PEARL STREET IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

ANNALS OF

OLD MANHATTAN

1609 — 1664

By

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With numerous illustrations

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To

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Illustrations

Foreword

IN the brief records contained in the following pages, the consideration of some interesting but disputed points of history has been intentionally omitted, for the annals of a country should present statements of fact only. Was Verrazzano the Florentine, with the French expedition of 1524, *the first to discover our Hudson, or did the sturdy Icelander, or the restless Viking at an earlier period, find safety upon its sheltered shores? Did Estevan Gomez, the Spaniard, ascend the river in* 1525, *or Jean Allefonsce, the French pilot of Saintonge, in* 1542? *These are questions that must still be accorded a place in the realm where "doctors disagree."*

Whether "Norumbega" the mythical was the Penobscot or the North River, or, indeed, whether

the name represented a river or dry land, cannot be stated with assurance, and, therefore, reaching forward unto the things that are beyond, this book attempts only to present, as clearly and concisely as it may, the true story of the Dutch in Old Manhattan.

J. M. C.

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1902.

AN INDIAN VILLAGE OF THE MANAHATAS

OLD MANHATTAN

ANNALS OF OLD MANHATTAN

I

Concerning the Manahatas

A TRADITION, long current among Indian tribes, told of a remote period when a calm translucid lake surrounded the fair island of Manahata. Gold and silver fishes abounded in the lake; fruit and flowers were inexhaustible upon the land; and above all brooded the spirit of the sovereign god, Manitto! But suddenly an irruption of the great river laid waste the peaceful spot; the roadway opened to the sea, and amid the rush and roar of tidal waters the protecting god took flight.

On that rocky canoe-shaped island, environed by salt rivers and a beautiful bay, dwelt the quivered and plumed tribe of the Manahatas. An offshoot of the great Algonquin

nation of Lenni-Lenape, they were a hardy, broad-shouldered race, tall, lithe and intelligent. Industrious fishermen, they held a community of interest in nets and boats, and in the barter of dried or sunscorched fish, for which inland tribes were eager. They had gained some knowledge of agriculture, and after their own fashion had acquired epicurean tastes. Food was so carefully and skillfully prepared that in the days of the Dutch occupation of the land, experienced housewives were glad to imitate the palatable Indian dishes of suppaen, succotash and yockey, and to learn from the squaws a recipe for the preparation of a popular beverage made from hickory-nuts and walnuts, pounded to a pulp and stirred into sparkling spring water. If they possessed the gifts of their kindred in the north, the Manahatas may have cultivated the fine arts, for in John Josselyn's record of voyages to the New England coast (1638 to

1663) he describes the Indians of that locality as poets whose formal speeches were uttered in rhymed couplets, and as vocal musicians who at marriages and feastings used "many pretty, odd, barbarous tunes."

Concerning the genesis of the name "Manhattan" many theories are extant. A plausible and interesting hypothesis traces the root through words which in various Indian dialects signify an island: Menatan, *any* small island; Menates, *the* small island; Menate, or Manhatte, *a* small island. If this derivation of the name is correct the origin of the distinctive tribal cognomen must be attributed to the place of abode.

A letter written in 1626 by De Resieres, the secretary to the governor of New Netherland, pictures, as he knew them, the Indians of Manhattan Island, and describes some of their festivities and amusements. A popular game called "sennaca" was played with

round rushes, which, we are told, "they understand how to shuffle and deal as though they were playing with cards, and with which they win from each other all they possess."

Commenting upon the Indian marriage customs, De Resieres records that when an Indian made up his mind to marry he began to collect sewant, and having secured a reasonable quantity, he visited the maiden of his choice and in the presence of her nearest relatives declared his wishes, and entered into negotiations concerning the amount of sewant he must give for a bridal present. That point being settled, he added to the gift "all the Dutch beads he possessed and all sorts of gewgaws."

After these preliminaries were arranged the man went hunting, and the Indian maiden sat with a blanket over her head, looking at no one during six long weeks. At the expiration of that period the hunter returned bring-

ing all the game he had taken, and a great feast was celebrated. From that time forth the bride was obliged to cultivate the ground and provide all the food for herself and her husband with the exception of the game or fish which it pleased him to secure. If her store failed, she was forced to buy with her sewant whatever was lacking.

Through their extensive trade in fish and oysters, and their manufacture of the current money, the Manahatas became the most wealthy of the river tribes. Sewant, their purple-tinted coin, as well as wampum, the common white currency, was made by the squaws from shells found upon the shore, and these multiple fruits of their labor were not only used as a medium of trade, but, strung upon grasses, or fastened upon skins, were worn for ornament. The site of the forest-hidden village of the Manahatas was long made manifest to the Dutch by the deep debris of

broken shells remaining on the hill called Catiemuts, two miles from the southern extremity of the island. Not far from that hill was the "fathomless lake" which floated the Indian canoes, but, imprisoned by the pale-faced intruder, is now pressed beneath the stones of cellar floors.[1]

"Where the sea widens," a company of Manahatas were fishing, when first the European stranger approached their shores. Their own stories tell that suddenly upon the distant waters an object appeared "such as had never been seen before!" Hastening to the land they urged their chiefs to row out, and discover what the strange fish or animal might be; but even as they looked it moved toward the shore. Runners were sent to carry the news to all inhabited localities, while from the east and the west the warriors were summoned home.

[1] The head-waters of the lake were in Leonard Street, and the main spring is in the cellar of a house close to the building of the New York Life Insurance Co. — *Mrs. Van Rensselaer.*

Concerning the Manahatas

Assembled in solemn conclave the chiefs decided that the mysterious object was a large canoe, bearing back to their island the great god, Manitto, and deliberations concerning his reception were followed by the immediate provision of meat for a sacrifice. Conjurors were ordered to determine what the visit might portend, but ere their task was ended runners arrived bringing word that the approaching object was a house filled with living creatures. Perhaps Manitto was bringing them new kinds of game for hunting. Soon, in words they could not comprehend, they were hailed from the "house," and then a smaller house came ashore bringing men; one among them robed all in red. Forming a circle the chiefs silently awaited the arrival of the strangers, and soon, with friendly salutes, which were as cordially returned, the man in red with his attendants stood in their midst. But what a skin had Manitto and they

who had come with him! Such had the Manahatas never seen before! The servant of the red-clothed man brought a gourd, and from it poured a liquid which his master drank. Then the glass was again filled and handed to an Indian, but he only smelled it cautiously, and passed it on. Each Indian around the circle followed that example until a stalwart warrior was reached, who, stepping forward, declared the danger of offending the great Manitto by their refusal of his gift; and, receiving the glass drank off the contents. Soon he began to stagger, and, falling to the ground, sank into a sleep which the Indians mistook for death. But when he awoke, and declared that never before had he been so happy, the entire assembly desired to share his enjoyment, and all became intoxicated.

The white-faced men then returned to their "house," but came again with beads, stockings, axes, hoes, etc., which they distributed

among the Indians, and then by sign-language explained that they would return upon condition of receiving land whereon to sow seed. The next year they came, and all rejoiced. The Indians had worn the axes and hoes as ornaments, and used the stockings as tobacco-pouches; but the whites put handles to the axes, and cut down trees, and with the hoes dug the ground. Then they proposed to stay, provided as much ground should be allotted them as the hide of a bullock would encompass. The hide was brought, the request granted, and the white men cut the hide into thin strips like a rope, and drew it far out and back again, encircling a great piece of ground. But the Indians, having enough land, would not contend, and the white men took possession.[1]

[1] For Indian account of the arrival of the whites see *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. 1, 2d Series.

II

A Record of Events. 1609–1626

THE Dutch came to Manhattan Island in 1609, and journals kept by the voyagers note the friendly greeting of the Indians. But although Hudson found the country "as beautiful as any the foot of man had trod," the "Half Moon" could not tarry there, and reports of the rich products of the land failed to divert the East India Company from the pursuit of a northern route to Asia. There were traders in Holland, however, who were eager for a new enterprise, and Europe offered a ready market for such furs as Hudson's square-sailed galliot had brought. A partnership was speedily arranged, and another Dutch vessel, under command of an officer of the East India Company, set sail

for the country of the Manahatas. The Indian river, Cohotatea, named by Hudson's men the River of the Mountains, was the desired goal, and upon its shores, in exchange for trinkets which the Indians coveted, a second cargo of rich furs was secured.

In 1611, a third vessel ventured forth, chartered by Hendrick Christiaenson, of Cleef, and Adriaen Block, and loaded with goods for exchange on commission. Again the Indians gave for beads and baubles, the skins the strangers sought; and two young chiefs of Manahata were induced to be the guests of the white men on the return voyage to Holland. A triumvirate of Amsterdam merchants then equipped for Block and Christiaenson two larger vessels, called the "Tiger" and the "Fortune," and from North Holland about the same time the "Little Fox," and the "Nightingale" went forth, commanded by Captain Thys Volckertsen and Captain John

Dewitt. Interest in the new enterprise increased so rapidly, that within three months the owners of the "Tiger" and the "Fortune" equipped a third vessel, commanded by Captain Cornelis Jacobsen, and destined like the others for the fur trade. Christiaenson explored the waters adjacent to Manhattan Island, making friends at Indian settlements, and bartering successfully for furs, while Block tarried near the entrance to the North River.

One night in the autumn of 1612, when the other ships were cruising in distant waters, the "Tiger" took fire at its anchorage and was completely destroyed.[1] Block and his men, forced to seek shelter on shore, found a temporary sojourn among the Indians inevitable, and erected, near the southern extremity of the land, four small places of shelter,—the first homes of the Dutch upon Manhattan Island.

[1] *Royal Archives of the Hague*, August 18, 1614.

During the winter a yacht was built, forty-four feet in length by eleven and a half in breadth of beam, and in the spring, Block set forth in this to explore Long Island Sound.

Passing through the East River, he named it after a stream in Holland, "The Hellgat," a word which Fiske felicitously points out as appropriately signifying a clear passage-way, although with a quite different interpretation it has been retained to distinguish the eastern end of the channel. Skirting the coasts of Connecticut and the "Red Island," and ascending the "Fresh River" as far as the present city of Hartford, Block proceeded eastward to Cape Cod, where, unexpectedly, he met Christiaenson, and, as that mariner was disposed to continue his exploration of unfamiliar shores, vessels were exchanged, Christiaenson taking the new yacht, fitly named "The Restless," while Block guided the "Fortune" to Holland.

A Record of Events

After Block's return a company of Amsterdam merchants petitioned the States General for a special license to trade in the region between Chesapeake Bay and Cape Cod, and secured a charter granting them exclusive privileges during four successive voyages, provided these were completed within three years from January 1, 1615. In this charter the region was first distinguished as New Netherland; and while claim to an unlimited, undisclosed territory on the west was asserted, boundaries on the north, east, and south were defined by the forty-fifth parallel, Cape Cod, and the Delaware or South River with the Bay, explored in 1614 by Captain Cornelis Mey.

The New Netherland Company lost no time in sending out their vessels. The River of the Mountains, also known as the North River, was re-christened the "Mauritius," in honor of Prince Maurice, and at its mouth,

on the lower end of Manhattan Island, a log building was erected, designed to serve both as a storehouse and a place of refuge in time of danger. Though it possessed slight means of defence, this structure was dignified by the name of Fort Manhattan, and near it, a few huts were built to shelter the guardians of its stores. The Dutch regarded Manhattan Island as a trading-post only, and evinced no disposition to colonize its shores, until the enterprise of the English awakened a fear that by occupancy of the soil that nation might gain the "nine necessary points" of law, and deprive Holland of her lucrative intercourse with the Indians.

The charter of the New Netherland Company expired at the close of 1617, and the States General refused to extend its trading privileges by more than a yearly license. Efforts were made to form a new corporation to be known as the West India Com-

pany, but the project was so strenuously opposed by influential members of the East India Company that little could be accomplished.

A proposition to colonize Manhattan Island was presented by the Rev. John Robinson, on behalf of the English dissenters at Leyden, who were appreciative of the benefits received under Dutch protection, but desired to secure for their children an environment distinct from any to be obtained in Holland. They had received from the London Company a patent authorizing them to settle in Virginia, but religious freedom was not guaranteed, and that was an essential condition.

The Dutch Trading Company favorably inclined to the project of the English, offered free transportation, and promised to supply each family of emigrants with cattle; but for the success of the enterprise the sanction of the government was necessary, and

that could not be secured. The States General rejected the proposition, fearing, perhaps, to establish people of English blood upon territory already claimed by the English crown.

The evidence that an English ship touched at Fort Manhattan in 1620 has been questioned; but Captain Thomas Dermer is credited with that visit, and is reputed to have warned the Dutch off English soil, declaring that he was the discoverer of Long Island Sound, and King James its sovereign. The fact is undisputed that Dermer petitioned the King for a grant of lands adjacent to the waters of the Sound, and the English ambassador at the Hague was directed to remonstrate against Dutch occupation of that territory; but beyond the interest evoked by a spirited diplomatic correspondence, little attention was given to the affair.

Meanwhile, the projects of the West India Company increased in popularity, and in

1621 the desired charter was obtained. It guaranteed a monopoly of trade with New Netherland, and within the boundaries of that province it conferred upon the Company authority almost royal. By their decree, forts might be built, treaties made, and justice administered, though an appointment of a chief executive and a formal declaration of war were subject to the approval of the States General.

The West India Company represented a community of interests, and its colonial projects were extensive. Settlements were to be planted upon the Mauritius, the South, and the Fresh Rivers.[1] Brazil was to be wrested from Spain, and a portion of the African coast was to be secured, whence slaves might be transported to the districts where service was required. The responsibilities for these enterprises were divided among five branches

[1] The Hudson, the Delaware, and the Connecticut.

or boards established in various cities of Holland, each branch holding in charge the affairs of a specified territory. To the Amsterdam chamber were intrusted all matters pertaining to Manhattan Island, and by a natural sequence the post there established was soon known as New Amsterdam.

Up the North River, not far from the site of Albany, Fort Nassau had been built by earlier traders, and there Jacob Eelkens held command until floods made a change of position necessary. Then a stronghold was established somewhat further down the stream, where, in 1618, Eelkens held an important conference with the chiefs of the Five Nations, and consummated a treaty which rendered the tribes of that region steadfast allies of the Dutch. In 1624 the locality of the post was again changed, and the stronghold then built was known as Fort Orange, while the name Fort Nassau was transferred to de-

fenses on the South River, opposite the present city of Philadelphia.

Bound by a provision of their charter to "advance the peopling of unsettled lands," the West India Company in 1623, sent to the "wild coast" of New Netherland, thirty families of Walloons, a Protestant people of French extraction. The greater number of these industrious persons were destined for the settlement at Fort Nassau, but eight men were landed on Manhattan Island,[1] and Cap-

[1] Deposition of Catelyn Trico, taken in 1688 (New York Col. Mss.):—"Catelyn Trico doth Testify and Declare that in ye year 1623, she came into this country with a Ship called ye Unity, whereof was commander Arien Jorise belonging to ye West India Company, being ye first Ship yt came here for ye sd Company. As soon as they came to Mannatans, now called N. Yorke, they sent Two families and six men to Harford River, and Two Families and eight men to Delaware River, and eight men they left at N. Yorke to take Possession, and ye Rest of ye Passengers went with ye Ship as farr as Albany which they then called fort Orange. — Ye sd Deponent lived in Albany three years, all which time ye Indians were all as quiet as Lambs and came and Traded with all ye Freedom Imaginable; in ye year 1626, ye Deponent came from Albany and settled at N. Yorke where she lived afterwards for many years and then came to Long Island."

tain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey was made the first director over all the territory included within the jurisdiction of the Company.

During the year 1624, the income from the New Netherland fur-trade amounted to twenty-eight thousand guilders, and the West India Company, in conclave assembled, decided that a satisfactory recompense might be anticipated for greater efforts to people the land. Inducements to emigrate were publicly offered, and in response, six families and a number of single men volunteered. In three ships and a yacht, these forty-five persons were promptly conveyed to Manhattan Island, with their household goods, farming implements, and one hundred and three head of cattle. A member of this company, William Verhulst, was made the second director, Captain Mey having been summoned back to Holland.

The consummation, in 1625, of a treaty

of alliance between England and Holland seemed to promise greater security to the Dutch colonies in America, and the West India Company proceeded to formulate a regular system of government for New Netherland. They soon sent over as executor of their authority, Peter Minuit of Wesel, in Westphalia, who reached Fort Manhattan May 4, 1626, in the ship "Sea-Mew."

Before organizing his government, Minuit took measures to secure for the Company a legal title to the land, and having summoned to the southern shore the leading Indian chiefs, he made known to them his wish to barter for their island. With unfeigned delight the savages viewed the treasure offered in beads, knives, and implements of agriculture, and quickly concluded the bargain. In exchange for goods valued at sixty gilders, or about twenty-four dollars, Manhattan Island passed into the possession of the Dutch.

Annals of Old Manhattan

Letter from Peter Jans Schaghen, Deputy in the States General, to the West India Company. (*Royal Archives at the Hague.*)

High Mighty Sirs:

Here arrived the ship "The Arms of Amsterdam," which sailed from New Netherlands out of the Mauritius River, on September 23; they report that our people there are of good courage, and live peaceably. They have bought the island Manhattes from the wild men for the value of sixty guilders. It is eleven thousand morgens in extent. They sowed all their grain in the middle of May, and harvested it the middle of August. They send thence samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, small beans and flax.

The cargo of the aforesaid ship is:

7,246	beaver skins.
178½	otter skins.
675	otter skins.
48	minck skins.
36	wild cat skins.
33	minck skins.
34	rat skins.

Many logs of oak and nut wood (hickory).

Herewith be ye High Mighty Sirs commended to the Almighty's grace.

In Amsterdam, Nov. 5, 1626.

Your High Might's,
Obedient,
P. SCHAGHEN.

III

In the Days of Minuit. 1626–1632

A NARROW, rocky point of land, traversed by purling brooks, and broken by ocean inlets; a chain of low hills in the background, covered with forests of hickory and chestnut; valleys sheltering maize fields and wigwams; and wide marshes beyond which roamed wolves and bears and panthers. Such was the territory that Peter Minuit had purchased, and where, within the semblance of a fort, he was empowered on behalf of the West India Company to exercise authority over the province of New Netherlands.

The responsibilities of government were shared by an advisory council of five members, who were appointed in Amsterdam; a secretary of the council board, and a schout-

fiscal; the last-mentioned title implying a promiscuous mingling of the responsibilities pertaining to the offices of sheriff, collector of the customs, and church beadle. The laws were formulated in the Amsterdam Chamber, but local regulations might be made by the director and his council, subject to approval by the Company's agents in Holland.

The settlement on Manhattan Island comprised about thirty small houses clustered around the fort, and tenanted by Dutch, Walloons and English. Provided with as much land as they could cultivate, and exempt for ten years from taxation, the colonists contentedly tended their flocks and herds, and raised their flax and rye and wheat, although denied a voice in the government, forbidden to engage in manufactures, and unable to obtain a permanent title to the spot upon which they built their homes. It is recorded in the early history of a family, who,

in 1626, came to New Netherland and were established as tobacco-planters in what is now Manhattan, that they were required to acknowledge the directors of the West India Company as their sovereign lords, and at the end of ten years after settlement, were to render "the just tenth part of the products wherewith God may bless the soil," and from that time forth annually "to deliver on account of the dwelling and house-lot, a pair of capons to the director-general for the holidays."

Peter Minuit was an active, energetic man, firm in temper, friendly in disposition, just and honorable in his dealings. The fact that he was a native of Westphalia has given plausibility to the statement that he was of German birth; but Wesel, just over the boundary line of Holland was, during the religious persecutions of Alva, a place of refuge for the Dutch Protestants; and as Minuit

was a deacon in the church, composed principally of descendants of Dutch refugees, it is probable that his parents belonged to that company. His government of New Netherland, though despotic in theory, granted, in practice, entire religious liberty and a fair amount of political freedom. The director had power to collect fines, and to administer justice up to the limit of the death penalty; but where that was imposed, the criminal must be sent to Holland for the execution of his sentence. This law must have been abrogated somewhat later, for under subsequent governors there are records of executions in New Amsterdam.

Having secured possession of the territory, established friendly relations with the Indians, and organized his government, Minuit's next undertaking was the erection of a fort for the protection of his domain. He had brought to the colony a competent engineer, Kryn

Frederijke, under whose direction the work was promptly begun. Fort Amsterdam was to have "four angles" and to be faced with solid stone; but owing to the difficulty of procuring either expert workmen or suitable material, the structure when completed proved but a precarious refuge, and quite unfitted for a stronghold.

During the year 1626, the arrival of several vessels with colonists increased the population of the little settlement to about two hundred. A warehouse was erected, and in one corner of that substantial stone building was opened the first village store. The next notable structure was a mill, which was worked by horse-power. Its loft was set apart for religious purposes, and the building was adorned by a tower, wherein bells, captured from the Spaniards of Puerto-Rico, sounded a summons to worship. Two "visitors of the sick," Sebastian Jansz Crol, and Jan Huyck, who had

been sent from Holland with Minuit, conducted a service every Sunday, until the arrival of the first regularly ordained minister, the Rev. Jonas Michaelius. A letter written by Dominie Michaelius soon after his arrival at Manhattan, to the Rev. Adriaenus Smoutius in Holland, presents an uninviting picture of life in the colony in 1628. He describes the Indians as "proficient in all wickedness and godlessness; as thievish and treacherous as they are tall," and he complains that "there are no horses, cows, nor laborers to be obtained for money," and "no refreshment of butter, milk, etc., to be found." Household arrangements were certainly lacking in luxury in those early days, and although the comforts of life in Holland exceeded those considered essential in other countries of Europe, yet the emigrants to New Amsterdam lived in a style extremely primitive. Minuit, his secretary, De Rasieres, and Sheriff Lam-

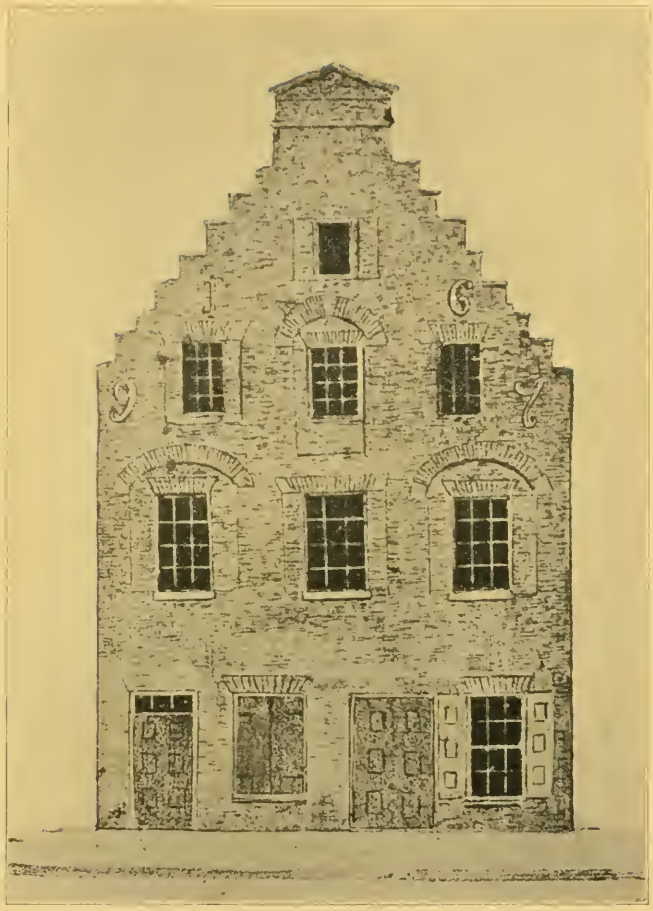
po, during three years occupied one house. The dwellings were built of logs, and their thatched roofs proved sometimes a precarious protection, easily inflammable under the scorching rays of the summer sun. The letter of Dominie Michaelius alludes to "a general conflagration," in which the colonists lost many of their possessions.

But in the seventeenth century, the Dutch had already gathered experience in the science of colonization, and better than other Europeans knew how to provide for their people. The New England settlers faced privations, and the Virginia colonists braved perils, of which the early inhabitants of New Netherland had no experience. When free from fear of the Indians, theirs was an uneventful, but an industrious and cheerful life, and soon the lively little hamlet, with its windmills whirling on the hilltops, formed a pleasant picture. There the stout Dutchmen

were placidly puffing their long pipes; the thrifty *vrouwen*, in short gowns and spotless, close-fitting caps were busy with household cares; while the blithe young girls, wending their way to the brook, with flax to soften for the distaff, trod so often that winding path, that it won its name, "The Maiden's Lane."

About the time of Minuit's arrival, war broke out between the Indian tribes of Mohicans and Mohawks, among the hills of the upper Hudson. The Mohawks sought aid from the commander of Fort Orange, who foolishly promised partisanship, and with six of his men marched forth upon the war-path. About a mile from the fort a party of Mohawks was encountered, and Commander Krieckenbeck was killed, with three of his men, one of whom, says the old record, "the Indians devoured, after having well cooked him."[1]

[1] *Documentary History of New Netherlands.*



OLD DUTCH HOUSE IN PEARL STREET
Built 1626. Rebuilt 1697. Demolished 1828

Anxious for a continuance of trade with the Dutch, the Mohawks sent envoys to Fort Orange, bearing excuses for their conduct; and Minuit, wisely accepting their protestations of friendship, renewed the old treaty of alliance, and sent Peter Barentsen to fill Krieckenbeck's place. But the incident induced a feeling of insecurity, and the governor, deeming discretion the better part of valor, soon transferred to Manhattan Island the families settled at Fort Orange, and left at that post only the garrison of sixteen soldiers.

With the view of promoting advantageous intercourse between the Dutch and their English neighbors at Plymouth, Minuit, in 1627, opened a correspondence with Governor Bradford. The letters written by the secretary, De Rasieres, were transcribed in both Dutch and French, and conveyed in courteous terms many sentiments of esteem and

good will for the English. In the first letter, which is dated "From the Manhatas in ye fort Amsterdam, Mch 9, 1627," De Rasieres, in the name of the director, proposed an exchange of serviceable Dutch commodities for beaver and otter skins, or other merchandise in which the Plymouth settlers might be disposed to traffic. Governor Bradford, in his history of Plymouth Plantation alludes to "the complementall titles" by which he was addressed, but in his own missive of March 19, which he terms his "obliging answer," while deprecating the "over-high titles" accorded to himself and his associates, he pays his respects to Minuit and the council by saluting them as "Your Honours, Worships, and Wisdoms." After expressing joy in the consummation of the treaty of alliance between England and Holland, and referring to the kindness received in Leyden by many members of his colony,

Governor Bradford declared his disposition to trade with the Dutch whenever his people should be in need of the goods proffered, and desired to be informed how they would take "beaver by ye pound and otter by ye skine."

But, notwithstanding the friendship expressed for the people of New Amsterdam, the letter distinctly intimated the English governor's conviction that the Dutch were trespassers, and Minuit was warned that there were "divers others unto whom commissions have been granted as to us, to expulse or make prize of any strangers who shall attempt to trade or plant within their limits." Such suggestive language naturally evoked another letter from the director of the New Netherland, vindicating the rights of the Dutch to their territory, and, as Governor Bradford made no haste to reply, a special messenger was dispatched to Plymouth, who bore a third missive containing reiterated assurances

of friendliness, and, as an evidence of Minuit's personal good will to the governor, the gift of "a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses."

Governor Bradford's response to these attentions was couched in phrases as formally and notably courteous as the other letters, and asserted a disposition to live in friendly association with the New Netherland Colony. His opinions respecting the English claims were not revoked, but he requested that an ambassador be sent to Plymouth for the adjustment of boundary lines. Minuit determined to dispatch a formal embassy, and appointed De Rasieres envoy. Attended by soldiers and trumpeters, and carrying articles of traffic, the secretary embarked in the ship "Nassau," which conveyed him to Manomet [1] at the head of Buzzards Bay, and about eight miles from Plymouth. From that point

[1] Now Monument Beach in the township of Sandwich.

he despatched a courier with a message to Governor Bradford, asking that a way be provided for accomplishing the remainder of the journey with as little fatigue as possible, as he "could not travill so farr overland." A boat was accordingly sent through a shallow creek running inland from Cape Cod Bay to within four or five miles of Manomet, and De Rasieres was safely landed at Plymouth, "honourably attended with a noyse of trumpeters."

Bradford alludes to his guest as "a man of fair and genteel behaviour," and that he was politic we know, for he himself states that he sold sewan to the Pilgrims, "because the seeking after sewan is prejudicial to us, inasmuch as they would by so doing discover the trade in furs, which if they were to find out, it would be a great trouble to us to maintain; for they already dare that if we will not leave off dealing with that people they will be

obliged to use other means, and if they do that now, while they are yet ignorant how the case stands, what will they do when they get a notion of it?"

The secretary seems to have proved a skillful diplomatist, for after spending a few days at Plymouth, during which it is recorded that he "demeaned himself to his own credit," he was made the bearer of another letter from Bradford to Minuit, in which, although reiterating his desire that the Dutch should "clear the title of their planting in these parts which his Majesty hath by patent granted to divers his nobles," the governor of Plymouth made no distinct reference to the disputed boundary lines, but, professing himself "tied in obligation" to the Dutch, promised to perform all good offices toward the colonists of New Netherlands. If friendly zeal for the prosperity of his neighbors was not exaggerated in its expression, the worthy

governor must have been gratified by the edict of King Charles, which soon afterward threw open all English ports to vessels of the West India Company; but in view of the intimation that the Dutch title to their land might still be disputed, Minuit wrote to Holland, asking for a military support.

Meanwhile the directors of the West India Company complained that their New Netherland enterprise was less profitable than other investments, the expenses attendant upon the protection of so small a colony often averaging more than the income it yielded. Traders visited the coast, but the farmers of Holland found their homes in that country too satisfactory to be abandoned. Dutch ingenuity devised a new project, however, which Dutch enterprise speedily carried into execution. By a charter framed by the Company, and confirmed by the States General in 1629, a tract of land not exceeding sixteen miles on one

side of a navigable river, or eight miles on both sides, and extending inland indefinitely, was offered to any member of the Company who at his own expense, and within four years, should found a colony of fifty adults. The entire district of the New Netherland was offered for this enterprise, with the exception of Manhattan Island, over which the Company, as a unit, retained exclusive proprietorship.

The founder of a colony, having secured his claim upon the land by giving satisfactory compensation to the Indians, received the title of patroon, and was accorded certain fixed privileges. He was free to trade in everything except furs, under the sole restriction that goods should first be landed at Fort Manhattan, where port-charges of five per cent were claimed by the Company. All fish in the sea and minerals in the mountains belonged to the patroon; and his colonists, over

whom he might exercise the rights of a feudal lord, were bound to his service for a stipulated period. The patroon bore all expenses of preparing the land and building the houses and barns, but he received for these a fixed rental in stock or produce, in addition to his legitimate share as over-lord, and the farmer could not sell any product of the estate before offering it to the patroon. The colonists were exempt from taxation, and were promised by the Company protection from the Indians, and an adequate number of negro servants; while each patroon was under obligations to provide for the support of a minister and a schoolmaster, and was responsible during a certain length of time for the supply of cattle, wagons, and utensils of labor. After the estate had become self-supporting a division of net-profits was promised to the settlers.

Before the conditions of this Charter of

Freedoms and Exemptions had been publicly promulgated, Godyn and Blommaert, two directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, dispatched an agent to purchase land from the Indians on the South River, and Kilian Van Rensselaer, a wealthy merchant of Holland, bartered through another emissary for a wide district on the Mauritius. When these transactions were revealed, the dissatisfaction among other shareholders in the Company was so vehemently expressed, that a division of the appropriated territory was rendered imperative. Van Rensselaer's estate on the west side of the Mauritius, "stretching two days into the interior," and on the east side, north and south of Fort Orange, "far into the wilderness," was separated into five shares, three of which were yielded to other members of the Company, Van Rensselaer reserving for himself only two-fifths of his original purchase, although the entire district retained

the title of Rensselaerswijck. Wise provision was made on the estate of the first patroon for the prosperity of colonists, who were sent out from Holland in Van Rensselaer's own ships, with implements of agriculture and other articles necessary for their comfort.

Into the partnership in lands on the South River, Godyn and Bloommaert received several new members, and David Petersen de Vries, an experienced mariner of Holland, having refused the proffered post of under-patroon, was admitted upon an equality with the directors of the Company. Michael Pauw secured the extensive district of Hoboken-Hacking, on the New Jersey shore, which he called Pavonia, as well as Staten Island, so named in honor of "the Staten" or States General. Pauw's colony, distinctively known as the "Commune," has been commemorated by the name given to the locality first settled, Communipauw.

When the Indian chiefs who surrendered the land selected by the patroons had appeared before Minuit at Fort Amsterdam, and formally ceded the territory, the conditions prescribed by the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions were considered to be fulfilled, and the patroons received their peculiar property-rights, involving conditions closely akin to those of the old feudal system.

But ere long there were dissensions among the "Worshipful Directors" in Holland, for the patroons, tempted by the opportunities presented, began an independent barter for furs, with the Indians. The West India Company, as a corporation, claimed the exclusive right to engage in that trade, and, as the patroons were members of the Company, the house was divided against itself. Among the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, there were hot words, threatening hotter strife, until the matter in dispute was referred

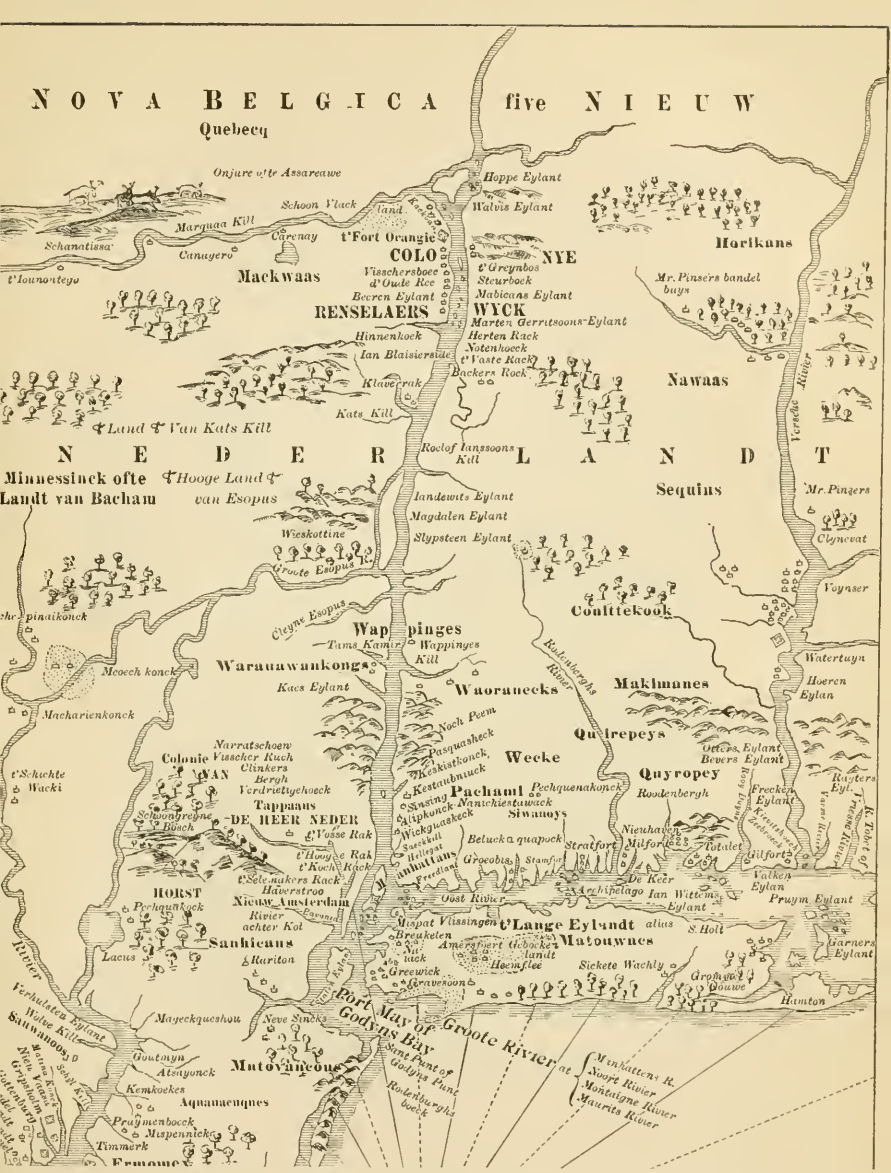
to the College of XIX, a committee of nineteen directors, charged with the general superintendence of affairs for the five boards of the Company. While they were deliberating, an incident, apparently irrelevant, precipitated a decision unfavorable to the patroons, and disastrous to the governor of New Amsterdam. With the ostensible aim of exhibiting the strength and size of timber grown in the colony, some ship-builders proposed to construct a mammoth vessel, and having secured encouragement from Minuit, emphasized by the promise of payment from the Company's funds, they built at New Amsterdam a ship of eight hundred tons burden, which carried thirty guns. But when the bills for this costly enterprise were presented in Holland, there was widespread dissatisfaction, and numerous complaints concerning the Company's management induced an investigation of their affairs by the States General. These "High

Mightinesses" decided that the patroons deserved censure, having shown a greater interest in individual accumulation of wealth than in the welfare of the colonists, or the benefit of the associated Company, and their opinion was confirmed by the report presented by De Rasieres, who, having fallen into disgrace with Minuit, had returned to Holland. The director general fell also into disfavor, being accused of partiality for the patroons, and of having ignored the illegality of their proceedings, and the West India Company determined to recall him.

Late in 1631, Conrad Notelman was sent to succeed Lampo as schout of New Netherland, and by his hand the summons home was sent to Minuit. In the spring of 1632, the governor set sail from Fort Amsterdam, and for over a year the young colony was left without a head.

Minuit's vessel, the "Eendragt," when off

the English coast, encountered a fierce storm, and was driven into the port of Plymouth, where, on a charge of having traded illegally in the domain of the English sovereign, vessel, crew, and passengers were detained. Minuit wrote for assistance to the States General of Holland, and in elaborately composed epistles the subject of sovereignty in America was discussed by their High Mightinesses and the Statesmen of England. The attention of the latter was, however, claimed by a complication of affairs within their own realm, and, in the course of time, the "Eendragt" was quietly released, and Minuit reached Holland. After his testimony had been received, special agents were sent to the New Netherland to publish an edict, which forbade all private dealing in sewan, peltries, or maize.


NOVA BELGICA five NIEUW
Quebecq
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Schoon Vlack
Marquas Kill
Carenay
Canayero
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t'Fort Orangie
Mackwaas
Hoppe Eylant
Walvis Eylant
COLO
NYE
t'Greynbos
Steurbock
Mabicans Eylant
WYCK
Marten Gerritsoons-Eylant
Herten Rack
t'Vaste Rack
Backers Rock
RENSELAERS
Visschersboe
d'Oude Ree
Beeren Eylant
Hinnenkoock
Ian Blaisiersitie
Klaverrak
Kats Kill
Land van Kats Kill
Horikans
Mr. Pinsers bandel buys
Nawaas
Verdrie River
NEDERLANDT
Roelof Iansoons Kill
Minnessinck ofte Landt van Bacham
Hooge Land van Esopus
Sequins
Mr. Pingers
Clyneval
Landewits Eylant
Magdalen Eylant
Slypsteen Eylant
Wieskottine
Groote Esopus R.
Voynser
Coulttekook
Cleyne Esopus
Wappinges
Tams Kamir
Wappinges Kill
Rodenbergh's River
Waranawankongs
Waoranecks
Maklmanes
Watertuyn
Hoeren Eylan
Macharienkonck
Kaes Eylant
Quirepeys
Colonie VAN DE HEER NEDER Tappaans
Narratschoen
Visscher Ruch
Clinkers
Bergh
Verdrietighoeck
Wecke
Pachami
Pechquenakonck
Siwanoys
Quyropey
Roodenbergh
Otters Eylant
Bevers Eylant
Rayters Eyl.
Freckes Eylant
Schwangreyne Busch
t'Vosse Rak
t'Hoogste Rak
t'Kuck Rack
t'Selemakers Rack
Haverstroo
Nieuw Amsterdam
Rivier achter Kol
Belucka quapock
Stamford
Nieuhaven
Stratford
Milford
Rotulet
Dilford
Valken Eylan
Pruym Eylant
HORST
Pechquinkock
Sanhicans
Hariton
Lacus
Oost Rivier
Archipelago
Ian Wittens Eylant
t'Lange Eylandt alias Matouwnes
S. Holl
Garners Eylant
Breukelen
Amersfoort
Gebocken landt
Hoensflee
Sickete Wachly
Gromyne Bouwe
Hamton
Port May or Groote Rivier
Godyns Bay
Point of Godyns Point
Rodenburghs beek
Manhattans R.
Noorts River
Montaigne River
Maurits River
Mayeckqueshou
Neve Sincks
Gouttuyn
Asinyonck
Mutowineous
Kemkoekes
Aquanaenques
Pruymenbocck
Mispennick
Timmerk
Ermome

IV

Some Prominent Persons in the Village of New Amsterdam

IN the spring of 1633, by the ship "Zoutberg," three notable persons arrived at Fort Amsterdam. They were Wouter Van Twiller, the new director, Dominie Bogardus, the second clergyman and Adam Rolantsen, the first schoolmaster.

Van Twiller had been a clerk in the office of the West India Company at Amsterdam, and in the interests of his employers had made two previous voyages to America; a fact that environed him with a nimbus of attributed knowledge, which shone iridescent in the light of the seventeenth century, but has failed to endure the crucial tests of later times. He had married a niece of the

patroon, Kilian Van Rensselaer, whose influence in the Council of XIX, perhaps, procured an appointment which provided an interested superintendent for the estates of Rensselaerswijck, if it failed to secure a competent governor for the colony of New Netherland. The new director was attended by one hundred and four soldiers, the first military force in the country, and as the "Zoutberg" brought also to port a Spanish caravel, captured on the ocean, the arrival was an event that aroused the enthusiasm of the people, who flocked to the fort with cordial greetings.

Van Twiller's personality was not impressive; Irving's vivid picture portrays him as "exactly five feet six inches in height, and six feet five inches in circumference," but perhaps a portrait more nearly exact may be conceived by the aid of contemporary testimony, which describes him as short and stout,

with sandy hair and small blue eyes. He was kind-hearted and good-natured, but intellectually untrained and inefficient. Experienced in the duties of a tradesman only, he assumed his new office devoid of all practical knowledge of its responsibilities; and by his hesitating decisions and irresolution in emergencies soon won the title of "Wouter the Waverer."

Quite the reverse in temperament as well as in physique was Dominie Bogardus, a tall and stately man of "high character but hot temper." His eyes were of the "dark and piercing type," but mercy was mingled with justice in the expression of his mobile mouth. He was in no wise an exponent of "the poore parson of the towne," for the house built for his use, with the Company's money, was one of the most attractive in the little hamlet, and its front door was distinguished above others by the elegant adornment of a bright brass

knocker. Hints have echoed along historic corridors, concerning the convenient vicinity of this residence to the Company's brewery, and there are intimations that the good dominie sometimes pressed his principles with unwarranted force, until even the epithet "quarrelsome" was associated with his reverend name. It is certain that with Van Twiller he frequently differed in opinion, and it is recorded that once, from the pulpit, a pedigree the reverse of "complimentall" was ascribed to the honorable director, and he was threatened with "a shake that would make him tremble."

But the dominie was a man of many estimable traits, and a powerful personality in the province. If he was relentless in the denunciation of conduct he disapproved, we may believe that he was actuated by a conscientious sense of responsibility. Even to his declining years the strength of his convic-

tions remained unimpaired, and we read of differences with Governor Kieft when feeling ran so high that drums were ordered to be beaten during sermon time to drown the preacher's voice.

Although often at variance with the guardians of the law, the dominie claimed legal protection when needful, and records tell of "a female," who, for slandering the minister, was summoned to appear in the fort at the ringing of the bell, and compelled before governor and council to declare that "she knew the dominie to be honest and pious, and that she had lied falsely."

For Dominie Bogardus the first church in New Amsterdam was erected; a plain wooden structure, situated on the north side of Parel Straat (Pearl Street), between the present lines of Broad and Whitehall Streets. It was built in 1633 with the Company's funds, and the congregation of fifty members was then

transferred from the mill-tower to a consecrated edifice.

Intellectual attributes seem to have been of secondary importance in the required qualifications of a New Amsterdam schoolmaster, but the incumbent of that office was expected to supplement the work of the dominie by acting as a worthy consoler of the sick, by "promoting religious worship" in the capacities of precentor and church-clerk, and, by turning the hour-glass, to indicate to the preacher that the time allotted for a sermon had elapsed.

Adam Roelantsen, the first schoolmaster, ran a turbulent career, amid many antagonistic conditions, in which his conduct did not entitle him to the respect of the community. Although he had no rivals in his profession, he failed to achieve either a reputation for scholarship or satisfactory pecuniary reward for efforts to train the young

burghers-elect, and, to supplement his slender stipend, he took in washing, perhaps finding relief from uncongenial pedagogic tasks in the athletic exercise that work imposed.

But unalloyed success did not immediately crown even this labor, for court archives of 1638 record a lawsuit brought by the schoolmaster against Gillies De Voocht, for payment due for washing the defendant's linen, and judgment was rendered in favor of De Voocht, on the ground that the money was not due until the expiration of the year covered by Roelantsen's contract to perform the work.

But although the record states that "people did not speak well of him," the schoolmaster succeeded in winning the favor of a widow, who probably endowed him with some worldly goods, for after his marriage the laundry-business was relinquished, and, in

1642, there is a record of his contract for a residence. In the stipulations for this domicile, thirty feet in length, eighteen in width, and eight in height, mention is made of two doors, a mantelpiece, an entry, three feet wide, a pantry, a staircase to the attic, and a bedstead. The last item seems to have formed a corporate part of a dwelling-house of the period, and was fitted into a recess in the side of the living-room, and hidden during the day behind closed doors. In many houses this bedstead was reserved for the accommodation of chance travelers to whom hospitality might thus be easily accorded.

The year after his establishment as a property-holder, Roelantsen entered upon the civic duties of weighmaster in New Amsterdam, and a brief period of prosperity ensued, attended presumably by domestic happiness with his wife, Lyntje Martens, and four children. He purchased another lot of land and

seems to have conducted himself in a way to win some measure of respect from his associates, for he subsequently filled several public offices, while a successor occupied the pedagogic chair.

But again troubles arose. In 1646, upon his return from a visit to Holland, he refused to pay his passage money, on the ground that he had been promised free transportation in exchange for his labors in aiding the sailors, and saying the prayers. This time Roelantsen shines as a victorious contestant, but only a few weeks did he exult in the triumph, for when again he was summoned before the court it was to receive censure for evil deeds, and having been condemned to suffer punishment by means of his own implements of torture, the ex-schoolmaster was publicly flogged. An additional clause in the sentence pronounced against him ordained that he should be banished from the colony, but this

penalty was remitted out of consideration for the welfare of his children, whose mother had died before that date.

In 1635, Roelof Jansz and his family came to New Amsterdam from the Van Rensselaer estate on the Mauritius. Jansz was one of the colonists sent to New Netherland in 1630, and, having served out his term under the patroon, he sought to improve his condition in the position of an independent settler on Manhattan Island. Fortune seemed to favor this ambition, as for some reason hitherto unexplained, the new comer was presented by Van Twiller with a bouwerie (farm) of sixty-two acres, adjoining ground reserved for the use of the director, and beginning about a mile from the fort.[1] Here Jansz built a house, but failed further to realize his earthly desires, for he died soon after the completion of the home, leaving his widow, Annetje,

[1] O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*, I, 142; II, 35, 58.

with five children to maintain. Annetje's mother, Tryntje Jonas, was probably with her daughter at this time, having been sent out by the West India Company in the capacity of professional nurse, and somewhat later a house was built for her on Parel Straat, near the home of Annetje's sister Marritje, who was the wife of Tymen, the prosperous carpenter.

About two years after the death of Roelof Jansz, Annetje married Dominie Bogardus, and, with her five children, went to live in the house which possessed the knocker brought from Holland, and a garden where, bordered with box, the gayest flower-beds in New Amsterdam were seen. There were curious customs in names among those early colonists who boasted no lineage of renown, but passed a patronymic from father to children, and from husband to wife, modified according to circumstances. Roelof Jansz was probably Roelof

the son of Jan, and Roelof's wife, Annetje, modestly abbreviating her husband's cognomen for the feminine form, was known as Annetje Jans, while the son of Roelof and Annetje, reversed his father's signature, and was called Jan Roelefsen.

The first representative of the medical profession in New Amsterdam was the Huguenot, Johannes La Montagne, who, in 1637, came from Leyden where he had obtained his degree. The family of his first wife, Rachel De Forest, had previously emigrated to New Netherland, and after several years experience of practice in Holland, La Montagne was tempted to follow. Before his appearance the Zieckentroosters (comforters of the sick) aided by professional nurses, had performed all needed offices for those afflicted by illness, and in days when a remedy recommended by the most famous physician in London was a Balsam of Bats, and the chief

ingredient in a popular decoction was "raspings from a human skull unburied," we may question the advantage accruing to the residents of New Amsterdam by the arrival of the learned M.D.

Dr. La Montagne was, however, a man of varied gifts, who subsequently occupied several stations of trust under the government. His name appears as a member of the council and as official schoolmaster; and after the arrival, in 1638, of the surgeon, Hans Kierstede, he seems to have entirely relinquished the duties of the medical profession for those connected with the civil and military service, where his light is dimmed in an atmosphere of cruel deeds for which he cannot be wholly relieved of responsibility.

Fearless of Indians, the settlers established themselves outside the walls of the fort, and engaged in farming, though suffering great

inconvenience from a scarcity of horses and cattle. Before any streets were laid out, a district north of the fort was divided into bouweries, and six of these were reserved as the exclusive property of the Company. The grant to Roelof Jansz bounded the base of a chalk hill known as the Kalch Hoek, and extended from a line nearly identical with Canal Street on the north to that of Warren Street on the south. The district now bounded by Baxter, White, Elm, Duane and Park streets was covered by the waters of the "Collect," a pond currently reported to be fathomless and the abode of terrible monsters. The western outlet of the Collect was a stream which traversed a marshy land to the Mauritius River, and was deep enough to allow the passage of small boats; while on the other side of the pond a brook made its way to the East River. The Collect was fed by streams of pure water from a hilly land

around it, where Indian wigwams had dotted the forests, and industrious Indian squaws had occupied themselves in the work of opening and drying oysters, which they strung upon reeds for future use. The accumulated shells gave a name to Kalch Hoek near the pond, and the word Collect itself is believed to be a corruption of those explanatory terms.

Not far from the Collect, on the bank of the East River, Van der Donck relates that enormous oysters, many inches in diameter, were found, and sold at eight or ten stuyvers per hundred; and there lobsters from four to six feet long were caught, according to the same authority. It would seem that the proverbial grain of salt might have been requisite as an aid to digestion both of shell-fish and story.

If the chronicler may be trusted, the "luscious food of water-terrapin" was also abun-

dant, and wild turkeys, weighing from twenty to thirty pounds, were frequently shot. Cranberries, raspberries and blackberries grew in profusion, while strawberries were so wildly redundant that colonists "lay down in their midst" to enjoy a feast.

This view of FORT AMSTERDAM *on the Manhattan is copied from an ancient engraving executed in Holland. The Fort was erected in 1623, but finished upon the above model by Governor Van Twiller in 1635*

V

The "Comedian" Van Twiller. 1633–1637

IN the year 1632, the mariner-patroon, De Vries, sailed from Holland in command of an expedition sent out to test the success of whale-fisheries at the mouth of the South Bay. When he arrived at the spot where two years previous a colony had been established, he found the fort destroyed and the ground strewn with the bones of the murdered colonists. Having propitiated some Indians whom he encountered, he learned from them the story of a terrible massacre, but wisely pursuing a course of conciliation, he succeeded in cementing with the savages of the locality a formal treaty of peace.

Convinced of the impracticability of pursuing the whale-fishery to advantage in that

section, De Vries then decided to spend some time in exploring the coast of New Netherland, and arrived at Fort Amsterdam soon after Van Twiller had assumed the government. While he tarried at the fort an English vessel named the "William" entered the bay, desiring to proceed up the Mauritius River. The commander of the vessel was Jacob Eelkins, a former agent of the Dutch at Fort Orange, who, having been dismissed from that position, had entered English service, and now in the interests of his new employers projected a voyage for trading purposes through the familiar waters of the river. As he declined to show his commission Van Twiller refused to permit him to proceed, whereupon Eelkens announced that he would go if it cost him his life, and sailed defiantly past the fort.

Van Twiller was enraged, but instead of attempting to check the intruder with the guns

at his command, he sent forth a crier to summon the people, ordered a cask of wine to be broached, and called upon all under authority to pledge him protection against "the violence which the Englishman had committed." Posterity will not forget this little tableau enacted at Fort Amsterdam by the "wine-bibbing governor," while unmolested the "William" sailed quietly up the broad river.

De Vries, an energetic, clear-headed man, frankly censured Van Twiller's conduct, and counselled sending the "Zoutberg" up the Mauritius to drive the English vessel from Dutch waters; and after a few days of "doubting," the governor dispatched on this errand "a caravel, a pinnace, and a hoy." At the point where the trader was found encamped, armed troops promptly assisted him to collect his goods, which were confiscated and carried to Fort Amsterdam, while at the peremptory word of the Dutch commander, the "Wil-

liam" weighed anchor, and, convoyed by the small fleet from the Fort, sailed swiftly down the river and out to sea.

"The Waverer," having been taught a lesson in methods of enforcing his authority, proceeded to practice it on occasions less opportune, and when De Vries proposed to send his yacht through the East River, for purposes of trade with the New England colonists, the guns of the fort were ordered to be trained upon the vessel of the Dutch patroon. De Vries did not hesitate to characterize in emphatic syllables the illegality of that measure, and his yacht was finally permitted to proceed.

Van Twiller had found the fort in a dilapidated condition, and African slaves, imported by the West India Company, were immediately set to work to strengthen and extend its defences. Two years were occupied in this labor, and when completed the improvements

had cost the Company four thousand one hundred and seventy-two guilders! The new fort, three hundred feet in length, by two hundred and fifty in breadth, was quadrangular in shape, with a bastion at each corner, that at the northwest being faced with "good quarry stone." Within the inclosure were erected a guard-house and barracks for the newly-arrived soldiers, a "big house" of brick for the governor's residence, and three windmills. Without the walls were built the little wooden church with its peaked roof, and the house not far away for the dominie, and on the west side of the Heere Straat (Broadway) the first burying-ground was laid out.

Van Twiller ordered also the erection of houses at Pavonia, Fort Orange, and Fort Nassau on the South River; being expert in the distribution of the Company's money for the improvement of their property, during those early years of his government, though later

his zeal seems to have been chiefly manifested in the pursuit of private purposes. His improvements upon land known as the Bossen Bouwerie may not have been prosecuted with eyes single to the Company's service, for having erected there a dwelling-house, boat-house, and barn, the honorable director soon assumed possession of the property, as perquisites, perhaps, of his office.

The Bossen Bouwerie covered the site of the old Indian village of Sappokanican, and extended through a wooded district, where green fields sloped between low hills to the beach on the Mauritius river; one boundary line beginning at the point where Little Twelfth Street and Washington Street now cross. The bouwerie stood in the Company's name until the greedy governor succeeded in transferring the title to himself, making his "farm-house in the woods" the first habitation beyond the little settlement around the fort. On this

bouwerie, Van Twiller began the cultivation of tobacco, which soon gained the reputation of being the best in the colony, and yielded a revenue that notably contributed to the expansion of those capacious pockets, accused at the close of the governor's administration of being unwarrantably distended.

Some islands in the Sound were added to the possessions of this prosperous director, who is said to have owned seven wide estates in New Netherland; and, in 1637, he bought from the Indians the isle of Pagganck, called by the Dutch "Nutten Island," on account of its hickory and chestnut groves. Separated from the Long Island shore by a channel, at that time so narrow that at low-tide it was frequently forded, this accessible plot of ground was, in 1698, set apart by English decree for the benefit of "his Majesty's Governors and Councillors."[1]

[1] *Historic New York*, Vol. I.

The origin of its modern name, "Governor's Island," has been often ascribed to the fact of Van Twiller's purchase; but in September, 1664, the territory was mentioned as Nutten Island in a letter relating to the surrender of New Amsterdam, written by the City Court to the West India Company, and with this evidence in its favor the supposition seems plausible that the English name was first linked with the land by people speaking the English tongue.

Complications with the New England colonists soon disturbed Van Twiller's peaceful career. In a grant to the Earl of Warwick, Charles I. had included a district claimed by the Dutch in right of their discoveries in 1614; and, in anticipation of contests for the possession of this territory, the West India Company instructed the director to purchase from the Indians the land on both sides of the Fresh River (the Connecticut). The Pe-

quods had recently been victorious over the other tribes of the region, and Jacob Van Corlear was sent to secure from the chiefs of that nation a formal deed of transference; while a redoubt near the present city of Hartford, begun in 1623, and named Fort Hope, was fortified with two small cannon, and in token of ownership, the arms of the States General of Holland were affixed to a tree not far from the mouth of the river, at a point called Kievit's Hook.[1]

Governor Winthrop, having received intelligence of this proceeding, dispatched a letter to Fort Amsterdam, in which, in the name of the King of England, he laid claim to the entire valley of the Connecticut; and Van Twiller, more diplomatic in correspondence than in speech, sent a courteous reply, asking that the question of boundary lines between English and Dutch territories might be re-

[1] Holland Doc.

ferred to the home government, in order that the people of both colonies might live "as good neighbors in these heathenish countries." But from some Indians who had been expelled by the victorious Pequods, Winthrop purchased a precarious title to a district north of that occupied by the Dutch, and sent troops under command of Lieutenant William Holmes to take possession. Passing Fort Hope, they were ordered back by Van Corlear, but Holmes valiantly asserting his determination to execute his orders at all hazards, the little band proceeded on their way, and, having reached their destination, "clapped up the frame of a house which they had brought with them, and palisadoed it about."

Van Twiller sent them a formal notice to "depart forthwith," but this produced little effect upon men who, in the fulfilment of their purpose, had defied the guns of the fort;

and the perplexed governor of New Netherland, with no energetic counsellor at hand, was plunged into a condition of bewilderment from which the authority of the Amsterdam Chamber seemed alone sufficient to extricate him. That body issued commands to dislodge the intruders, but before the peremptory message reached Fort Amsterdam open warfare broke out between the Dutch and the Pequods, and so greatly increased the hazards of the enterprise, that although seventy men were dispatched "with colors displayed" to execute the order, they withdrew on pretense of danger from the Indians, when the English manifested an intention to dispute the ground.

Among the indefinitely defined English grants which so often overlapped one another, was territory adjacent to the Connecticut River, claimed by Lord Saye and Lord Brooke. In 1635, a party led by the younger

Winthrop arrived at Kievit's Hook, and on behalf of the English nobleman named the spot Saybrooke. Two years later Winthrop received from Lord Warwick's grantees a commission as "governor of the River of the Connecticut with the places adjoining thereunto," and the English advancing into the country, tore down the arms of the States General, and "engraved a ridiculous face in their place." [1] Troops sent from Fort Amsterdam to resist these encroachments were not permitted to land, and the newcomers, having erected a fort, pursued their purpose of occupying the adjacent country until a narrow district in the neighborhood of Fort Hope was all that remained to the Dutch in Eastern New Netherland.

The assertion of De Vries that Van Twiller had been promoted from a clerkship to perform a comedy in New Netherland, seemed

[1] Holland Doc.

justified by the patroon's experiences. Before returning to Holland, De Vries again called at Fort Amsterdam, and offered to be the bearer of any letters the director might wish to send to the home government. Van Twiller, with pretentious assumption of authority, declared a resolution to detain the outward bound vessel until its cargo had been inspected by his officials, and when protest was entered against such unauthorized proceedings he sent musketeers to the shore to prevent the ship's departure. In the face of this demonstration De Vries ordered his boat to row out of the harbor, but before taking leave in person, he returned to the fort and again administered wholesome counsel to the discomfited director, while, on the shore, "spectators mocked the guard."

The following morning a slight skirmish of words occurred on De Vries' ship, when it was visited by Remund and Notelman, the secre-

tary and the schout of New Amsterdam, who brought Van Twiller's budget of letters. Remund threatened to confiscate a few bear-skins which he found on the deck of the vessel, and which had not been entered at the fort, but Notelman interfered, desiring him to let the patroon account for his goods in Holland. The secretary, zealous in his office, declared a determination to send a ship in pursuit of De Vries, and the exasperated patroon once more found occasion to deliver in emphatic phraseology his opinion of official rule at Fort Amsterdam.

Affairs on the South River next demanded the attention of the director. In 1635, intelligence was brought to Manhattan that the vacant fort in that locality had been seized by the English, and at once Van Twiller dispatched an armed force to dislodge the intruders. But when, easily overcome, the enemy were brought prisoners to Fort Amsterdam,

the incompetent governor was plunged into a new dilemma, for he had received no instruction in methods of dealing with captives. Fortunately the ubiquitous De Vries again touched at Manhattan, on his way to Chesapeake Bay, and at Van Twiller's urgent petition, detained his vessel until the English could be conveyed aboard, to be returned to their own colony at Point Comfort.[1] The Dutch then re-occupied Fort Nassau, and for several years held undisturbed possession.

But private estates had suffered through failure of the West India Company to afford the guaranteed protection, and the patroons brought suits to indemnify themselves for these losses; while quarrels concerning the fur trade continued until the College of XIX, weary of the discord, commissioned their agents to purchase as far as possible the property rights of the patroons throughout New

[1] New York Hist. Col. Ms. II, III.

Netherland. The territory on the South River was first secured; soon afterwards Michael Pauw surrendered Pavonia and Staten Island, and Rensselaerswijck alone was retained by its owner. De Vries, delivered from the responsibilities of his original patroonship, contemplated founding a colony in the vicinity of Fort Amsterdam, and requested Van Twiller to reserve Staten Island for his occupancy. An amusing incident is associated with his return to Manhattan in the spring of 1636, when unseen by garrison or sentinel he sailed up the bay and anchored off the fort two hours after midnight! At daybreak, unchallenged, he announced his arrival by firing three guns, whereupon the startled garrison rushed wildly to their posts, and the sleepy governor, in attire much disarranged, ran, pistol in hand, to the fort.

Another story tells of De Vries' excursion across the river in company with Van Twiller

and Dominie Bogardus, to give greeting to a new "head-commander" named Van Voorst, who had recently arrived at Pavonia, and was reputed to have brought with him some good Bordeaux wine. This social event was not free from the occurrence of disputes between the governor and minister, but the company were all upon friendly terms when the visitors took leave of their host, and Van Voorst attempted to honor the director with a salute. But his cannon stood too near the house, and his courtesy cost him his home! A spark fell upon the thatch of his roof, and the departing guests' pathway across the river was illuminated by the burning building.

One act of unquestionable bravery dignified the closing period of Van Twiller's rule. During the progress of the Pequod war, in an attack made by the savages upon the English settlement at Wethersfield, nine colonists were killed, and two young girls were carried into

captivity! When the news of this calamity reached New Amsterdam, the director dispatched a force to redeem the captives, with orders to effect this purpose by any means whatsoever. Suspicious of an attempt to regain the lost territory in Connecticut, the garrison at Saybrooke refused to allow the Dutch sloop to proceed beyond that point until a pledge was given that the release of the captives should be made their chief design. Having passed Saybrooke the party reached their destination unmolested, but the Pequods refused all offers of ransom for their prisoners, until the Dutch had succeeded in capturing six or seven savages whom they used as a medium of exchange, and the rescued maidens were then restored to their friends.

The "Comedy" was soon to close. The schout-fiscal, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, described with doubled imagery as "an upright man and a doctor of laws," had criticised the

methods of government in the colony, and openly censured the director. Van Twiller refused payment of Van Dincklagen's salary, and wrathfully ordered him out of the country. Returning to Holland, the schout appealed for justice to the States General, and presented a review of Van Twiller's administration. His memorial was referred to the Amsterdam Chamber, but was there dealt with in so unsatisfactory a manner that Van Dincklagen prepared a second document, and again asked the interposition of the home government. Upon the arrival of De Vries his knowledge of affairs was also promulgated, and his opinions freely expressed, and the States General notified the West India Company that they must refute the charges against Van Twiller or recall him.

The latter measure proved the easier, and in 1637 the Waverer was removed from office. He remained for a while in New Amsterdam

occupying the Company's bouwerie, which he had fitted up to his own satisfaction, and for which he paid two hundred and fifty guilders a year, while finding profitable occupation in the care of his own estates in New Netherland. When the greater portion of these reverted to the Company, Van Twiller returned to Holland, where his death in 1657 is recorded.

VI

The Early Administration of William Kieft
1638–1641

PROCLAMATIONS, protests and restrictions made eventful the first months of William Kieft's administration in New Netherland. The third governor arrived in the spring of 1638, and immediately became engrossed in the reformation of colonial affairs; issuing regulations so rapidly, that Fiske comprehensively comments: "If proclamations could reform society, the waspish and wiry little governor would have had the millenium in full operation within a twelvemonth."

Director Kieft did not enter office with an unsullied reputation, for he had been a bankrupt in business in the mother country; a misfortune that in Dutch estimation merited

the ignominious publicity procured by the annexation of his portrait to the gallows of his native city. Subsequent to this humiliation he had been sent to Turkey to negotiate the freedom of Christian captives, but rumor maintained that some were left in bondage whose ransom-money had been intrusted to the unworthy deputy. Although he was not cordially received in New Amsterdam, the activity and energy evinced by the "fussy, fiery Kieft," soon shone in vivid contrast to Van Twiller's dilatory deeds, and few were found able to evade the arbitrary edicts of the new governor. His first measures were strongly suggestive of a determination to render his individual authority the only law in the colony, for, having been granted the privilege of fixing the number of his council, he chose but one representative, the learned and law-loving, polished and prudent Johannes La Montagne. To this distinguished

councillor Kieft gave but one vote, however; while, "to prevent all danger of a tie," two were retained for himself.

There was abundant scope for all the director's efforts at reform. The fort, "open at every side, except the stone-point," presented a discouraging view of dismounted guns; while windmills that would not work, farms without tenants, and vessels falling to pieces in the harbor, formed a trio of embarrassments fitted to challenge the courage of a less energetic man. The colonists found little reward for farming when they were denied a title to the land they cultivated, and smuggling of both furs and tobacco was widely practised, while arms were sold to the Indians whenever such trade proved profitable.

Kieft posted his placards on barns and trees and fences; forbidding, on pain of death, the sale of guns or powder to the savages, and affixing heavy penalties to the illegal traffic

in furs. In order that his authority might more readily be enforced, restrictions were placed upon personal freedom; no one was permitted to leave the island without a passport; and sailors were forbidden to be absent from their ships after nightfall. The director was a strictly temperate man, and endeavored to prevent the occurrence of the "lively carousals" which had been too obviously in accordance with Van Twiller's tastes to suffer restraint under his legislation. Kieft's law enacted that no liquor should be sold at retail except "wine in moderate quantities," and every evening at nine o'clock the town bell proclaimed the proper hour for retiring. Morning and evening the same messenger summoned and dismissed the laborers, and on Thursdays its tones were the signal for prisoners to appear in court.

The complaints against Van Twiller having directed the attention of the States General

of Holland to the complications in New Netherland affairs, their High Mightinesses considered it prudent to continue their investigations, and at length informed the West India Company that measures must be taken "such as should be found advisable for the service of the state and the benefit of the Company." Thereupon the Amsterdam Chamber proposed more liberal conditions for colonists. A farmer willing to emigrate was to be carried free of expense to New Netherland, where a farm as large as he could satisfactorily cultivate would be provided, with house and barn, horses, cows, pigs, and needful implements of agriculture. For this equipment the farmer was to pay a quit-rent equivalent to two-hundred dollars per annum, for six years, and at the end of that period he might claim the land, with all that had been gained above the value of the stock originally furnished. Each colonist was required to sign a pledge to sub-

mit to the authority of officers appointed by the West India Company, and that corporation again agreed to keep in repair the fort and the public buildings, and to provide ministers, schoolmasters, and negro slaves. Somewhat later, a revised charter for the patroons modified the privileges of the aristocracy, and gave the colonists commercial and manufacturing rights.

Among the earliest settlers of New Netherland the thrifty and prosperous element of Holland's population was not widely represented, but the later charter of privileges tempted members of good families to emigrate, and the West India Company reaped the reward of their more liberal policy. In 1639, the number of bouweries on Manhattan Island had increased from seven to over thirty, and the tolerant temper shown by the Dutch toward persons of every religion brought, not long afterward, to New Nether-

land many New Englanders, who had been exiled from their homes by the fanatical zeal of magistrates. Among these was Anne Hutchinson, that "masterpiece of wit and wisdom" whom Winthrop claimed to have entangled in twenty-nine errors, and the dissenting clergyman, Francis Doughty, who while preaching at Cohassett, had been dragged from his pulpit for saying that Abraham's children ought to have been baptized.[1] Many fugitive servants "carrying their passports under the soles of their shoes" came also from New England and from Virginia, until the conduct of some immigrants having been reported to occasion "mischief and complaint," Kieft forbade the people of New Amsterdam to harbor any stranger more than one night, or to provide for him more than one meal, without notification to the director, accompanied by the name of the newcomer.

[1] Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies.*

Upon taking an oath of obedience to the States General, the aliens were received; equal rights and entire religious freedom were granted to all, and New Amsterdam entered upon its cosmopolitan career.

Trespassers upon territory on the South River soon called Kieft's attention from affairs at Fort Amsterdam. The ex-director, Peter Minuit, after returning to Holland, had offered his services to the government, then guided by the great Chancellor Oxenstein, and his proposition to plant a Scandinavian colony in America had been favorably received. With about fifty Swedes, including a Lutheran minister, Minuit arrived in Delaware Bay, and for "a kettle and other trinkets" purchased from the Indians a tract of land not far from Fort Nassau. Through the deed signed by the sachem, the Swedish claim included all the territory on the west bank of the Delaware River from Cape Hen-

lopen to Trenton Falls, and extending inland indefinitely. A fort was built and named for the young queen, Christiana, and as Minuit had brought material for the Indian trade, he was soon able to send to Europe a cargo of furs.

Angry messages of remonstrance against these encroachments upon the rights of the Dutch were issued from Fort Amsterdam, and a Swedish sloop challenged from Fort Nassau was warned to depart from the waters of the South River, but Minuit ignored these protests, and, as it was not the policy of Holland to offend Sweden, the little colony remained for several years unmolested. Minuit on a voyage to Sweden perished in a hurricane, and under the next governor, John Printz, the settlement of New Sweden was rapidly strengthened, and the West India Company's trade with the Indians of that region was for a time practically closed.

After the English settlements in the neighborhood of Long Island Sound had united their strength in the federal colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, the Dutch boundary line on the Fresh River was again narrowed by the advance of settlers. Declaring that it was "a sin to leave unused ground that could produce such excellent corn," the English began to cultivate the land in the immediate vicinity of Fort Good Hope, where Gysbert Op Dyck was established with a garrison of fourteen or fifteen men. "They gave out," said De Vries, "that they were Israelites and that the Dutch were Egyptians." The situation elicited several new proclamations from Kieft which failed to tranquilize affairs, however, and finally Op Dyck relinquished a position which brought only annoyance without honor.

In 1641, Kieft ordered a force of fifty men to protect the thirty acres which alone re-

mained to the Dutch, but just at that time hostile demonstrations from the Indians compelled him to detain the troops at Fort Amsterdam, and Winthrop joyfully wrote, "It pleased the Lord to disappoint this purpose."

De Vries, finding Staten Island an unsatisfactory estate, pursued his habit of leisurely travel, and left for the perusal of future generations an entertaining account of intelligent journeyings at a time when the Falls of Cahooes appeared "as high as a church." He explored the shores of the Mauritius as far as Fort Orange, and although his prophecies concerning settlements upon the river's bank were not optimistic, he purchased a few miles north of New Amsterdam a tract of land to which he gave the name of Vriesendale.

A. *The Fort.* B. *The Church.* C. *The Windmill.* D. *Flag which is hoisted when Vessels arrive in Port.*
E. *The Prison.* F. *The General's House.* G. *The Place of Execution.* H. *The Pillory.*
I. *The Company's Warehouse.* K. *The Town Tavern.*

VII

A Chapter of Disgraceful Deeds. 1640–1643

IN 1634 that "weak brother, Van Twiller," had compassed a deed of great importance to the colony at Fort Amsterdam, by concluding an advantageous peace with the Raritan Indians. The friendly relations then established were maintained for several years, but when the colonists began to employ Indians as household servants, the temptations presented were too strong for savage nature to resist; and, after possessing themselves of property belonging to their employers, the servants often departed suddenly to use their knowledge of the settlers' habits to the latter's disadvantage. The savages had learned to be shrewd in trade and exacting in their bargains, "requiring a cod if they gave a herring,"

and when it was no longer found profitable to indulge them, they were treated with contempt.

Other irritating conditions were fostered when the Dutch, in their eagerness for trade, neglected the care of their bouweries, and their straying cattle, intruding upon the unfenced cornfields of the Indians, were killed or captured. The edict against the sale of firearms to the Indians had been often evaded, and they, who at first looked upon a gun as "the devil," and refused to touch one, became so debased by familiarity with that implement of destruction that in their eagerness to possess a musket they would offer twenty beaver skins in exchange. Tempted by such extraordinary profits many colonists traded, until they were devoid of all means of defence in time of danger, and the savages were equipped for the war soon to be precipitated by the rash and reckless director.

Disgraceful Deeds

Upon the pretext that the savages were responsible for the necessity of maintaining the forts and their garrisons, and on the plea of express orders from Holland, Kieft levied a tax of "maize, furs, or sewant," upon the Indians. Naturally the tribute was refused by the warriors, on the ground that the troops and the fort furnished them no protection; and, declaring that the Dutch were still under obligations for food provided them during the early years of the settlement, the Indians concluded by announcing, "If we have ceded to you the land you occupy, we will yet remain masters of what we have retained."[1]

By this injudicious attempt at taxation, the River Indians were totally estranged, and as there were rumors of a projected attack upon Fort Amsterdam, Kieft ordered all inhabitants of Manhattan to provide themselves with firearms. But the burning brand was cast by

[1] Brodhead, vol. I, 311.

the governor's own hand. Some petty thefts committed on Staten Island were charged upon Raritan Indians, and although there was no proof that the criminals belonged to that tribe, soldiers were sent to demand from them restitution. In the conflict that ensued, although Van Tienhoven, the leader of the troops, made an effort to restrain his men, several Indians were killed, and the crops in the Raritan settlement were destroyed. This episode occurred in 1640, and revenge was not long delayed. In 1641 the unprotected plantation of De Vries, on Staten Island, was attacked by the Raritans, the buildings burned, and four planters killed. Kieft, more savage than the savages, more revengeful than the wronged De Vries, proclaimed a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum for the head of any Raritan; thus inciting against them the Indians of other tribes, and before long one of the River savages brought to the fort a hand

which he declared to have belonged to the chief who had murdered the Dutchmen on De Vries' estate.

Meanwhile, in accordance with Indian custom, a vow of vengeance religiously cherished for long years was executed, and retribution followed an evil deed done in the days of Minuit's rule. A Weequaesgeek Indian, on his way to Fort Amsterdam to dispose of beaver skins, had been attacked by three of Minuit's servants, robbed and murdered; but his nephew who accompanied him, a young lad and swift of foot, escaped to plan methods of revenge. Grown to manhood, he went to the house of a harmless old man named Claes Smits, upon pretence of bartering beaver-skins for cloth, and while, unsuspicious of evil, the victim stooped over his chest to find the articles desired, he was killed by a blow from the Indian's axe.

Kieft demanded that the murderer should

be surrendered for punishment, but the chief of the Weequaesgeeks refused, on the ground that he had but avenged the death of his uncle, and the wrathful governor was only restrained from immediate declaration of war by the popular opposition to that course. In the serious exigencies of the situation, Kieft was induced temporarily to relinquish his autocratic method of procedure, and representatives of the families of New Amsterdam were summoned to meet in council.

On August 28, 1641, this first popular assembly of New Netherland was convoked, and by its vote twelve men were appointed to co-operate with the governor, in measures for securing the welfare of the colony. This committee agreed that the murder of Claes Smits must be avenged, but "God and the opportunity" must first be considered. They advised a continuance of trade with the Indians until the hunting season should arrive,

when the scattered foe might be more easily overcome; and when the proper time for an attack should be at hand, they agreed that the governor "ought to lead the van." But the pacific policy of De Vries exerted its influence upon all the meetings of the council, and when the hunting season came, and the savages were still on their guard, the choleric Kieft was forced again to delay his anticipated vengeance, though to possess his soul in patience was quite beyond his power.

The Twelve Men once more convened, availed themselves of the opportunity for securing some popular rights long desired by the democratic Dutchmen, and although the director angrily dissolved the meeting, he found, like the second Stuart sovereign of England, that his prerogatives rested upon the will of the people. The Twelve Men demanded that thenceforth the governor's council should consist of at least five mem-

bers, of whom four should be chosen by popular vote, "to save the land from oppression"; and for all colonists they claimed the right to trade with neighboring people, and the privilege of visiting vessels arrived from abroad.

Hitherto Kieft had exercised the right to impose taxes and fines, and to change the value of wampum as he chose, thus affecting all property values. His had been the sole voice of authority in the settlement of all criminal questions, as well as civil controversies, and in autocratic complacency he had regarded his position as supreme and invulnerable. But now he realized the imprudence of refusing concessions to the Twelve Men, and feigning to yield to their wishes in many points, he replied to the demand for a permanently enlarged council by announcing that "some persons of quality," appointed in Holland, were expected soon to arrive.

Promptly following this news appeared a proclamation forbidding any meeting for the discussion of public affairs, unless by the direct summons of the governor.

The Twelve Men continued to refuse their sanction to active operations against the Indians, and at length Kieft, assuming personal responsibility for the act, sent Ensign Van Dyck with eighty men against the Weequaesgeeks. "But," says the chronicle, "the guide lost his way and the commander his temper," and the party returned ingloriously to Fort Amsterdam. The Indians were, however, alarmed by the demonstration, and sent to the fort to sue for peace. With the stipulation that the murderer of Claes Smits should be surrendered, a treaty was concluded, but the promise given was never fulfilled, and the peace was soon violated.

Near Hackensack, one evening in 1643, De Vries encountered a drunken Indian, who

vehemently asserted a purpose to seek revenge for the theft of his beaver-skin coat. If vengeance could be executed, the individual upon whom it was visited was of little account, and the following day a settler, quietly engaged in the work of thatching his house, was shot by the savage.

The chiefs of the tribe, anticipating retaliation, sought advice from the trusted De Vries, and offered to give the widow of the murdered man twenty fathoms of wampum. De Vries persuaded them to go with him to Fort Amsterdam, but Kieft refused to agree to any terms of peace in which the surrender of the murderer was not included. The chiefs declared that he had fled "two days' journey away," and, asserting that strong drink had caused the crime, they again offered atonement in money. Before negotiations had been concluded, however, the River Indians were attacked by the Mohawks, those "kings of

the forest," whom all feared, and flocking to the Dutch for protection, several hundred savages encamped at Pavonia and on Manhattan Island. The time seemed at hand for securing their permanent friendship, but Kieft viewed the conditions in a different light, and, supported by some members of the council, rejoiced in the opportunity afforded for striking the long delayed blow. Dominie Bogardus, La Montagne, and De Vries argued in vain. At midnight of February 25, 1643, detachments of soldiers were sent from Fort Amsterdam, and eighty Indians, men, women, and children were massacred at Pavonia; while at Corlear's Hook, forty more were murdered in their sleep. Dutch annals were dyed deep in wickedness that night. The next morning Kieft welcomed home his brutal bands, who came bringing the heads of victims, while many inhabitants of New Amsterdam, with evil passions inflamed by the

bloody sight, extolled the most disgraceful deed in all their history.

Intelligence of the massacre incited the colonists on Long Island to seek occasion for attacking the Indians in their neighborhood, and although Kieft directed them to continue at peace unless signs of hostility were shown, movements innocent of evil design were often construed into hostile indications by those who coveted neighboring cornfields; and in return for the loss of grain there were deadly deeds of Indian vengeance.

Retaliation for the massacre at Pavonia was not delayed. Eleven Algonquin tribes made common cause against the Dutch, and began those stealthy tactics to oppose which the civilized soldier possessed no weapons. Farmers were shot down on their bouweries, their families carried into captivity, and their homes destroyed by an enemy, who mysteriously appeared, and as suddenly vanished

when his work was done. Only those within the protecting walls of the fort were secure of life, and to prevent the colonists from returning to Holland, Kieft was compelled to receive many into the Company's service as soldiers. Even Vriesendale was attacked, though saved by the intervention of an Indian, whose life the patroon had protected on the night of the Pavonia massacre.

Realizing too late his error, Kieft again summoned a popular assembly, who chose eight men as councillors. Five of these were Dutch; two English; and one, named Kuyter, a German.[1] By their advice, efforts were made to pacify the savages on Long Island, but, characterizing the governor's messengers as "corn thieves," those Indians scornfully declined to consider any proposition for peace.

[1] The Eight Men were Jochem Petersen Kuyter, Cornelis Melny, Jan Jansen Dam, or Damen, Barent Diercksen, Abram Pietersen, Gerrit Wolfertsen, Isaac Allerton, and Thomas Hall; but when the other men declined to act with Damen, Jan Evertsen Bout was chosen to take his place.

The destitute and wrathful farmers charged the director with responsibility for all that had befallen them, and the project of sending him back to Holland was openly discussed. Kieft endeavored to throw the blame upon others, until he roused the people to such frenzy that some officials on whom he had cast discredit made efforts to assassinate him. Their agent was shot down and his head set upon the gallows, but the policy of the governor was not vindicated.

One morning in the spring of 1643, three delegates from the Indians on Long Island approached Fort Amsterdam bearing a white flag. The director dared not go forth to meet them, but sent De Vries and Jacob Olfertsen, to whom the messengers communicated the desire of their chief that the Dutch would "go to speak with him at the sea coast." The dauntless patroon and his companion thereupon accompanied the savages to a

point near Rockaway, Long Island, where three hundred of the tribe were assembled. The visitors were offered refreshments, and at daybreak were led into the woods, where were gathered the sixteen chiefs of Long Island. Seating themselves in a circle, the sachems placed the two white men in the centre, and then one chief arose, who carried in his hand a bundle of small sticks. This chosen orator then began a long harangue, enumerating the wrongs which the Indians had endured, and laying down his twigs one by one as he recounted his grievances. He was at length interrupted by De Vries, who asked the Indians to return with him to Fort Amsterdam, promising them an atonement for their injuries, in gifts from the director. To this proposition the sachems consented, for though warned by some of their number against putting themselves in the power of the man who had slain so many of their race,

they had faith in the patroon, from whose lips they said they " had never heard lies, as they had from other Swannekens.[1] "

At the Fort, gifts from Kieft cemented an informal treaty, but the governor's request that these chiefs would persuade representatives of the River tribes to come to New Amsterdam for conference, did not secure the desired results. The injured savages were not easily appeased, and although the sachem of the Hackensacks made a covenant of peace for some neighboring tribes, the presents given failed to satisfy, and the colonists lived in constant fear of attack. At midsummer a friendly Indian warned De Vries that danger was impending, and, at the patroon's request, went with him to warn the director.

Kieft, ignorant and impolitic, tried to bribe the messenger to put to death the foes of the Dutch, but his proffered gifts were indig-

[1] Indian name for the Dutch.

nantly spurned by the savage. "Had you at first fully atoned for your murders," he declared, "they would have been forgotten; I shall do my best to pacify my people, but fear I cannot, as they are continually crying out for vengeance."

VIII

The Indian War-whoop. 1643–1646

EARLY in the autumn of 1643 the war-whoop was sounded. Near New Rochelle the home of Anne Hutchinson was burned, and the family murdered, with the exception of one little girl who was carried into captivity. At Pavonia and Hackensack, bouweries were surprised, houses burned, and soldiers slaughtered. West Chester and Long Island were made "almost destitute of inhabitants and stock"; and on Manhattan Island not more than half a dozen bouweries remained undestroyed. The fort at New Amsterdam was almost in ruins, but only within its barriers was there protection for the colonists and for their starving cattle. Seven allied tribes, "well supplied with muskets, powder and ball," threatened

this place of refuge, and for defense the Dutch could muster only about two hundred soldiers.

When the Eight Men were again convoked, two ships belonging to the West India Company lay before the fort, loaded with provisions for Curaçoa. It was proposed to take possession of the cargoes, and to draft the crews into service on land. The council voted also to apply for aid from the New England colonies, and as a guaranty of payment for their troops to offer a mortgage upon the territory of New Netherland.[1] Kieft considered the first proposition "inexpedient," but dispatched ambassadors to seek assistance at New Haven, who soon returned to the disheartened Dutch bearing a refusal of their request, on the ground that the English "were not satisfied that the war with the Indians was just."

The destruction of the colony seemed im-

[1] Hol. Doc. III, 116, 117.

minent, and De Vries, having again lost all his possessions, resolved to return to Holland. He parted from Kieft with the prophecy, "The murders in which you have shed so much innocent blood will yet be revenged upon your own head."

Only through aid from Holland could the colonists hope for rescue, and an appeal signed by each of the Eight Men was addressed to the College of XIX,[1] while another letter sent to the States General carried to that august body a statement of the trials endured by the people of New Netherland. "We have no means of defense against a savage foe," they wrote, "and we have a miserable despot to rule over us."

When hostilities were reopened, disgraceful atrocities again marked the warfare of the Dutch. On suspicion of treachery among the Canarsee Indians, a force under command

[1] Hol. Doc. III, 134–140.

of La Montagne, Cook, and Underhill, sent to surprise them, killed over a hundred, and brought several prisoners to Fort Amsterdam, where one was forced to perform the death dance of his race, while, armed with long knives, the Dutch soldiers barbarously cut and beat their victim until he dropped dead; and another, also mutilated, was beheaded on a millstone, while the director and La Montagne viewed the deed.[1] As winter approached, and the colonists found themselves in need of many necessaries of life, a ship from Holland, destined for Rensselaerswijck, was stopped at Fort Amsterdam, and fifty pairs of shoes demanded, for which Kieft offered to pay in silver, beavers, or wampum. The request having been refused, the vessel was seized and searched, and on the plea that it contained contraband articles, its cargo of guns and ammunition was confiscated.

[1] Hol. Doc. III, 121–122.

The Indian War-whoop

Early in the year 1644, the English refugee, Underhill, was sent, with one hundred and fifty men, against the Connecticut Indians, and on a moonlight night approached the village near Greenwich, where, owing to the celebration of a festival, seven hundred savages had gathered. Finding them on their guard, the Dutch charged upon their stronghold, and although several sallies were made, and the arrows of the besieged effected some damage, the guns of the besiegers were more fatal, and within an hour one hundred and eighty Indians had been killed. Underhill then gave orders to fire the encampment, and, as the savages attempted to escape, they were shot down by foes as cruel as themselves. It is stated that only eight escaped, while among the Dutch but fifteen men were wounded. Again, for a deed of barbarity, Kieft ordered a public thanksgiving, when fasting and repentance would seem to have

been a more fitting consummation of the affair.

As spring approached, a few Indians appeared at Fort Amsterdam and pledged themselves to peace; but many tribes remained hostile, and their scouts were frequently seen prowling about the town. For protection of straying cattle, a fence was therefore erected "from the great bouwerie across to the plantation of Emanuel," covering a line from the North to the East River which Wall Street now partially indicates.

In desperate straits for money to pay the troops, Kieft again summoned the Eight Men, proposing a tax upon wine, beer, brandy, and beaver; but on the ground that the right of taxation could not be claimed by the governor of a province, the measure was opposed, while Kieft, unwilling to admit such a limitation of his authority, defiantly asserted that he was his own master in New Netherland,

having received his commission from the States General, and not alone from the West India Company. But the people of New Amsterdam were struggling toward the burgher government which they were soon to attain; and against the proclamation which falsely declared that by advice of the council the duties would be collected, brewers and tapsters protested, on the ground that if they paid the tax they would "offend the Eight Men and the whole community."

At this juncture, unexpected relief arrived. Driven out of Brazil by the Portuguese, one hundred and thirty Dutch soldiers had arrived at Curaçoa, where Peter Stuyvesant was at that time director for the West India Company. Not needing the troops, Stuyvesant sent them to New Amsterdam under command of Jan de Fries; and upon their opportune arrival, Kieft decided to "billet the new comers on the commonalty," while procuring the

clothing they needed by means of the contemned duties on liquors. The brewers were taxed, not alone for every tun of beer sold, but were ordered to "make a return of the exact quantity they might brew," [1] and having refused obedience to this edict, they were summoned before the council, where "judgment was recorded against them and their beer was given as a prize to the soldiers."

Encouraged by the assistance now provided, the director resolved to renew active measures against the Indians; but little was accomplished during the summer, and after their autumn crops had been secured, the savages grew bolder, and wandering about Manhattan Island by night rendered it so unsafe that "no one dared to fetch a stick of firewood without a strong escort."

Remonstrances and petitions to Kieft failed to secure the conditions required for safety,

[1] Hol. Doc. III, 187.

and at last the Eight Men addressed another memorial to the West India Company. It was prepared by the town surveyor, Andries Hudde, and after detailing the unhappy phases of affairs in the colony, where "fields lie fallow and waste, and dwellings are burned," it stated the complaints concerning the director's arbitrary rule, rested upon him responsibility for the condition of warfare, and warned the Company against relying upon statements written in "the book" Kieft had sent home, which contained, it was asserted, "as many lies as lines." The paper concluded with a petition that a new governor might be sent to the colony, or the afflicted petitioners be permitted to return to the fatherland.

Meanwhile the letter received by the States General in the preceding year had been referred to the West India Company, with commands that immediate relief should be

sent to the colonists; but the bankrupt corporation could only plead their inability to obey, through failure to receive the anticipated profits from New Netherland. When the second appeal for help was received, the College of XIX, realizing that some measures for immediate relief must be taken, issued orders for Kieft's recall, and appointed Lubbertus Van Dincklagen as temporary occupant of the director's office. While schoutfiscal under Van Twiller, Van Dincklagen had been "well liked by the Indians," and now, having satisfactorily adjusted his affairs with the Company, he was ready to return to New Netherland.

By command of the Amsterdam Chamber, the "Bureau of Accounts" prepared a report which, after reviewing the history of the colony, recommended measures for its "profit and advancement." A conviction was stated that, "without the knowledge, much less the

order of the XIX, and against the will of the Commonalty there," the province through Kieft's unnecessary wars had fallen into ruin; but could not consistently be abandoned, although from 1626 to 1644 it had cost the Company over five hundred and fifty thousand guilders.[1]

It was therefore resolved that the boundary question between the Dutch and English should at once be settled; that the Indians should be appeased; and that the government of New Netherland should be vested in a Supreme Council, consisting of a director, vice-director, and fiscal. Privileges were to be granted to emigrants, manufacturers encouraged, and colonists settled in towns and villages were to be permitted to choose deputies to represent them at a semi-annual assembly at Manhattan. A garrison of fifty-three soldiers was to be maintained at Fort Amster-

[1] Brodhead, Hol. Doc.

dam, where repairs were ordered; and every civilian was commanded to provide himself with a musket. It was also ordained that Kieft should be summoned to justify himself for "the bloody exploit of February, 1643."

There was rejoicing in New Amsterdam when the news of Kieft's recall was received, and the people did not hesitate openly to express their pleasure. Two or three persons, too frank in speech for their own safety, were arrested and fined or banished; while the director signalized the last period of his rule by conducting affairs in a manner more arbitrary than ever, and refused all right of appeal from his decisions. Dominie Bogardus, having been accused of drunkenness by the highest authority in the Province, in righteous wrath denounced the prosecutor from the pulpit, and encouraged the populace in their antagonistic sentiments toward him. The quarrel between governor and dominie was an open

one, and Bogardus, braving a violation of the law, refused to obey when cited to appear before the court, and rejected the proposition to refer the case to the other clergymen, Doughty and Megapolensis; while Kieft absented himself from church, and encouraged noisy amusements during the hours of service. At last the tangled woof of affairs was somewhat smoothed, through the interference of peacemakers, and arrangements having been made for Dominie Megapolensis to occupy the pulpit on a certain Sunday, Kieft again appeared in church.

Meantime entanglements with the Swedes on the South River were of frequent occurrence, and New England colonists, complaining of "insufferable disorders" at Fort Hope, declared themselves "much unsatisfied" with the view of affairs taken by the governor of New Netherland. But the close of Kieft's administration was to be marked by one

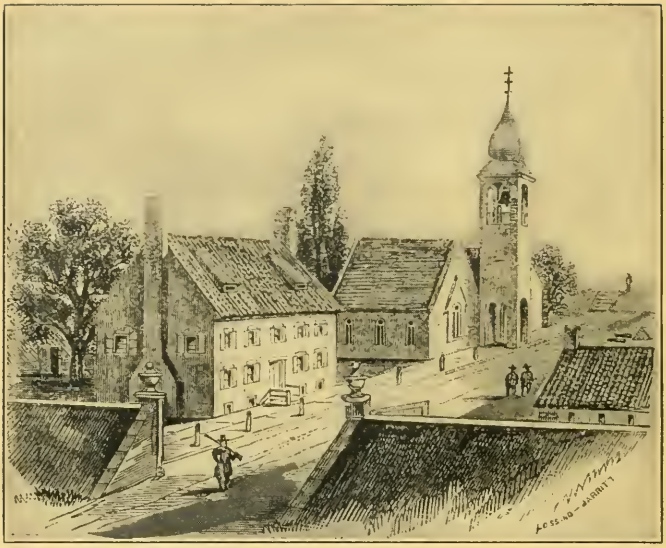
atoning episode. When the spring of 1645 opened, Indian delegates appeared at Fort Amsterdam desiring to consummate a treaty of peace. Kieft was now as eager to secure tranquillity as he had been to execute those deeds that precipitated the war. He followed without hesitation the advice of his council, and, having entered into an agreement with the Indian emissaries, secured their services for negotiations with tribes who continued hostile. Through diplomacy more was accomplished than had been gained by all the powder and shot the Dutch had used, and in a short time peace was established with all the savage tribes in the vicinity of Manhattan.

On the 29th of August, 1645, summoned by the sound of the bell, the citizens gathered at Fort Amsterdam to listen to the articles of the peace treaty, with the assurance that "if any could give good advice he might de-

clare his opinions freely." On the following day, in front of the fort, dark doublets and peaked hats were in vivid contrast with feathered and bead-ornamented costumes, when Dutch and Indians met to smoke the pipe of peace and to take pledges of eternal friendship. Henceforth no armed Indian was to approach the houses of the colonists and no armed Dutchman was to visit a village of the savages, unless with a native escort. The treaty of Fort Amsterdam brought security and joy once more to the province, and the day of thanksgiving next appointed was heartily observed.

When news of the consummation of peace reached Holland, the officers of the West India Company were divided in opinion concerning the policy to be pursued in the government of New Netherland, and Van Dincklagen's departure was delayed. His provisional appointment was finally revoked,

when Peter Stuyvesant was named for the office of director, with Van Dinklagen as vice-director, and Hendrick Van Dyck as fiscal. The three officials took oaths of office in July, 1646; but before their departure from Holland, a document was presented to the States General, embodying Stuyvesant's views concerning the government of New Netherland, and a prolonged discussion of those theories followed, while Kieft continued to rule at Manhattan.



THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE AND THE CHURCH IN THE FORT, UNDER THE DUTCH

IX

Peaceful Progress

SOME progress was made in ways of peace during the stormy years of Kieft's administration, and one of the most important works accomplished was the erection of a new church. When, during a council dinner, De Vries had contrasted the sacred edifices of New England with the small wooden church in New Amsterdam, his comments were so disparaging to Dutch piety that the governor was stimulated to the desire to erect a more imposing place of worship, and a favorable occasion for soliciting contributions for this work was soon found. At the marriage of Sara Roelofs, the eldest daughter of Anneke Jans, to the surgeon, Hans Kierstede, "after the fourth or fifth round of drinking" De Vries passed

a subscription paper, which he and the governor had headed, and a goodly sum was secured. Although next morning some of the company "well repented their generosity," Kieft forbade any subscription to be withdrawn; and a contract was promptly signed with John and Richard Ogden of Stamford, Conn., for the erection of a stone church seventy-two feet long, fifty-two wide, and sixteen "over the ground." The sum of twenty-five hundred guilders was agreed upon for the work, with one hundred more if it proved satisfactory. The building was soon begun, and the governor proclaimed his own share in its erection by an inscription upon a stone in the front wall which stated that

"Anno Domini, 1642,
William Kieft, Director General
hath the Commonalty caused to build this temple."

For security against the Indians a site had

been chosen within the walls of the fort, and in honor of a tutelary genius of the fatherland, the edifice was called the Church of St. Nicholas. When completed, five years later, its actual cost had amounted to eight thousand guilders.

The old church building was in time utilized as a store, where Allard Anthony is recorded to have traded "a hanger" to Jan Van Clief, for "as much buckwheat as Anthony's fowls will eat in six months."[1] Among other substantial buildings were the Company's storehouses and bakery, and the tavern, erected in 1642.

The trading facilities at New Amsterdam brought from Fort Orange, New England, and Virginia, a greater number of visitors than the governor found it convenient to entertain, and at the Company's expense the fine stone tavern was built, with its "crow-step

[1] Mrs. Lamb's *History of New York*.

gables" and brick-floored "stoup." It stood alone, facing the water, on ground that was later called Parel Straat, from the many shells that lined its shore, at a period when the land forming the present Water, Front and South streets was all beneath the tide. Within this primitive predecessor of many city hostelries, it was the duty of the "goode vrouw" or her maid to show the traveller to his room and open for him the bedstead, and, after he had retired, to return and blow out the candle. In the morning the curtains must be drawn at the hour he had fixed to rise.

The fort occupied the space now bounded by Bowling Green, Whitehall, Bridge and State streets, and around its walls were clustered the humble homes of the first settlers. Before many streets were laid out, there were two roads from the fort, one extending in a northerly direction and destined to become De Heere Straat, the early Broadway; while the other, along

the water-front, led to the ferry which, about 1642, was opened to Long Island. The landing-place on Manhattan Island was near the spot now occupied by Peck's Slip, and on Long Island, at a point almost identical with the present terminus of Fulton Ferry. Cornelis Dircksen, whose bouwerie on Manhattan lay in the vicinity of the landing, was summoned by a horn which hung against a tree, and for three stivers in wampum carried the passenger in his skiff to the opposite shore.

After roads had been planned, the houses were built with gable ends upon these highways. The first dwellings had usually two rooms on the ground floor and a garret above; but when larger houses were erected, an acute angle of roof elevation above the wall was considered a mark of aristocratic pretension, and often gave room for garret, loft, and cock-loft. The great fireplaces were sometimes six feet in height, with a stone oven at the side.

About 1660 a brickyard was established on Manhattan Island, and opportunity was afforded for architectural decoration when, to avoid waste, the bricks that were baked black were used for ornamental designs or distinctive checker-work upon the gable ends of new domiciles. The home of Jeronimus Ebbing, in Brouwer Straat, was distinguished above its neighbors as a building of brick, two stories high; and Peter Cornelisen Vandervier's house, on the corner of the present Whitehall and Pearl streets, attained honorable mention for the same reason. Great care was taken in the selection of material for the low, unplastered ceilings, whose beams were often ornamented with carvings. The average value of a dwelling was about one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and an average house-rent about twenty-five dollars per annum. Hendrick Van Dyck and his wife Duvertie Cornelisen, who lived on the west side

of the Heere Straat, possessed some notable shade trees, imported from Holland, as well as a still more famous peach orchard. There is a record of a wedding at their house in 1655, when their daughter Lydia married Nicholas De Meyer, and a rival lover came as unbidden guest to interrupt the festivities.

On one corner of Whitehall and Pearl streets a swinging sign gave notice that Surgeon Hans Kierstede dispensed drugs, performed amputations, and extracted teeth; and between Wall Street and Maiden Lane extended the bouwerie of Jan Jansen Damen. Mrs. Damen appears to have been a woman of unfettered action and great freedom of expression. She is credited with having influenced her son-in-law Van Tienhoven to slaughter the Indians, and her name has descended to history as that of a Dutch daughter of Herodius, who danced through the lanes of New Amsterdam with the bleeding head of a savage.

An inlet of the bay extended over the line of the present Broad Street, and into this a marshy district, lying above the Beaver's Path, was drained by a brook which came from the sheep pasture on the north. The canal, sixteen feet wide, was known as De Heere Gracht (the Great Drain). Soon after the incorporation of the city, its sides were lined with planks, and its banks were then considered a desirable locality for the finest residences. The first mention of "Smid's Vleye" or the Smith's Valley occurs in De Vries' "Voyages." It was the old name for the marshy ground between Pine, Fulton, and Pearl streets, and it is recorded that on one of the patroon's visits to New Amsterdam, his ship being in need of repairs, was hauled into the "Smid's Vleye."

As early as 1643, a lot opposite the Bowling Green was granted to Martin Cregier, probably the first lot laid out on the Heere Straat. For a house-lot, thirty by one hundred

View of the "GRAFT", or Canal, in Broad Street, and the FISH BRIDGE, 1659

and twenty-five feet, the average price at that time was equivalent to twelve dollars, but a transfer is on record of a lot thirty feet front by one hundred and ten deep for nine dollars and sixty cents. This property, located on what was later known as Bridge Street, was conveyed by Abraham Van Steenwijck to Anthony Van Fees.

When the settlement had attained to the employment of a herdsman, the cattle were every morning driven out to "the Flat," the locality of the present City Hall Park, whence at evening they were guided home through the cherry orchard, and along the borders of the swamp.

The Dutch settlements on Long Island had hitherto been chiefly confined to the districts known as the Waal-boght and the Roode Hoek, but Kieft bought large tracts of land from the Canarsie Indians, and after the grant to Lord Stirling, the English set-

tlers on the eastern end of the island came often in conflict with their "noxious neighbors," the Dutch.

Soon after 1642, a group of houses known as "The Ferry" were clustered about the boat-landing, while bouweries bordered the heights, and extended inland along the line of the present Fulton Street. In 1646, the settlers requested permission "to found a town at their own expense," and Kieft, promptly giving permission for the deed, confirmed the election of Jan Evartsen Bout and Huyck Aertsen as first schepens of Breuckelen.

There are records of some bickerings among the early colonists besides those between the governor and the dominie. When Mrs. Bogardus, on social duties intent, went to call upon a member of her husband's flock, she discovered upon reaching the entry of the house that another visitor named Grietje Reniers was within. Grietje's reputation in

the colony was not praiseworthy, and the dominie's wife, wishing to avoid a meeting, decided to postpone the call. But, as she started homeward, Grietje followed, commenting upon the incident with unpleasant vehemence; and when, in passing a blacksmith's shop, where the road was muddy, Annetje slightly raised her skirts, Grietje's remarks concerning the display of pretty feet were very disagreeable. The dominie, to whom they were reported, considered a reprimand necessary and the affair was finally brought before the court, by whom Grietje was compelled to pay a fine, while her husband, who was in arrears for church dues, was forced promptly to settle those accounts.

In 1641 a more serious quarrel occurred among slaves of the West India Company, and one man was murdered. Six negroes were implicated in the crime, and to discover the real criminal the common method of tor-

ture was proposed. To escape this the negroes all professed responsibility for the deed, and the director, unwilling to lose so many servants, decided that lots should be drawn to determine who must expiate the murder. The victim designated by this process was a man of huge stature, who was known as the giant, and although two ropes were employed to lift him upon the gallows, these supports gave way and he fell to the ground. The assembled multitude then begged so earnestly for his life that pardon was granted.

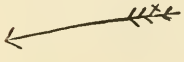
Much trouble was created in New Amsterdam by the circulation of poor wampum, The best wampum was manufactured by the Long Island Indians, but an inferior article made in New England was soon brought into New Netherlands. In 1641 the first law passed to regulate the currency ordained that all coarse sewant should pass for one stiver. The value of good wampum was estimated

by the fathom, and when this unit of measure was defined as, "as much as a man could reach with his arms outstretched," the shrewd Indians, when disposing of beaver skins, chose their tallest men for traders.

A book published in Holland in 1671 records that while in converse with one of the savages employed as intermediary in terminating the Indian wars, Kieft noticed that his face was streaked with a glittering yellow substance, and suspecting the presence of gold in the mineral used, he succeeded in procuring a sample for the crucible. According to the chronicle, the result of his experiment was shown in two pieces of gold valued at three guilders. Arend Corsen was immediately dispatched to Holland with samples of the ore, but the ship in which he sailed never reached its destination, and the search for precious metal was not pursued by the Dutch.

Valentine gives an interesting extract from

some official records during Kieft's administration, wherein deeds for the conveyance to the West India Company of lands on Long Island are signed in Indian fashion by the original proprietors.[1]



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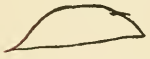

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[1] Valentine's *Manual* for 1847, p. 143.

X

The Honorable Peter Stuyvesant. 1647–1653

"HE came like a peacock, with great state and pomp," said an old writer describing the arrival of Stuyvesant. Salutes from the fort almost exhausted New Amsterdam's supply of powder, while the rejoicing colonists shouted and cheered in response to the new governor's declaration, "I shall rule you as a father his children."

It was the eleventh of May, 1647, for although the ship had left Holland on Christmas Day, the West Indies and the scenes of Stuyvesant's early exploits at Curaçoa had been visited before its course had been directed to Manhattan Island. The man described by Washington Irving as "a valiant, weatherbeaten, mettlesome, obstinate, leath-

ern-sided, lion-hearted old governor" had been trained by many experiences before his appointment to rule in New Netherland.

The son of a clergyman of Friesland, he had received a liberal education, and having chosen a military career, had early entered the service of the West India Company.

A commission to be director of the colony at Curaçoa opened opportunities well suited to his daring temperament, at a period when the Hollanders stood strenuously opposed to every threatening force upon the sea; but having led an attack upon the Portuguese island of St. Martin, Stuyvesant was wounded in an unsuccessful conflict, lost a leg, and was forced to return to Holland for surgical aid. Restoration to health was followed by the acceptance of the appointment as governor of New Netherland, and he arrived at Manhattan accompanied by his refined and attractive wife, his cultivated sister, Mrs.

Bayard, and her three little sons with their tutor. Van Dincklagen, Van Dyck, and several other officials, as well as a company of free colonists, came by the same vessel, and on the twenty-seventh of May the new director and his assistants were formally inaugurated.

There was ample opportunity for the exercise of Stuyvesant's imperious ability, for the disastrous Indian wars, and the rule of a man whom the people could not respect and hardly tolerated, had left all civil statutes in a condition of wavering force. Over the new court of justice, which was promptly established, Van Dincklagen was appointed judge, except on occasions when the director should himself see fit to fill the position. Stuyvesant's first proclamation, "done at Fort Amsterdam on the last day of May, 1647," commanded a more strict observance of Sunday; forbade any liquor to be drawn

on that day "before two of the clock in case there is no preaching, or else before four, except to a traveller and those who are daily customers, fetching the drinks to their own homes." Innkeeper, landlords, and tapsters were forbidden to keep their houses open on any week day after the ringing of the bell at nine o'clock in the evening, and fines were imposed for "drawing a knife or sword rudely or in anger."

The financial affairs of the colony were in chaotic confusion, and laws for the protection of the revenue were promptly enforced. Excise duties were for the first time levied on liquors, and the export duty on peltries was increased, while, free from suspicion of reproach, two of the Company's yachts were ordered to cruise in the West Indies for the purpose of capturing the rich galleons on their way from South America to Spain.

The vigorous director did not neglect the

minor details of municipal interest. Proprietors of vacant lots were directed to improve them within nine months, or forfeit their titles to possession; and Van Dyck, in his office of fiscal, was required to make complaint against all delinquents and transgressors of the military laws, "and all other our instructions and commands." The last comprehensive phrase was indicative of the new director's methods in legislation. His conception of the parental government he had promised involved only the promulgation of laws on his part and unquestioning obedience from the people.

When, after Stuyvesant's arrival, Kieft formally resigned his office to the new director, a proposition to offer the retiring officer the conventional vote of thanks was rejected by Kuyter and Melyn, two members of his council, on the just ground that they had no reason to thank him. These men subsequently

presented a petition asking for a judicial inquiry into Kieft's conduct as governor, but Stuyvesant, perhaps fearing to establish a dangerous precedent if he acceded to the request, declared that it was "treason to petition against a magistrate whether there was cause or not."

Kieft revenged himself upon Kuyter and Melyn, by charging them with having been the authors of "a false and calumnious letter," prepared, he asserted, clandestinely, and sent in the name of the Eight Men to the College of XIX. To this charge the accused were ordered to reply within forty-eight hours; but when they brought evidence to sustain their charges against Kieft, their "frank answers" were adjudged an aggravation of their offense, and fiscal Van Dyck was ordered to prosecute them for having "fraudulently obtained the signatures of the Eight Men, to the letter," as well as for offences against the

Indians and toward the West India Company. Although these charges were fully answered by the accused, the prejudged case was soon decided against them, and both Kuyter and Melyn were banished from the province. The right of appeal to the fatherland was denied them, and Stuyvesant threatened to "hang them on the highest tree in New Netherland," should they venture, subsequently, to carry the matter to the home authorities. The director openly declared, "If any one during my administration shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, that he may appeal in that way."

On the sixteenth of August, 1647, Kieft set sail for Holland, taking Kuyter and Melyn with him as prisoners, and carrying away a private fortune, estimated at four hundred thousand guilders. In the same ship sailed Dominie Bogardus, who had resigned his charge that he might clear himself before

the classis of Amsterdam of the accusations brought by Kieft. But their ship, the "Princess," was never to reach its destination. It was wrecked off the coast of Wales, and about one hundred passengers, including Bogardus and Kieft, were drowned. Kuyter and Melyn were among the saved, and testified that in the time of peril Kieft had confessed his injustice, and asked their forgiveness. Before continuing their journey to Holland, these wise councillors had the waters dragged in the vicinity of the sunken ship, until the box containing their papers was recovered,[1] and with these documents they secured from the States General justification for their conduct in New Amsterdam.

After the treaty of peace some Indian tribes had evinced dissatisfaction with the presents distributed among them, and Stuyvesant, anticipating a renewal of hostilities, wished

[1] Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies.*

to "use dispatch" in repairing the fort. But for this work money was needed, and resistance to arbitrary taxation was continued. The council, therefore, advised concessions to the people, and, in September, 1647, the residents of Manhattan, Breuckelen, Midwout (Flatbush), Amersfoort (Flatlands), and Pavonia were summoned to assemble at New Amsterdam, where an election was held at which eighteen of the "most notable, reasonable, honest, and respectable men" were chosen, from whom the director selected nine "to assist in promoting the welfare of the colony." [1]

Having assembled this council, Stuyvesant communicated to them his projects for repairing the fort, completing the church, which Kieft had begun five years previously,

[1] The Nine Men were Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus Van Hardenberg, Govert Loockermans, Jan Jansen Dam, Jacob Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven, Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, Machyel Janssen, Jan Evertsen Bout, Thomas Hall.

and providing a school-house. The representatives of the people expressed their willingness to be taxed for the church and the school-house, but they declared that the expenses attending repairs upon the fort should be met by the West India Company, who were pledged to protect the colonists.

While the discussion of these matters was engrossing his council, Stuyvesant's attention was called to affairs in other parts of the province. Commercial supremacy had been acquired by New Amsterdam through the prerogative of staple right, which gave that port a monopoly in the imposition of duties upon all goods carried up or down the river. Officers of the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck claimed that this prosperous estate was held directly from the States General of Holland; and, regardless of the authority of the West India Company, they assumed a right, from their fortress on Bear's Island, to collect

a toll from every passing vessel, with the exception of those in the Company's direct employ. The commander on Bear's Island also decreed that in passing his fort every vessel should strike its colors in homage to the patroon, and when Govert Loockermans, on his way from Fort Orange to New Amsterdam, refused this expression of deference, his boat became a target for the guns of the island, though valiantly declaring, "I strike for nobody but the Prince of Orange and the States General," he pursued his way.

In 1646, Brandt van Slechtenhorst was appointed to govern Rensselaerswijck, and seized the first opportunity for asserting his disregard for the authority of the New Netherland director. Stuyvesant, having appointed a day of fasting and prayer for the province, sent the proclamation to Rensselaerswijk, but Van Slechtenhorst refused to permit it to be publicly read, and openly de-

fied the director when he arrived in person with a guard to enforce his authority.

Further to show his independence, Van Slechtenhorst ordered the erection of some houses at forbidden places within range of the guns of Fort Orange, and hostilities centered at that point when, the director having ordered the palisades around the fort to be replaced by stone-work, Van Slechtenhorst forbade stone to be quarried or timber cut upon the patroon's estate. An order to pull down the newly-erected houses, and to arrest Van Slechtenhorst, increased the excitement and highly entertained the Indians. These phlegmatic people held their own opinion of Stuyvesant, whom they called "Wooden Leg," and on the occasion of a dispute in which the honorable director had displayed more than his usual spirit, one of the Mohawks remarked, "Wooden Leg very drunk!" "Impossible!" replied a Dutchman, "the

governor never drinks to excess." "Not drunk with rum," continued the Indian, "Wooden Leg *born drunk!*"

Adriaen Van der Donck, a former sheriff of the colony of Rensselaerswijck, and a man of firm and high principles, soon acquired great influence in New Amsterdam. He was the first lawyer in New Netherland, and after leaving Rensselaerswijck he had settled on land north of Manhattan Island, which became known as de Jonkheer's land, Jonkheer being a Dutch title applied to the sons of noblemen; and which, corrupted by the English tongue to Yonkers, has perpetuated the name of a large estate.

When the pressure of public sentiment forced Stuyvesant to concede some rights for which the people had long contended, Van der Donck was appointed secretary of the Nine Men. The increase of financial difficulties at New Amsterdam, where high duties

restricted trade, induced these councillors to propose sending a committee to Holland, with requests for long-promised reforms; and the director, designing to present to the States General his own conception of the situation, approved the project, but opposed it when he discovered the intention of the people to reveal their point of view.

The Nine Men promised to provide him with a copy of every statement in their communication, but Stuyvesant obstinately refused to sanction the preparation of the document, and forbade any assembly to be convened for discussion of the situation. Members of the council then secretly canvassed the settlement to learn the sentiments of the people, and when this proceeding was discovered by the director he ordered the arrest and temporary imprisonment of Van der Donck, who was accused of seditious conduct, and, in opposition to the advice of

the vice-director, Van Dincklagen, was expelled from the council.

Meanwhile the States General had suspended the sentence against Kuyter and Melyn, and cited Stuyvesant to appear at the Hague, either in person or by deputy, to justify his decree against the two men. In the midst of the excitement caused by Van der Donck's arrest, Melyn returned, bringing this order and his own exoneration, and demanding that both documents should be publicly read. Stuyvesant was compelled to comply, but refused to reverse his own sentence against Melyn, and the latter again left New Amsterdam. The director wrote to the States General that if discharged by the Company, he would appear in response to their command, but otherwise he would send an attorney; but he ventured no longer to interfere with the action of the Nine Men, and, in July, 1649, they addressed a document to their High

Mightinesses of Holland, petitioning for the establishment of a burgher government at New Amsterdam, and the settlement beyond dispute of boundary lines. A "Remonstrance" from the people, signed by a committee of eleven, was also prepared, detailing grievances and soliciting relief, and Van der Donck, Van Couwenhoven, and Jan Evertsen Bout, were commissioned to carry the papers to the Hague.[1]

But though the home government saw "no reason to object to a commission for the settlement of boundaries" the first request was not granted, and the West India Company upheld the action of Stuyvesant, who, thus encouraged, became more imperious than ever. He had appointed the crafty Van Tienhoven to represent him at the Hague,

[1] The memorial was signed on behalf of the people by Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus Van Hardenberg, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, Machyel Janssen, Thomas Hall, Elbert Elbertsen, Govert Loockermans, Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, and Adriaen Van der Donck.

and this ambassador reached Holland soon after Melyn's arrival. During the winter of 1649–50 the discussion of colonial affairs dragged its slow length along before the States General, while the Dutch people were reading Van der Donck's "Vertoogh" descriptive of New Netherland; and, alluding to the influence of that little book, the West India Company wrote to Stuyvesant, "The name of New Netherland was scarcely ever mentioned before, and now it would seem as if heaven and earth were interested in it."

In New Amsterdam the months were memorable for financial difficulties and scarcity of food. When Stuyvesant supplied a vessel for Curaçoa with provisions of which the colonists had need, the council remonstrated, and a quarrel ensued, which culminated in an open rupture when the delegates to Holland returned, bringing a stand of colors for the burgher guard: Stuyvesant refused to

allow these insignia to be presented, and in a childish determination to take revenge upon the Nine Men for opposition to his will, he deprived them of their special pew in church.

But the governor's attention was diverted from the complications at New Amsterdam by matters connected with the New England colonies, where jealousies against New Netherland were still fostered. Soon after his arrival in New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant had dispatched a letter to Governor Winthrop, wherein, alluding to the "indubiate rights of the Dutch" to the territory they occupied, he had proposed an adjustment of all existing claims. Winthrop communicated the contents of the letter to the New England commissioners, then assembled at Boston, but although some of the delegates were in favor of accepting the proposal for a conference, the Connecticut people thought "it would

be more to their advantage to stand upon terms of distance."

When Cromwell arose to power in England, the West India Company sent a message to Stuyvesant to "live with his neighbors on the best terms possible," and, as there were claims to be adjusted on Long Island as well as in New England, arrangements were at length made for a meeting at Hartford. Stuyvesant and his suite, travelling in state by way of Long Island Sound, arrived after four days at their journey's end, where "the great Muscovy Duke," as Van Dincklagen called the director, gave offense immediately by dating the first paper he presented from "Hartford in New Netherland." His apology was accepted, however, and the discussion of territorial rights was amicably continued for several days. At last it was agreed to submit the decision to four arbiters, and George Baxter, Stuyvesant's English secretary, and

Thomas Willett of Plymouth were chosen for the Dutch, and Simon Bradstreet and Thomas Prince for the English. They decided that the boundary line between English and Dutch possessions on the main land, starting east of Greenwich Bay, four miles from Stamford, should run north, but never come within ten miles of the Mauritius River; while on Long Island the line of separation should cross from Oyster Bay to the Atlantic.

Concerning this conference, it was afterwards written, "The English entertained the director of New Netherland like a prince, but he never imagined that such hard pills would be given him to digest!" and when Stuyvesant heard the arbiters' decree he exclaimed, "I have been betrayed!" This treaty of 1650 was, however, never formally ratified by the English, whose policy would not permit so direct a recognition of the province

of New Netherland; and the fact that Stuyvesant had consented to the appointment of Englishmen as arbiters for the Dutch raised a storm of opposition in New Amsterdam. The Nine Men declared that "the director had ceded away territory enough to found fifty colonies, each four miles square," [1] and again called attention to "the grievous and unsuitable governor of New Netherland." [2]

Soon Captain John Underhill, who had quarrelled with Stuyvesant, offered his services to the English, and, sailing up the Connecticut, posted upon the abandoned Fort Good Hope a notice that it had been confiscated, and thus ended the Dutch domain in New England.

Upon Stuyvesant's return to New Amsterdam, he was so exasperated by the conduct of the Nine Men that, at the next election, he refused to fill the vacancies in their board;

[1] Mrs. Lamb's *History of New York*.

[2] Holland Doc.

and when Van Dincklagen and Van Dyck wrote to the Holland government, protesting against the director's methods, and once more calling attention to the dissatisfaction among the colonists, those officials were expelled from the council.

Van Dincklagen denied Stuyvesant's prerogative in this action, and refused to abdicate, on the ground that he had been installed by the higher authority of the States General; but the audacious governor summarily commanded the vice-director to be seized and thrown into prison. Although released in a few days, Van Dincklagen was not reinstated, but, joining Melyn on Staten Island, he there awaited the turn of the tide.

At the patroon's fortress on Bear's Island, Van Slechtenhorst continued to repudiate the authority of the New Netherland governor, until Stuyvesant compassed his arrest, when he was carried to New Amsterdam and imprisoned.

He escaped and returned to Rensselaerswijck, but was soon drawn into a quarrel with Dyckman, the commander at Fort Orange, concerning the extent of their respective jurisdictions, and the excitement among their partisans grew so intense, that Stuyvesant's presence was necessary to subdue the tumult occasioned. By his command, Van Slechtenhorst was again seized and taken to New Amsterdam, while the director issued patents to colonists sent by the West India Company, for land claimed by the patroon within the village of Beverwijck.

During the course of these events, the vice-director's protest had been received by the States General, and, before their High Mightinesses, Van der Donck had replied to Van Tienhoven's defence of Stuyvesant. Believing his errand accomplished, Van Tienhoven returned to New Amsterdam, where his conduct elicited the comment that he "was like

an evil spirit scattering torpedoes." In 1652, he was appointed to fill Van Dyck's place as fiscal, while Carel Van Brugge succeeded to the vacated office of provincial secretary.[1]

Opposition to Stuyvesant's arbitrary rule was continued, at home and abroad, till it became evident to the directors of the West India Company that the province would be lost if concessions were not made, and, in 1652, they consented to the establishment of a burgher government at New Amsterdam, in which the two burgomasters, five schepens and a schout were to be elected by the people. At the same time the export duty on tobacco was remitted, the price of passage to New Netherland was reduced, ammunition was ordered to be sold "at a decent price," and colonists were permitted to procure negro servants from Africa.

But still greater honor awaited the active

[1] Mrs. Lamb's *History of New York.*

settlement of eight hundred people. On the second of February, 1653, the city of New Amsterdam was incorporated, and a government was promised, modeled upon that of Amsterdam in the fatherland. Preceded by that honorable functionary, the "klink" or bell-ringer, the director-general and the magistrates went in august procession to the church to inaugurate the new city; and from his room in the fort, dedicated by an inscription to "the Son of Peace," the klink, on his return, had liberty, no doubt, to sound a glad accompaniment to the shouts of the people.

But Stuyvesant still magnified his office, and, like Louis XIV, cherished the sentiment, "I am the State." Although an election of burgomasters and schepens had been commanded, the director, disregarding the order, assumed authority to name those officers, and, until compelled to surrender the privilege, presided at the meeting of the magistrates as

often as he saw fit. The first burgomasters in office were Arendt van Hallan and Martin Cregier; the schepens, Wilhelm Beeckman, Paulus LeendertsenVan der Grist, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Pieter Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven; but the provincial secretary, Jacob Kip, was expected to do duty for the young city, and the provincial schout-fiscal was at first thought equal to the necessary functions in New Amsterdam. After a few months, however, a city schout was appointed, and Johann Kuyter, who in Holland had vindicated his name from Kieft's charges, was first chosen to fill the office, though before the commission reached him he was murdered by the Indians.

The services of burgomasters and schepens were at first given without emolument, although the acceptance of office was compulsory; but before the first year of municipal life had passed, these officials found their duties

VIEW OF THE SITE OF THE PRESENT BATTERY IN 1656

so arduous that they petitioned for salaries, and Stuyvesant granted to each burgomaster three hundred and fifty florins per annum, or about one hundred and forty dollars,[1] while each schepen received annually two hundred and fifty florins, equal to one hundred dollars.

The place of Dominie Bogardus had been filled by Dominie Backerus who arrived with Stuyvesant; but, in 1649, he returned to Holland, and New Amsterdam was left without a minister until Dominie Johannes Megapolensis resigned his position at Rensselaerswijck, where, since 1642, he had preached to the Dutch and the Indians. Stuyvesant persuaded him to take charge of the church in New Amsterdam, and there he remained until his death in 1669.

[1] Records of New Amsterdam.

XI

Under the City Fathers. 1652–1658

IN 1652, hostilities were reopened between England and Holland, and although Van Tromp and De Ruyter were sweeping European waters with their broom-bedecked vessels, danger threatened the Dutch colonies in America.

In New Amsterdam the magistrate ordained precautionary measures, and secured from the principal burghers a loan of five thousand and fifty florins for the purpose of repairing the fort. A ditch and palisades around the inland side of the city were also ordered to be constructed, and, that the defenses might be speedily completed, every man was required to assist in the work. When it was learned that military preparations were

in progress in New England, a day of fasting and prayer was observed throughout the Dutch province, the work of fortifying New Amsterdam was pressed by every possible effort, and a night-watch was posted at points of danger. The contemplated attack upon the city was, however, prevented by the refusal of the Massachusetts court to sanction the enterprise. Two years later, the height of the palisades was doubled, "to prevent the overloopin of Indians," and two entrances were constructed, the "Water Gate," at the present junction of Pearl and Wall streets, and the "Land Gate" where Wall Street meets Broadway.[1]

The large amount of money expended upon defenses had heavily taxed the people of New Amsterdam, and, in 1653, the burgomasters and schepens voted that nothing more should be contributed until the whole excise duty

[1] *Historic New York.*

on wines and beer had been surrendered. Stuyvesant refused to comply with this demand, but was forced finally to yield to the persistent claim of the sturdy burghers called to act as an advisory council, though he added the proviso that "burgomasters and schepens shall furnish subsidies, by which the public works may be repaired."

Then the magistrates decided that money should be raised by a direct tax upon citizens, in proportion to their wealth, and, in 1655, the sum of seven thousand guilders was thus added to the city treasury. The largest amounts were paid by P. Stuyvesant, C. Van Tienhoven, A. Anthony, O. S. Van Cortlandt, J. P. Bruggh, C. Steenwyck, Govert Loockermans, Jacobus Backer, J. L. Van der Grist, J. Van Couwenhoven, P. L. Van der Grist, J. Nevius, J. de Peyster, Martin Cregier, Domini Megapolensis, Domini Drisius, Jeremias Van Rensselaer, Isaac de Forest, Cornelis Van Ruyven, Wil-

helm Beeckman, Hendrick Van Dyck, Ludowyck Kip, Arent Van Corlear, Jacob Kip, Isaac Kip, Conraet Ten Eyck, Abram Verplanck, P. C. Van der Veen, H. J. Vandervin.

Alarm was again excited by news that English war vessels had arrived at Boston, and an immediate attack might be expected. This was no idle rumor, for the ships had delayed only to gather an additional force from the New England troops, and, but for a sudden change in European tactics, the Dutch dominion in America might have been swiftly terminated. But just as the British force, numbering nearly a thousand men, was about to set sail from Boston, peace between England and Holland was proclaimed. Danger to New Amsterdam was again averted, and a day of thanksgiving was observed throughout the province. The proclamation read, "Praise the Lord, O England's Jerusalem; and Netherland's Zion, praise ye the Lord! He hath se-

cured your gates and blessed your possessions with peace, even here where the threatened torch of war was lighted."

The spirit of unrest fitfully manifested upon Long Island, in criticism of the government, was, in December, 1653, openly revealed by a popular assembly, where delegates from Breuckelen, Vliessingen (Flushing), Middleburg (Newtown), Hempstede, Gravesend, Midwout (Flatbush), and Amersfoort (Flatlands), demanded for their districts the laws in force in the fatherland. Against Stuyvesant's autocratic rule they threatened to protest to the States General, and although the unpopular director declared that his authority was derived "from God and the Company," another appeal from his judgments was forwarded to Holland.

The friendly relations long maintained between the Dutch and their neighbors on the South River had been interrupted after

the accession of Charles X to the Swedish throne; and while Stuyvesant, occupied with the danger threatening New Amsterdam, was unable to defend the distant post, Fort Casimer, a stronghold built in 1650, had been seized. In the autumn of 1653 a Swedish ship, having wandered from its course and entered the lower bay, was captured by the Dutch, and brought to Fort Amsterdam; while a message was conveyed to the Swedish commander on the South River, stating that the prize would be retained until "a reciprocal restitution should be made."

When all danger of attack from the English seemed averted by the consummation of peace in Europe, Stuyvesant projected a voyage to the West Indies for the purpose of promoting the commercial interests of his infant city, and the administration of affairs during his absence was committed to the vice-governor, De Sille and the council.

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The burgomasters and schepens passed a resolution "to compliment" the director before his "gallant voyage," and to provide "a gay repast" in the council chamber of the Stadt-Huys. In response to this courtesy the governor presented the city with a seal, bearing a beaver for its crest, while the arms of the old city of Amsterdam, the initial letters indicating "Chartered West India Company" and the legend "Sigillum Amstellodamensis in Novo Belgio" were all within a border of laurel leaves.

After a fruitless journey, Stuyvesant returned and found awaiting his arrival a fleet of four vessels from Holland. They bore orders that the director should assemble an additional force in New Netherland, and drive the Swedes from the South River. Preparations for an expedition to that locality were immediately begun, and in September, with seven hundred soldiers, the governor arrived

at Fort Casimer. The Swedes, having no sufficient opposing force, immediately capitulated and while, with sounding bugles and flying colors, the Dutch took possession of the stronghold, the colony swiftly changed its allegiance from Sweden to Holland.

During Stuyvesant's absence on this expedition, events prolific of dire results occurred in New Netherland. Van Dyck having discovered an Indian woman stealing peaches in his orchard, hastily shot her. A few days later nearly two thousand warriors arrived in canoes at Manhattan Island, and, under pretense of a search for Mohawks, thronged the streets and entered the houses. The officers of the city invited the sachems to a conference at the fort, and persuaded them to withdraw their warriors to Nutten Island. But when darkness arrived, and the terrified populace were again in their homes, the savages returned, and proceeding to Van

Dyck's house on the Heere Straat (Broadway), they struck him down with an axe, and killed also a neighbor who attempted a rescue. The citizens, seizing their arms, joined the burgher guard in the defence of their homes, and the Indians were driven to their canoes, but the spirit of vengeance was not satiated.

Soon the country was thrilled by news of burning settlements at Hoboken and Pavonia, and desolated farms on Staten Island, where one hundred persons had been massacred, and one hundred and fifty made captives. Colonists thronged to the fort for protection against prowling savages, and Stuyvesant was hastily summoned from the South River. The valiant old soldier adopted a wise policy of conciliation, and succeeded in concluding with the sachems a treaty of peace. Many prisoners were ransomed, and the people, once more relieved from fear of attack, ad-

justed themselves anew to their conditions of life, while the magistrates industriously enacted ordinances for the benefit of a city already cosmopolitan. During the wars in Kieft's administration, the population of New Amsterdam had been reduced from nearly twenty-five hundred to about eight hundred. In 1656, when a census was taken, there were, including the negro slaves, a thousand people in the city, and it was asserted that no less than eighteen dialects were spoken in the streets.

In 1657, municipal privileges, known in Holland as Burgher Rights, were introduced. To those who did not receive the prerogatives by inheritance of station, the Great Burgher Right might be secured by the payment of fifty guilders. It was a necessary qualification for any city office, and for a certain period it exempted the holder from "watches and expeditions," and freed him

from liability of arrest by any inferior court in the province. Possessors of the Small Burgher Right were enabled to keep "an open store in the city in a hired or owned room," and for this privilege a preliminary fee of twenty-five guilders was required.

Soon after the act of incorporation had been passed, Stuyvesant addressed a communication to the magistrates, in which we find intimations that even in the budding city official promises sometimes failed of prompt fulfillment. In this interesting document, the governor announced to his "Honorable, Dear, and Distinguished Friends," that hogs have damaged the walls of the fort, and as "pigs are seen daily upon these defenses," burgomasters and schepens are requested, in accordance with former promises, to "give an order and *prevent the pigs*."

Burgomasters and schepens then decided to engage a herdsman, but apparently the evil

was not remedied, for, in August, 1653, we find on record another letter from Stuyvesant to his "Respected and Very Dear," wherein, after calling attention to "the injurious and intolerable destruction daily committed by the hogs," he proceeds to threaten that, as "Burgomasters and schepens, in violation of their solemn promise, will not lend a hand in repairing and strengthening the walls, they must "clear themselves of all damage and injury that may follow."[1] After this rebuke, the guardians of the law evidently determined to shift some of their responsibilities to the shoulders of the citizens, for the court messenger was instructed to notify the burghers that every one should take care of his own hogs until the fort had been fenced in with palisades. Five years later, another ordinance was rendered imperative by the fact that roads and streets were injured by the same

[1] Records of New Amsterdam, vol. 1.

inquisitive peregrinating animals, and their owners were ordered to "put a ring through the noses of pigs to prevent them from rooting."

An ordinance of 1647 had commanded all inhabitants of New Netherland to fence their land that cattle might not trespass, and soon afterwards surveyors were appointed to determine the limits of lots. Inspectors of chimneys were responsible for proper cleanliness within the circle of their espionage, and the building of wooden or plastered chimneys was forbidden, although those already completed might be used if properly protected. If anybody's house was burned, however, "either by negligence or his own fire," the owner was condemned to pay a fine.

Regulations concerning the drawing of beer were repeated in 1648, with the revelatory comment that "profit being so easily made in that business, one-fourth of the city of New

Amsterdam had been turned into taverns." Those engaged in taprooms were ordered to have also "another honest business, with a convenient and decent burgher dwelling." [1]

In April, 1648, a proclamation was issued stating that, because the Sabbath had not been kept as intended, a sermon would be preached in the afternoon as well as in the forenoon, and during the hours of service all secular occupations were forbidden, and all persons were required to attend church. But something more than repeated ordinances seemed necessary to ensure an observance of the day of rest, according to the Dutch dictum, for on September 28, 1660, it is recorded that the schout, Pieter Tonneman, fined the wife of Andraes Rees because there were ninepins at her house during preaching, and "the can and glass stood on the table," whereat, the defendant appeared in court and said that

[1] Records of New Amsterdam.

"some one came to her house who said that church was out." [1] On the same date several persons were fined for having sold fish on Sunday, but as they proved that the deed was done before the ringing of the bell, their punishment was remitted.

It seems evident that evasions of the law were frequent, and that the interval allowed for secular occupations gave abundant opportunity for excuses. On September 10, 1663, it is verbosely recorded that "Whereas, Director General and Council of New Netherlands, experience and perceive that their previously enacted orders for the observance of the Sabbath, conformable to God's law and their good intentions, are not observed," they "hereby order and command, that not only a part but the whole Sabbath shall be observed. Whereby, each and every one is hereby warned that pending the Sab-

[1] Records of New Amsterdam.

bath, from the rising to the setting of the sun, no customary labor shall be performed." [1] After the prohibition of "all unusual exercises, such as games, boat, cart, or wagon-racing, fishing, sailing, nutting, or picking strawberries," the penalty for disobedience is declared to be, for the first offence, the forfeiture of the upper garment or the payment of six guilders.

In the autumn of 1648, an ordinance for the protection of commercial interests decreed that, "As Scottish merchants and small traders injure trade with underselling, and, having sold, return to their ships without any benefit to the country," [2] therefore, traders "shall not be allowed to do any business in the country unless they remain in New Netherland three consecutive years, and build in New Amsterdam a decent burgher dwelling-house, each according to his means." [3]

[1] Records of New Amsterdam. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

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We find by examination of the court archives that litigants presented their own cases. The lawyer Van der Donck was refused permission to practice his profession, on the ground that, "as there was no other lawyer in the country there would be no one to oppose him."

One year after the incorporation of the city, the first Ferry Ordinance was recorded. Under date of July 1, 1654, it states that:

Daily confusion occurring among the Ferrymen on Manhattan Island, so that the inhabitants are waiting whole days before they can obtain a passage, and then not without danger, and at an exorbitant price, It is ordered by the Director General and Council:

I. That no person shall ferry from one side of the river to the other without a license from the magistrates, under a penalty of £1 flemish for the first offence, £2 for the second, and £3, with confiscation of boat and corporal punishment, for the third infraction of this order; one-third of the fine to be paid to the legal ferryman, one-third to the

attorney general, and one-third at the disposition of the Judge.

II. The Ferryman shall always keep proper servants and boats, and a lodge on both sides of the river to protect passengers from the weather.

III. The Ferryman is to be allowed for a wagon or cart (either with horse, oxen or a head of cattle):

For a one horse wagon,	*Fl. 2 10 st.*
For a plough,	*Fl. 2*
For a hog, sheep, buck or goat,	*3 st.*
For a savage, male or female,	*6 st.*
For each other person,	*3 st.*
Half for a child under ten years.	
For a horse or four-footed horned beast,	*Fl. 1. 10 st.*
For a hogshead of tobacco,	*16 st.*
For a tun of beer,	*16 st.*
For an anker of wine or spirits,	*6 st.*
For a keg of butter or anything else,	*6 st.*
For four schepels of corn,	*1 st.*

IV. The Ferryman cannot be compelled to ferry anything over before he is paid.

V. The hours of the ferry shall be from 5 o'clock A.M. to 8 P.M. in summer; after this last mentioned hour, double ferriage.

VI. From 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. in winter, but he is not obliged to ferry during a tempest or when he cannot sail.

VII. The director and members of the council, the court messenger, and other persons invested with authority, or dispatched by the executive, are to be exempt from toll.[1]

In January, 1656, a notable resolution was passed by the city fathers, when the treasury, being destitute of funds "to disburse therefrom what the burgomasters and schepens should yearly receive as a salary," it was proposed "to open a city account and place the same to their credit, to be paid from the treasury *when circumstances permit.*"

To expedite trade, an ordinance of September, 1656, proclaimed that, whereas, people from the country bringing wares to sell "remain a long time to their damage" because the community were in ignorance of their arrival, therefore Saturday should thenceforth

[1] Albany Records, VII, 267.

be kept as a market day. "Let every one who has anything to sell or buy, govern himself accordingly."[1] The market was held "at or around the house of Mr. Hans Kierstede, where, after him, everyone shall be permitted to buy or sell."

Three years later, arrangements were made for an annual sale of cattle. This market was held on the green during six weeks of the autumn, and within that halcyon period no visitor in the city could be arrested for debt.

As early as 1645, the youth of New Amsterdam were instructed by Arien Van Offendam, whose terms for tuition were two dried beaver-skins per annum; but educational advantages in the city suffered limitations, for although "the bowl had been going round a long time for the purpose of erecting a schoolhouse," that structure had been "built with words" only. In 1652, the West India

[1] Records of New Amsterdam.

Company wrote to Stuyvesant: "A public school may be established, for which one schoolmaster will be sufficient, and he may be engaged at 250 florins annually. We recommend Jan de La Montagne — You may appropriate the city tavern for that purpose if practicable."

Dr. La Montagne appears to have served the city in the capacity of schoolmaster, but there is no evidence that the tavern became a classic hall, and later records seem to invalidate that theory. In 1656, a "reverential request" to the burgomasters and schepens was presented by Hermanus Van Hoboocken, city schoolmaster, who desired the hall and side-room of the Stadt-Huys for the use of the school, as during the winter children require a place "adapted for fire and to be warmed." This modest application was supplemented by the more personal statement that as the petitioner "is burthened with a

wife and children" he is greatly in need of a dwelling for them.[1] In response to Hoboocken's appeal, the room he asked for being "out of repair, and moreover wanted for other uses," the council voted one hundred guilders, "in order that the youth, who are here quite numerous, may have means of instruction." [2]

Efforts to establish private institutions of learning did not find favor in the eyes of all city officials. After Jacob Van Corlear, having secured a license, "arrogated to himself to keep school," though he was not accused of any misdemeanor, except that of imparting knowledge, he was warned, by command of the governor and council, that his school-keeping must cease. But at length the colonists demanded that "in so wild a country" at least two good schoolmasters should be provided, and, in 1658, stimulated

[1] Records of New Amsterdam. [2] *Ibid.*

perhaps by New England's attainments, the magistrates of New Amsterdam made a signal effort to secure educational advantages. They wrote to the West India Company that most of the youth in the colony could read and write, and as some of the citizens would like to send their children to a teacher "who understands Latin," the Company was besought to send such an accomplished instructor, for whom, on their part, the council promised to provide a schoolroom.

The request appears to have been granted with unusual promptness, for the following year Alexander Carolus Curtius arrived. If his name was an emblematic guaranty of classical culture, his learning must have been marvellous; but although suitable honors and emoluments were decreed him, he seems to have failed in ability as a disciplinarian, and he was soon succeeded by Egidius Luyck, who remained until the Dutch rule was ended.

There is evidence that the teacher's pecuniary recompense was sometimes withheld. In court records of 1661, "Jan Rutgersen, pltf., *vs.* Mighiel Cuperus, deft." the plaintiff demands from defendant, thirteen guilders in sewant; attorney of defendant answers, that defendant demands from plaintiff two quarters of a year's school money for his son's little boy, for whose schooling he contracted; also for a leg of goat's meat, and says, "he offered to let debt go against debt." Plaintiff says, he "did not agree for the little boy, and earned the little leg," which statement the honorable court ordered to be proven.[1]

In 1654, when the municipal government was organized, the stone tavern was appropriated for civic purposes and called the Stadt Huys. This massive building, fifty feet square, was three stories high in the walls, with two more in the high peaked roof. Over the bench

[1] Records of New Amsterdam.

STADT HUYS,
Corner of Pearl Street and Coenties Alley
Built in 1642

of justice in the great court room hung a coat-of-arms sent from Holland for the young city, and the hall was gay with the orange, blue, and white of the West India Company. The building stood so close to the river that its walls were washed by the rising tide, until a barrier of stone was built along the shore. This protection, known as "the schoeyinge," was between the present Wall and Broad streets, and was formed by planks driven end-wise into the earth.

In front of the Stadt Huys stood the gallows, and a platform, from which public notices were read after the bell had been tolled three times to assemble the citizens. In the rear of the Stadt Huys was Hoogh Straat, leading to the ferry. The same line of highway was called Brouwer Straat (the Brewer's Street) between the present Broad and Whitehall streets, and, early in 1658, in response to a petition from the citizens, the magistrates

ordained that this section should be paved. Two burghers were appointed to superintend the work, for which owners of property along the line of this improvement were to be assessed. After the cobble-stone pavement was completed, the street was known as the Stone Street. Whitehall Street was first called Winckel Straat, or the Shop Street, and was one of the thoroughfares early paved. Brugh Straat (Bridge Street) led to the largest of the bridges across the broad canal. At the end of the Beavers Path was the swamp included in the property owned by Wilhelmus Beekman. Coenties Slip was then an inlet upon land owned by Conraet Ten Eyck, whose nickname "Coentje" has thus attained to fame.

Some complaints brought before the magistrates in the old Staat Huys, reveal amusing glimpses of life in those early days. On February 18, 1658, before the council, Jan Cornelesen accused Rutgert Jansen of having

applied to him the opprobrious title, "Indian dog," whereupon strife ensued until the schout interfered. Official evidence having proven that Rutgert had suffered a beating at the hands of the insulted Jan, the court sentenced the plaintiff to pay the defendant twelve guilders, "for smart and pain"; while the schout received his perquisite from Rutgert's penalty of six guilders for foul and abusive language."[1]

On June 8, 1660, the schout, De Sille, requested that Hans Dreper "be condemned in a fine for the poor, as he did not hesitate to say before the court, 'thou lyest!'"[1] Hans was called in and informed that for this improper language he must pay to the poor the sum of six guilders.

November 15, 1661, Mesaack Martens was tried for a theft of cabbages, which he acknowledged, and for having pawned a gown, taken without the knowledge of the owner

[1] Records of New Amsterdam.

from a chest left in his house. He was condemned to stand in the pillory with cabbages upon his head, and then to suffer banishment from the city for five years.

At intervals the names of some women of New Amsterdam appear upon court records. Anneke Kockz seems not to have possessed a placid temperament, as she was disciplined by the city fathers "for pulling the cap off the head of Mrs. Jan De Witt, and pulling the hair out of her head."[1] Some characteristics of another female were revealed by the complaint of Nicolaas Velthuysen that Saartje Sandels continued to "go censuring him." Saartje received a reprimand from the court, and was ordered "not to go snapping and cackling."[2]

For a brief period the city annals are stained by a record of religious intolerance. In 1656, Stuyvesant refused the petition presented by

[1] Records of New Amsterdam. [2] *Ibid.*

German settlers for the establishment of a Lutheran church. The States General censured this action, but when, in the following year, the Rev. Ernestus Goetwater came from Amsterdam with a commission to act as pastor for the Lutherans, he was arrested and sent back to Holland.[1] At Vliesingen (Flushing), the sheriff, William Hallett, was removed from office and fined for holding Baptist meetings at his own house ; but of all denominations the Quakers endured the most severe and unwarranted cruelty. Robert Hodshone, while speaking at Hempstede, was seized, tied to a cart and dragged to New Amsterdam, where he was thrown into a cellar. After several days he was taken before Stuyvesant, who, enraged by Hodshone's refusal to take off his hat, sentenced him to the payment of a heavy fine, or the performance of hard labor. Having no money for the fine,

[1] Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*.

younger men were continually urging them to fight. "Let them come forth!" cried Stuyvesant defiantly; "I will place twenty men against forty of your hot heads; but it is mean and contemptible to threaten farmers and women and children, who are not warriors!" [1]

The governor had succeeded in effectually humiliating the savages, and in gaining their respect. They brought some fathoms of wampum as reparation for their recent deeds, and selecting a plot of ground about two hundred and ten yards in circumference they proffered it to Stuyvesant, "to grease his feet after the long journey he had taken to visit them." This ground became the nucleus of the new village of Esopus (Kingston), and for its protection the governor left a guard of twenty-four soldiers. The colonists did not feel secure, however, until, in the autumn,

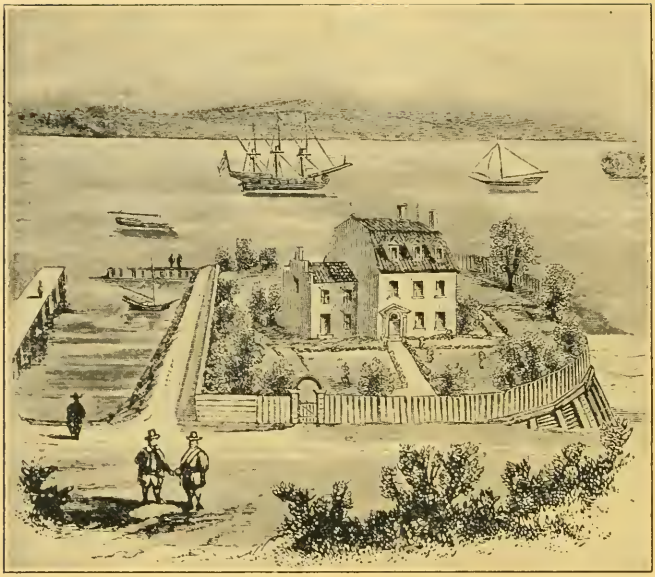
[1] Mrs. Lamb's *History of New York*.

Stuyvesant again visited them and left fifty soldiers to guard the post.

But it was the wickedness of the Dutch that again precipitated disaster. Upon an estate near Esopus seven or eight Indians were employed as servants, and one evening, having obtained some brandy, they became intoxicated, and by their shouts startled the settlers as well as the soldiers at the fort. Having ascertained the cause of the disturbance the officer in command at the fort forbade his men to molest the offenders, but some of the colonists freely used their muskets, and several Indians were wounded. It was not long before their tribe retaliated. A host of savages besieged the fort at Esopus, while over the surrounding country, burning houses and barns, slaughtered cattle, and tortured captives testified to the bitter enmity awakened.

Stuyvesant was ill, but his energy was not abated. Taking with him as large a force as

could be raised, he started for Esopus, and upon his arrival the foe fled. A truce was arranged, but was trusted by few, and subsequent events justified the general doubt of savage faith.



GOV. STUYVESANT'S HOUSE, erected 1658, afterwards called "THE WHITEHALL"

XII

The Coming of the English. 1658–1664

WHEN Stuyvesant returned from Esopus, in the autumn of 1658, repairs long contemplated upon Fort Amsterdam were immediately completed, and a stone wall, ten feet high, took the place of the old protecting palisades. In succeeding months of peace, the governor built for himself a mansion of stone, which, under English rule, was long known as the White Hall, and bequeathed a name to the street on which it fronted. The little city, with a population of about sixteen hundred souls, was pressing onward by every effort to achieve prosperity, when news was received of another swift revolution in Europe, and the "restoration" of Charles Stuart to the English throne.

The indolent sovereign who, according to his flattering courtiers,

> "Never said a foolish thing,
> And never did a wise one,"

took little interest in colonial affairs, but his council was forced to give attention to the proposed treaty of alliance with Holland, which, in September, 1662, was consummated. In the spring of that year, John Winthrop, the younger, had made his historic voyage to London, wearing the ring which is said to have secured the Connecticut charter. By that document the assigned western limit of the English colony was the Pacific Ocean; and as its southern boundary in the sea included, besides the mainland, "all the islands thereunto adjoining," Winthrop notified the inhabitants of Long Island, as well as those of Westchester, to send delegates to the court of Connecticut. When Stuyvesant protested against these comprehensive claims of the

English, asking, "Where lies New Netherland if Connecticut extends to the Pacific?" the Hartford committee calmly replied, "We know not, unless you can show us your charter."

In the summer of 1663, a severe earthquake terrified the people of New England, and the Dutch colonists, from Beverwijck to New Amsterdam. Following the excitement thus aroused, came news of another Indian attack upon Esopus, where houses had been burned, women and children butchered, and many persons taken captive.

Stuyvesant promptly dispatched to the locality a body of troops, under command of Martin Cregier and Peter Van Couwenhoven; and guided by Rachel La Montagne, who had been carried away a prisoner but had escaped, the party found the fortress to which the savages had first led their captives. But the place was deserted, and although the next morning

Couwenhoven and his men pressed farther into the wilderness, guided by a squaw familiar with the way, the search still proved fruitless. Then, with fifty-five men, Cregier set out, and after a march of two days achieved the object of the expedition. The savages were surprised in a stronghold recently built, the chief and fourteen warriors were slain, thirteen prisoners were taken, and twenty-three captives recovered. By another expedition nearly all the remaining captives were soon rescued, and a nominal armistice was again arranged.

An episode in English courts induced some changes in New Netherland, for the subject of Lord Baltimore's claims was again agitated, and, with a view of more effectually securing their territory against English encroachments, the West India Company transferred to the burgomasters of Amsterdam all their rights over the district of the South

River. The burgomasters appointed De Hinoyossa governor of the country, and upon his arrival at New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant ceded to him all authority over the southern division of the New Netherland province.

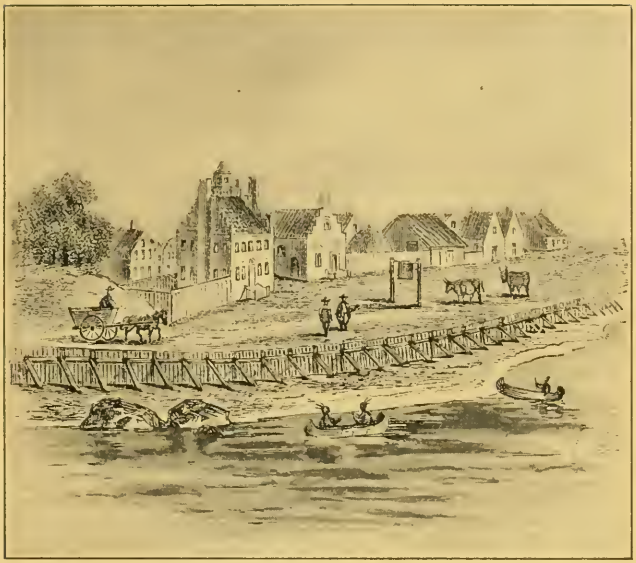
In the autumn of 1663, the exigencies of colonial affairs demanded that commissioners should once more be sent to Hartford; but there was no money in the treasury for the expenses of the embassy, and so unstable seemed the situation that Stuyvesant could not borrow upon a government draft the sum of four thousand guilders, until, as security, he had pledged four of the brass cannon of the city fort. In November the city fathers sent a letter to Holland charging the West India Company with responsibility for the condition of affairs throughout the province, but no help came for their desperate need. Before long the villages on Long Island were threatened by an Englishman named

John Scott, who, assuming official authority, announced that he would free "those who had been enslaved by the cruel and rapacious Dutch." New Amsterdam was again in danger, and in that "highly imperious necessity" the director was urged to convoke a General Provincial assembly, "to enact what shall be found proper for the prosperity and peace of the province." [1]

But, through the city records of March 18, 1664, we learn that although the meeting was called in November, it was attended by deputies from neighboring towns only, the delegates from Rensselaerswijck, Beverijck, and Wildswijck "being unable to come down and sail back at the same time, owing to the inconvenience of the approaching winter." [2]

In April, 1664, the "inconvenient" obstacles of the winter being removed, a General As-

[1] Records of New Amsterdam. [2] *Ibid.*



View of the "SCHOEINGE" or Sheet Piling on the East River Shore, near Coenties Slip, 1658

sembly was convened at New Amsterdam, and the Hon. Jeremias Van Rensselaer was appointed chairman. Measures for raising money were discussed and another appeal to Holland was prepared, but no adequate provision for united action was outlined, and the city continued dependent upon its own limited resources.

Early in 1664, the records show that "the openness of the place along the water side, both along the East and North rivers, being notorious and manifest," it was deemed advisable "to set this off as quick as possible with palisades,"[1] but the city's income was insufficient to pay for the labor, and the director was therefore requested to "lend the Company's negroes to cut and haul palisades with the city's negroes."[2] On February 22, the magistrates recorded a proposition "to make the city strong with a stone wall on

[1] Records of New Amsterdam. [2] *Ibid.*

the land side, and palisades along both the river fronts; the money required to be raised among the wealthiest inhabitants on condition that they may have the tapster's excise on wine and beer.[1]

This proposal having been favorably received by the council, was made known to the principal burghers of the city, and a loan of twenty-seven thousand five hundred florins was secured.

Meanwhile the harassed governor of New Netherland had again been forced to contend with bands of maurauding Indians in the neighborhood of Esopus;—but, at last, three of the sachems came to New Amsterdam with propositions for peace, and, while the wife of Dr. Hans Kierstede acted as interpreter, a formal treaty was concluded.

There was peace also in Europe between Holland and England, but it was the calm

[1] Records of New Amsterdam.

before the storm: Charles II issued in his brother's favor "that most despotic instrument recorded in the colonial archives of England," and the Duke of York fitted out the "Guinea," the "Elias," the "Martin," and the "William and Nicholas" for the conquest of New Netherland. Five hundred veteran troops were assigned to Colonel Richard Nicolls, who was appointed deputy governor of the province he was enjoined to conquer, and with whom sailed also the commissioners of a new government, Sir George Cartwright, Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick. Bearing dispatches which commanded the people of New England to "join and assist vigorously," they came sailing across the sea in August, 1664, and news of the event was borne swiftly to New Amsterdam.

A council summoned to meet the emergency ordained that the city should be put in a state of defense, guards be constantly

maintained, and to meet immediate expenses a loan from Rensselaerswijck should be solicited. Ships on the point of sailing for Curaçoa were detained to give aid at home, and emissaries were sent forth to collect provisions, that the people might be able to withstand a siege. Then from blinded Holland came the message that the English fleet had been dispatched to establish an Episcopacy in New England, and Stuyvesant, relieved from keen anxiety concerning his province, started upon an errand to Fort Orange. Fleet messengers were sent to recall him, bearing the startling tidings that the enemy were on their way from Boston to New Amsterdam. The governor returned at once, and three days after his arrival the English ships came into view.

Every effort for defense was made. On the twenty-fifth of August, the council ordained that one-fifth of the inhabitants of the city

THE BLOCKHOUSE AND CITY GATE
(*Foot of the present Wall Street*), *1674*

should "appear in person, or put another in his place, furnished with a shovel, spade, or wheelbarrow, to labor every third day at the city's works."[1]

The council was besought to "favor the place" with "eight pieces of good and heavy cannon," twenty pieces being already provided, and for each piece fifty pounds of powder were requested, with six hundred pounds of lead for bullets, to be used by the burghers for their muskets. A company of burghers appointed to keep guard at night asked that they might be strengthened by soldiers, and that a day watch might be kept at the gates. All these requests were promptly granted, and it was decreed that every person who should mount guard should receive a pound of powder, and a pound and a half of lead.[2]

But four hundred men were all that could be depended upon to bear arms, and six hundred

[1] Records of New Amsterdam. [2] *Ibid.*

pounds of powder was all the fort possessed.[1] One thousand pounds of powder with six pieces of artillery were secured from other points in the province, but Fort Orange could give no aid, owing to danger from the treacherous Indians.

On that August morning, when, unannounced, the English fleet came to anchor off the Long Island shore, while English troops seized the block-house on Staten Island and a strong force was landed near Breuckelen, the undaunted governor of New Netherland dispatched a deputation of four citizens with a letter inquiring the object of the visit. In reply came the blunt message from Nicolls, that he had arrived to reduce the country to obedience to the English sovereign, and on the following day would send his communication to Stuyvesant. At the appointed time, Sir George Cartwright, with a suite of three

[1] Mrs. Lamb's *History of New York.*

gentlemen, arrived at the fort and was received with salutes of honor. He bore from Nicolls to Stuyvesant a formal summons to surrender "the province of New Netherland with all its towns and forts," but to every inhabitant, life, liberty, and possession of his estate was promised.

The city magistrates, realizing that resistance was vain, counselled submission, but Stuyvesant steadfastly asserted an inexorable determination to defend his post, and work upon the fortifications was continued. The burghers, holding a meeting at the Stadt Huys to discuss the terms of surrender, addressed to the governor and council a remonstrance against the course of resistance. "Granting," they said, "that the fort could hold out against its assailants, one, two, three, five, or six months (which to our sorrow it cannot), it is still undeniable that it cannot save the smallest portion of our entire city, our property,

and what is dearer to us, our wives and children, from total ruin; for after considerable bloodshed even the fort itself could not be preserved. Wherefore, to prevent and arrest all the aforesaid misfortune, we humbly and in bitterness of heart, implore your honors not to reject the conditions of so generous a foe."

Stuyvesant, shortly asserting that surrender was out of the question, still tried to win approval of his position, but tried in vain. The citizens clamored for the public reading of the summons from Nicolls, until the governor unwillingly yielded the document. Then, under a flag of truce came Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, accompanied by some English gentlemen who brought a second letter from Nicolls to Stuyvesant, in which a peaceful surrender was again urged, only to elicit another emphatic refusal.

Governor Winthrop then passed to Stuyvesant a letter which he had received from

Nicolls, and which stated the policy to be pursued by the English in regard to New Netherland. This letter Stuyvesant read to the assembled burgomasters, who then requested permission to read it to the people; but the governor, considering this course injudicious, refused to relinquish the paper, and, when urged to reconsider his refusal, wrathfully tore the letter into fragments. This action failed to bring submission to his will; the meeting broke up in confusion, and the angry councillors left the fort condemning the conduct of their governor. The people, becoming aware of the condition of affairs, suddenly ceased their work upon the fortifications and clamored for the director. Three resolute men appeared before Stuyvesant, and with threats demanded a copy of the letter he had destroyed; while a tumult arose in the city which officials tried in vain to quiet. "The letter! the letter!" the people shouted around

the fort, until Nicholas Bayard, Stuyvesant's secretary, gathering the scattered fragments of paper, produced a copy which was given to the burgomasters, and publicly read.

Letter from Nicolls to Winthrop:

Mr. Winthrop:

As to those particulars you spoke to me, I do assure you that if the Manhadoes[1] 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 freely returne home in vessels of their owne country, and this & 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.

Stuyvesant prepared a reply to Nicolls' letter, asserting the title of the Dutch to New

[1] The name by which the province of New Netherland was commonly known.

Netherland, by discovery, settlement, and possession, and, pointing out the weakness of the English claim, proposed to treat with delegates. He sent four of his most able councillors to argue the subject with Nicolls, but all discussion was declined, and re-asserting a determination to take New Amsterdam by force if peaceful surrender was refused, the English commander began his preparations for storming the city.

Summoning the people on Long Island, he proclaimed in their presence the patent from King Charles to the Duke of York, and promised to confirm all commissions previously granted. From all points upon the island, volunteers joined his forces, and troops encamped below Breuckelen waited for the signal to attack the doomed city. It was rumored that six hundred savages and one hundred and fifty Frenchmen had also joined the English troops.

On the fifth of September, Nicolls advanced and anchored his fleet between Fort Amsterdam and Nutten Island. Stuyvesant awaited the approach from an angle of the fort, an artillery man standing by his side, holding a lighted match. It was a pivotal moment!

"It is a matter of desperation, rather than of soldiership, to attempt to hold the fort," said Vice-Governor De Sille.

"Do you not see that there is no help for us, either to the north or the south, the east or the west? What can our twenty guns do in the face of sixty-two pointed toward us on yonder frigates?" queried Dominie Megapolensis. But the governor, obstinately brave, remained inflexible.

Then a paper was presented, signed by ninety-three of the chief citizens, including burgomasters and schepens, and Balthazar Stuyvesant, the governor's son. It besought the director to surrender, that the city might be

saved from destruction, and the shedding of innocent blood avoided. The commander's only reply, "I had rather be carried to my grave!" revealed a spirit still indomitable, but he yielded to the people's will and the white flag waved above the fort.

The following morning, September 6, English commissioners met with Dutch deputies to sign the twenty-four articles of capitulation by which New Amsterdam became New York. Security for property, customs, and conscience was guaranteed, a representative government was promised, and until the usual time for a new election all civil officers were to be retained in their positions. The terms imposed were accepted on behalf of Stuyvesant by Jan de Decker, Nicolas Varlett, Samuel Megapolensis, Cornelis Steenwyck, Jacques Cousseau and Oloff Stevensen Van Cortland; and, on September 8, the governor ratified the treaty.

The Dutch garrison marched out of their frail fort with all the honors of war, Stuyvesant leading his band; and, proceeding at once to the water-side, the troops were embarked for Holland on the ship "Gideon." With ceremonious formalities, Nicolls was proclaimed deputy-governor of the English province, and Fort Amsterdam became Fort James. Two weeks later the English flag was raised above Fort Orange, which was then named Albany, and the entire territory granted to the Duke was in his honor called New York.

Hostilities between England and Holland were immediately resumed; and, by angry directors of the West India Company, Stuyvesant was soon summoned to render an account of his administration and to explain the surrender of his city. The burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam drew up a statement testifying that "during eighteen

GOVERNOR STUYVESANT'S HOUSE
(*In the Bouwerie*)

years' administration his Honour hath conducted and demeaned himself not only as a director-general as, according to the best of our knowledge, he ought to do on all occasions, for the best interests of the West India Company, but besides as an honest proprietor and patriot of this province, and as a supporter of the Reformed Religion."[1] Other documents from prominent persons enabled the unhappy hero to vindicate his action before the States General, and in 1667, after the peace of Breda, the ex-governor returned to his "bouwerie" in the city of New York. There he died in February, 1672, and there his body was interred in a vault beneath the chapel he had built near his home.

A century later, a great-grandson of the illustrious director donated land and money for the erection of the church of St. Mark,

[1] Colonial Documents.

which, in 1799, was completed upon the site of the ancient chapel. The vault remained undisturbed, and in the outer wall of the church a tablet indicates the spot where, "after life's fitful fever," rests the last governor of New Netherland.

Peter Stuyvesant's Tombstone

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