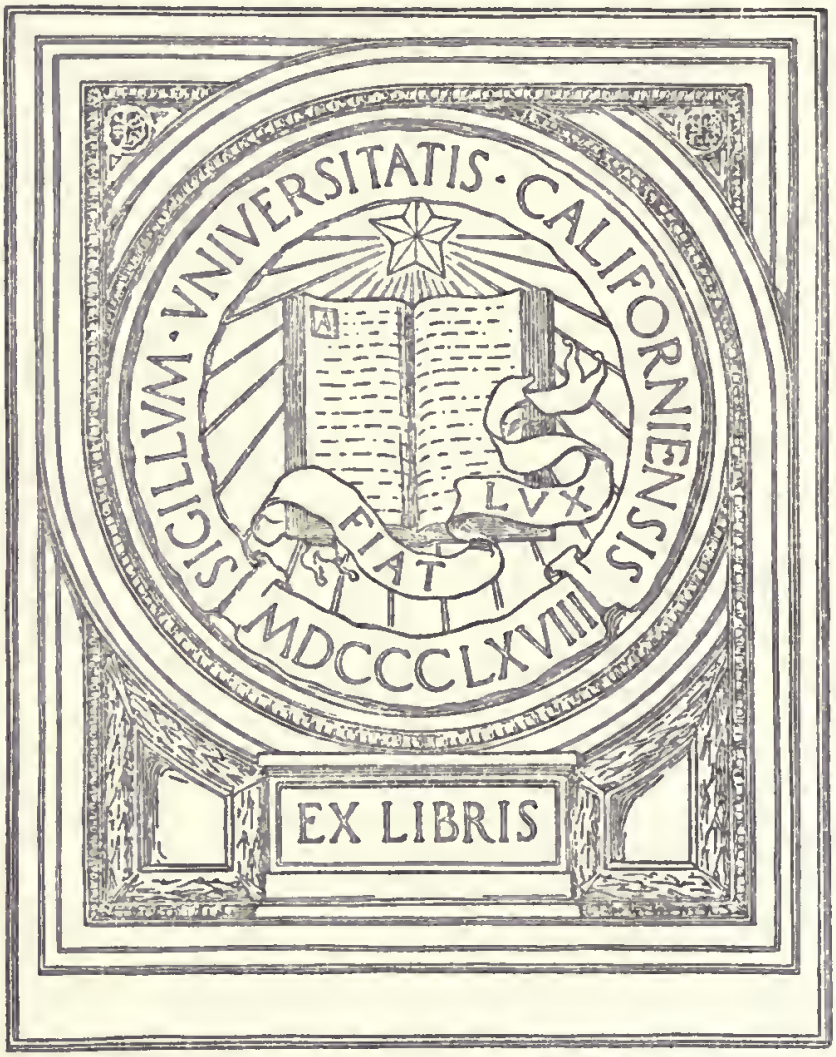

J. de Witt

"MAKERS OF AMERICA"

PETER STUYVESANT

DIRECTOR-GENERAL FOR THE WEST INDIA COMPANY IN NEW NETHERLAND

BY

BAYARD TUCKERMAN

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TO

DR. J. WEST ROOSEVELT.

PREFACE.

ORIGINAL sources of information concerning the early Dutch settlers of Manhattan Island are neither many nor rich. The two volumes of Holland Documents, published by the State of New York, contain the official papers of the colony and the West India Company. Some contemporary descriptions exist, of which Van der Donck's is the best. But the Dutch wrote very little, and on the whole their records are meagre. Concerning their social conditions, the best authority is to be found in the proceedings of the burgomasters and schepens, preserved in the City Hall and in the books of the Surrogate's and Register's offices. These sources and the collections of the New York Historical Society have been relied upon in the preparation of this book. The author's thanks are due to Mr. WILLIAM KEBBY, Librarian of the Historical Society.

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PETER STUYVESANT.

CHAPTER I.

SETTLEMENT OF MANHATTAN ISLAND BY THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY. — ADMINISTRATIONS OF GOVERNORS PETER MINUIT, WOUTER VAN TWILLER, AND WILHELM KIEFT.

On the morning of the 4th of September, 1609, a few Indians wandering upon the shore of Sandy Hook, were surprised by the sight of a ship sailing slowly along the coast. They fled inland, spreading among their tribe the news of the strange apparition. The vessel, carefully sounding as it went, rounded the Hook and cast anchor in the waters of what is now known as the lower bay of New York.

A century of maritime and colonial enterprise had begun, which was to make familiar to Europe the continents of Asia, Africa, and America; to witness the foundation of new empires, and to broaden indefinitely the horizon of human activity. As yet, colonization in America had made little progress. Spaniards under Menendez had built the fort at St. Augustine in 1565. A few settlers in Virginia had been struggling since 1607 under the leadership of Captain John Smith. In 1608, Champlain planted

the cross and the fleur-de-lys at Quebec. Now, in 1609, the flag of the United Netherlands was carried by Henry Hudson up the river which bears his name.

The Dutch, who thus entered into competition with Spain, England, and France for the possession of American territory, were in the heroic period of their history. Industry and fortitude, qualities essential to their existence, had been impressed on the national character. Possessing a land situated in great part below the level of the sea, and liable to overflow besides from the fresh waters of the Rhine, persevering toil had shut out the tides of the Atlantic, had confined by great dykes the river between its banks, had changed marshes and inland seas into meadows. The precious territory thus redeemed was turned to such account that visitors from other nations of Europe were astonished at the aspect of Dutch cultivation. The towns prominent on the few elevations which the country afforded, or in the lowlands intersected by waterways which served for streets, were hives of wealth-producing industry. Merchandise from every corner of the civilized world was floated through the quiet canals up to the warehouse doors. A soil too restricted to sustain its population by agriculture made foreign commerce the basis of prosperity. Dutch ships carried for every nation, making Amsterdam and The Hague markets where all the world came to buy. The destiny of the country was well expressed by the stamp on an old Zealand coin, — a sceptred king riding over the waves on a sea-horse,

with the device, "Your road is upon the sea, and your paths are in many waters." The motto of the noble order of the Golden Fleece, which declared the wages of labour to be honourable, indicated the spirit of industry which animated the higher as well as the lower ranks of Dutch society.

It was natural that a people so intelligent and self-reliant should rest uneasily under the weight of arbitrary power and the Roman Inquisition. From an early period, the provinces of the Netherlands had enjoyed an exceptional degree of political liberty. The large towns managed their own affairs as semi-independent corporations, while the nobles ruled on their estates in accordance with liberal customs which had the force of law. The principles of the Reformation rapidly gained adherents. The efforts of the Inquisition to stifle religious thought at the gallows and the stake were met by rebellion and image-breaking. Charles the Fifth of Spain, of whose vast inheritance the Netherlands formed a part, abdicated his throne in time to avoid the solution of the problem presented by Dutch political and religious liberty. But in 1555 he had brought his son Philip to the Netherlands, and had introduced to the provinces their future master. In the security of his palace at Madrid, the monarch who combined most completely an ignorant bigotry with a relish for human blood, brooded over a plan to extirpate every Dutchman not wholly devoted to the Roman Inquisition and the absolute authority of the Spanish crown. In 1567 Philip had decided upon the method, had received the approval of the earthly

representative of Christ, and had appointed the Duke of Alva to carry out the holy work. The duke arrived in the Netherlands with his boxes of death-sentences signed in blank by Philip, and ten thousand picked veterans from the Spanish army, to which were added the king's troops already in the country. Against this force the Netherlands had almost none to oppose. Alva, holding the king's commission, had the law on his side. In several of the provinces the Catholics predominated, and welcomed what they considered a holy crusade against heretics. Moreover, the lack of union among the provinces enabled Alva to proceed against each one separately. Thus for a time the Dutch could only suffer. Three men stood pre-eminent as leaders, — William of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn. William foresaw the object of Alva's mission, and left the Netherlands in time to save a life which was to be his country's salvation. Egmont and Horn, trusting in Philip's treacherous promises, remained to lose their heads. In the course of a few years, Alva and his Council of Blood had taken the lives of eighteen thousand persons by the hand of the executioner alone. The sword, the rope, the stake and the rack were supplied to their full capacity with victims whose crime was a belief in the reformed religion. Tortures which surpassed the ingenuity of savage races extorted from innocent servants accusations against equally innocent masters, which sent accuser and accused together to the scaffold.

The resistance to Alva and the Spanish armies

could be made only by isolated towns which had none but their burghers and families to defend the walls. The endurance and valour displayed by the citizens of Haarlem, Leyden, Maestricht, and Alkmaar hardly find a parallel in history. Men, women, and children resisted for months the famine within as well as the veterans without. Leyden, reduced to the last extremity of starvation, held out until Dutchmen opened gaps in the dykes, led the waters of the Atlantic over the land, and forced the besiegers to abandon their exhausted prey. Of the character of the war waged by the Spanish generals, the fate of Maestricht is a sufficient example. After defending their walls for four months against the Spanish veterans, the burghers and their wives were surprised in their sleep. The city had contained over thirty thousand inhabitants before the siege, occupied in flourishing industries. All those who had survived the previous fighting were put to the sword, except four hundred whom sheer fatigue of slaughter allowed to escape. They wandered away, and the town became a shelter for camp-followers and vagabonds. Such was the system chosen by Philip to tempt his Dutch subjects back to the fold of the Roman Church. After all the executions and the massacres, it was wonderful that there remained men or spirit enough to rise against the oppressor. But, as Sir Philip Sidney said to Queen Elizabeth, the spirit of the Dutch was the spirit of God, and was invincible.

Through these years of suffering, the hearts of the Netherlanders had turned to William of Orange

as the only hope of their need. He had sold or mortgaged all his property to procure the means to hire soldiers to fight the Spanish, but the mercenaries which he could collect had been of little avail against the trained veterans of Philip. The patient fortitude of William the Silent proved superior, at last, to Spanish force. The Protestant provinces, hitherto divided, united under his standard. In 1579, the Union of Utrecht arrayed the country under William, and from that hour the tide turned. During forty years of war, Holland and Zealand led the other Protestant provinces in destroying and expelling the armies of Spain; and during these years of struggle, the rebellious provinces rose to an extraordinary height of prosperity. On the other hand, Hainault and Brabant (now Belgium), which submitted to the rule of Philip, sank into complete desolation. The withering rule of the Inquisition and the Spanish soldiery so reduced the country that its inhabitants deserted it. The suburbs of Antwerp were abandoned to wolves, that reared their young in once prosperous human dwellings; the crops ceased to be planted; Catholic nobles who had lived in feudal pomp on their estates were seen begging for bread in the streets of Protestant Amsterdam and The Hague. From such a fate Holland and Zealand escaped by a desperate struggle of forty years against the power of Spain, when that power was the greatest in Europe, and was supported by the treasures taken from South American mines. In William the Silent, the Dutch had a soldier and statesman whose character ap-

proaches more nearly to Washington's than that of any leader of men recorded in history. William was assassinated in 1584 by a hireling of Philip; but he left a son known as Prince Maurice of Nassau, who lived to be the first captain of his time, and to complete the work of national independence begun by his father.

Great as were the victories won by the armies of Holland, they were surpassed by the prowess of her seamen. From every port on the coast sailed privateers to prey on the commerce of Spain. Galleons from America, merchant-men from the East Indies, trading-vessels from European ports, ships which had carried their cargoes safely for thousands of miles were captured as they entered their own harbours, and brought as prizes into the Dutch canals. As navigators and sea-fighters there was no comparison to be made between the two nations. In 1602, Jacob Heemskerk, with two small vessels containing together one hundred and thirty men, captured in the Straits of Malacca a great Lisbon carrack manned by eight hundred men, and divided among his sailors a booty of a million florins. Wolfert Hermann, with five trading-vessels and three hundred men, put to flight off the coast of Java the fleet of twenty-five large ships which Mendoza had brought to punish the islanders who had dared to trade with the enemies of Philip and the Pope. In 1607, Admiral Heemskerk discovered the Spanish war-fleet commanded by Don Juan Alvarez d'Avila at anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar under the guns of the fortress. Heemskerk had twenty-six small vessels, several of

which could not be brought into action. D'Avila had twenty-one sail, of which ten were galleons of the largest size, containing four thousand soldiers. Heemskerk attacked at one o'clock, and by evening every Spanish ship had been destroyed with the crews and soldiers, while the Dutch lost not a single vessel and only one hundred men.

Spain had exhausted her resources in vain to reduce the rebellious provinces to political and religious subjection. The treasures which were to pay her soldiers had been wrested from her on the seas. While she was poor and defeated, the Netherlands were rich and victorious. Her pride could not yet recognize that independence which the provinces had won; but she consented eagerly to a truce of twelve years, in which to regain energy to renew the struggle. This truce, which began in 1609, was not generally acceptable in the Netherlands. Prince Maurice led a powerful party, which preferred to continue a war which gratified the national desire for revenge at the same time that it filled with treasure the warehouses of the towns. But the peace-party, under the guidance of John of Barnevelt, carried the day, and a brief period of repose intervened before the Thirty Years' War.

The national energies called into being by the conflict with Spain immensely increased the maritime enterprise of Holland, and eventually made Dutchmen supreme on the seas. In 1596, Cornelius Houtman doubled the Cape of Good Hope and showed his countrymen the way to India. The India trade increased so rapidly that the States-

General, fearing the results of excessive competition, compelled all Dutchmen thus engaged to unite in a single organization. Thus, in 1602, was formed the great Dutch East India Company, which expelled the Portuguese from India, captured Spanish property all over the world, and grew into an unexampled commercial power.

In 1609 this Company, hoping to find a northern passage to India shorter than that around the Cape of Good Hope, was looking about for a suitable explorer. He was found in Henry Hudson, — an Englishman who had already made two arctic voyages in the employment of the London Trading Company, and who had shown himself to possess the necessary intrepidity, perseverance, and knowledge of navigation. The East India Company placed him in command of the "Half-Moon," a small vessel manned by a picked crew of Dutch and English sailors, and he set sail from Amsterdam on the 25th of March, 1609. Ice and fog having balked his efforts to pass either to the south or the north of Nova Zembla, he sailed westward along the coast of North America from Newfoundland to Virginia; then turning again to the north, he followed the shore as far as the mouth of the great North River. Hoping that a passage might here exist to the north and west around the Pole, he sailed up the river as far as the site of Albany. He traded with the Indians, and gave them their first taste of intoxicating liquor. He observed the beauty and fruitfulness of the land, the remarkable adaptation of the waters to the purposes of commerce, and

returned down the river, disappointed in his object of finding a northwest passage to India, but confident that he had made a discovery valuable to his employers. The "Half-Moon" soon after made port at Dartmouth, England, where the authorities, jealous of Dutch interference in America, forbade Hudson to proceed to Holland. But the vessel, with maps and descriptions of the new discoveries, reached the Dutch East India Company at a propitious moment.

The truce with Spain made it necessary to find new outlets for the maritime enterprise which had grown so fast during the war, and many ship-owners in Holland now turned their attention to America. During the five years following Hudson's discovery, the coasts were explored and the advantages of the fur-trade determined. Hendrick Christiansen and Adrian Block especially distinguished themselves. Block's ship having been burned at Manhattan Island, he built himself a new one on the spot, called the "Restless," in which he explored Long Island Sound and Cape Cod, and discovered the island which still bears his name. In 1614, the territory made known by Hudson and Block was formally named New Netherland by the States-General, and the monopoly of trade conceded to the Amsterdam Trading Company. This association kept up a small station on Manhattan Island and another up the river in the Mohawk country, and prosecuted the fur-trade for several years. A few agents lived at each station in log-huts, bartered Dutch trinkets for beaver-skins collected by the Indians, and were

visited in their solitude at regular intervals by an Amsterdam ship, which brought supplies and carried home the peltry. In 1618 the Company's charter expired, and the States-General refused to grant a new one, as they had more extensive plans in view for New Netherland. The marvellous success of the East India Company as a commercial institution, and as an instrument for inflicting injury on the hereditary enemies of Holland, convinced the States-General that their new possessions would be utilized to the best advantage by similar means. Therefore in 1621 was incorporated for twenty-four years the West India Company, with exclusive power to plant and govern colonies, to prosecute trade, and to wage war against national enemies in the West Indies and America. The government of this commercial and military monopoly was intrusted to a board of nineteen directors, called the College of the XIX., of which Amsterdam furnished eight, Zealand four, The Maas two, North Holland two, Friesland and Groningen two, and the States-General one.

The first agricultural colonists were sent out in the ship "New Netherland" in 1623, and cultivated the fertile lands along the shore of the East River. Soon after, several families of Walloons, persecuted Protestants from the Catholic provinces, settled at the Waal-Bogt, now Wallabout Bay, Long Island. Others followed, and under Cornelis Mey and Wilhelm Verhulst a small settlement grew up at the extreme end of Manhattan Island; a trading-post, called Fort Orange, was erected on the Hudson, near the present site of Albany, and another,

called Fort Nassau, on the South or Delaware River. These three points in the wilderness marked the only habitations of white men between Virginia and Plymouth. In 1626, Peter Minuit came out as director for the West India Company, and under his administration of seven years much progress was made. The Island of Manhattan was purchased for the Company for twenty-four dollars, — a fair sum, considering that the Indians suffered only a slight diminution of their hunting-grounds, and that the land had no value beyond that which the Company could give it by its own expenditure. A block-house, surrounded by a stockade, was erected to serve as a fort on the shore of the Bay. A mill was built, of which the upper room served as a church. The place of a clergyman was taken by a "krank-besoecker," or consoler of the sick, who read the creed and the Scriptures on Sundays. Around the block-house and the Company's counting-room grew up a settlement of small log-huts thatched with reeds. Before the little village lay the beautiful waters of the harbour, and behind it the unbroken forest. Such was Fort Amsterdam in 1630. The settlers were busily and profitably occupied with the collection of furs for export, sailing up the river in sloops, and making journeys into the woods to exchange cloths and beads from Holland for beaver and other skins. The trade grew rapidly at first. In 1626 the exports were valued at 46,000 guilders; in 1632 they were worth 143,000 guilders, showing the Company a profit over expenses. And the industry of the colony was not confined to the fur-

trade. A ship of six hundred tons burden, called the "New Netherland," was built at Manhattan in 1631, and sent home loaded with peltry.

Still, the Dutch possessions in America were no more than trading-posts, and it was evident that the West India Company was unfitted by its military and commercial character for the task of planting permanent colonies. At the same time, the opposition already made by the English government to the Dutch settlements, and the hostile attitude toward them assumed by the colony of Massachusetts Bay, had made it plain that actual occupation of the soil was necessary to secure possession. The Dutch had little surplus population inclined to emigrate, and no body of men, like the English Non-conformists, who were obliged to build up a home in a distant wilderness for the sake of religious freedom. Therefore, the Directors of the Company had to devise an artificial method of colonization.

The people of Holland were divided into three classes: the noble families owning land; the burghers who controlled the cities, and the common people. Many of the burghers were rich, and sought to enter the highest class by the possession of land and the feudal rights connected with it. This wish could not be gratified in Holland, where the limited territory was held tenaciously by its owners. But the burgher of Amsterdam or The Hague might become the feudal chief of an American domain. This idea was embodied in the "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions" adopted in 1630, by which any stockholder in the West India

Company who should plant a colony of fifty souls in New Netherland was to acquire title to land sixteen miles in length on one side of a river, or eight in length if situated on both sides, and as far into the interior as the owner could occupy. Such owner was to be called a "Patroon," and to possess the hereditary rights of a feudal noble, — power to make laws, to establish courts of justice, and to control hunting, fishing, and the grinding of grains, subject only to allegiance to the States-General. The patroons were allowed to trade along the American coast, and with Europe, on paying a duty of five per cent on the cargoes to the West India Company. The fur-trade was permitted on condition that the exports should be sent through the Company's agents at Manhattan. Thus, colonists were tempted to emigrate by free transportation and the promise of good lands at a nominal rental, while rich burghers were tempted to assume the expense involved by the prospect of attaining the dignity of feudal lords. This plan seemed especially feasible, as wealth had lately been pouring into the coffers of the West India Company. The war with Spain had been renewed after the expiration of the truce in 1621, and the Company had shown itself equal to the East India merchants in making booty of Spanish commerce. In 1628, Peter Heyn, in command of the Company's squadron, met the Spanish "silver fleet" bearing home the spoils of South American mines. Ten galleons were captured off Havana at the first encounter, and the remainder soon after in Matanzas Bay. Heyn brought in all the Spanish vessels ex-

cept two as prizes, together with pure silver worth twelve millions of guilders. The enthusiasm was great throughout Holland, and the West India Company declared a dividend of fifty per cent.

Chief among those who now sought the honours of patroonship was Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a wealthy jeweller of Amsterdam. In 1630, he purchased from the Indians, through the Company's agent at Fort Orange, a great tract of land lying on the river to the north and south of the fort. He made good his title by sending out emigrants, and thus planted the colony of Rensselaerwyck. Two other directors of the Company, Godyn and Blommaert, secured lands on the Delaware or South River, their patent ante-dating by two years that given by Charles I. to Lord Baltimore. Michael Pauw soon afterward purchased from the Indians Staten Island and Paulus Hook, the site of Jersey City, to which he gave the name of Pavonia. But the rapidity with which these enterprising directors had seized upon the best territory excited so much jealousy among their colleagues that they were obliged to share their acquisitions with other members of the Company by taking them into partnership. The same jealousy caused the recall of Peter Minuit, who, as director, had confirmed the obnoxious grants. The influence of Van Rensselaer was still strong enough to enable him to procure the appointment to the directorship of Wouter van Twiller, who had married his niece, and had served as his agent in shipping colonists and cattle to Rensselaerwyck, but who was only a clerk in the Company's employment, and quite unfit for the responsibility of the post.

Van Twiller arrived in New Netherland in the spring of 1633, bringing with him one hundred soldiers,— the first military garrison of the place. Other important fellow-passengers were Everardus Bogardus, the first clergyman, and Adam Roelandsen, the first schoolmaster. Besides these were two emigrants, Govert Loockermans and Jacob van Couwenhoven, destined to play a leading part in their adopted country. Van Twiller proceeded to spend the Company's money with a generous hand. The room over the mill, hitherto used for religious services, was now too small for the growing congregation. A wooden church of rude design was built at the corner of Pearl and Broad streets, with a house for Domine Bogardus, overlooking the East River. The block-house was changed into something like a fort, with barracks for the newly arrived soldiers. Three windmills were set up, injudiciously to the north of the fort, where they lost the force of the south wind. Houses were built for the director and other officers of the Company, for the cooper, the smith, and the midwife. Van Twiller confirmed the Company's title to land on the west of the Connecticut River by purchase from the Indians, and to protect the claim, erected a fort called the Good Hope on the present site of Hartford.

In 1633, a Dutch sea-captain named De Vries, who had entered into partnership with two of the Amsterdam directors for the establishment of a patroonship, brought his vessel to Manhattan. De Vries belonged to the class of bold seamen who had rendered such great service to Holland, and he forms

the most interesting figure among the Dutchmen connected with the early history of New Netherland. He rejoiced in an opportunity to lay his ship alongside a Dunkirk pirate, and thought nothing of engaging two or three Spaniards at once. While he was making the acquaintance of Van Twiller and the people at the fort, an English vessel named the "William" came up the Bay. In command of her was Jacob Elkens, a Dutchman formerly in the service of the West India Company at Fort Orange and dismissed for dishonesty in 1623. Having entered the service of Englishmen, he now announced his intention to take the "William" up the river to his old station, to trade with the Indians. Van Twiller declared that the river belonged to the West India Company of Holland, and that the "William" should not go up. Elkens replied that the river was discovered by an Englishman, and that he should carry out his intention. Van Twiller displayed the Orange flag at the fort, and fired three guns. Elkens ran up the English flag on the "William," and likewise fired three guns. For six successive days Van Twiller contemplated the English vessel riding at anchor with a complacent sense of his authority. But on the seventh morning the "William" weighed anchor, and sailed defiantly past the fort. She was the first vessel to carry the English flag up the Hudson River. Van Twiller's rage was great, and his official action characteristic. Calling the inhabitants into the fort, he tapped a cask of beer in front of his house, and taking a glass himself, he called upon the others to drink with him, and to protect

him from the violence of the Englishmen. The cask was soon emptied, amidst laughter and jeers. De Vries looked upon the scene with contemptuous indignation. The people, he declared, would always help the director in that way, — they would even get to the bottom of seven casks of beer to protect him; but meanwhile the "William" was ascending the river unmolested. Soon after, De Vries taxed Van Twiller in private with his folly. "If it had been my case," he continued, "I should have helped him from the fort to some eight-pound iron beans, and have prevented him from going up the river. The English are of so haughty a nature, they think everything belongs to them. I should send the ship 'Soutberg' after him, and drive him out of the river." Stung by the taunts of De Vries, Van Twiller embarked his soldiers on the "Soutberg," a Dutch vessel lying in port, and overtook Elkens while trading with the Indians. With their greatly superior force, the Dutch had no difficulty in confiscating the peltries which Elkens had purchased, and in expelling his ship from the waters of Manhattan. The director returned from this expedition in a vain-glorious spirit, and looked about for further opportunities to exercise his authority. De Vries ordered his yacht "The Squirrel" to go through Hell Gate to the East on a trading-voyage, as he had a right to do in his quality of patroon. Van Twiller forbade "The Squirrel" to proceed, and ordered the guns of the fort to be trained on the little vessel. At this, De Vries ran up to the fort. "The country is full of fools," he called out to the director and

his secretary. "Why did you not shoot when the Englishman violated your river?" The abashed director withdrew his order, and "The Squirrel" proceeded. Soon after, when De Vries's boat was lying on the beach waiting to convey the captain to his ship, Van Twiller insisted that De Vries should not depart until his vessel had been searched by the officers of the West India Company. Twelve soldiers were sent down to the shore to stop the boat. De Vries jumped in, and ordered his men to pull off without regard to the soldiers, who "were ridiculed with shouts and jeers by all the by-standers." De Vries left Manhattan after his first visit with a low opinion of the Company's officials. "They know nothing," he declared, "but about drinking. In the East Indies they would not serve for assistants; but the West India Company sends out at once, as great masters of folks, persons who never had any command before; therefore it must come to naught."

Van Twiller's alternate pusillanimity and tyranny made him an unpopular director. Dominie Bogardus felt called upon to threaten him with "such a shake from the pulpit as would make him shudder." His honesty was not unquestioned. When replaced by Wilhelm Kieft in 1637, he hired two of the Company's best boweries, or farms; and it happened that upon these particular boweries had strayed nearly all the Company's cattle, although their previous habit had been to wander over other parts of the island. Van Twiller claimed and kept them as his own property. During his administration the

population had increased; but the emigrants were chiefly traders, who looked to peltry instead of to agriculture for their maintenance, so that the colony could not support itself without supplies from Holland, which the Company had to send out at great expense.

The new director proved himself to be a yet more unfortunate selection. Wilhelm Kieft was a bankrupt merchant of Amsterdam, whose portrait, in accordance with Dutch custom, had been nailed on the gallows. There were dark rumours, also, of his having been sent to Turkey with money to ransom Christian captives, and of his having appropriated the money, leaving the captives to their fate. The inferior character of the agents appointed by the West India Company — upon which De Vries had commented — was the result of two circumstances: the wide field of Dutch activity at the time caused a scarcity of available men, and the best material was required at points where there was fighting as well as trading to be done. Kieft arrived at New Amsterdam in the spring of 1638, and his early labours were suggestive of the new broom. He placed on record the condition in which he found the settlement: the fort in decay, the guns dismounted; of the three windmills, one burned, another useless; the church and the counting-house out of repair. The prosecution of the fur-trade by individual settlers had prevented agricultural development, and had cut down the profits of the Company's monopoly.

Kieft reorganized the administration. Cornelius

van Tienhoven (formerly the book-keeper) became provincial secretary, — a good choice only so far as his handwriting was considered. The Council was improved by the addition of Johannes de la Montagne, a Huguenot physician of high character. The Company's buildings were repaired, a strenuous prohibition was issued against the participation of private persons in the fur-trade, and the morals of the people, which their isolated condition had caused to degenerate below the standard of the fatherland, were regulated to some degree.

At the same time the States-General of Holland interfered in the management of the colony much to its advantage. The West India Company sent out few persons besides its clerks and fur-buyers; the patroonships had failed as a colonizing system, with the single exception of Rensselaerwyck. Realizing that under the Company's narrow commercial policy the fertile province of New Netherland remained undeveloped while the colonies of New England advanced with rapid strides, the States-General abolished the exclusive privileges of the Company, and threw open the Hudson River trade to all comers. The loss of its monopoly forced the directors into agricultural colonization as a means of giving value to their lands. Tempting inducements to farmers were now held out: the Company's vessels conveyed colonists without charge, and land ready for the plow, together with the use of house, barn, and cattle, were promised at a low rental. These changes of management produced an immediate effect. Various persons employed by the Com-

pany at Manhattan left its service to take up farms; others established themselves in trade, exporting peltries, and importing clothing and provisions. Private vessels arrived, giving to the Bay a new animation. Farmers in considerable numbers emigrated from Holland, settling at Manhattan, at Paulus Hook, and on Long Island. In a few years Kieft had a thriving colony to govern. Among the arrivals were men who brought property with them. Cornelius Melyn, the new patroon of Staten Island, settled there with his family; Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, who had seen service in the East Indies, established a bowery on the Haarlem River; Dr. La Montagne took up a farm which he called "Vredendal," — the Valley of Peace, — described as lying "between the hills and the kills and a point on the East River called 'Rechgawanes;'" Abraham Isaacsen Verplanck settled at Paulus Hook; four brothers named Evertsen cultivated tobacco at Pavonia, and had a tannery on Manhattan Island; Nicholas Koorn (the sergeant), Hans Kierstede (the surgeon), Jacob van Curler (the inspector of merchandise), and David Provoost (the commissary), had small houses close to the fort. Among the soldiers in the barracks was Oloff Stevensen, the founder of the Van Cortlandt family; Gyspert Op Dyck had charge of Fort Good Hope, on the Connecticut River; Hendrick and Isaac de Forest began farming; De Vries, the bold sea-captain, sailed from the Texel with a small colony, which he established on Staten Island. In 1640 an impetus to the colony was given by a new charter agreed

upon by the States-General and the West India Company, the liberal provisions of which removed many of the obstacles to colonization created by the Company's exclusive powers. Henceforth any inhabitant of New Netherland could take up lands for his own use; towns could be formed with the privilege of municipal government; and commercial freedom was promised to all persons, subject only to export and import duties payable to the Company. De Vries, who had lately explored the beautiful shores of the Hudson, purchased from the Indians a tract at Tappan, which he called "Vriesendael," containing meadow-land enough to pasture two hundred head of cattle, and a fine stream. Not far from De Vries's new home, and bordering on the Achter Cul, or Newark Bay, Myndert van der Horst, of Utrecht, established a bowery. The settlement of Gravesend was begun by a Huguenot named Anthony Salee, who obtained two hundred acres opposite Coney Island. The site of Brooklyn (then called Marechkaweick) was occupied only by an Englishman named Thomas Belcher. Two of his countrymen, George Holmes and Thomas Hall, lived at Deutel (since called Turtle Bay), a cove on the East River, about two miles above Corlaer's Hook.

The province of New Netherland soon assumed a cosmopolitan character. Colonists arrived from Virginia, introducing the cultivation of tobacco, and the cherry and peach trees which afterward became so abundant. The severity of religious censorship in New England sent many of its inhabitants to seek

among the Dutch the liberty denied to them at home. Among these was John Underhill, distinguished in the Pequod War. Persecuted Englishmen from Lynn and Ipswich settled on Long Island in 1641. Francis Doughty, expelled from Cohasset for preaching that Abraham's children should have been baptized, founded the town of Mespath, L. I., in 1642. John Throgmorton, with thirty-five English families, was given land at Westchester. Anne Hutchinson and her son-in-law, the zealous Collins, fleeing before the vengeance of Massachusetts, found their last home at Annie's Hoeck, now called Pelham Neck, where the neighbouring Hutchinson's River still preserves the memory of the remarkable woman and her tragic fate. The foreigners who came to New Netherland were subjected to no restrictions beyond taking the oath of allegiance to the States-General. So considerable became the demand for land that Kieft purchased from the Indians the western part of Long Island, extending from Rockaway to Sicktewhacky, or Fire Island Bay, on the south side, and on the north to Martin Gerritsen's, near Cow Bay.

After 1640, Manhattan began to assume more of the appearance of a town. Fairs for the exchange of agricultural products were held periodically near the fort. Most of the business was done by barter; but beaver-skins, and the Indian beads called "seawant," served as a medium of exchange. The best seawant in America was made by the Long Island Indians, who picked up a superior supply of shells on their long beaches. "Good, splendid

seawant, usually called Manhattan's seawant," were worth, when strung, four beads to a stiver, or an English penny. But loose beads were generally of an inferior quality, were regarded as a debased currency, and valued only at six to a stiver. The domine had occasion to complain that contributions at church were too frequently made in loose seawant. Fort Amsterdam became a stopping place for travellers between New England and Virginia, the coasting vessels regularly putting in to the Bay to trade. The number of visitors thus requiring hospitalities at the fort became embarrassing to Kieft, and in 1642 he built a stone "Harberg," or hotel, on the shore of the East River, at the corner of Coenties Lane and Pearl Street, opposite Coenties Slip. The need of a new church had been felt by many persons besides Domine Bogardus, and the energy of De Vries brought about its construction. Dining one day with Kieft in the Fort, he told the director that it was a shame to the community that visiting Englishmen should see the "mean barn" in which the domine preached; that in New England a fine church was always built immediately after the dwelling-houses. "We should do the like; we have fine oak wood, good mountain stone, and excellent lime, which we burn from oyster shells, — much better than our lime in Holland." De Vries supported his plea by a subscription of a hundred guilders; and Kieft, mindful of the fact that the people of Rensselaerwyck were taking steps to build a new church, consented to give a thousand guilders on behalf of the Company. The construction was confided to the

care of Kieft, De Vries, Jan Jansen Dam, who lived conveniently near the Fort, and Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, "a devout professor of the Reformed religion." It was decided to have the church inside the fort for greater protection against the Indians. To raise the necessary funds then became a difficulty which the cunning of Kieft overcame. A daughter of Domine Bogardus was about to be married. At the wedding feast, "after the fourth or fifth round of drinking," Kieft announced the worthy project in hand, and produced the subscription list headed by his own name and that of De Vries. Amid the expansive enthusiasm of the occasion the company subscribed "richly." Not a few, as the chronicles record, "well repented it" on the morrow; but "nothing availed to excuse." The contracts called for a stone church, in length seventy-two feet, in width fifty, and in height sixteen. John and Richard Ogden of Stamford did the work for twenty-five hundred guilders, with a hundred added for doing it well. English carpenters covered the roof with oak shingles, and completed the finest building in New Netherland. The words, "Anno Domini, 1642, William Kieft Director-General, hath the Commonalty built this Temple," were cut in a stone on the front wall. The congregation worshipped here until 1693, when it removed to Garden Street (now Exchange Place). The building was used then by the military until its destruction by fire in 1741. In 1790, workmen, digging the foundations for the Government House on the southern end of the Bowling Green, uncovered the stone in which the

inscription had been cut. It was set up inside the Garden Street church, and there remained to share the fate of that church in the great fire of 1835.

The commercial system upon which the little Dutch colony had been established contained elements of weakness, which were soon to turn prosperity into ruin. The New England colonies were peopled by independent men, who came prepared to brave every hardship in a country which they intended to make the home of themselves and their descendants forever. They were bound together by powerful religious ties. To them success meant liberty of conscience and a living wrung from the soil of their adopted country by self-denying toil. But the Dutch had won the right to worship God in their own land and in their own way before the "Half Moon" had sailed into the Hudson River. They had neither the religious incentive nor the religious ties of their neighbours. Moreover, the establishment of a permanent home in America was to them, in those early days, an object subordinate to the immediate profits of the fur-trade. Instead of the complete independence and self-reliance of the English colonists, they had the serious drawback of their subjection to a private commercial Company, and the habit of looking to that distant power, rather than to their own efforts, for employment and aid.

The requirements of the fur-trade caused an all-important difference in the policy pursued toward the Indians by the English and the Dutch. The New England people sought to avoid complications

by keeping the savages at arm's length. When involved in troubles with them, as in the case of the Pequod War in 1637, they took the offensive at once, and by a vigorous display of power procured a peace of forty years. But it was to the Indians that the Dutch looked for the supply of furs upon which their gains depended. For the better prosecution of the trade, the Hollanders made long journeys into the woods and encouraged the visits of the Indians to Manhattan. As competition increased, the traders sought to be nearer the base of supply, and made settlements at great distances from the fort, thus extending dangerously the population of the colony. The Indians visiting at the fort were treated too indulgently, allowed to lounge about, get drunk at the taverns, quarrel with one another and the Dutch, and worst of all to become acquainted with the slender defensive resources of the settlement. The savages, who at first dreaded a gun as "the devil," no sooner understood its uses, than their eagerness to possess one made arms and ammunition the most profitable medium of exchange. The traders could not resist such a temptation as the offer of twenty beaver-skins for a gun. The people at Rensselaerwyck pushed this trade so far that the Mohawk nation was soon supplied with firearms, by the help of which they exacted tribute from the terror-stricken tribes of Canada, New England, and the Hudson River. At Manhattan, strenuous efforts were made to prevent the sale of guns to the neighbouring savages. But this prohibition so greatly aided the tyranny of the Mohawks,

that the river tribes became exasperated at what they deemed the unjust advantages accorded to their enemies by the Dutch.

In 1640, when the friendship of the savages had become somewhat alienated by this quarrel, the headstrong Kieft was foolish enough to arouse their active hostility. Finding himself short of provisions, he proceeded to levy a tribute of corn upon the river tribes on the pretext that the Dutch protected them against their enemies. As we learn from De Vries, the Indians refused the payment, on just grounds. The Dutch had never protected them against the oppression of the Mohawks. "Kieft," they said, "must be a very shabby fellow; he had come to live in their land uninvited, and now sought to deprive them of their corn for nothing." They had paid for everything obtained from the Dutch; when the Hollanders, "having lost a ship there, built a new one [the "Restless"], they had supplied them with food and other necessaries, and had taken care of them for two winters until the ship was finished. . . . If we have ceded to you the country you are living in," they concluded, "we yet remain masters of what we have retained for ourselves." The estrangement brought about by the injudicious demands of the director soon entailed more serious complications. A trading party in the Raritan country complained of having been attacked by savages; and the theft of some hogs on Staten Island was too hastily attributed to the same source. The Dutch were inclined to treat the Indians well, and these difficulties might have been smoothed over. But

Kieft, as the Company's director, had absolute authority in this matter, and he had resolved upon a violent policy. He now sent a party of seventy men into the Raritan country to seek reparation or revenge. Van Tienhoven, the secretary, who was placed in command, shared the director's animosity toward the Indians, and allowed his men to kill and plunder without attempting a peaceful negotiation. By such ill-advised injustice was made inevitable a condition of active war. It was not long before the Raritans had responded by burning De Vries's buildings on Staten Island, killing four of his men, and thus destroying that promising colony.

While this unnecessary quarrel with the Raritans was in progress, an avoidable difficulty arose with the Weckquaesgeeks of Westchester. About ten years before this time a Weckquaesgeek, accompanied by his youthful nephew, was bringing peltry to New Amsterdam for sale. Some rough Dutchmen met them in the woods near the Kolck (a pond on the site of the Tombs prison), murdered and robbed the Indian, but allowed the boy to escape. The latter, having grown to manhood, savage custom required that he should avenge the death of his kinsman. In August, 1641, in pursuance of his obligation, he came down the trail to Manhattan, which skirted the East River. In the woods near Deutel Bay stood the lonely cottage of Claes, the smith. The Weckquaesgeek entered, offered a beaver in trade, and when the smith stooped to take an article from his chest, he killed him at a blow. The demands of the Dutch for the surrender

of the murderer were met by a relation of the provocation and the claim of a just revenge. This circumstance was the more unfortunate, in that it gave Kieft an excuse for the policy of violence upon which he was resolved. The community was averse to extreme measures. The boweries were scattered and defenceless; while the people living about the fort might be secure, the outlying settlements were in danger of instant destruction. As De Vries declared, "It would not be advisable to attack the Indians until we have more people, like the English, who have built towns and villages." Moreover, there were not a few men in New Amsterdam who accused the director of seeking a war to conceal irregularities in his accounts with the Company. Others, again, reminded him that hostilities were not as attractive to them as to the official "who could secure his own life in a good fort, out of which he had not slept a single night in all the years he had been there." In face of this opposition, Kieft endeavoured to shift as much responsibility as he could upon other shoulders. Calling together the heads of families, he submitted to them the question whether or not the murder of Claes Smits should be avenged by the destruction of the village to which the assassin belonged. This, the first popular assembly held upon the territory of New York, elected twelve men to decide the question. These were Jacques Bentyn, Maryn Adriaensen, Jan Jansen Dam, Hendrick Jansen, David Pietersen de Vries, Jacob Stoffelsen, Abram Molenaar, Frederik Lubbertsen, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Gerrit Dircksen, George

Rapelje, and Abram Verplanck. The Twelve Men gave as the result of their deliberations that "the director send further, once, twice, yea, for the third time, a shallop, to demand the surrender of the murderer in a friendly manner." This failing, revenge should be sought, but with a proper regard to "God and the opportunity." It would not do to bring a sudden war upon the scattered population. Peaceful relations should be kept up, and meanwhile the director should prepare arms for the soldiers and freemen. Finally, in case war became unavoidable, they hinted that Kieft himself "ought to lead the van."

The director was little pleased with this result. In January, 1642, he called the Twelve Men together again, represented to them that the murderer of Claes had not been surrendered, and that a favourable moment for reprisals had arrived, the Indians being dispersed on their hunting expeditions. Kieft's authority was nearly unrestricted in the colony. The Council which should have limited it had but one member, Dr. La Montagne. The reader will recollect occasions in history when, on a greater scene and in more important emergencies, the monarch who has sought the assistance of his subjects for the prosecution of war has been forced to grant reforms as a preliminary condition. In this situation the director of New Netherland now found himself. The Twelve Men, instead of giving the expected consent, demanded some of the political privileges to which they had been accustomed in Holland. Four representatives, elected by the peo-

ple, should sit on the Council Board to save "the land from oppression;" the militia should be properly organized; and every freeman should have liberty to visit and to trade with vessels arriving in port. Kieft promised these concessions, meaning never to carry them out. The Twelve Men then gave their consent to an expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks. This point secured, the director announced that he did not consider that the Twelve had "received from the Commonalty larger powers than simply to give their advice regarding the murder of the late Claes Smits." He then issued a proclamation in form, dissolving the Twelve and forbidding further political meetings of the people, as tending "to dangerous consequences and to the great injury both of the country and of our authority."

The long talked-of expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks took place in March. Kieft declined "to lead the van," and the command devolved upon Ensign Hendrick van Dyck. The guide missed his way, the soldiers wandered aimlessly about, and returned to the fort without firing a shot. The Indians, discovering from the Dutch trail the danger from which they had escaped, now sent messengers to Manhattan to sue for peace. Van Tienhoven, the secretary, went to Westchester, and at the house of Jonas Bronck, on the Bronx River, a treaty was arranged, by which the Weckquaesgeeks agreed to surrender the murderer. This promise was not fulfilled; but the treaty served to maintain peace for some months.

The year 1643 opened ominously. In both New

England and New Netherland prevailed a vague terror of impending Indian troubles. The great sachem Miantonomoh was reported to be circulating among all the tribes to organize a general attack upon the whites. The inhabitants of the boweries distant from Manhattan looked anxiously into the forests about them, hardly doubting from day to day that the war-whoop would resound from them. In an atmosphere so charged with alarms, a slight incident might have grave results. One day in January De Vries was strolling about the woods near Vriesendael, gun on shoulder, in search of game. Suddenly an Indian, excited by drink, approached the patroon, "stroked him over the arms as a sign of good-will," and thus addressed him: "You are a good chief; when we visit you, you give us milk to drink for nothing. But I have just come from Hackinsack, where they sold me brandy half mixed with water, and then stole my beaver-skin coat." Notwithstanding the patroon's remonstrances, the injured savage declared that he should get his bow and arrows, and kill one of the "roguish Swannekins." De Vries, fearful of trouble, hastened over to Hackinsack, Van der Horst's bowery, and warned the inhabitants of the danger which their conduct had provoked. On his return to Vriesendael, there appeared several chiefs of the Hackinsacks and Rechawancks, who related that the harm had already been done. The Indian had shot a Dutchman named Garret Jansen van Voorst, at Hackinsack, as he was thatching a roof. The chiefs had hastened to Vriesendael to offer the blood atonement of money

(the usual Indian expiation of murder), and to secure the mediation of De Vries in favour of peace. The latter, knowing the provocation received by the murderer, and that the choice lay between the acceptance of these well-meant offers and a bloody war, himself accompanied the Indians to the fort, and supported their cause. They had much to plead in their favour. "Why do you sell brandy to our young men?" they said to Kieft. "They are not used to it; it makes them crazy. Even your own people, who are accustomed to strong liquors, sometimes become drunk, and fight with knives. Sell no more strong drink to the Indians, if you would avoid mischief." To their offer of atonement to the widow, Kieft would not listen. The person of the murderer must be surrendered. The Indians replied that this they could not do: he had gone off two days' journey among the Tankitekes. Thus the efforts of De Vries to preserve peace were foiled by the obstinacy and bad judgment of Kieft.

In February, the Mohawks, armed with the guns obtained from the traders at Rensselaerwyck, made their annual descent upon the Algonquin tribes, in the vicinity of Manhattan, to plunder and levy tribute. De Vries awoke one morning to find his bowery filled with hundreds of starved and terror-stricken fugitives, seeking food and protection from the Mohawks. He had but five men besides himself to defend Vriesendael. It was the depth of winter, and the river was full of floating ice. But he embarked alone in a canoe, and made his way pain-

fully to Manhattan, where he asked the director for the assistance of a few soldiers. Kieft refused it. Almost immediately large numbers of fugitive Indians, including many from Vriesendael, camped with the Hackinsacks near the oyster banks of Pavonia, depending in their danger upon the protection of the Dutch at the fort. The wise De Vries saw the opportunity offered by this emergency to win the lasting gratitude and friendship of the savages. He pointed out earnestly to Kieft that by affording these people in their hour of suffering the assistance they asked, the disputes of the past would be forgotten, and a permanent peace secured.

But Kieft had neither wisdom nor humanity. Hatred of the savages and love of revenge hurried him on his fatal course. The measures to be taken were concerted in secret with some of his boon companions. Accompanied by Van Tienhoven, he went to dine at the house of Jan Jansen Dam, and there met Verplanck and Adriaensen, — two others who had belonged to the Twelve Men. After dinner, the wily Van Tienhoven presented to the director a petition which purported to come from the Twelve Men. In this, it was urged that the murderers of Smits and of Van Voorst had not been given up, that circumstances had placed the savages in the power of the Dutch, and that a favourable moment had arrived to snatch an easy vengeance. The men there present had no right to speak for the Twelve, whom Kieft had formally dissolved in the previous year; but the excuse of the petition was enough for the purposes of the bloodthirsty direc-

tor. Van Tienhoven and Corporal Hans Steen were sent to reconnoitre the position of the Indians, and to plan the attack. There was no lack of opposition to these proceedings. Domine Bogardus protested vehemently; La Montagne foretold that "war would stalk through the whole country." De Vries learned of the proceedings at Dam's house with disgust and dismay. He went immediately to the fort, and as a former member of the Twelve denied that that body had given its consent or had even been consulted. In vain he pointed out to Kieft the folly of his course, and the certainty that the scattered settlers, taken unawares, would be massacred on their boweries. But the director would reply only that his measures had been taken with the consent of the Commonalty, and leading De Vries to the window, pointed out triumphantly the soldiers drawn up in review within the fort. "Let this work alone!" cried De Vries; "you want to break the Indians' mouths, but you will also murder our own people." "The order has gone forth," replied Kieft, obstinately, "it cannot be recalled."

That night De Vries sat by the kitchen fire in the director's house, sorrowfully reflecting on the criminal folly which was plunging the colony into ruin. He was alone in the fort; not even a sentinel had been left behind. "About midnight," he says, "hearing loud shrieks, I ran to the ramparts of the fort. Looking toward Pavonia, I saw nothing but shooting, and heard nothing but the shrieks of Indians murdered in their sleep." He had returned sadly to the kitchen fire, when an Indian and his

squaw, who had escaped from Pavonia in a canoe, burst into the room. "The Fort Orange Indians have fallen upon us," they cried; "we have come to hide ourselves in the fort." "It is no time to hide yourselves in the fort," replied the patroon, who recognized the savages as neighbours at Vriesendael; "no Indians have done this deed. It is the work of the Swannekins, — the Dutch." He led them to the gate of the fort, and pointed to the woods beyond as their only place of safety.

The night attack upon the unsuspecting Indians resulted in a general massacre of the families at Pavonia and at Corlaer's Hook. Neither women nor children were spared. The next morning the director enjoyed his momentary triumph, and greeted the "Roman achievements" of his soldiery with hand-shakings and gifts of money.

Kieft's bad example was soon followed by the turbulent element of the Long Island settlers, who wantonly attacked the friendly tribe of Marechkawiecks, killing several, and stealing their corn. This outrage was the more stupid, as the enmity of the Long Island Indians left the Dutch surrounded by foes. Eleven tribes now rose in furious war. On the Hudson River, in Westchester, on Long Island, the forests resounded with their cries, and every outlying bowery suffered attack. The farmers, with such of their families as survived, fled to Manhattan, and camped about the fort. The ships in the harbour became crowded with people anxious to return to Holland. To keep the homeless and angry colonists from starving, Kieft had to take them into the pay

of the Company as soldiers. Even Vriesendael did not escape. The savages destroyed the out-buildings and gathered crops, while De Vries and his men awaited behind the loopholes of his house the final attack. But at this juncture the Indian whom De Vries had befriended on the night of the Pavonia massacre reminded the attacking party of the patroon's constant friendship; and the savages departed, saying that they would do the good chief no more harm, and would even let the brewery stand, although they "longed for the copper kettle to make barbs for their arrows."

Leaving the smouldering ruins of his beloved Vriesendael, De Vries went down to Manhattan. "Has it not happened just as I said," he demanded of Kieft, "that you were only helping to shed Christian blood?" The director could make no answer. He stammered out his surprise that the Indians had not come to the fort to make terms. "Why should they come here," asked De Vries, "whom you have so treated?"

Kieft was now as much alarmed as he had been confident before, and sent messengers to the Long Island Indians to ask for peace. But the savages would not even parley. "Are you our friends?" they cried from a distance. "You are only corn thieves!" The director's position became daily more uncomfortable. Manhattan was crowded with widows, with fatherless children, with farmers, who mourned the loss of buildings, crops, and relatives. It was winter, and shelter for the homeless was hard to find. Provisions were growing scarce. Dark

looks and angry words met Kieft at every turn. Within two weeks of his vain boast that he would make the Indians "wipe their chops," he could find no palliation for the calamities which he had brought upon the colony other than to proclaim the fourth of March as a day of fasting and prayer. "We continue to suffer," the proclamation ran, "much trouble and loss from the heathen, and many of our inhabitants see their lives and property in jeopardy, which is doubtless owing to our sins."

But Kieft's day of fasting did not help him much. A number of burghers talked plainly of putting the director on board of a ship bound for Holland; others upbraided him even in the fort. To all he had but one reply to make: the responsibility rested with Adriaensen, Dam, and Verplanck, who, as members of the Twelve, had urged the midnight attack. But the retort of the burghers was conclusive: "You forbade those freemen to meet, on pain of punishment for disobedience; how came it then?" Among the most furious was Adriaensen himself, who had not only signed the petition, but had commanded the expedition which murdered forty Weckquaesgeeks at Corlaer's Hook. Ruined by the destruction of his own bowery, and stung by the reproaches of his companions, he resented Kieft's attempt to make him responsible. On the morning of March 21 he forced his way, armed, into the director's room, shouting: "What lies are these you are reporting of me?" He was arrested. But a party of his friends and servants came to his rescue, and one of them fired at the director. The

man was shot, and his head set upon a pole, while Adriaensen was sent to Holland.

In this distracted state of the colony Kieft listened at last to De Vries. The latter, accompanied by Jacob Olfertsen, sought out the Indians in the woods, and his influence brought about a peace. But Kieft, persistently wrong, was niggardly with his gifts. The atonement was not sufficient, and De Vries knew well that, although the Indians were willing to observe a truce until their corn was planted, the chiefs could not restrain their young men from finally seeking a full revenge for the dead whom they mourned. And so it proved. In August, the Tankitekes of Haverstraw and the Wappingers of the Highlands dug up the hatchet, killing fifteen Dutchmen along the river, and plundering the fur-laden sloops coming down from Fort Orange.

Kieft called the burghers together to assist him in this new emergency. By them an advisory board was chosen known as the Eight Men, consisting of Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Cornelis Melyn, Jan Jansen Dam, Barent Dircksen, Abraham Pietersen, Gerrit Wolfertsen, Isaac Allerton, and Thomas Hall. The first two, Kuyter and Melyn, henceforth took in the affairs of the colony a leading part, which was destined to make much trouble for them in Stuyvesant's time. Allerton, a Mayflower emigrant, had come to Manhattan from Plymouth. His presence on the board and that of Hall showed the growing influence of the English in the colony. The Eight Men began their proceedings by expelling Dam on account of his part in bringing about

the Pavonia massacre, and chose in his place Jan Evertsen Bout. The prosecution of hostilities was then authorized. The director took into the Company's service fifty Englishmen, who were about to leave the unhappy colony, and placed at their head Capt. John Underhill, the hardy soldier whose services to New England in the Pequod War had not prevented his banishment thence for religious differences.

But, as De Vries had pointed out before, the colony was too scattered to admit of defence. In September, the Weckquaesgeeks murdered Anne Hutchinson and her family at Annie's Hoeck, in Westchester. Lady Deborah Moody's settlement of English people from Salem at Gravesend, Long Island, barely escaped with their lives by hard fighting. Doughty's prosperous colony at Mespath was destroyed. The Hackinsacks burned Van der Horst's buildings at Achter Cul. The village at Pavonia was burned in October, and the garrison killed to a man, — although Stoffelsen, who was in charge and had shown the Indians kindness, was sent away by them on some pretext before the attack. Van Voorst's little son was made captive, and De Vries had to go into the forest to obtain his release. Thus, from the Highlands to the Housatonic River, the province of New Netherland was desolated. The surviving farmers camped with their families about the fort. Above the Kolck but a few boweries maintained armed possession. New Amsterdam itself was in danger. Men gathering firewood as far north as Wall Street were constantly

fired at. Van Dyck was shot in the arm while relieving guard. Provisions were falling short, and yet Kieft allowed two vessels laden with grain to sail for Curaçoa. An application for assistance sent to New Haven by Allerton and Underhill resulted in failure.

At this sad time New Netherland lost its best friend. De Vries, the bold sea-captain and enterprising patroon, left the colony forever. His public spirit, his rough wisdom, his tact in dealing with the Indians would have given to New Netherland a happy history had he been in the place of the director. His boweries were in ruins, and the prospect of rebuilding them became daily more remote. A herring-buss from Rotterdam came through Hell Gate, whose skipper had failed to sell his cargo of Madeira in New England "because the English there lived soberly." He wanted a pilot to guide him to Virginia, and De Vries took the opportunity to return to Holland. Before embarking, the patroon went up to the fort. "The murders in which you have shed so much innocent blood," he said to Kieft, "will yet be avenged upon your own head," — a prophecy before long fulfilled.

During the winter of 1644 the Dutch sent out expeditions against the Indians in Westchester and on the great plains of Long Island, under Van Dyck, Kuyter, and Underhill, in which the Christian showed himself to be no less cruel than the heathen. But Kieft was much straitened in his supply of provisions for the people, and of ammunition for the

soldiery. A bill of exchange which he had drawn on the West India Company in the previous autumn had returned protested. The unprofitable wars waged against the Portuguese and Spaniards in South America had brought the Company to bankruptcy. At this juncture, a vessel arrived in port with a cargo of supplies sent by the patroon to his colony of Rensselaerwyck. The skipper, Peter Wynkoop, having refused to sell shoes for the soldiers at Manhattan, Kieft had the ship searched, and finding goods not included in the manifest he confiscated both ship and cargo. The ammunition and clothing thus acquired not proving sufficient, the director levied a tax on beer, which excited great opposition among the impoverished people. The Eight Men remonstrated justly, on the ground that the Company had formally agreed to defray all the expenses of war. "I have more power here than the Company itself," replied Kieft; "therefore I may do and suffer in this country what I please. I am my own master, for I have my commission not from the Company, but from the States-General." Kuyter, Melyn, and Hall of the Eight who went to the fort to protest against the tax were allowed to kick their heels in the director's hall for four hours, and to depart "as wise as they came." In July a Dutch vessel called the "Blue-Cock" arrived from Curaçoa, containing a hundred and thirty soldiers sent by Peter Stuyvesant, the governor there. The burghers hailed the arrival of these men as a means of terminating the Indian war during the summer. But Kieft quartered the soldiers on the Common-

alty, and took no warlike steps. All summer, "scarce a foot was moved on land or an oar laid in the water."

The Eight Men, exasperated by the sufferings of the colony, now apparently interminable, saw that their only hope of redress lay in applications to the States-General and the West India Company. Kuyter and Melyn were the authors of a vigorous memorial sent out in the "Blue-Cock." "Our fields lie fallow and waste," said the Eight; "our dwellings and other buildings are burnt. The crop which God the Lord permitted to come forth during the last summer remains on the field, as well as the hay standing in divers places, whilst we poor people have not been able to obtain a single man for our defence. We are burdened with heavy families; have no means to provide necessaries any longer for our wives and children. We are seated here in the midst of thousands of Indians and barbarians, from whom is to be experienced neither peace nor pity. We have left our fatherland, and had not the Lord our God been our comfort, must have perished in our wretchedness. There are men amongst us who by the sweat and labour of their hands have been endeavouring at great expense to improve their lands and gardens. . . . All these are now laid in ashes through a foolish hankering after war; for it is known to all right-thinking men here that these Indians have lived as lambs amongst us until a few years ago, injuring no one, affording every assistance to our nation. The director hath, by various uncalled-for proceedings, so estranged

them from us, and so embittered them against the Dutch nation, that we do not think anything will bring them back, unless the Lord God, who bends all men's hearts to his will, propitiates them."

The memorials of the Eight Men were considered by the College of the XIX. at the end of 1644. They were conclusive in their description of the misgovernment of the colony, and moreover had the support of De Vries. The West India Company, now bankrupt, was seeking to merge itself with the successful East India Company. An examination into the affairs of New Netherland revealed the fact that instead of the long looked-for profits, the colony had cost, from 1626 to 1644, over five hundred and fifty thousand guilders above the receipts. But the College of the XIX. considering that the Company had promised to assist the colony, and that there might yet be some hope for it, resolved that the directors could not "decently or consistently abandon it." Kieft's policy was condemned, his acts repudiated, and he and his Council were ordered to Holland to assume responsibility for the "bloody exploit" at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook. A new director was to be sent out and the administration thoroughly reformed.

In the spring of 1645 the Indians, themselves, weary of war, made proposals of peace. The negotiations were long; but on the 20th of August the burghers assembled joyfully at the fort, where the articles of the treaty were submitted to their approval. None objected but Hendrick Kip, who opposed all the proposals of the director, on princi-

ple. The next day was set apart as a day of thanksgiving, and in all the English and Dutch churches it was ordered "to proclaim the good tidings throughout New Netherland." But during the five years of war the colony had been nearly depopulated; hardly more than three hundred freemen remained capable of bearing arms, and all were impoverished. The news of Kieft's repudiation and recall made life at Manhattan very uncomfortable for him. Surrounded by men who attributed to him their ruin, he was often threatened with personal chastisement when he should "take off the coat with which he was bedecked by the lords his masters." All this provoked Kieft to reprisals, and the fort was the scene of constant turmoil. Domine Bogardus arraigned him from the pulpit as "a vessel of wrath and a fountain of woe and trouble;" to which Kieft replied by causing the garrison to beat drums and discharge cannon about the church during the time of the domine's discourse.

The colony at Rensselaerwyck, having kept on good terms with the surrounding Mohawks, had escaped the Indian war, and formed the most prosperous portion of New Netherland. Nature was profuse in her gifts. The river abounded with sturgeon and the brooks with trout. Nuts, plums, blackberries, and grapes were to be had on all sides for the picking. The wild strawberries grew so thickly that the children had but to lie down and eat. Deer, turkeys, partridges, and pigeons were abundant. The lazy burgher could get a fat buck from an Indian in exchange for a pipe. Arendt

van Curler, the agent for the patroon, received the emigrants, allotted them land, and administered a rude justice. In 1642, Domine Johannes Megapolensis was sent out by the Classis of Alckmaar, and he preached to both Dutch and Indian. The fur-trade was a steady source of income, although the independent traders who came up the river curtailed seriously the patroon's profits. To remedy this abuse, Van Rensselaer ordered Van Curler to stop illicit trading, and to preserve his exclusive rights as the "first and oldest" patroon on the North River. For this purpose, in 1644, Van Curler erected a fort on Beeren Island commanding both channels of the river, to which he gave the name of Rensselaerstein. The Dutch claim of "staple right" was set up, a toll of five guilders was levied on passing vessels, and all were ordered to strike their colors to the fort in homage to the patroon in whose territory they were. Nicholas Koorn was appointed "wacht-meester" to enforce these rules. In July, Govert Loockermans, a leading burgher of New Amsterdam, was sailing down the river in his sloop, the "Good Hope," laden with furs collected in the country above. As the "Good Hope" floated lazily past the fort, her crew were surprised to hear a cannon discharged thence, and the voice of Koorn from the ramparts, shouting, —

"Strike thy colours!"

Loockermans was at the helm. "For whom shall I strike?" he inquired.

"For the staple right of Rensselaerstein," shouted Koorn, grandly.

"I strike for nobody," retorted Loockermans, "but the Prince of Orange, or those by whom I am employed."

The sloop passing defiantly on, three shots were fired from the fort, one of which passed through Loockerman's "princely flag," just above his head. Thus began a long struggle between the authorities of New Netherland and of Rensselaerwyck. Nicholas Koorn was immediately summoned before the Council at Manhattan, and a lively dispute took place between him and Van der Huygens, the schout-fiscal. The latter protested against the patroon's attempt to control the Hudson River, while Koorn maintained the right of the patroon, derived from the States-General, to fortify and protect his colony. And there the contention rested until Stuyvesant's time.

The other Dutch possessions in America were faring badly. The South or Delaware River had been explored by Hendricksen in 1616, and in 1623 a beginning was made by the erection of Fort Nassau, on the Jersey shore, about four miles below Philadelphia. In 1631, the patroon Godyn and his partners established the colony of Swaanendael on the Delaware side. But in 1638 Peter Minuit, the former director of Manhattan, brought a party of Swedes into the river, who built Fort Christina, disregarded Kieft's remonstrances, and by superior enterprise soon made themselves masters in that country.

The Dutch were still less successful in opposing the encroachments on their eastern boundaries by

the English. Western Connecticut belonged by discovery and by the erection of Fort Good Hope to New Netherland. But the New England people moved steadily westward, taking up good lands wherever they found them, replying to Dutch remonstrances that the soil was too rich to be left idle. They settled all around the Fort Good Hope, making that Dutch stronghold the favourite subject of their jokes. The turnips planted by Op Dyck and his men were cooked in New England kettles, and the soldier who objected got a buffeting for his pains. The English ploughman ran his furrows close to the walls of the fort, and complained of the obstruction. The garrison that nominally held Connecticut for the West India Company found themselves living in an English community, with the town of Hartford growing up before them. The Dutch claim was undoubtedly good, but there was no force to prevent the all-absorbing English immigration. The New England people were already at Stamford, and the eastern end of Long Island was within their grasp. In 1640, the Lynn emigrants at Cow Bay pulled down the arms of Holland and left in their place "an unhandsome face."

CHAPTER II.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PETER STUYVESANT.

THE neglect shown by the West India Company towards its colony of New Netherland had been unavoidable. The conquests in Brazil and other portions of South America had proved so costly and unremunerative, the number and the value of Spanish prizes had so far diminished, that the cessation of dividends was followed speedily by bankruptcy. The competition of private traders had curtailed the profits of the fur-trade, and New Netherland, showing a balance on the wrong side of the ledger, was not an interesting subject to the Company. Indeed, the College of the XIX., sorely pressed by greater troubles, had nearly forgotten its North American possessions, until the information of the Indian wars and the aggressions of the English made it evident that a total loss would result from further neglect. There were compunctions of conscience, too, — several of the directors declaring that the Company, after the promises it had made, was bound to give assistance to the settlers. A strong man must be sent out who would repair the errors of Kieft, subdue the Indians, and resist the encroachments of the English. The choice fell on Peter Stuyvesant.

The word "Stuyvesant" signifies "shifting sands," a condition characteristic of parts of the coast of Holland. Peter was the son of Balthazar Stuyvesant, a clergyman of the Reformed religion. Previous to 1619, Balthazar was settled at Scherpenzeel, in southern Friesland. In 1622 he removed with his family to Berlicum, in the same province. Thence, in 1634, he went to Delfzil, in Guelderland, where he died in 1637. At Berlicum, on May 2, 1625, he lost his wife, Margaretta Hardenstein, who left two children, — Peter, and a daughter Annake. On July 22, 1627, he married Styntie Pieters, of Haarlem, by whom he had three more children, — Margaretta, Tryncke, and Balthazar.

Peter had his own way to make; and his vigourous and impetuous character had led him into the adventurous rather than the peaceful paths of Dutch commercial life. His record was well known to the directors of the West India Company, in whose service he had fought the Spaniards and Portuguese in South America, and had been for some years governor of the island of Curaçoa. During his command there, he had made a naval attack upon the island of St. Thomas, his conduct of which was ever afterward a subject of contention between his friends and enemies. The former always spoke of it as an instance of his "Roman courage," sufficiently proved by the wooden leg worn in consequence of it; while the latter declared that the undertaking was foolhardy in the beginning, and carried out with such vain bluster that the store of powder in the attacking fleet had been exhausted

in a threatening cannonade before the ships got within gunshot of the enemy. It is certain that the attack was unsuccessful, and that Stuyvesant's leg was so badly injured that he was obliged to return to Holland, where it was amputated. He was now walking about on a wooden leg bound with silver bands, and had married, at Amsterdam, Judith, the daughter of Balthazar Bayard, a French protestant who had fled to Holland from persecution. The directors of the West India Company took the "Roman-courage" view of the St. Thomas incident, and decided to confide to Peter Stuyvesant the execution of their plans for the regeneration of New Netherland.

The expedition was liberally fitted out. There were four vessels, — the "Great Gerrit," the "Princess," the "Zwol," and the "Raet." A new Council to assist the director was sent with him, consisting of Hon. Lubbertus Van Dincklage, vice-director of New Netherland and first councillor of New Amsterdam; Hendrick van Dyck, schout-fiscal; Capt. Bryan Newton, an Englishman who had served under Stuyvesant at Curaçoa; Adriaen Keyser, the commissary; and Jesmer Thomas, a captain in the Dutch navy. Besides these, there were soldiers and servants, and a number of traders and adventurers. Stuyvesant took his wife with him, and also his sister Annake (the widow of Nicholas Bayard), with her three sons, — Balthazar, Peter, and Nicholas. The fleet sailed from the Texel on Christmas, 1646.

In such an enterprise it was necessary that full

authority should be vested in the commander; but Stuyvesant soon showed that to his rightful predominance he added an overbearing spirit. For reasons known only to himself, he determined to proceed to Manhattan Island by way of Curaçoa. The remonstrances of Van Dyck and others of the Council, who were exhausted by the tedium of the voyage and the unhealthfulness of a tropical climate, met with stern denial. At St. Christopher's the fleet fell in with a vessel called the "Love," whose papers not being satisfactory to Stuyvesant, was made a prize of. While the director was sitting in his cabin arranging for the disposal of the prize, the schout-fiscal — Van Dyck — attempted to take part in the business. "Get out!" roared Stuyvesant. "Who admitted you into the Council? When I want you, I'll call you." At Curaçoa, poor Van Dyck tried to enter the council-room again with no better success; and, to teach him who was master, Stuyvesant never allowed him even a "stroll ashore" during the three weeks that the fleet lay under the tropical sun in the harbour of Curaçoa. By the time the long voyage was over, there had ceased to be any doubt as to the extent of the director's authority.

It was the 27th of May, 1647, before the fleet cast anchor off the fort of New Amsterdam. Great was the joy on board at the view of these beautiful shores, and great was the satisfaction in the little settlement at the prospect of a new governor and new friends. At the fort all the ammunition that remained was consumed in firing salutes, while along

the bank of the East River gathered the inhabitants with their vrows and children, ready with a hearty welcome. Kieft was there, his feelings divided between satisfaction at relief from his burdensome position and fears as to his treatment by the new authorities; Melyn and Kuyter, burning for an opportunity to let the new director know what they thought of the old one; Van Tienhoven, anxious for his office of colonial secretary; and the other burghers, ready to forget the past in pleasant anticipations.

On landing, Stuyvesant proceeded to the fort, whither he was followed by the principal burghers. His bearing, as reported by unfriendly critics, was "like a peacock's, with great state and pomp," and he kept the burghers "for several hours bareheaded," while he was covered "as if he were the Czar of Muscovy." Standing within the fort, he formally assumed authority. Then the wily Kieft, thinking to profit by the general good humour, made a farewell speech, in which he thanked the Commonalty profusely for their fidelity to him. He hoped that fair words would bring a responsive compliment, under which he might retire without an exposure of the hatred in which he had long been held. But his voice only excited still more the feelings which he sought to calm. Kuyter, Melyn, and others of the Eight Men answered angrily that they had no thanks for him. A stormy scene was imminent. Stuyvesant cut it short by announcing that he would do justice to all, and would govern them as a father his children. But there was something

in the director's manner which "caused some to think that he would not be a father."

Stuyvesant's first work was to organize the machinery of government. To the members of his Council, who had come out with him, he added Dr. La Montagne, who had served for many years in a similar capacity, and Van Tienhoven, who continued in his old office of provincial secretary. Baxter, who had been appointed English secretary by Kieft, remained undisturbed, as he was the only man at Manhattan who could "tolerably read or write the English language." Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist was made "equipage master." A court of justice was formed, with Van Dincklage as judge, although Stuyvesant reserved the right to preside when he desired.

When the new director surveyed the capital of his dominions, he found that a great task lay before him. The long Indian wars, the consequent poverty, the incessant quarrels between Kieft and the burghers had left everything at loose ends. The town was confined between the site of Wall Street and the water fronts, and it was thickly settled only in the small space between the fort and the canal, or arm of the East River, which extended up the present Broad Street as far as Exchange Place. The streets were hardly named as yet, and were no more than broad paths, alternately muddy or dusty, extending from the fort to the canal. The houses were rudely constructed of wood, with roofs generally thatched, and with wooden chimneys. Pig-pens and out-houses were set directly on the street, dif-

fusing unpleasant odours. The hogs ran at will, kept out of the vegetable gardens only by rough stockades. Stuyvesant insisted on the removal of nuisances from the streets, ordered the proprietors of vacant lots to improve them within nine months, and appointed Van Dincklage, Van Tienhoven, and Van der Grist "surveyors of buildings" to see that his reforms were carried out. The morals of the people were regulated by proclamations, which called for a "thorough reformation." Drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and brawling must cease. The selling of liquor to the Indians was prohibited. The church was still unfinished; the walls of the fort trodden down by cattle, and an embankment was sorely needed along the water-front, against the encroachments of the tide. These works required money, and turned the director's attention to the revenue. He found that the West India Company was being defrauded of its due by the selling of furs to Virginia and New England. This unlawful business was summarily stopped. A "hand-board" was erected on the shore of the East River, at the foot of the present Whitehall Street, where all vessels were compelled to anchor, and where they could be properly supervised. A method of raising money, characteristic of Dutchmen and more attractive than port duties, was immediately adopted. Two vessels, the "Cat" and the "Love," were despatched to the West Indies in search of Spanish prizes.

Stuyvesant had hardly started on this preliminary work, when a contest arose which greatly disturbed the peace of the colony, and formed the beginning

of a long series of dissensions between the director and his people. The majority of the burghers had been satisfied with the dismissal of Kieft from the directorship, and were bent only on making the most of the new conditions. But Kuyter and Melyn, who were partners in a patroonship, men of means and education much superior to Kieft, were not inclined to let him off so easily. Their losses through his misgovernment had been ruinous, and the long enmity rankled unsatisfied. Now they presented to the director and Council formal accusations against Kieft, with a petition that the leading citizens should be examined with a view to laying bare his whole conduct, from the imposition of the Indian tribute in 1639. Had the patroons known more of the character of the new director they would not have ventured so far. If there was one opinion unalterably fixed in the mind of Stuyvesant, it was that to the powers that be is due a blind obedience. Right or wrong, there should be no resistance to a constituted authority. Although political liberty was the birthright of the Dutch, their colonies, generally military in character, had to be arbitrarily governed. Stuyvesant was accustomed to a rigid discipline, and he knew how to govern only as a master.

When the petition of Kuyter and Melyn was received, the director at once took alarm. If the administration of Kieft were thus to be put in judgment on the demand of private persons, his own conduct would be subject to the same examination. The precedent was dangerous. He "chose the side of Kieft;" declined to recognize Kuyter and Melyn

in their official capacity as members of the Eight Men, and refused to consider such a petition from private individuals. "If this point be conceded," he said at the Council Board, "will not these cunning fellows, in order to usurp over us a more unlimited power, claim and assume in consequence even greater authority against ourselves and our commission, should it happen that our administration may not square in every respect with their whims?" He ended by saying, and no doubt it was his earnest belief: "It is treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there be cause or not." The Council agreed with him, and the petition of the "malignant subjects" was rejected.

The guilty Kieft had been much alarmed at the possible issue. Now, seeing his advantage, he boldly became complainant, and accused Kuyter and Melyn of being the authors of the Memorial to the Congress of the XIX. in 1644, which, he claimed, contained false statements calculated to bring the magistrates into contempt. Stuyvesant had worked himself into a passion by this time, and made up his mind to punish Kuyter and Melyn as an example. He ordered them to appear to answer within forty-eight hours. Kieft's complaint being no more than the accusation that the patroons had told the truth about himself, other charges were trumped up. Both were convicted: Melyn was sentenced to seven years' banishment and a fine of three hundred guilders; Kuyter, to half of the same penalty. The sentences were unjust and very unpopular. But Stuyvesant was re-

solved that there should be no question in the colony as to the extent of the director's authority.

Melyn declared his intention to appeal to the directors in Holland, which increased Stuyvesant's anger to fury. "If I was persuaded," he said to Melyn, "that you would appeal from my sentences, or divulge them, I would have your head cut off, or have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland." Nothing excited him so much as the contempt of his authority involved in a threatened appeal to Holland. When any one mentioned the subject, he became so angry that "the foam hung on his beard." He said to Van Hardenberg, as the two were leaving the parsonage house after a meeting of the consistory: "If any one during my administration shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way." His whole conduct of this affair was in accordance with a remark attributed to him in the "Representation from New Netherland": "These brutes may hereafter try to knock me down also, but I will manage it so now that they will have their bellies full for the future."

The ship "Princess" lay at anchor in the East River ready to sail for Holland. Domine Bogardus and Kieft embarked to return home, and the unfortunate patroons were sent aboard as prisoners. Off the coast of England the "Princess" struck upon a rock in the night, and began to go to pieces. "And now," says the Breeden Raedt, "this wicked Kieft, seeing death before his eyes, sighed deeply, and, turning to these two, said: 'Friends, I have

been unjust towards you; can you forgive me?'" His repentance came too late; he perished in the fulfilment of the prophecy of De Vries, that his sins would be visited upon his own head. The Domine Bogardus and nearly all the ship's company were lost. "Jochem Pietersen Kuyter remained alone on a part of the ship on which stood a cannon, which he took for a man; but speaking to it and getting no answer, he supposed him dead. He was at last thrown on land, together with the cannon, to the great astonishment of the English, who crowded the strand by thousands, and set up the ordnance as a lasting memorial. Melyn, floating on his back, fell in with others who had remained on a part of the wreck, till they were driven on a sand-bank, which became dry with the ebb." Then they got ashore. As Kuyter and Melyn "were more concerned for their papers than for anything else, they caused them to be dragged for, and on the third day Jochem Pietersen got a small part of them. . . . When they arrived in Holland, the Dutch directors much lamented the loss of the ship and its rich cargo, and were doubly pained that, while so many fine men were lost, two rebellious bandits should survive to trouble the Company with their complaints." But the patroons had justice on their side, and they succeeded finally in changing this hostile opinion.

After the departure of the "Princess," Stuyvesant threw himself vigorously into the work of improvement. A devout professor of the Reformed religion, he had joined the consistory of the church at New

Amsterdam, and now took measures to have the building finished. The place of Domine Bogardus was taken by Domine Backerus, who had come out with the director. Work on the fort and the streets proceeded; but in everything the director was hampered by lack of means. The "Love" and the "Cat" were still looking for a prize, and the port duties came in slowly. In this difficulty, Stuyvesant proclaimed a tax on wines and beers. Immediately there was great opposition from the burghers. They conceded to the Company its right of government, but insisted that it must pay its own expenses. "No taxation without representation" was a principle perfectly understood by the Dutch. Stuyvesant tried in vain to carry his point. At last, to allay the discontent, he was obliged to make concessions which admitted the people to a share in the government. In September, 1647, a Board of Nine Men was established, to be presided over by the director. They were to advise, not to legislate. Three members were to sit in rotation to hear civil suits, the litigants to have the right of appeal to the Council. Six were to retire annually, and their places to be taken by six others, to be appointed by the director from a list of twelve of the "most notable citizens" named by the Commonalty. Thus, the Board of Nine Men was to be largely the director's choice; and as it was to continue "until lawfully repealed," he could dispense with it if he chose. Still, the concession was a great step toward the representation of the people in public affairs, and prepared the way for better things to come.

The first Board was made up of excellent men. From the merchants were chosen Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus van Hardenberg, Govert Loockermans; from the citizens, Jan Jansen Dam, Jacob Wolfertsen (Van Couwenhoven), Hendrick Kip; from the farmers, Machyel Janssen, Jan Evertsen Bout, Thomas Hall. At the first meeting of the Board Stuyvesant was ill with an influenza which prevailed throughout New Netherland and New England; but he sent a summary of the subjects to be considered, among which the principal were repairs to the fort, the completion of the church, the building of a schoolhouse, and the maintenance of a school-teacher. The Nine Men showed themselves worthy of their responsibility. The means for all these objects were provided for by internal taxation, except the work on the fort. The Board contended, and maintained successfully, that the West India Company's charter of 1629 bound the Company to bear all the expense of the military establishment. For that purpose the director must depend upon the port and mill duties.

Domestic affairs had hardly been got in running order when Stuyvesant's attention was drawn to the aggressions of New England. All the country lying between the Connecticut and Hudson rivers was claimed by the Dutch by right of first occupation. We have already seen how ineffective a barrier had been Fort Good Hope and its small garrison to the steady westward progress of the English. These extensive and fertile lands were valuable to the Dutch as a rich field of the fur-gathering industry;

but they had never attempted to fill it with boweries. The restless New England people, continually moving in search of better land, scorned the Dutch claim. "The land," they said, "was too good to stand idle." It rapidly became covered with their farms and villages. New Haven and Hartford grew apace. The Dutch had no power to keep back the English tide, and their numbers were not sufficient to send settlers to anticipate the intruders. The English policy, openly avowed, was "to keep crowding the Dutch." Stuyvesant, alarmed at the prospect, opened communication with New England, and sought an interview with Winthrop; but New England preferred to put off discussion, while the "crowding out" went on. Winthrop agreed to meet Stuyvesant when his health permitted, — a time which seemed never to come. The Dutch director made a formal proposition that the boundaries of New Netherland should be recognized as the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. Winthrop evaded an answer, and made complaints of the selling of arms to the Indians by the Dutch, and of the restrictions on trade at the port of New Amsterdam. Already in Kieft's time a party of Englishmen had laid claim to Long Island as belonging to the Earl of Stirling. In the autumn of 1647, a man named Forester appeared, and attempted to take possession as the agent of Lord Stirling's widow. This was pushing matters too far. Stuyvesant captured him, kept him in close confinement at New Amsterdam, and sent him off in the first ship that sailed for Holland.

The flourishing colony of New Haven, under Governor Eaton, was within the nominal boundaries of New Netherland. Stuyvesant heard that a Dutch ship, named the "Saint Benino," was taking in a cargo there without paying dues or obtaining permission from the authorities of New Amsterdam. In the director's opinion, this was a flagrant defiance of the West India Company's rights. He pronounced the ship a smuggler, and devised a skilful plan to capture her. The "Zwol," a Dutch vessel, had been purchased by the deputy governor of New Haven, and delivery was to be at that place. Stuyvesant sent the vessel off with a party of armed men on board, under Captain Van der Grist. The "Zwol" sailed into the harbour at New Haven "on the Lord's Day," ran alongside the "Saint Benino," captured her and her crew; and Captain Van der Grist, leaving his own vessel to her new owner, sailed away on the "Saint Benino" before the English knew what was going on. Governor Eaton was naturally very angry. "We have protested," he wrote, "and by these presents do protest against you Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of the Dutch at Manhattans, for disturbing the peace between the Dutch and the English in these parts, . . . by making unjust claims to our lands and plantations, to our havens and rivers, and by taking a ship out of our harbour without our permission by your agents and commission; and we hereby profess that whatever inconvenience may hereafter grow, you are the cause and author of it, as we hope to show and prove before our superiors in

Europe." Stuyvesant replied that the ship was legally confiscated within the boundaries of New Netherland. But he was careful to conduct his correspondence in Dutch, which Eaton could not understand.

Three servants of the West India Company ran away soon after, and took refuge at New Haven. Stuyvesant wrote to Eaton, to request their surrender; but in his characteristic way he addressed the letter to New Haven in New Netherland. This angered Eaton still more, and he refused to give up the men. The harbouring of each other's fugitives was for all the colonies a dangerous practice, and Winthrop much regretted the action of Eaton. But Stuyvesant, instead of leaving his adversary in the wrong, put himself there by proclaiming 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 policy was so unpopular at home as well as hostile to the other colonies that Stuyvesant found himself obliged to inform Massachusetts and Virginia that the rule did not apply to them. By assurances of immunity, privately conveyed to the deserters at New Haven, he induced them to return, and was then able to revoke his proclamation with some show of dignity. Thus the conflict went on.

Ever since the scene on the Hudson River, when Govert Loockermans had refused to strike his flag to the "right" of Rensselaerstein, there had been dis-

agreement between New Amsterdam and Rensselaerwyck; and Stuyvesant was not the man to smooth matters over by a conciliatory attitude. In 1648, having proclaimed a fast, Stuyvesant found that it was not observed at Rensselaerwyck, the commissary there taking this means of showing his independence of New Amsterdam. The first patroon had never been in New Netherland. He was now dead, and the title and estates descended to his son Johan, a minor in Holland. The guardians of the heir had sent out Brandt van Schlechtenhorst as agent and commissary, — a man who loved independent command as well as Stuyvesant himself. On hearing of the commissary's neglect of his proclamation, the director went up to Fort Orange in person. The fort and some land about it belonged to the West India Company; but the remainder of the territory was the property of the patroon. Hence a conflict of authority was easy. Stuyvesant found that the village of Beverwyck, which had nestled for protection close to the fort, was on land belonging to the Company. Moreover, the proximity of some of the houses to the ramparts interfered with the use of the fort. These houses he ordered to be pulled down; and he further directed that the fort should be repaired with stone taken from the patroon's land. Van Schlechtenhorst refused to carry out either order, and a violent quarrel ensued, even the Indians standing about and wondering why "Wooden Leg" wanted to pull down his countrymen's houses. Stuyvesant wished to assert his authority; but he also wished to take measures to

insure the safety of that portion of New Netherland. He departed from Rensselaerwyck in great wrath, and sent up from Manhattan a detachment of soldiery to enforce his orders. But the force was not enough to overcome the opposition of the inhabitants, and victory, for the present, lay with the commissary.

During the first two years of Stuyvesant's authority a substantial immigration from Holland took place; the ravages of the Indian wars were repaired; boweries were repeopled; and trade grew at New Amsterdam. With returning prosperity the people grew restless under the commercial rule of the West India Company, and began to resent the arbitrary domination of the director. These Dutchmen had been accustomed at home to political liberty, and in their adopted country wished to be surrounded by the cherished institutions of the fatherland. In the hands of Stuyvesant absolute authority became a galling yoke. Well meaning though he was, and solicitous for the good of the colony, his impetuous temper and rough words kept him in an attitude of apparent hostility toward the burghers. The first Board of Nine Men had many conflicts with him. The second Board, appointed in 1649, were against him to a man. They accused him of selling arms to the Indians, while he forbade to the other citizens that profitable traffic; of monopolizing various branches of trade for his own benefit; and, lastly, of a tyrannical manner toward persons having business with the Company. The last accusation was well founded; the others were probably mistaken.

However, the Nine Men decided among themselves that a reform in the administration of the province was imperatively needed; abuses must be corrected, and a more popular government secured. To attain this end a delegation must be sent to Holland to lay the demands of the people before the College of the XIX. and the States-General. The Board asked Stuyvesant's permission to call a meeting of the Commonalty to obtain its support and pecuniary aid. Stuyvesant, as usual, went into a rage, swore that there should be no public meeting, and that any communication between the people and the College should go through him only. Naturally, this method did not suit the Nine Men. As they were forbidden to consult the Commonalty in meeting assembled, they resolved to do so individually and privately. They went about from house to house asking from each burgher his moral support and financial aid. With them went Adriaen Van der Donck, — the first lawyer to settle in New Netherland, a graduate of the University of Leyden, and a Doctor of Laws; he took down in writing the substance of these interviews. Stuyvesant was furious when he heard of what was going on. He went in person to Donck's house while the lawyer was away, and seized his papers. Donck, on his return, was imprisoned. The director then called a meeting of burghers chosen by himself, procured their approval of his conduct, expelled Donck from the Board, and kept his papers. Although an apparent victory for Stuyvesant, this conduct excited great dissatisfaction in the colony, and roused an increased opposition to him.

At this critical juncture, Melyn returned triumphantly from Holland, bringing with him a reversal of his sentence obtained from Their High Mightinesses, together with a letter ordering Stuyvesant to appear in person or by proxy at The Hague, to answer the accusations which Kuyter and Melyn had brought against him. Melyn, smarting under his ill-treatment, was not inclined to spare the director. Soon after his return, a meeting of citizens was held in the church. There he went accompanied by his friends, and demanded that the reversal of his sentence be pronounced as publicly as the sentence itself had been. A hot dispute arose: on one side Stuyvesant and his supporters, on the other Melyn and the party opposed to the administration. The question put to a vote was decided in Melyn's favour. So, Van Hardenberg, one of the Nine, took the paper and rose to read it. Furious at this proceeding, Stuyvesant declared that a copy must first be served on him, and going up to Van Hardenberg, he tore the paper from his hand. Hardenberg attempted to recover it; an uproar ensued; the opposing parties struggled for the possession of the paper, and the seal was torn from it. This scene of violence lasted for some minutes. Then some of the cooler heads interceded. Stuyvesant saw that his position was untenable; Melyn promised to furnish him with a copy, and Van Hardenberg was allowed to read the mutilated paper.

This scene, together with Stuyvesant's treatment of Van der Donck and the other subjects of complaint, roused so strong a feeling against the director

that he could no longer prevent the departure of a delegation to Holland. A memorial of the complaints and wants of the citizens was drawn up and signed on behalf of the Commonalty, by Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus van Hardenberg, Oloff Stevenss (Van Courtlandt), Machyel Janssen, Thomas Hall, Elbert Elbertsen, Govert Loockermans, and Hendrick Hendricksen Kip. The memorial was dated July 26, 1649. The delegates chosen to present it were Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Adriaen Van der Donck. Stuyvesant sent Van Tienhoven to represent him.

On arriving in Holland, Van der Donck wisely perceived that he could expect nothing from the West India Company, who would support Stuyvesant right or wrong, and so he appealed directly to the States-General. At the same time he realized the necessity of arousing some public interest in his mission, without which the States-General, occupied with greater affairs, might accord the delegates from New Netherland but slight attention. With this object, he published his "Vertoogh," a book which set forth the history of the settlement of the Dutch colonies in North America, with many interesting facts concerning their progress and necessities. The plan was eminently successful. The book was so much read and excited so much attention that the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company wrote to Stuyvesant: "The name of New Netherland, was scarcely ever mentioned before, and now it would seem as if heaven and earth were interested in it."

The delegates were received formally in the great hall of the States-General, and a committee was appointed to consider their application. They asked for protection from the Indians, for freedom of trade, and, above all, for a popular municipal government in place of the arbitrary rule of a commercial Company. They pointed out the necessity for encouraging the emigration of real settlers who meant to make their permanent home in New Netherland, and without whom the Dutch territories could not be retained. At present, they said, there were too many "Scots and Chinese," — persons who were defined as "petty traders who swarm here with great industry, reap immense profit, and exhaust the country without adding anything to its population or security. But, if they skim a little fat from the pot, they can take again to their heels." Against Stuyvesant they urged his tyrannical conduct, his monopoly of profitable branches of trade, his injustice to litigants. "His manner in court," they said, "has been from his first arrival up to this time, to browbeat, dispute with, and harass one of the two parties. . . . If any one offer objection, his Honor bursts forth incontinently into a rage, and makes such a to-do that it is dreadful." Stuyvesant, they urged, was quite uncontrolled by his Council. Van Dincklage was always overruled; La Montagne was afraid to speak frankly; Brian Newton did not understand Dutch, and so was obliged to say "Yes" to everything; Van Dyck was not allowed to give an opinion. The colony could never prosper until it had proper courts of justice and a free burgher government.

Van Tienhoven, representing Stuyvesant, relied upon the support of the West India Company, and sought only to discredit the motives of the popular party. "Arnoldus van Hardenberg," he sneered, "knew how to charge the colonists well for his wares." Oloff Stevensen (Van Courtlandt) having gone out as a common soldier, had been promoted by Kieft to be commissary of the store; "he has profited by the Company's service, and is endeavouring to give his benefactor the pay of the world,—that is, evil for good." Elbert Elbertsen was in the Company's debt, from which he would like to escape; Govert Loockermans owed his prosperity to the Company, and should support it. Hendrick Kip, he said, was a tailor who had lost nothing, presumably, because he had nothing to lose. This line of defence could not have much effect, and Van Tienhoven soon discredited himself altogether by being arrested and imprisoned for immoral conduct.

Still, the delegates had against them the influence of the West India Company, whose policy it was to tire them out by vexatious delays. Postponement after postponement took place, causing to Van der Donck and his associates an expense and a loss of time which they could ill afford. During the progress of the negotiations, their High Mightinesses of the States-General endeavoured to smooth matters over by ordering Stuyvesant to appear in person in Holland, and the West India Company to institute reforms in New Netherland. But the Company, standing on its technical rights, disputed the authority of the States-General, and privately

informed Stuyvesant of the attitude it had taken. So when the director received the order to repair to Holland, he said that he should "do as he pleased," and he stayed where he was. For three long years the faithful delegates urged the cause of their fellow-colonists at The Hague and at Amsterdam before they could prevail against the power of the commercial Company which held New Netherland as its private property.

Melyn had been assisting the delegates at The Hague, and in 1650 sailed from Holland in a good ship laden with colonists and stores for his manor at Staten Island. When off the coast, his ship was struck by a storm and put into Rhode Island for repairs. This was a technical violation of the West India Company's laws regarding trading without a license, although there was no proof to show that any trading had been done. But when the ship arrived at New Amsterdam, and Stuyvesant heard of the stopping at Rhode Island, he seized upon the excuse to persecute his enemy. He brought Melyn to trial as owner of the vessel; unable to prove it, he was obliged to release him. But he confiscated both ship and cargo, — a high-handed act of tyranny, for which the Company had to pay heavy damages to the real owner of the vessel. Poor Melyn lost his stores; and not only that, Stuyvesant brought new charges against him, and confiscated his property in New Amsterdam. Melyn retired to Staten Island, built a fort, and intrenched himself against the fiery director.

Stuyvesant's domineering temper was increasing,

and the people were becoming less inclined to endure it. New Amsterdam was a small place, and irritation grew with constant contact. Money and letters were privately despatched to Holland to aid the cause of the delegates. Disaffection arose even in the Council. Van Dincklage, the vice-director, got up a new protest in support of Van der Donck. Stuyvesant discovered it, and expelled Van Dincklage from the Council. The vice-director resisted, contending that his commission was from the States-General. Stuyvesant imprisoned him in the fort. He escaped, and took refuge behind the stockade of Melyn on Staten Island. "Our great Muscovy Duke," he wrote to Van der Donck, "goes on as usual, resembling somewhat the wolf; the older he gets the worse he bites. He proceeds no longer by words or letters, but by arrests and stripes."

Van Dyck, the schout-fiscal, whom Stuyvesant had treated with such severity on the voyage out, was found to have been concerned with Van Dincklage. He was punished by being reduced from the office of fiscal, or attorney-general, to the position of a clerk. Stuyvesant's opponents assert that poor Van Dyck was "charged to look after the pigs and keep them out of the fort, — a duty which a negro could very well perform." The late attorney-general objected to such an occupation, and then the director "got as angry as if he could swallow him up," and when he disobeyed "put him in confinement or bastinadoed him with his rattan." Yet the feelings of Van Dyck were still more sorely offended. Van Tienhoven, after presenting Stuyvesant's defence to

the committee of the States-General, had been convicted of licentious conduct, and Holland being too hot for him, had returned to New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant now accused Van Dyck of drunkenness, and appointed Van Tienhoven in his place as fiscal. The appointment was very unpopular, and particularly hateful to Van Dyck. "The perjured secretary," he wrote, "returned here contrary to their High Mightinesses' prohibition; a public, notorious, and convicted whore-monger and oath-breaker, a reproach to this country and the main scourge of both Christians and heathens. . . . The fault of drunkenness could be easily noticed in me, but not in Van Tienhoven, who has frequently come out of the tavern so full that he could get no further, and was forced to lie down in the gutter." All these animosities kept New Amsterdam in a ferment, and Stuyvesant now went about accompanied by a guard of four soldiers.

In 1650, the director found himself obliged to make some settlement regarding his New England boundary. The English farmers were extending constantly westward, and serious quarrels were taking place between them and the Dutch owners of outlying boweries. Stuyvesant concluded wisely that he could only lose by delay, and that it was better to draw a definite line somewhere, even if much territory justly claimed by the Dutch had to be surrendered. Negotiations were opened with Connecticut, and commissioners appointed on both sides. Those representing the Dutch were Thomas Willett of Plymouth, and George Baxter, the Eng-

lish secretary of New Netherland. Much indignation was expressed at New Amsterdam that both commissioners to present the Dutch cause were Englishmen. Stuyvesant probably found it impossible to select competent Dutchmen who could speak English; and moreover the nationality of his commissioners was of little importance to him, as the real work of sustaining the Dutch claims was to be performed by himself. He proceeded in state to Hartford, where, as well as on the journey, he was treated with great respect by the inhabitants. As he travelled eastward, he could not help recognizing the weakness of the Dutch claim to Connecticut. It was true that the Dutch had been the first white men to tread upon these lands, and that they had taken formal possession by the erection of Fort Good Hope and the maintenance of a garrison there. But the fertile valley of the Connecticut was actually occupied by English farms and villages. The Dutch director had no power to compel their allegiance or to drive them away. By force of numbers and by activity of settlement the English had acquired a right of occupation which was at least as good as the Dutch right of discovery. The eastern end of Long Island was in the same situation as Connecticut.

When the negotiations were opened, Stuyvesant raised a small storm by characteristically dating his first communication from "Hartford in New Netherland." But this blew over, and business proceeded quite amicably. The agreement reached provided that the line dividing Dutch and English jurisdiction

on Long Island should run from Oyster Bay to the Atlantic Ocean. On the mainland, the line began west of Greenwich Bay, four miles from Stamford, and ran northerly thence; but it was never to approach nearer than ten miles to the Hudson River. In the vicinity of Hartford, the Dutch were considered as controlling only such lands as they actually held and cultivated. This agreement was condemned vigorously at New Amsterdam, where the people reproached Stuyvesant with the abandonment of so large a portion of New Netherland. The West India Company also disapproved the treaty. Yet there can be no doubt that Stuyvesant knew best, and set the wise course for the Dutch to pursue under the circumstances.

At last, in the beginning of 1653, Van der Donck and his companions returned to New Amsterdam with the hard-earned fruits of their patriotic labours in Holland. The West India Company had opposed them long with success; but the collapse of Van Tienhoven, the continued support sent to the delegates from New Amsterdam, the persistent appeals by Van der Donck, Bout, and Couwenhoven to the States-General and the people of Holland had proved too much for the Company. It was obliged to yield, or see its power transferred altogether to the States-General. The government of New Amsterdam was henceforth to be conducted by two burgomasters, five schepens, and a schout, or sheriff, after the manner of the towns of the fatherland. These offices were directed to be filled by election. But Stuyvesant, disregarding the orders of the States-

General to that effect, took it upon himself to fill them by his own appointment. The first burgomasters were Arendt van Hatten and Martin Cregier; the schepens, Wilhelm Beeckman, Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist, Maximilian van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Pieter Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven; and Jacob Kip was the first secretary to the magistrates. It is significant that none of those men to whose efforts the great reform was chiefly due were appointed to office. Still, the appointments were good and well received. Van Tienhoven, however, was made the schout, which gave great dissatisfaction. It is difficult to understand Stuyvesant's continued support of this man except on the ground that he made a useful tool. Thus began municipal government on Manhattan Island, where burgomasters and schepens conducted the city's affairs until the English had taken the place of the Dutch flag. The labours of these officers will be considered in another chapter.

At the same time that their High Mightinesses granted the reforms asked for by Van der Donck, they commanded Stuyvesant to return to Holland to answer the accusations which had been made against himself. But this order was soon rescinded. War had broken out between England and Holland; Blake and Tromp were contending for the mastery of the English Channel; and Stuyvesant's hand, too heavy in times of peace, was needed at the helm in the prevailing storm. The news of the European war was received in New England and New Amsterdam with consternation, as it seemed to involve

hostilities between the colonies. Stuyvesant, knowing his own slender resources, was much troubled at the prospect, and sent to New England and Virginia assurances of his continued friendly feeling. But the danger was imminent, and all the director's energies were concentrated on measures of defence. The northerly boundary of the town, where an attack by the English would be made, was quite unprotected. Stuyvesant began the construction of a ditch and palisade from the East to the North River, upon which work was pushed rapidly while the danger of invasion lasted. The palisade was erected on the present site of Wall Street, whence the name was derived. There was a gate on the shore of the East River called the Water Gate, and another at Broadway called the Land Gate. The inhabitants at first cheerfully seconded Stuyvesant's efforts to erect this defence; but as war became less probable, they refused to go on with it, and Stuyvesant was obliged to raise the necessary means to complete the work by a private subscription among the richer citizens.

In New England the alarm of coming war was intensified by a report circulated in Connecticut, as derived from Uncas the Mohegan chief, that Stuyvesant was in league with Pessicus, Mixam, and Ninigret, chiefs of other tribes, to make a concerted descent upon the English. As soon as the director heard of the story, he denied it publicly and indignantly. Still, the possibility of savage hostilities was so much dreaded that New England sent commissioners among the tribes to investigate the report. To them Uncas said: "Do not we know the Eng-

lish are not a sleepy people? Do they think we are mad to sell our lives and the lives of our wives and children and all our kindred, and to have our country destroyed for a few guns, powder, shot, and swords? What good will they do us when we are dead?" Ninigret, in his defence, set forth the contemptuous treatment of himself by Stuyvesant: "I stood a great part of a winter's day knocking at the governor's door, and he would neither open it nor suffer others to open it to let me in. I was not wont to find such treatment from the English my friends."

Massachusetts was persuaded of Stuyvesant's peaceful intentions, and refused to join Connecticut in making war on the Dutch. The Connecticut people, being so much nearer the point of danger and so much more liable to Indian attacks, were less confident of security; but they could not proceed without the help of Massachusetts Bay. Governor Eaton sent Captain John Underhill to Long Island to investigate there the reported conspiracy. Underhill, who was a turbulent fellow, did not trouble himself to investigate, but began a small war on his own account. Raising his standard at Heemstede and Flushing, he made proclamation that Stuyvesant had been guilty of unlawful taxation, conspiracy with Indians, violation of conscience and other obnoxious conduct, and called upon the Dutch and English inhabitants to throw off his tyrannical yoke. Stuyvesant arrested Underhill, and would have hanged him; but thinking it a good opportunity to show his friendship toward New England, he released him after a short imprisonment.

The graceless Underhill then went to Rhode Island, where he succeeded in inducing the General Assembly to declare war against New Netherland. He was made captain of the land forces, while William Dyre and Edward Hull were appointed commanders on the sea, to relieve the English on Long Island "from the cruell tirannie of the Dutch power at the Manathoes" and to "bring the Dutch to conformitie to the Commonwealth of England." Underhill set out for Fort Good Hope with twenty volunteers. The deserted and ruined fort, with about thirty acres of land, was all that remained to the Dutch in the Connecticut valley. This property Underhill claimed by right of conquest, and sold to two different persons, giving to each a deed. Then he disbanded his valiant army. At sea, Hull took a French ship, which was not a severe blow to Stuyvesant; and Baxter, under a letter of marque from Rhode Island, turned pirate and attacked Dutch and English vessels impartially.

A number of fights occurring among the Indians, and some outrages upon white settlers at this time renewed in Connecticut the fears of Indian hostility. The prospect of such a calamity was so appalling, and a belief in a league between Dutch and Indians so strong, that the people prepared actively for a war. Until New Netherland should be subject to English rule, there seemed no certainty that the savages could be kept in subjection. Large gatherings of armed men took place at Stamford and Fairfield. Massachusetts was loudly blamed for her refusal to send assistance. Commissioners were

sent to England to ask Cromwell for men and arms, and Governor Hopkins, who was then in London, was urged to press the demand. Cromwell complied; and several vessels, with arms and soldiers under Captain Leverett and Major Sedgwick, reached America, where Plymouth and New Haven had raised a co-operating force. But before the beginning of hostilities, in 1654, news arrived that peace had been concluded between England and Holland. It was a fortunate escape for New Netherland, which must have yielded to so superior a force. Stuyvesant had realized the gravity of the situation, and on the announcement of peace he set apart a day of thanksgiving. "Praise the Lord," ran the proclamation, "O England's Jerusalem! and Netherland's Zion, praise ye the Lord! He hath secured your gates and blessed your possessions with peace, even here where the threatened torch of war was lighted; where the waves reached our lips, and subsided only through the power of the Almighty."

After the establishment of burgher government in New Amsterdam there continued to be some friction regarding taxation between Stuyvesant, as the representative of the West India Company, and the municipality. But with this exception, matters went smoothly enough. On the other hand, there was much discontent among the inhabitants of the English towns on Long Island. They were still subject to the rule of the West India Company, and paid taxes to the director. They claimed that no protection against the Indians was afforded them, and that they got no equivalent for their money.

In 1653 these towns chose delegates to a convention held at the Stadt Huys in New Amsterdam, under the leadership of George Baxter and James Hubbard. These English residents of New Netherland had been relied upon hitherto by Stuyvesant as a support against the disaffected Dutch party. Their opposition was, therefore, a serious blow to him. When the convention met, he sent La Montagne and Van Werckhoven of his Council to represent him. The delegates declined positively to receive Van Werckhoven, and refused to allow La Montagne or the director himself to preside over them. They made the point that while acknowledging allegiance to the States-General of Holland, they rejected the authority of the West India Company. Hence they would receive into the convention representatives of the burgomasters and schepens, but not of the director. Furthermore, they declared that as they were obliged to take their own measures for defence, they would pay no more taxes to the Company.

Stuyvesant was much enraged, and informed the convention that its conduct "smelt of rebellion, of contempt of his high authority and commission," which was indeed the fact. Unable to prevent this new disaffection, he sought to modify its effects. If a convention were to be held, he claimed, the Dutch as well as the English towns had a right to be represented in it. The delegates had to agree to this, and postponed their meeting for a month, saying, "the director might then do as he pleased, and prevent it if he could."

On re-assembling, delegates appeared from the four Dutch towns, New Amsterdam, Breukelen, Amersfoort (Flatlands), and Midwout (Flatbush); and four English towns, — Flushing, Newtown, Heemstede, and Gravesend. Nine Englishmen and ten Dutchmen composed the convention. George Baxter was secretary, and drew up the memorial of grievances. Stuyvesant sought to sow discord among the members. "Is there no one among the Netherlands nation," he inquired scornfully, "expert enough to draw up a remonstrance to the director and Council, . . . that a foreigner or an Englishman is required to dictate what you have to say?" But this taunt did not disturb the union of the delegates. They presented their memorial, complaining of the arbitrary character of the government, and of its neglect of their interests; the West India Company collected taxes, and left them to fight their own battles with the savages. Stuyvesant replied, denying that there was any cause of complaint. A debate followed. The director took the ground that there was no inherent right in the people to share in the government, and that the convention itself was an unlawful body. The delegates manfully sustained the contrary, and carried their views into effect by sending to Holland an agent, named Le Bleeuw, to argue their cause. The mission failed; the agent's remonstrances were considered frivolous, and he was forbidden to return to New Netherland. The West India Company wrote to Stuyvesant that his administration was approved. His only fault had been in showing

too much leniency to "the ring-leaders of the gang," and in condescending to parley with them. So Stuyvesant expelled Baxter and Hubbard from their offices. Soon afterward they raised the English flag at Gravesend, and declared the town subject to England. The director then sent a military force to Long Island, captured the Englishmen, and locked them up at New Amsterdam. Thus ended the last organized opposition against the rule of Stuyvesant and of the West India Company.

The Dutch possessions on the South or Delaware River had never been successfully settled or strongly held. After a time the Swedes began a colony there on the opposite side of the river. They commanded the most favourable situation for the Indian trade, grew in numbers, and quite overruled the Dutch, who were allowed to retain their lands only on sufferance. The Dutch claims to sole ownership of the river excited only the derision of the Swedes, whose superior strength made acts of hostility unnecessary. In 1654 the Dutch fort Casimir, commanded by Gerrit Bikker, was occupied by the Swedish Captain Rysyngh, and its name changed to Fort Trinity. The Dutch inhabitants were kindly allowed to remain in the country, but under the Swedish flag.

The news of these proceedings created great excitement at New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant's rage was shared by the burghers, who gathered about the fort to denounce the outrage. An unfortunate Swedish ship, on its way to the South River, ran

aground near the mouth of the harbour, and, ignorant of the state of affairs, sent up to New Amsterdam for a pilot. Instead of the pilot, Stuyvesant sent a vessel full of soldiers, who brought the Swede up to New Amsterdam, where she and her cargo were confiscated. This incident afforded some alleviation to the director's fury, and he sought to open a negotiation with Rysyngh. But the Swedish commander, satisfied with possession, declined to enter into a discussion. Stuyvesant was belligerent, but had not the means for hostile measures; he could only write an indignant account of the event to the West India Company, and ask for assistance. While awaiting a reply, he carried out a long-delayed purpose, and made a voyage to the West Indies to open new trade for the Dutch. But in this object he was defeated by the efforts of the English.

When the directors of the West India Company heard of the capture of Fort Casimir by the Swedes, they were as angry as Stuyvesant could wish. The director of New Netherland was ordered to drive away the intruders, and a ship of war, named the "Balance," was sent to him. Great preparations were made at New Amsterdam for the enterprise, and all possible secrecy was observed with the purpose of surprising the enemy. Six other ships were hired or impressed; a force of six or seven hundred men was collected. The expedition, planned on a scale which must be overwhelmingly superior to the Swedish means of defence, was so evidently destined to easy victory that every man in New Amsterdam

wished to take part in it. A summer voyage to the Delaware River, with glory at the end of it, was a more attractive prospect than the routine of daily toil at home. So the fleet set sail in the midst of jollity and confident valour.

Stuyvesant arrived in the South River on Sept. 10, 1655. Fort Trinity surrendered at the first summons. Rysyngh held out for twelve days in Fort Christina. A great deal of talking was done, and a great deal of firing; but very little injury was received on either side. Rysyngh, having made a show of resistance, yielded to the inevitable; the Swedes were allowed to stay where they were on taking the oath of allegiance; and a Dutch garrison was placed in charge of the fort. Domine Megapolensis, who had gone as chaplain, preached a thanksgiving sermon. Thus ended Swedish rule on the South River. But the Dutch never prospered there. The West India Company conveyed the territory to the City of Amsterdam, in return for advances of money, and the colony was only a trading-post when it passed into the hands of the English with the rest of New Netherland.

While Stuyvesant was in the midst of his triumph over the Swedes, he was suddenly recalled to New Amsterdam by the news of a great calamity. He had always kept on satisfactory terms with the Indians; his conduct toward them had been a mixture of sternness and justice which commanded their respect. But others had been less judicious, and lately a brutal murder had roused their just resentment. Van Dyck, the late fiscal, whom Stuy-

vesant had expelled from office, discovered a squaw in his garden picking the peaches from trees. He fired upon and killed her. This outrage demanded revenge, and the director's absence with the fighting force of the town gave the opportunity. One morning in September, the streets of New Amsterdam began to swarm with savages in war-paint. At first they made no attempt to kill, but contented themselves with bullying and robbing. The burghers, so much reduced in numbers, dared make no resistance to the plundering of their houses. Such soldiers as remained at home were kept in readiness in the fort, and meanwhile the Dutch sought to temporize and to come to a peaceable agreement with the savages. An arrangement was made that the Indians should all go over to Nutten's, or Governor's, Island, there to await the result of a conference between the burghers and the chiefs; but a quarrel occurred, and fighting began no one knew how. Van Dyck was killed by an arrow; Captain Van der Grist was felled with an axe. The struggle extended; the soldiers were called from the fort, and before their organized attack the Indians fled in canoes.

But they were now excited by bloodshed. Instead of going to Governor's Island, they went to Pavonia and Hoboken. What happened there was too well known to the people on Manhattan Island, who stood on the shore and watched the flames arise from the ravaged boweries. Men were killed, women and children taken prisoners. The savages then went to Staten Island, where the same scenes were enacted. For three days there was burning and murdering

all about the Bay, Long Island, and Manhattan Island. The killed numbered one hundred; the prisoners, one hundred and fifty; the homeless, three hundred.

Stuyvesant returned as soon as the news reached him, called in the outlying farmers, and prepared for hostilities; but the Indians sued for peace. Their attack had been provoked, and they had many prisoners in their power. Instead of seeking new vengeance and prolonging the war indefinitely as Kieft had done, the director granted a peace, and received back the prisoners. The result proved his wisdom, for there was no renewal of war on the part of the tribes about New Amsterdam. At Rensselaerwyck, no trouble was experienced. When knowledge of the hostilities at New Amsterdam was received there, the usual policy of conciliating the Mohawks was resorted to, and none of the other tribes dared to attack such allies.

In 1658 another disastrous Indian war broke out, which affected only the town of Esopus on the Hudson River, near Rondout. The Dutch there were the aggressors, and the usual course of fighting and burning continued intermittently until 1663. In that year Stuyvesant went up in person to settle the disputes, and to put an end to a state of hostility in which the settlers could not fail to have the worst. While he was holding a conference with the chiefs, the warriors suddenly fired the village, and began a massacre of the whites. After this treachery, Stuyvesant abandoned peaceful methods, and followed up the Indians until the small surviving remnant

was glad to sue for peace. The troubles were terminated by treaty in 1664, — the last Indian treaty made by the Dutch.

Religious affairs never played the important part in New Netherland that they did in New England. The Dutch had won freedom of conscience in the wars with Spain and the Inquisition. They had come to New Netherland only for self-advancement, and there existed generally among the people a tolerance of religious differences, and indeed an apathy toward sectarian disputes. Society in New Amsterdam was divided by political, but not by religious, quarrels. For thirty years after the settlement of Long Island no church was built there, the people depending upon the minister at New Amsterdam for spiritual aid. With theological rigour and persecution there was no sympathy. With these sentiments the West India Company was in full accord, and it intended New Netherland to be a common ground for persons of all opinions.

It was the arbitrary spirit of the director, rather than religious narrowness on the part of the Dutch, that brought about such persecution as occurred in New Netherland. Stuyvesant was a devout member of the Reformed Church; but above all he believed in obedience to established authority, that power was derived from God, and that any one who rejected the generally accepted order of things was a disturber of the peace, and should be suppressed. When he persecuted a Lutheran or a Quaker, it was not so much the religious tenet that he attacked as it was the individual man who presumed to set up peculiar

views of his own and obstinately follow them out, when the right way had been pointed out to him by his superiors.

In 1654 the Lutherans had become numerous enough to have religious meetings of their own. Stuyvesant issued a proclamation to them, pointing out the propriety of their attendance at the regular Dutch church. What was good enough for the other inhabitants was good enough for them. When they tried to get a meeting-room for services, he prevented it. When they procured a minister from Holland, the director made life so uncomfortable for him that he left the colony. To have one body of non-conformists at liberty was to invite the presence of others; the idea was offensive to the director's sense of order. The Domines Megapolensis and Drisius were intolerant enough to support him. But the Lutherans appealed to Holland, where they found relief in the national spirit of liberality. The West India Company blamed Stuyvesant for persecuting these people, on grounds of both policy and principle. To retard the growth and happiness of a commercial colony on account of a "needless preciseness" on the subject of baptism was an act of folly; nor was it in accordance with the Christian spirit. So the Lutherans, who were law-abiding persons, were allowed henceforth full liberty of worship.

Stuyvesant could accept the Lutheran Church, and could even in 1656 treat the Anabaptists on Long Island with comparative mildness. But he could not endure the Quakers. They were ob-

noxious to him, as a Calvinist; but as director their methods offended him much more, and his anger at their obstinacy carried him beyond all bounds. In 1657 there arrived some "cursed Quakers;" they had been expelled from Boston, and now reached New Amsterdam from Barbadoes, on their way to Rhode Island, — that "sink of New England, where all kinds of scum dwell," as the Domines Megapolensis and Drisius described it. These Quakers went about the streets of the quiet Dutch town, gathering crowds on the corners, haranguing against steeple-houses, a priesthood, and the powers that be in general. The inhabitants of New Amsterdam stood about, and stared, without understanding the pious exhorters. But scenes of disorder were of constant occurrence, and the Quakers would submit to no regulation. Nothing could be better calculated to excite the wrath of Stuyvesant. Two of the women-preachers were thrown into prison, and sent off, with their hands tied behind them, on the first ship bound for Rhode Island. But a man named Robert Hodgson was more aggravating in his conduct, and suffered a barbarous treatment. He was arrested at Heemstede, where he had been preaching, and brought to New Amsterdam at a cart's tail. When arraigned in court, he drove the director into a paroxysm of rage by refusing to remove his hat, which was his way of showing respect to God alone. Stuyvesant proceeded to reduce the obstinate rebel to submission. He was chained to a wheelbarrow, and compelled to work on the roads; a negro accom-

panied him armed with a whip; he slept in a dungeon. But Hodgson's spirit was hard to break, and he preached to the passers-by from his wheelbarrow. For this disobedience Stuyvesant had him hung up by the hands, and severely beaten. The contest between the outraged director and the obstinate preacher continued until the Dutch became disgusted with the spectacle. Mrs. Anna Bayard, Stuyvesant's sister, interceded for the unfortunate Quaker, and he was released, with a sentence of banishment.

Another contumacious Quaker named John Bowne, an old resident of Flushing, was sent to Holland; Stuyvesant, writing to the directors of his offence, declared that he meant to treat others more severely. But the West India Company would not permit it. To send away active citizens on account of their religion was not the way to populate the colony. They ordered Stuyvesant to "let every one remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government." This was the time-honoured custom of the magistrates of Amsterdam: "Tread thus in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed." Stuyvesant obeyed this injunction, and thus ended a religious persecution which had never had the sympathy of the people of New Netherland.

During the last ten years of Stuyvesant's government the emigration from Holland had been steadily increasing, and was of a good class of farmers and burghers. By 1660 New Amsterdam had three

hundred and fifty houses. Outside settlements increased rapidly, and boweries were cultivated as far as the Haarlem River. In 1656 the Rust Dorp, or Quiet Village, was settled, which was afterward called by the English Jamaica, from the Indian name Jemaico. New Utrecht and Boswyck, or Bushwick, followed in 1661. About 1656 Oost Dorp was settled in Westchester County, principally by Englishmen; Thomas Pell bought a tract of land, which included the old possessions of the unfortunate Anne Hutchinson. In 1660 New Haarlem became a distinct village. In 1661 Melyn gave up the struggle with Stuyvesant, and sold his property on Staten Island to the West India Company. There sprang up New Dorp, built by French Waldenses and Rochelle Huguenots. In the same year Bergen was founded in New Jersey, which preserved Dutch characteristics long after they had been crowded out elsewhere.

Meanwhile Rensselaerwyck pursued its even way, untroubled by religious or political dissensions. Its alliance with the powerful Mohawk nation, wisely maintained, preserved it from the dangers of Indian war. The inhabitants traded in furs, cultivated their rich soil, fished and hunted in peace. The patroon's agent governed in his name, so far as any government was necessary. Stuyvesant had a long-continued quarrel with this agent, whom he kept under arrest at New Amsterdam for a time, for defiance of his authority. But toward the end of the Dutch rule in New Netherland the patroon's officers acknowledged the director's supremacy by

an annual tribute of wheat. In 1661 Arendt van Curler bought for the patroon the "great flat" between Fort Orange and the Mohawk country, which was then opened to settlement. In 1664 Schaenheckstede, now Schenectady, was founded.

Such, briefly stated, were the more important events of Stuyvesant's administration as far as the period when New Netherland became New York. That a considerable portion of the province had fallen under English rule was due to the want of a sufficient Dutch emigration and not to any fault of the director. The same difficulty had prevented the development of the territory about the Delaware River. On Long Island and along the shores of the Hudson River the Dutch had flourished and had made permanent homes. New Amsterdam had become an orderly, substantial town, already marked by characteristics destined to be lasting. There prevailed religious and political liberty, a cosmopolitan spirit tolerant of varied tongues and customs, a commercial activity suited to an unequalled maritime situation. In the next chapter we shall consider the outward appearance of the town in the days of Dutch supremacy, its social, educational, and national features.

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF NEW AMSTERDAM IN THE TIME OF PETER STUYVESANT.

In the early days of Dutch settlement the fort was the centre of activity, being at once the business headquarters of the West India Company and the only safe refuge from external danger. About it clustered the storehouses and dwellings of the colonists. As the settlement increased, new buildings were constructed along the line of paths which diverged from the fort to other points of interest. Thus Broadway came into existence as the road leading from the front of the fort over the ridge of the island to the common pasture-lands. Whitehall Street was the shortest way to the East River and the anchorage-ground. Stone Street originated in the path which ran from the fort down to a point on the East River, now Peck Slip, which was found to be the most convenient for a ferry to Long Island. Most of the streets at present in use in the lower part of New York city had a similar origin. In 1657 these streets were already indicated with some distinctness as thoroughfares, but they abounded in irregularities of direction and width. In this year the town below Wall Street was surveyed by Jacques Cortelyou, and the streets definitely laid out.

In front of the fort lay an open space, now called the Bowling Green. It was first used as a parade-ground for the garrison. In 1659 it became the established market-place of the town, and was called the Marckvelt. In this use it continued for many years. In 1732 the Corporation resolved to "leave a piece of land, lying at the lower end of Broadway, fronting the fort, to some of the inhabitants, in order to be enclosed to make a bowling-green there, with walks therein, for the beauty and ornament of said street, as well as for the delight of the inhabitants of this city." John Chambers, Peter Bayard, and Peter Jay were the lessees for eleven years, at one peppercorn per annum. In Stuyvesant's time, his private secretary Cornelis van Ruyven and Allard Anthony had houses facing the Marckvelt, and Martin Cregier kept a tavern there.

Broadway was first called Heere Straat, — principal street; later, the Breede Weg, translated by the English into the Broadway. It extended from the market-place to the Land Gate as a residence street, and thence northward as a country road as far as the pastures on the site of the present City Hall Park. As the business interests of the Dutch town were along the shore of the East River, Broadway was neglected for many years. Lots there had begun to be granted by Kieft in 1643, but they were generally held for speculation. In 1664 the condition of the street was about as follows: Leaving the fort and going up on the west side, near the present Morris Street, we find the town cemetery, about one hundred feet front and extending back to the North River. Some years

later the cemetery was removed, and this land was sold in four lots. Next above was the property of Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist. He had commanded one of the vessels which accompanied Stuyvesant from Holland, and had become a magistrate and a man of wealth. His house was one of the best in the town, and was built near the river with a garden about it. Beyond Van der Grist was the house lately occupied by the fiscal Van Dyck, whom Stuyvesant had expelled from the Council. Next were two lots, each ninety-three feet front and running back to the river. The first of these the director had allotted to his son Nicholas William, and the second to his other son Balthazar. Beyond these was the West India Company's garden, afterward granted to the English Church, and now Trinity churchyard. Turning at the Land Gate and going down Broadway on the east side, we find a number of small houses occupied by mechanics. This side of the street, sloping off to the marshy lands near the Broad Street canal, was not considered desirable; but it improved afterward, as the water-courses were filled up.

The site of the present Broad Street was occupied by a sort of canal, or inlet, from the East River. Toward this canal four streets ran eastward from Broadway. The first — now Wall Street — began at the Land Gate, and extended to the East River. It was called De Cingel ofte Stadt Waal ("The Walk by the City Wall"), and was built upon at this time only on the south side, facing the stockade. Boatmen and labourers had cottages here.

The next street — now Exchange Place — was a path called De Shaap Waytie ("Sheep Walk") running down to a bridge across the canal. Beyond the bridge, the site of Exchange Place was occupied by a stream, which, in common with the upper part of the Broad Street canal, was called the Prince Graft. On the Graft lived Johannes Hardenbrook, Jacob Kip, and Bay Roosevelt. Here, about 1691, when the stream was filled in and the street had been named, — first Tuyen, and then Garden Street, — was built the Dutch church, to replace the old one in the fort.

Near the foot of Broadway was the Bever Graft ("Beaver Canal"), the site of a stream running to the Heere Graft, or large canal, on Broad Street. When this "old ditch" was filled up, the street was built upon with houses of an inferior character. After crossing Broad Street, the Bever Graft was called Prince Street, and later Smith Street Lane. There lived Albert the Trumpeter.

From the foot of Broadway to the East River ran Beurs Straat, or Whitehall Street. On the south side lay the fort and Stuyvesant's official residence. On the north side lived Jacob Teunis de Kay, Cornelis Steenwyck, the rich dry-goods merchant, and later Jacob Leisler.

Four streets connected Whitehall Street with the Heere Graft, or Broad Street Canal. The first was called T' Marckvelt Steegie ("Market-field Path"), because it led from a boat-landing on the Heere Graft to the open space in front of the fort. Here lived Claes van Elslant, the sexton, and some mechanics.

The present Stone Street came next. From Whitehall to Broad it was called Brouwer (Brewer) Straat, on account of Oloff Stevensen van Courtlandt's brewery situated there. Besides Van Courtlandt, the inhabitants were Jeroninus Ebbingh, Isaac de Forest and his wife Sara Philipse, and Isaac Kip. Beyond the Heere Graft, Brouwer Straat became Hoogh (or High) Straat, on account of its elevation above the East River. Hoogh Straat extended to the city wall, parallel to the Water Side. It was the favourite situation for dwellings in Stuyvesant's time, being sufficiently near the river for convenience, and yet safe from high tides; it was also the principal thoroughfare for all persons entering the town by the Water Gate. Here lived Govert Loockermans, Johannes van Bruggh, Abraham de Peyster, Abiggel Verplanck, Jacob and Johannes van Couwenhoven, Nicholas de Meyert and his wife Lydia van Dyck, Nicholas Bayard and his wife Judith Verlett, Evert Duyckinck and his wife Hendrickje Simons, and two Englishmen, — Isaac Bedlow and John Lawrence. Brouwer Straat and its continuation — Hoogh Straat — were the first to be paved; which was done with cobblestones in 1657, under the superintendence of Isaac de Forest and Jeroninus Ebbingh. Hence was derived the present name of Stone Street.

De Brugh (or Bridge) Straat was the next, connecting Whitehall with Broad. It took its name from the large bridge over the canal which lay at its foot. Hendrick Hendricksen Kip — the ancestor of the Kip family — lived here.

Continuing down Whitehall, past Bridge, we come to Pearl Street, which formed the eastern boundary of the fort. It had this name only south of Whitehall Street. There lived Pieter Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, Jacques Cousseau, Gerrit van Tricht, and Dr. Hans Kierstede.

North of Whitehall Street, on the present line of Pearl, there was not, during Stuyvesant's government, any street regularly built upon. The locality was called the Water Side, and was simply the shore of the East River. The present Water, South, and Front streets were then covered by the tide. The present Pearl Street came into existence gradually. In 1642 Director Kieft built the stone tavern, called the Harberg, down on the shore of the river, where it could be seen from the anchorage-ground, and there it stood alone for some years. In 1654, when the municipal government was organized, this building was granted to the municipality as a town hall, and called the Stadt Huys. Its situation was that of the present Nos. 71 and 73 Pearl Street, facing Coenties Slip. High tides rose close to the building, and to prevent such encroachments a stone wall was built out in front of the Stadt Huys to keep off the water. This wall protected the building but not the rest of the shore, which often became impassable by the washing of the tide. On this account a barrier against the water was built along the shore, on a line with the wall in front of the Stadt Huys. It was called the Schoeyinge, and consisted of planks driven endwise into the mud, the space behind them being filled in. The

work went on from 1654 to 1656, by which year it extended from Broad to Wall streets. Owners of lots fronting on the Water Side were compelled to bear part of the cost. When the Schoeyinge was completed it made a dry walk along the shore, and then houses were built on the line of the Stadt Huys and fronting on the East River. This street was called from the tide-barrier De Waal, and also Lang de Waal, and is sometimes confounded with the present Wall Street. The first people to build on De Waal were Balthazar de Haart, Carel van Brugh, Cornelis Jansen van Hoorn, and Dirck van Clyff. At a later period the street became populous.

On the shore of the East River, east of Pearl and south of Whitehall, was a small street of one block, called T' Water. When the flats along the river-front were filled in, the continuation of this block formed the present Water Street. Two short lanes, called De Winckel and Achter de Perel, near the fort, were closed up at an early period.

Extending nearly parallel to Whitehall Street and Broadway, from the East River to Wall Street, on the site of the present Broad Street, was De Heere Graft, or principal canal, — an important feature of the town. The Graft was an inlet of the East River, of which the waters rose and fell with the tide as far as Exchange Place. It was crossed by a large bridge near its mouth, at Bridge and Stone streets, and farther up by smaller foot-bridges. The Graft was the chief centre of trade. Near its outlet were the stores of the West India Company;

opposite was the anchorage-ground, where vessels were compllled to unload. Boats laden with merchandise went into the Graft to discharge their cargoes. The Long Island farmers brought their produce there, selling from boats drawn up on the bank. Indians paddled up in canoes with skins to barter. Wooden sidings to protect the banks, like those on the East River, were constructed in 1657, and until 1659 two men were kept constantly at work upon them. Throwing refuse into the Graft was prohibited by the burgomasters. In 1659 Resolvert Waldron was made "Graft officer," with instructions to keep the sidings in repair, to prevent nuisances, and to see that "boats, canoes, and other vessels which came into it were laid in order." The vicinity of the bridge which crossed the Graft at Stone Street was the most populous portion of the town, and the bridge itself was a generally recognized place of meeting for the transaction of business. In 1670 the merchants met there every Friday morning, forming the first established Exchange in the city.

In 1660 a petition was presented to the "Respected Lords, the Burgomasters and Schepens of Amsterdam in New Netherland," to have a pavement laid on the walks along the banks of the Graft. Among the petitioners were Oloff Stevensen van Courtlandt, Johannes van Bruggh, Isaac, Jacob, and Hendrick Kip, Isaac de Forest, and Maria Geraerd. The petition was granted; the street was surveyed, and the assessments apportioned by Jacques Cortelyou, town surveyor. After the paving, the Heere

Graft was used much more for dwellings, and property rose greatly in value. In 1676 the primitive conditions of commerce, which made the water-course useful, no longer existed; the Heere Graft was filled in, and became Broad Street. Persons owning lots there, besides the petitioners mentioned above, were Nicholas Delaplaine, Abel and Johannes Hardenbrook, Johannes de Peyster, Cornelius de Silla, Conraet Ten Eyck, Guilian Cornelis, Joghem Beeckman, Adriaen Vincent, Jacob van Couwenhoven, Cornelis Melyn, Brandt Schuyler and his wife Cornelia van Courtlandt, Jan de la Montagne and his wife Annetje Waldron, Wilhelm Bogardus, and Jan Vincent.

The site of William Street, south of Wall Street, and the south side of Hanover Square were on land granted to Borger Joris, who kept a blacksmith shop there. William Street and Old Slip were then called Borger Joris's Path, and later Burgher's Path. The name was afterward Smee Straat, and under the English became Smith Street. Abel Hardenbrook and John Ray lived there.

Such were the streets of New Amsterdam in the last years of Dutch supremacy. The town was included in the space bounded on the south by the fort and Whitehall Street, on the west by Broadway, on the north by Wall Street, and on the east by Pearl Street. It was intersected near the middle by the waterway on Broad Street. The large majority of the people lived near the fort and the East River. Two or three streets only had been roughly paved with cobble-stones; the others were muddy

and uneven. The only drainage was a gutter in the middle of the street. Trees abounded both in the streets and in the gardens about the houses. The houses were set irregularly, and generally surrounded by fences to keep out wandering hogs and cows. There was no attempt made to light the streets at night during the Dutch period. At first, horses, cows, goats, and hogs were allowed to run free in the streets and unenclosed grounds; as the town improved, regulations on this subject were made: "On account of damage to roads by rooting of hogs, all inhabitants are ordered to stick a ring through the noses of their animals." Later: "On account of damage to orchards and plantations by hogs and goats, these animals are ordered to be kept within enclosures." In 1650 the fort having been injured and trodden down by animals, Stuyvesant ordered that none should be allowed at large within the city. As nearly every house had its cow, which had to go daily to the common pastures, it was found convenient to have a town herdsman. One Gabriel Carpsey was chosen; and for many years he went each morning from house to house, collected the cattle, and drove them along the Heere Weg to the commons. At night he drove them back; and, as each cow stopped before its familiar gate, he sounded a horn to announce the arrival.

Above the stockade at Wall Street, we find ourselves in the country. Broadway, within the stockade called the Breede Weg, now becomes the Heere Weg. It extended from the Land Gate north as far

as the City Hall Park, then the common pastures called De Vlacke, or Flat. Thence it took a north-easterly course on the line of Park Row, Chatham Street, and the Bowery, as far as New Haarlem, to which village it was extended in 1669.

The land lying between the stockade and Maiden Lane, from river to river, was granted by Director Kieft in 1644 to Jan Jansen Damen, and was occupied by him as a farm. He had married Adriana Cuvilje, widow of Guleyn Vinje. He left no children; but his wife had four by her first husband, who inherited and lived upon this property. They were John Vinje the son, and three daughters, — Maria, wife of Abraham Verplanck; Rachel, wife of Cornelis van Tienhoven; Christina, wife of Dirck Volkertsen.

On the west side of Broadway, next above the Damen farm, was a farm belonging to the West India Company; its boundaries were about the present Fulton and Chambers streets and the North River. On the capture of the town by the English, this land was confiscated and called the King's farm; it was afterward given to the English Church.

North of the King's farm lay a tract of about sixty-two acres. Its boundary line began at a point between Warren and Chambers streets, ran along the site of Broadway about as far as Duane Street, thence northwesterly to the Hudson River. This tract was known as the Domine's bowery. At a very early period in the settlement it was granted by Director Van Twiller to Roeloff Jansen, a superintendent at Rensselaerwyck who had removed

thence to New Amsterdam. Jansen married a woman named Annetje, or Annie, who as Annetje Jans attained a curious fame. On the death of Jansen she inherited the farm, and married Domine Everardus Bogardus. By each husband she had four children. After the death of Bogardus in the wreck of the "Princess," she went to live in Albany, and died there in 1663, leaving a will executed in January of the same year. The will provided that all her property should be divided equally among her eight children, — the four children of Jansen, however, to be first paid one thousand guilders, out of the proceeds of the farm which Annetje had received from their father. The widow's title to the land had been confirmed by Stuyvesant in 1654, and was confirmed again in 1667 by Nichols, the first English governor. In 1670, Governor Lovelace bought the Domine's farm, but only a majority of the heirs signed the deed. Lovelace getting into debt, the property was confiscated by his successor, Governor Andros, and called the Duke's farm after the Duke of York. It was afterward considered to belong to the English Crown, and was granted by Queen Anne to Trinity Church. This land had rented for many years for a few hogs per annum; when Governor Lovelace purchased it, he had not thought it worth while to get a perfect title. But as the town grew and values rose, the heirs of Annetje Jans began to cast longing eyes upon the great patrimony which had been sold for a mess of pottage. The heirs of those of Annetje's children who had not signed the deed claimed that Queen Anne

had no right to convey their share in the property. The first suit to recover possession was brought by Cornelius Brower in 1750, and unsuccessful litigation since that time has kept alive the name of Annetje Jans and her Domine's bowery.

To return to Broadway. Only one street extended eastward connecting Broadway with the East River. This was a path called T'Maagde Paatje, now Maiden Lane, which formed the northern boundary of the Damen farm. Maiden Lane was the first side-street above Wall to be built upon; but although the Damen heirs sold some lots here about 1660, it was many years before the Maiden's Path lost its rural beauties. In 1679 there was an orchard between the present Cedar Street and Maiden Lane. One day a bear was found among the trees feeding upon the fruit, and the neighbours had an exciting time chasing him with clubs from tree to tree.

On the east side of Broadway above the Damen farm was the property of Wilhelm Beeckman. In 1656 Beeckman applied to the burgomasters and schepens, stating that certain persons claimed a right of way across his land, and requested that they be ordered to show their right. The alleged trespassers proved that there had long been a path through Beeckman's by which they drove their cattle to the common. This was the beginning of Beekman Street, but it was not laid out and paved until 1750.

There were no streets parallel to Broadway between it and the East River. Nassau Street was not begun until 1692. In that year we find a "pe-

tition of Teunis de Kay, that a carte-way may be made leading out of the Broad Street to the street that runs by the Pye-woman's leading to the common of this city; that the petitioner will undertake to do the same providing he may have the soyle." This road was called Kip Street in 1732. The Middle Dutch church was erected upon it, which in our own time was used as a temporary post-office, and then torn down to make way for the Mutual Life Insurance Building.

Another road extended out of the town along the shore of the East River from the Water Gate to the Long Island Ferry. It was a continuation of Stone Street, and was called De Smit's Valey. At the corner of this road and Maiden Lane a blacksmith called Cornelius Clopper had set up his forge to get the custom of visitors from Long Island, and his occupation gave the name to the road. For many years the street connecting Wall Street with Franklin Square continued to bear the name, although modified with time to Valey, Vly, and Fly. As it was directly on the shore, houses were built only on its west side, overlooking the river. Pearl Street now occupies its site.

Just outside the Water Gate, Augustyn Heermans had a good house, with an orchard and garden extending back over the present line of Pine Street. Heermans made a drawing of the town as it appeared from the East River in 1656, which remains our best guide as to the appearance of New Amsterdam. Beyond his house, on the Smith's Valey, we find some of the Damen heirs, — John Vinje, and Abra-

ham Verplanck with his sons Isaac and Guleyn. North of them lived Thomas Hall, an Englishman prominent in the affairs of the colony. On his death, the widow sold the property to Wilhelm Beeckman. That part of it called Beekman's swamp afterward belonged to Jacob Leisler, and was confiscated on his attainder. In 1732 Jacobus Roosevelt bought it for £200, and sold it off in lots. It is still known as the Swamp, and is the site of the leather trade. The tanners had first established their pits in the swampy places on Broad Street; thence they had moved to Maiden Lane and the shores of the Fresh Pond; they finally moved to Beekman's swamp, where the leather business has since remained.

The ferry-landing was at Peck Slip. There one Cornelis Dircksen had settled before 1642, and added to his earnings by ferrying to the Long Island shore. As the number of travellers increased, the municipality assumed control of the ferry, and in 1654 regulated its use. Dircksen was given a monopoly of the business, but was compelled to conduct it systematically. He was allowed double fares at night, and might refuse passage during a storm. His wife furnished refreshments and beer to travellers, and Dircksen's became an important place.

North of the common lands, and on the site of the Tombs prison, was a pond called the Kolchhock. The name signified "Shell Point," and was derived from a deposit of shells on a point on the westerly side of the pond. This name was abbre-

viated into Collck, and changed by the English to Collect. A stream ran from the pond to the East River, near the line of Roosevelt Street, and was called by the Dutch the Versch (fresh) Water; the land north of it was called Overyet (beyond) Versch Water. The pond itself was afterward called the Fresh Water by the English. It long remained the favourite fishing-ground for boys; and even as late as 1734 a town law was passed to prevent netting, or the taking of fish in any manner other than angling. Fifty years after the capture of the town by the English, land in the vicinity of the pond sold for twenty-five dollars per acre.

Another outlet of the pond flowed in a north-westerly direction, into the large creek which occupied the site of Canal Street, and mingled its waters with those of the Hudson River. The creek was navigable for small boats. The shores of the pond were a constant camping-ground for Indians; they paddled their canoes from the Hudson up the creek, and nearly to the pond itself. The creek and the marshy lands about it formed a serious obstacle to travel, so that the road northward to Haarlem kept along the east side of the island. It crossed the fresh-water stream by a bridge known afterward as the Kissing Bridge. A few labourers and negroes had houses near the creek, and they were described as living "Aen de Groote Kill," which was the first name for Canal Street. The low lands in the vicinity were called Lispenard's Meadows.

As the dread of Indian hostility passed away, farms were gradually established in the upper part of the island. In Stuyvesant's time there were five boweries between the common-lands and his house, in the neighbourhood of Fourth Avenue and Twelfth Street; but the greater portion of the land was densely wooded. A small hamlet, containing a few houses and farms, called Sapokanican, was the beginning of Greenwich, now comprising most of the eighth and ninth wards of the city. New Haarlem was in its infancy, and growing.

On Stuyvesant's arrival at New Amsterdam in 1647 he found about one hundred and fifty houses and seven hundred people, but not more than one hundred permanent citizens capable of bearing arms. In 1664, when his directorship terminated, there were two hundred and twenty houses and a population of fourteen hundred. The inhabitants of Rensselaerwyck and the other Dutch towns had increased in the same proportion. Ten years later there were three thousand people on Manhattan Island. At the end of the seventeenth century the population had increased to four thousand four hundred, and the commerce of the port had become so considerable that forty square-rigged vessels and sixty-two sloops were entered at one time at the custom-house. Another century passed before the population of New York reached sixty thousand.

When Stuyvesant had restored order in the colony, and particularly after the establishment of municipal government, the emigration from Holland increased considerably, and was of a good character.

Some of the laws made in 1656 by the West India Company for the government of its emigrant-ships may be cited as illustrative of the times: —

"No man shall raise or bring forward any question or argument on the subject of religion, on pain of being placed on bread and water three days in the ship's galley; and if any difficulty should arise out of the said disputes, the author thereof shall be arbitrarily punished.

"If any one quarrel or strike with the fist, he shall be placed three days in irons on bread and water; and whoever draws a knife in anger, or to wound, or to do any person bodily injury, he shall be nailed to the mast with a knife through his hand, and there remain until he draws it through; and if he wound any one, he shall be keel-hauled, forfeiting besides six months' pay. If any person kill another, he shall, while living, be thrown overboard with the corpse, and forfeit all his monthly wages and booty."

The desire to possess lands of their own was the chief attraction to emigrants; and the West India Company, after the fur-trade became unprofitable, could gain only through the sale of its territory, and thus encouraged emigration as much as possible. The new-comers spread over Long Island, northern New Jersey, and the banks of the Hudson River as far as Rensselaerwyck.

In 1655, the burgomasters Allard Anthony and O. S. van Courtlandt requested the director and Council to establish some system for the allotment of land within the city to emigrants wishing to settle

there. Stuyvesant directed the road-masters, together with councillor La Montagne and burgomaster Anthony, to divide the spare land into lots, and to sell them at reasonable prices to persons wishing to build. These commissioners held regular sessions, at which they adjusted conflicting claims, ordered repairs and improvements, sold and gave away lots. The following examples will illustrate their procedure: —

"Jan Videt asks permission to build on the ground heretofore given to Daniel Teneur, which has not been built upon. *Answer.* Jan's application is refused, because on the ground asked for a corner house should be built, and he wishes to build little houses thereon.

"Albert Jansen requests that, inasmuch as he is ready to build a house, a piece of ground may be given him, which is acceded to, and he may have the ground next to that of Jannette Boon."

Until 1653, the government of the colony was conducted arbitrarily by the director and his Council, who acted with the authority of the States-General of Holland, but more particularly as the servants of the West India Company. The director's commands were announced by proclamations. In 1648 Stuyvesant thus ordained a proper observance of Sunday: "Whereas the Sabbath in various ways has been profaned and desecrated, to the great scandal, offence, and reproach of the community: . . . Therefore the director-general and Council for the purpose of averting as much as lies in their power the dreaded wrath and punishment of God, through

this sin and other misdemeanours, . . . ordain that from this time forth, in the afternoon as well as in the forenoon, there shall be preaching from God's Word." All the Company's servants were ordered to attend the services, and "tapping" during the day was forbidden. Similar proclamations were issued against brawling, drunkenness, and other misdemeanours as circumstances called for them.

At first, the only courts of justice in New Netherland were those held by the patroon's agent at Rensselaerwyck and by the director at New Amsterdam. Town courts were established on Long Island at Heempstede in 1644, at Gravesend in 1645, and at Breukelen in 1646. Stuyvesant and his Council at first undertook to hear all lawsuits arising in New Amsterdam at their own court. But the amount of business soon became embarrassing. Many suits of trifling importance were brought. The attention of the director and Council was drawn by them from more important matters, and at the same time the delays were becoming vexatious to litigants. Hence, in 1647, when Stuyvesant found it necessary to attract popular support by the appointment of the Nine Men, he placed upon their shoulders the duty of hearing the cases of lesser moment. Three of the Nine sat in rotation as a court of arbitrators, their decisions subject to appeal to the director's Council. The pressure was somewhat relieved by this means, but dissatisfaction with the administration of justice continued to prevail. Stuyvesant was far from being fitted for a judicial position; his temper carried him away; his preju-

dices caused him to adopt one side or the other impetuously before he had heard the whole case. In court he browbeat one side or the other, and when resisted he "made a to-do that was dreadful." This continued to the distress of the colony until Van der Donck and his companions obtained their reforms in Holland, and a government by burgomasters and schepens was established in New Amsterdam in 1654. Henceforth Stuyvesant governed New Netherland for the West India Company, but New Amsterdam became a free Dutch town. The administration of justice as well as the regulation of the municipality was conducted by the burgomasters and schepens during the remainder of the Dutch possession. In 1655, a separate "Orphan's Court" was established for surrogate cases.

The scene of the meetings of the burgomasters and schepens was the two-story stone building erected by director Kieft in 1642 as a tavern, then called the Harberg, and under the management of the inn-keeper, Philip Gerritsen, who there retailed the Company's wines. Stuyvesant gave the building to the municipal government in 1654, to be used as a town hall, after which it was called the Stadt Huys. It stood on Pearl Street, opposite Coenties Slip, at high-water mark, overlooking the East River. Before it was the walk along the Schoeyinge, called De Waal, or Lang t'Wall; behind it was a garden fronting on Hoogh (or Stone) Street. In the tavern days this space was used for growing vegetables; but after the building became the town hall, the burgomasters' secretary was allowed to raise a crop of

grain in the garden for his own use. In 1659, Evert Duyckinck engraved the city arms on a window-pane in the council-chamber, where for forty years it was pointed out with pride. On the roof was a cupola, where in 1656 was placed a bell, rung for the assemblage of the magistrates and on the publication of proclamations, which was done from the front steps. Jan Gillisen, nicknamed "Koeck," held the office of bell-ringer for many years. The Stadt Huys contained a council-chamber, town offices, and a prison. In 1697 the building had become so old and insecure that the judges refused to hold court in it. A new town hall was built in Wall Street, opposite Broad; and the old Stadt Huys, with its garden, was sold at auction for £920 to John Rodman, a merchant.

The town magistrates were eight in number, — a schout or sheriff, two burgomasters, and five schepens. When the States-General granted municipal government to New Amsterdam, they intended these offices to be elective. But Stuyvesant, as we have seen, ignored their intention, and appointed the first set himself. Half of the officers retired each year, and their places were filled according to the following method: The schout, on behalf of the director's Council, appeared at the meeting and requested the burgomasters and schepens to nominate a list of men of "goed naem and faem staen" (of good name and standing), from which the director and his Council should choose magistrates for the next year. Each burgomaster and schepen made out a separate list; they were compared, and the per-

sons receiving the highest number of votes were declared in nomination. From these Stuyvesant then made his choice.

Among the magistrates who held office during Stuyvesant's time may be mentioned the following: *Schouts* — Cornelis van Tienhoven, Nicasius de Sille, Pieter Tonneman, Allard Anthony. *Burgomasters* — Arent van Hatten, Martin Cregier, Allard Anthony, Oloff Stevensen van Courtlandt, Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist, Cornelis Steenwyck. *Schepens* — Wilhelm Beeckman, Pieter Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, Johannes de Peyster, Jacob Strycker, Johannes van Bruggh, Hendrick Kip, Govert Loockermans, Adriaen Blommaert, Hendrick Jansen Vandervin, Isaac de Forest, Jacob Kip, Jeroninus Ebbingh.

The magistrates were treated by the people with much respect, and were generally addressed as "Most worshipful lords." But they seemed to have no confirmed official titles; and when Stuyvesant addressed them, he adopted a form which suited the importance of the communication or his own momentary humour. Thus, in announcing to the magistrates a Fast Day, he directed his letter to "The Most Worshipful, Most Prudent, and very Discreet, their High Mightinesses, the Burgomasters and Schepens of Nieuw Amsterdam." When he had occasion to request them to adopt regulations to keep pigs out of the fort, he addressed them as "Respected and particularly dear friends." But when a quarrel had arisen between the director and the municipal authorities on the subject of the propriety of a game called "Riding the Goose,"

Stuyvesant addressed his angry reproofs to "The Small Bench of Justices."

In 1654 the salary of the burgomasters was fixed at about one hundred and forty dollars, and that of the schepens at one hundred dollars. But the salaries were to be paid out of the municipal "chest," which was always empty. The magistrates grumbled occasionally, and hoped for better times when the arrears might be collected. But those times never came, and they were obliged to be satisfied with the dignity of office, with the title of "worshipful lord," and the separate pew in church, where they sat in state on cushions brought over from the Stadt Huys by the sexton.

The schout's duties combined in a primitive fashion those of a sheriff and district attorney. He prosecuted offenders, executed judgments, and supervised the order of the town. Nicasius de Sille used to complain that when he made his rounds after dark, the boys would annoy him by shouting "Indians!" from behind the fences and raising false alarms.

The duties of the burgomasters and schepens were of two kinds. They regulated the affairs of the town like a board of aldermen, and they sat as a court of justice both civil and criminal.

Among their proceedings we find ordinances forbidding galloping through the streets and shooting partridges or other game within the town limits; ordering horses and oxen to be led through the streets by the head, and children to be catechised on Sunday; regulating the value of wampum and the

prices of various commodities. But although these municipal powers were usually conceded to the magistrates, the director and his Council reserved the right to make regulations overriding those of the burgomasters and schepens. Thus the arbitrary spirit of Stuyvesant continued to obstruct the free institutions which the States-General intended to implant in New Netherland. One day an order issued from the fort forbidding the game of "Riding the Goose" at the feast of Backus and Shrove-tide. The order was very unpopular, and the magistrates at the Stadt Huys felt aggrieved that it should have been proclaimed without any consultation with them. "Aggrieved, forsooth!" wrote Stuyvesant, haughtily, "because the director-general had done this without their consent and knowledge! As if without the knowledge and consent of the burgomasters and schepens no order can be made, no mob interdicted from celebrating the feast of Backus; much less have the privilege of correcting such persons as tread under foot the Christian and holy precepts, without the knowledge and consent of a little bench of justices! Appreciating their own authority, quality, and commission better than others, the director and Council hereby make known to the burgomasters and schepens that the institution of a little bench of justices under the name of the schout, burgomasters, and schepens, or commissioners, does in no wise diminish aught of the power of the director-general and councillors."

The first police and fire departments were established by the burgomasters and schepens. In 1658

was organized the "ratel wacht," or rattle-watch. The first watchmen were Pieter Jansen, Hendrick van Bommel, Jan Cornelsen van Vlensburg, Jan Pietersen, Gerrit Pietersen, Jan Jansen van Langstraat, Hendrick Ruyter, Jacques Pryn, and Tomas Verdran. The wages were twenty-four stuyvers per night, to have "one or two beavers besides, and two or three hundred sticks of firewood." The captain of the watch, Ludowyck Pos, was authorized to collect monthly from each house the sum of fifty stuyvers to meet the expenses. The following rules of the watch were adopted: —

"When any one comes on the watch being drunk, or in any way insolent or unreasonable in his behaviour, he shall be committed to the square-room or to the battlements of the town hall, and shall besides pay six stuyvers.

"When any one shall hold watch in the battlements, he shall diligently be on the lookout; and if he be found asleep during his hours of watch, he shall forfeit ten stuyvers.

"If any one be heard to blaspheme the name of God, he shall forfeit ten stuyvers.

"If any one attempt to fight when on the watch, or tries to draw off from the watch for the purpose of fighting, he shall forfeit two guilders.

"When they receive their quarter money, they shall not hold any gathering for drink or any club meeting.

"They shall at all corners of the streets, between the ninth hour of the evening and the break of morning, call out the time of night and how late it is."

The customary thatched roofs, wooden chimneys, and hay-stacks near the houses were a constant source of danger from fire. An order was issued in 1655 forbidding the future construction of wooden chimneys between the fort and the Fresh Water. Adriaen Keyser, Thomas Hall, Martin Cregier, and Joris Wolsey were appointed wardens to enforce the regulation. But it was not until 1657, when it was evident that one fire might sweep the town, that systematic precautions were adopted. In that year all wooden chimneys, thatched roofs, hay-stacks, hen-houses, and hog-pens within the town wall were ordered to be removed. The burgomasters and schepens levied a tax on each house, great or small, of one beaver-skin, or eight guilders in seawant, to furnish fire-buckets, ladders, and hooks. To maintain them a yearly tax of one guilder was collected for every chimney. The shoemakers were called before the burgomasters, and it was agreed with Remout Remoutsen and Adriaen van Lair to make two hundred and fifty buckets for six guilders two stuyvers each; payment, — half beavers, half seawant. The ladders were placed at convenient points in the streets. The buckets were distributed as follows: in the Stadt Huys, fifty; in Abraham Verplanck's house in the Smith's Valey, twelve; in Johannes Pietersen van Bruggh's, twelve; in Heer Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist's, twelve; in Heer Nicasius de Sille's, in the Sheep Path, twelve; in Pieter Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven's, twelve; in Hendrick Hendricksen Kip's, ten.

The burgomasters and schepens met as a civil and criminal court once a fortnight; and when business required it, once a week. A recess of a month took place about Christmas-time, and no sittings were held during the harvest. At nine o'clock Jan Gillisen Koeck rang the court-house bell; and inside the council-chamber Johannes Nevius turned the hour-glass, and fined all persons who were late. The burgomasters and schepens sat on benches provided with cushions, the same which on Sundays were carried to their pew in church. Behind them was the coat-of-arms of New Netherland, sent over from Holland. Johannes Nevius had charge of the law-library, to which the court resorted when in doubt. Among the books were "Placards, Ordinances, and Octroys of the Honourable, Great, and Mighty Lords, the States of Holland and of West Friesland," "The By-laws of Amsterdam," and "The Dutch Court Practice and Laws." Claes van Elslant, son of the old sexton, was court-messenger; Pieter Schaafbanck was jailer; and Matthew de Vos, bailiff. Proceedings were opened by a prayer from the domine.

Litigants nearly always appeared in person, and presented their own cases. Van der Donck, who was an educated lawyer, requested permission of the College of the XIX., in 1653, to practise at New Amsterdam; but he was allowed only to give advice, on the ground that "as there was no other lawyer in the colony there would be none to oppose him." There were several notaries. Dirck van Schelluyne, who came out in 1641, was the first; others were

David Provoost, Solomon La Chair, Van der Veen, Van Vleck, and Pelgrum Clocq. These men could draw wills and deeds, and their knowledge of legal forms was sufficient for the simple needs of their clients. If they made a mistake, the Worshipful Court was not slow in its reprimand. Pelgrum Clocq drew up a deed without procuring the appointment of a guardian for an infant, whereupon he was thus addressed in open court: —

"*Whereas*, you, Pelgrum Clocq, in the above and other of your instruments, have committed great abuses, wherefrom serious mischiefs might arise; and, according to the law of the Orphan Chambers, no notary can draw up any instrument relating to widows and orphans without a chosen guardian, — therefore you are hereby ordered and charged by the burgomasters and schepens of this town not to draw up within six weeks from date any instrument appertaining to the Subaltern court of this town."

The proceedings of the court may be shown best by reciting some cases, and their disposition.

"Jan Haeckins, plaintiff, demands payment from Jacob van Couwenhoven, defendant, for certain beer sold him according to contract. The defendant says the beer is bad. Plaintiff denies that the beer is bad, and asks whether people would buy it if it were not good. He further insists that the beer is of good quality, and such as is made for exportation. Couwenhoven denies this, and requests that after the rising of the bench the court may come over and try the beer, and then decide. The parties having been heard, it was ordered that after the

meeting breaks up the beer shall be tried, and if good, then Couwenhoven shall make payment according to the contract; if otherwise, the plaintiff shall make deduction."

Wolfert Webber, plaintiff, against Judith Verleth, defendant: "The plaintiff makes complaint that the defendant has for a long time pestered him, and with her sister Sara came over to his house last week and beat him in his own house, and afterward threw stones at him. He requests that said Judith may be ordered to let him live quietly in his own house. The defendant acknowledges that she has struck Webber, but excuses the act because he has called her names; moreover, he once threatened to strike her with a broom. The parties are ordered to leave each other unmolested." Webber is fined twelve stuyvers for passing the lie during the meeting.

Certain domestic troubles between Arent Juniaansen Lantsman and his wife Beletje, the daughter of Ludowyck Pos, having been brought to the notice of the court, the matter was referred to the Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, who were requested to reconcile the pair. "Then, on the promise of amendment and that such should not occur again, shall the past be forgiven; but if one or the other party shall not abide by nor submit to advice and arbitration of the reverend preachers between this and the next court day, then proceedings may be expected according to the style and custom of law, as an example to other evil housekeepers."

Pieter Kock and Anna van Voorst having entered

into an agreement of marriage, and then having shown unwillingness to fulfil the engagement, "the burgomasters and schepens by these presents decide, that as the promise of marriage has been made before the Omniscient God it shall remain in force; so that neither the plaintiff nor defendant, without the approbation of their lordships the magistrates and the other one of the registered parties, shall be permitted to enter matrimony with any other, whether single man or single woman."

As there was no prison for criminals, they were punished by fines, whipping, branding, the stocks, the ducking-stool, labour with negroes, riding on a wooden-horse, and banishment. The rack was used to threaten with; but it is unlikely that there ever was a rack on Manhattan Island. In criminal cases the schout prosecuted.

Hannen Barentzen was sentenced to be chastised with the rod and banished from the town for five years for stealing three half beavers, two nose-cloths, and a pair of linen stockings. Mesaack Martens stole cabbages from Pieter Jansen, in the Maiden Lane. He had to stand in the pillory with cabbages on his head, and was then banished for five years. Jan Alleman, an officer in the fort, was sentenced to ride the wooden-horse and to be cashiered for sending a challenge to Jan de Fries who was *bed-ridden*. Abel Hardenbrook was fined forty guilders for having "at night and at unseasonable hours, in company with some soldiers, created an uproar and great insolence in the street by breaking windows." Madaleen Vincent accused Wilhelm Beeckman and

the schout-fiscal of winning her husband's money at play, and of leading him into evil courses. She could not prove her allegations, and so was fined sixty guilders. Pieter Pietersen Smit called Joghem Beeckman a "black pudding;" Isaac Bedlo called Joost Goderis a "horned beast." The slanderers were fined.

An aggravated case was that of the schout Anthony de Mill against Abel Hardenbrook. "The Heer Schout complains that the defendant Hardenbrook has shoved him on the breast, and abused him with foul and unseemly language, wishing that the devil should break his neck, when, on the third September last, the Heer Plaintiff repaired, by order of the burgomasters and schepens, to defendant's house, to warn his wife that she should not go again to the house of the Heer Burgomaster Johannes de Peyster, as she now had twice done, to make trouble there; also had obstinately refused to obey the order of the burgomasters and schepens as well as the court-messenger Henry Newton, the burgomaster Luyck, and Heer Schepen Wilhelm Beeckman, as to him the plaintiff; and that the said delinquent being in the evening a prisoner at the town hall, in the chamber of Pieter Schaefbanck, carried on and made a racket like one possessed and mad, notwithstanding the efforts of the Heer Burgomaster Johannes van Bruggh, running up to the court-room and going away next morning as if he had not been imprisoned. . . . All which ought in no manner to be tolerated in a well-ordered burghery, being directly contrary to the customs and provisions of the laws. . . . The burgomasters and

schepens, having heard the delinquent's excuse and the arguments between parties, and examined the evidence produced, condemn the delinquent in a fine or penalty of twenty-five florins in beavers; further, that the delinquent for the assault shall beg pardon of the Court, God, and Justice, and pay the costs incurred herein."

The magistrates were careful to uphold the dignity of public office. When the fire inspectors were going about ordering the demolition of wooden chimneys, Solomon la Chair lost his temper, and abused the inspectors, calling them, among other names, "chimney-sweepers." His conduct having come to the knowledge of the court, he was fined, and a messenger was sent to collect the fine. Solomon paid it with the contemptuous remark, "Is it to have a little cock booted and spurred that I am to give it?" For this the court imposed a further fine of twelve guilders, on the ground that "it is not seemly that men should mock and scoff at persons appointed to any office, — yea, a necessary office." The house of Pietertje Jans was sold on an execution for debt. Whereupon she declared publicly to the officers of the court, "Ye despoilers! ye bloodsuckers! ye have not sold, but given away my house!" The officers complained that such words were "a sting that cannot be endured." Whereupon Pietertje was brought before the magistrates, and reprimanded in the following terms:

"*Whereas*, thou, Pietertje Jans, hast presumed shamefully to attack honourable people with foul, villainous, injurious words, — yea, infamous words;

also insulting, defaming, affronting, and reproaching the Worshipful Court of this town, publicly on the highway, to avenge the loss which thou hast caused thyself in regard that thy house and lot were sold on an execution, — which blasphemy, insult, affront, and reproach cannot be tolerated or suffered to be done to a private individual, more especially to the court aforesaid, but must in the highest degree be reprimanded, particularly corrected, and severely punished as criminal: Therefore the heeren of the court hereby interdict and forbid you to indulge in such blasphemies for the future, or by neglect the judge shall hereafter provide for it."

The notary Walewyn van der Veen was in contempt of court several times. On one occasion, when a case had been decided against him, he spoke of the magistrates as "simpletons and blockheads." The court decided that "Van der Veen, for his committed insult, shall here beg forgiveness, with uncovered head, of God, Justice, and the Worshipful Court, and moreover pay as a fine one hundred and ninety guilders." On another occasion, when the secretary Johannes Nevius declined to show him some records, Van der Veen called him a "rascal," and said further, "Had I you at another place I would teach you something else." The secretary complained to the burgomasters and schepens of this treatment, and the schout, as prosecutor, presented the case to the court, saying: "That in consequence of the slander and affront offered to plaintiff in scolding him as a rascal,

which affects his honour, being tender; and as the Honourable and Worshipful Court is not willing to be attended by a rascally secretary, — he demands a fine of fifty guilders, that it may serve as an example to all other slanderers, who for trifles have constantly in their mouths curses and abuse of other honourable people."

Until the adoption of the burgher government the finances of New Amsterdam were entirely in the hands of the West India Company. But in 1654, when the director found himself confronted by a debt of seven thousand guilders incurred in preparing for the expected hostilities with New England, he resolved to shift the burden upon the new magistrates, and directed them to consider the means to pay the debt. A special meeting was held for the purpose, the following being present: Arent van Hatten, Martin Cregier, Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist, Pieter Couwenhoven, Wilhelm Beeckman, and Martin van Gheel. The importance of the issue made it advisable to secure the support of the Commonalty, and a number of burghers were requested to attend in an advisory capacity, among whom were Johannes Pietersen van Bruggh, Johannes Gilliesen van Bruggh, Jacob van Couwenhoven, Govert Loockermans, Oloff Stevensen van Courtlandt, Abram Verplanck, Johannes de Peyster, and Coenraet Ten Eyck. The burgomasters and schepens, with the concurrence of the private burghers, decided that the duty of defending the town belonged to the West India Company, and that the Commonalty was not liable for the debt. They

would take no steps in the matter until the director-general abandoned his excise on wine and beer, when they would find means to raise the necessary money. Stuyvesant refused to give up the obnoxious excise, saying that it had already been paid into the Company's counting-house. The magistrates held another meeting, and declared positively that they would do nothing toward paying the debt until the excise was transferred to the treasury of the burgomasters and schepens. If any calamity resulted, they held themselves blameless. The director was obliged to yield, and relinquished the "tapster's excise" to the town authorities, with the only condition that the salaries of Domines Megapolensis and Drisius should be paid out of it. This was the first revenue coming to the town of New Amsterdam.

Having gained this point, the burgomasters and schepens raised the seven thousand guilders in 1655 by a direct tax on the citizens in proportion to their supposed wealth. A considerable number not only paid the sum levied upon them, but added a further voluntary contribution. The largest payments were made by P. Stuyvesant, C. van Tienhoven, A. Anthony, O. S. van Courtlandt, T. W. van Couwenhoven, J. P. van Bruggh, C. Steenwyck, Govert Loockermans, Jacobus Backer, J. L. van der Grist, J. van Couwenhoven, P. L. van der Grist, Jo. Nevius, Jo. de Peyster, Martin Cregier, Domine Megapolensis, Domine Drisius, Jeremias van Rensselaer, Isaac de Forest, Cornelis van Ruyven, Wilhelm Beeckman, Hendrick van Dyck, Ludowyck

Kip, Arent van Corlaer, Jacob Kip, Isaac Kip, Conraet Ten Eyck, Abram Verplanck, P. C. van der Veen, H. J. Vandervin.

The next year the town was again in financial straits. The town wall, the schoeyinge, the Stadt Huys, the watchroom, the schoolhouse, and the graft were all in need of repairs, for which the excise duties were far from sufficient. The burgomasters and schepens applied in vain to the West India Company for relief. Stuyvesant was resolved that the Stadt Huys should get no help from the Fort. The next year, 1657, matters were not improved, as the records show: —

"Hendrick Hendricksen, drummer, attended the meeting of the burgomasters, and requested payment of promised yearly wages; but as the chest at present is not well supplied, the applicant is requested to wait until the first convenient opportunity, when he shall be satisfied.

"Jan Jansen, woodcutter, left at the meeting his account for timber and other work for the town; but since he is not present himself, and the chest is not well supplied, the consideration of the same is put off."

In 1658 the burgomasters and schepens placed taxes upon land-transfers, taverns, and slaughtered cattle, and managed to raise sufficient money to meet the necessary expenses of the town. But the chest never contained enough to pay their own salaries.

There was very little gold or silver money at New Amsterdam. In their place beaver and other skins

and the Indian wampum, or seawant, served as a medium of exchange in cases where simple barter was inconvenient. The beaver-skin was the standard. The West India Company paid eight guilders for a beaver over its counter, and thus its value was fixed. Inferior skins brought less, and so their condition entered into every bargain. The seawant derived its value from its purchasing power with the Indians. As beaver-skins grew scarcer, it required more seawant to buy one: hence this currency depreciated steadily. The buyer and the seller had to come to an agreement as to the amount of beavers and seawant an article was worth.

The foreign trade of New Amsterdam was made up by the exportation of skins and tobacco, and the importation of tools, clothing, and articles adapted to Indian exchange. Until 1660 the foreign trade was limited to Holland, — a circumstance which restricted the enterprise of New Amsterdam merchants, and caused much complaint. In that year trading was allowed with France, Spain, Italy, and the West India Islands, on payment of duties; and this extension brought added prosperity during the few years which remained of Dutch rule. It was not until after the English occupation, when New York became a grain-producing and exporting country, that wealth became considerable. The peltry-trade alone was never sufficient to meet the wants of the colony.

Several causes tended to reduce the profits of the Dutch-Indian trade. The French in Canada became

active competitors; as New Netherland grew, the Indians were pushed into the interior, and skins were less easily obtained. But the most serious cause was the intrusion of foreign traders, who sailed past New Amsterdam, outbid the Dutchmen at the trading-posts up the river, and gradually stole away their business. Even in the town the foreign peddlers, who kept no "fire and light," were reaping profits which belonged to Dutch citizens. Realizing the injury which resulted to permanent settlers by the operations of these "base, itinerant dealers," who bore no share in the expense of government, the burgomasters and schepens petitioned the director and Council to withdraw the privilege of free trade from foreigners; to make them keep open shop in New Amsterdam, and pay the usual taxes.

In February, 1657, Stuyvesant and his Council limited the right of trade to recognized citizens; and in order to draw the line between them and the foreigners, an institution called the "Great and Small Citizenship" was established. The Great Citizens were to be: (1) Those who have been or are members of the supreme government, with descendants in the male line; (2) Past and present burgomasters and schepens in the town with their descendants; (3) Former and present ministers of the gospel, with their descendants; and (4) Officers of the militia, with their descendants. Other persons could obtain the distinction by paying fifty guilders. The Small Citizens were to be: (1) Residents for one year and six weeks, who have kept fire and light; (2) All born

in the town; (3) All who have married daughters of citizens born in the town; and (4) All who have opened a store, and paid to the burgomasters twenty guilders. The distinction created between Great and Small Citizens was declared to be "grounded in reason," and to be "in conformity with the customs of the city of Amsterdam in Europe." But very few of the burghers considered the rank of Great Citizens to be worth fifty guilders. The names on the list were nearly all of persons who had held office; others who desired enrolment for business reasons contented themselves with the Small Citizenship. Of these there were two hundred.

Until 1656, the shores of the Heere Graft formed the market-place of the town. There the Indians drew up their canoes and bartered their beaver-skins. There the farmer from Long Island, from Bergen, Nieuw Haarlem, or Gamoenepa, exchanged his vegetables and fruits for tools, clothing, sugar, and beer. In 1648 was inaugurated the annual fair called the Kermis, which began on the first Monday after the feast of Saint Bartholomew and continued for ten days. All comers sold their goods from tents. In 1656, it became evident that better means were required to bring together the producer and consumer; and the magistrates proclaimed, "Whereas, divers articles, such as meat, pork, butter, cheese, turnips, cabbage, and other country produce, are from time to time brought here for sale by the people living in the country, and oftentimes wait at the strand without the people living out of that immedi-

ate neighbourhood knowing that such things are for sale in the town: Therefore it is ordered that from this time forward, Saturday in each week shall be appointed as market-day, the articles to be brought on the beach, near Mr. Hans Kierstede's house; of which all shall take notice." This spot remained for many years a resort for dealers in country produce. In 1659 a yearly cattle-market was established by the burgomasters and schepens for "fat cattle, steers, cows, sheep, goats, hogs, bucks, and such like." It opened on October 20, and lasted till the end of November. The site was the present Bowling Green, where shambles were erected and "the key given to Andries the baker, to keep oversight of the same." Posts were set up along Broadway opposite the churchyard, to which the animals were attached pending sale. The proclamation for this market was translated into English and sent to Standtfort, Uncque, Suidhampton, Suidhool, Straatfoort, Milfort, and Oosthampton. This fair was held for more than thirty years. During its continuance no visitor could be arrested for debt, and the attendance was large from Connecticut and all parts of New Netherland. The fish-market was at Coenties Slip, so-called because the land in this vicinity was the property of Conraet Ten Eyck, who was familiarly known as Coentje.

Of separate shops there were none; but many of the merchants used parts of the ground-floor of their houses as retail stores, especially those living on the Hoogh Straat. Most of these were general stores, in which hardware, dry-goods, and wines were

all sold. Cornelis Steenwyck, at the corner of Bridge and Whitehall streets, made a specialty of dry-goods, and grew rich by selling petticoats, linen, and ribbons to the women, breeches and shirts to the men. Steenwyck's was the most fashionable store, and much frequented by the "vrows."

When Peter Stuyvesant came out as director, the houses of New Amsterdam were nearly all poorly built of wood, with thatched roofs and wooden chimneys; but with the return of peace and prosperity the town was gradually rebuilt. By 1664, when the Dutch rule terminated, there were about two hundred and fifty houses, of which a considerable number were of a substantial character. Small coloured bricks, and black and yellow tiles for roofs, were imported from Holland; and it was the ambition of the wealthier Dutch citizens to construct their houses of these. The buildings stood with the gable end toward the street, the roof rising to a peak by a series of steps. The stoop was made an important feature; there the burgher sat with his family on pleasant evenings. Connected with every house of any pretension was a garden, where kitchen vegetables and flowers were cultivated. In some cases these gardens were made highly ornamental, and the subject of family pride. The improvement in the appearance of the town was gradual, but continuous. After the haystacks, piggeries, and other unsightly objects had been suppressed by the magistrates, and the streets straightened and paved, the citizens made individual efforts to adorn their properties, which soon changed the appearance of New

Amsterdam very much for the better. The water supply during this period was derived from wells near the houses, and from streams and springs when convenient. Later on, public wells were dug in various parts of the town.

In the interior of the houses we see the same improvement keeping pace with prosperity. The floors were covered with a thin layer of sand drawn by the broom into quaint figures. Carpets were long in coming into use. There was one in Cornelis Steenwyck's "great chamber" when he died in 1686, and by that time the parlours of the principal citizens probably had them. There were "tabby" curtains at the windows. The principal articles of furniture, imported from Holland and handed down from father to son, were the sideboard, with its pewter and sometimes silver or china furniture, the sofa and chairs in the best room, the four-posted bed, the linen chest, and the hand-loom. As it appears by the inventories of deceased persons, the furniture increased very much in quantity and value as time went on. Before 1650 people had only the most necessary articles; after 1670 a great increase in wealth and comfort appears. Dr. Jacob Lange died in 1685. Enumerated as part of his estate were a sword with silver handle, another with an iron handle, a carbine, a pistol, a cane with silver head, and another with ivory head. Among his clothing were found a gros-grained cloak lined with silk, a black broadcloth suit, a coloured serge suit with silver buttons, silk and calico drawers, silk night-caps, a pair of yellow hand-gloves with black silk fringe, five

white calico stockings, and two worsted stockings. Dr. Lange's wife had when she died red and scarlet under-petticoats, cloth petticoats with black lace, striped stuffed petticoats, coloured drugget petticoats with various coloured linings and lace, black silk petticoats with gray silk lining, black pottofoo petticoats with black and gray silk linings: these petticoats were valued at £30. Besides these she had a black tartanel samare with a tucker, a flowered calico samare, flowered and red calico night-gowns, silk and red calico waistcoats, a bodice, white cotton stockings, five black love-hoods, one white love-hood, sleeves with great lace, cornet caps with and without lace, a black silk rain-cloth, a yellow love-hood, a black plush mask, an embroidered purse with silver bugle and chain to the girdle, a silver hook and eye, five small East India boxes, five hair-curlings, four yellow love-drowlas, one silver thread-wrought small trunk, in which was the following jewelry: a pair of black pendants with gold hooks, a gold boat, wherein were thirteen diamonds to one white coral chain, one pair gold pendants in each ten diamonds, two diamond rings, one gold ring, and another gold ring with diamonds.

When Cornelis Steenwyck died in 1686, he left seven hundred and twenty-three ounces of silver plate and £300 in money. Among the articles found in his house, apart from the store, were a gold chain and medal, a child's whistle, coats and breeches with silver buttons and buckles, rush-leather chairs, velvet chairs with fine silver lace, tables, a cabinet, a looking-glass, thirteen pictures, bedsteads,

ten pieces of china, five alabaster images, tapestry for twelve cushions, a great deal of pewter, and some watches and clocks which were out of order. Probably purchased at Steenwyck's store were the following articles of men's dress, which are elsewhere enumerated: green silk breeches flowered with silver and gold, silver gauze breeches, scarlet stockings, blue silk stockings, laced shirts, laced neck-cloths, a lacquer hat, bob wigs and periwigs.

Elizabeth van Es died in 1694, aged seventy years. Her inventory contains the goods in the shop, a share in a brigantine, a negro-boy Toby, two bands of seawant, two breast-plates of seawant, one silver tankard, one silver beker, one silver mustard-pot, three gold hoop-rings, two gold rings with stones, one hundred and three beaver-skins, eighteen otters, twenty-three maters, nine fishers, eight minks, two cats, eighteen rat-skins, forty-nine hespannen, nine gray squirrels, one red squirrel, seven bear-skins, one wolf, one beaver-rock, two Bibles with silver clasps and two Dutch Bibles, a New Testament with silver clasps, and two catechisms. Her library — which was a good sample of the contemporary bookshelf — contained "Isaac Ambrosius," "Housewife," Howin's "Church History," French "Flock of Israel," Coleman's "Christian Interest," "Christ's Ways and Works," Dewitt's "Catechism," Duyken's "Church History."

In Stuyvesant's time domestic servants were rare; the housework was performed by the housewife and her daughters. In a few of the wealthier families one or two Dutch domestics were employed as

apprentices; but as their term of service expired they usually married. The same difficulty prevailed in regard to male labourers. Thus, a ready market was found for African negroes when Dutch traders brought them to Manhattan Island. In 1629 the West India Company promised to supply negro slaves to the colony as fast as possible; but for many years the arrivals were few, and these served as labourers for the Company. The treatment of them was humane, and freedom was generally within their reach as a reward of good conduct. In 1644 a number of slaves petitioned Kieft to free them, on the ground of long service. The petition was granted as to themselves and their wives, but not as to their children. The freedmen were placed on the same footing with other citizens, except that they had to pay a yearly tribute to the Company. In 1646, on request of Domine Megapolensis, a slave named Jan Francisco was freed in consequence of faithful service, on condition of paying the Company ten skepels of wheat annually. Negroes were brought to New Amsterdam only from the West Indies until 1654, when the first cargo arrived direct from Africa. The slave-trade was allowed to citizens of New Netherland, but was not participated in by them until the end of the century. The negroes seemed to have fared well at the hands of the Dutch citizens, and to have been orderly and contented. At the end of the century they had increased in number, and were generally employed as domestic servants. At that time, we find that the widow Van Courtlandt had seven adults

and two children; Colonel de Peyster, the same number. William Beeckman had three; Rip van Dam, five and one child. The widow Philipse had four, and three children. Members of the Kip family had twelve. Mrs. Stuyvesant had five; Balthazar Bayard, six; John van Horn, four; Jacobus van Courtland, four and a child; David Provoost, Jr., three; Col. Nicholas Bayard, three; Abraham Loockermans, five and three children. Rebecca van Schaick had three.

During the rule of the West India Company building-lots were conveyed to settlers at nominal prices, and until near the end of Dutch control real-estate values remained very low. About 1660 there was a decided advance, following on increased prosperity; and this advance continued steadily. In 1647 a farm of two hundred acres near Haarlem brought forty dollars. In 1667 the house and lot on west side of Broadway, near Morris Street, brought three hundred dollars. In the same year the house and lot next north of Trinity churchyard, fifty by ninety feet, was sold for seventy-five dollars. In 1682 a lot on Wall Street brought thirty dollars. In 1683 a lot on Pearl Street, near John, brought one hundred and fifty dollars. In 1700 Wall Street had become a favourite locality, and a lot on the corner of Wall and Broad was sold for $815. The following is a record of a contract of sale of real estate made in Stuyvesant's time: —

"Before me, Cornelius van Tienhoven, secretary of New Netherland, appeared Harck Sybesen, who acknowledged to having sold to Barent Dircksen his

house and lot, earth and nail-fast, both big and little, as the same is situated on the Island of Manhattan, near Fort Amsterdam, — which Dircksen also acknowledges to have purchased for one hundred and seventy-five guilders, and a half-barrel of beer as a treat for the company, to be paid in fourteen days, when the delivery of the house and dependencies shall take place. It is agreed that if either party backs out, or repents of the sale, he shall pay a half-barrel of beer."

The descriptions of property transferred were usually rather indefinite. When Govert Loockermans purchased the land near Hanover Square, on which he lived, it was thus described in the deed, dated 1642: "A dwelling-house and lot situated on East River, on Manhattan Island, beginning at a brook of fresh water emptying into the East River, till to the farm of Cornelius van Tienhoven, whose palisades extend from the long highway toward the East River, as may be seen by the marks by him made bordering on the aforesaid land, from the fence to the great tree."

In the disposition of property by will, the general custom among the Dutch was for the husband and wife to inherit absolutely from each other. The married pair appeared before a notary and declared such to be their wish, "out of love and special nuptial affection." When husband or wife married a second time, it was arranged that the property of the deceased should eventually go to his or her children. The children inherited equally, without regard to sex or priority of birth. "An instance of which I

remember," said Wooley, "in one Frederick Philipse, the richest Mein Heer in that place, who was said to have whole hogsheads of wampum, who, having one son and one daughter, I was admiring what a heap of wealth the son would enjoy; to which a Dutchman replied that the daughter must go halves." In dividing property among the children, the testator usually specified every article in detail: the scarlet petticoat was to go to Gertruyd, the black love-hood to Annetje, the pewter tankard to Jan. So the father left his Sunday suit to Pieter, the three-cornered hat to Evert, the gun to Nicholas, the linen-chest to Tryntje. Through these wills heirlooms can be traced in families for several generations. When a man died insolvent, his widow could relieve herself from the claims of creditors by relinquishing the right of inheritance. This was done in legal form, when the wife declared that she "kicked the estate away with the foot, and laid the key on the coffin."

The festivals observed by the Dutch were Kerstydt — Christmas; Nieuw Jar — New Year's Day; Pinxter — Whitsuntide; Paas — Passover; and Saint Nicholas Day. For two or three weeks after Christmas the burghers and their families spent much of their time in firing guns, beating drums, dancing, card-playing, playing at bowls or nine-pins, and in drinking beer. The public offices were closed during these holidays. "Whereas," says the record of the burgomasters and schepens, "the winter festivities are at hand, it is found good that between this day and three weeks after Christmas the

ordinary meetings of the court shall be dispensed with." May Day was observed so boisterously that the burgomasters provided that damage done to property during its celebration should be reported to them, and reparation would be made. There was always a contest between the rigid director at the fort and the complaisant magistrates at the Stadt Huys as to the toleration of these public amusements. On one occasion Stuyvesant proclaimed: "Whereas experience has taught us that on New Year's days and on May days from the firing of guns, the planting of May-poles, and drunken drinking there have resulted unnecessary waste of powder and much intoxication, with the bad practices and accidents which generally arise therefrom: therefore we expressly forbid on New Year and May days any firing, or plantiug of May-poles, or beating of the drum; nor shall there be at those times any wines, brandy, or beers dealt out." This order may have modified, but it did not suppress, the popular ebullition of spirits. There was a game called "Pulling the Goose," introduced at New Amsterdam in 1654. A goose with head and neck smeared with grease was suspended between two poles. Men rode at full gallop, and tried to grasp it as they passed. Stuyvesant forbade this game, pronouncing it "an unprofitable, heathenish, and popish festival, and a pernicious custom." Some farmers who "pulled the goose" after the prohibition were fined and imprisoned, "in order to prevent more sins, debaucheries, and calamities." Against this severity the burgomasters remonstrated.

As the colony grew in wealth and stability, the amusements of the people became more refined. The rougher sports were replaced by ball games, bowling, and cricket, introduced by the English. Shooting and fishing were much in favour. The young people of both sexes met at dancing-parties and at jaunts in boats, wagons, and sleighs. Mrs. Knight, an English visitor, in 1700, says: "Their diversion in winter is riding in sleighs about three miles out of town, where they have houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery; and some go to friends' houses, who handsomely treat them. . . . I believe we met fifty or sixty sleighs one day; they fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious that they 'll turn out of the path for none except a loaded cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a degree, their tables being as free to their neighbours as to themselves." Among the wealthier families chocolate parties were much in vogue, which a domine objected to as keeping people up till nine o'clock at night.

A great deal of beer was consumed in New Amsterdam, and several of the richest men were brewers. Stuyvesant and the domines had to struggle against intemperance and its consequences, which they did very earnestly. The traditional fondness of the Dutch for smoking seems not to have been exaggerated. "They are obstinate and incessant smokers," says Wooley, "both Indians and Dutch, — especially the latter, whose diet, especially of the boorish sort, being sallets and

bacon and very often picked buttermilk, require the use of that herb to keep their phlegm from coagulating and curdling. I once saw a pretty instance, relating to the power of tobacco, in two Dutchmen riding a race with short campaigne-pipes in their mouths, — one of whom, being hurled from his steed, as soon as he gathered himself up again, whip'd to his pipe, and fell a-sucking and drawing, regarding neither his horse nor fall, as if the prize consisted in getting that heat which came from his beloved smoke. Tobacco is two pence and a half a pound."

The church in the fort was the only Dutch Reformed church in New Amsterdam during Stuyvesant's time. The first religious services at Manhattan were begun in 1626, in the room over the horse-mill. When Domine Bogardus arrived in 1633, a plain wooden building was erected on the East River, near Old Slip, with a parsonage for the domine. The people worshipped here until 1642, when, at the suggestion of De Vries, the stone church in the fort was built. This building remained in use until 1693, when it had become much dilapidated, and the congregation, under Domine Selyns, gladly removed to the new church in Garden Street, now Exchange Place. The old edifice in the fort was used by the military until 1741, when it was burned. The site remained untouched until 1790, when the government house was built upon it. Then it was that the commemorative stone erected by Kieft in 1642 was dug up and placed in the Garden Street church.

Subscriptions began to be taken up for the new building in 1689. Many persons thought Garden Street was too far up-town; but a piece of land there was finally chosen in 1690, which adjoined the orchard of Domine Drisius's widow. The church was opened in 1693, having cost about $28,000. It was an oblong building with a brick steeple. The windows were of small panes set in lead. On many of the panes were the coats-of-arms of elders and magistrates engraved thereon by Gerard Duyckinck. There were also painted coats-of-arms hung on the walls. Galleries ran along the sides; in them sat the men, with the women below. The interior was quite plain; the seats were wooden benches; the pulpit, imported from Holland, stood in the middle of the end opposite the door; the bell-rope hung down in the middle aisle.

As the population increased, another church was built on Nassau Street, on the corner of Liberty Street. It was of stone, with a clock in the tower; and there the true Reformed doctrines were preached far into the nineteenth century. It was surrounded by trees in early times, and looked as though "built in a wood." The Garden Street church was then called the Old Church, and the Nassau Street church the New Church. When another was built at the corner of Fulton and Williams streets it was called the North, that in Garden Street the South, and that in Nassau Street the Middle Church. The building in Garden Street was destroyed in the great fire of 1835; that in Nassau Street was pulled down in our own time; prayer-meetings of the Dutch Reformed Church are still held in Fulton Street.

Religious services on Manhattan Island were first held by a schoolmaster and "consoler of the sick." In 1633 the first domine came out, Everardus Bogardus, who served the people faithfully for fourteen years, resisted the tyranny of Kieft, and perished with him in the wreck of the "Princess" in 1647. Johannes Backerus succeeded him in 1648, but returned to Holland in the following year. His departure left Manhattan without a minister, much to the discouragement of Stuyvesant. At this juncture Domine Johannes Megapolensis, who had served at Rensselaerwyck since 1642 as minister to the Dutch and Indians, arrived at New Amsterdam on his way to Holland, whither his wife had preceded him. Stuyvesant pictured to him the miserable state of the people without a minister, and persuaded him to remain. He continued to be the leading domine in the colony until his death in 1669. The famous Jesuit, Father Lemoyne, visited him in 1658, in order to convert him to Romanism, but without success. Megapolensis had a son Samuel, who had been taught Latin and English at the "Academy of New England," in Cambridge. In 1658 Samuel went to Holland, studied for five years at Utrecht, and was ordained. In 1664 he came out to Manhattan, and ministered to a parish which included Breukelen, the Waal-Bogt, Gowanus, and Stuyvesant's bowery. But after five years he wearied of colonial life, and returned permanently to Holland.

Samuel Drisius of Leyden arrived in 1652. He could preach in Dutch, English, and French, and remained for twenty years, during most of this time

acting as a colleague of Megapolensis. Whilhelmus van Nieuwenhuysen officiated from 1671 to 1681, and Henricus Selyns from 1682 to 1701. Although Selyns began his ministrations in New Amsterdam only in 1682, he had lived for a long time in New Netherland. In 1660 he succeeded Domine Joh. Polhemus at the parish of Breukelen, which included also Midwout (Flatbush), Amersfoort (Flatlands), and the Waal-Bogt. The population of Breukelen was then only one hundred and ninety-four persons. When Selyns arrived from Holland, Stuyvesant deputed Nicasius de Sille and Martin Cregier to introduce him to his parishioners, and invited him to preach from time to time at his bowery. In 1664 Selyns decided not to live under the English rule, and went to Holland. But the call to the New Amsterdam church in 1682 brought him back, and he died here in 1701. Among those who were influential in inducing him to return were Stephanus van Courtlandt, Nicholas Bayard, Joh. de Peyster, and Dr. Joh. Kerfbyl. He was the most cultivated and accomplished of the domines.

These preachers were all of the Reformed Dutch Church. The Lutherans only succeeded in forming a congregation toward the end of Stuyvesant's rule, and many years passed before it became considerable in numbers. Megapolensis and Drisius gave a vigorous support to Stuyvesant's attempt to suppress the Lutherans, and were never on cordial terms with their minister. Megapolensis accompanied Stuyvesant to the South River in 1655, and preached the Thanksgiving sermon at the taking of Fort Casimir.

He then thought the terms of the treaty of capitulation too easy, because they allowed the Lutheran minister to continue to preach. This antagonism animated his successors also. The Rev. Charles Wooley, who was rector of the English church, now Trinity, in 1679, relates the following anecdote:

"In the city of New York, where I was minister to the English, there were two other ministers, or domines as they were called there, — the one a Lutheran, a German or High Dutch; the other a Calvinist, an Hollander or Low Dutchman, — who behaved themselves one toward 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 in Dutch, under the penalty of a bottle of Madeira, 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 domine was a true carouser; and so we continued our *menzalia*, the whole meeting in Latin, which they spoke so fluently and promptly that I blushed at myself with a passionate regret that I could not keep pace with them."

Claes van Elslant was the first sexton of the church in the fort. After him came Jan de la Montagne, who had a son Jan who was sexton of the Garden Street church. A third Jan, a son of the preceding, succeeded his father. Egbert Benson, when a boy in the latter part of the eighteenth century, saw the third Jan de la Montagne going his rounds to collect the "Domine's gelt." The Dutch were careful to pay their minister promptly, so that he should not need to "desire a gift."

Sunday was not observed in New Amsterdam with anything like the strictness of New England. Still, the day was kept with respect. Stuyvesant would tolerate no selling of beer or disorder on Sundays, and treated the offenders with great severity. In this he was supported by the burgomasters and schepens. Albert the Trumpeter had to answer to the magistrates for being found on Sunday with an axe on his shoulder; he excused himself on the ground that he only intended to cut a bat for his little boy. Fishing, fowling, gathering nuts or strawberries, the playing of children in the streets, were forbidden on Sundays. Dancing, playing ball, cards, tric-trac, tennis, cricket, nine-pins, and pleasure parties were not allowed before or during divine service. It was a day of relaxation, however, when the people put on their best clothes (which were used at no other time) and enjoyed a respite from toil.

As the occasions for social reunion were few, marriages were made much of, and furnished the opportunity for the display of silver, pewter, or

china, and the best clothing. The publication of banns at the church was necessary, and run-away or impatient couples had to go down to Lady Moody's settlement at "Gravenzande," where there were no such restrictions. At both weddings and funerals it was customary to load the dining-table with the best dishes, wine, or beer which the family could afford. At funerals a pewter or silver tankard was passed around filled with hot wine.

In Holland the church was an essential part of the government, and it was not less so regarded in New Netherland. It was as much the duty of the West India Company to keep the colony supplied with a domine as with a director. And the domines were of the utmost importance to the social order. They were a mediation between the authorities and the people, — a restraint on the one hand to tyranny, on the other to rebellion. Upon them the burgomasters' court frequently relied to reconcile husband and wife, or to reform the youthful evil-doer.

Not less inseparately connected than the church with the Dutch idea of government was the school. The church and the school belonged to each other and to the civil authority. The appointment of domines and schoolmasters rested conjointly with the Company and the Classis of Amsterdam. When Domine Bogardus came out in 1633, there accompanied him Adam Roelandsen, the first schoolmaster. He taught the children until 1639, when he resigned and went to Rensselaerwyck. Jan Cornelissen, a carpenter living there, heard of the vacant post, and coming down to New Amsterdam secured

it. He taught until 1650. Roelandsen had a schoolroom assigned to him; Cornelissen received his pupils in the house in which he lived. In 1647, when Domine Backerus returned to Holland, Stuyvesant sent by him a message to the Classis of Amsterdam asking for "a pious, well-qualified, and diligent schoolmaster." William Vestens was sent in answer to this appeal, arriving in 1650 in the same ship with Domine Megapolensis's wife. Vestens continued in office for five years, the school being held in a hired room. During this period he was the principal teacher; but there being more scholars than he could well take care of, Jan de la Montagne was appointed a second teacher, and a room in the tavern was assigned to him. A schoolhouse was then built, and at the same time Vestens was succeeded by Harmanus van Hoboocken. The school was soon after burned, and Hoboocken was allowed one hundred guilders annually to hire new accommodations, "as the town youth are doing so uncommonly well now." In 1661 Hoboocken was transferred to Stuyvesant's bowery, to teach the children of settlers in that growing quarter. Evert Pietersen then became the schoolmaster at New Amsterdam, living and teaching in the Brouwer Straat. The school with difficulty founded and maintained through the early years of the settlement was continued by the Collegiate Dutch Church after the English possession. There the Dutch youth were educated for many years in their native language only, later in both English and Dutch. The school, like the church, still exists and flourishes

in New York; they are bound together by the old ties, and look back upon an honourable and interesting history.

While this was the official free school, maintained by Church and State, there were also private schools in New Amsterdam. Licenses for the teachers of these were issued before 1664 to Jan Stevensen, Aryaen Jansen, Andries Hudde, Jacob van Corlaer, Jan Lubberts, Joost Carelse, Adriaen van Ilpendam, Juriaense Becker, and Johannes van Gelaer.

In 1658 a general desire was felt for a high or classical school, which would carry the youth beyond the rudiments of education. Accordingly the burgomasters and schepens thus petitioned the West India Company: "It is represented that the youth of this place and the neighbourhood are increasing in number gradually, and that most of them can read and write, but that some of the citizens and inhabitants would like to send their children to a school the principal of which understands Latin, but are not able to do so without sending them to New England; furthermore, they have not the means to hire a Latin schoolmaster expressly for themselves from New England, and therefore they ask that the West India Company will send out a fit person as Latin schoolmaster,—not doubting that the number of persons who will send their children to such a teacher will from year to year increase, until an academy shall be formed whereby this place to great splendour will have attained, for which, next to God, the Honourable Company which shall have sent such teacher here shall have laud and praise. For our

own part, we shall endeavour to find a fit place in which the schoolmaster shall hold his school." The petition was granted, and in 1659 Dr. Alexander Carolus Curtius, of Lithuania, arrived in New Amsterdam. The burgomasters gave him the use of a house and garden, promised him a salary of five hundred guilders, and allowed him to charge each scholar a fee of six guilders per quarter. Curtius turned out to be not a fit person for the place. Parents complained that he could keep no order among the pupils, who "beat each other and tore the clothes from each other's backs." Curtius excused the lack of discipline on the ground that "his hands were tied, as some of the parents forbade him punishing their children." He overcharged some scholars by asking from them a whole beaver-skin per quarter. The discontent with his services sent Curtius back to Holland. The Rev. Ægidius Luyck, who had been tutor to Stuyvesant's sons, was then appointed principal, and under his care the academy succeeded admirably, — students attending it from Virginia, the South River, and Rensselaerwyck, as well as from the neighbourhood of New Amsterdam.

The first educated physician who practised in New Amsterdam was Dr. Hans Kierstede, who lived on the East River, near the foot of Whitehall Street. Samuel Megapolensis, the domine's son, added the practice of medicine to his spiritual duties while he lived in the colony. Other physicians were Johannes de la Montagne, Johannes Kerfbyl, — a graduate of Leyden, — Jacob Bloeck,

Samuel Coster, and two or three of lesser fame. In 1652 the profession petitioned the director and Council that none but surgeons should be allowed to shave people. After weighty consideration, the Council gave the following answer: —

"That shaving doth not appertain exclusively to chirurgery, but is only an appanage thereof. That no man can be prevented from operating herein upon himself, or doing another this friendly act, provided that it be through courtesy, and that he do not receive any money for it, and do not keep any open shop of that sort, which is hereby forbidden, declaring, in regard to the last request, this act to belong to chirurgery and the health of man."

The medical profession, like other skilled occupations, increased very much in importance toward the end of the century, when there was wealth enough in the colony to attract well-trained men from Holland.

Only a portion of the early Dutch settlers had family names. It was at about this time that such names were becoming fixed and hereditary. There were three ways in which, commonly, family names were attained. The first and most usual was the attachment of *sen* or *se* (a termination meaning *son*) to the father's Christian name: thus, Evert Pietersen and Frederic Philipse. To signify a daughter the termination *s* was used: thus, Annetje Jans, Tryntje Everts. If we take, for example, a man named Jan: his son Hendrick, to distinguish himself from other Hendricks, calls himself Hendrick Jansen; his son again is called

Evert Hendricksen; his son Teunis Evertsen; his son Willem Teunissen. Thus the second name varied from generation to generation. Gradually the second name became hereditary, and Hendrick Jansen's children were called Jansen instead of Hendricksen.

Another method of fixing a family name was by the father's trade. Thus, the brewer Willem Hendricksen was called Willem Brouwer; Jan Willemsen the bleacher was called Jan Bleecker. In the same way originated the names of Coster, Schoonmacker, Stryker, Dyckman, and Hofman.

A third derivation of names was that from places of origin. When Oloff Stevensen van Courtlandt first came out to New Amsterdam as a soldier, he was known as Oloff Stevensen, and so signed his name to the protest carried by Van der Donck to the States-General. As he became a leading man, he distinguished himself from other Stevensens by adding van Courtlandt — the town of his birth — to his name; his descendants continued the custom, and so it became the family appellation. Other names of similar origin are Van Bergen, Van Antwerp, Van der Veer (Ferry), Verplanck (of the plank-walk), Ten Eyck (at the oak), Ten Broeck (at the marsh,) Opdyck (on the dyke), and Wyckoff (parish-court). Some of these names had been borne in Holland; many became hereditary first in New Netherland.

Augustyn Heermans, who made a good sketch of the city of New Amsterdam as it appeared from the East River, was the only artist whose work survives.

But three Dutchmen wrote poetry in their native language, which may still be read. Jacob Steendam composed a "Complaint of New Amsterdam" and "The Praise of New Netherland," dedicated to the Hon. Cornelis van Ruyven, secretary of the West India Company, — "a faithful and very upright promoter of New Netherland." The next poet was Nicasius de Sille. He was a member of Stuyvesant's Council and an educated man. In 1656 he succeeded Van Tienhoven as fiscal, and afterward held the office of schout. In 1657 he built a house at New Utrecht, L. I., where he afterward lived. This house was of stone, roofed with large Dutch tiles, and originally protected by palisades. In 1850 this house was still standing, and formed a comfortable dwelling. In front of it stood a great tree, which had probably shaded De Sille himself. He kept the records of New Utrecht in good language and handwriting. One of his daughters married Hendrick Kip, and another Gerritse van Couwenhoven of Breukelen. He composed "Imitations of the Psalms," an "Epitaph on a Cortelyou Child," — the first born in New Utrecht, — and "The Earth speaks to its Cultivators." The third poet was the good Domine Henricus Selyns. The subjects which inspired him were: "Nuptial Song for Ægidius Luyck and Judith van Isendoorn;" "Birthday Garland woven in Honour of Matilda Specht;" "To my Friend, Captain Gerard Douw;" "Epitaph on Domine Johannes Megapolensis;" "Epitaph for Madam Anna Loockermans, widow of Oloff Stevensen van

Courtlandt;" "Epitaph for P. Stuyvesant;" "Reasons for and against marrying Widows."

There was no lack of good food in New Amsterdam in time of peace. Game was shot in plenty by the young men, and brought to town in canoes by the Indians. Deer were very numerous: an Indian would sell a fat buck for five guilders; in some seasons a pipe would buy one. Bears, elk, hares, and rabbits abounded. Close at hand were quail, partridges, and wild turkeys; of the latter De Vries shot one weighing thirty pounds. Along the shores of the rivers and harbour fluttered and swam great numbers of wild geese, ducks, and swans. Van der Donck knew a gunner, named Hendrick de Backer, who killed eleven gray geese out of a large flock at one shot from his gun. The waters in the vicinity of Manhattan Island furnished sturgeon, salmon, bass, shad, drum, smelts, cod, sheepshead, herring, mackerel, black-fish, lobsters, weakfish, oysters, and shrimps. Nor did the terrapin swim unappreciated. "Some persons," wrote Van der Donck in 1656, "prepare delicious dishes from the water terrapin, which is luscious food."

The gardens of New Netherland produced lettuce, cabbages, parsnips, carrots, beets, spinach, radishes, parsley, cresses, onions, leeks, artichokes, asparagus, squashes, melons, cucumbers, and beans. On the farms were cows, goats, sheep, and hogs. Horses were bred and used; but oxen did the farm work. The native grasses were mixed with the wild onion, which gave its taste to the milk. A great deal of tobacco was raised, which ranked next to that of

Virginia. But the crops most cultivated were wheat, rye, barley, and corn. The latter was grown in hills with pumpkin-vines, as at present. The rye grew so tall that a man could bind the ears together above his head. Van der Donck saw a field of barley, of which the stems were seven feet high. The soil seemed inexhaustible. Domine Megapolensis stated that a farmer had raised fine crops of wheat on the same field for eleven years in succession.

It was when the inhabitants of New York looked for profit to the land rather than to the forest, that wealth flowed in upon them. At the end of the century the colony was celebrated more for its grain than for its beaver-skins; then the trader and the farmer, working together, laid the foundations of a great prosperity.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW NETHERLAND BECOMES NEW YORK.

DURING the last few years of Stuyvesant's administration the Dutch colonists prospered, good order prevailed, and immigration steadily increased. Except for the Indian war at Esopus, nothing occurred to interrupt the growing activity of the settlement. But although the people were contented and prosperous, the director had cause for ceaseless anxiety and exertion. The encroachments of the English were menacing the very existence of New Netherland as a Dutch colony. On the South or Delaware River, the "crowding out" policy was being pursued with little disguise. The English there claimed jurisdiction over the whole territory under Lord Baltimore's patent. Stuyvesant sent Wilhelm Beeckman to defend the Dutch rights and direct the affairs of the colony. Matters not improving, Cornelis van Ruyven went to the assistance of Beeckman, accompanied by Captain Martin Cregier and sixty soldiers. Later on, the director appointed Resolved Waldron and Augustyn Heermans as commissioners to negotiate with the English authorities. They presented the Dutch claims so forcibly that further English aggression was postponed until 1664.

New England gave the director still greater cause for apprehension. Massachusetts set up the claim that her territory extended indefinitely westward, and so claimed the northern Hudson. Connecticut did more. In 1662 John Winthrop obtained in London a new patent from Charles II., which made Connecticut, like Massachusetts, extend indefinitely westward and include all northern New Netherland. In Westchester and on Long Island, English settlers were increasing much faster than the Dutch, and their towns were becoming restive under Dutch jurisdiction. Against this accumulation of threatened disaster Stuyvesant laboured earnestly but with little effect. He made a visit to Boston in person and conferred with representatives of the United New England colonies. But all his efforts were checkmated by the English policy of delay. While the director was thus pressed from the East and the South by harassing aggressions, and had the Esopus war on his hands, the Long Island English towns revolted under John Scott and repudiated Dutch authority.

Stuyvesant had to struggle on alone. In 1660 he had written to the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company: "Place no confidence in the weakness of the English government and its indisposition to interfere in affairs here. New England does not care much about its troubles and does not want its aid. Her people are fully convinced that their power overbalances ours tenfold; and it is to be apprehended that they may make further attempts at this opportunity without fearing or caring for home

interference." While New England needed no help from the mother country, Stuyvesant could get none. The West India Company was unable to send military assistance, and the subtle character of English aggression was of a sort difficult to make, through the States-General, a national grievance.

A treaty of peace between England and Holland had been signed at Westminster in 1662. But Charles II. hated the Netherlands; he had his reasons for wishing to conciliate New England; and he had the fortune of his brother, the Duke of York, to make. Hence in March, 1664, he granted to the Duke of York all the territory between the Connecticut River and Delaware Bay, the exact boundaries of New Netherland. The grant was kept secret, and nothing was heard of it in Old or New Amsterdam.

In April, 1664, a fleet of four ships sailed for New England under the command of Colonel Richard Nicholls, carrying three hundred and fifty soldiers. This news was brought to Stuyvesant in July by Captain John Willett. The director divined the object of the fleet, and feared that his worst predictions were about to be realized. All his energies were immediately devoted to preparations for defence. But the same news had reached Holland long before. The West India Company had made inquiries in London, had been informed that the expedition was intended only to enforce certain of the king's wishes in New England, and the directors wrote to Stuyvesant that he had nothing to fear. Thus thrown off his guard, Stuyvesant

went up to Fort Orange to conduct negotiations with the Mohawk Indians. The English fleet arrived in Boston Harbour, remained there inactive for a month, and all seemed safe.

One day toward the end of August the English flagship was seen sailing into the lower bay. Stuyvesant was informed, and hurried down from Fort Orange. One by one the other ships of the hostile fleet came to anchor in the Narrows with reinforcements of men from New England. The enemy made no secret of its mission. A fort on Staten Island was taken immediately. Soldiers were landed on the Long Island shore, and the inhabitants were warned not to send supplies or assistance to the town. Stuyvesant threw himself into the work of defence with all his wonted vigour. All able-bodied men were put to work on the fortifications or enrolled as soldiers; new guns were mounted, and the shores patrolled. But with all this effort, the result could be slight. The town lay unprotected except for the poor fort at the Battery. There were guns, but of powder hardly sufficient for a day's cannonade. On the north the only defence was an earthen rampart three feet high, surmounted by the old rotten palisade which had done duty in the Indian wars. From the hills beyond it cannon could command the whole town. On the east and west the hostile ships could sail up and down, pouring in unanswered broadsides. Stuyvesant, however, was hot for the fight.

On Friday, August 29, he sent a messenger to Nicholls, demanding to know the meaning of his

invasion. The answer, couched in friendly language, was a summons to surrender the town, with a promise of protection and fair treatment to all who submitted like good subjects to the authority of Charles II. The director read this communication to his Council and the assembled magistrates. His labours to provide means of defence had been ill supported. The Long Island farmers refused to come in, on the ground that they had their own property to defend. The townspeople were persuaded that resistance was useless, and their work was half-hearted. Stuyvesant was anxious to keep the summons secret, lest its favourable terms should incline the people to yield. But he was overruled by the Council and the burgomasters. They were resolved not to have their houses knocked about their ears to preserve the interests of the West India Company. They insisted on making public the contents of Nicholls's letter, and the director had to give way, saying that he would not hold himself "answerable for the calamitous consequences."

The evident intention to accomplish their objects as peacefully as possible helped the English cause very much. On Monday, Winthrop, who guided the policy of the invaders, came up the Bay under a flag of truce, bearing another summons yet more attractive in its terms. There was to be no change but that of the flag and the governor. The Dutch were to trade with Holland as before, Dutch property was to be inviolate, and immigration from Holland to continue. When this communication was read in the council-chamber at the fort, Stuyvesant

saw in it a death-knell to his plans. The people, with the consequences of a bombardment in their minds, seeing no prospect but bloodshed, fire, and the destruction of homes acquired by long and painful toil, were already nearly unanimous for surrender on any favourable terms. The soldiers were becoming mutinous, and were heard talking of booty and where the young women lived who wore gold chains. Stuyvesant felt that the only way to make his people fight was to give them no other alternative. Hence, he announced in Council that the letter must be kept secret; but the councillors, the burgomasters, and schepens, knowing that defeat was certain in the end, and wishing to preserve life and property, contended that the public had a right to know what the English proposed. A hot debate ensued, in which the director maintained his point with his customary violence. At last Stuyvesant, finding that all were against him, characteristically settled the question by tearing the letter into small pieces, and throwing them passionately on the floor. The meeting broke up in confusion, and its members carried into the town information of what had occurred. The people became angry and rebellious, work on the fort ceased; a large crowd gathered in front of the Stadt Huys clamouring for Stuyvesant and the letter. The director appeared, harangued the people, and sought to inspire in them some of his own patriotic determination; but they continued to call for the letter, and denounced him and the West India Company as indifferent to their interests. Stuyvesant returned

mournfully to the fort. The fragments of the letter were gathered up by a secretary, pieced together, and delivered to the burgomasters. A copy was then made, which was read from the steps of the Stadt Huys. Meanwhile, Stuyvesant retired to his own house to compose his answer. He demonstrated the title of the Dutch to New Netherland by discovery, settlement, and possession; he denounced the violation of English and Dutch treaties by the present invasion; he concluded by defying the English, and by declaring his trust to be in God, who could give victory to the weak over the strong.

On receipt of this communication, Colonel Nicholls made his preparations for an assault. Soldiers were landed on Long Island, and marched toward Breukelen. The war-ships were anchored off the fort, with their guns trained on the town. Stuyvesant stood gloomily beside a gun on the ramparts; his situation was desperate, and he could expect no better issue than death at his post. From time to time came Domine Megapolensis, members of the Council, the burgomasters and schepens, begging him not to make a useless sacrifice of the town. After some hours, the director went down to the shore with one hundred soldiers, prepared to oppose a landing. Thus matters remained all day, neither side being desirous of firing the first shot. Then Stuyvesant sent another letter to Nicholls, his tone still defiant; but he despatched commissioners with it, whom he hoped might gain some advantage. But the commissioners returned with the final answer that the terms could not be changed, and that the

only choice lay between their acceptance and bombardment. When this became known, the people crowded about the director clamouring for surrender. A remonstrance against resistance was handed to him, signed by all the principal burghers, including his son Balthazar. Stuyvesant declared that he would rather be carried a corpse to his grave than to surrender; but there was no alternative, a fact as well known on board the fleet as in the town. On Saturday, September 6, Jan de Decker, Nicholas Verleth, Samuel Megapolensis, Cornelis Steenwyck, Jacques Cousseau, and O. S. van Courtlandt met Colonel Nicholls, and agreed upon terms of surrender. By these, safety of life and property, freedom in religion, trade, and emigration, and a representative government were guaranteed to the Dutch. On Monday, Stuyvesant had to ratify the treaty; and immediately afterward he walked out of the fort followed by his soldiers, whom he led through Marckvelt Straat to the East River, where the military were embarked on the ship "Gideon" for Holland. The English flag was hoisted in place of the Dutch; Fort Amsterdam became Fort James; and New Netherland, New York. A fortnight later Fort Orange surrendered, and was named "Albany," — the Duke of York's second title. The inhabitants of Rensselaerwyck were given the same terms as those of New Amsterdam, and the patroon himself afterward received a confirmation of his rights. On October 1 Fort Casimir, on the South River, was taken, and the Dutch flag ceased to wave in North America.

The object of the English — to gain possession of the Dutch colony without injuring its value — had been gained; but such a proceeding was tantamount to a declaration of war, and it was so received in Holland. As soon as the "Gideon" arrived with the garrison of Fort Amsterdam, orders were despatched to Admiral de Ruyter, off the coast of Africa, to reduce the English possessions there, which he did without delay. In 1665 great preparations for the war were made in Holland, and the fisheries were suspended to gain men for the warships. Then Charles II. formally declared war. During its progress the advantage remained with the Dutch, whose captures were much the more important.

Meanwhile the West India Company sent word to Stuyvesant to come out, and explain the surrender in person. Before his departure, he asked from the burgomasters and schepens a statement regarding his conduct as director. They testified: "His Honour hath, during eighteen years' administration, conducted and demeaned himself not only as a director-general, as, according to the best of our knowledge, he ought to do on all occasions for the best interests of the West India Company, but besides as an honest proprietor and patriot of this province, and as a supporter of the Reformed Religion." Stuyvesant arrived at The Hague in October, 1665, and presented his report to the States-General. He found the directors of the West India Company much incensed against him. Angry at the loss of their property, and prejudiced

by misrepresentations of the facts made by hostile members of the Fort Amsterdam garrison, they wished to hold him responsible for the "scandalous surrender." His situation for some time was very unpleasant. He wrote to New York for testimony in confirmation of his defence, and received in six months letters from the city magistrates and from Jeremias van Rensselaer, which enabled him to make before the States-General an able and conclusive vindication of his conduct.

Meanwhile negotiations for peace were conducted between England and Holland. A treaty was signed in August, 1667, according to which each nation was to retain its conquests. These terms were considered both in London and The Hague to be highly favourable to the Dutch, who gained more than they lost. Stuyvesant exerted himself to obtain from the English government privileges of trade advantageous to New York, and returned there in October, 1667, where he passed the remainder of his life in retirement on his bowery.

~~Nine~~ years afterward Holland and England were again at war. In August, 1673, while De Ruyter and Tromp were maintaining the reputation of the Dutch for prowess on the seas, by defeating the combined English and French fleets off the Helder, Dutch mariners again hoisted the national flag on Manhattan Island.

Cornelis Everts and Jacob Binckes had just captured eight English tobacco ships in the Chesapeake, when the idea occurred to them that New York would be an easy prey. They were soon

anchored off the fort, at which they fired a few broadsides, while Capt. Anthony Colve, at the head of six hundred men, landed at Trinity churchyard, and marched down Broadway. No defence was offered beyond a cannon-shot fired at the fleet. The fort surrendered unconditionally; the English marched out, and the Dutch marched in. Governor Lovelace then formally capitulated. The English had taken the place by surprise in time of peace. The Dutch re-took it in time of open war. Prizes were made of all the English vessels in the harbour. The province was re-named New Netherland; the city was called New Orange; and the fort, William Hendrick. A Dutch administration was appointed, with Anthony Colve at its head. Anthony de Mill was made schout; Johannes van Bruggh, Johannes de Peyster, and Ægidius Luyck, burgomasters; Wilhelm Beeckman, Jeroninus Ebbingh, Jacob Kip, Laurens van der Spiegel, Gelyn Verplanck, schepens. The joyful shout of "Oranje Boven" was heard throughout the province.

But England soon became disgusted with a war which cost her too much. Twenty-seven hundred British ships had been taken by Dutch men-of-war and privateers. In 1674 the Treaty of Westminster was signed, by which it was agreed that each power should return to the other the conquests made during hostilities. Thus New Netherland became permanently New York.

Peter Stuyvesant died in 1672 at his bowery, and his remains were interred in a vault beneath the chapel which he had built near his house. When

the present St. Mark's church was erected, on the site of the old chapel, the vault was preserved, and a commemorative stone was placed upon its wall, which still marks the grave of the hardy director of New Netherland. The character of Stuyvesant has appeared plainly in the narrative of events at New Amsterdam. Honest, blunt, and passionate, his virtues and his faults were evident to all men. He had been a faithful servant to the West India Company, guarding its interests with a jealous fidelity and promoting them with untiring zeal. In the service of his employers, he never lacked vigour or courage. In his enforced conflicts with other colonies he showed judgment and foresight, yielding when he must, but struggling to the last against any odds. Had the West India Company heeded his warnings, New Amsterdam might have resisted for many years the English pressure. In his dealings with the Indians he pursued a policy of stern justice, which won their respect and confidence. No Indian war can be laid to his charge; and during his presence on Manhattan Island, the sleep of the Dutch settlers was undisturbed by fears of savage invasion. His conduct as director was marred by conflicts with those under his authority, which were caused not so much by harshness of nature as by an unnecessarily rigid idea of his duty. To govern a colony of adventurous men, settled in the wilderness, threatened on the one hand by savage enemies, on the other by aggressive neighbours of uncertain friendliness, — he conceived that his mastery must be unquestioned. The responsibility was his, — the authority must be

his also. His life had been spent in Dutch colonial adventures, where the word that was passed from the quarter-deck was the law without appeal. Hence the contentions which characterized the early years of his rule, and the attitude of apparent tyranny in which he appeared. As time wore on, he and the burghers understood each other better, and a mutual respect succeeded to the old antagonism. Headstrong and violent in his temper he always was, but animated by good motives, faithful to the line of his duty, and seeking the interest of those committed to his charge.

Stuyvesant's last years were passed in seclusion on the old bowery, which had been the home of his family for some years before the capitulation in 1664. The house was of wood, two stories in height, with projecting rafters. Its situation, as described by the Hon. Hamilton Fish, was a point about one hundred and fifty feet east of Third Avenue and about forty feet north of Twelfth Street. In front of it was a stiff Dutch garden, laid out with formal paths and flower-beds. Near the house Stuyvesant had planted a pear-tree, which had a remarkable history. For more than two hundred years it marked the spot where had been the old director's garden. Generations of his descendants grew up and passed away, and still the pear-tree held its own. As new streets were laid out and the open fields of Stuyvesant's bowery became city lots, the pear-tree found itself on the corner of Third Avenue and Thirteenth Street, protected by an iron railing. The onward march of improvement had

left it behind in a thickly settled part of the city, when in February, 1867, it was blown down in a storm. The boundaries of Stuyvesant's bowery were, roughly speaking, Fourth Avenue on the West, the river on the East, on the North Seventeenth Street, and on the South Sixth Street; it contained about six hundred acres.

Stuyvesant's widow, Judith Bayard, lived upon the bowery until her death in 1687. By her will, she founded St. Mark's Church. She had two sons, — Balthazar, born in 1647; and Nicholas William, born in 1648. Balthazar went to the West Indies, where he died, leaving a daughter. Nicholas William married, first, Maria Beeckman; and, secondly, Elizabeth Schlectenhorst. He passed his life at New York, and is the ancestor of the present family.

Although New Netherland became a permanent English colony under the Treaty of Westminster in 1674, its population remained largely Dutch until nearly the middle of the next century. The prosperity of New York, growing steadily with the progress of trade and the exportation of grains, attracted emigrants from Holland notwithstanding the change of flag. Many families now living on Manhattan Island are descended from Dutchmen who came out after the English occupation. The old names with which we have become familiar in the early annals of New Amsterdam continue in positions of honour and prominence through the English colonial records. In 1673, we find among the city magistrates Johannes van Bruggh, Johannes de Peyster, Ægidius Luyck, Jacob Kip, Laurans van der Spiegel,

Wilhelm Beeckman, Guleyn Verplanck, Stephen van Courtlandt. In 1677, Stephanus van Courtlandt is mayor, and Johannes de Peyster deputy-mayor. In 1682, Cornelis Steenwyck is mayor; in 1685, the office is filled by Nicholas Bayard; in 1686, by Van Courtlandt again. Abraham de Peyster was mayor from 1691 to 1695; and in his time the following Dutchmen were aldermen: W. Beeckman, Johannes Kip, Brandt Schuyler, Garrett Douw, Arent van Scoyck, Gerard Douw, Rip van Dam, Jacobus van Courtlandt, Samuel Bayard, Jacobus van Nostrandt, Jan Hendricks Brevoort, Jan van Horne, Petrus Bayard, Abraham Wendell, John Brevoort. These names recur down to 1717. In 1718, John Roosevelt, Philip van Courtlandt, and Cornelius de Peyster are aldermen. In 1719, Jacobus van Courtlandt is mayor, and among the aldermen are Philip van Courtlandt, Harmanus van Gilder, Jacobus Kip, Frederic Philipse, John Roosevelt, Philip Schuyler. In 1745, Stephen Bayard is mayor. During the last half of the eighteenth century the Dutch names are more and more crowded out by the English. But we still find Nicholas and Cornelius Roosevelt, Cornelius van Horne, Dirck Brinckerhoff, Huybert van Wagener, Henry Brevoort, Jacob Lefferts, John Hardenbrook, Nicholas Bayard, Tobias van Zandt, John Quackenboss, Theophilus Beeckman, and others. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Dutch names occur only occasionally.

These Dutchmen not only preserved their leadership in public affairs, but carried on a large propor-

tion of the city's trade. New York was an English colony, but its greatness was largely built on Dutch foundations. It is often said that the city became flourishing only after the English occupation. This is true, with the qualification that the Dutch trader and the Dutch farmer after that event had greater opportunities for successful activity.

Not a few of the old Dutch houses have remained intact until our own day. Notable among these was the De Sille house at New Utrecht; the Cortelyou, Schermerhorn, and De Hart houses in Brooklyn; and the Kip house on Kip's Bay, near the foot of East Thirty-fifth Street, New York. The Van Courtlandt manor-house at Yonkers still stands in much its original condition.

Some of the Dutch geographical names remain unchanged, as Barnegat, Kill van Cull, Staten Island, Corlaer's Hook, Spuyt den Duyvel (in spite of the devil). Others have been Anglicised or translated; thus, Sandt Hoeck, Sandyhook; Beeren's Island, Barren Island; Conyn's Island, Coney Island; Vlachte Bos, Flatbush; Jemaico, Jamaica; Vliessengen, Flushing; Robyn's Rift, Robin's Reef; Waal-Bogt, Wallabout; Kruine Punt, Crown Point; Deutel Bay, Turtle Bay; Helle-gat, Hell Gate; Martyn Wyngaard's Island, Martha's Vineyard; Antonie's Neus, St. Anthony's Nose. Yonkers was called Jonckers, from Jonge Heer, and signified the "young gentleman's place."

Dutch continued to be the language of New York until the end of the seventeenth century, after which time English contended for the mastery with

steady success. In the outlying towns of Long Island and New Jersey and along the Hudson River, Dutch was generally used for a century later. The dialect called "Jersey Dutch" is still heard in the Ramapo Valley. But in New York city the large English immigration, the requirements of commerce, and the frequent intermarriages of Dutch and English families had given to English the predominance by the year 1750. The Rev. Dr. Laidlie preached to a Dutch Reformed congregation the first sermon in English in March, 1764, in the Middle Church. In 1773, English was first used in the Dutch school. Mary, the daughter of Peter van Schaack of Kinderhook, and the wife of James Jacobus Roosevelt, who died in 1845, spoke Dutch in her family; and her son, C. V. S. Roosevelt, who lived on the southwest corner of Broadway and Fourteenth Street, could also speak it. Many similar cases of the survival of the language occurred. But after the beginning of the present century they were unusual, and the services of the Reformed churches were conducted entirely in English. The colony of Cape Town in South Africa, like New Amsterdam, became an English possession after being settled by the Dutch. There the language continued more steadily in use. The late Nicholas L. Roosevelt visited Cape Town in 1870 as a lieutenant on board the United States ship "Alaska" of the East Indian squadron. A ball was given on board to the residents of the town, and some of them expressed to Lieutenant Roosevelt their surprise that he could not converse with them in the language of the fatherland.

The language and customs of Holland survived until recent years in isolated villages of Long Island, of New Jersey and the Hudson River. In Albany, the Dutch inhabitants continued in nearly exclusive possession through the eighteenth century. The Van Rensselaer patroonship was the only one which succeeded and endured. After the English occupation, the patroonship was changed to a manor, but the proprietor retained his title. Stephen van Rensselaer, the last of the family to be called "The Patroon," died in 1839.

In New York city, the high-stoop house, and the peculiar observance of New Year's Day which continued until 1870, are two familiar relics of Holland. The valuable custom of registering transfers of real estate has been received from the same source. The Collegiate Dutch Church has flourished for two centuries and a half in a career of uninterrupted and unmeasured usefulness. When the English flag was hoisted at New Amsterdam in 1664, the infant city had already stamped upon it the characteristics of commercial enterprise, of a cosmopolitan spirit, of religious toleration, of free public education, and of a representative municipal government.

INDEX.

MAKERS OF AMERICA.

The following is a list of the subjects and authors so far arranged for in this series. The volumes will be published at the uniform price of $1.00, and will appear in rapid succession: —

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