherlands envoy, treason and execution, i. 25.
- Huguenots, migration, i. 113, ii. 326; forbidden to settle in Canada, i. 114; rise, ii. 326; elements of weakness, 322-325; attempted colonies, 324; in New York, 225, 326, 328-331; persecution, 326, 327; effect of emigration on France, 327; in Boston, 328.
- Humour and national characteristics, i. 138.
- Hunter, Robert, governor of New York, character, ii. 228; and the assembly, 229, 230; on his experiences as governor, 230.
- Hutchins, John, conviction for treason, ii. 222; released, 224.
- Hutchinson, Anne, settlement in New Netherland, i. 158; massacred, 161.
- Iberville, Le Moynes d', leads attack on Schenectady, ii. 179.
- Imbrecourt, Netherlands envoy, treason and execution, i. 25.
- Indians, early French description, i. 53; sale of firearms to, 94, 155, 183, ii. 54; colonial land purchases from, i. 106, 120, ii. 149-152; Mohegans and Pequots, i. 130, 131; Pequot war, 131, 135; wars with the Delawares in New Netherland, 154-162, 168, 237-239; King Philip's war, ii. 46-48, 54-56; New York commissioners, 53; Algonquin dwelling, 75-77; why peaceful in Pennsylvania, 152-155. *See also* Iroquois.
- Ingoldsby, Richard, lieutenant-governor of New York, ii. 184, 228; arrival, 187; Leisler defies, 188.
- Inns, colonial New York, ii. 272.
- Inquisition, effect, ii. 97.
- Iroquois Indians, importance in American history, i. 83, ii. 50; treaty with the Dutch, i. 92; obtain firearms, 94, 155, ii. 54; Mohegans and Mohegans, i. 107, 249; threatened breach with the Dutch, 107; tribute from other tribes, 159; French invasions, ii. 48, 184; Dutch and English overlordship, 49; French and English intrigues, 49, 159-162, 198, 228; conference with Andros, 50-53; Schuyler's influence, 54, 198; defeat King Philip, 56; conference with New England envoys, 56; influence on Indian peace in Pennsylvania, 153; conquests, 160; raid on Canada in 1680, 163; strategic position, 104; chiefs in England, 228; and Burnet's fur-trade reforms, 232; become Six Nations, 232 n.
- Irving, Washington, satire on Twiller, i. 126; reception of his *Knickerbocker*, 140.
- James II. of England, unites the northern colonies, ii. 163; flight, 165; friendship for Penn, 282-286; Penn's trust, 287, 289; and the seven bishops, 288-290. *See also* York.
- Jans, Anneke, law suits over her farm, ii. 250.
- Jay, John, Huguenot ancestry, ii. 330.
- Jay, Pierre, Huguenot, persecution, and emigration to New York, ii. 330.
- Jesuit missionaries among the Iroquois, ii. 50.
- Jews, in Spain, ii. 317; persecution, 318; migration to the Netherlands, 320; in Brazil, 320; emigration to New York, 320; treatment in New York, 320-322; in Newport, 320; in Philadelphia, 322; in the southern colonies, 322.
- Josquin, Flemish musician, i. 15.

- Judeis, Cornelius de, Flemish geographer; Norumbega on his map, i. 67.
- Justice. *See* Courts.
- Keith, George, schism, ii. 292.
- Kidd, William, character, ii. 210; commissioned against the pirates, 211; piracy, 215-218; arrest, 218; trial and execution, 220.
- Kieft, William, director-general of New Netherland, character, i. 145, 166, 169; autocracy, 146, 157; tax on the Indians, 155, 160; calls an assembly on the question of war, 157; and the administrative reforms, 158; massacres fugitive Indians, 160; tries to shift the responsibility, 161; imposes an excise, 165, 166; charges against, 166-168; removed, 168; attempt to investigate, 174-175; hits back, 175; drowned, 176.
- King Philip's war, Andros's interest, ii. 46-48, 54; Philip in the Berkshires, 55, 55 n.
- Kingston, N. Y., Walloon settlers, ii. 326.
- Kip, Jacob, and the oath of allegiance, ii. 41.
- Kip's Bay, ii. 66.
- Koopman* of New Netherland, duties, i. 115.
- Koorn, Nicholas, guards Rensselaerwyck staple right, i. 181.
- Kramer, Gerard. *See* Mercator.
- Krickebeeck, commander of Fort Orange, killed, i. 107.
- Kuyter, Joachim, arrives in New Netherland, i. 150; member of the Board of Eight Men, 164; petition against Kieft, 174; accusations against, 174; banished and fined, 175; shipwrecked, 176; justified, 177.
- La Montagne, Jean de, Kieft's councillor, i. 148.
- Labadists in Pennsylvania, ii. 332.
- Lancaster, Penn., population in 1750, ii. 313.
- Lancey, James de, chief justice of New York, tries Zenger, ii. 237, 238; Huguenot ancestry, 329.
- Land, colonial purchases from the Indians, i. 120, ii. 149-152; quitrent trouble, 18, 142, 296.
- Lasso, Orlando, Flemish musician, i. 14.
- Laurens, Henry, Huguenot ancestry, ii. 330.
- Laurie, Garvaine, interest in West Jersey, ii. 129.
- Laws, Duke's, in New York, ii. 3. *See also* Courts.
- La Conte, John and Joseph, Huguenot ancestry, ii. 329.
- Leisler, Jacob, accuses Van Rensselaer of heresy, ii. 82; refuses to pay customs duty, 170; position and character, 170; anti-Catholic mania, 171, 341; probable motive of his conduct, 171, 190-192; takes command of the fort, 173, 339; declaration, 174; proclaims William and Mary, 174; ignores the king's proclamation, 175; commander-in-chief, 175, 341; assumes the government, 175-176; unpopular tax, 178; authority defied, 178, 341-344; calls an assembly, 182; calls the first American Congress, 183; ignored by the king, 185; unpopularity, 186; novels based on his times, 186; marriage of his daughters, 186; defies Ingoldsby, 188; fires on the king's troops, 188; resists Slaughter, 189, 344; arrest, 189; trial and execution, 189-190, 344-348; execution ill advised, 192; attainder reversed, 192, 213. *See also* Leislerian.
- Leislerian party in New York, ii. 199; charges against Fletcher, 213; Bellomont favours, 214; gain control, 215; violent proceedings, 220, 221; discomfiture, 224.
- Levermore, C. H., on New Haven migration to New Jersey, ii. 18.
- Libel, question of evidence of truth, ii. 243; Hamilton on, 244-249.
- Linschoten, Hans Hugo van, Dutch navigator, voyage in the Arctic, i. 50.
- Literature, in the Netherlands, i. 16; in colonial New York, ii. 272; in colonial Pennsylvania, 304, 309.
- Livingston, Robert, secretary of board of Indian commissioners, ii. 53; early life, 54; and Kidd, 210; Leislerian charges against, 220; dismissed from office, 222; restored, 224.
- Lloyd, David, position in Pennsylvania, ii. 303.
- Local self-government, and successful colonization, i. 114; lacking in New Netherland, 115.
- Locke, John, and Penn, ii. 291.
- Logan, James, character and ability, ii. 302.
- Lok, Michael, Verrazano Sea on his map, i. 56, 74.
- Lollardism in England, i. 34, 35.
- Long Island, Dutch settlements and purchase, i. 103, 152; value as a wampum field, 153, 154; English settlements, 154; Stirling's claim, 220; disaffection of English towns, 234, 246; league of English towns, 246; granted to York, 247; rival colonial claims, ii. 5; included in New York, 7; demand for representation, 26; protest against second Dutch government, 29; question of allegiance to New York, 40; in 1769, 72-77.
- Lorraine. *See* Lotharingia.
- Lothair I., share in Charlemagne's empire, i. 8.
- Lotharingia, origin and extent, i. 8; division, 9; bone of contention, 10; advantages, 10-12.
- Louis the German, share in Charlemagne's empire, i. 9.
- Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, defeats Ghent, i. 22.
- Louis XIV. of France, designs on New York, ii. 162; and the Huguenots, 326-328.
- Lovelace, Francis, governor of New York, ii. 20, 25; on the establishment of a post, 21-23; land purchases and debts, 34; Dutch confiscations, 34; arrest, 34; death, 38.
- Lovelace, Lord, nephew of Francis, governor of New York, ii. 226; death, 226.
- Lucas, Nicholas, interest in West Jersey, ii. 159.
- Lucini, A. F., Italian engraver, Norumbega, on his map, i. 68 n.
- Luxemburg, autonomy, i. 11.
- Luyck, Ægidius, and the oath of allegiance, ii. 41.
- Macaulay, Lord, charges against Penn, ii. 285-287, 290 n.
- Madagascar, pirate rendezvous, ii. 208.
- Madras, India, founded, i. 49.
- Maine, Duke of York's claim, ii. 8; Andros takes possession, 56.
- Maiollo, Vesconte, map showing Verrazano's explorations, i. 56, 57, 59.
- Makin, Thomas, on Evans's false alarm, ii. 300 n.
- Manhattan Island, N. Y., and Norumbega, i.



- 62, 66; French fur-traders' village on, 67; Dutch traders at, 88; Argall warns them, 89; meaning of the name, 105; purchased, 106. *See also* New Amsterdam, New York city.
- Manors (patroonships), establishment in New Netherland, i. 116-121; inducement, 121; failure of first, 116-123; success of Rensselaerwyck, 123, 178; attempt to introduce indentured servants, 149; disputes between Rensselaerwyck and the government, 179-184; system in New York, ii. 256; Schuyler's manor, 256-262.
- Mansfield, Lord, opinion on libel, ii. 243.
- Manufacturers, in the Netherlands, i. 13, 14, 30; influence of Dutch, on English, 30-33, 40; forbidden to the patroons, 120; prohibition removed, 150.
- Marathon, Greece, importance of battle, i. 190.
- Markham, William, deputy-governor of Pennsylvania, ii. 142.
- Martha's Vineyard, Mass., Duke of York's claim, ii. 7.
- Mary, Lady, of Burgundy, marriage, i. 24; and the Great Privilege, 24.
- Maryland charter, ii. 138-140.
- Mason, Arthur, Boston constable, and the royal commissioners, ii. 8-10.
- Massachusetts, and the royal commissioners, i. 248, 249, ii. 8-10; and the Duke of York's claim, 7; persecution of Quakers, 102; tyranny of Andros, 165; overthrow of Andros, 166; refuses to aid Fletcher, 205; Bellomont governor, 214. *See also* Colonies, New England.
- Mather, Increase, on King Philip and the Mohawks, ii. 55 n.; in England, 165, 166.
- Maurice of Orange, Prince, leads war party in the Netherlands, i. 84; and Olden-Barneveld, 94.
- Maverick, Samuel, intrigue against New Netherland, i. 245; royal commissioner, 248; in Boston, ii. 8.
- May, Cornelius, in Delaware Bay, i. 91; first director-general of New Netherland, 102.
- Mazarin, Cardinal, dissatisfied with treaty of Münster, i. 214.
- Megapolensis, John, Dutch clergyman in New Netherland, intolerance, i. 202.
- Melyn, Cornelius, arrival in New Netherland, i. 150; settlement on Staten Island, 156; member of Board of Eight Men, 164; petition against Kieft, 174; accusations against, 175; banished and fined, 175; shipwrecked, 176; justified, 177; return with mandamus, to Stuyvesant, 188.
- Mennonites, persecution and migration to Pennsylvania, ii. 332.
- Mercator, Norumbega on his 1569 map, i. 66.
- Merchant Adventurers in England, i. 34.
- Merchants' Exchange, first New York, ii. 26.
- Meteren, Emanuel van, Dutch consul at London, and Hudson, i. 71, 72.
- Middle Kingdom. *See* Lotharingia.
- Milborne, Jacob, Leisler's lieutenant, ii. 178; marries Leisler's daughter, 186; arrest, 189; trial and execution, 189-191, 348.
- Milt, Anthony de, and the oath of allegiance, ii. 41.
- Minuit, Peter, director-general of New Netherland, i. 105; discussion with Bradford, 108; recalled, 124; leads colony to New Sweden, 206.
- Mohegan Indians, and the Mohawks, i. 107, 249; in the Connecticut valley, 130, 132.
- Money, wampum as, i. 152; chaotic condition in early New York, ii. 45; Massachusetts issues paper, 184; New York issues paper, 229.
- Monopoly in New Netherland, i. 90, 91, 98, 120; abolished, 148; New York city flour, ii. 85.
- Montgomery, John, governor of New York, ii. 233.
- Monts, Sieur du, attempted colony, ii. 325.
- Moravians, migration to Pennsylvania, ii. 332.
- Morris, Gouverneur, ancestry, ii. 187.
- Mosquitoes in New York, ii. 258 n.
- Motley, J. L., *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, i. 39.
- Muscovy Company, organized, i. 49, 69.
- Music in the Netherlands, i. 14.
- Names, changes in Huguenot, in America, ii. 328.
- Nantucket, Mass., Duke of York's claim, ii. 7.
- Narragansett Bay, R. I., Verrazano in, i. 58.
- Navigation laws, origin, i. 218; and trade with New Netherlands, 244, 245.
- Naylor, James, religious enthusiast, ii. 101.
- Netherlands, and the Roman Empire, i. 4; and the Frankish Empire, 6-9; in Lotharingia, 9-11; growth of little states, 11; resulting political advantages, 12, 35; agricultural and industrial growth, 12-14; topography, 13; fine arts, 14, 20; culture, 14-17; urban and rural population, 17; burgher type, 18; discordant political factors, 20-22; conditions of civil liberty, 22, 195; absorption by the House of Burgundy, 22; under Charles the Bold, 23; Great Privilege 24; under the Hapsburgs, 24-26; commercial influence on England, 30-33, 40, 41; influence on American progress, 28, ii. 336; importance of the woollen industry, i. 31; religious influence on England, 32-36; Protestantism, 36; persecution and revolt, 37-39; division, 39; further history of the Flemish, 39, 42; growth of the Dutch at expense of the Flemish, 42; sea power, 43; East Indian empire, 43-47; Australasian explorations, 47; control of Brazil, 48; Arctic explorations, 50; Antarctic explorations, 51; independence acknowledged, 83; parties in 1609, 85-87; divergent views on colonization, 86-88; triumph of the war party, 94; inauguration of a colonial policy, 96; charter of the Dutch West India Company, 98; alliance with England, 104; renewed war with Spain, 110; English friendship, 211; effect of treaty of Münster, 211; government, 211-213; parties after treaty of Münster, 213-216; attempted union with the Commonwealth, 216; commercial rivalry with England, 216; wars with England, 216-220, 227-235, 246-255, ii. 19, 27, 28, 35-37; personal union with England, i. 220; immigration of Jews, ii. 310; inducement to Huguenots, 327. *See also* New Netherland.
- New Amstel, Del., resists the English, ii. 4; called Newcastle, 4.
- New Amsterdam, beginnings, i. 106, conditions, 121, 143-144, 148, 200, 220; subscription for a church, 159; municipal government desired, 189; incorporated, 199; defences,

- 227; captured 249-253; named New York, ii. 1. *See also* Manhattan Island, New Netherland, New York city.
- New England, origin of its public schools, i. 29; Verrazano on the coast, 58; and Norumbega, 61; Hudson on the coast, 75; John Smith on the coast, 99; named, 100; extent under charter of Council of New England, 101; growth threatens New Netherland, 129, 150-153, 240; dispute with the Dutch over Connecticut, 131-136, 220-227; trade with New Netherland, 140; genesis of the government, 192; and New Netherland during the first English-Dutch war, 228-235; preparation against reconquered New Netherland, ii. 30; King Philip's war, 46-48, 54-56; Andros viceroy, 164; resumption of old governments, 166. *See also* Colonies, and the colonies by name.
- New Hampshire, Bellomont governor, ii. 214.
- New Haven (colony), founded, i. 151; contact with New Netherland, 152; attempted settlements in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 208; controversy with New Netherland, 220-224; absorbed by Connecticut, ii. 6; contrasted with Connecticut, 14; settlement in New Jersey, 17. *See also* Connecticut, New England.
- New Jersey, Nicolls's grant, ii. 12; grant to Berkeley and Carteret, 12; Elizabethtown founded, 13; conflicting grants, 14; named, 14; government under the Concessions, 14, 17; New Haven settlers, 14-18; early government troubles, 18; Berkeley's interest sold to Quakers, 19; regrant of East Jersey to Carteret, 37, 86; Quaker claim to West Jersey ignored, 37, 86; boundary line of East and West Jersey, 37, 130; troubles arising from York's claim of government, 86-91, 129-131, 133; York cedes the government, 90, 91, 134; Penn's award in West Jersey, 129; settlements in West Jersey, 129, 130; Burlington founded, 131; Penn's draft of government for West Jersey, 132; annexed to New England, 164; united as a royal province, 225; executive union with New York, 225; salary controversy with Cornbury, 225. *See also* Delaware River, Colonies.
- New Netherland, pioneer traders at Manhattan, i. 89; Ordinance of 1614, 90; explorations, 90; control of the United New Netherland Company, 91-94; boundaries, 91; treaty with the Iroquois, 92; control of the Dutch West India Company, 98; English claims, 99-102, 104, 110, 124-126, 129, 241-243, government organized, 102; first settlers, 102-104; Minuit director-general, 105; a threatened breach with the Iroquois, 107-109; intercourse with Plymouth, 108; government, 115; growth, 116, 142, 198-201, 240; establishment of manors, 116-122; early manors, 121-124; disputes with the patroons, 124, 178-184; Twiller director-general, 126; attempt to forestall the English, 129-131; controversy over Connecticut, 131-136, 220-227; Virginians at Fort Nassau, 140; trade with New England, 140; removal of Twiller, 144; Kieft director-general, 144; his autocratic methods and reforms, 146-148; character of the population in Kieft's time, 148; monopoly abolished, 150; encouragement of settlers, 150; English settlers, 150, 158; contact with New Haven, 151; control of Long Island, 152, 153, 220, 235, 236, 245, 246; wars with the Delaware Indians, 154-163, 169, 237-240; Kieft and the popular demands, 157-158, 164; financial needs, 164, 228; excise, 165, 166, 174, 228; protest against Kieft, 166-168; Stuyvesant director-general, 168; his autocracy, 171, 174-176, 224; step toward representation, 177; difficulties in the government, 178; Stuyvesant and the popular demands, 186-189, 196, 224, 228, 234-237, 246; memorial to the States General, 190, 196; genesis of the government, 193, 195; phases of development, 266; cosmopolitanism, 220; religious persecution, 220-205; English settlements in New Jersey broken up, 208; relations with New Sweden, 208, 210; during the first English-Dutch war, 227-235; internal weakness, 240; validity of Dutch claim, 242; essential to English control in America, 243, 254, ii. 1; portends of disaster, i. 244; Connecticut's claim, 245; granted to the Duke of York, 247; secret expedition against, 247; fall, 249-254; peaceful submission to the English, ii. 4. *See also* Hudson River, New Amsterdam, New York.
- New Paltz, N. Y., Walloons settle, ii. 326.
- New Rochelle, N. Y., Huguenot settlement, ii. 329.
- New Sweden, origin, i. 205-207; warned by English and Dutch, 207; progress, 208-210; overthrow, 210.
- New York, granted to the Duke of York, i. 247; captured from the Dutch, 249-253; importance to English control in America, ii. 1; Nicolls governor, 2; Duke's Laws, 3; autocratic government, 3, 26; settlement of the Connecticut boundary, 4-7; claims in New England, 7; ceded by the Dutch, 19; departure of Nicolls, 19; Lovelace governor, 20, 28; demand for representative government, 26, 42-43, 156; captured by the Dutch, 28; Dutch government, 28-36; restored to England, 37; York's second grant, 37; Andros governor, 38; reestablishment of English rule, 40; allegiance of Long Island towns, 40; oath of allegiance to England, 40-42; economic and moral conditions under Andros, 44; revival of claim to Connecticut, 44-48; importance of Iroquois friendship, 50; conditions around Manhattan in 1680, 59-70, 71-80; customs-house inspections, 70-72; religious conditions in 1680, 80-85; estate and revenue in 1680, 84, 85; question of control over New Jersey, 86-91, 129-135; dissatisfaction with Andros, 155; troubles over customs duties, 155, 156; Dongan governor, 158; first assembly, 158; becomes a royal province, 159; French designs against, 162; annexed to New England, 163, 164; fear of French invasion and Catholic plot, 167-169, 339, 421; conditions favouring Leisler's revolt, 170-172; rising against Nicholson, 172, 339; Leisler's declaration, 174; Leisler assumes control, 174-176, 340; conditions of Leisler's control, 176-179, 181, 182-186; French raid on Schenectady, 179, 181; Leisler's assembly, 183; William III.'s provisions for government, 184; Leisler's defiance of Ingoldsby, 187-189; Leisler and Slaughter, 189, 424; overthrow of Leisler, 188, 189; his trial and execution, 189-190, 344-348; strategic posi-

- tion, 194-196: bears brunt of Canadian wars, 196; first assembly under William and Mary, 196; anti-Catholic legislation, 196, 277; desire to annex Connecticut and Pennsylvania, 198; Fletcher governor, 198; party strife, 200, 214, 215, 220-224; governor and assembly, 200, 224, 230, 231; Fletcher recalled, 213; Bellomont governor, 214; Cornbury governor, 224; appointment of a treasurer, 224; Ingoldsby acting governor, 226; Hunter governor, 228; paper money, 229; Burnet governor, 231; Burnet's fur-trade reforms, 231-234; Zenger's trial, 234-249; extent in colonial times, 251; causes of slow growth, 252; colonial economic conditions, 252; debt and taxation, 253; conditions of government, 253, politics, 253-255; social conditions, 254-256; manors, 256-261; Albany in 1765, 261-264; type of the Dutch country house, 264-266; colonial dress, 266-271; indentured servants, 273; slavery, 274; negro plot of 1712, 276; and of 1741, 276-281; centre of distribution for non-English population, 317; immigration and treatment of the Jews, 320-322; immigration of Huguenots, 325, 328-331. *See also* Colonies, Iroquois, New Netherland, New York city.
- New York city, cosmopolitanism, i. 1, ii. 271, 337; change in the government, 3; abolition of class divisions, 20; post with Boston, 20-25; Merchants' Exchange established, 26; Dutch capture, 27; Dutch defensive measures, 30-34; Andros's reforms, 43; in 1680, 59-70; Wolley on its climate, 80; flour monopoly, 85; and the pirates, 207-210, 214; in 1735, 250-252; colonial cheerfulness and refinement, 271; amusements, 272; clubs and inns, 272; literature and schools, 272-274. *See also* New York.
- New York harbour, Verrazano in, i. 57; Hudson in, 75.
- New Zealand discovered, i. 46.
- Newark, N. J., settled and named, ii. 17.
- Newcastle, Del. *See* New Amstel.
- Newfoundland, exploitation of the fisheries, i. 52.
- Newport, R. I., Jews in, ii. 320.
- Newspapers, early colonial, ii. 233 n.; first in Pennsylvania, 308. *See also* Zenger.
- Nicolls, Richard, royal commissioner, dual nature of his commission, i. 248; capture of New Amsterdam, 249-254; governor of New York, character, ii. 2; autocracy, 3, 10; grant in New Jersey, 12; resigns, 19; death, 20; and the oath of allegiance, 40; and the Iroquois, 49.
- Nicolls, William, attorney-general of New York, imprisoned by Leisler, ii. 185, 189.
- Nicholson, Francis, lieutenant-governor of New York, ii. 164; predicament due to the overthrow of Andros, 166; accused of Catholicism, 169, 170, 171, 339; defensive measures misinterpreted, 172; overthrow, 173; goes to England, 174; leads fruitless attack on Canada, 226; conquers Nova Scotia, 228.
- Nieuwenhuysen, Wilhelmus van, minister in New York, ii. 80; feud, 81.
- Nine Men, Board of, in New Netherland, i. 177-179, 185-189, 196, 224.
- Norris, Isaac, and the powder money, ii. 300.
- North America, early cartography of eastern coast, i. 63-65.
- Northwest passage, why sought, i. 49; Verrazano seeks, 55.
- Norumbega, application of the name, i. 61; location, 61-68.
- Nova Scotia conquered by Nicholson, ii. 228.
- Nova Zembla discovered, i. 50.
- Occupation, and title to wild lands, i. 100, 125, 242; what constitutes, 126.
- Olden Barneveld, John of, heads peace party in the Netherlands, i. 86; beheaded, 94.
- Onas, Indian name for governors of Pennsylvania, ii. 49 n., 149.
- Ontario, Iroquois name for governors of Canada, ii. 49 n.
- Ordinance of 1614, i. 90.
- Ortelius, Abraham, Norumbega on his map, i. 67.
- Oswego, N. Y., founded, ii. 232.
- Oxenstjerna, Count Axel, interest in New Sweden, i. 206.
- Oxford University, conservatism, i. 34.
- Palatinate, devastated by the French, ii. 333. *See also* Palatines.
- Palatines, migration to America, ii. 333; frontier settlements, 333; dialect, 333; union with the Scotch-Irish, 336; influence on American progress, 336.
- Parliament, English, taxation power in Pennsylvania, ii. 140.
- Pastorius, F. D., leader of the Mennonites, ii. 332.
- Patroons. *See* Manors.
- Pauw, Michael, unsuccessful patroonship, i. 123.
- Pavonia patroonship, i. 123.
- Pell, Thomas, settlement at Pelham Manor, i. 241.
- Pemaquid, Maine, Andros takes possession, ii. 56.
- Penn, Sir William, and his son, ii. 104, 106.
- Penn, William, character, ii. 91, 109; birth and education, 104; conversion to Quakerism, 106; appearance, 106; on the continent, 106; and his father, 106; services to Quakerism, 108; imprisonments, 108, 118; specimens of his writings, 109-118; marriage, 120; home life, 121; missionary tour in Holland and Germany, 120-129; arbitrates on West Jersey, 129; interest in West Jersey, 129; argument on West Jersey government, 133; claim against the Crown, 135; purpose in colonizing, 135; grant, 136-138; story of his Tudor ancestry, 138 n.; principles of his government, 140-143, 295; in Pennsylvania, 144; lays out Philadelphia, 145; on Pennsylvania, 146; treaty with the Indians, 147; influence over the Indians, 149; return to England, 154; grant revoked and restored, 204, 291, 292; plan of union, 205; friendship of James II., 282-286; Macaulay's charges against, 286, 287, 290 n.; trust in James II., 286, 289; and the Seven Bishops affair, 289; accused of Jacobite complicity, 290; retirement, 291; and Locke, 290, 291; and William III., 291, 298; widowed and remarried, 293; second visit to Pennsylvania, 293; life in Pennsylvania, 293, 294; return to England, 298; financial difficulties, 301; last years, 302; heirs, 302.
- Penn, William (third), character, ii. 300.
- Pennsylvania, religious liberty, ii. 92, 140, 296, 297; modern tyranny, 132; Penn's purpose

- in settling, 135; boundaries, 136-138; naming of, 138; charter, 138-140, 349-361; principles of Penn's government, 140-143; rapid settlement, 143, 154; Penn's opinion, 146; Penn's treaty with the Indians, 146; land purchases from the Indians, 151; why the Indians were peaceful, 152-154; strategic position, 193; temporary royal province, 202, 291, 292; politics, 294-296, 304; second constitution, 296, 297; and colonial defence, 298; Evans's false alarm, 299; Evans's powder money, 300; colonial culture, 303-313; schools, 307; economic conditions, 313; slavery and servitude, 313-315; law and order, 315; philanthropy, 315; reasons for rapid growth, 315-317; distribution centre for non-English population, 317; German settlers, 331-334; Scotch-Irish settlers, 336.
- Pennsylvania-Dutch dialect, ii. 333.
- Penobscot River and Norumbega, i. 61, 65, 66, 68.
- Pequot Indians, and the Mohegans, i. 130, 131; and the Dutch, 132; war, 134.
- Peyster, Abraham de, mayor of New York, ii. 199.
- Peyster, Johannes de, and the oath of allegiance, ii. 41.
- Philadelphia, laid out, ii. 145; growth, 146; in 1700, 294; theatre, 313; population in 1750, 313; Jews in, 322. *See also* Pennsylvania.
- Philip of Austria, ruler in the Netherlands, i. 25.
- Philip the Fair of France, defeated at Courtray, i. 22.
- Philip the Good of Burgundy, acquires the Netherlands, i. 22; power, 22.
- Philip, Wampanoag chief, in the Berkshires, ii. 54, 55 n.
- Philipse, Frederick, councillor, supports Nicholson, ii. 168; and Leisler, 174, 176 n.
- Pilgrims, desire to settle in New Netherland, i. 95; petition rejected, 96; settlement, 96. *See also* Plymouth.
- Piracy, prevalence in seventeenth century, ii. 207; Madagascar rendezvous, 208; New York's trade, 208-210, 214; complaints against, 210; Kidd's career, 210-213, 215-220.
- Plymouth, Mass., settlement, i. 96; intercourse with New Netherland, 108; fort on the Connecticut, 132. *See also* Pilgrims.
- Politics, colonial New Jersey, ii. 18, 225; colonial New York, 199-202, 214, 220-225, 229, 230, 252-255; colonial Pennsylvania, 294-296, 304.
- Population, dense urban, in the mediæval Netherlands, i. 17; New Netherland in 1653 and 1664, 200; New York city in 1680, ii. 84; Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in 1685, 154; New York in 1735, 250; Philadelphia in 1700, 294; Pennsylvania cities in 1750, 313.
- Portents, of disaster in New Netherland, i. 244; comet of 1680, ii. 59.
- Portugal, control of Asiatic trade, i. 43; seized by Spain, 44.
- Post established between New York and Boston, ii. 20-25.
- Powder money incident in Pennsylvania, ii. 300.
- Preston, Samuel, and the powder money, ii. 300.
- Printing, development in the Netherlands, i. 15; in colonial Pennsylvania, ii. 308. *See also* Newspapers.
- Printz, John, governor of New Sweden, i. 209; and De Vries, 210.
- Privileges and Exemptions, New Netherland charter, i. 118-122.
- Puritanism, geographical distribution in England, i. 34; influence of the Netherlands, 35; attitude toward education, ii. 306.
- Quadus, Matthias, German geographer, Norumbega on his map, i. 67.
- Quakers, persecution, i. 202-204, ii. 101, 102; buy Berkeley's interest in New Jersey, 19; creed, 99, 128; Fox's teachings, 100; origin of name, 101; confused with other enthusiasts, 101; missionary zeal, 102; and Calvinism, 102; Penn's conversion, 106; Penn's services, 108; beliefs as expounded by Penn, 109-116; use of the pronouns, 116-118; settlement in West Jersey, 130; and Catholics in England, 286; attitude toward education, 306, 307; opposition to slavery, 314; extent of exodus to Pennsylvania, 331. *See also* Pennsylvania.
- Quidor, Iroquois name for Schuyler, ii. 288.
- Quintipartite Deed of division of New Jersey, ii. 130.
- Quintrent troubles, ii. 18, 141, 296.
- Radbod, Frisian chief, and Christianity, i. 7.
- Rascicotti, Norumbega on his map, i. 67.
- Religion, conversion of the Frisians, i. 8; and commercialism, 36; toleration and persecution in New Netherland, 115, 200-206; freedom in New York under the Duke's Laws, ii. 3; freedom in New Jersey, 15; conditions in New York about 1680, 80-84; freedom in Pennsylvania and Delaware, 92, 140, 297, 298; disassociation of toleration and devoutness, 92; primitive union of Church and State, 93-95; persecution and politics, 95; vitality of persecution, 96; Christianity and individuality, 97-99; colonial anti-Catholic measures, 106, 277, 288, 341; James II.'s attitude toward toleration, 288-289; persecution in Spain, 318; persecution in France, 323, 326-328. *See also* sects by name.
- Rensselaer, Kilian van, patroonship, i. 123; death, 182. *See also* Rensselaerwyck.
- Rensselaer, Nicholas van, heresy charges, ii. 82.
- Rensselaerwyck, established, i. 123; prosperity, 178; independence and usurpation, 179-185; obedience forced, 185.
- Representation, popular boards in New Netherland, i. 157-159, 164, 165, 177-179; petitioned for in New Netherland, 168; popular conventions in New Netherland, 234-237, 246; in New Jersey, ii. 14, 132; demanded in New York, 26, 42-44, 156; in New York, 158, 185, 196; in Pennsylvania, 297.
- Rhode Island, letters of marque against the Dutch, i. 231; restrictions on religious liberty, ii. 92. *See also* Colonies, New England.
- Ribeiro, Diego, Portuguese geographer, map, i. 64.
- Rittenhouse, David, astronomer, ii. 308.
- Roelandson, Adam, New Amsterdam schoolmaster, i. 128.
- Roman Catholics, colonial measures against, ii. 196, 277, 288, 341; and Quakers in England, 286.
- Roosebeke, Belgium, battle, i. 22.

- Saint Boniface. *See* Winfrid.
- St. Lawrence River and Gulf, Aubert's alleged voyage, i. 53; naming of, 53, 54.
- Salem, N. J., founded, ii. 129.
- Salomon, Haym, financial aid during the Revolution, ii. 322.
- Saltmarsh, John, *Sparkles of Glory*, ii. 105.
- San Benimo, Dutch ship, seized by Stuyvesant at New Haven, i. 222.
- Santa Cruz, Alonso de, map, i. 64.
- Saybrook, Conn., fort built, i. 133.
- Saye, Lord, grant in Connecticut, i. 133.
- Schaats, Gideon, minister at Albany, ii. 80.
- Schenectady, N. Y., settled, ii. 51; meaning of the name, 52 n.; French and Indian attack, 179-182.
- Schout*, duties, i. 115.
- Schurmann, Anna Maria, and Penn, ii. 127.
- Schuyler, Peter, and the Iroquois, ii. 53, 198; defeats Frontenac, 199; takes Iroquois chiefs to England, 228; his manor, 256-261; protest against Leisler, 341.
- Scotch-Irish, objectionable name, ii. 334; origin, 334; reasons for migration to America, 335; frontier settlements, 336; religious toleration, 336; union with the Palatines, 336; influence on American progress, 336.
- Scott, John, adventurer, i. 244; president of league of Long Island towns, 246; arrested, 247.
- Seeley, Sir J. R., British historian, on policy of Charles II., ii. 36.
- Servants, indentured white, attempt to introduce by patroons, i. 148; in New York, ii. 274.
- Seven Bishops affair in England, ii. 288, 289.
- Shackamaxon, Penn., Penn's treaty with the Indians, ii. 147.
- Ship-building in New Netherland, i. 124.
- Slavery, Quaker condemnation, ii. 100, 314; in colonial New York, 274-277; negro plot of 1712, 277; and of 1741, 277-281; in colonial Pennsylvania, 314.
- Slechtchenhorst, Brandt van, governs Rensselaerwyck, i. 182; insubordination, 183-184.
- Sloughter, Henry, governor of New York, ii. 185; arrival, 188; and Leisler, 188-190, 344; death, 196.
- Sluyter, Peter, in New York, ii. 56, 70; on New York and the neighbourhood, 70-80; on the New York clergy, 80.
- Smit, Claes, murdered, i. 157.
- Smith, Captain John, influence on Hudson, i. 74; on coast of New England, 90.
- Smith, William, lawyer, Zenger's counsel, ii. 237; disbarred, 238.
- Smith, William, historian, on New York education, ii. 273; *History of New York*, 273.
- Social conditions, in the mediæval Netherlands, i. 18; in New Netherland, 143-144, 148, 200, 228; in colonial New York, ii. 44, 59-85, 254-281; in colonial Connecticut, 254; in colonial Pennsylvania, 293, 307-316.
- South Carolina, Jews in, ii. 322.
- South Shetland, discovered, i. 51.
- Southampton, L. I., settled, i. 154.
- Southhold, L. I., settled, i. 154.
- Spain, control in the Netherlands, i. 25, 38, 39; seizes Portugal, 44; cessation of colonial activity, 83; treatment of the Jews, ii. 317-319.
- Spitzbergen discovered, i. 50.
- Stamp Act, causes, ii. 205-206.
- Staple right, meaning, i. 181; exercised by Rensselaerwyck, 181.
- Staten Island, N. Y., settled, i. 150, 156, ii. 325; adjudged to New York, 38.
- Steenwyck, Cornelius, and the oath of allegiance, ii. 41.
- Stirling, Earl of, grant of Long Island, i. 220.
- Stone, John, murdered by Pequots, i. 132.
- Stuyvesant, Peter, director-general of New Netherland, i. 168; arrival, 170; autocracy, 171, 174-176, 224; meaning of his name, 171; family, 172; character, 171, 205, 256, difficulties, 178; and Rensselaerwyck, 183-185; and the popular demands, 186, 187, 198, 224, 228, 234-237; mandamus, 188; religious persecutions, 201-205; expedition against New Sweden, 210; and Stirling's agent, 220; relations with Connecticut and New Haven, 220-228, 241, 244-246; and the English settlers, 224, 234, 236; accused of inciting the Indians against the English, 228-230; and the Indians, 238-240; and the surrender of New Amsterdam, 249-253; vindicated, 254; last years, 255.
- Sun-spots, Hudson observes, i. 75.
- Susquehannock Indians, defeated by the Iroquois, ii. 153.
- Tasmania discovered, i. 48.
- Taunton, England, and the Duke of Monmouth, ii. 285.
- Taxation, Kieft attempts to tax the Indians, i. 156; excise in New Netherland, 165, 166, 174, 228; Stuyvesant's enforcement of the customs duties, 184; in reconquered New Netherland, ii. 33; custom-house inspections, 70-72; trouble over customs duties in New York, 155, 156; Parliamentary right of, in Pennsylvania, 139; heavy, in New York, 252.
- Tea, introduction, i. 46.
- Throgmorton, John, settlement in New Netherland, i. 158.
- Theatre, beginnings in Philadelphia, ii. 312.
- Tobacco, cultivation in New Netherland, i. 142.
- Trade, geographical advantages of the mediæval Netherlands, i. 13; between the Netherlands and England, 31; and religion, 36; Portugal control of Asiatic, 43; Dutch, in the East Indies, 43-47; formation of joint-stock companies, 44; English, in the East Indies, 48; East Indian, and Arctic explorations, 49; Muscovy Company, 69; United New Netherland Company, 91, 94; monopoly of the Dutch West India Company, 98; patroon, in New Netherland, 119; between New Netherland and New England, 142; rivalry of England and the Netherlands, 216; New York, under Andros, ii. 44; New York, in 1680, 84-86; piratical, 208; Pennsylvania colonial, 313.
- Treaties, Verdun, i. 8; Southampton, 104, 110; Münster, 211, 214; Hartford, 226; Breda, ii. 19; Westminster, 37.
- Trinity Church, New York, founded, ii. 251; lawsuits, 251.
- Tuscarora Indians, join the Iroquois confederacy, ii. 232 n.
- Twelve Men, Board of, in New Netherland, i. 157, 158.
- Twiller, Wouter van, director-general of New Netherland, character, i. 126-128, 137, 142-144; and Eelkens, 127-129; and the English

- in Connecticut valley, 131-136; land purchases, 142; charges against, 142, 144; recalled, 144.
- Underhill, John, in New Netherland, i. 162; destroys an Algonquin stronghold, 163; manifesto against Stuyvesant, 230; confiscates Fort Good Hope, 231; later life, 232.
- Union, first American Congress, ii. 183; William III.'s plan, 202; necessity of a colonial, 205, 206; Penn's plan, 205.
- United New Netherland Company, monopoly, i. 91; continued prosperity without monopoly, 94; desires to colonize, 95.
- Ury, John, and the negro plot, ii. 280.
- Usselinx, William, urges Dutch colonization, i. 87; and New Sweden, 206.
- Vane, Sir Henry, religious toleration, ii. 98.
- Verhulst, William, director-general of New Netherland, i. 105.
- Verrazano, Giovanni da, early life, i. 54; voyage on coast of North America, 54-59; landfall, 54; purpose, 55; Verrazano Sea, 55-57; in New York harbour, 57; in Narragansett Bay, 58; on coast of New England, 58; return, 58; actuality of voyage, 59; importance of voyage, 59; death, 60.
- Verrazano, Girolamo, map, i. 56.
- Verrazano Sea, origin, i. 55, 56; on maps, 56; belief in, 74.
- Vickers, Robert, *Bohemia*, i. 29.
- Virginia and Fort Nassau on the Delaware, i. 140.
- Voltaire on Pennsylvania, ii. 92, 149 n.
- Voyages, Arctic, i. 49, 71, 73; Antarctic, 51; Aubert's alleged, 54; Verrazano's, 54-59; Gomez's, 60; Allefonsce's, 60; Hudson's, 71-81.
- Vriesendael patroonship, established, i. 156; Indian attack, 161.
- Wadsworth, Joseph, and Fletcher, ii. 204.
- Waldenses, persecution, ii. 325; emigration to America, 325.
- Walker, Sir Hovenden, fruitless attempt against Canada, ii. 229.
- Wall Street, New York city, origin, i. 227.
- Walloon, meaning of the word, i. 103; in New Netherland, 103, ii. 325.
- Wampum, as currency, i. 152; Long Island the chief source, 153.
- Weise, A. J., on Norumbega, i. 62.
- West Jersey. *See* New Jersey.
- Whale fishery, Hudson's voyage gives impulse to, i. 75.
- William II. of Orange, stadholder, marriage, i. 213; dissatisfaction with treaty of Münster, 213; death, 214.
- William III. of the Netherlands and England, birth, i. 214; stadholder, 220; landing in England, ii. 165; letter to the colonies, 166, 174; proclaimed in New York, 174; plan of colonial union, 202; and Penn, 291, 298.
- Willibrod, missionary among the Frisians, i. 8.
- Willoughby, Sir Hugh, voyage and death, i. 50.
- Winfrid, missionary among the Frisians, i. 8.
- Winthrop, John (second), builds Fort Saybrook, i. 133; governor of Connecticut, obtains a charter, 241; in New Netherland, 250.
- Wolley, James, *Two Years' Journal in New York*, ii. 58; on New York climate, 80; on the clerical feud, 81.
- Wytfliet, Cornelius, Flemish geographer, Norumbega on his map, i. 67.
- Yonkers, N. Y., origin of the name, i. 183.
- York, James, Duke of, grant, i. 247, ii. 37; laws for New York, 3; grant to Carteret and Berkeley, 12, 37; on the demand for representation in New York, 42-44; and the Jesuits, 50; cedes the government of New Jersey, 90, 170; unpopularity, 133; grants representation to New York, 156; becomes king, 159. *See also* James II.
- Zenger, J. P., character of his newspaper, ii. 234; arrested and held on information for libel, 237; counsel disbarred, 238; Hamilton defends, 238; the alleged libel, 241; question of evidence of truth of libel, 243; Hamilton's speech; 244-248; acquittal, 248.
- Zwaanendael patroonship, i. 122, 123.



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