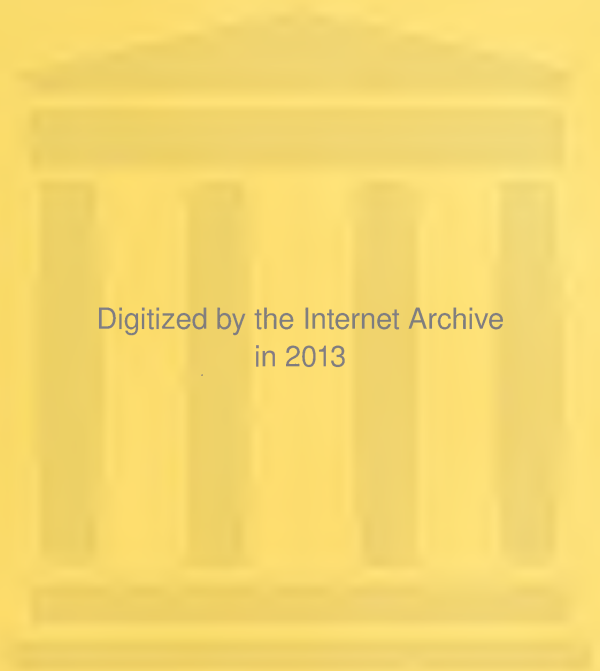

HISTORY of the City of New York

BY

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Thus was Manhattan Island again left in primeval solitude, waiting till Commerce should come and claim its own. *Page 35*

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

EARLY DISCOVERIES.

Manhattan Island. — Earliest Records of America. — The Icelanders. — The Fifteenth Century. — Venetian Commerce. — Christopher Columbus. — England. — The Cabots. — The Portuguese. — Vasco da Gama. — The Fishermen of Brittany and Normandy. — Newfoundland. — The Spaniards. — Verrazano. — Estevan Gomez. — The English again. — The Dutch. — Belgium. — Usselincx and John of Barneveld. — The East and West India Companies.

TWO hundred and sixty-five years ago the site of the city of New York was a rocky, wooded, canoe-shaped, thirteen-mile-long island, bounded by two salt rivers and a bay, and peopled by dusky skin-clad savages. A half-dozen portable wigwam villages, some patches of tobacco and corn, and a few bark canoes drawn up on the shore, gave little promise of our present four hundred and fifty miles of streets, vast property interests, and the encircling forest of shipping. What have been the successive steps of the extraordinary transformation?

If the lineage, education, experiences, and character of a distinguished personage are replete with interest and instruction, of how much greater moment is the history of a city, which is biography in its most absolute sense? New York needs no introduction to the reader. It occupies an individual position among the great cities of the world. It is unlike any of its contemporaries. Its population is a singular intermixture of elements from all nations. Its institutions are the outgrowth of older civilizations; its wisdom and public opinion largely the reflection of a previous intelligence. All the ideas, principles, feelings, and traditions which ever made their appearance have here found a common field in which to struggle for existence, and the result, in so far as it is developed, has naturally been "the survival of the fittest." It would not be fair, however, to demand full fruits from so young a tree. New York

is a city in the vigor of its youth, its final growth yet to be attained; thus its history the more especially deserves careful and elaborate treatment. If we would correctly estimate the men who laid its foundation-stones, we must enter into the spirit of the age in which they lived, and become to a certain degree familiar with the world's progress at that period. If we would appreciate their proceedings, we must learn somewhat of national characteristics and the practical operation of government and laws, in the various countries which they represented. The reader, therefore, is invited first to a brief ancestral disquisition, care being taken to make plain the causes which led to the discovery and settlement of Manhattan Island.

The earliest record of the existence of the American Continent is found among the literary legacies of the Icelanders of the tenth century, who were superior to the continental people of that age both in mental vigor and physical endurance. But their discoveries were the result of haphazard adventure rather than scientific probabilities, and their efforts at colonization were signal failures. From their geographical works we find that they supposed these western lands to be a part of Europe; and, while the accounts of their expeditions were carefully preserved, not a line was committed to parchment until many centuries had passed, so that there is very little reason for presuming that succeeding generations were materially benefited by reason of them.

1435. Christopher Columbus appeared upon the stage of action just as the world was waking from the long sleep of the Middle Ages. Marco Polo had made his famous journey across the whole longitude of Asia, and the manuscript account of his travels, dictated to a fellow-prisoner in a Genoese prison, was beginning to attract attention to the vast and fertile countries he described, — the cities running over with diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and sapphires, the palaces with floors and roofs of solid gold, and the rivers hot enough to boil eggs.

The new epoch in the art of printing was also scattering information of various kinds. The books of the ancients were reproduced, and those who could afford to read — for it was a luxury confined entirely to the upper and wealthy classes — discovered that geometrical principles had been applied to the construction of maps by Ptolemy in the second century, and that the places of the earth had been planned out and described according to their several latitudes and longitudes. Some geographical knowledge was interwoven with a vast amount of absurd fiction and very little ascertained fact, but the desire for more light became so great that those same curious old maps were exhumed and copied and circulated. They must have been appalling to the pioneers of maritime discovery, for they

bristled from one end to the other with horrid forms and figures, and represented the Occident as the home of demons. A mighty impulse had already been given to navigation by means of the magnetic needle, and the newly printed ancient stories about Carthaginian sailors who had "voyaged through the Pillars of Hercules, and found a strange country supposed to be Asia," and of adventurous Greeks and Persians, who had coasted Africa, filled the very air with speculative romance.

India beyond the Ganges was the mythical land of promise. Its treasures came from hand to hand through caravans and middle men and agents to Constantinople, with which city the Italian States were in constant commercial communication. But some of the shrewdest of the Venetian and Genoese merchants thought to remedy the evils of the painfully long and perilous overland route, and projected enterprises by way of the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean and Red Seas. They succeeded, but were obliged to pay a heavy tribute in Egypt, and no Christian was at any time allowed to pass through the Egyptian or Mohammedan countries. Thus the producer and the consumer were effectually kept asunder.

Group of ladies, showing fashions of the day.

Constantinople fell in 1453, and from that time the business monopoly of the Indies centred with the Venetians. Venice became the great Western emporium, and attained such marvellous riches and rose to such a height of power and grandeur as never were equalled either before or since. The costliness of her magnificent buildings, the elegance of furniture and decorations, and the style of life among her citizens, was quite beyond description. The learned Christians of Constantinople, who had fled before the Turks into Italy, became her schoolmasters, and mathematics, astron-

omy, and the art of navigation developed with singular rapidity. People began to talk about a new channel of communication with the Oriental countries, where they could change even the bark of trees into money.

Columbus had for his birthright the intellectual restlessness of the age. As a boy, his brain was filled with unformed projects and scientific uncertainties. The new theories as well as the new learning took root within his mind and grew with his growth. He read what Aristotle had written about the small space of sea between Spain and the eastern coast of India. He speculated over what Seneca had said about the ease with which that sea might be passed in a few days by the aid of favorable winds. He pondered again and again the hypothetical doctrine that the earth was a sphere. He became a sailor, and applied his energies to the study of nautical science.

Meanwhile years rolled on. Islands in the Atlantic were discovered, and the coast of Europe, from Iceland to the Cape Verde Islands, was becoming known. Columbus had made several important voyages himself. On one occasion he visited Iceland, which was now a dependent and neglected province of Denmark, and stayed some time in the country and conversed with the inhabitants. Whether he obtained any knowledge of the early adventures of the Northmen it is impossible to determine. But after his return his fancies seem to have taken more definite shape. The question finally settled itself to his satisfaction that the glittering gold regions could be reached by sailing due west; and then he conceived one of the boldest designs in human history, and pursued it to its accomplishment with the firm resolve of a lofty genius. It was from want of a correct estimate of longitude that, like every one else from Ptolemy down, he was so vastly deceived as to the size of the globe. He was a clever politician, and danced attendance before incredulous kings and supercilious courtiers until time whitened his locks, so pronounced were his convictions, and so enthusiastic was he in the success of his enterprise, could he but get funds to put it in execution. But alas! he could not convince one man that it was possible to sail west and reach east. It remained for him to find in a woman's mind the capacity to appreciate and the liberality to patronize him; and at last he launched forth over unknown seas, trusting to his own stout heart and a mariner's compass, and, reaching an unknown land, planted the chief milestone in the advance of civilization. He aimed for Zipango, and to his dying day believed he had found it, or its outlying isles, very nearly where his calculations had placed it. Never was man's mistake more prolific in great results.

Europe was stunned with admiration, and the Pope of Rome, who up

to that time regarded himself as the legal proprietor of all the real estate in Christendom, issued a bull,[1] the material parts of which are still extant, granting the new territory to Spain.

It is interesting to note how all the great plans and projects of the period tended and verged to one point. There was a Venetian merchant living in Bristol, England, who had paid particular attention to science, and who had long housed in his heart a scheme of going to Cathay by the north. It was John Cabot. He was incited to active effort by the prospect of obtaining spices and other valuable articles of trade independent of haughty Venice. His son Sebastian, then a promising youth about nineteen years of age,[2] was, like his sire, stimulated by the fame of Columbus, and anxious to attempt some notable thing. He was a scholar, had been thoroughly drilled in mathematics, astronomy, and the art of navigation, and accompanied the elder Cabot to the Court of Henry VII., in order to obtain the royal consent to their proposed researches. Henry is well known to have been one of the most penurious monarchs who ever sat upon a throne. He listened graciously, and, upon condition that the whole enterprise should be conducted at their own private expense, issued a patent guaranteeing protection and privileges. But he cunningly reserved to himself one fifth of the profits.[3]

The Cabots first steered directly for Iceland, where they stopped for a few days. For some years a steady and profitable commerce had been carried on between Bristol and that country. Iceland, although the heroic age of the Northmen had long since passed, was pretty well peopled, and its inhabitants had many wants which their northern land was unable to supply. The English sold them cloth, corn, wheat, wines, etc., and took fish, chiefly cod, in exchange. Some of the Norwegian authors say that in April, 1419, a heavy snow-storm destroyed more than

1497.

[1] *Vattel's Law of Nations*, Book I. Chap. 18.

[2] Humboldt, *Kritsche Untersuchungen*, Vol. II. p. 445.

[3] It is a mooted question whether John Cabot, the father, was the leader of the expedition in 1497. Sebastian Cabot lived for more than sixty years afterwards, and became a celebrated personage; his fame so far eclipsed that of his father as to cause much to be accredited to him that his father actually performed. But his extreme youth and inexperience at that time would hardly induce the belief that the shrewd Henry VII. would intrust him with such an important command. The Venetian ambassador's letters of 1497, preserved in the Sforza archives of Milan, furnish direct evidence in favor of the father. (*Pasqualigo's Letter*, August 23, 1497.) M. d'Avezac, an able French writer, has found what he esteems sufficient proof to establish the fact that the Cabots' first voyage was made in 1494, when they only saw land; the second in 1497, when they navigated three hundred leagues along the coast; the third in 1498, by Sebastian alone; and the fourth in 1517. *M. d'Avezac to Leonard Woods*, dated Paris, December 15, 1868, in *Doc. Hist. Maine*; by Willis. But the evidence of any voyage in 1494 is so slight that all allusion to it is omitted in the body of this work.

twenty-five English vessels on the coast of Iceland, which gives us an idea of how brisk their commerce must have been. From this point the Cabots proceeded westward, toiling, through mountains of ice, but confident of final success. On the 24th of June they saw land which they supposed to be an island, but, finding it ran a long distance towards the north, and getting short of provision and into trouble with their crew, they turned back to England. Cabot says in his journal that it was a great disappointment to them. They were absent from England only about three months, and had discovered a continent, but its bleak, uninviting coasts loomed up only as a hateful barrier in the way of the diamond fields beyond.

June 24.

The Portuguese were at this time the most enlightened nation of Europe. They had very materially enlarged the scope of geographical knowledge by daring voyages along the coast of Africa, under the direction of Prince Henry, third son of John the Great. Their vessels were small but well-built, and their seamen dashed safely along tempestuous shores and explored inlets and rivers. Don Emanuel the Fortunate made prodigious efforts to extend the commerce and dominion of Portugal, and his pet problem was a passage to India around Africa. The exploit was actually performed in 1498 by Vasco da Gama. He returned to Portugal with his four ships laden with spices, silks, and other attractive merchandise. All Europe was in the wildest excitement, and the unsuccessful venture of the Cabots was hardly noticed. A papal bull granted to Portugal the sole right to trade in the Indies, which were treated as new discoveries. Alas for Venice! It was her mortal stab, and from that day her prosperity rapidly waned. The Portuguese established themselves at the East, made Cochin their capital, appointed Vasco da Gama governor of the colony, and for nearly a century they supplied the markets of Europe with the Indian produce. Thus the actual results of immediate communication with the Oriental world completely overshadowed the possible advantages to be reaped from lands lying to the west, which were still regarded as merely the unsurmounted obstacle in the path to the Orient. The public could not be satisfied by tales of snow-bound or rocky shores without so much as a city or a castle over which to float a banner.

1498.

But little by little the natural wealth of these western regions began to be recognized. At what period the fisheries of Newfoundland were first known to the hardy seamen of Brittany and Normandy it is impossible to determine with accuracy; it must have been as early as the commencement of the sixteenth century. Cod, mackerel, and herring were found in abundance, and the demand for

1503.

them, particularly in France, was greatly increased by the fasts of the church. During the next few years the Spaniards were busy following up the discoveries of Columbus by expeditions to Central and South America, and occupation of portions of those countries. This led to a neglect of their native soil, and seriously and mischievously retarded the rise of Spain to a front rank among powers; but it enlarged the boundaries of knowledge, and hastened the good time when the earth should assume its proper form in the minds of men. Prior to the year 1522 the Straits of Magellan had been discovered, the broad Pacific crossed, and the globe circumnavigated. America stood boldly out as an independent hemisphere. 1522.

And yet the avaricious merchantmen and navigators gave little heed to its possible resources. They scoured the oceans in every latitude, from the Arctic regions to Cape Horn, searching for a gateway through it to the jeweled cities of the East. The chivalric Francis I. of France had in his employ, to accomplish certain deeds of daring, the Italian navigator Verrazano, who in 1524 was sent on a voyage, with the above object in view. He cruised along our coast from the Carolinas to Nova Scotia, landing many times, and learning all that was possible, under the circumstances, of the strange country and its inhabitants. He estimated that America was greater in territorial extent than Europe and Africa combined, but expressed his belief that he could penetrate by some passage to the Indian Ocean. The chart[1] which his brother drew, contributed towards creating the supposition in Europe that at about the 40th degree of latitude such a passage might be found. Verrazano's letter to Francis I. has recently been shadowed with historic doubt, in a volume of nearly two hundred pages, from the facile pen of Hon. Henry C. Murphy; but its uncertain light is by no means extinguished. Neither is it less interesting because of the poverty of actual proof in regard to its authenticity. One paragraph relating to the "*bellissimo lago* at the mouth of the great river" points significantly towards our own sylvan solitudes, as follows: — 1524.

"After proceeding one hundred leagues we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a large river, deep at the mouth, forced its way into the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river any ship heavily laden might pass with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth we would not venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of the mouth, therefore we took the boat, and entering the river we found the country on the

[1] A copy of this chart is now in the possession of the American Geographical Society, having been recently obtained from the College of the Propaganda Fide in Rome at the instance of Chief Justice Daly, and is a geographical curiosity.

banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals."[1]

The letter was dated, "Ship Dolphin, in the Port of Dieppe, Normandy," was a lengthy document, and, besides furnishing curious evidence of the state of nautical science at that time, gives us a fair picture of the North American Indian as first seen by white men. We are induced to believe that the proprietors of Manhattan Island were an amiable people, and had made some progress in the arts which tend to ameliorate the savage. They were not hostile to visitors, and knew something of agriculture. War was evidently unknown to them, as we can learn of no defenses against hostile attacks. They were, doubtless, of that tribe afterwards called Delawares, or, as they styled themselves, Lenni Lenape, which means original or unmixed men.

It was an entirely different race that Champlain encountered in his wanderings into the State of New York, from the north, in 1609. They were fierce and cruel warriors, somewhat advanced in policy, arts, and agriculture, and had already instituted a confederacy of five independent nations, with a sort of congress of their own, seeming to know somewhat of civilized life and much of warlike achievement, long before they became students of the white man's craft. They called themselves Aquanu Schioni, or the United People. Iroquois is not an Indian, but a French name, and is a generic term, having been bestowed upon that type of language, the dialects of which were spoken by the Five Nations. We have strong reasons for suspecting that during the interim between Verrazano's visit and the subsequent Dutch settlement, the martial Iroquois extended their conquests from the inland lakes to the Atlantic shores, leaving the deteriorating effects of barbarous warfare upon the inhabitants, as, at the latter period, the river Indians and many upon the

[1] *Beschryv van America*, by Jan Huyghen Van Linschotten. (Amsterdam). *N. Y. H. S. Coll.*, Vol. I. (Second Series) pp. 45, 46. *Hakluyt*, III. 360, 361. *Harris's Voyages*, II. 348. *North American Review* for October, 1837. *Belknap's Am. Biog.*, I. 33.

sea-coast were found subject to the Iroquois, acknowledging the same by the payment of an annual tribute.

Of the subsequent career of Verrazano very little is known. We catch fugitive glimpses of him only, enough to excite but not sufficient to satisfy curiosity. There is evidence existing that he commanded an expedition to the Indies for spices, in 1526, and it is supposed that he was engaged also in piratical ventures. He disappeared from public view, after having greatly advanced the knowledge of the new country and given France some claim to an extensive and picturesque territory.[1] 1526.

Group of gentlemen, showing fashions of the day.

In 1525 Estevan Gomez, a decoyed Portuguese, who had been the chief pilot of Magellan on his southern voyage, presuming that, since a strait to Cathay had been discovered in the south, there must necessarily be one at the north, sailed in the interests of Spain to find it. He is supposed to have cruised along our coasts as far as the Hudson River, since Rio de Gamas was the first name of European origin which it bore, and there is evidence of his having sailed to the shores of Maine, that land being described upon the Spanish maps as the Tierra de Gomez.[2] He, like Verrazano, drew a chart and it was the more valuable of the two, as the former was entirely unknown down to the year 1582, when it appeared in

[1] *Charlevoix, Nouv. Fr.*, I. 78 ; *Bancroft*, I. 13. *Annibale Caro, Lettere Familiari*, Tomo I. let. 12. *Article by Hon. J. Carson Brevoort, in Journals Am. Geog. Soc. N. Y.*, Vol. IV.

[2] *Herrera*, Dec. III. lib. 8. cap. 8. *Navarrete*, I. e. p. 179. *Oviedo* (*Sommario*), cap. 10, fol. 14. *Peter Martyr*, Dec. VIII. cap. 9.

the Hakluyt Collection of Voyages. Gomez's draft was embodied in the planisphere made by Ribero, now preserved in the British Museum. At a congress held at Badajos after Gomez's return, at which were present Sebastian Cabot, then pilot-major of Spain, and all the most distinguished geographers of both Spain and Portugal, the outlines of America were fixed for the first time, the chart of Gomez was adopted by the official chart-makers, and from their works, with occasional amendments, passed into all the charts and maps of the sixteenth century, and some of the seventeenth. Beyond the information thus obtained, Gomez's voyage was very meager in results. He caught a few Indians to carry as trophies to the Spanish king, Charles I.; but when he arrived at Corunna, the courier who was despatched by post with the news, mistook slaves (*esclavos*) for cloves, which was what Gomez had promised to bring home with him should he reach Cathay, and there was great excitement among the courtiers and nobles until the ludicrous blunder was corrected. "Then," says the quaint chronicler of the event, "there was much laughter."[1] From that time Spain had no confidence in any northern enterprise. "To the South! to the South!" was the cry, and all the strength and resources she could spare from her home wars was directed towards the prosecution of her discoveries and conquests in South America. "They that seek riches," said Peter Martyr, "must not go to the frozen North!"

For the next three fourths of a century the wilds and wastes of North America received comparatively little notice from the European powers. It was visited at different points and dates by fishermen and private adventurers, and a few flags were raised and colonies planted, but its geography, farther than its coast-outline, remained almost wholly unknown. During the interval France was too much occupied by her fruitless expeditions into Italy, and her unequal contest with the power and policy of Charles I. of Spain, and also by the civil wars with which she was desolated for nearly half a century, to speculate amidst her miseries upon possibilities, or lay plans for the future extension of her territories except upon parchment. England, too, through most of that period, was agitated and weakened by intestine broils or unwise interference in foreign affairs. Her immense navy, which has since enabled her to give law to the ocean, was then scarcely in embryo;[2] and her commerce about the year 1550 had become so nearly extinct that bankruptcy appeared for a time

[1] *Gomara*, chap. 40 (1st edition, 1552). *History of the West Indies*, by Peter Martyr (1530). *Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, by Antonio de Harrera (edition 1601), Tomo III. Dec. III. cap. 8.

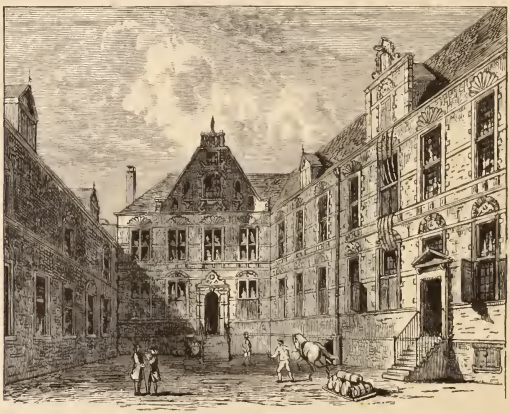
[2] *Robertson's Historical Disquisition on Ancient India*, sect. 4, p. 154.

inevitable. Native produce was in no demand, foreign importations had ceased, and a singular monopoly, consisting chiefly of the factors of extensive mercantile houses in Antwerp and Hamburg, had obtained control of her markets, and, vampire-like, was sucking her remnant of strength. The statesmen and the merchants of the realm met in consultation, and took counsel of the aged and justly celebrated Sebastian Cabot, who, although he had thrice made the attempt to reach Asia by the north without success, had never given up his hobby, that "some great good lay in store for the world by the way of the Polar Seas." He advised that the northern coasts of Europe be explored for new markets, and an effort made to reach Cathay by a Siberian route. 1555.

A company was accordingly formed, which was called "The Society for the Discovery of Unknown Lands," and an expedition was fitted out in 1553, the expenses of which were mostly borne by private subscription. It was placed under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and the bold Richard Chancellor was made pilot-major of the fleet. The vessels became separated during a storm, and Willoughby with two of them, after the most terrific hardships, reached an obscure harbor on the desolate coast of Lapland, where he and his men finally perished. Chancellor, with heroic persistence, pushed his way through frozen waters where sunlight was perpetual, and landed in safety at Archangel. Russia was then scarcely known to Western Europe. Chancellor made good use of his opportunities. He journeyed by sledge to Moscow, and was invited to a personal interview with Emperor Ivan the Terrible. A lucrative and permanent trade was established between the two countries, which was the foundation of the commercial and political relations that have continued with slight interruptions to the present time. By it a fresh impulse was given to productive industry in England, and her credit was improved, while intercourse with the English secured to the Russians civilization, intelligence, and comfort. When Chancellor returned in 1554 to England, he was the bearer of a letter from Ivan the Terrible to Edward IV. The Muscovy Company, as it was afterwards styled, obtained a formal charter from the Crown, dated February 6, 1555, in which Sebastian Cabot was named as its first governor. It was granted a charter of privileges also by the Russian Emperor, and commenced energetic operations. The same company, after a brilliant career of more than three hundred years, is still in existence. For full fifty years after its organization it absorbed the energy and the surplus capital of the English nation; and nothing was attempted in America save a few unimportant settlements, which came to nothing.

Meanwhile the Dutch were preparing for a marvelous leap into public

notice. When, in 1580, Philip II. united Portugal to Spain, and presently began his war upon England, his ports were closed against English vessels. Therefore England was forced to buy her spices, silks, and other Indian produce of the Dutch. But the revolt of the Netherlands followed in quick succession, and Dutch vessels were excluded from Lisbon, which had been so long the European depot for Indian wares. Although the Dutch were not a creative people, there was no nation under the sun which, being strongly pushed in one direction, was more sure to succeed than they. They had begun already to reap large profits from their English trade. Prices had gone up on all India goods; that of pepper by two hundred per cent. They were compelled, as it were, to seek a direct passage to the Orient. Thus originated the great commercial corporation known as the Dutch East India Company. Their vessels followed in the track of the Portuguese around Africa. The directors were mostly city nobles of the old school, and so prosperous became the company that in twenty years they divided more than four times their original capital among the shareholders, besides having acquired a vast amount of property in colonies, fortifications, and vessels.



East India Company's House.

While struggling for freedom amid the smallest beginnings, and at war with the nation the shadow of whose haughty flag waved over half a conquered world, and whose fashions and language controlled the courts of Europe, the Dutch received the impetus which raised them to the rank

of a great power. More than one hundred Protestant families, the very pith of the nation, were driven from Belgium by the Spaniards, and found their homes in Holland and Zealand. The ruin of the ancient trade and opulence of Belgium and the sudden expansion of the Dutch Republic were two sides of the same event. But the exiled Belgians had no intention of remaining permanently in Northern Netherlands. They breathed a new element of commercial strength into the atmosphere, and at the same time were putting their shrewd heads together to devise some method by which Belgium might be delivered from the Spanish yoke. They well knew that the wide possessions of Spain were open to the resolute attacks of a vigorous foe. Finally, they originated the gigantic scheme of a warlike company of private adventurers, who should conquer or ruin the Spanish settlements, seize the Spanish transports, and cut off all communication with her Transatlantic dependencies. And they proposed to name it, very appropriately, the West India Company.

The obstacles in the way of putting so vast a project into execution were very great. John of Barneveld was at the head of affairs in the Dutch Republic, and advocated peace. He was too practical a philosopher not to appreciate the enormous advantages his country had just gained. The victorious return of the Belgians to their native province would only remove commerce and political lead to the south, and was in no case to be desired. He was fully determined to prevent the existence of any such warlike corporation as the one under consideration. But the Belgians found energetic allies. The lower classes in the Holland towns favored them because that Barneveld was hated for his aristocratic proclivities. Influential men from the other Dutch provinces lent their aid because the Advocate aimed at an overweening influence for Holland. The House of Orange gave them the hand of fellowship because this great family aspired to wider dominion and to a less limited authority than they had hitherto possessed.

The leader of the Belgian party was William Usselincx, an exiled Antwerp merchant of noble descent, whose force of will was simply marvelous, and whose magnetic influence over his countrymen was so great that they seemed to think with his brain and act with his hand. His ready pen kept the political life of Holland in one continual ferment. He was opposed to peace with Spain under any circumstances. He said the quarrel was in its nature irreconcilable and eternal, because it was despotism sacerdotal and regal arrayed against the spirit of rational human liberty. His arguments were convincing, and his wit was as flashing and as quickly unsheathed as a sword.

The Dutch revolt was in itself the practical overthrow of religious tyr-

anny. It was a healthy and, for the age, an enlightened movement. But theological disputes arose upon the ruins of popular delusions, even among the Protestants themselves. Arminius, from the ancient University of Leyden, undertook the difficult task of justifying before the tribunal of human reason the doctrine of the condemnation of sinners predestined to evil. He publicly taught, also, that the ministers of the church ought to be dependent upon the civil authority. The municipalities caught at the cleverly thrown bait, and attempted to free themselves from the pretensions of the established clergy. Gomar, a celebrated scholar and a religious fanatic, defended the doctrines of the established Protestant church and its principles of ecclesiastical polity. He was an intimate associate of Usselincx; and both, being courageous, crafty, far-seeing men, were anxious to prolong a war which would render
1606. the absolute government of the magistrates impossible, and submission to the Prince of Orange a political necessity.

Thus two parties were formed which lasted down to the French Revolution, and even at the present day there remains of them nearly as much as of whiggism and toryism in England. They were divided in almost every question of public interest. The Belgian party were strict Calvinists and democrats, and their policy was to carry on the war with Spain until Belgium should be freed. The Barneveld party were Arminians, aristocrats, republicans, and quite content to give Belgium over to the Spaniards.

The question of the West India Company was agitated for nearly thirty years. Its actual existence dates from the year 1606. That is, commissioners were named from the Assembly at that period, and discussions were frequent in regard to it. But Barneveld, who was at the head of the Assembly, never seriously thought of confirming the corporation. He only wished to use it as a threat for the intimidation of Spain, and it was chiefly by this menace that the twelve years' truce was accomplished, which played so important a part in the history of the Netherlands.

The wrangling between the two political parties grew more fierce as the details of the peace negotiations became known. The river Scheldt was to be closed, Antwerp thus ruined, Belgium given up, and all attacks upon the Spanish forbidden. The peace party maintained the principle of excluding strangers from every employment, and of concentrating all public offices in a few patrician houses of the old stock. The impoverished, but proud and fiery Belgian exiles looked with dismay at their gloomy prospects in the event of the truce being agreed upon, and put forth all their energies towards the accomplishment of the West India Company. Usselincx wrote a series of pamphlets, in style simple

and effective, and which belong to the most remarkable productions of that class of literature. They created such a sensation, and attracted to such a degree the attention of contemporary historians, that the most distinguished of them all, Emanuel van Meteren, reprinted one of them entire

But the pamphlets, like the plan for the West India Company, only served to accelerate the conclusion of the truce. The Advocate made a singular use of his adversary's weapons. A cessation of hostilities for twelve years was signed by the representatives of the two nations in 1609. It was a signal victory for the aristocratic party. 1609.

But ten years later the great statesman paid for it with his life. No sooner had the Calvinistic faction gained the ascendency than the West India Company became a fixed fact. And it was due almost entirely to the herculean exertions of Usselincx. It is singular that a man who has earned so honorable a place in history should be so little known to the world. It is true that he never held an official position, yet he founded two great commercial companies, which were so prolific in results that, had justice been properly meted out, his name would have been immortalized. He contributed more than any power to annihilate Spain. He brought to New York the nation in which the principle of free communities — the vital principle of American liberty — was carried out to its full extent. He made Sweden a maritime power. And by the success of his enterprises, he was, in 1629, instrumental in saving Holland from the Spanish yoke, — an act so vast in its consequences that for it alone he deserves the eternal gratitude of all Germanic Europe.

In the mean time, and just about the date of the conclusion of the twelve years' truce with Spain, the East India Company had unwittingly discovered Manhattan Island, with which account the next chapter opens.

Portrait of John of Barneveld.

CHAPTER II.

1609 – 1614.

HENRY HUDSON.

HENRY HUDSON. — HIS VOYAGES. — HE DISCOVERS MANHATTAN ISLAND. — HIS VOYAGE UP THE HUDSON RIVER. — HIS VISIT TO AN INDIAN CHIEF. — HIS TRAGICAL FATE. — AMERICAN FURS. — SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA. — VOYAGES TO MANHATTAN. — THE FUR TRADE. — BURNING OF THE TIGER. — BUILDING OF A SHIP AT MANHATTAN. — DESCRIPTION OF MANHATTAN ISLAND. — THE MANHATTAN INDIANS. — CUSTOMS AND DRESS. — MONEY AND POLITICS. — TRADING PRIVILEGES.

OF the personal history of the illustrious navigator Henry Hudson very little is known. The first view we have of him is in the church of St. Ethelburge, Bishopsgate Street, London, in the summer of 1607, whither he had gone with his crew to partake of the sacrament before sailing under the auspices of the Muscovy Company in search of a passage to "Asia across the North Pole." His whole life as known to the world extends only over a period of about four years; and there is no portrait of him, not even a contemporaneous print of doubtful authenticity. This is the more remarkable as he lived in an age when it was quite the fashion to preserve the pictures of celebrities.[1] He appears before us a manly man in middle life, well educated, courageous, cool, an expert in seamanship, and of wide experience in his country's service. Who he was, has been a matter of much speculation. His father was probably Christopher Hudson, one of the factors of the Muscovy Company, and their agent in Russia as early as 1560, a personage who a little later was made governor of the company, — an office he retained with honor until 1601. The grandfather of the discoverer of New York is supposed to have been the Henry Hudson who, in 1554, figured among the founders, and was the first assistant, of the Muscovy Company.

[1] *Purchas His Pilgrimes and Pilgrimage. Hakluyt Collection of Voyages.* Vol. I. *N. Y. H. S. Coll.* (First Series). *Henry Hudson in Holland*, by Hon. Henry C. Murphy. *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, by Dr. Asher, member of the Hakluyt Society of London. *Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson*, by General John M. Read, Jr. *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, by Rev. B. F. de Costa.

Hudson's voyage in 1607 resulted only in his attaining a much higher degree of northern latitude than any of his predecessors. 1607.

The next year he sailed north again, but returned without having achieved any further measure of success. 1608.

The news that such voyages were in progress traveled in due course of time to Holland, and rendered the Dutch East India Company uneasy lest the discovery of a short route to India by their industrious rivals should suddenly deprive them of a lucrative trade. The learned historian, Van Meteren, was the Dutch minister at the Court of St. James, and through him messages were transmitted inviting Hudson to visit Holland.

It was not long ere the famous sea-captain arrived at the Hague, and was received with much ceremony. 1609. The officers of the company met, and all that had been discovered concerning the northern seas was carefully discussed. The Dutch had not been behind their neighbors in daring exploits. Even while raising enormous sums of money towards carrying on the war with Spain, they had bent every energy towards extending their commerce. Merchant companies and private adventures had been encouraged and assisted by the government. A number of expeditions had endeavored to reach "China behind Norway," and trading monopolies had been established in Guinea and at Archangel; in short, the sails of the nation whitened the waters of almost every clime. The noblemen who directed the affairs of the East India Company were as cautious as they were enterprising. Some of them had been so influenced by the representations of the sorely disappointed De Moucheron, Barentsen, Cornelissen, Heemskerck, and others, that they declared it would be a waste of time and money to attempt again the navigation of the vast oceans of ice. But Hudson stood before them full of enthusiasm, and expressed his ardent conviction that Asia might be reached by the northeast. Peter Plantius, a clergyman of the Reformed Dutch Church in Amsterdam, who had been engaged with Usselincx in trying to found the West India Company, opened a correspondence with Hudson, and sent him some of his own published works. Plantius had a profound knowledge of maritime affairs, the result of unwearied investigations, and he warmly seconded the effort to search for a northeastern passage. He said that the failure of Heemskerck in 1596 was due to his trying to go through the Straits of Weygate, instead of keeping to the north of the island of Nova Zembla.

After much delay, an expedition was finally planned and Hudson placed in command. The Amsterdam Chamber defrayed the expenses. They furnished a yacht, or Dutch galliot, — an awkward, clumsy kind of a brig, with square sails upon two masts. It was a tolerably safe craft, but a slow sailer, of forty lasts' or eighty tons' burden, and was called the

Half Moon. It was manned with a crew of twenty men, partly English and partly Dutch sailors. Hudson was instructed to pass by the north and northeast of Nova Zembla, towards the Straits of Anian, and to search for no other routes or passages but the one in question. He obeyed his employers to the letter, until the cold grew so intense that the seamen of the East India Company, who had been accustomed to warmer climates, became chilled and unfit for duty. Once or twice the vessel escaped as by a miracle from unknown currents, then mountains of ice encompassed it, and the crew were so terrified that they arrayed themselves in open rebellion. Hudson's only alternative was to turn back. He at once gave his attention to searching for a passage to Asia through the American Continent. He was familiar with Verrazano's charts and

Hudson's Ship.

reports, and he was a personal friend of Captain John Smith, whose adventures in America were watched in England with critical interest. He had good reasons for supposing that there was some communication with the South Sea at about the fortieth degree of latitude. He accordingly sailed southward as far as Virginia, then cruised along the shore in a northerly direction until the 2d of September, when he anchored in sight of the beautiful hills of Neversink, which hold the post of honor near the portals to our island. The next day he ventured a little farther into the lower bay, and found what he supposed to be three great rivers, one of which he tried to enter, but was prevented by "the very shoal bar before it."

Sept. 2.

Sept. 3.

Sept. 4. On the morning of September 4th he sent out a small boat to explore and sound the water, and a good harbor was found where

the sea "was four and five fathoms, two cables' length from shore." A great many fine fish were also discovered. Indians were seen along the shores, and towards evening they came prospecting around the *Half Moon* in small canoes. They were dressed in skins, wore feathers in their hair, and were adorned with clumsy copper ornaments. They brought with them green tobacco, and offered it as a peace-offering. They were so civil that a party of the sailors landed among them the next day, and were very well and deferentially treated. In addition to tobacco, they seemed to have a great abundance of maize, or Indian corn, dried currants, and hemp. Sept. 5.

On the 6th, John Coleman, an Englishman, who had been with Hudson on his previous polar voyages, was sent with four seamen to sound the Narrows. They passed through Kill von Kull to Newark Bay. The sweetness of the inner land, and the crisp saltness of the distant sea, were mixed in one delicious breeze, and they reported the country "as pleasant with grass and flowers as any they had ever seen." While returning to the *Half Moon* late in the afternoon, they were attacked by some Indians in canoes, and John Coleman was killed by one of their arrows. The Indians doubtless fired at random, as there is no evidence that hostilities were continued, or any attempt made to capture the boat, which in the confusion might have been done with the greatest ease. Night came on, and the frightened sailors lost their light and their way, and were tossed about on the troubled sea until ten o'clock the next morning, when, with the remains of their murdered officer, they were at last received upon the *Half Moon*. Coleman was buried upon a point of land near by, which was called Coleman's Point. Sept. 6. Sept. 7.

For some days afterward Hudson spent his time in examining the shores, sounding the waters, and bartering with the Indians. The latter were closely watched, but manifested no knowledge of the fatal affray by which John Coleman had lost his life. On the 11th the *Half Moon* was cautiously guided through the Narrows, and anchored in full view of Manhattan Island. How little Hudson dreamed that it would one day become the home of Europe's overflowing population! His mind was occupied with visions of a different character. He was encouraged to believe that he had at last found the passage to Cathay; for the river stretching off to the north was of such gigantic proportions as to dwarf almost to insignificance the comparative streamlets of the eastern continent! He determined to proceed at all hazards; but the wind was ahead, and he could move only with the flood tide, hence it was not until the 14th that he commenced the ascent of the river in earnest. Sept. 11. Sept. 14.

If Hudson had been a trained detective he could not have been sharper-eyed in his observations of the country along his route than his circumstantial journal indicates. The Indians hovered about his vessel, anxious to trade their produce for the buttons, ornaments, and trinkets of the sailors. On the 17th he anchored at a point just above the present city of Hudson, and the next day accompanied an old Indian chief to his home on the shore. It was a circular wigwam, and upon the Englishman's entrance, mats were spread upon the ground to sit upon, and eatables were passed round in a well-made red wooden bowl. Two Indians were sent in quest of game, and returned with pigeons. A fat dog was also killed, and skinned with sharp shells. Hudson was served to a sumptuous repast, but he declined an invitation to spend the night with his royal host, and the Indians, supposing it was because he was afraid of their bows and arrows, broke them in pieces and threw them in the fire.

Sept. 17.

They proceeded on their way up the river for a few days, but at last navigation became obstructed, and a boat was sent eight or nine leagues in advance to measure the water. "Seven foot and unconstant soundings" deterred the bold mariner from proceeding farther. He had gone as far as he could, and Asia was not yet. There are conflicting opinions as to the precise point reached by the *Half Moon*, but it is generally supposed that it attained about the latitude of Castle Island, just below Albany.

Sept. 23.

The glowing description which Hudson gave of the country and its resources was incorporated in an elaborate work by the Dutch historian De Laet, one of the directors of the West India Company some years later. Hudson wrote "that the land was of the finest kind for tillage, and as beautiful as the foot of man ever trod upon." He made himself, it seems, very agreeable to the natives. On one occasion he persuaded two old Indians and their squaws, and two maidens of sixteen and seventeen years, to dine with him in the cabin of his vessel, and said that "they deported themselves with great circumspection." At another time he treated some of the sachems to wine until they were merry, and one of them was so very drunk that he could not leave the *Half Moon* until the next day.[1]

Hudson commenced his return on the 23d, and, eleven days afterwards, "went out of the mouth of the great river," and sailed for Europe. On the 7th of November he arrived safely at Dartmouth, England, where he was detained by the English authorities, who denied his right to enter

[1] At this very moment the eminent French navigator, Champlain, was upon the waters of the lake which bears his name, and within one hundred miles of Hudson.

into the service of a foreign power. He forwarded a report of his adventures to the Dutch East India Company, with a proposal to change six or seven of his crew and allow him to try the frozen seas again. His communication did not reach Holland for several months, and his employers were ignorant of his arrival in England. When they were at last apprised of the fact, they sent a peremptory order for him to return with the *Half Moon.* He would have obeyed, but the arm of the English law withheld him. The vessel, however, was sent with its cargo to Holland.

The Muscovy Company made immediate arrangements to avail themselves of Hudson's valuable services, and fitted out another expedition to the north seas. The expenses were defrayed by private English gentlemen, one of whom was Sir Dudley Diggs. Hudson sailed towards the northeast again until the ice obstructed his progress, then proceeded westward, and after many trials and hardships discovered the bay and strait which have immortalized his name; but his superstitious crew greatly magnified the dangers by which they were surrounded, and at last arose in open mutiny. They placed their heroic commander in a small boat, to drift helplessly over the dreary waste of frozen waters, which are, alas! his tomb and his monument. To fully appreciate the character of such a man as Henry Hudson, we must never lose sight of the fact that the real hazards of those early voyages were exceedingly great, and the imaginary perils infinite. Even now, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, we cannot dwell upon his tragic fate without mourning that such a life could not have been spared to the world a little longer, and that he who accomplished so much for posterity should have had so slight a comprehension of the magnitude of his labors and discoveries.

The aristocratic Dutch East India Company regarded all Hudson's reports with indifference. They had a great aversion to America, and ignored it altogether. They had been coining wealth too long and too easily from the immense profits on their India goods to be interested in anything short of the Orient. They actually sent again two vessels to the North in 1611, to explore among the icebergs for a direct route to Asia, hoping to soften the edge of former disappointments.

But there were traders in the Netherlands whose eyes were opened to a hidden mine of wealth through the skins with which the returned *Half Moon* had been laden. Furs were much worn in the cold countries of Europe, and the Dutch reveled in the costly extravagance. These furs were obtained mostly through the Russian trade. From sixty to eighty Holland vessels visited Archangel every year, agents were stationed at Novogorod and other inland towns, and a brisk traffic was kept 1610.

up with ancient Muscovy. The wise Russian Emperor had courted this prosperous commerce, but had laid a duty of five per cent on all imported goods, and allowed an equivalent amount to be exported duty free. Whoever exported more than he imported paid a duty of five per cent on the difference.[1]

If the same and similar goods could be obtained in the New World in exchange for the veriest bawbles, and command a remunerative market at home, it was a golden opportunity. At all events, it was worth an investigation. A partnership was organized, and a vessel fitted out and laden with small wares. A portion of the crew of the *Half Moon*[2] were secured, and the ship was placed under the command of an experienced officer of the East India Company. Hudson River was again visited, and a cargo of skins brought back to Holland. The account of the voyage was published, and the friendly disposition of the Indians much descanted upon.

It was at a period when the press everywhere was teeming with pamphlets of travel and descriptions of the earth as far as known. Geography was becoming with some few a life-study, and every added grain of knowledge was seized with avidity.

England had already begun to think seriously of planting colonies in the New World. The timid James I., perplexed to know how to provide for the great numbers of gallant men of rank and spirit who had served under Queen Elizabeth both by sea and by land, and who were out of employment, had permitted a company to be formed in London for the purpose of settling Virginia, and in 1606 granted it a patent which embraced the entire Atlantic coast from Cape Fear to Nova Scotia, excepting Acadia, then in actual possession of the French. Many of the impoverished noblemen immediately embarked for their new home, and had been tilling the fertile soil of Virginia for three years prior to the discovery of Manhattan Island. These general facts were well known in Holland, and the States-General in 1611, through Caron, their ambassador at London, made overtures to the British government to join them in their Virginian Colony, and also to unite the East India trade of the two countries. But the statesmen of England were unfavorably inclined towards either project. Their reply was, "If we join upon equal terms, the art and industry of your people will wear out ours."[3]

1611.

[1] *Richesse de la Hollande*, I. 51. *Muilkerk. McCullagh's Industrial History.*

[2] *Heckewelder, New York Hist. Soc. Coll. Yates and Moulton.*

[3] *Winwood's Memorial*, III. 239. *Extract of a letter* from Mr. John Moore to Sir Francis Winwood, the English ambassador at the Hague, dated London, December 15, 1610. *Corps Dip.*, V. 99–102. *Grotius*, XVIII. 812. *Van Meteren.*

During the summer of 1611, Captain Hendrick Christiaensen, while returning from a voyage to the West Indies, where many Dutch vessels obtained salt every year, necessary for curing herrings, found himself in the vicinity of the "great river," the Hudson (which the Belgian Dutch called "Mauritius," in honor of the Prince of Orange), and but that his ship was heavily laden would have ventured in. As soon as he arrived in Holland he entered into a partnership with Adriaen Block; they chartered a small vessel, took goods on commission, and sailed for Manhattan. The Indians were glad to see them, and they had no difficulty in freighting their craft with skins. They also persuaded two young Indian chiefs, Orson and Valentine, to accompany them to Holland.

Block wrote a long and graphic account of his voyage, which was published and circulated in all the Dutch cities. Its object was to awaken public interest in the American fur-traffic. The two Indians were taken from place to place to create a sensation, and with pretty good success. Erelong three wealthy merchants, Hans Hongers, Paulus Pelgrom, and Lambrecht Van Tweenhuysen, formed a partnership and equipped two vessels for Manhattan. They were the *Fortune* and the *Tiger*, and were intrusted to the command of Christiaensen and Block. Presently some gentlemen in North Holland sent two vessels to trade at Manhattan. One of them, the *Little Fox*, was commanded by Captain John de Witt, an uncle of the celebrated Dutch statesman who was grand pensionary of the Netherlands in 1652. The other was the *Nightingale*, and was in charge of Captain Thys Volckertsen. Within three months the owners of the *Fortune* and the *Tiger* sent out a third vessel, commanded by Captain Cornelis Jacobsen May, who ten years later was made Director-General of New Netherland. Their success was flattering, for the Indians were captivated by the trinkets which were offered in exchange for skins.

It is worth noting that from the very first the admirable commercial position of Manhattan Island indicated it, as if by common consent, as the proper place where furs collected in the interior could be most readily shipped for Europe. Christiaensen, having won the confidence of his employers, became a legally appointed agent, and by means of trading-boats visited every creek, bay, river, and inlet in the neighborhood where an Indian settlement was to be found. He often took, also, long journeys into the country on foot, and was everywhere treated by the savages with kindness and consideration. 1613.

One clear cold night in November the *Tiger* took fire at its anchorage, just off the southern point of Manhattan Island, and Block and his crew escaped with much difficulty to the shore. The vessel burned to the water's edge, and as the other ships had all sailed for Holland there was

no possible hope of any assistance from white men before spring. Block accepted the situation like a true philosopher, and erected four small habitations on the island at about the present site of 39 Broadway. Of their architecture we have no means of information, but they were doubtless of the wigwam family. The Indians were hospitably inclined, bringing food out of their abundance, and the sailors were enabled to exist with comparative comfort until spring. Block was a plain man, of no inconsiderable tact and capacity. He had been bred to the law, but had deserted his profession to study the science of navigation. He must have had a versatile genius, for he set himself at work with great energy to construct a new vessel upon the charred remains of the *Tiger*.[1]

Burning of the Tiger.

It was an arduous undertaking with the slender materials at command. Indeed, it requires considerable stretch of the imagination, in this age of mechanical luxury, to understand how such a feat could have been accomplished at all. But it is one of the facts of history, and early in the spring of 1614 the justly famous yacht of 16 tons' burden was found seaworthy, and launched in the waters of the Upper Bay.

1614.

It was significantly called the *Restless*. Block set forth in it to explore

[1] *Plantagenet's New Albion. Brodhead*, 48, note. *Breeden Raedt aen de Vereeinghde Nederlandsche Provintien* contains a statement made by the Indians, that "when the Dutch lost a ship we provided the white men with food until the new ship was finished." *De Laet* says: "To carry on trade with the Indians our people remained all winter." *De Vries* repeats the same. A record of the burning of the Tiger exists in the Royal Archives at the Hague under date of August 18, 1614.

the tidal channels to the east, where no large ships had yet ventured. He passed the numerous islands, and the dangerous strait called Hell Gate, and to his amazement found himself in a "beautiful inland sea," which extended eastward to the Atlantic. He was the first European navigator, as far as we have any precise knowledge, who ever furrowed the waters of Long Island Sound.

About the same date, Captain May again reached the American shores and, hovering along the eastern and southern boundaries of Long Island, proved that it was indeed an island. Finding his business soon transacted at Manhattan, he visited Delaware Bay, and bestowed his name upon its northern cape. Block, meanwhile, interested himself in the peculiarities of the southern coast of Connecticut, and sailed up the great Fresh River as far as where the city of Hartford now stands.[1] He then proceeded to Cape Cod, where he unexpectedly met Christiaensen. After some discussion they finally exchanged vessels, and Block sailed for Holland in the larger and safer craft of his comrade, while Christiaensen continued to make explorations along the coast in the *Restless*.

Thus was Manhattan Island again left in primeval solitude, waiting till commerce should come and claim its own. To the right, the majestic North River, a mile wide, unbroken by an island; to the left, the deep East River, a third of a mile wide, with a chain of slender islands abreast; ahead, a beautiful bay fifteen miles in circumference, at the foot of which the waters were cramped into a narrow strait with bold steeps on either side; and astern, a small channel dividing the island from the mainland to the north, and connecting the two salt rivers. Nature wore a hardy countenance, as wild and untamed as the savage landholders. Manhattan's twenty-two thousand acres of rock, lake, and rolling table-land, rising in places to an altitude of one hundred and thirty-eight feet, were covered with somber forests, grassy knolls, and dismal swamps. The trees were lofty; and old, decayed, and withered limbs contrasted with the younger growth of branches, and wild-flowers wasted their sweetness among the dead leaves and uncut herbage at their roots. The wanton grape-vine swung carelessly from the topmost boughs of the oak and the sycamore, and blackberry and raspberry bushes, like a picket-guard, presented a bold front in all the possible avenues of approach. Strawberries struggled for a feeble existence in various places, sometimes under foliage through which no sunshine could penetrate, and wild rose-bushes and wild currant-bushes hobnobbed, and were often found clinging to frail footholds among the ledges and cliffs, while apple-trees pitifully beckoned with their dwarfed fruit, as if to be relieved from too intimate an association with the giant

[1] *De Laet. Mass. Hist. Coll.*, XV. 170. *Brodhead*, I. 57.

progeny of the crowded groves. The entire surface of the island was bold and granitic, and in profile resembled the cartilaginous back of a sturgeon. Where the Tombs prison now casts its grim shadow in Center Street, was a fresh-water lake, supplied by springs from the high grounds about it, so deep that the largest ships might have floated upon its surface, and pure as the Croton which now flows through the reservoirs of the city. It had two outlets, — small streams, one emptying into the North, the other into the East River.

It was not an interesting people whom the Dutch found in possession of Manhattan Island They have ever been surrounded with darkness and dullness, and we can promise very little entertainment while we call them up before us, with all their peculiarities of life, language, and garb, and with a few touches sketch them as a whole. They were tall, well made, broad of shoulder and slender in the waist, with large round faces, mild black eyes, and a cinnamon complexion. The distinguished scholar, Dr. O'Callaghan, says: "It was first supposed that this color was the effect of climate, but it has since been discovered to have been produced by the habitual use of unctuous substances, in which the juice of some root was incorporated, and by which this peculiar tinge was communicated to the skin of the North American Indian." They lived in huts which were built by placing two rows of upright saplings opposite each other, with their tops brought together and covered with boughs. These dwellings were skillfully lined with bark to keep out the cold. They were often large enough to accommodate several families; but it must be remembered that each Indian only required space enough to lie down straight at night, and a place to keep a kettle and one or two other housekeeping articles. Windows and floors were unknown; fires were built on the ground in the center, and the smoke escaped through a small aperture in the roof.

The Indians never located permanently, but moved about from one place to another, selecting such points as were naturally clear of wood. The men understood the use of the bow and arrow, and spent much of their time in hunting and fishing. They made fish-lines of grass or sinews, with bones or thorns for hooks. *Wigwas* was a process of fishing after dark, similar to that termed *bobbing* at the present day. They gathered shell-fish and oysters in great abundance, so that, wherever the land has been found covered with the *débris* of shells, it has been regarded as a certain indication that an Indian village once existed there. The Dutch found one such locality on the west side of Fresh-Water Pond, which they named Kalch-Hook, or Shell-Point. In course of time this name was abbreviated into Kalch or Collech, and was applied to the pond itself.

The women, as usual among uncivilized nations, performed most of the field-work. The savages raised large quantities of corn and patches of tobacco, and even pumpkins were cultivated in a rude, primitive way. They used sharpened shells for knives, and with them cut down trees and constructed canoes. Although they had no tables nor ceremonies of eating, they were by no means indifferent to the quality of their food. It is even reported by some of the Dutch pioneers in the wilderness that much of their cookery was very palatable. *Vockey* was a mush made of pounded corn and the juice of wild apples. *Suppaen* was corn beaten and boiled in water. *Succotash* was corn and beans boiled together. Corn was often roasted upon the ear. Fish and meat were boiled in water, undressed, entrails and all; dog's flesh was one of their greatest delicacies. Hickory-nuts and walnuts they pounded to a fine pulp, and, mixing it with water, made a popular drink. Supplies for winter they lodged under ground in holes lined with bark. But, like the South American Indians, they had no letters, and had never broken in a single animal to labor. They conveyed their ideas by hieroglyphics, like the ancient Egyptians, and were extremely superstitious.

Of dress both sexes were extravagantly fond. The mantle of skins worn by the men was often elaborately trimmed. The hair was tied on the crown of the head, and adorned with gay-colored feathers. The hair of the women was dressed very much like Guido's picture of "Venus adorned by the Graces." It was sometimes braided, and sometimes flowing loose down the back with the appearance of having been crimped. The same style may now be seen in some recent paintings made by artists who have visited the Southwestern Indians, and it is not unusual in the pictures of the old masters and in the busts of the Grecian sculptures. A highly ornamented petticoat, made of whale-fins and suspended from a belt or waist girdle, was very costly. Its value is said to have been equal to eighty dollars of our currency. Chains of curious workmanship, sometimes only a collection of stones, were much worn upon the necks of both men and women, and wrought copper was suspended from their ears in a very Oriental manner.

Gold was regarded by them with contempt on account of its color. Red and azure were their favorite hues. *Wampum* was their money, while at the same time it was used as an ornament for their persons. It consisted of small cylindrical beads manufactured from the white lining of the conch and the purple lining of the mussel shells. The purple beads were worth just twice as much as white beads. From a circulating medium among the Indians, it became the recognized currency of the early white settlers, and the Dutch called it *sewan*. In like manner, a

species of shells are used at the present day as money in the interior of Africa.

Public affairs were managed by a council of the wisest, most experienced, and bravest of their number, called sachems. They had no salary nor fees, to make office an object of ambition. Authority was secured by personal courage and address, and lost by failure in either of those qualities. Law and justice, in our acceptation of the terms, were unknown to them. When a murder was committed, the next of kin was the avenger. For minor offences there was rarely ever any punishment. Prisoners of war were considered to have forfeited all their rights of manhood, and towards them no pity or mercy was shown. With excessive thirst for excitement and display, war became their common lot and condition. The whole tendency of their lives and habits was to that point, and to be a great warrior was the highest possible distinction. They had crude and confused opinions respecting the creation of the world and a future existence, and held vague ideas of a discrimination between the body and soul, but to all systems of religion they were entire strangers. Such was the race which gave way to modern civilization.

Sept. 1. On Block's return to Holland,[1] with the *Fortune* (Christiaensen's vessel, which he had exchanged for the *Restless*), his patrons received him with enthusiasm, and made immediate preparations to avail themselves of a new feature of governmental favor towards enterprising trade.

March 27. The States-General, anxious to encourage the foreign commerce of Holland, in January, 1614, had granted a charter to an association of merchants for prosecuting the whale fishery in the neighborhood of Nova Zembla, and for exploring a new passage to China. One of the directors of this new company was Lambrecht Van Tweenhuysen, one of the owners of Block's vessel, the *Tiger*. The importance of a similar grant of privileges to those at whose expense new avenues of trade were being opened in the vicinity of Manhattan was almost immediately discussed. A petition to that effect was sent to the States.[2] The States recommended it to the general government. On the 27th of March the following was entered upon their records: "Whosoever shall from this

[1] A story has been many times repeated, how Captain Samuel Argall of Virginia, while returning from an inglorious expedition against the French colony at Acadia, in November of 1613, stopped at Manhattan and compelled the Dutch who were there to submit to the king of England. Such may have been in accordance with the facts, for it would have been in keeping with Argall's coarse, self-willed, and avaricious character; but it is not supported by authentic state papers.

[2] "The States" of Holland must not be confounded with the States-General. The difference was as great as between the representation of the State of New York and the Federal Congress at Washington.

time forward discover any new passages, havens, lands, or places shall have the exclusive right of navigating to the same for four voyages."

It was required that reports of discoveries should be made to the States-General within fourteen days after the return of the exploring vessels, in order that the parties entitled to them should receive the specific trading privileges. When simultaneous discoveries should be made by different parties, the promised monopoly was to be enjoyed by them in common.

View of the Vyverberg at the Hague.

CHAPTER III.

1614 - 1625.

THE HAGUE.

THE HAGUE. — JOHN OF BARNEVELD. — NEW NETHERLAND. — NEW ENGLAND. — THE FIRST FORT AT MANHATTAN. — POLITICAL COMMOTION IN HOLLAND. — JOHN OF BARNEVELD'S EXECUTION. — IMPRISONMENT OF GROTIUS. — THE WEST INDIA COMPANY. — THE AMSTERDAM CHAMBER. — THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW NETHERLAND. — DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. — DEATH OF JAMES I. — THE MARRIAGE OF CHARLES I. — THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF NEW NETHERLAND.

THE Hague was the seat of government in the United Provinces. It was a fine old city, with broad, straight streets, lined with trees and traversed by canals. It owed its origin to a hunting-seat built by the counts of Holland, and its name to the enclosing *haeg* or hedge which surrounded their magnificent park. It derived its importance from the constant presence of gifted and illustrious men. The princes of Orange, the officers of State, and the foreign ministers accredited to the Republic, resided within its limits. It was the home of the ancient nobility, and the favorite resort of persons of culture and distinction from all portions of modern Europe. It was a city of palaces. Among its public buildings was the *Binnehof*, or inner court, the ancient palace of the counts of Holland. It contained a magnificent Gothic hall, the rival of Westminster. Opposite was a smaller apartment, superbly decorated, in which were held the "dignified and extraordinary" meetings of the States-General.

1614.

The management of the Seven United Provinces was vested in five chief powers, — the States-General, the Council of State, the Chamber of Accounts, the Stadtholder, and the College of the Admiralty. The States-General had the most influence and authority, but it was hardly a representative body. It was, more properly speaking, a deputation from the Seven Provinces, who were bound to obey their constituents to the letter. It was composed chiefly of noblemen. Twelve usually assembled at its ordinary meetings. Prominent among them was the founder of the Dutch Republic, — he who had organized a political system out of

chaos; a man who had no superior in statesmanship, in law, in the science of government, in intellectual power, in force of character. It was John of Barneveld. He bore an ancient and knightly name. He was of tall and commanding presence. While he cared more for the substance than the graces of speech, he was noted for his convincing rhetoric and magnetic eloquence. He had now reached his sixty-eighth year. He was austere and unbending in manner, with thin white hair pushed from a broad forehead which rose dome-like above a square and massive face. He had a chill blue eye, not winning but commanding, high cheek-bones, a solid, somewhat scornful nose, a firm mouth and chin, the latter of which was enveloped in a copious white beard, and the whole head not unfitly framed in the stiff, formal ruff of the period. His magisterial robes were of velvet and sable, and thus we have him in our mind's eye as he sat at the head of the oval council table on October 11, 1614.

In the midst of the transaction of weighty affairs of state, a committee of Amsterdam merchants was announced. They were admitted without delay. The chief speaker among them was Captain Block. He told his story of adventure and discovery, and displayed a "Figurative map" of the country at the mouth of the Hudson River and thereabouts, which had been executed artistically under his own supervision, and which was spread upon the council table and examined with interest. Barneveld asked many questions, all of which Block answered promptly and intelligently. Barneveld remarked that, "in course of time those extensive regions might become of great political importance to the Dutch Republic." Several of the Statesmen expressed the same opinion.

The merchants were before them to petition for a special trading license to the Hudson country, and the "high and mighty lords" were so favorably inclined, that their secretary was at once ordered to draw up a minute of a trading charter, the original of which is in existence, and records in almost illegible characters the first use of the term NEW NETHERLAND. This instrument was sealed and attested before the applicants left; and by it they were granted the full and exclusive right to trade in New Netherland for four successive voyages to be made within three years from the 1st of January, 1615. It expressly forbade any other party from sailing out of the United Provinces to that territory, or frequenting the same, within the time specified, under pain of confiscation of vessels and cargoes, and a fine of fifty thousand Netherland ducats to the benefit of the grantees of the charter.[1] It was a distinct act of

[1] The original charter was brought to light by Mr. Brodhead during his researches in the archives of the Hague.

sovereignty over the country between New France and Virginia, which was called "New Netherland," a name which it continued to bear for half a century. It was entirely without boundary lines, and extended westward as far as the Dutch might be supposed ever to explore. Yet the charter, after all, was only an assurance to the associated merchants of a monopoly of trade against the competition of other Dutch subjects, without, for the present, asserting the right to exclude the outside world. No political powers were granted for the government of the new province, and nothing was at the time contemplated but discovery and traffic.

1615.

It is a singular coincidence, that, during the same summer in which Block was exploring Long Island Sound, Captain John Smith was visiting the bays and coasts of Maine and Massachusetts. And about the very time that the States-General were granting the above charter, the Crown Prince of England was confirming the name "NEW ENGLAND," which Smith had given to the territories north of Cape Cod.

Block never revisited this country, where he holds an honorable place in the annals of its discovery, and where his name will ever be remembered as the first ship-builder. The enterprising Van Tweenhuysen sent him north on a whaling voyage, as his services were esteemed more valuable in that direction.

The merchant company were not slow to draw from their new possessions the largest returns. They fitted out several vessels for the Hudson or Mauritius River, and sent with them some of the shrewdest traders in Holland. They ordered Christiaensen to erect a trading-house, which he did on an island a little below the present city of Albany. It was thirty-six feet long by twenty-six wide, and around it was raised a stockade fifty feet square, which was encircled by a moat eighteen feet wide, the whole being defended by two pieces of cannon, and eleven stone guns mounted on swivels. The post was called Fort Nassau, was garrisoned with twelve men, and placed under the command of Jacob Eelkens, who had a rare talent for making friends with the Indians. Christiaensen had scarcely completed his work, when he was murdered by one of the young chiefs whom he had taken to Holland three years before, thus finding a grave in the country to which he had made more successful voyages than any one man up to that time.

In the early part of the spring, a building was erected on the lower point of Manhattan Island, to answer the double purpose of storehouse and fort. It was a small structure of logs, without any very practicable defences of any kind. A few huts sprung up around it after this wise. A square pit was dug in the ground, cellar fashion, six or seven feet deep

and from twelve to thirty feet long, floored with plank, and roofed with spars, bark and sods being added when necessary to exclude the cold. The traders lived usually in their ships, but it was found convenient to have a few men on shore to guard the warehouse, and to keep the furs gathered, ready for shipment to Holland.

Thus two years passed. No event of any note happened until the spring of 1617, when Fort Nassau was nearly washed away by a freshet on the breaking up of the ice on the Hudson River. The traders desired to remain in the vicinity of this great eastern terminus of the Indian thoroughfare, and built a new fort on an eminence, which the Mohawks called *Twass-gunshe*, near the mouth of the *Twasentha* River. Soon after taking possession of these new quarters, a formal treaty was concluded with the chiefs of the Five Nations. The ceremonies were imposing, each dusky tribe having an ambassador present. The pipe of peace was smoked and the hatchet buried, the Dutch agreeing to build a church over the instrument of death, so that to exhume it would be to overturn the sacred edifice. It was a politic movement on the part of the Dutch, for they thus secured the quiet possession of the Indian trade to the filling of their coffers, while the Indians were well satisfied, for they had learned the use of fire-arms from the French, and were now eager to get them and maintain their supremacy over the neighboring tribes. 1617.

On the 1st of January, 1618, the trading charter expired by its own limitation, and, when the associated merchants tried to renew it, the States-General only consented to give a special license to trade at New Netherland from year to year. The Dutch Republic was once more in commotion from centre to circumference, and the West India Company was the chief point at issue. Since the ministers of state were unable to prophesy probable results, they were careful not to involve themselves in American affairs. Usselincx had been quietly at work since 1609, and, although he was well aware that the establishment of the desired company must necessarily be postponed until the expiration of the truce, yet there were many obstacles to be removed, and, in his judgment, it was none too early to be taking the preliminary steps. In all his movements he was effectually aided by Maurice, Prince of Orange. 1618.

The outward shape of the strife was religious. A theological battle was in progress between Arminianism and strict Calvinism. A conspiracy against Barneveld was rapidly approaching its crisis. He was a liberal Christian, and had all his life advocated religious toleration. The Belgians called him "Pope John." They charged him with being a traitor bought with Spanish gold. Poisonous pamphlets appeared day

after day, until there was hardly a crime in the calendar that was not laid at his door. It was a horrible personal assault upon the venerable statesman who had successfully guided the counsels of the infant commonwealth at a period when most of his accusers were in their cradles, and when mistake would have been ruin to the Republic. He stood in the way of the formation of the West India Company, and the Belgians were determined to get rid of him. Prince Maurice was an ambitious general, and although Barneveld had been the first to elevate him to his father's position as Stadtholder, and inspire the whole country with respect for his military skill and leadership, yet the truce with Spain deprived him of a large share of his authority and influence, and he felt himself so thwarted by the power of the patriotic advocate, that he helped to organize the campaign against him, making no secret of his hatred, and determination to crush him from off the face of the earth.

At last the Advocate was arrested by the order of Maurice, and closely confined in one of the apartments of the Prince. The shower of pamphlets and lampoons and libels began afresh, filled with dark allusions to horrible discoveries and promised revelations. Even the relatives of the fallen statesman could not appear in the streets without being exposed to insult, and without hearing all manner of obscene verses and scurrilous taunts howled in their ears. The clergy upheld Maurice, because, having been excluded from political office, they were in active opposition to the civil authorities. They helped to spread the story that Spain had bribed Barneveld to bring about the truce and kill the West India Company; and also that the Advocate had plotted to sell the whole country and drive Maurice into exile. The nobles, the states, the municipal governments, and every man who dared defend Barneveld, were libeled and accused of being stipendiaries of Spain. The war waxed so serious that soldiers were kept constantly on duty to prevent bloodshed in the streets. And at this critical moment, the weak king of England inflamed the mischief by personal intermeddling.

Aug. 29.

The National Synod of Dordrecht was finally appointed, and foreign churches invited to send delegates. It came together on the 13th of November, 1618, and sat for more than seven months, at a cost to the Republic of a million of guilders. It resulted in a Calvinist victory, the Arminians being pronounced "innovators, rebellious, leaders of faction, teachers of false doctrine, and disturbers of church and nation."

Nov. 13.

The president said, in his address to the foreign members at the close of the session, that "the marvelous labors of the Synod had made hell tremble."

1619. May 9.

Meanwhile, Barneveld had been for several months confined in a

dreary garret room, and kept in complete ignorance of even the most insignificant every-day events. On the 18th of March he was brought to trial, but not permitted the help of lawyer, clerk, or man of business. His papers and books were denied him, also pen, ink, and writing materials. He made his own defence with indignant eloquence, but it availed him nothing. Four days after the termination of the Synod, on the morning of the 13th of May, the majestic old man was led into the vast hall, which had so often in other days rung with the sounds of mirth and revelry, and received the sentence of death. Then he was taken to a scaffold in the hollow square in front of the ancient palace, and beheaded. He was within five months of the completion of his seventy-second year. His property was confiscated to the state, and his proud and prosperous family reduced to beggary.

Mch. 18.

May 13.

His principal adherents were imprisoned for life. Hugh Grotius, who was a powerful opponent to the prospective West India Company, was sent to the Castle of Loevenstein, which stood on an island formed by the Waal and the Meuse. He was an illustrious Dutch jurist and author, and influenced a large class of people who were not directly involved in the theological controversy. He was so closely guarded in his prison for a time, that not even his father or his wife were allowed an interview with him. His wife at last obtained permission to share his fate. In her society and in close study he passed two years, during which time he wrote some very important works. His wife had been in the habit of receiving books in a large chest, and, finding that the guards had grown somewhat careless in its examination, she ingeniously managed one morning to have Grotius carried out in it. He disguised himself as a mason, and with trowel and rule made his escape to Antwerp. He afterward took up his abode in Paris, and was protected by the French government.

Immediately after the removal of the chief antagonist, Usselincx started a subscription list for the West India Company, but it was filled out slowly. The States-General were unwilling that a foreign element should create to itself so mighty an arm. They had no sympathy with its grand purpose, which was to combat and worry Spain, and gather its recompense from the spoils. The East India Company openly and persistently opposed the whole project. For a year scarcely any progress was made. Finally the English unwittingly added the straw which was to turn the scale. They had taken cognizance of the Dutch traffic on the Hudson River, and instructed their minister at the Hague to remind the States-General of the patent which James I. granted to the Plymouth and London companies, and of its broad jurisdiction. He was also directed to warn the Dutch statesmen of the

1619.

1620.

impropriety of their permitting Dutch vessels to visit English coasts for purposes of traffic. There was an animated diplomatic correspondence on the subject, each government trying to define its own position, and justify its own acts, and establish its own rights. But no definite results were attained, save that the States-General were sharp-sighted enough to discover that the only power by which they could possibly hold New Netherland was absolute possession. In the newly drafted constitution of the West India Company was a clause by which the corporation would be obligated to people the so-called Dutch territory of North America. The prospective company, therefore, was suddenly regarded with less disfavor. In a few weeks it received decided and direct encouragement from the Dutch government; and, after many birth-throes, it became an accomplished fact.

1621. Probably no private corporation was ever invested with such enormous powers. But the right to the vast and valuable lands in America, with which it was endowed by the States-General, was not legally established, and was the seed for a bountiful harvest of discontent. The company was organized into almost a distinct and separate government. It might make contracts and alliances with the princes and the natives comprehended within the limits of its charter. It might build forts. It might appoint and discharge governors, soldiers, and public officers. It might administer justice. It might take any step which seemed desirable for the promotion of trade. And its admirals on distant seas were empowered to act independently of administration. It was required, it is true, to communicate with the States-General from time to time of its treaties and alliances, and to furnish detailed statements of its forts and settlements, and to submit to their high mightinesses for approval, all instructions for prominent officials, and apply to them for high commissions. It took upon itself, however, — and without properly appreciating the magnitude of the undertaking, — one of the greatest of public burdens, the naval war against a powerful enemy, and assumed at once a thoroughly dangerous position. Warfare is always so manifestly unprofitable, that to undertake it without the aid of government, in any event, is sheer folly. "Needful assistance" was promised, but the company soon found that they had no means of enforcing the fulfilment of such a promise. And to increase their future difficulties, the Barneveld party recovered strength, and, in course of years, found in the De Witts even more powerful leaders than Barneveld himself had been.

The West India Company was modelled after the East India Company. It was guaranteed the trade of the American and African shores of the Atlantic, precisely as the East India Company had been granted the

right to send ships to Asia, to the exclusion of the other inhabitants of the Dutch provinces. It was divided, like the East India Company, into five chambers, or boards, which were located in the five cities of Amsterdam, the Meuse, North Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. Each of these chambers was a separate society, with members, directors, and vessels of its own. The capital of the company was six million florins, — about $2,500,000. This sum, however, was not divided equally between the five chambers, but Amsterdam had four ninths; Zealand, two ninths; and each of the other three chambers, one ninth. In nearly the same proportion was the representation in the general committee of nineteen directors who conducted the common affairs of the company, and were called the "College of the XIX."[1] They adopted the democratic prin-

West India Company's House.

ciples of the Belgians, and accorded to the shareholders a voice in all important proceedings, which was a constant reproach to the East India Company, and created no inconsiderable amount of slanderous misrepresentation and cavil.

As soon as the provisional existence of the company had become a permanent one, there was a change in the tone of public sentiment. Those who had used their pens with the utmost virulence to prevent its accomplishment, turned about and declared it to be the first move on the direct road to national prosperity. Its final organization was delayed two

[1] Charter at length, in *Groot, Placaat Book*, I. 566; *Hazard; Brodhead; Lambrechtsen; De Laet; Doc. History of N. Y.; O'Callaghan: Biographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets*, by G. M. Asher, LL. D.

years longer; during which time two questions occupied the minds of all interested parties. "Shall the Guinea trade and the salt trade be integral parts of the patent of the company?" The affirmative gained the day. Then arose pecuniary complications. The opposition of the East India Company had created a panic in regard to the credit and character of the new company, and the directors were not able to collect a sufficient amount of capital to commence operations until they had twice declared the list of subscribers closed. The original charter was also twice amplified in certain points of detail, and articles of internal improvement adopted. It was formally approved by the States-General on the 21st of June, 1623.

1623. The extraordinary company struck out boldly. Its fleets often numbered as many as seventy armed vessels each. It seemed destined to humble Spain, whether it suppressed or promoted piracy. It met with many brilliant successes. Prizes were captured of such value, that, during the first few years, the shareholders received from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent upon their investments. Although the six millions of capital had been brought together with difficulty, twelve millions were easily added. The first ten years of its existence were marked by three events of historic importance, — the taking of Bahia in 1624; the capture in 1628 of the Silver fleet, which consisted of large armed transports conveying silver and gold from the South American mines to Spain; and the conquest of Pernambuco in 1630: all of which are fondly remembered in Holland. But its history might have been foretold. There were defects in its organization which rendered it unable to establish a thriving commerce or flourishing settlements. And the possessions which it obtained were never governed properly.

Within a month after its incorporation, three ships were sent to the West Indies, and an armed expedition dispatched for an attack upon Brazil. New Netherland received only such attention as was necessary to satisfy the States-General that it would ultimately be colonized, according to contract, by the company. New Netherland affairs were intrusted to the Amsterdam Chamber. The treasure was sufficient to have enriched them if they had known how to develop its valuable trade and fertile lands. They blundered, as bodies of men with more light and wider experience have been continually blundering ever since their time. They desired to make money in some more swift and easy manner, and failed to put their efforts in the right place. They however erected the indefinite territory

Flag of West India Company.

into a province, with a grant from the States-General of the armorial distinctions of a count. The seal was a shield bearing a beaver proper, surmounted by a count's coronet, encircled by the words "SIGILLUM NOVI BELGII."

The directors of the Amsterdam Chamber were John De Laet, the historian, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, Michael Pauw, Peter Evertsen Hulft, Jonas Witsen, Hendrick Hamel, Samuel Godyn, and Samuel Blommaert. They were all men of wealth and education. But they were none of them very deeply interested in the wild Indian country. However, they took measures to secure a party of Protestant Walloons, to send over to their new possessions. These people were that portion of the Belgians who were of Celtic origin, and were ingenious as well as brave and industrious. They had applied the year before to the English for permission to emigrate to Virginia, but the conditions offered by the Virginia Company had been such that they had seen fit to decline them. A ship called the *New Netherland*, commanded by Captain May, conveyed thirty of these families to our shores. They brought with them a knowledge of the arts in which they were proficient, and were distinguished for their extraordinary persistence in overcoming difficulties. A young man by the name of Dobbs was one of the passengers in this vessel. He was the ancestor of a large and influential family, among whom was Dr. Benjamin P. Aydelott, a well-known physician in the time of Dr. Hosack and Dr. Francis. Upon their arrival, two families and six men were sent to the great Fresh River, and the remainder proceeded to the fort on the Hudson River, excepting eight of the men, who remained at Manhattan. A new fort was immediately projected on the alluvial soil now occupied by the business portion of Albany, and called Fort Orange, in honor of Maurice, who was greatly beloved by the Belgians. **1624.**

About the same time preparations were made for occupying the genial valley of the South or Delaware River. A few traders selected a spot on its east bank, near the present town of Gloucester, in New Jersey, and built a fort which they called Fort Nassau. Later in the season other vessels came from Holland, bringing settlers, and about eighteen persons were added to the colony at Albany. Adrian Joris, the second to Captain May in command, sent his vessel to Holland in charge of his son, and stayed with them all winter. Eelkens was arrested in January for imprisoning a Sequin chief on board his yacht, and Peter Barentsen was made commander of the post in his place.

The income from the fur-trade of New Netherland during that first year amounted to twenty-eight thousand guilders. The West India Company, who were already elated with their victories in Brazil, **1625.**

were gratified, and began to discuss the project of building a town upon Manhattan Island, which was represented as a point of great natural beauty, and favorably located for commerce. To test the disposition of adventurers, they publicly offered inducements to such as might wish to emigrate to America. Volunteers were not wanting in populous Holland, and three large ships were soon freighted, also one fast sailing yacht. Six entire families and several single men, forty-five persons in all, with household furniture, farming utensils, and one hundred and three head of cattle, were conveyed to Manhattan. One of the party, William Verhulst, succeeded Captain May in the government, as the latter was suddenly called to Holland on important private business.

The year 1625 was marked by two important European events which had a direct bearing upon the future prospects of New Netherland. The first was the death of the accomplished Maurice, at the Hague. In him the West India Company lost one of their most zealous and influential champions, and the national army their commander-in-chief. The office of Stadtholder was conferred upon Frederick Henry, who excelled the military Maurice in political capacity, and succeeded him as Prince of Orange.

The other event was the death of James I. of England, and the consequent accession of Charles I. to the throne. England was already at war with Spain. James had been exasperated at the failure of his projects in relation to the marriage of Charles with the Infanta, Donna Maria, who subsequently became the wife of the Emperor of Germany. He had been plunged into hostilities, which the resources of England were illy able to sustain, and Charles had no sooner taken the scepter in his hand than he commenced negotiating an alliance with the Dutch Republic against the common enemy. Meanwhile he married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France. She came to England with a train of Roman Catholic priests and attendants, which quickly stirred the English people into a commotion, and intensified the hatred which they bore towards Roman Catholic queens. Charles was a monarch of elegant, gentleman-like tastes, of dignified manners, and of great obstinacy of purpose. He could not apparently conceive of any obligation on the part of a king to his subjects. He set himself deliberately at work, in defiance of all law, to introduce into his own country the system of government which prevailed in France. He had not by any means the wretched excuse of a wife's influence. Henrietta had indeed refused to be crowned, lest she should join in the rites of the Church of England. But she was a mere child in years, totally uncultivated, and ignorant of the language and history of her husband's country, and knew nothing

whatever about the Anglican religion. She had been not only betrothed, but married to Charles by proxy. The Duke de Chevreuse, a near kinsman of the king, acted in that capacity. At the ceremony, which took place in the porch of Nôtre Dame, he was attired in black velvet, and wore a scarf flowered with diamond roses. The bride wore a magnificent white satin robe, threaded with gold and silver, and flowered with French lilies in gems and diamonds. The Queen mother, Marie de Medicis, shone like a pillar of precious stones, and her long train was borne by two princes of the blood, Condé and Conti. But out of respect to the religious feelings of Charles, the English ambassadors, and even the proxy himself, withdrew from the Nôtre Dame during the concluding mass. The cortège of the bride landed at Dover, June 23d, just after sunset. At ten the next morning the king arrived while Henrietta was breakfasting. She rose from the table, hastily, and ran down a pair of stairs to greet him, and offered to kneel and kiss his hand; but he was too full of gallantry to permit her to do so, and caught her in his arms and folded her to his heart with many loving caresses. She had been taught to say, "Sir, I have come to your Majesty's country to be commanded by you," but the set speech failed her, and she burst into tears. Charles became very fond of her and took great pride in her beauty and musical powers, but he never discussed matters of state with her. Pope Urban VIII. was exceedingly averse to the marriage. He said, "If the Stuart king relaxes the bloody penal laws against the Roman Catholics, the English will not suffer him to live long! If those laws are continued, what happiness can the French princess have in her wedlock?" These words were prophetic, as we shall see in future chapters.

Finally, through much astute diplomacy, the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between England and the United Netherlands; each nation agreeing to furnish fleets for the purpose of destroying the Spanish commerce in the East Indies.[1] It was also stipulated that the war and merchant vessels of the two countries should be free to enter the ports of each other. One of the first-fruits of this new relationship[2] was a meeting of the West India Company for the transaction of special business. The moment had arrived when the colonization of New Netherland might be attempted without probable English inter-

[1] *Corps Dip.*, Vol. II. 458, 478. *Clarendon State Papers*, I. 41, 53. *Aitzema*, I. 671, 1226. *Lon. Doc.*, I. 36.

[2] About the middle of October, King Charles sent the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland as ambassadors extraordinary to the States-General to negotiate a still closer alliance. *Wassenaar*, XII. 39; XVI. 13. *De Lact. Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, III. 46, 47.

ference. A system of government for the new province was considered, and various plans discussed for inducing settlers to emigrate across the Atlantic. A governor was named, and three weeks later received his appointment. It was Peter Minuet, of Wesel, in the kingdom of Westphalia. He sailed from Amsterdam in December, in the ship *Sea Mew*, Captain Adrian Joris, and arrived at Manhattan on the 4th of the following May (1626).[1]

[1] Leonard Kool came to New Netherland in the *Sea Mew*, as private secretary for Peter Minuet. His name may now be found attached to grants of land in connection with that of the governor. He was the ancestor of the Cole family in this State; the orthography of the name having passed through a variety of phases. *Rev. David Cole's genealogical tree.*

Landing of the Walloons at Albany.

CHAPTER IV.

1626 – 1633.

PURCHASE OF THE SITE OF NEW YORK.

PETER MINUET. — THE FIRST BUILDINGS. — THE HORSE-MILL. — THE FIRST GIRL BORN IN NEW NETHERLAND. — DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE. — THE EMBASSY TO PLYMOUTH. — NEW NETHERLAND NOT A PECUNIARY SUCCESS. — THE CHARTER OF FREEDOM AND EXEMPTIONS. — THE MANORIAL LORDS. — KILIAEN VAN RENSSELAER. — THE VAN RENSSELAER MANOR-HOUSE. — THE GREAT SHIP. — GOVERNOR MINUET AND RECALL. — WRANGLING AMONG THE DIRECTORS OF THE COMPANY.

THE rocky point of Manhattan Island, near what is now known as the Battery, was, on the 6th of May, 1626, the scene of one of the most interesting business transactions which has ever occurred in the world's history. It was the purchase of the site of the city of New York. The West India Company had instructed Peter Minuet to treat with the Indians for their hunting-grounds, before he took any steps towards the erection of buildings. He accordingly made a somewhat superficial survey of the island, which had been designated as the field for pioneer operations, and estimated its area at about twenty-two thousand acres.[1] He then called together some of the principal Indian chiefs, and offered beads, buttons, and other trinkets in exchange for their real estate. They accepted the terms with unfeigned delight, and the bargain was closed at once. The value of the baubles which secured the title to the whole of Manhattan Island was about sixty guilders, equal in our currency to twenty-four dollars. On the part of the Dutch, it was merely a politic measure to establish future amicable relations with the natives of the country, although it was subsequently made the basis of the company's claim to the territory. It was, in itself, a commonplace event; but, in its relation to what has since taken place, it assumes peculiar significance, and stands out in immortal char-

1626. May 6.

[1] In Dutch phraseology "it was eleven thousand morgens in size." The Rhineland rod was the Dutch measure for land. It contained twelve English feet four and three fourths inches. There are five rods to a Dutch chain, and six hundred square Dutch rods constitute a morgen. *Peter Fauconnier's Survey Book*, 1715 – 1734.

acters as the chief starting-point of the great commercial capital of the west.

Governor Minuet was a man of rare energy and fully equal to the situation. He had had some East Indian experience, and, during the last two years, had spent several months in South America. He was of middle age, hair slightly flecked with gray, a somewhat dull black eye, and a full-sized robust frame. He was permeated with the spirit of adventure, without being hampered with habits of luxury and indolence, like his Virginia contemporaries. He was brusque, and coarse, and self-willed, but kind-hearted, and was admirably successful in winning the confidence of the Indians. His duties were multifarious, but not remarkably difficult, since the people to rule over were few in numbers and obediently disposed.

He organized the government of the province as soon as he had obtained the title deed to Manhattan Island. The supreme authority, executive, legislative, and judicial, had been vested in him by the company, with an advisory council of five of the best men in the colony. These were Peter Byvelt, Jacob Ellertsen Wissinck, Jan Jansen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos, and Reynert Harmenssen. He was empowered with the administration of justice, except in capital cases, when the offender, after being convicted, must be sent with his sentence to Holland. The secretary of the council board, and also of the province, was Isaac De Rasiers, a well-educated young Hollander who arrived in the same vessel with Minuet. After him, in order of position, was the *Schout-Fiscal*, a sort of civil factotum, half sheriff and half attorney-general, and the special custom-house officer. Jan Lampo, of Cantleburg, received the appointment; but he knew very little of law, and was very inefficient in every particular. He was allowed to sit in the council during its deliberations, but had no voice in official proceedings. His compensation was in the civil fines and penalties, and such portion of criminal fines and confiscated wages as the governor and council after prosecution might see fit to bestow upon him. He had no part in captured prizes, and was forbidden to receive presents under any circumstances.

Minuet brought over with him a competent engineer, Kryn Fredrick, who was to superintend the construction of a fort, that being wisely deemed the first business to be dispatched. It did not take long to discover a triangular spot of earth hemmed in by ledges of rock, as if modelled by Nature herself for a fortress. It had a commanding view of the Bay and Narrows, and was but a short distance from the water's edge. This was chosen; but when the work was accomplished it reflected no

remarkable credit upon its projectors, except so far as it responded to their immediate necessities, for it was simply a block-house with red-cedar palisades.

About the same time was erected a warehouse of Manhattan stone, having a roof thatched with reeds. It was primitive even to ugliness, without one redeeming touch of architectural finish, but we honor it as the pioneer of all the present long miles of costly business edifices. One corner of it was set apart as the village store, and was the depot of sup-

The First Warehouse.

plies for the colony. It grew erelong to be much haunted by the Indians, who came to sell their furs and drink the "white man's fire-water."

In the course of a few weeks several vessels arrived from Holland, each laden with passengers. The population of the island was thus increased to nearly two hundred; thirty or more cheap dwellings were built around the fort, and the prospect was animated and encouraging. Governor Minuet, Secretary De Rasiers, and Sheriff Lampo occupied a habitation together for nearly three years. Negro servants performed the labor of the household.

The most notable building, as well as one of the most useful, which was speedily erected, was a horse-mill. It was located on what is now South William Street, near Pearl. The loft was furnished with a few rough seats and appropriated to the purposes of religious worship. Thus we may observe that, while the settlement of the province had been undertaken with no higher aim than commercial speculation, the moral and spiritual necessities of its people were not entirely overlooked. Two "comforters of the sick" had been sent over with the governor, and it was among their specified duties to read the Bible and lead in devotional exercises every Sabbath morning. Two years later, the

June.

learned and energetic Jonas Michaelius was employed to officiate at religious meetings and instruct the children. He was a warm personal friend of Governor Minuet, and exerted a very wholesome influence in the community.

An event occurred late in the autumn which, from its sad consequences, deserves special mention. A Weekquaesgeek Indian came from West Chester, accompanied by his young nephew, to sell beaver-skins to the Dutch. When near the Fresh Water Pond, he was met by three of the governor's negro servants, who seized and robbed, and then murdered him. The boy witnessed the scene and ran away, vowing vengeance. He grew up to manhood, cherishing the terrible oath in his heart, and many long years afterward carried into execution his Indian ideas of justice. The murder was concealed from the authorities, and the murderers escaped punishment.

The fur-trade was so prosperous that the company were quite elated with their operations upon Manhattan Island. Perhaps the reader will be grateful for a glimpse of this remarkable commerce, as pictured in a leter from Peter Schagen of Amsterdam, dated November 5, 1626, in which he announces to the company the arrival of the ship *Arms of Amsterdam*, direct from New Netherland. He writes: —

Nov. 5.

"They had all their grain sowed by the middle of May, and reaped by the middle of August. Our people are in good heart and live in peace there. They send thence samples of summer grain: such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary-seed, beans, and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is: —

7,246	beaver-skins.	36	wild-cat skins.
178½	otter-skins.	33	minck-skins.
675	otter-skins.	34	rat-skins.
48	minck-skins.	Much oak and hickory timbers."	

The same letter contains a record of the birth of the first girl in New Netherland, — Sarah Rapaelje, daughter of Jan Joris Rapaelje, born June 9, 1625.[1]

[1] There have been various statements in regard to the residence of Rapaelje at the time of the birth of Sarah. But the depositions of his wife, Catelina Trico, made in New York before Governor Dongan, the year prior to her death, establish the time of her arrival in this country and her first residence. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, III. 49 – 51. They went first to live at Fort Orange, Albany, where they remained three years, and where Sarah, the "*first-born Christian daughter in New Netherland*," was born. They afterwards removed to Manhattan, and from thence to the Waleboght on Long Island. The age of Catelina Trico, at the time her depositions were taken, was eighty-three years. She stated that she came to this country in 1623 or 1624, in a ship called the *Unity* or *Eendragt*, commanded by Adraen Joris, and that there were four women came along with her who were married on shipboard. Wassenaer, whose

The Dutch were by no means ignorant of their near proximity to the English settlement at Plymouth, and after a while began to discuss the propriety of establishing friendly intercourse with their neighbors. Minuet wrote two letters to the governor of Plymouth, one in Dutch and the other in English, which contained the most polite expressions of good-will, and an offer of various kinds of goods in exchange for beaver and otter skins and other wares. 1627. March 9.

A courteous response came promptly from Governor Bradford. He assured Governor Minuet that for the current year they were fully supplied with necessaries, but would trade at some future time should the rates be reasonable. He took care, however, to throw out some very marked hints on the questionable propriety of the Dutch traffic with the Indians within the limits of the king's patent. After writing it in English, he translated his letter into the Dutch language, and sent both copies. March 29.

Governor Minuet wrote again in August. His language was expressed in the same general friendly terms, but he firmly maintained the right to trade in the disputed localities, quoting the States-General and Prince of Orange as authority. As an evidence, however, of continued good feeling, he sent to Governor Bradford "*a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses.*" Aug. 7.

Governor Bradford replied with great apparent deference of manner, only deprecating the "over-high titles" which Dutch politeness required, but which Puritan usage rejected, and repeated his warning respecting the boundary question, requesting that a commissioner be sent to confer personally in the case.[1] Aug. 24.

The secretary, Isaac De Rasiers, was accordingly dispatched as ambassador extraordinary to Plymouth. He was a man of fine address and pleasing manners, and in other respects well fitted for this mission, which was of as much importance in those primitive days as Sept. 5.

account was contemporaneous, calls the ship the *New Netherland*. Sarah Rapaelje, who gave birth to fourteen children, was the maternal ancestor of several of the most notable families of King's County. At the age of twenty-nine she was the widow of Hans Hansen Bergen, the ancestor of the Bergen family, with seven children. She afterwards married Theunis Gysbert Bogaert, the ancestor of the Bogaert family in this country. Some travelers in 1679 visited Catelina Trico, who lived "in a little house by herself, with a garden and other conveniences," and evidently regarded her as a distinguished historical personage. *Long Island H. S. Coll.*, Vol. I. 342. It will be observed, that the statement calling her daughter Sarah "the first-born *Christian daughter* in New Netherland," does not conflict with the statement of Jean Vigne, that he was the first *male* born of European parents in this province.

[1] Bradford's correspondence in *N. Y. H. S. Coll.*, I. (Second Series), 355, 360. *Baillie's Mem. of Plymouth*, I. 146, 147. *Prince, N. E. Chron.*, 249. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, III. 51. *Morton's Memorial*, 133. *Moulton*, 378.

the more stately embassies are at the present time. The bark *Nassau* was brushed up and freighted with a few articles of trade, and manned by a retinue of soldiers and trumpeters. Early in October he arrived
October. at Manomet, the advanced post of the English colony, near an Indian village at the head of Buzzard's Bay, the site of the present village of Monument, in the town of Sandwich, and from there he dispatched a courier to Plymouth to announce his presence in the neighborhood. Governor Bradford immediately sent a boat for him and his cargo, and he was escorted with many and imposing ceremonies to the town.[1] He was pleasantly entertained for several days, and sold a large quantity of Indian corn, which enabled the English to better carry on their lucrative trade with the natives. He established a commercial relation, which, but for the subsequent petty quarrels, might have been mutually advantageous to the two lone European colonies. It is interesting to know that the whole tonnage of New England then consisted of "*a bass-boat, shallop, and pinnace.*"[2]

When he returned to Manhattan, De Rasiers brought another letter from Bradford to Minuet, in which, saving always their allegiance to the king of England, he pledged the performance by his colony of all good offices toward the Dutch in New Netherland.

Just about that time, the commander at Fort Orange committed a terrible blunder, whereby he not only lost his own life, but imperiled the lives of all the settlers in that region. He joined a party of Mohicans on the war-path against the Mohawks, which was in disobedience of orders, for the Dutch were pledged to principles of neutrality in reference to all differences among the Indian tribes. In the battle which followed he was killed, also three of his men.

His folly was particularly felt in the sense of insecurity which
1628. it threw over the colony; and Minuet, although he succeeded in restoring good feeling with the Mohawks, deemed concentration a necessary policy, and recalled the families from the exposed points, Fort Orange, Fort Nassau, and Verhulsten Island, to Manhattan, where they could be better protected in their interests as well as their homes. Sixteen soldiers only were left at Fort Orange, and the traffic to the South River was limited to the voyages of one small yacht for the present.

The crop of furs in 1628, amounting to four ship-loads, yielded fifty-six thousand guilders; and two cargoes of ship-timber from Manhattan

[1] Winslow's account in *Young's Chronicles*, 306. *Prince*, 208. *Book of Court Orders*, Vol. III. 82. *Pilgrim Memorials*, 122–124.

[2] *De Rasiers' Letter*, 350. *Bradford's Letter Book*, 364.

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SEYMOUR DURST

FORT NEW AMSTERDAM (NEW YORK). 1651.

When you leave, please leave this book
Because it has been said
"Ever'thing comes t' him who waits
Except a loaned book."

"I ran to the point of land where Van Twiller stood with the Secretary and one or two of the Council, and told them it seemed to me the country was full of fools!" Page 70

Island sold at Amsterdam for sixty-one thousand guilders. But, after all, the New Netherland colony was not self-supporting. None of the soil was reclaimed, save what supplied the wants of a few farmers and their families; and the only exports were the spontaneous productions of the forest. The mode of life pursued by the people was irregular, and the current expenses of the plantation more than the receipts. It was an unpalatable fact. The company had won brilliant victories by sea, and infatuating wealth had poured into its treasury. Between 1626 and 1628, it had captured one hundred and four Spanish prizes. The nation shared in the glory, but the company alone received the spoils of this marvelous war. Its dividends were advanced suddenly to fifty per cent. Insignificant indeed, in comparison, were the returns from New Netherland. The very subject of North American trade became painfully uninteresting, and the directors avoided allusions to it whenever possible. Finally, at one of their meetings a plan was introduced for a systematic and extended colonization of the whole province of New Netherland. It was discussed at several subsequent meetings, and resulted in a selfish commercial scheme, with a view to drawing private capitalists into the company's ventures.

The scheme was a charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, matured and adopted by the company, and confirmed by the States-General, on the 7th of June, 1627. It comprised thirty-one important articles, and was remarkable for being tinctured with the peculiar social ideas of that era, and of promising to transfer to America the most objectionable features of the modern feudalism of Continental Europe. 1629. June 7.

Dutch Wind Mills.

It offered to any member of the West India Company who should found a colony of fifty adults in any portion of New Netherland, — except Manhattan Island, which was reserved to the company, — and satisfy the Indians for a tract of land not exceeding sixteen miles on one side or eight miles on both sides of a navigable river, and extending inland indefinitely, the title of Patroon, or feudal chief of such colony or territory; and the colonists under such patroonships were to be for ten years entirely free from taxation, but would

be bound to the patroon in almost absolute servitude. The chief himself would be invested with full property rights, and granted freedom in trade, — except furs, which the company reserved to themselves, — with sundry and various limitations, restrictions, and duties, and the privilege of hunting and fishing within his own domain. The company prohibited manufactures under penalty of the law, but promised protection to the colonists and defence against all enemies; the completion of a suitable citadel on Manhattan Island; and a supply of negro servants. Each patroon was required to provide, immediately, for the support of a minister and schoolmaster, and to make an annual return of the condition of his colony to the local authorities at Manhattan, for transmission to the company. In all its provisions, the charter carefully recognized the commercial monopoly and political supremacy of the West India Company, and was in harmony with the aristocratic sentiment which grew with the acquisition of wealth in Holland. Almost all the real estate there, outside the walls of the towns, was in possession of old families of the nobility, who were unwilling to part with any portion of it. In the wonderful new country it was very apparent that a man might become an extensive landholder and a person of importance with comparative ease. While the company thus made great show of caring for the rights of the aboriginal owners, and held out inducements of labor, capital, religion, and education, it selfishly scattered the seeds of slavery and aristocracy.

As might have been expected, there were men among the directors of the company who stood ready to seize upon the choicest localities, to the discouragement of independent emigrants for whom the charter was intended. Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, who had had agents prospecting for months, purchased through them a beautiful tract of land extending from Cape Henlopen thirty-two miles up the west shore of Delaware Bay, and opposite sixteen miles square, including
1630. Cape May. They called it Swaanendael. The title was attested
June. by Governor Minuet and his council at Manhattan, July 15, 1630, and is the only instrument in existence which bears the original signature of that august body.[1] The purchase was actually effected on the 1st day of June, 1629, seven days before the bill became a law, and was registered at Manhattan on the 19th of the same month.

Kilien Van Rensselaer was one of the oldest and wealthiest of the directors. He had been for many years a pearl and diamond merchant,

[1] This original patent was found by Mr. Brodhead in the West India House, at Amsterdam, in 1841, and is now deposited in the secretary's office at Albany. It has the only signatures known to exist of Minuet and his council. *Brodhead*, I. 200. *O'Callaghan*, I. 122.

and had taken a very active part in the formation of the West India Company. Several of his own vessels had been placed at the disposal of the corporation, and he had twice advanced money to save its credit, and hasten its final organization. He was descended from a long line of honorable ancestors, and was himself an educated and refined gentleman of the old school. Early in life he had married Hellegonda Van Bylet, by whom he had one son, Johannes. In 1627, he was married the second time, to Anna Van Wely, and by her he had four sons and four daughters.[1] In the mean time he had sent an agent to New Netherland, and traded with the Indians for land upon the west side of the Hudson River, from about twelve miles south of Albany to Smack's Island, "stretching two days into the interior." Soon after, he concluded the purchase of all the land on the east side of the same river, both north and south of Fort Orange, and "far into the wilderness." This great feudal estate included the entire territory comprised in the present counties of Albany, Columbia, and Rensselaer, and was named Rensselaerswick. Van Rensselaer himself remained in Holland, but managed his affairs through a well-chosen director. His sons took up their abode here after his death, and were successive lords of the colony. Jeremias[2] married Maria, daughter of Oloff S. Van Cortlandt; and Nicolaus married Alida Schuyler. The Van Rensselaer name has been handed down to us through every generation of men who have since had their day in New York, and is interwoven with all that is historical in city and State. The family brought with them the social distinctions of the Fatherland. They brought massive and elaborately carved furniture, and large quantities of silver-plate which bore the family arms. They brought portraits of their ancestors, executed in a

[1] The names of the children of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer were: 1st, Johannes, who married his cousin, Elizabeth Van Twiller; 2d, Maria; 3d, Jeremias, who married Maria Van Cortlandt; 4th, Hellegonda; 5th, Jan Baptist, who married his cousin, Susan Van Wely; 6th, Elenora; 7th, Susan, who married Jan De Lacourt; 8th, Nicolaus, who married Alida Schuyler; 9th, Rickert, who married Anna Van Beaumont.

[2] Jeremias Van Rensselaer and Maria Van Cortlandt had a daughter Anna, who married her cousin, Kiliaen, the son of Johannes Van Rensselaer. He died shortly after, and she was married the second time to William Nicolls of New York. Her daughter Mary, in 1713, became the wife of Robert Watts, the ancestor of the Watts family in this country. Jeremias Van Rensselaer and Maria Van Cortlandt had also a son Kiliaen, who married his cousin, Maria Van Cortlandt, and who died in 1701, leaving sons, Jeremias and Stephen, successive lords of the manor. Stephen died 1747, and left a son Stephen, who married Catharine Livingston, and died in 1769. The son of this last was General Stephen Van Rensselaer, who was born in 1764, and who was licutenant-governor of New York in 1795 and 1798. His first wife was Margaret Schuyler, and their son Stephen was the late patroon. His second wife was Cornelia Patterson, and they had nine children. The other branches of the Van Rensselaer family we shall refer to hereafter.

superior manner for the period, and many original paintings. A manor-house was erected, which in its internal arrangement and finish was very similar to the Holland residence of the Van Rensselaers. There the lord resided among his tenantry, and maintained the same dignity and authority as the landed lords in Europe.

Van Rensselaer Manor House in 1874.

Van Rensselaer had peculiar facilities for peopling his new dominion, and sent out his own ships with laborers and emigrants and implements of husbandry. There was system in his management, and there was order and method in the entire regulation of the colony itself. Hence it was prosperous, while the rest of the province was disturbed by faction, inefficient rulers, and Indian wars.

About the same time that Rensselaerswick was founded, Michael Pauw purchased Staten Island, Hoboken, Paulus Hook, and the Jersey shore opposite Manhattan, extending inland a great distance. He gave it the pleasant-sounding name of Pavonia. He planted a little colony, which was called The Commune, and the point where they first settled is commemorated by the present romantic little village of Communipauw.

Thus three of the most important localities in the province were artfully secured before the rest of the company were fairly awake. The storm of discontent which arose has scarcely been equalled in the history of private corporations. The new patroons were accused of fraud and double-dealing, and the quarrel assumed alarming proportions. There was an indignant denial of any endeavor to take an unfair advantage of the spirit of the charter, and, as a process of conciliation, other members of the company were taken into partnership in the speculation. Van Rensselaer divided his purchase into five shares, retaining two for himself. He sold one to John De Laet, the historian, and two to Samuel Blommaert. Godyn and Blommaert divided their Delaware property with Van Rensselaer, De Laet, and Captain David Pietersen De Vries. The latter had just returned from a three-years' voyage to the East Indies, where he had been engaged in several notable maritime enterprises. By request of the new firm, he took charge of an expedition to the Delaware, conveying

thither thirty settlers, with all the necessaries for the cultivation of tobacco and grain. He landed them, directed in the work of preparing their fields, and not until their first seed was sown did he turn his face again to Holland. It was the purpose of these patroons to prosecute the whale-fishery on the Delaware coast, copying after the French, who had made the business so lucrative in a more northern latitude. 1631.

This matter of feudal estates took up the whole attention of the company for a time. Manhattan Island was scarcely noticed, and improvements were entirely ignored. The houses which were standing were only sufficient for the actual accommodation of the people; and, as we have seen, they were exceedingly simple in construction. The best of them were of hewn plank, roofed with reeds. Many were built entirely of bark. But few trees as yet were cut away, except for shipment to Holland. Not a ridge was smoothed down, and only a few little patches of earth had been brought under cultivation. The fur-trade absorbed what there was of energy and industry.

It was soon found that the patroons were trading with the Indians independently of the corporation. Another quarrel ensued, this time more immediately among the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber. It was finally referred to the College of the XIX. The patroons were self-willed and self-opinionated. They had enormous interests at stake, and they persisted in their right to the fur traffic, under a too liberal construction of the charter. Able lawyers were employed on both sides, and the dispute became so violent that for a long time bloodshed was apprehended.

Meanwhile, two Belgian ship-builders visited Manhattan and tried their skill in converting some of the fine timber into an immense ship. Minuet encouraged them, and supplied them from the company's funds. They accomplished the undertaking; and a vessel of eight hundred tons' burden, which carried thirty guns, was launched in New York Bay. It proved before it was finished more costly than had been expected; and when the bills came before the directors of the company in Holland, the whole proceeding was severely criticised. The States-General regarded it as a sample of the bad management of the corporation. The shareholders grumbled because they were obliged to help pay for such an exhibition of folly. The press censured the Amsterdam Chamber in unsparing terms; and the people talked about the ship in their workshops and stores, and speculated upon the wonderful trees in America. It was full two hundred years, however, before another vessel of such mammoth proportions was built in this country. The fame of this extraordinary naval architecture was, as a matter of course, car-

ried to the ends of the earth, and excited the envy of all the European powers. And it paved the way for the States-General to enter into a rigid examination of the affairs of the West India Company. They decided against the patroons, who were accused of being vastly more interested in filling their coffers with the proceeds of private trade with the Indians, to which they were not entitled, than in the proper colonization of the country. Minuet was suspected of working in their interests, as he had officially ratified their purchases; and the company was advised to recall him. It was accordingly done. Conrad Notleman was appointed sheriff of New Netherland, and sent over to supersede Lampo; he was intrusted with letters, instructing Minuet to report himself immediately in Holland.

1632. March 19. Minuet left his government in the hands of his council, of which Jan Van Remund was secretary, De Rasiers having fallen into disgrace with the governor some time before. He sailed in the *Eendragt*, March 19, 1632. Lampo and a number of discontented families were also passengers. They were driven into Plymouth, England, by a terrible storm, and were detained there on a charge of illegally trading in King Charles's dominions.

April 8. Minuet promptly communicated the intelligence to the company, and also to the Dutch minister at Whitehall. The latter hastened to Newmarket, where the king and his court were at that moment, obtained audience of his Majesty, and remonstrated earnestly against the injustice of the whole proceeding, asking for an order for the *Eendragt's* immediate release. Charles declined giving it, on the ground that he "was not quite sure what his rights were."

The main features of the minister's interview with the king were soon laid before the States-General. It provoked another spirited correspondence between the two nations. The Dutch statesmen claimed that they had discovered the Hudson River in 1609; that some of their people had returned there in 1610; that a specific trading charter had been granted in 1614; that a fort and garrison had been maintained there until the formation, in 1623, of the West India Company, which had since occupied the country; and great stress was laid upon the purchase of the land from its aboriginal owners.

May 5. The English based their claims upon the discovery of America by Cabot, and upon the patents granted by James I. They declared that the Indians were not *bona fide* possessors of the soil, and that even if they were, they could not give a legal title, unless all of them jointly contracted with the purchaser. They kindly offered to allow the Dutch to remain in New Netherland if they would submit themselves to the

English government, otherwise they would not be permitted "to encroach upon a colony of such importance as New England."

Sir John Coke was the author of most of the English state papers relating to this subject; but in June of the same year, Sir Francis Windebanke was appointed Secretary of State. It was hardly considered advisable to embarrass the foreign relations of a country, when its own private affairs were already sufficiently complicated: hence Charles contented himself with the assumption of superiority, and did not press the question for a settlement. In the course of a few weeks the Lord Treasurer quietly released the *Eendragt*. May 27.

The interference of the States-General did not settle the unfortunate disputes among the directors of the company. Upon Minuet's arrival in Holland, commissaries were dispatched to New Netherland to post in every settlement the company's proclamation, forbidding any person, whether patroon or vassal, to deal in sewan, peltries, or maize. The large appropriations of territory were bad enough, but not half so exasperating as individual interference in a trade which was the company's only source of profit, and through which alone it could hope to recompense itself for the expenditure already occasioned by the unprofitable province of New Netherland. "But," said Van Rensselaer, "we patroons are privileged, not private persons." Again and again were the various clauses in the charter analyzed and interpreted. It was a knotty tangle; and amidst the wrangling over the water, the population of Manhattan Island diminished rather than increased.

Purchase of Manhattan Island.

CHAPTER V.

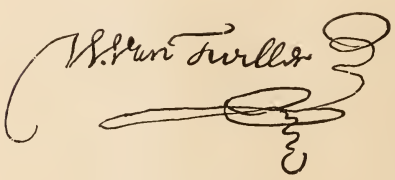
1633-1638.

GOVERNOR VAN TWILLER.

Wouter Van Twiller. — Captain De Vries. — Van Twiller and the English Vessel. — Captain De Vries and the Governor. — The First Minister. — The First Church and Parsonage. — The First Schoolmaster. — Buildings and Improvements. — New Amsterdam. — Beginnings of Hartford. — Troubles with the English. — Quarrels with the Patroons. — Quarrels with the English. — Fort Amsterdam. — Excess and Irregularities. — Purchase of Lands. — Governor Van Twiller's Recall.

THE Amsterdam Chamber, having at last, as was believed, obtained mastery over the patroons, decided to establish forts and mills in New Netherland, in order to give wider scope to their mercantile operations. Despite his private interests, Van Rensselaer had great influence among the directors, and succeeded in procuring the appointment of Wouter Van Twiller, one of his relations by marriage, to the command of the colony. It was a politic measure as far as he was concerned; and it was a stupid concession on the part of the company.

1633.



Autograph of Van Twiller.

Van Twiller had been a clerk in the company's warehouse at Amsterdam for nearly five years, and in the mean time had made two voyages to the Hudson River in the employ of Van Rensselaer, who had selected him as a fit person to attend to the shipment of cattle to Rensselaerswick. Van Twiller claimed to know all about affairs in New Netherland. He was in point of fact a shrewd trader; but he had no practical knowledge of government, and was ill-qualified to manage the general concerns of a remote province, shaken with internal jealousies and threatened with out-

side aggressions. He was a short stout man, with close-cropped sandy hair, small pale-blue eyes set deep in a full round face, and an uncertain mouth. He was good-natured and kind-hearted, but irresolute, easily swayed by stronger wills, narrow-minded, slow of thought, word, and deed, and grievously deficient in his understanding of men and their motives.

He arrived at Manhattan early in the spring. His vessel, the *Zoutberg*, captured a Spanish caravela during the voyage, and anchored it safely in front of Manhattan Island. The new governor was attended by one hundred and four soldiers, the first military force which landed upon our shores. His advent was hailed with cheers and enthusiasm; and with much wine and ceremony he was ushered into authority. His council consisted of Jacob Hansen Hesse, Martin Gerritsen, Andries Hudde, and Jacques Bentyn. They were men of comprehensive minds, who had been reared to habits of industry in Holland, and were able to render material assistance to the heavy, indolent Van Twiller. The secretary of the colony, Van Remund, was intelligent, and also helped towards smoothing the pathway of that dull-witted ruler and inexperienced traveler on the road to fame. Cornelis Van Tienhoven, a bright young man of good education, was appointed book-keeper of monthly wages, and Michael Paulusen was made commissary of Pauw's colony at Pavonia. Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, derived its name from him.

A few days after the arrival of Van Twiller at Manhattan, a yacht was seen coming into the bay; and ere the sun set Captain De Vries announced himself at the fort. He had left Holland some time before the sailing of the *Zoutberg*, as early as November, and when he had reached Swaanendael, found the little post destroyed, and the ground bestrewed with the heads and bones of his murdered people. After various stratagems, he succeeded in persuading some of the Indians into coming on board his vessel, and through attractive presents drew from them the story of a terrible tragedy. The Dutch, in keeping with their time-honored customs, had erected a pillar, and fastened to it a piece of tin, upon which was inscribed the arms of Holland. An Indian chief, thinking it no harm, had stolen the shining metal to make himself a tobacco-pouch. Hossett, the commander of the post, was indiscreet enough to express great indignation, and thereupon some Indians who were particularly attached to him killed the chief who had confiscated the tin. Hossett rebuked them for committing such a crime, and they went away. But a few days afterwards the friends of the murdered chieftain resolved to be revenged, and, coming suddenly upon the men as they were at work in the tobacco-fields, massacred them all. De Vries wisely treated with the same Indians for peace; and when they were

April 16.

at last induced to bring with them their chief, he formed a circle after their own fashion, and gave them blankets, bullets, axes, and trinkets, with which they were greatly pleased, and they went away promising that he should not be harmed.

March 11. He then tried to establish a whale-fishery, but after spending some time in fruitless efforts, decided that it would not prove paying business there, and sailed to the James River, where he was cour-

Portrait of De Vries.

teously received by Sir John Harvey, the governor of Virginia. He remained several days, greatly admiring the country, which was already under a high state of cultivation, with well-stocked gardens, and Provence roses, apple, cherry, pear, and peach trees about the houses.

Harvey, with genial frankness, produced a map, and tried to convince De Vries that the whole country in the region of Swaanendael was the property of the king of England; but he was very amiably disposed towards the Dutch on the North River, notwithstanding, and a pleasant intercourse was opened between the two colonies.

Captain De Vries was a bronzed, weather-beaten sailor of the old school, without family ties, who had seen the world from many points of observation, and had been on terms of intimacy with the most cultivated men and the rudest barbarians. He was tall, muscular, and hard-visaged, but soft-voiced as a woman, except when aroused by passion. He was quick of perception, with great power of will, and rarely ever erred in judgment. He was the guest of Van Twiller while stopping at Manhattan, and a more striking contrast than the two men presented could hardly be imagined.

The second day after his arrival, the English ship *William* anchored in the bay; and it was soon discovered that Eelkins, who had been dismissed from Fort Orange for misconduct some years before, was on board as supercargo. The governor and several of his officers were invited to dine on the vessel, and were accompanied by Captain De Vries. The immoderate use of wine and consequent disorder astonished the English sailors, who were under strict discipline, and measured the authority of the feeble Dutch governor accordingly. They stayed some days in front of the little town, and then announced their intention of sailing to Fort Orange, and trading with the Indians, with whom Eelkins was well acquainted. Van Twiller was startled as from a dream, and issued orders to the contrary; but the *William* quietly weighed anchor, and went on her way in the most defiant manner. We clip the following from the deposition of one of her crew, as it best explains the scene: — April 18.

"The Dutch there inhabitinge send and command all our companye (excepte one boye) to come to their forte where they staide about twoe houres, and the governor commande his gunner to make ready three peeces of ordnance, and shott them off for the Prince of Orange and sprede the Prince's coloures, whereupon Jacob Eelckins the merchant's factor of the shippe the William commande William fforde of Lymehouse (the gunner) to goe abord the shippe and sprede her coloures and shoote off theire peeces of ordnance for the king of England."[1]

Van Twiller regarded the audacious movement with incredulous wonder. Then he ordered a barrel of wine to be brought and opened, and, after drinking, waved his hat and shouted, "All those who love the Prince of Orange and me, emulate me in this, and assist me in repelling the violence of that Englishman!"

[1] *N. Y. Coll.* MSS., Vol. I. 74.

But the Englishman was already out of harm's way, sailing up the river, and the crowd only laughed and filled their glasses, saying, they "guessed they would not trouble the English who were their friends. As for the wine, they knew how to get to the bottom of a barrel; if there were six they could master them."

Captain De Vries walked up and down in silent indignation while this was going on. But at the governor's dinner-table, later in the day, he expressed his opinion of the whole transaction in terms more earnest than polite. He told Van Twiller that he had acted very indiscreetly; that the Englishman had no commission, only a custom-house clearance to sail to New England, not to New Netherland; that if it had been his case he should have helped him to some eight-pounders from the fort, and put a stop to his going up the river at all. As it was, he advised, most energetically, that the ship *Zoutberg* be sent to force him out of the river, and teach him better manners.

April 28. The governor was convinced of the wisdom of the counsel, and, after mature deliberation, made a move in the proper direction by sending an armed force to Fort Orange, where Eelkins had pitched a tent and commenced a brisk trade with the Indians. The tent was speedily folded, and the intruder conducted to his vessel and to Manhattan. The English said: "The Dutch came along with us in their shallope, and they sticked greene bowes all about her and drank strong waters, and sounded their trumpet in a triumphing manner over us."

Eelkins was obliged to disgorge his peltries and leave the harbor, with a friendly warning in his ears never more to attempt any interference with Dutch trade. Van Twiller then issued an order to the effect that no one should sign any paper in reference to the treatment which Eelkins had received.

May 20. Very soon afterward the governor, who was sure to act promptly on inopportune occasions, attempted to vindicate his statesmanship at the expense of De Vries. The latter had two vessels, one of which was a small yacht; and before returning to Europe he wished to send it toward the north on a trading cruise along the coast. The governor forbade his doing so, and, seeing De Vries making preparations in defiance of his authority, valiantly ordered the guns of the fort turned upon him. De Vries, who tells the story, says:—

"I ran to the point of land where Van Twiller stood with the secretary and one or two of the council, and told them it seemed to me the country was full of fools! If they must fire at something, they ought to have fired at the Englishman who violated the rights of their river against their will. This caused them to desist from troubling me further."

The yacht sailed, and was soon winding her way through the channel of Hellegat (or Hell-Gate, as it is still called), which in certain times of the tide indulged in all sorts of wild paroxysms. Some go so far as to say that the Dutch named it out of sheer spleen, because it hectored their tub-built barks until the sailors were so giddy that they solemnly gave the yawning gulf over to the Devil.

In the same vessel which brought Wouter Van Twiller to Manhattan, Dominie Bogardus, the first clergyman of New Netherland, was a passenger. He was a man of a certain order of talent in large measure, and was honored for his piety. He was large, graceful, sinewy, strong, with a fine, broad, open, frank face, high cheek-bones, a dark piercing eye, and mouth expressive of the very electricity of good-humor, which was partly hidden, however, by a beard cut in the peculiar fashion prescribed for ecclesiastics during the reign of Henry IV. of France. He was not without prominent faults. He had a hot and hasty temper, was brusque in his manner, and addicted to high living; but he was greatly superior in both mind and character to Van Twiller, and his sterling qualities stood forth in such bold relief, that now, at the very mention of his name, a figure seems to leap forth from the mist of centuries, instinct with hearty, vigorous life. Fearless in the performance of his own duties, he never allowed any failure on the part of others to pass by unreproved. In several instances the governors in authority were severely castigated from the sacred desk.

He desired a more convenient place for public worship than the loft in the horse-mill; and the West India Company displayed their zeal for the preservation of the blessings of education and religion to their infant colony by building him a church. It was a plain wooden edifice, of a pattern similar to the New England barn of the present day, and was located on a high point of land fronting the East River, near what is now Pearl Street, between Whitehall and Broad. It was a conspicuous object to vessels coming up through the bay; and English travelers, who were accustomed to a different style of architecture, criticised it in anything but flattering terms. But it was satisfactory to the conscientious and devout worshipers who assembled there every week, and thought only of the eloquent words of their beloved dominie; and it is to be respected as the first church edifice on Manhattan Island.

Near it, and a little to the right, they built a parsonage. It was a small Dutch cottage, with the gable-end turned towards the street. The front door was ornamented with an elegant brass knocker brought from Holland. Dominie Bogardus had been accustomed not only to the comforts, but also to the luxuries of life, and knew how to surround himself with

much that was pleasing to the eye and gratifying to the taste, even in the new, wild country. With his own hands he laid out and planted a garden. And in the fresh summer days pinks and tulips winked and blinked across the graveled pathways, coquetting with young vegetables. Pretty vines clambered to the very house-top, and lilacs and roses, jessamines and syringas, vied with each other in gorgeous display, and helped to render the place for many years the pride of Manhattan, and one of the chief objects of attraction for strangers.

Another noted but far less worthy personage came over in the *Zoutberg*, and enjoyed for several years the distinction of being the first and only schoolmaster in New Netherland. His name was Adam Roelandsen. From some cause, perhaps because "people did not speak well of him," he could not make a living at his vocation, and so took in washing. There is a curious lawsuit recorded in the old Dutch manuscripts, which shows that on the 20th of September, 1638, Adam Roelandsen demanded payment of one Gillis De Voocht for washing his linen. The defendant made no objection to the price charged, but refused to pay until the end of the year. The court decided that Roelandsen should wash for De Voocht during the time agreed upon, and then collect his money. He lived at first quite out of town; but there is on record an agreement for building a house on Stone Street, near the brewery of Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, which was to be thirty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and eight feet high, to be tight-clapboarded, and roofed with reeden thatch, have an entry three feet wide, two doors, a pantry, a bedstead, a staircase, and a mantel-piece, to be ready on the 1st of May, 1642, for which $140 was to be paid by Adam Roelandsen, one half when the timber was on the ground, and the other half when the building was finished.

That the *bedstead* should be named in the contract for building a house requires some explanation. It was called "slaap-banck," and was a sleeping-bench, constructed like a cupboard in a partition, with doors closing upon it when unoccupied. Two ample feather-beds upon it, one to sleep on and the other for a covering, made up in comfort what it lacked in display, and the whole arrangement was a great economy in the matter of room. A sleeping-apartment in the small Dutch tavern of early New Netherland often accommodated several travelers at night, while during the day it was only a public room, quite unencumbered in appearance. Schoolmaster Roelandsen could not have enjoyed his house for a very long period; for on the 17th of December, 1646, he was tried for a very grave offence, found guilty, and sentenced to be "publicly flogged, and banished from the country."

Van Twiller was not slow to carry out the ideas of his employers in the matter of public improvements. The fort was scarcely anything more than banks of earth, eight or ten feet high, with decayed palisades, and without ditches. The Dutch, as we have seen, had already introduced negro slavery into their colony; and a number of recently imported Africans were employed, under the superintendence of Jacob Stoffelsen, to repair this dilapidated and never particularly strong structure. A guard-house and barracks were also built within the fort for the newly arrived soldiers; and three expensive wind-mills were erected, but injudiciously located so near the other buildings that the south-wind was frequently intercepted. However, they gave the little community something more homelike to look at, and were particularly acceptable.

For himself, Van Twiller built a very substantial brick house within the fort, by far the most elaborate private dwelling which had as yet been attempted in this country; and it served for the residence of successive chiefs of the colony during the remainder of the Dutch dynasty. Several smaller brick and frame dwellings were erected for the officers, all being done at the expense of the company. A farm had been laid out some time prior to this date, called the Company's Farm. It extended north from Wall to Hudson Street (we can designate localities only by thus using the present names), and upon this property Van Twiller built a house, barn, brewery, boat-house, etc., for his own private accommodation. Another farm belonging to the company he set apart as a tobacco plantation. He built several small buildings for the tradespeople, and laid out a graveyard on the west of Broadway, above Morris Street. He also built two houses at Pavonia, another at Fort Nassau on the Delaware River, and at Fort Orange one "elegant large house with balustrades, and eight small houses." He did not seem to know where to stop, having once commenced the work of spending his employers' money.

But during all this time no independent farmers attempted the cultivation of the soil. The agricultural improvements lay entirely in the hands of the patroons, and the sound of the hammer was heard only where it was likely to be advantageous to the special business of the West India Company. The little town on Manhattan Island received the name of New Amsterdam, as the governor's new broom swept over it, and was invested with the prerogative of "staple right," by virtue of which all the merchandise passing up and down the river was subject to certain duties. This right gave the post the commercial monopoly of the whole province.

Van Twiller displayed less and less adaptation to his field of labor as the months wore on, and his mismanagement was the topic of conversa-

tion among the intelligent men of the colony. Dominie Bogardus wrote him several letters on the subject, and is said to have once called him a "child of the Devil," and threatened him with "a shake from the pulpit." The attention of the States-General was again attracted to the affairs of New Netherland through the complaints that were entered by the owners of the ship *William*, who estimated the damages they had sustained by reason of the Dutch on the North River at £4,000, and demanded payment. There was a tedious litigation, but it never came to a definite settlement.

1634.

One of the most onerous duties imposed upon the unlucky governor by the West India Company was to obtain a title to the lands on the banks of the Fresh or Connecticut River, which had occasionally been visited by the Dutch for trading purposes ever since its original discovery by Adriaen Block, in 1614. They had recently learned that it had been included in a grant to the Earl of Warwick by the king of England, and deemed it politic to get a formal Indian deed before Warwick's grantees should take any steps towards its occupation. Accordingly, Jacob Van Curler and six other agents were sent to accomplish the feat, as also to finish the trading-house, or redoubt, which had been projected in 1623, on the west bank of the river, on the site of the present city of Hartford. They had no difficulty in treating with the Pequods, who had just conquered the Sequeens, and who stipulated only that the ceded territory should always be neutral ground, where all the tribes might come to trade, and no wars ever be waged; and then the little post was completed and fortified with two cannons, and named Good Hope.[1]

June 8.

Governor Winthrop thought it well to assert promptly the superior title of the English to the whole of the Connecticut valley, in a letter to the Dutch authorities, and received in reply a very courteous and respectful document from Governor Van Twiller, asking the governor of Plymouth to defer all his claims until their respective governments should agree about the limits of their territories, not presuming "two great powers would fall into contention about a little portion of such heathenish countries."

But although the Massachusetts authorities were not disposed to interfere, the Plymouth people were determined to establish a counter-claim to the land where the Hollanders were now in quiet possession, under their

[1] The ruins of the old fort have been traced, by persons now living, on the bank of the Connecticut near the seat of the Wylls family. Several yellow Dutch bricks used in its construction are preserved by residents of Hartford. *Public Records of Connecticut*, by J. H. Trumbull. *Holmes, Am. Ann.*, I. 219, note.

threefold supposed right, by original discovery, constant visitation, and legal purchase. So they managed to buy a tract of land, just north of Fort Good Hope, of a party of Indians who had been driven out of that country by the Pequods; and Lieutenant William Holmes, a land surveyor, with a company of English farmers, accompanied by the banished Indians, proceeded there as rapidly as they could make their way through the forests. While passing the Dutch post they were hailed by Van Corlear, who threatened to shoot them if they did not stop instantly. Their reply was, "Fire! we shall go on if we die"; and they went on, and the Dutch did not fire. Arriving at the point where Windsor now stands, they clapped up the frame of a house which they had brought with them, and landed their provisions. Afterwards they "palisadoed" their house about, and fortified themselves better, for they were afraid of the Pequods, who were much offended that they should bring home and restore the Sachem Natuwannute to his rights.

When the news of these proceedings reached Van Twiller, he sent a formal order to Holmes to depart forthwith from the lands on the Fresh River; but Holmes, who had already defied the guns of Fort Good Hope, was not to be moved by the power of speech. He replied that he was there in the name of the king of England, and there he should stay.[1] Van Twiller submitted his perplexities to the Amsterdam Chamber, but, before any reply could reach him, serious difficulties occurred between the Connecticut River Dutch colonists and the Pequods, and the latter entered into an alliance with the English. When the order came from Holland to send an armed force to dislodge the intruders, Van Twiller dispatched seventy men for the purpose; but the Windsor colony put themselves on the defensive, and, fearful of Indian hostilities, the Dutch thought it wise to withdraw.

The most important event of the year 1634 was an advantageous treaty of peace concluded with the Raritan Indians, which, considering the weak state of the colony, was a master stroke of policy.

Meanwhile, Captain De Vries, upon his return to Holland, had found the directors of the company still at variance in regard to the meddling with the fur-trade by the patroons. Even the few beaver-skins which he had brought over in his vessel provoked high words, and, seeing the turn events were taking, he retired from his partnership on the Delaware, and entered into a speculation with some merchants who were trading on the coast of Guiana. But he did not hesitate to speak his mind freely concerning the incapacity of the New Netherland officials, and through

[1] Winthrop; Bradford, in *Hutch. Mass.*; Prince; Trumbull; Broadhead; O'Callaghan.

his efforts and influence the drunken and dishonest sheriff Notelman was superseded by Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, an educated lawyer, and a man of great excellence of character.

1635. Both the directors of the company and the patroons appealed to the States-General for redress of grievances; but the latter, finding the question very knotty, prudently postponed a decision. In the mean time, Godyn had died, and the remaining patroons of Swaanendael commenced legal proceedings against the company for damages, which they had sustained through neglect of the company to defend them from inland and foreign wars, as was promised in their charter. The Assembly of the XIX., tiring of these continual discords, determined

Feb. 7. to purchase the rights and property of the South River patroons; which they accordingly did, for the sum of fifteen thousand six hundred guilders.

Early in the following summer the vacant Fort Nassau was seized by some Englishmen from Point Comfort, under command of George Holmes. Thomas Hall, one of Holmes's men, deserted, and brought prompt intelli-

June 1. gence to Van Twiller, who sent an armed force, dislodged the party, and brought all captives to New Amsterdam. But he did not know what to do with them, and took counsel of De Vries, who was again with his vessel in New York Bay, and about to sail for the

Sept. 10. Chesapeake. The result was that they were reshipped "pack and sack" for Point Comfort, and thus ended the first English aggression on the South River.

Success was awaiting the English in the Connecticut Valley, notwithstanding the Dutch fort at Hartford. In the autumn, the Pequods

Nov. 24. visited Boston and sold all their right and title to Governor Winthrop. To whom then did it belong? Soon afterward, John Winthrop, the younger, arrived from England, commissioned by Lord Warwick's grantees as "agent for the River of the Connecticut with the places adjoining thereto," and brought with him men and ammunition and two thousand pounds in money to begin a fortification at the mouth of the river. A few weeks later he proceeded to take possession and erect some buildings upon the very land which the Dutch had purchased of the Indians three years before, and contemptuously tore down the arms of the States-General which was affixed to a tree, painting a ridiculous face in its place. Van Twiller, who had lost all faith in wordy protests, sent a sloop to dislodge them; but Winthrop had two pieces on shore, and would not suffer the Dutch to land. The English named the point Saybrook, in compliment to Lord Say and Lord Brook.

Fort Amsterdam was completed this summer; but although consider-

able expense had been lavished upon the repairs, if there had been a hostile attack from any source whatever, the question of holding it would have been decided very briefly. The northwest bastion only was faced with stone, and not a fence surrounded it to keep off the goats and other animals which ran at large through the town. Its only redeeming feature was its elegant regularity.

The houses were small and simple in their construction, and nearly all of them were located within a few yards of the quaint little citadel. Some were built of rough stone.

First View of New Amsterdam.

The above sketch of the fort and the buildings around it was originally made by a Dutch officer in 1635, and the picture was engraved in Holland. As a work of art it is certainly curious. It was undoubtedly the production of a strong memory, and, even allowing for the omission of Governor's Island, which is ingrafted upon Long Island, and the distance of Paulus Hook, which appears not more than the length of three of the canoes, there is no view extant which can give us a better idea of the tender infancy of our proud city.

The wind-mill was near a creek which is now Broad Street. The gibbet, or whipping-post, was close by the water's edge. Upon this transgressors were hoisted by the waist, and suspended such length of time as their offense warranted.

And yet, such was the peaceful disposition of the inhabitants, that

police regulations were almost entirely unknown. Not even a sentinel
1636. was kept on duty at night. A very ludicrous incident occurred
May 8. on the morning of the 8th of May, 1636. It was just at daybreak that the boom of a strange gun shook the island from center to circumference. The people were alarmed, the soldiers in the fort rushed to their posts, and the corpulent Van Twiller, in a state of mind not to be envied, ran, holding a pistol in one hand while he tried to dress himself with the other, towards the shore. It was all explained presently. Captain De Vries had returned, and after having piloted his vessel through the Narrows in the dead of night, humorously determined to speak in his own behalf and watch the result. He was heartily welcomed and invited home with the governor to breakfast.

June 25. It is through the writings of this celebrated sea-captain that we learn of much of the irregularity existing at that time in New Netherland. Nearly every one drank wine and stronger liquors to excess when they could be obtained. For instance, a new agent arrived for Panw's colony at Pavonia, one Cornelis Van Vorst, and brought with him some good claret. De Vries called there one day, and found the governor and the minister making merry; and finally they quarreled with Van Vorst about a manslaughter which had been committed in his colony a few days before, but made it up in the end, and started for home. Van Vorst ran to give a salute to the governor from a stone gun which stood on a pillar near his house, and a spark fell upon the thatched roof, setting it on fire. There being no means of putting it out, in less than half an hour the whole building was consumed.

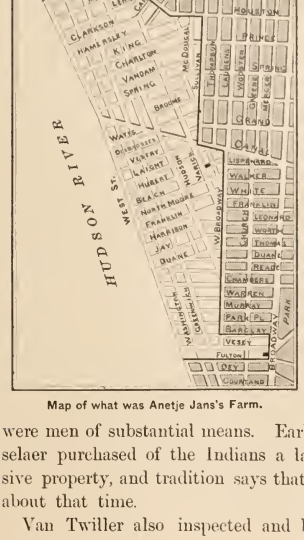
Aug. 8. On another occasion the gunner gave a frolic, and all the dignitaries were present. The tent was erected in one of the angles of the fort, and tables and benches were placed for the guests. When the glee was at its height, the trumpet began to blow, which occasioned a quarrel, and the koopman of the stores and the koopman of the cargasoons found fault and called the trumpeter hard names. He turned round and gave them each a thrashing, and they ran for their swords, uttering terrible threats. The trumpeter hid from them that night, but the next morning, when the wine had evaporated, "they feared him more than they sought him."

Aug. 13. The natural beauties of Staten Island attracted the attention
Aug. 15. of De Vries, and before he left for Holland, on the 15th of August, he arranged with Van Twiller to enter it for him on the records of the company, as he wished to found a colony there.

On the 16th of June, prior to this date, Jacob Van Corlear had purchased a tract of land from the Indians on Long Island, and employed Thomas Hall, the English deserter, to superintend the plantation. About

the same time Andries Hudde, one of the governor's council, in partnership with Wolfert Gerritsen, purchased the flats next Corlear's property. On the 16th of July, Van Twiller himself secured the tempting lands farther to the east. These purchases, including nearly 15,000 acres, seem to have been made without the knowledge or approbation of the Amsterdam Chamber. Upon them was founded the town of New Amersfoordt, now Flatlands.

There was another grant of which it is interesting to take notice, and which occurred not far from the same date, — sixty-two acres to Roelof Jans, beginning south of Warren Street, and extending along Broadway as far as Duane Street, thence northwesterly a mile and a half to Christopher Street, thus forming a sort of unequal triangle with its base upon the North River. This was the original conveyance of the very valuable estate since known as the Trinity Church property.[1]



Map of what was Anetje Jans's Farm.

Rensselaerswick was at this time improving more rapidly than any other part of the province. The farmers wrote home glowing descriptions of the soil and productions, which, published in Holland, brought out colonists in large numbers, and some of them were men of substantial means. Early in the spring of 1637 Van Rensselaer purchased of the Indians a large addition to his already extensive property, and tradition says that he paid a brief visit to his manor about that time. **1637.**

Van Twiller also inspected and bought for himself Nutten Island,

[1] Roelof Jans died soon after the grant, leaving a wife and four children. His widow Anetje married Dominie Bogardus in the year 1638, and her farm was known as the "Dominie's bouwery." After Bogardus's death in 1647, this grant was confirmed by the English government to the heirs, who sold it in 1671 to Colonel Lovelace, at which sale one of the heirs failed to be present. It was afterward incorporated into the king's farm, and in 1703 was presented by Queen Anne to Trinity Church. Anetje Bogardus died in 1668 in Beverwyck. *Benson's Memoir*, 119. *Rensselaerswick MSS.* *Paige's Chancery Reports.*

since which it has been called Governor's Island.[1] The water was so shallow between it and Long Island at that time as to be easily forded at low tide. The next month he bought Great Barn and Blackwell's Island. By these acquisitions he became one of the richest land-owners in the province. He stocked his nice farms with valuable cattle, and the colonists wondered how it all came about! The high-toned officer Van Dincklagen could not rest in silence, and remonstrated with the governor in the plainest manner, finally threatening to expose him if he did not desist from his dishonorable proceedings. All the fierce obstinacy of Van Twiller's nature was thus aroused, and in a fit of rage he caused the bold sheriff to be arrested on a charge of contumacy, and sent him as a prisoner to Holland, retaining his salary, which was three years in arrears.

June 16.

July 16.

Van Dincklagen had no sooner arrived there than with his facile pen he reviewed Van Twiller's government in a memorial to the States-General, which was immediately sent to the Amsterdam Chamber with the suggestion that they had better make prompt reparation to their injured officer. They at first refused, but the resolute Van Dincklagen was well known and respected, and his second memorial was supported by some very stinging remarks from Captain De Vries, about "promoting a fool from a clerkship to a governorship simply to act farces," so that finally it was decided to recall Van Twiller, and appoint Wilhelm Kieft in his place. The new governor, in presence of the States-General, took his oath of office on September 2, 1637.

Sept. 2.

Van Dincklagen's complaints were not confined to the civil authorities of New Netherland. Dominie Bogardus was censured, and to such an extent that when the news reached his church in New Amsterdam the consistory felt it their duty to take ecclesiastical proceedings against the complainant, which a long time after they were obliged to defend before the Classis of Amsterdam.

It was years before Van Dincklagen collected his salary, although the States-General signified it as their pleasure that he should at once be

[1] Coincident with the governor's purchase, John (George) Jansen De Rapaelje bought of the Indians 335 acres on Long Island near Waal-Bogt, or the Bay of the Foreigners. Prior to this William Adriaense Bennet and Jacques Bentyn had bought 930 acres at Gowanus, and at these two isolated points were formed the nuclei of the present city of Brooklyn. One Jonas Bronck also bought a valuable tract in West Chester "over against Haarlem," and from him the Bronx River derived its name. The West India Company bought the island of Quotenius in Narragansett Bay, also an island near the Thames River, which was for many years known as Dutchman's Island. And not far from the same time they purchased from Michael Pauw, Pavonia and his other lands, which abated a great nuisance in the shape of an independent colony on those shores.

paid. He afterwards returned to New Amsterdam, and filled with honor one of the most important offices under the government.

Notwithstanding the loss of business on the Connecticut, the fur-trade during the last year of Van Twiller's administration had increased. The Dutch had opened a profitable commerce with New England; and the scarcity of commodities there, owing to the bloody war which was raging with the Pequods, affected prices to a considerable degree in New Netherland. A schepel — three pecks — of rye sold readily for eighty cents. A laboring man commanded eighty cents per day during harvest. Corn rose to the extraordinarily high price of twelve shillings a bushel. A good cow brought thirty pounds, a pair of oxen forty pounds, and a horse forty pounds, while the price of a negro was on an average sixteen dollars.

Trading with the Indians.

CHAPTER VI.

1638–1641.

GOVERNOR WILHELM KIEFT.

GOVERNOR WILHELM KIEFT. — THE EXTRAORDINARY COUNCIL. — ABUSES. — PROCLAMATIONS. — THE DOMINIE'S WEDDING. — A CURIOUS SLANDER CASE. — THE FIRST FERRY TO LONG ISLAND. — ENCROACHMENTS OF THE SWEDES. — A NEW POLICY. — CAPTAIN DE VRIES'S ARRIVAL. — THE PIONEER SETTLERS. — OLOFF STEVENSEN VAN CORTLANDT. — ENGLISH AMBITION. — CAPTAIN DE VRIES'S TRAVELS AND WHAT HE SAW. — PURCHASE OF INDIAN LANDS. — TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS. — THE NEW CHARTER OF FREEDOMS AND EXEMPTIONS. — THE STORE-KEEPER. — THE SIX MURDERERS. — MUNICIPAL REGULATIONS. — THE FIRST MARINE TELEGRAPH IN THE HARBOR.

GOVERNOR WILHELM KIEFT was somewhat coolly received when, after a long and tedious voyage in the *Herring*, he landed on Manhattan Island, March 28, 1638. Rumors to his disadvantage had preceded him. It was said that he had once failed in the mercantile business in Holland, and, according to custom, his portrait had been affixed to the gallows in consequence. That, in Dutch estimation, was a lasting disgrace. Since then, he had been sent by the government as Minister to Turkey, and had been intrusted with money to procure the ransom of some Christians in bondage. The captives were left in their chains, and the money was never refunded. Such unfortunate antecedents were not calculated to inspire confidence, and the man himself had no personal attractions. He was small in size, fussy, bustling, fiery, and avaricious. He had a wiry look, as if he was constantly standing on guard; prominent, sharp features; and deep-set, restless gray eyes. He was industrious and strictly temperate, not wanting in natural abilities, and far from heedless of the laws of morality; but his education was limited and his self-conceit unrestrained, and in his ignorance of the true principles of government he imagined himself able to legislate, individually, for all mankind.

1638.

He seized the reins of authority with the air of a master, the will of a tyrant, and a determination of spirit which would not brook interference. He consulted no one. He showed no deference to the opinions of

the intelligent few who were already experienced in the matter of treating with the Indians. He placed himself on a pedestal, and looked loftily over the heads of his subjects. The West India Company had accorded him the privilege of fixing the number of his council. He warily chose one man. The favored individual was Dr. Johannes La Montagne, a learned and highly bred French Huguenot, who had escaped from the rage of religious persecution the year before, and found his Canaan in the Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island. His parents belonged to the *ancienne noblesse* of France, — a fact which he took pains neither to promulgate nor conceal, but which might have revealed itself in a thousand ways, even if his unusual accomplishments and elegant manners had not won universal admiration. He was a widower with four interesting children, upon whom he bestowed great care and affection. He gave them lessons daily, and perfected their education in such a masterly manner that his three daughters grew up to be the most attractive women of their day in the province, and his son became a man of fortune and position. Two of Dr. La Montagne's daughters married physicians, — Dr. Hans Kiersted and Dr. Van Imbroeck. His youngest daughter, Marie, became the wife of Jacob Kip. Dr. La Montagne practiced medicine for many years, and was the only doctor on Manhattan in whom the settlers had any confidence.

Kieft was quick to recognize the prospective value of such a man's advice in state affairs; but, as a governor, he was resolved to hold the supreme command himself in every particular. He therefore curiously arranged that his *one* councilor should be entitled to one vote, while he reserved to himself two votes. Such a high-handed act of despotism would not have been tolerated a day in any part of the Dutch Republic; and it only serves to illustrate the inattention of the West India Company to the best interests of their colony. Indeed, the company were discussing the question at that very time, "whether it would not be expedient to place the district of New Netherland at the disposal of the States-General."

Kieft patronizingly declared his willingness to admit an invited guest, perhaps two, into his extraordinary council board, on occasions when special cases were to be tried in which either himself or Dr. La Montagne were supposed to be interested; but as long as it was judged a high crime to appeal to any other tribunal, the condescension was sneeringly commented upon by the democratic colonists. Cornelis Van Tienhoven won his way into the new governor's favor through a little adroit flattery, and was made secretary of the province at a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars per year. A few days later, Ulrich

Lupold was appointed sheriff, although his qualifications for that office were bitterly questioned.

Kieft sent, with his first letter to Holland, a formal statement of the ruinous condition in which he had found the colony. He said: —

"The fort is open at every side except the stone point; the guns are dismounted; the houses and public buildings are all out of repair; the magazine for merchandise has disappeared; every vessel in the harbor is falling to pieces; only one wind-mill is in operation; the farms of the company are without tenants, and thrown into commons; the cattle are all sold, or on the plantations of Van Twiller."

Not very cheerful news for the disheartened company. Van Twiller had retired to private life, and taken up his abode in the house which he had built upon the company's farm. Immediately upon Kieft's arrival, the ex-governor commenced negotiations for hiring both house and farm, and in a few days succeeded in concluding an arrangement at a yearly rent of two hundred and fifty guilders, together with a sixth part of the produce. The inventory of his private property was in startling contrast to the general state of decay and dilapidation throughout the colony, and his manner of living was so ostentatious that he was regarded with scorn by the honest portion of the little community.

Abuses existed in every department of the public service. Private individuals were constantly smuggling furs and tobacco, and selling fire-arms to the Indians, in open disregard of orders. Law seemed fast becoming obsolete. Kieft commenced the reformatory work by proclamations. They were written in a plain hand and pasted on posts, trees, barns, and fences. All selling of guns or powder to the Indians was prohibited, under pain of death. Illegal traffic in furs was forbidden. Tobacco was made subject to excise. The retailing of liquors was limited to wine, "in moderate quantities." Hours were fixed for laborers to stop work; sailors were ordered not to leave their ships after night-fall. All the vices were forbidden. No person might leave the island without a passport. Thursday of each week was appointed for the regular sitting of the council.

Presently, the self-sufficient lawgiver ordered that no attestations or other public writings should be valid before a court in New Netherland unless they were written by the colonial secretary. This arbitrary regulation provoked opposition, and was declared on all sides to be oppressive, and intended to restrain popular rights. The policy of the measure was defended by the sycophantic Van Tienhoven, who declared that most of the parties who went to law for the redress of their grievances were illit-

crate countrymen or sailors, who could read or write but indifferently or not at all.

Dominie Bogardus, when he heard of the charges which Van Dincklagen had preferred against him before the Classis of Amsterdam, petitioned the governor for leave to return to Holland and defend himself.

Autograph of Everardus Bogardus.

Kieft entered warmly into the feelings of the church and people, and finally resolved "to retain Dominie Everardus Bogardus, that the interests of God's Word may in no wise be prevented"; and he also prayed the Classis of Amsterdam "for the protection of their esteemed preacher."[1]

Not long after, the principal families and personages at Manhattan were invited to attend the marriage of the Dominie to the famous Anetje Jans, who, although she may not have seemed rich in the days when great landed estates were to be bought for a few strings of beads, yet is reverenced by her numerous descendants as among the very goddesses of wealth. She was a small, well-formed woman, with delicate features, transparent complexion, and bright, beautiful dark eyes. She had a well-balanced mind, a sunny disposition, winning manners, and a kind heart; and soon became very dear to the people of the church over which her husband was pastor, besides being a distinguished and valuable counselor to her own numerous family of children.

A curious regulation was instituted about that time in relation to the ringing of the town bell. Its chief office was to call the devout to church on the Sabbath; but Kieft ordered it rung every evening at nine o'clock, to announce the hour for retiring; also every morning and evening at a given hour, to call persons to and from their labor; and, on Thursdays, to summon prisoners into court. We take the following from the unpublished Dutch manuscripts at the New York City Hall:[2] —

"October 14th, 1638. For scandalizing the governor, Hendrick Jansen is

[1] Cor. Cl. Amsterdam, 19th Nov., 1641; 1st April, 1642, *ante*, p. 273.

[2] The official records of New Netherland have fortunately been preserved in an almost unbroken series from the time of Kieft's inauguration, and afford authentic and copious materials for the historian.

sentenced to stand at the fort entrance, *at the ringing of the bell*, and ask the governor's pardon."

Under the same date, —

"For drawing his knife upon a person, Guysbert Van Regerslard is sentenced to throw himself three times from the sailyard of the yacht *Hope*, and to receive from each sailor three lashes, *at the ringing of the bell*."

And, —

"Grietje Reiniers, for slandering the Dominie Everardus Bogardus, is condemned to appear at Fort Amsterdam, *at the sounding of the bell*, and declare before the governor and council that she knew the minister to be an honest and pious man, and that she had lied falsely."

The records give us an insight into the cause as well as the merits of this slander case. Mrs. Bogardus went to pay a friendly visit to a neighbor; but, on getting into the "entry," discovered that Grietje Reiniers, a woman of questionable reputation, was in the house, and thereupon turned about and went home. Grietje was greatly offended at this "snubbing" from the Dominie's lady, and followed her, making disagreeable remarks. While passing a blacksmith's shop, where the road was muddy, Mrs. Bogardus raised her dress a little, and Grietje was very invidious in her criticisms. The Dominie thought fit to make an example of her; hence the suit. Grietje's husband being in arrears for church dues, Bogardus sent for him and ordered payment, and, not getting it, finally sued for the amount.

In some respects Kieft brought order out of chaos, and improved the appearance of the town. Most of the houses were in clusters without regard to streets, and grouped near the walls of the fort. Pearl Street was then a simple road on the bank of the river. It is at no very distant date that Water, Front, and South Streets were reclaimed from the water. Pearl was undoubtedly the first street occupied for building purposes, and Kieft selected it for the best class of dwellings, on account of its fine river-prospect. The lone wind-mill stood on State Street, and was, as seen from the bay, the most prominent object on the island. Not far from it were the bakery, brewery, and warehouse of the company.

A ferry to Long Island had been established before Kieft's arrival, from the vicinity of Peck's Slip to a point a little below the present Fulton Ferry. Cornelis Dircksen, who had a farm in that vicinity, came at the sound of a horn, which hung against a tree, and ferried the waiting passengers across the river in a skiff, for the moderate charge of three stivers in wampum. Many thousands now cross the Brooklyn ferries daily at about the same place.

There was a road which had been formed by travel from the fort towards the northern part of Manhattan Island, crooking about to avoid hills and ravines, and which might have been more truly called a path. Upon either side of it, although at considerable distances apart, farms were laid out, and some English colonists, who removed to this hitherto uncul-

First Ferry to Long Island.

tivated district from Virginia, brought with them cherry and peach trees, and soon rendered it somewhat interesting to agriculturists. Kieft was extravagantly fond of flowers, and encouraged gardening after the most approved European standard. He also stocked the farms with fine cattle.

Sweden all at once appeared as a competitor with France, England, and Holland for a foothold in North America. Peter Minuet had offered to that power the benefit of his colonial experience; and an ex- April 15.
pedition was placed under his direction, with fifty emigrants, a Lutheran minister, goods for the Indian trade, and the necessaries for making a little colony comfortable in a strange land. They came to the Delaware Bay country, where Minuet bought of the sachem Mattehoorn, for "a kettle and other trifles," as much land as would serve to build a house upon and make a plantation. For this land a deed was given, written in Low Dutch, as no Swede could interpret the Indian language. Upon the strength of this conveyance, the Swedes claimed to have bought all the territory on the west side of the Delaware River, from Cape Henlopen to the Falls of Trenton, and as far inland as they might want.[1]

[1] *Acrelius* in 11 *N. Y. H. S. Col.*, Vol. I. 409. *New York Col.* MSS. *Hudde's Report. Hazard, Am. Penn*, 42, 43. *Brodhead*, Vol. I. p. 282. *Letter of Jerome Hawley, Treasurer of Virginia, to Secretary Windebanke*, May 8, 1638, in London Documents. *O'Callaghan*, I. 190. *Ferris*, 42, 45. *Holm*, 85.

As soon as Kieft heard the news, he wrote Minuet a letter of remonstrance, of which the latter took no heed, but went on building his fort, which he called Fort Christiana, in honor of the young queen of Sweden. Before midsummer, he went to Europe with the first cargo of furs. Kieft was uncertain what course to pursue, and wrote to the company for instructions. Sweden was, however, just then, too powerful a kingdom and too dangerous a neighbor to pick a quarrel with, for the company was already on the decline; therefore the Swedes became the first European occupants of the State of Delaware.

By this time the company, in sheer despair, had matured a more liberal policy, by which they hoped to improve their mismanaged province of New Netherland. Every emigrant should be accommodated, according to his means, with as much land as he could properly cultivate. He should be conveyed to New Netherland, with his cattle and merchandise, in the company's ships, at a duty of ten per cent *ad valorem*, paid to the company. A quit-rent of one tenth of the produce was exacted, but legal estates of inheritance were assured to the grantees of all the land. Ministers, schoolmasters, and negro slaves were promised; and also protection and assistance in case of war. Forts and public buildings were to be kept in repair, and law and order maintained by the company; and each new settler was required to declare under his signature that he would voluntarily submit to existing authorities. It was a step in advance, although far short of the emergency, and arrangements for removal to America were immediately made by many persons of capital and influence in Holland.

Captain De Vries sailed in September, with a party of emigrants, to take possession of Staten Island. When they arrived off Sandy Hook, winter had set in, and all were homesick and disheartened. The captain of the vessel proposed going to the West Indies, to stay until spring; but De Vries objected, and offered to pilot the ship into port, which he accordingly did. He was always a welcome visitor at New Amsterdam, but perhaps never more so than now, as no ship was expected at such a season of the year, and its coming was an agreeable break in the monotony of colonial life. De Vries was invited to the governor's house and treated with distinguished attention. His people remained on the vessel for a few days, when they proceeded to Staten Island, and constructed some log-cabins, to live in until spring.

Sept. 25.
Dec. 27.

Kieft, in looking about him, thought it was well to secure more land to the company; and he purchased from the Indian chiefs, during that and the following year, nearly all the territory now comprising the county

of Queen's.[1] A few months afterward, he secured a large tract of land in West Chester, which is supposed to include the present town of Yonkers.[2] Portions of these lands were soon deeded away to enterprising settlers; for, by reason of the more liberal system of the company, a rapid impulse had been given to the settlement of the province. In August of this year, Antony Jansen Van Vaas, a French Huguenot, from Salée, bought two hundred acres on the west end of Long Island, and a part of the present towns of New Utrecht and Gravesend, of which he was the pioneer settler. On the 28th of November following, Thomas Besher received a patent for a tobacco plantation "on the beach of Long Island," supposed to be a portion of the site of Brooklyn. About the same time, George Holms, the leader of the expedition against Fort Nassau, who had returned to cast his fortunes among the Dutch at Fort Amsterdam, entered into partnership with his countryman, Thomas Hall, and bought a large farm on Deutal Bay, a small cove on the East River, now known as Turtle Bay,[3] where they built a very comfortable house. Attracted by the greater religious freedom among the Dutch, numbers came from New England and settled at various points on Long Island, at West Chester, and at New Amsterdam. Among them was Captain John Underhill, who had distinguished himself in the Pequod war, and had since been governor of Dover. That is, he made arrangements for removal, and sent several of his people; but he was himself detained to undergo ecclesiastical proceedings from the "proud Pharisees," as he called them, and only arrived in New Amsterdam in 1643. But there was an influx of the poorer class from Virginia which was not beneficial, except so far as their experience in tobacco and fruit culture was concerned; for they were English convicts, sent out as laborers, and glad to escape as soon as their term of service had expired. They were very much given to drinking and lawlessness.

1639.

Aug. 1.

Nov. 28.

Nov. 15.

In the early part of the summer, New Amsterdam had been visited by two somewhat remarkable men, who were so much pleased with what they saw that they returned to Europe and soon after came back to establish themselves here with their families. These were Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, of Darmstadt, who had held a high position in the

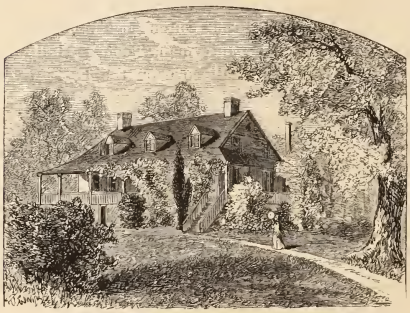
[1] *Thomson's Long Island. Dr. Stiles's History of Brooklyn.*

[2] *Bolton's West Chester*, 11, 401. *Alb. Rec. G. G.*, 59, 62.

[3] The Dutch name Deutal, which the English corrupted to Turtle, signified a peg with which casks were secured. These pegs were short, but broad at the base; and as the bay was narrow at the entrance, but wide within, the resemblance suggested the name. *Judge Benson's Memoir*, 96.

East Indies under the government of Denmark; and Cornelis Melyn, of Antwerp. They were both men of property and ability, of some culture, and of wide experience in the ways of the world, and they soon rose to prominence in the colony. Thirty or more farms were now under successful cultivation, and the country began to wear an air of healthy activity. The only obligation required from foreigners was an oath of allegiance similar to that which was imposed upon the Dutch colonists.

In July, Ulrich Lupold was removed from the post of sheriff to that of commissary of wares, and Cornelis Van der Huygens was appointed in his place. Jacob Van Corlear and David Provoost were made inspectors of tobacco, and Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt was appointed commissary of the shop. This latter personage came out in the same vessel with Kieft from Holland, as a soldier in the service of the company, and this was his first promotion. He was a lineal descendant of the Dukes of Courland in Russia. His ancestors, when deprived of the duchy of Courland, emigrated to Holland. The family name was Stevens, or Stevensen, van (from) Courland, and they adopted the latter as a surname, the true orthography in Dutch being Kortelandt, signifying *short-land*.[1]



Van Cortlandt Manor House.

Michel Evertsen was clerk of the customs, — the first record in New Netherland of an honorable Dutch name, which has been handed down to many highly respected families in the State of New York and elsewhere. Gerrit Schult and Hans Kiersted were regularly bred surgeons, sent out from Holland by the West India Company. The latter married Sarah, the eldest daughter of Dr. La Montagne. Gysbert Op Dyck was sent as commissary to Fort Good Hope.

[1] The above statements are founded upon Burke's *History of the English Commoners, The Heraldic Bearings and Family Tradition.* "Let those who would disparage the origin of this noble family go to work and disprove what has long ago been asserted of them." — Rev. Robert Bolton to the Author, November 11, 1872.

The state of morals in New Amsterdam was by no means healthy, owing to the great variety of persons who were coming into the town; and prosecutions and punishments for dishonesty and public executions for murder and mutiny were not infrequent. The governor was continually on the alert, but, from his irritable nature, commanded no respect, and was obliged to enforce obedience. Assuming sovereignty and refusing counsel, he soon committed an act of the greatest indiscretion. He levied a tribute of "maize furs or sewan" upon the Indians, under the plea that on their account the company was burdened with the heavy expenses of fortifications and garrisons. In case they refused to pay it, he threatened to compel them to do so.[1] The disastrous consequences, we shall soon have occasion to relate. Sept. 15.

In the mean time, the indomitable New-Englanders had been pushing westward, and had established themselves at a place which the Dutch called Roodeberg, or Red Hill, but to which the English gave the name of New Haven; and so rapidly had the settlement filled up, that they had already a handsome church built, and more than three hundred houses. They had bought large tracts around them and planted numerous smaller towns. Captain De Vries went on a voyage of observation up the Connecticut River, during the summer of 1639, and was agreeably entertained by the English governor at Hartford, which was quite a thriving place, with a church and a hundred or more houses. Captain De Vries was very frank with his English host, and told him that it was not right to take lands which the West India Company had bought and paid for. The reply was, that those lands were uncultivated, and no effort made to improve them, and it seemed a sin to let such valuable property go to waste, when fine crops could be raised with a little care. De Vries noticed that the English lived there, to quote his exact words, "very soberly." "They only drank three times at a meal, and those who got tipsy were whipped on a pole, as thieves were in Holland"; and their whole government was rigorous in the extreme.

The Dutch held their one small foothold near by; but it was of very little use to them, for the English openly denied even their right to the ground about the redoubt. From words it came to blows, and Evert Duyckingck, one of the garrison of fourteen men, was cudgeled while sowing grain in the spring of 1640. Disgusted with the command of a post without adequate force to protect it from insult, Op Dyck resigned his office, and Jan Hendricksen Roesen succeeded him.

With a boldness fostered by the consciousness of superior numbers, smart little towns were started all along the Connecticut River to its

[1] The Amsterdam Chamber denied any knowledge of this measure.

mouth, where a strong fort was in existence, and where Saybrook, under the command of Colonel Fenwick, who had just arrived from England, accompanied by his beautiful wife, the Lady Alice, had become quite a flourishing settlement. On the borders of the Sound, De Vries saw also other evidences of English enterprise. At the mouth of the Housatonic the village of Stratford already contained more than fifty houses. Men, like stray bees, were beginning to build at Norwalk and Stamford, and even at Greenwich two houses were erected. One of these was occupied by Captain Daniel Patrick, who had been an officer in the Pequod war, and had had ample opportunity for inspecting the country, and who had married a Dutch lady at the Hague. The other was occupied by Robert Feake, whose wife was the daughter-in-law of Governor Winthrop,[1] and who afterward purchased a title to the whole region, and held it for two years in defiance of Dutch authority.

Returning to his plantation on Staten Island, De Vries found it languishing for want of proper colonists, because his partner in Holland had not fulfilled his agreement to send them. He spent a few days there and then visited New Amsterdam, where two vessels had just arrived, one of which belonged to the company; the other was a private ship, laden with cattle, and belonged to Captain Jochem Pietersen Kuyter.

1640. Feb. 10. Later in the season, De Vries found a better situation, about six miles above the fort on the Hudson River, where there were some sixty acres of "corn land," and no trees to cut down. There was, besides, hay enough upon it for two hundred head of cattle. He accomplished its purchase of the Indians, and determined to live half of the time there. On the 15th of April, he sailed on a voyage up the

April 15. Hudson, and his circumstantial journal gives a very interesting picture of the country along its banks. From this trip he did not return until December, and then immediately commenced improving his new estate, which he called Vriesendael.

As yet there were few Dutch colonists east of the Harlem River; and Kieft, rendered anxious by English progress, sent Secretary Van

April 19. Tienhoven to purchase the group of islands at the mouth of the Norwalk River, together with the adjoining territory on the mainland, and to erect thereon the standard of the States-General, "so as to effectually prevent any other nation's encroachment." These directions were executed, and the West India Company thereby obtained the Indian title to all the country between the Norwalk and North Rivers. On

May 10. the 10th of May of the same year, Kieft also bought of the great chief Penhawitiz the territory forming the present county of Kings, on

[1] Robert Feake married the widow of Henry Winthrop.

Long Island. All the lands east of Oyster Bay, which form the county of Suffolk, remained, however, in the hands of its aboriginal lords.

What was the surprise of the governor of New Netherland when, one morning, a Scotchman, named Farrett, presented himself at Fort Amsterdam and claimed the whole of Long Island, under a commission from the Earl of Stirling! He had already confirmed Lion Gardiner's purchase of Gardiner's Island[1] from the Indians, and empowered him to make and put in practice all necessary laws of Church and State. He had made an agreement with several persons from Lynn, Massachusetts, by which they might settle upon and cultivate any lands on Long Island which they should buy of the Indians. Farrett was contemptuously dismissed by Kieft; but the Lynn emigrants soon after arrived at the head of Cow Bay, pulled down the Dutch arms, and put up a house very quickly. The sachem Penhawitz hurried to New Amsterdam with the news, and Van Tienhoven was dispatched with an armed force to arrest the whole party and bring them before the governor. Satisfied, however, upon examination, that they were not in fault, Kieft dismissed them after they had signed an agreement to intrude no more upon Dutch territory. This led to the immediate settlement of Southampton; for Farrett discovered that the Dutch, although they derided Lord Stirling's claim, were chiefly anxious to maintain possession of the western extremity of Long Island, and he, with his associates, removed and settled unmolested farther east.

Up to this time the relations between the Dutch and the Indians had been upon the whole friendly. But many of the colonists had neglected their farms for the quicker profits of traffic. To prosper in this they had allured the savages to their homes, fed them bountifully, and treated them to "fire-water." In many instances the jealousies of the latter had been excited against each other. They had also been frequently employed as house and farm servants by the settlers; which was unwise, because they would sometimes steal, and then run away and tell their tribes about the habits, mode of life, and numerical strength of the Dutch.

The unhappiest thing of all was supplying the red-men with fire-arms. The Iroquois warriors at first considered a gun "the devil," and would not touch it. Champlain taught them its power, and then they were eager to possess it. For a musket they would willingly give twenty beaver-skins. For a pound of powder they were glad to barter the value of several dollars. It mattered not that the West India Company forbade the traffic under penalty of death, and that their executive officer at Manhattan was not in the least averse to capital punishment. Such im-

[1] The price paid for Gardiner's Island was one large black dog, one gun, some powder and shot, some rum, and a few Dutch blankets: in value about £5.

mense profits were too tempting, and the Mohawks were already well armed. It was less easy to deal with the river tribes without discovery, and the latter began to hate the Dutch in consequence. Kieft's taxes were the final blow to their friendship.

July. In July, rumors of some intended hostile demonstration reached the governor, and he ordered all the residents of New Amsterdam to arm themselves, and, at the firing of three guns, to repair, under their respective officers, equipped for warfare, to a place of rendezvous. Without waiting to be attacked, he soon found an excuse to become the aggressor. It happened that some persons in the company's service, on their way to Delaware River in July, had landed at Staten Island for wood and water, and stolen some swine which had been left in charge of a negro by De Vries. The innocent Raritan Indians, who lived twenty miles or more inland, were accused of this theft, and also of having stolen the canoe of a trading party.

Kieft thought to punish them, and sent Secretary Van Tienhoven, with fifty soldiers and twenty sailors, to attack them, and unless they made prompt reparation, to destroy their corn. The men accompanying Tienhoven, knowing the governor's temper, were anxious to kill and plunder at once. This Tienhoven refused to permit; but finally, vexed with their importunity, he left them, and they attacked the Indians, several of whom were killed and their crops destroyed. Thus was the seed sown for a long and bloody war.[1]

Meanwhile the directors of the West India Company had not ceased wrangling with each other and with the patroons; but they agreed upon a new Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which amended materially the obnoxious instrument of 1629. All good inhabitants of New Netherland were to select lands and form colonies, to be limited to one mile along the shore of a bay or navigable river, and two miles into the country. The right of way by land or water was to be free to all, and disputes were to be settled by the governor, under all circumstances. The feudal privileges of jurisdiction, and the exclusive right of hunting, fishing, fowling, grinding corn, etc., were continued to the patroons as an estate of inheritance, with descent to females as well as males. Manufacturers were permitted. Another class of proprietors was soon established. Masters or Colonists they were called, and were such as should convey fine-grown persons to New Netherland, and might occupy one hundred acres of land. Commercial privileges were very greatly extended, al-

[1] *Breeden Raedt. Chalmers's Political Annals. De Vries*, in 11 *N. Y. H. S. Col. Albany Records.* Kieft is accused of having given to the soldiers themselves, at the moment of embarkation, even harsher orders than he gave to Van Tienhoven. *O'Callaghan*, I. 227, note.

though the company adhered to the system of onerous imposts for its own benefit. The company renewed their pledge to furnish negroes, and appoint and support competent officers, "for the protection of the good and the punishment of the wicked." The governor and his council were still to act as an orphans' and surrogate's court, to judge in criminal and religious affairs, and administer law and justice. The Dutch Reformed religion was to be publicly taught and sanctioned, and ministers and schoolmasters were to be sustained.

The people in and around New Amsterdam were generally supplied with necessary goods of all descriptions from the company's store. But it was well known that they were sold at an advance of fifty per cent on their cost, and many were the complaints. The store-keeper, Ulrich Lupold, who had never been regarded as trustworthy, was finally detected in extortion, and removed from his position. The first liquor ever made in this country was produced from a private still on Staten Island, erected by Kieft in 1640, and run by Willem Hendricksen, for twenty-five guilders per month.

In the early part of the year 1641, great excitement was occasioned by the intelligence that a murder had been committed near the fort. Six of the company's slaves had killed one of their fellow-negroes. There was no evidence against them; and so torture, the common expedient of the Dutch law in such cases, was resorted to for the purpose of extorting self-accusation. To avoid this terrible engine the negroes confessed they had all jointly committed the deed. The court was in a dilemma. Laborers were scarce, and six were too many to lose. Lots were drawn, in order to determine which should be executed; for justice could not be defrauded. The lot fell on a stalwart fellow, who was called "the giant," and he was sentenced to be hanged. January 24th was the great day appointed for his execution, and the whole community turned out to witness the terrible scene. He was placed on a ladder in the fort, with two strong halters about his neck. The fatal signal was given, the ladder pulled from under him, when both ropes broke, and the negro fell to the ground. The bystanders cried so loudly for pardon that the governor granted the culprit his life, under a pledge of future good conduct. 1641.

Kieft was constantly issuing new municipal regulations, and there was great need. We find, under date of April 11th, one by which "the tapping of beer during divine service, and after one o'clock at night," was forbidden; whereat the Dutch were as much exercised as their German cousins have been in later times. He also took measures to prevent the deterioration of the currency, which was in a mixed state. April 11.

The coins of Europe were rarely seen here. Wampum was in use, but April 18. had no standard value, until he fixed it by a law. To promote Sept. 5. agriculture, the governor established two fairs to be held annually; one of cattle on the 15th of October, and one of hogs on the 1st of November.

In March of that year, Myndert Myndertsen Van der Horst secured a plantation, about an hour's walk from Vriesendael, where De Vries was busy putting up buildings, planning orchards and gardens, and making his property singularly attractive. It extended north from Newark Bay towards Tappaen, including the valley of the Hackinsack River; the headquarters of the settlement being only five or six hundred paces from the village of the Hackinsack Indians.[1] Van der Horst's people immediately erected a small fort, to be garrisoned by a few soldiers. In August, Cornelis Melyn returned to New Amsterdam with a full-fledged grant from the West India Company to settle on Staten Island. This astonished De Vries, who knew that the company was aware of his own purchase of the whole of that property. Kieft, who had his distillery and a buckskin manufactory already there, persuaded the liberal-minded patroon to permit Melyn to establish a plantation near the Narrows, and then conferred upon the spirited Belgian a formal patent as patroon over all the island not reserved by De Vries. A small redoubt was immediately erected upon the eastern headland, where a flag was raised whenever a vessel arrived in the lower bay. This is the first record of a marine telegraph in New York Harbor.[2]

[1] The name of the Indian tribe was Achkinkeshacky, which was corrupted by the early settlers into Hackinsack.

De Vries, 11 *N. Y. H. S. Col.*, I. 264. *O'Callaghan* I. 228, 229. *Brodhead*, I. 314. *Albany Records.*

First Marine Telegraph.

CHAPTER VII.

1641–1643.

INDIAN VENGEANCE.

INDIAN VENGEANCE. — THE FIRST POPULAR ASSEMBLY. — KIEFT'S DISAPPOINTMENT. — DEATH OF PETER MINUET. — EFFORT OF THE "TWELVE MEN" TO INSTITUTE REFORMS. — THE GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION. — THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH. — DISCUSSION OF THE BOUNDARY QUESTION. — A FLAW IN THE TITLE TO NEW NETHERLAND. — RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION. — THE FIRST TAVERN. — THE NEW CHURCH. — RAISING MONEY AT A WEDDING. — THE FIRST ENGLISH SECRETARY. — "THE YEAR OF BLOOD." — THE BLOOD ATONEMENT. — THE SHROVETIDE DINNER-PARTY. — THE INHUMAN MASSACRE. — GENERAL UPRISING OF THE INDIANS. — OVERTURES FOR PEACE. — THE HOLLOW TRUCE. — THE SECOND REPRESENTATIVE BODY. — A PAGE OF HORRORS.

BY this time the effects of Kieft's imprudences with the Indians were fast becoming apparent. The Raritans cajoled him with peaceful messages, but suddenly attacked De Vries's unprotected plantation on Staten Island, killed four of his planters and burned all his buildings. Folly begets folly. The governor no sooner heard how the Raritans had avenged their wrongs, than he determined upon their extermination. In an ostentatious proclamation, he offered a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum for the head of any or every one of the tribe, and twenty fathoms for each head of the actual murderers. Some of the River Indians were incited by these bounties, and attacked the Raritans. In the autumn, a chief of the Haverstraw tribe came one day in triumph to the fort, and exhibited a dead man's hand hanging on a stick, which he presented to Kieft, as the hand of the chief who had killed the Dutch.

1641. June. July 4.

Meanwhile blood had been shed on the island of Manhattan. An old man, Claes Smits, lived in a little house near Dental Bay, and worked at the trade of a wheelwright. The nephew of the Indian who was murdered near the Fresh Water Pond during Minuet's administration, and who, as a boy, had sworn vengeance, went to the old man's house under pretense of bartering some beaver-skins for duffels, and,

Aug.

while the unsuspecting Smits was stooping over the great chest in which he kept his goods, the savage seized an ax and killed him with one blow, then plundered the house and escaped. Kieft sent at once to the chief of the Weekquaesgeek tribe, to demand satisfaction. The latter refused to give up the criminal, on the ground that he was but an avenger, after the manner of his race. Some soldiers were then sent out from
Aug. 20. the fort to arrest the assassin, but they could not find him. Kieft was exasperated and would have openly declared war, careless of probable consequences, had not some of his friends told him of the state of public feeling, and how the people accused him of aiming to provoke hostilities on purpose to make "a wrong reckoning with the company"; even charging him with personal cowardice, for they said, "He knew full well that he could secure his own life in a good fort." He, therefore, paused in his mad course, and summoned together all the patroons, masters, and
Aug. 23. heads of families in the vicinity to the fort, "to resolve upon something of the first necessity." This was the pioneer of popular meetings upon Manhattan Island.

Dutch Architecture in New Amsterdam.

When the people assembled on the day appointed, the governor
Aug. 28. submitted three propositions.

1st. "Was it not just that the recent murder of Claes Smits should be avenged by destroying the Indian village where the murderer belonged, if he was not given up?"

2d. "In what manner ought this to be accomplished?"

3d. "By whom should it be effected?"

The assembly, after some preamble and a grave discussion of the questions, chose twelve men out of their number to co-operate with the governor and council. The names of this first representative body were: Captain De Vries, Jacques Bentyn, Jan Dam, Hendrick Jansen, Jacob

Stoffelsen, Maryn Adriaensen, Abram Molemaer, Frederick Lubbertsen, Jochem Pietersen, Gerrit Direksen, George Rapaelje, and Abram Planck. De Vries was chosen president. Their counsel was for preserving peace with the Indians as long as possible. They believed the murder should be avenged, but thought "God and the opportunity" ought to be considered. The Dutch were scattered all about the country, and the cattle were in the woods. It was impolitic to get involved in war with the Indians, while there was no adequate means of defense. They, therefore, recommended that the governor send again, yea, for the second or third time, until he obtained the surrender of the prisoner, that he might punish him as he should see fit.

Kieft was greatly dissatisfied with their verdict. He had not willingly made this concession to popular rights, but rather by force of circumstances, and to serve as "a cloak of protection from responsibility or censure"; for he fully intended to attack the Indians, and chafed under the hindrance which was thus put in his way. Before winter set in he called the "Twelve Men" together again, to confer upon the same subject, and again they counseled patience. De Vries was opposed to war with the Indians under any circumstances. He reminded the governor of the sentiments of the Amsterdam Chamber, whose order had been distinctly expressed, "Keep peace with the savages"; and the uneasy and indiscreet chief magistrate was silenced, but not convinced. Nov. 1.

During the spring prior to these events, the English at New Haven had made an effort to appropriate a portion of the Dutch territory on the South River. Some fifty families in all had become dissatisfied with their Connecticut River homes, on account of the sickliness of the climate, and with their effects sailed, about the first of April, in a ship belonging to George Lambertsen, a New Haven merchant, and put into New Amsterdam on their way South to communicate their designs to the Dutch authorities. Kieft warned them not to build or plant within the limits of New Netherland, and they promised to select some spot over which the States-General had no authority. They were allowed to go on their way, and shortly after fortified a post on the Schuylkill. April 1.

In December, news came of the death of Peter Minuet, who had guarded his little Swedish colony well for three years, although they had once or twice suffered great privations. They had been reinforced by a party of Dutch from Holland, and also by a deputation of Swedes, who purchased additional lands from the Indians, and, in token of the sovereignty of their queen, set up "the arms and crown Dec.

of Sweedland." Peter Hollaendare, a Swede, succeeded to the chief government after the death of Minuet.

1642. Jan. 21. As soon as the rivers were frozen over, Kieft summoned the "Twelve Men" into council the third time, and insisted upon their acceding to his wishes in relation to the Indians. As the murderer had not been given up, they yielded, though reluctantly. Their assistance in the matter was promised only on condition that the governor should lead the expedition in person, and that the expenses of it, and the necessary care of the wounded men and their families afterward, should be defrayed by the company.

During the same session, the "Twelve Men" took occasion to demand certain reforms in the government. In the Fatherland, domineering arrogance was restrained by the system of rotation in office. The self-reliant men who had won their country from the sea, and their liberties from the relaxing grasp of feudal prerogative, knew that they could govern themselves, and they did govern themselves. The "Twelve," who now sat in judgment, were of the same stock, distinguished not only by talent, but by local experience; and although they had voluntarily pledged themselves to submit to the government of the West India Company, they believed it to have been more by neglect than ill-will that such a conceited little potentate had been placed over them, and they knew him to be unworthy of so much trust. He had often been heard to compare himself to the Prince of Orange, as above the law; but the grievance which caused the most feeling was the mock council, which in reality was no council at all. He appointed all public officers, except such as came with commissions from Holland, made laws, imposed taxes, levied fines, inflicted penalties, incorporated towns, and could affect the price of any man's property at pleasure by changing the value of wampum. He also decided all civil and criminal questions without the aid of jury, and settled controversies and appeals from inferior courts. The memorial, which had been previously prepared, was presented, with all due deference, to the governor. It called for an addition of four men to the council, two of whom should be chosen each year from the "Twelve Men" elected by the people, and demanded that judicial proceedings should be had only before a full board; that the militia should be mustered annually; that the people should have the same privilege as in Holland of visiting vessels from abroad, and the right to trade in neighboring places subject to the duties of the company; that the English should be prohibited from selling cattle within the province, and that the value of the currency should be considerably increased.

Kieft was confounded. He regretted exceedingly having made any

show of parliamentary government. But he was also politic, and he replied to the assembly that he expected a complete council in one of the first ships from Holland, and graciously acceded to all the other requirements, without, however, fulfilling a single promise. Then he wound up the meeting adroitly by telling the gentlemen that they had never been invested with greater powers than to give advice respecting the murder of Claes Smits.

A short time afterward, the following poster appeared in various places: — Feb. 18.

"Whereas, The people have at our request commissioned 'Twelve Men' to communicate their good council and advice concerning the murder of Claes Smits, which now being done, we thank them for the trouble they have taken, and shall make use of their written advice, with God's help and fitting time; and we propose no more meetings, as such tend to dangerous consequences, and to the great injury, both of the country and of our authority; — we, therefore, do hereby forbid the calling of any assemblies or meetings, of whatever sort, without our express order, on pain of punishment for disobedience.

"Done in Fort Amsterdam, February 18th, 1642, in New Netherland.

"Wilhelm Kieft."

Having disposed of the "Twelve Men," Kieft made preparations and dispatched a party of eighty soldiers, under Ensign Van Dyck, against the Weekquaesgeeks, with orders to exterminate them by fire and sword. March 5. The guide professed to know the way to the Indian village, but he lost the track just at nightfall; and, as they had crossed the Harlem River with no little difficulty, the commanding officer finally lost his temper, and the twin losses resulted in an overwhelming gain, for the party returned to New Amsterdam innocent of the death of a single Indian. The mortifying failure enraged the governor; but the Indians were quick to discover the trail of the soldiers, and were so much alarmed as to come at once to New Amsterdam and sue for peace. March 28. A treaty was concluded with them, one of the stipulations of which was the surrender of the murderer, — a promise which, either from unwillingness or inability, was never fulfilled.

This treaty was scarcely concluded before rumors were afloat that the Connecticut savages were planning to destroy the colonists throughout New England. Hartford and New Haven concerted measures of defence, and anxiety and alarm were everywhere felt. Under these circumstances the settlers at Greenwich thought it wise, as a measure of self-protection, to submit themselves to the government of New Netherland; and Captain Patrick and his friends, after swearing allegiance, were invested with all the rights of patroons. April 9. But the difficulties be-

tween the Dutch garrison and the English at Hartford continued; and
April 3. Kieft, finding that his protests were of no effect, prohibited all trade and commercial intercourse with the Hartford people. He soon
May 15. after heard that the New Haven party, who went to the South River, were living upon the company's lands without his permission. He immediately dispatched two sloops with a strong force to require
May 22. them to withdraw, and, in case of refusal, to arrest them and destroy their trading-posts. These orders were executed so promptly that the English had not two hours to prepare for their departure, and they were brought with their goods to New Netherland, and afterwards landed at New Haven. The excitement on the subject there was intense; particularly after Lambertsen, who was considered by the Dutch as the principal instigator of the injury to their trade, had been compelled,
Aug. 28. while passing New Amsterdam, to give an account of what peltries he had obtained on the Delaware, and to pay duties on them all.

The Hartford authorities found the prohibition against intercourse with
May 11. the New Amsterdam settlers very inconvenient, to say the least, and finally sent a committee to confer with Kieft on the subject. He received them pompously, conceded nothing, talked about the antiquity of the Dutch title to the country on the Connecticut River, and graciously offered to lease to them a portion of the lands there, on certain terms. The ambassadors went home to report, having accomplished no part of their mission. Both the Hartford and the New Haven people were more incensed than ever, and vented their annoyance upon every Dutch man or woman who came in their way. The agents from New England who went to London about that time brought the subject into general notice there, and it was discussed with no little acrimony by the courtiers of Charles I. Lord Say told the Dutch Minister that the conduct of the New-Netherlanders was haughty and unbearable in the extreme, and dropped a few meaning hints in regard to their being forcibly ejected from the Connecticut Valley, if the difficulties were not shortly arranged. The Dutch Minister wrote to his government; the States-General took the matter up, and much bitterness appears in the subsequent correspondence, although, as in previous instances, the question was left unsettled.

It is a singular fact that, while the Dutch in New Netherland were at this time so few in proportion to their wide and fine territory, the English had spread themselves over a great part of New England, and were, to all outward appearances, far the more prosperous. In natural advantages New Netherland immeasurably outrivaled New England,

and the difference in the progress of the two colonies may be traced directly to the want of wisdom by which the statesmen at the Hague endowed a commercial corporation with the maintenance of a dependency for their own material gain. New England was founded in religious persecution. As it could contribute little resource to the mother-country, under any circumstances, it was allowed to work out its own combinations of policy in Church and State. The mere facts of a colonial condition tend to entail the same species of subjection which ordinarily appertains to infancy in a family; but the New England colony stands out exceptional in history, as having elicited no particular interest in any quarter of the Old World as to its possible future value, and religious controversies and religious education occupied a reading population who were content with a bare living, and stood quite aloof from mercantile speculations. On the other hand, New Netherland was treated solely as an investment for the eventual accumulation of wealth at home, while at the same time the enormous monopoly of the West India Company comprehended interests in comparison with which the immediate affairs of a little State were esteemed insignificant.

When the New-Englanders crossed the supposed boundary lines, the Dutch in power wondered why their impotent protests were unheeded. Those protests were based upon the supposed right of the West India Company to the territory which they claimed, and the quarrels thus engendered produced some interesting state papers. Later, John De Witt made the most strenuous efforts to establish a good understanding with Oliver Cromwell, and sent some of his ablest diplomatists to the Protector's court. The subject of the boundary line of New Netherland attracted much attention. In the several documents which were drawn up by the West India Company to substantiate their rights, the principal historical statements were audacious fictions, and the writer of them was evidently aware that there was a flaw in the Dutch title, and that, in a court of law, not a foot of the vast territory could be held as a *bona fide* possession. The Dutch ministers to England must have entertained similar views, judging from the gingerly care with which they handled the delicate and perplexing question.

As the New England settlements grew more rapidly, and their institutions received more attention from the people than those of New Netherland, so also did the spirit of intolerance take root among them, until they became the most relentless persecutors of the age. "The arm of the civil government," says Judge Story, "was constantly employed in support of the denunciations of the Church, and, without its forms, the Inquisition existed in substance, with a full share of its terrors

and its violence." Many important families were driven by this means into finding homes elsewhere; and not a few, perceiving the larger liberty of opinion which would be vouchsafed in the Dutch dominion, made application to Kieft, and were welcomed right heartily, being required only to take the same oath of allegiance as the Dutch subjects. Roger Williams, a promising young minister, whose ideas of religious liberty shocked the General Court of Massachusetts to such an extent that they sentenced him to perpetual exile, went into the wilderness of Rhode Island and commenced the settlement of that State. That was as early as 1635. Others were banished through the workings of the same peculiar ecclesiastical system. Annie Hutchinson, who was a lady of rare cultivation, and styled by her contemporaries "a masterpiece of wit and wisdom," was accused of "weakening the hands and hearts of the people towards the ministers," because she maintained the "paramount authority of private judgment." She was worried by her clerical examiners for several hours, although the verdict had evidently been agreed upon before the session commenced, and at last she was declared "unfit for society," and ordered to depart from the province. She went, at first, to Rhode Island, accompanied by quite a number of families of personal friends, and persons of the same phase of religious belief. But fearing the implacable vengeance of Massachusetts would reach her even there, she removed to New Netherland in 1642, selecting for her residence the point now known as Pelham Neck, near New Rochelle, which received the name of "Annie's Hoeck."[1] Near by her settled John Throgmorton and thirty-five English families. Kieft granted them all the franchises which the charter of 1640 allowed, with freedom to worship God in the manner which suited them best.

The terms were so agreeable that a large emigration in the same direction would have speedily set in, had not the General Court of Massachusetts taken alarm, and sought to dissuade their own citizens from seeking thus to strengthen "their doubtful Dutch neighbors." But they went on with their political and moral and religious instruction, acting most self-complacently on the conviction that their system of teaching was the very best in the world, and their interpretation of the Scriptures the one and only true way to Heaven.

When, at rare intervals, some bold progressionist tried to open the eyes of the people to the pretenses of pompous ignorance masked in the guise of scholarship and sanctity, or to promulgate some new tenet or article of faith, they were stricken so quickly that the places that had known them knew them not much longer. Rev. Francis Doughty was dragged

[1] Hoeck is a Dutch word signifying *point*. It is sometimes spelt Hoek.

from an assembly at Cohasset for venturing to say in his sermon that "Abraham's children should have been baptized." A large number of his friends determined to join him on a pilgrimage to New Netherland. They bought more than thirteen thousand acres at Newtown, Long Island, near where a number of persons from Lynn and Ipswich had settled a short time before. For this large landed property Kieft granted them an absolute ground-brief, and afforded every facility in his power for the erection of substantial houses and the proper cultivation of the soil.

These accessions to the population of New Netherland were of marked value to the prosperity of the province. But there were other arrivals about the same time which were less to be desired. April 13. A great number of fugitive servants, both from New England and Virginia, flocked into New Amsterdam, trying to get employment. They were full of mischief, idle, indolent, and dishonest, and occasioned great trouble and complaint among the people. Kieft found it necessary to issue new police regulations, one of which was to forbid any family giving to strangers more than one meal, or more than one night's lodging, without first sending notice of the same to the governor.

It would seem that visitors had hitherto been entertained by the citizens. Noteworthy persons had enjoyed the hospitality of the governor himself. The growth of the town, and the increasing number of travelers, rendered this a great inconvenience. The subject of building a public house had been for some time agitated, and Kieft finally concluded to erect it at the company's expense. It was completed this year, a great clumsy stone tavern, and it was located on the northeast corner of Pearl Street and Coenties Slip, fronting the East River.

A short time after this famous old building had been put in use, Captain De Vries was one day dining with the governor, as was his custom when he happened to be at the fort, and, in the course of conversation, the host congratulated himself upon the architecture and workmanship of the new edifice. De Vries said it was, indeed, an excellent thing for travelers, but that the next thing they wanted was a decent church for the people. In New England, the first thing they did, after building some dwellings, was to erect a fine church; and now, when the English passed New Amsterdam, they only saw a "mean barn," in which the Dutch worshiped their Creator. The West India Company had the credit of being very zealous in protecting the Reformed Church[1] against Spanish tyranny, and there was no reason why their settlements should not be supplied with church edifices. There were

[1] Calvinist.

Stadthuys.

materials enough at hand, — fine oak timber and good building stone, and lime made from oyster-shells, far better than the lime in Holland.

Kieft was interested, and asked who would like to superintend such a building ?

De Vries told him that no doubt some of the friends of the Reformed religion could be found who would be only too glad to do so.

Kieft, smiling, told De Vries that he supposed he was one of them, and asked if he would contribute one hundred guilders to the enterprise.

De Vries very quickly responded in the affirmative; and then they decided that Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, who was a good Calvinist, and had plenty of workmen, would be the most suitable person to procure timber, and Jan Jansen Dam, who lived near the fort, should be the fourth one of the consistory to superintend the building. The governor promised to furnish a few thousand guilders of the company's money, and the rest was to be raised by private subscription.

A few days afterward, the daughter of Dominie Bogardus was married, and, at the wedding party, the governor and Captain De Vries, thinking it a rare opportunity to raise the requisite amount of funds, took advantage of the good-humor of the guests, and passed round the paper, with their own names heading the list. As each one present desired to appear well in the eyes of his neighbor, a handsome

May.

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BY

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SEYMOUR DURST

FORT NEW AMSTERDAM (NEW YORK), 1651

When you leave, please leave this book
Because it has been said
"Ever'thing comes t' him who waits
Except a loaned book."

sum was contributed. In the morning, some few appealed to the governor for permission to reconsider the matter; but his Excellency would permit no names to be erased from the paper.

An arrangement was at once effected with John and Richard Ogden,[1] of Stamford, for the mason-work of a stone church, seventy-two feet long, fifty wide, and sixteen high, at one thousand dollars for the job, and a gratuity of forty dollars more should the work be satisfactory. The agreement was signed and sealed on the 20th of May. The church was to be located in the fort, that it might not be exposed to Indian depredations; although many objected, on the ground that the fort was overcrowded already. The walls were soon up, and the roof covered with oak shingles, which, from exposure to the weather, became blue like slate. Kieft caused to be erected in the front wall a marble slab with this inscription: —

May 20.

Inside of Fort, with Governor's House, and Church.

"Anno Domini, 1642,
Wilhelm Kieft Directeur General.
Heeft de gemeente desen tempel doen bouwen."

When the fort was demolished, in 1787, to make room for the Government House, this slab was discovered buried in the earth, and was removed to the belfry of the old Dutch Church in Garden Street, where it remained until the burning of that church, in 1835, when it totally disappeared.

It was now becoming necessary to observe regularity in drawing boundary and division lines; hence Andries Hudde was appointed surveyor, with a salary of eighty dollars per annum and a few additional fees. The first record of the sale of city lots, we find this year. There is one extant, showing that Abraham Van Steenwyck sells to Anthony Van Fees a lot on Bridge Street, thirty feet front by one hundred and ten deep, for the sum of nine dollars and sixty cents![2]

The influx into the Dutch settlements of persons who spoke only the English language occasioned no little embarrassment. Kieft himself

[1] These Ogdens were the ancestors of the present families of that name in New York and New Jersey. *Alb. Rec.*, III. 31. *O'Callaghan*, I. 261, 262. *N. Y. H. S. Col.*, II. 293.

[2] The street was not then named.

could speak it fluently, but many of his officers did not understand a word, and it was finally thought best to have an official interpreter. George Baxter received the appointment, at an annual salary of two hundred and fifty guilders.

Meanwhile, Adrian Van der Donck, a lineal descendant of Adrian Van Bergen, a graduate of Leyden University, and a man of acknowledged scholarship, had, in 1641, leased the westerly half of Castle Island. He was appointed sheriff of the colony at Rensselaerswick, and specially instructed to repress the spirit of lawlessness which seemed to pervade that district. He went to work energetically. He made it his first business to induce the patroon to send over the learned clergyman, Dr. Johannes Megapolensis, "for the edifying improvement of the inhabitants and Indians thereabouts." The Amsterdam Chamber approved the call; the reverend gentleman was promised a new church and parsonage, and a small theological library, together with an annual salary of one thousand guilders. A number of families accompanied him to his new field of labor. They arrived at New Amsterdam in August, 1642.

August 1. From that point Van Rensselaer had requested that the further transportation of the party should be left entirely to the advice and discretion of Kieft, to whom he sent, as a present for his trouble, a handsome saddle and bridle. To obviate as much as possible the dangers of life among the Indians, the patroon required that all his colonists, except the farmers and tobacco-planters, should live near each other, so as to form a church neighborhood. Ships sometimes remained at Manhattan a fortnight before news of their arrival reached Rensselaerswick; but in this instance prompt measures were resorted to, and by the 11th of the month the names of the new settlers had been registered at their destination by Arendt Van Corlear, the commissary.

It was about the same time that intelligence of the capture of some

Aug. 11. French missionaries by the Iroquois reached Fort Orange. With characteristic Dutch benevolence, Van Corlear and two stout-hearted friends went on horseback to the Mohawk country to attempt their rescue. They carried presents, which were thankfully received by the great warriors, who saluted them with musket-shots from each of their castles as they approached, fed them with turkeys during their stay, and seemed greatly pleased with their visit. Van Corlear invited the chiefs into council, and urged the release of their prisoners, one of whom was a celebrated Jesuit scholar. Their reply was, "We shall show you every friendship in our power, but on this subject we shall be silent." Several days were spent to no purpose. Six hundred guilders' worth of goods were offered for the Frenchmen's ransom, and coldly refused. Van

Corlear's eloquence only elicited from the Indians a promise not to kill their prisoners; and then the baffled diplomats set out for Fort Orange, conducted by an embassy of ten armed savages. They had hardly departed from the encampment, when the restrained braves clamored for blood, and one of the Frenchmen was struck dead with a tomahawk; but the life of Father Jacques was spared, although his subsequent sufferings, throughout a dreary winter, among a class of vindictive savages, who hated the cross and reviled his holy zeal, were most intense.

The year that followed was emphatically "a year of blood." It was ushered in with the wildest stories of a general war by the New England and New Netherland Indians against the English and the Dutch. If a benighted traveler halloed in the woods, a panic was immediately caused, lest savages were torturing some captive. The fireside gossips contributed greatly to the general anxiety and terror by accusing the Indians of trying to poison and bewitch those in authority. Thoughtful men censured Kieft severely for having allowed the colonists to settle wherever they liked, all over the country, so that now they were almost entirely defenseless. He had done nothing to prepare them for war; he had not even a sufficient stock of powder to allow each colonist a half-pound, if it should be required. 1643.

And war, with all its horrors, was on the wing. It came soon, surely and swiftly. Captain De Vries, while rambling through the woods near his plantation at Vriesendael, met a drunken Indian. The savage stroked the patroon over his arms, in token of friendship, and called him "a good chief," and then said he had come from Van der Horst's place at Hackinsack, where they had sold him brandy, and stolen his beaver coat. The enraged savage vowed a bloody revenge, and the peace-loving De Vries tried in vain to soothe him. Before night, he had shot Garret Jansen Van Vorst, who was thatching the roof of one of Van der Horst's houses. The chiefs of the Hackinsacks and Reckawancks hurried to Vriesendael to tell the news, and counsel with De Vries, whom they held in the highest esteem: they would have gone to the governor, but were afraid he might detain them as prisoners. De Vries, however, assured them that the latter would be best, and accompanied them in person to the fort, where they made their confession, and offered two hundred fathoms of wampum, a blood atonement of money, as a purchase for peace. This universal custom among the Indians of North America was in singular accordance with the usages of Greece: — January.

> "If a brother bleed,
> On just atonement we remit the deed;
> A sire the slaughter of the son forgives,
> The price of blood discharged, the murderer lives."

The chiefs deplored the murder, but pleaded for the murderer. They told Kieft that he was the son of a chief; that brandy should not have been sold him, for he was not used to it, and it crazed him. "Even your own men," they said, "get drunk and fight with knives; if you will sell no more strong drink to the Indians, you will have no more murders," — an early warning which the whites would have done well to observe, even to this day. Kieft refused to accept any expiation less than the head of the fugitive, and the Indians would not bind themselves to surrender him; for they said he had gone two days' journey away among the Tankitekes, and it would be impossible to overtake him. The governor immediately sent a peremptory message to Pacham, the chief of the Tankitekes, for the surrender of the criminal.

Feb. 19. Before the demand could possibly have been acceded to, under any circumstances, a band of Mohawks made a descent upon the Weekquaesgeek and Tappaen tribes, for the purpose of levying tribute. These Indians were terror-stricken, and came flying, half naked, to the Dutch for protection, leaving seventy of their number dead and many of their women and children captives. They were kindly received in New Amsterdam. They seemed to have almost supreme faith in the superior power of the white man, — a confidence which, by a wise policy, might have been strengthened. But public sentiment was divided. De Vries, at the head of one party, breathed kindness and caution in every syllable he uttered. Others sympathized with Kieft in his insane wish to exterminate the savages. Some inkling of the state of feeling must have reached the Indians, for they suddenly scattered in various directions; some flying to Pavonia, some to Vriesendael, and some to Corlear's bouwery.

Feb. 24 A few days after, there was a Shrovetide dinner-party at the house of Jan Jansen Dam, the governor being present; and nearly every person in the company became merry with wine. The chief topic of conversation was the Indians. Secretary Van Tienhoven, at the suggestion of Dam, Adriaensen, and Planck, drew up a petition to the governor, urging in the name of the "Twelve Men" an immediate attack upon the defenseless savages, "whom God had thus delivered into their hands." The paper was no sooner read, than Kieft, in a significant toast, announced approaching hostilities. His next move was to dispatch Van Tienhoven and Corporal Hans Steen to Pavonia, to reconnoiter the situation.

Consternation quickly took the place of hilarity. Dominie Bogardus hastened to the governor, sharply reproved him for his "hot-headed rashness," and foretold certain consequences. The usually unmoved and dignified Dr. La Montagne pleaded with Kieft excitedly, for a postponement of his terrible purpose. "Wait, for God's sake," he exclaimed,

"until the arrival of the next ship from Holland!" Captain De Vries raised his voice in anxious entreaty, and also in persuasive argument. He told Kieft that the petition was not from the "Twelve Men"; only three had signed it; all the rest were opposed to such a dangerous proceeding. Words, however, were thrown away upon the obstinate governor. He had made up his mind. De Vries walked home with him, and talked incessantly; but Kieft only smiled, and under pretense of showing the Captain his new parlor, which he had just completed, asked him into the hall upon the side of the house, where the soldiers could be seen preparing to start for Pavonia. "My order has gone forth," he said, "and cannot be recalled."

The story of that night is a blot upon the pages of New Netherland's history. It was the most shocking massacre that ever disgraced a civilized nation. Sergeant Rodolf crossed with his troops to Pavonia, and butchered eighty Indians in their sleep, sparing not a woman or a child. It makes humanity blush to record such an atrocious deed. Another band of troops marched to Corlear's Hook, and murdered forty Indians who were encamped there. Not one was spared, and every cry for mercy was unheeded.

De Vries sat all night by the kitchen fire in the governor's house, with an aching heart. The shrieks of the hapless victims reached his ears from Pavonia, while a solemn stillness settled over New Amsterdam. All at once an Indian and his squaw appeared in the doorway, and, overcome with terror, asked him to hide them in the fort. They lived near Vriesendael, and had escaped in a small skiff. As De Vries rose to meet them, they exclaimed, "The Mohawks have fallen upon us!" "No," said De Vries, pityingly, "no Indians have done this; it is the work of the Dutch. It is no time to hide yourselves in the fort"; and leading them to the gate, he directed them towards the north, and watched them until they disappeared in the woods. Feb. 26.

The extraordinary conquerors returned at sunrise with thirty prisoners and the heads of several of their victims. Kieft praised them for their valor, and there was much shaking of hands and many congratulations. Feb. 27.

The following day, a party of Dutch and English went over to Pavonia to pillage the stricken encampment. In vain the soldiers on guard warned them of the consequences. Dirk Straatmaker and his wife were both killed by some concealed Indians, whose wigwam they were robbing, and several others very narrowly escaped with their lives.

Stimulated by the success of this discreditable exploit, some of the Long Island settlers sought permission of the governor to attack the

Indians in that neighborhood. De Vries and Dominie Bogardus and Dr. La Montagne remonstrated with so much earnestness, that Kieft finally refused to consent, on the ground that the Long Island Indians were "hard to conquer," but added the unfortunate proviso that "if they proved hostile, each man might resort to such means of defense as he should see fit." Before long some covetous persons, in punishment for an injury which they claimed to have sustained, robbed the Indians of their corn. Three of the latter, while defending their property, were killed. It needed only this crowning act of injustice to fill the measure of Indian endurance. Eleven tribes immediately united and declared war against the Dutch. The result, as may well be imagined, was terrible beyond description. The swamps and thickets were full of vindictive savages, watching opportunities to slay and plunder. From the shore of the Housatonic to the valley of the Raritan, death, fire, and captivity threatened unspeakable horrors. In one week the smiling country was transformed into a frightful and desolate wilderness. The rich and the poor, the strong and the helpless, the old and the young, shared the same fate. Blood flowed in rivers; and, what was often worse, children were carried into hopeless captivity. Those who
March 1. escaped fled to the fort, where the valiant governor remained safe from all possible bodily harm, but where he was obliged to listen to the fiery wrath of ruined farmers, childless men, and widowed women, who were soon united in a common purpose of returning to Holland. Not knowing what else to do, he proclaimed a day of general fasting and prayer.
March 4. But while the people humbled themselves before their Maker, they held their chief magistrate strictly accountable for their calamities. In alarm, he tried to moderate the popular feeling by taking all the unemployed men into the pay of the company, to serve as soldiers for two months.

One incident deserves special notice. The Indians, in their work of destruction, attacked Vriesendael, burned the barns, killed the cattle, and were preparing to destroy the beautiful manor-house of De Vries. His people had all gathered there for safety, as it was constructed with loop-holes for musketry. Suddenly the same Indian whose life De Vries had saved, on the night of the Pavonia massacre, came running to the scene, and so eloquently declaimed to the savages of the goodness of the "great chief," that they paused in their work, expressed great sorrow that they had destroyed so much already, and quietly went away.

De Vries was full of indignation with the governor, and said to him, with fire flashing from his eyes, "It was our own nation you murdered when you sent men to Pavonia to break the Indians' heads! Who shall now make good our damages?"

Kieft saw his error, but it was too late. Willing to make what amends remained in his power, he sent a messenger with an overture of peace to the Long Island Indians, which they rejected with scorn. Standing afar off, they derided the Dutch, calling out, "Are you our friends? You are corn thieves."

When this report was brought to New Amsterdam, the people were so maddened that they talked of deposing Kieft and sending him in chains to Holland. He tried to exculpate himself by fastening the blame of the Pavonia massacre upon Adriaensen and others, whose advice he pretended to have followed. This was one drop too much for the unprincipled Adriaensen, who had lost all his valuable property since the war commenced, and was not disposed to shoulder any of Kieft's sins. He therefore armed himself, and rushed into the governor's room, intending to kill him on the spot. But strong men were present, and the would-be assassin was seized, disarmed, and imprisoned, and on the sailing of the first vessel was sent to Holland, notwithstanding the open resistance of his friends. March 21.

Early on the morning of March 24, three Indian messengers from the great chief Penhawitz approached Fort Amsterdam, bearing a white flag. None had the courage to go forth and meet them, but De Vries and Jacob Olfersten. The Indians said they had come to ask why some of their people had been murdered, when they had never harmed the Dutch. De Vries assured them that the Dutch did not know that any of their tribe were among the number. They then asked De Vries to come with them and speak to their chief, and he fearlessly consented. They conveyed him and his companion in their boat to a point near Rockaway, where they arrived towards evening, and found the chief with two or three hundred warriors near a village of some thirty wigwams. De Vries was hospitably entertained in the royal cabin, and feasted with oysters and fish. About daybreak he was conducted into the woods, where sixteen chiefs were assembled in a circle, and being placed in the center, the chief speaker among them began to enumerate their wrongs. He charged the Dutch with having repaid their former kindness with cruelty; told how the Indians had given them their daughters for wives, by whom they had had children; and accused them of murdering their own blood in a villainous manner. De Vries interrupted him, and begged the chiefs to go with him to the governor and make peace. They were not at all disposed to do so, but De Vries urged them, and his well-known character for justice and honor inspired them at last with confidence, and they repaired to their canoes. Kieft received them gladly, and concluded an informal treaty; but they were not satis- March 24.

fied with their presents, and grumbled among themselves afterward.

March 25. Through their aid and influence, a truce was also effected with some other faithless tribes; but harmony was by no means restored, for both the Dutch and the Indians were smarting from their injuries. The farmers planted their June corn in constant fear of death. Indeed, peace seemed about as full of terror as war.

July came. The summer was hot and dry. Men crept about like guilty creatures, and went from place to place, when possible, in

July 20. bands. An old Indian chief met De Vries one day, and, in response to the cheerful greeting of the popular patroon, said that he was melancholy. Upon being asked the cause, he said that his young men wanted war with the Dutch; that the presents given them were not sufficient recompense for their losses. He had added presents of his own in vain. One had lost a father, another had lost a mother, and so on, and they clamored for revenge. He begged De Vries not to walk alone in the woods, for fear some Indians who did not know him might kill him. De Vries escorted the chief to Fort Amsterdam, where he told the governor the same things; but it was without results. The chief was sorry, but said he feared he should not long be able to quiet his tribe.

August 7. Soon afterward, there came a rumor that Pacham, the crafty sachem of the Tankitekes, was visiting all the Indian villages, to arrange for a general massacre of the Dutch; and, as if to corroborate its truth, several trading-boats on the North River were attacked and plundered, nine men killed, and one woman and two children carried into captivity. The alarm was so general, that Kieft summoned the people together for advice. "Eight men" were chosen this time by the popular voice, to counsel with the governor. They were Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Jan Jansen Dam, Barent Dircksen, Abraham Pietersen, Thomas Hall,

Sept. 13. Gerrit Wolfertsen, and Cornelis Melyn. Their first official act was to eject Jan Jansen Dam from their board, and appoint Jan

Sept. 16. Evertsen Bout in his place. The result of their first deliberation was a renewal of hostilities with the river Indians, and a resolution to maintain peace with the Long Island tribes.

Sept. 20. But the war-whoop sounded almost immediately in another direction. The Weekquaesgeeks stole upon the estate of Annie Hutchinson, at Annie's Hoeck, and murdered her with all her family and people, save a sweet little granddaughter of eight years, whom they carried into captivity. They then proceeded to Vreedeland and attacked Throgmorton's settlement, laying it waste and killing every person whom they found at home.

Lady Deborah Moody, who had been "dealt with" by the church at

Salem "for the error of denying baptism to infants," had settled, in the month of June, at Gravesend. Thither the savages hurried in their insane thirst for blood. But the settlement was defended by over forty brave men, and the Indians were obliged to retreat. They went from there to Doughty's settlement at Newtown, where were eighty or more inhabitants, who fled to New Amsterdam, leaving everything belonging to them but the bare land to be destroyed. A few days later, the Hackinsacks made a night attack upon Van der Horst's colony, on Newark Bay, and destroyed the plantation, driving the little garrison, who for a time made a determined resistance, into a canoe, by which they escaped to New Amsterdam. The Neversincks caught the infection, and killed some traders near Sandy Hook. The yacht had just reached New Amsterdam with the tidings, when a nearer calamity appalled every heart. Jacob Stoffelsen had married the widow of Van Vorst, Pauw's former superintendent, and lived at Pavonia. He was a favorite with the Indians, and felt secure in his home. They came to his house, however, one afternoon, and having sent him on some false errand to Fort Amsterdam, they killed his wife and children (except the little son of Van Vorst, whom they took off with them), destroyed all his property, and murdered every white inhabitant of Pavonia. The next day Kieft went with Stoffelsen to see De Vries, and earnestly entreated him to follow the Indians and ransom the boy. Being the only man who dared venture into the haunts of the savages, he finally consented, and secured the child's freedom.

Oct. 1.

Oct. 2.

Thus New Jersey was left in the possession of its aboriginal lords. Melyn, on Staten Island, hourly expected an assault, and was fortified to the extent of his resources. The only tolerable place of safety was Fort Amsterdam, and into it women and children and cattle were huddled promiscuously, while husbands and fathers mounted guard on the crumbling walls. The whole available fighting force of the Dutch was not over two hundred men, besides fifty or sixty Englishmen who had been enrolled into service to prevent their leaving New Netherland. This army was under the command of Captain John Underhill; and it was necessary that they should keep guard at all hours, for seven allied tribes, numbering about 1,500 warriors, were likely to descend upon them at any moment.

Oct. 5.

Just at this juncture, the province lost one of its leading men, and the Indians their best friend. De Vries had had no sympathy with war; he now found himself ruined in consequence of it, and, bidding adieu to the governor with the portentous assurance, "Vengeance for innocent blood will sooner or later fall upon your head," he embarked on a fishing-vessel and sailed for Europe.

CHAPTER VIII.

1643 - 1647.

APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE.

Confiscation of Shoes. — The Doomed Village. — Trials for Want of Money. — Action of the West India Company. — Kieft's Quarrels. — The War ended. — The great Indian Treaty of Peace. — Minerals. — The New School. — Adriaen Van der Donck. — Van Rensselaer's Death. — The new Governor. — Stuyvesant's Reception. — Governor Stuyvesant. — Mrs. Peter Stuyvesant. — Mrs. Bayard.

THE front line of progress is never uniform. We can indeed assert with truth that New Netherland generally advanced; but an intimate acquaintance with its early history shows that at many points it was stationary; and now we have come to one where it actually receded, until the only wonder is that the province under that style and power did not become entirely extinct.

Indian wars are never invested with any of the fleeting splendors which embellish other armed conflicts. They add no luster to the pages of history. They furnish little philosophy or instruction. We have in this instance no military skill to chronicle, no marshaling of hosts, no clash of serried columns. A sense of helplessness, an atmosphere of terror, an indefinable dread, take the place of heroism and romance as usually pictured with the shock of battles. The "Eight Men" whom the people of New Netherland had chosen to think and act for them appealed to their English neighbors at New Haven for assistance in their great distress. The reply was cool and courteous, but decidedly negative. It was embodied in these words, "We are not satisfied that your war with the Indians is just."

Oct. 24. Just or unjust, they must all perish now without relief. So they told the whole agonizing story in a most eloquent letter to the Amsterdam Chamber, praying for immediate and decisive help.[1] This document is supposed to have been penned by Cornelis Melyn, who

[1] The Eight Men to the Amsterdam Chamber, *Col. Doc.*, Vol. I. 138, 139.

was a man of no mean ability, and who seems to have fully appreciated the mistaken policy of the governor. The winter was setting in with unusual severity. The small, worthless straw huts around the fort were the only shelter which could be given to the homeless sufferers who had fled from the tomahawk and scalping-knife. The fort itself was in no condition to meet the emergency of the hour; and provisions and clothing were wholly inadequate to the demand. As help from Holland must come slowly, if, indeed, it came at all before spring, expeditions were planned against some of the Indian villages, the chief object of which was plunder. Meanwhile the "Eight Men" sent to the States-General a bold complaint of the neglect of the West India Company. They said, "We have had no means of defense provided against a savage foe, and we have had a miserable despot sent to rule over us." Nov. 3.

About the middle of November, a colony of English emigrants, headed by Robert Fordham, arrived at Hempstede, Long Island, and settled on land which was granted them by Kieft. Their houses were hardly ready for occupation when suspicions of treachery fell upon Nov. 16.

Group, showing Holland Fashions.

Penhawitz, the sachem of the Canarsee Indians, who since the truce in the spring had, to all outward appearance, been friendly. Fordham sent a message of this import to the governor, who, without waiting to ascertain the truth of the charge, dispatched one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Dr. La Montagne, Cook, and Underhill, to "exterminate" the Canarsees. They sailed in three **1644.** Jan. 2.

yachts to Cow Bay, and proceeded to the two Indian villages. The savages, taken by surprise, made little resistance, and one hundred and twenty were killed, while the assailants lost but one man. Two prisoners were taken to New Amsterdam and put to death in the most revolting manner. One, frightfully wounded by the long knives with which Kieft had armed the soldiers instead of swords, at last dropped dead while dancing the death-dance of his race. The other, shockingly mutilated beforehand, was beheaded on a millstone in Beaver Lane, near the Battery.

March 8. The winter was one of the darkest and most disheartening ever known to the colonists. Food was doled out with a sparing hand, and famine seemed ever near. Many had not sufficient clothing for their necessities. One of Van Rensselaer's vessels, laden with goods for his store in Rensselaerswick, chanced to arrive, and Kieft, applying to Peter Wynkoop, the supercargo, tried to buy fifty pairs of shoes for his soldiers. The man declined to trade, and Kieft, in great anger, ordered a forced levy, searched the vessel, and, finding a large supply of ammunition and guns, not included in the manifest, confiscated its whole cargo.

The shoes obtained were immediately put to use. Underhill had just returned from Stamford, where he had been reconnoitering the strength and position of the Connecticut Indians in that vicinity, and Kieft sent him back with one hundred and fifty men to "exterminate" them.

March 11. The word "exterminate" was incorporated into all his orders in such cases. The party went in yachts to Greenwich, and then marched over the country through the snow, arriving about midnight at the doomed Indian village. It was a clear, cold night, and

March 12. the moon shining on the snow rendered it nearly as light as day. The village contained three rows of wigwams, and was sheltered in a nook of the hills from the northwest winds. The savages were not asleep, but merrily celebrating one of their annual festivals. The Dutch soldiers surrounded the place, and charged upon them, sword in hand. They made desperate resistance; but every attempt to break the line of the troops failed, and in one hour the snow was dyed with the blood of nearly two hundred of the Indians. Having forced the remainder into their wigwams, Underhill, remembering Mason's experiment on the *Mystic*, resolved to burn the village. Straw and wood were heaped about the houses, and in a few moments red flames were shooting into the sky in every direction. The wretched victims who tried to escape were shot, or driven back into the fiery abyss, and not one man, woman, or child was heard to utter a cry. Six hundred fell that night. Of those who,

blithe and happy, crowded the little village at nightfall, but eight were left to tell the fearful story to their countrymen. None of the troops were killed, and but fifteen wounded. They bivouacked on the snow until daylight, and then returned, like Roman conquerors, to Fort Amsterdam. For their "brilliant victory," Kieft proclaimed a day of public thanksgiving.[1]

Wishing to turn loose the few cattle they had all winter been stabling in the fort, the governor, as soon as the snow went off, March 31. issued an order for the building of a fence across the island from the North to the East River, on the line of the present Wall Street. While a number of men were engaged in its construction, a few tribes of Indians, worn out, it is presumed, with being hunted like wild April 15. beasts, came to the fort and entered into a treaty of peace. But the tribes nearest the town, and consequently those most dreaded, kept aloof.

By this time, the "Eight Men" had received from the Amsterdam Chamber a response to their letter, but not the sorely needed funds which had been expected. The financial condition of the company had been for some time on the decline, for the subsidies and other sums due from the provinces had never been promptly paid in; and, not being supported by an extensive trade, their military and naval triumphs had, on the whole, cost more money than they had produced. In 1641, the shaking off of the Spanish yoke by the Portuguese, in which Holland had assisted, made it apparent that the company would in the end lose Brazil; a long series of quarrels with the Directors had just induced Count John Maurice, one of the ablest rulers of the seventeenth century, to leave that South American province in disgust; and through many causes bankruptcy was already threatening the proud corporation. A bill of exchange which Kieft drew upon the Amsterdam Chamber, the previous autumn, came back protested. Pressing need drove him to the dangerous alternative of taxing wine, beer, brandy, and beaver-skins. The "Eight Men" opposed the measure with all their strength, but without avail. The brewers, upon whom the tax fell most June 21. heavily, refused to pay it, on the ground of its injustice; they were arrested, and their beer given to the soldiers.

In July, a vessel containing one hundred and thirty Dutch soldiers, who had been driven by the Portuguese out of Brazil, July 15. came into port, having been sent to the relief of the New-Netherlanders; and Kieft immediately dismissed his English auxiliaries, and billeted

[1] This affair is supposed to have taken place on Strickland's Plain. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, IV. 16, 17.

the new-comers on the citizens. As they were half naked, he enforced his excise laws, to get the means to clothe them. His conduct engendered private as well as public quarrels; and there were prosecutions daily and without number, which of course engrossed his attention; for the governor, it must be remembered, was judge as well as jury. Indians prowled about the town, committing thefts every night, often killing persons less than a thousand paces from the fort. The "Eight Men"

Aug. 6. tried to improve matters, but they had little power, and Kieft was deaf to their counsels and suggestions. A committee from them went in person to him at one time, and remonstrated so loudly in regard to his negligence respecting the war, that he sent a party of soldiers to the north; but they soon returned, having accomplished nothing but the murder of eight of the savages.

Oct. 22. Thus that terrible summer passed in civil anarchy, and every day affairs grew worse. The "Eight Men" bore it until they could bear it no longer; and finally, in a cutting memorial addressed to

Oct. 28. the West India Company, they charged the whole blame of the war and their consequent sufferings upon Kieft, and demanded his recall. They particularly warned the company against a "book ornamented with water-color drawings" which Kieft had sent to them, which they said "had as many lies as lines in it," and declared that his Excellency could know nothing about the geography of the country, since, during his whole residence in New Amsterdam, he had never been farther from his bedroom and kitchen than the middle of Manhattan Island.

Dec. 10. This communication reached Holland at an opportune moment. The College of the XIX was in session, and all who heard the letter felt that the colonists were in earnest, and would return with their wives and children to the Fatherland, as they threatened, if Kieft was not recalled. Melyn's[1] spirited letter to the States-General, which had been sent to the Amsterdam Chamber with appropriate remarks from that august body, came in at the same time for its share of attention. It was finally resolved "to collect and condense all the reports

Dec. 15. about New Netherland." This was subsequently done by the recently organized "Rekenkamer," or Bureau of Accounts; and the document is one of the most important state papers in existence, as having determined the future policy of the company.

It was decided to recall Kieft; but as no one at hand appeared exactly adapted to fill his place, Van Dincklagen was named as a provisional governor for New Netherland. At a meeting of the Direc-

[1] Melyn was the president of the "Eight Men."

tors, on the 3d of March, 1645, it was resolved to vest the provincial government in a Supreme Council, consisting of a Director-General, Vice-Director, and Fiscal, by whom all public concerns should be managed. Fort Amsterdam should be repaired, and a garrison of fifty-three soldiers constantly maintained. The wishes of the people should be respected, and the Indians appeased. The population of the country should be strengthened, and Amsterdam weights and measures used throughout New Netherland. All the negroes should be imported that the patroons and colonists would buy, and every man should be required to provide himself with a musket and side-arms. 1645. March 3.

Thus, notwithstanding the discovery that their North American province had fallen into ruin and confusion by reason of Kieft's unnecessary war, without the knowledge and surely not by the order of the company, and against the will and wishes of the people; and that, according to the books of the Amsterdam Chamber, this same province had, in place of being a source of profit, actually cost, since 1626, over five hundred and fifty thousand guilders above the returns, — they evidently felt that it was not entirely beyond hope, and that they need not and ought not to abandon it.

The news of Kieft's recall reached New Amsterdam long previous to the official summons to appear before his employers. He thenceforth labored under a great pressure of untoward circumstances. All classes of the people treated him with marked disrespect. His life was an unbroken chapter of arrests, for he attempted to punish every one who was guilty of disloyalty to himself as their chief magistrate. He fined and imprisoned and banished to his heart's content, allowing no appeal to the Fatherland; a stretch of high-handed tyranny which, but for the expected relief, would probably have cost him his life.

His best friends — if, indeed, he had any friends — could not restrain him from the most injudicious acts. Dominie Bogardus, while remonstrating with him one day, was accused by him of drunkenness and alliance with the malcontents. The next Sabbath morning, the good divine, standing in his cheaply canopied pulpit, said: "What are the great men of our country but vessels of wrath and fountains of woe and trouble? They think of nothing but to plunder the property of others, to dismiss, to banish, and to transport to Holland." Whereupon Kieft, who had been up to that time a noted church-goer, absented himself from the sanctuary, and caused a band of soldiers to practice all sorts of noisy amusements, such as the beating of drums and the firing of cannons, under the church windows.

The dominie did not, however, relax his censures of the governor,

and just after the following New Year's Day he was arrested, and
1646. required to answer to a long list of charges. His answers, being
Jan. 2. in accordance with his clear sense of justice, were inadmissi-
ble before such a tribunal; and at last, to silence the scandal and
Jan. 15. disorder, mutual friends interfered, the prosecution was termi-
nated, and the governor went to church again, being placated by
July 23. the compliance of Dominie Bogardus with his request to allow Dominie Mesapolensis, who was in New Amsterdam, to preach the next Sunday.

1645. Meanwhile the Indians, wishing to plant their corn, and after-
April 22. wards to engage in their usual pastimes of hunting and fishing, sued for peace. A few chiefs appeared at the fort and entered into a treaty, apparently pleased when a salute of three guns was fired in honor of the occasion.[1] They were engaged to secure the good-will of the yet hostile tribes, — a work which was at last accomplished by the diplomacy of Whiteneywen, chief of the Mockgonecocks. He soon returned with friendly messages from the chiefs along the Sound and near Rockaway, and both parties went through the ceremony of a formal treaty.
Kieft then, accompanied by Dr. La Montagne, made his first visit
Aug. 8. to Fort Orange, hoping to secure the friendship of the Mohawks and other tribes in that vicinity, who had just made peace with the
French. This effort was crowned with success, and on the 30th
Aug. 30. of August the chiefs of all the tribes assembled in New Amsterdam, where they were met by the officers of the government and the people, and with the most imposing ceremonies all pledged themselves to eternal friendship with each other. No armed Indian was henceforth to visit the houses of the Europeans; and no armed European was to
visit the Indian villages, without a native escort. So slender, at
Aug. 30. this time, were the resources of Kieft, that he was obliged to borrow money of Van der Donck, in order to make the customary presents to the savages.

With characteristic thoughtfulness, the Dutch stipulated for the restoration of the little captive granddaughter of Annie Hutchinson; and the Indians, with apparent reluctance, acceded to the proposal. The next July they appeared with her at Fort Amsterdam, and Kieft had the rare pleasure of sending her to her friends in Boston. During her brief captivity, she had forgotten her own language and the faces of her relatives, and was loath to leave the Indians, who had evidently treated her tenderly.

[1] The salute was fired by Jacob Jacobsen Roy, who, in the discharge of this duty, unfortunately received a severe injury from an explosion, which long kept him under the care of Surgeon Kiersted, and ultimately deprived him of his arm.

There was joy in New Amsterdam at the bright prospect of a durable peace; but the desolation caused by the needless war was not soon to pass out of sight. It had been easy to commence hostilities, but how were broken hearts and fortunes to be repaired? The day following the final settlement of the treaty, Kieft issued a proclamation, directing the observance of the 6th of September as a day of general thanksgiving, "to proclaim the good tidings in all the Dutch and English churches." Aug. 31.

People began once more to scatter over the country, and to clear and improve the land. The party who had been driven from Newtown, Long Island, returned; but they were bankrupt, their houses and farming utensils were gone, and it was difficult to get another foothold. Doughty exacted purchase-money and quit-rents before he would allow his people to build; but they appealed to the governor, who, thinking it unwise to hinder population, managed so that the minister's land was confiscated. Doughty gave notice that he should appeal from this decision; and he was thereupon imprisoned for twenty-four hours, fined, and compelled to promise in writing that he would never mention what had occurred. He afterwards removed to Flushing, which had just been settled by a party of New England emigrants. These people had bought more than sixteen thousand acres of land of Kieft; and Doughty became their minister, with a salary of six hundred guilders per annum. Sept.

Two months later, that portion of Long Island adjoining Coney Island, now known as Gravesend, was formally patented to Lady Moody, her son Sir Henry Moody, Ensign George Baxter, and Sergeant James Hubbard, who had held it so bravely during all these harassing years. Dec. 19.

In pursuance of orders from the West India Company, Kieft investigated the mineral resources of the province. During the progress of the treaty in August, some of the Indians had exhibited specimens of minerals they claimed to have found in the Neversinck Hills and elsewhere, which upon analysis yielded what was supposed to be gold and quicksilver and iron pyrites. An officer and thirty men were sent to search for and procure as many specimens as possible for transmission to Holland. They found the article in question, and as a ship was going to leave New Haven in December, they sent their little cargo by it, in charge of Arendt Corssen; but the vessel was lost at sea, and never heard from after it passed out of Long Island Sound. Oct. 12.

One of the signs of progress in New Amsterdam was a new school started by Arien Jansen Van Olfendam, who arrived from Holland on March 3d of this year. He had no competitor after Roelandsen's banish-

ment, and prospered as well as could have been expected, considering the condition of the country. His terms of tuition were "two beavers" per annum, — beavers meaning dried beaver-skins. He taught in New Amsterdam until the year 1660, and among those he educated were some of the leading personages of the province.

1647. Jan. 17. Meanwhile Adriaen Van der Donck, whose name is familiar to the historians of New Netherland, had married the daughter of Rev. Francis Doughty, and wished to remove to Manhattan. He had filled the office of sheriff in Rensselaerswick for nearly five years, and had been of infinite service to the colony. Through his influence the first church had been built there, which, although small, had a canopied pulpit, pews for the magistracy and the deacons, and nine benches for the people, after the fashion of the Fatherland. As previously recorded, it was chiefly through his recommendations that the services of Dominie Megapolensis had been secured; a clergyman who not only preached to his own countrymen, but was the first of the Dutch Church to attempt the instruction of the Indians in religion. For a long time, he knew very little of the Indian language; and he related in a letter to a friend how, when he preached a sermon, ten or twelve savages would attend, each with a long pipe in his month, and would stare at him, and afterward ask why he stood there alone and made so many words, when none of the rest might speak. He taught them slowly and by degrees, as he could make himself understood, that he was admonishing them as he did the Christians, not to drink and murder and steal. Through his voluntary and earnest and unceasing labors, many of the red-men about Fort Orange heard the gospel preached long before New England sent missionaries among the Indians.

Before Van der Donck had completed his arrangements for removal, the pretty cottage in which he lived was burned; and, as it was in the depth of a remarkably inclement winter, Van Corlear invited his houseless neighbors to share his hospitality. A quarrel soon arose, because Van Curler insisted that Van der Donck was bound by his lease to make good to the patroon the value of the lost house. Van der Donck retorted sharply; whereupon Van Corlear ordered him from under his roof within two days. Seeking refuge in Fort Orange, Van der Donck was allowed by the new commissary, Van der Bogaerdt, to occupy a miserable hut, "into which," he said, "no one would hardly be willing to enter," until the opening of river navigation, when he proceeded to New Amsterdam.

April 28. Kieft was well disposed towards the man to whom he was indebted for a large amount of borrowed money, and readily granted him the privileges of patroon over some fine lands which he selected, to

the north of Manhattan Island, on the Hudson River, which took the name of "Colon Donck," or "Donck's Colony." Many of the Dutch were in the habit of calling this estate "de Jonkheer's Landt," Jonkheer being a title which in Holland was applied to the sons of noblemen. The English corrupted it and called it Yonkers; thus the name Yonkers perpetuates the memory of the first proprietor of the property in that locality. Early spring

During the same summer, Kieft issued a patent to Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck for the land which is now the town of Catskill, with the privileges of patroon; giving as a reason "the great services which Van Slyck had done this country in helping to make peace and ransom prisoners during the war"; but in so doing the governor openly set at naught the pretensions of the patroon of Rensselaerswick, which, indeed, had already been formally denied in the proceedings against Koorn in 1644.

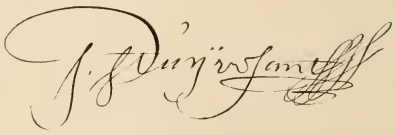
News of the death of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer soon after reached the colony. By this event the title of the estate descended to his eldest son, Johannes, who, being under age, was, by his father's will, placed under the guardianship of Johannes Van Wely and Wouter Van Twiller, his executors. In November, these guardians of the young patroon, having rendered homage to the States-General, in the name of their ward, sent Brandt Van Slechtenhorst as director to the colony, in place of Van Corlear, who had resigned.

Late in autumn, the company granted the town of Breuckelen, Long Island, municipal privileges; that is, the people were allowed to elect two schepens, with full judicial powers, and a schout, who should be subordinate to the sheriff at New Amsterdam. The village at this time was a mile inland, the hamlet at the water's edge was known as the Ferry. Nov. 26.

Kieft was very much harassed, during the entire year of 1646, by difficulties with the Swedes on the Delaware River, and by what he styled the "impudent encroachments" of the New-Englanders. He sent Andries Hudde to succeed Jan Jansen at Fort Nassau, and imprisoned Jansen for fraud and neglect of duty. In the autumn of 1645, he sent him to Holland, for trial. Hudde was equal to the governor in the use of profane language, but, though energetic, he was no match for Printz, the imperious Swedish commander, who nearly annihilated the commerce of the Dutch; and the two neighbors were engaged in a perpetual squabble, which had no dignity, and is hardly worth a place in history, since it was followed by no results. In the same manner ended a long and curiously bitter correspondence between the governor and the New England

authorities. While justice, in this instance, seemed to be on the side of the Dutch, the English certainly showed themselves the better diplomatists, and Kieft only injured a good cause by intermeddling.

But events in another part of the world had already prepared the way for a change which was to influence all the future of the province of New Netherland. Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of Curaçoa, which had been wrested from the Spanish during the most brilliant period of the West India Company's history, made an unsuccessful attack upon the Portuguese island of St. Martin in 1644, through which he lost a leg, and was obliged to return to Europe for surgical aid. The company, who held him in great respect, concluded to send him as governor to New Netherland, and revoked Van Dincklagen's provisional appointment. During the summer of 1645, a sharp controversy was going on among the Directors of the company in regard to the proposed reforms in colonial affairs; and



Autograph of Stuyvesant.

their ablest pens were in constant requisition to ward off the attacks of the national Dutch party, who were publishing pamphlets to influence the public mind against their movements, and to show them up as a clique of tyrants, who had squandered the treasures of the country and contracted immense debts. It is curious to read the company's various and numberless resolutions about this time, especially those treating of money matters. They lead us into a better understanding of the difficulties attending such a corporation, which, taking upon itself a part of the duties of the government, would necessarily expect from the latter assistance; and this, coming at all times slowly, at last failed them

1645. July 6. altogether. It was decided in the College of the XIX, that the expenses of New Netherland should no longer be confined to the Amsterdam Chamber, but shared by all the chambers of the company in common. As news of the peace with the Indians had reached them, they were in less haste to send out a new governor: finally, to settle the knotty questions which were engendering a great deal of ill-feeling, and to render instructions clear and comprehensive, Stuyvesant's departure was delayed for more than a year; and even at the last, all the preparations for his voyage were tediously slow.

1646. July 28. He received his commission, and took the oath of office before the States-General, July 28, 1646. He sailed on Christmas morn-

ing, and after a long *détour*, stopping at Curaçoa and the West India Islands, reached New Amsterdam, May 11, 1647. He was accompanied by Van Dincklagen as Vice-Director, Van Dyck as Fiscal, Captain Bryan Newton, Commissary Adriaen Keyser, and Cap- 1647. May 11.

Portrait of Peter Stuyvesant.

tain Jelmer Thomas, with several soldiers, a number of free colonists, and a few private traders. The first-named gentlemen, including the governor, had their families with them.

Stuyvesant's reception was very flattering. The guns of the fort were fired, and the entire population of New Amsterdam cheered and waved hats and handkerchiefs as he landed. There was a little informal speech-making, and with great *hauteur* the new chief magistrate assured the crowd that he "should govern them as a father does his children."

The wily little Kieft was foremost in making his successor welcome, and escorted him to the Executive Mansion, which he had already vacated, and in which a sumptuous repast was awaiting His Excellency.

Peter Stuyvesant was the son of a clergyman in Friesland. He had early evinced a taste for military life, and had now been for some years in the employ of the West India Company. He was a proud, scholarly looking man, a little above the medium height, with a remarkably fine physique; and he bore himself with the air of a prince. The highly intellectual features of his face gave evidence of great decision and force of character. His complexion was dark, and a close black cap which he often wore imparted to it a still deeper shade. His chin was bare, and his mouth, indicative of sternness and grave authority, was fringed with a very slight mustache. The inflections of his voice, and his whole appearance when speaking, were rather unattractive; but, in spite of a certain apparent coldness, no one could escape the influence of his magnetic presence. He was a man of strong prejudices and passions, of severe morality, and at times unapproachable aspect; but his heart was large, his sympathies tender, and his affections warm, though his creed was rigid. He was never otherwise than faultlessly dressed, and always after the most approved European standard. A wide, drooping shirt-collar fell over a velvet jacket with slashed sleeves, displaying a full white puffed shirt-sleeve. His hose were also slashed, very full, and fastened at the knee by a handsome scarf tied in a knot, and his shoes were ornamented with a large rosette. His lost leg had been replaced by a wooden one with silver bands, which accounts for the tradition that he wore a silver leg. He was often abrupt in manner, and made no pretensions to conventional smoothness at any time. He had sterling excellences of character, but more knowledge than culture.

The career of Governor Stuyvesant is deeply interesting from its symmetry and its manliness. He came to Manhattan in the employ of a mercantile corporation; but his whole heart and soul became enlisted in the welfare of the country of his adoption. Thenceforward to his latest breath he was intensely American, and the varied fruits of his labors are among the most valuable legacies of the seventeenth century.

A few years prior to this date, he had married Judith Bayard, the daughter of a celebrated Paris divine, who had taken refuge in Holland from religious persecution. Shortly after his own marriage, his sister Anna was espoused to Nicholas Bayard, Judith's elder brother. The husband died within a short period, leaving his young widow and three infant sons to the care of her only brother, who deemed it wise to bring them with him to his new home. The two ladies, Mrs.

Stuyvesant and Mrs. Bayard, had hitherto known only luxury and comfort. They were well informed as to the uncertain prospects of colonial life, and possible savage warfare; for the published accounts of the New Netherland horrors had circulated widely in Europe. But they were as brave as they were sensible and self-sacrificing. Mrs. Stuyvesant was a blonde, and very beautiful, spoke both the French and the Dutch language with ease, and in the course of a few years acquired a good knowledge of English. She had a sweet voice and a rare taste for music, which had been cultivated under the best of masters. She was fond of dress, and followed the French fashions, displaying considerable artistic skill in the perfection and style of her attire. She was gentle and retiring in her manners, but was possessed of great firmness of character.

Mrs. Bayard was less attractive in person; she was tall, commanding, and imperious. Her education was of a high order, considering the age in which she lived, and she had great tact and capacity for business. She brought a tutor across the ocean for her three little sons; but after he had been dismissed as unworthy of his position, she taught the children herself in almost every branch of practical education. Of her abilities in that direction we may judge from the fact that her son Nicholas, a mere youth, was appointed, in 1664, to the clerkship of the Common Council, — an office of which the records were required to be kept in both Dutch and English. It will not be amiss perhaps, in this connection, to quote from the historian Brodhead a few words in regard to the women of Holland. He says: "The purity of morals and decorum of manners, for which the Dutch have ever been conspicuous, may be most justly ascribed to the happy influence of their women, who mingled in all the active affairs of life, and were consulted with deferential respect. They loved their homes and their firesides, but they loved their country more. Through all their toils and struggles, the calm fortitude of the men of Holland was nobly encouraged and sustained by the earnest and undaunted spirit of their mothers and wives. And the empire which the female sex obtained was no greater than that which their beauty, good sense, virtue, and devotion entitled them to hold."

It was well for Stuyvesant that he had such a wife and sister near him, for he was entering upon a series of trials which would test his temper and discretion to the utmost. Of their influence and counsels we catch only occasional glimpses here and there. But his administration was longer and more perplexing than that of any other Dutch governor. It was, at that time, no easy matter to conduct the affairs of a remote settlement, where the machinery of government was

May 27.

insufficient of itself to control a mixed community, whose interests were in constant conflict with those of the trading company which held the reins of power. The very conditions of his office compelled him to assume individual responsibility, and to depend upon his own private judgment in a thousand instances, the importance of which we can now imperfectly estimate. His faults sometimes glare upon us in a most blinding manner; but with all his apparent fondness for ostentation of command, he does not seem to have been open to the charge of intentional injustice, and his purity of purpose stands out in indelible contrast with the capricious rule of his predecessor.

He was formally inaugurated, May 27. The whole community were present, and listened with eagerness to his well-prepared speech on the occasion. The democratic Belgian, Cornelis Melyn, afterwards wrote, "He kept the people standing with their heads uncovered for more than an hour, while he wore his *chapeau*, as if he were the Czar of Muscovy." Others who had suffered from the petty despotism of Kieft, and who were full of the liberal ideas which were the birthright of every Hollander, criticised the haughty bearing of the new governor, and prophesied the character of his future government. When he earnestly promised that "every man should have justice done him," he was loudly applauded. Kieft stood by his side during the ceremony, and seemed to think it fitting that he should say a few words of farewell to the people. He thanked them for their fidelity to him, expressed many kind wishes, and bade them adieu. Only a murmur of dissatisfaction arose in response, and a few voices above the rest were heard to say, "We are glad your reign is over."

Stuyvesant's Seal.

CHAPTER IX.

1647 - 1650.

POLITICAL EVENTS IN EUROPE.

Political Events in Europe. — Holland and the Hollanders. — The Sabbath in New York. — The First Surveyors. — Keyter and Melyn, and their Trial for Rebellion. — The Wreck of the Princess. — Kip. — Govert Loockermans. — First Fire-Wardens. — Schools and Education. — Rensselaerswick a Power. — The Governor's Failure. — Civil War in England. — Van Cortlandt. — Van der Donck. — Melyn. — The Quarrel. — Van der Donck in Holland. — Isaac Allerton.

FREDERICK HENRY, Prince of Orange, died on the morning of March 14, 1647. He had been stadtholder of the provinces for twenty-two years, and had reached his sixty-third birthday. His death tended directly towards drawing to a close the eighty years' war, which had cost Spain over fifteen hundred millions of ducats. 1647. His office descended to his son, William II., by an act of reversion which the States passed in 1631. The young prince was the husband of Mary, daughter of Charles I. of England. He was full of military ambition and ready to buckle on his armor, but the nation distrusted his inexperience and entered immediately into negotiations for peace. France was a snag in the way, for a time, through a variety of conflicting interests. The French ministers were bent on preventing the consummation of the treaty, even resorting to countless intrigues when other means failed. It was finally signed by the representatives of the two nations, in January, 1648, at Munster. It was at once ratified by Philip IV. and by the several States of the Netherlands. The recognition of the sovereignty of the Dutch Republic was so absolute that an ambassador was actually sent to the Hague from Spain, before Philip himself received one from the Dutch.[1]

Of the seven Dutch States, Holland was the most important, by reason of its dense population and great wealth; hence its name was often

[1] *Corps Dip.*, VI. 429, 450. *Barnage Annales des Prov.*, Un. I. 102. *Grattam*, 262. *Davis*, II. 645, 649.

applied to the confederacy by way of eminence. It embraced but a small portion of territory, chiefly of made ground, which was so loose and spongy that high winds sometimes tore up large trees by the roots. Every inch of the country was rendered available for some good purpose. The soil, steeped in water, produced excellent crops, and the fields and gardens teemed with vegetation. Canals were cut in all directions, and were alive with fleets of barges and with innumerable ships of war and commerce. The trim villas, and the quick succession of great towns, made a profound impression upon travelers and strangers. Throughout the length and breadth of the land there was a uniform appearance of comfort, affluence, and contentment. Houses and grounds were kept in a condition of perfect order, the streets and canals were lined with elegant trees, and the ever-whirling windmills looked as if they came out in fresh robes every morning. In no country were the domestic and social ties of life discharged with greater precision. It matters not that chroniclers have made the Dutch subjects of unmerited depreciation. It has been stated that they were characterized only by slowness; and that the land was barren of invention, progress, or ideas. The seeds of error and prejudice thus sown bear little fruit after the reading of a few chapters of genuine contemporary personal description. As a rule, the Hollanders were not inclined to take the initiative in trade or politics, and were distinguished for solidity rather than brilliancy; but it is absurd to say "they were unequal to the origination of any new thing." We find among them many of the most illustrious men of modern Europe, — politicians, warriors, scholars, artists, and divines. Wealth was widely diffused; learning was held in highest respect; and eloquence, courage, and public spirit were characteristic of the race. For nearly a century after the Dutch Republic first took its place among independent nations, it swayed the balance of European politics; and the acumen and culture of the leading statesmen elicited universal deference and admiration. For an index to the private life of the upper classes, we need but to take a peep into the richly furnished apartments of their stately mansions, or walk through their summer-houses and choice conservatories and famous picture-galleries. As for the peasantry, they were neat to a fault, and industrious as well as frugal.

The liberal commercial policy of the Dutch, and their great latitude of religious faith, attracted people to their shores from all parts of the world. Every language spoken by civilized man was to be heard in their exchange. The floor of the hall in the Stadt Huys at Amsterdam was inlaid with marble, to represent maps of the different nations of the earth.

Such was the country whose people settled New York. All classes emigrated; but those who took the most active part in the direction of our infant institutions were, in intelligence and worldly wisdom, and in all those sterling characteristics which we are wont to respect, above the average of their generation. Their number was small, but its proportion to that of the illiterate laborers and traders who crossed the water was greater than that between the higher and lower classes in any portion of Europe. This fact has generally been overlooked by the writers of American history who have imputed wholesale heaviness and incapacity, except in money-making, to the Dutch founders of the metropolis. As the blood of Holland, France, and England (and, we may add, much of the best blood of those three nations) became mixed in the veins of the people, it is easy to trace the increase of mental vigor, the softening of national prejudices, and the general amalgamation of opinions, habits, tastes, fashions, and modes of life, until we have a new and distinct species of the human kind in the New York American.

Interior of the Stadt Huys, of Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant possessed in an eminent degree that distinguishing element of greatness, perception. He took the colony in at a glance, and saw why there was so much dilapidation and discomfort. The Indian war had destroyed property, until only about fifty farms could be counted in the province. Some of the colonists had been killed, and others had returned to Holland; so that there were not to be found over three hundred capable of bearing arms. The church in the fort was unfinished, and the timbers rotting. Money which had been contributed towards building a school-house had been expended to pay off the troops; and the debt was still in arrears. The public revenue had not been collected, and there were conflicting claims in waiting to be settled with the patroons. In short, the whole situation was chaotic in the extreme.

Whatever Stuyvesant did, he did thoroughly. As soon as he was inaugurated, he organized his council. It consisted of Vice-Director Van Dincklagen, a clever politician and a thorough scholar; Fiscal Van Dyck, of whom little can be said in praise; the learned and gentlemanly Dr. La Montagne; Adriaen Keyser; and Captain Bryan Newton. Van Tienhoven was retained in the office of secretary; Paulus Van der Grist was made equipage-master; and George Baxter, an English gentleman of good education, was reappointed English secretary and interpreter.

A court of justice was established, over which Van Dincklagen was appointed presiding judge. Stuyvesant, however, reserved the right to preside in person whenever he should think proper, and required that his own opinions should be consulted in important matters.

Proclamations were issued with marvelous rapidity. The first on record relates to the Sabbath. Experience had long before yielded, upon every hand, its testimonies to the wisdom of the Divine institution. Then, as now, it was esteemed the duty of government to protect it, and to confirm to the people the material and vital benefits which it is so well calculated to secure. As a means of social, moral, and physical health, and as a measure of industrial economy, if we had no Sabbath, the ordination of one would come directly within the scope of legislation. Stuyvesant was possessed with a profound sense of its importance as a direct means for the establishment and perpetuation of a pure Christianity in this country; and for his sentiments and his efforts in that direction he deserves to be honored to the remotest posterity. Another proclamation forbade drunkenness and profanity; and still another prohibited the sale of liquor and fire-arms to the Indians, on pain of death. Strict laws were instituted for the protection of the revenues, which had been defrauded by the introduction of foreign merchandise in vessels running past Manhattan in the night. The following is a copy of one of the proclamations on that subject: —

"Any one is interdicted from having the hardihood to go into the interior with any cargoes or any merchandise; but they shall leave them at the usual places of deposit and there wait for traffic."

The usual place for vessels to anchor was under the guns of the fort, near a queer little hand-board, which stood on the water's edge. To replenish the treasury, taxes were levied on liquors, and the export duties on peltries were increased. All outstanding tenths due from the impoverished farmers were called in, but a year's grace for the payment was allowed in consideration of losses by the war. The people grumbled. Who will pay taxes with a cheerful countenance, particularly when it is at the

supreme command of an individual, and through the withholding of his birthright, the franchise? But Stuyvesant's military training made him imperious; and, in point of fact, his instructions from the West India Company gave him less discretionary power than has been generally supposed. He must govern absolutely; and he was by no means backward in obeying such instructions.

Workmen were employed to put the fort in repair; and others were engaged to complete the church, of which Stuyvesant at once became a member and set an example of devout Sabbath worship. The little village, with its crooked roads winding round hillocks and ledges, its untidy houses with hog-pens and chicken-coops in front and tumble-down chimneys in the rear, had some surveyors appointed over it in July, — Van Dincklagen, Van der Grist, and Van Tienhoven. They understood what improvements were needed to make the new *dorp* the miniature of a thrifty Holland town, and were very energetic in their measures. The streets were straightened, even to the removing of some huge obstacles; nuisances were done away with; great piles of accumulated rubbish were dumped into the water; a better class of houses was erected under their supervision; and all owners of vacant lots were compelled to improve them within nine months after purchase. June 23.

In the mean time Kuyter and Melyn were instituting proceedings against Kieft. They had lost heavily by the Indian war, and were determined to compel an investigation of its causes. They proposed that all the leading men of the colony should be summoned into court and examined on oath in regard to it. They prepared a list of questions to be put to them, tending to elicit a train of evidence that would place the matter correctly before the company in Holland.

Stuyvesant appointed a commission to decide upon the propriety of granting such an inquiry; and, as soon as the members came together, he expressed his opinion emphatically, that "*the two malignant fellows were disturbers of the peace, and that it was treason to complain of one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not.*" He had evidently taken alarm at the dangerous precedent of allowing subjects to judge rulers, since his own acts might have to pass the ordeal. Kieft was delighted at this mark of favor from the new governor, and emboldened by it to accuse his accusers. He had a double incentive; personal and revengeful hatred, and the rescue of his own character from ignominy. The following day, Kuyter and Melyn were arrested on a charge of "rebellion and sedition." They were brought to trial almost immediately. This trial occupied several days, and created the wildest excitement. Stuyvesant occupied the bench, and Judge Van Dincklagen sat by his July 11.

side. Lawyers were rare on this side of the water, hence the prisoners defended themselves, and they did it in an able manner. They produced ample proof to sustain their charges against Kieft, towards whom they said they had no vindictive feelings whatever. They admitted that in the heat of war, and smarting under the loss of property, they had complained to the authorities in Holland, but not to strangers, nor had any deception at any time been used. It was a singular tribunal; their case had been prejudged. They were pronounced GUILTY; and capital
July 25. punishment was, for a time, seriously contemplated. They were even denied the right of appeal to the Fatherland. "If I were persuaded that you would bring this matter before their High Mightinesses, I would have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland," said Stuyvesant, as he pronounced their sentence. Melyn was banished for seven years and fined three hundred guilders. Kuyter was banished for three years and fined one hundred and fifty guilders. The fines were to be given, one third to the attorney-general, one third to the church, and one third to the poor. The prisoners were required to sign a written promise that, in any place to which they might go, they would never complain, or speak in any way, of what they had suffered from Kieft and Stuyvesant. The *Princess* was about to sail for Holland, and they took passage, as did also Dominie Bogardus, who had been so disturbed by Kieft in his ministerial labors that he resigned his charge and obtained per-
Aug. 16. mission to defend himself before the Classis of Amsterdam. The church was not left without a pastor, for Dominie Johannes Backerus, formerly clergyman at Curacoa, who had accompanied Stuyvesant to New Amsterdam, was installed as his successor, at a salary of fourteen hundred guilders per annum.

Kieft had managed, during his few years in office, to acquire a large property, which he turned into money before taking his departure from the province. He had always entertained the idea that minerals abounded in the vicinity of Manhattan. A lump of mineral paint which an Indian displayed during the trial of Kuyter and Melyn had been tried in a crucible, and yielded three guilders' worth of gold. This induced him to obtain, through the aid of the willing Indians, a variety of specimens, which were nicely packed and taken with him to Europe. It was the last of gold-finding in this part of the country; and it is more than probable that all that was discovered was brought from some remote locality. Kieft sailed in the *Princess*, with the minister and the exiles. But the ill-fated vessel never reached its destination. It was wrecked on the rocky coast of Wales, and only about twenty persons were saved. They floated on pieces of the wreck to the shore. Among them were Kuyter

and Melyn. Kieft, Dominie Bogardus, a son of Melyn, and eighty-one others perished. In the moment of agony, when all hope was abandoned, Kieft confessed his injustice towards the two men whom he had wronged, and begged their forgiveness. Knyter and Melyn proceeded to Holland, where the company afterwards reversed their sentence, and they returned with honor to this country.

The sorrowful tidings of the death of Dominie Bogardus fell over the community like a pall. There was universal sorrow. His wife and children, who had remained behind, were the recipients of the most heartfelt sympathy and consideration. But Kieft's fate excited very little feeling; a fact which could not have escaped the notice of Stuyvesant.

Before the middle of September, the pressure of public sentiment had been so great, and the opposition to the payment of the revenues so spirited and determined, that Stuyvesant concluded to recognize to a limited extent the principle of "taxation only by consent," which the Fatherland had maintained since 1477. He called a public meeting, and "Nine Men" were chosen to advise and assist in the affairs of the government. This representative body consisted of Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus Van Hardenburg, Govert Loockermans, Jan Jansen Dam, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, Hendrick Kip, Michael Jansen, Evertsen Bout, and Thomas Hall.

Kip's Arms.

Names are the keys of family history, unlocking for us the secrets of ancestral lineage. It is well known that, in very many cases, members of distinguished families sought here a field of enterprise and action which was denied them at home. Kip[1] was one of those persons, and his coat-of-arms,[2] engraved upon

[1] The De Kype family formerly lived near Alençon, Bretagne, France. Ruloff De Kype was a Roman Catholic. He fell in battle in 1562, and the Protestants under Condé burned his elegant château. His son, Jean Baptiste, who was a priest, secured his burial in a neighboring church, where an altar-tomb was erected to his memory, surmounted by his arms with two crests. The youngest son, Ruloff, settled in Amsterdam, Holland, and became a Protestant. He died in 1596, and left one son, Hendrick (born 1576), who removed to this country in 1635, with his wife and children. He had three sons, Hendrick, Jacob, and Isaac. Both himself and sons secured large tracts of land, and held prominent positions in the New Netherland government. Hendrick married Anna De Sille in 1660, the daughter of Hon. Nacasius De Sille. Jacob married Marie La Montagne in 1654, the daughter of Dr. La Montagne. Rachel, the daughter of the latter, married Lucas Kiersted, in 1683, the grandson of Anetje Jans.

[2] The coat-of-arms was painted also upon the window of the Dutch church in New Amsterdam.

stone, was used ten years later by his son Jacob, who built it firmly into the wall over the front door of the house at Kip's Bay, where it remained until the building was demolished, in 1851. Govert Loockermans, also, was a man of good birth as well as of strong character. He was married twice: first in Amsterdam, February, 1641, to Ariaentie Jans; and second in New Amsterdam, July, 1649, to Maritje (Maria), the widow of Tymen Jansen. His daughter Maria, who married Balthazar Bayard in 1664, was born while on the voyage to America late in the autumn of 1641. His daughter Jannetie (born 1643) became the second wife of Dr. Hans Kiersted. His step-daughter, Elsie Tymens, was twice married, her second husband, whom she wedded in 1663, being the celebrated Jacob Leisler. Two sisters, handsome and accomplished women, accompanied Govert Loockermans to this country, one of whom married Jacob Van Couwenhoven; the other, Anetje (or Ann, as the name was Anglicised), was married to Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, in the Dutch Church of New Amsterdam, February 26, 1642. Loockermans bought a large tract of land and rented it out to laborers; he owned two or three sailing vessels, erected a store, and became a thriving man of business.

The winter which followed was memorable in the history of Stuyvesant. He had shed his blood on battle-fields before he took up his abode in New Netherland; but he had never encountered such a snarl of disputes as arose about the boundary lines of the province. It was the same subject continued which had pestered Kieft, and which seemed to grow more unwieldy and less likely to be settled every year. He was harassed also by the encroachments of the Swedes on the Delaware. And in the midst of his efforts to harmonize the contending parties, the Indians exhibited signs of uneasiness because their promised presents were in arrears. They demanded fire-arms, too, of the Dutch; and, despite the new code of stringent laws, a contraband trade in this commodity was carried on. On one occasion, this crime was charged upon three hitherto respectable men, and they were tried and found guilty. Stuyvesant condemned them to death; but friends interceded, and their lives were spared, though their property was confiscated. Stuyvesant was engaged in frequent wrangles with the "Nine Men," who acted in the capacity of legislators, and held decided opinions of their own; and he had still more serious controversies with the patroons, who interfered with the trade of the company, and denied the governor's authority over them. The subordinate officers of the government were captious and sometimes insolent, and all at once the people united with the New-Englanders in

[1] A Dutch Bible which once belonged to Govert Loockermans, and which is now in the library of the American Bible Society, contains memoranda of the family, written in Dutch.

one grievous complaint against the high custom-house duties. Verily, the governor's lines had not fallen in pleasant places.

He found time, in the midst of his many and disagreeable duties, to think a little about the feeble settlement, which was certainly in great need of friendly care. 1648.

In June of that year, the first "fire-wardens" were appointed, at his suggestion. They were to inspect the chimneys between the fort and the Fresh Water Pond. Their names were Adriaen Keyser, Thomas Hall, Martin Cregier, and George Woolsey. For a foul chimney, the owner was fined three guilders. If a house was burned through carelessness in that respect, the occupant was fined twenty-five guilders. The fines were to be used to buy hooks, ladders, and buckets; but it was several years before the fund became large enough to invest to any advantage. June 23.

There were many little taverns springing up all over the lower part of the island, and Stuyvesant took it upon himself to inspect them; for he feared, with reason, that they seriously endangered the morals of the people, since they were but fountains of bad liquor, and the habitual resort of Indians and negroes. He made it therefore an indictable offense to keep one open without a license, and he required all those who received licenses to procure or build better buildings "for the adornment of the town." He also issued a proclamation that no hogs and goats should for the future be pastured between the fort and Fresh Water Pond, except within suitable inclosures. As the autumn rolled round, he established a weekly market, which was held on Mondays. Soon after, in imitation of one of the customs of Holland, he instituted an annual cattle-fair, to commence every first Monday after the feast of St. Bartholomew and continue ten days. July 8. Sept. 18.

About that time, Jan Stevensen opened a small private school which was tolerably well patronized. The best families had generally their own private tutors direct from Europe; but there were enough to support a school besides, and the new teacher found himself fully occupied. Stuyvesant was very earnest in the matter of providing means for "the education of every child in the colony." He wrote to the West India Company several times on the subject of establishing a public school, which he said ought to be furnished with at least two good teachers. He related how, for a long time, they had passed round the plate among themselves, but "had only built the school with words, for the money thus collected was always needed for some other purpose." He expatiated upon the great necessity of instructing the youth, not only in reading and writing, but in the knowledge and fear of God. His sugges-

tions were treated with marked respect by his employers, and in course of time met with a favorable response.

The colony of Rensselaerswick had become, in the natural course of events, an independent power; and all efforts on the part of the company to induce the patron to cede to them any of his rights had failed. Such a power was looked upon as very injurious to the interests of the province; and, since it could not be bought off, Governor Stuyvesant was instructed to circumscribe its jurisdiction as far as possible. The patroon, understanding what immunities were claimed for manors and municipalities in Europe, would hold no fellowship with a man who arrogated to himself supreme rulership in New Netherland, without proper regard for the feudal privileges granted by the charter of the company. Brant Van Slechtenhorst was the champion of the views of the late Van Rensselaer, as well as of the rights of the infant lord, and, being of a resolute temper, paid no attention to the governor's orders in any respect.

Van Rensselaer Arms on Window.

Stuyvesant finally resolved to visit the colony in person, and with a military escort proceeded up the river. The fort itself and the land immediately about it were the property of the company. Van Slechtenhorst was summoned to answer for his contempt of authority. He did answer, and it was by protest to protest. He charged the governor with having interfered with him, contrary to ancient order and usage; as if he, Stuyvesant, and not Van Rensselaer, were lord of the patroon's colony. Stuyvesant ordered that no buildings should be erected within a prescribed distance from Fort Orange, and Van Slechtenhorst declared such an order an aggression which could not be justified. He said the soil belonged to the patroon. Stuyvesant replied, that "the objectionable buildings endangered the fort." Slechtenhorst hotly pronounced the governor's argument a mere pretext. No definite results were obtained; and, after Stuyvesant's departure, Slechtenhorst continued his improvements precisely as before. We can hardly realize, at this late day, that our republican State of New York once harbored within its borders something so nearly akin to a principality; but such is the fact. Stuyvesant wrote to Van Slechtenhorst that force would be used if he did not desist from erecting buildings; but it only provoked a characteristically

July 21.

impudent retort, and a criticism upon the technical formality of the governor's legal proceedings. Van Slechtenhorst followed up his reply to Stuyvesant by forbidding the company's commissary at Fort Orange to quarry stone or cut timber within the boundaries of the colony, while he himself was actively putting up houses for the patroon within pistol-shot of the fort.

Stuyvesant, having been informed of this fact, dispatched a military force to arrest Van Slechtenhorst and demolish the buildings. Their mission was not performed to the letter, however. Van Slechtenhorst, who was himself a shrewd lawyer, refused to appear at Fort Amsterdam with his papers and commissions until a summons should be legally served; and he demanded a copy in writing of the governor's claims and complaints. The Rensselaerswick colonists were angered at Stuyvesant's hostile movements, and the Mohawk savages were with difficulty restrained from attacking the soldiers. After much confusion, the military company was withdrawn, the houses were left standing, and matters continued unsettled. Sept. 21.

Dominie Megapolensis asked his dismission from the church at Rensselaerswick during the summer, as did also Dominie Backerus from the church at New Amsterdam, both gentlemen wishing to return to Europe. The Classis of Amsterdam was then petitioned for "old, experienced, and godly ministers"; but although every effort was made, and there were many consultations held in Holland with the Directors of the company and the heirs of Van Rensselaer, it was difficult to find "experienced" ministers willing to undertake such "a far distant voyage."[1] Aug. 15. Sept. 2.

The Dutch could not fail to see that the colonies of their English neighbors, where neither patroons nor lords nor princes were known, were much more flourishing than their own; and they complained bitterly to the governor. He had made the same observations, but could not remedy the evils that were retarding the progress of New Netherland; and he was unreasonably jealous of any attempt on the part of others to institute reforms. Again a long correspondence about boundaries ensued with the New England authorities, and the tone of it was exceedingly bitter.

Retaliation was threatened. Then Stuyvesant was accused of trying to instigate the Indians to rise up against the English. He promptly vindicated himself and demanded an investigation. In the mean time he had written to the West India Company, praying that the boundary between the Dutch and English provinces might be settled in Europe. But, at this time, the distracted condition of affairs there in- 1649.

[1] Cor. Classis Amst.

duced the company to instruct their governor "to live with his neighbors on the best terms possible."

Every great European event affected the prospects of the American colonies. Civil war was now raging in England. Charles I. was a prisoner in the hands of his subjects. He might perhaps have reigned to the end of a peaceful life, if he had been content to rule as a constitutional sovereign. At the same time, the Parliament party went beyond the limits of the constitution in their desire to preserve the constitution. The unfortunate king was tried, condemned, and executed in front of his own banqueting-hall. As he stood upon the scaffold, Gregory Brandon, his executioner, fell on his knees before him and asked his forgiveness. "No!" said the king; "I forgive no subject of mine who comes deliberately to shed my blood." The king spoke as became the chief magistrate and the source of the laws which were violated in his murder. He took off the medallion of the order of the Garter, and gave it to Juxon, saying with emphasis, "Remember!" Beneath the medallion of St. George was a secret spring which removed a plate ornamented with lilies, under which was a beautiful miniature of his beloved Henrietta. The warning word which has caused so many historical surmises evidently referred to the fact that he had parted with the portrait of his wife only at the last moment of his existence. Queen Henrietta had escaped to the Louvre; and her second son, James, was with her at the time she received the terrible news. Her eldest daughter, Mary, was the wife of William II., Prince of Orange; and thither Charles, Prince of Wales, and his brother James repaired for safety, while the broken-hearted queen retired, with one or two of her ladies, to St. Jacques, the Convent of the Carmelites.

But though England was declared a republic, the monarchical principle survived. There could be no republic; and there was no republic. Political knowledge was not sufficiently advanced. It is as impossible to jump from monarchy to democratic equality, as to lay out new streets in a day through a city that is already crowded with massive structures. Cromwell saw the impossibility of a representative government, and wished to become king; but the army, which was composed of republicans who acted conscientiously, would not allow it. He would have ruled constitutionally if he could; but by him the English would not be so ruled. He, however, managed England's affairs far more wisely than they had ever been managed by a Stuart, though with an iron hand which he did not condescend to cover with a velvet glove.

It was not, therefore, a favorable moment for the Dutch to quarrel with England or her colonies about mere boundary lines. But the "pride

and obstinacy" of Stuyvesant (for so his fierce energy was called) was increasing the number of his opponents at an alarming rate. At the second yearly election of the "Nine Men," Adriaen Van der Donck and the able and respected Oloff S. Van Cortlandt were chosen members of the board. Van Cortlandt was a thriving merchant and one of the richest men in New Amsterdam. His estate, or a portion of it, lay on the west side of Broadway, near the street which perpetuates his name. The "Nine Men," at one of their subsequent meetings, determined upon sending a delegation to Holland to demand certain reforms and regulations which had been promised by the company, and waited for patiently in vain. They asked permission to convene the people, to confer on the subject "how expenses should be defrayed," etc. Stuyesant declined granting their request, and told them in writing "that communications must be made with the company through the governor, and his instructions followed."

Van Cortlandt Arms.

The "Nine Men" thought differently. They promised Stuyvesant to send no document to Holland without giving him a copy, but pronounced his last demand "unreasonable and antagonistical to the welfare of the country." As he would not allow the people to be convened, a committee from the "Nine Men" went from house to house to learn their opinions. This excited the governor's extreme displeasure, and various intrigues were resorted to, on his part, to counteract the influence of the popular tribunes. Among other things, he and his council summoned a meeting of delegates from the militia and towns-people, to consider the question of sending agents to the Fatherland on some important matters, not named.

The "Nine Men" were, nevertheless, determined to carry out their plans. Van der Donck was appointed secretary, and was expected to keep a careful journal of the proceedings. He lodged in the house of Jan Jansen Dam. One day, in his absence, Stuyvesant sent to his chamber and seized all his papers, and the next morning ordered him to be arrested and thrown into prison.

This high-handed measure was followed by a public meeting at the fort, consisting of the governor, council, officers of the militia, and deputations from the citizens. Van Dincklagen, the Vice-Director, had a keen sense of justice; and, as his superior had acted without his knowl- March 4.

edge or approval in the matter of Van der Donck, he demanded that the prisoner be admitted on bail, and heard in his own defense. Stuyvesant refused. Angry words followed, on both sides. It soon became evident that the majority of the council were inclined to treat Van der Donck harshly. Van der Donck himself, seeing the turn events were taking, asked for his journal, that he might correct some errors in it; but the request was refused. He was examined a few days later, and his
March 15. conduct condemned "as tending to bring sovereign authority into contempt"; and he was thereupon excluded from the executive council, and also from all legislative authority in connection with the "Nine Men." Van Dincklagen publicly disclaimed, and with great vehemence, his co-operation in this war against the free exercise of the right of petition.

In the midst of the excitement, Cornelis Melyn, so recently banished in disgrace, suddenly appeared in Manhattan, restored to the full rights of a colonist,[1] and armed with a summons for Stuyvesant to answer for his conduct before the States-General and Prince of Orange without delay, either in person or by attorney. Determined to make his
March 8. triumph as public as his former dishonor had been, he took advantage of a meeting in the church in the fort, and demanded that the paper he held, containing the acts of their High Mightinesses, should be read then and there by one of the "Nine Men." After a noisy debate, he carried his point, and the mandamus and summons were read to the assemblage by Arnoldus Van Hardenburg.

Stuyvesant was stung and humiliated beyond expression, but replied: "I shall honor the States-General by obeying their commands; yet, until I am discharged by the company, an attorney must answer for me in Holland." He refused any conversation or communication with Melyn, and required an apology from each of his subordinates for their share in the transactions at the church. He appointed Van Tienhoven and Jan Jansen Dam, whose daughter Van Tienhoven had married, as his representatives to the Hague. Van Tienhoven was admirably fitted for this mission. He was crafty, cautious, and sharp-witted. When he attempted to defend any plot or scheme, his eloquence had all the charm of sincerity. He is known to have been dishonest in a multitude of ways, and for that reason, as well as others, he had become generally disliked in the colony. He had been so long a servant of the company that he was intelligent as to its concerns; and he knew the people and the condition of affairs as well as any one else, and perhaps better. Having

[1] *Mass. Hist. Col.*, IX. 277. John Winthrop, Jr., received a letter from Roger Williams, saying, "Skipper Isaac and Melyn are come with a Dutch ship, bringing letters from the States-General calling home this Dutch governor to answer to many complaints."

quarreled personally with several of the "Nine Men," he was, from motives of policy, a warm advocate for the governor. It is said that his curious tact and strength of will enabled him to maintain extraordinary influence over Stuyvesant for a series of years. He lived on an estate of his own, west of Pearl Street and above Maiden Lane, his land extending towards Broadway.

The favor shown by the States-General to Melyn encouraged the "Nine Men" to persist in their efforts for a hearing. Van der Donck was regarded as a political martyr, and Melyn was just in time to throw firebrands adroitly in every direction. He was engaged, during his stay, as has since been supposed, in preparing *Breeden Raedt*, a quarto tract of forty-five pages, bearing date 1649, which was afterwards published in Antwerp, his native place. Some writers deny that he was the author of the work, alleging that it must have been written by a lawyer. So far as the dramatic character of various portions of it is concerned, it is one of the best executed and most effective of dialogues. It certainly could have been produced only by a genius.[1] But although very little is known of Melyn, we are not prepared to discredit his claim to its authorship, particularly as the information contained in it must have been founded upon his experience.

It happened, about that time, that Stuyvesant received a case of firearms which he had ordered from Holland, agreeably to a suggestion from the company that the best policy was "to furnish them to the Indians with a sparing hand, lest their discontent lead them into open war." They were landed at the fort, much to the astonishment and disapprobation of the people, who began to accuse the governor of doing the business of the whole country on his own responsibility. Finding how strongly public opinion was setting against him, he was obliged to produce the communication of his superiors and explain the whole matter. April 21.

Meanwhile, the "Nine Men" had prepared a memorial, in which all the desired reforms were distinctly stated, and a *Vertoogh*, or remonstrance, annexed, giving the reasons and detailing the grievances of the people. Both documents were drafted by Van der Donck, and signed by each of the "Nine Men." The "*Vertoogh Van Nieuw Nederlandt*" was printed at the Hague in 1650, in the form of a quarto tract of forty-nine pages. Three of the signers, Van der Donck, Couwenhoven, and Bout, were sent as delegates to the Hague, and Van Dincklagen wrote a letter of credence by them to the States-General. They July 26

[1] Historical Essay. By G. M. Asher.

sailed August 15. Dominie Backerus, who had been waited upon by the governor and forbidden to read from the pulpit any papers not previously sanctioned by the administration, and Melyn, were passengers in the same vessel. Through the earnest entreaties of Stuyvesant, Dominie Megapolensis remained at Manhattan, although his wife had sailed a short time before.

Aug. 15.

Van Tienhoven had already been gone fourteen days when the delegates left New Netherland; but he missed the straight course, and was the last to arrive in Holland. He had with him a mass of exculpatory documents, and letters from Stuyvesant to the States-General, telling them that many of the papers necessary for his justification in the case of Kuyter and Melyn had been lost with the *Princess*, etc. Also that Melyn "had abused their safe-conduct and behaved mutinously," and that he "would rather never have received the commission of their High Mightinesses than have his authority lowered in the eyes of both neighbors and subjects."

Oct. 2.

Both parties appeared before the States-General, and a tedious examination, occupying the whole winter, followed. It had a beneficial effect upon New Netherland, in so far as it brought the distant and almost unknown province squarely before the public. It put the idea of migrating hither into the heads of hundreds of persons. The West India Company were wedded to the existing order of things, and sustained their governor. They said those who took umbrage at his haughtiness "were such as sought to live without either magistrates or law." They were not in favor of investing the "Nine Men" with the administration of justice, in any degree. Melyn, having placed his cause in the hands of an attorney, exerted himself to promote the settlement of Staten Island. He interested one of the influential noblemen of the States-General, Baron Van der Capellen,[1] who, in company with some wealthy merchants, bought and equipped a vessel, *New Netherland's Fortune*, and sent her freighted with farmers and their families to the picturesque island. The States-General embodied a list of reforms as to the management of New Netherland affairs, in a "Report" which was submitted to the Amsterdam Chamber, accompanied by the draft of a *Provisional Order*, providing for a better system of government. It provoked determined opposition from the members of that body, and a renewal of accusations against those who had risen up to injure the company and their servants. A copy of it, however, was forwarded to Stuyvesant by Conwenhoven and Bout on their return, who brought also letters from the

[1] Yonkheer Hendrick Van der Capellen, of Ryssel, was Baron of Essels and Hasselt, and represented the principality of Gebre and the earldom of Zutphen in the States-General.

States-General, forbidding the governor to molest them. Van der Donck remained in Holland, to watch the interests of the New Netherland people, and did not return to America for several years. During that period, he contributed greatly towards bringing this country into notice and improving its institutions. In 1652, he was made Doctor of Laws at Leyden. He died in New Amsterdam in 1655, leaving the colony of Colon Donck, or Yonkers (his baronial estate), to his wife, who subsequently married Hugh O'Neal. The property, after changing owners two or three times, became a part of the celebrated Philipse manor.

In the same vessel with the delegates came Dirck Van Schelluyne, a Hague lawyer, who was licensed to practice his profession in New Amsterdam. He opened an office in one corner of a grocery-store, **1650. April.** and hung out a sign of "Notary Public." His commissioned duty was "to serve process and levy executions." He eventually removed to Rensselaerswick, and ten years later was secretary of that colony. In the upper part of the same grocery, a small school was opened during the month of April by Jan Cornelissen.

Early in the spring, men were employed to repair Fort Amsterdam; but the work progressed slowly. The governor issued another proclamation forbidding the running at large of cows, hogs, and goats, without a herdsman, between the fort and the company's farm, and the pasture-ground occupied by Thomas Hall and the house of Mr. Isaac Allerton. Mr. Allerton was an Englishman who came over in the *Mayflower* to Plymouth, and had now taken up his residence at Manhattan.[1] He lived in a stone house on the hill, near Beekman Street; and he also owned a large warehouse or store. He was in partnership with Govert Loockermans. The merchants of those days dealt in every class of merchandise, and raised their own poultry and pork, as well as made their own butter. A general law was passed that year, to the effect that "inasmuch as the hogs spoil the roads and make them difficult of passage for wagons and carts, every man must stick rings through the noses of such animals as belong to him."

[1] Isaac Allerton is said to have had the best head for business, and to have been one of the most stirring persons, among the first settlers of Massachusetts. He made five voyages to England in the interests of the colony before 1631. He finally quarreled with Plymouth and removed to Marblehead, where he built a large fishing-house and several vessels. It was he who sent to Ipswich for Parson Avery; and it was his ill-fated shallop which was dashed against the rock, since known as "Avery's Rock," — a disaster, the story of which has been retold in one of Whittier's rarest poems. Allerton soon quarreled with Winthrop's General Court, which gave him "leave to depart from Marblehead." The impulse which he gave to trade was never wholly lost; and, at this moment, the finest building in that ancient town, for business purposes, is "Allerton Block," a name the history of which is almost unknown.

Brewing seems to have been a favorite occupation, and was a source of much profit. Pieter and Jacob Couwenhoven, brothers, who came to New Amsterdam in 1633, made quite a fortune in that way, and carried on at the same time a brisk trade in flour, which was bolted in windmills. A law, in the early part of 1650, required bakers to make their bread of the standard weight, and to use nothing but pure wheat and rye flour, as it came from the mill. This precaution was to silence the complaints about the "poverty and leanness" of the common bread. The crops were not good this year, in consideration of which a law was made, in the autumn, forbidding any one to malt or brew wheat, and also decreeing that no wheat, rye, or baked bread should be sold out of the province.

Apr. 14.

The winter of 1650 was one of great severity. It was so cold that "ink froze in the pen." There was much distress, as food was scarce and prices necessarily high. When the governor, in the face of it, victualed the company's vessels on their way to Curacoa, the "Nine Men" were surprised and indignant, and not only remonstrated but accused him openly of "wanton imprudence" in thus diminishing supplies which were already too scanty. It was about the time that the delegates arrived from Holland. They brought with them arms and a stand of colors for the burgher guard; an act which infuriated Stuyvesant, who refused to have them delivered. A great commotion ensued in consequence. The "Nine Men" pronounced it a tyrannical outrage, and for their persistent interference with his prerogative Stuyvesant publicly deprived them of their pew in church. Both parties wrote letters of accusation to the authorities in Holland; and, what is remarkable, the English residents in the province defended the governor, and endorsed his sentiments, charging all the "schisms" upon the returned delegates.

In September, the long-contemplated and repeatedly postponed meeting of the Dutch and New England worthies took place at Hartford. It was hoped to settle beyond any further question the boundary line between the two territories. Stuyvesant traveled in state, with quite a train of attendants. The voyage occupied four days. He was received with much ceremony, and courteously entertained by the governor of Hartford. When the commission assembled, Stuyvesant proposed to carry on the negotiations in writing. He gave two reasons for this which had sufficient weight to prevent any objections from his opponents: that it would give greater accuracy to the proceedings, and that it would save time, as he could not speak the English language with fluency. But his first paper provoked sharp argument on account of its date, "New Netherland," and the New England gentlemen declined to go on with

Sept. 17.

the business until "Connecticut" was substituted instead. Stuyvesant apologized. He said the draft of the paper had been substantially agreed upon by himself and council before he left New Amsterdam, and translated and copied by his English secretary, George Baxter, on the voyage; as for the date, he supposed it was proper, but was entirely willing to comply with their wishes. After that, the discussion of national and territorial and individual rights proceeded slowly, but with considerable tact and discretion as well as earnestness. Over a week had been consumed, when they finally agreed to submit the issue to arbitrators. Simon Bradstreet and Thomas Prince were chosen for New England, and Thomas Willett and George Baxter for New Netherland. Their decision was accepted. It was, however, never ratified in England; and the fact that Stuyvesant had confided the interests of the Dutch to two Englishmen raised a storm of discontent in his own province. Sept. 29. Vice-Director Van Dincklagen had had no voice in the matter, and was greatly offended. The "Nine Men" declared that "the governor had ceded away territory enough to found fifty colonies each four miles square." There was a grand union of sentiment that it was an insult to the Dutch for Englishmen to be appointed to fix the English boundaries. Stuyvesant remained in Hartford some days after his business was accomplished, hoping to make arrangements whereby the Indians should be placed upon a permanent footing of good behavior. He was treated by his well-bred neighbors with a distinguished attention, at which he was much pleased. His return voyage was exceedingly rough, and his welcome home by an angry community anything but cordial. The freedom of speech of the "Nine Men" was so exasperating, that he threatened the body with dissolution. At the next election, he absolutely refused to select from the nominations to fill vacancies in their board. Again they appealed to the States-General for the reformation of this "grievous and unsuitable government"; and Melyn, at the Hague, used his influence to the utmost against the New Netherland governor.

Seal of New Netherlands, 1623.

CHAPTER X

1650 – 1654.

THE SPIRIT OF POPULAR FREEDOM.

The Confiscated Vessel. — Governor Stuyvesant's Body-Guard. — Rensselaerswick. — The Schuyler Family. — The Navigation Act. — Rev. Samuel Drisius. — African Slavery. — The Birth of the City. — The First City Fathers. — Allard Anthony. — William Beekman. — The Prayer of the City Fathers. — Military Preparations. — Van der Donck. — Hon. Nicasius De Sille. — The Diet of New Amsterdam. — Oliver Cromwell. — Peace between England and Holland.

"OUR great Muscovy duke keeps on as of old; something like the wolf, the longer he lives the worse he bites." Thus wrote Van Dincklagen to Van der Donck. The West India Company, unwilling to relinquish any of its power, was arrayed like a bulwark of iron against the spirit of popular freedom which the colonists were urging and which was countenanced by the States-General. It was a struggle for the elective franchise, and its long subsequent effects were of such a character that, while few portions of our history are more obscure, none are more important or instructive.

1650.

In this extraordinary controversy, the governor, the West India Company, and the English residents of New Netherland were on one side, and the States-General and the Dutch colonists on the other. "The power to elect a governor among ourselves would be our ruin," was the expression of the English residents, in a *Memorial* sent to the company. "I shall do as I please," was Stuyvesant's reply more than once, when his attention was called to some order or suggestion from the States-General which had not been indorsed by the Amsterdam Chamber. His mind was vigorous and acute, and he never lacked the courage to carry out to the very letter the peculiar policy of his immediate employers.

Van Dincklagen was a constant thorn in the governor's side. He was a quick-witted, sagacious politician, — a man who was considered eligible to the highest office, and who had accepted a subordinate position with

a bad grace. He stood ready to seize upon every mistake of executive judgment, and, with caustic satire, to hold it up to the popular view in its most unfavorable light. He was an advocate of no mean pretensions, and when Melyn arrived in the *New Netherland's Fortune*, it was he who investigated the cause of the unusually long voyage. He discovered that boisterous seas had delayed the vessel, that "water had fallen short," and the "last biscuit been divided among the passengers," and that the captain had been obliged to put into Rhode Island to refit and replenish his stores. Stuyvesant took his seat upon the bench beside Van Dincklagen, and pronounced a remarkable decision. It was one of the regulations of the West India Company that vessels should not "break bulk" between Holland and New Amsterdam; and he took the ground that the delay in this case was "needless and unjustifiable," and proceeded to seize the ship and cargo, supposing them to belong to Melyn. The ship was sold to Thomas Willett, who sent it on a voyage to Virginia and Holland. At the latter place it was replevied by Baron Van der Capellen, and after a protracted litigation the company was obliged to pay heavy damages.

Melyn again took possession of his lands on Staten Island, which, in order to promote his greater security, Van Dincklagen had formerly purchased of the Raritans in the name of Baron Van der Capellen; but he was presently summoned to New Amsterdam by the governor to answer to various charges. Dreading the encounter, he failed to obey; and, in consequence of this, his house and lot in the city were confiscated and sold by the government. Expecting that an effort would be made to arrest him at his country-house, he established and fortified a manorial court on one of the petty eminences overlooking what is now the village of Clifton. He was not disturbed, but he was soon after accused of trying to influence the Indians against Stuyvesant, and the council were induced to pass a resolution that the governor should henceforth be constantly attended by a body-guard of four halberdiers. 1651.

Van Dincklagen ridiculed this action on the part of his colleagues. He denied the absurd stories in regard to Melyn. He even volunteered to bring the chiefs of the Raritan and other tribes to the fort, to prove the falsity of the charge that "one hundred and seventeen savages had been supplied with arms and ammunition!"

About the same time, Van Dincklagen, with the assistance of Van Dyck, prepared and sent an elaborate *protest* to the States-General, in which he claimed to picture the popular griefs and the general dissatisfaction of the colonists with the administration. When it came to the knowledge of Stuyvesant, he was thoroughly enraged. Feb. 28.

Without a moment's hesitation, he ordered Van Dincklagen to be expelled from the council board. The Vice-Director flatly refused to leave, on the ground that his commission was from the same supreme authority as that of the governor himself. However that might be as a question of law, Stuyvesant waited only until a file of soldiers could be summoned, before ordering Van Dincklagen to be dragged from the room and thrown into prison. The affair created an intense sensation. Van Dincklagen's wife and daughter went to the prison to see him, and were denied admittance. Stuyvesant was denounced by many as jealous and exacting, and by others warmly applauded for his prompt action. He was sustained by the majority of the council. In the course of a few days, Van Dincklagen was released from confinement, but was allowed no further participation in the government. He retired to Melyn's manor-house on Staten Island, where he met with cordial sympathy. Van Dyck, because of the part he had taken in the complaint, was removed from office; and the lawyer, Schelluyne, who attested the *protest*, was forbidden to practice his profession. Loockermans and Heermans, who lent some assistance, were prosecuted and heavily fined.

While these and similar events were agitating Manhattan, Van Tienhoven, at Amsterdam, was amusing himself by playing the gallant lover to the pretty young daughter of a respectable fur-merchant. Pretending to be a single man, he won her affections under promise of marriage, and finally persuaded her to elope with him to America. Having submitted an able defense of Stuyvesant and his officers to the States-General, he was about to embark, when a message sent in hot haste to the Amsterdam Chamber ordered him to report immediately at the Hague for examination by their High Mightinesses. The summons required also the presence of his father-in-law, Jan Jansen Dam. The *protest* of Van Dincklagen had been received, and Van der Donck had replied to Van Tienhoven's defense in a spirited and effective manner. Greatly annoyed at the delay, Van Tienhoven proceeded to the Hague. He was arrested, the very evening of his arrival, on the charge of adultery. In the course of two or three days he made his escape, and reached the vessel bound for New Amsterdam in time to secure his passage. The capture of the cargo of a Portuguese merchant-vessel on the voyage is supposed to have subsequently secured his acquittal; but he was hopelessly disgraced. His return to New Amsterdam was a misfortune to the community. He was likened to "an evil spirit scattering torpedoes."

Rensselaerswick was so far from the capital that it was not affected by these disturbances. It continued to grow, while the progress of New Amsterdam was seriously retarded. Van Slechtenhorst had stood

out boldly against the governor, and extended the limits of the patroon's colony, until he had at last been arrested and imprisoned for four months in the fort at New Amsterdam. He made his escape by secreting himself on a sloop bound for Albany, the skipper of which he had fully indemnified against possible harm. Stuyvesant arrested the skipper on his return, and fined him two hundred and fifty guilders and costs. Van Slechtenhorst estimated the whole expense of his luckless trip down the Hudson at about one thousand guilders. He soon after issued an order that all the householders and freemen of his colony should take the oath of allegiance to the patroon and his representatives. The occasion of this was the fear that Stuyvesant would execute his threatened purpose of extending the jurisdiction of Fort Orange, and so severing from the colony the populous little village of Beverwyck, Nov. 28. which lay close to and around the citadel, and which was every day becoming more valuable. Among those who bound themselves "to maintain and support offensively and defensively" the interests of Rensselaerswick, was John Baptist Van Rensselaer, a younger half-brother of the patroon, who had just been appointed to the magistracy of the colony.[1] Philip Pietersen Schuyler, the ancestor of the American family of Schuylers, had been in Rensselaerswick a little more than a year, and had also taken the oath of allegiance to the patroon. He had recently married Margritta, one of the daughters of the cool and fearless Van Slechtenhorst. He was a young man of ability, and was already actively assisting in the management of public affairs. To prepare the reader for an acquaintance with the different members of his family as they shall be introduced from time to time in future chapters, we digress a moment to speak of his ten children.[2] Guysbert was the eldest son, — a man of whom very little is known. Gertrude was the eldest daughter, beautiful, educated, and high-bred, — indeed, the belle of Rensselaerswick, prior to her marriage and removal to New Amsterdam as Mrs. Stephanus Van Cortlandt. Alida, the second daughter, was scarcely less attractive than her sister. She married, when only seven-

Schuyler Arms on Window.

[1] *Holgate's American Geanology.*

[2] *O'Callaghan*, II. 174, 177. *La Potherie's History of North America.*

teen, the Rev. Nicolaus Van Rensselaer; and, after his death, the famous Robert Livingston. Peter, the next son in the order of age, was the first mayor of Albany. He was the great colonel whose wise counsels and personal exertions at one period preserved the province from an Indian war; and who, at another, escorted five Indian chiefs to England to persuade the government to drive the French out of Canada. In 1719, as the oldest member of the executive council, he assumed, for a season, the entire govern-

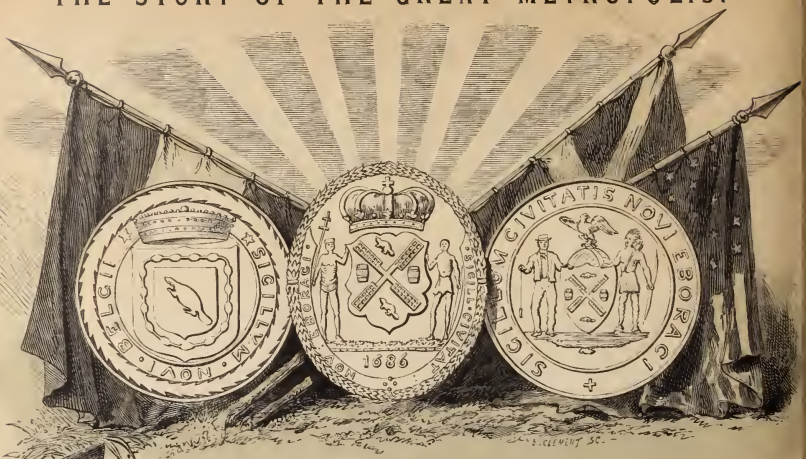
Schuyler Mansion at the Flats in 1875.

ment of New Netherland.[1] Brandt, who had more genius for trade than for command, went, when quite young, to New Amsterdam, where he married, in 1682, Cornelia Van Cortlandt, the daughter of Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, and sister of Stephanus. Arent likewise took up his abode in the metropolis.[2] Sibylla died in infancy. Philip settled in Albany. John, the youngest son, held a captain's commission in 1690, when only twenty-three years of age, and led into Canada an expedition which achieved a brilliant victory over the French and Indians. He was the grandfather of General Philip Schuyler, of Revolutionary memory. The youngest daughter was Margritta. The elder Schuyler died at Albany, March 9, 1684. His will bears date May 1, 1683, O. S.

On New Year's evening, the soldiers at Fort Orange became hilarious, and a few of them started out on a frolic. Coming in front of the house
1652. of Van Slechtenhorst, they ignited some cotton and threw it upon
Jan. 1. the roof. The inmates almost immediately discovered the fire, and by active exertions saved the building from destruction. The next day, a son of Van Slechtenhorst met some of the soldiers in the street, and
Jan. 2. accosting them in relation to the mischief they had occasioned, threatened them sharply; whereupon they charged upon him, threw him down, and having severely beaten him, dragged him through the mud. Schuyler hastened to the assistance of his brother-in-law; but Dyckman, the commander of the fort, who stood by, swore he would run him through with his drawn sword if he did not keep out of the way. Others who rushed into the fray received severe blows.

[1] He married, Oct. 25, 1672, Maria, daughter of Kilian Van Rensselaer.

[2] The ancestor of the New Jersey branch of the family.



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HISTORY of the City of New York

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MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB.

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'It is madness,'' said Dominie Megapolensis, laying his hand lovingly upon the Governor's shoulder—''what will our twenty guns do in the face of the sixty-two which are pointed towards us on yonder frigates? Pray, do not be the first to shed blood''' Page 213

The friends of Van Slechtenhorst vowed revenge; and, this coming to Dyckman's ears, he ordered the guns of the fort to be loaded with grape and turned upon the patroon's house, declaring he would batter it down. While things were in this chaotic state, there arrived from Stuyvesant some placards, which declared the jurisdiction of Fort Orange to extend over a circumference of six hundred paces (about one hundred and fifty rods) around the fortress. These Dyckman was ordered to publish. With nine armed men, the military commander proceeded to the court-room where the magistrates of the colony were in session, and demanded that the placards should be published through the colony with the sound of a bell. As it was contrary to law for any man to enter another's jurisdiction with an armed *posse* without the previous consent of the local authorities, Van Slechtenhorst ordered the intruder to leave the room, exclaiming, "It shall not be done as long as we have a drop of blood in our veins, nor until we receive orders from their High Mightinesses and our honored masters." Feb. 8.

Dyckman retired, but returned presently with an increased force. He ordered the porter to ring the bell, and that being vigorously opposed, he proceeded to the fort and caused the bell there to be rung three times. He then returned to the steps of the court-house and directed his deputy to read the placards. As the latter was about to obey, Van Slechtenhorst rushed forward and tore the paper from his hands, "so that the seals fell on the ground." Some violent words followed; but young Van Rensselaer, standing by, said to the crowd, "Go home, my good friends! 't is only the wind of a cannon-ball fired six hundred paces off."

A messenger was sent down the river to Stuyvesant, who at once forwarded another placard to Dyckman, with orders to publish it, and also to affix copies of it to posts erected on the new line, north, south, and west of the fort. Within these bounds, for the future, no house was to be built, except by the consent of the governor and council, or of those authorized to act for them. This act, severing forever the village of Beverwyck from Van Rensselaer's colony, was pronounced illegal, and in direct violation of the sixth article of the charter of 1629. Van Slechtenhorst sent a constable to tear the posters down contemptuously, and drew up a long remonstrance against the unbecoming pretensions of the governor, who he declared had no authority over the colony whatever. The patroon's lands, he said, had been erected into a perpetual fief, which no order emanating from the West India Company was sufficient to destroy. This paper was denounced by the governor and council as a "libellous calumny." Dyckman set afloat a rumor that Stuy- April 1.

vesant was about to visit Fort Orange, and that he was preparing a gallows for Van Slechtenhorst, his son, and young Van Rensselaer.

Stuyvesant, after dealing with a number of refractory persons in New Amsterdam, some of whom he put in confinement and bastinadoed others with a rattan, repaired to the troubled regions at the north. He sent a party of soldiers to Van Slechtenhorst's house with an order to the patroon to strike his flag, which the latter peremptorily refused to do. They then entered the inclosure, fired a volley from their loaded muskets, and hauled down the flag themselves. Stuyvesant immediately erected a court of justice in Beverwyck, apart from and independent of that of Rensselaerswick; but the notice of this, having been affixed to the court-house of the latter colony, was torn down, and a proclamation asserting the rights of the patroon posted in its place. The next day, nine armed men broke into Slechtenhorst's house and forcibly conveyed him to Fort Orange, where neither his wife, children, nor friends were allowed to speak with him. His furs, his clothes, and his meat were left hanging to the door-posts. It was not long ere he was conveyed to New Amsterdam; but he was not confined in the hold of the fort there, as has been asserted. He was under "civil arrest," and spent a portion of his time on Staten Island.

John Baptist Van Rensselaer took Van Slechtenhorst's place provisionally, and was afterwards formally appointed commander of the col-
April 18. ony by the patroon. Gerrit Swart succeeded to the office of sheriff; Rev. Gideon Schaets was installed as clergyman, and retained that posi-
Sept 2. tion for over thirty years. His salary was $380 per annum. Before returning to New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant confirmed the authority of the West India Company by issuing patents to some of the principal colonists for tracts of land within the confines of Beverwyck. It was thus that the germ of the present city of Albany was rescued from feudal jurisdiction.

On the 28th of March, Van Tienhoven was appointed to the office of
Mar. 28. sheriff, which had been made vacant by the removal of Van Dyck. "Were an honorable person to take my place, I should not so much mind it," bewailed the latter; "but here is a public, notorious, and convicted whoremonger and oath-breaker, who has frequently come out of the tavern so full of strong drink that he was forced to lie down in the gutter, while the fault of drunkenness could not easily be imputed to me."

Carel Van Brugge succeeded Van Tienhoven as secretary of the province, and Adriaen Van Tienhoven became receiver-general, in place of his brother.

The death of William II., Prince of Orange, in 1650, left vacant the

office of stadtholder, and that dignity remained in abeyance during the minority of William III. This event led to the recognition of the English Commonwealth by the Dutch Republic in January, 1651. Delegates were sent from England to the Hague to negotiate a league of amity and confederation between the two nations. Some of the visionary enthusiasts in Parliament even entertained the idea of making the two republics one, to be governed by a council sitting at London, composed of Dutchmen and Englishmen. To effect this, the embassy was instructed to use the most adroit diplomacy; but their first act was to demand that all the English fugitives should be expelled from Holland. This decided the matter. The Dutch government at once assumed a haughty air. The people of the Netherlands were attached to the house of Orange, and did not relish the presence of the executioners of the unhappy grandfather of William III.[1] They openly, and on every possible occasion, insulted the ambassadors, who finally returned to England, determined to destroy the commercial ascendency of the Dutch.[2] The celebrated Act of Navigation was accordingly carried through Parliament. Henceforward the commerce between England and her colonies, as well as that between England and the rest of the world, was to be conducted in ships solely owned and principally manned by Englishmen. Foreigners might carry to England nothing but those products of their respective countries which were the established staples of those countries. The act was leveled at the commerce of the Dutch, and destroyed one great source of their prosperity, while some letters of reprisal issued by English merchants brought eighty Dutch ships as prizes into English ports. The act was, after all, but a protection of British shipping. It contained not one clause which related to a colonial monopoly, or was specially injurious to an American colony. In vain did the Dutch expostulate against the breach of commercial amity. England loved herself better than she loved her neighbors. But, as might have been expected, a naval war was the consequence. The first battle between the forces of the Netherlands and the English Commonwealth was fought in the Straits of Dover, on the 29th of May, 1652. Other battles followed in which the Dutch were victorious, and the triumphant Van Tromp sailed along the English coast with a broom at his masthead, to indicate that he had swept the Channel of English ships.

May 29

Dec. 9.

The States-General had remonstrated so often and so earnestly with the

[1] *Aitzema*, III. 638 – 663. *Thurloe's State Papers*, I. 174, 179, 182, 183, 187 – 195. *Verbael Van Beverning*, 61, 62.

[2] *Common's Journal*, VII. 27. *Anderson*, II. 415, 416. *Lingard*, XI. 128. *Davis*, II. 707 – 710. *Bancroft*, I. 215, 216.

West India Company in regard to the mismanagement of New Netherland, that the Amsterdam Chamber finally deemed it wise to pour a little oil upon the bleeding wounds of the colonists. They took off the export duty from tobacco; reduced the price of passage to New Amsterdam; allowed the colonists to procure negroes from Africa; sent supplies of ammunition to be distributed at a "decent price"; assented to the establishment of a public school; and granted a burgher government to New Amsterdam, similar to that of the cities of the Fatherland. In the vessel which brought these dispatches were several distinguished passengers, among whom was Dominie Samuel Drisius, a learned divine, who could preach in English, Dutch, and French, and who came to New Amsterdam as colleague to Dominie Megapolensis, at a salary of $580 per annum.

April 4.

The public school was opened in one of the small rooms of the great stone tavern, and Dr. La Montagne offered to teach until a suitable master could be obtained from Holland. Meanwhile the States-General had resolved to recall Governor Stuyvesant. They prepared their mandate and intrusted it to Van der Donck, who was about to sail for New Amsterdam. This extraordinary measure aroused the Amsterdam Chamber; they interfered, and at last persuaded the States-General that, in view of the rupture with England, they needed a man of Stuyvesant's military character and experience to guard their American possessions. A messenger was therefore sent to Texel, where Van der Donck was upon the eve of sailing, and the letter of recall was obtained and destroyed. Thus Stuyvesant received nothing of his threatened humiliation. An order reached him, however, that Schelluyne should be unmolested in his practice of notary-public.

April 27.

The towns of Middleburg and Flatbush were commenced this year. There were also large tracts of land ceded to different parties on Long Island, in New Jersey, and on the banks of the North River. But prosperity was not ready to bless the slow-growing community, and its offshoots and branches developed with strange tardiness. One of the greatest wants of the colony was skilled labor, and, indeed, labor of every kind. Efforts had been made to procure it from Holland, but with very little success. Negroes had occasionally been brought to Manhattan and sold, but the demand for servants was far beyond the supply. The new law of the company, which permitted the colonists to equip vessels and sail to the coasts of Angola, in Africa, to procure negroes for themselves, was the signal for the fitting out of several vessels exclusively for the slave-trade and the bringing to New Netherland of a large invoice of the colored population of the torrid zone. Every family who could afford it invested

in this branch of industry. But it was wretchedly unsatisfactory. The slaves were ignorant and intensely stupid. Twenty-five of such as were imported at that time could hardly perform as much work as three, a hundred years later.

While these voyages were occupying the attention of the enterprising merchants of Manhattan, an interesting moment arrived. A new city appeared in the annals of the world. Its birth was announced on the evening of February 2, 1653, at the feast of Candlemas. A proclamation of the governor defined its exceedingly limited powers and named its first officers. It was called New Amsterdam. There was nothing in the significant scene which inspired enthusiasm. It came like a favor grudgingly granted. Its privileges were few, and even those were subsequently hampered by the most illiberal interpretations which could be devised. Stuyvesant made a speech on the occasion, in which he took care to reveal his intention of making all future municipal appointments, instead of submitting the matter to the votes of the citizens, as was the custom in the Fatherland; and he gave the officers distinctly to understand from the first, that their existence did not in any way diminish his authority, but that he should often preside at their meetings, and at all times counsel them in matters of importance. They were not to have a sheriff of their own; but Van Tienhoven, the provincial sheriff, might officiate for the corporation. Neither was it deemed requisite that they should have a scribe; but Jacob Kip, the newly appointed secretary of the province, was notified to attend their meetings and do such writing as seemed necessary. He was a young man of spirit and intelligence, tall, handsome, and extremely popular. The following year, he married Marie La Montagne, the daughter of Dr. La Montagne, a beautiful girl of sixteen. He owned a farm of one hundred and fifty acres on the East River, and soon after his marriage erected a house upon it, and went there to reside. The locality was, and is still, known as Kip's Bay.

1653. Feb. 2.

Kip's Mansion.

This Kip mansion subsequently became famous. It was once or twice rebuilt, and five generations of the Kip family were born in it. It was, for a short time, during the American Revolution, the head-quarters of General Washington. It was one of the landmarks of the olden time that was ruthlessly pushed aside by the corporation, at the opening of Thirty-fifth Street, on the direct line of which it stood. The sketch is a fair illustration of the style of the better class of farm-houses on Manhattan Island, during the early period. The new city contained a number of good stone dwellings, which had a substantial and aristocratic air, as if inhabited by people of wealth and cultivated tastes. There were many English and French, as well as Dutch, residents who were well connected in Europe; and, from whatever cause they had been induced to emigrate, they were not likely to turn barbarians because they were in a new country. Good breeding cannot be taken on and put off so readily. Many struggled along for years with wants unsupplied; but when, with increase of means, they were able to provide the comforts and luxuries to which they had been born, they were not slow to embrace the opportunity. The refinement and culture of these gave tone, even at that early date, to the social life of the little community.

The cheaper and more common dwellings we find to have been generally built of wood, with checker-work fronts, or rather gable ends, of small black and yellow Dutch bricks, with the date of their erection inserted in iron figures facing the street. The roofs were tiled or shingled, and surmounted with a weathercock. The front door was usually ornamented with a huge brass knocker, with the device of a dog's or lion's head, which was required to be burnished daily. As the facilities for obtaining building materials increased, the huts of the very poor classes gradually assumed a more and more respectable appearance. The old stone tavern was remodeled, cleaned up, and called a Stadthuys, or City Hall; and there the city magistrates held their meetings on Mondays, from nine o'clock in the morning until noon, and if business was urgent they sometimes had an after-dinner session. Absent members were fined six stuyvers for the first half-hour, twelve for the second, and forty if absent during the meeting.

A pew was set apart in the church for the City Fathers; and on Sunday mornings these worthies left their homes and families early to meet in the City Hall, from which, preceded by the bell-ringer, carrying their cushions of state, they marched in solemn procession to the sanctuary in the fort. On all occasions of ceremony, secular or religious, they were treated with distinguished attention. Their position was eminently respectable, but it had as yet no emoluments. We shall have occasion

hereafter to show how they watched over the tender babyhood of the city, — a city whose infancy was dwarfed by the constant neglect of the parent country; which was exposed to savage hostility and overlooked by the world in general; which was captured while yet in swaddling-clothes by people of different language, views, and policy; whose youth was a combat with all kinds of untoward circumstances, but whose maturity has so far exceeded the promise of its earlier years, and whose future certainties are so much greater than those of any other city on the face of the earth, that we cannot pass on without extending our cordial fellowship to those who rocked its cradle. Their names we shall rewrite each time with newly awakened emotions.

There were two burgomasters, Arent Van Hattam and Martin Cregier. The first was an intelligent Holland speculator, who traveled through the country and amassed a large fortune, but never married, or had any permanent residence in New Amsterdam that we can learn. He was once sent as ambassador to Virginia. Martin Cregier was the captain of the citizens' military company, and went often in command of important expeditions into the interior. He was the proprietor of a small tavern opposite the Bowling Green, the site of which he purchased in 1643. He was a conspicuous man in his day; and his descendants are among the most highly respected families in the State of New York.

There were five schepens, — Paulus Van der Grist, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Peter Van Couwenhoven, and William Beekman. Paulus Van der Grist was a hale, hearty old sea-captain, who commanded one of the four ships of the fleet which conveyed Governor Stuyvesant to America. Either personally or through an agent, he bought considerable property on Manhattan Island as early as 1644, and took up his permanent residence in New Amsterdam, as naval agent, in 1648. He owned a sloop with which he navigated the waters near by; built himself a nice house on Broadway below Trinity Church; and opened a dry-goods store, keeping groceries and knick-knacks also, according to village custom.

Allard Anthony was a middle-aged man, rich, influential, conceited, and unpopular. He was the consignee of a large firm in Holland; and his store was in the *old church* building erected by Van Twiller. Besides his general wholesale business, he engaged in the retail trade; for we learn by the records that he sold a "hanger" to Jan Van Cleef "for as much buckwheat as Anthony's fowls will eat in six months." At another time we learn that his wife complained of some negroes "for killing a few of her pigs." He had a large farm on the

island; but his city residence, a first-class stone mansion, was on the corner of Whitehall and Marketfield Streets. He had one son, Nicholas, who was afterwards sheriff of Ulster County; and two daughters, who, it has been said, dressed the most showily and fashionably of all the ladies of New Amsterdam. Peter Couwenhoven has been noticed on a previous page.

William Beekman was the ancestor of the well-known Beekman family, and his name is perpetuated by two streets, William and Beekman. He came from Holland in the same vessel with Stuyvesant, at the age of twenty-one. Full of strong, healthy life, and ambition, he employed every moment that he could spare from his clerkship duties in searching for a spot to plant his money, for he had not come empty-handed from abroad. An opportunity soon offered; he purchased Corlear's Hook of Jacob Corlear, and shortly after fell in love with and married the pretty blue-eyed Catharine Van Boogh. Everybody thought it a good match, and the youthful pair were held in high esteem. In the course of years, he rose to distinction; he was at one time vice-director of the colony on the Delaware, and at another sheriff at Esopus. He was nine years a burgomaster of New Amsterdam. In 1670, he bought the farm formerly owned by Thomas Hall, stretching along the East River for a great distance. His orchard lay upon a side-hill running down to the swamp which was called Cripple Bush, and through which Beekman Street now passes. He had five sons and one only daughter, Marie. This daughter married Nicholas William Stuyvesant, a son of the governor.

The bell-ringer was a notable and useful individual. He was the court messenger, the grave-digger, the chorister, the reader, and sometimes the schoolmaster. He seems also to have been a general waiter upon the city magistrates. He kept the great room in which they assembled in order, placed the chairs in their proper and precise positions, and rang the bell at the hour for coming together. It was the business of the sheriff to convoke and preside over this board, to prosecute offenders, and to execute judgments. City officials in the Fatherland were invested with judicial and municipal powers; but, as no specific charter had been granted to our City Fathers, their authority was not well defined. They heard and settled disputes between parties; tried cases for the recovery of debt, for defamation of character, for breaches of marriage promise, for assault and theft; and even summoned parents and guardians into their presence for withholding their consent to the marriage of their children or wards without sufficient cause. They sentenced and committed to prison, like any other court of sessions.

Feb. 6.

All their meetings were opened with a solemn and impressive form of prayer. As we find it recorded in their minutes, we presume they designed it should go down to posterity; hence we give it in full:—

"Oh God of Gods, and Lord of Lords! Heavenly and most merciful Father! We thank thee that thou hast not only created us in thine image, but that thou hast received us as thy children and guests when we were lost, and in addition to all this, it has pleased thee to place us in the government of thy people in this place.

"O Lord, our God, we, thy wretched creatures, acknowledge that we are not worthy of this honor, and that we have neither strength nor sufficiency to discharge the trust committed to us without thine assistance.

"We beseech thee, oh fountain of all good gifts, qualify us by thy grace, that we may, with fidelity and righteousness, serve in our respective offices. To this end enlighten our darkened understandings, that we may be able to distinguish the right from the wrong, the truth from the falsehood; and that we may give pure and uncorrupted decisions; having an eye upon thy word, a sure guide, giving to the simple, wisdom and knowledge. Let thy law be a light unto our feet, and a lamp to our path, so that we may never turn away from the path of righteousness. Deeply impress on all our minds that we are not accountable unto man, but unto God, who seeth and heareth all things. Let all respect of persons be far removed from us, that we may award justice unto the rich and the poor, unto friends and enemies alike; to residents and to strangers according to the law of truth: and that not one of us may swerve therefrom. And since gifts do blind the eyes of the wise, and destroy the heart, therefore keep our hearts aright. Grant unto us, also, that we may not rashly prejudge any one, without a fair hearing, but that we patiently hear the parties, and give them time and opportunity for defending themselves; in all things looking up to thee and to thy word for counsel and direction.

"Graciously incline our hearts, that we may exercise the power which thou hast given us, to the general good of the community, and to the maintainance of the church, that we may be praised by them that do well, and a terror to evil-doers.

"Incline, also, the hearts of the subjects unto due obedience, so that through their respect and obedience our burdens may be made the lighter.

"Thou knowest, Oh Lord, that the wicked and ungodly do generally contemn and transgress thine ordinances, therefore clothe us with strength, courage, fortitude, and promptitude, that we may, with proper earnestness and zeal, be steadfast unto death against all sinners and evil-doers.

"Oh good and gracious God, command thy blessing upon all our adopted resolutions, that they may be rendered effectual, and redound to the honor of thy great and holy name, to the greatest good of the trusts committed to us and to our salvation.

"Hear and answer us, Oh gracious God, in these our petitions and in all that thou seest we need, through the merits of Jesus Christ thy beloved Son, in whose name we conclude our prayer."

In view of the disturbances across the water, Stuyvesant, as a precautionary measure, wrote to the authorities in New England and Virginia, expressing friendship and good-will, and proposed that the commercial intercourse of the colonies should continue uninterrupted. He learned before the end of March, however, that military preparations were going on in New England; but whether these were offensive or defensive, he could not discover. He called a joint meeting of the Council and the City Fathers, and they resolved that a body of citizens should mount guard every night at the City Hall; also, that Fort Amsterdam should be put in a proper state of defense, and that the city should defray the cost. About forty of the principal men of New Amsterdam subscribed a loan of two thousand dollars for the purpose. The fence which Kieft had built across the island still remained, and it was decided to inclose the city by a ditch and palisades with a breastwork, on about the same line, and every man was required to leave his business and lend a helping hand. Posts twelve feet high and about seven inches in diameter were erected, and covered on the outside with boards; a ditch, two feet wide and three deep, was dug upon the inside, and the dirt was thrown up against the fence, thus making a platform of sufficient height to permit the assailed to overlook the stockade. It was completed about the 1st of May. In the mean time, the people had become seriously alarmed, and had spent the 9th day of April in fasting and prayer throughout the province.

Feb. 26.

March 13.

May 1.

War upon the Dutch colonists was actually in contemplation in New England. A large party were eager to take the opportunity offered by the hostilities in Europe to grasp New Netherland; but the General Court of Massachusetts refused to sanction such an enterprise. In the mean time, Captain John Underhill had grown restless, and agitated a revolt on Long Island. In a seditious paper addressed to the people, he speaks of "this great autocracy and tyranny too grievous for any good Englishman or brave Christian to tolerate." But his plot was discovered in time to be prevented, and he was arrested, tried, and

June 2.

[1] *New Ams. Rec.*, I. pp. 105, 106, 107, 108, 109. The records of the first City Fathers are well preserved. They have been translated into the English language, and are both curious and entertaining. The minutes of the proceedings of the burgomasters and schepens in the earliest years of the city furnish an abundant harvest for the antiquary. The writer of this volume only regrets that its necessary limitations exclude so large a proportion of the interesting matter found in their pages.

banished from the province. The city was full of startling rumors; and, during the summer that followed, the governor was constantly involved in a variety of unexpected difficulties. A man of less firmness and decision of character would have signally failed in maintaining authority. Allard Anthony was sent to Holland as a special agent to represent the situation of affairs to the Amsterdam Chamber. Stuyvesant, having called upon the city government for further funds to invest in fortification, was waited upon by the burgomasters, who peremptorily refused to contribute anything more, unless the governor gave up the excise on wines and beers. June 5. July 29. Aug. 2.

In the summer, Van der Donck arrived from Holland. He had enlarged his *Vertoogh* by writing out a more accurate description of New Netherland. He had submitted it to the West India Company, who had not only approved of it, but recommended it to the States-General; and the author had received a copyright. He desired to give it a still broader historical character; and he applied to the company for permission to examine the records at New Amsterdam. He was cordially referred to Stuyvesant. But the latter gentleman suspected his motives and treated him with cool severity, denying him access to any papers whatever. Van der Donck wished also to practice law in this country. His ability as a lawyer was well known. The directors of the company were disposed to grant him a license, only they said, "What will one great advocate do alone among the savages? You will have nobody of your stamp to plead against you!" Van der Donck, when he found his journey barren of results, sailed again for Europe, where he published the book under the title of *Beschryvinge van Nieuw Nederlandt.* The second edition contained a map reduced from the large one of Visscher, and embellished with a view of New Amsterdam, sketched by Augustine Heermans in 1656. Dec. 1.

Heermans was a native of Bohemia, and came to New Amsterdam, with Van Twiller, in 1633, as an officer of the company. He had picked up a great fund of information, as well as an immense quantity of real estate; and he had a natural taste for sketching, which, however, was never cultivated in any considerable degree. His house stood on the west side of Pearl Street, covering the line of Pine. It was built of stone, and surrounded by an orchard and an extensive garden. He removed afterwards to Maryland, where he became a large landholder.

The governor was cheered in July by the arrival of a personage of importance. The company had selected Hon. Nicasius De Sille, a gentleman of the best culture the time afforded, a thorough statesman and an experienced lawyer, and commissioned him as first July 24.

councilor in their provincial government. He was a widower, with two attractive daughters and one son; and he built quite an extensive house on the corner of Broad Street and Exchange Place, where he was in the habit of entertaining a small but very select circle of friends in the same elegant and courtly manner to which he had been accustomed at the Hague. His eldest daughter, Anna, a brilliant little girl of fourteen, who afterward married Hendrick Kip, presided over his table, with its blue and white china and porcelain, curiously ornamented with Chinese pictures. The teacups were very diminutive in size, according to the prevailing fashion, and the tea was sipped in small quantities alternately with a bite from the lump of loaf-sugar which was laid beside each guest's plate. De Sille brought to this country more silver-plate than any one had done before him, and took special pride in its exhibition. Governor Stuyvesant's family, Mrs. Bayard, the La Montagnes, and the Kips were his most frequent visitors. He selected Tryntie Croegers for his second wife; but the marriage proved unhappy. The parties separated in 1669; and a commission, in which figured such names as Van Cortlandt, De Peyster, and Van Brugh, was appointed to try to bring about a reconciliation. They reported that all affection and love were estranged on both sides, but that the husband was more inclined to a reunion than the wife, and they recommended an equal division of the property. De Sille built the first stone house in New Utrecht, and resided there for many years. He left a brief history of the settlement of that town. Laurence De Sille, his son, married the daughter of Martin Cregier, and was the ancestor of all of the name of De Sille in this country. Mrs. De Sille at her death left the whole of her estate, real and personal, to her cousin, Jacobus Croegers.

Autograph of De Sille.

Cornelis Van Ruyven was about this time appointed secretary of the province, and Van Brugge was employed in the custom-house. All at once there arose again a great spirit of disaffection among the English on Long Island. How much of it was due to the consummate tact of Captain Underhill we are not prepared to say, but from many of the towns came the bitterest denunciation of the Dutch authorities of New Netherlands. It finally resulted in one of the most important popular meetings ever held in New Amsterdam. The capital itself was represented by delegates, as also Breuckelen, Flatbush, Flatlands, Gravesend, Newtown, Flushing, and Hempstead; and the men who assembled were earnest, thoughtful, liberty-loving citizens. The

Nov. 26.

Dec. 10.

convention, after mutual consultation and discussion, adopted a remonstrance, which, in courteous phraseology, compares well with documents of a similar character at a later day, and which shows upon the face of it an intelligent appreciation of the rights, as well as a thorough acquaintance with the legitimate objects, of civil government. It demanded reforms and laws such as prevailed in the Netherlands; and Stuyvesant winced under the truths which were laid bare before his eyes. To weaken its effect, he declared that Breuckelen, Flatbush, and Flatlands had no right to jurisdiction, and could not send delegates to a popular assembly. He talked eloquently, and was exhaustive in argument. The delegates prepared a rejoinder, and threatened to send their *protest* to the States-General and the West India Company, if he did not lend a considerate ear. Then nothing seemed to remain but the exercise of his prerogative. He commanded the delegation to disperse "on pain of our highest displeasure," and closed his message by arrogantly declaring that "we derive our authority from God and the company, not from a few ignorant subjects; and we alone can call the inhabitants together." But the popular voice was not stifled, for the burgomasters and schepens wrote to the West India Company, complaining that their municipal powers were "too narrow," and asking for such privileges as were granted to their "beloved Amsterdam." The Gravesend magistrates wrote to the States-General, presenting their grievances; and another letter of a similar character, signed by Martin Cregier, George Baxter, and others, was addressed to the burgomasters and schepens of the city of Amsterdam. Meanwhile the exigencies of the times gave the disaffected community an excellent opportunity of demonstrating their actual loyalty to the Fatherland. The rapid increase of piracy on the Sound, and the dreaded invasion of the English, made it necessary that a force of men should be raised in each of the towns for the common defense; and the call was responded to with alacrity.

De Sille's House.

Dec. 12.

Dec. 13.

Dec. 24.

Dec. 27.

Dec. 30.

On the 16th of December was established in England the new institute of government, by which Oliver Cromwell was made Lord Protector, and the supreme legislative authority was vested in him and

Dec. 16.

Parliament. For weeks, during the year past, that country had been as near to anarchy as any civilized nation has ever been; but Parliament was now to be imperial in its character, and the Protector was to be assisted by a council of state.

The spring was just opening, when news reached New Amsterdam that an armed fleet of four ships, direct from England, were in Boston
1654. raising men for the purpose of attacking the Dutch possessions
June. in this country. The consternation may readily be imagined. There was nothing talked or thought of but preparations for war. Women and other non-combatants, goods and valuables, were removed with rapidity beyond range of the missiles of destruction. Many of the inhabitants counseled the surrender of the city without bloodshed; but the stern military chieftain visited upon such advisers the full measure of his contempt.

Just as the British force, numbering nine hundred foot and a troop of horse, were victualed and about setting out for New Amsterdam, peace
July 12. was proclaimed between England and Holland.[1] Cromwell had stipulated his own terms with the United Provinces; but his foreign policy was bold and manly, and, if he had robbed England of her liberty, he at least gave her glory in exchange. The nation which for half a century had been of scarcely more weight than Venice in European
July 18. politics, suddenly became the most formidable power in the world, and her ruler an object of mingled aversion, admiration, and dread. Nowhere was the news received with such abandonment of delight as in New Amsterdam. Bells rung and cannon boomed, and a day was set apart by the governor for general thanksgiving.

[1] Three hundred of these troops were from Massachusetts, two hundred from Connecticut, one hundred and thirty-three from New Haven, and two hundred from the fleet.

CHAPTER XI.

1654–1660.

SALARIES.

City Taxation. — The Swedes. — The Long Island Ferry. — Thomas Pell. — Lady Moody's Library. — The Gay Repast. — First City Seal. — Christmas. — New Year's. — The City Hall. — The First Church on Long Island. — Dominie Polhemus. — The Expedition against the Swedes. — The Indian Horror. — Van Tienhoven's Downfall. — The Lutheran Persecution. — City Progress. — Dominie Drisius. — Burgher Rights. — Unique Laws. — The Quaker Persecution. — Hodgson at the Wheelbarrow. — Stuyvesant's Interview with the Indian Chiefs. — "Whitehall." — Stuyvesant's Country-Seat. — Indian Hostilities. — Oliver Cromwell's Death.

THE burgomasters and schepens, even before their first year of service had expired, found their duties so arduous, and involving so much time and trouble, that they petitioned for salaries. Stuyvesant, after mature deliberation, granted to each burgomaster one hundred and forty dollars, and to each schepen one hundred dollars, per annum. They sent in, at the same time, a double set of names from which he might choose officers for the coming year. He, however, retained the same men in office, except that he filled two vacancies in the board of schepens by the appointment of Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt and Jochem Pietersen Kuyter. The latter had been successful in the vindication of his character, and was now in possession of his estate in Harlem, and restored to all the rights and privileges of a fendal lord. He lived in a house on the north side of Pearl Street, between Broad Street and Hanover Square. He was commissioned by the Amsterdam Chamber as city sheriff, it having been found necessary, through the rapid increase of business, to separate the office from that of the province; but, unfortunately, before the commission reached New Amsterdam, he had been murdered by the Indians, while on a tour of exploration through the wilderness to the North. The appointment was transferred to Jacques Cortelyon, an educated Frenchman, who was acting as tutor to the sons of Hon. Cornelis Van Werckhoven. He declined to accept it, because of the peculiar

1654.

nature of the instructions, and it was four years before the city was favored with a sheriff of its own.

There was, from the first, a want of harmony between the governor and the city magistrates. The latter wished to assimilate their municipal government to that of Amsterdam. They never ceased their exertions until they deprived the executive of the absolute power of appointment. They clamored, too, for the management and control of the excise. It seemed eminently proper that this should go into the city treasury, and Stuyvesant finally consented to the arrangement. But he immediately ordered that the city should provide for the support of the troops which had recently arrived from Holland, and for the maintenance of civil and ecclesiastical ministers. The magistrates replied, expressing their willingness to furnish their quota to the amount of one fifth of the whole sum necessary to pay the debt incurred for the repairs of the public works, on condition that they should be empowered to levy taxes on all the real estate within their jurisdiction, sell and convey lands, etc.; they would also pay the salary of one clergyman, one chorister (to act as beadle and schoolmaster), one sheriff, two burgomasters, five schepens, one secretary, and one court messenger; but as to the military, they considered the citizens already overtaxed for the fortifications, and unable to carry a burden which was not for the protection of the city alone, but for the country in general.

When the magistrates rendered their first report of excise income and expenditures, Stuyvesant was greatly displeased to find that the minister's salary had not been paid. As he went on with the examination of the papers, he discovered that they had credited themselves with many items which could not be allowed; as, for instance, the passage-money of François de Bleue, their agent, to Amsterdam. They had not fulfilled their promise to complete the fort; money borrowed for the purpose had been otherwise used; and the men who had advanced the loan were clamoring for repayment. They had not furnished the subsidies which they had promised, and they had failed to contribute their quota towards the public works. He took them severely to task, and by the advice of his council he reassumed the control of the excise which he had already surrendered. The subject was submitted to the Amsterdam Chamber, which instructed the governor to enforce his authority, "so that those men may no longer indulge in the visionary dream that contributions cannot be levied without their consent."

Sept. 16.

Nov. 23.

Meanwhile, difficulties had been brewing on the South River. The news of the capture of Fort Casimir by the Swedes reached Stuyvesant while he was in the midst of his hurried preparations to defend New

Netherland from the English. To attempt the recovery of that distant post in a moment of such danger was out of the question, and therefore an account of the affair was sent to Holland, and orders thence were awaited. In September, a Swedish vessel entered the lower bay by mistake, and sent to New Amsterdam for a pilot to guide her back into the ocean. Stuyvesant at once ordered the arrest of the boat's crew, and sent soldiers to capture the vessel and bring its captain to the fort. The cargo was removed to the company's warehouse, and a message sent to the Swedish commander of Fort Casimir that the vessel would be detained until such time as "a reciprocal restitution should be made." Sept. 22.

The city magistrates, about the same time, demanded and obtained the power to lease the ferry between Manhattan and Long Island, which somewhat mollified their antagonism to their stern superior. Up to this period great inconvenience had been experienced by the community in crossing the East River. Persons had often been compelled to wait a whole day before they could be ferried over; and the trip was dangerous at its best. An ordinance was accordingly passed, as follows: —

"No one shall be permitted to ferry without a license from the magistrates: the ferryman must keep proper servants and boats, and a house on both sides of the river for the accommodation of passengers, and must pass all officials free. The said ferryman shall not be compelled to ferry any persons, cattle, or goods, without prepayment, and must not cross the river in a tempest."[1]

The toll established by law was, for a wagon and two horses, twenty stuyvers, or one dollar; for a wagon and one horse, eighty cents; for an Indian, thirty cents; for any other person, fifteen cents.

Early in November, news reached the harassed governor that Thomas Pell, an English gentleman and a rank royalist (formerly Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles I.), who had been obliged to leave New Haven because he refused to swear allegiance to the local government, on the ground that he had already taken an oath in England, had bought of the Indian sachem, Annhook, a tract of land in Westchester, including the estate formerly owned and occupied by Mrs. Annie Hutchinson.[2] Stuyvesant immediately dispatched a marshal to warn the intruder that the same land had long ago been bought of the Indians, and paid for, by other parties, and to forbid the transaction altogether. Pell took no notice of the message, but went on improving his newly Nov. 5.

[1] *New Amsterdam Records.*

[2] It is supposed that the red chieftain, Annhook, was the one most concerned in the murder of Mrs. Hutchinson, as it was an Indian custom for a warrior to assume the name of some distinguished victim of his prowess.

acquired possessions. Thirty-five years later, the acting governor of New York himself purchased the township of New Rochelle of Mr. Pell. From the latter the town of Pelham derived its name; the word being of Saxon origin, compounded of the two words, *Pell* and *ham*. (*Ham* signifies *home*, or *house*.)

During the same month, the governor himself was severely repri-
Nov. 23. manded by the Amsterdam Chamber. The following paragraph is a key to the document which he received:—

"You ought to act with more vigor, and dare to punish refractory subjects as they deserve."

Opportunities for the display of courage were certainly not wanting. At that very moment, some of the English settlers on Long Island were struggling to free themselves from the dominion of the Dutch. The conduct of George Baxter, the former English secretary, and of Mr. Hubbard, of Gravesend, was such that Stuyvesant removed them from the magistracy. Immediately after, he visited the settlement in person, hoping to allay in some measure the acute discontent which prevailed, and to regulate the future choice of magistrates. He was, for several days, the guest of Lady Moody; and Mrs. Stuyvesant, who accompanied her husband, was greatly charmed with the noble English lady. The house of the latter in Gravesend, though primitive in outward construction, was furnished with comparative elegance and good taste, and contained the largest collection of books which had yet been brought into the colony. It was fortified against the Indians, and, in the course of its curious history, sustained several serious attacks.

As the winter advanced, Stuyvesant determined to make a voyage to
Dec. 8. the West Indies, for the purpose of establishing a commerce between the Spanish plantations and New Netherland. He was to sail, on Christmas eve, in the *Abraham's Sacrifice*, and the city magistrates were impelled to call a special meeting of the Common Council and pass the following significant resolution:—

"Whereas, The Right Honorable Peter Stuyvesant, intending to depart,
Dec. 12. the burgomasters and schepens shall compliment him before he takes his gallant voyage, and shall for this purpose provide a gay repast, on Wednesday next, in the Council Chamber of the City Hall."[1]

The list of edibles which was furnished to the committee of arrangements was a long one, and the dinner was a feast indeed. This courtesy to the chief magistrate was productive of sincere good-feeling. Wit and humor for once took the place of dignified austerity. The governor was

[1] *New Amsterdam Records.*

genial, even to familiarity. Before the party separated, he presented to the city a long-desired SEAL, which consisted of the arms of Old Amsterdam, — three crosses *saltier*, — with a beaver for a crest. On the mantle above were the initial letters C. W. C. for "Chartered West India Company," for to that corporation the island of Manhattan especially belonged. Underneath was the legend "SIGILLUM AMSTELLODAMENSIS IN NOVO BELGIO," and around the border was a wreath of laurel.[1]

First Seal of New Amsterdam.

The administration of affairs during Stuyvesant's absence was committed to Vice-Governor De Sille and the council.

The Dutch held national festivals in high esteem. At a meeting of the Common Council, on Monday, December 14, the following was placed on record: — Dec. 14.

"As the winter and the holidays are at hand, there shall be no more ordinary meetings of this board between this date and three weeks after Christmas. The court messenger is ordered not to summon any person in the mean time."[2]

Christmas was, at that period, observed as a religious, domestic, and merry-making festival throughout England and Holland, as well as in some other European countries. The Dutch often called it the "children's festival." The evening was devoted to the giving of presents, and "Christmas trees" were everywhere in vogue. The custom originated in the Protestant districts of Germany and Northern Europe. Saint Nicholas, whose image presided as the figure-head of the first emigrant ship which touched Manhattan Island, and for whom the first church had been named, was esteemed the patron saint of New Amsterdam. The hero of the childish legend of Santa Claus — the fat, rosy-cheeked, little old man with a pipe in his mouth, driving a reindeer sleigh over the roofs of houses — is no modern creation of fancy. His expected coming created the same feverish excitement, the same pleasurable expectancy, the same timorous speculations, among sleepy little watchers centuries ago as among the children of New York to-day.

"New Year's" was observed by the interchange of visits. Cake, wine, and punch were offered to guests. It was one of the most important social observances of the year, and was conducted with much ceremony. Gifts, on that day, particularly in families and among intimate 1655.

[1] *Brodhead*, I. 597. *Val Man*, 1848, 384.

[2] *New Amsterdam Records*, II. 76, 77 – 81, 92.

friends, were by no means unusual. The custom of New-Year's visits, which had been handed down from remote ages, prevails at the present time in nearly all the large cities of the world.

The winter wore away quietly. The vice-governor was seriously embarrassed, through the constant uneasiness and the threats of the English colonists, and longed for Stuyvesant's return; but nothing of any importance occurred. In February, the city took its first step in the direction of police regulations. Dirck Van Schelluyne, the lawyer, was appointed high constable, and furnished with detailed instructions as to his duties. As the spring opened, the city magistrates obtained control of the City Hall for the first time, and ordered it "to be emptied of the vast quantity of salt and other trumpery with which it was encumbered; its lodgers were also cleared out." They then proceeded to put it in better repair; and it became a very respectable-looking edifice.[1] It faced the East River, but was so closely hemmed in by other buildings that a good view of it was difficult to obtain. The Council Chamber was in the southeast corner of the second story. The prison was a small room on the first floor in the rear. Upon the roof was a handsome cupola, in which hung a bell. In the year 1699, the building gave place to a new City Hall in Wall Street, at the head of Broad, and was sold for one hundred and ten pounds sterling. Its stones, which were very finely cut, may even now be traced in the foundations of some of the stores in that vicinity.

Feb. 6.

March 1.

It was found necessary to protect the shore in front of the City Hall against high tides. Prior to this date, a stone-wall had been constructed and the street filled in; but the water washed between the crevices, and it was resolved to drive planks into the shore and make a uniform "sheet pile" extending the whole distance between Broad Street and the City Hall, for the expenses of which all the lot-owners were taxed. The public school was removed, in May, from the little room in the City Hall to a small building on Pearl Street which had been rented for the purpose, and William Verstius was employed as teacher.

For many years, the people of Long Island used to cross to Manhattan on the Sabbath, to attend public worship, except when some clerical traveler preached in a private house. They had sent several petitions to the government for the establishment of a church, which was accomplished at Midwout (Flatbush) in 1654. Stuyvesant appointed Dominie Megapolensis, John Snedicor, and John Stryker to superintend the erection of a church edifice, which was to be built in the form of a cross, twenty-eight feet wide and sixty feet long, and twelve to fourteen be-

[1] See sketch of City Hall on page 106.

tween the beams. The rear of it was to be used as a minister's dwelling. The construction of this first house of worship in Kings County occupied several years, although it was sufficiently advanced in the summer of 1655 to allow of its being opened for church services.

Dominie Johannes Theodorus Polhemus was installed pastor over this church. He had just arrived in New Netherland from Brazil, where he had been laboring as a missionary. He had sprung from an ancient and highly respectable Holland stock, and was a gentleman of fair education and moderate ability. In 1656, he was joined by his wife and family. He had two sons, Theodore and Daniel, from whom have descended all of the name in this country. In order to accommodate the people scattered here and there over the wild region between Breuckelen and Gravesend, it was arranged that there should be preaching in Flatbush on Sunday mornings, and alternately in Breuckelen and Flatlands on Sunday afternoons. It was not long before Breuckelen began to grow mutinous. The minister's tax was a serious bugbear.[1] The Sunday service was pronounced "poor and meager." The people said "they were getting only a prayer in lieu of a sermon, so short that when they supposed it just beginning it came to an end," — in other words, they were not getting the worth of their money,— and they asked to be relieved from supporting such an unsatisfactory gospel. The governor replied by sending a sheriff to collect their dues. He reproved them sharply for attempting thus to shirk the fulfillment of their promises; and he reminded them that the good minister was in absolute suffering for the want of his salary, — his house being unfinished, and himself, wife, and children obliged to sleep on the floor.

In the month of July, Stuyvesant returned from the West Indies. He had been wholly defeated in the object of his voyage, through Cromwell's peculiar policy,[2] and he was weary, sick, and disappointed. He found orders awaiting him from Holland to proceed against the audacious Swedes at Fort Casimir, and to drive them from every point on the South River. A squadron of armed vessels for his use had already arrived. The city fathers had fitted up another large vessel, to swell the force. Volunteers were enlisted from both town and country. During the month of August, the little city was alive with warlike preparations. Three North River vessels were chartered, pilots were engaged, July.

[1] *New York Col.* MSS., VIII. 406. *Stiles's History of Brooklyn*, I. 130 - 134.

[2] Cromwell had issued orders, during 1654, for the management and government of the West Indies; and the commissioners, on their arrival, laid an embargo on all the Dutch ships in these islands, eight of which were seized at Barbadoes alone. Three of the same were under the command of Governor Stuyvesant. *O'Callaghan*, II. 285.

and provisions and ammunition laid in store. The 25th of August was observed as a day of fasting and prayer for the success of the undertaking. On the first Sunday in September, after the close of the morning sermon in the fort, the seven vessels, manned by seven hundred men, sailed out of the harbor. They were commanded by Governor Stuyvesant in person, who was accompanied by Vice-Governor De Sille, and Dominie Megapolensis, as chaplain of the expedition.

Aug. 25.

In a few days, they entered the Delaware River, passed Fort Casimir, and landed about a mile above. A flag of truce was sent to the fort, demanding its surrender, which, after some parleying, was acceded to without resistance. The Swedish commander went on board Stuyvesant's vessel and signed a capitulation. The Swedes were allowed to remove their artillery; twelve men were to march out with full arms and accouterments; all the rest retained their side-arms, and the officers held their personal property. At noon, on the 25th of September, the Dutch, with sounding bugles and flying banners, took possession of the fort. Such of the Swedes as chose were allowed to take the oath of allegiance to the New Netherland government and remain in the country. The next day was Sunday, and Dominie Megapolensis preached to the troops. Towards evening, a report was brought to the governor that the Swedish commander, Rising, had re-assembled his forces at Fort Christina, two miles farther up the river, and was actively strengthening his position there.

Sept. 25.

The Swedes had an undisputed right to the land about Fort Christina,[1] having made the purchase many years before with the tacit consent of the company. They had been cultivating gardens and tobacco, and were making fair progress in the erection of dwellings. There were about two hundred independent settlers. Stuyvesant moved his fleet to the mouth of the Brandywine River, where he anchored, invested Fort Christina on all sides, and demanded a surrender. Resistance was hopeless. Articles of capitulation were quickly signed, and thus came to an end the Swedish dominions on the Delaware.

Meanwhile, a terrible calamity befell New Netherland. A few days after the governor and military had departed from the peaceful little city on Manhattan Island, Ex-Sheriff Van Dyck shot an Indian woman who was stealing peaches from his orchard, on the west side of Broadway, below Trinity Church. For ten years the savages had been friendly, and the minds of the people were lulled into a state of security in regard to them. But the woman's tribe were inflamed by the

Sept. 15.

[1] Fort Christina was about thirty-five miles below the present site of Philadelphia, on a small stream called Christina Creek.

murder, and they determined upon revenge. They knew of the absence of the greater part of the male population of New Amsterdam, and availed themselves of the opportunity. About two thousand armed warriors, in sixty-four canoes, suddenly appeared before the city. It was in the early morning, just as daylight was breaking in the east. They landed stealthily, and scattered themselves through the streets, breaking into several houses, under pretense of searching for Indians from the North. The people were stricken with mortal terror. The city officers sprang from their beds, as did also the members of the governor's council, and after a hurried conference, went bravely among the Indians and asked to see their sachems. The latter came to the fort, where they were received and treated in the kindest manner. They finally promised to take their warriors out of the city, and proceeded, after much delay, to their canoes. They crossed over to Nutten Island, but soon after dark they returned, and ran up Broadway to the house of Van Dyck, whom they killed. Paulus Van der Grist, who lived next door, stepped out, hoping to quiet the savages, but was struck down with an ax. The city was in arms at once, and the citizens, with the aid of the burgher-guard, drove the vindictive enemy to their canoes.

But this effected only a change in the scene of carnage. The Indians hurried to Pavonia and Hoboken, and massacred every man, woman, and child they could find. From there they went to Staten Island, where were eleven flourishing plantations, with about ninety settlers, and laid waste the entire land. Thence they carried their devastations into other parts of New Jersey. In three days, one hundred had been murdered and as many more carried into captivity; twenty-eight plantations had been wholly destroyed, and property had been lost to the amount of eighty thousand dollars!

The whole country was struck with horror and fear. The farmers fled with their families to the fort for protection. The English villages on Long Island were threatened, and Lady Moody's house at Gravesend was twice attacked. Prowling bands of savages flitted in and out of the woods on the northern part of Manhattan Island. Mrs. Stuyvesant and her children were at their country-place, in the neighborhood of 13th Street; and as the citizens were so few in number that it was difficult to spare a guard for her protection, ten resolute Frenchmen were hired for that duty.

As soon as possible, a message was sent to the absent governor, who hastened home, bringing joy and confidence to the distressed community. His policy with regard to the Indians was to give no new provocation, and to exchange fire-arms for prisoners. He succeeded, Oct. 12.

after a short time, in inducing the red-men to sue for peace, and then he promptly concluded a treaty with them.

About this time, one great source of misfortune to the province was removed. Van Tienhoven, who had gradually been falling into almost every known vice, was believed to have given serious cause — through imprudence when intoxicated — for the late terrible tragedies. Every honest heart and every honest face was turned against him. Having been suddenly detected in the perpetration of gross frauds upon the revenue, he was arrested. Stuyvesant clung to him to the last. He tried to palliate his misconduct, evidently blinded to the extraordinary profligacy and corruption which had ruined the miserable sheriff, body and soul. Before the time arrived for submitting his defense, Van Tienhoven absconded, leaving his hat and cane floating on the river, to convey the idea of suicide. His wife begged that his property and papers might not be seized, and the execution was stayed. His brother Adriaen, the receiver-general, disappeared at the same time, and was subsequently recognized in the English service at Barbadoes, in the capacity of cook.

In the midst of these excitements, a few Lutherans attempted to hold religious meetings. Stuyvesant, with all his Christian virtues, was religiously intolerant. He issued a proclamation, forbidding the people to assemble for any religious service not in harmony with the Reformed Church. This penal law, the first against freedom of conscience which disgraced the statute-book of New York, was rigorously enforced. Stuyvesant claimed that its purpose was "to promote the glory of God, and the peace and harmony of the country." Any minister who should violate it was to be fined one hundred pounds. Any person who should attend such a meeting was to be fined twenty-five pounds. Complaints were sent to Holland, and the company rebuked the governor for his bigotry. The directors wrote: —

1656.

"We would fain not have seen your worship's hand set to the placard against the Lutherans, nor have heard that you oppressed them with the imprisonments of which they have complained to us. It has always been our intention to let them enjoy all calmness and tranquillity. Wherefore you will not hereafter publish any similar placards without our previous consent, but allow all the free exercise of their religion in their own houses."

The Lutherans in Holland soon after sent a clergyman, the Rev. Ernestus Goetwater, to New Amsterdam, to organize a church. It was with the consent of the company, and the movement was thought very noble and tolerant in those dark days of the seventeenth century. There was, however, in the instructions sent to the governor a qualification which he

interpreted according to his own arbitrary views. There should be no *conventicles*. The clergy of the Reformed Church in New Amsterdam remonstrated against permitting the Lutheran minister "to do any clerical service whatever." They said it would encourage "heresy and schism," and that the established religion "was the only lawful, being commanded by the Word of God." Stuyvesant finally ordered Goetwater to leave the colony and return to Holland.[1] He even went so far as to compel parents of Lutheran principles to assist at the baptism of their children in the Reformed Church. If they refused, they were imprisoned and fined. The law applied equally to all denominations. There were a few Baptists in Flushing. They met in the house of one of the magistrates of the town, and a man without license preached, administered the sacrament, and baptized several persons in the river. He was arrested, fined one thousand pounds, and banished from the province. The magistrate was removed from office, as a penalty for allowing the meeting to be held in his house.

The city fathers were unceasingly industrious. They enacted laws and ordinances with as much grace as their ruler assumed sovereignty. They condemned all "flag roofs, wooden chimneys, hay-stacks, hen-houses, and hog-pens," which were located on the principal streets. They ordered owners of gardens to either sell or improve them. The penalty for refusal was taxation. They compelled buyers of city lots by the terms of purchase to build upon them without delay. The average price of the best city lots had reached fifty dollars. Houses rented at from fourteen to one hundred dollars per annum. They surveyed and established the streets, seventeen in number. This occurred in July.[2] The next year, they began to pave. The first street honored with paving-stones was De Hoogh, — what is now Stone Street, between Broad and Whitehall. In 1658, De Brugh or Bridge Street, so called from a bridge which had been built across the ditch at Broad Street, was improved in like manner. Within the next two years, all the streets most used were paved. These pavements were of cobble-stones, with the gutters in the middle of the street. Sidewalks were not as yet contemplated. July.

The census of the city was taken in 1656. The inhabitants were found to number one thousand, of which a large proportion were negro slaves. The adjoining cut is a copy of Augustine Heerman's sketch of New York in 1656, which was widely copied and circulated in Europe.

[1] This harsh decree was suspended, out of regard to the feeble health of Rev. Mr. Goetwater.

[2] The names of the streets were: Te Marckvelt, De Heere Straat, De Waal, Te Water, De Perel Straat, Aghter De Perel Straat, De Browner Straat, De Winckel Straat, De Bever Graft, Te Marckvelt Steegie, De Smee Straat, De Smits Valley, De Hoogh Straat, De Brugh Straat, De Heere Graft, De Prince Graft, De Prince Straat.

There was, on the line of Moore Street, one small wharf running out from Pearl, but extending a little farther into the stream than low-water mark. Ships usually moored in the East River, and sent their cargoes ashore in scows, which were compelled to come up to the head of the pier. The increase of the shipping rendered it desirable that this wharf should be elongated about fifty feet, and it was accordingly done. A market-stand for country wagons was established, the same year, on an unineloscd space near the Bowling Green. Allard Anthony opposed the measure in the board of schepens, because the selected site was in front of his own house, and his wife and daughters would object. But he was overruled

View of New York, 1656.

by the majority. Three years later a yearly fair for the sale of cattle was instituted, and the exchange for buyers and sellers was located beside this market-stand. The cattle were fastened to posts, driven for the purpose, on the west side of Broadway, in front of the graveyard.[1] The fair commenced October 20, and closed late in November. It brought strangers to the city from all parts of the country, even from New England, and threw business constantly in the way of the merchants. This fair existed for more than sixty years.

Dominie Drisius lived in a pretty cottage on the north side of Pearl Street, below Broad, — the lot was twenty feet front, extending through to Bridge Street. He exerted a healthful influence over the church, and also took an active interest in political affairs. In 1653, he was sent as ambassador to Virginia, and concluded an important commercial treaty with Governor Bennet, including the concession to New Netherland

[1] The first burial-ground in New York was on the west side of Broadway, near Morris Street. Just north of it was the large stone house of Paulus Van der Grist, before mentioned (pp. 161, 177). The orchards and gardens of the latter were highly cultivated, and extended to the very edge of the North River. Some years later this fine property was owned and occupied by Hon. Francis Rombouts.

merchants of the power to collect debts due them in Virginia.[1] When the dominie first arrived in New York, he was a middle-aged widower. He subsequently married Lysbeth (Elizabeth), the widow of Isaac Greveraet. She held a large property in her own right, and is often mentioned upon the tax-lists as "Mother Drisius." Dominie Megapolensis owned a small, comfortable house in the vicinity of Beaver Street. The most pretentious house in the city had recently been built by Pieter Cornelisen Vanderveen, a rich merchant, who was described as "old and suitable" for a great burgher. He was for a time one of the schepens, and he had held many offices of trust in the church and community. He married, in 1652, Elsie Loockermans, who, after his death, became the wife of Jacob Leisler. Pearl Street was the favorite locality for building, and was well lined with dwellings.[2] On Bridge Street lived Hendrick Kip. His house was small, but his lot was ninety feet front and seventy deep. His nearest neighbor, Abraham Verplanck,[3] the ancestor of the Verplanck family of New York, was one of the oldest citizens; he also owned a farm near Fulton Street. Thomas Hall lived on a hill in the vicinity of Peck Slip.

On the site of Trinity Church and churchyard there was a fine garden belonging to the company, between which and the Van der Grist estate on the south, Governor Stuyvesant granted to each of his two sons, Nicholas William and Balthazar, a lot containing ninety-three feet front and two hundred and forty-eight feet deep, to the North River shore.

The effort to sustain a good public school appears on nearly every page of the records. As the children increased in numbers, a larger building than the one on Pearl Street was procured. William Verstius was succeeded as teacher by Harmen Van Hoboken, who was also a famous singer and acted as church chorister. Five years afterward, he was superseded by Evert Pietersen, because of alleged inattention to his pupils. The salary was then fourteen and one half dollars per month, with a margin of fifty dollars per annum for board.

About this time, the system of great and small "burgher rights" was introduced into the city. Metropolitan immunities were constantly infringed by peddlers, who sold goods and departed with the proceeds. Stuyvesant's new law required every man to open a store within the city limits and pay a fee of eight dollars before commencing trade. In this way he obtained the small burgher right. All natives of the city, residents of a year and a half, salaried officers of the company, and husbands

[1] *Albany Records*, IX. 59.

[2] There were on Pearl Street forty-three houses and a few shops.

[3] Abraham Verplanck had two sons, Gulian and Isaac.

of the daughters of burghers, were entitled to the same privilege. The great burghers comprised burgomasters, schepens, governors, councilors, clergymen, military officers, and all their male descendants. The city officers were, from that time forth, to be chosen from this class. They were to be exempt for one and a half years from watches, expeditions, and arrests by inferior courts. The great burgher right could be secured by the payment of twenty dollars; but not many were disposed to buy a right which all disregarded. The system proved a failure in New Amsterdam as it had done in old Amsterdam, where it originated.

Some of the laws of that period were strikingly unique. It was expressly enjoined upon women that they should not scold. The penalty for this fault was arrest, imprisonment, and fine. In aggravated cases, the grave law-givers resorted even to public whipping.

One Wolfert Weber, the proprietor of a small tavern near the Fresh Water Pond, entered this curious complaint against Judith Verbeth:—

"The defendant has for a long time pestered him; she came with her sister Sara over to his house last week, and beat him [the plaintiff] and afterwards threw stones at him. He pleads that said Judith be ordered to let him live quietly in his own house."

1657. On the 8th of May, 1657, we find Nicholas Verbeth complaining of Wolfert Weber about a pile of stone. Verbeth stated his case thus:—

"If anybody removes what belongs to another without his knowledge, it is thieving; my father deposited some stone by the Fresh Water Pond, before his own door, and Weber removed it; whereupon we had words, and Weber promised to deliver other stone instead; we want Weber ordered to bring back to the place the *same stone*." The court decided for the plaintiff, and ordered the stone returned within eight days.

Hon. Nicasius De Sille prosecuted a man for stealing "three half-beavers, two nose-cloths, and a pair of linen stockings." The court sentenced the offender to be whipped within the Council Chamber and banished from the city. Slander was esteemed a rank offense. A certain Jan Adamzen, for slandering certain respectable persons, was condemned to be "stuck through the tongue with a red-hot iron, and banished from the province."

The severity of sentences, the peculiar modes of punishment, etc., were but a feature of the times. They originated on the other side of the ocean. The city magistrates seem to have had a conscientious regard for equity and justice, and set themselves like flint against Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, and all the popular vices. It was a mixed population they were trying to control, and the task could have been neither easy nor

agreeable. The governor treated his subordinates with profound respect, so long as they were directly in the line of their duties. In his communications to the city magistrates he was exceptionally courteous, always preceding his signature with "Your High Mightinesses' affectionate Friend and Director." But he curtailed their power in all directions. One day, some common people appeared before him, much aggrieved because he had forbidden the servants of the farmers "to ride the goose" at the feast of Shrovetide. He told them "it was unprofitable and unnecessary and criminal to celebrate such pagan and popish feasts, and though it was tolerated in some places in Holland, and connived at by magistrates here, he should enact such ordinances as would tend to the glory of God without the consent of *a little court of justice*"; adding, "I understand my quality and authority, and the nature of my commission, better than others, and hope you will not vex and trouble me continually."[1]

In 1658, a law was enacted forbidding the whipping of negro slaves without first obtaining permission of the city magistrates. Another remarkable law forbade men and women to live together until legally married; for it had been an ancient custom — of much longer standing than the young city — to "bundle" after the publication of the banns. 1658.

The same year, the first fire company was organized. It was called the "Rattle Watch," and consisted of eight men, who were to do duty from nine o'clock in the evening until morning drum-beat. Two hundred and fifty fire-buckets, with hooks and ladders, were imported from Holland, reaching New Amsterdam on the 12th of August.

Long Island was one continual source of anxiety to the men in power at New Amsterdam. George Baxter returned from New England the next year after he was dismissed from the magistracy at Gravesend (he crossed Long Island Sound on the ice), and was arrested in the course of a few days for hoisting the flag of England and "reading seditious papers to the people." For more than a year, he lay in the dungeon of the fort. He was almost forgotten, when Sir Henry Moody and others petitioned so earnestly to have him removed to a more comfortable apartment, that he was released on bail. He immediately drew up a petition to Cromwell to be emancipated from Dutch rule and taken under his protection; and, after obtaining a large number of signers, he left the country. He soon after appeared in England, and was active in trying to vindicate the right of that nation to the entire territory of New Netherland. He was the mortal enemy of Stuyvesant, both at home and abroad. Cromwell's secretary wrote to the English residents of Long Island a long

[1] *New Amsterdam Records.*

letter, which Baxter sent to Gravesend by one of his emissaries, with instructions to have it publicly read. Stuyvesant seized the man and the document. The former he imprisoned; the latter he forwarded to Holland, unopened. It seemed particularly necessary to crush every symptom of rebellion on Long Island, as it was a noted resort for robbers and pirates. "The scum of New England is all drifting into New Netherland," said the venerable Dominie Megapolensis. "Why do you harbor persons who are driven from the other colonies as worse than a pestilence?" asked Dominie Drisius of the governor.

Just at this critical moment, a ship arrived, bringing some Quakers who had been expelled from New England. Of these, two women, with more zeal than discretion, went preaching through the streets. They were arrested, and taken to the prison in the fort, where they were confined in separate apartments. After being examined, they were placed on board a ship bound for Rhode Island. Robert Hodgson, one of the Quakers, went over to Hempstead, intending to preach there. He was arrested while walking in an orchard, and examined by the Hempstead magistrates. A message was sent to the governor, who dispatched an armed party for the poor man, the same evening. His Bible and papers were taken from him, and he was pinioned in a painful position for twenty-four hours. Two women who had entertained him, one of whom had a nursing infant of four months, were also arrested. The latter were tied into a cart, to the rear end of which Hodgson, still pinioned, was fastened with his head downwards; and thus were they conveyed over the bad roads to the city, where they were placed in separate dungeons. Upon trial, Hodgson was sentenced to two years' hard labor with a negro at the wheelbarrow, or to pay a fine of two hundred and forty dollars. Being destitute both of money and friends, he was, a few days afterwards, brought forth and chained to the wheelbarrow. In vain he argued that he was unused to labor, he was ordered to proceed; but he refused to move. A tarred rope some four inches thick was then put into the hands of a strong negro, who beat the Quaker until he fell exhausted. He was lifted up and again beaten until it was estimated that he had received one hundred blows. All day, standing in the heat of a broiling sun, his body bruised and swollen, he was kept chained to the wheelbarrow. At last he fainted. He was thrown into the cell for the night, and the next day again chained to the wheelbarrow. A sentinel was placed over him, to prevent any conversation with his companion. As before, he refused to work. The third day, he was led forth chained, and was still indomitable in his resistance. Finally, he was taken before the governor.

Stuyvesant told him that he must work; that he should be whipped

every day until he did. The prisoner looked up boldly and demanded to be told what law he had broken. He was not answered, but sent away in contempt, and chained again to the wheelbarrow. He was now confined to his dungeon for two or three days, without even bread and water; but, as this brought no symptoms of surrender, a new torture was tried. He was taken to a private room, stripped to the waist, and suspended from the ceiling by his hands, with a heavy log of wood fastened to his feet. He was then lashed by a negro until his flesh was cut to pieces; and, after two days' respite in his dungeon, this barbarity was repeated. He begged to see some person of his own nation; and at last a poor Englishwoman came and bathed his wounds. She thought he could not live until morning, and informed her husband of his terrible condition. The man hurried to the sheriff, and offered a fat ox to be allowed to remove Hodgson to his house until he recovered; but he was informed that the whole fine must be paid before any mercy could be shown to the prisoner. By this time, the pitiful story, having got well noised about, reached the ears of Mrs. Bayard, the governor's sister, who resolutely interfered in behalf of the sufferer, and obtained his release.

Hodgson was by no means the last of the Quakers of that epoch. Persecution seemed to multiply their numbers and increase their self-confidence. Rumors that they were creeping about among the Long Island towns led to the strictest watchfulness on the part of the magistrates, and any one who ventured to lodge or feed a Quaker, man or woman, was promptly arrested and imprisoned. Mrs. Scott and Mrs. Weeks, having been accused of "absenting themselves from public worship on the Lord's day, to attend a *conventicle* in the woods where there were two Quakers," were imprisoned. At their examination, they justified themselves, declaring that they had broken no law and done no wrong. Nevertheless, they were compelled to pay a heavy fine. There were a great number of similar instances. Three men, suspected of being Quakers, were brought before the governor and council, and at once confessed themselves such. But the tide of feeling had, by this time, become so strong against the tarred rope and wheelbarrow, that the prisoners were only sent back to Communipaw, whence they had come, with an admonition to remain there. The good dominies wrote to the West India Company of the alarming spread of *sectarianism* in New Netherland; but the only answer was a quiet recommendation to allow the people to indulge their various religious beliefs.

All at once, the Indians were again upon the war-path. This time, Esopus was threatened. A messenger came in haste to the city for assistance. The governor responded in person, accompanied by fifty soldiers under

Govert Loockermans. On Ascension Thursday, the settlers, to the number of sixty or more, assembled at the house of Jacob Jansen Stol for religious services. Stuyvesant was present, and took the opportunity to urge the farmers to unite in a village, instead of living so far apart from each other. It seemed almost impossible to accomplish this, as their crops were already in the ground and in need of constant care and protection. They were but just recovering from their previous losses, and could ill afford the time necessary for removal and for the construction of defenses. They begged that the soldiers might remain until after harvest. "No," said Stuyvesant, with emphasis; "but they shall remain with you until the extra work is done, if you will agree at once upon the site of your village."

May 28.

Meanwhile, messengers had been sent to all the great Indian sachems within easy distance, to invite them to an interview with the "big white sachem from Manhattan." They came, sixty or more, including women and children. The interview took place under an immense tree, just outside Mr. Stol's garden-fence. Stuyvesant went out to greet them, without any guard, and attended only by Govert Loockermans, who acted as interpreter. One of the chiefs arose and made a speech. He detailed in full the wrongs practiced upon the Indians for the last twenty years. When the sachem sat down, Stuyvesant was on his feet. His reply was a masterpiece of concentrated eloquence. He said he had nothing to do with events which had occurred before his time; that such remembrances were buried when peace was agreed upon. With his bold dark eye emitting flashes which seemed to penetrate the red skins of the stalwart warriors around him, he demanded, "Has any injury been done you in person or property since the conclusion of peace, or since *I* came into the country?" They were silent. He paused a moment, and then rapidly enumerated the murders and affronts, the burning of houses and the killing of cattle, which he and his subjects had received at their hands. "You are overbearing and insolent," he said. "I have come to make war upon you, unless you surrender the murderer,[1] and make good all damages. We have not had a foot of your land without paying you for it. You came and asked us to buy this land and make a settlement here; and now you vex and threaten us."

An old chief responded. He said the late murder had been committed by a Minnisinck Indian, who was skulking now at a great distance away. He complained of the selling of fire-water to his tribe, which had made great mischief. He said they had no malice against the white men, but the young men wanted to fight.

[1] An Esopus farmer had been killed, and two houses burned.

Stuyvesant sprang to his feet, and hurled defiance at the young braves. "Let them step forth," he shouted, "I will place man against man; yes, I will place twenty against forty of your hot-heads. Now is your time. But it is unmanly and mean and contemptible to threaten farmers and women and children, who are not warriors."

The Indians were humiliated. They dared not accept the challenge. They laid down a few fathoms of wampum, and expressed their sorrow for what had been done to injure the Esopus settlers. In the course of the negotiations, the proposed village was decided upon. A spot about two hundred and ten yards in circumference was chosen at the bend of the creek, where three sides could be surrounded with water. It belonged to the Indians, who at first agreed to sell it, and then formally offered it as a gift to the governor, — "to grease his feet," they said, "because he had taken so long a journey to visit them." They suddenly seemed to hold the "great white sachem" in profound respect. Stuyvesant remained at Esopus until the buildings were removed to the new village, a guard-house was erected, a bridge was thrown across the creek, and temporary quarters were prepared for twenty-four soldiers that he proposed to leave behind, to keep the Indians on their good behavior.

As soon as the governor returned, repairs upon Fort Amsterdam, which had been dragging along for months, were prosecuted with vigor. The negroes, under an overseer, built a stone-wall some three feet thick and ten feet high around the fortress. The governor's house was getting old and rusty. He accordingly built for himself a gubernatorial mansion of hewn stone, and called it "Whitehall." It was located upon the street which was subsequently named for it. It was surrounded by gardens on three sides, and a rich velvet lawn in front extended to the water's edge, where lay the governor's barge at the foot of fine cut stone steps. Upon the north side of the grounds there was an imposing gateway. 1659.

The governor's country-seat, where he and his family usually spent the summer months, embraced the greater portion of the present Eleventh, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Wards. It cost him originally sixty-four hundred guilders. His house was a great, commodious, comfortable, home-like specimen of Holland architecture. His gardens were remarkably fine, and his land was in a high state of cultivation. He kept from thirty to fifty negro slaves, besides a number of white servants, constantly employed in the improvement of his grounds. The road to the city had been put in good condition, and shade trees were planted on each side where it crossed the governor's property.

The settlement of Harlem was commenced through an offer by the

government to give any twenty-five families who would remove to that remote part of Manhattan Island a court and clergyman of their own and a ferry to Long Island. Upon the bank of the Harlem River a little tavern was built, which became quite a resort for pleasure-parties from the city. It was called the "Wedding Place." The road beyond Stuyvesant's country-seat was little more than a bridle-path through the

Map of Stuyvesant's Bouwery.

woods, crooking about to avoid ledges and ravines. The land travel at that period was almost exclusively on foot or on horseback; few wagons had as yet reached the country.

In the mean time, a general fear of the Indians took possession of the public mind. Stuyvesant had visited Esopus in the autumn, after the dwellings had been collected into a village, and tried to settle certain claims with the sachems. Only a few came to the interview. One of their number plead poverty in a studied and cunningly constructed piece of oratory, entirely avoiding the governor's question as to their intentions in regard to the surrender of a certain tract of land in compensation for the injuries they had committed. When brought back to that point, they went away, pretending that they must consult the absent chiefs.

As they did not return, the governor left a guard of fifty soldiers at the post. A few months later, a sad circumstance enraged the savages far and near. Thomas Chambers had acquired an immense tract of land in the vicinity of Esopus, which had been erected into the manor of Foxhall.[1] Some seven or eight Indians in his employ had been husking and shelling corn until late one evening, when they obtained some brandy and had a drunken orgie. Their hideous and unearthly yells, breaking in upon the midnight stillness, startled the settlers, who reconnoitered to find out the cause. The officer in command of the fort forbade his soldiers to molest the poor wretches; but some of the imprudent residents proceeded to the spot where they were lying in a heap together in the bushes, and fired a volley of musketry among them. Several were wounded, and a few ran away. Presently houses, barns, and corn-stacks were set on fire all through the country, and the Esopus fort was besieged for three weeks. News came to Manhattan that several prisoners had been taken by the Indians, and afterwards tortured in the most cruel manner and burned at the stake. The crisis was imminent. Despair seemed to paralyze the fighting men of the colony. Stuyvesant had been suffering from a severe illness; but he met the situation grandly, visiting all the neighboring villages in person and using every effort to stimulate the farmers to fortify and protect themselves. His energy was marvelous, and the resources of his mind abundant. He was delayed several days before he could raise a force sufficient to go to the aid of suffering Esopus; but he succeeded at last, and took command in person. Oct. 10. Upon his appearance the Indians fled, and heavy rains prevented his pursuing them. He obtained the co-operation of the Mohawks, and having concluded an armistice with the Esopus tribe, shortly succeeded in obtaining a few of the prisoners in exchange for powder. It was a hollow truce, as everybody understood. During the entire winter after, the air was full of alarms. In the spring there was fighting again, and the Indians were driven back into the country. They were awed and 1660. made cautious, but not conquered. In July, however, through July. the influence of the Mohawks and other friendly tribes, they sued for peace, and an important treaty was concluded.

Staten Island was a dreary waste for long after the massacre of 1650. Baron Van der Capellen sent out fresh colonists, and offered many induce-

[1] This grant was confirmed, in 1686, by Governor Dongan, who invested the manor with power to hold Court Leet and Court Baron, besides many other temporal honors. Chambers was a man of much dignity and influence. He was justice of the peace at Esopus, and did notable service in the war with the Indians. He left no descendants in the direct line; and his name has disappeared, save from the Book of Patents.

ments to encourage the settlers to return; but they were timid. Melyn removed to New Haven. Baron Van der Capellen died, and his heirs sold their entire interest to the West India Company. In 1661, some French Huguenots started a village a little to the south of the Narrows, which was fostered by the government with fatherly care. Dominie Drisius visited them every two months, to preach in French and to administer the sacrament.

A tract of land near the Fresh Water Pond, which had hitherto been used as a common for the pasturing of cattle, was fenced in about this time and more especially devoted to the city cows. A herdsman was employed, who went through the streets every morning blowing a horn, collected his drove, conducted it to the grassy fields, and brought it again through the city gates at nightfall.

As time wore on, the subject of education was discussed with increased earnestness. The schools were imperfect, and it was difficult to remedy the evil. The better class of citizens pressed for the establishment of a higher grade of schools. Now and then, some enterprising schoolmaster opened a private establishment without the consent of the government, and was immediately ordered to close it. Finally, the burgomasters and schepens wrote to the company, petitioning for a suitable master for a first-class Latin School. They said their sons had to be sent to New England for classical instruction. They agreed that the city should build a school-house, if the company would pay the teacher's salary. The company consented, and sent over Dr. Curtius, a physician of some note, who could practice medicine when not engaged with his pupils. At the end of two years, he resigned his position, on account of ill-health; and Dominie Ægidius Luyck, who was a private tutor in the governor's family, was employed in his stead. He soon had twenty pupils, including two from Virginia and two from Albany. The public school was continued, and two private schools for small children were permitted. One of these was taught by Jan Lubbertsen.

Dominie Henricus Selyns[1] arrived in the summer of 1660, to take the pastoral charge of the first church in Breuckelen. He was formally in-

[1] Prior to 1660, the only ministers of the Reformed Church in New Netherland were the Reverends Megapolensis and Drisius at New Amsterdam, Schaats at Beverwyck (Albany), Polhemus at Midwout (Flatbush), and Melius at New Amstel. The two first-named had written earnest letters to the Classis of Amsterdam, describing the state of religion in the colony, and entreating that good Dutch clergymen be speedily sent over. These letters were forwarded to the College of the XIX. It was difficult to persuade clergymen to brave the hardships of a newly settled country, but Dominie Selyns received and accepted a call to the Brooklyn church. Dominie Blom came over with him under appointment to preach at Esopus (now Kingston).

stalled on the 7th of September. The ceremony was specially interesting. Vice-Governor De Sille and Martin Cregier were deputed from the governor's council to introduce the minister to the congregation; after which, the call of the Classis and their certificate of examination, also a testimonial from the clergymen of Amsterdam, were read by the dominie himself to the assembly. He then preached his inaugural sermon. The church had twenty members, inclusive of one elder and two deacons. But they had as yet no church edifice, and the installation services took place in a barn.

The next season, Dominie Selyns married a young woman in New Amsterdam. She was very gifted and beautiful. Her portrait he has handed down to us in a charming little birthday ode. The governor, finding that the Breuckelen church could not raise the minister's salary without great embarrassment, offered to advance one hundred dollars per annum towards it, provided Dominie Selyns would preach at his farm on Sunday afternoons. He built a small chapel at his own expense on the site of the present church of St. Mark; and services were held in it on the Sabbath during the remainder of his life.

An event momentous in its consequences upon the future of the little city whose fortunes we are following occurred in the autumn of 1658. It was the death of Oliver Cromwell. The reins of power fell quietly into the hands of his eldest son, Richard. But not for long. The young man was as weak as his father was strong. Within a year, England had disposed of him, and was in imminent danger of sinking under the tyranny of a succession of small men raised up and pulled down by military caprice. General was opposed to general, and army to army. Finally, there was one grand union of sects and parties for the old laws of the nation against military despotism, and thus the way was paved for the return of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors.

Medal of Oliver Cromwell.

CHAPTER XII.

1660 - 1664.

THE RESTORATION.

THE RESTORATION. — CHARLES II. — THE CONNECTICUT CHARTER. — SIR GEORGE DOWNING. — GEORGE BAXTER AND JOHN SCOTT. — PROGRESS OF THE CITY. — THE ANTIQUARIAN MAP. — THE QUAKERS. — DESTRUCTION OF ESOPUS. — THE INDIAN WAR OF 1663. — GOVERNOR STUYVESANT IN BOSTON. — THOMAS BENEDICT. — THE EMBASSY TO CONNECTICUT. — STARTLING CONDITION OF AFFAIRS. — JOHN SCOTT. — HON. JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER. — THE CONVENTION OF 1664. — MRS. DR. KIERSTEDE. — PLANNING OF CHARLES II. AND HIS MINISTERS. — AN UNFRIENDLY EXPEDITION. — NEW AMSTERDAM IN DANGER. — PREPARATIONS FOR A SIEGE. — WINTHROP'S INTERVIEW WITH STUYVESANT. — THE LETTER. — THE APPROACHING STORM. — THE CRISIS. — THE SURRENDER. — NEW YORK. — CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONQUEST. — STUYVESANT AT THE HAGUE. — THE STUYVESANT PEAR-TREE. — THE STUYVESANT FAMILY.

ON the 8th of May, 1660, Charles II. set out on his triumphal journey from Breda to London. He was magnificently entertained at the Hague, and parted with the States-General and other officers of the Dutch government with the most profuse pledges of friendship. On
1660. May 29. the 29th of May, he entered England, welcomed and escorted by triumphal processions. A spirit of extravagant joy seemed to pervade the whole nation. London was in raptures. He remarked dryly, "that he could not see for the life of him why he had stayed away so long, when everybody was so charmed with him now that he was at length come back."

For a time, he was more loved by the English people than any of his predecessors had been. The calamities of his house and his own romantic adventures rendered him an object of tender interest to all classes. His return had delivered them from what had become an intolerable bondage. Entertainments were the order of the day. Presently drunkenness overran the kingdom and corrupted the morals of the people; and, through pretenses of religion and profane mockeries of true piety, grave disorders prevailed.

The king was a young man (then about thirty years of age), of pleas-

ing address and elegant manners. He was cheerful in disposition, fond of wit and humor, and a great talker. He understood affairs, and was familiar with matters of government and religion. He was a good mathematician; his apprehension was quick, and his memory excellent. But he was insincere, had an ill opinion of mankind, detested business, and seemed to think the main object of life was to get all the pleasure possible out of every hour of the twenty-four. Like his father, he married a Catholic queen. His marriage festivities with Catharine of Braganza, of Portugal, were brilliantly celebrated at Hampton Court on the anniversary of his birth and restoration, May 29, 1662. But not like his father did he love his Catholic queen; on the contrary, he neglected and wounded her, and rendered her life one of abject misery.

The Convention Parliament which called him home revised the Navigation Act of 1651, and made it more obnoxious to the Dutch than ever. Presently, Lord Baltimore, through an agent at the Hague, ordered the West India Company to surrender the lands on the south side of Delaware Bay. The directors were confounded. They promptly declined to yield territory which they held under grant from the States-General, and appealed to the latter for protection. A demand that Lord Baltimore should be ordered to desist from his pretensions until the boundaries were properly established, and that the territory to the east of the Hudson River which the English had usurped should be restored and the inhabitants thereof required to conduct themselves as Dutch subjects, was at once forwarded to the Dutch minister at Whitehall, with directions to seize the first opportunity to lay it before the king. July 24.

American affairs were confided to the new "Council of Foreign Plantations," of which Clarendon was the head. Charles declined to trouble his mind with them. He laughed at Lord Baltimore and the Earl of Stirling when they argued their claims, and said "the subject was too heavy for a crowned head." He hoped he should be "spared the stupid task of looking after a batch of restless Western adventurers." But he was reminded of the prospective treaty of commerce and alliance with the Dutch nation, and of the necessity of settling the Delaware Bay controversy, and requiring the Dutch on Long Island to submit to English authority. He promised to give his attention at some more convenient season in the future. Meanwhile, John De Witt, the grand pensionary and real chief magistrate of the Netherlands, grew weary of the procrastination which prefaced the execution of the treaty, and instructed his minister to bring the matter to a close or to leave London. The document was accordingly signed, at Whitehall, September 14, 1662. At that very moment the "Council for Foreign Plantations" was maturing an order

for the Virginia governor to cause the Navigation Act to be carefully observed, notwithstanding the well-known intercolonial treaty which
1662. Stuyvesant had negotiated with Berkeley, and which had given great satisfaction to both provinces. A royal charter was issued, investing Connecticut with jurisdiction over the territory "bounded east by Narraganset Bay, north by the Massachusetts line, south by the sea, and west by the Pacific Ocean, including all the islands thereunto adjoining."

This remarkable charter, under which Connecticut thrived until 1818, and which was as liberal in its character as any since granted by
April. our republican government, guaranteeing every privilege which freemen could desire, passed the great seal in April. It was obtained by John Winthrop the younger. This gentleman was an elegant and accomplished courtier, and an intimate personal friend of Lord Say, Lord Seal, the Earl of Manchester, and others of the royal household. He was the founder of New London, and the owner of Fisher's Island, where his family resided for some years in a mansion erected by himself. He was actively interested in all the concerns of the Connecticut Colony, and drafted the charter with his own pen, making the voyage to Europe in order to secure for it the sanction of the king. He wore into the royal presence an extraordinary ring which had been given to his grandmother by Charles I. This he took from his finger and presented to Charles II., who was greatly pleased, and tenderly regarded the treasure which had once belonged to a father most dear to him. The opportune moment was seized for presenting the petition from Connecticut, "which was received with uncommon grace and favor"; and Winthrop returned in triumph to America.

When Stuyvesant heard of this transaction, he declared, that, "it was an absolute breach and nullification of the boundary treaty of 1650, and that it would justify the States-General and West India Company in forcibly recovering all their ancient rights, which he had surrendered for the sake of peace." He wrote sharply to Winthrop, who retorted in the same spirit. The latter proceeded to notify the people of Westchester and Long Island to send delegates to the General Court of Connecticut. Stuyvesant appealed to his government for instructions.

Sir George Downing, Winthrop's cousin, was the English minister at the Hague. He was one of the earliest, ablest, and most unprincipled graduates (in 1642) of Harvard College in Massachusetts. Subsequently, he was Cromwell's minister to the Dutch Republic, where he openly insulted his exiled king; but, through consummate tact and management, he obtained forgiveness, and was taken into favor, at the Restoration. His American life rendered him familiar with the whole series of colo-

nial quarrels. He knew every weak point in the Dutch title to New Netherland. He had no scruples of honor, was an ardent hater of the Dutch, and longed for a war which might aggrandize the new king and his satellites. He played a double part on all occasions. Once, after dining with De Witt, and promising with emphasis to use his best endeavor for the righting of the wrong of the "Connecticut encroachments," he went to his own apartments and sent the following private advice to Clarendon: "Wait three or four months, and then answer that the king will write into those parts to be informed of the truth of the matter of fact and right on both sides." He adroitly gathered such information about Dutch affairs as he could turn to English advantage, and all his letters to the lords in power were seasoned with subtle arguments in favor of the undoubted right of England to the whole of New Netherland, which he affirmed to be "the most admirably situated region in North America."[1]

New England never took kindly to the Restoration. Charles was acknowledged with reluctance and grim austerity. The fear that he would install bishops in the colonies induced the Puritans to crowd petition after petition upon the notice of the indolent monarch, and the Church party were quite as voluminous in their complaints of the arrogant and domineering Puritans. Samuel Maverick appeared before the king, to claim redress for many grievances which he had suffered in Massachusetts. He was a zealous Episcopalian. He was accompanied by George Baxter and John Scott, from Long Island, who were smarting from the lash of Governor Stuyvesant. The latter were both extensive landholders; indeed, Scott claimed to have purchased nearly one third of the island. He had formerly been an officer in the army of Charles I., but for some political misdemeanor had been banished to New England. He was a brilliant logician, and the object of his appeal was to obtain a royal grant for the government of Long Island. The claim of Lord Stirling, however, was in the way. As for New Netherland, a statement was drawn up by Scott and Baxter, assisted by Maverick, to prove the king's title to it; and it was emphatically asserted, that, "the Navigation Act could never be enforced in America while that rich territory existed as a Dutch plantation."

While Charles and his ministers listened with newly awakened interest, and revolved various plans by which New Netherland might be seized without an open rupture (for Charles disliked as much as some of

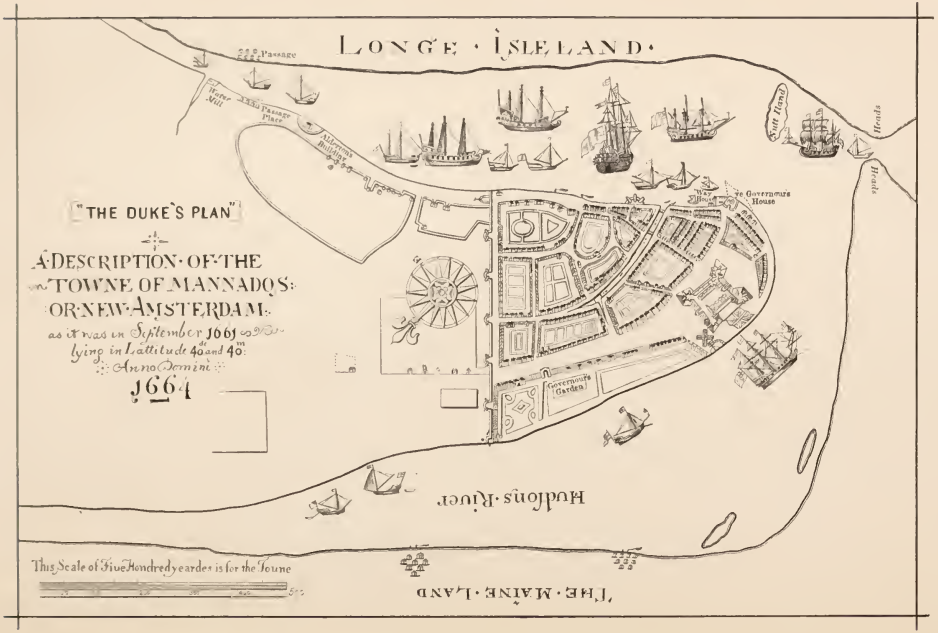
[1] *Col. Doc.*, II. 224–229, 302–507; III. 47, 48. *Aitzema*, V. 64, 65. *Lister's Clarendon*, III. 276–279. *Ogilby's America*, 169. *Brodhead*, II. 12–20. *Burnet's History of the Reign of Charles II.*, 136, 137. Sir George Downing was the son of Emanuel Downing, the brother-in-law of Governor John Winthrop. He was born in London, and accompanied his parents to America at the age of thirteen.

his lords desired hostilities), the West India Company and the States-General were mildly protesting against the "unpardonable usurpations," and asking the king to issue orders "for the immediate restoration of the towns and places in their American province which had been invaded by his subjects." At the same time, Stuyvesant, upon this side of the water, was working manfully to sustain his authority and promote the interests of his employers.

During the year 1661, the governor, as a sort of peace-offering, granted village charters to five Long Island towns. Among them was New Utrecht, founded by Jacques Cortelyou, who managed the estate of the deceased Mr. Werckhoven, for the heirs. This property, which embraced the land along the bay, from Gowanus to Coney Island, and which cost originally six coats, six kettles, six axes, six chisels, six small looking-glasses, twelve knives, and twelve combs, had been improved by Werckhoven until it offered special attractions, and the settlement had increased more rapidly than many others.

Between the years 1660 – 1664, the city of New Amsterdam grew in a ratio greatly exceeding that of any previous period. Business of all kinds was brisk. New settlers came and the old ones remained. New houses were built and manufactories established. Several breweries and brick kilns were in successful operation. The potteries of Long Island began to be esteemed equal to those of Delft. Lawyers were finding this lucrative field, and among the most prominent of these was Solomon La Chair.[1] There has recently been exhumed, in the county clerk's office of the City Hall, a written volume of some three hundred pages, which is a careful minute of La Chair's legal proceedings, and a curious relic of that early period. He was a good English, as well as French and Dutch, scholar, and often acted as interpreter before the courts. He had at command a large law library, as evidenced by the numerous quotations in his written arguments. The magistrates of Gravesend employed him, in opposition to Mr. Opdyck, to prosecute their claim to Coney Island.

The accompanying map is the only plan of the city during the Dutch era which is known to exist. It is presumed that the English officers found it after the capture, and gave to it its present shape, adding the date, 1664. It fell into the British Museum, where it remained in obscurity until a few years since, when it was rescued by George H. Moore, the librarian of the New York Historical Society. The outlines of the streets, though apparently drawn without measurement, seem to follow the proper directions, and the general character of the buildings is given without any special attempt at accuracy. But the map itself is a curious memorial, worthy of tender preservation.


LONGE · ISLELAND ·
Ferry
Water Mill
Ferry Place
Fortress Building
Fort James
Heads
Heads
Gouvernours House
Gouvernours Garden
Hudsons River
THE · MAINE · LAND
"THE DUKE'S PLAN"
A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWNE OF MANNADOS OR NEW AMSTERDAM
as it was in September 1661 lying in Lattitude 40 and 40 Anno Domini
1664
This Scale of Five Hundred yeardes is for the Towne

About the time it was issued (1661), a fresh effort was made to assure discontented Puritans and other Englishmen that they would be welcomed and cherished by the Dutch in New Netherland. The States-General caused a proclamation of "conditions and privileges" to be scattered through the British kingdom,[1] appended to which was a glowing description of the country "only six weeks' sail from Holland, . . . land fertile, . . . climate the best in the world; . . . seed may be committed to the soil without preparation, . . . timber and wild fruit of all descriptions, furs, game, fisheries," etc., etc. The picture was attractive. It enlisted attention in various quarters. Among the first who came to look at the country, with a view to investment and permanent settlement, was Hon. Robert Treat and Hon. Benjamin Fenn, as delegates from New Haven. That little republic was in high dudgeon at the prospect of annexation to Connecticut, and seriously contemplated flying from her impending fate. Stuyvesant courteously entertained the gentlemen at his own house, and took them in his barge to the shores of Newark Bay, where they spent some time in exploration, and finally negotiated terms by which the colony might remove bodily to that desirable locality. Events followed rapidly, however, which induced New Haven to throw herself into the arms of Connecticut for protection.

The invitation to "persons of tender conscience" to come freely into New Netherland, by no means referred to the Quakers. These were still heartlessly persecuted. A Quaker divine having stopped on Long Island, at the residence of Henry Townsend, the fact was soon known among the neighbors. The report reached Stuyvesant that a "conventicle" had actually been held in Mr. Townsend's parlor. Presently, soldiers appeared and arrested Mr. Townsend and all who attended the meeting, and a strong guard was placed over the infected district. Quaker meetings were held secretly in Flushing, the headquarters of the sect being at the house of John Bowne, who was accused and arrested, and, for refusal to pay his fine, shipped to Holland, as a terror to evil-doers. John Tilton and his wife Goodie Tilton, of Gravesend, persisted in their heresies, and were peremptorily ordered to quit the province. These rigorous measures were followed by a proclamation from the governor, forbidding the exercise of any but the Reformed religion "in houses, barns, ships, yachts, woods, or fields," under heavy penalties. The Amsterdam Chamber wrote to Stuyvesant shortly after, that, although it was their preference that "sectarians" should not be found in the province, yet it was not well to check population. "You had better let every one remain free," they said, "as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct

[1] *O'Callaghan*, II. 443–452.

irreproachable, and he does not offend others or oppose the government."

Indian disturbances at the North kept Stuyvesant almost constantly on the wing, passing to and from Albany. In 1662, he met delegates from New England at Fort Orange, and an "accommodation" was effected with the Mohawks and Oneidas by which they liberated a few French and English captives. But Canada was threatened, and the danger was only stayed, not averted.

In 1663, a severe shock of earthquake was felt in New Amsterdam, all along the Hudson River, in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Acadia, and Canada. It was followed by a terrible freshet, which destoyed the harvests in the neighborhood of Fort Orange, and inundated many other portions of the country. Upon the heels of this calamity, the small-pox made its appearance and spread with fearful rapidity.[1] The good Puritans of New England declared, that, "the hand of God had gone out against the people of New Netherland by pestilential infections."

1663.

In the midst of the panic in New Amsterdam, news came which caused the cheek to blanch and the blood to stand still. A horrible massacre had occurred at Esopus. On the morning of June 7, just after the men had gone to their work in the fields, a large number of Indians sauntered carelessly into the village and tried to sell some beans. Fifteen minutes later, a horseman rode at full speed down the road, shouting that the Indians were setting fire to the houses. Instantly the war-whoop was raised, shots were heard in every direction, and battle-axes and tomahawks flashed in the sunlight. Women and children were butchered in the most shocking manner. Many were left wounded and dying, and forty-five were carried into captivity. The men rallied with desperate energy, and, though poorly armed, succeeded eventually in driving the savages into the woods. But what a sight was there! Twelve houses in the old, and every house in the new, village were mere heaps of smouldering rubbish; husbands were standing over murdered wives; and fathers were trying to identify the bodies of children who had been burned alive.

June 7.

Stuyvesant, having hastily called for volunteers, sent to the relief of the sufferers an armed force, commanded by Martin Cregier and Pieter Van Couwenhoven. They pursued the savages for a long distance through the wilderness, finding a guide in the person of Mrs. Dr. Van Imbroeck, the daughter of Dr. La Montagne, who had been one of the captives on the day of the massacre, but who had escaped from her

[1] About one thousand Indians died of small-pox, among the Mohawks alone.

captors and succeeded in finding her way back to the settlement. She conducted the party to the Indian castle where she last saw the warriors; but it was vacant. After using it as a shelter from a heavy rain-storm, the pursuers went on, through dense forests, over high hills, and across deep rivers, until they overtook the flying foe, and engaged them in a severe battle which resulted in the recovery of twenty-three prisoners. But the war did not end here. Other expeditions were planned and executed, and ancient treaties were renewed with the neighboring tribes. Still there was no peace. Out-settlers hurried to the forts and held regular watch, day and night; and parties of soldiers scoured the woods all along the Hudson from Rensselaerswick to Manhattan. "Nothing is talked of," said Jeremias Van Rensselaer, in one of his letters, "but the Indians and the war." Late in the autumn, an "armistice" was agreed upon by the Esopus tribes, and all except three of the prisoners were restored to their friends. Oct. 9.

Lord Baltimore, in the mean time, had resorted to various methods to obtain control of the South River territory. His son, Charles Calvert, came over and visited the region, with a suite of twenty-seven persons, and was entertained, during his stay on the South River, by William Beekman, who was governor of the Dutch colony. The latter tried to discuss the matter of boundaries, but the young nobleman maintained an attitude of non-committal, and to all arguments replied that he would communicate with Lord Baltimore. At last, a transfer was made by the West India Company of all their interests on the South River to the city of Amsterdam. De Hinoyossa was appointed governor by the burgomasters and schepens; and he soon arrived, accompanied by one hundred colonists. Beekman was made sheriff at Esopus, in which office he continued until the close of Lovelace's administration, when he returned to New York. Dec. 3.

The West India Company was at this time laboring under great pecuniary depression. Its outlay for the province of New Netherland, over and above its receipts, exceeded ten tons of gold; and the province itself was threatened, from the North and the South, by a foreign power. Seeing no hope of obtaining in Europe a settlement of the limits between New Netherland and New England, the directors wrote to Stuyvesant, to see what arrangement he could effect in America. He accordingly made a journey to Boston, to meet the commissioners who had agreed to the treaty of 1650. He asked them if they considered the agreement still in force. They were evasive. They talked about the king's rights and the Connecticut charter. They suggested that the whole controversy should undergo a hearing the next year, after advices had been received from Sept. 6.

England. The Connecticut delegates were triumphant, having obtained delay. Winthrop was able to predict with tolerable accuracy the final action of the English government, while Stuyvesant was perplexed by the extraordinary events which were taking place about him. He proposed a continuation of trade, and an alliance offensive and defensive against the savages, which was submitted to the General Courts
Sept. 23. of Massachusetts and Connecticut. He returned to New Amsterdam, much chagrined at the meager result of his mission. On his arrival, he found Long Island in a great ferment. The messenger who had attempted to read to the people of Gravesend an announcement that "they were no longer under the Dutch government, but under that of Connecticut," had been arrested and conveyed to the city. The next night, the sheriff's house had been ransacked by a mob of about one hundred and fifty men; he had escaped in the darkness to the house of his son-in-law and from there to New Amsterdam, where he had been
Sept. 26. commended for his prompt action by the administration.

Three days later, Sergeant Hubbard was busy getting signatures
Sept. 29. to a petition to the General Court at Hartford, in which, after a setting forth of the inconveniences "that doe much trouble us," is the following passage:

"As we ar alruddy according to our best information under the scurts of your patten, so you would be pleased to cast over us the scurts of your government and protecktion."

This was signed by Robert Coe, John Strickland, Zachariah Walker, Thomas Benedict, Thomas Benedict, Jr., and twenty-one others.[1] Thomas Benedict[2] was one of the bearers of the document to Hartford. He was well known and highly esteemed by Winthrop and his council; indeed, he was considered the main support of the cause of Connecticut on Long

[1] *Towns and Lands*, I. 18, in the Secretary of State's office, Hartford. *O'Callaghan*, II. 486. *Benedict Genealogy*, 9–12.

[2] Thomas Benedict was from Nottinghamshire, England. He came to New England in 1638, when only twenty-one years of age. He married a young Englishwoman who came over in the same vessel with him. He soon sought the smiling regions of Long Island, and took up his abode at Jamaica. He became a man of distinction among the men of the period. He was a magistrate, the officer of a little train band in the neighborhood, a pillar in the church, the arbitrator of differences between the settlers and the Indians, one of the legislative body to create and codify the system of law on Long Island after its conquest from the Dutch, and, subsequently, a member of the Colonial Assembly. He removed to Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1665, and took an active and prominent part in the affairs of that ancient town. He died at the latter place in 1689. He was the ancestor of a large and influential family, about whom, in every generation since, all sorts of offices in church and state have clustered, and have been honorably and usefully filled. Among the eminent representatives of the family in New York, at the present day, is the Hon. Erastus C. Benedict.

HISTORY of the City of New York

BY

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A. S. BARNES AND CO.
NEW YORK AND CHICAGO

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"As an immediate result of Nicolls attendance upon the Convention, a race-course was established at Hempstead The ground selected was sixteen miles long and four wide It was covered with fine grass, unmarred by stick or stone Nicolls directed that a plate should be run for, every year, to improve the provincial Dutch, or Flemish, breed of horses *Page 229.*

Island. He urged the adoption of measures for the reduction of the Dutch towns.

Stuyvesant sent commissioners at once to Connecticut, to enter, if possible, into some boundary accommodation. The gentlemen chosen for this mission were Secretary Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, and John Lawrence. Money was wanted. Indeed, the pressing necessities of the government induced the governor to draw upon the company for four thousand guilders; but no one could be found willing to cash the draft until he pledged four of the brass guns of the fort as security. The commissioners went in a small vessel to Milford, and thence on horseback to Hartford. They called upon Win- Oct. 15. throp, who was polite, but not communicative. They made known their errand to the General Court, which appointed a committee to confer with them. They stated their case. The committee sheltered themselves behind the royal patent, and said they *knew of no New Netherland province!* The gentlemen from New Netherland offered to show the charter of the West India Company. The committee said that this was only a charter of commerce, and that its limits were conditional. The retort was, that the right to the territory lay with the States-General, on the ground of discovery, purchase from the Indians, possession, etc. The committee denied that right, and said that it was their duty to make the king's grant known. "How then are we to regard the treaty of 1650?" was asked. "As of no force whatever," was the reply.

The commissioners were nonplussed. They began to suspect a "wheel within a wheel"; that the powers beyond the seas were working mischief in some mysterious way; that bloodshed was lurking at their very doors. To prevent the latter, they resolved to propose that, if Connecticut would refrain from assuming any jurisdiction over the English settlements on Long Island until the king and the States-General should agree on a boundary line, New Netherland would abandon all control over Westchester. The Hartford committee declined to agree to this; but, after a long and excited debate, they offered to refrain for twelve months from exercising authority over the specified Long Island towns, provided the Dutch did not attempt any coercive power over them; but Westchester and Stamford must remain under Connecticut.

The commissioners, upon their return, found Stuyvesant seriously alarmed. "What shall I do?" he asked in despair. "Our treasury is exhausted, Long Island in revolt, and the Esopus war not ended!" Seventy or eighty men had actually been in arms, marching from village to village on Long Island, in some instances changing the names of the places, and threatening the Dutch with extermination. He did not hesitate, but sent

Vice-Governor De Sille, with a posse of soldiers, to check the rebellion, and wrote to Winthrop, accepting the proposition in regard to a mutual forbearance of jurisdiction for twelve months. Shortly after, he heard that twenty New-Englanders had gone to the Raritan River, to buy land of the Indians. He sent Martin Cregier, Govert Loockermans, and Jacques Cortelyou, with a few soldiers, in hot haste, to warn the sachems and prevent the sale.

"You are a band of traitors, and you act against the government of the state," said Loockermans, with dignity.

"Your government!" was the contemptuous response, "the king's patent is of quite another cast."

On the 2d of November, a convention was summoned which adopted a stern remonstrance, to be forwarded to Holland. It charged the responsibility of the disastrous condition of the province upon the West India Company, who seemed to be losing sight altogether of their own best interests. "Why do you not settle the boundary question?" asked Stuyvesant, in a private letter to the directors. "Why is not your original charter solemnly confirmed by a public act of the States-General under their great seal? Why are we left to fight your battles without any legal papers or patents by which we can respond to English impertinence?"

Nov. 2.

In December, Scott returned to America, bearing royal letters, recommending him to the New England governments. Connecticut gave him the powers of a magistrate over Long Island, and Winthrop administered the oath of office. He proceeded to his field, and immediately commenced the missionary work of "freeing those who had been enslaved by the cruel and rapacious Dutch." He announced that Long Island was about to be given by the king to his brother the Duke of York, henceforth to be an independent government, and that, until then, he was to act as President. He raised a force of one hundred and seventy men, to assist in the reduction of the Dutch villages. He proceeded from place to place, haranguing the people, and making unsuccessful efforts to establish his authority. In Breuckelen, he was jeered and insulted. In a fit of anger, he struck Martin Cregier's son, a bright boy of thirteen years, over the head with his whip, for refusing to take off his hat to the royal flag.

1664.

Jan. 11.

Stuyvesant sent Van Ruyven, Van Cortlandt, and Cregier to Jamaica to treat with Scott, and they were coolly informed that "the Duke of York was soon to possess himself of the whole of New Netherland"! Upon their return, measures for defense were at once discussed. The city offered to appropriate its revenues towards the expense, and to

Jan. 14.

raise a loan besides. The State government would do what it could, but it was drifting into bankruptcy.

The confusion on Long Island continued, and, at last, Stuyvesant went

Portrait of Hon. Jeremias Van Rensselaer.

over to hold a personal interview with Scott. The latter, though a man of much boldness, possessed little principle. He had been an officer in the army of Charles I., but was arrested for cutting the girths of some of the Parliamentary horses, and was not only fined £500, but also banished to New England. Stuyvesant was attended by Van Cortlandt, John Lawrence, Jacob Backer, and a military escort. Scott was surrounded by delegates from some of the English

March 3.

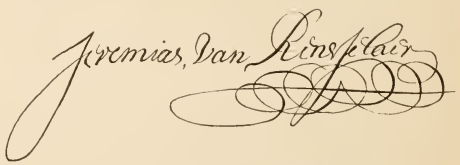
towns, among whom were Daniel Denton, John Underhill, and Adam Mott. The result was only a conditional arrangement, by which the principal English towns on Long Island were to remain under the king without molestation for twelve months, to afford opportunity for settlement in Europe.

By request of the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, a *Landtdag*, or *Diet*, was called, which assembled in the City Hall on the 10th of April, for the purpose of taking into consideration the precarious condition of the province, The delegates from New Amsterdam were Burgomaster Cornelis Steenwyck and Schepen Jacob Backer; from Rensselaerswick, Director Jeremias Van Rensselaer and Attorney Van Schelluyne; from Fort Orange, Jan Verbeck and Gerrit Van Slechtenhorst; from Breuckelen, William Bredenbent and Albert Cornelis Wantenaar; from Flatbush, Jan Strycker and William Guilliams; from Esopus, Thomas Chambers and Dr. Van Imbroeck; from Flatlands, Elbert Elbertsen and Coert Stevensen; from New Utrecht, David Jochemsen and Cornelis Beekman; from Boswyck, Jan Van Cleef and Guisbert Teunissen; from New Haerlem, Daniel Terneur and Johannes Verveeler; from Bergen, Englebert Steenhuysen and Herman Smeeman; from Staten Island, David De Marest and Pierre Billou.

April 10.

The first question which agitated this august assemblage was that of the presidency. New Amsterdam claimed the honor, as the capital; Rensselaerswick, as the oldest colony. The right of the latter was finally admitted, and Hon. Jeremias Van Rensselaer took the chair. The convention next demanded protection of the government against both barbarian and civilized foes; and, if such protection could not be afforded, it desired to be informed "to whom the people should address themselves." Stuyvesant answered, with dignity and subtle sarcasm, that he had done all and more than his means permitted, and that the object of the convention was to consult, and not to dispute, as to the best method of raising men and money to meet the emergency. The delegates apologized, saying, they wished only to know whether their application

April 11.



Autograph of Jeremias Van Rensselaer.

should be addressed to the West India Company or the States-General. Stuyvesant accepted the explanation, and proceeded to define the business before the gentlemen assembled. He said New Netherland had never contributed to her own support or defense. He proposed a tax on mills and cattle, and the enrollment of every sixth man in the province on the militia. To this the convention would not assent, but prepared an appeal to the company for the necessary aid.

Before it was sent, a vessel arrived, bringing letters from Europe. Stuyvesant was informed that soldiers were on the way from Holland; and he was instructed to exterminate the Esopus Indians, and to check the arrogance of the English on Long Island. The States-General had actually issued under their great seal a patent confirming the charter of the West India Company, — an important movement, had it come a little earlier. The convention, which had adjourned for a week, came together once more. But it was not in favor of an attempt to reduce the English towns. "Let me assure you," said Cornelis Beekman, "that the English rebels are as six to one, and that it would be impossible to subdue them. Connecticut would come to their help and massacre us all." April 22.

As for the Indians, they were apparently humbled. Three sachems were, at that moment, in New Amsterdam suing for peace. It was wise to treat with them. The result was a general treaty, concluded in the Council Chamber on the 15th of May. There were present a large number of chiefs; Governor Stuyvesant, in full robes of state, with Vice-Governor De Sille at his right hand; Abraham Wilmerdoncx, Jr., of the West India Company; Thomas Chambers, of Esopus; and, of the city magistrates, Cornelis Steenwyck, Paulus Van der Grist, Martin Cregier, Govert Loockermans, Jacob Backer, and Pieter Van Couwenhoven. Sarah, the wife of Dr. Hans Kiersted, acted as interpreter. She was the daughter of the celebrated Anetje Jans Bogardus, and was a woman of unusual nerve and strength of character. On many previous occasions, she had filled the office of interpreter with great satisfaction to the sachems, one of whom made her a present of a large tract of land, near the Hackinsack River.[1] May 15.

While the people of New Amsterdam were thus engaged, Connecticut had reached across the Sound and spoiled the ambitious projects of President Scott, who was carried to Hartford and imprisoned. Shortly after, when Stuyvesant's messengers went through the Long Island towns

[1] After the death of Mrs. Sarah Kiersted, Dr. Kiersted married Jannetje Loockermans, who died about 1710. Dr. Kiersted left five children, whose descendants are numerous and influential at the present day.

with mandatory letters from the States-General, they were forbidden to read them, and the documents were seized and sent to Hartford. Winthrop questioned their authenticity. At all events, he was fortified by the king's patent. About the same time, he authorized Thomas Pell to trade with the Indians for all the land between Westchester and the North River, including Spuyten Duyvel Creek, which the Dutch had bought and paid for, fifteen years before.

Early in June, news came to the city that Winthrop was at Gravesend, and Stuyvesant, accompanied by Secretary Van Ruyven and several other prominent gentlemen, went over to meet him. Winthrop was very courtly and cold, and insisted that the English title was indisputable; so that the interview was without any favorable results.

June.

Meanwhile, in spite of treaties and at the risk of war, Charles and his ministers had resolved to seize New Netherland. The first important step was to purchase Lord Stirling's interest in Long Island, for which Clarendon agreed to pay three thousand five hundred pounds, in behalf of his son-in-law, James, Duke of York. He then hastened to affix the great seal to a patent, by which the king granted to the Duke of York "the territory comprehending Long Island and the islands in the neighborhood, and all the lands and rivers from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay." This included the whole of New Netherland, and was in utter disregard of the Connecticut Charter.

An expedition against the Dutch in America was at once ordered, but kept a profound secret, lest the States-General should send a squadron to aid their unprotected subjects. The Duke of York, who had been appointed Lord High Admiral of the British dominions, was to manage the enterprise. He borrowed of the king four war-vessels, on which he embarked four hundred and fifty well-trained soldiers, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, the groom of his bedchamber, who was also commissioned as governor of the yet unpossessed territory. Among the commissioned officers serving under Nicolls, were Matthias Nicolls, Daniel Brodhead, Robert Needham, Harry Norwood, and Sylvester Salisbury, some of whom were accompanied by their families.[1] A commission, consisting of Colonel Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, were empowered to attend to the general welfare of the colonies, settle boundaries, etc. The fleet sailed from Portsmouth about the middle of May.[2]

April 2.

[1] Matthias Nicolls settled on Long Island; Daniel Brodhead and Sylvester Salisbury, in Ulster County, New York. Their descendants are very numerous, and rank among the best families in this country.

[2] *Col. Doc.*, II. 243–501; III. 66. *Mass. H. S. Coll.*, XXXVI. 527. *Pepys*, IV. 353. *Clarke's James II.*, I. 400. *Valentine's Manual* 1860, 592. *Smith*, I. 16. *Wood*, 144. *Brodhead*, II. 21.

The first intimation New Amsterdam received of these hostile designs was through Richard Lord, of Lyme, a merchant, who was sending vessels to both Boston and New Amsterdam. He heard of it in the former place and communicated the fact to Thomas Willett, with whom he was doing business. Willett hastened to Stuyvesant, and, within an hour, the burgomasters and schepens were in close council with the brave old soldier, devising plans for fortifying the city. Some vessels on the point of sailing for Curaçoa were countermanded, and agents were sent hurriedly to New Haven to buy provisions. Men were stationed at Westchester and Milford, to act the part of spies, and announce the approach of the enemy, who were expected by way of the Sound. A loan of money was obtained from Jeremias Van Rensselaer, and a quantity of powder was secured from New Amstel. At this critical moment, when every hour was more precious than gold, a dispatch from the Amsterdam Chamber to Stuyvesant declared that no danger from England need be apprehended, — that the king had only sent some frigates to introduce Episcopacy into New England.

Confidence was thus restored, and the Curaçoa vessels were permitted to depart. Mischievous quarrels among the Indians to the North induced Stuyvesant to take a trip to Fort Orange. He had Aug. 6. reached his destination and entered upon the work of reconciling the savages, when an express followed him to say that the English squadron was actually on the way from Boston to New Amsterdam. He hurried home, arriving only three days before the English banners floated over the bay, just below the Narrows. One of his first acts was to set all his own negro slaves and hired workmen at his farm thrashing grain night and day, and carting it to the fort. Three weeks had Aug. 29. been lost in false security; the city, alas! was ill prepared to stand a siege. The fort, and the wall at Wall Street, however strong a defense against the Indians, would avail positively nothing against a civilized foe; and there was the exposure on two rivers! Four hundred men were all that could be mustered, to bear arms. Six hundred pounds was the maximum of powder in the fort. Then, the English inhabitants were numerous and would aid the king's forces; and the latter, before casting anchor, had cut off all communication between the city and Long Island, and had scattered proclamations through the country, promising safe and undisturbed possession of property to all who would quietly submit to the government of England.

Stuyvesant regarded the situation with dismay. The English were in full possession of the harbor. He hastily called in the few soldiers from Esopus and other outposts, and, wishing to ascertain the condition of

affairs on Long Island, sent to the English commander four commissioners, representing the council and the city, with a letter inquiring the object of his coming, and why he remained so long in the harbor without giving due notice. Nicolls replied, that he had come to reduce the country to the obedience of the king of England, whose commission he displayed; and that he would send a letter to the governor on the following day.

Aug. 30. Saturday morning, Sir George Cartwright and three other gentlemen came to the city, and were received with a formal salute from the guns of the Battery. The interview was ceremonious in the extreme. They bore from Nicolls to Stuyvesant a formal summons to surrender the province of New Netherland, with all its towns, forts, etc., at the same time promising to confirm his estate, life, and liberty to every man who should submit without opposition to the king's authority.

Nicolls having omitted to sign this summons, it was returned to the delegates, and time thereby gained. Stuyvesant and his council consulted with the city magistrates. Stuyvesant was determined upon defending his post to the last, and withheld the paper which contained the terms of surrender, lest it should influence the people to insist upon capitulation. The city magistrates were strongly in favor of non-resistance, but thought it well to bring the city into as fair a state of defense as possible, in order to obtain "good terms and conditions." Men worked all day Sunday on the fortifications, and the officers of the government were in close council for several hours. On Monday morning, a

Sept. 1. meeting of the citizens was called at the City Hall, and the burgomasters stated publicly that they had been denied a copy of the summons which Nicolls had sent to Stuyvesant, but explained the terms of surrender. A loud clamor at once arose for the paper itself. Stuyvesant came to the City Hall and attempted to explain the impossibility of surrender under any circumstances, the extreme displeasure it would occasion in Holland, the painful responsibility that was resting upon him, etc., etc., but, in the end, produced the desired document.

The work of preparation continued through the day; and anxiety and excitement were everywhere apparent. On Tuesday morning,

Sept. 2. Governor Winthrop, who had joined the fleet, accompanied by his son Fitz John, Ex-Governor Willys, Thomas Willett, and two Boston gentlemen, visited the city in a row-boat, under a flag of truce. As they landed at the wharf, a salute was fired, and they were conducted to the nearest public house. Stuyvesant met them with stately politeness. Winthrop's mission was to present a carefully written letter from Nicolls and to use his own utmost endeavor to persuade the Dutch governor into a peaceful submission. There were many courtly speeches and replies

during the interview, but Stuyvesant was iron-hearted and declined Winthrop's urbane advice. On taking leave, Winthrop handed the following letter, addressed to himself, to Stuyvesant, who read it aloud to the gentlemen of his council and the burgomasters present;

"MR. WINTHROP: As to those particulars you spoke to me, I do assure you that if the Manhadoes be delivered up to his Majesty, I shall not hinder, but any people from the Netherlands may freely come and plant there, or thereabouts; and such vessels of their owne country may freely come thither, and any of them may as freely returne home, in vessels of their owne country, and this, and much more, is contained in the privilege of his Majesty's English subjects; and thus much you may, by what means you please, assure the governor from, Sir, Your very affectionate servant,

"RICHARD NICOLLS."

The burgomasters asked permission to read this letter to the citizens. Stuyvesant pronounced such a course injudicious and refused his consent. Van Cortlandt declared that all which concerned the public welfare ought to be made public. High words ensued on both sides, and finally Stuyvesant in a fit of passionate indignation tore the letter in pieces. Steenwyck, in angry tones, condemned the destruction of a paper of so much consequence, and, with the other magistrates, quitted the fort. A crowd had collected about the City Hall, to learn how matters stood. The news was received with lowering brows. Suddenly the work on the palisades stopped, and three of the principal citizens — not belonging to the government — appeared before the governor and council and peremptorily demanded a copy of the letter. They were not disposed to parley. The fragments were shown to them; but no reasoning would satisfy them. They threatened — covertly at first, and then openly. Stuyvesant hurried to the City Hall and tried in vain to quiet the raving multitude. "It would be as idle to attempt to defend the city against so many as to gape before an oven," was the general cry. Some cursed the governor; others cursed the company; but all united in a demand for the letter. He argued that it did not concern the commonalty, but only the officers of the government. "The letter! The letter!" was the only reply. Retiring from this outburst of popular fury, he returned to the fort, and Nicholas Bayard, his private secretary, having gathered the scattered scraps, made a copy of the mutilated document, which was given to the burgomasters.

Meanwhile, Stuyvesant had been preparing an answer to the summons of Nicolls. It was an overwhelming argument, tracing the history of New Netherland through all its vicissitudes, and pointing out the abso-

lute unsoundness of the English claim. He pictured in earnest language the consequences of any violation of the articles of peace so solemnly agreed upon by Charles and the States-General, and warned the English commander against aggression. He sent four of his ablest advisers — two from his council and two from the city — to convey the document to Colonel Nicolls, and to "argue the matter" with him.

Nicolls declined discussion. He said the question of right did not concern him. He must and would take possession of the place. If the reasonable terms he offered were not accepted, he should proceed to attack.

"On Thursday, I shall speak with you at the Manhattans," he said, with dignity.

"Friends will be welcome, if they come in a friendly manner," replied one of the delegates.

"I shall come with my ships and soldiers, and he will be a bold messenger indeed who will dare to come on board and solicit terms," was his rejoinder.

"What, then, is to be done?" was asked.

"Hoist the white flag of peace at the fort, and I may take something into consideration."

The delegates returned sadly to New Amsterdam. Nicolls, seeing that Stuyvesant was not disposed to surrender, made preliminary arrangements for storming the city. He called the people of Long Island together at Gravesend, and published the king's patent to the Duke of York, and his own commission, in their presence. Winthrop announced, on behalf of Connecticut, that, as the king's pleasure was now fully signified, the jurisdiction which that colony had claimed and exercised over Long Island "ceased and became null." Nicolls promised to confirm all the civil officers who had been appointed by Connecticut, — which gave immense satisfaction. Volunteers, to swell his army, came from all parts of the island. Prospects of plunder seem to have entered largely into their calculations. The citizens of New Amsterdam regarded them as their deadly enemies; and well they might, at this juncture, for threats and curses filled the air, and rovers talked openly of "where the young women lived who wore chains of gold."

The volunteers were encamped just below Breuckelen, to be ready to storm the city by land. Nicolls sent a few of his troops to join them. It was rumored that six hundred Northern savages and one hundred and fifty Frenchmen had re-enforced the English forces against the Dutch. On the morning of September 5th, Nicolls came up under full sail, and anchored between the fort and Governor's Island.

Sept. 5.

The crisis had come. New Amsterdam, with its population of fifteen hundred souls, was "encircled round about," without any means of deliverance. "It is a matter of desperation rather than soldiership to attempt to hold the fort," said Vice-Governor De Sille.

Stuyvesant stood in one of the angles of the fort, near where the gunner held a burning match, awaiting the order to fire at the approaching vessels. He had been expostulated with by one and another, who saw only infatuation and ruin in resisting a foe with such extraordinary advantage in point of numbers; but to all he had answered, with emphasis, "I must act in obedience to orders." "It is madness," said Dominie Megapolensis, laying his hand lovingly upon the governor's shoulder. "Do you not see that there is no help for us either to the north or to the south, to the east or to the west? What will our twenty guns do in the face of the sixty-two which are pointed towards us on yonder frigates? Pray, do not be the first to shed blood!"

Just then, a paper was brought to Stuyvesant signed by ninety-three of the principal citizens, including the burgomasters and schepens, and his own son, Balthazar, urging with manly arguments that he would not doom the city to ashes and spill innocent blood, as it was evident the sacrifice could avail nothing in the end. He read the appeal with white lips, and with unspeakable sorrow expressed in every feature. His only remark was, "I had rather be carried to my grave." Five minutes later, the white flag waved above the fort.

Arrangements were immediately made for a meeting, to agree upon articles of capitulation. The time was eight o'clock, on Saturday morning; the place, Stuyvesant's country-house at the farm. Colonel Nicolls appointed his two colleagues, Sir Robert Carr and Sir George Carteret, and the New England gentlemen, Governor Winthrop and Ex-Governor Willys of Connecticut, and John Pinchon and Thomas Clarke of Boston, as his commissioners. Stuyvesant selected Hon. John De Decker, Hon. Nicholas Varlett, and Dominie Megapolensis from his council, to represent the province, and Cornelis Steenwyck, Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, and Jacques Cousseau, to represent the city. The proclamation and the reiterated promises of Nicolls formed the basis of the twenty-four articles which were carefully and intelligently discussed on that momentous occasion. The Dutch citizens were guaranteed security in their property, customs, conscience, and religion. Intercourse with Holland was to continue as before the coming of the English. Public buildings and public records were to be respected; and all civil officers were to remain in power until the customary time for a new election. The articles of capitulation were to be ratified by Nicolls and delivered

Sept. 6.

to Stuyvesant by eight o'clock on Monday morning, at the "old mill," on the shore of the East River, near the foot of Roosevelt Street, at the outlet of the brook which ran from the Fresh Water Pond. Within two hours afterward, the fort was to be vacated, the military marching out with all the honors of war.

On Sunday afternoon, after the second sermon, the conciliatory terms by which New Amsterdam was surrendered — terms, perhaps, the most favorable ever granted by a conqueror — were explained to the anxious community. On Monday morning, Stuyvesant and his council affixed their names to the articles of capitulation, and exchanged them with Nicolls. All things being ready, the garrison marched out of the fort, carrying their arms, with drums beating and colors flying, and embarked on a vessel about to set sail for Holland. Colonel Nicolls and Sir Robert Carr formed their companies into six columns, and entered the town as the Dutch garrison departed. The city magistrates were assembled in the council chamber, and with much ceremony proclaimed Nicolls governor of the province. The English flag was raised over the fort, which was now to be called Fort James, and New Amsterdam was henceforth to be known as New York.

Sept. 7.

Sept. 8.

The conquest of Long Island and New Amsterdam has been widely stigmatized as an act of peculiar national baseness. It was matured in secret and accomplished with deliberate deceit towards a friendly government. It provoked a war which disgraced the reign of Charles II.; a war in which Dutch fleets not only swept the Channel, but entered the Thames, burned the warehouses and dock-yards at Chatham, and maddened and terrified the citizens of London with the roar of their cannon. And yet, unjustifiable as it surely was for an undeclared enemy to sneak into a remote harbor and treacherously seize a province, the temptation furnished by the circumstances of the case may perhaps be cited as a sort of palliation of the deed. The West India Company and the States-General had always undervalued New Netherland; it was their neglect of it which had been the most potent stimulus to English ambition; and finally, the event itself could not have been avoided by the Dutch government unless all their previous policy had been reversed and their title planted upon a more tenable basis.

Stuyvesant was mortified and humiliated beyond expression. His solitary heroism, and his loyalty, unshaken to the last, did not protect him from the severe censure of his superiors. He was summoned to Holland to render an account of his administration, and detained there many months. The soulless corporation was dying by inches. The loss of its province had been its death-blow. But it had sufficient vitality

left to make a desperate effort to shift the responsibility of its misfortunes upon the head of its faithful servant, notwithstanding abundant proof that, year after year, and by almost every ship which crossed the ocean, he had warned the self-sufficient company of the impossibility of holding the province against any hostile attack without the means to improve its weak and dangerous condition. The peace of Breda put an end to the controversy, and Stuyvesant, whose property interests were all in New York, returned and took up his abode here as a private citizen. While at the Hague, he labored incessantly to secure from the king the ratification of the sixth article in his treaty with Nicolls, which granted free trade with Holland in Dutch vessels. He wrote to Charles, that New York could scarcely be relieved by England during the present season, and that what he asked for would prevent the Indians from diverting their traffic to Canada, as well as enable the Dutch inhabitants to follow their prosperous vocations. His logic was convincing, and Charles authorized the Duke of York to grant "temporary permission for seven years, with three ships only."

Stuyvesant brought with him, on his return voyage to New York, a pear-tree, which he planted in his garden. It survived the storms of two hundred winters. As the city grew, and one old landmark after another disappeared, the solitary pear-tree long continued to put out its blossoms every spring and to bend under the weight of its fruit every summer. It stood for many years, surrounded by an iron fence, on the corner of East 13th Street and 3d Avenue; and when, at last, it fell, many a loyal mourner strove to obtain a fragment of its broken body to preserve in remembrance of by-gone times. The railing which enclosed it may still be seen, and within it a vigorous young offshoot of the parent tree, putting forth

Stuyvesant's Pear Tree.

its leaves and branches with an appearance of family pride, and a good degree of the family energy.

The life of Governor Stuyvesant was one long romantic history, as well as an instructive lesson. He had marvelous intellectual power, great subtlety of discernment, and yet a peculiar turn of mind which rendered him less successful in politics than were many who had not half his ability. He gave evidence of extensive reading; a fact in itself remarkable, when we take into consideration the age in which he lived, and the difficulty, at that time, of obtaining books in this country. He was a courtly man, from whom the freshness of youth had quite

Stuyvesant's Tomb.

departed, when he retired from public life. He was active, however, in all his movements long after a restful repose had settled upon his care-worn features. He interested himself in church affairs and in city improvements, grew social and companionable, frequently dined his English successor at his country-seat, and rendered himself very dear to his family and intimate friends. He gave one the impression of fine rich fruit, not tempting in external show, but sound and sweet to the core. He died in 1672, and was interred in the family vault, in the church upon his farm. One hundred and thirty years afterward, St. Mark's Church was erected upon the same site, and Peter Stuyvesant, the great-grandson of the governor, caused the vault to be repaired and enlarged. Upon the outer wall of St. Mark's Church is the original tablet, of which the sketch is a *fac-simile*.

Governor Stuyvesant had two sons, Balthazar and Nicholas William.

The former was born in 1647, and the latter in 1648. Balthazar removed to the West Indies after the surrender of the province. Nicholas William married Maria, the only daughter of William Beekman, who died without issue. He then married Elizabeth Slechtenhorst, daughter of the famous commander of Rensselaerswick. They had three children, Peter, Anna, and Gerardus. The former died in 1705, having never married. Anna married the Rev. Mr. Pritchard, an Episcopal clergyman. Gerardus married his second cousin, Judith Bayard. They had four sons, only one of whom, Peter, left descendants. He was born in 1727, and married Margaret, daughter of Gilbert Livingston. Their sons, Nicholas William and Peter Gerard, are well remembered by our older citizens; of their daughters, Judith married Benjamin Winthrop, Cornelia married Dirck Ten Broeck, and Elizabeth married Colonel Nicholas Fish and was the mother of Hon. Hamilton Fish, the present Secretary of State for the United States.

[" Petersfield " was the residence of Peter Gerard Stuyvesant (many years President of the New York Historical Society), who married, 1, Susan, daughter of Colonel Thomas Barclay; 2, Helen Sarah, daughter of Hon. John Rutherford, of New Jersey. The " Bowery House " was the residence of Nicholas William, the brother of Peter Gerard Stuyvesant. Both mansions were built prior to the Revolution. For location, see map of Stuyvesant estate, page 188. The chief portion of this extensive property is now in possession of the three descendants, Hon. Hamilton Fish (Secretary of State), Benjamin Robert Winthrop, and Louis M. Rutherford, the well-known astronomer.]

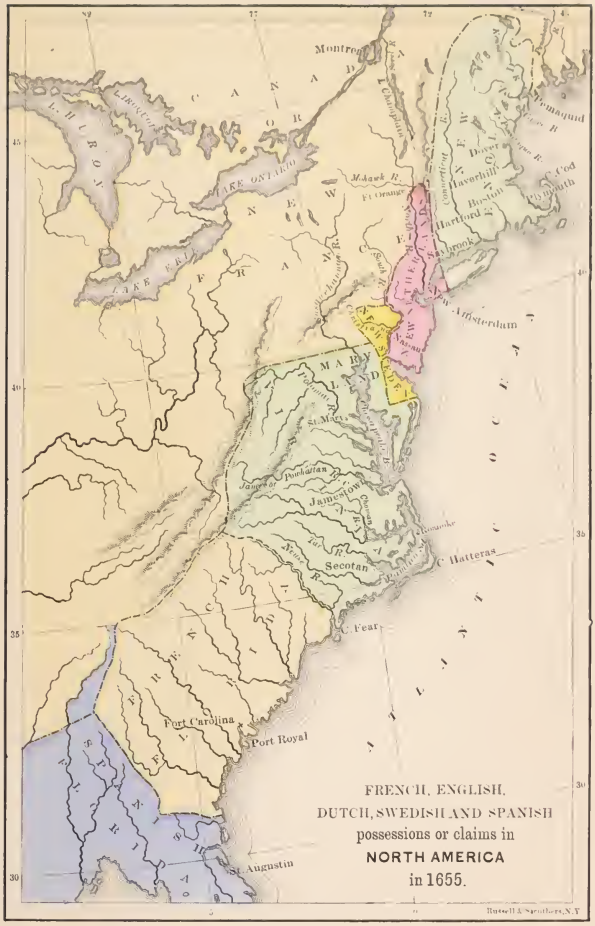
CHAPTER XIII.

1664 - 1668.

NEW YORK.

New York. — The Duke of York. — Governor Nicolls. — Mr. and Mrs. Johannes Van Brugh. — The Brodhead Family. — Albany. — The Taking of the Oath of Allegiance to England. — Sir Robert Carr at Delaware Bay. — An Extraordinary Complication. — Connecticut Diplomacy. — The Dividing Line between Connecticut and New York. — New Jersey. — Elizabethtown. — Johannes De Peyster. — Interesting Controversy. — Court of Assizes. — Nicolls a Law-Maker. — The Hempstead Convention. — "The Duke's Laws." — The First Race-Course on Long Island. — The First Vineyard on Long Island. — The First Mayor of New York. — The First Aldermen. — John Lawrence. — Nicholas Bayard. — Symptoms of War. — Secret Orders. — War declared. — Cornelis Steenwyck. — The Plague in London. — The Great Fire in London. — England's Disgrace. — Clarendon's Fall. — New York's Miseries. — Nicolls's Wisdom. — Witchcraft. — The Manors of Gardiner and Shelter Islands. — Nicolls asks for his Recall.

IT has been the destiny of New York to sustain fiercer trials and to gain a wider and more varied experience than any other American State. The first half-century of her existence, though not very fruitful in achievements, greatly surpasses in importance any other equal period, from having projected the impulse and prescribed the law of her subsequent development. When, in 1664, she was geographically united to New England and the Southern British colonies, and exchanged a republican sovereignty for an hereditary king, she possessed the vital element of all her later greatness. The irrepressible forces, political, social, and religious, which were sweeping over the chief nationalities of Europe in that remarkable century, were already here, and pushing to unforeseen ends. Eighteen languages were spoken in our infant capital. The arrivals which followed increased without materially changing the character of the population. The old, stubborn, intensely practical Dutch spirit was firmly planted in this soil; English inflexibility, sagacity, and invigorating life had also taken root; and French industry, refinement, and vivacity flourished, if possible, the most luxuriantly of the three. The


Montreal R.
CANADA
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
Mohawk R.
Ft Orange
NEW ENGLAND
Connecticut R.
Hartford
Boston
Plymouth
Cape Cod
New Amsterdam
NEW NETHERLAND
NEW SWEDEN
MARYLAND
St. Mary's
Potomac R.
Rappahannock R.
James R.
Jamestown
Powhatan
Chowan R.
Albemarle
Roanoke
Secotan
C. Hatteras
C. Fear
Port Carolina
Port Royal
St. Augustin
FLORIDA
FRENCH, ENGLISH,
DUTCH, SWEDISH AND SPANISH
possessions or claims in
NORTH AMERICA
in 1655.

chief impulse of the Huguenot movement, which had begun in France, both in the capital and in the University, was coeval with the revival of letters. Hence those who fled into voluntary exile were generally of the cultivated and wealthy classes. They transplanted to New York an influence of education and graceful accomplishments, and gave a certain chivalric tone to the new society. We have seen Dr. La Montagne closely associated in the New Netherland government for more than a score of years; and we find that the public documents of the period were written in the French as well as the Dutch language. Swedes, Germans, and some of other nationalities were here, but in smaller numbers. The inhabitants, drawn together from regions so remote, grew to be one people: a fearless, thoughtful, energetic, constructive people, politically alive, religiously free; a people which rejected hereditary leaders and kept those whom it elected under careful limitations. New York, standing midway among the sea-coast colonies, modified with her broader views the narrowness of her neighbors, and, after guarding for a century her long frontier from the attacks of Canada, became the pivot upon which turned the most important events of that gigantic Revolution which gave birth to a nation.

The Duke of York was a practical business man. He had been told that his new territory, if well managed, would yield him thirty thousand pounds per annum. In none of his plans and arrangements did he display more far-sighted common-sense than in his choice of a capable, resolute, and honest governor. Colonel Nicolls was the son of a lawyer of the Middle Temple. His mother was the daughter of Sir George Bruce. He was splendidly educated and accustomed to all the refinements of the higher European circles. Warmly attached to the royal cause, he had shared its fortunes, and spent much time, as an exile, in Holland. He was familiar with the Dutch literature, and spoke the Dutch and French languages as well as he spoke his own. He was about forty years of age; a little above the medium height; of fine, stately presence, with a fair, open face, a pleasant, magnetic gray eye, somewhat deeply set, and hair slightly curled at the ends.

He laughed a little at the fort, with its feint of strength, and its quaint double-roofed church within, but found the governor's house very comfortably furnished and quite attractive for a new country. The city pleased him. Its promise was vague and undefined, but he wrote to King James that it was undoubtedly the best of all his towns, and, with a little care, the staple of America might be drawn thither in spite of Boston.

His affability and genial nature won the citizens from the start; at

least such as were so fortunate as to come in personal contact with him, either officially or otherwise. On the day after the surrender, the
Sept. 9. burgomasters and schepens met and transacted their ordinary business, as if nothing unusual had occurred. They afterwards indicated their good-will to the administration through a letter — drawn up by Cornelis Steenwyck, and signed by each member of the board — in which appeared the following passage: "Nicolls is a wise and intelligent governor, under whose wings we hope to bloom and grow like the cedar on Lebanon."

The official counselors of Governor Nicolls were Robert Needham, Thomas Delavall, Thomas Topping, and William Wells. Matthias Nicolls, a thoroughbred English lawyer, was appointed Secretary of the province. All these were from among the new-comers, except William Wells, who had settled previously at Southold, Long Island. Cornelis Van Ruyven, Stuyvesant's provincial Secretary, was appointed collector of the customs. He was called into counsel on many occasions, and rendered material aid to Nicolls. One of the schepens, Johannes Van Brugh, was also invited to the meetings of the council, and his opinions were treated with profound deference. He was a shipping merchant, doing a prosperous business. His wife was a daughter of Anetje Jans. They lived in a stone house near Hanover Square, in front of which several immense forest-trees cast their broad shadows over a handsome green, where the Indians used to camp, during their visits to the city, and where market-wagons were often left standing, while the horses rested and grazed in the cool shade. Mr. and Mrs. Van Brugh were the first of the Dutch residents who gave a dinner-party in honor of the new English governor.

On the Sunday following the surrender, the English Episcopal service was celebrated for the first time in New York, by the chaplain of
Sept. 14. the English forces. It having been agreed in the capitulation that the Dutch should enjoy all their religious liberties and retain their own church edifice, it was very cordially arranged that the services of the Church of England should take place in the same sanctuary after the close of the usual morning worship. Meanwhile the city magistrates provided for the support of Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, until the governor should make further arrangements.

Fort Orange, and Esopus, although included in the capitulation, remained to be brought under the Duke's authority. As soon as the safety of the capital was fairly assured, Nicolls dispatched to the former point Colonel Cartwright and his company, armed with various orders and instructions. Colonel Cartwright was a typical Englishman, heavy, grave, often morose, overbearing, of a suspicious temperament, and an excellent hater of the Dutch. The two officers next in command were

Captain John Manning and Captain Daniel Brodhead. Captain Manning had formerly commanded a trading vessel between New Haven and New York, but was now in the military service. Captain Brodhead, from an ancient family in Yorkshire, England, was a zealous royalist, in high favor with the king. He was the common ancestor of the Brodhead family in this country, among whom in every generation have been men of culture and distinction, — the most widely known of them all, perhaps, being the late John Romeyn Brodhead, the eminent scholar and historian of New York.

Van Rensselaer was directed to obey Cartwright, and also to bring his title papers respecting Rensselaerswick to Nicolls for inspection. This was subsequently done, and a new patent was issued to the patroon by the Duke. Thomas Willett, and Thomas Breedon, ex-governor of Nova Scotia, accompanied the expedition by request, because they were accustomed to dealing with the savages, and it was esteemed of the first importance to secure the friendship which the Iroquois had cherished towards the Dutch.

The military officers were received with courtesy by Dr. La Montagne and the magistrates of the little town, which was at once named Albany, after the Scotch title of the Duke of York. It was found that John De Decker, one of Stuyvesant's counselors and a signer of the articles of capitulation, had been actively engaged in trying to infuse the spirit of resistance into the people at the north, and he was banished from the province. Few changes were made in the civil government. The Mohawk and Seneca sachems appeared and signed with Cartwright the first treaty between the Iroquois and the English; and Captain Manning was left in command of the fort. Sept. 25.

On his return from Albany, Cartwright landed at Esopus, where he was warmly welcomed by William Beekman, who was confirmed in his authority as sheriff. Thomas Chambers was also retained as commissary. The charge of the garrison was committed to Captain Brodhead. Sept. 30.

Nicolls was quick to see the advantage of influencing as many of the Dutch families as possible to remain in their present homes. By the articles of capitulation he had given them liberty to sell their lands and effects and to remove to Holland. But he resolved to ask the principal Dutch citizens to take the customary oath and become British subjects. He accordingly sent for Ex-Governor Stuyvesant, De Sille, Van Ruyven, Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, and a few others, to meet him in the chamber of the common council, where the burgomasters and schepens were assembled, and there he addressed them on the subject,

explaining that this new obligation did not involve any permanent renunciation of allegiance to the Dutch government. They demurred. Van Ruyven argued that the people had been pronounced "free denizens" by the terms of the surrender, and no provision made for assuming a new allegiance. Van Cortlandt feared such a proceeding would render the articles of capitulation null and void. After much debate, the meeting declined taking the oath, unless Nicolls should add to it, "conformable to the articles concluded on the surrender of this place."

Oct. 14.

The subject was in agitation for several days. Finally, Nicolls said in writing, that "the articles of surrender" were "not in the least broken, or intended to be broken, by any words or expressions in the said oath." This statement proved satisfactory, and, within the subsequent five days, over two hundred and fifty residents of the city and adjacent country took the oath of allegiance to Charles II. and the Duke of York. Among these was Stuyvesant himself; also Van Ruyven, Van Brugh, Van Cortlandt, Van Rensselaer, Beekman, and the two Dutch Dominies.

Oct. 18.

Tonneman, the sheriff, returned to Holland, and the city was called upon to elect his successor. The choice fell upon Allard Anthony, who was at once confirmed in office by the governor. About the same time a provost-marshal was appointed, to keep unruly soldiers from interfering with the citizens.

Dec. 12.

Meanwhile, Sir Robert Carr had gone, with two vessels and a large armed force, to reduce the settlements on the Delaware. He found the Swedes manageable and the Dutch obstinate. Superiority in numbers, however, secured a bloodless victory. It was then that the royal knight began to reveal his true character. He assumed authority independent of Nicolls, and claimed to be the sole disposer of affairs in that region. He shipped the Dutch soldiers to Virginia, to be sold as slaves. He imprisoned the commander Hinnoyssa, and appropriated his comfortable house and flourishing farm to his own use. He gave the stone dwelling, and a large tract of land belonging to Sheriff Van Sweringen, to his son Captain John Carr. He distributed the property of the other settlers as he saw fit. When an account of his high-handed proceedings reached the other commissioners, they were astonished beyond measure. They considered such conduct "presumptuous and disgraceful." They peremptorily required his lordship's return to New York to attend to the further business of the commission, and when he did not make his appearance, Cartwright and Maverick deputed Nicolls to proceed to Delaware Bay and appoint such civil and military

Oct. 10.

officers there as his best judgment dictated. He was accompanied by Counselor Needham. He administered a severe rebuke to Carr and compelled him to disgorge much of his ill-gotten spoil. He regulated affairs as well as he was able, and appointed Captain John Carr as deputy-governor.

Connecticut was all this while in deep distress. The patent of the king had extended her territory to the Pacific Ocean. But here was another patent of the king to his brother, comprising every inch of land west of the Connecticut River. It was a most extraordinary complication.

As for Long Island, the Duke's patent expressly included it by name; moreover, Winthrop, at Gravesend, just before the surrender of New York, had declared that the jurisdiction formerly exercised by Connecticut "ceased and became null." There seemed therefore to be little room for discussion in regard to that region, and it received the name of Yorkshire.

But Hartford herself was included in the Duke's patent, to say nothing of republican New Haven, who had held her head so high, and stoutly refused to bend to Connecticut, because the charter of the latter had been (as was affirmed) surreptitiously obtained, "contrary to righteousness, amity, and peace." Alas, when the choice was finally made between two great evils, Puritan dictation was judged to be far better than foreign annexation. The General Court of Connecticut held a mournful meeting in October. "We must try to conciliate those royal commissioners," said Winthrop. It was voted to present Oct. 13. them with five hundred bushels of corn and some fine horses. A committee, consisting of Governor Winthrop, his son Fitz John, Matthew Allyn, Nathan Gold, and James Richards, was appointed to pay a visit of congratulation and to make the presentation. They were empowered to seize any opportunity which might offer, to settle a boundary line between the two patents.

They reached New York late in November, and were graciously received by Nicolls, Cartwright, and Maverick. After much preamble, the delicate and perplexing question was fairly brought under discussion. The two patents were spread upon the table. Win- Nov. 30. throp was reminded that, in obtaining the former, he had promised to submit to any alteration of boundaries which might be made by the king's commissioners. The authority of the later patent could not be shaken. The Connecticut gentlemen pleaded that it should not be enforced to its full extent, thus depriving Connecticut of her "very bowels and principal parts." To this Nicolls readily assented, for his own judg-

ment condemned a course which would only result in the ruin of a thriving colony, and in lasting dishonor to the king. It was therefore agreed that the dividing line between Connecticut and New York should run about twenty miles from any part of the Hudson River. To define the starting-point and the compass direction, the Connecticut gentlemen inserted a clause in the document by which the line was to be drawn from where the Mamaroneck Creek flows into the Sound, and north-northwest onward to the Massachusetts line.

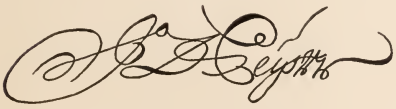
For the moment, this settlement seemed to be satisfactory to both parties. New Haven submitted to Connecticut and all went well. But Nicolls and his colleagues, being unfortunately ignorant of the geography of the country, were misled into the supposition that the line had been drawn twenty miles, when in reality it was only about ten miles, distant from the Hudson. It was an absurd error, which was never ratified by the Duke or the king, and proved the source of a long-continued and distracting controversy.

While the forces of the expedition against New Netherland were still on the Atlantic, in June, James dismembered his American province and laid the foundation of another State. The treasurer of his house-
June 23. hold was Lord Berkeley, who was also one of the Admiralty Board. He was a coarse, bold man, arbitrary and unscrupulous, and somewhat inclined to Catholicism. The treasurer of the Admiralty was Sir George Carteret, who had formerly been governor of the Channel Island of Jersey, where he received and entertained Charles, while Prince of Wales, and at which point he gallantly defeated the troops of Cromwell. He rode by the side of the king, when he entered London, at the Restoration, and was made chamberlain of the royal household. Berkeley and Carteret were both members of the Council for Foreign Plantations, and had studied America with careful attention. They expressed a desire to purchase of the Duke a portion of his new territory; and he, wishing to please two such devoted friends, accepted the small sum they offered, and conveyed to them by deed the
June 24. section now known as New Jersey, — a name bestowed in compliment to Carteret. James had very little idea of the magnitude or importance of this sale, and made no reservation of the right to govern. Thence the purchasers assumed absolute control, engendering controversies which were prolonged for many years. They published a constitution for New Jersey, and appointed Philip Carteret, a cousin of Sir George's, governor of the province.

Nicolls knew nothing of all this until the arrival of Governor Carteret off the coast of Virginia, when he immediately wrote to James, protest-

ing against a movement so unexpected and so unwise. Of course, the protest came too late. Carteret reached New York in July, 1665, and received from Nicolls, according to the orders of the Duke which he brought with him, complete and undisputed possession of New Jersey. He landed on Jersey soil, at the head of a party of men, carrying a hoe on his shoulder, to indicate his intention of becoming a planter with them. He chose for the seat of government a charming spot near Newark Bay, where four families had already settled, and named it Elizabethtown, in honor of Lady Elizabeth, the wife of Sir George Carteret.

Nicolls found serious work on all sides of him. In order to win the Dutch, he copied or rather continued, with as little alteration as possible, the form of administration to which they had been accustomed. The burgomasters and schepens of the city, when their terms of service expired, named their successors, as formerly. It was just twelve years to a day since Stuyvesant had conferred the powers which they exercised. The new officers were promptly confirmed by Nicolls, and announced to the public after the usual ringing of the bell. They were Cornelis Steenwyck and Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, burgomasters; Timotheus Gabry, Johannes Van Brugh, Johannes De Peyster, Jacob Kip, and Jacques Cousseau, schepens; and Allard Anthony, sheriff. **1665. Feb. 2.**



Autograph of Johannes De Peyster.

It is noticeable that among these names are three of Huguenot origin. Johannes De Peyster descended from one of the families of the nobility who were driven from France in 1572 by the religious persecutions of Charles IX. He himself was born in Holland. He had been in New York for sixteen or more years. He was heir to considerable wealth, some of which was invested in ships which sailed to and from Europe and the West Indies. He brought to this country many valuable articles of furniture, and a large quantity of massive silver. Several

Silverware of the De Peysters.

specimens of the latter are still in possession of the family, and are esteemed by the curious as masterpieces of art. He filled important positions in the city government and in the church, and was held in great respect. Nicolls said of him that he could make a better platform speech than any other man outside of Parliament, only that his knowledge of the English tongue was defective. He was the ancestor of the De Peyster family, which, from its intimate connection with the fortunes of New York, will occupy our attention in future chapters.

Almost immediately, a controversy arose between the city magistrates and the governor and council. It having been stipulated that the city should provide quarters for such soldiers as could not be lodged in the fort, an attempt was made to distribute them among the inhabitants, who were to be paid for their board. In many instances, they were turned out of respectable houses on account of disorderly conduct, and complaints arose on every side. The citizens generally preferred to pay an assessment rather than have any contact with them; and the matter was finally arranged in this way, to the satisfaction of all concerned.[1]

In fact, Nicolls was a provincial autocrat. Under the Duke's despotic patent, he was the real maker of the laws, and the interpreter of them after they were made. With such tact and moderation, however, did he exercise his delegated powers, that his subordinates actually believed themselves to be sharers in the responsibilities of legislation. He erected a Court of Assizes, consisting of the governor and his council, which was the supreme tribunal of the province. After a time, Long Island, or Yorkshire, was divided into three districts, or ridings. The justices of the peace appointed by the governor were to hold, three times a year in each district, a Court of Sessions over which the governor or any counselor might preside; and these justices, and the high-sheriff of each district, were to sit in the Court of Assizes once a year, — the last Thursday in September. But they had no representative character whatever.

The anomalous condition of New York required special laws. Here was a conquered province, which had no charter, like the New England colonies; which was not a royal domain, like Virginia; which differed materially from the proprietary of Maryland; and whose Dutch inhabitants, having received special privileges for the sake of peaceable posses-

[1] Among those assessed were Peter Stuyvesant, Frederick Philipse, Cornelis Van Ruyven, Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, Paulus Van der Grist, Johannes Van Brugh, Johannes De Peyster, Jacob Kip, Allard Anthony, Evert Duyckinck, Jan Evertsen Bout, Johannes De Witt, Hans Kiersted, Jacob Leisler, Paulus Richards, Simon Jansen Romeyn, Isaac Bedlow, Augustine Heermans, Ægidius Luyck, and many others. Some were taxed four guilders per week, some three, some two, and some one.

sion, were in many respects upon a better footing than the king's English subjects upon Long Island, which had been British territory before the capitulation. Nicolls had promised the Long-Islanders at Gravesend, before the surrender, that they should have a convention of delegates from their towns, to enact laws and establish civil offices. He accordingly proceeded, with the help of his council, to frame a code which should ultimately become the law of the whole province. He carefully studied the laws in actual operation in the several New England colonies; and, for that purpose, obtained copies of those of Massachusetts and New Haven, the latter of which had been printed in London in 1656. He wrote to Winthrop for a copy of the statutes of Connecticut; but they existed only in manuscript, and he did not obtain a transcript in time to make use of it. But, however much Nicolls may have borrowed from the experience and wisdom of his neighbors, he excelled them all in liberality in matters of conscience and religion.

He called a convention at Hempstead on the 28th of February. It consisted of thirty-four delegates, two from each of the Long Island towns, and two from Westchester. These delegates were all notified to bring with them whatever documents related to the boundaries of their respective towns, and to invite the Indian sachems, whose presence might be necessary, to attend the meeting, as there was important business to be transacted, aside from the discussion and adoption of the new code of laws.[1] Feb. 28.

Nicolls presided in person. At the opening of the exercises, he read the Duke's patent and his own commission. He then proceeded to the settlement of local boundaries, and other minor matters. The laws were delivered to the delegates for inspection. Scarcely a man among them was satisfied. They had expected immunities at least equal to those

[1] The delegates to this convention were as follows: Jacques Cortelyou and Mr. Fosse, from New Utrecht; Elbert Elbertsen and Roeloffe Martense, from Flatlands; John Stryker and Hendrick Jorassen, from Flatbush; James Hubbard and John Bowne, from Gravesend; John Stealman and Guisbert Tennis, from Bushwick; Frederick Lubbersten and John Evertsen, from Brooklyn; Richard Betts and John Coe, from Newtown; Elias Doughty and Richard Cornhill, from Flushing; Thomas Benedict and Daniel Denton, from Jamaica; John Hicks and Robert Jackson, from Hempstead; John Underhill and Matthias Harvey, from Oyster Bay; Jonas Wood and John Ketchum, from Huntington; Daniel Lane and Roger Barton, from Brookhaven; Counselor William Wells and John Young, from Southold; Counselor Thomas Topping and John Howell, from Southampton; Thomas Baker and John Stratton, from Easthampton; and Edward Jessop and John Quimby, from Westchester. *Brodhead*, II. 68. *Journals New York Legislative Council; Gen. Ent.*, I. 93–95. *Wood*, 87, 88. *Thompson*, I. 131, 132. *Bolton*, II. 180. *Dunlap*, II. App. XXXVII. *Smith*, I. 388. *Hist. Mag.*, VIII. 211. *Trumbull MSS.*, XX. 74. *Col. Doc.*, II. 251; III. 86, 88, 114; IV. 1154. *Deeds*, II. 1–15, 43, 48, 49. *Chalmers*, I. 577, 578, 598.

enjoyed under the charter of Connecticut, with which they were perfectly familiar. The code prepared did not recognize the right of the people to choose their own magistrates or to have a voice in the levying of taxes. Consequently, they objected to some of its clauses, and proposed others. The discussion occupied ten days. Several amendments were accepted by Nicolls. But when the debate waxed warm, it was very promptly checked by his emphatic announcement that all civil appointments were solely in the hands of the governor, and that whoever wished any larger share in the government must go to the king for it. The delegates were thus assured that, instead of being popular representatives to make laws, they were merely agents to accept those already made for them. It was not a pleasant medicine, but it was gracefully swallowed. The code was adopted, and was generally known as "THE DUKE'S LAWS." The subjects were arranged in alphabetical order, and, about a century after, having become obsolete, the document was first printed as an historical curiosity.

Among the provisions of this code were trials by jurymen; arbitration in small matters; a local court in each town, from which there was an appeal to the Court of Sessions; overseers, and constables, and justices of the peace; assessments, and enforcements of rates imposed. The tenure of real estate was to be from the Duke of York, involving new patents and a harvest of fees; all conveyances were to be recorded in the Secretary's office, in New York; no purchase of the Indians was to be valid unless the original owner acknowledged the same before the governor; no trading with the Indians was to be allowed without a license; no Indian might pow-wow, or perform outward worship to the Devil, in any town in the province; negro slavery was recognized, but no Christians were to be enslaved except those sentenced thereto by authority; death was the punishment for denying the true God, for murder, for treason, for kidnapping, for the striking of parents, and for some other offenses, — but witchcraft was not included in the list; churches were to be built in every parish and supported, but no one particular Protestant denomination was to be favored above another; no minister was to officiate but such as had been regularly ordained; each minister was to preach every Sunday, on the 5th of November (the anniversary of the gunpowder treason), on the 30th of January (the anniversary of the violent death of Charles I.), on the 29th of May (the anniversary of the birth of Charles II. and of the Restoration), to pray for the king, queen, Duke of York, and the royal family, to baptize children, and to marry persons after legal publication; no person who professed Christianity was to be molested, fined, or imprisoned for differing in opinion on matters of religion. There were numerous regulations respecting the administration of estates,

boundaries of towns, births and burials, surgeons and midwives, children and servants, weights and measures, and wrecks, and whales, and sailors, and orphans, and laborers, and brewers, and pipe-staves, and casks, and wolves; and every town was to provide a pillory, a pair of stocks, and a pound.

Nicolls, with great caution, delayed the enforcement of those laws in New York, Esopus, Albany, and the valley of the Hudson. And, in order to mollify the resentment of some of the Long Island delegates, he made several civil appointments upon the adjournment of the convention. Counselor William Wells was commissioned the first high-sheriff of Long Island. John Underhill, of Oyster Bay, who had been so prominent hitherto in New Netherland affairs, was made high-constable and under-sheriff of the North district, or riding, and surveyor-general of the island. Daniel Denton, John Hicks, Jonas Wood, and James Hubbard were appointed justices.

As an immediate result of Nicolls's attendance upon the convention, a race-course was established at Hempstead. The ground selected was sixteen miles long and four wide. It was covered with fine grass, unmarred by stick or stone, and was for many years called "Salisbury Plains." Nicolls directed that a plate should be run for, every year, in order to improve the provincial Dutch, or Flemish, breed of horses, which was better adapted to slow labor than to fleetness or display. The race-course itself was named "Newmarket," after the famous English sporting-ground, and was subsequently a favorite annual resort for the governors of New York and the farmers of Long Island. May 1.

Nicolls was ready to favor every important colonial enterprise. There had been much talk about the culture of grapes. Paulus Richards established a vineyard on Long Island for the manufacture of wine. As he was the first planter of vines, it was cordially agreed by the administration that whoever during thirty years should plant vines in any part of the province should pay five shillings for each acre so planted to Richards, in acknowledgment of his pioneer operations. The produce of his vines, if sold at retail by any one house in the city, was to be free from impost for the above period of thirty years, and, if sold in gross, to be free forever.

While Nicolls was busily at work, attending to his own government, his colleagues, Cartwright, Maverick, and Carr, were laboring with "refractory" Massachusetts. It had been the object of the king to work such alteration in the Puritan charters as would give him the appointment of their governors, and of the commanders of their militia. Nothing, however, could be accomplished without the presence of Nicolls. He accord-

ingly made the journey to Boston. It was of no use: Massachusetts was on her dignity. Boston treated the overtures of the royal commissioners with scorn. "Our time and labor is all lost upon men misled by the spirit of independency," said Nicolls. He hurried back to New York; and Cartwright, Maverick, and Carr went eastward to Maine.

May 26.

The first care of Nicolls, after his return, was to alter the city government, so as to make it conform to the customs of England. Wishing to do this in the most conciliatory manner, he selected Thomas Willett for the first mayor of New York. This gentleman had distinguished himself on the Albany expedition, and had so impressed Cartwright that the latter wrote to Nicolls from Boston, "I believe him a very honest and able gentleman, and that he will serve you both for a mayor and counselor." Willett was a Plymouth settler, but had been much in New Netherland, had property interests there, and for a series of years had had constant business relations with the Dutch merchants. He was better acquainted with the country, and with the language, manners, and customs of the Dutch, than any other Englishman, and was popular among all classes.

On the 12th of June appeared the governor's proclamation, which declared that the future government of the city should be administered by persons to be known by the name and style of Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriff. A separate instrument, under the same date, ordained that all the inhabitants of Manhattan Island "are and shall be forever accounted, nominated, and established as one body politic and corporate." The appointments were as follows: Thomas Willett, mayor; Thomas Delavall, Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, Johannes Van Brugh, Cornelis Van Ruyven, and John Lawrence, aldermen; and Allard Anthony, sheriff, — three Englishmen and four Hollanders.

June 12.

They were to be duly installed in office on the 14th of June. When Nicolls entered the Council Chamber, he instantly perceived that there was much dissatisfaction. As soon as the meeting was called to order, Van Cortlandt rose, and, with his silvery locks thrown back and his eyes flashing fire, stated distinctly his objections to the new regulation, which violated the sixteenth article of the capitulation. Nicolls replied elaborately, showing how the old officers had been continued, and, in February, new ones elected who had been retained until now. Van Brugh sprang to his feet and argued at length the superior wisdom of the old Dutch system. Van Ruyven followed him, and, in great heat, opposed the principle of appointments by the governor. Nicolls was bland and deferential, but said he was under orders from the

June 14.

Duke of York to model the government of New York according to that of the cities of England. At the same time, he paid the gentlemen some happy compliments in respect to their recent administration of affairs. The ceremony of swearing in the new magistrates proceeded without interruption; they were duly proclaimed, and shook hands with the polite governor before separating.

John Lawrence was one of three brothers who settled on Long Island in the time of Charles I. He was a lineal descendant of Sir Robert Lawrence (anciently spelled Laurens), who owned in England, during the reign of Henry VII., thirty-four manors, the revenue of which amounted to six thousand pounds sterling per annum. These brothers, John, William, and Thomas, brought considerable property into the province, and all became extensive landholders. John accumulated a fortune in mercantile pursuits. When he was first made an alderman, he had a city as well as a country residence, and owned more slaves than any one on Manhattan Island.

The democratic theory which has since been thoroughly instilled into the American mind, that all men (and perhaps women) are born free and equal, was then among the marvels of the future. An aristocratic sentiment pervaded the little community, and was predominant for more than a century after, which was much the same as in the contemporaneous cities of Europe. The line between master and servant was rigidly drawn. There was no transition state, through which the latter might aspire, by the favor of fortune, to rise to the condition of the former. And the Dutch, with their great republican notions but half developed, were, if possible, more tenacious in the matter of social classification than the English.

Nicholas Bayard, Stuyvesant's nephew, was appointed secretary of the common council, and was required to keep the records both in Dutch and English. He was a mere boy in years and personal appearance; but, thanks to his accomplished mother, he had all the flexibility and self-possession of a veteran. He was industrious, and intelligent in the details of finance and city government. He wrote rapidly, and his penmanship was the pride of the board. He had none of the forwardness common to youth, was courteously deferent to his elders, and remarkably grave and reticent. "He is never in the way, nor ever out of the way," said Willett, — a trait of character which may possibly account for his extraordinary career in after life. He was, however, excessively frivolous in some of his personal tastes, and, when off duty, devoted himself to dancing, horse-racing, and other diversions which greatly distressed his worthy friends.

The schools, so far as they were established, were allowed to continue;

but Nicolls took no steps to increase their number, or, indeed, to promote education in any form. It was sufficient for him, he argued, to see that the Christian ministers were supported. The Lutherans he permitted to build a church of their own and to send to Europe for a clergyman.

But a storm was gathering across the water, which was to involve New York in fresh difficulties. When Charles II. and his ministers settled with convenient logic the question of seizing and appropriating a Dutch province, it was at the risk of war. The States-General had no suspicion of the treachery in progress until the whole facts were revealed. De Witt sought an explanation from Downing, who replied, with stinging sarcasm, that he knew of no such country as New Netherland except in the maps; the territory had always belonged to the English! Charles himself laughed heartily when the news reached him of the complete success of Nicolls, and remarked to Sir George Carteret, "I shall have a pleasant time with the Dutch ambassador, when he comes."

The West India Company raved. They applied to the city of Amsterdam and also to the States-General for ships of war and soldiers, to send at once for the reconquest of the province whose concerns they had so fatally neglected. But the commercial monopoly had lost caste, and the popular cry was against lending it any assistance.

A considerable time elapsed before Van Gogh succeeded in obtaining audience of the king. Charles put him off with one excuse after another, but finally admitted him into his presence. Van Gogh denounced the whole proceeding as a vile deception, equally opposed to honor and to justice, and as a palpable infraction of the treaty between the English and Dutch nations. Charles haughtily replied that New Netherland belonged to the English, who had merely allowed the Dutch to settle there, without conferring any authority upon the West India Company. The next day, Clarendon wrote to Downing to tell De Witt that "the king was no more accountable to the Dutch government for what he had done in America than he would be in case he should think fit to proceed against the Dutch who live in the fens of England or in any other part of his dominions."

De Witt did not pause to demonstrate the transparent absurdity of the comparison, but peremptorily replied, "New Netherland must be restored." It was soon apparent to the Dutch statesmen, through the insolent manner of Downing, as well as the tone of Clarendon's correspondence, that no redress from England need be anticipated. Secret orders were therefore given to De Ruyter, who was with a squadron on the coast of Africa, "to reduce the English possessions in that region, and inflict by way of reprisal as much damage and injury as possible, either at Barbadoes,

New Netherland, Newfoundland, or other islands or places under English obedience." Downing secured information in regard to these secret orders, through the aid of skillful spies, who took keys from De Witt's pocket while he was asleep in bed, and extracted papers from his desk which were returned within an hour.[1] He immediately communicated the fact to his own government. Letters of reprisal were at once issued against the "ships, goods, and servants" of the United Provinces, and, without any previous notice, one hundred and thirty Dutch merchant vessels were seized in the English ports.

The Dutch, who lived by commerce, were no longer backward about fighting. Every city offered men and money to the government. The East India Company suspended their herring and whale fisheries, and equipped twenty war-vessels. The West India Company were authorized to attack, conquer, and destroy the English everywhere, both in and out of Europe, on land and on water. Fourteen millions of guilders were voted for the expenses of the war. As De Ruyter was yet in the West Indies, Wassenaar of Opdam was made admiral of the fleet, with the younger Tromp, and other renowned commanders, under him.

On the 4th of March, Charles issued a formal declaration of war against the United Provinces. The House of Commons at once voted two and one half millions of pounds sterling; "a sum," says Macaulay, "exceeding that which had supported the fleets and armies of Cromwell, at the time when his power was the terror of all the world." The public mind of England had been for some time growing discontented with the maladministration of affairs, and the immorality and extravagance of the court; but all prior murmurs were mild compared with the cry of indignation which now burst forth. March 4.

The Duke of York took command of the English fleet, and sent orders to Nicolls to put his province of New York in a posture of defense against the Dutch. Charles wrote to Nicolls himself, telling him of De Ruyter's expedition, and admonishing him to take all possible care to avoid a surprise. Clarendon added his word of warning, telling Nicolls that he must expect the Dutch to do him every possible mischief. Nicolls and Philip Carteret were appointed commissioners in Admiralty, to dispose of all Dutch prizes in the American harbors.

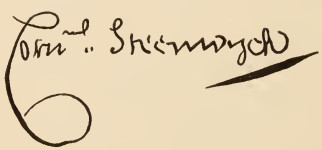
In May, De Ruyter was actually on his way from the West Indies to Newfoundland. He intended to visit New York, and, had he done so, its conquest would have been easy. But, being short of provisions, he was obliged to turn homeward. May.

[1] *Pepys*, II. 186, 192. *Davies*, III. 27, 28. *Barnage*, I 714. *De Witt*, IV. 413. *Aitzema*, V. 93, 94. *Col. Doc.*, II. 285–288. III. 85. *Parl. Hist.*, IV. 296–303. *Clarke's James II.*

As for the inhabitants of New York, they feared De Ruyter much less than they did the privateers who were prowling about in pursuit of plunder. Nicolls was painfully embarrassed. He had received no supplies whatever from England since the surrender. The fort was weak; he had no war-vessels; and the soldiers were in want of the commonest necessaries. But he was as loyal as he was brave. He at once issued a proclamation for the confiscation of the West India Company's estate, which had already been attached, and sent orders to New England in relation to Dutch prizes in their ports. He then called a meeting of the citizens, to consult about fortifying the city on the river side. As on many other important occasions, he presided in person. His opening address was a marvel of oratory. He assured the people that he should constrain no one to fight against his own nation. In asking aid in the matter of defense, he agreed to furnish palisades and wampum. Cornelis Steenwyck responded. He was a stanch republican, of the old Belgian stock, intelligent and liberal-minded; and he probably exercised a more healthful influence over the public mind than any other man of his time. He said that he should always be a faithful subject, and would contribute according to his means. But he did not see how the Dutch residents could enlist on the public works until their arms were restored to them. One and another arose with the same objection. Some said the town was strong enough as it was. There were many other excuses. No direct result was obtained. It was evident to Nicolls that he should be able to command very little assistance from a community which would welcome the restoration of Dutch authority.

June 28.

Portrait of Steenwyck.



Autograph of Steenwyck.

He sent an elaborate statement of New York affairs to the king by Cartwright, who, quite discouraged with his unprofitable labors in Boston, and in great physical torture with the gout, sailed in June for London. He was captured at sea by a Dutch privateer, who, having taken away all his papers, landed him in Spain. "It is for your health, sir," said the humorous sea-captain, as they parted company; "the mild southern climate always cures the gout."

Before the breaking out of hostilities, France had endeavored to reconcile the differences between England and the United Provinces. As the war progressed, Louis secretly sympathized with Charles, while at the same time he wrote to his minister at the Hague, that, from all he could learn, the rights of the Dutch were the best founded. "It is a species of mockery," he went on to say, "to make believe that those who have built and peopled a city, without any one saying a word to hinder them, would have been tolerated as strangers in France or in England; and habitation, joined to long possession, are, in my judgment, two sufficiently good titles." At the same time he advised that, since New Netherland was already lost to the Dutch, it be abandoned, for the sake of peace. De Witt declining any further overtures in that direction, Louis made propositions once more to Charles without avail, and then reluctantly fulfilled a promise of long standing to assist Holland. He came to this decision on the 20th of January, 1666. The next month, England declared war against France.

In the mean time, a fierce conflict had raged. On the 13th of June, 1665, a battle was fought off the coast of Suffolk, in which the ship of Admiral Opdam was blown up, and the Duke of York returned in triumph to London. An English medal was struck, bearing the words "QUATUOR MARIA VINDICO" — I claim four seas. When the news reached New York, the English residents held a grand jubilee over the personal safety of the Duke. But the bonfire which celebrated the victory in London glared over a doomed city. A pestilence broke out, surpassing in horror any that had visited the British Isles for three centuries. The appalled court fled from Whitehall. The great city was desolated. Within five months, more than one hundred thousand lives were suddenly ended. The awful silence of the streets was only broken by the nightly round of the dead-cart.

June 13.

Naval defeat almost produced a revolution in Holland. The return of De Ruyter, however, again inspired confidence. Other expeditions were fitted out. De Witt himself went with the troops, and soon came to a perfect understanding of sea affairs. In the effort to get the great clumsy vessels of the Dutch through the Zuyder Zee, he went out in a boat

himself, sounding carefully, and by degrees so mastering the elements, that he may be said to have avenged in some sense his former indignities by keeping his ships at sea long after the English fleet was obliged to put in. Several naval engagements occurred, and some frigates were disabled on both sides; the English were sullen and disappointed, and the Dutch encouraged and hopeful.

Thus departed the year 1665. Parliament still voted supplies; but the English nation was but a step removed from anarchy. Rents had fallen until the income of every landed proprietor was so
1666. diminished that a wail of agricultural distress arose from all the shires in the kingdom. The gentry paid their accumulated taxes, breathing curses upon the king's favorites and upon the ignominious war. Algernon Sidney went to the Hague and urged De Witt to invade England, promising him aid; a strong party in that country having conceived the idea of re-establishing the Commonwealth. This proposition was declined by the great statesman. But, as the spring advanced, another naval contest, occupying four days, took place at the mouth of the
June 11. Thames. Instead of the Duke of York, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albermarle commanded the English fleet. De Witt went with his generals, and the chain shot which he is said to have invented was at this time first introduced, and so cut to pieces the rigging of the English that the Dutch came off victorious. Before the end of the summer, the fleets engaged again to the advantage of the English,
Aug. 4. and De Witt swore that he would never sheathe his sword until he had had his revenge.

A terrible conflagration completed England's miseries for 1666. Five sixths of the proud city of London were laid in ashes. The summer had been the driest known for years. The citizens who had been driven away by the plague were returning; the merchants counted upon peace before winter, and were preparing to go to the Continental markets. On the 2d of September, a fire broke out which lasted four days
Sept. 2. and nights, and consumed every house, church, and hall in ninety parishes between the Tower and Temple Bar.

The year 1667 opened gloomily. Calamity followed calamity. The incapacity of the English statesmen who were in favor with the
1667. king became more and more apparent. All schemes of an offensive war were abandoned. Presently it appeared that even a defensive war was too much for the administration. The ships became leaky and the dock-yards were unguarded. De Witt was promptly informed, and sent De Ruyter up the Thames to Chatham, where he burned all the finest vessels in the English navy, sending terror into every heart in the realm.

Charles was compared to Nero, who sang while Rome was burning. At that very moment, he was surrounded by the ladies of his court, and amused himself by hunting a moth about the supper-room.

The English regarded De Witt's success in the light of a national disgrace. The States-General haughtily dictated the terms of a treaty which was soon after signed at Breda. Singularly enough, they surrendered New Netherland, the very occasion and prize of this long contention, for Poleron, Surinam, and Nova Scotia. The West India Company shareholders and the regents of Amsterdam took exceptions; but otherwise there was general satisfaction in the United Provinces. The same day another treaty was signed between France and England, by which Acadia was restored to Louis. Bells rang in London, but there was little music in them. No bonfires expressed the national joy, since bonfires were costly, and there was no joy to express. Public sentiment both in and out of Parliament set stronger than ever against the king. What was New York, that it should have been accepted in exchange for such profitable places as Poleron, Surinam, and Nova Scotia? Massachusetts shared largely in the same bitter feeling. Popular indignation was aimed chiefly at Clarendon, and Charles adroitly shielded himself behind his austere and faithful minister. England must have a victim; and Charles, who had really grown weary of Clarendon's imposing ways, deprived him of the Great Seal at the very moment when he was affixing it to the proclamation of the Peace of Breda. "I must assuage the anger of Parliament," was his kingly excuse. July 31.

Innocent New York, the cause of all these disturbances, was becoming more interesting abroad than within her own borders. Improvements were at a dead stand. Her merchants were hampered in all their business operations by sea and by land. Her ships were seized by Dutch and French privateers almost within sight of her harbor. Her trade was suspended. Nicolls was compelled to use his own private means for the public good. There was little direct intercourse with England. Necessaries of all kinds grew very scarce. When, after a long captivity, Cartwright reached London, and explained the condition of affairs in the colonies, the Duke sent to New York two ships, laden with supplies. He wrote to Nicolls a letter full of commendation. The king did the same, inclosing a present of two hundred pounds. At the same time, he ordered a strict guard kept against the French in Canada.

This caution had been anticipated. And the meager help came at a moment when Nicolls was well-nigh disheartened in his herculean efforts to harmonize the various elements of discord. In the summer of 1665, a terrible war had broken out between two tribes of Indians at the North.

Two Dutch farmers who lived out in the clearings were killed. Mayor Willett, of New York, went to confer with the Albany magistrates on the subject. Two Indians were arrested for the murder, and, by order of the governor, one of them was hanged and the other sent in chains to Fort James. A great effort was then made to secure peace between the two contending tribes. Nicolls went to Albany, where he was met by Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, and the arduous work was accomplished. Captain John Baker was left in command of Fort Albany, with nine cannon, and a garrison of sixty men.

On his return, Nicolls visited Esopus, where the towns-people and the soldiers were in a quarrel. His presence, and his discreet counsels, allayed the feverish temper of all parties. Brodhead, as the chief officer of militia, was instructed "to keep constant guard, cause the village authorities to be respected, prevent his soldiers from abusing the Indians, avoid harshness of words on all occasions, seek rather to reconcile differences than to be the head of a party, and abstain from prejudice against the Dutch, who," continued Nicolls, "if well treated, are not as malicious as some will seek to persuade you that they are." He also executed an important treaty with the Esopus Indians, by which he secured for the Duke a large tract of land to the West, to offer as an inducement to planters who might wish to settle in the province.

At the Court of Assizes, held in New York in September of the same year, the sachems of the Long Island Indians appeared, and agreed to submit to the government. Shortly after, David Gardiner, in com-
Oct. 5. pliance with the requirement of the code, brought to Nicolls his grant of the Isle of Wight, or Gardiner's Island (which had been originally made to his father, in 1640, by the agent of the Earl of Stirling), and received a new patent of confirmation. An interesting criminal case was also decided at this first Court of Assizes. Ralph Hall and his wife Mary were arraigned by the magistrates of Brookhaven for murder by means of witchcraft. It was claimed that two deaths had been caused by their "detestable and wicked arts." Twelve jurymen, one of whom was the afterwards conspicuous Jacob Leisler, rendered a verdict to the effect that there were suspicious circumstances in regard to the woman, but not of sufficient importance to warrant the forfeit of her life; the man was acquitted. The court sentenced Hall to give a recognizance for his wife's appearance from sessions to sessions, and guarantee the good behavior of both while they remained under the government.[1]

The owners of Shelter Island, Thomas Middleton, and Constant and

[1] One of the last acts of Nicolls, just before he left New York, was to release Hall and his wife from their bonds.

Nathaniel Sylvester, soon followed the example of Gardiner, and obtained confirmation of their title. In consideration of seventy-five pounds of beef and seventy-five pounds of pork towards the support of the New York government, they were released forever from taxes and military duty. A patent was issued to the Sylvesters, erecting the island into a manor with all the privileges belonging.[1]

The Long Island inhabitants chafed under what they styled "arbitrary power." They were outspoken and aggressive, and gave Nicolls more trouble than all the Dutch population together. They clamored for a General Court, after the manner of New England. In many instances, they openly defied the Code of Laws. The danger of rebellion was imminent. The governor went among them, but with less success than he had reason to anticipate. Finally, adopting a vigorous course, he made it an indictable offense to reproach or defame any one acting for the government, and arrested, tried, and severely punished several persons.[2] He then declared that every land patent in the province which was not immediately renewed should be regarded as invalid; the quitrents and fees being actually necessary for the support of the government. In New York, and in the Dutch towns, the payments for new patents were made easy. Van Rensselaer created quite an excitement by claiming Albany as a part of Rensselaerswick. Nicolls wrote to him that the question must be settled by the Duke of York, but added, "Do not grasp at too much authority; if you imagine there is pleasure in titles of government, I wish that I could serve your appetite, for I have found only trouble."

The natural consequences of the war were apparent on every hand. There were altercations between English and Dutch laborers; the officers of the garrisons were not always prudent; and the common soldiers were given to roguery. On one occasion, three of the New York garrison were convicted of having stolen goods from a gentleman's cellar, and it was determined that one of them must die. The fatal lot fell to Thomas

[1] The islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket were included by name in the Duke's patent. An independent government had been exercised over them by Thomas Mayhew and his son, who purchased them of Lord Stirling; but, in January, 1668, Nicolls issued a special commission to Mayhew, thus settling the point of jurisdiction beyond question. Fisher's Island, one of the gems of the Sound, a few miles from Stonington — an island nine miles long and one mile broad — had been granted, in 1640, by Massachusetts to John Winthrop, but as it was included in the Duke's patent, Winthrop was obliged to apply to Nicolls for a confirmation of his title, and it was erected into a manor, and made independent of any jurisdiction whatever. It now forms a part of Suffolk County.

[2] Arthur Smith, of Brookhaven, was convicted of saying "the king was none of his king, and the governor none of his governor," and sentenced to the stocks. William Lawrence, of Flushing, was fined and compelled to make public acknowledgment for a similar remark. *Court of Assizes*, II. 82 - 94.

Weall. On the evening before the day fixed for the execution, some of the women of the city besought the governor to spare the culprit's life. All the privates in the garrison joined in a petition to the same effect; and, yielding to the influence, Nicolls drew up the soldiers on parade and in a characteristic speech pronounced pardon.

A complication of difficulties between the French and the Indians, between the different tribes of Indians, and between the Jesuits, the Indians, and the New York colonists, to the north, kept Nicolls in continual anxiety. He had reason to apprehend mischief from the French; the Mohawks, with all their pledges, were very uncertain; the New England colonies were not in a condition to render efficient aid in an emergency; and the prospect was as dismal as could well be imagined.

Nicolls was so oppressed with financial embarrassments that he wrote to both the Duke and the king, begging to be relieved from "a government which kept him more busy than any of his former positions, and had drawn from his purse every dollar he possessed." His detailed account of the condition of New York affairs was most pitiful. "Such is our strait," he said, "that not one soldier to this day since I brought them out of England has been in a pair of sheets, or upon any sort of bed but canvas and straw."

A response came tardily. The Duke consented to the return of Nicolls; but it was not until after the Peace of Breda had set his mind
1668. at rest concerning the immediate possibility of losing his prov-
Jan. 1. ince. The news of the treaty came with the same ship which brought the recall of the weary governor. Peace was a charmed word in Dutch as well as English ears; politics, feuds, and bickerings were forgotten, in the universal gladness; vague, wearing, corroding apprehension was succeeded by intense relief; business might again be resumed.

Presently came the official announcement of Nicolls's intended departure, and there was universal sorrow. He had made himself exceedingly popular. The leading Dutch residents were, if possible, more attached to him than his English colleagues; but all were united in one deep feeling of regret that he must leave the country.

CHAPTER XIV.

1668 – 1673.

COLONEL FRANCIS LOVELACE.

Colonel Francis Lovelace. — Nicolls and Lovelace. — Cornelis Steenwyck's House. — The City Livery. — Nicholas Bayard. — Fever and Ague in New York. — The End of Commercial Intercourse with Holland. — Louis XIV. France. — The Triple Alliance. — Social Visiting in New York in 1669. — A Prosperous Era. — The Dutch Reformed Church. — The Sabbath in New York two hundred Years ago. — Dress of the Period. — The Lutheran Minister. — Witchcraft. — The First Exchange. — Rebellion on Long Island. — The Purchase of Staten Island. — Charles II. and Louis XIV. — The Prince of Orange. — Assassination of the De Witts. — War between England and Holland. — Fierce Battles in Europe. — The Death of Colonel Nicolls. — The First Post between New York and Boston. — Lovelace in Hartford. — The Dutch Squadron in New York Bay. — Capture of New York by the Dutch. — New Orange.

COLONEL FRANCIS LOVELACE was appointed to succeed Nicolls. He was the son of Baron Richard Lovelace of Hurley. The ancestral home of the family was some thirty miles from London, on the Berkshire side of the Thames; a great imposing country mansion, which was standing until recently, with spacious grounds and terraced gardens, covering the site of the ancient Benedictine monastery, from which it was named "Lady Place." 1668.

Colonel Lovelace was one of the gentlemen of that focus of political intrigue and fashionable gayety the Court of Charles II. He had been one of the supporters of the royal cause, — zealous, even to the point of incurring imprisonment in the tower by Cromwell, on a charge of high treason. This only increased his favor with the king at the Restoration, and he was made one of the knights of the "Royal Oak," an order instituted as a reward for the faithful. He was a handsome, agreeable, polished man of the world, — upright, generous, and amiable. But he lacked energy, and that discrimination which the successful conduct of government requires at every step. He had a fine perception

of probabilities, and a profound conviction of the future destiny of New York. At the same time, he was of the narrow type of mind, inclined to move along a single line of thought, like a railway in its grooves, and he possessed very little of that subtle sagacity which brings conflicting elements into one harmonious whole.

He had visited Long Island in 1850, under a pass from Cromwell's Council of State, and had gone thence to Virginia. But his knowledge of America was limited, and when he reached New York, in the spring of 1668, he was without any valuable preparation for the work before him. The Duke wrote, requesting Nicolls to remain a few months longer, that Lovelace might have an opportunity to study affairs. The first time the latter presided in the Admiralty Court, Nicolls sat by his side. The two governors journeyed together to various parts of the province. They spent one week in Albany, were *fêted* by Van Rensselaer at his manor-house, and smoked the pipe of peace with the Mohawk sachems. On their return, they stopped two days in Esopus, and were the guests of William Beekman. They looked into military and other matters, and visiting Thomas Chambers at his manor, "passed an evening there of great hilarity." They traveled over Long Island on horseback, stopping at all the principal towns. They went to Hartford, and were entertained by Governor Winthrop in his most hospitable and courtly style; and they spent one day with the dignitaries of New Haven.

As the time drew near for Nicolls's departure, the most sincere sorrow was manifested on all sides. He who had come among the people as a conqueror was regarded as a loyal and trustworthy friend. He had ruled with such discretion and moderation, that even they who had disliked his orders had come to love the man that had taken so much pains to avoid the unnecessary wounding of their prejudices. Maverick wrote to Lord Arlington, "he has kept persons of different judgements and of diverse nations in peace and quietness during a time when a great part of the world was in wars; and as to the Indians, they were never brought into such peacable posture and faire correspondence as they now are." Every one delighted in doing him honor. The city corporation gave him a notable dinner, the scene of which was the great square stone house of Cornelis Steenwyck, the mayor, on the corner of Whitehall and Bridge Streets. A slight glimpse of the inside of this antique dwelling may be obtained from the inventory of its furniture, found among the old records, one fragment of which is as follows: "Handsome carpets, marble tables, velvet chairs with fine silver lace, Russia leather chairs, French nutwood book-case, Alabaster images, tall clock, flowered tabby chimney-cloth, tapestry work for cushions, muslin curtains in front

parlor and flowered tabby curtains in drawing-room, eleven paintings by old Antwerp masters, etc."

The leading families in the province were represented among the guests on this memorable occasion. Lovelace wrote in a private letter to the king, "I find some of these people have the breeding of courts, and I cannot conceive how such is acquired." On the 28th of August, Nicolls took his final farewell, escorted to the vessel in which he was to embark for Europe by the largest procession of the military and citizens which had as yet been seen on Manhattan Island.

Steenwyck's House.

Cornelis Steenwyck occupied the mayor's chair three years. It was during this period that Thomas Delavall was sent to England by Lovelace on matters of business, and, upon his return, brought from the Duke of York a present of seven gowns for the aldermen, to be worn upon state occasions, and a silver mace to be carried by a mace-bearer, at the head of the procession of city magistrates; also, an English seal for the province of New York. A city livery was from that time worn by beadles and other subordinate officers, the colors being blue tipped with orange. Steenwyck was one of the governor's counselors, and at one time was appointed governor *pro tem.*, during the temporary absence of Lovelace. He was a man of sterling character, and filled his various public positions with dignity and honor.

Lovelace made no attempt to disturb the policy by which Nicolls had administered the government to such general satisfaction. Among his counselors at various dates were, besides Steenwyck, Thomas Willett and Thomas Delavall, former mayors of the city; Ralph Whitfield, Isaac Bedlow, Francis Boone, and Cornelis Van Ruyven, aldermen; Captain John Manning, the city sheriff; Matthias Nicolls, the provincial secretary; and Dudley Lovelace and Thomas Lovelace, the governor's younger brothers. But he found his field of labor hedged in by many thorns. Conflicting claims about lands stirred up quarrels in every part of the province. He had no sooner quelled one than another broke out. The difficulties of the situation were greatly aggravated by the absence of any uniform nationality. Some of the habits and customs were Dutch,

some French, some English, some Christian, and some heathen. The lower classes were intemperate, unruly, and sometimes shockingly profane; and the more respectable and religious inhabitants were constantly entering complaints against them. Extremes of evil and good were singularly linked together, and the barbarous punishments which English usage warranted seemed the only safeguard against anarchy.

Nicholas Bayard, who had developed a remarkable talent for mathematics, was appointed surveyor of the province. He was noted, besides, for his varied attainments and for a ready wit, which enabled him to render important service to Lovelace, whom he usually accompanied when the governor was compelled to make personal investigations into the boundaries of farms and manors.

One of the great wants which sorely oppressed Lovelace was that of a printing-press. He sent to Cambridge for a printer, but could not obtain one. There was no restriction in this respect on the part of the Duke of York, as has generally been supposed. It was not until 1686 that James, as king of England, restrained the liberty of printing in New York. The immediate cause of Lovelace's enlightened effort was the desire to publish a catechism, which, together with a few chapters of the Bible, the Rev. Thomas James, the first minister of Easthampton, had translated, under the auspices of Nicolls, for the use of the Indians.[1]

Fever and ague prevailed in the city to such an extent during the autumn of this year, that it was regarded as a serious epidemic,
Nov. 21. and the governor proclaimed the 21st of November as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer on this account.

New Jersey, which under the rule of Philip Carteret had now attained the age of three years, was a constant source of annoyance to New York. Nicolls, when he reached London, explained to the Duke that his grant to Berkeley and Carteret had not only deprived him of a vast tract of his very best land, but ceded away some promising Dutch villages within three or four miles of the metropolis. About the same time, Maverick wrote to the Duke in a mournful strain, deprecating the worthlessness of the greater portion of that part of the patent which he still retained. He said, "Long Island is very poor and inconsiderable, and, besides the city of New York, there are but two Dutch towns of any importance, Esopus and Albany. I suppose it was not thought that Lord Berkeley would come so near, nor the inconvenience of his doing so considered." The Duke grew uneasy, and attempted to negotiate an exchange with

[1] *Brodhead*, II. 145. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, XXXVII. 485. *Thomas's History of Printing*, I. 275; II. 90, 286. *Dunlap*, I. 126. *Thompson*, I. 317. *Wood*, 41. *Col. Doc.*, III. 216–219, 331–334, 375.

Berkeley and Carteret for some lands on the Delaware; but the arrangement fell through, owing undoubtedly to Lord Baltimore's claim to the west side of the Delaware. Staten Island, however, was "adjudged to belong to New York."

Meanwhile the Lords of Trade complained that the English merchants were jealous concerning the business that was lost to them by the continuance of the old commercial intercourse between New York and Holland. They claimed that it was contrary to the spirit of the Navigation Act, and that the sixth and seventh articles of the capitulation had reference only to the first six months after the surrender. The king's promise to Stuyvesant had induced Van Cortlandt, Cousseau, and some others to unite in ordering one large ship from Holland to New York. Another was upon the eve of sailing, when Sir William Temple, who had succeeded Downing as minister to the Hague, was directed to notify interested parties that all passes granted under the order of 23d October, 1667, viz. that "three Dutch ships" might "freely trade with New York for the space of seven years," were henceforth recalled and annulled. When Nicolls heard of this order, he hastened to Whitehall and, in a personal interview with the king, obtained permission for the vessel just prepared to make one voyage. Shortly after, private letters from New York so plainly revealed the grievous disappointment of some of the merchants, who, relying upon the pledge of Charles, had invested heavily, that this able and justice-loving ex-governor set himself energetically at work and with much difficulty obtained an order in council for the sailing of one more merchant vessel from Holland to New York. This was announced as positively the last Dutch ship which should ever "come on that account" to Manhattan.

Dec. 11.

1669.

Feb. 24.

The English statesmen had long been watching with dismay the steady growth of France. The personal qualities of the French king added greatly to the power and importance of that realm. No sovereign ever sat upon a throne with more dignity and grace. He was his own prime minister, and performed the duties of that office with wisdom and firmness the more remarkable from the fact that from his cradle he had been surrounded with fawning flatterers. He was as unprincipled as Charles II., but by no means as indolent. He was a Roman Catholic, but it was not until a later date that, through austere devotion, he gave his court the aspect of a monastery. His transactions with foreign powers were characterized by some generosity, but no justice. His territory was large, compact, fertile, well placed both for attack and defense, situated in a good climate, and inhabited by a brave, active, and ingenious people, who were implicitly subservient to the control of a single mind. His revenues

far exceeded those of any other potentate. His army was excellently disciplined, and commanded by the most noted of living generals. France was, just then, beyond all doubt, the greatest power in Europe and stood like a perpetual menace to the rest of the world. It must be remembered that the Empire of Russia, now so powerful, was then as entirely out of the system of European politics as Abyssinia or Siam; that the house of Brandenburg was then hardly more important than the house of Saxony; and that the Republic of the United States had not even begun to exist.

Spain had been, for many years, on the decline; and France, pressing upon her, was in the full career of conquest. The United Provinces, prosperous and rich as they then were, saw with anxiety that they were no match for the power of so great, ambitious, and unscrupulous a monarch as Louis XIV., should he choose to extend his frontiers. Little help could be expected from England in such an emergency, since her policy had been devoid of wisdom and spirit from the time of the Restoration. It was not easy to devise an expedient to avert the danger.

Two nations were suddenly amazed and delighted. Sir William Temple, one of the most expert diplomatists, as well as one of the most pleasing writers, of the age, had been, for some time, representing to Charles, that it was both advisable and practicable to enter into engagements with the States-General, for the purpose of checking the progress of France. For a time his suggestions had been slighted; but the increasing ill-humor of Parliament induced the king to try a temporary expedient for quieting discontent which might become serious. Hence Sir William was commissioned to negotiate an alliance with the Dutch Republic. He soon came to an understanding with John De Witt. Sweden, which, small as were her resources, had been raised by the genius of Gustavus Adolphus to a high rank among European powers, was induced to join with England and the States; and thus was formed the famous coalition known as the "Triple Alliance." Louis was angry; but he did not think it politic to draw upon himself the hostility of such a confederacy, in addition to that of Spain. He consented, therefore, to relinquish a large portion of the territory which his armies had occupied, and to treat with Spain on reasonable terms. Peace was restored to Europe, and the English government, lately an object of general contempt, was restored to the respect of its neighbors. The English people were specially gratified at this, for the nation was now leagued with a republican government that was Presbyterian in religion, against an arbitrary prince of the Roman Catholic Church. "It was the masterpiece of King Charles's life," said Burnet, "and, if he had stuck to it, it would have been both the strength and glory of his reign."

The news produced intense satisfaction in New York. The English and the Dutch inhabitants became better friends than ever. There was much social visiting during the winter of 1668 – 69. The formal entertainments were not more than five or six in number, but a club was established, comprising the more notable of the Dutch, English, and French families, who met twice a week, at one another's houses in rotation, coming together about six in the evening and separating at nine o'clock. The refreshments were simple, consisting chiefly of wines and brandies, — "not compounded and adulterated as in England," wrote Maverick, — and they were always served in a silver tankard. These gatherings were productive of great good feeling. Lovelace was generally present and rendered himself exceedingly agreeable. To those who would share in any considerable degree the advantages of this coterie, familiarity with three languages — English, Dutch, and French — was almost indispensable. Indeed, education was held in such high esteem, that the difficulties of obtaining it were overcome by the employment of private tutors in all the wealthy families.

Portrait of Steendam

The earliest poet in New York was Jacob Steendam. A poem which appeared in 1659, "*The Complaint of New Amsterdam to her Mother*," was from his pen; also "*The Praise of New Netherland*," which was published in a small quarto form in 1661. He wrote a variety of verse, some of which was distinguished by great elegance. He indulged in quaint conceits and rhymes, and evinced oftentimes a strong religious feeling. The action of his poems was usually taken from the Scriptures or classical mythology. A few fragments of poetry from the pen of Hon. Nicasius De Sille have been handed down to us from the same remote period; and a little volume of poems written at a later date by Dominie Selyns is the key to a treasure of genius and culture.

A prosperous era was dawning upon New York. Several Bostonians removed thither and invested largely in real estate. One man bought five houses, which had just been erected on Broadway. Business of all kinds increased. Nine or ten vessels were in port at one time, with cargoes of tobacco from Virginia. Large quantities of wheat were shipped

to Boston. A fishing bank was discovered two or three leagues from Sandy Hook, on which, in a few hours, some twelve hundred "excellent good cod" were taken. More than twenty whales were caught during the spring at the east end of Long Island, and several in New York Bay. Lovelace, co-operating with some of the merchants, built a strong and handsome vessel called the "*Good Fame*," which was sent to Virginia and subsequently to England. A smaller and less costly ship was launched about the same time at Gravesend. Some gentlemen, who arrived at this time from Bermuda and Barbadoes, were so much pleased with the prospect, that they bought houses and plantations. Nicolls obtained from the Duke of York the gift of a snug house on Broadway for Maverick, who complained that he had never received the value of a sixpence (one horse excepted) for his services to the government.

Daniel Denton describes New York at that date as "built mostly of brick and stone, and covered with red and black tile; and the land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing aspect to beholders." The king's cosmographer, John Ogilby, more elaborately pictures it, as "placed upon the neck of the island looking toward the sea"; and as "compact and oval, with fair streets and several good houses; — the rest are built much after the manner of Holland, to the number of about four hundred; upon one side of the town is James'-fort, capable to lodge three hundred soldiers; it hath forty pieces of cannon mounted; it is always furnished with arms and ammunition against accidents, and is well accommodated with a spring of fresh water; the church rises from the fort with a lofty double roof between which a square tower looms up: on one side of the church is the prison and on the other side the governor's house; at the water-side stand the gallows and the whipping-post."

A glowing tribute was paid to Hell Gate, which was represented as sending forth such a hideous roaring as to deter any stranger from attempting to pass it without a pilot, and was therefore an absolute defense against any hostile approach from that direction. Governor's Island had been beautified and rendered attractive through the making of a garden and the planting of fruit trees. Long Island, although so recently pronounced by Maverick "poor and inconsiderable," was described by Denton, whose home was in Jamaica, as almost a paradise. Crops were plentiful; trout and other delicious fish abounded in the crystal streams; fruits grew spontaneously, especially strawberries, of which he says, "they are in such abundance in June that the fields and woods are dyed red." The vast, smooth plains encouraged the breeding of swift horses. Lovelace ordered that trials of speed at the race-course established by Nicolls should take place every May. A subscription-list

was filled out by those who were disposed to enter horses for a crown of silver, or its value in good wheat. The swiftest horse was rewarded with a silver cup.

The clergymen of the Reformed Dutch church in New York were Dominie Schaats at Albany, Dominie Polhemus on Long Island, and Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, colleagues at New York. Early in the spring, Dominie Megapolensis obtained of the governor permission to visit Holland, where he died suddenly, after twenty-seven years of ministerial service in the province. Dominie Drisius was in feeble health, and needed assistance, which could only be furnished by Ægidius Luyck, the Latin teacher, who had studied divinity in Holland, and by the foresinger, Evert Pietersen.

In June, 1670, Lovelace offered one thousand guilders per annum, with a dwelling-house free of rent, and firewood gratis, to any minister from Holland who would come and take charge of the New York church. Dominie Selyns, who was settled in Wavereen, Holland, induced his relative, Dominie Wilhemus Van Nieuwenhuysen, to accept the liberal proposition. He duly made the voyage, and, in the summer of 1671, was installed as the colleague of Dominie Drisius. The new minister was an accomplished scholar, full of fire and eloquence in the pulpit, and highly acceptable to the church and congregation. The governor furnished Dominie Drisius with an allowance from the public revenue, and authorized the consistory to tax the congregation for the support of the pulpit and of the poor. Thus the English rulers virtually established the Dutch Church in New York. The elders and deacons at this time were Ex-Governor Peter Stuyvesant, Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, Paulus Van der Grist, Boele Roelofsen, Jacob Teunissen Kay, and Jacob Leisler.[1] 1670.

The English customs in regard to the observance of the Sabbath were as rigid as those of the Dutch, and were sustained by the habits and feelings of the great mass of the population. It was about 1678 that the statute was passed in England which may be regarded as the foundation of our present laws on the subject; although, when the colonies became States, each one legislated more or less for itself, and there was a gradual and universal relaxation of the excessive severity of the earlier years. The statute referred to forbade any person laboring or doing any business or work, except works of charity or necessity, on the "Lord's Day"; and it was enforced to the letter. Any violation of it was vis-

[1] *Brodhead*, II. 176. *Corr. Classis of Amst. Records of Collegiate R. D. Church, N. Y. New York City Rec.*, VI. 562–750. *Gen. Ent.*, IV. 47. *Council Minutes*, III. 82. *Col. Doc.*, II. 470, 475; III. 189. *Murphy's Anthology of N. N.*, 146, 178.

ited with immediate punishment. Ludicrous stories are told of Puritan rigor: how, in Massachusetts, no one was permitted to make beer on Saturday, lest it should "work" on Sunday; and how, in Connecticut, no man was allowed to kiss his wife on the Sabbath. But, with all due allowance for humorous exaggeration, it was practically the same in New York. The Sabbath was consecrated to an entire cessation from worldly labor. With a musical peal of the old Dutch bell the houses poured forth their occupants. Since no power ever decreed adversely to the dressing of one's best on that day, it must have been a bright and impressive scene. Gentlemen wore long-waisted coats, the skirts reaching almost to the ankles, with large silver buttons, sparkling down the entire front; a velvet waistcoat trimmed with silver-lace peeped out, and the shirt-front was elaborately embroidered; breeches were of silver cloth or different colored silks, according to the taste of the wearer; and the shoe-buckles were of silver. Ladies wore jaunty jackets of silk, velvet, or cloth, over different colored skirts. Sleeves were of the "mutton-leg" shape, with large turned-up white cuffs. Not only were chains for the neck much in vogue, but girdle-chains of gold and silver were common, to which were suspended costly bound Bibles and hymn-books for church use. Brooches and finger-rings also were much worn. The hair was dressed high and was frizzed about the face, and the bonnet was very pretty. The mayor and aldermen, in a dress that was peculiarly conspicuous, occupied, in the church, a pew by themselves. Lovelace, in the afternoon, attended the Episcopal service, and occupied the governor's pew, which had been elaborately fitted up by Nicolls. Another pew was set apart for the governor's council.

The Duke of York sympathized with any and every religious creed which dissented from the Church of England. He was by conviction a Roman Catholic; a fact which was not then without its value, as it served to protect irregular forms of worship, and actually placed him before the world as the friend of religious toleration. He permitted the Lutherans in New York to call a minister, the Rev. Jacobus Fabricus, from Germany. He went first to Albany. But his conduct there was not such as became his calling, and, complaints having been made, Lovelace suspended him from the pulpit at that place, giving him, at the same time, permission to preach in New York. It was soon found that, in addition to a dictatorial and quarrelsome temper, manifested in all his church relations, he was constantly abusing his wife. She spent one whole winter in the garret of their house, suffering all the while from fever and ague. She finally complained to the government, and petitioned, that since the house belonged to herself, that her husband should