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COLONIAL NEW YORK

PHILIP SCHUYLER AND HIS FAMILY

BY
GEORGE W. SCHUYLER

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME FIRST

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P R E F A C E .

EIGHT years ago the genealogy of my family first arrested my attention, and I began its study. Gradually my researches took a wider range, and inspired the hope that I might do something more than simply make a catalogue of names. I found that members of the first four generations had occupied more than ordinary positions in the communities in which they lived, and had rendered important services in the early history of the colony and the State. In view of these facts, I resolved to attempt brief biographical sketches of the more prominent persons of the family, and of those connected with it. But in doing so it would be necessary to write portions of the history of their times, which would require time and patience for the examination of the early records, and perhaps involve the necessity of an extended course of reading. At my age this seemed difficult of accomplishment, but, as I was favorably situated for the examination of the records contained in the public offices of the State, and of the City and County of Albany, I resolved to employ my leisure in procuring all the information possible, and, if need be, leave my notes to be digested by another.

After three years spent among the manuscript archives, I turned to the printed documents procured by the State from Holland, England, and France. After these were

thoroughly studied, I read the publications of the New York Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Collections, the early records of Connecticut, the archives of Pennsylvania, and of New Jersey, and the early standard histories of New York, New Jersey, and the New England States. I then arranged my notes, and, after putting aside a large mass of them, I began to write, with no expectation of doing more than enough for a thin octavo volume ; the present volumes are the outcome of my eight years' work. Without any claim to be an historian, I have written some fragments of the history of colonial times, which I have striven to make accurate and trustworthy. Portions of it differ from the accepted versions, but in all such instances the early records have been studiously followed as authority. Having no theories to establish, I have had no temptation to misinterpret facts. I have rejected traditions and "old mens' fables" as untrustworthy and illusory, confining myself to the plain meaning of the "written word." After all, I am conscious that the work is far from perfect ; but it may be of service to some one, who may be inspired to do what has not yet been done—to write a full and faithful history of New York during the colonial period.

Since I have drawn most of my material from the archives of the State, it may not be uninteresting to glance at their history. As the Dutch were always careful to record their transactions, it is fair to presume that the early directors of New Netherland kept records of their administrations, written, as in succeeding administrations, on unbound sheets of paper, and filed in appropriate compartments of their office. But if so, they are lost, except a few land-patents. The records of the colony, as preserved by the State, begin with the year 1638, when Director Kieft assumed control over the affairs of New Netherland. Dur-

ing his government, and that of Director Stuyvesant, from 1638 to 1664, the records are apparently full and minute, all written in Dutch. After 1664, for more than a hundred years, the documents are voluminous, and full of interest to the student of history. We miss, however, the letters of the English Government addressed to the colonial governors. Unlike Director Stuyvesant, these English governors believed such communications to be their own property, and did not place them in the archives.

In view of the danger of loss and destruction through which these records have passed, it is remarkable that so many of them have been preserved in such good condition. When Director-General Stuyvesant surrendered to the English forces, in 1664, he made it one of the articles of capitulation, that "all public writings and records which concern inheritances of any people, or the reglement of the church, or poor, or orphans, shall be carefully kept."

Nine years afterward the Dutch recaptured the city. Without doubt they were as careful to preserve the old records, as well the new, when in their own hands, as they were to provide for their safe-keeping when under the control of their enemies. But more than thirty years subsequently Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldesby wrote, "When the Dutch took this place (New York) several books of patents and other things were lost."

In 1688, New York, New Jersey, and all New England were consolidated into one government, with Boston as the capital, to which place Governor Sir Edmund Andros removed the provincial records of New York. The next year, however, the democracy of Massachusetts deposed and imprisoned him, and after a time shipped him off to England. The consolidated dominion fell to pieces, each colony resuming its former independent position. The

records of New York were not promptly returned, as they should have been. Perhaps the Bostonians, being curious, were holding them for examination with reference to the vexed boundary questions. It is fair to presume that those in Dutch did not give them much satisfaction. Notwithstanding the repeated demands for the surrender of the archives, they were held for about three years; nothing short of the king's command was effectual. Governor Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, reported to Lord Nottingham, in May, 1691: "We have caused the records to be delivered, according to his majesty's command."

In March, 1741, a fire occurred in the fort at New York, which consumed the governor's house, in which the records were kept. A month afterward Lieutenant-Governor Clarke reported, "Most of the records were saved, and I hope very few were lost."

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, Governor Tryon, becoming nervous for his own personal safety, took refuge on board the ship *Duchess of Gordon*, lying in the harbor, and took the records with him. An effort was made by the city authorities to recover them, but Tryon refused to give them up, pledging his honor that "they should be kept in perfect security." How well he kept his word of honor we shall see presently.

Tryon's fears mastered his judgment, and, lest the rebels should attack the *Duchess of Gordon*, a merchant-ship, he placed the archives on board the *Asia*, a man-of-war. When some months afterward she was about to sail for England, he ordered them to be put on another man-of-war, the *Eagle*. "Since which time," he wrote to Lord George Germaine, three years after, "I have never heard what was actually done with them." The truth is that they were carried to England, and it became the duty of Lord George Germaine to look them up. He succeeded in

finding them, and sent them back. At the close of the war they were lodged with the secretary of State at Albany, and deposited without much order or care in temporary quarters. It was not until the present State House afforded them room that they were safe from the elements. It would not be singular, if, during these several removals, some of them should have been lost.

For many years they were strangely neglected; their value was not appreciated, and they were left without proper care. This, perhaps, was owing in part to the frequent changes of the State officers, a thing that could not be avoided. It was not until the administration of Governor DeWitt Clinton that they began to be valued as sources of history. By his appointment, Dr. Van der Kemp, a learned Hollander, translated the Dutch documents, which were bound into volumes and made accessible to English readers. But the interest awakened at this time did not seem to be permanent.

The late Dr. O'Callaghan informed me, that, when he was appointed keeper of the document-room, he found the records in great confusion; some of them packed in boxes and stored in inconvenient places, while others were in heaps on the floor. He said, "that some papers had been taken from the files and used by the clerks for packing books and kindling fires." Perhaps it was in this way that at some former time the records of Mink's and Van Twiller's administrations were lost. Written in "Black Dutch," to use the words on the cover of a book of Dutch records in the county clerk's office, the text seemed like birds' tracks to the learned clerks, and of no special use, except as waste paper.

Dr. O'Callaghan's learning enabled him to understand the value of his trust. He began his work methodically, assorting and arranging the documents by their dates.

placing the bound volumes on shelves, and pasting the loose papers in books prepared for the purpose. Students of our early history are infinitely indebted to him for his appreciative care ; and to the various secretaries of state for keeping him so many years in that department. After his retirement, some others who had charge were not so watchful, and suffered autograph-hunters to abstract many valuable papers.

The present custodian, Mr. Berthold Fernow, is admirably fitted by education and taste for his responsible office. Fond of history and antiquarian lore, he soon formed a high estimate of the records in his charge. Acquainted with several languages, including the Dutch, he is well fitted to render quick and sure assistance to those who visit his rooms for information.

Two years ago the Legislature wisely transferred these records from the State department to the State library ; and the regents quite as wisely caused their keeper to follow them. In fire-proof rooms, and in charge of competent men, there need be no fear hereafter of losses and abstractions.

The early records of Albany City and County are written in Dutch, and contained in two distinct offices, the one public and the other private. Those in the county clerk's office are bound in volumes, and are in a fair state of preservation. Besides deeds, mortgages, contracts, wills, and notarial papers, there are the miscellaneous records of the village of Fort Orange under the Dutch regime, and afterward under the English. Although important in tracing land-titles, and for other purposes, they have never been translated by the city. The late Joel Munsell had many of them, as also records of the Dutch Church, rendered into English, and published them at his own expense. These translations are chiefly contained in Munsell's

‘Collections on the History of Albany,’ and Munsell’s ‘Annals of Albany.’ Because the Dutch language was in common use for more than half a century after the English occupation, these books contain many papers of date subsequent to that period. Notwithstanding Mr. Munsell’s efforts, there is a large mass of matter remaining in a little known language.

When Dr. O’Callaghan wrote his ‘History of New Netherland,’ the papers and books belonging to the Manor of Rensselaerwyck were freely offered for his inspection. As these contained the earliest records of Albany, he found them very useful. His history contains a large amount of interesting matter found in those ancient archives.

The genealogical tables in these volumes were prepared with care. Personal interviews, an extensive correspondence, family records contained chiefly in old Dutch Bibles, scores of old wills in the public offices of Albany and New York, the records of the Dutch churches of Albany and New York,—the latter as published in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*,—and deeds recorded in the office of the secretary of state, are the chief sources of authority. Professor Pearson’s ‘Genealogies of the First Settlers of Albany, and of Schenectady,’ although containing errors which were perhaps unavoidable on account of the frequent recurrence of the same names, have given much assistance; as also Winfield’s ‘History of Hudson County, N. J.,” Bolton’s ‘History of Westchester County, N. Y.,” and Valentine’s ‘Manual of the Common Council of New York City.’ There are doubtless some omissions and errors, but in the main the tables may be relied upon as accurate.

The matter contained in the biographical and historical sketches was procured mainly from the records and documents in manuscript and print, retained in the office of

the secretary of the State of New York, and in the county clerk's office of Albany, of which many original papers were translated for my use. Besides these sources, I have derived much valuable information from the publications of the New York Historical Society, Munsell's "Collections on the History of Albany," Munsell's "Annals of Albany," the "Massachusetts Historical Collections," "Colonial Records of Connecticut," "Pennsylvania Archives," Corwin's "Manual of the Reformed (Dutch) Church," O'Callaghan's "History of New Netherland," Brodhead's "History of New York," and Smith's "History of New York."

Mr. Fernow, keeper of the historical records and documents, rendered the most important assistance, without which it would have been difficult for me to proceed with my work. He procured and translated several sheets of transcripts from the church records, a large number of legal papers from the county clerk's office, and many articles from the records in his own office. I am deeply indebted to him, not only for his helpfulness, but for his sympathy and encouragement. For the sake of other delvers among the muniments of the olden time, it is to be hoped he will long be retained as chief of the manuscript department of the State library.

GEORGE W. SCHUYLER.

ITHACA, N. Y., February 2, 1885.

ABBREVIATIONS.

b.	for born.	d. y.	died young.
bp.	baptized.	d. s. p.	died without posterity, or childless.
m.	married.	g.	grand, or great.
m. l.	marriage license.	dau.	daughter.
d.	died.		

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

NEW NETHERLAND AND THE PATROONS.

AFTER the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, England and France sent out exploring ships in charge of experienced navigators to make further discoveries, but for more than a hundred years neither country made any systematic efforts to colonize the newly found countries. Spain was left almost unmolested to pursue her conquests, and to continue the subjugation of the West India Islands, Mexico, and parts of South America. Near the middle of the sixteenth century, the French made some attempts at settlement in Canada and in Florida, but nothing effectual was accomplished, on account of the rigor of the climate on the one hand, and the interference of enemies on the other. In 1603 Champlain made his first voyage to the river St. Lawrence, and the next year, after his return to France, organized a company for the purpose of settling the countries he had explored. The adventurers were a motley crowd, made up of noblemen, merchants, priests, laborers, and good-for-nothings. They sailed in two ships, which touched on the eastern shore of Nova Scotia, rounded Cape Sable, penetrated the Bay of Fundy, and finally moored at an island in the mouth of the river St. Croix, where the emigrants landed and built their huts. The next spring they abandoned this spot and removed to

Annapolis. The venture was not a great success, but it was the beginning of a system of colonization which was prosecuted under many adverse circumstances for a hundred and fifty years.

In 1497 England had sent an expedition in charge of the Cabots—Venetians by birth—to discover a northwest passage to the East Indies. Not succeeding in their search, the Cabots sailed down along the coast from Newfoundland to Florida, and then returned to England. On this voyage the English founded their claim to all North America. It was held in abeyance for nearly a century. No effort was made to effect a settlement or to plant a colony until 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert with a small fleet took possession of Newfoundland for the British crown; but the colony he attempted to found was soon abandoned. Two years later Sir Walter Raleigh, under a patent of the queen, sent out some emigrants, who started a settlement on the coast of North Carolina, which, however, was broken up and dispersed the year after.

Captain Bartholomew Gosnal, with a company of adventurers visited the coast of New England in 1602, and landing on one of the Elizabeth Islands, made some arrangements for permanent occupancy, which proved to be useless, for when the ship was about to sail on her homeward voyage, the embryo colonists were seized with home sickness, and re-embarked with their companions.

In 1606 King James of England, like Pope Alexander VI., who divided the New World between Spain and Portugal, gave the country which the Cabots had seen from the decks of their ships, to two great commercial companies, the London and the Plymouth; to the first, the country south of the Potomac; to the second, the territory north of the Hudson, graciously leaving the lands between in possession of their native owners.

The next year the London Company commenced operations, and sent out a colony of one hundred and five souls, who established themselves on the James River in Virginia. They succeeded, after many trials and vicissitudes, in retaining their position, and laying the foundation of a great State.

In the same year (1607) the Plymouth Company attempted to establish a colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine. Owing to the severity of the climate, the hostility of the savages, and their own want of pluck, the colonists returned home the next year. Other efforts were made in succeeding years with a similar result. It remained for a handful of religious enthusiasts, without money or patronage, to solve the problem of colonization in New England. Driven from England by persecution they had found a refuge in Holland. During their ten years' residence in that free country they had learned many useful lessons, which were of infinite service to them in after years. They were, however, not contented with their situation there, and after mature deliberation resolved to remove to America. Detained longer than they had expected, having had to land in England to perfect their arrangements, after a long and tedious passage over the Atlantic they finally reached their destination, and erected their altars at Plymouth, in December, 1620. They had left their old homes for conscience' sake in search of a place where they could worship God unawed by popes and bishops. They were the pioneers of thousands of their co-religionists, many of whom, like themselves, had sought refuge in Holland to escape the persecutions of their own countrymen, and thence followed them to the western wilderness. They were the fathers and mothers of New England.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands had thrown

off the Spanish yoke after a war of forty years, and had taken their place as one of the nations of Europe. Their territory was small, and their population did not exceed two and a half millions. The situation of their country, and the necessity of fighting their battles for freedom to a large degree on the ocean, made them a maritime people, fearless and enterprising. They had sailed on every sea, and had fought their enemies in all quarters of the globe. Their seamen had been in American waters, and had some knowledge of that country. Their merchants traded in China and other Eastern countries, and they desired a shorter route than that around the southern cape of Africa to transport their rich cargoes of spices and other Eastern products. They believed, as did others, that through or around the continent of North America such a route existed and could be found.

Henry Hudson, an Englishman, who had made two voyages, under the patronage of English merchants, in search of the northwest passage, now offered his services to the Dutch East India Company, convinced some of its members that such a passage really existed, and persuaded them to make another trial to find it.

Hudson in the ship *Half-Moon* arriving on the coast of America in northern latitudes, and finding his progress impeded by ice, turned to the south. When he reached the Chesapeake Bay, he again turned to the north. Sailing near the shore he discovered the Delaware Bay and sounded its waters. Not satisfied with its indications he again put to sea and entered the lower bay of New York, September, 1609. Here he lingered several days while his boats explored the inner bay and adjacent waters. He then passed the Narrows and entered the mouth of the great river which now bears his name. Hoping to find the northwest passage he proceeded up the river to the

vicinity of Albany, when becoming convinced that the channel he had followed was only a river, and not a water-course from ocean to ocean, he turned his prow to the Atlantic. He was not altogether fortunate in his intercourse with the natives, which might have resulted in disaster to those who came after him, had they practised less prudence and discretion. While lying in the lower bay on his first arrival, a sailor on one of his boats returning from an exploring tour was shot in the throat with an arrow and died. On his return down the river near Manhattan Island, one of the natives was caught stealing from the ship, and was shot while making his escape. Others, who made hostile demonstrations, were shot on the shore. The Indians above the Highlands were friendly, visiting the ship, receiving visits in their cabins on the land, and showing in various ways their kindly feelings toward the strangers.

Hudson on his homeward voyage landed in England, and sent the report of his discoveries to his principals in Holland.¹

Holland was too much occupied with her own affairs to avail herself for the time being of this important discovery. She had just secured an acknowledgment of her independence, but had not effected a permanent peace, merely a cessation of hostilities for the term of twelve years,

¹ There are few historical facts better authenticated than this, yet there are some writers, both English and American, who tell us, in an off-hand manner, that Hudson made this voyage under an English commission, and sold his discoveries to the Dutch. Their only authority is an anonymous writer, who published his essay forty years after Hudson's voyage. Sir Edward Ploeyden, an Englishman, having been refused a patent for land in America by the king, procured one from the Viceroy of Ireland, which was void on its face, as the Viceroy had no authority to grant lands in America. His claim under the document was not recognized by the Dutch, nor by his own government. He is supposed to be the author of this essay, which is not recognized by respectable historians as good authority.

Spain reserving the right to renew the war at the expiration of the truce. The Dutch knew quite well that they must be prepared for another struggle, unless it could be averted by a prudent administration and a wise conduct in regard to foreign affairs. As Spain claimed all North America by right of discovery and the gift of the Pope, she was sensitive to the interference of others, and above all to the encroachments on the part of the revolted provinces. The government of Holland, guided by the wise counsels of Olden Barneveldt, determined to give no cause of offence, and abstained from taking any steps that might provoke a collision. Besides this, Barneveldt saw the necessity in time of peace of making preparations to meet a possible and even a probable war. He thought it unwise to diminish their small population or their scanty revenues in schemes of colonizing a wild and barbarous country which would demand many men and a large amount of money. Again, the Dutch were attached to the country for which they had fought so many years, and beneath whose soil were buried their friends, the martyrs of liberty. They could go aboard their ships in thousands, and sail on long voyages to gather up the treasures of distant lands with which to enrich their own, hoping for a happy return. It was quite another thing to expatriate themselves for the purpose of making new homes in unknown regions, among an uncivilized people, and far from kindred. Therefore it was that the government refused to incorporate any companies for trade and colonization in the newly discovered countries, but permitted the merchants, who had been at the expense of Hudson's voyage, to send out ships to traffic with the natives.

As other merchants wished to participate in the trade, and as their interference would materially diminish the profits, the States-General, in 1614, granted a charter to

the former, giving to them, but for three years only, the exclusive right of sending ships to the newly discovered lands in America within certain limits, then first named New Netherland. The new company being secure from competition for a time, now took the first step in the direction of a permanent occupation. They built a small fort on an island in the Hudson, not far below the present city of Albany, and occupied it with their servants and agents who were trading with the Indians. As the number of ships visiting the waters of New York had greatly increased, it became necessary to keep men employed during the winter in gathering up the furs and skins and preparing them for shipment. In the fall of the preceding year, two ships, belonging to Amsterdam merchants, were in New York harbor, and having procured their lading were making their final preparations for their return voyage, when one of them was unfortunately burned. Her captain, Adriaen Block, unable with his crew to return to Holland on the other ship, resolved to make the best of the situation, and to build another vessel during his enforced stay. He put up some cabins for his winter quarters, but whether on Manhattan or Long Island does not clearly appear, and began to collect materials for a new vessel, while the Indians, who were friendly, supplied him with provisions. From want of timber the vessel he built was too small to attempt crossing the ocean, although it was well fitted for a coaster. Block therefore determined to use her for purposes of exploration, until the annual ships from Holland should arrive, and named her the *Restless*. With her he spent the summer and early autumn in exploring the waters of Long Island Sound and a long stretch of sea-coast. He visited the harbors on both sides of the Sound, determined the insular form of Long Island, ascended the Connecticut River to the head

of navigation, explored the Narragansett and Buzzard Bays, rounded Cape Cod, and landed at several points in Massachusetts Bay. He was the first European to visit these parts of the New World, and, as was his privilege, he gave to the various islands, rivers, bays, and capes that he found on his voyage, names, some of which are still retained. His own survives in Block Island. On his return to his winter quarters, he met at sea the ship which was with him when his own was burned the fall before. During his absence she had returned, taken in another cargo, and was now on her way again to Holland. Captain Block placed the *Restless* in charge of another commander, and embarked on the homeward-bound ship, to report his new discoveries. The *Restless*, true to her name, was not idle. The new captain sailed to the south, and was the first to explore the country lying on the Delaware Bay and River, up to the Schuylkill. The regions thus discovered by Hudson and the Dutch traders were named New Netherland, and recognized as the legal dependency of Holland.

Again an effort was made to secure from the government a charter for a company, which should develop these territories by trade and colonization, but in vain. The arguments against such a project in the first instance were still valid. The trade was tolerated so long as Spain made no protests or complaints, and the merchants of Amsterdam were allowed to traffic with the natives of the country discovered by their agents, but a company, such as was contemplated, with its own war-ships, and delegated power, could not be tolerated.

The little fort, or trading-house, near Albany, was swept away by a flood in the spring of 1617. Another was built on the west shore of the river, and in the summer a treaty was made with the Sachems of the Mohawk and kindred

tribes, by which an alliance was formed between the Dutch and the Five Nations, made powerful thereby, which lasted until the English took possession of the province, and which was continued with them.

Meantime there was an unusual agitation in Holland, ostensibly on religious questions, but underlying which were grave questions of State. The people were divided into two great parties, the one with Olden Barneveldt, the great statesman, as their leader, the other with Maurice, the Prince of Nassau, at their head. The twelve years of truce were about to expire, and it was Barneveldt's policy to procure a permanent peace without again involving his country in war. He was now seventy years old, and had spent most of his life in the service of his country. He had been the trusted adviser of William the Silent, and after his death had directed the councils of the government. He had controlled its policy, which had resulted in an acknowledgment of its independence. Prince Maurice, after the death of his father, had become the military leader of its armies, and had acquired great renown as the greatest general of his age. War was his element, and he cared not how often he was called to lead his battalions against the enemy. More than this, he aspired to make the republic a kingdom, and himself a king. Barneveldt stood in the way of his ambition, and had to be removed. In religion Maurice was an Arminian. The Gomarists, or orthodox Protestants, were largely in the majority, and Maurice, although himself an Arminian, took up the Gomarist cause from motives of policy. Barneveldt was accused of heresy by the orthodox, and of treason to the State by Maurice. When the occasion was presented for seizing him with impunity, he was thrown into prison, and soon after tried by a court composed of his enemies. The charges were false and frivolous, but he was convicted

and executed. The country was again involved in a long and bloody war, in which the Prince gathered fresh laurels, but he was not permitted to sit on a throne. The public conscience was awakened, and a reaction took place. Barneveldt was mourned as a martyr, and the Prince was hooted by the boys at his heels.

When it became evident that the war with Spain would be renewed, the way was opened for the charter of a company, so often asked and denied. Just before the expiration of the twelve years' truce, April, 1621, the great West India Company was formed, and incorporated by the States-General. It was clothed with extraordinary powers and privileges. It could make alliances and treaties, declare war and make peace. Although its field of operations was limited to Africa, the West India Islands, and the continent of America, it could in case of war fight the Spaniards wherever found on land or sea. And finally, it was permitted to colonize unoccupied or subjugated countries. To it especially were committed the care and the colonization of New Netherland.

The West India Company, after completing its organization in 1623, began its work in New Netherland by erecting a fort on Manhattan Island, and another on the Delaware, and by reconstructing the one at Albany. It sent over to be distributed in these places thirty families, not strictly as colonists, to settle and cultivate the land, but rather as servants of the Company, in charge of their factories, engaged in the purchase and preparation of furs and peltries for shipment. Some of them returned home at the expiration of their term of service, and no other colonists were brought out for several years. The Company found more profitable employment for its capital in fitting out fleets of ships of war, which captured the Spanish treasure-ships, and thus enabled the Company to pay large

dividends to its stockholders. In 1626 its agents bought all Manhattan Island of the Indian owners for sixty guilders¹ in goods on which an enormous profit was made; and about the same time they purchased other tracts of land in the vicinity, including Governor's and Staten Islands, on similar terms. The company was now possessed of lands enough for the accommodation of a large population. They were fertile, and only needed farmers to develop their richness. But these did not come. Here and there a patch of ground was improved, but the acreage under cultivation was exceedingly small. The country remained a wilderness.

The company, after years of dalliance, was at last convinced that its colonization scheme would be an entire failure, unless some means were devised to promote immigration, and consequently agriculture. Without a population its province would soon become an expense, instead of a source of revenue, for the profitable fur trade could not be expected to last indefinitely. Accordingly, in 1629, the managers took up a new line of action. They enacted a statute, termed "Freedoms and Exemptions," which authorized the establishment of colonies within their territory by individuals, who were to be known as Patroons, or Patrons. An individual might purchase of the Indian owners a tract of land, on which to plant a colony of fifty souls within four years from the date of purchase. He who established such a colony might associate with himself other persons to assist him in his work, and share the profits, but he should be considered the Patroon, or chief, in whom were centred all the rights

¹ In 1646 the guilder was accepted in the colony of Massachusetts Bay as worth two shillings (Mass. Records, vol. ii., p. 29). As values have increased since then about tenfold, a guilder had then a purchasing power comparable nowadays to a pound sterling, or to five dollars.

pertaining to the position, such as the administration of justice, the appointment of civil and military officers, the settlement of clergymen, and the like. He was a kind of feudal lord, owing allegiance to the West India Company, and to the States General, but independent of control within the limits of his own territory. The system was a modified relic of feudalism. The colonists were not serfs, but tenants for a specified term of years, rendering service to the Patroon for a consideration. When their term of service expired, they were free to renew the contract, make a new one, or leave the colony altogether. The privileges of a Patroon at first were restricted to the members of the company, but in about ten years were extended to others.

The directors of the company were the first to improve the opportunity now offered of becoming "princes and potentates" in the western hemisphere. Anticipating the enactment of the "Freedoms and Exemptions," directors Godyn and Bloeminaert sent an agent to the Delaware, who purchased from the Indians a tract of land on the southerly side of the bay, beginning at Cape Henlopen, and extending into the country along the bay thirty-two miles; and the next year, 1630, they bought another tract, sixteen miles square, including Cape May on the opposite side of the bay. In 1630, the agents of Director Killian Van Rensselaer bought a large tract of land on the west side of the Hudson River below Albany, and in July following other tracts on both sides of the river, including the present site of Albany. In July, 1630, Director Michael Pauw bought lands on the west side of the Hudson opposite Manhattan Island, and named his territory Pavonia. A few months later Staten Island was transferred to him, and became a part of his domain. For the speedy development of these lands capital was required, more than their owners possessed. Accordingly,

copartnerships were formed with other wealthy directors, and thus means were secured to effect the first settlement.

Godyn and Bloemmaert formed a company, consisting of themselves and five other directors, with whom they associated Captain David Pieterse De Vries as business manager, or resident director, of their colony, now named Zwaanendal. De Vries had refused the proffered employment, unless he was admitted a member of the company on an equal footing. His business capacity was recognized as equal to capital, and he was admitted. Two ships were engaged to convey the colonists, fully equipped with provisions, all necessary agricultural implements, and cattle, together with a plant for whale fishing. The company was in haste to establish the colony, and, before their preparations were complete, a Captain Heyes was engaged to take charge of this expedition. It was an unfortunate choice. For want of experience, or tact, Captain Heyes lost one of his ships, taken by the "Dunkerkers," in December, 1630, within a week after he left port. Fortunately he saved the largest of the two vessels, and with it proceeded on his voyage. He arrived at his destination the following April.

At a creek, called the Horekill, which emptied into the Delaware Bay, on the south side, a few miles above Cape Henlopen, Captain Heyes landed thirty-two colonists. A brick house, enclosed with palisades, was erected for their use and protection, when the ship set sail for Holland by way of Manhattan.

The company was not discouraged by the losses of the first voyage, but immediately freighted a ship and a smaller vessel, of which De Vries took command. Before leaving the Texel, the news of another and more serious misfortune than the loss of a ship reached his ears—that the colonists of the preceding year had been killed by the Indians. Not deterred by this sad news, he continued his

voyage, and arrived at Zwaanendal in December. The house and palisades were destroyed, and the bones of the murdered colonists were strewn over the ground. De Vries, instead of seeking vengeance, procured an interview with the Indian chiefs, and reconciled them to the presence of white men. After peace had been effected, he built a log house for the men to be employed in the whale fishery, and made all needful preparations for their work. Being short of provisions, he sailed up the river in search of corn and beans, which he hoped to procure from the Indians. He was not successful; and he then went to Virginia, hoping to secure a supply of food from that colony. On his return to the Delaware, he was met with the discouraging report that the whaling business was a failure. There were few whales on the coast, and his men had not captured enough to cover expenses. He took council with his officers and men in reference to the prospect of a successful whale fishery at that point. It was decided that this was no suitable place for the business, and the sooner it was given up the better. He had brought no farmers with him, so that there was nothing else to do but to break up the establishment. On his return to Holland he found his company at variance, and this finally resulted in its dissolution. The work of colonizing Zwaanendal was abandoned, and the land titles were subsequently sold to the West India Company.

Killian Van Rensselaer also formed a partnership with several of his brother directors, among whom was the historian De Laet, for the purpose of planting a colony on his lands on the upper Hudson, to be known as the colony of Rensselaerwyck. He seems to have had a clearer perception of what was required for such a work than the other Patroons. The colony was organized in accordance with the charter, and on business principles. Before the

colonists left Holland they were assigned to specific places and duties. Civil and military officers were appointed, superintendents and overseers of the various departments were selected, and all were instructed in their duties. The number of the first colonists was respectable. They were chiefly farmers and mechanics, with their families. On their arrival, May, 1630, farms situated on either side the river were allotted to them, utensils and stock distributed, houses built, and arrangements made for their safety in case the natives should become hostile. Order was maintained, and individual rights respected. They were not long in settling down, each to his allotted work. Year by year new colonists arrived, and more lands were bought for the proprietors. In 1646, when Killian Van Rensselaer, the first Patroon, died, over two hundred colonists had been sent from Holland, and a territory forty-eight by twenty-four miles, besides another tract of sixty-two thousand acres, had been acquired. The West India Company had changed its policy under the direction of new men and no longer favored the Patroons. The Van Rensselaers were much annoyed, and even persecuted, but they held firmly to their rights under the charter. Their colony was prosperous, and their estate in time became enormous.

Michael Paauw sent a few colonists to Pavonia, who commenced to till the soil, but, owing to their near vicinity to a large tribe of Indians, who were always troublesome, and sometimes hostile, the colony did not prosper. In less than eight years, Paauw was satisfied with his experiment, sold his rights to the West India Company, and ceased his efforts to become a potentate.

Notwithstanding the changed policy of the "Lords Majors," as the directors of the West India Company were called, the efforts to plant colonies by private individuals

were not abandoned. De Vries was one of those sanguine and enterprising men, who are not discouraged by misfortune and disaster. After the failure of Zwaanendal, he formed a company to locate a colony in Guiana, a country then in possession of the West India Company. With thirty colonists, he sailed from the Texel, in July, 1634, and reached his destination in September following. He selected his land, settled the emigrants, saw them fairly at work, and then started on a voyage of exploration. Touching at various points on the coast, he entered the harbor of New Amsterdam, June 1, 1635. He had been there before, but now he devoted some months to a careful examination of the country, and returned to Guiana in the winter of 1636. To his infinite chagrin, he found his colony broken up and dispersed. Through the intrigues of some Englishmen, the colonists had consented to leave the plantations and enter their service. The Englishmen, with their Dutch servants, had sailed in a ship stolen from the Spaniards to some one of the West India islands, and there sold their dupes into slavery. Great was De Vries' indignation. Years afterward, writing an account of his voyages, he exclaimed: "The English are a villainous people. They would sell their own fathers for servants."

He returned to Manhattan to repair and refit his ships, and while there he requested Wouter Van Twiller, then the director-general of New Netherland, to purchase of the West India Company Staten Island for him. He arrived in Holland, October, 1636, after an absence of two years, poorer than when he left. But his courage was not broken. He formed another company, for the purpose of establishing a colony on Staten Island. He seemed to have had the facility of inspiring others with confidence in himself and his projects. With a few emigrants, he

again set sail for New Netherland, September, 1638, and after a tedious voyage of three months arrived safely, and settled his people on the Island to open up a plantation, while he himself was engaged visiting other parts of the province. The next year, his partners in Holland having failed to send out another company of emigrants, as had been agreed, he abandoned for the present the project of a colony, and located a modest farm on the west side of the Hudson, a short distance above Pavonia. Here he erected a fortified house, farm buildings, and a brewery. He now began to prosper. He was just in his dealings with the Indians, and they had great respect and affection for him. His prosperity, however, was not to last. New misfortunes came upon him.

In the meanwhile, other Dutchmen of property and enterprise undertook to form settlements in New Netherland. The Heer Nederhorst, in 1641, procured a title to a tract of land extending northward from the bay of Newark, including the valley of the Hackensack. His people erected a block-house not far from the cabins of the Indians, of whom the property had been purchased, in which were placed a few soldiers. Other buildings were constructed for the use of the colonists, who were fairly prosperous. In 1643, one of the men working on the roof of a new house was shot by a drunken Indian, who took this method to obtain satisfaction for a grievance. In the bloody war which ensued, the colony was swept away. No efforts were made afterward by the proprietor to re-establish it.

In 1641 Cornelis Melyn, a gentleman of fair position and fine estate, arrived from Holland to establish a colony on Staten Island, which, he claimed, had been conveyed to him by the West India Company, and of which he was now the lawful Patroon. His claim was resisted by De

Vries, who had a prior title and had begun a settlement. During the controversy four of the settlers under De Vries were killed by the Indians, who were incited to the act, as De Vries alleges, by the intrigues of Director Kieft.

De Vries now devoted his whole attention to his farm on the river, which he had brought under a fair state of cultivation. His prosperity was not of long duration. In the terrible Indian war which broke out in 1643, his barns, crops, brewery, and other buildings, except his fortified house, were destroyed by Indians who did not know him, or of the high regard in which he was held by those living near him. He had opposed with all his ability and influence the measures of Director Kieft which occasioned the war, without avail. Involved in the common ruin, he was discouraged, and lost all hope for better times. As long as the country was governed by the incapable men the West India Company chose as its servants, he believed that it could not prosper. He was now too old and too poor to make further efforts to plant colonies, or to retrieve his fortunes, and he resolved to leave the province. Returning to Holland, he determined to secure a better government for New Netherland, if it could be done by truthful statements as to its present condition, or arguments that, under competent officers and more liberal laws, it would have brighter prospects in the future. He doubtless had much influence on the public mind. His criticisms penetrated the dull conscience of the Lords Majors, for Kieft was recalled.

Cornelis Melyn had visited New Netherland in 1639, on a tour of inspection. He was so well pleased with the country, and its probable future, that he resolved to emigrate and establish himself on some of the vacant lands near Manhattan. He returned to Holland, procured an

order from the Company to Director Kieft for a patent of Staten Island, and made all needful preparations to take possession of his property. He chartered a ship and filled it with colonists, implements, and stores. When he was thoroughly prepared for the work in hand, he took his departure, but had hardly left the coast when he fell into the hands of the "Dunkerkers," a band of sea rovers having their headquarters at Dunkirk. In due time he paid his "ransom money," and was released. He returned to Holland, but having been robbed of all his property he could not fit out another ship; he therefore took passage for himself and family in one of the Company's vessels for Manhattan, where he arrived in August, 1641. Kieft's instructions were imperative, and notwithstanding the protest of De Vries, he issued to Melyn a patent for the whole of Staten Island, except one farm reserved for De Vries, constituting him Patroon of the island.

Melyn was a merchant by profession, had a fair education, was possessed of more than ordinary abilities, and was tenacious of his own opinions, especially when supported by facts. The loss of his ship and goods was not irreparable. His character and business habits gave him credit where he was known. Colonists were sent to him, as also large numbers of cattle, farming utensils, and other supplies. He hopefully began the work before him, and prosecuted it with skill and judgment. But Kieft's Indian war of 1643, begun without notice to the people in the outlying settlements, sadly interfered with his plans and prospects. It paralyzed all industrial pursuits, and depopulated the country around Manhattan. Some settlers returned to Holland by the first ships, while others, unable to place the ocean between them and the savages, sought safety under the guns of New Amsterdam. The grain in the fields and granaries was destroyed. The

people were impoverished. Melyn was ruined with others.

Kieft felt obliged by the criticisms of the people, so deeply injured by his blunders and incompetency, to convoke an assembly of eight men, chosen by popular suffrage, as his advisers in this alarming crisis, not because he was convinced that he had made mistakes which might be corrected, but rather as a means of putting down the outcries against him. They deliberated, and made various recommendations in the line of a better and more popular administration of affairs. Kieft, however, ignored their suggestions, and pursued his own headstrong course. No new policy was adopted, no reforms were inaugurated. Melyn and his associates, giving up all hope of reform, now appealed to the Company and the States General. The letters to the former were sent to Kieft for perusal, but he was recalled, and Petrus Stuyvesant appointed his successor, with instructions to investigate the matters in difference between him and the colonists. Soon after the new director had arrived, the eight men presented their charges against the ex-director, with the proofs to sustain them. Contrary to all expectations, and in the face of the most positive evidence, Stuyvesant acquitted the culprit, and convicted his accusers of mutiny and sedition against constituted authority. It was a bad beginning for the new director, and a blot on his reputation.

Melyn with some others was heavily fined, and banished. He returned to Holland. Despairing of obtaining justice at the hands of the Company, he appealed to the States General, who, after a patient hearing, reversed the finding and sentence of Stuyvesant. With their letter of protection, and a *mandamus* ordering the director general to allow him to prosecute his business unmolested, he returned to New Netherland. Stuyvesant, having mean-

time received explicit instructions from the Company, treated the *mandamus* with contempt, and renewed his persecutions. Melyn was again forced to leave the country and return to Holland. Again the States General interfered in his behalf, and gave him another letter of protection.

While attending to this business, he induced his friend, Baron Van der Capellen, a member of the States General, and a man of influence, to take an interest in the colony of Staten Island. A ship was purchased and freighted by colonists with suitable stores, on which the persecuted Melyn again embarked for New Netherland. On arriving in port this ship was seized by Stuyvesant's orders, and with its cargo was confiscated, because on its way it had touched at Rhode Island for water. Melyn himself was prosecuted, as its owner, for infringement of the revenue laws, but was acquitted. His troubles, however, did not cease. He was obliged to withdraw to his colony to avoid other persecutions, and finally sought protection in New Haven. His affairs were in confusion, and he returned to Holland with the hope of saving something from the wreck. Through the efforts of his influential friends a compromise with the Company was effected. He surrendered his title to Staten Island in consideration of fifteen hundred guilders with which, and a letter to Stuyvesant informing him that all differences and disputes were ended, he again took his departure for New Netherland, 1659.

Adriaen Van der Donck was employed by Killian Van Rensselaer as sheriff of his colony, and arrived in Rensselaerwyck, 1641. He was well educated and possessed fine natural abilities, but his kind and sympathetic nature interfered with the discharge of the duties of an office which required firmness and indifference to suffering. He

chafed under his stringent instructions, and was reluctant to enforce the laws against tenants whose poverty made them objects of pity. Differences between himself and the other officers of the colony were of frequent occurrence, until he became disgusted with his position, and finally determined to form a colony of his own. He made arrangements to buy a tract of land at Catskill, and to return to Holland to engage colonists. His proceedings were reported to Patroon Van Rensselaer, who remonstrated against them as contrary to the oath he had taken. He was too conscientious to proceed, and abandoned the project. When his term of office expired in 1646, he moved to Manhattan, and purchased the land now known as Yonkers (*i.e.*, *de Fonkheer's Landt*), which in 1652 was created a patroonship, by the name of Colen Donck. It was his intention to settle it with emigrants from the fatherland, but the questions which arose in the last years of Kieft's administration and the first of Stuyvesant's, so occupied his time and thoughts, that several years elapsed before he found the opportunity to make a beginning. He espoused the side of the colonists, who entrusted their cause in his hands as their leader and advocate. He drew up the bill of complaints to be presented to the Company and the States General, and was chosen one of the deputies to present it.

On the arrival of the deputation in Holland, Van der Donck took a leading part in the controversies and discussions over the affairs of New Netherland, always advocating such reform in the government as would make a residence there safe and agreeable. He was a good talker and held a facile pen. He so presented the cause of the people, that not only the States General, but the Company itself were convinced by his arguments that reforms were necessary. Several changes for the better were made in

the administration of affairs. The Company, however, did not take it kindly of him; indeed its managers were highly incensed, and took a peculiar revenge. When, at the end of two years he had finished his business, he took passage on one of the Company's ships for himself and family, with a few colonists. After all but himself had gone aboard, and the ship was ready to sail, he was detained and not suffered to embark. Separated from his wife and family, he remained a prisoner at large another year. The time was not lost. He now found new occasion to strike some heavy blows at the Company, which made the Lords Majors regret that they had not let him go. But while doing this, he did not lose sight of other great interests. He wrote a "Description of New Netherland," recommending it as one of the fairest regions in the world, well adapted to agriculture and other industrial pursuits. The little book obtained a large circulation, awakening among all classes a new interest in the affairs of the province.¹

The Company found it more politic to suppress its pride when Van der Donck again applied for a passage. They let him go, and bade him God-speed. As to his colony of Colen Donck, he had lost precious time. Not much was accomplished in the next two years. He died in 1655, leaving Colen Donck to his widow. From her it passed through several hands, until at last it was purchased by Frederick Philipse and incorporated into his manor of Philipsburg.

In 1652, Cornelis Van Werckhoven, of Utrecht, a member of the government, proposed to plant two colonies in New Netherland. His agent bought a large parcel of

¹A translation of this is published in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, Second Series, vol. i., pp. 125-242.

land of the Indians in New Jersey, and two other tracts on Long Island. He himself then came to New Amsterdam to prosecute the work of settlement. Questions arose as to the validity of his titles to land in New Jersey, and the larger tract on Long Island, which were referred to the Company. It was decided that he could have only one, whichever he should choose. He determined to take neither, but began work on the small parcel about which there was no question of title. His death soon after put a stop to the projected colony. Five years later, 1657, the land was divided into lots, and sold to individuals. In 1660 there were twelve houses in the settlement, protected by a small fort or block-house surrounded with palisades. The next year the village was chartered as a township, and named New Utrecht.

The United Provinces were a republic, but the nobility were allowed to retain their titles with their estates. Indeed, the Dutch were rather fond of titles. It was the fashion of the day, when addressing a man holding an official position, or a nobleman, to give him all the titles belonging to him. As I am about to give an account of the last effort to establish a Patroon colony, I will name the projector with all his titles.

“De Jonkheer Hendrich Van der Capellen toe Ryssel, Lord of Esselt and Hasselt, and Deputy to the States General from the principality of Gebre and county of Zutphen, province of Guelderland,” became interested in colonization, as has been before stated, through the efforts of Cornelis Melyn. On board the ship which was confiscated were seventy of his colonists. Immediately on receiving the news of this outrageous proceeding (the confiscation of his ship and cargo, before referred to), he appealed to the States General for redress. His appeal was sustained, and the West India Company was ordered

to restore the property. Accordingly some arrangement was made by which the colonists were transferred to Staten Island, where they built their houses and commenced the work of planting. The ship, however, was not restored, and became the subject of a long and irritating controversy.

The colony prospered, and in August, 1655, it numbered ninety souls, actively engaged in agriculture. There were eleven bouweries under cultivation, with large quantities of grain in the fields and in the barns. The following month, buildings, grain, and live stock were swept away by the Indians in their famous raid, while the director-general was on his expedition against the Swedes in Delaware. Fifteen of the colonists, including the superintendent were killed, and the others fled to New Amsterdam. Notwithstanding these heavy losses, Patroon Van der Capellen was not discouraged. He sent funds to his manager, with directions to provide for the support of the destitute colonists, and to induce them by all means to rebuild their houses on the island, pledging himself to build a fort furnished with a suitable garrison for their protection. The Indians still claimed the island as theirs, not having been paid the promised price in full, and in 1657 Van der Capellen settled their claims, taking a new deed, and concluded with them a permanent peace. The next year he sent over another party of emigrants, and in other ways he was prosecuting the enterprise with skill and judgment, when his death, in 1659, put an end to the work. His heirs sold their interest to the Company, and withdrew from the strife with the Indians and Stuyvesant. Their claim for the confiscated ship and cargo, not yet settled after a litigation of ten years, was included in the settlement.

With Van der Capellen terminated all efforts to plant

colonies under Patroons. It was a vicious system at best, but had their projectors been properly encouraged, bad as the system was, they would have added largely to the population and resources of the province. They were men of wealth and good social position. Accustomed to consideration at home, they were restive under the autocratic rule of the director-general, whose education and rank in society did not equal their own. Collisions were to be expected, and were of frequent occurrence. Appeals to the Company against the arbitrary and oppressive acts of the director were useless, for as a rule it sustained its officials right or wrong. It would not be just to lay all the blame on Stuyvesant. As a military disciplinarian he executed his orders with the precision of military law. So uniformly was he sustained, and so long had been his tenure of office, that he began to regard himself as a sort of potentate, and the colonists as his subjects—"my subjects," as he puts it.

Of all the Patroon colonies Rensselaerwyck alone survived. It owed its existence mainly to its management, but largely to its situation, remote from the seat of government, and convenient for the Indian trade.

Colonization by the West India Company was a secondary consideration, the fur trade being of the first importance. Its choice of men to take charge of its affairs was not fortunate. All but the last were ship captains, or merchants' clerks, unacquainted with administrative affairs, and only fitted to superintend the purchase and shipment of furs and peltries. Stuyvesant, the last of their resident directors, was the best of the seven who served in that capacity.¹ The son of a clergyman, with a fair education, he entered on a military career; and, having lost a leg in

¹ Adriaen Joris, Cornelis May, William Verhulst, Peter Minuit, Wouter Van Twiller, William Kieft, Petrus Stuyvesant.

the service of the company, he was selected to govern New Netherland, as the successor of the incompetent Kieft.

It does not appear that, from 1623 to 1650, the Company made any serious efforts to promote immigration, and the settlement of its large territories by a producing population, but relied for this on the Patroons, whom it hampered in all possible ways. The managers becoming convinced that their policy was not the true one to pursue, and that if continued the province must be abandoned, at last threw open the doors, and in 1650 invited the "inhabitants of the United Provinces, and other neighboring nations, to repair to New Netherland," offering as an inducement, "free trade in furs; free trade with other colonies; free hunting, fishing, and fowling; free lands." Megapolensis, De Vries, Van der Donck, and others, had made the Dutch public better acquainted with the climate and natural resources of the country, showing that it was a field from which the industrious and the prudent might gather untold riches, and where they might find pleasant homes for themselves and their children. Emigrants from Holland and "other countries" now began to come in greater numbers, and New Netherland began to assume a more promising appearance.

There had been, however, a slow increase in the number of the inhabitants in and around New Amsterdam. Ever since the erection of the fort on Manhattan Island, in 1623, adventurers of various nationalities had been coming to secure a bit of the famous trade, which had been so rich in its results to the merchants who had first opened it with the natives. Indeed, the population was made up of people from various quarters of Europe, who, as early as 1643, spoke eighteen different languages. It was not large, but gradually increasing.

A few families of the Walloons, in 1624, built their cot-

tages on Long Island, and began the cultivation of the lands they had secured, the women working in the fields, while the men were engaged in the service of the Company. These were the first settlers of Brooklyn. They were joined in time by a few others, until there were enough to be incorporated as a village. The numbers were not large, for Brooklyn, nearly forty years afterward, contained only "thirty-one households, and one hundred and thirty-four souls."

In 1636, Amersfoort, now Flatlands, L. I., began to be settled. Director Van Twiller and a few others cleared some farms, on which were settled their overseers and laborers. The name, Amersfoort, was taken from a town in Guilderland, where Olden Barneveldt was born, and from which many of the colonists had come. Its growth was very slow, for it was not incorporated until 1654.

Permission was given to thirty-five families from New England, 1642, to settle at Vreedland, now Westchester. The celebrated Mrs. Ann Hutchinson and family were among the settlers. She and a few others were living there when the Indian war of 1643 commenced. Having received no hint of Kieft's intentions, they had made no preparations to protect themselves. They fell an easy prey to the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Mrs. Hutchinson and all her family, except a little granddaughter, were murdered.

The same year that Mrs. Hutchinson removed from Massachusetts, and took up her residence at Vreedland, under Dutch protection, Lady Moody and other English families settled at Gravesend, L. I. They were attacked by the Indians the next year, but, having constructed some defences, they succeeded in repelling the assault. Gravesend had a healthy growth, and was chartered as a township in 1645.

Rev. Francis Doughty was a preacher at Cohasset, in New England, but because of some doubtful expressions in a sermon he was rudely expelled. He came to Manhattan "to secure a happy home." A patent was granted to him and his associates for a tract of land at Mispah, near Newtown, L. I. Doughty and others, to the number of eighty, occupied these lands in 1642. Had it not been for the war of 1643, this would have become a thriving colony. But it was broken up and dispersed. Differences between Mr. Doughty and the director soon after arose. Doughty became tired of the controversy, and, abandoning the enterprise, removed to Maryland.

Another English settlement was made at Heemstede in 1644, the projectors having obtained a liberal patent from Director Kieft for a large tract of land extending from the sound to the ocean. The village attracted inhabitants and prospered. The people, however, were not contented with their broad acres, for twelve years afterward they secured a title to another large tract, and immediately commenced its improvement. The latter village was named by Stuyvesant Rust-Dorp (Quiet Village), now Jamaica.

Some emigrants from New England began the settlement of Flushing in 1645, and of Newtown in 1652. In the latter year the Dutch occupied Flatbush. The latter village did not flourish at first, because the Indians were troublesome, alleging that they had not been paid for their lands.

Some French Protestants first settled Bushwick in 1660. The village grew so rapidly that, in two years afterward, two block-houses or forts were erected to protect it from the Indians; and there were forty men able to bear arms.

There were now on the west end of Long Island ten towns or villages, five of which were Dutch, so called

because their population was chiefly Dutch ; lying east of the Dutch towns were five townships occupied by people from New England, and hence called English towns.

The English towns were mainly settled by persons who had been banished from New England because they held religious opinions at variance with the orthodox creed, or by others who had voluntarily come for the same reason. The government of New Netherland was more liberal, and tolerated all religious sects, as was the practice in Holland. Here they found a refuge from persecution, having liberty of worship according to their convictions and belief. In after years, when the solution approached of the question as to which nation should hold and occupy the country known as New Netherland, the Dutch or the English, their national pride proved stronger than their religious faith. They joined their old oppressors to conquer the people who had given them asylum and protection. Meanwhile, two other settlements within the Dutch jurisdiction had been made by orthodox New Englanders, one on Long Island at Oyster Bay, the other in Westchester. For a long while these were debatable ground, Connecticut claiming them to be within her territory, according to the division line made in 1652, Stuyvesant claiming them by authority of the same agreement, and backing up his claim with the sword. He sent some troops, and enforced submission.

The northern part of Manhattan Island, by its situation on the river and the fertility of the soil, offered inducements to settlers. Individual farmers occupied the lands at an early day. It was settled as a village, named Haarlem, in 1658, and two years later contained twenty-five families.

On the west side of the Hudson River, opposite New Amsterdam, after the Patroon, Michael Paauw, had sur-

rendered Pavonia to the Company, efforts were made to keep up a settlement, but with little success, for as the Indians were always treacherous, the few farmers who were induced to settle there were always exposed to destruction. The settlement was wholly destroyed in the war of 1643 ; and again in the Indian raid of 1655. Those who escaped the massacres were induced to return after peace was established, and in 1658 formed a village near Communipaw, protected by a block-house and palisades. It was incorporated in 1661, with its own magistrates and other civil officers. It became a thriving place, and was the first permanent settlement in New Jersey north of the Delaware.

A few of the colonists of Van de Capellen returned to Staten Island after the destruction of their property in 1655, and rebuilt their homes. They were re-enforced a few years later by a small company of Waldenses and Huguenots. They fortified themselves with a small wooden fort, occupied by a garrison of ten soldiers, and were now safe from further Indian surprises.

North of New Amsterdam there were no villages or hamlets until you reached Esopus, or Kingston, on the west bank of the Hudson. The Company claimed that a fort had been erected there in 1614. It may have been a station for the collection of furs, as there was an easy path through the valleys to the Delaware River, thus communicating with the Indian tribes in that neighborhood. Fort or trading-house, it was soon abandoned, and remained a solitude until 1652, when, because of its large extent of rich agricultural lands not in the hands of the Patroons, some independent farmers, who hitherto had been tenants, removed to that promising region, after purchasing their lands of the Indians, and began work as free men. Three years later they were panic-stricken by

the fate of the farming settlements around New Amsterdam, and, abandoning their all, fled with precipitation to Fort Orange. When order was restored they returned and resumed their occupations. In 1658 the population consisted of seventy persons, old and young. Living on their farms at considerable distances from each other, they were an easy prey to hostile savages, and, being threatened with extermination, they sent for the director-general, who obliged them to concentrate into a village fortified by block-houses and palisades. The country was well adapted to agriculture, and had it not been for the Indians, there would have been very soon a large population.

The colony of Rensselaerwyck had not suffered materially in the wars of 1643 and 1655, which had been so disastrous to the lower portions of the province. The alliance of "peace and good-will," which had been made with the Iroquois in 1617, had been kept in good faith by both parties to the compact, and as the Mohawks held the river tribes in subjection, they stood as a wall of defence to the Dutch. None of the neighboring tribes dared molest them. Until the English came into possession, and awakened the jealousies of the French in Canada, the colonists pursued their usual occupations without fear of an enemy. They had occupied the lands along the river from Troy to Bethlehem, living as securely in their isolated houses as though they were in their native land. In 1661, a company of them purchased of the Indians, in the name of Arent Van Curler, the great plain of Schenectady, and commenced the settlement of that town. In 1664, the colony, including Fort Orange and Schenectady, had a large and prosperous population of tradesmen and farmers.

The more liberal administration of New Netherland, begun by the Company in 1650, together with the diffusion of a better knowledge of the country, influenced a larger

immigration of freemen, traders, artisans, and farmers. They came in order to better their condition in life ; some to return home after making a moderate fortune ; others to make the country their permanent home and lay the foundations of large estates. Men of this character continued to come, even after the province had become English. But the population at the best was not large, only about eight thousand in all New Netherland in 1664, nearly one-half of whom were in New Amsterdam, then a village of thirty-four hundred inhabitants.

II.

THE COLONIES ON THE DELAWARE.

THE colonization of that part of New Netherland lying on the South, or Delaware Bay, forms an interesting chapter of early history. Three years after the West India Company had built Fort Nassau, on the east side of the river, some four miles below the present city of Philadelphia, Director Minuit withdrew the soldiers who had been stationed there, together with the few colonists residing at that post. The country was left in its primitive condition, except that the traders of New Amsterdam continued to visit its waters to exchange their merchandise for furs. The Company did not renounce its claim of ownership, and commissioned some of the traders to look after its interests, and warn off all intruders.

About the time that Fort Nassau was built, William Usselinx, who had been largely instrumental in the organization of the West India Company, conceiving his services were not appreciated, visited Sweden, and succeeded in enlisting the sympathies and the active co-opera-

tion of the great Gustavus Adolphus in the project of forming a Swedish Company for establishing a colony in America. The charter of a Swedish West India Company was granted in 1626. But the king was so occupied with the war of Protestant emancipation that he had no leisure to give this matter his personal attention. It was left to his successor to carry out his designs. Twelve years after the prospectus of the Company had been issued Queen Christina renewed the charter, and appointed Peter Minit managing director. Minit had not given satisfaction to the Dutch West India Company in his administration of New Netherland, and had been recalled. Knowing the deserted condition of the Delaware country, and the inability of the Company to hold and occupy so large a territory, he accepted the Swedish offer without hesitation. Indeed, it was probably through his representations after his recall that Queen Christina was induced to revive her father's project.

With two ships laden with provisions and other supplies requisite for the settlement of emigrants in a new country, and with fifty colonists, Minit sailed from Sweden late in 1637, and entered Delaware Bay in April, 1638. He found the country as he had left it, without white inhabitants. Minqua Kill, now Wilmington, was selected as the place for the first settlement, where he bought a few acres of land of the natives, landed his colonists and stores, erected a fort, and began a small plantation. He had conducted his enterprise with some secrecy, that he might avoid collision with the Dutch; but the watchful eyes of their agents soon discovered him, and reported his presence to the director at New Amsterdam. Kieft had just arrived, and it became one of his first duties to notify a man who had preceded him in office, that he was a trespasser, and warn him off. Minit, knowing that Kieft

was powerless to enforce his protest, being without troops or money, paid no attention to his missive, and kept on with his work.

Three years before this, George Holmes, of Virginia, with a few adventurers, had seized the vacant Fort Nassau, and attempted a settlement. One of his company becoming dissatisfied with his treatment, deserted, and going to Manhattan gave notice of the intrusion. Director Van Twiller acted promptly, and despatching an armed vessel arrested Holmes and his party without resistance, carrying them as prisoners to New Amsterdam.

By force of circumstances a different policy had to be adopted in reference to the Swedes, who had a ship of war and trained soldiers to defend them, in which respect they were stronger than the Dutch. Director Kieft knowing his own weakness, could only fulminate a protest, and let the matter rest, until the Lords Majors supplied him with the means of pursuing a more vigorous policy. But the Company, now strangely indifferent to what was afterward considered of vital importance, simply instructed the director that if he could not persuade the new intruders to leave voluntarily, he should live with them on neighborly terms. Minuit had come to stay, and only laughed at the arguments of the Dutch. He erected a fort of considerable strength, named Christina, for the Swedish queen, and garrisoned it with twenty-four soldiers. Understanding the character of the Indians, he conciliated their sachems by liberal presents, and secured the trade. In a few months he was enabled to load his ships with peltries and despatch them to his patrons, as an earnest of what might be expected in the future. Minuit did not return with the ships, but remained to prosecute the work he had undertaken.

The colony had to all appearance a promising future.

The people were happy and contented. Within two years, however, their prospects were clouded. The Company had failed to send out another ship with supplies and merchandise for the Indian trade. Provisions failed, trade fell off, and sickness began to prevail. With starvation in the face, their pleasant excitement was subdued. Rather than perish with hunger, they began to turn their eyes to the Dutch, as the only available source of relief. They resolved to remove to Manhattan, where they could at least have "enough to eat." On the eve of "breaking up" to carry their resolution into effect, succor came from an unexpected quarter. The fame of New Sweden, as the colony was called, of its fertile lands and profitable trade, had reached other nations of Europe. In Holland itself a company was formed to establish a settlement under the patronage of the Swedish Company. The close corporation and the selfish regulations of the Dutch Company, shutting out, as they did, enterprising men not members of their corporation, alienated the sympathies of large numbers who sought to share in the profits of the commerce of the New World. The Swedish Company now opened the way for the gratification of their wishes. They were not slow to embrace the opportunity, and freighted a ship with colonists and supplies, which fortunately arrived when the Swedish colony was about to be broken up, and the country abandoned. The spirits of the Swedes were revived. The new-comers supplied them with food and the means to prosecute their trade. Their projected removal was indefinitely deferred and they continued their work with fresh vigor. The Dutch colonists were located in a settlement by themselves, only a few miles from Fort Christina. They were loyal to the Swedes, rendering them material assistance in their traffic with the natives, so much so that the trade of the New Amsterdam mer-

chants with the Indians in that section of the country was ruined.

In the autumn of the same year, 1640, Peter Hollaendare, who had been appointed deputy governor of the colony, and Moens Kling, arrived from Sweden with three ships laden with provisions and merchandise for the straitened colonists. They also brought out a considerable company of new emigrants. New Sweden was now well established and prosperous. More lands were bought, and new settlements were made. Peter Minuit died the following year. He had been the soul of the enterprise, and by his prudent management had conducted its affairs with eminent success. His death was felt to be a severe loss, but in the deputy governor they found a successor of equal prudence and skill in superintendence.

This year (1641) the English again attempted to secure a foothold. Now it was a party from New Haven, who, by an agent, bought some lands on both sides the river. They erected trading-houses on the Schuylkill, and in New Jersey at Salem. Director Kieft, learning of their intentions, had warned them not to settle within New Netherland, and extracted a pledge that they would not occupy lands in his jurisdiction. But regardless of their pledges and the rights of their neighbors they prosecuted their undertaking. The Dutch had previously occupied Fort Nassau with a few soldiers, determined to protect as far as possible the interests of the West India Company against all intruders. Kieft finding that he had been deceived by the smooth words and fair promises of his New Haven friends, determined to have redress by the expulsion of the adventurers from the places they had occupied with twenty families. The next summer he equipped two vessels, and sent them to commissary Jansen at Fort Nassau, with instructions to compel the English to depart

in peace. They were not to be injured in person or property, but go they must, taking their effects with them. Jansen obeyed his orders. He first visited the English settlement on the Schuylkill, and placed the settlers, who made no resistance, on board his vessels. Thence he proceeded down the river to Salem, and by a gentle pressure persuaded the people to come aboard with their household goods and effects. He conveyed them all, first to New Amsterdam, and thence to their old homes. Jansen was heartily supported by the sympathy, if not by the active co-operation, of the Swedes. The rivals could strike hands and act together against the people of other nations, who thrust themselves into a country which they now, as by common consent, occupied together.

In 1642 John Printz, a cavalry lieutenant, was appointed governor of New Sweden. He was instructed to protect with all possible care the varied interests of his jurisdiction, which was defined as extending on the southerly side of the Delaware from the ocean to the falls of the river (Trenton), and inland several miles; to be friendly with the Dutch at Fort Nassau, and on the Hudson River; to the Dutch colony near Fort Christina he was to be especially kind and courteous; to shut up the river by forts, to control the fur trade, and to promote religion. Printz, for a man who weighed four hundred pounds, was unusually active in the discharge of his duties. With two ships loaded with supplies for the colony, and with a few emigrants, he arrived at Fort Christina in February, 1643. He established his headquarters at Tinicum, where he built a fort and a government house, and named the place New Gottenburg. To the new capital were attracted the leading families of the colony, because there they found society and security. The next year he erected Fort Elsingburg at Salem Creek, in New Jersey, whence

the English had been removed the year before. This fort was designed to shut up the river, but it was out of his territory, and gave offence to the Dutch, with whom he had been instructed to be on neighborly terms. They considered it a hardship and disgrace to be obliged to strike their flag in their own waters, and ask permission of a foreign power to pursue their voyage.

Printz was master of the situation, and gave little heed to the remonstrances of his rivals. Elsingburg shut up the river to all-comers, and Printz was enabled without difficulty to load his ships with valuable cargoes, and despatch them on their homeward voyage. With soldiers to occupy the forts, and a large stock of goods, he absorbed the Indian trade. If the Dutch sent a vessel up the Schuylkill with Indian goods, it was driven away. If they attempted to go above the falls in search of mines, or to establish new trading posts, the Indians were incited to oppose them. Commissary Jansen was not equal to the emergency, and was recalled. Andries Hudde, a land surveyor, and a man of known integrity, was appointed to command at Fort Nassau, but without soldiers to enforce his orders. In his dealings with Printz he had his hands full, finding him more troublesome than he had expected. Some Dutchmen bought lands on the west side of the river for the purpose of planting, but were driven off by the Swedes. Hudde, acting under instructions, bought the site of Philadelphia, and took possession by erecting a pole with the Company's arms attached. It was promptly removed by the orders of Printz. Hudde remonstrated in a despatch sent by one of his servants. Printz treated it with contempt, throwing it to the ground. He threatened the messenger, who ran for his life. Other Dutchmen, who had occasion to visit New Gottenburg, were roughly treated, and returned home, "bloody and

bruised." Printz finally declared non-intercourse with the Dutch, the people with whom he had been directed to preserve a good understanding. The West India Company did not furnish its director with the means to resent the insults effectually, and compel respect. For a time he waged a war of words, and finally left the controversy to be settled by his successor, who on his arrival began to protest. But his missives were treated with no more respect than those of his predecessor.

Printz built a fortified house on the Schuylkill, in order to control all the trade from the interior coming through that river. The Indians divined his policy, and wishing a competition in the market, resolved to thwart it. They accordingly visited commissary Hudde at Fort Nassau, and by offering terms for the land, induced him to build Fort Beversrede, not far from the Swedes' fortified station. They protected him while the fort was in course of construction, and gave notice to Printz to remove his building, because they had sold the land to the Dutch. With their own hands they planted the flag of the Prince of Orange, and ordered a salute to be fired in its honor. Printz sent an officer with twenty men to destroy the work. The Indian chiefs again interposed, accusing the Swedes of being interlopers on land they had never purchased, and presenting so bold a front that the soldiers, after cutting down a few trees, retired completely discomfited. Printz, determined not to be foiled, shortly afterward embraced a favorable opportunity, and erected a large house directly in front of the Dutch fort, only a few feet from its main entrance, shutting out even a sight of the river. The Dutch commissary, from the want of men, was utterly unable to resist these aggressions. At last he was reduced to so low an estate that he had only six men to occupy the two forts, Nassau and Beversrede.

Since his arrival at New Amsterdam Director Stuyvesant had had full employment for all his time and energies. He had been frequently urged to visit the South River, but had found no leisure to give its affairs any personal attention. The English to the east and on Long Island had absorbed nearly all his attention. After long negotiations with them he effected a provisional settlement, known as the treaty of Hartford. The pressure being lightened, he resolved the next year to visit the southern parts of his government. Early the next spring it seemed for a time that he would be disappointed in his contemplated visit. The New Haven people, seemingly determined to occupy some portion of the Delaware country, again set on foot an expedition to effect a settlement. A band of fifty persons embarked on two vessels for the promised land. Sailing through the Sound as the safest route, they were obliged to pass under the guns of the fort at New Amsterdam, hoping by kind words and a plausible tale to secure permission to pursue their voyage. Stuyvesant was not deceived, but divining their purpose, he arrested their further progress and sent them back the way they came. The authorities of New Haven were annoyed, but for the time were content to submit.

Director Stuyvesant had been instructed by the Company to effect some arrangement with the Swedes by which a part at least of the trade on the Delaware might be preserved. With the urgency of their affairs, and the frequent appeals of their servants in that country, he could defer his visit no longer. Having disposed of the New Haven adventurers so quickly, he had time to make suitable preparations for his interview with the Swedish governor. With an imposing suite, including the clergyman of his church, and with much display, he arrived at Fort Nassau, in July, 1651. In the first diplomatic congress of the two gover-

nors, attended by their councillors and secretaries, Director Stuyvesant presented the claims of the Dutch to the territory in dispute, founded on first discovery and prior occupancy, and then requested his opponent to produce the evidence on which the Swedish title was based. Printz replied that he was not prepared to produce the documents, for they were among the archives at Stockholm, but said that their "limits were wide and broad enough." They were in fact at that time very narrow, consisting of only a few acres of land around Fort Christina. The Swedes had neglected to procure Indian titles to any extensive tracts of land, and Printz was then negotiating with some sachems for the purchase of the lands his colony occupied.

Stuyvesant was not satisfied with the results of the congress, and on being told by an Indian chief that the Swedish governor was then trying to buy Indian lands, he invited all the sachems to a grand council. Although the lands had been repeatedly bought and sold since 1630, these sachems claimed all the territory around the bay and on the river. Again the old farce was repeated. They now sold to the West India Company all the lands on both sides the river down to the bay, except the few acres around Fort Christina, which they confessed they had sold to Peter Minuit for the Swedes. Director Stuyvesant secured a solid advantage over his adversary by the purchase of the lands, and the consequent friendship of their original owners. He saw that Fort Nassau was of no consequence with the Swedish forts Christina and Elsinburg between it and the ocean. Accordingly without delay he erected another fort on the west side of the river on lands recently purchased, situate a few miles below Fort Christina, and named it Fort Casimir. Against its erection Printz mildly protested, but suffered the work to be completed without any interruption. In subsequent interviews

with Stuyvesant he was conciliatory, promising to preserve the peace, and hereafter to live on friendly terms with his Dutch neighbors. How this "change of heart" was produced is left to conjecture. He may have been mortified at his ill success in the purchase of lands. It may have been that his treasury was running low, and that he no longer had the means to carry out his designs. It may have been, that the Dutch director whispered some convincing arguments to his ear. Whatever the cause, he was thereafter inactive in discharging the duties of his office, keeping his promise to preserve the peace, and giving no occasion for complaints. After two years of inactive life, he resigned his commission, and returned home by way of Holland, bearing a private letter from Stuyvesant to the West India Company.

Director Stuyvesant, in his report of this visit to his superiors, was reticent, and did not make them fully acquainted with all that occurred. In their acknowledgment, they say, "Time will instruct us as to the design of the new Fort Casimir, and why it received this name."¹ However, there is little doubt but that the visit and the fort seriously interfered with the progress of the Swedish colony. When Printz retired, he left his son-in-law, John Poppegaya, in charge of the government. The affairs of the colony had fallen, and there was so much discontent among the colonists, that they were again disposed to submit to the Dutch for their protection. Overtures were made to Stuyvesant to receive them into his jurisdiction, but they were de-

¹ Casimir is a Polish name, but it had also been naturalized in Sweden in the time of King Sigismund. The fort, however, was probably named after Ernst Casimir of Nassau-Dillenburg, the nephew of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, who died in 1632 as Stadtholder of Friesland and Groningen. Friesland was the native province of Stuyvesant, who probably owed to Prince Casimir the beginning of his military career.

clined until the proposal had been laid before the Company for its instructions.

It was now ten years or more since the Swedish colony had received any reinforcements. The apathy of the government as to its welfare and prosperity was unaccountable. Many of the colonists had died, and some had removed to other sections of the country, seeking the means of living, or greater security for their families. Of the soldiers brought over by Printz there were only sixteen left, giving four men to each of their four fortified places. If the mother country did not intend to abandon the colony altogether, it was time she took some steps to enlarge and strengthen it. Such was her determination. Johan Rysingh was appointed lieutenant-governor, with instructions to extend the limits of the colony on both sides the river, to build another fort below Christina, to induce the Dutch to vacate Fort Casimir ; but if this could not be done, to avoid hostilities and preserve their friendship, lest the English seize a favorable opportunity of subduing both parties, and taking possession of the territory. The new lieutenant-governor, with two hundred colonists, accompanied by a clergyman and a strong military detachment, arrived in the Delaware, May, 1654. In disregard of his explicit instructions, his first act was to seize Fort Casimir, and, changing its name to Fort Trinity, he occupied it with his own soldiers. By the absence of Printz, he became acting-governor, and in July following reported to his government, that while at the time of his arrival there were only seventy persons in New Sweden, there were now three hundred and sixty-eight, including the Dutch. The immigrants and soldiers brought over by himself account for the large increase.

When the report of Rysingh's transactions reached New Amsterdam, Director Stuyvesant was so much occupied in

preparations to defend himself against an expected attack of the English, that he had no time to attend to affairs on the Delaware. Fortunately an accident placed him in a position to open negotiations with the Swedish authorities. By a mistake of the pilot, a ship, laden with stores and merchandise for the Swedes, entered the lower harbor of Manhattan, and before she was able to extricate herself, Stuyvesant seized her, and bringing her up to the city, transferred her cargo to the Company's storehouses. He then notified Governor Rysingh, and invited him to New Amsterdam, that they might try to settle their differences. Rysingh declined the invitation, and contenting himself with a protest in the name of the ship's husband suffered the inconvenience of the loss.

The managers of the West India Company expressed themselves in indignant terms at the audacity of an officer of a friendly power, and instructed their director "to do his utmost to avenge this misfortune, not only by restoring things to their former condition, but also by driving the Swedes at the same time from the river, as they did us." They also wrote that they were preparing a ship with munitions and men to aid him in the undertaking. They were urgent that Stuyvesant should at once begin the enterprise without waiting for the man-of-war, lest the Swedes should strengthen themselves with reinforcements. The director was not in a position to follow this suggestion, but was obliged to defer his revenge to another season.

The next summer the promised ship arrived from Holland, bringing new instructions to the director. He was now advised, that after he had captured the forts and brought the Swedes under subjection, he might leave them in possession of Fort Christina, with some grounds for gardens and tobacco plantations, but that they must swear allegiance to the Company.

Stuyvesant was ill when these orders were received, and unable to give personal attention to the business, but he directed all necessary preparations to be made, so that the expedition need not be delayed. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed, recruits were mustered, volunteers enrolled, ships were chartered and loaded with supplies, pilots engaged, money (wampum) borrowed. On September 5, 1655, he had so far recovered, that after the morning's sermon he went aboard, and the fleet hoisted sail for the Delaware.

The expedition, for the time and circumstances, was not insignificant, consisting of a squadron of seven ships with seven hundred men, including the man-of-war *De Waag*, of thirty-six guns, and two hundred men furnished by the Company. The fleet, on September 7th, anchored before Fort Elsingburg, which was found deserted. Here Director Stuyvesant remained, organizing his forces and making his final arrangements for an attack on the upper forts.

When everything was in perfect order he hoisted anchor and sailed up the bay. He passed Fort Trinity in silence, and landing a detachment of his soldiers above to cut off retreat, he summoned the garrison to surrender. No resistance was made, and the next morning the thirty men who kept the fort laid down their arms, and were sent prisoners of war to Manhattan. The colors of the West India Company were hoisted above the ramparts, and the old name of Casimir restored.

Governor Rysingh, at Fort Christina, determined on resistance and threw up new works of defence. Stuyvesant was prepared for this emergency, and, landing his troops, surrounded the Swedes, whom he again summoned to lay down their arms. The demand being refused, he erected batteries and placed his guns in position. On September 24th he demanded a surrender within twenty-four hours.

Rysingh, after consulting his officers, and becoming convinced he must in the end be defeated, surrendered the fort on favorable terms.

In this whole affair Stuyvesant showed himself to be possessed of more than ordinary military abilities. He organized the expedition so as to ensure success, and he accomplished his purpose without firing a shot, or the loss of a man. The Swedish colony was no more, and New Sweden passed into history. A few of the colonists, unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to the Dutch, returned home or removed to other places. Rysingh refused the tender of Fort Christina as a residence for himself, or for his countrymen, on condition of swearing fidelity to the Dutch. He returned home by way of New Amsterdam. The major part of the Swedes took the oath and remained in the homes they had won from the wilderness. In 1660 they numbered one hundred and thirty families. Nine years after their surrender to the Dutch, they not unwillingly submitted to the English, looking upon them as their avengers.

Director Stuyvesant had little or no time to reorganize the government, being summoned back to New Amsterdam by the Indian raid, and the serious disasters it had occasioned. He left one of his officers in charge, but as soon as he had established order in New Amsterdam, he appointed Jean Paul Jacquet vice-director of the South River. Furnished with ample instructions the vice-director arrived at Fort Casimir in the following December, and entered upon duties which were anything but inviting and pleasant. The fort was in need of extensive repairs. The population was greatly diminished, and much dissatisfaction existed both among whites and Indians. Dirk Smith, whom Director Stuyvesant had left in charge, had not been prudent or fortunate in his ad-

ministration. He was immediately sent to New Amsterdam, to give an account of his stewardship, and the Indians were appeased with presents. In the quarrels and litigations of the whites, Jacquet gave so little satisfaction by his decisions, that almost every suit was appealed to the director-general. His perplexities were increased by the arrival of the ship *Mercurius*, with one hundred and thirty emigrants from Sweden. By connivance of the resident Swedes she ran by Fort Casimir in the night to some place above, and landed some of her passengers and a part of her cargo. This was in contradiction of the articles of surrender, contrary to their oath of allegiance, and might lead to other serious complications. On receiving this intelligence Stuyvesant sought the advice of his council, who were unanimous in their opinion that the ship and her passengers should be sent back to Sweden. As this advice squared with Stuyvesant's own views, the ship was first brought to New Amsterdam, and thence sent back to Sweden. But Jacquet's troubles were not at an end. The merchants trading on the Delaware were dissatisfied, and besieged the Director with their complaints. Personally he had confidence in the vice-director, but was constrained to call him home, putting the affairs of the Company in charge of Andries Hudde.

The West India Company was now on the verge of bankruptcy. There was peace with Spain, and its men-of-war could no longer prey upon her treasure-ships. Its hold on Brazil had been shaken off, its dividends had ceased, its shares without value in the market. To save its affairs from utter ruin, the directors had resorted to the expedient of expelling the Swedes from the Delaware, that the way might be opened for the disposal of a part of their possessions for a money consideration. Immediately on hearing

the result of Director Stuyvesant's operations against the Swedes, they began negotiations with the city of Amsterdam for the sale of a portion of their territory on the Delaware River. The merchants of Amsterdam by their ventures in all parts of the known world had become rich as princes. Their enterprise and success were proverbial, and the admiration of all Europe. Now a new field seemed to be opened to their ambition for the acquisition of greater wealth. The burgomasters of the city, some of whom may have been shareholders of the Company, promptly accepted the offer of the directors, and bought the land on the west side of the Delaware River, extending from the bay to Fort Christina, including Fort Casimir, at the cash price of seven hundred thousand guilders (equivalent then to about seventy thousand pounds sterling).

The merchant princes of Amsterdam, rich as they were, were not insensible to the claims of humanity, especially when presented in behalf of their coreligionists. Holland was full of Protestant refugees from all parts of Europe. They were so numerous that it was difficult for them to find the means of support. Just now the Waldenses of Savoy sought refuge in Amsterdam, fleeing from the persecuting bigotry of their prince. They came in large numbers, as the English non-conformists had come some fifty years before, and as the French Huguenots came twenty years afterward. They were exceedingly poor, and were supported in part by charity, the city itself having contributed large sums from the public treasury.

Perhaps the burgomasters were not wholly influenced by the spirit of gain, when they made their purchase of the Company, but may have thought it a fitting time to establish another republic on the shores of the New World, as a home for Protestant wanderers. Whatever

the motive may have been, they now owned a large tract of fertile land, and proposed to settle and develop it. The undertaking was not suffered to drag, but was promptly executed. They closed their business with the Company July 12, 1656, and on the 25th of December following they despatched three ships, containing one hundred and sixty-seven colonists, furnished with provisions and everything essential to make a permanent settlement.

Prudent and painstaking as these merchants were in all their enterprises, they sometimes overlooked points important to success. In this instance they had procured ships of sufficient capacity for the comfortable accommodation of the emigrants; they had provided tools, agricultural implements, and cattle, with a full year supply of provisions; they had selected a resident director of known ability; they had carefully drawn up a form of government, and had furnished instructions for all contingencies; but they had omitted to employ skilful navigators, pilots acquainted with the coasts and harbors of the country to which they were going. This was a grave mistake, and the source of great disaster. Soon after leaving port, the ships were separated in a storm. *Prince Maurice*, the largest, having on board Director *Alrichs* and most of the colonists, was left to pursue the voyage without her consorts. On the night of March 8th, owing to the ignorance of the pilots, she was stranded on a shore to them unknown. After an anxious night the passengers were landed safely on a sand-bank without wood or water. From some Indians, who chanced to discover them, they learned that they were on Long Island, near what is now known as Fire Island Inlet. *Alrichs* employed one of the Indians to carry a message to Director *Stuyvesant*, asking for assistance. Several yachts and boats were at once engaged, with which *Stuyvesant* himself proceeded to the

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Perhaps the burgomasters were not wholly influenced by the spirit of gain, when they made their purchase of the Company, but may have thought it a fitting time to establish another republic on the shores of the New World, as a home for Protestant wanderers. Whatever

the motive may have been, they now owned a large tract of fertile land, and proposed to settle and develop it. The undertaking was not suffered to drag, but was promptly executed. They closed their business with the Company July 12, 1656, and on the 25th of December following they despatched three ships, containing one hundred and sixty-seven colonists, furnished with provisions and everything essential to make a permanent settlement.

Prudent and painstaking as these merchants were in all their enterprises, they sometimes overlooked points important to success. In this instance they had procured ships of sufficient capacity for the comfortable accommodation of the emigrants; they had provided tools, agricultural implements, and cattle, with a full year supply of provisions; they had selected a resident director of known ability; they had carefully drawn up a form of government, and had furnished instructions for all contingencies; but they had omitted to employ skilful navigators, pilots acquainted with the coasts and harbors of the country to which they were going. This was a grave mistake, and the source of great disaster. Soon after leaving port, the ships were separated in a storm. Prince Maurice, the largest, having on board Director Alrichs and most of the colonists, was left to pursue the voyage without her consorts. On the night of March 8th, owing to the ignorance of the pilots, she was stranded on a shore to them unknown. After an anxious night the passengers were landed safely on a sand-bank without wood or water. From some Indians, who chanced to discover them, they learned that they were on Long Island, near what is now known as Fire Island Inlet. Alrichs employed one of the Indians to carry a message to Director Stuyvesant, asking for assistance. Several yachts and boats were at once engaged, with which Stuyvesant himself proceeded to the

scene of the wreck, and rescued the colonists, with some portion of the cargo. The ship broke up, and the heavy articles of her lading were a total loss. Meantime the other vessels had safely arrived in port. At New Amsterdam the colonists with their effects were transferred to another ship, which arrived at Fort Casimir, now named Fort Amstel, April 25, 1657.

The buildings and fort were not of sufficient capacity to accommodate the soldiers with their families, much less the colonists. It was the first duty of Director Alrichs to provide comfortable quarters for his people, but he was embarrassed in the work for want of the tools which had been lost in the shipwreck, and of skilled mechanics, who had not been sent. He managed, however, to build some log-houses covered with reeds, which were sufficient to protect their occupants from the elements. While thus engaged, there was little time for planting, and husbandry was neglected. With the exception of a few vegetables grown in the gardens, the emigrants depended for food on the city's storehouse, which was not at all times fully supplied. Provisions were scarce, and were procured with difficulty. Murmurings and disaffection were heard on every hand. In the midst of all his troubles Alrichs preserved a brave heart, and went on with his improvements, building a hundred log-houses during the year. The next season a large amount of land was put under cultivation, but the weather was unfavorable, and the harvest was a failure. What with scanty food and exposure, the poor people began to fail a prey to an epidemic sickness, which entered every household. The colony's physician and other leading citizens were among the first victims of the disorder. In all, there were over one hundred deaths in the little community.

During the summer there had been a considerable acces-

sion of colonists, who had not brought supplies sufficient even for themselves. In September, another ship with one hundred emigrants arrived, after a long and wearisome voyage, but brought no provisions. There were now "over six hundred souls" in New Amstel, as the colony was called. Every new arrival only added to the general distress. Winter was fast approaching. Rumors began to circulate, that the English of Maryland were preparing to assert their claim to the territory. With starvation at the door, and the title to their lands in doubt, a panic seized the people, and scores of them left for other places. Fifty fled to Maryland in search of food and safety. Before the winter fairly set in, the population of New Amstel was reduced from six hundred souls to scarce thirty families.

Another cause of anxiety sprung up from an unexpected quarter to add to Director Alrichs' perplexities. In the arrangement between the city of Amsterdam and the West India Company, the latter retained its jurisdiction over the new colony. The director-general and council were the supreme authority in all New Netherland. The Company changed the name of Fort Christina to Altopa, where an agent, who reported to Director Stuyvesant, was stationed. The Company was also entitled to a revenue tax on all importations.

It was now charged against Director Alrichs, that he had omitted an important part of the oath given to each of the colonists, that relating to the superior authority of Director Stuyvesant and his government; and that he had connived at smuggling to the prejudice of the Company's revenue. Alrichs met these charges with another—that Stuyvesant, envying the prosperity of the city's colony, held out inducements to its people to remove to New Amsterdam. The quarrel increased in bitterness, until, by

advice of the council, Director Stuyvesant visited Altona, "to correct abuses." As the loyalty of the Swedes had been suspected, he made it his first business to call them together and administer the oath of allegiance anew, taking it for granted that they had forgotten the old one. After this ceremony, he inquired into matters relating to New Amstel, and "found many things there not as they ought to be." He extorted from Alrichs a promise that the irregularities complained of should be corrected. To the Swedes he granted some new privileges, among them the choice of their own civil officers. He appointed William Beckman vice-director and commissary to protect the interests of the Company, with residence at New Amstel. Among his instructions was one directing him, in concert with Alrichs, to purchase the lands on the southerly side of the bay from Cape Henlopen to the river, that they might be conveyed to the city's colony. Although these lands had been purchased twice before, it was cheaper to buy them again than to create discontent among the new claimants by occupying them without their consent.

The rumors with reference to the intentions of Maryland were not without foundation. Governor Fendall wrote to Alrichs, claiming that the country on the southerly side of the Delaware was included in Lord Baltimore's patent, and that he had sent Colonel Utie, one of his council, to warn him to depart. It transpired that Colonel Utie had been instructed, before he delivered the message, to visit some of the leading men of the colony, and "insinuate that if they submitted to Fendall they would find easy conditions."

Colonel Utie arrived in New Amstel in September. After spending several days among the people, "insinuating the easy conditions," he asked for an interview with Alrichs. An audience was granted, when he delivered his

credentials and demanded that the Dutch should leave the country, which was clearly within the patent of Maryland. True, if they submitted quietly to Lord Baltimore's jurisdiction, they might remain, otherwise they must depart. The choice must be made without delay, for it was Governor Fendall's intention to take advantage of their present weakness, and to drive them away by force of arms, unless they consented to become his quiet subjects. Beekman, as representative of the Company, was present, and was not a little surprised at the haughty tone and manner with which Utie delivered the ultimatum of Lord Baltimore's governor. The next day Alrichs and Beekman made a written reply in the form of a protest against the presumption of Fendall in claiming what did not belong to him. Utie simply repeated his former demands, and left their presence. Beekman was indignant at the course pursued by Fendall's ambassador, and advised that he and all his suite should be arrested and sent prisoners to Stuyvesant. Alrichs objected to the proposition, fearing serious results even among his own people; and Utie was allowed to depart.

Beekman could not believe the story put in circulation by Colonel Utie, that Fendall was about to march against them with an army of five hundred men, but Alrichs gave it credence, and despatched a messenger to the director-general informing him of the situation. Stuyvesant responded by sending sixty soldiers in command of Martin Crieger, an experienced officer, believing this small force of regulars would inspire the inhabitants with courage to make an effective defence in case they were attacked. Professing not to be satisfied with the negotiations as conducted by Alrichs and Beekman with Colonel Utie, and that in consequence the affairs of the colony might be suffering, he commissioned his secretary Van Ruyvan and

Captain Crieger, to make a thorough investigation, and suitable arrangements for the "protection and maintenance" of the rights of the city's colony and of the Company.

Director Alrichs was sick with a fever when the commissioners called upon him in the latter part of September, 1659, and was unable to render them assistance in their work. They spent a few days among the people, inquiring into the causes of the decay of the settlement, recently so flourishing, and then addressed a sharp communication to Director Alrichs and his council, to which an answer equally sharp was returned a few days after. The only result of this investigation was increased bitterness and alienation. Stuyvesant's motives in sending the commissioners were commendable, but his selection of the men was not fortunate. They possessed but little tact or discretion, and put on all the airs of superior authority, much to the disgust of the city's colonial officials. Instead of healing divisions they widened the breach.

As the West India Company had guaranteed the title to the lands they had sold to the city, it now became the duty of the director-general to investigate the pretensions of Maryland, and vindicate the Dutch possession. He accordingly despatched an embassy to Governor Fendall, ostensibly to reclaim the fugitives from New Amstel, and to protest against the interference of Colonel Utie, but in truth to quiet the claims of Lord Baltimore to the country of the Delaware. In his choice of an ambassador he was more fortunate than in his late appointment of commissioners. He selected a very able man for the delicate business now in hand, Augustien Heermans, with whom was associated as secretary and interpreter another quick-witted man, Resolved Waldron.

The embassy crossed from the Delaware to the Elk

River, and thence, in a leaky skiff with an Indian guide, down the Chesapeake to the Patuxent, where, at St. Mary's, was the seat of government. The negotiations with the governor were conducted with some formality, but in a friendly spirit. Heermans gave him points relating to their respective claims which were new and surprising. Fendall produced a copy of Lord Baltimore's patent, in which it was clearly expressed that, although the boundaries therein described might include the Delaware, they only were intended to cover such territory as was occupied by savages, and *not that in possession of Christians*. Fendall's confidence in the validity of his patron's claim was shaken, and declaring that he was only vindicating his rights, he tacitly acceded to the proposal of Heermans, that the question of boundaries should be referred to their respective governments. It was so referred, and Delaware was not included within the limits of Maryland, but in time became one of the free and independent States of the Union. The papers submitted by Heermans to Fendall, and the journal of his journey and negotiations, mark him as a man of superior intelligence and ability.¹

¹Augustine Heermans was a native of Bohemia. After his mission to St. Mary's, he proceeded to Virginia, "to try his hand," he says, "at stirring up dissension between that province and Maryland." After his return he wrote to Lord Baltimore, and offered to make a map of Maryland in consideration of the grant of a manor. In this way Heermans took up five thousand acres between the Elk River and the Delaware, which he subsequently increased to twenty thousand or more, and named his grant Bohemia Manor. He received free letters of denization so that he could hold land, and in 1666 he and his family were naturalized by the first act of the kind passed in the province. The Labadists Dankers and Sluyter acquired such an influence over Ephraim Heermans, the son of Augustine, that they obtained a conveyance of a large part of the manor. The property was subsequently partitioned among the members of the sect. See *Maryland*, by William Hand Browne, pp. 98, 100, 134, and *Journal of Dankers and Sluyter*, in *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*, vol. i., pp. xxxi-xlvi.

The city's colony had proved a greater expense to Amsterdam than the burgomasters had provided for. They had not anticipated the severe epidemic, the threatened famine by the loss of crops, the desertion of so many of the colonists. There was a growing distrust of the ability and integrity of their chief officer, whose administration was secretly misrepresented by some who had sworn to aid him in his responsible duties. They began to despair of the ultimate success of the undertaking, and finally made overtures to the Company to take the colony off their hands. The offer was declined.

It was now a question with the burgomasters whether the colony should be abandoned to its fate, and the city lose the large amount expended, or whether the work should be prosecuted with renewed vigor. If the first alternative should be adopted, the promoters would be ruined in public estimation, and their political advancement jeopardized; if the latter, there would be need of more money, which could be raised only with great difficulty. At this juncture, letters from Hinoyossa and Van Sweringen, two of the colonial officers, were received. They questioned the wisdom of Vice-Director Alrichs, and even expressed doubts of his integrity, and suggested various improvements in the government. At the close of the year, Dominic Willius, a pastor beloved by his people, their sympathizing adviser in trouble, their consoler in sickness, "went to his rest," followed a few days later by the worn-out and secretly maligned director.

Hinoyossa, by the death of Alrichs promoted to the head of the government, sent his friend, Van Sweringen, to Holland, that he might more perfectly explain to the burgomasters their present condition, and his views in reference to the changes he had suggested. On the strength of Van Sweringen's representations, the West

India Company modified its former contract greatly to the advantage of the city. Encouraged by these concessions, the managers renewed their work with more hopefulness. New plans of colonization were proposed, and public attention was again called to the advantages of New Amstel as a home for the industrious and enterprising.

After Director Alrichs and Mr. Beekman, by the advice of Stuyvesant, had purchased for the third time the territory on the southerly side of Delaware Bay, and annexed it to the colony, a small fort with a garrison was established at the Horekill, the place where Godyn's colonists were murdered in 1630, more as a precaution against the designs of the English than for any other purpose. The land so purchased and occupied it was now proposed to utilize for the settlement of a peculiar religious sect which had recently sprung into existence. A company of Mennonites had sought a temporary asylum in Holland, and now proposed to remove to New Amstel. The city granted them a tract of land at the Horekill, and with it gave a large amount of money and provisions. They formed themselves into an association with a curious constitution, and removed to the promised land.

Van Sweringen brought back with him a few emigrants, and the Mennonites quietly settled on the Horekill. Otherwise there was little improvement over the old state of things. The newly awakened zeal of the burgomasters was short-lived, and their colony was allowed to float as best it could. Hinoyossa's recommendations had been adopted only in part. The colony was yet a fief of New Netherland, subject to its jurisdiction. Hinoyossa wished it to be independent, and himself the equal of Stuyvesant. He was restive in his present position, railing at the director-general, and at last refused to submit to his advice or authority. He quarrelled with Beekman, a man of

gentle disposition, simply because he represented the government at New Amsterdam, which, as to revenue and cases of appeal, was superior to his own. At last the situation became so intolerable to his imperious temper, that he resolved to go to Holland, and personally solicit the burgomasters either to obtain control of the whole of the Delaware country, becoming independent of the West India Company and its director-general or else oblige the Company to take back the territory it had sold, and assume the direction of the city's colony; "for," said he, "it cannot prosper under the dual government." This had been the burden of his correspondence; this had sent Van Sweringen to Holland; for this negotiations had begun; for this he determined to work in person. He had asked the burgomasters for a permit to leave, but had received no reply. He became impatient, and uttered many unseemly threats. Without waiting longer for permission, toward the close of September, 1662, he announced his determination to depart for the fatherland. He went by way of Virginia, fearing to take passage at New Amsterdam, lest the stern old director should arrest him.

In March, 1663, the directors of the Company wrote to Stuyvesant that the negotiations for the transfer of all South River to the city were still continued, but that there was little doubt that the transfer would soon be made. The burgomasters hesitated to close the contract, until they had had a personal interview with Hinoyossa, for which purpose they had sent a despatch granting him leave of absence. Meantime they were preparing to send out another company of emigrants. The new colonists, numbering one hundred, arrived in July following, and were distributed to different points in the colony.

Hinoyossa, whose impatience had overcome his prudence, had sailed without a permit, and arrived at Amster-

dam in the latter part of June. His glowing report of the country, and what advantages to the city might be expected in the future, in case its connection with the government of the West India Company was dissolved, settled the question in favor of an independent colony. "The Swedes and Finns," he said, "with some others, had one hundred and ten plantations under cultivation. Besides these they had thousands of cattle, horses, sheep, and swine. The city's breweries furnished the Marylanders with beer in exchange for tobacco at a large profit, which trade might be greatly enlarged. Large quantities of furs and peltries were annually procured from the Indians for duffels and other manufactured articles, paying a handsome percentage. The lands were rich, and only needed a population to cultivate them to secure abundant crops." The eloquent arguments of Hinoyossa convinced the thrifty burgomasters. They decided to close the negotiations, and become the patroons of an independent colony, owing allegiance only to the States-General.

On September 11, 1663, the managers of the West India Company wrote to Director Stuyvesant, "We have concluded to surrender the South River to the city of Amsterdam." They gave as reasons for this business transaction, the greater ability of the city to send out emigrants to promote population, and thus become a barrier to the encroachments of the English on New Netherland from that direction.

The burgomasters seem to have been well pleased with Hinoyossa, and made him vice-director of the colony. They had little trouble in procuring colonists. As had been the case for over half a century, there were in Holland great numbers of religious refugees from various countries, willing to find a home almost anywhere, provided they were under the protection of a nation which

would not persecute them for their opinions and belief. A ship was chartered, on which Hinoyossa, his council, and one hundred and fifty emigrants embarked for the Delaware. The colonists were a mixture of different nationalities—Dutch, Waldenses, French Huguenots, German Protestants, Norwegians, Swedes. The latter had not ceased to emigrate because New Sweden had been conquered, for they were still desirous of joining their friends in a country so inviting because of its sunny days and genial climate. They had a prosperous voyage, arriving at New Amstel on December 3, 1663.

As soon as he learned of Hinoyossa's arrival, Director-General Stuyvesant, under instructions, sent him a deed of "the said South River from the sea upward as far as the river reaches; on the east side, inland, three leagues from the bank of said river; on the west side as far as the territory reaches to the English colony."

William Beekman was now out of employment. He had been a faithful servant to the Company, and the burgomasters, appreciating his value, directed their vice-director to offer him inducements to remain in the colony. Hinoyossa, having quarrelled with him without cause, was ashamed to meet him, but employed two members of his council to carry out his instructions. It was proposed to Beekman, that he could occupy his present quarters at Altona, and that he should take some vacant lands for cultivation, for which purpose he should be furnished with six laborers. Beekman had not grown rich in office. He was still a poor man with a growing family to provide for, yet knowing the man now in authority, he declined the offer. In a letter to his old chief, he said he saw no advantage in becoming simply a planter, without any advantages of trade. Besides, "I desire to live elsewhere, for I cannot trust Hinoyossa,

even though I be a freeman. I remember the proverb, 'When one wants to beat the dog, a stick is easily found.'" Beckman remained in his quarters through the winter, and the next summer was appointed commissary of Esopus.

Director D'Hinojossa (thus he now wrote his name) went promptly to work reorganizing his government, and promulgating new laws and regulations. He prohibited private distilling and brewing. These, with the fur and tobacco trade, were reserved to the patroons. He made arrangements for the removal of the seat of government to a place on the river more conveniently situated for the overland trade with Maryland, and for the distribution of the large number of immigrants now expected from Holland. It was the intention of the managers to send another company of colonists immediately after the director left Holland; and they had engaged with the West India Company to send out annually at least four hundred, and thus in the quickest time possible form a strong barrier to the English pretensions. What would have been the result of their schemes, had time been allowed, it is impossible to tell. It is probable, however, that their plans would not have been carried out, nor their expectations realized. D'Hinojossa had been taken into partnership, and the enterprise was to have been prosecuted more as a commercial venture than as a systematic effort to people the waste places. Farmers and mechanics were only wanted to develop the country, and provide cargoes for their returning ships. On all commodities imported in their own ships for the use of the colonists, duties were to be levied to swell the receipts, and add to the revenues of Amsterdam. Individual enterprise had no encouragement.

Before this new experiment at colonization could be tried, a heavy hand was laid upon the colony, and its

further progress arrested. We do not learn that any more immigrants arrived, or any more ships came into port for cargoes of tobacco and furs. D'Hinojossa may have laid the foundations of his new metropolis, but the superstructures were never reared. English designs against New Netherland could not be kept entirely secret, and floating rumors interfered with the active prosecution of the work which had been undertaken. All too soon these rumors became a reality. After the capture of New York, in 1664, a part of the English fleet and the land forces were detached, under command of Sir Robert Carr, to reduce the forts on the Delaware. The work was soon accomplished.

Carr passed Fort Amstel, and first sought out the Swedes, with whom he was soon on friendly terms. They welcomed him as their avenger against the Dutch. He then sent his agents among the settlers of New Amstel, pursuing the tactics which had been so successful in the capture of the fort at New Amsterdam. He promised them protection for persons and property, with liberty of worship and no interference with their present laws and usages. Those who took the oath of allegiance to the British crown should have all the privileges of English citizenship. The conditions were reduced to writing, and signed by several civil officers, after taking the oath prescribed, on behalf of themselves and all the inhabitants, whether Dutch or those of other nationalities. When this was done, and the colony virtually surrendered, Carr summoned Fort Amstel, occupied by D'Hinojossa and a few soldiers. The vice-director refused to strike his colors, and defied the enemy to do his worst. Without further parley the troops were landed, and immediately took the fort by storm. The public stores and merchandise found therein were the legitimate spoils of the victors. But in

violation of his promises and written stipulations, Carr confiscated the property, real and personal, of the people, bestowing it on his friends, or holding it for himself. Even the non-combatant Mennonites at the Horekill were not spared, but were stripped to the "last nail."

The friendship of the Swedes and Finns for their English avengers was not lasting. They soon found the new government and laws more oppressive than the old. In 1669, Maurice Jacobs, *alias* John Binckson, commonly called the Long Finn, claiming to be the son of the Swedish Count Königsmark, set up the standard of revolt. He succeeded in winning the sympathies, if not the active co-operation, of large numbers of his countrymen. The rebellion was soon suppressed. The Long Finn was arrested and brought to trial on the charge of treason. He was convicted, and though considered worthy of death, he was sentenced to be branded in the face, to be transported to Barbadoes, and sold into slavery for the term of four years. Thirty-eight of his confederates were fined in various sums, aggregating, with costs, to nearly seventeen thousand guilders.

When the Dutch squadron recaptured New York, in 1673, and the old government was re-established, the colony on the Delaware voluntarily offered its adhesion, and again became a part of New Netherland. At the treaty of peace between Holland and England, in the next year, all of New Netherland was finally surrendered to the English, and the mixed nationalities on the Delaware once more became the subjects of the British crown. But the territory on the west side of the bay was not included in the patent to the Duke of York, and the people were without a legal government. After William Penn had secured his patent for Pennsylvania, he attempted to gain control of the country, and for a time it was under his jurisdiction, but was not

consolidated with his province. Finally, the people were allowed to set up a government of their own, as a distinct colony, which, after seventy years, joined its twelve sister colonies in the Declaration of Independence.

III.

NEW NETHERLAND AND NEW ENGLAND.

IN less than twenty years after Captain Block had explored Long Island Sound and the adjacent waters, the West India Company voluntarily contracted the eastern bounds of New Netherland from Cape Cod to the Connecticut River. From the first discovery the Dutch recognized in the natives a kind of title to the lands, and always procured the consent of the owners, by purchase or otherwise, before occupying them. Acting upon this policy, Director Van Twiller bought a parcel of land named Kievet's Hoek, at the mouth of the Connecticut River, on which he raised a pole bearing the national arms, thus giving notice to the world that the country was under the jurisdiction of Holland.

The next year, 1633, by an arrangement with the Pequod nation, who had recently conquered the Mohegans living on the west side of the Connecticut, and with the chief of the subjugated tribe, he bought a tract of land now the site of the city of Hartford, on which he built the Fort of Good Hope, and garrisoned it with soldiers, farmers, and traders. It was a condition of the sale and purchase, that this one spot should be neutral ground, where Indians of different tribes might meet for traffic, without fear of annoyance. The prospects of the new settlement for trade and agriculture were at first promising, but were soon clouded by

a party of Englishmen from New Plymouth, who proposed to build a trading-house higher up the river. Sailing by the Dutch fort, the Plymouthers landed at Windsor, and erected a house prepared in advance, surrounding it with palisades. The protests of the Dutch commander were in vain.

In the winter following an exploring party from Watertown, built a few cabins at Wethersfield. They were the pioneers of a large emigration from Massachusetts, consisting of three churches, with their pastors and teachers, who formed settlements at Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford.

About the same time a company formed under a charter to the Earl of Warwick for the territory lying between the Narragansett and Connecticut Rivers sent out Lion Gardiner, an engineer in the service of the Dutch Government, to build a fort and lay out a city at the mouth of the Connecticut River. His patrons had agreed to furnish three hundred men to assist him. Great was his disappointment when he arrived, to find that he with his family and one helper were alone in a strange land, surrounded by a savage population. But with a stout heart he set about his work, and, having secured some assistance, ere long completed a fortified house, calling the place, after two noble lords of the company, Say-Brook.

In the spring of 1638, another company, including the Rev. John Davenport, a prominent non-conformist of London, and Theophilus Eaton, a rich merchant, arrived from England. After landing at Boston, where they were solicited to remain, they set sail for some part of the continent not yet occupied. They entered Long Island Sound, and came to anchor in one of its beautiful bays. The country seemed inviting, and without inhabitants. They concluded to go no farther, but landed and laid out a town,

which they called New Haven. They established a form of government, made laws, elected officers, and were an independent colony. They too, as their brethren of the Connecticut colony, were within the bounds of New Netherland, and without any title, Indian or Dutch, to the lands they occupied.

When the Rev. Mr. Hooker and his church settled at Hartford, they had no valid title to the lands of which they took possession. They claimed to have an Indian deed given by the tribe which had been subdued by the Pequods, which, by an arrangement with their conquerors, had already divested themselves of their rights to Director Van Twiller. They found the Dutch in peaceable possession, pursuing their usual affairs. Regardless of the facts in the case, and against the remonstrances of the legal owners, they seized the lands, replying to all objections that the land was good, and ought not to lie waste; they would stay and cultivate it. When the Dutch attempted to improve their fields, they were beaten, their implements thrown into the river, their cattle driven to the pound and afterward sold for costs. To these outrages the saintly Hooker added unkind words, such as he alone could utter. Saint though he may have been, he could scold like a sinner. By the strength of numbers, the English prevailed; and leaving only a few acres around the Fort Good Hope they fenced it in. The Dutch felt the wrongs and insults to which they were exposed all the more keenly, because the Rev. Mr. Hooker and others of his company had been refugees in Holland, where they had received the kindest treatment; and because, moreover, they themselves were powerless to maintain their rights.

The new comers did not take extraordinary pains to cultivate the friendship of their savage neighbors, more especially those on the east side of the river. The

Pequods were a powerful tribe, and, having recently subdued the Mohegans, they were proud, and sensitive to neglect. They were from the first disposed to resent the intrusion of the English, the more particularly as they had taken under their protection the tribe with whom they had been so recently engaged in war. They felt themselves aggrieved, and soon began to show their dislike by acts of hostility, and by killing some of the settlers. The colony accepted the challenge and prepared for war. Captain John Mason, who had served in Holland, was appointed commanding officer; the able-bodied men were drilled in arms, and, when ready for the field, prayers were said for their success. In May, 1637, Captain Mason led his little army directly into the heart of the enemy's country, and made a night attack on their fortified village. It was a surprise, for, as was the custom of American Indians, they had no sentinels to give the alarm. Mason tore down the frail walls, and commenced the attack. The Indian warriors, aroused from sleep, made a more sturdy resistance than was expected, when the invaders applied the torch to the combustible cabins, which, with their six hundred occupants, men, women, and children, were consumed in an hour. The Pequods living elsewhere were hunted from place to place, and in a short time the nation was utterly destroyed. The conquerors claimed their country as the spoils of victory. But there was a party, stronger than the Dutch, more powerful than the Pequods, which had a prior claim—one derived from the King of England.

The title of the Saybrook colony was regarded as valid, and until it was extinguished, or transferred, the Connecticut colony could not come into possession of the conquered territory. Lion Gardiner, after his contract with Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook had expired, re-

moved to the island he had purchased from the natives, and George Fenwick now represented the noble patrons. Their colony had not prospered through neglect, and there was a growing conviction that it was intended to abandon the enterprise. Fenwick was lonely in his isolated position, and longed for a more intimate intercourse with the colony on the river above, now rapidly increasing in numbers and prestige. This state of affairs was not unknown to the leading men of Hartford. The time had come when they could approach him with an offer to purchase the franchises of the Saybrook company on terms advantageous to himself, pecuniarily and politically, and with perfect safety to themselves.

The price offered, the mode of payment and the terms were arranged to his satisfaction, but before closing the bargain he was obliged to consult the company in England. It required time to settle all the preliminaries, but this business was at last completed, and in 1644 the Saybrook Colony, with the lands on the river, was transferred to Connecticut, Fenwick also engaging to use all reasonable efforts to procure an assignment of the Warwick patent of the entire tract up to the Narragansett River. The payment of the money consideration was extended over a term of several years, but there was no delay in the liquidation of the political part of the contract. As soon as the opportunity was presented Fenwick was made a magistrate of Connecticut, and took his place among the magnates of the colony.¹

¹ It is interesting to note some of the after developments in reference to this bargain and sale, as they appear in the records. Fenwick's new position did not prove satisfactory. He resigned, and returned to England. After his death the colony claimed to have paid more than the stipulated price, because of an error in bookkeeping, and, to recover the excess, they attached the property of Fenwick's heirs, some of whom were leading men and office-holders. As a further ground for this proceeding, it was alleged

The Dutch were yet troublesome ; not because of their number, for they were few ; nor because of their interference in their affairs ; but because of their frequent protests against their usurpations, and the steady assertion of *their* own rights.

The Connecticut colonists sought to have the Dutch removed by all possible means short of force. Not content with their lands, they wished to take away their good name, accusing them of " manifold insolences, of transgressions of various kinds," adding thereunto sundry threats and haughty arguments. " Moreover, they live in a godless manner ; while we," they add, " have not used any violence toward them, and have treated them with all kindness." Instructions were given to some gentlemen of Boston about to visit England, to make some arrangement with the West India Company for defining the boundaries, so that they might not longer be molested. These gentlemen did not visit Holland, but wrote an energetic letter to the English minister at the Hague, urging him to have the controversy amicably settled. The minister replied that there were insuperable obstacles to a speedy settlement, and advised that, in the meantime, the English should extend their plantations, " and crowd on, crowding the Dutch from the places they occupy."

The advice was followed. The New Haven colonists were quite as aggressive as their rivals at Hartford. They pushed their settlements along the north shore of the Sound, and took possession of the eastern half of Long Island, besides making several attempts on the Delaware. The Dutch officials, wearied with the constant strife, ur-

that Fenwick had not procured an assignment of the Warwick patent, as he had promised. The litigation which followed extended over many years before it was settled. Meantime some of the heirs had died and others had removed to Boston in disgust.

gently entreated the Company and the States-General to come to some agreement with England, and have the colonial boundaries determined. In reply the director-general was advised to compromise, and make the best arrangements he could, so that he might live in peace, and trade be promoted.

In 1643, the New England colonies formed a confederacy, or union, somewhat on the plan of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. As soon as Director Kieft learned of this union, he addressed a letter to the commissioners of the union, complaining of the people in Connecticut, and enquiring whether they would take part in the quarrel, or interfere in behalf of a settlement of the controversy. The commissioners of New Haven joined those of Connecticut in bitter complaints against the Dutch. Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts, president of the commission, was directed to communicate to the Dutch director the charges which had been made; and also the judgment of the board, that Hartford had a just title to the lands in dispute. This of course was not satisfactory to Kieft, while Connecticut and New Haven extended their borders, and kept "crowding on."

Director Stuyvesant, not long after his arrival, again attempted to open negotiations for the settlement of the vexed question. He addressed a courteous letter to the Governor of the New England colonies, in which, however, he asserted that New Netherland was justly entitled to all the territory from the Connecticut River to the Delaware. He spoke of the conflicting claims, and suggested that a meeting be arranged of the commissioners and himself for the purpose of settling the dispute. This letter was sent to the commissioners, some of whom received the suggestion in a kindly spirit. The representatives of Connecticut on the board were not disposed to

accept the invitation to a conference, but thought it would be more to "their advantage to stand upon terms of distance." Winthrop of Massachusetts wrote in reply a letter couched in friendly words, but the commissioners of the other colonies complained of the Dutch in several particulars.

Stuyvesant was disappointed that his friendly overtures had met with such a rude rebuff, and resolved to protect the interests of the Company with all the means in his power, whatever might be the result. His resolution was soon put to the test. Although New Haven was in his jurisdiction, or rather within the boundaries of New Netherland as claimed by him, Dutch ships, according to the revenue laws, must first report at New Amsterdam when arriving from a foreign port. In defiance of law a Dutch ship put into the port of New Haven. He did not hesitate, but sent an armed vessel, which took possession of the ship, and brought it under the guns of the fort of New Amsterdam. New Haven retaliated by reprisals. Thus the unhappy differences continued. New England lost much of its fur trade because of the sharp competition of the Dutch merchants, who knew more of Indian taste, and were better supplied with articles they wanted; but the traders of New England alleged that it was because the Dutch furnished them with guns and ammunition. To remedy the evil, New Haven proposed non-intercourse, and the prohibition of all trade. Stuyvesant emphatically denied the charge, and again proposed a conference. The proposition was declined.

The next year (1649) negotiations were resumed, and it was proposed to hold a meeting at Boston. In the preliminary correspondence, Stuyvesant, having been instructed "to live with his neighbors on the best terms possible," yielded some matters in dispute, but, being firm

on others, the conference was not held. Thereupon the United Colonies adopted some severe measures, which produced no good results ; but, on the other hand, widened the breach, and added to the exasperation of the Dutch.

As both parties were involving themselves in much trouble to the prejudice of various important interests, it was finally agreed to hold a convention at Hartford, and make an effort to settle the boundaries, which done, it was believed that all other questions in dispute would find an easy solution. Meantime the Company had instructed the director "to agree on a provisional boundary," if nothing more. The way was open to him for a compromise short of the Connecticut River, without yielding all that his opponents claimed.

Director Stuyvesant, accompanied by Baxter, his English secretary, and a considerable number of other officials, left New Amsterdam, on September 17, 1650, and arrived in Hartford on the fourth day afterward. The New England delegates were in session, and gave the Dutch governor a courteous reception. The negotiations were conducted in writing ; and, after several days spent in the exchange of arguments, Stuyvesant proposed to refer the boundary question to arbitrators, whose award should be final as a provisional settlement. The offer was accepted, and four men were selected, one each from Massachusetts and Plymouth—two for New Netherland, Secretary Baxter and Thomas Willet, both Englishmen, but having large interests in the Dutch colony.

The referees did not haggle over their work, but finished it in four and twenty hours, presenting their report on September 29th. On Long Island the division line began at Oyster Bay, and ran in a straight course to the ocean. On the main-land, the line starting at Greenwich Bay ran northerly twenty miles into the country, "and after as it

shall be agreed by the two governments ; provided such line come not within ten miles of Hudson River ;" the Dutch to hold and enjoy the lands in Hartford now in their possession.

Director Stuyvesant lingered a few days longer in Hartford, partaking of the generous hospitality of the Colonists and returned home early in September. For reasons known only to himself he was reticent as to the result of the treaty, and did not make it known to his council, much less to the public. In his letter to the Company, he only referred to it in general terms, and did not send them a copy. He probably recognized the fact, that his adversaries had gained a great advantage, and that his English arbitrators had not been true to his interests. The effort to keep the treaty a secret was in vain. Its leading provisions were revealed by an anonymous letter written in English and thrown into a Dutchman's house. It was a disappointment to the good people of New Amsterdam, who accused the director of giving away the rights of New Netherland, and of having been tricked into unfair concessions, both by his arbitrators and the people of Hartford, who, perceiving his fondness for display and adulation, had ministered to his foibles.

New Haven, relying on the weakness of the Dutch and on Stuyvesant's solicitude to be on friendly terms with his neighbors, in less than six months after the treaty proposed another colonizing party for the Delaware. The criticisms on his conduct had aroused his pride, and the director was not now deceived with compliments, but repulsed the expedition.

The commercial rivalries between Holland and England at last resulted in a rupture of friendly relations. War seemed inevitable. New England thought it a favorable time to take possession of New Netherland, and drive the

forces were ready to march, news was received that peace had been made between the belligerents, and with it the order, "to commit no further hostilities against the Dutch." The disappointment of Connecticut and New Haven only equalled the satisfaction of New Netherland. The removal of the Dutch was deferred, not abandoned. The only advantage gained by Connecticut at this time was the seizure of Fort Good Hope and its dependencies, which were confiscated, although the treaty of 1650 was still in force.

For a few years after the peace, the rival colonies were comparatively quiet. The States-General ratified the boundaries as arranged by the treaty of 1650, and instructed their minister at London to procure its ratification by the English Government. Stuyvesant also made efforts to have the New England confederacy accept it as a final settlement. But neither the crown nor the colonies listened to the overtures. The commissioners were far from courteous in their reply to Stuyvesant's letter, making no allusion to the important question about which he had written. They were awaiting an opportunity to settle the boundaries according to their own wishes, without reference to the provisional treaty. Some of the English villages on Long Island, instigated by uneasy spirits, for a time were unsettled and troublesome, but on the whole the confederates were quiet, and did not "disturb the Dutch." After the death of the Protector, troubles arose from a quarter least expected. In all the previous controversies with Hartford and New Haven, Massachusetts had been friendly to the Dutch, and had acted as a mediator. Now (1659) she began to assert her own claims to Dutch territory. She had assented to the Hartford treaty, but now maintained that it did not affect her rights, but those only of Connecticut and New Haven. By her charter her

limits east and west were the Atlantic and the Pacific, and her southern boundary the forty-second degree of latitude, which crossed the Hudson River fifty miles below Albany. To show that she was in earnest, she granted a patent for a tract of land opposite Fort Orange to some of her citizens, who demanded free navigation of the river to their possessions. Stuyvesant was deaf to their appeals, but wrote to the Company for instructions, and was promptly advised not to permit any English settlements on the Hudson.

For the next four or five years Director Stuyvesant's position was not an enviable one. He had full employment for all his faculties. Until the Delaware country was transferred to the City of Amsterdam, its affairs were a constant source of anxiety. The hostility of the Esopus savages was a heavy tax on his time and on the resources of the province. But the dangers which threatened him on the east gave him more solicitude than all his other cares. Connecticut was ambitious to secure more territory, and to become a commonwealth at least as large as Massachusetts. When it was known that Charles II. had ascended the throne, its leading men began their preparations to procure a charter, which should extend their limits beyond their then narrow bounds, and give them possession of the lands they had so long coveted. They carefully looked over the field and laid their plans in secret. They were well aware that should their intentions become public the opposition would be so strong and influential, that they would fail of accomplishment. There were many difficulties to be encountered, which could be overcome more easily by proceeding quietly, without arousing the suspicions of their neighbors. Plymouth was not desirable, and, being the mother of New England, should be left to the peaceable enjoyment of her possessions. Massachusetts

on the north was not to be disturbed, except by the rectification of her southern line. Rhode Island, New Haven, and the greater portion of New Netherland, were to be absorbed; Rhode Island, because she was within the old Warwick patent; New Haven, because she was small, and in the way; New Netherland, because she belonged to a foreign nation, and enjoyed the finest position on the continent for trade and commerce.

John Winthrop, son of the first governor of Massachusetts, settled at New London in 1640, having received a grant of land from Massachusetts; and a few years later was the foremost man in Connecticut, occupying the highest offices in her gift. He had a good education, and was possessed of fine natural abilities. He had seen much of the world, and was better skilled in diplomacy than any other man in the colony. Ambitious to make the colony of his adoption strong and powerful, he was not troubled with a fine sense of honor as to the means to be employed for the accomplishment of the desired result. He was selected as the agent of Connecticut to visit England and procure a charter. The General Court instructed him to obtain a patent, bounded east by Plymouth, north by Massachusetts, south by the sea, and west by Delaware Bay, or "at least to Hudson River, otherwise no money to be spent."

Winthrop was also the bearer of a letter from the General Court to the Earl of Manchester, complaining that they had not secured from Mr. Fenwick all that he had promised, to wit: "jurisdiction over the lands eastward." It is a curious document, and, when read in connection with their contract with Fenwick, it will be seen that the men of two hundred years ago were not unskilled in that kind of argument which glosses the truth and withholds the facts. The most important paper entrusted to the care

of the agent was the address to King Charles. It had been prepared with the greatest care, and its writer showed wonderful facility in the choice of words and terms most grateful to the ears of royalty. It would not be a stretch of the imagination to suppose Winthrop himself to have been the author. He was a courtier in the broadest meaning of the word.

Without notice to Roger Williams, who had risked his life among hostile savages to save the infant Connecticut colony, or a whisper to his friends of New Haven, among whom was the Rev. Mr. Davenport, his correspondent, Winthrop sailed for England in 1661. He was eminently successful in his mission, and procured a charter for a larger extent of territory than had been expected by the managers of the colony—bounded north by Massachusetts, east by the Narragansett River, south by the sea, and west by the Pacific Ocean. It included Rhode Island, New Haven, large portions of New York and New Jersey, and a broad area of land three thousand miles in length. There was joy at Hartford when the document was received and read to the assembled people. Not so at New Haven. They were astounded at the news, and resolved that their city and villages should not be absorbed, without their consent, by a community holding the same religious doctrines as themselves. They firmly resisted all attempts on the part of Connecticut to extend its jurisdiction over them. The latter was equally firm, and required them to "submit." After years of argument and discussion, a compromise was effected, and New Haven became a part of Connecticut.

Rhode Island was more justly incensed. Nearly twenty years before, Roger Williams had secured a patent from Charles I., which was still in force. It was clear that Charles II. had been badly advised, or he would not have

ignored the act of his father, whose memory was dear to all the members of the royal family. That the error might be corrected, the government deputed John Clark to proceed immediately to England, and lay the matter before the king's ministers. Winthrop was yet in England when Clark arrived. Of course he was called upon to explain. He could not have been ignorant of the patent to Roger Williams, and must have been familiar with the country claimed by Rhode Island. It is probable that, in his zeal to secure his charter, he had not made the facts known, but had left the king and his advisers to act in ignorance of them. When confronted with Clark and the old patent, he resorted to the pitiful expedient of calling the Paucatuck River the Narragansett, and entered into a written agreement, that the Paucatuck should be called *alias* the Narragansett River, and form the eastern boundary of Connecticut. He must have known he had not the authority to change the provisions of a royal charter, and hence such an agreement would not be binding on Connecticut. It would have been more manly to have had the charter recalled, and a new one, with proper corrections, take its place. On the strength of this agreement, however, Clark secured a new charter for Rhode Island, with the "Paucatuck, *alias* the Narragansett, River" for its western boundary.

As might have been expected, Connecticut repudiated Winthrop's agreement with Clark, saying that he was their agent to procure the charter, and not their agent to surrender any of the territory included within its limits. Rhode Island, fortified by her charter and agreement, would not yield to the demands of her sister colony, and bravely insisted on her rights. A long controversy, accompanied with great bitterness, was the consequence. There were lawsuits innumerable, imprisonments for tres-

pass, crimination and recrimination, proclamations and counter proclamations, extending over a term of eighty years. In 1742, the dispute was settled. Connecticut yielded the point, and the boundary as named in the Rhode Island charter was adopted.

Connecticut was bounded on the north by Massachusetts, whose south line had not been accurately surveyed. To get it adjusted, and the various complications growing out of it finally settled, required a century and a half. Meantime the relations between the two colonies were not always cordial. The disputes and differences were finally settled in 1826.

As to New Netherland, the good people of Connecticut believed that their long-cherished purpose was near its accomplishment—when the lands of the Dutch should be theirs. As soon as the charter was received, they claimed jurisdiction over Greenwich, West Chester, and the English towns on Long Island. Against this assumption, Director Stuyvesant remonstrated in an energetic letter, which he despatched by a messenger. The only answer given was the exhibition of the charter to the wondering eyes of a Dutchman who could not read English.

The director, not yet despairing of the safety of his province, repaired to Boston, in September, 1663, to have an interview with the Commissioners of the United Colonies. He stated that, inasmuch as the covenants of the treaty of 1650 had not been kept, he now demanded whether they considered them still in force? The Connecticut delegates preferred that the question should not be answered at present, but at their session a year hence. To this the other delegates assented, and, unable to effect any change in their decision, Director Stuyvesant returned home, a disappointed but wiser man. It was his last conference with the union. But he was game to the

last. While he was absent, a Connecticut agent had been going among the western towns on Long Island creating some excitement. Stuyvesant had him promptly arrested.

The director, having failed to accomplish anything with the commissioners at Boston, now determined to try what could be done with Connecticut alone. He appointed a committee of three, one of whom was an Englishman, to confer with the General Court, then in session at Hartford. Immediately on their arrival, October, 1663, they entered upon their duties. After several days spent in efforts to negotiate they accomplished nothing. They were given to understand very plainly, that Connecticut no longer recognized a New Netherland, and considered Stuyvesant simply the chief magistrate of the Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island. Early the next year, Governor Winthrop, having returned from England, visited Long Island, and appointed officers in the English towns west of the treaty line. Stuyvesant learning of his presence, went to the Island, and sought an interview. The two governors were well acquainted, and it was hoped they could come to some amicable arrangement, especially as Winthrop on various occasions had manifested some consideration for the Dutch, and quite recently had been heard to say that the Connecticut-charter did not include New Netherland, but only territory in New England. Now, however, he took high ground, and assured his old friend that the whole country belonged to them.

The affairs of New Netherland were rapidly approaching their crisis. Questions of rights and boundaries so long in agitation would soon have their solution. English jealousy of Dutch commerce, and of Dutch successes on the ocean and in foreign countries, urged the government to make an effort to cripple, if not to destroy, their rival. Incited by the demonstrations of London merchants, and

encouraged by the advice of the Duke of York, England determined on war. But before announcing her resolution, she sought to gain some advantage by quietly seizing, in times of peace, a portion of Holland's foreign possessions. One expedition sailed to Africa, with the intention of capturing the Dutch forts on the gold-coast; another to New England, with instructions to the governors to render it assistance in the reduction of New Netherland. Secret despatches, by a quick-sailing ship, that the squadron had left port for its destination, put the colonial governments in the best of spirits. Connecticut particularly was full of enthusiasm. The squadron, with nearly four hundred soldiers aboard, touched at Boston, and after communicating with the governor, pursued its course, and anchored in the lower bay of New Amsterdam the latter part of August, 1664. Governor Winthrop, when he learned that the ships were on the coast, hastened to meet them. Passing through Long Island, he ordered the militia captains to muster their companys and march to Brooklyn, and then went aboard the flagship of the fleet. When all the preparations were complete, Richard Nicolls, the commander, sent an officer to Director Stuyvesant with a message, demanding the surrender of Fort Amsterdam and the city. With only two hundred and fifty men in the city able to bear arms, and one hundred and fifty soldiers, with a scarcity of powder and an untenable fort, Stuyvesant and his advisers reluctantly came to the conclusion, that they could not effectually resist the English forces, which consisted of four men-of-war, well equipped, four hundred regular soldiers, and a large body of Connecticut and Long Island militia.

The terms offered by General Nicolls were unusually fair. The Dutch were to be undisturbed in their property, real and personal, and could dispose of it by will or other-

wise according to their ancient usages ; they were to enjoy absolute freedom of religious worship ; they could continue their trade with the fatherland as usual ; immigration from Holland was not prohibited. The citizens understood at a glance, when these conditions were made public, that there would be little, if any, change, except in their allegiance, and they were substantially unanimous in favor of surrendering rather than of running the risk of losing all by resistance. The director, influenced by military pride, was disposed at first to give the enemy a taste of his metal, but was finally induced to submit to the inevitable, and to sign the articles of surrender without firing a gun. It was not agreeable to his ideas of honor to submit on the first summons, but rather to negotiate. All the forms of military etiquette were observed, all the preliminaries were arranged, and on September 8, 1664, the city and fort were handed over to the English commander. New Amsterdam became New York.

Governor Winthrop was present, an active participator in all the transactions, and witnessed the humiliation of the Dutch governor, whose revenge was near at hand. The joy of Connecticut on this occasion was only equalled by her disappointment shortly afterward, when she learned that after all New Netherland could not be hers. Her disappointed hopes were soon absorbed by anxiety. In a few days it became known, that, before the expedition had left England, the king had granted by letters patent to his brother, the Duke of York, all New Netherland, from the Delaware to the Connecticut River, including Long Island, and all the islands of the Sound. All her struggles to extend her jurisdiction over New Netherland, it now became apparent, had been in vain. In granting her charter the king had passed over the previous one to Rhode Island, and now her own charter, only two years old, was set aside.

The bitter chalice she had held to the lips of others was returned to her own. Should Rhode Island succeed in becoming an independent colony, with the Paucatuck River as the western boundary, her territory would be confined to very narrow limits, unless she could effect some compromise with the duke, and induce him to surrender a portion of the land on the west side of the Connecticut. The dreams of her statesmen, her Hookers and Winthrops, her Allyns and Treats, of a splendid theocratic empire were fast vanishing. The Dutch looked on amused, and, greatly enjoying the discomfiture of their old antagonists, quietly settled down under the new government, leaving the questions so long in agitation to be settled by the new rulers.

Governor Winthrop, in his discussion with Nicolls as to boundaries, found it convenient to refer to the provisions of the treaty made with Stuyvesant in 1650, so emphatically repudiated by his colony and himself. His efforts to have them recognized were only partially successful. All Long Island and the islands of the Sound, Nicolls insisted, must remain attached to New York, but he consented that the line on the mainland might stand provisionally, if it did not come within twenty miles of the Hudson River.

When the Dutch recaptured New York, in 1673, Connecticut resumed control over the settlements on eastern Long Island, and after some sharp passages of words with the Dutch governor, threatened to drive him from the country. Had the war continued, she might have attempted to carry her threat into execution. On the return of peace New Netherland again became an English province, for which the Duke of York received a second patent. Edmund Andros, his governor, revived his claim to the Connecticut River as the eastern boundary. The friends of Connecticut were enabled to reach the duke's ear, and Governor Andros was instructed to let the question rest.

In 1682, the governor and General Court of Connecticut wrote to the governor of New York, complaining that Frederick Philipse, one of his citizens, was erecting mills and other buildings in the township of Rye, near the Hudson River ; and that others had purchased large tracts of land, all of which were within their limits. The next year, Governor Dongan having arrived, they wrote to him in a similar strain. He bluntly replied that the line was twenty miles east of the Hudson. If they were unwilling to settle on that, then he would insist on the duke's right as far east as the Connecticut River. This was enough. The governor and the secretary of Connecticut hastened to New York, and agreed upon a boundary line twenty miles east of the Hudson, November 28, 1683. The controversy, however, did not cease in reference to the line until 1880, when it is believed that they were forever settled.

It may be pertinent to the subject now to inquire what influence, if any, the Dutch nation, and the Dutch element, had in this country, in forming and settling the institutions of our republic ?

It is a fashion with writers of American history to treat the Dutch with little consideration, or to ignore them altogether. To New England, they say, we are indebted for our civilization, our free government and institutions, for our free schools and colleges.

A careful reader of the early records will not easily come to the conclusion that New England is entitled to all the credit claimed for her, or that the influence of the Dutch should be overlooked. Both before and for a long time after colonies began to be planted on the northern portion of the American continent, Holland was the freest, and one of the most enlightened, nations of the world. The intolerance of her old masters had taught her to be liberal in her laws, and benevolent in their execution.

She sympathized with the oppressed of other nations, and gave them asylum when forced to flee from the wrath of their rulers. She laid no restrictions on freedom of conscience and worship. She had a national church, but did not compel conformity, tolerating other creeds and sects. The adherents of the Roman church, by whose princes and institutions she had so cruelly suffered, were protected alike with those of other churches.

England, although Protestant, had a national church, to which she required conformity. Among her princes and bishops toleration was a hated word. The government, determined to enforce its edicts, became the oppressors of those who sought more liberal laws and were unwilling to have their consciences shackled. To escape the penalties of non-conformity, they were forced to dissemble, or flee from their country. But whither could they go? To no place but Holland. There English-speaking men and women were formed into churches, before Rev. John Robinson and his congregation removed from the north of England to Leyden. Large numbers of Englishmen, ministers and laymen, fled to Holland, and there abode, waiting for the storm of persecution to subside. Some engaged in business, others entered the military service. Besides the Pilgrims, large numbers of the fathers of New England first sought refuge in Holland before emigrating to America. There they learned many things which were of service, when, in after years, they laid the foundations of new communities and states. Military men, who there learned the "art of war," were of infinite value to the first American colonies.

Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, officers in the Dutch army, were granted leave of absence to be employed in Virginia. The latter was absent seven years, and was allowed full pay for the entire time. Captain Miles Standish

left the service in Holland to become the sword-bearer of the Pilgrims. He accompanied that heroic band on their pilgrimage, and in their new home, although not a member of their communion, performed important service for them against the Indians. Captain John Mason, another Dutch soldier, followed the fortunes of Mr. Hooker and his congregation, when they emigrated to the valley of the Connecticut. Two years afterward, by the subjugation of the Pequods, he proved himself the right man for the place to which he was chosen. Argal, for a time governor of Virginia, "was a soldier bred in that university of war, the Low Countries." Lion Gardiner, an engineer employed by the Prince of Orange, at the solicitation of Rev. John Davenport, came over with his Dutch wife in a vessel of twenty tons, and built the fort at Saybrook.

The confederacy of the New England colonies, 1643, has received the credit of being the germ whence sprung the United States. But what gave birth to the confederacy, if not the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands?

Whence came our free public schools? Not from England. "Holland was a land where every child went to school, where almost every one could read and write, where the middle classes were proficient in mathematics and the classics, and could speak two or more languages besides their own. In cities and rural districts there were common schools, as well as classical, the property of the people, supported at the public expense." Did not the Pilgrims and Puritans, during their residence in Holland, learn these facts? They were apt scholars; all honor to them!

Whence came the political maxim, "No taxation without representation?" The Netherland provinces were represented in the assembly of the States-General, who determined the amount of money to be raised by tax for war

and other general purposes by each of the provinces, who by their own local assemblies levied and collected the tax. These local governments were elected by the people. Thus no taxes were arbitrarily imposed by the government without the consent of the governed. It was for this principle that the people of New Netherland at an early day commenced a contest with their rulers. It was the custom of the fatherland, why not make it a law of the colony? It was for this the Dutch two hundred years before had contended, and finally wrested from an unwilling prince; why not now grant it to their children in the wilderness?

The fathers of New England were well acquainted with this doctrine as taught and practised in Holland, but they only adopted it in part when they organized their governments. Church members only could hold office, and to church members only was the elective franchise conceded. Hence, their lawmakers really represented only a portion of the people, while the taxes they imposed were assessed alike on saint and sinner. In process of time, however, they learned to be more like the Dutch, to be more liberal in the franchise, and consequently more just to the people.

Whence came the doctrine of toleration in religious creeds and worship? Not from England, nor from New England. In the former subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was required, and entire obédience to bishops; in the latter, conformity to the creed and form of worship their ministers had decreed. Holland alone of all the Christian nations tolerated dissent, allowing liberty of conscience, and to the different sects their own places of worship. Such also was the practice in New Netherland. The brief persecution of the Quakers by Stuyvesant, without authority from his superiors, is the exception which proves the rule.

It was difficult for the New England fathers to learn

this great lesson as taught by the nation to which so many of them had fled for refuge from the church at home. They refused conformity to a creed taught by bishops, but enforced it to a creed formulated by themselves. New Hampshire for a time was an asylum for some of their non-conformists, and a place of banishment for others. The amiable Roger Williams, to escape transportation, fled to the woods, and spent the winter among savages less cruel than his co-religionists. In memory of his escape and preservation he founded the city of Providence, which became a "city of refuge" for the sectaries of New England more accessible and congenial than New Hampshire. Ministers and laymen, men and women, were banished by Massachusetts, as "disturbers of the peace," because they differed in belief from the Puritan established church. Rev. Francis Doughty, minister at Cohasset, was torn from his pulpit, because of some expressions which sounded like heresy. He fled to New Netherland with a few friends, and was kindly welcomed. After him came others. The celebrated Ann Hutchinson, fearing that Roger Williams' city was too near her persecutors, was given lands at Pelham by Director Kieft. John Throgmorton, and thirty-five families from New England, received permission to settle "within twelve miles of New Amsterdam, to reside there in peace." Lady Moody found a home at Gravesend. Even a pilgrim of the Mayflower, Isaac Allerton, removed to Manhattan. These were followed by large numbers, who occupied villages on the western end of Long Island, under the jurisdiction of the Dutch governors. The barbarous treatment of the Quakers in Massachusetts is of itself sufficient evidence that the Puritans had not learned the cardinal virtue of Christian charity from their own experiences in England, or from the example of Holland.

It should not be forgotten, that the commercial enterprise which distinguishes our country owes much of its success to the influence and example of the Dutch. "The Pilgrims," says the historian Hubbard, "having lived with the Dutch, were naturally addicted to commerce and traffic." We read in Mr. Motley's history: "The ocean was the birthright of the Dutch." "They were the first free nation to put a girdle of empire around the world." "In the last twenty years of her war of independence (1589-1609), they had become the first commercial nation of the world; they had acquired the supremacy of the seas; they had one hundred thousand sailors and three thousand ships, and had secured the carrying trade of Europe."

The Dutch of New Netherland maintained the reputation of the fathers. With their small ships they trafficked from Maine to Georgia, and the West India Islands. They navigated the rivers from the sea to their source. They penetrated the interior in their bark canoes, and bought furs of the red men on the borders of Canada, in the forests of Pennsylvania, and on the rivers of Ohio. When they numbered hardly a score on the continent, a party of three or four explored the head waters of the Delaware, and traced the river to the bay. They introduced the Indian money, wampum, into New England, and taught the Pilgrims its uses as a commercial medium. When the Atlantic coast was open for their choice, their trading instincts led them to select Manhattan for a magazine of merchandise and depot of exports—Manhattan, destined to become one of the greatest commercial centres of the globe.

Whatever is valuable in the division of states and provinces into townships, with their local officers and legislature, was known in Holland at an early period. Their rights and privileges, which they had enjoyed for cen-

turies, were gradually subverted by the Dukes of Burgundy; but in 1477 they were restored by the Great Charter, which the firmness of the people compelled their sovereign to grant. When the population of New Netherland had extended itself beyond the convenient control of the capital, townships were organized, and civil officers with local courts were appointed, after the manner of the fatherland. These privileges, however, were wrung from the reluctant hands of the West India Company, who were ever opposed to any measures tending to diminish their authority. Had the colony been planted by the state, local governments would have been introduced with the first emigrants. Is New England entitled to all the credit for this important feature of our civil polity? The fathers found the system in Holland, and were wise enough to adopt it in their little republics, but their descendants unwisely call it all their own.

To New England must be accorded the praise of having first introduced the means of a higher education than the common schools afforded, of having first established a college for the instruction of its thoughtful and studious youth. The Puritans of Massachusetts, if not the Pilgrims of Plymouth, were, many of them, of superior education and mental discipline. They were graduates of universities, and had spent much of their time at the feet of learned men. Almost their first thought, after providing temporary homes for their families, was on the subject of education. Six years after their first settlement at Boston, they founded Harvard College.

In New Netherland education was neglected. The first colonists, except the officers of the Company, were laborers, artisans, servants, with a few clerks and traders—men who had been educated at the common schools, but had never been within the walls of a college. Their time

belonged to others, to whom was left the duty of establishing schools and churches. After a while, when the monopolizing grasp of the Company was loosened, and freemen began to emigrate, they were not of the highly educated classes, but burghers, merchants, and traders, who came to better their fortunes. Their capital was invested in furs, and as capital increased, still in furs, or in lands with which to found estates and families, such as those they had known in *Patria*, as they sometimes called their old home. Educated Hollanders had no inducements to emigrate, except here and there an enthusiast, or one broken down in fortune. Surrounded by friends and all the appliances of civilized life, they preferred the comforts and pleasures of home, rather than endure the hardships of a new and barbarous country. They were not forced to leave for "conscience' sake," nor had they the ambition to found a new empire. They were content to enjoy the one which they had first rescued from the sea, and more recently from the iron hand of the Spaniard. Of educated men, therefore, few but clergymen, lawyers, and doctors, came to New Netherland. Schools were not neglected; for where do you find an educated minister of the gospel, that you do not find a school? But the few "ministers of the Word," stationed in small settlements wide apart, among people mostly struggling for the necessaries of life, could not found colleges. They could see that the children of their parishioners were taught the rudiments of learning, and could themselves teach the classics when required. They could do nothing more. In Holland the love of learning, next to that of commerce, was a passion. No country in Europe contained a greater number of highly educated men in proportion to the population. No country had more men eminent for learning. No country for the time produced more popular authors in history,

philosophy, politics, medicine, and poetry. Their universities were thronged with students, whose numbers would be a marvel in American institutions at the present time.

Nothing better illustrates the love of learning in Holland than the history of the Leyden University, so well set forth in the pages of Motley.

Not long after its organization, the University of Leyden was the most celebrated in Europe. The most eminent men in the various departments of literature, politics, and philosophy were appointed its professors. Leyden was the home of the Pilgrims eleven years before they embarked for the western continent. Their pastor, Rev. John Robinson, received a cordial recognition by the learned men of the university, and was admitted to their debates on questions of theology and kindred topics. It is to be presumed that the state of learning in Holland at this time was not without its influence on the Puritan mind in the establishment of their schools and colleges.

Mr. John Quincy Adams, in an essay on the New England Confederacy, said, "Of the European settlers on the American Continent, the colonists of New England were the first who held themselves bound to respect the right of prior occupancy of the Indian savages, and to purchase it of them for an equivalent." "The whole territory of New England was purchased." Mr. Adams is high authority, but the statement may be questioned.

Just previous to the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, the Indians had been swept away by an epidemic, and parts of the country left without an inhabitant. They landed on a desolate shore, where there was no living being to oppose or welcome them. They took possession of the country, and held it without other title than "Welcome, Englishmen," uttered long after by a savage, who had been in England, and had picked up a few words of

the language. Nine years afterward, when Endicott was about to sail for America, he was instructed "to purchase the title of any savages who claimed the lands granted in our patent." Three years before this instruction, the Dutch had purchased Manhattan Island according to the directions of the West India Company. This practice was strictly enforced by the Company while it held possession of the province. The numerous Indian deeds on record prove how faithfully the rule was observed.

That this was the policy of the English, or that all New England was purchased from the original proprietors, seems doubtful. In an English State paper of 1632, it is denied, "that the Indians were *bona fide* possessors of those countries, so as to be able to dispose of them either by sale or donation."

The first Connecticut colonists took possession of their lands under the title of a conquered tribe, and ignored the claim of the conquerors. Afterward they set up a claim for the Narragansett country by right of conquest, and the lands were parcelled out among individuals without other consideration. When the Pequods were annihilated, their territory was possessed much in the same way, as that of a tribe exterminated by the Pilgrims. For these reasons the accuracy of Mr. Adams' statements is open to doubt. If one form his opinion from early New England writers, it would not be difficult to come to the conclusion that most of its territory was not purchased, for it is apparent that large tracts were held without conveyance from the original owners, while others were obtained by crowding the Indians on reservations considered large enough for their use, and taking possession of the rest without remuneration.

After the province of New Netherland passed under English rule, the policy of the Dutch in this regard was

steadily pursued. The much-vaunted treaties of William Penn with the Indians, and his purchase of their lands, were only in line with those of the Dutch sixty years before. Even the lands in and around Philadelphia had been bought by the Dutch more than forty years before Mr. Penn procured his patent. If, then, any colony deserves credit in reference to the purchase of territory from the original proprietors, it is New Netherland.

Numerous writers have set up the claim, that we are mainly indebted to New England for our independence. No one can yield her more credit and honor in this regard than the writer. But, while he bows with uncovered head to her patriotism and loyalty during the whole of the momentous struggle which secured our nationality, he will ask whether the result of the war could have been secured without New York? Whether what was done by New York to make independence possible at the time did not derive its chief strength from the Dutch element in the population?

New York, unlike New England, was a royal province. The governors and the chief officers were appointed by the crown. In the city of New York a miniature court had been established, around which was gathered an aristocracy of placemen—provincial noblemen. Attachment to the throne had been the growth of an hundred years, and had been diffused through all the cities, villages, and hamlets. The people had become English in their tastes and usages. By intermarriage with civil and military officers, many of the old families had forgotten their humble origin, and were proud of their aristocratic connections. To throw off English rule and set up an independent government was not to be thought of. To make the attempt would be the work of madmen. To succeed was only the dream of enthusiasts.

Outside of the capital, the descendants of the men who planted the colony could not forget the usurpation of 1664, nor their own ancestry. The fathers had submitted to superior force. The children had learned the story of their wrongs, "told by sire to son." All that was required to induce these people to join hands with their old opponents of New England in a struggle for freedom were leaders. These were not wanting. Several of the old Dutch families had become rich and influential by the fortunate investments of their fathers, and by their own energy. Their position in the society of the province was assured, and their friendship courted by the placemen around the governor's mansion. Among them were the Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, Van Schaicks, Schuylers, Ten Broecks, and Livingstons—the last Scotch in name, but three-fourths Dutch by blood. They were all closely related by intermarriages, and were the holders of large landed estates. They pronounced for independence. Laying their wealth upon the altar of their country, they joined the patriots. Besides these leading families, the Dutch dominions, almost to a man, declared for independence. With such leaders there was little difficulty in enlisting the entire Dutch element on the side of freedom.

He is a dull student of Revolutionary times, who will not concede that without the Dutch it would have been difficult to induce this province to join New England and Virginia in the almost hopeless effort to establish a free government; that without New York and New Jersey the aspirations of the revolutionary fathers must have been deferred for the time, if not indefinitely.

I.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

THE first knowledge we have of Philip Schuyler is derived from a family record, now in the possession of one of his descendants in the sixth generation. From it we learn that he married Margarita Van Slichtenhorst, in Beverwyck, now Albany, December 12, 1650, and that he was an emigrant from Amsterdam, Holland.

His previous history is unknown. There is no mention of his arrival in New Netherland, or of his first appearance in Beverwyck. Little is known of his family in Holland. No trace has been found of the Schuylers in Holland in modern times, but the notarial records, now in the clerk's office at Albany, show that about 1663, two relatives, termed cousins, gave Philip Schuyler powers of attorney to collect debts due to them in New Amsterdam. One was Aeltie van Schuyler, the wife of a merchant on New Street, Amsterdam; the other, Gerrit Schuyler, captain of a Cologne packet. In the Amsterdam records we have a mention that Pieter Schuyler, or Schuylers, appeared before the burgomasters with his wife. This Pieter was born in Cologne, and at some time previous to 1639 married Catharina, the daughter of Cors Jansen Buyck, of a well-known family in Amsterdam, which produced many magistrates in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ If this Pieter were the father of

¹ Letter of D. N. de Roever, assistant archivist of Amsterdam, kindly communicated by Mr. J. V. L. Pruyn.

Philip Schuyler, it is strange that neither he nor David Pieterse Schuyler named their eldest daughters Catharine, in conformity to the prevailing custom.

There is a hamlet called Schuiler, in the district of Valkenburg and province of Limburg, not far from Maestricht, from which it is possible that the family name may be derived. In Holland, as in other countries, surnames are of comparatively modern use. The baptismal name of the father, with the affix *se* or *sen*, became the surname of a son, and with the affix *s*, that of a daughter. Philip, the son of Peter, would write his name Philip Peterse (or Petersen), and Gertrude, daughter of Philip, would write Gertrude Philips. For the sake of distinction, the name of the family estate, or of the birthplace, was often added with the preposition *van*, meaning *of* or *from*. The peasants and artisans followed this custom as well as the landowners, and *van* in no way corresponds to the French *de* as a particle marking noble origin, and especially in New York names. The Van Rensselaers, for example, take their name from their estate of Rensselaer, near Nykerk, but the Van Burens were peasants from the village of Buren, and had nothing to do with the Counts of Buren, a title belonging to the house of Orange.

If Philip Schuyler wrote the family record referred to, he omitted the *van* before his own name, but used it in the names of seven of his children. It was inserted in his name appended to the oath of allegiance to the English Government required of the Dutch after the conquest of New Netherland. I doubt, however, that this signature was written by himself, for it appears as Peterson Philip van Schuiller, wherein it will be observed there is a transposition of the first two names, and a misspelling of the last. There are many scores of his original signatures in the records of Albany, and in no instance did he use the

van. Until about 1664, he always wrote *Philip Pieterse*, except when signing contracts and deeds; he then wrote his name in full, Philip Pieterse Schūijler. When others wrote his name, as in legal papers, it was simply Philip Pieterse. This appears to have been the name by which he was generally known. After 1667, he wrote his name in full, as above, with occasional lapses to the old way. About 1672, he dropped *Pieterse*, and wrote Philip Schūijler, in which form it appears signed to his will. The mark over the u is, as in all Dutch and German manuscript, simply to distinguish it from an *n*, and *ij*, still used in Dutch words, has since been contracted to the equivalent *y*. Unfortunately the family papers have been scattered and lost, or were consumed in the fire which destroyed his house at the "Flatts," eighty years after his death. Papers were carefully preserved by the Dutch in early times. As they accumulated they were put into boxes, and stored in the garret. The fire that consumed the "Flatts" started in the roof, and the old papers were the first to burn. The house after his death was occupied by his son, Peter, and then by Peter's eldest son, Philip, and at the time of the fire by the widow of the latter. There was doubtless a large store of family papers in the old garret, which, had they been preserved, would have solved many questions interesting to the family, and perhaps to the public. Were it not for the records of the church, of the colony of Rensselaerwyck, of Albany in the clerk's office, and the State documents, we would have been left to tradition (an untrustworthy source of information) for any knowledge of the Schuyler family in the early times. A careful study of these, supplemented by records in the Bibles of various families, will give us the materials for a history interesting to some of its members, if to no one else.

The merchants of Amsterdam, who sent their ships on

trading voyages to the Hudson River, in 1614 built a small fort on an island a short distance below Albany, for the protection of the people in their service. When this was destroyed a few years later by a flood, they erected another on the west shore, at Norman's Kill, where they made their first treaty with the Mohawk Indians. In 1623, the West India Company removed the fort to the present site of Albany, and changed the name from Nassau to Orange, to distinguish it from Fort Nassau on the Delaware. The few colonists lived in the fort, or near its walls. In 1630, the colonists sent out by Patroon Van Rensselaer built their houses under the protection of the guns of the fort, and called the village Beverwyck. It does not appear that the Company bought the land on which the fort was erected, but occupied it by sufferance. It was included within the lands of the colony purchased by Van Rensselaer's agents; and his colonists, assuming the privilege of locating their dwellings where most convenient on lands belonging to their patroon, chose the place protected by the fort.

Patroon Van Rensselaer, from 1630 to the time of his death, in 1646, had prosecuted his work with considerable vigor, and had annually made additions to the population of his colony of new men sent out from Holland. With his colonists came a few traders and mechanics to engage in business on their own account. This class of persons was increased by the action of the West India Company in its claim of jurisdiction over the land contiguous to the fort; and they continued to come, when, by the death of the patroon, active efforts for the development of the manor by those directly interested had well-nigh ceased.

At the time that Philip Schuyler first made his appearance, the hamlet of Beverwyck had become a thriving village. The Indian trade was prosperous, and all business and employment connected with it were flourish-

ing.¹ The dual occupancy by the Company and by the Van Rensselaer Colony of the same territory soon involved the community in serious complications. The Company claimed all the land within the range of a cannon-shot from the fort ; while the directors of the colony asserted that the fort itself stood on ground belonging to the patroon ; and, while they were willing it should remain, as a means of mutual convenience and protection, they claimed the right to occupy all the lands outside the walls. Quarrels between Van Rensselaer's superintendent and the commandant of the fort were of frequent occurrence. Less than two years after Schuyler's marriage to the daughter of Brant Arentse Van Slichtenhorst, who, as resident-director of the colony, was bound in honor and by his oath to protect the interests of his patroon, the latter was involved in one of those disputes, and was in danger of his life ; even his son could not escape. Some soldiers, at the instigation of Dyckman, the commandant, made a furious assault upon him. When Schuyler interfered for his protection, Dyckman, standing near, rushed upon him with his drawn sword, and swore he would kill him unless he desisted.

How well Schuyler prospered in his business can only be inferred from his transactions requiring a legal record, and from the amount of his estate at the time of his death. Forming a judgment by these data, we must conclude that he was more than an ordinary business man, keeping his affairs well in hand, and succeeding in his enterprises. Money, the commercial medium, was quite different from ours, involving more hazard and loss. Gold and silver

¹ Mrs. Lamb, in her History of New York, says that Philip Schuyler took the oath of fealty to Patroon Van Rensselaer. But it nowhere appears that he was in his service as officer, farmer, servant, or tenant ; nor is his name among those to whom the oath was administered. No ; he came as a free man, and engaged in business on his own responsibility.

were almost unknown, and formed no part of the circulating medium. There were no bank-bills or government currency. Beaver skins were the gold, and wampum, or seawant, the silver, of those days. The one was produced in the forests along the water-courses, grown on the backs of animals, and brought in by the Indians; the other was found by the seashore as the covering of shellfish, and formed into oblong beads by the hands of the natives. The one was food for moths; the other subject to over-production by the skilled fingers of the whites. The one diminished, as the demand increased, by the slaughter of the animals; the other was inexhaustible. Then, as now, the bulk of mercantile transactions was on credit. There were no newspapers nor a printing press to aid the traders in bringing their wares and goods to the notice of the public. Resort was had to written placards and bills posted on the church-doors, and other public places, describing the articles, and the terms of sale. These were usually drawn by a notary, and were made a legal record. One of these posters reads as follows:

“Claes Hendrickse [Van Utrecht, or Schoonhoven] desires to sell on the following conditions an inlaid oaken cabinet, lent out by Janse Flodder [alias Gardenier], to wit; that the buyer shall be holden to make payment tomorrow morning punctually, in good whole beavers. In case he fail to pay or furnish security, it is understood that it shall be again sold at his cost and charge.”

“The cabinet was sold on the above written conditions of public sale to the undersigned for the sum of 22 beavers and 10 guilders, in beavers.

Philip Pieterse.

I, the subscriber, Jan Thomasse [Mingaet], stand as surety.
Jan Tomase.”¹

¹ The names within brackets were surnames, but omitted in the original. The Flodders, by a free translation, changed their name to Gardenier; *flodder* meaning dirt, rich earth, hence garden, gardener.

This is not the whole story of the "oaken cabinet." An item of its previous history is interesting as illustrative of the times. Its subsequent history might be equally interesting, were it possible to trace it. It was a rich piece of furniture, as may be supposed from its description and its cost. It may have stood in the drawing-room of the old house at the Flatts, and, being too heavy for removal, was destroyed by the fire. Before Schuyler bought it, it had been sold by the importers to Flodder, on conditions "that payment shall be made in good whole beavers within twenty-four hours, without one hour longer delay." Flodder had agreed to pay thirty beavers and nineteen guilders. As no security was asked, he gave none. He took possession, but failed to pay. It was then considered "lent," and subject to re-sale.

Schuyler for the first few years after his marriage pursued his business quietly and successfully. Like other mortals the world over, he attended auction sales, and was frequently a purchaser. After the decease of Johan de Hulter,¹ a portion of his furniture and goods was sold at auction, in November, 1654. Schuyler bought six napkins for twenty-nine guilders the lot. At another sale soon after he bought "a great tin-pail, a copper mortar, a funnel, a great copper spoon, a pewter mug, two little pewter cups, and a pewter beaker, gilt," all for twenty-six guilders, "payable in beavers in one month." In later years, when his property had become considerable, and his house provided with ordinary furniture, including "pewter cups" for the boys, he could afford to buy specimens of the fine arts to adorn the walls of his dwelling. At the sale of the effects of Rutger Jacobsen Van Schoender-

¹ Johan de Hulter married Johanna de Laet, only daughter of Johan de Laet, an eminent Dutch historian, a director of the West India Company, and a partner of Killian Van Rensselaer in the colony of Rensselaerwyck.

woert,' a man of substance, held by his administrators, December, 1665, he bought "a picture at thirty-five guilders, another at one hundred guilders, and a fine ring at eighteen guilders. His friend, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, bought "one diamond ring, one double ring, and six silver spoons having a human figure engraved upon them," for ninety-four florins in all; and his brother Richard contented himself with "four silver spoons and a copper kettle," at a cost of forty florins. "Payment to be made in seawant, and no deduction allowed for what deceased may owe the purchasers."

In five years Schuyler had become one of the prominent citizens of Beverwyck, and he then began to be employed in affairs of Church and State. The Mohawk Indians often visited the village for purposes of trade, sometimes in large companies. They had learned to substitute cloth for skins, firearms and tomahawks for bows and clubs; above all, they had learned to love the rum the Dutch could furnish. They quickly acquired the vices, if not the virtues, of their white neighbors. They could handle a musket with great precision, but could not repair it; they could expend their ammunition, oftentimes foolishly, but could not manufacture it; they could drink rum in great quantities, but knew not how to extract it from the corn their women raised. If they could, they would not learn the simplest arts and trades. If their guns needed repair,

¹ Rutger Jacobsen Van Schoenderwoert and his brother Teunis came to Beverwyck about 1640. The descendants of the former took the name of Rutgers, and removed to New York; those of the latter the name of Van Woert. There are other instances of families whose original name was the same, derived from a common ancestor two hundred years ago, but now known by other names. The Rutgers and Van Woerts would search in vain for ancestors, were it not for the Albany records; and perhaps would be surprised to find that they sprang from the same family, bearing the strange name, Van Schoenderwoert.

they must go to a mechanic of Beverwyck. If their blankets and stockings were worn, their women could not mend and darn them, but they were thrown aside for new ones. When they were about to make a raid upon their enemies, they would find that their powder-horns and bullet-pouches needed replenishing. On such occasions they would send their wisest sachems and shrewdest politicians on an embassy to the Dutch. Arriving at Beverwyck, the ambassadors would probably announce their intention to march against some distant tribe, perhaps one in league with the French of Canada, and ask, as a great favor, that their friends should pursue a strict neutrality, and not furnish their enemy with "powder and balls." Then they would utter their complaints—that they were not as courteously received as they should be, that the prices of blankets and rum were extravagantly high, that they had to pay too much for repairing their guns. On the whole, they would assume the airs of greatly injured friends, who had come to "renew the covenant-chain, and make each link shine like silver," but were sorely disappointed with their reception. The Dutch, apparently alarmed, would make a soothing reply, and at the end of each sentence present them with a portion of the coveted ammunition. The speech, but especially the powder and balls, would be received with marks of approbation, and the conference would close with shouts of joy. Schuyler was one of the delegates at such a meeting, in November, 1655. This was his first appearance in public life. Soon afterward he was one of a committee to visit the Mohawk country on a mission of friendship; and thenceforward he took an active part in Indian affairs. He was always the friend of the Indians, and treated them with great kindness. Near his village residence he built a house for their accommodation, when business or pleasure brought them to Bever-

wyck. On his farm, the Flatts, where he resided during the summer months, the Indian sachems were welcome guests, occupying the great barn for lodgings, and the lawn in the rear of the house for their kitchen and dining-room. Often the more prominent of the chiefs had seats at his table. Surrounded by Indians in close proximity, his family slept soundly and securely. With fair and honorable treatment they became his fast friends. His sons followed his example, and laid the foundation for future influence. His friendship for the Indians was long remembered, and its story told by them to their children. Many years after his death, when a new generation had sprung up, they presented to his youngest daughter two thousand acres of land on the north bank of their river, "in remembrance of the kindness of her father and mother."

After Director Stuyvesant, acting under instructions of the Company, had assumed control of the village of Beverwyck, he changed its name to that of the fort, and it was afterward known as Fort Orange, until the English period, when it was called Albany. It was the residence of a vice-director, or deputy, who was the chief officer, civil and military. The magistrates were called commissaries, of whom three or more formed a court of common pleas. The vice-director was appointed by the director-general, who also appointed the commissaries from a double nomination made by the outgoing board. Philip Schuyler was nominated to the office, in 1655, and appointed the following year. He held the position seven years under Stuyvesant, was reappointed by Governor Nicolls, and was retained in the place, except at short intervals, until near the end of his life.

Governor Andros, soon after his arrival, addressed to Schuyler the following letter, which is a literal copy of the record :

Capt. Philip Schuyler,

Whereas, upon the usuall
returne of the nominacon of Commissarys for ensuing
year, a commission is herewth sent for the same. These
are to give you thanks for your paines, and care in acquit-
ting your selfe of the trust hitherto reposed in you, and to
desire and authorise you, to Administer the usual Oaths
to the present persons appointed to compose s^d Court.
Actum in New York 5th day of Octb^r 1678.

E. ANDROSS.

Schuyler was commissioned captain of a company of "floote" in Albany, November 1, 1667, and two years after captain of a company at Schenectady. Why the latter? He was never a resident of Schenectady. Perhaps that he might command all the militia of Albany and vicinity, as there was no higher officer.

The early Dutch of Albany always manifested much respect for "fatherland," or "patria," as they affectionately termed their native country. They loved her institutions, and endeavored to imitate them in their new home. Her church and schools especially were held in fond remembrance. Their first care, when only few in number, was to erect a church and settle a minister educated in Holland, and ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam, who should also be the teacher of their children. The first minister, Rev. Johannes Megapolensis, arrived in August, 1642, and the next year a church was erected near the present steamboat landing. Its dimensions were small, being nineteen feet by thirty-four. It contained a pulpit with a canopy, seats for the deacons and magistrates, and nine benches for the congregation. The pulpit, seats and benches cost eighty guilders. Whatever the edifice lacked in size and dignity, the minister furnished in piety and ability. He was one of the strong men of early times.

Some years later he became the pastor of the church in New Amsterdam, was one of Stuyvesant's advisers when he surrendered to the English, and officiated in the church until his death. The little church of Beverwyck accommodated the people for thirteen years.

In 1656, a larger edifice was built at the junction of State Street and Broadway. In this connection the following paper is curious :

In Beverwyck, Anno 1656, on the 13th of May. We, the undersigned Commissaries, acknowledge that we have contracted and agreed with Jan Van Aecken, that we shall have the liberty to set the church as far on his smithy as the width of the door, on condition that we set up his house according to the regulation of Rene Janssen and leave a proper lot for the bakery, and remove the great house at our own expense.

RUTGER JACOBSEN,
ANDRIES HERBITSEN,

This is the mark H of GORSEN GERRITSE,
DIRK JANSSEN CROON.

[Witness.]

JACOB JANSSE SCHERMERHOORNE,
PHILIP PIETERSE.

This bond was drawn and signed by the magistrates. The verbiage of a modern era would cover more paper, but would be no stronger or definite. The church then erected stood until 1715, when a new structure was built around it, and when completed the old one was removed. The building of 1715 was occupied until 1806, when the congregation divided, one party erecting the church on North Pearl Street, and the other a fine edifice on Beaver Street.

When the church of 1656 was built, many of the inhabitants of Beverwyck, or Fort Orange, had become men of





FILYP PIETERSEN SCHVYLER
COMMISSARIS
1656.

substance. The corner-stone was laid by the oldest magistrate, Rutger Jacobsen, with the usual ceremonies of modern times, in presence of the authorities and the assembled inhabitants. The patroon contributed one thousand guilders, and the village authorities fifteen hundred. The congregation subscribed twenty-five beavers for the purchase of a pulpit in Holland, to which was added seventy-five guilders by the West India Company, who also presented a bell "to adorn the little church." The pulpit and a fragment of the bell are yet preserved by the Dutch Church of Albany.

For the purpose of adding to the "church adornments," some of its richer members were permitted to have their armorial bearings painted upon its windows. Among them were the Patroon Van Rensselaer, Wendel, Schuyler, and Andries Herbitsen Constaple Van der Blaas. The arms of the latter covered twelve lights of a large window. Schuyler's were painted on one large central light of another. When the church was demolished, the paintings were put into the new one. When this was taken down, in 1806, the arms were preserved by the families to whom they belonged. I saw the Schuyler arms in 1877. The glass had been broken by a careless artist, who was making a copy. The pieces had been carefully arranged and held in place by cement. It was in the hands of a lineal descendant, who valued it highly. Some two years afterward it was broken by an accident into minute fragments, some of which were lost, so that it could not be reconstructed. Happily copies had been made, and the accompanying woodcut gives an exact representation. These paintings could scarcely have been done in Albany at that early day, when there were no artists, or appliances to finish the work. The name underneath, "Filyp Pietersen Schuyler," seems to prove that it was done abroad. Schuy-

ler never spelled Philip, or Pieterse, or Schuyler in that way. The obscurity hanging over the early family history makes it now impossible to say how Schuyler obtained the right to coat armor. But its use in this public and official way, in connection with the arms of families whose right to them was unquestionable, shows that it was undisputed.

As in Holland there was a certain connection between the church and state, so in New Netherland. The civil authorities of the place erected the church building, and paid the minister's salary. For ordinary expenses and the support of the poor of the congregation, the church provided, generally by collections in the church, which were placed in the custody of the deacons, and by them dispensed, one of their number acting as treasurer. When the collections amounted to more than was required, the balance was loaned on interest, or invested in beavers to be sold when the market would pay a profit. At the close of the fiscal year 1683, there was in the treasury the sum of thirteen thousand guilders, wampum currency. The church always had a number of poor to assist or support. When they died, they were buried with all the usual forms and ceremonies. It was the custom at funerals to provide entertainment for those invited to attend. On such occasions wines and liquors, pipes and tobacco, bore a prominent part. At a funeral of one of the poor the deacons paid thirty-five guilders for five cans of "brandawyn." Schuyler was an officer of the church many years, and in all things relating to its affairs bore an active part.

Schuyler's business transactions were large and varied. We can only account for their volume on the supposition that he had a considerable capital or unlimited credit. He dealt in assorted merchandise, and in lands. The latter did not require much money, for lands were very cheap. Even at that early period the Indians had disposed

of large tracts to satisfy their tastes for finery and trilles, or their appetite for rum. Large stocks of merchandise, however, required ready money or untarnished credit. Schuyler sold on credit, but was careful to have security. He sold a bill of goods to a discharged soldier, but took an assignment of his claims for services on the West India Company. The soldier went into the bush to barter with the Indians. He never returned. He was robbed and murdered by some covetous Indian. Some years after the claim with the assignment was presented to the Company and paid. He sold a bill of goods amounting to 2562½ guilders, for which he received the following bill of exchange, bond and mortgage all in one. A similar instrument in these days would have been in three documents, covering several pages of foolscap. Of course it was recorded.

I, the undersigned, Juriaen Tyssen van Amsterdam, acknowledge and confess, that I have well and truly received of the honorable Philip Pieterse Schuyler, the sum of twenty-five hundred sixty-two and a half guilders, to be paid by me on my account in Holland, to wit, in good current money, six months after the showing of this to Myn-dert Andryesse,¹ pork buyer, or Jacob Janse Schermerhooren, now ready to depart thither; growing out of goods received here; the aforesaid payment to be made punctually, under a pledge of my person and estate, personal and real, present and future, submitting them to all laws and judges.

In witness whereof, without craft or guile, two of the same tenor are signed; the one being paid, the other of no value; in Fort Orange, of the date the 29th of August, 1654.

JURYAN TEYSSEN.

In my presence,

JOHANNES DYCKMAN.

¹ His wife was a cousin of Schuyler's.

Payment was to be made, not in beavers or seawant, the currency of the country, but in solid cash, the currency of Holland.

Subsequently he sold to Thomas Willet, formerly of New Plymouth, but now the first English mayor of New York, an invoice of beavers, for which he was to receive "four hundred ells of the best English cloth, half blue and half red, like the samples exhibited," which was to be delivered "at the furthest next May." For security Willet gave a bond and mortgage.

I have copied some papers and stated some facts, not only to show Schuyler's business transactions, but to illustrate the times in which he lived. I cannot resist the temptation to copy another paper to which he was a witness, as valuable in showing some of the forms observed in the society of that period, and the tenure of family property in Holland and in the colony.

In the name of the Lord, Amen. Be it known by the contents of this present instrument, that in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, Sixteen hundred fifty and seven, on the thirtieth day of the month of July, before me, Johannes La Montagne, etc., and in the presence of the after named witnesses, appeared the honorable Goosen Gerritse, widower of Gerritie Brant, bridegroom, on the one side, and Annetie Lievens, daughter of Lievens Janssen, bride, of the other side, who declared for God's honor, they are resolved upon a future marriage, and before the bans of the same, have willingly made the following contract.

First : for the maintenance of this marriage, the aforesaid married people shall mutually bring together and bestow all their goods and effects, however much of whatever kind and nature, in whatever place, and with whatever person the same may lie out, standing and remaining ; none of those effects are to be excepted, which they at present possess, and which it is just should be possessed in

common by them, according to the custom of Holland ; except that on the part of the bridegroom there shall be reserved six thousand guilders for his four children left by Gerritie Brant, his late wife, to wit, Geertjien Goossen, Gerrit Goossen, Sybrant Goossen, and Anthony Goossen, for their contingent possession from their late mother ; which sum shall remain in common, or in the hands respectively of the bridegroom and bride, until the time that each of the said children comes to competent age, or the marriage state, at which time to each one of the same shall be given his contingent possession without rent or interest ; there is also excepted all the clothing and jewels of Gerritie Brant, his late wife, which she in her lifetime gave to Geertjien Goossen, his oldest daughter, which, or the value of them, shall be given to her at her majority or marriage ; provided that the other three children, each out of his portion, be assessed as the aforesaid clothing and jewels shall be estimated by two impartial persons, which portion shall be taken from the aforesaid sum of six thousand guilders. Item, that the aforesaid children shall be brought up and maintained in victuals and clothes until their majority, or marriage, without lessening their maternal portion, using only the income of the aforesaid six thousand guilders ; which marriage and conditions the said bridegroom and bride promise to keep without craft or guile, on pledge of their persons and estate, personal and real, submitting the same to all laws and judges.

Done in the village of Beverwyck *ut supra*, in presence of Philip Pieterse and Johannes Provoost.

This is the mark + of GOOSSEN GERRITSE.

ANNETJE LIEVENS.

PHILIP PIETERSE SCHUYLER

JOHANNES PROVOOST, witness

acknowledged before me,

LA MONTAGNE,¹ Deputy at Fort Orange.

¹ Dyckman, the Deputy, who had threatened Schuyler's life in 1652, was about three years afterward pronounced deranged, and removed. La Montagne, a French Huguenot, a man of education, and a lawyer by profession, was appointed his successor.

After the marriage of the contracting parties, a former suitor of the bride incautiously reported that he had a prior claim to her hand. Goosen Gerritse promptly prosecuted him for slander before the director-general and Council, the highest court of the province. The defendant, unable to sustain his charge, acknowledged himself guilty, and threw himself upon the mercy of the court. Gerritse was satisfied, and withdrew the suit. From other documents we learn by inference that Annetje Lievens was lively and popular in her society. She was a belle, and perhaps a coquette. She became an affectionate wife and mother. The older children had no cause to regret their father's choice.

Schuyler's transactions in real estate were very numerous. They were not confined to one locality, although much the larger part was in and about Albany. The rights of the Indians as proprietors of the soil were recognized, and no one was allowed to occupy any tract, however small, without first procuring a title from the Indian owner. There was little difficulty in procuring all the lands required, their proprietors being usually ready to dispose of any quantity for a small consideration. Van Rensselaer had purchased all the land in the vicinity of Beverwyck. As a rule he leased village lots and farms on long and easy terms. When he sold, it was on condition that the purchaser should yearly give him some recognition of his "staple right;" sometimes a "barley-corn," or a "couple of hens," or some wheat, or other grain. If one wished to own lands in fee he must go outside the limits of Rensselaerwyck. When Stuyvesant took for the West India Company the lands around Fort Orange, the tenants of Van Rensselaer procured "ground briefs," or deeds from the director-general; Van Rensselaer himself had to submit to this requirement. He moved his residence

beyond the bounds of Fort Orange, but he could not move his garden, for which Schuyler procured a patent, and transferred it to him. The Company bought lands of the Indians, and sold them in lots to suit purchasers at a nominal price. Its transactions, however, were confined to Manhattan Island and vicinity, Esopus excepted. At first individual purchases from the Indians were unlimited as to quantity. But it was soon discovered that the privilege was abused, a few individuals buying all the best lands as they came into market. Stuyvesant accordingly required private persons to procure a license, in which the tract or parcel must be described. After the Indian deed was exhibited to him he issued a patent. To correct some of the evils which had grown up under the former system, he cancelled a few patents for larger tracts than the purchaser could improve. When the English came into possession, lands were again thrown open to private enterprise. Again the same abuses were the consequence. After the lapse of thirty-five years, Lord Bellamont, then governor, claimed that all the available lands of the province were in the hands of a few individuals. He procured the enactment of a law vacating some of the larger patents; and of another limiting the quantity to two thousand acres, which was afterward reduced to one thousand. Members of the council and speculators found an easy way to evade the limitations. If an individual wanted a large tract containing many thousand acres, he would procure the requisite number of friends, or "hired persons," to join him in the petition, each for two thousand, or one thousand acres. After the Indian deed had been made, and the patent issued, he would invite his friends to a generous dinner; when the cloth was removed he would produce a deed, in which they severally conveyed their interest in the patent to their chief. Sir

William Johnson, the celebrated superintendent of Indian affairs, devised a still easier way to become possessed of a princely tract. He lived on the Mohawk River, near Amsterdam, and had an Indian wife, daughter of a chief. The Mohawk Indians needed little persuasion to give him a deed for a tract of land on the north side of the Mohawk River, between the East and West Canada Creeks. After the Indian deed was received, Johnson formed a company of forty persons, mostly his dependants, who petitioned Lieutenant-Governor Colden for a license to *purchase* the tract, estimated to contain forty thousand acres. The petition had the usual reference to a committee of the council who reported adversely. Such a report was probably expected, and Johnson apparently took no other steps to secure a patent in the usual way. Some years elapsed, when he appealed directly to the king, and obtained a "Royal Grant." In his will it appears the tract estimated at forty thousand acres actually contained over ninety-two thousand.

Schuyler's first purchases of real estate were in Albany, for his own use and occupancy, and shortly afterward, two houses and lots in New Amsterdam, "one being a great new house, the other a small old one," and a vacant lot adjoining. Together they were nine rods and eight feet on the street, and in depth "eighteen rods, two feet, five inches and six peppercorns." The location is now known as the southeast corner of Broadway and Exchange Place, New York. Subsequently he bought a lot on the west side of Broadway, corner of Rector Street, six rods, four feet front, and running west to the river. He also purchased a store-building and dwelling in New York, on a street near the East River. Neither the street nor its name appear on the present maps of New York. It was opposite the West India Company's warehouses. When those were demolished, the street was incorporated

in the block, and Winckle Street is now only known to antiquaries.

I do not propose to follow him through all his real estate transactions, but notice only his most important purchases. These will give us a better knowledge of the man and his times. They will also provide some data for the use of others who are pursuing similar studies. There is one small purchase, however, that I must mention for the sake of a name. It is the most curious of the many curious names to be found in the early records.

He bought at public sale a lot and house, "as it stands, with all that is fast by earth and nailed, which house is thirty-seven and a half feet long, and twenty-six feet broad," of a tavern-keeper, by name

Pieter Adriaense Sorgemakelyk Van Woggelum.

Schuyler owned houses in Albany, on Broadway, State Street, Beaver Street, and North Pearl Street, where he resided at different times. His lot on Beaver Street was large, affording ample space on which to build a house for his Indian friends. After he bought the Flatts, he erected a new house on North Pearl Street for winter use, in which he died.

On September 2, 1671, he bought a large house and lot of Captain Thomas Willet, late Mayor of New York. I only mention it for the sake of its historical value. In the patent granted to Willet by Governor Nicolls, it is recited "that a certain house and lot at Albany, late in the tenure and occupancy of Peter Van Allen," "which stand forfeited and confiscated to his majesty as belonging to a subject of the States-General of the United Belgic Provinces." Peter Van Allen had adhered to his government, and refused to take the oath of allegiance to the crown of England. Hence his property was confiscated.

The confiscation of Tory and Loyalist property after the Revolution thus followed the example set by the English themselves when they took possession of the province. This lot was on the north side of State Street, a short distance above Broadway. The next year Schuyler sold the property on contract to Jeremias Van Rensselaer, resident-director of Rensselaerwyck, and in 1679, gave a deed therefor to his widow, "Juffrow Maria Van Rensselaer."

Schuyler bought a bouwery or farm of several hundred acres lying on the east side of the Hudson, which Johanna de Laet had received from Jeremiah Van Rensselaer in liquidation of her claim to a share of the manor. But this transaction more appropriately belongs to what will be said hereafter on the manor of Rensselaerwyck.

THE NEW VILLAGE AT ESOPUS.

Among the land patents, I discovered one to Philip Schuyler for farming lands and village lots at Esopus, now Kingston, N. Y. I was curious to learn what had induced him to make this venture at a place so far from home, exposed as it was to attacks by surrounding Indians not always friendly. There were then but few white inhabitants between Fort Orange and New Amsterdam, and the country remained as it was when first discovered, occupied on both sides the river by numerous clans or tribes of Mohegans and Mincees. It was claimed by the West India Company that a fort had been built at the Esopus in 1614. If so, it had been soon abandoned and destroyed. De Vries, in his voyage (1639) up and down the river, anchored his yacht at the mouth of the creek. He notes that "there is some good maize land upon which some Indians dwell." Had there been a fort, or white inhabitants, he would doubtless have mentioned it. There were several creeks

or small rivers flowing into each other, or into the Hudson, along whose banks there were thousands of acres of rich farming land, occupied by a tribe of fierce and treacherous Indians, who were nearly related to the Delawares and to the New Jersey savages. The principal river opened an easy path to the Delaware, and gave them ready communication with their kindred tribes, who were of the same stock as those occupying the east shore of the Hudson. Its communication with the interior afforded facilities for the fur trade, which, with its rich lands, made it a desirable place for settlement.

The tenants of Van Rensselaer, as their terms of service expired, desired to have farms of their own, and become freemen. But to obtain lands they had to go outside the manor a distance of some miles in any direction, and cut loose from white settlements. Here and there a family had located on the banks of the Hudson below the manor, living in isolated places among the savages. While near the Mohawks, their friends, they had little to fear from other Indians, but when beyond their immediate neighborhood there was no assurance of safety. It required strong nerves, and more than ordinary self-reliance, to take up a farm as far off as Esopus. Men were found, however, to undertake the enterprise, and take the risk.

Thomas Chambers, an Englishman, who had lived in Holland, a carpenter by trade, found his way to New Amsterdam in 1642, and thence to Beverwyck, where he became a tenant farmer of Van Rensselaer. He was successful in agriculture, and soon aspired to the dignity of a land owner in a country where land was abundant and cheap. He visited Esopus and bought a farm of the Indians in 1652, for which, the next year, he procured a patent from Stuyvesant. Christopher Davids, a brother Englishman, soon after joined him. The way being

opened, others were not slow in availing themselves of the opportunity thus presented to procure lands of their own. Even De Hulter, and his wife, the accomplished daughter of De Laet, purchased a tract of one thousand acres, and would have become residents had he lived. The settlement was prospering, when in consequence of the Indian outbreak at New Amsterdam and vicinity, in 1655, such a terror prevailed that all the isolated settlers forsook their farms, and sought safety in the fortified towns. Chambers and his neighbors fled to Beverwyck, abandoning their buildings and growing crops to the savages. When the excitement subsided, and comparative peace had been secured by the wise measures of Stuyvesant, they returned, and were joined by some others. For the next two years this little colony in the wilderness grew and prospered. On the first of May, 1658, there were between sixty and seventy inhabitants of different nationalities, chiefly Dutch, who had nine hundred and ninety schepels of grain in the ground. But there was no fortification, not even a house strong enough to resist an attack. The buildings were frail structures, roofed with straw or reeds, hardly affording shelter from the elements, much less security from enemies. There was no place to which the people could flee for protection in case the Indians became hostile. The inhabitants of Beverwyck had lived so many years in perfect security in the midst of savages, that they had become indifferent to possible dangers, and when they removed to Esopus they imagined themselves equally safe. They had formed their estimate of Indian character from that of the Mohawks, who were true to their pledges and firm in their friendships. The Indians of Esopus were of a different race, fickle, untruthful, and treacherous. Had the colonists known them as they afterward learned to know them, doubtless they would not have lived each one

on his farm, but would have grouped their houses together, and surrounded them with stockades,—they would at least have built some stronghold as a place of refuge for their families. Living apart, they were always at the mercy of their savage neighbors.

The history of Esopus for the next five years forms the saddest of all the sad chapters in the history of New Netherland. On the first of May, 1658, a drunken savage shot and killed a man standing on the deck of a sloop lying at the landing-place, and then burned his house on the strand, his wife and children having escaped. The Indians now began a systematic persecution of the whites. They compelled them to plough their corn patches; threatening, by a lighted torch held to the roof, to burn their houses over their heads. They scoffingly told them that if they killed them they could settle it by a few fathoms of wampum, and in various ways so insulted them that they dared not expose themselves in their fields. They wrote to Stuyvesant appealing for protection. In a most pathetic letter, written by their teacher and consoler of the sick, they say: "Christ did not desert us, but saved us by his own blood; therefore do you not, our brothers, desert us, but come quickly to our help."

Stuyvesant, ever prompt to protect the people in his charge, or to be present when there was any fighting to be done, responded to the appeal by leading sixty soldiers to their assistance. Having arrived at the mouth of the creek, he ordered his troops to land with the least possible noise, so that the savages might not be alarmed. Two Indians, who lived near the landing, were engaged to carry a peaceful message to their sachems. Thomas Chambers and Andries Van der Shuys, the teacher, who had been induced by "their longing for the expected help" to come down to the shore to look out for the vessels, met

him at the strand, and conducted him and his soldiers to Chambers' house, four miles inland. The next day he marched to the house where the settlers were accustomed to hold their religious services, and conferred with the leading inhabitants as to the best course to be taken, all circumstances considered. He was opposed to hostilities at that time, because the country was not prepared for a general war, which would be likely to follow a war on the Esopus savages. Besides, the harvest, which promised a large yield, was near at hand, and, in case of war, might be utterly destroyed, to the damage not only of the farmers, but of the entire province. He preferred such measures as would preserve the peace, while protecting the people, and impressing the savages with his power to force them to make atonement for past offences, and to become more circumspect in future. In his heart, however, as revealed in a letter to the West India Company, he longed for a fitting opportunity to give a vigorous blow to some one of the most insolent tribes, and by its destruction warn the others of a like fate.

He advised the farmers to remove their houses and barns to some one locality, and to surround them with palisades. To this project they objected, on account of the labor and expense, and asked him to station some soldiers among them, at least until after the harvest. To this Stuyvesant could not consent. The more they cavilled, the more he insisted. It was at last arranged according to Stuyvesant's wishes, and they signed an agreement, "to pull down our scattered habitations, and to move close to each other to the place indicated by the Honorable General," who had promised to assist them with the soldiers, and leave some of them as a guard.

On the day appointed, the Indian sachems met him under a tree, and held a long conference, in which it was

distinctly stated to them, that the Dutch first came to Esopus on their urgent solicitation, and did not occupy one foot of their land which had not been duly bought and paid for. The Indians began by rehearsing the events of the war of 1643, in which some of their people had been killed. But Stuyvesant, interrupting them, said that those things had been done before his time, and had been settled by the peace. Since he had come they had nothing to complain of, as he had treated them with courtesy and kindness. In view of his uniform peaceful treatment of them, and their anxiety to have the Dutch settle among them, he asked why they had committed the murder, and perpetrated other outrages? They hung their heads in silence, and looked on the ground, but at last replied, that it was occasioned by the *boisson* the Dutch had sold them; that this *boisson*, or brandy, made them crazy, and their young men were uncontrollable, and even then were spoiling for a fight. At this Stuyvesant sprang up, and challenged them to fight then and there, offering to match one against two, for now was the time for it, when they could meet men face to face, and not women and children. Stuyvesant then told them that he did not now come to fight them, or do them any harm, but to remove his people to some convenient place, which should be secured by a palisade, where they would not be subject to insults and annoyances. He would forbid them to furnish any rum to the Indians; and thus there would be no excuse to murder peaceable citizens, and destroy their property. They must, however, secure the murderer, and deliver him into his hands for punishment; they must also pay for the houses and buildings they had burned, and the stock they had destroyed. Then there might be peace between them. As the day was far spent, the Indians retired to their wigwams, and Stuyvesant to advise with his officers and the citizens.

The next day the place for the concentrated settlement or village was selected, and the lines run for the stockade. The Indians came in the afternoon, and asked that war might not be made upon them on account of the late occurrences, as they would not repeat the injuries. They were ashamed that the challenge to fight had not been accepted, and hoped it would not be reported to their prejudice, for they now put aside all malice, and hereafter would do no harm to any one. Presents of wampum were exchanged in ratification of the treaty. Before the Indians left, they were asked to sell the land which had been chosen for the village, because it was always the practice of the Dutch to buy the lands they occupied.

The next day was Sunday, and there was rest in the camp. On Monday all hands, citizens and soldiers, began the work of building a fortified village, and while thus employed a large body of Indians appeared. Their chiefs asked an interview with Stuyvesant, which was readily given. They told him that they had agreed to give him the land for the village "to grease his feet for the long journey he had made to come to them." They repeated their former promises, saying that hereafter they would live with the Dutch like brothers.

The work on the stockade, and the removal of the buildings within the enclosure, were prosecuted with zeal. Meantime Stuyvesant sailed up to Fort Orange to procure some planks and other materials for building, returning on June 12th. Carpenters were sent from Fort Orange to assist. There was some delay occasioned by rains, but the work was completed by June 21st; and Stuyvesant with half the troops embarked for home, leaving twenty-four soldiers and an officer, to occupy the barracks which had been erected within the palisades.

Stuyvesant had become possessed of some farming lands at Esopus, which he had intended to cultivate, but had been deterred heretofore by the unsettled state of the country. Now he had erected a barn under the superintendence of his carpenter, Frederick Philipse,¹ and soon after sent up a farmer furnished with all the necessary stock and tools. It was a rich farming country, and if settled with small farmers protected from the Indians could produce grain enough for all New Netherland. To secure protection, besides the fortified village, a *ronduit* or redoubt, was built at the landing-place, according to instructions from the Company.

Stuyvesant had no sooner submitted his report to the Council, than he received a letter from the officer left at the Esopus, saying that the Indians were becoming insolent, and had killed a horse belonging to one of the farmers. Some of them who had not been present during the negotiations were very angry that the challenge to fight had not been accepted. Their taunts raised a great commotion among the savages, so that five hundred of them gathered around the village threatening an attack. Some of the farmers had not yet removed their dwellings and barns within the stockade, and were exposed to instant destruction. Andries Louwrens wrote urgently for advice and ammunition. But he found means to ap-

¹ Five years afterward, Philipse was engaged in merchandise, and in the fall of 1663, in company with two other New Amsterdam merchants, rode with six wagon-loads of wheat from this village to the strand without an escort. In 1674 he was the richest man in New York, and when he died, in 1702, he was the richest man in America, and lord of the manor of Philipsburg.

The fact that Frederick Philipse was a carpenter is probably of itself enough to disprove the fabulous genealogy inserted in Bolton's History of Westchester County, which would trace the family to a certain Hussite Viscount Felyps of Bohemia. It is true that Bohemia was a strange country, according to Shakespeare, but in point of fact it never owned the title of viscount.

peace the savages, and they dispersed, saying, however, that they would soon return. Affairs were in such a critical state that it was believed by the council to be advisable for the director-general again to visit the settlement, which he did with fifty soldiers.

On his arrival, on October 15th, he held a conference with some of the leading sachems, in which he demanded full satisfaction and compensation, and a grant of the large plain on the creek, as indemnity for the trouble and expense. At a second conference the Indians apparently assented to the most of the Dutch demands, and were given until the next day to consult among themselves, and come to a final agreement. They did not keep their appointment, and as Stuyvesant's business required despatch, he sent two interpreters to their wigwams to learn the reasons of their absence. They told the interpreters plainly "they had no intention of giving satisfaction, and that what they had said and done yesterday was of no consequence." Stuyvesant seeing that nothing more could be accomplished, and affairs at Manhattan requiring his presence, left fifty soldiers in charge of Ensign Dirck Smith, with instructions to be watchful, give no offence to the Indians, and protect the farmers while ploughing and seeding; and then sailed for home.

The Indians evidently stood in awe of the soldiers. They visited the settlement almost daily, and made many fair promises, which were not kept. At last, in a long conference, they gave the land demanded, but wished a present in return. As there was now a solid peace, they said, they hoped there was "nothing to fear from the soldiers." The mere presence of this small band of armed men had brought them to terms. The negotiation had occupied much of the day, and when the terms had been agreed on, the ensign, Stoll, and Chambers rode out to

view the lands. On their return they wrote their report, adding in a postscript :

“All this talking has been done with dry lips. Your honor may imagine how zealously we have sat here with these kings ; but we hope your honor will remember his servants, and give us something good for our lungs, which we could apply ourselves if we had it.”

The following winter passed in comparative quiet. In the spring the Indians again began to murmur and threaten, because they had not received the expected present. In July, warning was given that the settlers must be on their guard, as the savages were watching their opportunity, which they supposed they would have in harvest time, when the men would be scattered through their fields. The director was ill, but sent up Dominic Megapolensis to advise, console the sick, and procure information. Ensign Smith, who had gone to Manhattan leaving Sergeant Louressen in charge of the small garrison, now returned to his responsible and dangerous post. Rev. Harmanus Bloem, soon to become the minister at Esopus, was of the party. He had recently arrived from Holland to supply some one of the vacant places, and had been persuaded to visit this outpost of civilization before accepting a call elsewhere. Some of the sachems soon called upon them, and made several complaints as to their treatment by the Dutch, and chiefly that the honorable general had not fulfilled his promise as to presents.

Although the people hastened to call on Dominic Bloem to become their pastor, they could not suppress their fears that the Indians meant them no good, and intended to destroy them at the first favorable opportunity. They could not turn a deaf ear to the warnings they had received. They urgently asked for means of defence, and

that the general would visit them, to inspire confidence in the settlers, and awe the Indians as well. Their intercourse had become so straitened that the usual occupations on the farms had been neglected. Finally about one hundred Indians, apparently to disarm suspicion, came to the village with their women and children, and in a friendly way advised the Dutch to go on with their farming without fear, as they were resolved to keep the peace and do them no harm. But they could not understand why a fort had been built, for it would have been more convenient for the farmers to gather their crops, attend to their work, and live on their farms as formerly. Meanwhile the people and the general were not deceived;—the former were circumspect and watchful, and the general sent more soldiers, with three cannon, under the command of Dirck Smith.

The opportunity for which the Indians were waiting came full soon. On September 17th, Stuyvesant's farmer reported to him that the savages were "very quiet," but that their intentions were little known. On the night of the 19th the quiet was broken, and a new war commenced. Some savages were raising an uproar near the village, and Ensign Smith sent a squad of soldiers, under command of Sergeant Louressen, to learn the cause but not to molest any one. The sergeant reported by a messenger, that there was a crowd of savages there, and asked for further instructions. Some of the citizens volunteered to go to the sergeant's assistance. A collision occurred, in which one Indian was killed, another wounded, and one taken prisoner. Accounts differ as to which party was the aggressor. The soldiers and citizens reported that the Indians fired upon them, but the Catskill Indians, several days after the occurrence, reported at Fort Orange that the Dutch were the first to fire. They gave a minute and

plausible account of the whole affair. In substance it is this : That some Indians had been plucking corn for Thomas Chambers, and after their work was finished they asked him for some rum, which he gave them. They then retired to the bushes near the village and drank from the bottle. When the liquor was exhausted, about midnight, they wanted more, and one of them with the empty bottle went to the fort, where he procured a supply from a soldier. After the bottle was once passed around, they began to fight among themselves, and one more drunken than the rest twice fired off his gun, with powder only. One of their number left them, and the rest laid down to sleep, when the Dutch came and fired into them, killing one and wounding another.

Some writers have accepted this latter version without a question, and relate the story as credible history. It was only an Indian story, and should be received with reserve. But whoever had been the aggressor, there was now cause for war. The day following the encounter a party of soldiers and citizens went to the river, and on their return were captured by the Indians without resistance. The unharvested grain, and all property within their reach, was destroyed. Unable to penetrate the village, the Indians fired burning arrows upon the thatched dwellings and barns. The numbers of the hostile tribe were increased by neighboring clans, until there were five hundred yelling savages holding a close investment of the fortified place. No one could go outside the stockade except at the risk of his life, and all seemed doomed to destruction. The poor prisoners were put to death one by one, suffering horrible torments. Two of them were brought within sight of their friends, and after suffering terrible mutilation and tortures were burned at the stake.

Only during the night, when the Indians slept, as is

their custom, could the besieged find any rest. Under the cover of darkness Ensign Smith contrived to send a messenger to the general conveying the news of their condition. It was wholly unexpected. Stuyvesant, believing from all the information he had previously received, that it was safe to withdraw the military from Esopus, had ordered the soldiers to return, and the sloop in which Ensign Smith designed to embark brought his alarming message. He was unprepared to render prompt assistance, having under pressing necessity sent sixty men and officers to the Delaware, leaving only six invalids to garrison the fort at New Amsterdam. He consulted with his Council and the officers of the militia, who advised him to call for volunteers. After wasting much precious time, and procuring only a half dozen men, he caused the three companies of militia to parade under arms, and after a feeling address he again called for volunteers. Only twenty-five men responded to the call. These were not enough. One entire company was then drafted for the service. These with the company's employés, servants from his own house and farm, twenty English from the villages on Long Island, and as many Indians, "our friends," made up a force of nearly two hundred men. With this little army he sailed for Esopus, on October 6th, and arrived on the 10th. The savages had raised the siege shortly before, after a furious attack upon the village, in which they killed one man, wounded several, and burned with their fire-burning arrows one dwelling-house and four grain-stacks. They had besieged the place twenty-three days.

Nothing was to be gained by a pursuit, as by recent rains the lowlands were under water, and the savages beyond his reach. After supplying the village with military stores and medicines, he returned to the river. An incident

occurred while the men were going aboard the vessels which caused him great disgust. The barking of a dog, which the citizen-soldiers mistook for the Indian war-whoop, caused such a stampede among them that, preferring drowning to capture, many of them plunged into the river.

Through the influence of the vice-director at Fort Orange, some Mohawks and Mohegan sachems went to the Esopus, and induced the Indians to surrender two of their prisoners who were yet alive, and agree to an armistice much needed by the farmers. Ensign Smith, writing on this subject, said, "We behave ourselves as friends, but they show themselves as rascals." The armistice was for no definite time. The Indians were profuse in their expressions of friendship, but generally failed to keep their promises. Stuyvesant perceiving that they were not sincere, and learning from trustworthy sources that they were only waiting an opportunity to strike another blow, determined to fight them with their own tactics. He confidentially instructed Ensign Smith to preserve the appearance of friendship, and watch his opportunity; when twelve or more of their leading men were in his power, to seize them and hold them as prisoners. After securing his prisoners, he was directed to attack their nearest wigwams with all his forces. The ensign was a brave man, and worthy the confidence of his chief. He conducted himself with skill and prudence, keeping his own counsel. As the Indians came to trade he took their venison, paying fair prices in such goods as were required, even to a "small box of powder." "We do not trust them far, nor they us." "We are waiting for the same they are waiting for." Meantime Stuyvesant consulted his Council and the burgomasters on the question of war. It was their unanimous opinion that the savages ought to be punished, but that the time should be deferred to the next autumn.

As soon as the river opened, in March, 1660, the director hastened to the Esopus. Ensign Smith had obeyed instructions. He had captured "twelve of the principal runners and ringleaders," and was on an expedition against an Indian village, when Stuyvesant arrived. War against the savages was immediately proclaimed. The forces at Esopus were re-enforced. The Indians were insulting and aggressive with their tongues, bidding the ensign to hang the prisoners if he would, but that they would fight. Having received notice that the Indians intended to attack him in the night, he marched his men to a convenient place and lay in ambush. When discovered, too soon for his purpose, he attacked them and put them to flight, killing and wounding some of them.

The Indians, at last convinced that open warfare was not desirable, resorted to their usual tactics, and sued for peace. Other tribes interposed their influence, and sent delegations to Stuyvesant, among them some sachems from the Delawares. They represented that the Esopus savages were willing to surrender all the lands along the creek, and make restitution of everything, provided that their captive friends were returned. On another occasion, that all the Esopus Indians were for "peace, peace," on any terms. The director gave them little encouragement, but insisted that the Esopus chiefs should make personal application. He did consent, however, to send a confidential agent to them, and learn whether they had authorized other tribes to act in their behalf, and whether they were really disposed to peace. Ensign Smith meanwhile annoyed them by excursions, and the capture of every man he could get within his toils. He inspired in them such wholesome fear that they kept out of his reach, and ceased their visits to the village.

Stuyvesant, in his numerous interviews with the neigh-

boring tribes, distinctly told them that the Indian prisoners would not be returned, because they "were all bold, hard-hearted fellows, and some of them the murderers of the Dutch prisoners;" there could be no hope of a permanent peace if they were returned to the tribe.¹ De Ruyter, his confidential agent, prevailed upon the chiefs to ask for peace. They came to Ensign Smith and avowed that they had asked the other tribes to intercede for them; that they all, sachems, warriors, and women, sincerely asked for peace; that they consented to all the conditions imposed by the Dutch sachem, including the surrender of their lands, reserving only a small piece situated at a great distance, and concluded by requesting Stuyvesant's presence to agree on a firm and lasting peace.

Stuyvesant, accompanied by the late and acting burgomasters of New Amsterdam, arrived at Esopus early in July, 1660, and on the 15th concluded a peace with the savages. It was an occasion of much ceremony and some display. Besides the burgomasters, the director was attended by a retinue of officers and civilians, such as he thought the importance of the business required. There were also present sachems of the Mohawks, the Mohegans, the Catskills, the Minquas, the Wappings, the Hackink-sackys, and the Staten Islanders. These were witnesses to the signatures of the contracting parties, while Stuyvesant, the two burgomasters, and Arent Van Curler attached their names to the treaty on the part of the Dutch, and four Esopus sachems made their marks.

In the articles of peace the Indians conveyed all the territory of the Esopus to the Dutch as an indemnity, and agreed to remove to a distance. They also promised to

¹ They were transported to the island of Curaçoa. Stuyvesant justified this disposition of them in an argument to which most persons would assent.

pay five hundred schepels of corn for the ransom they had taken for the prisoners whom they had not returned, as well as to do no injury thereafter to person or property. Nothing was said as to the transported prisoners, for Stuyvesant's resolution not to surrender them was unalterable. "Thus done and concluded at the settlement on the Esopus, under the blue sky," closes the treaty record.

It became evident within a few months that the Indians did not intend to keep the peace longer than suited their convenience or caprice. In December they were quite bold and savage, and had not yet delivered the corn. However, their conduct had given some hope of continued peace. To keep them faithful to their pledges Stuyvesant recalled two of the transported Indians, and returned them to their friends. Affairs on the whole were prospering. Rev. Harmanus Bloem had been settled as pastor of the church. The number of the inhabitants was increasing. Arrivals of new settlers were so many that more room in the village was required. The director with his retinue again visited the place, made a new distribution of lots to be enclosed with palisades, named the village Wiltwyck, appointed magistrates, commissioned Roeloff Swartwout sheriff, and ordered a parsonage to be built.

As the fur trade declined, owing to the almost continuous wars of the Five Nations against other Indian tribes, or the French in Canada, the impression became stronger day by day that other sources of profit and investment should be sought. Agriculture was profitable to those who gave it their attention, and the conviction gradually forced itself on the minds of the people, that the productions of the soil were the means to make them independent, and enrich the country. There were large tracts of fertile lands which only required the plough and the care of the laborer to yield abundant harvests. They could be

purchased at little cost. Why not, then, open up large *houweries*, or farms, and thus find use for unemployed capital? In proportion to the population, there were many who had no capital, and were ready to give their labor to others on easy terms. The negro had been introduced. His unpaid services could be made more available on the farm than in the shop.

The director-general had set the example. He had a farm on Manhattan Island, and even had recently opened another at Esopus. His example influenced others. The country of the Esopus had been surrendered to the government. It was large enough for several farms, and contained the richest land in the province. Why not improve it? It could be had for the asking. As an inducement to settlers, Stuyvesant offered to dispose of it at a nominal price to those who would work it. A few gentlemen of Beverwyck, personal friends and relatives, took the subject into consideration, and finally agreed to make a settlement and engage in farming. They preferred to locate their lands together, on recently ceded territory, and organize a **NEW VILLAGE**.

They sent the following petition to the director-general and Council :

To the Noble, Worshipful, his Honor the Director-General and the Honorable Council of *New Netherland*.

Show with all respect Philipp Pieterse Schuyler, Goosen Gerritse, together with Jan Thomase and Andries Herbertse, inhabitants of the village of *Beverwyck* near *Fort Orange*, that it is evident the prosperity of this province of *New Netherland* rests principally on agriculture and commerce; therefore the petitioners are very desirous to establish with many more people a New Village at the *Great Esopus*, where a great deal of uncultivated land lies, and the petitioners and other people are very willing and resolved

to begin farming in earnest and continue in it; they address themselves therefore to your Hon^{ble} Worships with their humble request, that your Hon^{ble} Worships will please for the benefit of the province to order a survey for a new village and farmlands on the *Great Esopus*, in the most convenient locality which may be found, and have it laid out in as many lots as the area of the land may admit; and whereas the above named petitioners are the first undertakers and settlers to enter upon and cultivate the aforesaid lands on the *Esopus*, they respectfully request, that your Hon^{ble} Worships will please to give and grant to each of them forty to fifty morgens of land (eighty to one hundred acres) at and near the spot where the new village on the *Esopus* shall be laid out: the petitioners promise, each for himself, to enter upon their allotted lands immediately, to fence, plough and sow it, to build on the lots in the village, houses, barns, etc., and to furnish the cattle necessary for such business; that the petitioners may also receive the title deeds in *debita forma* for the lands and the house lots, which doing etc., they remain

Your Hon^{ble} Worships very obedient servants,

PHILIPP PIETERSE SCHUYLER,

VOLCKERT JANSEN,¹

GOOSEN GERRITSE,²

ANDRIES HERBERTSEN.³

¹ His surname was *Douw*, although according to custom he seldom used it. He was the ancestor of the *Douw* families residing in Albany and vicinity. He emigrated, in 1638, from Frederickstadt, and settled in Beverwyck. He possessed more than ordinary business capacities, and laid the foundation of a large estate, portions of which are yet in possession of his descendants.

² Goosen Gerritse, surnamed *Van Schaick*, was a self-made man. His early education was defective, as may be inferred from the fact that until his later years he always signed with a mark. He never used his surname except to contracts and deeds. He was engaged in an extensive and profitable business, and left a large property to his heirs. *Van Schaick* is a well-known name in the annals of New York.

³ Andries Herbertsen Constapel Van der Blaas, was one of Patroon Van Rensselaer's tenants, and in 1652 took the oath of fealty with other tenants and retainers. After his term of service expired, he engaged in busi-

On April 6, 1662, the Council considered the petition, and resolved "to lay out a new settlement on the Esopus, and to accommodate the petitioners as much as occasion shall permit."

Other parties joined the petitioners, and before the 4th of May following the farms and village-lots were surveyed and allotted, although the patents were not issued until April, 1663. The village was situated some four miles west from Wiltwyck, and is now named Hurley.

Immediately after the allotment the proprietors let their farms and lots to other parties, on favorable terms, to wit; the first year rent free; the lessors furnished building materials for the houses and barns, grain for planting, a sufficient number of horses, cows, swine, "six hens and a rooster;" also, "a plough, and a cart, with all things belonging to it except plough-chains." After the first year the tenants were to pay for each farm and village-lot an annual rent of "four hundred and fifty guilders in beavers, at eight guilders each, or in grain at the market price, beaver valuation, or else in wampum, calculating a beaver at sixteen guilders."

Within a year there was a population in the New Village of about forty persons, men, women, and children, who were busily engaged in tilling the soil, too much engaged to heed the warnings of danger from the savages. Within three months after the first settlement a horse had been killed by the Indians in violation of their treaty promise, and for which they were unwilling to pay. Rum, as usual, was probably at the bottom, for notwithstanding

ness, and speculated in lands. He held the office of magistrate for one or more terms. His speculations were not successful. In the fall of 1662 he was insolvent, and a fugitive. His property was seized and sold to satisfy his creditors. It is not known that he left male descendants, and his name disappears from the records.

the laws and the vigilance of the officers, contraband traders, and the distiller, Jacobsen Backer, "who are of the devil," smuggled liquors among the Indians. The *Kintekoying*¹ of the savages near-by the village alarmed the military officers of Wiltwyck so much that they instituted regulations for drilling the militia, fearing that at any hour they might be called on to defend themselves from attack. At the New Village, on one occasion, the savages procured rum from Louis Dubo, a Walloon, son-in-law of the distiller, and became so frenzied that they threw each other into the fire.

The better and more industrious class of citizens used all legal and moral efforts to suppress this contraband traffic in liquors, but without complete success. They feared the consequences, but neglected to provide means for their security. They ploughed and planted the fields, but did not erect the palisades around their dwellings. The mutterings of danger grew ominous. The director hastened to their assistance as soon as the river was clear of ice. He published an ordinance requiring the inhabitants to close up the gaps in their stockade, imposing severe penalties for non-performance. That the work might be prosecuted speedily, he appointed overseers, and instructed them "to forward the work according to order, and exact the fines from the negligent by prompt execution."

The war-cloud that hung over the devoted villages grew darker day by day. The Indians, who had engaged to do the people no harm either in person or property, and never to visit the settlements in large numbers, grew bold in rascality. They committed numerous offences, came in crowds to the villages, and asserted their claims to the

¹ Kintekoye, an Indian dance.

lands they had surrendered. They forbade the erection of palisades around the New Village, and prohibited the use of the lands. The situation was so critical that the overseers dared not proceed with the work. They petitioned the director-general to send them soldiers for their protection until they could finish the fortification, urging its importance ; and that a present might be sent the Indians to keep them quiet. The chief proprietors sent an urgent petition to the same effect. These petitions were considered in Council, May 10, 1663, and it was resolved "to send at the first convenient opportunity a considerable present to the Esopus savages."

Stuyvesant was never an idle man, always performing his duties promptly. At this time he was overworked. The affairs on the Delaware required much attention. The English villages on Long Island gave him a great deal of trouble. His negotiations with Connecticut as to boundaries and other matters absorbed his thoughts and time. He found no leisure or opportunity to inform the magistrates of Wiltwyck as to the action of the Council until the last of May. His letter was received June 4th. The next day the Indian sachems were "notified to be prepared to expect the arrival of the honorable director-general, to receive the presents, and to renew the peace." It was too late. The villages were doomed. The savages had determined to destroy them, and had matured their plans. On the morning of the 7th of June, there came at intervals to Wiltwyck several small bands, with beans and maize to sell to the inhabitants. As the farmers were in the fields, they gained easy access within the gates, scattering themselves throughout the village. With their weapons concealed under their blankets, they assumed the appearance of friendship, and engaged in innocent traffic. Suddenly some horsemen came rushing through the

western gate, crying out, "The Indians have burnt the New Village." Immediately the savages fired a signal gun, instead of their usual *whoop*, and in silence began their work of murder. With their tomahawks they struck down their unwary victims. Women with their infants in their arms were butchered. While some set fire to the combustible houses to windward, others dragged women and children outside the gates, and held them as prisoners. They did their work so quickly and silently, that those of one house did not know what fearful scenes were being enacted in another. All the men, however, were not at work in the fields. There were a few soldiers in the guard-house; the miller and his servants were grinding at the mill; the sheriff and his clerks were busy in his office; the minister and two or three carpenters were working on his new dwelling; the brewer and his helper were in the brewery; Tjerek Claesen de Witt,¹ one of the magistrates, remained on duty. Soon the alarm was raised by the outcries of fleeing women, and the men, arming as they could, hurried to the rescue. They forced the savages to leave their barbarous warfare on women and children, and run to cover. Fortunately the wind turned to another quarter, or the whole village would have been destroyed. The smoke of the burning buildings was seen by the men in the distant fields, who, dropping their tools and seizing their guns, came rushing home. The savages were now quickly driven from the village, and sought safety in flight, carrying with them their captives.

Although the time was short, the Indians had done a fearful work. Twelve citizens and soldiers were killed,

¹The ancestor of the De Witt family in America. Governor De Witt Clinton, on his mother's side, was one of his descendants. He was a blood relative of John De Witt, the Grand Pensionary of Holland.

chiefly those returning from the fields by Indians in ambush. Four women, too ill to be carried away, and two little children, were killed, and burned in their houses. Eight men were wounded, one of whom died of his injuries. Five women, including two relatives of Volckert Douw, one of the projectors of the New Village, and four children, one the daughter of De Witt, were carried off. Twelve houses were burned. The scene, as described by Dominic Bloem, in a letter to the director, was appalling :

“The great God has allowed the savages heavily to visit our neighbor hamlet and this place, whereby the one was totally ruined and reduced to ashes, and the other partially destroyed ; in both places several people were killed, smothered in their blood, and wounded, as well as a large number of animals ; many of us have been captured by the heathen, and led away as prisoners ; and all this was done under the cover of friendship, in an instant, and with great cruelty, so that it was pitiful and distressing to look at, for death had come upon us and in our houses quickly and unexpectedly to destroy the children in their cradles, the young men on the streets. The dead bodies of men lay here and there like dung-heaps on the field, and the burnt and roasted corpses like sheaves behind the mower.”

The New Village was entirely destroyed, except an uncovered barn. Three men were killed, and one was taken prisoner ; eight women and four children were carried into captivity. The men in the fields, when they saw the smoke of their burning dwellings which were surrounded by a crowd of yelling savages, lost all hope of rendering any personal assistance. Unhitching their horses and mounting, they sought the aid of their neighbors. Some rode to Wiltwyck into the jaws of death ; others to the redoubt on the river, only to learn that not a soldier could be spared from his post.

When the news reached the director-general, he gave some hurried directions to Secretary Van Ruyven, to warn the neighboring villages to be on their guard, and started for Wiltwyck. On his arrival, June 14th, he encouraged the people, gave them written instructions, and left the next day for Fort Orange, to enlist the Mohawks in an effort to recover the captives. Finding no north-bound vessel at the strand, he returned to Manhattan. He called a meeting of the Council for consultation. They were of one mind, that war should be made on the treacherous natives, "for the reputation of the country and the Christian nations." But their "hands were bound" for the present on account of the captive women and children. They must be rescued, perhaps by friendly Indians; meantime preparations should be made to punish the Esopus savages.

While making unremitting efforts to release the captives, the work of preparation went steadily on. The West India Company, in the throes of bankruptcy, had disbanded most of the soldiery in the province, and, in violation of their engagements, had left the people to protect themselves. It was therefore necessary to raise volunteer troops. Bounties were offered, and other inducements held out as a reward for bravery and patriotism. In two weeks the little army was ready to march. The burgomaster, Martin Cregier, was commissioned captain-lieutenant, and had supreme command in the absence of the director. He arrived at the redoubt July 4th, and without loss of time transferred his troops and supplies to Wiltwyck, being watched the while by three Indians stationed on a distant hill in full sight of the landing.

Only one prisoner had as yet been released. She was the wife of Surgeon Van Imborgh, and daughter of La Montagne, vice-director at Fort Orange. She had been

redeemed with a large present by a Mohawk sachem. Although much the larger number of prisoners were with the Esopus savages, many were scattered here and there among the tribes who aided in the attack on the villages. The escape of Mrs. Van Imborgh was timely and fortunate. She gave important information as to the number and location of the enemy, and acted as guide to the troops when they first marched into the Indian country.

Captain Cregier has left an interesting journal of his operations against the savages, from July 4, 1663, when he landed, to January 3, 1664, the date of his return to Manhattan, from which we glean a few of the more important details.

Two Wappingers came to the redoubt to sell some meat, and were detained. From them it was learned who were the allies of the Esopus Indians, and their strength when they assaulted the settlements. The oldest of the two, under the seductive influence of a small present, was communicative. He told the captain that his companion was one of the party in the murderous attempt on Wiltwyck, and that there was now a number of the enemy hiding on the east side of the river, and offered to guide them to the place. A party of soldiers, under experienced officers, was immediately ordered to the hiding-place. The third day after the party returned, with a squaw and three children prisoners, having killed six Indians and taken some booty. From the squaw the captain obtained a description of the fort occupied by the Esopus Indians, and its locality, agreeing with that of Mrs. Van Imborgh.

Captain Cregier was now ready to march into the Indian country, but awaited the result of the Mohawk negotiations for the captives, four of whom were exchanged, through their instrumentality, for the squaw and her two children. The Mohawk sachems returned to the woods

with presents to make another effort at rescue. Three days afterward they returned, bringing with them one white woman. They reported that the savages were very angry, threatened to kill them, and would deliver no more prisoners until Corlaer¹ and Rentslaer² brought goods and made peace with them. They were determined to make a stand in their fort, threatening to kill their prisoners if attacked.

Cregier thought it was now time to make some demonstrations against the enemy. He called a council of war, who determined that an expedition should march the next day. The forces consisted of two hundred and ten men, including "seven of the Company's negroes," and forty-one Long Island Indians, under Lieutenant Van Couwenhoven, all under command of Captain-Lieutenant Cregier, Mrs. Van Imborgh acting as guide. After a fatiguing march of two days they arrived at the Indian fort, only to find it deserted. It had been abandoned two days, so well had the Indians kept themselves informed as to the movements of the troops. A captured squaw and three horses were their only trophies. They remained on the ground three days, occupied in cutting down the corn in the field, and burning the old corn and beans stored in pits. In the three days they cut down nearly two hundred acres of green corn, and burned above a hundred pits-full of dried corn and beans. On the morning of the fourth day they "set fire to the fort and houses, and while they were in full blaze marched out in good order."

The army arrived at Wiltwyck at nine in the evening of

¹ Arent Van Curlaer, founder of Schenectady. He was so much respected by the Mohawks that they gave his name to all the English colonial governors of New York.

² Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, director of the colony of Rensselaerwyck. He was also much loved by the Indians.

the same day, July 31st, having made a march of ten Dutch miles, equal to forty English.

For the next thirty days the troops were mostly employed in guarding the reapers and laborers gathering the harvest, which seems to have been abundant. The grain in the fields of the New Village was not neglected. One day fifty reapers, with thirty wagons, were sent to the "burnt village, called the Great Plot," protected by an escort of eighty men. Meantime the efforts to rescue the captives were continued. Lieutenant Van Couwenhoven was commissioned to patrol the river in a sloop, and directed to call on the Wappinger sachems with presents, to secure their services in this business. One night he rode at anchor before the Dans Kamer (six miles above Newburgh), where the Indians were *Kintekoying*, firing guns, and keeping up such an uproar "that the woods rung again." He reported to Captain Cregier, warning him to be on his guard, for it was said by Indians along the shore, that the Esopus savages, to the number of four hundred, including their allies, "intended to surprise the fort in about two days." Van Couwenhoven's efforts resulted in the release of one woman and three children.

The Esopus Indians were building a new fort about four hours distant from their old one; the harvest had been gathered; only four captives had been recovered in the last thirty days; the savages were still hostile and defiant. A new council of war decided that another expedition should set out in search of the enemy. On September 3d, Captain Cregier began his march, with only fifty-five men. The expedition was conducted so prudently, that the men were within a few paces of the Indian fort before they were discovered. The attack was then made so promptly, that the Indians, who were working on the palisades, had no time to arm. They were routed with considerable slaughter.

It was a complete surprise, and the enemy fled in confusion across the creek, where they made a feeble stand, but soon dispersed. The Indians lost their war-chief, fourteen warriors, four women, and three children, with many wounded, and thirteen prisoners. In the action the Dutch had three killed and six wounded. Twenty-three of the white captives were released. As there were more wounded than horses to carry them, the council of war did not think it prudent to cut down the corn, lest more should be wounded, and greater difficulties incurred in carrying them home. They found a large amount of Indian property, "which could well fill a sloop," among which were twenty-four guns and twenty pounds of powder. What they could not carry away they destroyed, and began their return march, estimated to be over fifty miles, to Wiltwyck. On the way, one prisoner refused to go farther. "We took him aside and gave him his last meal." The expedition was absent four days.

The remainder of the month of September was spent in guarding the farmers while they were gathering the fall crops and preparing the fields for the next spring.

A new expedition into the Indian country was organized. The Esopus savages, in the opinion of the director, were not sufficiently humbled. Again he enlisted a number of volunteers, and forty-six Long Island Indians.

Having completed his preparation, the valiant captain began his march on October 1st, with one hundred and fifty-four men, including the friendly Indians. The next day in the afternoon they arrived at the fort, where they had fought the battle in September. It was solitary and deserted. They found no living thing, but

"we there found five large pits, into which they had cast their dead. The wolves had rooted up and devoured some

of them. Lower down on the creek were four other pits full of dead Indians, and we found further on three Indians, with a squaw and a child, that lay unburied and almost wholly devoured by the ravens and the wolves."

A party of soldiers and Indians was immediately despatched to a place four miles (Dutch) distant, where their Indian guide supposed some of the enemy to be. On reaching their destination, they discovered nothing but some wigwams, which had been a long while abandoned. Meantime the corn in the fields around the fort and along the creek was piled up and destroyed. Then the palisades of the fort were piled in heaps, and burned with the houses. When the destruction was complete, they marched down along the creek, "where lay divers maize plantations, and several large wigwams," which were also burnt. "Now, having destroyed everything, we commenced our homeward march."

Shortly after their return to Wiltwyck, a white girl was discovered near the redoubt, who had escaped from her Indian captor, whom she reported to be living on the mountain about twelve miles distant. A party of thirty-six soldiers was sent out to capture him. He had fled. The soldiers watched all night in his hut, and in the morning, loading themselves with the Indian's corn, returned to quarters. Another party of forty men went to Sager's creek (Saugerties). They found no enemies, but destroyed a large quantity of corn.

While thus employed looking up the enemy and guarding the ploughmen, wild rumors came to their ears, that several tribes had combined to destroy the Dutch, and had assembled to the number of five hundred near Claverack. There was little doubt that they were intent on some mischief, but their councils came to naught.

The rumors served to make the Dutch more watchful, and strengthen their defences.

There were yet several captives among the Indians. To recover them no pains or expense were spared. One by one they were redeemed, and restored to their friends, until on December 1st all but five had been rescued.

The Esopus savages had had enough of war. Their castles had been burnt and their winter's food destroyed; many of their chiefs and warriors had been killed. They had been hunted like wild beasts and driven from their lair. The survivors were fugitives. Miserable and naked they wandered away, and were dependent for food and shelter on their more fortunate relatives. Their punishment was severe, but not greater than they deserved. After the failure of their last desperate effort to form a combination of kindred tribes for their assistance, their haughty spirits were broken, and they sued for peace. Their chastisement had produced a wonderful influence upon other Indian clans along the river and in the interior. They were of the same stock, and had sympathized with them. They had sent their young warriors to their assistance against the Dutch. But now that they were subdued, the Wappingers, the Raritans, the Mohegans, the Minnisinks, the Minquas, the Tappans hastened to secure their peace with Stuyvesant, disclaiming any participation with the Esopus, but asking that they might be included in the peace. The energy and success of the Dutch had overawed them. They had been taught that, though the Dutch were long forbearing and reluctant to engage in war, they could strike effectual blows when aroused. Their haughty demands had given place to humble entreaties.

Stuyvesant declined to make peace with the Esopus Indians until their own chiefs appeared, but finally, De-

ember 29th, he consented to an armistice of two months, at the expiration of which time, in case the five remaining captives were surrendered, and the Esopus sachems made personal application, he would talk of peace. The armistice was continued after the two months expired to the middle of May, '64. Meantime all the captives had been returned, and as the Indians were still desirous of peace, it was decided that the chiefs should go to Manhattan and arrange the terms in the capital of the province. Hitherto all negotiations had taken place at Esopus, "under the blue sky." Peace was consummated May 15, 1664. Its provisions were similar to those of other treaties, especially the last. There was one exception. It was now stipulated, "that some of their people should come down every year to renew the compact."

Peace was not more welcome to the Indians than to the Dutch. The expenses of the government the last year had been eighty thousand guilders, and the revenue only thirty thousand. The Indian war had crippled all industries, especially the fur trade. The English on Long Island were in open revolt. The end of New Netherland was drawing near.

The leading projectors of the New Village were great losers by the Indian war. Several of their tenants had been killed, and their families carried off to an almost hopeless captivity. Little of their stock was recovered, and other personal property was almost wholly lost. They wrote a pitiful letter to Director Stuyvesant, in which they speak of their heavy losses, "which without God's blessing we cannot recover in years." "But our affections are for our distressed friends."

Their experiment in farming at Esopus had been disastrous, and although Stuyvesant a few days after the peace proposed to erect a "stockaded fort and keep a

few soldiers there," they could not be induced to resume operations. After the English came into possession of the province, Governor Nicolls, in 1668, renewed their patents, and his successor, Colonel Lovelace, named the village Hurley. The projectors sold their farms and village-lots to an Englishman, and sought other investments.

THE HALF MOON.

Among the old documents I found the following :

To the Noble, Very Worshipful, Honorable Director-General and Council of New Netherland.

Respectfully show Philipp Pieterse Schuyler and Goosen Gerretse, residents of the village of Beverwyck, that the Mohikanders have informed the petitioners, the English of Connetikot on the Fresh river had requested them to sell a certain plain, called by the Dutch the Half Moon, situate on the third or fourth mouth (of the Mohawk river) with an island between the second and third mouth, about three or four leagues to the northward from here. The Mohikanders have offered to sell this land to the petitioners in preference, but as the petitioners may not do it without the consent of your Hon^{ble} Worships, therefore they pray, that your Hon^{ble} Worships will grant them permission to purchase the said land, as it will be done for the best of the country and to keep the English away from the river.

Waiting for a favorable apostel we remain

Your Noble, Honorable Worships'

Obedien Servants,

PHILIPP PIETERSE SCHUYLER,

GOOSEN GERRETSE (VAN SCHAICK).

Beverwyck, the 27th May, 1664.

The petition was granted July 10, 1664.

What has been said in the introduction about "crowding on the Dutch" westward from the Connecticut, will

explain the reason for "keeping the English away from the river."

The Indian war, and the rumors of an English invasion, gave so much occupation to government and citizens, that there was little time to attend to private affairs. The purchase of the Half Moon had to be deferred. The English invasion did not rest on idle rumors. Early the next spring, when the English had settled the affairs of the province, Schuyler applied to Governor Nicolls for a license to buy the same tract. This was granted, and in October, 1665, a patent was issued to Schuyler and Van Schaick for a tract of land described as the Half Moon, beginning at the fourth spring and stretching north along the river "to a creek coming out of a great meadow," (now Mechanicsville). Another patent of the same date conveyed the island, now known as Van Schaick Island.

Van Schaick erected buildings on the island, and again tried the experiment of farming. In November, 1669, he sold his interest in the Half Moon tract and island to Schuyler for fifteen hundred guilders, payable in Holland. In March of the next year both deed and bill of exchange were cancelled; for what reason does not appear. The property remained in their possession as at first until July, 1681, when Schuyler conveyed his half interest to Annetje Lievens, widow of Van Schaick, and acknowledges "to have received full compensation, and to have been paid the first instalment of the purchase-money as well as the last;" how much is not mentioned.

Schuyler's interest in this now valuable section of Saratoga County was thus extinguished. Annetje Lievens, although a fashionable young woman fond of gayety, became a prudent wife, having the full confidence of her husband, who gave her in his will his share of the Half Moon and the island. In 1687 she sold the whole to her

stepson, Anthony Van Schaick, for "five hundred and fifty beavers."

THE FLATTS.

The Old Homestead—the family mansion—always has a special charm to the descendants of the builder, particularly in their later years. When, during a residence in Albany, I learned that the house in which Philip Schuyler had lived was still in existence, and that it was only four miles north of State Street, I took the earliest opportunity of visiting it. Leaving the turnpike, I crossed the canal, and, walking a short distance toward the river, I stood before the venerable structure. It was, indeed, only in part the same house. The front had been destroyed by fire a hundred years ago. It had been rebuilt on the same foundations, and in the same style. The annex at the back, with its thick brick walls, withstood the fire, and was the same as when first built. The old and the new were clearly discernible by the different size of the bricks, the new being larger. The house was occupied, as it had always been, by a descendant of Philip Schuyler, who courteously gratified my curiosity, conducting me through all the halls and rooms. The interior finish was modern, except a small portion left in its original state, as a specimen of what it once was. I stood at the door, and carefully noted the surroundings. The road north from Albany formerly ran between the house and river. Now it is several rods in the rear, and the lawn extends to the water. To the right stood the great barn, just as when Schuyler's Indian guests were wont to sleep in it. Beyond, the Krom Kil (crooked creek), the south boundary of the bouwery, wound its devious way to the river. South of the Krom Kil was the farm of a few hundred acres, which had been given, in 1703, to Peter and Jeremiah

Schuyler, grandsons of Philip Schuyler, by Killian Van Rensselaer, as their mother's portion of the manor. East, a few rods from the door, separated from the main-land by a narrow channel, lay the "large island of the Flatts." Beyond the river to the northeast was the farm of four hundred acres, bounded north and south by two creeks, given by Jeremiah Van Rensselaer in 1674, to Johanna de Laet, for her "just claim of one-tenth of the manor." This farm came into the possession of Philip Schuyler, and was sold by his heirs after the death of their mother, for twelve hundred and forty-one pounds currency, all joining in the deed. It is now occupied by large iron and steel manufactories. North of the house was the private cemetery, where several generations of Schuylers are buried.

I could not but recall some of the many interesting historical incidents connected with the place. Here, in 1677, a party of Mohawks attacked the Mohegans and took many prisoners. About the same time, four Mohawk warriors routed eighty "Uncasmen," Connecticut Indians. To this place General Fitz John Winthrop, in 1690, sent the first detachment of his army from Albany for the invasion of Canada. Here, in 1690, John, the youngest son of Philip Schuyler, conceived the design of attacking La Prairie, on the St. Lawrence, with a company of thirty whites and one hundred and twenty Indians. Here his eldest brother, Major Peter Schuyler, formed his plans for the invasion of Canada the next year, and gathered his dusky warriors. Between this door and the river marched for the next seventy years the several armies against the French, and here many of their officers found entertainment. Here the gallant Lord Howe spent the night, and ate his breakfast on the march under Abercrombie to attack Ticonderoga. Here the "American Lady" of Mrs. Grant, "Aunt Schuyler," presided as mistress for thirty years after her hus-

band's death, extending a generous hospitality. Under the shade of the trees before the door she sat one summer's afternoon, when the alarm of fire was raised. In yonder graveyard lies her dust with no stone to mark the spot.*

* There is a map of the Flatts in Wilson's edition of Mrs. Grant's Memoirs of an American Lady (Munsell, Albany, 1876), on page 99, and a wood-cut of the house on page 240.

Mrs. Grant, pp. 110-114, thus describes the old house: "It was a large brick house of two or rather three stories (for there were excellent attics), besides a sunk story, finished with the exactest neatness. The lower floor had two spacious rooms, with large light closets; on the first there were three rooms, and in the upper one four. Through the middle of the house was a wide passage, with opposite front and back doors, which in summer admitted a stream of air peculiarly grateful to the languid senses. It was furnished with chairs and pictures like a summer parlor. Here the family usually sat in hot weather, when there were no ceremonious strangers. . . . This house had also two appendages common to all those belonging to persons in easy circumstances there. One was a large portico at the door, with a few steps leading up to it, and floored like a room; it was open at the sides, and had seats all round. Above was either a slight wooden roof, painted like an awning, or a covering of lattice-work, over which a transplanted vine spread its luxuriant leaves and numerous clusters. These, though small, and rather too acid till sweetened by the frost, had a beautiful appearance. What gave an air of liberty and safety to these rustic porticos, which always produced in my mind a sensation of pleasure that I know not how to define, was the number of little birds domesticated there. For their accommodation there was a small shelf built round, where they nestled, sacred from the touch of slaves and children, who were taught to regard them as the good genii of the place, not to be disturbed with impunity. . . .

"At the back of the large house was a smaller and lower one, so joined to it as to make the form of a cross. There one or two lower and smaller rooms below, and the same number above, afforded a refuge to the family during the rigors of winter, when the spacious summer rooms would have been intolerably cold, and the smoke of prodigious wood-fires would have sullied the elegantly clean furniture. Here, too, was a sunk story, where the kitchen was immediately below the eating-parlor, and increased the general warmth of the house. In summer the negroes resided in slight outer kitchens, where food was dressed for the family. Those who wrought in the fields often had their simple dinner cooked without, and ate it under the shade of a great tree. One room, I should have said, in the greater house only, was opened for the reception of company; all the rest were bedchambers for their accommodation, while the domestic friends of the family occupied neat little bedrooms in the attics or the winter-house.

It is not probable that Philip Schuyler built the house. Arent Van Curler, a cousin of the first Patroon Van Rensselaer, came with the first colonists of the manor, 1630, and was soon after made superintendent. He married in 1643, and on his return from Holland, where he had gone on his "bridal tour," he removed to his farm on the Flatts. After him Richard Van Rensselaer, a son of the Patroon, occupied it. I wished to learn when Philip Schuyler came into possession, and on what terms. In the business office of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck an ordinary account-book of an ancient appearance was placed before me, in which I found the following entry :

" Philip Schuyler	Debit
for the Bouwery called de Vlachte (the Flatts), and the Island, sold to him for 700 beavers and fl. 1600 Holland money together fl. 8000.	
Contra	Credit
A bill of Exchange drawn on Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, calculated at	fl. 2400.
650 whole Beavers	5200.
50 do. do.	400.
	8,000."

This house contained no drawing-room ; that was an unheard-of luxury ; the winter rooms had carpets ; the lobby had oil-cloth painted in lozenges, to imitate blue and white marble. The best bedroom was hung with family portraits, some of which were admirably executed ; and in the eating-room, which, by the by, was rarely used for that purpose, were some fine Scripture paintings. . . . The house fronted the river, on the brink of which, under shades of elm and sycamore, ran the great road toward Saratoga, Stillwater, and the northern lakes ; a little simple avenue of morella cherry trees, enclosed with a white rail, led to the road and river, not three hundred yards distant. Adjoining to this on the south side, was an enclosure subdivided into three parts, of which the first was a small hayfield, opposite the south end of the house ; the next, not so long, a garden ; and the third, by far the largest, an orchard."

Mrs. Grant's description applies, of course, to the state of the Flatts under Philip Schuyler's grandson, nearly a century later.

It had no date. The last preceding date was of the year 1658, and the next succeeding was in 1675. Subsequently I found recorded in the County Clerk's office a deed by "K. V. Rensselaer" to "Margret Schuyler," bearing date "the — Day off September in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand six hundred eighty and nine." "Recorded this 25th day of June 1707 at ye Request of Margaret Schuyler wid^m Relict of Philip Schuyler deceased." It recites that

"Jeremias Van Rensselaer in his life time That is to say on the two and twentieth day of June in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand six hundred seventy and two for and in consideration of the sum of five thousand Holland guilders to him in hand paid did grant Bargain and sell unto the said Philip Schuyler his heirs and assigns for ever all that farm Tract and parcell of Land commonly called The Flatts as also one Island over against said flatts commonly called the great Island of the flatts situate on the west side of Hudson river in the Colony of Rensselaerwyck in the like manner as the said farm heretofore has been used occupied and enjoyed by Mr. Richard van Rensselaer."

The deed includes another farm adjoining north, called "Winter's plantation," and also the bouwery on the east side of the river once owned by Madame de Hulter. The whole was chargeable with a yearly rent of "twenty bushels of good sweet wheat off good measure well cleaned and merchantable corne and two coppel off henns," in recognition of the patroon's right.

Winter's plantation was a farm owned by Bastiaen De Winter, who died soon after, 1670, in Schenectady, having made a verbal will giving his property to the Dutch Church in Albany. The deacons of the church sold the plantation to Schuyler September 10, 1678.

With this addition Schuyler's home farm was large, extending from Krom Kil on the south to "a great blacke Rocke, commonly called y^e stone hoeke" on the north, and to a marsh beyond the first hills on the west. The northern portion is now occupied by the village of West Troy. Along and through the western part runs a railway. When, in 1703, Killian Van Rensselaer gave to his sister's children, the sons of Peter Schuyler, the farm south of Krom Kil, the grandsons of Philip Schuyler owned and occupied a large body of rich land, now of great value.

It was to me a study of absorbing interest to trace the history of the old home for over two hundred years down to the present time. What I learned can be told in a few lines, although it engaged my thoughts and leisure many weeks. Just before his death Philip Schuyler and his wife united in a mutual will, in which it was provided that the survivor should have possession of the whole estate during life. After death the property was to be divided equally between the eight children. The widow administered the estate twenty-eight years with great success. She educated the younger children, gave portions to those who married, bought houses and lands, and added largely to the property committed to her care. Some years before her death a few of the heirs feared that Peter, the eldest son, might avail himself of the law then in force, and on his mother's death claim all the real estate. Peter disclaimed any such intention, and, by advice of his mother, entered into an agreement with his brothers and sisters that the estate should be divided equally among them, it being conceded to him that, as heir at law and by right of primogeniture, he should have the Flatts with its great island, on paying into the "common stock," subject to an equal division, six hundred pounds

currency. This amicable agreement gave satisfaction to the old mother. Soon after she made her will directing the whole estate to be divided equally among her children. This interesting instrument is on parchment, signed by all the heirs, with seals affixed on strips of parchment. All the seals but one were gone when I saw it (1879)—detached by descendants. That of my great-great-grandfather was missing. Some one had anticipated me. The one remaining belonged to a branch that had no representative after the second generation. On the back of the instrument is indorsed the following memorandum, showing the custom of those days when giving possession of real estate :

“Memorandum, That this day Livery and Seisen was peaceably given by the partys to the within written articles to Collonel Peter Schuyler within Named of the farm called The Flatts Particularly expressed in these articles by Digging up and Delivering unto the said Collonel Peter Schuyler a Turff and by delivering of the Latch of the Door of the house as part, Butt for the whole of the said house and Farm.

This Done the 20th Day of Aprill in y^e tenth year of her Majesty's reign anno y^e Dom^o. 1711/2. In the Presence of us

PHILIP LIVINGSTON

The mark X of MARTE DELLEMONT.”

Colonel Peter Schuyler occupied the farm for twelve years, when he leased it to his son Philip during his own natural life. He left no will, having disposed of his estate among his children during life, so that there might be no cause for suspicions and controversies, such as had existed in reference to his father's estate. We know, however, from other sources, what portions of the estate were afterward held and enjoyed by the several members of his family. His eldest son, Philip, owned the Flatts.

Peter and Jeremy (twins) divided the farm they received through their mother. To his daughter Margaret, who had married Robert Livingston, Jr., he gave his share in the Saratoga patent. To Gertrude, wife of Johannes Lansing, and to the heirs of his daughter Maria, he gave other real estate.

Philip Schuyler resided mostly on the Flatts. He was much in public life, requiring long absences from home. At such times the affairs of the farm were managed by his accomplished wife, a daughter of his uncle Johannes. The Flatts were long on the frontiers exposed to marauding parties of the French and their Indian allies. None of the family on the farm, however, or their retainers, ever suffered any injury at their hands.

Philip Schuyler had no children, and in his will, dated June 28, 1748, he gave the "Great Island of The Flatts" to his brother Jeremy; to Philip Schuyler, a nephew of his wife, afterward a major-general in the Revolution, a piece of woodland lying along the northern line of the farm; and to his brother Peter all the "rest and residue of the farm called y^e Flatts," to come into possession after the death of his wife, to whom he had given it for life. This was the first time that the Flatts, as purchased in 1672, had been shorn of its proportions. His widow survived his brother Peter, who never came into possession of the old homestead. Peter, in his will, April 27, 1771, gave to his grandson, Peter Schuyler, the farm he occupied next adjoining on the south, and to his son Stephen the "rest and residue of the farm called the Flatts, the same as was devised to me by my brother Philip." Madame Schuyler had previously leased it to Stephen. He was in possession at the time his aunt died, 1782, and his descendants have it now in possession, of whom three families have farms of one hundred and sixty to two hundred acres, carved out of the

old homestead, called The Flatts. The Great Island and some other portions of the farm are in the hands of strangers.

I now return to Philip Pieterse Schuyler, the ancestor. In the preceding pages I have given all the information I have been able to collect as to his life and transactions. He was much esteemed by his neighbors and friends, as well as by the representatives of the governments under which he lived. He was the first man in Albany to receive the commission of captain. Previously to this he was frequently termed the honorable, but afterward, in legal papers and correspondence, was addressed as captain. Whatever the position of his family in the fatherland, his life and career in his adopted home were remarkable, and far above the average of the early colonists.

To conclude, it need only be said, that he died in Albany, on May 9, 1683, having made his will eight days before. He was buried in the vaults of the church, and no monument erected to his memory, except perhaps a tablet on the walls over his accustomed seat. When the church was torn down, in 1808, the contents of the vaults were removed *en masse* to a common receptacle under the church on Beaver Street. Among the church records of 1683 is found the following :

“Received from Margaret Schuyler 300 guilders bestowed by Philip Schuyler who died this year, and ten guilders for the use of the pall.”

HIS WILL.

“In the name of God, Amen. Mr. Philip Schuyler, late commissary in Albany, at present weak of body, but of sound memory and understanding, and Mrs. Margaret Van Slichtenhorst in good health both as to body and mind,

persons of good repute residing here, considering the short and frail condition of human life, the certainty of death, and doubtful of the hour of the same, upon mature reflection and mutual advice, without the inducement or persuasion of any person, do declare to have made, ordained and confirmed this, their joint, respective and reciprocal last will and testament in manner and form following.

“First, bequeathing their immortal souls when they shall part from their bodies into the gracious and merciful hands of God, their Creator and Saviour, and their bodies to Christian burial, and also revoking, annulling and making void by these presents all and every such testamentary disposal as together or apart, they before the date hereof may have made or passed, and coming expressly to the disposal of their temporary estate they leave behind, so have they, the testators, nominated and constituted, and by these presents do nominate and constitute, for his or her sole heir reciprocally the longest liver of the two, and that of all the goods movable and immovable, actions and credits, money, gold, silver coined and uncoined, jewels, clothes, linen, woollen, household goods, nothing in the world excepted or reserved, as well in this country, in Holland, Gelderland, or elsewhere, where the same shall be or be found, to dispose thereof as he or she should or might do with his or her own patrimonial effects, without the hindrance or contradiction of any person. Provided always that the longest liver of the two stands obliged honestly to maintain, bring up and keep until they come of age, or are married, their four underaged children, namely, Arent twenty-two years of age,¹ Philip seventeen years of age, Johannes fifteen years of age, and Margaret eleven years of age. And them to exercise in all piety, and that they are brought up to reading, writing, and a handicraft trade,² wherewith in their times they

¹ According to Dutch law in such cases, then the law of New York, a son was a minor until twenty-four years old.

² The Dutch while engaged in their long war of independence found it

may honestly get their living, and that when they come of age, or are married with the consent of the longest liver, the longest liver of the two shall be obliged to give to each of the said underaged children a fit portion, so much as the longest liver in good conscience shall find convenient, and according to the state and opportunity that then shall present, and further to act as good honest parents ought to do, and whereto they do entrust each other according to all equity and their ability without being further obliged.

“And that the reason that the testators cannot at present make any certain account and inventory of their estate, nor willing or desiring accordingly that by or concerning their before said child or children any account or inventory of the estate shall be taken under whatsoever pretence it might be from the longest liver of the two. Though in case the longest liver might happen to die before the said four children come of age, or are married, it is especially desired by the testators, that such child or children that then shall be underage shall be maintained out of the common estate until they come of age or are married; and if so be the estate shall be lessened by fire, war or other losses (which God prevent) so shall those who have had no portions in place of and for their portions first receive each the sum of twelve hundred and fifty guilders in beavers, that is, for the four children five thousand guilders in beavers, and then shall the whole estate be equally divided among the testator's eight children, by name Gertruyd the wife of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Alida the wife of Robert Livingston, Peter, Brant, Phillip, Arent, Johannes and Margaret Schuyler, among them or their heirs alike to be divided, the one not more than the other. But in case the longest liver of the testator, might happen to re-marry then that party shall be obliged to deliver a true account and inventory of the

essential to teach their children “handicraft trades.” It was so common that people in affluence were reduced to poverty by the destruction of their property, that a trade of some kind was a last resort to live.

estate, and thereof to set out, part and divide the whole : to wit, one true moiety to the behoof of the testators' aforesaid eight children, among them or their heirs equally and alike to be divided to the one not more than the other: and the other half to the behoof of the longest liver ; which inventory the longest liver, if there be occasion, shall be bound to affirm by oath, without being further obliged : Always provided, that the longest liver shall take and enjoy the interest of the principal belonging to the children during their minority for their maintenance and bringing up, and on the death of a child or children aforesaid in their minority, their portion shall be to the behoof of the survivors. And for security of what is above made and bequeathed to the children stands bound the farms, lands, houses and tenements that they the testators have in this country so nevertheless if there be occasion (except selling) that the longest liver may enter upon the same and dispose thereof, as also their other effects for his or their maintenance. Lastly, the testators in these presents have shut out and excluded (with all due respect) the Weesmasters¹ of this place, or any other where these presents may be of effect, from the rule and charge of their said children and goods, not willing that they should trouble themselves therewith ; but instead of them have appointed as guardian or guardians over the same the longest liver, with power to take one or more persons to act with them.

“All the above written the testators declare to be their last will and testament, desiring that the same after the decease of the first of them may have and take its full power and effect, be it as testament, codicil, donation, legacy, or otherwise as it may best take effect, notwithstanding any solemnity in form or law may be omitted, neglected, not inserted or observed.

“Praying all Lords, Courts and Authorities where these presents may take effect, that it may have all possible

¹ Officers appointed to watch over the interests of orphans.

benefit—one or more copies to be made by me the writer hereof, and delivered, to conclude all as it ought to be.

“Done in Albany, at the house of the testators, on the first day of May one thousand six hundred eighty and three old style, being Tuesday evening about 9 of the clock, in presence of Mr. Cornelis Van Dyck, and Mr. Dirk Wessels, commissarys of this town, as witnesses hereunto desired.

PHILIP SCHUYLER,

MARGARETA VAN SLICHTENHORST.

CORNELIS VAN DYCK,

DIRK WESSELS.

Me present,

ROB^t. LIVINGSTON Secry.”

The will was proved in court, March 4, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$, and subsequently approved by Governor Thomas Dongan. It is written in Dutch, and is on file in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals, at Albany.

MARGARETA VAN SLICHTENHORST

WAS a remarkable woman. She was the only daughter of Brant Arentse Van Slichtenhorst, resident-director of the colony of Rensselaerwyck. After the death of her husband, she assumed entire control of the estate, according to the terms of the will, and managed the large property for about twenty-eight years. When she made her will, two years before her death, she could say that the estate had not been "lessened by fire, or war, or other losses," but "by the blessing of Almighty God, she had acquired and purchased real and personal estate," and added to it. She was loyal to her church, as may be seen by the records wherein are recorded her liberal benefactions. She was true to the pledges made by herself and her husband before his death. On the marriages of their daughter Gertrude to Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and of their son Brant to Cornelia Van Cortlandt, they had presented them as "wedding gifts," certain houses and lots on Broadway, New York, but had not made the deeds. She did not, like some parents we wot of, present the husk and keep the kernel, but promptly confirmed the gifts by the deeds.

In the times of Jacob Leisler, she was on the side of law and order, and gave efficient support to her friends who had assumed control of affairs at Albany. It was a time of war, and there was reason to fear that the French with their Indian allies would make a raid upon the unprotected frontiers. It was of the first importance to station men

at Schenectady and to strengthen the garrison at Albany. There were not men enough in those places for such a purpose. No assistance could be expected from New York, as Leisler refused a man unless the convention surrendered control, and acknowledged him as supreme in the province. Aid must therefore be sought and secured elsewhere. But this required money, and the finances of the convention, as those of the city, could not bear the burden. A subscription among the citizens and farmers was circulated. After five days had been devoted to this work, it was found that the amount subscribed, three hundred and sixty-seven pounds six shillings, was not half enough to raise one hundred men. Mrs. Schuyler's subscription, twenty pounds, was the largest but one on the list.

When the subscription failed, letters were sent to Boston and Connecticut soliciting the aid of one hundred men. The government of Boston courteously replied, that the war on their northern frontiers made it impossible to spare the men, but that they would write to Connecticut and urge that government to give a favorable response. The latter colony did consent to send eighty men with their officers, on condition that the convention paid the officers the usual allowance. The condition was cheerfully accepted, and two of the members sent to thank them in person. The company, consisting of eighty-seven men, under command of Captain Bull, arrived on November 25, 1689. They were received with many demonstrations of joy, and saluted by the firing of cannon at the fort. As the time approached to pay the officers their month's allowance, as the city treasury was exhausted, a committee was appointed to borrow the necessary funds. Mr. Van Rensselaer, the chairman, reported that "Mrs. Schuyler was willing to advance eighteen pounds (the sum required), one month without interest, and if not then returned moderate inter-

est thereafter." She advanced the money, but as it was not a gift she was careful to have a bond signed by the officers of the convention.

After the sack of Schenectady by the French and Indians, the Albany convention, by advice of the New England colonies, submitted to the pretensions of Leisler. He sent three commissioners to control and regulate affairs, and make preparations for the invasion of Canada. The commissioners took all authority into their hands, and although they confirmed Peter Schuyler as mayor of the city, he was little more than a cipher, being deprived of his authority and functions. They made enemies, and did not conciliate the people, or secure a hearty support. There were divisions and contentions, which were magnified by rumors into open hostilities. Leisler, writing to the commissioners, May 19, 1690, gave tongue to some of the rumors which had reached his ears, among them, "that y^e Widow Schuyler beat Capⁿ Milborne, & that you all three were forced to fly out of y^e towne & were gone to Esopus & Peter Schuyler was in y^e fort." If the Widow Schuyler *beat* Captain Milborne, and forced the three commissioners to fly, her Van Slichtenhorst blood must have been at fever heat. It was mere rumor, but the rumor proved she was a woman of spirit and resolution; more, that her influence was a power which her enemies feared.

She had administered the estate with such success that it had become one of the largest in the province. Her younger children had feared that the law of primogeniture would deprive them of their equal share as the will provided, and had discussed the question perhaps with undue heat. Taking counsel with her eldest son, who was ever temperate in his views, and just to others, the troublesome question was soon arranged to the satisfaction of all concerned. A written agreement, as has been said, bear-

ing date August 16, 1707, to divide the estate according to the terms of the will, was signed by all the heirs. She was now nearly eighty years of age, and felt that her work was done. She immediately caused her own will to be drawn, in which she alludes to the controverted question among her children, and how happily it had been arranged in her presence, having called them together for the purpose. She then proceeds to divide her own property, and that of her late husband, on the basis of the former will, and according to the terms of the late agreement, into eight equal parts, one each for her seven living children, and one for the widow and heirs of her deceased son Brant. She directed her executors immediately after her death to take possession of the property, and make the division. She was thoughtful enough to direct them to allow the heirs to purchase whatever of the estate, real or personal, they desired, and the "one willing to give the most for any part or parcel should have it." She appointed her sons Peter and Johannes, and son-in-law Robert Livingston, executors. She survived two years.

Copies of her will and of the agreement between the heirs are in my possession, but they are too long for insertion here. As it was the practice in those days to hold titles for real estate, especially when given by friend to friend, without record, I have been unable to learn how the whole property was distributed. Peter took the homestead, as has been related, but there is no record of it. The De Hulter farm was sold, and the deed placed on record. These were the only pieces of real estate I was able to trace until recently, when Governor Seymour presented me a paper, saying that I would prize it. It turned out to be an original deed, signed by all the Schuyler heirs except Margaret, to John Collins,¹ for the pasture "lying on the

¹ Husband of Margaret Schuyler.

right hand of the road that goes to the old fort." The consideration is twenty-six pounds currency. It is dated May 1, 1711. These are all of the several farms and city lots that I have been able to trace.

BRANT ARENTSE VAN SLICHTENHORST.

The father of Margareta Van Slichtenhorst came to Beverwyck in 1648, as resident-director of the colony of Rensselaerwyck. After the death of the first patroon, Killian Van Rensselaer, in 1646, the estate for a time was managed by his executors. The amiable Arent Van Curler, wearied of his vexatious position, had resigned, and it was one of the first duties of the executors to select his successor. Their choice fell upon Van Slichtenhorst, of Nykerk, in Gelderland. He appears to have been a man of good family,¹ well educated, and of more than ordinary abilities. He received his commission nearly two years before he arrived in the colony. The scope of the office was enlarged. He was not only appointed director, but also the chief magistrate and superintendent. Stuyvesant, director-general of New Netherland, had preceded him by about a year. As the principal officer of the West India Company, his authority extended over the whole province, including the manors. Over the latter it was restricted by their charter. But as the Company had modified the *Freedoms and Exemptions* under which Van

¹ His brother, Arent Van Slichtenhorst, was a juriconsult, a poet, and a historian. He wrote, or rather translated and enlarged from the Latin of Pontanus, a History of Gelderland (xiv Boeken van de Geldersse Geschiedenissen), published at Arnhem in 1653. A copy of the work is in the library of Cornell University. There is a tract of land called Slichtenhorst near Nykerk, in the immediate vicinity of Rensselaer and Olden Barneveldt; one of the estates owned by Brant van Slichtenhorst in Holland was called the Gijse Westphalinx estate on de Slichtenhorst.

Rensselaer had established his colony, Stuyvesant, under instructions, sought to apply the provisions of the new regulations to the colonies organized under the old. He asserted his claims of jurisdiction over the affairs of the colony of Rensselaerwyck in conflict with its chartered privileges. These claims were resisted by Van Slichtenhorst. The eldest son and heir of Van Rensselaer was yet a minor. The new director was conscientious in the discharge of his duties, and sought to protect the interests of the minor patroon. He had a strong, unyielding will, resembling in this regard the director-general. The two men were soon in collision. Van Slichtenhorst arrived in March—in April the strife began. Stuyvesant instructed his deputy at Fort Orange to do some things at Rensselaerwyck, which Van Slichtenhorst believed an infringement of the privileges of the colony, which he resisted, saying that the fort itself stood on ground belonging to his "orphan patroon," and that the West India Company had no business to interfere in the affairs of the colony, so long as they were kept within the charter. Stuyvesant, determined to carry his point, visited Beverwyck with a body-guard of soldiers to enforce his authority. He was received with the courtesy due his rank and station, and entertained at the expense of the colony.

The interview between the two directors was conducted with much formality and with the appearance of friendship, but when it closed the opponents were as far apart as at first. The director-general issued a protest. The colonial-director replied with another. When Stuyvesant returned to Manhattan he published a formidable placard against the colony, and its director in particular, warning him that force should be used unless he ceased his opposition to the orders of the Company. He claimed the

land within the range of a cannon-shot of the fort, and that the patroon had no right to convey lots or erect buildings within that distance. Van Slichtenhorst answered, that the land all around the fort belonged to the patroon, who had never before been disturbed in its occupancy; and kept on with his improvements on the disputed territory. Stuyvesant was incensed, but for a while suppressed his anger. The spring freshet having injured the fort, he directed a stone wall to be built around it. Scarcely had the work been begun when Van Slichtenhorst forbade the men to quarry stone on the land of the colony. The director-general was now fairly aroused, and resolved to end the dispute at the point of the bayonet, if need be. In this he had the advantage, as the colony had no military for its defence. He sent six soldiers to Beverwyck, with orders to arrest Van Slichtenhorst, if he offered any further opposition to his authority. The arrival of this detachment, and the swagger of the Company's officials under protection of the musket, caused much excitement in the little village, which communicated itself to the Mohawks who happened to be present. When they came to understand the quarrel to be about a few rods of land, they invited Van Slichtenhorst to their country, where they would give him all the land he wished, and leave Silver Legs¹ to possess in peace the land he claimed.

When the soldiers had accomplished the business for which they had been sent, they celebrated their bloodless victory with a volley of musketry. This caused great commotion among the Indians, who supposed that an attack had begun upon their friends, the colonists. They

¹ The Indians nicknamed Stuyvesant Silver Legs, because, in place of the leg he had lost in war, he wore a wooden one ornamented with silver bands.

threatened to kill and scalp old Silver Legs' soldiers, every man of them. They were in earnest, and well it was for the poor soldiers that Van Slichtenhorst found means to appease their wrath. But his indignation was none the less. He protested in energetic terms against Stuyvesant for the outrages upon himself, and for the wrong and injustice done to the interests of his master's colony.

On receipt of this protest Stuyvesant ordered the arrest of the colonial director. Van Slichtenhorst was his equal in education, and more than his match in argument, because he was in the right. But the Company's commands must be obeyed. As he could not silence his antagonist with argument, he must do it by force. Van Slichtenhorst was not arrested at the time, but summoned by the proper officer to appear the next spring before the director and Council, to answer for his resistance to constituted authority. He did not respond to the citation, but in the following spring, when new demands were made upon the colony, with which it could not comply, he resolved to visit New Amsterdam, and if possible to effect a settlement of all matters in dispute. In his interview with the director-general and Council nothing was accomplished. Stuyvesant would not secede from his demands. To them Van Slichtenhorst would not yield, considering them unjust, and ruinous to the interests of his patroon. The same day while at dinner he was peremptorily summoned before the Council, when he was compelled to listen to a scolding lecture, and then put under arrest. Without a trial he was detained in the capital four months. Before he left home he had a suspicion that his absence might be protracted beyond the usual time, and had provided for such a contingency. He delegated a friend by power of attorney to administer the affairs of the colony during his absence. He sought re-

lease from arrest without success. At last, becoming convinced that his detention was only to annoy him and embarrass the affairs of his trust, he made arrangements for his escape. His arrest and detention were notorious, and no vessel would take him short of a bond of indemnity. This he gave, and was conveyed to his home. He subsequently paid the bond, for when the sloop returned to Manhattan her captain was fined two hundred and fifty guilders, to which add one hundred and fifty guilders for other expenses.

While under arrest at New Amsterdam, Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, second son of the old patroon, and his youngest brother, Richard, a mere lad, arrived from Holland. The first of the Van Rensselaer family to visit the colony was now in Beverwyck, to become in time a resident-director in place of Van Slichtenhorst, who longed to escape from the troubled life he was leading, and return to the comforts of his quiet home in Holland. After his escape he devoted himself with renewed zeal to the duties of his position, while instructing young Van Rensselaer in all the details of the business. But the annoyance of the director-general did not cease. On New Year's night, 1652, the soldiers of the fort fired on his house, and the burning wadding kindled the roof into a blaze, which was extinguished with difficulty. The next day, encouraged by Dyckman, their commandant, they assaulted young Van Slichtenhorst in the street, and dragged him into the gutter. These insults were followed by Stuyvesant with new aggressions on the privileges of the patroon. They culminated in the forcible arrest of the colonial-director. The soldiers, acting under orders broke into his house, and dragged him to the lock-up in the fort, where during his detention he was not allowed any communication with his family or friends.

Thence he was carried to New Amsterdam to endure another long imprisonment.

Four months after his arrest he respectfully petitioned for his release, alleging that a new director of the colony had been appointed (Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer), and that it was of great importance that he should settle his affairs, and close the business of his office. He was answered that he might go, on giving bonds to appear at court when required. This was a subterfuge. He had asked for a trial, which was denied under various pretexts. A week later he again petitioned to be released, that he might return to the colony, or embark for Holland, offering at the same time to be tried at once on the charges against him. His request was refused. He waited awhile longer. November 11, 1652, he again applied for relief. The reply was emphatic, "He *must* enter bail for his appearance before he can be released."

How long he remained under arrest, or how he regained his liberty, the records do not reveal. Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer was now director of the colony, and Van Slichtenhorst's name is no longer of frequent occurrence. It is mistakenly said by O'Callaghan and others, that he returned to Holland about this time. He probably secured his liberty soon after his last petition, and returned to Beverwyck, again to cross the purposes of Stuyvesant. In July, 1655, in company with the new director and his brother, he appeared at the house of one of the colonists, where John De Decker, successor of Dyckman, was drawing up a protest against the refusal of the landlord to let the constable of Fort Orange gauge his wines and beer. He approved the refusal, and told De Decker that he was not qualified for such business in the colony. He yet upheld the authority of the patroon, and resisted the assumptions of the director-general. How

much longer he remained in the colony is not known. In 1660, he had returned to Holland.

Unlike many agents and overseers of large estates, he gave his entire time and all his energies to promote the interests of his principals. He entered into no private speculations, nor did he use his power and means to acquire a fortune for himself. He saw opportunities for the purchase of lands, and improved them, not for himself, but for the family he represented. He bought a large tract at Catskill for the Van Rensselaers, and then sent his son to look it over, and discover, if possible, a valuable mine said to be among the mountains. He also bought sixty-two thousand acres on the east side of the river, known as Claverack. The city of Hudson now occupies a part of it. The West India Company cancelled the purchase of the Catskills, and sold it to other parties. The Claverack tract was suffered to remain as part of the Van Rensselaer estate.

The controversy between Van Slichtenhorst and Stuyvesant was personal and bitter. On the part of the latter, it became simply a persecution. The men were quite evenly matched as to education and ability. The one contended for the rights of the colony of Rensselaerwyck, as granted by the charter of *Freedoms and Exemptions*, 1629; the other for the privileges of the West India Company, as he interpreted them. Van Slichtenhorst had the best of the argument because of right and justice, while Stuyvesant prevailed because he had the Company and their soldiers to sustain him. He was provoked that his antagonist could make a stronger plea for the patroon than he for the Company, without making proper allowance for his false position. To enforce his requirements, he employed force, as the argument of last resort. That Van Slichtenhorst was right is proven by the admissions of the

Company after his death. In 1674, the Company confessed that the lands, on which were Fort Orange and Beverwyck, rightly belonged to Van Rensselaer; and that Stuyvesant's aggressions were unwarranted, and in violation of the colony's charter.

Van Slichtenhorst, having lost his wife before he left Holland, brought his two children, a son and daughter, with him to Beverwyck. He returned alone, his daughter having married Philip Schuyler, and his son being also married and settled in the colony. He was now somewhat advanced in life, and died within a few years after his return to Holland. In 1660, his son and daughter gave power of attorney to a friend in Amsterdam to settle his estate.¹ The name, Van Slichtenhorst, is not now known either in Holland or in America.

Gerrit Van Slichtenhorst, son of the director, had a respectable position in the social and political circles of Beverwyck. By his enterprise and energy he secured a fair estate. He was an officer in the church, and a magistrate of the colony. He seems to have discharged the duties of both positions several years, with general acceptance. Like many others, he bought and sold houses and lots in the village, but his only outside transaction, until he removed to Esopus, was the purchase from two Indians of a small tract of land lying near the northern bounds of Claverack. In 1672, he was one of the magistrates of Schenectady, but the next year was again in Albany. In 1668, he was in Holland, whither he had gone to make a final settlement of his father's estate, and attend to some mercantile affairs. While there he and other Albanians freighted a ship for New York, but before she sailed the English

¹ It is a curious fact, that the name of the public administrator of estates in Nykerk was Peter Schuyr.

Government passed an order in Council prohibiting the admission of Dutch ships into the port of New York. This was in violation of the articles of surrender in 1664. The parties who freighted the ship joined in an energetic protest against the order. It was so far modified as to permit the entry of this one vessel, but no more.

Toward the close of life, Gerrit removed to Kingston (Esopus), where he died, in 1684. He left one son, Gerrit, and five daughters. The son probably died unmarried, or without children. I found in the records only one mention of him; that, in 1691, an invoice of medicines was sent to him.

Alida, the eldest daughter, married first, Gerrit Van Schaick; and second, Pieter Davidse, eldest son of David Schuyler. O'Callaghan and others were mistaken in calling her the daughter of Brant Arentse Van Slichtenhorst,¹ as may be seen from the records of deeds at Albany. Baata, another daughter, married Jan Clute, of Niskayuna. Their descendants are numerous. Elizabeth, a third daughter, married Nicholas William Stuyvesant, a son of her grandfather's old antagonist. A fourth daughter, Rachel, married Thomas Ecker, of New York. Heligonda, the fifth daughter, remained unmarried. She was a merchant in New York, and once at least she furnished Robert Livingston with some supplies for the public service. Another reference to her reminds one of her grandfather. She was sued for slander. The case was tried before the Council, who dismissed it as not proven.

¹ October 1, 1694, Pieter Davidse Schuyler, and Alida Slichtenhorst his wife, conveyed to Nicholas Stuyvesant, of New York, sixty morgens of land at Claverack, "being all the right and title in said land as bequeathed to them by the will of Gerrit Van Slichtenhorst, father of the said Alida Van Slichtenhorst, which land they now convey to Nicholas Stuyvesant, their brother-in-law."

Although the direct line failed to perpetuate the name, through the female line there are hundreds who can trace their descent from the sturdy old director of Rensselaerwyck.

PHILIP SCHUYLER'S FAMILY RECORD.

Mr. S. Alosen came from Holland to New York to engage in mercantile business, and entered the office of Robert and George L. Schuyler, grandsons of General Philip Schuyler, of the Revolution, in whose possession were the papers of their grandfather. Some of the older papers were written in the Dutch language. Many of them related to family affairs, but the larger part were of a public nature. Mr. Alosen, being acquainted with both Dutch and English, was employed to assort and index them. They were packed in boxes, and were so numerous and varied, that his leisure hours for many years were occupied with the work. He says, "they were in my custody from 1840 to the fall of 1844." He became greatly interested in the genealogy and history of the Schuyler family, and at one time entertained the project of writing their genealogical history. For this purpose he began a correspondence extending over several years. He visited Albany to consult the church records, and several places in New Jersey to collect information. He procured many valuable statistics and facts, but was only on the threshold of his work, when the mutations of business caused his return to Holland. There he continued his researches, but failed to find any trace of the name.

Mr. Alosen was very fond of antiquarian studies, and while residing in Jersey City he was elected a member of the New Jersey Historical Society, and furnished it with several papers on his favorite topics, some of which were

published in the proceedings. Before his death in Holland, he directed his papers and letters relating to the Schuylers to be sent to the late Joel Munsell, of Albany, N. Y., who kindly placed them at my disposal. Among them I find the family record of Philip Schuyler in Dutch, copied from the original found among General Schuyler's papers, to which is annexed an English translation. Mr. Alofsen published it, and it is now to be found in part in various publications. The following is the paper, with the introduction and notes of the translator :

“Translation of an old Dutch genealogical manuscript of the family Schuyler, of the State of New York, at present [1844] in the possession of Robert Schuyler, of the City of New York, a direct descendant in the 6th generation of Philip Pieterse Schuyler (or Philip Schuyler Pietersen) from Amsterdam.

“In the year of our Lord 1650 the 12 december, Have I, Philip Pieterse Schuyler, from Amsterdam, old about 2-[illegible] years married for my Wife Margritta van Slichtenhorst born at Nykerck old 22 years may the good god grant us A long and peaceful life to our salvation Amen—

We have been married by Antoni de Hooges,¹ Secretary² of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck in the presence of both the officers as well of the fort orange as of the forenamed colony and of some of the principal inhabitants thereof.

¹ The bold promontory that juts sharply out into the Hudson, on the right hand as we enter the Highlands going up the river, says the *Trey Whig*, was named Antonie's Neuse (or promontory) by the Dutch settlers, in honor of Antonie de Hooge, secretary to the jurisdiction of Rensselaerwyck. This title the English corrupted into St. Anthony's Nose, and supposed it implied some resemblance between the edge of the mountain and the edge of the saint's face. S. A.

² Doubtless the marriage ceremony was performed by a civil officer, because the church was without a minister, Dominic Megapolensis having resigned, was now in New Amsterdam, on his way to fatherland. G. W. S.

1652 the 2 July being tuesday at about 7 o'clock is born our son Gysbert van Schuyler. May the Lord god let him grow up in virtues to his salvation. Amen.

1654 the 4 february being on Friday is born our daughter geertru van Schuyler May the Lord god let her grow up in virtues to her salvation Amen.

1656 the 28 february being Monday is born our second daughter Alyda van Schuyler May the Lord god let her grow up in virtues to her salvation Amen

and is on the 10 Feby. 1675

old style married to

domine Nicholas Van

Rensselaer minister of the Holy word of Albany and Rensselaerwyck third son of the patroon Mr. Kilian Van Rensselaer, and Mrs. Anna Van Weely. God Almighty give them both a long and peaceful life, and a blissful death. Amen.

1657 the 17 September Monday is born our second son Pieter van Schuyler May the Lord god let him grow up in virtues to his salvation Amen.

1659 the 18 december thursday is born our third son brant van Schuyler May the Lord god let him grow up in virtues to his salvation Amen.

1662 the 25 june is born our fourth son named Arent van Schuyler may the Lord god let him grow up in virtues to his salvation Amen.

1664 the 12 November is born our third daughter named Sybilla van Schuyler and is deceased the 9 december.

1666 the 8 February is born our fifth son named Philip Schuyler may the Lord god let him grow up in virtues to his salvation Amen.

1668 the 5 April is born our sixth son named Johannes Schuyler May the Lord god let him grow up in virtues to salvation Amen!

1672 the 2 January is born our fourth daughter named Margritta May the Lord god let her grow up in virtues to her salvation Amen.

A^o 1683 The 9 mAy old style at 3 o'clock in the afternoon Capt. Philip Schuyler died in the Lord and is the 11 ditto Buried in the church of Albany

NOTE. The MS. written in old Dutch letters is undoubtedly the autograph of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, deceased 1683. The annotation of the marriage of his daughter Alyda is added to it by another hand in type or printing letters.¹ And the annotation of his death is written in the more modern, or Italian characters. S. A."

The following genealogical table shows a group of remarkable men and women. One who is acquainted with the early history of New York will see at a glance that few families, if any, in those early days, included so many members who were destined, in the near future, to assume positions as to wealth and political influence equal to theirs. Several of them laid the foundations of vast estates, which in the hands of their grandchildren proved a source of great power. Fortunately their descendants were not aristocrats, and although they formed some aristocratic associations, and in society were on intimate terms with the English governors and their official retainers, were not blind to the oppressions of the English Government. In the Revolution they espoused the popular cause, and threw the whole weight of their power and influence on the side of liberty. But for them the independence of the country could not have been so early accomplished.

¹ The record of the marriage of Alyda was probably written by her mother. Her name attached to the wills is in the characters described.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

PHILIP SCHUYLER'S CHILDREN.

1. PHILIP SCHUYLER, d. May 9, 1683, m. December 12, 1650, *Margarita Van Slichtenhorst*, d. 1711.
2. GYSBERT, b. July 2, 1652, d. y.
3. GEERTRU, b. February 4, 1654, d. about 1719.
m. September 10, 1671, *Stephanus Van Cortlandt*, d. November 25, 1700.
4. ALYDA, b. February 28, 1656, d.
m. 1, February 10, 1675, Rev. *Nicolaus Van Rensselaer*, d. November, 1678.
m. 2, 1679, *Robert Livingston*, d. about 1728.
5. PETER, b. September 17, 1657, d. February 19, 1724.
m. 1, 1681, *Engeltie Van Schaick*, d. 1689.
m. 2, September 14, 1691, *Maria Van Rensselaer*, d.
6. BRANT, b. December 18, 1659, d. about 1702.
m. July 12, 1682, *Cornelia Van Cortlandt*, d.
7. ARENT, b. June 25, 1662, d. about 1731.
m. 1, November 26, 1648, *Jenneke Teller*, d. 1700.
m. 2, January, 1703, *Swantie Van Duyckhuyzen*, d. 1723.
m. 3, 1724, *Maria Walter*.

8. SYBILLA, b. November 12, 1664, d. y.
9. PHILIP, b. February 8, 1666, d. May 24, 1724.
m. 1, July 25, 1687, *Elizabeth De Meyer*, d.
m. 2, May 19, 1719, *Catharine Schierph*,
widow of *Ritsert Brouwer*, d.
10. JOHANNES, b. April 5, 1668, d. February 1747.
m. 1695, *Elizabeth Staats*, widow of *Johannes Wendel*, d. June, 1737.
11. MARGARET, b. January 2, 1672, d. May 15, 1748,
m. 1, September 8, 1691, *Jacobus Verplanck*, d. 1700.
m. 2, November 2, 1701, *John Collins*,
d. April 13, 1728.

THE VAN CORTLANDT FAMILY.

GERTRUDE, eldest daughter of Philip Schuyler, married Stephanus Van Cortlandt, September 10, 1671.

Olof Stevense Van Cortlandt, the father of Stephanus, came to New Amsterdam by the ship *Haring*, 1637, in the service of the West India Company, as a soldier. He was young and poor, but, having some education, left his native land to indulge his taste for adventure, and find a field to improve his fortunes. He took the only means at command to reach the New World, that of a soldier. Nothing is known of his family or antecedents. Some of his descendants have assumed that he was related to the ducal house of Courland; that his father served with distinction in the armies of the United Provinces; that he himself before emigrating was a privy councillor of state, and was also "Burgomaster of the great town of Wyck in Utrecht."

If a scion of the Courland dukes, a privy councillor, and a burgomaster, it is hardly to be supposed that while yet a young man he would consent to play the part of a common soldier, and that too in the service of a company and not of a state. This pedigree is, however, undoubtedly a genealogical myth.¹ Five years after Van Cortlandt's

¹ Sir Bernard Burke is not deaf to the appeals of friends (as witness the article *Read*, in the *British Peerage*), and for some reason he inserted in the *Landed Gentry*, edition of 1857, p. 1186, under Taylor of Pennington, a genealogy of the Van Cortlandt family. Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, the great-grandson of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, was a Tory, and settled in

arrival in the country, on February 26; 1642, he married Anneke Lookermans. She was doubtless of his own social position, and what that was may be inferred from hers. She was an emigrant from Turnhout, but nothing is known of her family, save that she was a sister of Govert Lookermans, who came to Manhattan, 1633, as cook's mate on the yacht *St. Martyn*, and soon after his arrival

England, his male issue being now extinct. Burke says (though it is somewhat modified in later editions): "The Van Cortlandts are descended from one of the most noble families of Holland, to which country their ancestors migrated when deprived of the sovereignty of Courland. The Rt. Hon. Oliver Stephen Van Cortlandt, privy councillor, accompanied in 1629, as secretary to the government, the first Dutch governor sent out by the States-General of Holland to the colony now called New York, which had been settled some time before. As a compensation to him for large sums of money advanced to the government of Holland, he obtained a grant of two manors, etc." Every statement here is false, as will be easily seen. As to the Dukes of Courland the matter is very plain. Courland, Curland or Curonia, the land of the Curs or Kurs, a Finnish people, was detached from Livonia when Gotthard Kettler, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, embraced Lutheranism and ceded Livonia to Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland. Kettler was of the family of the Dukes of Berg, and as a reward Courland and Semigallia were erected into a duchy for him. He was named duke in 1559, invested in 1561, and died in 1587, having married in 1566 (although he had made a vow of celibacy) Anne, daughter of Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. He left two sons, Frederick and William; and two daughters, Anne, who married Prince Radziwill, and Elizabeth, who married Adam Wenceslas, Duke of Teschen in Silesia. His son Frederick succeeded, and died without issue in 1641, having married Elizabeth Madeleine, daughter of Ernest Louis, Duke of Pomerania-Wolgast. William then reigned until 1643, having married Sophia, second daughter of Albert Frederick, Duke of Prussia and Margrave of Brandenburg, leaving one child, a son, James, who was born in 1610, succeeded in 1643, and died in 1682. He married in 1645 Lousia Charlotte, daughter of George William, Elector of Brandenburg, and had seven children: 1, Frederick Casimir; 2, Ferdinand; 3, Alexander, killed at the siege of Buda, in 1686; 4, Marie Amelia, wife of Charles, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; 5, Charles James, born in 1654, died without issue, at Berlin, in 1677; 6, Louise Elizabeth, wife of Frederick of Hesse-Homburg; 7, Charlotte Sophia, Abbess of Herford. Frederick Casimir, born in 1650, succeeded his father in 1683, and died in 1698. He married, 1, Sophia Amelia, daughter of Henry, Count of Nassau-Siegen, by whom

was taken into the Company's service. Like his brother-in-law, he became in after years a man of wealth and consideration.

Olof Stevense, as he wrote his name, and by which he was known until toward the close of life, was promoted by Director Kieft, and taken into the civil service of the Company. He was made bookkeeper of stores. His salary was small, for in 1641 he asked for higher pay, and was allowed thirty guilders a month. In 1643 he was promoted to be public storekeeper. A few years later he left the Company's service, and established himself in the business of trader and brewer. His business prospered, and he soon became a man of substance. He was the captain of the train band, and was one of the "Nine Men," of which body he was chairman. The Nine Men were a sort of council, elected by the commonalty to advise with the director. They were not of much account, for if their views of legislation did not agree with the director's notions, they were rejected, and the Nine Men dissolved. In 1655 he was appointed burgomaster of New Amsterdam, and held that position at intervals several years. As friend and adviser, he accompanied

he had a daughter, Louisa Amelia, who married, in 1703, Frederick William, Prince of Nassau-Siegen; and 2, Elizabeth Sophia, daughter of Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, by whom he had a son, Frederick William, born in 1692, who succeeded him in 1698, and died in 1711, a few weeks after his marriage with the Tsarevna Anna Ivanovna, niece of Peter the Great, and subsequently the Empress Anne of Russia. Ferdinand, son of James, then tried to get the throne, but died at Dantzic in 1737, without male issue, and the house of Kettler became extinct in the male line. After the accession of Anne to the throne of Russia, Ernest John Biron was elected Duke of Courland in 1737. He was succeeded by his son Peter in 1769, who reigned until 1795, when Courland was definitively annexed to Russia. Two families, Biron-Wartenberg, and Talleyrand, Prince de Sagan, take now the title of Curland.

In truth, genealogists are sometimes credulous!

Stuyvesant to Esopus, and to other places in the province. He was one of the delegates sent to Hartford, October, 1663, to negotiate a settlement of the boundaries. The next year he was one of the commissioners to treat with General Nicol's, and arrange the terms of the surrender of the province to the English forces.

It matters little what was the origin of Van Cortlandt. By nature he was a noble man. He was active in the church, liberal in his benefactions, kind to his neighbors, benevolent to the poor, and forgiving to his enemies. On one occasion of great excitement in the little community of New Amsterdam, the pastor of the church, Rev. E. Bogardus, uttered a hasty remark reflecting on his integrity. Van Cortlandt promptly challenged him to the proof. When convinced of his error, the dominie apologized, and his elder not only forgave him, but took him back to his confidence and affection, as a brother beloved. He died April 4, 1684. His wife survived him only about a month. They had seven children. One of their daughters married Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, son of the first patroon, and director of the colony of Rensselaerwyck; another, Andries Teller, of Albany; a third, first, Johannes Dervall, and second, Frederick Philipse, the millionaire; the youngest, Brant Schuyler, of Albany. Of their three sons one died unmarried, and another married Eve Philipse, and Stephen, the eldest, Gertrude Schuyler.

Stephen Van Cortlandt, born in 1643, was forty years old when his father died. If the success of a son can gratify a father's love, then Olof Stevense had reason for joy, for Stephen had already accomplished more than most men at the allotted age.

He early began business as a merchant, and prosecuted it with more than ordinary success to the end of life. His unimpeachable character for honesty and integrity pro-

cured for him the confidence of the English governors. They bestowed upon him so much of their friendship and patronage, as to awaken the jealousy of English merchants, his rivals in trade. They complained to their friends in England, that all official patronage was bestowed by the governor on a "Dutchman, and Englishmen had no chance."

In 1677, when only thirty-four years old, he was appointed mayor of New York, the first native-born New Yorker who held the office. He retained the position only one year, but was reappointed in 1686. The mayors of New York and Albany, the only cities in the colony, and in the State for many years after the Revolution, were appointed by the governor and Council, or by the Common Council. Their election by the people begins at 1839, except in one notable instance. Van Cortlandt was mayor when Leisler seized upon the government, 1689, and was allowed to hold the office to the end of his term, October following. Leisler then issued a proclamation confirming Peter De La Noye, who had been elected by the Protestant freemen, under direction of the Committee of Safety. This democratic method ceased with Leisler's administration, and was not again revived for the next century and a half. It is related by Valentine, that after the election of De La Noye, a committee was sent to Van Cortlandt's house for the records and city seal. They were courteously received by his wife in the absence of her husband, who had left the city to avoid arrest by Leisler, but she declined to deliver the articles in question. The sergeant-at-arms, who was directed to go on the same business, met with a ruder reception. On delivering his message, she bowed him out and shut the door in his face. Of course, the newly elected officers were indignant, and resorted to intimidation. She was firm, and kept possession. Van

Cortlandt was legally mayor, notwithstanding the election, by the proclamation of King William, confirming all officers in their places until further orders.

He was appointed to the King's Council for New York, 1680, of which body he was a member to the time of his death, with the exception, if exception it may be called, of the two years that Leisler held the reins of government. He was popular with all the English governors, and with some a favorite. Even Lord Bellomont, who was politically opposed to him, and affiliated with the opposition, or the Leislerian party, could speak a good word for him. Bellomont, in 1698, appointed him and Diecy Hungerford collectors of customs and receivers-general in place of Chidley Brook, removed, a high compliment to his integrity and business capacity. Another English official, Attorney-General Graham, paid him a similar compliment. Writing to the home government, he said, "Colonel Cortlandt hath now the management of the revenue, by whose care and diligence it will be considerably improved." Two years later Bellomont said, "I believe he gives a just account of all money that comes into his hands." He had had some experience as to the duties of the office, for Governor Dongan had appointed him, in 1686, "Manager of the Revenue," in place of Lucas Santen, suspended, and spoke of him "as a sufficient and knowing person."

Van Cortlandt was connected with the military, and rose from an ensign, 1668, to the rank of colonel, 1693. At the latter date he commanded the King's County militia. He was one of the early merchants of New York whose residence was in Brooklyn, where he owned a considerable landed property. Before his death he returned to New York.

From his father's estate he received a large accession to his own, so that in 1685 he was one of the wealthiest men

in New York. It was from the class of large property owners that the members of the Council were usually selected by instructions of the king. The position elevated them somewhat socially and politically above their fellows. They formed a sort of court circle, and were the subjects of envy, and frequently of malignant remarks. It was common to call them "aristocrats," and their party the "aristocratic party." When James II. was on the throne, some demagogues termed them "papists," because the king's religious proclivities were toward the Church of Rome. Although they were good Protestants, and members of Protestant churches, they were office-holders under a "papistical" king, and hence, like the king, it was declared that they were Romanists in disguise. Leisler and his adherents were quite ready to apply to them the epithets of "aristocrats," papists, and the like—always obnoxious in a Protestant community, and especially so at that time in New York.

While Leisler ruled, Van Cortlandt's lines did not run in pleasant places. His life did not flow smoothly, and he was seriously threatened with dangers to person and property. Like most persons entrusted with office and responsibility, he was unwilling to surrender his position at the call of a faction raised to the surface by adventitious circumstances, and not a regularly constituted authority. He had received a printed copy of the proclamation of William and Mary, continuing all Protestant magistrates and other officers in their positions until further orders, and had published it in the usual form. Being a Protestant, mayor of the city, and member of the Council, it was his right and duty to stand at his post and obey instructions. But this was not so to be.

He, Frederick Philipse and Nicholas Bayard were the only councillors left in the city. Governor Andros had

gone to New England to attend to his duties there. The revolution in England had driven King James from the throne, and seated William and Mary in his place. The fire of revolution was easily kindled on this side the ocean. Massachusetts arrested and imprisoned Andros and his attendant councillors. The contagion extended to New York, and Leisler became a leader of the Protestant masses. He seized the fort, and commanded obedience to his authority. Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, taking counsel from his fears, fled to England. The mayor and councillors attempted to conduct the affairs of the city and province in the usual way, according to the instructions of the now absent lieutenant-governor, but were resisted by Leisler and his partisans with abuse and blows. A mob collected, and became so unrestrained and furious, that Bayard, to escape their violence, sought safety in flight; Philipse, fearing for his life and estate, promised to abstain from further action, and Van Cortlandt remained in his house with closed doors. The evening before holding the regular court, of which the mayor was president, Leisler sent to the other justices, and threatened personal violence should they attempt to organize. They were intimidated, and refused to sit. The court was accordingly adjourned for four weeks. They did not meet again until the power of the usurping faction was broken.

Van Cortlandt remained in the city awhile longer, braving the dangers to his person, and suffering much abuse. At last he was obliged to hide, and about August 1st he went to Albany. There he was among friends, who had refused to surrender their city government to Leisler's agents. In the following February, 1690, Schenectady was burned by the French from Canada, and in the spring the city of Albany and the fort were surrendered to Leisler. Van Cortlandt then fled to New England, and thence to

New Jersey. He was now nearer his home and family, and could have some supervision of his business affairs. But Leisler did not cease his persecutions. He denounced him as a papist and traitor, and issued a warrant for his arrest. Disappointed in securing his person, he made proclamation directing any or all magistrates to apprehend him wherever found. But Van Cortlandt escaped their vigilance.

Nicholas Bayard was not so fortunate. He left his hiding-place to visit the bedside of his only son, who was supposed to be dying. It was soon known to Leisler that he was in the city. The officers broke into his house, and took him prisoner. He was taken to the fort, where by Leisler's orders he was heavily ironed, and thrown into the dungeon. There he was kept, with William Nicol and others, until released by Governor Sloughter. Occasionally, to give him an airing, he was taken out, paraded through the fort and on the ramparts, as a spectacle to the scoffing mob. It is not to be wondered at, that, when he was restored to the Council, he should have been the most active in procuring Leisler's conviction and execution.

On the downfall of Leisler, Van Cortlandt resumed his old place in the Council, of which he remained an honored and useful member during life. He was loyal to the government, and, when it was short of funds, he made advances for the support of the troops, and for other purposes, until it was largely in his debt.

Although a layman, he was made one of the justices of the Supreme Court in 1693, and first judge of the Common Pleas of Kings County. The few lawyers then in the province did not sustain a high character for learning and ability, and it was thought wiser to place on the bench a man of good sense, although unlearned in the law.

He was not the only layman in colonial times who was appointed to such a position. He was the trusted adviser of Governor Sloughter, and of his successor, Governor Fletcher. Even Lord Bellomont, opposed as he was in politics, trusted him, having confidence in his ability and honor. When Hungerford, his fellow-officer in the customs, and a relative of the governor, was dismissed for some crookedness, Van Cortlandt was retained in sole charge. Toward the close of life his mind was affected by disease, and he lost much of his original vigor. Bellomont now said of him, "he has grown very crazy and infirm, and is very timorous," but did not lose his confidence in his integrity. Van Cortlandt had not ceased to make advances, when the public wants required, and now again the government was in his debt to the amount of three hundred pounds. It was a considerable sum for the times, and proved the source of some delay in the settlement of his accounts after his death; not of delay only, but of annoyance and injustice to his widow.

It was then the custom of public officers to keep no separate books for their official accounts, but to keep them on their own private ledgers. There is at this day, in the Comptroller's Office at Albany, a private ledger, one hundred and fifty years old, bound in pig-skin, and in excellent condition, which belonged to a colonial treasurer. It is still retained by the State, to the exclusion of the rightful owners, because, it is alleged, there are public accounts in it. Ask them to be pointed out, and there is no one so wise as to be able to distinguish a public from a private one.

Van Cortlandt, as others before and after him, kept his collector's accounts on his private books. In them were the items of his advances to the government, as also charges against merchants and importers, which he had

advanced for their accommodation. Although he had been ill, his death was sudden and unexpected. He had not closed his official accounts. Immediately after his funeral, Bellomont called for an accounting and a settlement. This required time and skill, but the governor was impatient, and demanded the books. This was refused by the widow, because they belonged to her deceased husband's estate, and contained private accounts, as well against the colony for advances as against individuals. She proposed that all the collector's accounts should be copied, and presented to the governor and Council. When this was done, she and her eldest son appeared in the Council-chamber, and laid them on the table to be examined in the usual way. This was not satisfactory. "The books, the books!" they exclaimed; nothing but the books would satisfy them. The widow was firm, and declined to deliver them. Bellomont's temper always rose when opposed. Now that a woman dared to refuse compliance with his demands, he was enraged. He resorted to his usual abusive language, but, seeing the widow was unmoved, he turned it against Nicholas Bayard and William Nicol, whom he had previously removed from the Council, alleging that, as they were her relatives, they had acted as her counsel in this procedure. Unable to secure the books by bluster, he resorted to another method. A few days later a resolution was passed in Council that they would audit the accounts in open session. The Van Cortlandts were invited to meet them on an appointed day, and requested to bring their books. They appeared, and quietly entered upon the work of settlement. But suddenly the books were seized, carried off, and concealed. Bellomont, a day or two afterward, wrote to the Lords of Trade, exulting over the success of his stratagem. It was his last letter to that board. Twelve days after its date he

followed his old friend and counsellor to the grave, leaving the stolen books to be examined and audited by his successor.

The settlement of these accounts was deferred from time to time, and the records do not show when they were finally arranged. In 1702, the widow sent in a petition relative to her claim on the government, which was referred to Mayor Noel. He reported that the books had been seized and carried off, and that until they were produced the claim could not be adjudicated. The next year a committee of Council reported in favor of the claim. She then asked by petition for the amount reported due her late husband. Four years later, 1708, she sent in another petition "for the payment of her late husband's claim as commissioner of the revenue." It does not appear when the claim was paid, but it is quite clear that Bellomont's charge, that "the Van Cortlandts were trying to cheat the government," was untrue. They were only trying to get their own.

In 1683, Stephanus Van Cortlandt purchased, by license, of the Indians, a tract of land lying on the east side of the Hudson, beginning at the mouth of the Croton River, running north "to the north side of a high hill called Anthony's Nose," thence east with parallel north and south lines into the woods twenty miles—a tract said to have contained eighty-three thousand acres. In a "chedull" (schedule) attached to the Indian deed are enumerated the articles given in payment. There are twenty different kinds, such as guns, powder, lead, hatchets, kettles, blankets, "two ankers of rum, and six yearthen jugs."

The Highland Indians so dreaded forty years before, and still a terror in Stuyvesant's time only twenty years before, had now become so poor that they were willing and

anxious to sell a large part of their territory for means to prolong a miserable existence. Van Cortlandt about the same time purchased another tract on the west side of the river. In 1697, Governor Fletcher, in consideration of his fees, amounting to "three hundred pieces of eight" (three hundred dollars), erected these two tracts into a manor, named Cortlandt, and constituted Stephen Van Cortlandt its lord. Beside the manor, Van Cortlandt had another tract higher up on the river; also lands in Sussex County, New Jersey, and others on the west end of Long Island. In fact, he was one of the half-dozen large land-owners in the province.

Governor Fletcher, for the sake of the fees, it is said, made several large grants of land to individuals who had purchased them from the Indians. In a sense it was prejudicial to the interests of the colony, retarding population. This was not the real cause for the outcry afterward raised against them. The true reason was that smaller speculators had been shut out. These large tracts of land and manors were copied after English examples, and were in keeping with English thought and usage. When Bellomont came, he adopted the cry of disappointed parties, and declaimed against Fletcher's "extravagant grants." He induced his assembly to pass an act vacating certain patents for extensive tracts, and sent it to England for approval by the Crown. Its opponents followed with strong representations against it, and Fletcher appeared before the Council to justify his action. The king's advisers were in doubt, and action was suspended. Bellomont, believing that his influence with the Five Nations, and with his party, depended largely on the success of the measure, wrote often to the government, earnestly urging the approval of the act. He said that there were other large grants which should be vacated, but

all depended upon the fate of the act under consideration. He named several, among them Van Cortlandt's, and in doing so, he uttered his usual reckless statements without regard to facts. He declared that Van Cortlandt had two tracts, each twenty-four miles square. The portion of the manor on the east side of the river was ten miles by twenty, and at the time of Bellomont's letter he had sold the part on the west side.

Stephanus Van Cortlandt modelled his will (dated April 14, 1700) after that of his wife's father. He appointed his wife sole executrix, and gave her charge of the whole estate during life, or so long as she remained his widow. To his eldest son, Johannes, he gave a portion of the manor, now known as Verplanck's Point. The residue of the real estate, "whatsoever, and wheresoever it be," after his wife's death, he devised to his eleven children, including Johannes, to be equally divided between them, or held in common, as shall be thought by them and their guardians to be the most advisable. He died, November 25, 1700. His widow survived him nineteen years or more. She was living, October 7, 1719, when she released to her youngest daughter, Cornelia Schuyler, two houses on Queen Street, now Pearl Street, New York.

The manor was held in common until 1733, when there was a partial division, and the next year another. It was not until December, 1753, that the heirs entered into an agreement for the final partition of the manor and other real estate.¹ At this time the real estate consisted of the

¹ Bolton, in his History of Westchester County, says that the final division occurred November 4, 1734. An indenture, dated December 14, 1753, signed by the ten living heirs, and recorded in the State Secretary's office, Deeds, No. 16, pp. 289-291, will correct the mistake. Bolton also says, that "lot 8, John Schuyler, had been sold prior to the partition" of 1734. Reference to the will of his widow, dated November 29, 1758, shows this to be an error.

Manor Cortlandt ; a tract of land lying about opposite Newburg, that is, from Fishkill Creek to five hundred rods north of Wappinger's Creek, extending east sixteen miles ; and " twelve hundred acres, called Bowman's Farm, in Sussex County, on the east side of Delaware Bay, granted to him by the proprietors of Pennsylvania."

According to the " true genealogy as taken from my grandfather's papers," sent to a friend by General Pierre Van Cortlandt, 1826, Stephanus Van Cortlandt had *fourteen* children, eleven of whom were living when he died. One, Elizabeth, born 1691, is not among the names of children baptized in the church. Two, Gertrude, 1688, and Gysbert, 1689, were apparently born *after* they were baptized! It is to be presumed that the records of the church are right, and " grandfather's papers " slightly wrong. There were eleven living when the will was made, all mentioned by names. Olof, the second son, died unmarried, and by his will, December 23, 1706, devised his portion of the estate to his ten surviving brothers and sisters, according to the terms of his father's will.

In 1753, these ten children were living. They were,

1. Johannes, m. Anna Van Schaick. He had one child, a daughter, Gertrude, who married Philip Verplanck. She brought to her husband, besides other property, the " neck of land on the east side of Hudson's River, at the entering of the Highlands, just over against a certain place called Haverstroof, known by the Indians as Moanah." It is now called Verplanck's Point, from her husband.

2. Margreitse, m. first Samuel Bayard, only son of Nicholas Bayard, Jacob Leisler's prisoner. After his death she married Peter Kemble, of New Jersey.

3. Anna, m. Stephen De Lancey, a French Huguenot, who after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, first took refuge in England, where he was naturalized, and

then came to New York. He became a prosperous merchant, and later a politician, being a member of Assembly several terms. He acquired a very considerable fortune. His eldest son, James, was chief-justice of New York, and lieutenant-governor. He was distinguished for his abilities, and success as a politician. Another son, Oliver, was also distinguished, but for other reasons. In the Revolution he fought in the British ranks against the country that gave his father asylum. He commanded a Westchester battalion, better known as the Cowboys. The French blood of the De Lanceys, said to have been derived from a noble family, led most of the family into the ranks of the loyalists, better known as Tories.

4. Maria, m. first Killian Van Rensselaer, patroon of Rensselaerwyck ; and second, John Miller. Her first husband was a man of considerable influence, not on account of his large estate only, but also because of his activity in common life, and his political success. He was a member of the king's council when he died.

5. Philip, m. Catherine de Peyster. After the death of his brothers John and Olof, Philip became head of the house, and as the manor was not yet partitioned among the heirs, he was recognized as its lord, the third of that ilk. The mixture of Dutch and French blood did not cement their posterity politically. A grandson, Philip, embraced the British side in the Revolution, while their son Pierre was true to his country, and to the traditions of his Dutch ancestors. He joined his liberty-loving countrymen, and with his sons stood firm to the cause of American liberty.

6. Stephen, m. Catalina Staats, a daughter of Dr. Samuel Staats, one of Leisler's council, and chief adviser, when the elder Stephen was forced to hide. The son and daughter had forgotten the political differences of their fathers. Their descendants in the direct line are extinct.

Three in the female line own each a farm of the old manor, one of whom wears a splendid heirloom once worn by Jacob Leisler's wife.

7. Gertrude, m. Colonel Henry Beekman, of Rhinebeck, grandson of Willem Beekman, deputy director of the West India Company's colony on the Delaware, and for a brief period chief officer at the Esopus. His uncle, Gerardus, was another of Leisler's council. Colonel Beekman was a large landowner. It was said of him, that his greed for land was such that, if there were any land in the moon, he would try to own the greater part of it.

8. Elizabeth, m. Rev. William Skinner. It is related of him that his true name was McGregor, that he was compromised in the rebellion of 1715 in Scotland, and fled to this country under an assumed name; and that, being a man of fine education, he took orders, and settled as the first pastor of the Episcopal Church of Perth Amboy, N. J.

9. Catherine, m. Andrew Johnston, a son of a member of the Council both of New York and New Jersey.

10. Cornelia, m. John Schuyler, Jr., son of Johannes Schuyler, of Albany, and her cousin. In her will, dated November 29, 1758, and proved November 24, 1762, she gives to her son Philip, afterward the general, thirty pounds in satisfaction of his claim as being the eldest son. She directs her farm on the east side of the Hudson, adjoining Philip Verplanck's, to be divided equally between her sons Philip and Stephen, Stephen to have the first choice. To her daughter Gertrude she devises the houses and lots on Queen Street, New York, and to her son Cortlandt she bequeaths eighteen hundred pounds, as equivalent to the respective shares of her other children. The residue of the estate is to be equally divided between the four.

Johannes, eldest son of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, died without male issue. Olof, the second son, having died unmarried, Philip, the third son, became the head of the house. He had five sons, three of whom died in early manhood, leaving no posterity. By the adherence of his eldest brother's sons to the royal cause in the Revolution, Pierre, the youngest of the five brothers, became the head of the American family.

When the Revolutionary war commenced, Pierre Van Cortlandt was appointed president of the committee of public safety. By his earnest zeal and valuable services in the patriot cause, he commended himself to the friends of liberty. In 1777, he was elected the first lieutenant-governor on the ticket with George Clinton, the first governor of the State, and held the position for eighteen consecutive years. During the war his activity made him so obnoxious to the British authorities that they offered a bounty for his capture, dead or alive. He was obliged with his family to abandon his home, and seek safety in a place remote from the district patrolled by Oliver De Lancey's "Cowboys." He died in May, 1814. He had four sons, two of whom died before him, leaving no children. His eldest son, Philip, was a colonel in the American army, and served with distinction through the war. He was in the battles which resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne. He was with General Sullivan in his campaign against the Indians of Western New York, and in the only battle led his regiment in a bayonet charge which decided the day. He was in the siege of Yorktown, where he rendered important services, for which Congress conferred on him the rank of brigadier-general. Before hostilities actually commenced, large inducements were held out both to him and his father, to identify themselves with the royal cause. They were

proof against the flattering bribes, and against the arguments of friends. After the close of the war Colonel Van Cortlandt returned to his home, having won an enviable reputation as a soldier. Subsequently he represented his district in Congress sixteen years, declining a re-election in 1811. He died a bachelor, November, 1831, and was succeeded by his brother, Major-General Pierre Van Cortlandt, as his heir and representative of the eldest line. The manor house built by Stephanus Van Cortlandt is yet occupied by a descendant.

Stephen, the eldest son of Philip (5), married in 1738 Mary Walton Ricketts, of Jamaica. His eldest son Philip, b. Nov. 10, 1739, married in 1762 Catherine Ogden. He became a Colonel in the British Army and removed to England. Of his twenty-three children, several of the daughters married and left descendants. His sons all died without children, and the English branch is therefore extinct in the male line.¹

¹ See Burke's *Landed Gentry*, under Taylor of Pennington.

THE VAN RENSSELAER FAMILY.

NICOLAUS VAN RENSSELAER was the first husband of Alyda (Alida as she wrote it), second daughter of Philip Schuyler, married February 10, 1675. He was the fourth son of Killian Van Rensselaer, the third by his second wife, and came to Albany in the fall of 1674. The colony established by his father had been visited by three of his own brothers, two of whom had returned to Holland, and the third, Jeremiah, who had superintended the affairs of the colony sixteen years, had just died. As Jeremiah's children were too young to be in charge of the large estate, in which they held only one-sixth interest, his arrival was opportune.

The Van Rensselaers were an old, and in their time well-known, family of Gelderland, from the neighborhood of Nykerk. Rensselaer, the manor from which the family took its name, lies about three miles southeast of Nykerk, and was originally a *riddergoed*, or estate the possession of which conferred nobility, but is now a mere farm, inhabited by a peasant, who has pulled down the old gables and weathercocks, which even twenty years ago bore the family crest. But even before the establishment of the colony in America, the seat of the Van Rensselaer family had been the Crailo, a large and productive estate near the fortified town of Naarden, on the Zuyder Zee, not far from Amsterdam. The Van Rensselaer arms,¹ either

¹ These arms are a silver cross molines on a red shield. The crest is a basket from which issue flames.

alone or quartered with others, appear frequently on house-fronts and tombstones in Arnhem, Zutphen, Deventer, and other neighboring towns, and show both the position of the family and its frequent alliances. There has been a constant tradition that the family was related to that of Olden Barneveldt, the famous patriot and statesman. Contemporary portraits of John of Olden Barneveldt, and of his wife, Marie of Utrecht, were preserved as heirlooms in the family until the sale of the Crailo, in 1830. The original Manor of Olden Barneveldt is close to that of Rensselaer, about six miles south of Nykerk, and between Nykerk, Amersfoort and the manors of Stoutenburg and Groeneveld, which were erected into noble domains for Barneveldt's two sons.

The first historical mention is of Johan Van Rensselaer, a captain of a hundred men, who did good service in Friesland for the King of Spain, in the early part of the sixteenth century.¹ Captain Herman Van Rensselaer was grievously wounded at the battle of Nieuwport, in 1600, and died in the following year, according to the inscription on his tomb in the Church of St. Jan at Amersfoort. In the same church is a tablet of the consistory of the church, on which Dom. Harmanus Van Rensselaer is mentioned, in 1636. By far the most interesting memorial of the family in Holland is the fine picture of the first regents of the orphan asylum at Nykerk (which was founded in 1638, and opened in 1641), painted by Breecker, in 1645, containing full-length portraits of Jan Van Rensselaer, the Jonkheer Nicolaus Van Delen, Ryckert Van Twiller, and three others. The last male member of the family in Holland was Jeremias Van Rensselaer (who was also a regent of this orphan asylum), who died in Nykerk, April 11, 1819. He had

¹ Arent Van Slichtenhorst, Geldersse Geschiedenissen, Book i., p. 108.

married Judic Henrietta Duval, but had no children, and in his will stated that besides his wife he had no heirs except the Van Rensselaer family, living somewhere in America.

The family estate of the Crailo had passed into the hands of the female line, the last of whom, Joanna Jacoba Sara Van Rensselaer, from Amsterdam, was married to Jonkheer Jan Bowier, Member of the States of North Brabant, colonel of the militia, proprietor of the Manor Coudewater, at Rosmalen, near 's Bosch. She was the mother of twelve children, and died in 1830, when the Manor of Crailo was sold. Two sons of this marriage, the Jonkheer Hugo Jan Jacob Bowier, and the Jonkheer Martin Bowier, colonel in the royal marines, and at one time commandant of the Dutch naval forces off Atchin, have been allowed by royal license to assume the name and arms of Van Rensselaer.

To return to Killian Van Rensselaer, the founder of the American family. He was married twice, first to Hildegonda Van Byler, and second, in 1627, to Anna Van Wely, of Amsterdam, daughter of Jan Van Wely the younger, of Barneveldt, residing at The Hague, and of Leonora Haukens, of Antwerp. The first and second wives were apparently cousins. Jan Van Wely, the father of the second wife, had a tragic fate. He was not only a prominent and respected merchant of Amsterdam, but the *admodiator* or administrator of the County of Buren, a domain of the Prince of Orange. In 1600 and 1601, he had been chosen by the merchants of Amsterdam as their representative with the army, that they might have sure and regular news. It was then that he received a large gold medal, representing the battle of Nieuwport, which he transmitted as an heirloom to his descendants. In 1616, Van Wely was sent for to The Hague by Prince Maurice, and brought with him some diamonds and precious stones, which the Prince wished

to purchase, worth about one hundred thousand florins. While waiting for the Prince in his cabinet, Van Wely was murdered by two officers of the guard, and his body concealed under the table until it could be taken out and buried in an ashpit.¹ This murder, though perpetrated solely for plunder, turned out in the end to have political effects. On the representation of the widow, Hans Van Wely, her eldest son, was continued in the duties and privileges of *admediator* of Buren, and there lies before me now a letter written to him by Prince Maurice, in 1619, on the business of his office.

Whether or not Killian Van Rensselaer was associated with the business of his father-in-law (for although he married Anna Van Wely ten years after her father's death, there seem to have been previous connections of some kind), he is known to have dealt in pearls and precious stones, and to have had some reputation as a banker and general merchant.

When the West India Company was organized, he was one of its first directors, and appears on the list of the "lord-directors, who have served the Company from the beginning to the end of the year 1636," as "principal partner-director." When the Company, in 1629, adopted the charter for patroons, "Freedoms and Exemptions," he was among the first who prepared to establish colonies in New Netherland. In April, 1630, his agents purchased from the native proprietors a tract of land on the west side of the Hudson, extending from the mouth of the Mohawk River south twenty-four miles, and two days' journey (twenty-four miles) into the country, and on the east side of the river other large tracts extending twenty-four miles east. For these lands a patent was

¹ See Motley's *John of Barneveldt*, vol. ii., p. 51.

granted by the director at Manhattan, August 13, 1630. Nearly seven years after another tract on the east side of the river was purchased, so that the lands on the east side equalled those on the west. The entire tract was twenty-four miles north and south, and forty-eight miles east and west; and it contained over seven hundred thousand acres of tillable land. The present cities of Albany and Troy are within its limits. The patents issued by the resident-director were approved and confirmed by the West India Company, and subsequently, when New Netherland became English, by the governor and Council. The title then acquired has resisted the numerous attacks made upon it and has been held good by King's Councils, by the courts, and by legislatures. Those who question it now are tenants, who are unwilling to pay the very moderate rent demanded.

One of the conditions of the patroon's charter required that a colony of at least fifty persons above fifteen years of age be sent from Holland within four years. Capital was required to comply with this condition. Van Rensselaer, like the other patroons, formed a copartnership, October 1, 1630, with three brother directors of the Company, for the purpose of the more speedy settlement and development of his large territory. These were Samuel Godyn, Johannes de Laet, and Samuel Bloemmaert, who each had one share in the common stock, Van Rensselaer retaining two shares. It was a partnership in the soil and its products. It did not affect the rights and privileges of the patroon, which Van Rensselaer reserved to himself. Bloemmaert took two others into partnership with himself in his own share.

Previous to the date of this copartnership, Van Rensselaer had sent out twenty colonists with farming utensils, woodsmen's tools, and a few sheep. During the first two

years he sent out thirty-one people at an expense, including interest, of fourteen hundred and nine guilders, which was paid by the several partners *pro rata* according to their shares. The work of colonization continued year by year, until 1646, when it seems to have ceased, owing perhaps to the death of Van Rensselaer. The colony, however, was thoroughly established, and was now attracting emigrants, who came as freemen, to prosecute in the the new country the trades which they had learned in the old.

Killian Van Rensselaer, the projector of the colony named Rensselaerwyck, died in 1646. Up to this time the affairs of the colony had been managed with wisdom and prudence by Arent Van Curler. There had been no collisions with the Indians, either with the Mohegans, their immediate neighbors, or with the Mohawks who lived on the Mohawk River, thirty miles to the northwest. While Manhattan, under the direction of Kieft, had been desolated with war, and was in a state of unrest and fear, Beverwyck, the village of Van Rensselaer's colony had been kept in quiet and safety. Farmers cultivated their fields, and slept in their detached houses at night, apparently as safe as if in Holland. The investment had yielded no income to the projectors, but their outlays had been small, and they could afford to be patient. If not to them, to their children or grandchildren would come a rich harvest. Poor souls, when they put up their money, it was with the expectation of a speedy return, not as an investment for their posterity!

Van Rensselaer was, as has been said, twice married. By his first wife he had an only son, Johannes. By his second, he had four sons and three daughters. Johannes was yet a minor. The estate of his deceased father, both in Holland and New Netherland was in charge of execu-

tors. They selected Brant Arentse Van Slichtenhorst to take charge of the colony in place of Van Curler, resigned; and instructed him to manage prudently, and make it yield some returns if possible, but more than all to maintain its privileges and rights under the charter. About the same time, Petrus Stuyvesant was appointed director-general of New Netherland by the West India Company with similar instructions. The Company had regretted its adoption of "Freedoms and Exemptions," because the patroons had interfered with their trade and diminished their profits. They had bought up all the colonies established under that charter except Rensselaerwyck. This was not in the market. Unable to buy it, the Company determined to kill or to cripple it. The differences which arose among the managers of the Company had forced Van Rensselaer out of the direction. He was now dead, and those most interested were minors. Now was the time to strike. Stuyvesant, as a military officer, knew what was meant by instructions, and obeyed them to the letter. While he was forcing Van Slichtenhorst to the wall, the Company watched their opportunity at home. This was soon presented. A minor could not exercise the functions of a patroon without a special act of the States-General. It was of the first importance for the interests of the colony, that Johannes Van Rensselaer should be rendered competent to act, and become patroon. Accordingly the executors, October 21, 1648, presented a petition to the States-General that Johannes Van Rensselaer be invested with high, middle, and low jurisdiction over the colony of Rensselaerwyck. The petition, with the accompanying papers, was sent to the West India Company for their criticism. Four weeks after, Bloemnaert, de Laet and their associates sent in a petition, praying for an accounting on the part of the executors. To this the executors made a

reply, when after the lapse of some months, the whole matter was referred to commissioners to adjudicate. Meantime complaints against the acts of Stuyvesant were received and referred. At last, April 7, 1650, the States-General resolved to grant a patent of investiture, provided the bounds of the colony were defined, in order "that they may be examined before further action is taken."

The petition of the copartners had been referred to the courts for adjudication. A verdict was given, obliging the executors to render a true and just account in detail of expenses and receipts during the life of the first patroon, and since his death; and that all the provisions of the original contract as to management be faithfully observed. This judgment was affirmed by the States-General, June, 1650, three months after their resolution of investiture. The questions in controversy between the executors and the copartners were now adjudicated, and it is presumed a just accounting was made to the satisfaction of all concerned. Two years afterward we find Johannes Van Rensselaer (now termed patroon) uniting with Johan de Laet, son and heir of Johannes de Laet deceased in 1649, and the heirs of the other partners, in a petition to the States-General for a redress of grievances inflicted by Petrus Stuyvesant, which was referred to the West India Company. Other memorials complaining of the acts of the Company were addressed to the States-General and had the usual reference. After 1653 there were no petitions. A settlement of some kind seems to have been made, probably by Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, after he had assumed control as director of the colony. There were evidently concessions on both sides, and the two jurisdictions worked more in harmony. Before leaving this subject I shall once more refer to the action taken by the Company in 1674.

New Netherland, after being in the possession of the English nine years, was recaptured by a Dutch fleet on August 9, 1673, and possession was taken in the name of the States-General. The West India Company, still in existence, saw the opportunity to make up some of its losses. To do this more effectually, there must be no side issues. Old controversies must not be revived, and least of all that with the colony of Rensselaerwyck. On April 2, 1674, two members of the Company, duly authorized, appeared before a notary of Amsterdam, and made a declaration in favor of the colony of Rensselaerwyck, that having examined the patent of the colony, and other papers and documents relating thereto, they declare in the name of the Company, that the patroon and copartners have been in rightful possession of Beverwyck since 1630; that the possession taken by Director Stuyvesant did not impair their title; that the Company has no right or pretension thereto; and that therefore they conceded the true ownership to the patroon and his associates.

The first patroon had carefully watched over the affairs of the colony. He had secured in 1642 the services of a minister, one of the most eminent divines of the Dutch Church in America, Rev. Johannes Megapolensis. He had built a church, and had provided a schoolmaster. It is a tradition that he visited the colony to become more familiar with its situation, wants, and future prospects. It is only tradition. There are no recorded facts to authenticate it. His cousin, Arent Van Curler, managed its affairs about sixteen years, having come with the emigrants of 1630. Van Slichtenhorst, his successor, was perhaps as well adapted to the place as anyone whose services could be secured. The executors of Van Rensselaer were well aware that the Company was hostile to the colony, and sought its suppression. Hitherto they had been unable

to inflict any serious injury owing to Kieft's unhappy administration. But now that he was recalled and a soldier of Stuyvesant's character appointed to the place, they were well aware that the strife must begin. Van Slichtenhorst, with his trained mind and strong will joined to honesty of purpose, was the man for the place. The inevitable contest between the right on the one hand, and the determination to win, right or wrong, on the other, soon began ; with what results we have seen. While the controversy was going on, and Van Slichtenhorst was a prisoner in New Amsterdam, Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, the second son of the deceased patroon, arrived in 1651. His brother, Johannes, had been made patroon by the act of the highest authority in Holland, and as his representative, he came to advise with Van Slichtenhorst, and when necessary take his place as director. Among the first measures now adopted was to require the inhabitants of the colony to take the "Burgerlyke oath of allegiance," that is, "to support offensively and defensively, against every one, the right and jurisdiction of the colony." This oath had been heretofore required of the officers, but not of the colonists.

Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer's commission as director is dated May 8, 1652. Whether he entered immediately on his duties does not appear. It is, however, probable that Van Slichtenhorst discharged the duties of the position until about his return in 1655. Stuyvesant had separated the village of Beverwyck from the colony, attached it to Fort Orange, set up an independent jurisdiction, and farmed out the excise. The first collision between Van Rensselaer and Stuyvesant occurred in 1656, when an attempt was made to collect the excise, which Van Rensselaer resisted. He voluntarily visited New Amsterdam to effect some arrangement. He remonstrated against the

acts of the director-general as in violation of their charter, and presented a strong argument on behalf of the colony, which Stuyvesant pronounced "frivolous." He was required to give bonds that no further obstruction should be made to the collection of the excise, or remain at New Amsterdam under arrest. The bond was given, and he returned to his duties. He could not contend against the power and unreason of the director-general. He seemed to have had a more delicate organization than his predecessor, and a nature too sensitive to endure the worry of his position. He retired, and was succeeded in 1658, by his brother Jeremiah, who was in charge of the colony for sixteen years, until his death in October, 1674. He seems to have submitted quietly to the injustice of the Company as inflicted by their director-general, and to have made the most of the situation. The reign of the Company was drawing to its close. The last nine years of his directorship were under another government, and were more quiet. From the time Jeremiah Van Rensselaer became director, up to 1664, Stuyvesant had so much else on his hands, that he gave less attention to Rensselaerwyck, and was more frequently obliged to ask assistance from the persecuted colony, than in the years of Van Slichtenhorst. He treated Van Rensselaer with some consideration, and when the province was threatened by the English, he invited him to come to New Amsterdam and preside over the convention assembled to take measures for defence.

In the beginning of the Esopus war, 1663, Stuyvesant wrote to the magistrates of Fort Orange that he had been informed that they had detained fifty to sixty volunteers who were ready to render assistance against the savages. La Montagne and Van Rensselaer immediately asked for names and proof. Stuyvesant replied that he did not lack for proof, "if the cabbage was worth the soup." To this

they rejoined, that after investigating the accusation, it was not worth their while to concern themselves further about it, "so that we too leave the soup with the cabbage." A passage in the letter is worth quoting :

"God and we ourselves know, how gladly we would see our friends helped, and what efforts we are making in this direction, with which you yourself have expressed satisfaction. We wish we could do more ; but we have to consider besides the golden lesson of Christ, that we, who live here quietly, surrounded by heathens and barbarians without being able to get assistance from any source in times of need, are obliged first to take care of our own houses, and especially not to get involved in quarrels and troubles."

When the English came into possession of the province, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer took the oath of allegiance to the British crown. According to the terms of surrender, he was left in quiet possession of the colony, as then circumstanced, the village of Beverwyck being still under control of the fort. He conducted its affairs without the interference of the government and acquired an enviable reputation as an executive officer. It was his policy to preserve the peace between the colonists and the surrounding Indians, a policy which had been inaugurated in the beginning, and was pursued until the Revolution. He secured the confidence and respect of the Indians by a just and humane treatment. They appreciated his kindness, and guarded his colony from the assaults of hostile Indians as carefully as their own castles.

When, in 1673, the province was again possessed by the Dutch, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, after a personal interview with the Dutch admiral and captains, delivered a brief petition, soliciting that the colony of Rensselaer-

wyck might remain undisturbed in his possession as agent of the family. This was granted for one year, in which time he was required to have the matter adjudicated in Holland. It was adjudicated, and resulted in the declaration of the West India Company heretofore quoted.

It soon became known that the province would be surrendered to the English by the treaty of peace, when the members of the Van Rensselaer family then residing in Holland sent a petition to the Duke of York, praying that he would direct his governor, Andros, to investigate their title to the colony, and report to him, to the end he might grant them letters-patent, which in his judgment he should think fitting and just. The duke, after careful examination, referred the papers to Andros, with instructions to investigate and report. Andros' report was submitted by the duke to his lawyers, on whose opinion Andros was directed to issue a patent for Rensselaerwyck, including the village of Beverwyck, which Stuyvesant had potentially taken from them, reserving only the ground occupied by the fort. The inhabitants who had been obliged to take out patents from Stuyvesant were not to be oppressed, but for thirty-one years were to pay a nominal rent, after which they and the proprietors were to make their own terms. Why Andros did not issue a patent according to instructions is not manifest. It is probable he did not wish to involve himself in the trouble it would occasion him, but preferred rather to let matters drift. His warrant to draw the patent is dated London, June 7, 1678. Rumors as to the duke's intentions had reached Albany and were creating some excitement. To allay them Andros wrote to the magistrates, saying, that although the duke intended to give the Van Rensselaers their just rights, such as they had enjoyed before 1652, it should be

done without injustice to others. He cautioned the courts and officers to preserve the peace, and keep the inhabitants from useless expense merely on rumors. But whatever may have been the reason, Andros did not issue a patent.

Colonel Dongan succeeded Andros. Application was made to him for the patent, on the warrant of the king. He declined to grant it, because, as he says, he did not think it "convenient that the second town in the government should be in the hands of private men." He conceived it to be more for the public interests that Albany should be detached from the colony and be made an independent town under the government of the province. He negotiated with Van Rensselaer, and, after securing his object, in 1685 he issued a patent to Killian, son of Johannes Van Rensselaer, deceased, and Killian, son of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, deceased, erecting the colony into a manor, and creating Killian, son of Johannes, its first lord. Hereafter the colony of Killian Van Rensselaer, first patroon, is a manor governed according to English usage. The following year the old village of Beverwyck received a city charter, by name of Albany. Its limits were one mile north and south on the Hudson, and sixteen miles in a northwest direction. It was a proud day for the inhabitants when the charter was received. They were now under the provincial government, and the quarrels about jurisdiction were ended. The Van Rensselaers were wise in making the concession. It had its influence ever after in preserving their title to the rest of their lands from successful assault.

It will be remembered that Johannes de Laet was one of the copartners of the first patroon, owning one share, or a fifth of the whole. After his death, in 1649, his son Johannes acted for himself and coheirs. His sister Jo-

hanna owned one-half of her father's share, or one-tenth of the manor. She married Johannes de Hulter, who with his family and servants sailed from Amsterdam, May, 1653, for the colony. This was after the decision of the suit instituted for an accounting. He was the first and the only one of the copartners who thought it worth the expense to visit his American possessions. He came prepared to establish a manufacturing business, meanwhile keeping watch over the affairs of the colony. He lived less than four years, and after his death his widow sold her brick and tile kilns, her houses and lots, preparatory to a settlement at the Esopus, where her late husband had purchased five hundred morgens (one thousand acres) of land. She afterward married Jeronimus Ebbing, a prosperous merchant of New York. In 1673 she petitioned the Dutch admiral, who had recently conquered New York, to require Jeremiah Van Rensselaer to render an account of his administration of the colony, a thing which had not been done in twelve years. The admiral summoned Van Rensselaer before him, and learning from his own lips that Mrs. Ebbing's statements were true, he required him to render an itemized account within two months, to be recorded in the secretary's office. Van Rensselaer may perhaps have made the account, which convinced the Ebbings there was little profit to be expected from their share in the colony. Soon after, at all events, they sold their interest for a bouwery on the east side of the Hudson, the price of which was fixed at 5,762 florins currency. They afterward sold the farm, in the deed for which it is expressed that it represented one-tenth of the colony of Rensselaerwyck. The farm afterward came into the possession of Philip Schuyler, whose heirs sold it in 1711 for 1,241 pounds currency. The heirs and representatives of the other copartners in 1685 sold their interests to the Van Rens-

selaers for 3,600 florins, Holland money. The entire property was now in the Van Rensselaer family. The original patroon and all the copartners were dead. Johannes, the eldest, and Jeremiah, the third son, were also deceased.

Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, who had had charge of the colony since 1658, died October 14, 1674, N.S. His brother, Nicolaus, arrived soon after, and the next year petitioned the Governor and Council to be appointed director of the colony in the place of his brother Jeremiah. To this appointment opposition was made by the widow of Jeremiah, a daughter of Olof Stevense Van Cortlandt, and her brother Stephanus. It was finally arranged, giving Nicolaus the directorship, the widow to be the treasurer, and her brother bookkeeper. Three hundred bushels of wheat were set apart for their salaries, of which the director was to have one-half, and the other half divided between the treasurer and bookkeeper. The death of Nicolaus, November, 1678, left the widow in charge of the colony. She was advised by her brother; but as he resided in New York and had his own large business and employments, he could render her little assistance. Her health was impaired, and she was obliged to use crutches. The labor and responsibility of watching over so large an estate, not only of lands and tenants, "but of grist-mills, saw-mills, and others on an ever-running stream" near her residence, were too much for her. She longed for the arrival of her late husband's youngest brother, Richard, from Holland, whom she expected, but who never came. Her eldest son, Killian, was yet too young to afford her much assistance. Yet she managed to supervise the tenants and keep the wheels of her mills in motion. She lived long enough to see her son and his cousin receive an English patent securing the large estate to the family.

She was a remarkable woman, and deserves to be held in grateful remembrance by her posterity.¹

Although the name of the estate was changed from a colony to a manor, the jurisdiction of the lord was about the same as that of patroon. Its owners did not change their title, and were always called patroons.

Johannes Van Rensselaer, the second patroon, never visited the colony. He died at an early age, leaving a son and daughter. His son, Killian, when of age, came to Albany, and received naturalization papers from the English colonial government. He married his cousin, Anna, daughter of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer. Less than two years after the first English patent was issued, he died without

¹ In the journal of the voyage of the Labadist missionaries, Dankers and Shuyter, to New York in 1679-80, we find an interesting mention of this lady.

"27th, Saturday.—We went to call upon a certain Madam Rentselaer, widow of the Heer Rentselaer, son of the founder of the colony of Rentselaerwyck, comprising twelve miles square from Fort Orange, that is, twenty-four miles square in all. She is in possession of the place, and administers it as patroness, until one Richard Van Rentselaer, residing at Amsterdam, shall arrive in the country, whom she expected in the summer, when he would assume the management of it himself. This lady was polite, quite well informed, and of good life and disposition. She had experienced several proofs of the Lord. The breaking up of the ice had once carried away her mansion, and everything connected with it, of which place she had made too much account. Also, in some visitations of her husband, death, and others before. In her last childbed she became lame or weak in both of her sides, so that she had to walk with two canes or crutches. In all these trials, she had borne herself well, and God 'left not himself without witness' in her. She treated us kindly, and we eat here exceedingly good pike, perch, and other fish, which now began to come and be caught in great numbers. We had several conversations with her about the truth, and practical religion, mutually satisfactory. We went to look at several of her mills at work, which she had there on an ever-running stream—grist-mills, saw-mills, and others. One of the grist-mills can grind one hundred and twenty schepels of meal in twenty-four hours, that is, five an hour. Returning to the house we politely took our leave. Her residence is about a quarter of an hour from Albany, up the river."—*Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*, I., 316. 1877.

children. He left a will in which he appointed his wife sole executrix. He owned considerable property in Holland, as well as a share of the manor, of which he left a liberal portion to his sister, "Nelle Marya," then living in Amsterdam. He divided his estate among his relatives, and in conclusion directed his executrix and sister to "decently provide for his honored aunt, called Petronella Van Twiller, during her lifetime." He died soon after, February 22, 1687. Killian, son of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, was left in the management of the manor for account of the heirs of the first patroon until 1695. At this date all the children of Killian Van Rensselaer, the projector of the colony, were dead except two, Leonora and Richard. The latter was treasurer of Vianen.¹ The estate was not yet divided among his heirs, but for nearly fifty years had been held in common. Besides the manor, there was a large estate in Holland (the Crailo), and other property. The time had now arrived for the heirs to make a settlement. Controversies had arisen among them, and to end the disputes, Killian Van Rensselaer (son of Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer) was delegated by the heirs in Holland to visit America, and, if possible, make a complete settlement with the children of Jeremiah, the only heirs in this country. Killian, eldest son of Jeremiah, was appointed by power of attorney to act for the family. The cousins met, and, after a prolonged discussion, in which, as usual, both lost their temper, they at last came to an "amicable agreement to their mutual satisfaction." The indenture is dated, New York, November 1, 1695. The heirs in Holland released to the heirs in Albany all right and title in the manor, which was reciprocated by the release of the latter

¹To a late date Vianen was a legalized asylum for criminals. The States-General appointed its officers.

to the former of all right and title to the land in Holland known as the Crailo, and another tract of land in Gelderland. They also agreed to deliver the titles to three farms in the manor, reserving the tenths, and to pay in addition seven hundred pieces of eight. They also released all claims on personal property in Holland, as well as on certain expectations from relatives on their decease. Bonds were exchanged between the cousins for the faithful performance of the contract, and the work was complete.¹ At last the estate of the old patroon was settled, and the colony he founded in 1630, with its territory of twenty-four by forty-eight miles, was in the possession of one family, consisting of Killian, Johannes, Hendrick, Maria, wife of Peter Schuyler, and Anna, the wife of William Nicoll. Besides the manor, they owned another tract of land containing sixty-two thousand acres, known as the Claverack patent, and sometimes called the "Lower Manor." The province was now under English law. The eldest son was heir-at-law of the real estate belonging to his father. As regards the manor, and other real estate now come into the possession of the family, the law could not give it to the eldest son, but in its division he seems to have had much the largest share.

On May 20, 1704, a patent was granted to Killian, eldest son of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, deceased, for the entire manor, including the Claverack patent. His brother Johannes having died without issue, there were only three others interested. How were they secured for their interests to which they were justly entitled? To Hendrick,

¹ Richard, the only living son of the old patroon, came to the colony with his brother, Jan Baptist, 1652. He resided here twenty years, during which time he was a magistrate of Beverwyck several terms. He occupied the farm called the Flatts, which, on his return to Holland, was sold to Philip Schuyler.

his brother Killian conveyed the Claverack patent, and about fifteen hundred acres on the east side of the river, opposite Albany, now known as Greenbush, June 1, 1704. To his sister Maria or her heirs, he gave a farm of a few hundred acres adjoining the Flatts. To his sister Anna or her heirs, he gave a farm larger in extent, but at that time no more valuable, lying on the west side of the river in the town of Bethlehem.

Killian Van Rensselaer, second lord of the manor of Rensselaerwyck, or patroon the fourth, married his cousin Maria, daughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, October 15, 1701. Much of his life was devoted to the public service. He was an officer of the militia, and one of the magistrates of the city. He represented the manor in the Assembly from 1693 to 1704. In October, 1704, he was appointed to the Council, of which body he was a member until his death in 1719. Indian wars retarded the settlement of the manor and prevented its growth. It was also diminished in extent. His grandfather's old miller, Barent Pieterse Coeymans, who came out in 1636, purchased from the Catskill Indians, in 1673, a tract of land eight miles on the river by twelve miles deep, which was within the manor. It was not unusual for Indians to sell the same land as often as they found men willing to buy. Staten Island was bought and paid for at least three times. The grandfathers of these Catskill Indians had sold the Coeymans tract to Van Rensselaer in 1630, and it was included in all their patents. It had not been improved, and the Indians were allowed to occupy it. Coeymans had been a miller and farmer in and about Beverwyck thirty-three years. He was attracted to the place by its fine water-power, and not knowing that it was within the limits of the manor, he bought it of the Indians, and procured a patent from Governor Lovelace, April, 1673. There was a long contest

between the rival owners, which was not settled until 1706, when Van Rensselaer gave a deed for a "competent sum of money," and nine shillings annual rent in acknowledgment of the rights of the lord or patroon. Politically it was still attached to the manor, and represented in the Assembly.

Killian Van Rensselaer had three sons, two of whom survived him, and were successively patroons. Two of his daughters, Anna and Gertrude, married brothers, sons of Arent Schuyler, of Belleville, New Jersey. His sons were minors at the time of his death, and the manor was again in charge of administrators for several years. Jeremiah, the eldest, came of legal age in March, 1726. Little is known of his administration of the estate. He represented the manor in the Assembly from September, 1726, to September, 1743. We catch a glimpse of him in Canada, in 1734. The Canadian governor reports that the "Patroon, Lord of Albany, in company with another influential gentleman, had visited him, under pretence of a tour." Their errand seemed to be rather to arrange for the preservation of the peace between the two provinces, in case of a rupture between England and France, then threatened.

Jeremiah was the third proprietor of the manor, or the fifth patroon. He died unmarried, in 1745.

Stephen, the second son of Killian, succeeded his brother to the lordship of the manor, and by his Dutch friends was termed Patroon VI. His constitution was not robust, and he never took an active part in public affairs. Only two years after his succession he died, at the age of forty. He left two sons and a daughter. The eldest, Stephen, was only five years old, and until he attained his majority the manor was again in the hands of trustees. The second son, John Baptist, represented the manor in the Assembly some years, and died a bachelor. The daughter married General Abraham Ten Broeck.

Stephen, the second of the name, proprietor of the manor, and the seventh patroon, was baptized on June 2, 1742. Soon after he came into possession of his ancestral estates, he married Catherine Livingston, daughter of Philip Livingston, of New York, in January, 1764. He did not live long to enjoy his patrimony, but died in 1769, leaving two sons and a daughter. His eldest son, Stephen, was born November 1, 1764, and was five years old when his father died. Philip, the second son, was mayor of Albany for several years, and died in 1824. The daughter, Elizabeth, married John Bradstreet, eldest son of General Philip Schuyler.

Again the large estate was watched and cared for by a trustee. Now, however, it was in the hands of an energetic man, General Abraham Ten Broeck, uncle by marriage of the boy patroon. For sixteen years he superintended the large property with eminent success, so that he was enabled to deliver it into the hands of its next proprietor in an improved condition.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, third of the name, after his father's death, was much of the time in New York, with his grandfather who had charge of his education. When prepared for college he was entered at Princeton. But as the War of the Revolution rendered Princeton unsafe, the college courses were suspended. He was then transferred to Harvard, where he graduated in the nineteenth year of his age, 1782. He returned to Albany, not yet legally qualified to take possession of the manor and occupy himself with its affairs, and married a daughter of General Philip Schuyler.

The Revolution destroyed some of the usages and institutions of the past, and the legislation of the State was in harmony with the Declaration of Independence. Lordships and manors were abolished, as were also the rights of

primogeniture. Before the war Stephen Van Rensselaer, had he been of legal age, would have been acknowledged by the English as sixth lord of the manor of Rensselaerwyck, and by the Dutch as eighth patroon. Now he was simply Mr. Van Rensselaer, but was always by courtesy addressed as patroon. He had a splendid estate. Although somewhat diminished in its original extent, there were yet several townships on each side of the river. His culture, his descent from a long line of ancestors, his wealth and his connections, combined with a gentle temper and unassuming manners, made him a gentleman, and gave him a high position. He now entered upon the work of improvement with zeal and intelligence. Large tracts of the manorial lands were yet without inhabitants. Various causes had prevented their development. The antagonism of the West India Company, the frequent Indian wars, the long French wars, the war of the Revolution, but chiefly the often-recurring periods when, for many years at a time, the estate was in the hands of trustees or administrators, had retarded the growth of the colony and prevented immigration. He now offered inducements to farmers to settle on his lands. Rentals were placed so low that they yielded only one and two per cent. on a fair valuation. In many instances farms were offered rent free for a term of years. On such easy terms he found little difficulty in securing tenants. The country had just emerged from an exhausting war, and many of its inhabitants were too poor to buy farms of their own. The best lands of the State were in the hands of large proprietors, or were held by speculators at high prices, or were still in possession of the native owners, so that people able to buy were precluded. Under such circumstances, farms offered on the terms of Van Rensselaer's were quickly taken up, and it was not long before the

greater part of his lands on both sides of the river were under cultivation.

Having secured an income sufficient for his moderate wants, and placed his business in the hands of careful agents and clerks, he had leisure to devote to other objects. He united, in 1787, with the church of his fathers, of which he was an active and conscientious member, and for many years an officer. In the militia, in 1786, he was a major of infantry, and two years after was promoted to a colonelcy. In 1801 he was made a major-general of cavalry.

In politics he was a Federalist. He was elected to the Assembly of 1789, and from 1791 to 1796 was a State Senator. In 1795 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor, and again in 1798. At the last election he had no opponent, having been nominated by both parties. In 1808-9-10 he was again Member of Assembly. The question whether the lakes and Hudson River could be connected by a canal had for many years received attention. In 1810 the Legislature appointed a commission to explore the route and report at the next session. Mr. Van Rensselaer was a member of the commission, and with others made the tour on horseback in the summer of 1810. The report interested the Legislature, and another commission was appointed to consider all matters relating to inland navigation, of which also he was a member. The war of 1812 occurred, and delayed the project.

When war was declared he was offered the command of the army on the northern frontiers. Although opposed to the war as premature, he promptly accepted. He was quickly at his post, and proceeded to organize the army. This was a difficult task. It was composed of militia, not of regular soldiers. Difficult as it was, he soon had a force sufficient in numbers to have overrun the province of

Upper Canada, had it been officered with men of courage and military knowledge. The battle of Queenstown was fought and won ; but ultimately lost, because the militia in large numbers refused to fight. The early victory later in the day was turned into a serious disaster. Van Rensselaer resigned his command, and retired to private life.

After the war was closed he was again placed upon the canal commission, and was appointed its chairman. The Legislature of 1816 inaugurated the work on the canals—the Erie and the Champlain—and they were completed in 1825, during which time Van Rensselaer was president of the board.

He was twice nominated by his party for governor of the State, in 1801 and in 1813. The last time he was defeated by less than four thousand votes. Had he been as well known in other parts of the State as at Albany, his home, the result would have been different. He was member of the Assembly in 1818, and elected to the Congress of the United States in 1823, to fill a vacancy, and twice re-elected for full terms. At the close of his last term, March, 1825, he retired from political life. In 1819, he was elected Regent of the University of the State of New York, and was subsequently its Chancellor until his death. Interested in agriculture, he promoted the interests of the State Agricultural Society, and was its president in 1820. He caused a geological survey to be made along the line of the canal from Albany to Buffalo ; and on another line commencing in Massachusetts. From the information and data collected on these surveys, he was convinced there was need of more technical education. To supply the deficiency he established the Rensselaer Institute at Troy.

He was a liberal patron of the various benevolent so-

cieties of the day, in many of which he held official positions. His private charities were large, and were yearly increasing to the close of life. There were few men who were so liberal with their means in all directions, as Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last of the patroons. His life was full of activities and good works. In all positions, as a large landed proprietor with tenants counted by the thousands, as a politician, and leading member of a strong and respectable party, as an officer in the church, as a private citizen, he proved himself a man of honor and a Christian gentleman. In social life he was greatly respected, and in his family much beloved.

Margaret Schuyler, his first wife, died in March, 1801. In May, 1802, he married Cornelia, daughter of Judge William Patterson, of New Jersey. He died, January 26, 1839, at the ripe age of seventy-five years. His second wife, and ten children survived him. Of these, seven were sons, the eldest, Stephen, was by his first wife. His will is dated April 18, 1837. To this time, the manor proper had devolved upon the eldest son. Its large extent had been somewhat diminished, first, by the cession of Albany; second, by the Coeyman's tract, eight by twelve miles; third, by a strip from the east side, four by twenty-four miles, ceded to Massachusetts when the boundaries were adjusted; fourth, by the sale of several farms along the river to relatives; and lastly, by the sale of one township, Stephentown, in the southeast corner. But it was still of large extent. The time had now come for a division. The laws of entail had been abrogated by the Revolution, and the last patroon was free to return to the usages of the land of his fathers—free to divide his property among his children, in equal proportion, if he wished. The lands of the manor were mostly under life, or perpetual leases, which yielded a small income compared to their value.

The other property of the estate, acquired by the sale of Stephentown, and surplus revenues, was large and available. He gave the lands belonging to the manor on the west side of the Hudson, to his eldest son, Stephen, and those on the east side, to his second son, William. His lands in St. Lawrence County were given to his son Henry. His other property, consisting of lands in Hamilton County, real estate in the cities of New York and Albany, and elsewhere, and stocks in banks, turnpikes and insurance companies, were divided among his other seven children. He gave no legacies to benevolent societies, to which his benefactions had been flowing in a constant stream. He now left them to the care of the living.

In less than fifty years after his death, the seven hundred thousand acres originally in the manor were mostly in the hands of strangers. By the vicissitudes of fortune, William Van Rensselaer's portion passed from his possession. The anti-rent troubles, which sprang up soon after the death of the last patroon, induced Stephen Van Rensselaer to sell his townships to a relative who had the nerve to maintain his rights.

We have followed the elder branch of the American Van Rensselaers and their manor without any allusion to the younger branch or their fortunes. The history would not be complete without some notice of them, and of the Claverack patent.

Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, son of the first patroon, it will be remembered, died in 1674, leaving three sons, one of whom, Johannes, died unmarried. Killian and Hendrick, his other sons, were the ancestors of the numerous families of Van Rensselaer in America. It would be more pertinent to say, that the greater part are the descendants of Hendrick, for while the elder branch possessed the family wealth, the younger contributed most to the population

and to public wealth. A Van Rensselaer family chart brought down to 1847, and prepared with much care, shows the descendants of the elder branch in the direct line to number only thirty-one; of the younger, they number two hundred and nineteen.

Hendrick Van Rensselaer received as his portion of his grandfather's estate, the Claverack patent, containing about sixty-two thousand acres of land, and fifteen hundred acres out of the manor proper, lying opposite the city of Albany. On the latter portion he erected a substantial brick house, constructed as a fort for defence against attacks of hostile Indians coming from Canada. This he made his permanent residence. He erected another house at Claverack, still standing, for temporary sojourns while superintending the settlement of his lands.

Like his brother Killian, he was employed in the public service, and held several responsible positions. He was an alderman of the city, commissioner of Indian affairs, and representative of the manor in the Assembly for several terms. He did not suffer his official duties to interfere with his personal interests. He attended to his business affairs with assiduity and success. When he saw an opportunity for a safe speculation he did not let it pass unimproved.

The Schaghticoke Indians had a larger tract of land than they required, and being thriftless and poor, they offered a portion of it for sale. The city of Albany agreed to purchase a few hundred acres, but was not prepared to consummate the bargain. Hendrick Van Rensselaer saw his opportunity, and bought a tract six miles square lying on the Hoosac River, for which he procured a patent from the governor. The city saw its mistake, but sought to remedy it by the purchase of Van Rensselaer's interest, and generously offered him what it cost him. The offer

was declined with thanks, but he would sell for two hundred pounds. The city fathers were indignant, and appealed to the governor. The controversy became a State affair, for Bellomont reported it to his government for instructions ; but before his letter was despatched the matter was settled.

Subsequently it was the cause of another flurry in the Common Council. Patents and deeds for real estate were passed from hand to hand, much the same as coupon bonds. The mayor was the custodian of those belonging to the city. When he retired from office he handed them over to his successor. It happened, in the course of time, that the outgoing mayor, a relative of Van Rensselaer's, did not pass over this particular patent, with other papers. The new mayor reported the fact to the board of aldermen, who promptly appointed a committee of investigation. The committee called on the ex-mayor and had no difficulty in securing the document. It had been an oversight. The city dealt in real estate just as individuals. The profits helped pay the municipal expenses, and reduce taxation. It held this property nearly a century, letting it in small parcels on long leases, or selling it, reserving an annual quit-rent. In 1770, the city sold to Johannes Knickerbaker, whose father, Johannes, was one of the first settlers, all the land not heretofore sold within certain described bounds, "for which the said Knickerbaker is to find the said corporation and their successors with Meat, Drink, and Lodging once a year at his house at Schactacook." It would be interesting to entertain the present board in the old mansion, now occupied by a Knickerbaker, and filled with memorials of the past. It is a charming place. Its proprietor is an unmarried man. He has no other love than his farm with its old house and surrounding grounds. The ancient furniture and relics

are kept so bright and shining, that a Dutch housemaid, who gets on her knees and picks out particles of dust hidden in crevices with her hair pin, would have no fault to find.

A controversy arose between Hendrick Van Rensselaer and Robert Livingston, as to the division line between their properties. It was settled satisfactorily to both, and a surveyor was employed to mark it with more intelligible words than those contained in the Indian deeds. The Massachusetts line was advanced four miles west from the eastern line, by which the estate lost a portion of its broad and fertile acres.

The wife of Hendrick Van Rensselaer was a granddaughter of the well-known Anneke Jans, through whom his descendants became "heirs" to the Trinity Church farm. It is amusing to learn what numbers of them, about forty years ago, appeared in Albany to search the records of the church for proofs of their pedigree and "heirship." He had nine children, four sons and five daughters, all of whom but one had large families. His eldest son was, by law, heir to his landed property. Before his death, however, he made over to his other eight children, a fair proportion of his property, leaving the residue, including the "Crailo" estate, or Greenbush, to his eldest son, Johannes. He died in July, 1740, and was buried near his house on the banks of the Hudson. Railroads, and the growth of the village, some twenty years since, have disturbed his resting-place. His dust, together with that of a multitude of others, his posterity, has been removed.

John Van Rensselaer, as heir of the Claverack patent, inherited perplexity and trouble. At one time people from Massachusetts settled upon his unoccupied lands, and claimed them as their own. The governor and the courts

intervened, but their proclamations and verdicts were disregarded. Officers sent to arrest the intruders, were captured and sent to the Springfield jail. The sheriff of Albany was one of the victims. A year or two afterward, another sheriff with a posse undertook to arrest the leaders, but was met by an armed mob, who killed one of the posse, and dangerously wounded others. At another time some English officers, who were to be retired and given lands for settlement, petitioned that their farms might be located at Claverack. Van Rensselaer stoutly resisted these encroachments, and at last was allowed to enjoy his inheritance in peace. His wife was Engeltie Livingston, a granddaughter of Colonel Peter Schuyler. One of his sons married Elsie Schuyler, and a daughter, Catharine, married Philip Schuyler, the Major-General. His son Robert, commanded the militia who pursued and defeated Sir John Johnson when on his famous raid in the Mohawk valley, 1780.

Killian, another of Hendrick Van Rensselaer's sons, married Ariaantje Schuyler. Two of *his* sons were officers in the Revolutionary army, and acquitted themselves with credit. One was wounded at Fort Ann in Burgoyne's campaign, and carried the ball in his person thirty-five years, to his death. The family of Hendrick was so large, and soon became so numerous, that it would exceed my limits to follow them further. I shall have occasion in the progress of my narrative often to refer to individual members. Sufficient now to say, that among them may be found many eminent men in all the walks of life, mechanics, farmers, lawyers, doctors, divines, statesmen, and warriors; of the latter, General Solomon Van Rensselaer was the most celebrated.

Hendrick's estate, like that of his brother's, is now mostly in the hands of those who do not bear his name, and are

not of his lineage. Here and there only, a farm is owned and occupied by a Van Rensselaer, or a relative of another name. The city of Hudson occupies the landing-place of the ancient Claverack. The village of Claverack, four miles east of Hudson, has lost its importance since the days of railroads, and is chiefly interesting because it was the ancient family seat, and where, in the cemetery attached to the old church, are the graves of descendants for several generations.

In the Revolution, the Van Rensselaer families were almost to a man on the patriot side. They served as officers or in the ranks, many of them without pay or emolument. Themselves and their large estates, they devoted to the cause of popular liberty, as did their fathers in their long wars with Spain.

It is time to return to the personal history of Rev. Nicolaus Van Rensselaer, fourth son of the first patroon, who married the second daughter of Philip Schuyler. He received a liberal education in the schools and universities of Holland with the intention of becoming a minister of the Word, but began his tour of Europe before he took his theological degree. In England he was received with kindness and consideration. He had an audience of King Charles II., who presented him a snuff-box containing his miniature. This was done in memory of their acquaintance in Holland when the king was an exile. Van Rensselaer had cheered him by declaring, on one occasion, that he would be restored to the throne of England. This was interpreted as a prophecy, the fulfilment of which he now witnessed.

His visit in London was prolonged. He had more liberal theological opinions than prevailed in the established Church of Holland, and esteeming the Church of England to be equally orthodox, he sought ordination to

the ministry at the hands of a bishop, instead of returning home and taking a license from the classis. He was ordained a deacon, and subsequently a priest of the English church by the Bishop of Salisbury. The king then granted him license to officiate in the Dutch church at Westminster. He also officiated as chaplain to the Dutch embassy, by appointment of the Dutch ambassador. He was also lecturer to an English church in London.

When the province of New York was finally surrendered to the English, Edmund Andros was commissioned by the Duke of York as its governor, July, 1674. Van Rensselaer was yet in London, and thinking it a favorable opportunity to visit his father's colony at Albany, he hastily made his arrangements for the voyage. He may have thought of a permanent settlement, and if so, that it would be wise to go prepared to enter upon the work of his profession. He accordingly procured testimonials as to his ministerial fitness from the churches where he had preached and lectured, as also from the Dutch ambassador. He then saw the Duke of York, who, July, 1674, gave him a letter of recommendation to his newly-appointed governor, in which he requested that Van Rensselaer should be placed in one of the Dutch churches of New York or Albany, when there should be a vacancy.

He probably sailed in company with Governor Andros, for they arrived about the same time in the fall of 1674. On visiting Albany, he found that the pastor of the church was old and infirm, and the church anxious for the ministrations of a younger man. He was readily accepted as a colleague of the old pastor. But he was shortly to know the difference between a liberal Christianity, and that bound by creeds and forms. William, Prince of Orange, was liberal. While he lived, and until the truce with Spain, 1609, all forms of religion were tolerated, and dif-

ferences of opinion among Protestants were permitted. The truce gave the reformers opportunity to develop their peculiar dogmas. The Remonstrants and Anti-Remonstrants, Arminians and strict Calvinists, thundered at each other from the pulpit and rostrum. The Calvinists were the most numerous. Prince Maurice, from personal and political reasons, although an Arminian, protected the Calvinists. The religious war only ceased when Olden Barneveldt, the protector of the Arminians, was executed. The Calvinists triumphed. Theirs became the established church. They believed it to be the Church of God, regularly instituted according to the law and gospel. Its ministers in America received their ordination from the Classis of Amsterdam, and they labored under the delusion that ministers receiving their ordination in other churches, especially in the Church of England, had no legal orthodox standing, and were unfitted to serve at their altars.

In September, 1675, Dominic Van Rensselaer was in New York, and was invited to preach in the Dutch church, not by its pastor, but doubtless through the influence of the governor. The pastor, Dominic Newenhuysen, absented himself from the church, but before the services began, he sent word to Van Rensselaer "forbidding" him to baptize any children that might be presented for that ordinance. Van Rensselaer wisely resolved not to officiate. The next day he called on Newenhuysen, to learn the reason why he had sent such a message to him. The answer was prompt: "I do not consider you to be a lawful minister, nor that your admission to the church at Albany was lawful." Van Rensselaer submitted his license, and testimonials for his inspection. They did not change Newenhuysen's opinion. He "exclaimed against him," as before.

Van Rensselaer seeing his license dishonored, and himself suspected, believed that his usefulness in his chosen profession was at an end unless he justified his pretensions. There was no ecclesiastical tribunal to which he could apply, and there was no way of relief, except by an appeal to the governor and Council, who had charge of religious, as well as of secular affairs. He accordingly turned to them for redress. Newenhuysen was summoned before them, and the parties were heard. Newenhuysen did not deny the allegations, and still maintained that a minister ordained by a bishop had no right to administer the sacraments in the Dutch churches of New York. This was inadmissible, and after an admonition, he was given three or four days to answer the question, whether a minister ordained by the Church of England had not sufficient authority to perform his functions in New York?

On the day appointed, Dominic Newenhuysen and his elders appeared before the Council, and presented a written answer. It was a paper in justification of himself, rather than a formal answer to the question. The trial was considered important by the civil authorities, and by the Church as involving their rights and privileges as defined in the articles under which the province was surrendered to the English. The consistory of the church were fully aware that any action on their part, not satisfactory to the governor, would be prejudicial to the prosperity of the church, and that, on the other hand, they must be careful not to lower the standard of orthodoxy. Their paper was not satisfactory. A long discussion followed, in which they seemed to admit in words what they denied in writing. Finally, time was allowed them to amend the written answer, and "the next day they brought in their paper amended, with all submission." Thus ended the Rev. Nicolaus' first experience in church polemics. But he was

not allowed to enjoy his victory in peace. He was under suspicion, and spies were shadowing him.

Little less than a year afterward, in September, 1676, the governor was startled with a message from Albany, that Dominie Van Rensselaer was in prison, for "some dubious words spoken in a sermon." The Council was called together, who ordered his release, and that the case be brought before them for adjudication. It appears that Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milburne, who in after years became so famous as political demagogues, were at the bottom of the present trouble. They resided in New York, and on a visit at Albany, attended church where Dominie Van Rensselaer occupied the pulpit. They chose to interpret some of his utterances as "dubious," or of doubtful doctrine. They lodged a complaint before a magistrate, who had him arrested, and committed to prison. He appealed to the governor and Council, and gave a bond of fifteen hundred guilders, Holland money, to prosecute the appeal to the end. Leisler was required to furnish bonds to the amount of five thousand pounds, and Milburne, one thousand pounds, to "prosecute and answer the matters relating thereunto according to law." Leisler failing to furnish the bond required, a warrant was issued for his arrest.

The affair created much disturbance in the communities of New York and Albany. The good old Dominie Schaets was drawn into the controversy, and made some incautious remarks as to Van Rensselaer's orthodoxy. Thus the churches and the people were in a ferment. The more prominent inhabitants counselled prudence and patience. At last an extraordinary court was held at Albany, before whom the two dominies appeared with papers and witnesses. After a review of the whole case, "they are, by order of the governor, to be reconciled according to Christian duty and love." They answered, "with all

our hearts." After some mutual explanations, the court ordered the parties to "forgive and forget." The verdict was accepted, and the parties reconciled. The question as to the costs of the complaints and suit was referred to the governor and Council. They ordered "that Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milburne doe pay the whole charge both at Albany and here, as giving the first occasion of the difference, and that D^o Rensselaer be freed from bearing any part thereof."

During the controversy rumors were put in circulation that Van Rensselaer was a "papist." Did they have their source with Leisler? This was the most opprobrious epithet he could use against his opponents in 1689-91.

Dominic Van Rensselaer was recognized as co-pastor of the church for at least a year after these occurrences. In December, 1677, he signs himself *Coloniæ pastor et director*. But a year later a complaint was entered, that the consistory had refused him a seat in the usual pastor's pew with the elders, and it was resolved that he could have a suitable one, behind that of the magistrates. He died in November, 1678, leaving no children.

With an education superior to that of his brothers, he was less distinguished. He died in early manhood, before there was time for the full development of his talents and abilities.

THE LIVINGSTON FAMILY.

ALIDA SCHUYLER married, secondly, in 1679, Robert Livingston, "Secretary of Albany." He was the son of a Scotch clergyman, who had found it expedient to seek asylum in Holland, not because of his religion, but for political reasons. His family joined him, and he made Holland his home during life. There his son Robert received his education, which included the French and Dutch languages. Before going to Holland he had had some thoughts of coming to America, but was diverted from his purpose. Perhaps it was this unfulfilled project which turned his son's attention to the province of New York. After his father's death, and when Governor Andros arrived in New York to receive the city and colony for his master, the Duke of York, in the autumn of 1674, Robert Livingston appeared in Albany. He arrived about the same time as Rev. Nicolaus Van Rensselaer.

In March of the following year, he bought a lot, "No. 1 on the hill." He afterward owned the lot next adjoining, on the corner of State and North Pearl Streets. Here he lived until he removed to his manor, when he transferred the property to his eldest son, Philip.

Albany was yet a village governed by the commandant of the fort, and by a board of commissaries, whose clerk, or secretary, kept the records, as also the records of deeds, mortgages and contracts. Livingston was appointed secretary in place of Johannes Provoost, whose last official signature was dated August 11th, and Livingston's first Sep-

tember 8, 1675. By his marriage with Alida Schuyler, he formed a connection with several of the leading families of the colony, both in New York and Albany. He united with the Dutch church, whose edifice, erected in 1656, was becoming too small for its increasing membership. More room was required. The enlargement of the sitting capacity afforded a field for Livingston to show the stuff he was made of. A gallery on the north side of the church would give the room required. It was estimated that the improvement would cost one thousand guilders,¹ or forty-eight beaver skins. Livingston undertook to raise the money required, not from the older members who had erected the building, but from the young men of the congregation. He started the subscription in his wife's family. His four brothers-in-law, Peter, Arent, Philip, and John Schuyler, and himself subscribed two beavers each. After some labor and canvassing, he secured nineteen others to give each a like sum. The new gallery was built. After the bills were paid, and the gallery turned over to the church in complete order, the authorities passed an ordinance, that each of the subscribers should have a seat on the front bench of the new gallery, "which should be a perpetual inheritance for themselves and their successors." To Livingston was given the choice of seats on the bench, "in consideration for the trouble he took to speak to the persons who have contributed, and to encourage them to it; also for collecting the money, paying it, and keeping the accounts."

The desire of owning land began to develop itself early in Livingston; it rapidly grew, and his ruling passion was to be a large landed proprietor, like the Van Rensse-

¹ The currency of Albany was still for some time reckoned in Dutch money, although the English were masters.

laers, and others on Long Island and in the vicinity of New York.

The Mohegan tribes on the east side of the Hudson had become reduced to a few old Indians and squaws, who were ready to sell the lands of which they claimed the ownership. Livingston's position as clerk of Indian affairs gave him exceptional opportunities to select and to purchase the best lands in desirable localities. Learning that some Indians on Roelof Jansen's Kill, a small river which empties in the Hudson just below Claverack, were ready to sell some of their fertile lands, Livingston sent in a petition to the governor and Council for a license to buy. It was promptly granted. This tract was subsequently erected into a manor, and will be spoken of later. He made an effort to secure a part of the manor of Rensselaerwyck, to which he set up a claim for the share to which Rev. Nicolaus Van Rensselaer was entitled, on the hypothesis that his widow was his heir. He accordingly made application to the governor to have the manor divided, so that his wife's portion might be determined. His application was successfully opposed by the Van Rensselaers. They consented to make him some allowance, which was finally accepted in full of all claims on the manor.

His chief reliance for the acquisition of an estate was on the emoluments of office. He had learned, by the small one he held, that the salaries and perquisites of official positions were more reliable sources of ready money than most kinds of business as then conducted. When Governor Dongan gave to Albany a city charter, he appointed Livingston town clerk (another name for the old secretaryship) and receiver of the revenues. Dongan said, "I appointed one Robert Livingston collector and receiver, with one shilling in the pound; also clerk of the town, that both places together might afford him a competent

living." The town clerk was required to act as secretary of the board for the management of Indian affairs, for which there was no salary or fees. In that regard he was on the same footing as the commissioners, who found their reward in improved facilities for their Indian trade, in which he also engaged on fitting opportunities. He was also appointed clerk of the Common Pleas, and clerk of the peace, the latter position being similar to that of county clerk, the duties of town clerk being then confined to keeping the municipal records.

In the pursuit of an estate, he was painstaking in the duties of his several offices, careful to collect the fees, economical in his expenses, industrious and thrifty. He showed himself a true Scotchman with a Dutch education. He accumulated rapidly, and loaned his money at ten per cent. on good securities. It was soon a recognized fact, that he was the only man in the province who had money and credit enough to pay for the subsistence of the troops when the treasury was short, and who could wait for the collection of the taxes; his advances meanwhile drawing eight per cent. interest.

In politics Livingston was usually with the majority. He could "turn his coat" easier than any man living. This idiosyncrasy was not peculiar to himself alone; it became an inherited trait, cropping out among his posterity. When Leisler seized upon the government at New York, the citizens of Albany, unwilling to submit to his control, set up a government of their own by means of a convention elected by the popular voice. Livingston was one of its most active supporters. After the sack of Schenectady, it was feared that Albany would suffer a like fate. The wooden fort was much decayed, and the palisades around the city were rotten. The fortifications could offer little or no resistance. Albany was a frontier

post. There were no forts between it and the French, only vast tracts of wilderness, with here and there some cultivated farms. Two small companies of volunteers and Indians were posted on Lake Champlain, one on each side, "to watch the motions of the enemy." The fort and stockades were repaired, and other defences constructed. But the public funds were soon exhausted. Efforts were made to procure money without avail. The people were poor. Meantime their only reliance was upon Livingston, who made advances on the strength of a bond given him by the most substantial citizens, which soon amounted to £2,600. The strain was greater than could be born without speedy succor. The French of Canada were not many in number, and were open to attack. The Five Nations alone a few years before had well-nigh subdued them. The project of an invasion of Canada was now conceived, as the shortest and cheapest way out of their troubles. But for this they must have assistance in men and money. But from whom? Esopus, now comparatively rich and flourishing, could furnish a few men and support them in the field. New York was firmly held by Leisler, and he was their antagonist. New England had suffered, and was yet suffering, by French and Indian excursions. Perhaps they would be willing to end them by the conquest of Canada.

Messengers were accordingly sent to Kingston and New York, and Livingston was selected to proceed to Connecticut and Boston. He declined, "not judging himself capable of managing a business of so much moment." On further consideration he consented to go, provided Captain Teunisse (Van Vechten) was sent with him, which was agreed to. They were directed to represent in unmistakable words the truly critical situation at Albany, and that there was danger of losing the alliance of the

Five Nations, who were now their main defence. They were also to ask for fifty men, and provisions for the immediate protection of the frontiers, and for a loan of money. But more than all, they must impress upon those governments the importance of carrying the war into Canada by a naval demonstration against Quebec. "The conquest of Canada alone can secure peace and safety to them and to us."

While Livingston was on his journey to New England, Leisler issued a warrant for his arrest, on some vague reports that he was a Jacobite, and that by "instigation of the devil" he had doubted the success of the Prince of Orange in obtaining the English crown. Learning that he was in New England, Leisler wrote to the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, soliciting their assistance to his officers in securing the person of the "rebel Livingston." Governor Treat replied, that he would assist the officers in making the arrest, provided he were tried in their courts, and provided further, that some one should give security for his prosecution. No one gave the security, and no other notice was taken of Leisler's requisition. Livingston was courteously received on his arrival, and his representations were listened to with respect. He had an insinuating address, which enabled him to gain the confidence of people whom he sought to win to his opinions. Connecticut had favored Leisler's seizure of the government, but Livingston detached it from his interests. The project for an attack on Quebec was indorsed by the New England colonies, who also advised an invasion of Canada by the lakes. For this purpose there must be harmony between the contending factions in New York, and they advised the Albany convention to submit to Leisler. The convention accepted the advice, and allowed Leisler's commissioners to take possession of

the city government and of the fort. Leisler adopted the project for the invasion of Canada as his own, and assumed control of the necessary preparations, consenting, however, that Fitz John Winthrop, of Connecticut, should be commander-in-chief. While the preparations were going on he did not intermit his persecutions of Livingston. Warrants were issued, and his house was searched for evidences of his guilt as a public enemy. Some priestly regalia and the books of a Jesuit missionary, which had been deposited with him, were unearthed, and made the occasion of fresh proclamations. He was posted as an absconding malefactor, and his property was attached. It was not safe for him in Albany, and he remained in New England until General Winthrop was ready to place himself at the head of the little army which had been collected at Albany. Under his protection and by his side Livingston marched home. To the deep disgust of Leisler, Winthrop made Livingston's house his headquarters. Livingston was safe while Winthrop remained in Albany, but as soon as the campaign began he again disappeared, and did not show himself to the public until Leisler's fall. It is not singular that he should wish to be present when his enemy was executed. Undoubtedly he had been active in the prosecution which had condemned the leaders of Leisler's faction to an ignominious death, and he could plead in justification the injustice and the wrongs he had suffered at their hands. Milborne on the scaffold caught sight of him among the spectators, and exclaimed: "You have caused the king that I must now die, but before God's tribunal I will implead you."

We now find Livingston in Albany engaged in his former occupations, and holding a confidential correspondence with Governor Sloughter, who did not live long. For some unexplained reason, Livingston was not a favor-

ite with the next governor, Colonel Fletcher, who did not highly esteem his services. He put him aside in his conferences with the Indians, employing instead the secretary of the colony. He made little or no effort to have Livingston's accounts with the government adjusted, or the money due him refunded. He treated him with formal courtesy, but nothing more. As Fletcher joined the anti-Leisler faction, Livingston was disappointed in not meeting with the recognition that his services and sacrifices deserved. He was disgusted, and resolved to appeal in person to the throne for justice. Fletcher did not understand the man. He did not dream that Livingston's little body contained a soul which would not brook neglect and injustice ; and which was capable of seeking revenge by means, and through instruments, the most effectual. Before he sailed for England, he procured from Fletcher a paper which was important in his designs. It could not well be refused. It was a certificate as to the justice of one item of his claims. It was all he asked for. With this he could manage the rest.

He was unfortunate on his voyage. The ship lost her rudder, floated for a long time at the mercy of the waves, and was at last driven upon the coast of Portugal. After being five months at sea, subsisting seventeen weeks on a pint of water and a little cocoanut a day, he escaped from the wreck and travelled through Portugal to a port in Spain, whence he sailed for England. He addressed himself without delay to the business he had in hand. His old friend, Governor Dongan, was then in England, and rendered him important service. His address and manners were quiet and insinuating, so that, with Dongan's assistance, he had little difficulty in making the acquaintance of gentlemen around the throne, who became his friends and future correspondents. When he had put his

business in proper shape, and had interested the king's advisers, he memorialized the lords of trade. He stated that he had come to England to have his claims for advances to the government of New York adjusted and reimbursed, alleging that owing to the wants of the province, Governor Fletcher had diverted to other uses the money raised by act of Assembly to pay him. Then he opened his attack on Fletcher. He had no expectation that his claims would be paid in New York, "by reason of Colonel Fletcher's proceedings there." The lords of trade permitted him to call several witnesses to prove what those "proceedings" were. Before he had finished the testimony, it was made to appear that Fletcher was a bad man, and quite unfit for his position.¹

These proceedings had a wonderful influence on public opinion. Soon after, Livingston formally asked the lords of trade to have his accounts considered and adjusted. More than this, he asked to be confirmed for life in his several offices, with the usual salaries and fees, and also to be appointed secretary for Indian affairs for life, with an annual salary of one hundred pounds sterling.

His accounts were in admirable shape. Besides ten barrels of powder taken from his stores by Leisler, there were six other items, which, including interest at eight per cent., amounted to £5,725 6s. 7d., New York money. The lords of trade, with a favorable report, referred the accounts to the lords of the treasury. After consideration by that board all his claims were allowed, and in their re-

¹ It is evident that men were no better then than now. At the beginning of the proceedings before the Board of Trade, "Captain William Kid (afterward the pirate) sworn says that John Tutall the sheriff of New York spoke to him to get his people from on board his vessell they being Inhabitants of New York to vote at the election about three months since, for such persons as the Governor desired should be elected."

port to the king they recommended that he be confirmed in his several offices, and that his salary as secretary of Indian affairs be fixed at one hundred pounds sterling per annum. The king acceded to the recommendations of his lords in all particulars. Some of his claims were paid in England, and the remainder was ordered to be paid in New York.

Having laid the foundation of serious troubles to Fletcher, who at home had treated him so unfairly, with a fair amount of cash in his pocket, and the king's orders on the government of New York to pay what was still due him, but more than all, with his life commissions in hand, he sailed for home, after an absence of about two years. Governor Fletcher was in Albany when he arrived in New York. He hastened thither and presented his credentials. His reception was anything but cordial. Fletcher had been informed of the charges against him, and the investigation that Livingston had provoked. He was very angry, and asserted that the charges were false, claiming that all the members of the Council, two of whom were Livingston's own brothers-in-law, would testify to his good behavior, not meddling in the least with the revenues or other matters outside of his official duties. When, therefore, Livingston presented himself, Fletcher treated him with rudeness and disdain. Notwithstanding the king's sign-manual to his commissions, he suspended him from all his offices.

Subsequently Livingston presented a petition to the governor and Council, praying that his accounts might be paid as directed by the king. No attention was given to this request, but the Council considered his commissions, and unanimously (Peter Schuyler not voting) agreed upon a report :

That for the offices of collector of the excise, receiver

of quit-rents, town clerk, clerk of the peace, and clerk of the common pleas, he had been sufficiently paid and rewarded by salaries and fees, "inasmuch that he has thereby raised himself from nothing, to be one of the richest men in the province." That the office of receiver had always been discharged by the sheriffs; and that there was no such office as secretary of Indian affairs, all solemn treaties and conferences with the Indians having been the work of the governor himself; all that Livingston pretended to do therein was to render from Dutch into English, having no knowledge of the Indian language, or influence with the Five Nations; and that in the present impoverished state of the finances and of the people in consequence of the war, the salary would be an intolerable burden.

The report also alleged that Livingston was an alien, born of Scotch parents in Rotterdam, consequently disqualified to hold any place of trust relating to the treasury; and concluded with the recommendation that he be suspended from the offices of receiver, collector, and secretary, until the king's pleasure be further known.

Livingston immediately wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury, one of the ministers, complaining of the treatment he had received in the face of the king's orders and commissions, alleging that Fletcher was at the bottom, for the Council under his control must submit to his dictation. Shrewsbury was his warm friend, and had shown him much kindness at court.

Fletcher, on the other hand, wrote to the government, accusing Livingston of false representations, or he could not have procured such favors. He attacked his private character, and said that he had unjustly made a fortune out of the provincial government, "never disbursing six pence, but with the expectation of twelve pence in re-

turn;" that, "beginning as a little bookkeeper, he had screwed himself into one of the most considerable estates in the province;" that "he is known to all men here to have neither religion or morality. His whole thirst is to enrich himself by any and every means. Yes, it is reported, he said he would rather be called Knave Livingston than Poor Livingston."

Livingston made an able reply to the report of the Council. It was true, he said, that he rendered the Indian speeches from the Dutch translation into English, but that was not the whole of it. He revised the manuscript, recorded it in the books, and furnished the governor with a copy. This work had to be done whenever the Indians appeared before the governor or the commissioners, forty or fifty times a year. He was not foreign-born, but Scottish, born after King James I. came to the throne, when all Scotchmen were recognized as Englishmen; and that he had lived in the province of New York twenty-two years, owned lands and houses of some value; but now, forsooth, it is alleged, "I am an alien." As to his property, whatever it was, he had gained it by industry and prudence. If he had made anything by subsisting the troops, it was because no others could or would do it. He had collected quit-rents, and remitted them to the receiver-general, without fee or reward. If others wished the office on the same terms, he would gladly surrender it.

Fletcher's administration was drawing to its close. He wished to stay, and sent over some friends to intercede in his behalf. It was of no avail. Livingston's demonstration against him was producing its fruit. No efforts could retard its growth.

Livingston, while in England, had made the acquaintance of many men among the ruling classes, some of whom were his correspondents, and kept him informed as

to all matters relating to the colony. He became acquainted with Lord Bellomont, who had been selected as Fletcher's successor. He learned that Bellomont sympathized with the friends of the late Jacob Leisler. Several of them were in England, working for the removal of Fletcher, and for the appointment of a man more friendly to their interests. The attainder of Leisler, and the confiscation of his property, they sought to reverse. It could only be done by a governor opposed to the present ruling party in the province. Livingston also learned that public opinion was forming against large grants of land in New York, and that efforts would be made to vacate some patents already issued for some large tracts, termed "extravagant grants." Exercising his usual caution and shrewdness, he sought to make a favorable impression on Bellomont, and arranged to make his peace with Leisler's friends and relatives. When he learned from his correspondents that the time had come for Fletcher's removal, and Bellomont's appointment, he knew that the time had come also for a change in his politics. He accordingly abandoned the party with which he had acted during the time of Leisler's usurpation, and years after, in order to join the Leislerians.

Lord Bellomont was appointed Governor in March, 1697, but did not arrive in New York until April, 1698. He was a man of strong passions, and of a temper that could brook no opposition, yet withal honest in his convictions. He was thoroughly committed to the Leislerian party. In his instructions is a paragraph directing him to examine the affairs relating to Robert Livingston, and to learn why the king's orders of 1695 had not been obeyed.

One of the first things he did on his arrival was to order an investigation. Fletcher was summoned to appear before the Council to prove his allegations against Livingston, and to justify himself in suspending his commissions.

He did not appear, and the Council declared that they could not be judges in a matter as to which they had already expressed an opinion, and were now a party. They had now nothing to offer in justification of the suspension. They could only say, that they knew nothing to the prejudice of Livingston's reputation, and believed him to be the fittest man in the colony to contract for the subsistence of the troops. They therefore referred the whole matter to his Excellency to be determined by his individual judgment. He duly examined the case, and decided that Livingston's claims were just, and should be paid. As to his commissions, he found him fit and capable. In his report to his superiors, he made no recommendations, leaving it to them to remove his suspension, and restore him to his offices, in their own time and pleasure.

A full year afterward the Lords of Trade, in one of their letters, said that they had noted the report, but as no one had appeared for Livingston, they supposed the business had been arranged, and so let it rest. Livingston promptly acted upon the hint, and directed his solicitor to present his case, and ask for an adjustment. He was directed to lay the matter before the king, through the Secretary of State. This was done. But new revelations were made as to some of Livingston's past transactions, especially his relations with the pirate Kidd, which shook the confidence of Bellomont in his integrity, who communicated his suspicions to the government, and final action on the claims was again deferred.

Bellomont had been warmly attached to him, so much so that when he had suspended several members of the Council, and appointed Leislerians to the vacancies, Livingston was one of them. This appointment was acceptable on many accounts. It gratified his ambition as a politician, and made him the peer of the men who, a few years be-

fore, under the inspiration of Fletcher, had poured such contempt upon him. The affair of Kidd, however, clouded his enjoyment, for it embarrassed the settlement of his claims, involving so large a portion of his estate. Pirates had long infested the coasts of the English colonies, where they had been in a measure patronized and protected. The harbors of Long Island within the Sound had been their principal rendezvous. They brought cargoes of India goods, with gold and precious stones, plundered from English East India merchantmen, and found a market or concealment. They had become an intolerable nuisance to the government and to honest traders. Efforts were actively made to suppress them, but with little success.

Livingston, on his way to England in 1695, conceived a project which he believed would drive them from the seas, while it would enrich its projectors. After he had made the acquaintance of Lord Bellomont he explained to him the project and solicited his counsel. It was a device somewhat questionable as to its morality,—a sort of modified piracy. Armed ships were to be employed to cruise in the Indian seas in search of piratical vessels. When a capture was made with a cargo of stolen goods, the pirates were to be punished as they deserved, and their merchandise turned over, not to the rightful owners, but to the owners of the ships making the capture. Bellomont approved the project, and agreed to join him in fitting out the first cruiser. He took an active part in the business, and interested other noble lords in the enterprise—even the king was said to have been a shareholder. Livingston was appointed agent of the company. He was authorized to buy a ship, arm it, supply it with stores, and hire officers and crew. Among his acquaintances was one Captain Kidd, a resident of New York, who was master of a merchant ship, and a man of courage, as had been shown on

some trying occasions. He happened to be in London. Livingston succeeded in securing his service as captain of the anti-piratical craft.

Bellomont for himself and his noble partners, whose names do not appear, entered into a written agreement with Livingston and Kidd. He engaged to furnish four-fifths of the capital invested in the enterprise. After paying the crew, he was to receive four-fifths of the plunder. Livingston gave his bond to Bellomont for his faithful performance of all his undertakings in the premises, as also did Kidd, with a penalty of twenty thousand pounds.

The ship was ready to sail in the latter part of February, 1696. She first came to the coasts of New York and New England to procure a full complement of men, and to look into the haunts of pirates. After securing a crew she sailed for the East Indies. Not successful in taking pirate ships, Kidd himself became a pirate. His captures in the eastern seas soon became notorious, and made his name a terror to honest merchantmen. Fletcher was aware of his presence near New York when collecting his crew, and after he sailed wrote to the Lords of Trade that Kidd had shown his letters-patent for the suppression of piracy, and had collected a crew of notoriously bad fellows, and added: "It is believed that if they are not successful, it will not be in Kidd's power to control them; they will have money *per fas aut nefas*." It was afterward reported, and Kidd alleged in his defence that the crew mutinied and forced him, in order to save his life, to commit unlawful depredations on the commerce of the seas.

Bellomont, smarting under the exposure of his connection with Kidd, and the use made of it by Fletcher and his political enemies, charged Livingston as the author of all the trouble and scandal. He said that Livingston introduced Kidd to him, visited his house with him, made

all the arrangements, and drew up all the papers with his own hand. When Kidd made his appearance on the coast in the early summer of 1699, Bellomont was in Boston. By a decoy letter he induced Kidd to visit Boston, where he was arrested. Bellomont in his report to the Board of Trade did not spare Livingston. He said that Livingston had hurried to Boston to embezzle Kidd's rich cargo, and get released from his bond. He went further, and said that he now suspected him of complicity with Kidd. In this he wronged his old friend. Livingston, aware of these reports, and of Bellomont's great irritation, went to Boston to vindicate himself from unjust charges. He appeared before Bellomont and his Council, and successfully acquitted himself. His explanations seem to have been entirely satisfactory to Bellomont, although he did not withdraw his injurious aspersions made to the Board of Trade. Of these Livingston at the time had no knowledge, or he doubtless would have secured their modification, if not withdrawal. Afterward Bellomont treated him with courtesy, and corresponded with him as usual on Indian affairs and other public business. But his self-love was wounded. He did not regard Livingston as his warm personal friend as of old, nor henceforth "the best man in the province." He was disposed to say ill-natured things of him. On one occasion he said: "The soldiers in Albany are worse used than here, to Livingston's only satisfaction [Livingston yet furnished subsistence], for he pinched an estate out of their poor bellies." At another time he said: "Graham has only one friend in the province, Livingston, who has not quite so much cunning as he." He never could forget the exposure of his unfortunate connection with Kidd. It preyed on his mind. He could not forgive Livingston. At last he resolved to remove him from the Council, and it was to

have been done the night before his sudden death. This saved Livingston for the time.

After the death of Bellomont, Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan being absent, the administration of the government devolved upon the Council, of whom two members were anti-Leislerian. Livingston, knowing that Bellomont had not regarded him as a friend for some time before his death, and aware of his intention to suspend him, now joined the minority against the party with which he had been affiliated some four years. He knew quite well that a new governor would soon be appointed, that in all probability he would be a man of opposite politics, and he was now preparing himself to be one of the governor's party. When Nanfan returned, and assumed control of affairs, he found means to conciliate him, and make himself useful to his administration. He had addressed a long letter to the Lords of Trade, in which he was lavish in praises of the late governor, but slyly insinuated some things to his prejudice, just enough to give the impression that, notwithstanding all his protestations of honor, and his declamations against the corruptions of his predecessors, he had had an eye to his own interests. It was the custom of the Five Nations, Livingston said, in their conferences, to make presents in exchange for those they received. The greater the presents they received, the more beaver skins they gave, which were always treated as the governor's perquisites. At the last conference held by his late Excellency, so great and valuable were the gifts of the governor presented in his own name, but chargeable to the revenues of the province, that the Indians were fairly taken off their feet. They had not expected so much, and did not come prepared to reciprocate. They felt themselves obliged in honor to procure more beavers. With the presents the Earl had given them, they went to the traders and bought

beavers, which the next day they laid at the governor's feet.

Soon afterward he wrote again. He said that he had intended to embark for England on urgent private business, and public as well: first, to vindicate himself before the Lords of Trade from the aspersions of Lord Bellomont as to his connection with the pirate Kidd, and the embezzlement of his cargo; second, to procure a settlement of his claims, for he had exhausted his estate in subsisting the troops, and was now forced to borrow money at ten per cent. True, the Earl had granted him warrants on the treasury in liquidation, but had immediately afterward procured an order in Council stopping payment; lastly, he wished to confer with their lordships upon certain schemes he had suggested in a previous letter for the better security and protection of the colony. But he had been constrained to defer his voyage, because Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan wanted his services in his approaching conference with the Indians, and thought his presence essential. The convention with the Five Nations had been held, and was a great success. Large presents were exchanged, of which the poor province bore, as usual, the greater part of the expense. Besides the one hundred and thirty beaver skins contributed to Nanfan's private purse, they gave to the king a deed for their hunting-grounds lying north of the lakes Ontario and Erie, and east of Lake Huron. Livingston modestly took to himself some credit for the success of the negotiations. Nanfan seemed so pleased with his services, that, on the asking, he certified to his valuable assistance, and recommended the Lords' favorable consideration of his peculiar circumstances, that he might obtain speedy relief in the payment of his claims and restoration to his offices.

After Nanfan had closed his public conference with the

Indians at Albany, a delegation of the principal sachems visited him in the fort. Their business apparently was to confer with him more particularly as to some of their relations still held as prisoners in Canada, notwithstanding the peace. In reality it was to demand that Livingston should be sent to England as their agent, and represent their wishes to the throne. They said that they not only desired that effectual means should be taken to release their friends from prison, but that the influence of the French priests in seducing their people away from their country should be counteracted by English clergymen residing among them. Send Livingston without delay, they said, "and then we are in hopes we shall have a good issue of our business."

The Indian agency was ridiculed by the old partisans of Leisler, who said that it was not so much the request of the Indians, as of Livingston made through them. It was one of his old tricks to lessen his own expenses, and procure more consideration abroad. Their old prejudices were aroused. Nanfan, as the brother-in-law of Bellomont, was soon in full sympathy with them. Their distrust of him grew with what it fed on—rumor and dislike. In October following, the Assembly enacted a law requiring him to account for the money he had received as collector of excise and receiver of quit-rents, and authorized the seizure of his property as a defaulter. This act and other legislation of a like nature aroused the anti-Leislerian party. They had been shut out from public employment, and now their estates were attached. A petition to the king, reciting their grievances and asking relief, was widely circulated, and received a long list of signatures. It was believed by Nanfan and his party, not without reason, that Livingston had taken an active part in the agitation, and in all probability was its chief promoter. To punish him Nanfan suspended him from the Council.

Although he had turned against the party by whom Bellomont and Nanfan were supported, and had joined his old friends in their vigorous address to the throne, he was not implicitly trusted. He had to take other measures to regain their confidence. His friends in England had kept him informed as to all matters relating to the province, and had given him notice that Lord Cornbury would soon be governor of New York, and that he was not a Leislerian like Bellomont. He trimmed his sails accordingly, and joined in an address of congratulation to be presented to his lordship on his arrival.

In Lord Cornbury's first conference with the Five Nations, July, 1702, Livingston was recognized as Secretary of Indian Affairs, and acted in that capacity. But from the first he was not a favorite with Cornbury, who in after years gave public expression to his dislike. He was not restored to the Council, and was treated with marked neglect. His dalliance with the Leislerians had much to do with his present position. He was not trusted by either party. He now had little hope of satisfactorily adjusting his affairs with the government. He returned to the project which had been laid aside at Nanfan's solicitation, and now resolved on his deferred voyage to England. His great success on his former visit gave him encouragement. Moreover, he could conceal his true motives under the veil of an Indian agent. True, he had no governor's commission, but then, was it not well known to the Lords of Trade, that the Five Nations had urgently requested such a commission for him? Did they not know that the Indians had begged him to present their condition to the throne, and ask for relief? Did they not know of the Indians' appeal for ministers of the gospel to give them religious instruction?

He sailed from New York on June 2, 1703. The voyage,

like the first, was unfortunate. On the English coast, near the British Channel, his ship was captured by a French privateer. The captors, after plundering it, allowed the ship to be ransomed. Livingston lost some valuable private papers, but concealed a package sent by Lord Cornbury, which he sent to the Board of Trade with a pathetic letter detailing his misfortunes. He resorted to his old tactics after his shipwreck. After relating the incidents of the capture by the privateer, he says: "I have been a servant of the crown twenty-eight years, and have launched out all the small fortune I have, besides incurring considerable debts, in victualling her Majesty's forces. To secure the payment of what is due me from the crown, I was constrained to leave my family and business, and have now met with this disaster."

On his arrival in London he shrewdly addressed himself first to the affairs of the Five Nations. In his memorial to the Lords of Trade, after alluding to their wishes to have him act as their agent, he shows how useful they have always been to the colony, and were still. "They fight our battles, and are a living barrier against the encroachments of the French. In the wars they have suffered exceedingly by the loss of men, both in battle, and by the French priests, who have seduced large numbers of them to leave their country and live in Canada. They now earnestly appeal for protection, especially against the influence of the priests. They desire religious instruction, but prefer Protestant teachers. Let Protestant missionaries be sent among them, and they will be gladly welcomed. Their people will be taught the true religion, and they will no longer permit French priests to reside among them." He then passes to a brief statement of the condition of the province, interspersing it with praises of Lord Cornbury, who was a cousin of Queen Anne, then

on the throne. He makes no allusion to himself, his services, or his affairs.

The Lords of Trade advised him to consult with the Bishop of London, who put him into communication with the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by whom he was invited to attend a missionary meeting to be held at the Archbishop's palace. His negotiations resulted in securing two clergymen of the Church as missionaries to the Indians. He was thus engaged apparently a full year, devoting the entire time to the affairs of his constituents, the Five Nations.

In August, 1704, he again memorialized the Board of Trade. It was now on his own individual business. He asks that his suspension from the office of secretary by Governor Fletcher may be annulled, and he be "restored to the capacity of receiving his salary, according to the recommendation of the late Lord Bellomont, now amounting to eight hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling." The Lords of Trade took his memorial into consideration. They found his statements to be true, and that notwithstanding his suspension, he had since been serviceable in Indian treaties. They made a favorable report to the queen, who by order in council removed the suspension, and restored him to all his rights under the commission.

So far, well. But he was not yet satisfied. His other commissions from the king in 1695 had been discredited. No one of the governors, not even Bellomont, had caused them to be respected. He now wished them confirmed, or new commissions issued by the queen. He believed her sign-manual would be respected, especially by the present governor, Cornbury, who prided himself on his near relationship to the sovereign. He waited and worked nearly a year longer. His patience and efforts were re-

warded with success. On September 29, 1705, the queen issued her mandate :

“ I hereby restore, confirm, constitute and appoint you, Robert Livingston, to be our town clerk, clerk of the peace, clerk of the common pleas, in our county and city of Albany, and the secretary, or agent of the government of New York to the Indians.”

He returned home. But Lord Cornbury and the Council did not respect his new commission more than the old. He was under a cloud which the sun of the queen's favor could not lift. He first presented his credentials to Lord Cornbury, who ordered them in October, 1706, into the hands of the secretary of Council, with directions to examine King William's commissions, together with the proceedings of the Council thereon, and lay the papers before the governor and Council. The secretary made haste slowly. It was not until September, 1708, that the business was ready for the action of the Council. The queen's commission was then ordered to be recorded in full. Livingston now presented a formal request to have his salary paid, or adjusted. The Council refused, alleging that the office of secretary was useless and burdensome ; and ordered that it should be so represented to the queen. All the members of the Council were agreed in this disposition of the petition, except Peter Schuyler, who did not vote.

When Lord Cornbury was about to be recalled, Livingston determined to make another effort to have his commission recognized, and secure his unpaid salary. The Council had been reorganized, the new members being, as he believed, more favorable to his interests. He hoped that as the governor was about to retire, he would be better disposed. He sent in his petition, November 18, 1708. It was laid on the table.

Within a month after the arrival of Cornbury's succes-

sor, Lord Lovelace, Livingston addressed to him a memorial, reciting a history of his case, requesting him to make himself acquainted with all the facts, and recommend him to her Majesty for relief. Lovelace consulted his Council, who again objected to the utility of the office of secretary. Of course no action was taken. Livingston asked them to reduce their objections to writing, and furnish him with a copy. This was a preliminary step to further proceedings. But Lovelace died before he had time to make a thorough investigation into all the matters involved. The recognition of the office, and the payment of the salary were again deferred. It was a sore disappointment.

Robert Hunter, the next governor, was a warm friend of Livingston. They were both Scotchmen, and as men of their nationality in the colony were very few, they formed and maintained a lasting friendship. Through Hunter's partiality his fortune was largely advanced. The governor had been directed by the queen to settle a colony of Protestant Germans, who had been driven from their country by the religious wars of Europe, and were in search of a new home. He bought of Livingston six thousand acres of his manor on which to locate them, and then gave him the contract of furnishing their supplies. In various other ways he proved his friendship to Livingston's advantage. There were times when he had grave doubts of his fidelity and honor, but Livingston's explanations were always accepted, and the friendship continued. Even after he returned to England his kindness to him was useful. He bore testimony to the government, that Livingston had been very serviceable to him, as well as to Burnet, his successor ; and he commended him for favorable consideration.

During the brief administration of Lovelace, Livingston had been elected to the Assembly from Albany County,

and at its second session, in September, 1710, he succeeded in procuring an act relieving his estate from sequestration under the law of the Assembly passed in Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan's time.

In less than six months after Hunter had assumed control of the government, the Council took into consideration the accounts and claims of Robert Livingston, and after a full investigation they audited them for payment. Although this was done, payment of his salary was not made for a year afterward. The sachems of the Five Nations now came to his assistance. In a convention at Albany they made an urgent request, that Governor Hunter should lay the business before the queen, and seek to have his salary as secretary paid in full.

Hunter's partiality to Livingston, and his dealings with him, occasioned remark in England. They were criticised before the Lords of Trade, who considered the subject of such grave importance that they ordered an investigation. Lord Cornbury, now the Earl of Clarendon, was summoned as a witness. He did not appear, but wrote a letter to Lord Dartmouth, in which he severely commented on Hunter's transactions with Livingston, and gave utterance to his old dislike. These proceedings placed Hunter on his defence. His agents in London presented an admirable argument, which settled the question in his favor. They say of Livingston, that "he has always been known as a careful, industrious, and diligent man, who by these more than by other means hath got a considerable estate." "He honorably cleared himself from the charges of fraud and peculation." "His offers for subsistence (for the Palatines) were reasonable, for his facilities to provide supplies were better than others, having a brewery and bakery on his premises near the Palatine settlement."

The Assembly of 1714 passed a money bill for the relief of public creditors. All claims of whatsoever nature, except those named in the act, were repudiated as fictitious, and were never to be paid. The prohibition in this act of the legislature had reference to Livingston's claim for salary as secretary, for interest, and unliquidated balances for the subsistence of the troops, for which payment had been refused for twenty years, notwithstanding the directions of King William and Queen Anne. Livingston was not the man to rest quietly under such a rebuff. The man who could endure starvation and shipwreck, who could make two voyages to England, running the risks of perils by sea and of public enemies, who could remain away from his house and business many successive years to obtain justice, was not the man to be so suppressed, and defrauded of his rights without another struggle. He was fertile in resources.

The year before he had applied by petition to the governor for a new patent of his manor, in which it should be permitted to have a representation in the Assembly. The petition was laid on the table by the Council. Now, by an arrangement with the governor, it was taken up, and favorably considered. A new patent was issued, 1715, which contained the privilege he sought. The next year he took his seat in the Assembly, as the representative of his manor.

Hunter had dissolved several assemblies because they had not passed the acts he recommended, and had in other ways annoyed him. At last, in 1716, one was elected, a majority of whose members were willing to follow his directions—an assembly devoted to his interests. Of this body Livingston was a leading and influential member. At its session in 1717, he procured the passage of an act attaching his whole manor to the county of Albany. Before

that half of it had been within the bounds of Dutchess County. The same law provided for the election of certain town officers, and for the payment of its member just as others were paid. He then introduced a money bill authorizing an issue of bills of credit to the amount of forty-one thousand five hundred and seventeen and a half ounces of plate, equal to 41,517 $\frac{5}{10}$ $\frac{9}{10}$ Spanish silver dollars, to be applied to the payment of such of the public creditors as had been omitted or excluded from the act of 1714. Under his manipulations, and by favor of the Governor, this bill was passed through the Assembly and Council, and received the approval of the executive. Of this large amount of money Livingston received enough to liquidate all his claims. It was now twenty-two years since his first visit to England, since the governor and Council had refused to pay what was due him. He had finally triumphed over all opposition, and compelled a recognition of his claims. The act had not been passed without difficulty. He had been obliged to make some concessions to public opinion, and to the opposition of the minority in the Legislature. He promised to make no further claims forever on the government for his salary as secretary.

Livingston was elected speaker of the Assembly in May, 1718, and held that position for seven years, when age and infirmities obliged him to resign. The House was devoted to the politics of Hunter and of his successor Burnet, and was not dissolved, until the new members, elected in place of those who died, reversed the majority. It had a longer existence than any other colonial assembly.

His manor and politics occupied so much of Livingston's attention after he became speaker, that the duties of his several offices had to be performed by deputies and clerks. In 1720, at the age of sixty-six, he thought it time to retire from the offices he had held so long in Al-

bany. But with his usual thrift and Scottish shrewdness, he wished the salaries and fees to be retained in his family. They had laid the foundations of his estate, and been its chief support for nearly fifty years, until they seemed a part of it. Why should they now pass into the hands of a stranger? He took Governor Burnet into his confidence as to his son as his successor, but did not give him any hint about the salary, only about the office of secretary. Burnet had not been in the country long enough to know the ins and outs of Livingston's character. He had had a good report of him from Hunter, and probably knew that he was now serving as secretary without salary according to the arrangements of 1717. Did he dream that the question of salary would be revived? Perhaps not. He fell into the trap, at all events.

In November, 1720, Burnet wrote to the Lords of Trade: "Robert Livingston, speaker of the Assembly, desires to have his son Philip, a worthy and capable man, appointed to his place as secretary of the Indian affairs. This I earnestly recommend, because Robert Livingston was always serviceable to Brigadier Hunter, and has been of the greatest use to me both in the Assembly and in Indian affairs. The act prohibiting the pernicious trade (with Canada) is chiefly owing to him." Philip Livingston was appointed the following year.

The prohibitory act referred to was a favorite measure of Burnet, as a means to divert the fur trade from Canada to New York. English goods for the Indian trade were cheaper and better than the French. The Indians preferred them, and the Canadian merchants found it to their advantage to procure them from New York and Albany to supply the demand. Burnet believed that if this trade could be broken up, the far Indians from the west and northwest would bring their furs directly to Albany, to

exchange for English goods, and in this way the trade would be enlarged, while the English influence over distant tribes would be superior to that of the French. Livingston was early informed that Hunter in all probability would not return, and that Burnet would succeed him. He also had hints of Burnet's proposed policy. Shortly before his arrival, he addressed a memorial on Indian affairs to President Schuyler, in which he took strong ground in favor of prohibiting the Canadian trade. He urged Schuyler to take the initiative, and place a guard at the carrying place (Fort Edward) to prevent the transportation of goods.¹ At the first session of the Legislature after Burnet's arrival, the prohibitory bill was introduced and owed its enactment to Livingston's influence and activity. Burnet was greatly pleased.

As time passed, he made himself more and more serviceable. Burnet was vain of his literary attainments, his pedigree, and more than all, of his personal appearance. His vanity was his weakness. Livingston, a good judge of men, was not slow in learning how best to serve himself by ministering to the governor's foibles. So well did he stand in Burnet's estimation, that on one occasion, after holding a conference with the Indians at Albany, he induced the governor to adjourn the Council to his manor-house on the Hudson, and there finish up his business. Their friendship did not last through his term, as it did with Hunter.

After five years of intimacy, Burnet began to regard him very differently. He complained that Livingston had secured for his son the offices which he resigned, and a salary

¹ The French traders employed Indians under direction of white men to carry goods by canoes up the Hudson, across the carrying place to Wood Creek, and thence through Lake Champlain.

for secretary of one hundred pounds payable from the quit-rents. This was unreasonable, for the money derived from the quit-rents could be used to better advantage in other directions. It gave him no solace to recollect that he had enabled, by his recommendations, "old Livingston" to secure the places. Livingston was no longer "my serviceable friend"—he was now "old Livingston." He was no longer speaker, and now it appeared to Burnet, that when in that position "he made a show of, rather than render any valuable service, for at the present session of Assembly, he tried to procure another important colonial office for a member of his family." The truth was, that the confidence of the people and of the Assembly had been gradually drifting away from the governor. Livingston had resigned his speakership, and Adolph Philipse, whom Burnet had removed from the Council, was elected in his place. Burnet had lost his popularity, and no one could help him. In mortification and chagrin he turned against his old friend.

The exact date of Livingston's death is not known. He resigned the speaker's chair in 1725, on account of failing health. In November, 1727, he gave evidence before a committee of the Assembly. His name does not again appear in the records. He probably died in 1728.

THE MANOR OF LIVINGSTON.

To be possessed of a large estate was the great passion of Robert Livingston. It was for this that he sought office, as the surest means to obtain ready money, with which to speculate, or to lend at a high interest. It was for this that he economized and saved. For this he went to England, remaining away from home years on each occasion. For this he changed his politics with the change of gover-

nors. For this he joined the party which afforded him the best facilities to improve his fortune.

Within a few years after he came to Albany, large tracts of valuable lands could be bought of the native proprietors for a nominal consideration. New Yorkers, who had accumulated more capital than was required in their business, invested the surplus in lands lying near the city. Albanians were not slow to follow the example and secure large plots, either individually or in companies. Livingston's position gave him unusual facilities for selecting lands in the best localities.

He had been only five years in the country when he applied to Governor Andros for leave to purchase of the Indians a tract on Roelof Jansen's Kill, with the creek, on the east side of the Hudson. His petition was granted, November 12, 1680, but he did not complete the purchase until three years afterward, when he procured a deed from some Mohegan Indians of lands on the Kill, consisting of "three flats, with some small flats, together with the woodland," the bounds running from one stream to another, thence eastward into the woods to a "cripple Bush." The deed was dated July 12, 1683. For this, Governor Dongan gave a patent, November 4, 1684, in which the flats are said to contain two hundred acres, and the woodland eighteen hundred acres, but the boundaries of the tract are indefinite. On June 3, 1685, Livingston petitioned for a license to buy another tract of three hundred acres on the same creek, claiming that on examination the first tract did not prove satisfactory. The land he now proposed to buy was "called by the Indians Tackhanick behind Pott-hook" (Claverack). The Indian deed is dated August 10, 1685. The bounds are tolerably definite; that is, from creek to creek, from tree to tree marked with his initials, and from hill to mountain, all with their proper Indian

names. The number of acres, however, is not stated.¹ The same month, Governor Dongan issued a patent for the land described in the deed, being "about three hundred morgens, or six hundred acres." A year later, July 22, 1686, these two tracts were, by patent, erected into a manor, at a yearly quit-rent of twenty-eight shillings. The bounds of the manor are definitely given, but the number of acres therein is not stated. This was of little consequence, now that the limits were by these several instruments established as accurately as they could be in a formal survey. There would be time in the future to learn the acreage. Livingston took possession and began his improvements. In 1694 he had built his first manor-house, and had three or four tenants.

Now occurs a transaction which is difficult to explain, except on the theory of some previous understanding. In October 26, 1694, he sold to the old Recorder of Albany, Dirk Wessels (Ten Broeck), in consideration of fifteen pounds and an annual rent of ten shillings, two parcels of land, one on the river containing six hundred acres, the other in the interior, lying on the creek, measured by "men's treads," or paces, which was afterward found to contain twelve hundred acres, being the best land of the manor. Why this sale? Livingston was not in need of this small amount of money, nor of the annual rent. It is a tradition in the Ten Broeck family that Dirk Wessels first conceived the project of buying the whole tract of the Indians, and commissioned Livingston to make the purchase—that Livingston was not true to the trust, but bought it in his own name. It is more probable that, a

¹ On April 1, 1686, Livingston's brother-in-law, Philip Schuyler, sent a petition to the governor and Council for a license to buy a certain piece of land known as Roeloff Jansen's Kill. Leave was granted on the usual terms. But we find no Indian deed or patent. Why the petition?

Ten Broeck was engaged with others in land speculations, he agreed with Livingston to take a portion of his Indian purchase, leaving him free to bargain in the names of both, or alone, as he should elect. If he had determined to buy for himself, why did he not petition the governor according to law? Had he done so, it would have been on the records. Ten Broeck, after he had secured his deed, built a house for himself on the twelve-hundred-acre farm, to which he removed in due time, and there spent the last years of his life. I have not found any indication that he was on unfriendly terms with Livingston. Had he been deceived, his displeasure would have appeared, and become manifest to those who study the history of the times.

For the first few years, by reason of the wars with Canada, the settlement and development of the manor were slow. In 1702 Lord Bellomont writes, "I am told Livingston has on his great grant of sixteen miles long, and twenty-four broad, but four or five cottages, occupied by men too poor to be farmers, but are his vassals."

After the close of the war, Livingston made more rapid progress in his improvements. He erected flour and timber mills, and a new manor-house. The mills were a source of large income, as farmers were settling in considerable numbers on the manor and adjacent places. Their simple products commanded a ready market in New York and in the West India Islands. In 1710, when Governor Hunter was seeking a place on which to settle the exiled Palatines, he found that the Livingston manor afforded the most eligible locality. He bought of Livingston six thousand acres for four hundred pounds. He settled the larger number of the exiles there, and provided for the rest on the west bank of the river. These poor people had been driven from their homes in Germany, and had come to America with no possessions of their

own. They were literally "poor in all things." They had to be provided with food and clothing for a year at least, or until they could procure a living by their own industry.

To Livingston was awarded the contract to furnish them with "bread and beer" for the term of six months. There was great complaint that he would defraud the governor. But there is no indication of it in his accounts. They are made with much particularity, such as a straightforward business man would render, methodically, neatly, accurately. He was on the Board of Control which Governor Hunter had organized for the government of the Palatines. The agent whom Hunter had appointed charged him at one time with cupidity and with seeking to manage all other supplies as well as bread and beer. At the same time he informs the governor of some things Livingston had said or done, which might be interpreted as reflections on himself. Hunter's wrath was aroused, and he exclaims, "This proceeding of Livingston is most villainous. He is under many obligations to me, but he is the most selfish man alive." The charges and insinuations were untrue, or Livingston found means to appease the governor's anger. Nothing more is said about it, and their friendly intercourse continues. Dongan and Hunter alone of all the English governors were on good terms with him when they retired from office.

The Palatines were disappointed in their settlement and condition. They had fled from their own country pursued by a cruel soldiery. They had sought safety and protection in England, then the champion of the Protestant cause. There it was difficult to obtain employment, more difficult for the government to support them, because of their utter poverty and their numbers. It was decided to send them to New York, where they could be provided with lands, and could by their labor determine

whether naval supplies could be furnished from the forests of the province. But they received the impression that they were to be settled on farms of their own. Instead of that, they now found themselves placed upon a small parcel of land contiguous to pine forests belonging to the queen, and required to make tar and pitch for her ships. They were disappointed and uneasy. They considered their condition to be little better than that of slaves. Under the influence of a few restless spirits they became turbulent and rebellious. They gave both Hunter and Livingston trouble and perplexity. Troops were required to subdue them and establish order. The bad ones were sifted out and expelled. The better sort then settled down quietly to their work. But new troubles arose. The queen's government had stipulated with Hunter that the expense of their settlement and subsistence should be provided for in England on the governor's drafts. The drafts came back protested. The ministry had been changed. The men now in power "knew not Joseph." They suffered his drafts to go to protest, and his appeals for justice to lie on their table. He exhausted his private income and fortune for their support. When these failed, after a struggle of two years, the poor exiles were left to shift for themselves.

During these years Livingston had managed to preserve the confidence and friendship of Hunter. He was then in a position to assist the party to which he was attached, and to render it important service, to Hunter's administration particularly. He had accumulated a large fortune, and was perhaps the richest man in the province, with one, or at the most two, exceptions. He was known to be persistent, and as a rule successful, in the enterprises which he undertook. Hunter appreciated the value of such a man, provided he could be firmly attached to

his interests. Up to that time Hunter had been opposed by the Assembly, and although he had dissolved that legislative body at different times he had not secured a new one more supple than the old. It was the ambition of his life to have an Assembly who would work with him in harmony for a better government, and, as he believed, for the prosperity of the province. To secure such an one he had been willing to stretch his prerogative, and make sacrifices not inconsistent with his honor. The sixteenth Assembly had been dissolved, August 11, 1715. Livingston's recent patent added another member to the House, who would be trustworthy not only as a legislator but as a politician. A new election was ordered. The result gave him such an Assembly as he had desired, an Assembly ready to co-operate with him in the measures he should recommend.

Livingston's confirmatory patent passed the seals on October 1, 1715. It not only granted representation, but it made his title secure. In 1714 he had caused a survey of the manor to be made under the direction of the surveyor-general. He had had doubts as to the validity of the old patents, especially should a governor like Bellemont have to deal with them.

Up to that time the bounds and limits had been in dispute; Indian names for creeks and rocks and hills were not trustworthy. In the survey that had been made the metes and bounds were carefully noted, and drawn on a map. Hunter's patent follows the survey from point to point and notes the distances in miles. Now there could be no mistake as to names or limits. This made the title to the land within the lines secure against any attack on account of the excess of acreage over the number of acres named in the Indian deeds and in the first patents. Although it does not give the number of acres, the survey

computes the area of the manor to contain one hundred and sixty thousand two hundred and forty acres.¹ It was now believed to be secure against any attack, even that under the pretext of an "extravagant grant." A title based upon a legal survey with the autograph of Robert Hunter attached he believed to be entirely safe, and beyond the reach of any governor or legislature to invalidate.

A controversy soon arose, however, as to his northern line. Hendrick Van Rensselaer, who owned the Claverack Patent, claimed that it encroached on his lands. After much discussion Livingston yielded, and consented that his north line, beginning at the river where Van Rensselaer's south line commenced, should extend "east by south in a straight line twenty-four English miles, as far as it goes." An indenture was accordingly made and executed to that effect on October 30, 1717, Livingston renouncing all claims for lands north of said line.

Robert Livingston had finally settled the limits of his large landed estate, known as the Livingston Manor, and remained in undisturbed possession until his death. By his will he devised thirteen thousand acres in Clermont to his second son, Robert, and all the residue to his eldest son, Philip. Philip, the second proprietor, was not disturbed as to title or limits. He was a merchant, and resided in New York, spending his summers at the Manor House, and superintending the improvements on his estate. His son, Robert, succeeded him as the third proprietor, but he had hardly come into possession before he began to be harassed by his eastern neighbors, the people of Massachusetts. The western part of the manor, lying near the

¹ The veracious Judge Jones, in his History of New York, says with his usual accuracy when animadverting on his political opponents, that there were three hundred thousand acres.

Hudson, had a considerable population. The portions lying distant from navigable waters were occupied more slowly, and had few inhabitants. Massachusetts, by her charter, claimed the lands lying west of her eastern boundary to the Pacific Ocean. She had long sought to make settlements within the province of New York. Now as her population increased she pushed them westward, and gradually encroached on lands within the limits of a sister province.

In April, 1752, Livingston wrote to Governor Clinton, and entered complaint against the trespassers from Massachusetts. A long correspondence between the governors of the two provinces followed, but settled nothing. The trouble continued; legal measures were resorted to, and proclamations were issued by both governors. Officers were sent to remove the offenders, and to arrest the most obnoxious. At one time, Livingston's officers and friends were arrested, and locked up in Massachusetts jails; at another, Massachusetts officers were incarcerated at Albany. The Legislatures of the two colonies were asked to interpose, and settle the boundary between the provinces. Committees were appointed, and conferences were held. A temporary boundary was proposed by New York, but rejected by Massachusetts. Arrests and imprisonments on both sides continued. Threats were made to take Livingston dead or alive. Riots followed, and one man was killed. The trouble extended all along the line. Van Rensselaer's Claverack Patent was involved, and his life was threatened. The sheriff of Albany, while in the discharge of his duties, was taken by a mob, and hurried off to the jail at Springfield. In 1756, a truce was called, and the combatants ceased their strife. The next year hostilities broke out afresh. A riot occurred, and two men were killed. Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey issued a proclamation for the

arrest of the murderers. They were arrested and taken to the jail in Albany, where they were kept eighteen months without trial. They were never tried, but were exchanged for New Yorkers in Massachusetts prisons. After 1757, there was peace for five years. Meantime the Massachusetts men had involved in the quarrel the poor Stockbridge Indians, who were persuaded to claim the disputed territory as native proprietors, and sell their claim on the Livingston manor to those who sought to gain possession. After the sale and purchase were made, the old claimants with a new title formed a strong combination to gain possession of the lands, and oust the legal proprietors. A riot followed their first attempt, in which several lives were lost. Lieutenant-Governor Colden now issued his proclamation, commanding "all his Majesty's subjects in the counties of Albany and Dutchess to render efficient assistance to the civil officers," for the arrest and conviction of the disturbers of the peace. The claimants and rioters were intimidated, more perhaps by the bloodshed they had caused, than by the proclamation, and for a time there was comparative quiet. The fire was smothered, not quenched.

In 1766, the riots, under the leadership of one Robert Noble, broke out afresh, and extended into the adjoining country. Noble resided in Claverack on lands belonging to the younger branch of the Van Rensselaer family. The sheriff of Albany was directed to arrest him; but he was determined and desperate. After a severe struggle, in which two men were killed and seven wounded, he made his escape. This affair, however, had a tendency to put an end to the riots. Men's minds were soon occupied with more momentous affairs, and Livingston for many years was left in peace.

The boundary between New York and Massachusetts was finally settled, and the claimants ceased their annoy-

ance. The third proprietor possessed more than an ordinary business capacity. He spared no labor or expense in the development of his property. Mills of various kinds were erected, churches were built, and immigration promoted. Iron ore was found; works for its reduction and manufacture were established at Ancram, named after the first proprietor's native place in Scotland.

The Revolution was approaching. The public mind was occupied with politics, and the questions involved raised new issues. Land titles ceased to be topics of discussion. The proprietors of the old manor, and all bearing their name, with a few unimportant exceptions, took a decided stand in favor of independence. During the war that followed, and for some years after its close, their title and possession of their broad acres were undisputed.

But in 1795 another effort was made to dispossess them. The old methods of riots and arrests were abandoned. The title was now attacked by the tenants, incited and encouraged by the envious and disaffected. A petition, numerously signed by the tenants of the manor, was sent to the Legislature. They claimed that they were suffering in various particulars from the heirs of Robert Livingston, and prayed for relief. They referred to Dongan's patents, and alleged that they had been procured by false representations, but made no allusion to the confirmatory patent granted by Hunter. They affirmed that the lands procured by falsehood and misrepresentation rightfully belonged to the State, and asked the Legislature to institute proceedings for the recovery of the people's rights.

The committee to which the petition was referred reported adversely, and this was approved by the House on March 23, 1795. Three years later the proprietors "compiled a map from authentic sources and actual surveys," showing the topography, the location of farms, residences,

churches, mills, and villages. The north line differs materially from that in the map of 1714. It is not straight, but at a point near the centre diverges to the north by a right angle for some distance, and thence east.

After the failure of 1795 to break the title, there was a season of comparative quiet continued for nearly forty years. Then a combination was formed by the tenants of the old manorial estates, including those of large landed proprietors in other parts of the State, termed "anti-renters." It was a civil association with a military organization. It was their purpose to resist the payment of rents. The tenants of the Van Rensselaer and the Livingston Manors, being the most numerous, were the projectors and leaders, giving laws and directions. The assistance of the courts was invoked by the landlords, but their mandates were disregarded, and their officers resisted in the discharge of their duties. The military power of the State was brought into requisition. Collisions between the militia and the tenants occurred at different points, without any serious results. Means were found by both parties to avoid rencounters in which blood might be shed and life endangered. Nevertheless the rents were not paid. Landlords and officers were intimidated by bands disguised as Indians, and some property was destroyed. The anti-renters carried their grievances into politics, throwing their votes for the party which would give them the most favorable legislation. In 1844, they petitioned the Legislature to set aside as defective the Van Rensselaer title, and put the tenants in legal possession of the farms they occupied.

The petition was referred to the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly, the late Judge William Allen being chairman. Anti-renters of known ability were on the committee, and a favorable report was anticipated. But after a

long and thorough investigation of the title, of the pedigree of the three owners as the descendants of the first patroon, and of the facts, the committee unanimously reported against the prayer of the petition. The report was affirmed by the House. This put an end to the combination, and to the anti-rent war, although resistance to the collection of rents in isolated cases, with bloodshed and loss of life, is still continued.

The landlords, however, particularly the Livingstons, were tired of the strife. They adopted measures of compromise, selling to their tenants the lands they occupied at reduced valuations. Only small portions of the old manor now remain in the hands of Robert Livingston's descendants.

Few men in the colonial days were more successful than Robert Livingston. A younger son of a poor exiled clergyman, he came to this country with nothing but his hands and his brains on which to depend for future advancement. In less than a year after his arrival in Albany he was in possession of an office which gave, in fees, a respectable income. Other offices were created by Governor Dongan apparently for his sole benefit. The first, he held for nearly fifty years, when he resigned it with the others into the hands of his son. He was successful as a trader when he chose to invest in merchandise. As a government contractor, none could compete with him. By economy in his expenses, he accumulated money, and having money he had good credit with business men when he found it profitable to use it. On his manor he erected flour- and saw-mills, a bakery and a brewery. With these appliances he was thoroughly equipped for the subsistence of troops, or other bodies of men. He could furnish supplies cheaper and better than any of his contemporaries, and make more money. His prosperity made him the envy of competi-

tors, who spared no pains to disseminate distrust and suspicion, so that government officials were ready at times to accuse him of speculation. Yet there is no evidence on record that he did not adhere to the letter of his agreements. He was a fine penman, and a neat accountant. The bills he rendered to the Government are specimens of neatness and accuracy. His great ambition was to secure an estate equal to the largest. He may have been prudent to meanness, but that he was dishonest in his transactions, is hardly possible. His motto seems to have been, "economy in expenses, honesty in business." By these means he obtained what he desired,—an estate large for the times, which became within the next two or three generations the second largest in the State. His descendants for some generations were as noted for their intelligence, wealth and patriotism, as their ancestor was for his accumulations.

According to the record of his family Bible, Robert Livingston had nine children,—five sons and four daughters. His eldest son, John, died young. Philip, his second son, succeeded him as the second proprietor of the manor. His third son, Robert, by his father's will, inherited thirteen thousand acres of the manor. His fourth son, William, died young.

Philip Livingston, the second proprietor of the manor, married Catharine Van Brugh, a descendant of Anneke Jans. He succeeded his father in the various offices that he had held in Albany, and in 1725 was appointed by Governor Burnet to the Council. In 1710, he served with the expedition which captured Port Royal. After its reduction, he made an overland journey to Quebec with a French officer, as bearer of despatches. The journey was begun in the middle of October. They did not reach Quebec until the 16th of December, having endured great hard-

ships, and for six days before reaching the French settlements having lived on moss, leaves and berries. He was in public life from early manhood until his death in 1750. He died in New York, and was buried on the manor. His funeral was ostentatious and expensive, costing five hundred pounds.

Philip Livingston had five sons. Robert, the eldest, was the third proprietor of the manor. Peter Van Brugh, the second, was a merchant in New York City. John, also a merchant in New York, married a lady of French descent. His sons followed their mother's family in the Revolution to swell the ranks of the Tories. Philip, the fourth son, was loyal to his country, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. William, the fifth son, was the "war governor" of New Jersey during the Revolutionary War.

Robert, the third son of the first proprietor of the manor, resided on the estate which his father left him, at Clermont, Manor of Livingston. He had one son, Robert R., who was a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Colony. His son, Robert R., jun., was a member of the Second Continental Congress, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Chancellor of the State of New York, and Minister to France.

Gilbert, fourth son of the first lord of the manor, was not so fortunate as his brothers. He became involved in debt at an early age, from which his father extricated him, and in his will bequeathed to him one-seventh part of the "Saratoga Patent." It was on this land that Burgoyne surrendered to General Gates, half a century later. The Rev. John H. Livingston, D.D., long a prominent clergyman in the Dutch Church, was his grandson.

Among the descendants of Robert Livingston were several men of eminence. Besides those mentioned above, was Brockholst Livingston, son of William, the governor

of New Jersey ; Edward Livingston, brother of the Chancellor, and several others. Few American families include so many men of eminence and celebrity. Certainly Robert Livingston founded an estate and family equalled by none in the State. None rendered more important services to the national cause in the Revolutionary War; none were more efficient supporters of republican institutions after its close.

Robert Livingston, jun., was the ancestor of another branch of the Livingston family. He was the nephew of Robert Livingston, the first proprietor of the manor, and came to Albany at the request of his uncle to assist him in his offices and business. He married, in 1697, a niece of his uncle's wife, Margareta, eldest daughter of Colonel Peter Schuyler.¹ After remaining in the service of his uncle until his cousin Philip was old enough to take his place, he began business as a merchant in Albany, and continued so until his death. He accumulated a considerable estate, which, with the property his wife received from her father, made him rich and independent.

Like all Albanians of education and enterprise, he was more or less engaged in politics, almost as a matter of necessity. He was frequently employed by government in their negotiations with the Five Nations, and was one of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs from 1715 to 1720. He was delegated as agent of the governor to visit Canada on important public business. He was also commissioned at different times to hold negotiations with the Onondagas and Senecas in their own countries. In all these positions he transacted the business and performed his duties to the satisfaction of his official superiors. He was a member of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Assemblies, from 1711 to 1715.

¹ The marriage license is dated July 26, 1697.

In 1710 he was appointed, by Governor Hunter, Mayor of Albany. He held the office nine years continuously, a longer term but one than any other in colonial times or since.

He did not have the ambition of his uncle to acquire a large fortune, or to hold public office. He was contented with a moderate income, and an independent position. His uncle was not altogether pleased with him on this account, and reproved him for his want of ambition. The uncle's family partook of the same feeling. On one occasion, Samuel Vetch, a merchant of Boston, and a son-in-law of Livingston, senior, committed some business to him. Not hearing from him as promptly as he wished, he wrote him a sharp letter, beginning, "D' Cousin, my *wife* and I are equally surprised that we have not had a line from you this two months. . . . We entirely disobeyed my father and *mother-in-law*, by putting our business in your hands, which he says will be very ill-managed." Vetch closes his scolding letter very sweetly. He wishes him to write, giving him full particulars as to his business. He then requests him to give him some information as to the state of the frontiers, and directs him in conclusion to address the letter to him, "for her Majesty's service, and send it to Westfield, whence it will be sent by express, (free of expense to him), your loving cousin, Sam'l. Vetch." Vetch was a Scotchman.

In 1719, after his long service in the mayoralty, Robert Livingston, jun., wished to retire. His father-in-law, Peter Schuyler, was then at the head of the government, and yielded to his request. He appointed Myndert Schuyler, another friend of Governor Hunter, then in England. For this Schuyler was reprimanded at the instance of Hunter. In his reply he said, "I relieved him at his own request. I could not have had any other motive, for he

is my son-in-law for whom I have a great affection!" Burnett, who succeeded Hunter, showed that his explanation was not satisfactory, by appointing another in the place of Myndert Schuyler. But two years afterward, when he had had time to become acquainted with the politics of the province, he reappointed Myndert Schuyler.

Robert Livingston, jun., died in Albany, 1725, three years before the death of his uncle. His widow survived him more than twenty years. In his will, dated April 14, 1725, he mentioned three sons, James, Peter, and John, and two daughters, Angelica and Janet. Angelica married John Van Rensselaer, of Claverack, whose daughter, Catherine, became the wife of General Philip Schuyler. Janet married Colonel Henry Beekman, of Rhinebeck, and was deceased at the date of the will.

James Livingston married Elizabeth Kierstede, and settled in New York. He was a prosperous merchant. His eldest daughter married Peter R. Livingston, a son of the third proprietor of the manor. Another daughter married William Smith, the historian of New York, and Chief Justice of Canada after the Revolution. His son, Robert James, married a sister of the historian; Robert James' son, Maturin, married a daughter of Governor Morgan Lewis.

Peter, second son of Robert Livingston, jun., while on a trading expedition, was killed by the Seneca Indians near Geneva, New York, and left no descendants.

John, the third son, married a daughter of General Abraham Ten Broeck, of Albany. He resided for a time in Montreal, Canada. When the war of the Revolution commenced, he removed to Stillwater, New York, and probably resided on a portion of the Saratoga Patent allotted to his grandfather, Peter Schuyler. His son James raised a regiment composed of New Yorkers, then residents of

Canada, and French Canadians, and joined the army of General Montgomery on his march to Quebec. He was at the battles of Stillwater and Bemis' Heights, and remained in the service until 1781, when his regiment was reduced. A daughter of Colonel Livingston married Peter Smith. She was the mother of the large-hearted man and philanthropist, the late Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro, New York.

The descendants of the two Robert Livingstons, uncle and nephew, are very numerous, and widely scattered through the United States. By intermarriage it has become difficult to distinguish one branch from the other.

THE VERPLANCK FAMILY.

ABRAHAM ISAACS VERPLANCK,¹ the first American ancestor of the family, came to New Amsterdam at an early day, probably about the same time that Director Kieft arrived, in March, 1638. To the latter he gave a note for five hundred and twenty guilders, dated May 1, 1638. This is the first time his name appears in the records. It is possible that the note was given in consideration of a farm at Paulus Hook (Jersey City), which he bought of the West India Company, and parts of which he leased to others, in the following October, for tobacco plantations. A year or two afterward, not being prepared to pay the note, he induced two of his friends to go on his bond, and gave them a mortgage on the farm as their security.

It does not appear that, during his long residence of nearly sixty years in the province, he held any public position. He was with the expedition against the Swedes in 1655, and was a witness to one of the Indian deeds on that occasion. He signed the petition of the citizens to Director Stuyvesant, in September, 1664, urging him to surrender to the English without resistance. With these exceptions his name is not found attached to any public paper. He did not seek to be a great landowner. Besides the farm at Paulus Hook, he had another on the Delaware of two hundred acres, and a lot in Smith's Valley, in New York City, on which he lived. He was not a man possessed of

¹ The name is also written Ver Planck, but more frequently in the early records simply Planck.

a large property, and did not take rank with the rich men of New York.

He married his wife, Maria Vigne, probably before he emigrated from Holland, for besides the six children baptized in New York, the first in 1641, there were three older ones. Of the nine children, there were three sons and six daughters. One of his daughters married David Pieterse Schuyler, of Albany. One of the sons died young. Isaac, the youngest, married Abigail Uytendobart, settled in Albany, and had eleven children baptized in the Dutch Church of that city. Gulian, the eldest, after serving a term of years as clerk for Allard Anthony, a prominent merchant of New York, and another term with Peter Cornelise Van der Veen (whose widow married Jacob Leisler), commenced business for himself about 1661, and soon became a prosperous merchant. Unlike his father, he engaged in politics. He was appointed a schepen in 1673, and again in 1674, by the Dutch governor, Anthony Colve. After the province was finally surrendered to the English, Governor Andros selected him as one of the aldermen of the city for three successive years, 1677-79. In 1683 the city was divided into six wards, and the election of aldermen was conceded to the freemen. Meantime, until the day appointed for the election, temporary officers were appointed by Governor Dongan, and Gulian Verplanck was selected as alderman of the North Ward. He died a few months afterward, while in his prime.

Gulian Verplanck was married to Hendrickje Wessels, on June 20, 1668. According to the Verplanck family records, he had eight children, of whom only four are recorded among the baptisms of the Dutch Church, the youngest, Gelina, after his death. His eldest son, Samuel, married Ariantje, daughter of Balthazar and Maritje Lookermans Bayard, a grand-niece of Governor Stuyve-

sant. His second son, Jacobus, married Margareta, youngest daughter of Philip and Margareta Van Slichtenhorst Schuyler, of Albany, September 8, 1691.

Jacobus Verplanck, with his bride, returned to his residence in New York. At the baptism of his only child, Philip, June 9, 1695, his step-father, Jacobus Kip, and his wife's sister, Mrs. Gertrude Schuyler Van Cortlandt, stood as sponsors. On June 11, 1699, he and his wife were sponsors at the baptism of a child, and his name does not again appear. He probably died toward the close of that year, or early in 1700. His widow, with her young son, returned to her mother in Albany.

Philip Verplanck married his second cousin, Gertrude, only daughter of Johannes, eldest son of Stephanus and Gertrude Schuyler Van Cortlandt. He was appointed ensign of a military company, February 27, 1722, and in October of the same year Governor Burnet made him sheriff of Albany County, which position he held one year. While sheriff, a prisoner, who had refused to pay a fine of ten pounds, escaped from jail. Two years afterward the Common Council of Albany directed their attorney to sue the late sheriff for the amount of the fine "and charges." In 1724, one of his children was buried in the church, which place of sepulture was only accorded to those who were willing to pay a round price for the privilege. Four of his children were baptized in the church, the last, June 4, 1727.

We next meet Philip Verplanck as a member of the Provincial Assembly, to which he was admitted, June 22, 1734, as the representative of the Cortlandt Manor. He retained the position continuously until 1768, an exceptionally long term of service. The manor by its charter was entitled to representation, but had not improved the privilege until Verplanck was elected.

Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the first proprietor of the

manor, by his will, April 14, 1700, devised to his eldest son, Johannes, "a Neck of land at the entering of the Highlands, just over against Haverstraw, known by the Indians by the name of Moanagh," together with an equal share with his other children in the other lands of his manor, and of other property. It was to this splendid estate that Philip Verplanck removed his family from Albany, and made it his permanent residence. It was soon known by his name, which it retains to the present time.

JOHN COLLINS.

A LAW dictionary, printed two hundred years ago, bound in calf, in good preservation, not a leaf missing, on the title page of which is the name of *John Collins* written in two places, and now in the library of Mr. George Evans, of Albany, contains the following records :

“Memorandum.

- 1701, November y^e Second 1701, I John Collins was married to Mrs. Margaret Verplanck wid^m of Jacobus Verplanck, Daughter of Mr. Philip Schuyler.
- 1704, July the thirteenth 1704 at 9 o'clock in y^e morning my son Edward was borne, and christened the thirtieth of D^r month, my Lord Cornebury Godfather, Marya Schuyler Godmother.
- 1712, Novbr y^e 26th 1712, my Son Samuell was borne at seaven o'clock in the morning, and christen'd y^e thirtieth day of same month, Colo. Richard Ingoldsby and Killian Van Rensselaer Godfathers, Sister Elizabeth Schuyler Godmother, and died y^e 22^d December following.
- 1715, December y^e 12th 1715 my Daughter Margaret was borne at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and was christened y^e 25th D^r. Robert Livingston Jun^r Esq^r Godfather, Alida Livingston, and Maria Van Rensselaer, Godmothers.
- April y^e 13th 1728, my father John Collins died at his Majesty's Garrison of Schenectaday, he being then Commander of the same.
- 1733, December the 11th I Edward Collins, was married

by Petrus Van Dryssen, Dutch minister, to Margaret Bleecker, only Daughter of Rutger Bleecker.
1748, May y^e 15" my mother, Margaret Collins, Dyed at about half an hower past six in the morning."

John Collins was a lieutenant in Captain Henry Holland's company of the English army stationed at Albany. He retained his rank and position until his death. His duties were not laborious or confining, the routine drill and guard mounting being left to inferior officers. When detachments were ordered off on duty, he assumed command, and accompanied them. In 1711, he was in command of thirty soldiers who were despatched to the Livingston Manor to quell the riotous demonstrations of the Palatines. In various abortive attempts to invade Canada, he was with his company on the expeditions, and was in command of the fort at Schenectady when he died.

With the profession of arms, Collins united that of the law. Early in 1703, he appeared in the courts as attorney of various litigants. On his first appearance, it was questioned by the court, whether he could legally represent his absent client without a power of attorney, which he was obliged to procure before he could proceed with the case. Thereafter he seems to have been recognized as an attorney in regular standing. His frequent appearance before the courts and juries would indicate that he was a man of ability, and that he had a large practice. His social position was assured in the best society of the city. He and his wife served as sponsors at the baptism of Patroon Van Rensselaer's children, on two occasions.

Except as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Collins held no important official positions. He was a member of the Indian Board from 1720 to 1728, having been appointed by Governor Burnet. His military office excluded him

from a career as a civilian. Why he retained his subordinate rank in the company occupying the fort is difficult to determine. His talents and acquirements, supplemented by influential friends and connections, were sufficient to place him in high positions in the government. He dabbled in land speculations, but only to a limited extent. The first and most valuable patent granted him was procured through his wife. The tract contained two thousand acres. It was situate on the north side of the Mohawk River, near the present village of Fonda, and was the site of the old Indian Village of Caughnawaga. Its original inhabitants had been converted by Jesuit missionaries, and had followed their teachers to Canada, where they settled, and became a scourge to their countrymen and their Dutch neighbors. The Indian deed for the land is in a volume labelled "Indian Deeds," in the office of the Secretary of State. It is quoted by W. L. Stone in his *Life of Brant*, for the purpose of proving that *Brant* was a Mohawk Indian name fifty years before his hero was born. The deed is an interesting document in some respects. I quote it for a purpose other than that of Mr. Stone, to show that the Mohawks remembered their friends, and were not ungrateful for friendship and favors :

"To all Christian people ; know ye, that we, Hendrick, Cornelis, and Ezras, native Indian proprietors and owners of the Maquas country, in consideration of the love, respect and affection, which we bear to Mrs. Margaret Collins, youngest child of Mrs. Margaret Schuyler, late of Albany, deceased, from whom in her lifetime we received great friendship and particular good services, and also before and since her death from the said Margaret Collins, her daughter, now wife of John Collins . . . do give and grant to said Margaret Collins, and her son Edward Collins, to whom also (as her sonn) we bear great love and

affection, all that tract of arable or meadow land lying on the north side of the Maquas River, from the creek called Yondutdenough Schase to another creek known by the name of Oghreeghoonge with the said creek and the land thereto adjoining, and of the woodland twice as much as of the arable or meadow land,"¹ etc.

The deed is signed by the Christian Indians named, and by nineteen others, men and women, among them one by the name of *Brant* with a wolf as his mark, and is dated July 10, 1714.

A patent was issued by Governor Hunter on November 4, 1714, to John Collins, Margaret Collins his wife, and Edward Collins his son, for two thousand acres, to each six hundred sixty-six and two-thirds acres. After John Collins' death, his widow sold her portion to her son Edward, June 4, 1728, for the consideration of three hundred pounds. In the deed she describes her land as commonly known by the name of *Collindale*, or Cochniwaga. Years after, Collindale was dropped, and the old Indian name resumed.

Collins was engaged with Cadwallader Colden and others in negotiations for other tracts of land in the Mohawk country. A letter of his on the subject will bear transcribing.

"Albany, October y^e 17th, 1722.

"Sir,

"Since you left us, my wife has been in the Indian country, and Van Slyck had purchased what he could at the upper end of the land, she purchased the rest from Ingnosedah to his purchase. She has gone through a great deal of trouble and hardship about it, being from

¹ Hendrick, the first name in the deed, was a convert of Dominic Dellius. He went to England with Colonel Schuyler in 1710. He was killed in battle, under Sir William Johnson at Lake George in 1755.

home almost ever since you left us, and prevailed with the Indians whilst there (with trouble and expense) to mark out the land where the mine is into the woods. Mrs. feathers has been slaving with her all the while, and had had enough to do with that perverse generation to bring them to any terms. I refer you to Mr. Van Horne, to whom I have writ an account what we shall want from New York for these two purchases, and something more fully, tho' not a word of marking into the woods for to secure the mine, his Excellency (Burnet), you know not being acquainted with that difficulty. Pray let us know what you have done about the patent for the first tract. My duty to his Excellency. My best respects to Mrs. Colden, and dispose of me among the rest of *our partners* to the best advantage.

"I am S^r

"Yr. very humble servt.

"JOHN COLLINS.

"My wife joins with me in
our respects to all friends
The Ma^c (Peter Van Brugh)
will not give me leave
to name particulars.

"To Doctor Colden, one of the Gents. of his Majesty's Council.

"At New York, This."

The words "our partners" give some foundation to the rumors which reached the English government, that Colden, Surveyor-General and Lieutenant-Governor, was interested in land speculations. It is but just to say that he solemnly denied the charges. It seems strange to us, in the light of the old records, how he could reconcile his denial with the facts.

Collins' son Edward was a lawyer, and a man of some enterprise and influence. He married Margaret Bleecker, daughter of Rutger Bleecker, Recorder and Mayor of Al-

bany. He died in March, 1753, leaving no children. His widow, by will dated April 28, 1760, left her estate to her brothers, John R. and Jacob Bleecker. The lineage of John Collins and Margaret Schuyler in the direct line was extinguished with the death of their son Edward. Their daughter Margaret married Hitchen Holland, an English officer, at one time commandant at Oswego. They had three children.

The fortunes of Philip Schuyler's youngest daughter, after the death of her first husband, were less conspicuous and brilliant than her sister's. Had she married for her second husband a civilian, and not an English subaltern officer, her life might have been more satisfactory, less of it spent among the Indians to secure their lands for her husband and his friends, and her name might have been perpetuated by families of fortune and influence. As it is, there is no one by the name of Collins to remember her, and it is quite doubtful whether she has any Verplanck descendants who know anything more of her than her name.

II.

PETER SCHUYLER.

LITTLE is known of the early life of Peter Schuyler, the son of Philip Pieterse. While records and official documents furnish us abundant material for judging of his public career, the destruction of family papers leaves us in great ignorance of his private life. We know that he was born September 17, 1657, and that he was buried on February 22, 1724, having died two or three days before. We know that he was married twice: first to Engeltie (Angelica) Van Schaick, a daughter of his father's old friend and copartner in the new village at Esopus, and in the purchase of the Half Moon tract; and secondly, in 1691, to Maria Van Rensselaer, daughter of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, the managing director of Rensselaerwyck. The date of his first marriage is not known, but is supposed to have been in 1681 or early in 1682, for in December, 1682, he paid the church for the use of the small pall,¹ indicating that he had buried a child.

We are without information, too, about Schuyler's schooling, education, and early pursuits. The early Dutch settlers in Albany had established schools, and Latin or grammar schools existed feebly in Manhattan. It was not until Schuyler was eight years old that the first

¹ The church kept two palls, one for adults and the other for children, charging ten guilders for the use of the large, and five guilders for that of the small one.

English school was opened in Albany by John Shutte under a license from Governor Nicolls. English was, of course, made the official language after 1664, but Dutch continued for many long years to be the family tongue of Albanians.

In 1682 Peter Schuyler was already a deacon of the Dutch church, and in 1683 became its treasurer, positions which he held at intervals until the duties of his public and official life compelled him to withdraw from active participation in the church government. Over each page of his account book he inscribed the words *Laus Deo*. Among the receipts for May, 1683, we notice an item of three hundred guilders, given by his father Philip, and after his death one of ten guilders from Margaret Schuyler for the use of the pall.¹

¹ The collections taken up in the church were for the poor, for whom a physician was employed at a stated salary. The yearly contributions were usually in excess of the expenditures, and the surplus was placed out at interest on good security. The receipts for 1683 were 5,692 guilders and the expenses 2,651 guilders. Peter Schuyler turned over to his successor the following church property :

12,073 guilders in money and obligations.

2 cows, loaned out to poor members.

1 silver goblet, containing 16 pieces of foreign money, held as collateral for a loan of 200 guilders.

10 ells of serge cloth.

15 ells of bleached and unbleached Osnaburg linen.

8 schepels of wheat.

A list of the debts due the church.

1 new pall, and 2 old ones.

2 table cloths, and 7 napkins.

2 silver cups.

1 earthen can with a silver lid.

1 pewter, and 1 earthen can.

2 pewter basins, and 1 large pewter plate.

1 duster, and 1 scrubbing brush.

The certificate of audit and inventory was signed by the pastor, Gideon Schaets, and co-pastor "Dell," or Godfrey Dellius. The treasurers of the church held office only one year. When their terms expired, their accounts

Let us turn to Peter Schuyler's public career, and let us endeavor to find out from records and documents what sort of a man was this who was beloved by the Iroquois as Quidor (for Peter, pronounced Keedor), "the Indians' friend," who was respected and feared by the French in Canada as one of the great obstacles to their schemes of conquest, who was known and appreciated both in England and New England, who has been called "the brave" by Bancroft, "the celebrated" by William Smith, who wrote a history of New York only thirty years after his death, and who was termed by Drake "the Washington of his times," but whose memory has been overshadowed by the illustrious deeds of a kinsman, and who is now almost forgotten.

As Peter Schuyler's fame rests chiefly on his success in dealing with the savages, a quality which has never been entirely lost in the family, it will be necessary to take a preliminary survey of the state of the province, and of the Indians with whom he had to deal.

Albany was a frontier town. Between it and New York the only place of any consequence was Kingston. At wide intervals along the river were a few isolated farms. At the east the nearest village was Springfield on the Connecticut River. To the north for thirty miles farmers were here and there settled. At the west was Schenectady, a small village of agriculturists, poorly protected by palisades. The native tribes of Indians along the river, who were so numerous when Hudson sailed up it in 1609, were now reduced to a few wandering savages, of no consequence as enemies or friends. North, on the

were examined, and if correct, a certificate of audit signed by the pastor and committee was attached. After a time the custom fell into disuse, and a treasurer was continued from year to year without an audit. This practice ruined the finances of the church. One of its treasurers, it was found, when too late, had used the funds for private speculations.

east side of the Hudson, at the confluence of the Hoosac River, was a small settlement of eastern Indians, known as the Schaghticokes. Fleeing from their enemies at the east, they were permitted to find refuge in this province, and were thereafter treated as friends. Beyond them, there were no settlements of whites or Indians on this side of the St. Lawrence, except a small French fort on the river which forms the outlet of Lake Champlain. The French, long before the English had begun their colonies, had discovered and explored the St. Lawrence River, had made a few settlements in Nova Scotia and on the main land and had built a fort at Quebec. They claimed the country south to the Kennebec River in Maine, and all the territory whose waters find an outlet in the northern lakes, and the St. Lawrence, by the right of discovery and occupancy. This claim, if allowed, would have extended their southern frontier into the heart of New York, and placed them as near neighbors to Albany. The English resisted the claim, and asserted their right to the country as far north as the St. Lawrence and the great lakes through a title derived from the Five Nations, or the Iroquois Confederacy. The dispute was not settled until the conquest of Canada in 1760, after a series of wars accompanied by much suffering and bloodshed. It will be seen by a glance at the map, that the chief danger to Albany was from the French in Canada. They could secretly muster their forces at Montreal, and by a rapid march along Lake Champlain and down the Hudson could capture the frontier towns by assault, almost before they were suspected of being in the neighborhood.

While the Dutch were in possession of the province, no attempt had been made to disturb them. The two nationalities had preserved the peace, the one having no occasion to assert its claims to territory, the other contented to pur-

sue its trade, and occasionally to rescue some French prisoners from the hands of the Indians. When the English gained possession, the old animosities between them and the French in Europe formed a new field for their exercise. But Albany in its exposed position was never attacked by the hereditary enemy of the English. It owed its safety to the Five Nations of Indians, known to the French as the Iroquois Confederacy. The English governors acknowledged the fact. One said, "they are a better defence than so many Christians;" another called them "our bulwark;" another, "the only barrier between us and the French." The English governors were not alone in this opinion; the governors of Canada gave similar testimony to the French government.

The Five Nations were five distinct tribes of Indians under different names, but speaking the same language, and governed by the same unwritten laws and usages. They were united in a confederacy for war and mutual protection. They had no history except tradition handed down from one generation to another. The articles of their confederacy could only be learned by long acquaintance with their customs. They asserted that their alliance had existed for ages. They were known to the Dutch and English as the Maquas or Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. By the French they were called by other tribal appellations, and grouped under the general name of the Iroquois Nations.

In 1614, when the Dutch built their little fort on an island in the Hudson, and until 1630, the Mohawk nation occupied the valley of the Mohawk River, as far west as the German Flats; the Oneida nation, the territory along the upper Mohawk, including Oneida Lake; the Onondaga nation, the country west of the Oneidas to the outlet of Cayuga Lake, and north to Lake Ontario the Cayuga

nation, the country south and southwest of the Onondagas to the Susquehanna River, and to Seneca Lake ; the Seneca nation, west of the Cayugas to Lake Erie, north to Lake Ontario, and south to the headwaters of the Susquehanna. They called their country the Long House with Two Doors, of which the eastern was kept by the Mohawks, and the western by the Senecas. In after years, they extended their limits in all directions by conquest, and were sovereign over a country of vast extent. Their Council House, or capital, was at Onondaga, and its fires were kept burning by the central nation.

The Five Nations claimed to be an ancient people, but there is little to sustain the claim ; on the contrary, from the best information obtainable, we are led to the opposite conclusion. The Cayugas and Oneidas were termed by themselves the younger branches ; while the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas, lived in what appeared to be old settlements, with villages protected by stockades. The Oneidas, in 1677, had but one town newly settled, and with little cleared ground. The Cayugas, at the same time, had three small villages, no one of which was stockaded. The Onondagas, Mohawks, and Senecas, claimed to be the oldest nations, but which of the three was the oldest was disputed. The Onondagas set up some pretensions to the honor, but it was not conceded by the others.

They all probably originated from one tribe or family which had been driven out from its original home by stronger enemies, and had found a new home in Central New York. The lessons of bitter experience taught them that there was safety in numbers and unity. When their numbers became too large to be sustained in their particular district of country, a colony was detached to occupy some fertile places along the lakes and the watercourses in the vicinity, near enough to seek the protection of their

old home if disturbed by enemies. Thus the work went on until the Long House was built, probably not much before the advent of the Dutch. Having sprung from one tribe, they united as one family for mutual protection from enemies, and when strong enough for war, they united to make their forays the more successful. In their manners and customs they differed but little from the other savage tribes of North America. They were savages in the fullest meaning of the word. They had no conception of a deity, no religious rites, and few superstitions. They had no schools, no idols, no altars. A sort of married relation existed, but no longer than suited the caprice or pleasure of either party. When they separated the children remained with the mother. They were not cleanly in their habits, their persons, or their dwellings. Their cooking was of the plainest kind, and their food unsavory, oftentimes repulsive. Their women cultivated their corn and vegetables, and performed all the drudgery in house and field. The men devoted themselves to war or hunting, and when at home were idle and listless. Their knowledge of manufactures was limited. They made their bows and arrows, spears and war clubs, pestles to grind their corn, and stone axes. They were unacquainted with the use of metals. They knew how to dress deer-skins for moccasins, and furs for apparel. Their beads, or wampum, used for money or ornaments, were procured by barter from the Indians of Long Island, where they were manufactured from shell-fish by a slow and tedious process. In winter, their clothing consisted of skins, furs, and moccasins, fastened together by vegetable fibres or animal sinews.

The population was comparatively small for the extent and fertility of the country they occupied. The Dutch formed no estimate of the number. Their nearest approach

to a census was in 1673, after they had reconquered the province. At a council of war held in New York, the delegates from Albany said: "A present is required for the Five Nations, consisting of ten castles (villages), a sum of 1,000 florins Hollands," that is, about ten pounds sterling of that date, equivalent to \$500 nowadays, for each castle. The villages were not large, and of course the inhabitants were not numerous.

The English and French estimates as to the number of their fighting men, or warriors, substantially agree. The governor of Canada in 1671, says, "the Iroquois Nations can turn out about 2,000 warriors." In 1677, an Englishman made an extended tour through their country, visiting all the cantons. He estimated that the Mohawks had about 300 fighting men, the Oneidas 200, the Onondagas 350, the Cayugas 300, the Senecas 1,000—in all 2,150. These were about the numbers as estimated by French and English governors at different times up to 1697, when Governor Fletcher said that the number had been reduced from 2,500 to 1,280 by war and desertion. Four years later a French officer wrote: "The Five Iroquois Nations can muster only 1,200 warriors at most."

If these were approximately correct, the population, men, women, and children, could not have largely exceeded fifteen thousand. If an ancient people, their population should have been larger, notwithstanding the numbers lost in war. Such losses were recovered to some extent by the adoption of prisoners taken in battle—a common custom. In 1713 they adopted an entire tribe, settled them on their territory, near Oneida Lake, and allowed them to retain their tribal name—the Tuscaroras from North Carolina.

Their country was one of the finest in the world to sustain a large population, even that of Indians. Its large

extent of bottom land of a sandy loam was well adapted to their kind of cultivation, performed with sharpened sticks. Its numerous lakes and rivers afforded an abundant supply of fish, and the forests abounded with game. For war or defence its situation and facilities were unsurpassed. Its waters flow into the ocean by the Hudson River; into the lakes on the north, and thence to the sea by the St. Lawrence; into the Chesapeake Bay by the Susquehanna; and on the west, through the Alleghany River and its tributary streams, into the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Through the lakes and rivers the Iroquois, in their light canoes, could easily reach any part of their Long House and concentrate their warriors to resist invasion, or to invade the countries of their enemies.

The Five Nations were, with rare exceptions, the only tribes of North American Indians who had united into a confederation. They thus were enabled to preserve peace between themselves, and with their united strength become almost invincible in war. They were considered by both French and English the bravest and most warlike nation in America. Like all other savages, they were cruel and barbarous. If they did not adopt their prisoners taken in war, they put them to death with horrible tortures. In the end they usually burnt them at the stake, and sometimes ate them.

Before the arrival of the whites they had been engaged in wars with other tribes, living at the north. When Hudson was exploring the river which bears his name, in search of a northwest passage, Champlain was on the lake which bears *his* name in company with some savages who were on the way to fight the Mohawks. It chanced that a party of the latter was on the lake in search of their enemies. It was near nightfall, and the hostile parties, as if by mutual agreement, landed on the shore to wait until

the morrow, and then engage in battle. Champlain's firearms won the victory for his friends. Six years later, in 1615, Champlain accompanied a large party of Huron warriors to fight their enemies, the Onondagas. After a long march from Lake Huron by rivers and little lakes, and across Lake Ontario, they came to the enemy's country. After a march of four days they approached an Indian town fortified by four rows of palisades, thirty feet high. Notwithstanding the firearms of Champlain and his party of Frenchmen, the attack was repulsed with loss. The invaders were discouraged and retreated to their own country.

At this time the Five Nations were warlike and had enemies with whom to contend. There is no evidence, however, that they were superior in battle to others, or had yet entered upon a career of conquest. On the other hand, their country proper seems to have been confined to the territory already described. It did not even extend to the Hudson River below the mouth of the Mohawk. In 1626, a party of Mohegan Indians having a castle on the east side of the river opposite Albany, felt themselves strong enough to cope with the Mohawks. They crossed the river and marched into the Mohawk country, but were defeated. In 1630, Van Rensselaer's agents bought lands extending from the mouth of the Mohawk River twenty-four miles, down to Beeren Island, not from the Mohawks, but from the Catskill or Mohegan Indians. Soon after the Dutch settled on the river, the Mohawks were supplied with firearms in exchange for furs. The traders made a large profit on the guns and ammunition, and in Europe another large profit on the furs. They had no fear that, as long as they observed their treaty obligations, the weapons would be turned against themselves; on the contrary, they obtained more furs and peltries.

Thus through the Dutch traders the Five Nations were supplied with the weapons which had been so disastrous to them in 1609, and had well-nigh conquered their capital in 1615. They quickly learned to use them with skill, and were not slow in turning them against their enemies, finding them as effectual in war as in killing game. They now entered upon a career of conquest and spoils. In a few years, the Indians on the Hudson River were subdued, and paid tribute to their conquerors. Those of New England heard their fame, and feared their prowess. But the enemies whom they chiefly fought were the Hurons, the Algonquin tribes on the St. Lawrence, and their French allies. They had not forgotten their discomfiture on Lake Champlain. They were now prepared to take their revenge. The distance was great, but the way was comparatively easy. Through Lakes George and Champlain, and down the Sorel, they floated in their bark canoes. For food each man carried a little parched corn, and for the rest depended upon game they might kill on the way. Reaching the St. Lawrence, they would lay in ambush waiting for their prey, or float down the river to meet unguarded travellers. They were sometimes seen as low down as Quebec. By their frequent captures, and the torture of their prisoners, they soon became the terror of the river. No one outside the walls of fortified towns was safe. No party of voyagers hoped to reach its destination in safety unless guarded by a band of soldiers. Priests and traders, women and children, Indians and soldiers, were captured, and alike tortured and burnt. The spirit of their old enemies, the Algonquins, on the St. Lawrence, was broken, their warriors were killed, their tribes were scattered. They ceased to be an enemy to be feared, or longer worthy of attention.

The Iroquois then turned upon the great Huron nation,

who occupied the country west of the lake that bears their name. They were a kindred race, but they were allies of the French. The Jesuits had flourishing missionary stations among them. They had several villages partially protected by stockades, and a larger population than the Iroquois. Their country was remote, and another large nation, called the Neutrals, lived between them and the Five Nations. The latter found means to conciliate the intervening tribe, that they might take no part in the war.

There had been a state of war between the two nations for some years. Small parties of the Iroquois had invaded the Huron country. On some occasions they had been successful; at others they had been defeated. The time had now arrived, 1648, to strike a decisive blow. In the summer of this year a large war party destroyed two villages of the Hurons, taking many prisoners back with them to their country. Early in the following spring a thousand Iroquois warriors were among the Huron villages. They laid waste the country and forced the people to take refuge on an island in the lake. The next year the missions were abandoned, many of the priests having been killed in the invasion. The miserable remnants of a great Indian nation sought asylum under the walls of Quebec.

The Neutrals, occupying a district of country along the northern shores of Lake Erie and Niagara River, were in their turn destroyed, or driven away. In 1655 the Eries living on the southern shores of the lake were attacked, their fort carried by assault, the people butchered, and the nation utterly destroyed.

The Five Nations had now conquered a vast territory, extending north to the Ottawa River and Lake Superior, and west to the head of Lake Erie, which they claimed by right of conquest, and kept for their "hunting grounds." At the east, to the Connecticut River, the Mohegans were

their tributaries. At the south their conquering progress was held in check, for a time, by the warlike Minquas, or Delawares, and kindred tribes living along the Susquehanna River. Twenty years later these too were subdued, and a way was opened for the all-conquering Iroquois to the remote south. Their career of victory had not softened their manners or disposition. They had become more proud and haughty. But while pursuing their conquests over their savage neighbors, civilization was gaining its victories, and securing a position on the borders of their nation and conquered countries, which was destined in little more than a century to absorb the whole. The French were pushing their way up the St. Lawrence with their semi-military colonization. The English in the east were extending their settlements northward and westward, crowding out their vassals. The Dutch were quietly gaining possession of some of the best lands of this most warlike nation, and thrusting their farmers into the heart of its country. Soon after the erection of the first Dutch fort in 1614, near Albany, a treaty had been made between the pale-faces and the natives, including the first of the Five Nations, and their relations had always since been amicable. When the English took the province, it was almost their first measure to hold a conference with the sachems of the Five Nations, and make a treaty on the basis of that already existing. The first article of the new treaty stipulated that the Indians should have from the English the same "wares and commodities" that they had from the Dutch.

From the time that the Five Nations had obtained firearms there had been active hostilities between them and the French, with a brief interval or two of rest. The French had made various efforts to conciliate them. Missionaries had been among them. Presents had been sent to them. But no efforts had produced the desired result. The

French now resolved on war and extermination. They held the Mohawks as the most responsible for the injuries which they and their Indian allies had received, because, except when the Hurons and other tribes in their vicinity were destroyed, the raids into Canada had started from the Mohawk River. Against them vengeance was first directed. New France, as Canada was called, had been struggling for existence for a hundred years or more. It was now taken under the protection of the king, who sent out twelve hundred soldiers for its defence.

Preparations were immediately made for an invasion of the Mohawk country. Distance and winter could not deter them. M. de Courcelles, the newly appointed governor, with an army of five hundred men, began his march of three hundred leagues on January 9, 1666. Their route was over frozen rivers and lakes, and through a pathless wilderness. It was in the middle of a northern winter, with several feet of snow on the ground. Each man, officer and private, carried his own provisions and blankets, besides his arms. They had no tents, and at night they slept on the snow without a shelter. One cannot but admire their courage while condemning their folly. After a march of over thirty days, the little army, exhausted and with broken spirits, arrived near Schenectady. The advance, falling into an ambuscade prepared by the Mohawks, was driven back with the loss of several killed and wounded. The army had not reached its destination, and there were many miles of weary marching before it. The repulse of the advance brought a halt to care for the wounded, and to hold a council of war. Meantime messengers had been sent to Schenectady and Albany notifying the authorities of the enemy's presence, and a deputation came to Courcelles to learn the reason why he had invaded the territory of His Britannic Majesty in time of peace. He

apologized for his intrusion on the ground that he did not know that the province had changed rulers. He went without provisions, and procured a supply from Scherectady. His wounded were sent to Albany for care and nursing. He then began his march against the Mohawk villages, but soon turned northward. The army endured great sufferings before it reached the friendly forts on the Richelieu, and had accomplished nothing, except to exalt the pride of the Mohawks, and make them more intractable than before.

The result of this expedition was so unsatisfactory to the French that they determined to undertake another. M. de Tracy, the Lieutenant-General, a large and portly man, and nearly seventy years old, commanded in person. His army was composed of six hundred regulars, six hundred militia, and a large force of Indian auxiliaries. Fort Anne, recently constructed on an island at the foot of Lake Champlain, was the base of operations. Courcelles, whose winter campaign had resulted so disastrously, led the van with four hundred men, and began his march four days before the main army was ready, as if animated with a desire to retrieve his reputation. The lake was traversed in light batteaux and bark canoes, of which there were three hundred, carrying from five to six persons each. With music and banners the flotilla presented a picturesque appearance, such as never before had been seen in the solitudes of America. Arrived at a point on the west side of the lake, now called Ticonderoga, they disembarked, and carrying their little vessels across the peninsula, launched them on the transparent waters of Lake St. Sacrament, now Lake George, from the head of which the army marched through an unbroken forest toward the Mohawk villages. Tracy had been secret in his preparations, and had hoped to take his enemies by surprise. But long before

he reached his destination, he had been discovered by the Indians, whose scouts from the mountain-tops were silent spectators of the hostile array. On their near approach, the Mohawks, conscious of their inability successfully to oppose so large an army, forsook their towns and sought concealment in the forests. The French prepared to attack the first castle they met on their line of march, but it had no defenders. They pushed on to the next, and found it deserted; to the third, but found no enemy. At the fourth and largest all the warriors must have concentrated. On the French marched in battle array, prepared to invest the strongly fortified town. They were surprised at the silence within and without the walls. It was deserted like the rest. The unaccustomed noise of twenty French drums had frightened the simple natives more than the sight of the army.

Tracy, unable to pursue the fleet-footed savages and hunt them in their hiding-places, burned the villages, took possession of the country in the name of France, and began his homeward march. He had incurred a large expense, and made a great display, but had accomplished nothing, except to arouse among the Mohawks a lasting determination for revenge. When Tracy started on his expedition there were sachems of two of the Five Nations in Canada for the purpose of making a treaty of peace. War expeditions heretofore had been conducted through the Mohawk country. It was believed that the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas took no part, and they were recognized more as friends than enemies. After Courcelles' winter expedition the Senecas and Oneidas sent their sachems to Quebec, and before Tracy's march had come to an understanding with him. But in the spring of 1667 peace was concluded with all the Iroquois nations, the Mohawks included. None knew better than the

French how difficult it was to hold them to their promises. Subsequently hardly a year passed but suspicions were awakened as to their fidelity. In 1671 Courcelles made a fatiguing journey to Lake Ontario with a considerable force for the purpose of overawing them. His successor, Count de Frontenac, in 1673, made a similar journey, and at Cadaracqui (Kingston) met sixty of the Iroquois sachems, and renewed the treaty. By an eloquent speech and large presents he procured leave to erect a fort on the spot where the conference was held. Frontenac knew better how to manage Indians than any other governor of New France. During his term of office—ten years—Canada was not molested by the forest warriors. The treaty stipulations were well observed by both contracting parties. Meantime the warlike Iroquois carried their arms to the south and west, subduing tribe after tribe. They extended their conquests to the Illinois and Ohio Rivers, down the Mississippi, and south almost to Florida. With their Dutch muskets they conquered an empire of large extent.

Count de Frontenac was succeeded by a man remarkable for large promises and disappointing performances—a man of inferior ability, of little or no tact, and ignorant of the Indian character. After Frontenac's departure it soon became evident to the Canadians that the Iroquois had forgotten their engagements, and were prepared for open hostilities whenever occasion was given; in truth, that they were neither allies nor friends, and that there could be no permanent peace until they were effectually subdued or wholly destroyed.

M. de la Barre, now military governor, shared these sentiments, and prepared for the work of subjugation or destruction. He alleged in justification of his proposed invasion of the Seneca country, that the "Senecas had

plundered seven hundred canoes belonging to Frenchmen, and had arrested fourteen of the latter whom they detained as prisoners nine days." He left Quebec on July 9, 1684, with three hundred men, and at Montreal he was joined by another detachment of two hundred and fifty, and by a large body of Indians. At Fort Frontenac (Kingston) he detached a part of the army to take position at La Famine on the south side of Lake Ontario, which he soon after joined with all his forces. This was in the country of the Onondagas, and a long distance from the Senecas. Here he was met by some Iroquois sachems, none of whom were of the nation against whom the expedition was directed. They succeeded in detaining him on various pretexts until his provisions began to fail and sickness to appear among the troops, when, despairing of reaching his destination, he made a treaty of peace and left the country. By the officers of the army he was considered a failure. "The army," says another official, "consisted of nine hundred French and three hundred savages. Another force of six hundred men from the west was on the march to join him. Besides these a thousand Illinois were on the way to attack the Iroquois in rear. Yet nothing is done. The peace he made has astonished all the officers and men, who have manifested much displeasure and a supreme contempt for the general."

Governor Dongan of New York had protested against this expedition of De la Barre as a trespass upon the territory of his royal master. He had been instructed to protect the Five Nations, but to preserve the peace between his government and New France. When the Senecas heard of the intended invasion they appealed to him for assistance. Under his instructions the only aid he could render them was to furnish ammunition, and write

to the French governor warning him not to break the peace between the two countries by attacking the subjects of the English king. To the warning De la Barre gave no attention, because he asserted that four of the Five Nations at least had placed themselves under French protection, and were occupying territory belonging to France.

The French had extended their explorations of the continent far to the west, and at various important points had built forts, and had made alliances with the Indian nations. They were laying the foundations of a vast empire in the western hemisphere, and could not be delayed in their progress by a few native warriors. They considered the English themselves as intruders in the country which they had discovered, and that, if allowed to remain, they should be confined to a narrow strip of coast along the Atlantic. The English were firmly seated in New England and Virginia, and had acquired all the rights of the Dutch to the country lying between those colonies. True, the conception of an extended empire beyond the Atlantic had not yet penetrated the English mind, but with their usual policy of holding fast to all they got, the English were not disposed to surrender any territory or any advantage they had secured. It was apparent to their governors and other officials in New York that the safety of the province depended largely on the fidelity of the Five Nations to their interests.

The Indians were quick to discover the rivalries and jealousies between their two European neighbors, and that they were claimed by both as subjects and vassals. While they emphatically repudiated fealty to either, their policy was to make the most for themselves from the situation. Presents from the one were quite as desirable as presents from the other, especially if the presents were

guns and ammunition. They swayed from one to the other, and on some occasions had delegations of sachems at Albany and Quebec at the same time. Whichever gave the largest present secured for the time being their promise of fealty and allegiance. In the wars which sprang up in Europe and extended to the colonies they attached themselves to the most successful, and yet pursued a policy not to offend, if possible, the unfortunate. They played the one against the other, while they reaped advantages from the stipends each conferred, and were secure from their aggressions.

It was the policy of the English to hold the Five Nations attached to their interests, as a bulwark against the encroachments of the French, and as a means of securing trade. The place appointed for holding conferences was Albany, as midway between the capital of the province, where the governor resided, and the villages of the Senecas, the western nation. Here the sachems of the Five Nations came to confer with the governor on all questions relating to their common interests, or in his absence with his representatives. These conventions were held on the requisition of either party. Generally the governor would call them by sending messengers to the Indians, announcing that he would be in Albany on a certain day, and requesting the sachems to meet him. Sometimes, however, the sachems would demand a conference on an appointed day, to which a willing assent was usually given.

It was the policy of the French to conciliate the Five Nations, and to detach them from their English alliance, so that their own intercourse and trade with the western nations would not be interrupted, and that no opposition would be offered to the extension of French dominion. For this purpose, Montreal was appointed as the place to meet them in council instead of Quebec, the capital, al-

though Quebec was chosen whenever it suited the convenience of the governor. Priests were sent to instruct the Indians in religion and to influence their councils. If in this way they could not be won over, then they were to be conquered or destroyed.

It became the policy of the Indian confederacy to derive all the advantage possible from their European neighbors by submitting themselves to each in turn, while maintaining their independence of both. The French governor they called "Father," and the English governor "Corlaer." The English and Dutch were their "Brothers." Yet they insisted that they were the "oldest nation" on the continent, and that both Father and Corlaer should yield them precedence. The Albany and Montreal council fires were relighted at each conference, but their own at Onondaga was always burning. The English were their near neighbors, and furnished them with supplies whenever required. It was a long and dangerous journey to Montreal, and goods were dear. From the English they would often receive large gifts, which were easily distributed among their people. The French bestowed presents more sparingly, which were conveyed home with much labor and risk. On the whole, they were more inclined to Corlaer and the Brethren, than to their Father, and when circumstances obliged them to choose between the two, they usually attached themselves to the English.

At Albany, while the province was Dutch, Indian affairs were managed by the magistrates and the leading men of the colony. After the English occupation, they were managed for some years in the same way, although the governors had a supervising control. In Canada, Indian affairs were in the hands of the governor, whose only assistants were the Jesuit missionaries. In one respect he had an advantage over the governor of New York. He had a

larger force of regular soldiers, and could, when required, compel all the men of the province able to bear arms to join the ranks. On occasion he could assemble an army large for the time and the country. The Indians were awed by a display of numbers giving an impression of power. On the other hand, the governor of New York had only three or four companies of regulars, sufficient only to garrison the forts. When he required a larger force, he could procure it by enlistments alone. The English government, unwilling to bear the expense of even a regiment, left the people of the colony to protect themselves.

From the preceding pages the reader may form some idea of the situation of the country when Peter Schuyler, at the age of twenty-seven years, began to take an active part in public affairs. His abilities, and his fitness for the duties imposed upon him, were appreciated by Governor Dongan, by whom, in March, 1685, he was appointed lieutenant of cavalry in the militia of Albany, from which in a few years he rose to the rank of colonel, the highest grade conceded to a native New Yorker. It will be well to bear in mind that the officers of the militia, whatever their rank, were subordinate to the commandant of the fort, although he might be only a lieutenant of the regular forces. A month later, Peter Schuyler was appointed by Governor Dongan Judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, for the term of one year, and in the following October, a justice of the peace. On July 22, 1686, Albany was incorporated as a city, and Peter Schuyler was appointed its first mayor. By the charter the mayor and aldermen were authorized to hold a court for the trial of offenders against the laws. As a specimen of the punishments inflicted in those days, the following will serve.

A negro slave had broken into the house of the Lu-

theran minister and stolen a box containing the poor fund. He was arrested, and confessed his guilt. The court, "considering how evil consequence it is and bad example it is for y^e negers, have ordered y^e s^d neger to be whipt throw the towne att y^e cart tale by y^e hands of y^e hangman forthwith, as an example to oy^r, and his master to pay y^e costts."

Peter Schuyler, as mayor of Albany, was chairman of the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs. In the absence of the governor, the commissioners received delegations of Indian sachems, and advised with them on all topics relating to their common interests. In all their intercourse they were guided by the governor's instructions, and communicated to him the matters considered in conference, as well as all important news from the Indian country. Much depended upon the wisdom of the board whether the Five Nations were held to a faithful observance of their engagements as friends of the English, or became indifferent and drifted to the French. Although Albany was remote from the capital of New France, yet, by means of spies and Indians, the board was kept informed of the intentions of that government relating to matters affecting themselves or their allies, the Five Nations. It was difficult for either colony to keep their state secrets. In and about Albany were settled several French Huguenot families who had been expelled from Canada because they were Protestants, or who had voluntarily escaped from the severe military discipline. Some of these persons still held communication with residents of that province. It was suspected that certain individuals were not what they appeared, but were paid informers. On the advice of the Jesuit missionaries, a large section of the Mohawk nation had removed to Canada, and had taken a permanent residence there. In time of peace, and some-

times in war, they informed their old friends of French designs. Such information was usually made known to the governor of New York, or to the magistrates of Albany. By such means the government of each province had speedy intelligence of the designs of the other.

De la Barre proved a failure as an executive officer. When the news of his barren expedition against the Senecas reached France, the king kindly wrote to him that his years did not permit him to support the fatigues inseparable from his office, and that he had therefore selected Monsieur de Denonville to serve in his place. The Marquis de Denonville arrived in Canada in August, 1685. His instructions required him to secure a solid and lasting peace with the Iroquois, and for this purpose he was to use force, if necessary, to humble their pride. Looking over the situation, he soon came to the conclusion that force must be used, for they are "insolent and haughty, and by their insults to the French they will soon give occasion to punish them." Dongan was early informed of his disposition, and wrote him a friendly letter of warning, not to attack the subjects of his king, nor to build a fort at "Niagara within my master's territories." To this letter Denonville made a courteous and complimentary reply, but in writing to his minister he complains of the English for furnishing arms and ammunition to the Iroquois, and says that he finds it expedient in his correspondence with Dongan to dissimulate, because he is not in a condition to be angry. He suggests a remedy for the evils to which Canada is exposed by reason of the Iroquois, who were so uniformly supported by the English. If some arrangement could be made by purchase or exchange to give France possession of the province of New York, it would then be easy to control these warlike nations, or utterly to destroy them.

Later, he wrote to the prime minister that he had become convinced that war was an absolute necessity for the safety of Canada, and for its trade with the far Indians, but was fearful that the great expense to be incurred might prove an insuperable obstacle. He was frank, and stated the difficulties of the undertaking, as well as the large force it would require. After all, he might invade the Indian country and destroy their villages, but might not be able to conquer them, because they could retreat to the vast forests, where it would be impossible to hunt them. But, besides the interests of trade and the glory of France which demanded it, war was absolutely necessary for the sake of religion, "which can never spread except by the destruction of the Iroquois."

His arguments were convincing, and his plans for a campaign against the Senecas were approved by the king, who expected to learn "before the close of the year (1687) of the entire destruction of those savages." If he made any prisoners, they were to be sent to France to work in the galleys.

Denonville now hastened his preparations for the invasion of the Seneca country. On June 7, 1687, there was mustered in the camp on St. Helen's Island, near Montreal, an army consisting of 832 regulars, 1030 militia, and 300 domiciled Indians,¹ in all 2162 men. A detachment was sent off in advance of the main army to Fort Frontenac, to surprise and capture some Iroquois who were living on the north shore of Lake Ontario in peace and friendship with the French, if not under their protection. A large

¹ These were Indians of various tribes, among them some Mohawks and others of the Five Nations. They were converts to the Roman Catholic faith, but lived in villages of their own. In habits and practices they were little changed from their old state of barbarism. They were as savage and cruel as their unconverted countrymen.

number of men, women and children were seized without resistance, and thrust into prison. These were the only prisoners taken on the expedition. In accordance with the king's instructions, fifty of them were sent to Quebec, baptized, and then sent thence to France to become galley-slaves. This was an act of treachery and baseness hardly to be equalled by their savage enemies. It was not forgotten by the Iroquois. In after years they made fearful reprisals.

Denonville and his main army, after almost incredible hardships in ascending the river, arrived at Frontenac, July 1. He now received the welcome intelligence that 180 French and 400 Indians from the western posts and mission stations had arrived at Niagara, and were impatiently waiting the command to march. The same letters gave another item of news, which was nearly as gratifying as the first—that on their way down they had captured two parties of English traders sent out by Governor Dongan to trade with the Indians of the upper lakes, and had confiscated their goods. Although it was a time of peace between England and France, Denonville held that these parties were trespassers on French territory and rights, and that it was perfectly justifiable to employ war measures for their own protection. But he pleaded, in justification, that Dongan had furnished the Senecas with guns and ammunition.

On July 4th, the army broke camp at Fort Frontenac, and began its march for the Seneca country. The route was across the lake to La Famine, and thence along the southern shore to Irondequoit Bay, where it arrived on the 12th. The French and Indians from Niagara joined it on the same day.

Denonville was now at the head of an army of nearly three thousand men. Surely the force was large enough

to conquer an enemy who at the most could place in the field less than twelve hundred warriors. Some days were spent in constructing a fortified camp, in which four hundred men were stationed to protect the boats and canoes. On the 12th the army took up its line of march through the forest for the Seneca villages. The next day the French fell into an ambuscade, and were rather roughly handled. The general ordered a halt for the day. On the 15th he reached the first village, and found it deserted, except by an old man, whom they made a prisoner. He was conducted before Denonville for examination, after which he was turned over to the priest for baptism, and then "knocked on the head." Several days were spent destroying corn, new and old, estimated to amount to one million two hundred thousand bushels! Seeing no enemy, and unable to follow them in the forests, the army returned to the lake. The four hundred men left in camp were alive and well, to the great joy of the general, who had feared that they might have been routed and destroyed. Denonville sailed from Irondequoit for Niagara, where he formally took possession of the country, and erected a fort in which he left a garrison of 100 men. Returning, he reached Montreal on August 13th. The "Senecas were badly frightened," is the substance of his report.

Shortly after Denonville made his report, he again wrote to the French ministry that although the pride of the Senecas was humbled, the safety of Canada was not assured. It was now necessary to prepare for another campaign against the Onondagas and the Cayugas. Were it not for the English this would be unnecessary, but by supplying the Iroquois with guns they were the greatest enemies to the peace and prosperity of the province. He again urged his government to gain possession of New

York by exchange or conquest, and blocked out a plan for its capture in time of war.

The campaign of Denonville was not barren of results. He had invaded the Iroquois country to humble them, and bring them to terms. He had only awakened their wrath and passion for revenge. They were not humbled or weakened. The confederate nations joined the Senecas in prosecuting the war. They swept the lakes and rivers. The French trade was annihilated. Early in September some Mohawk sachems came to Albany and reported that a party of two hundred and eighty men of the Five Nations had been out against the French at Fort Frontenac, when they had burned the buildings outside the fort and taken five prisoners. They had waylaid some French canoes on the river, and had killed eight men. They had taken four prisoners, and had caused such a panic that a number had thrown themselves into the river, and had been drowned. A few days later it was reported that more prisoners had been taken, and that some were being tortured to death by the Mohawks, as was customary. Peter Schuyler immediately hastened to their relief. He succeeded in rescuing one poor man from the jaws of death.

The Iroquois invaded the island of Montreal in November, and killed five farmers there, and others in divers places. They spread themselves in all directions, burning and killing, so that there was no safety outside the forts. They became so bold that a party of twenty attacked a fleet of canoes under a convoy of one hundred and twenty men, and after killing several, put the others to flight. They were here, there, everywhere, killing, scalping and burning. The garrison in Fort Niagara was forced to abandon it for want of supplies, and few of the one hundred men reached a place of safety. The French were reduced to a state of helplessness. Denonville tried in

vain to negotiate a peace through the missionaries. He was in no condition to resume the offensive by an invasion of the Onondaga country, as he had purposed, and spent the year 1688 in efforts to secure a peace with the enemies he had determined to subdue or destroy.

In 1689 the Iroquois, to the number of 1500 men, invaded the Island of Montreal, and laid waste the country up to the very gates of the fort, taking many prisoners. Many of these were tortured and killed in their usual barbarous manner. A detachment of eighty Frenchmen were sent to occupy a fort, where protection could be given to the neighboring farmers. They were defeated by the Indians, and utterly destroyed. Three months later the Iroquois made a descent on the Island of Jesus, opposite Montreal. They burned the houses, and captured all but two of the inhabitants. In these campaigns the Indians destroyed a large amount of property, killed two hundred of the people, and took one hundred and twenty prisoners. The French were in consternation, and worn out with incessant labor and watching. When at the lowest depths of despondency, their spirits were revived by the arrival of their old governor, the Count de Frontenac.

Immediately after Denonville's expedition against the Senecas, in 1687, there was much uneasiness in Albany, lest the French, flushed with their victory, such as it was, should turn against the place which had given aid and comfort to their enemies. There were rumors that they were preparing to invade the province, for the purpose of punishing the English and Dutch, to whom they attributed their failure to humble the Iroquois. It was known that Denonville was urging his king to demand of King James the recall of Dongan, and by purchase or exchange to gain control of the province of New York. It was also known

that if New York could not be secured by such means, plans had been carefully considered to take it by force.

Peter Schuyler, as mayor of Albany, was chairman of the Board of Commissioners for Indian affairs, and as such, in the absence of the governor, he conducted all negotiations with the Five Nations and other Indians. To him any news from Canada was first communicated, and he transmitted it to the governor at New York. Early in September of this year, two Frenchmen, then residents of Albany, returned from a visit to Canada, and gave information which was considered so important, that one of them, Antonie Lespinard,¹ was sent direct to Governor Dongan for examination. Among the items of news was one of startling import, that the French were prepared to make a winter expedition against Albany, and were determined to take and burn it, because of the assistance the people were giving to the Senecas.

Shortly afterward he wrote to the governor: "The various reports which come daily to us, as to the intentions of the French, induce us to look after our safety." The situation was so critical, that some of the more timid among the people were preparing to leave for a place of greater security. The removal of able-bodied men would leave those who remained less able to protect the place. The mayor therefore urged the governor to prohibit such removals.

Dongan was induced by such reports to spend the winter in Albany, and to strengthen the garrison with 200 ad-

¹ Antonie Lespinard probably came from Canada to Albany, where he resided several years. He had a son in school in Canada, and on this occasion had been to visit him. He seems to have been well known to Denonville, with whom he had several confidential interviews. He removed later to New York, which he made his permanent residence. After his death his widow sold his real estate in Albany. Lispenard Street, New York, preserves his name and memory.

ditional men. For a further protection he would induce the Five Nations to station 500 of their men in the vicinity. He said, "I will do what is possible to save the government." These timely precautions were soon known in Canada, and the French were not so eager for their threatened winter raid. Meantime the Mohawk and Onondaga sachems had a conference with the mayor, the one protesting that they were for war against the French, the other intimating that their hearts began to weaken. Both parties were well pleased with the presents they received, as well as with the assurance, that the governor, with the garrison of New York, would spend the winter on the frontiers. Their hearts grew stouter, and their resolve to continue the war bore the fruit we have seen on the St. Lawrence River during the autumn.

Governor Dongan seems to have understood the situation of the province he was appointed to govern better than any of his predecessors. He had learned to know its value, and its future promise, provided the country of the Five Nations was included in its limits. In his correspondence with the home government, he had shown that the Five Nations had placed themselves under the English, and if their territory was to be preserved, they must be protected from the French. His representations had at last made an impression, and he received instructions, dated November 10, 1687, to afford them all needful assistance and protection. He was also directed to give notice to the governor of Canada, that King James, "after mature consideration, had thought fit to own the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, and to protect them as his subjects." He was to warn the people of Canada not to molest them; and if they did not heed the warning, but persisted in their invasions, he should resist them by force of arms.

Commissioners were appointed by the English and the French governments to settle the boundaries between New York and Canada. They could not agree, except to recommend a suspension of hostilities until more definite information was procured. The question as to which the country of the Five Nations belonged was still an open one. The French claimed it, and, taking advantage of the doubt, did not cease to claim it, and held themselves at liberty to assert their jurisdiction by renewed efforts to subdue their refractory subjects. Believing that Dongan was the main obstacle in their way, they solicited the king to demand his recall. If he were removed, they imagined that they could settle the boundary question by the complete subjugation of the Iroquois, when, as their successors, they would have an open way to deal with their English enemies in Albany and New York. King James was under obligations to Louis XIV. of France, and when the demand was made for the recall of the wise and energetic Dongan, he yielded a ready assent. On April 22, 1688, the order directing him to turn over his government to Sir Edmond Andros was approved by the king. As a solace to Dongan's spirits, he directed him to repair, as soon as convenient, to his royal presence, when he would receive "marks of royal favor and assurance of satisfaction."

The New England colonies from their first settlement had governed themselves according to the terms of their several charters. They were little republics, choosing their own officers and making their own laws. The arbitrary James II. had a few years before cancelled their charters, and consolidated them under one government, known as the "Dominion of New England," of which he appointed Sir Edmond Andros governor. New York and New Jersey were united to the Dominion in April, 1688.

Although James sought to conform his kingdom to the French model, and was a great admirer of Louis XIV., he was not willing to surrender any of the territory to which he had a just claim in order to swell the possessions of France. He accordingly instructed Andros to defend the Five Nations, as the subjects of England, from French encroachments, and to use force if necessary.

Andros arrived in New York on August 11, 1688, and wrote to Denonville at once, demanding the release of the prisoners, both English and Indians of the Five Nations, whom he claimed, according to instructions, as subjects of his king. In September he held a conference with the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany, which resulted in drawing them still closer to the English interests. The Indians complained that their friends who were prisoners in Canada were not surrendered, and were reluctant to give up the French who were in their hands until a mutual exchange had been arranged. Further, they came, with "tears in their eyes, lamenting that the French had treacherously stolen several of their people, and sent them to France."

Andros hastened his return to New York, leaving Peter Schuyler in charge of the Indian Department, to the duties of which he gave much of his time and attention. His agents among the Five Nations kept him informed of all that happened among them. One, writing from Onondaga, relates the difficulties he had met with while trying to induce that nation to send their sachems to Albany to meet the the governor. A Jesuit missionary had resided at Onondaga some years, and had acquired great influence with them. He induced a considerable number to incline to the French, and exerted all his influence against sending a deputation to Albany. The nation was divided in council, and at first was inclined to listen to the advice of

the priest, but was finally persuaded to send chiefs to meet the governor. After their return the nation again swung over to the English. Schuyler's correspondent wrote, December 28, 1688, that the Five Nations had agreed to make another hostile expedition with 900 men into Canada. They had been so often deceived with fair promises, which were never kept, so often made to believe that the galley slaves were to be returned, who never came, that they had become angry, and determined on revenge. In the next summer they accomplished their purpose. The result we have seen.

We now come to a period in the history of New York when Indian affairs were of less absorbing interest, and all were more or less occupied with the incidents of revolution.

Protestant England soon wearied of the rule of the Catholic James. His son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland, was invited to take possession of the throne. With an army of 15,000 men he landed in England in November, 1688. The leading men of that kingdom joined his standard. James, deserted by his friends, and by his own children, fled to France, and was succeeded on the throne by the Prince of Orange and his wife as King and Queen of England.

When the news of the revolution was received in New England, Governor Andros was in Maine. On his return to Boston the people arrested him, and held him a prisoner. The charter form of government was restored, and Andros sailed for England. The other New England colonies followed the example of Massachusetts, and the Dominion fell to pieces. In New York the excitement was intense. A large majority of the people were Dutch, or of Dutch descent. They had not forgotten their fatherland. They adored the dear old name, the Prince of

Orange. And now one occupied the throne of him who in time of peace had subjugated their adopted country! What might not be expected from a Dutch prince as King of England?

The population of New York was Protestant in religion. The proceedings of the Catholic king had aroused their jealousies, lest he should interfere with their religious liberties. The mere rumor, that the Prince of Orange with an army had landed in England, caused intense excitement. When it was known that King James had fled, and that the prince had been proclaimed king, the excited populace knew no bounds to their enthusiasm. In the absence of Andros, Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson was the chief officer in New York. He had not the qualities to guide the councils of the province in time of civil commotions and revolution. War had been declared between England and France. The few soldiers left in garrison by Andros, when he undertook his eastern expedition against the Indians, were not sufficient to defend it in case the French should undertake the conquest of the province. There were six militia companies in the city and vicinity whose assistance was required, and it was arranged that each company in turn should occupy the fort to hold it against any sudden attack.

The authorities had received no official notice of the changes in England, and, until such notice was received, it was their duty to proceed with caution and maintain the government in peace and quiet. Nicholson and his three councillors were Protestants, but, because they had received their appointment from a Catholic king, their orthodoxy was doubted. It was known that they had received intelligence of the landing of the Prince of Orange, but had not published it. It was hence suspected that they were holding the province for the old king, and

would turn it over to the French, as the friends and allies of James, as soon as a fleet should appear in the bay. The people could not understand that it was the duty of these men to obey their instructions until they were countermanded and new ones given. Affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis. Andros was in prison. The villages on the eastern end of Long Island had again renounced their allegiance to New York. The enlisted men, who had spent the winter with Governor Dongan at Albany, were in open rebellion because they had not been paid. The Indians of the Five Nations were wavering in their allegiance; and reports, believed to be trustworthy, were in circulation, that the French of Canada were about to cross the northern frontier with a powerful army.

The citizen-soldiers, who were cheerfully working on the fortifications, were at last wrought up to a high state of excitement by these facts and rumors. On May 31, 1689, they sent an unsigned and badly worded paper to Nicholson and the Council, declaring their intention to guard and hold the "fort for the Power that now governeth in England." They refused to obey the authority of the Council, or the commands of the colonel of the regiment, and demanded the keys of the fort. Nicholson, although a soldier, had not the courage to refuse the demand, and the keys were delivered. Two days afterward it was the turn of the company commanded by Jacob Leisler to watch. He entered the fort with forty-nine men, resolved to remain until he was joined by all the militia. The other five captains and four hundred men hastened to place themselves under his command.¹

¹As Jacob Leisler for nearly two years occupied the most prominent position in the affairs of New York, terminating his career by an ignominious death, much curiosity has been awakened to know something of his personal history. There is little to learn, and about that little writers

Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, taking counsel of his fears, resolved to return to England, and secretly left the city. Leisler, as commandant of the fort, was master of the situation. He issued a proclamation, that he should preserve the Protestant religion, and hold the fort, until

do not agree. I shall only give such facts as I have collected from the old documents and other authentic sources.

The West India Company employed a few soldiers in the forts of New Netherland. They were enlisted in Holland, and sent over from time to time by their ships. On the list by the ship *Golden Otter*, from Amsterdam, April, 1660, appears the name Jacob Leyseler, from Frankfort. Under the name is this entry :

“ for his musket f13.8
 Bed and chest 3.10
 owes Hendrick Stendericker loan by a transfer f50.”

In a letter to William Jones, of New Haven, Leisler says, “I a germane.” It appears, then, that he was a German by birth, and a soldier; that he was too poor to pay for his musket, bed, or chest, and for other necessary articles of outfit; and that he was obliged to borrow fifty florins on pledge of his soldier's pay. Less than three years after he left Holland, he married Elsje Tymans, widow of Peter Cornelise Van der Veen. Elsje Tymans was the daughter of Tyman Jansen, a ship carpenter, and Maritje Jans, sister of the Anneke Jans of Trinity Church farm notoriety. After the death of Tyman Jansen, his widow married Dirk Cornelisen Van der Veen, by whom she had one son. Her second husband was deceased before August 29, 1648, and on July 11, 1649, she married Govert Lookermans, her third husband. Shortly after her marriage to Lookermans, there was a settlement of her second husband's estate in the Surrogate's Court. It was ordered that she pay to her son two thousand guilders when he came of age—half the money due by the West India Company, and half the estate in the fatherland belonging to his father. The balance of the estate was allotted to her. This settlement shows that she had a considerable property. How much she and her daughter Elsje had from her first husband, Tyman Jansen, does not appear. It was not a trifle, if real estate in New York and on Long Island had any value. Tyman Jansen, when he died, owned a large block (646 square rods) fronting the East River, in the neighborhood of Hanover Square, and some large tracts on Long Island. Maritje Jans brought to her third husband, Govert Lookermans, quite a large estate for the times. Lookermans by a previous marriage had two daughters, one of whom married Balthasar Bayard, a nephew of Director-General Stuyvesant, and the

the arrival of a governor appointed by the Prince of Orange. The citizens chose a committee of safety, who commissioned Leisler "Captain of the fort." In their address to the king, the militia and citizens protest their loyalty, and justify their seizure of the fort because

other Dr. Hans Kiersted, a grandson of Anneke Jans. By his second wife, Maritje Jans, he had one son, Jacob, who left the province, and settled in Maryland. He conveyed away portions of his second wife's real estate; among others, a house and lot on Pearl Street to Peter Cornelise Van der Veen, shortly after his marriage with Elsje Tymans. Jacob Leisler, four years after his marriage with Van der Veen's widow, obtained a patent for this property from the governor. Govert Lookermans died intestate in 1671, and the settlement of his estate occasioned a long and bitter controversy between Leisler and the general heirs, Bayard, Kiersted, and Jacob Lookermans. There is little doubt but that this affair imparted some bitterness to the political differences of 1689 to 1691. The estate was not finally settled until after Leisler's death. On September 10, 1691, the surviving executor of Lookermans' widow petitioned for a discharge, alleging that he had closed his trust; and about the same time Balthasar Bayard, in behalf of his wife and her sister, Mrs. Kiersted, petitioned for letters of administration. In 1694, when Colonel Fletcher was governor, these parties and Jacob Lookermans, in a paper addressed to the Council, proposed to make an arrangement with the government for opening a new street (Water Street) through land in front of Lookermans' former dwelling. It is to be presumed that the estate had then been settled.

Leisler's marriage with Elsje Tymans connected him with many of the leading families of the city and province. It also enabled him to leave the service of the West India Company, if he had not done it before, and enter the mercantile business, as the successor of his wife's former husband. He was successful as a trader, and within a few years had accumulated a considerable property. His education was deficient, if a correct judgment may be formed by his correspondence while in public life. Whatever early education he had was in German. Coming to New Amsterdam as a Dutch soldier, he must necessarily have learned the Dutch language. Four years after his arrival the English took possession, and he was obliged to know something of the English tongue. He did not master it. He knew something of three languages, but not enough of either to write an intelligible letter. Letters written by himself are curiosities. Most of them over his name were written by a clerk or secretary. The following is an extract from a letter to Governor Treat, of Connecticut, written by himself:

there were a "few papists" in office, and they feared that they might be betrayed. The Committee of Safety assumed the functions of government, and performed the duties devolving on municipal and civil officers while waiting for instructions from the crown. Becoming impatient, and wanting a chief in name as well as in fact, they appointed Leisler commander-in-chief. A mayor, sheriff, and clerk were elected by the people, and confirmed by the commander-in-chief, who at the same time appointed aldermen, assistants, and constables. John Biggs, who had been sent to England by Nicholson with despatches, and for instructions, returned on December 9, with a letter from the king, addressed, "To our loving friend, Francis Nicholson, Esq., their majesties' lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of the province of New York. And, in his absence, to such as for the time being take care for the preserving the peace and administering the laws in their majesties' province of New York in America." He was ordered to proclaim the king and queen according to the form indorsed, and to take upon himself the government until further instructions.

Nicholson having fled, and the members of Council hav-

"Honorab^{le} Ser—After noon I gath a letter off Cap^t Milborne, War-off Bovest is com off, part thereof being off suth greath moment, thought necessary to send to your Honour post away, that you ma also Juge the State en condition we like to be in, iff we do not store en despath away over forces."

Leisler had seven children, two sons and five daughters, baptized in the Dutch Church. One son, Jacob, survived him, but died without children. His eldest daughter, Susanna, married Michael Vaughton, a custom-house officer; Catharine married Robert Walters, an Englishman; he was a prosperous merchant and member of the Council. Mary married, first, Jacob Milborne, her father's secretary; secondly, Abraham Gouverneur, whose name became famous in the annals of New York. Hester, the fourth daughter, married Barent Rynders, merchant, of New York. Francina, the youngest, married Thomas Lewis, merchant, also of New York.

ing been silenced, Leisler assumed that the despatches were addressed to him, as in the absence of Nicholson he was for the time being preserving the peace and administering the laws. It was a mere assumption. In the absence of a governor and lieutenant-governor, the Council, or its oldest member, was chief executive. Nor had he administered the laws as he found them. He only administered the laws as made and interpreted by himself and the Committee of Safety. The mayor and sheriff had always been appointed by the governor according to law. They had now been elected by freeholders contrary to law.

Leisler now assumed to be lieutenant-governor, and appointed a new Council, composed of men who were his supporters and admirers. The revolution was complete. The old government was displaced. The old members of Council were no longer recognized. The new government received a ready support and obedience from a majority of the populace. The religious sentiment of the age contributed to this result. The revolution, however, was not effected without a struggle. The members of the former government and their friends offered a determined opposition. Philipse, Bayard, and Van Cortlandt had been long in office. They were Protestants, members of the same church as Leisler, and, like him, office-bearers. As their opponents, they had accepted the results of the English revolution, and were cordial supporters of the king now on the throne. But they had lost to a considerable extent the confidence of the masses; more because they had been office-holders under a Catholic king than for any other reason. Leisler had become the idol of the hour, not because of his abilities or character, but because he had put himself forward as the champion of the Protestant religion, and was in command of the fort.

Philipse, the eldest of the old councillors, soon separated himself from his associates, and bowed to the storm. He was too rich to be a leader in times of revolution. Van Cortlandt and Bayard were obliged to fight the battle without his assistance, but they had friends in the city and in the country who gallantly supported them. They were the party of order. It was their motto, "Make haste slowly." When the rumors first reached New York, that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, they wished to hear the result before they committed themselves. Twice before, in the short reign of James, there had been attempts at revolution, which had only resulted in the death of the leaders, and in the dispersion of their followers. This new invasion might come to a similar end. Why not wait? But when William was seated on the throne, they were as earnest as their opponents in the support of the doctrines of the revolution.

The new government of England had much to do at home; so much, that the affairs of the colonies were neglected. New York received no official notification of the changed order of affairs for more than a year after James had left his kingdom. Late in June, 1689, a printed proclamation of William and Mary found its way to the hands of Leisler. By beat of drum he assembled the people in front of the fort, and read to them the unofficial paper. He then called on Mayor Van Cortlandt to publish it in the usual form.

This Van Cortlandt declined to do, because it was not official, and for this he was roundly abused by Leisler and his patriots, who called him papist, rogue, and traitor. Soon after another private proclamation was brought to the mayor, of no more authority than the first. It purported to be an order of the king and queen, confirming all persons being Protestants in the offices they held

on December 1, 1688. This he consented to have published, as an offset to the one Leisler published. Certainly one was as authentic as the other. If Leisler accepted the first, he should have yielded obedience to the second; but this he refused, and when the commission to take charge of the Custom House, appointed by the Council and the aldermen, attempted to enter upon their duties, he with a guard of soldiers confronted them and ordered them away. He was especially bitter toward Bayard, who was attacked by his adherents, and was forced to leave the city to save his life. Leisler told Philipse, that if he again met with the Council the "Divell should take him." He feared the *divell*, and did not again meet the Council until Leisler could do him no harm. The night before the mayor's court-day, Leisler sent word to him, that if he attempted to hold court, "the people would hale him out by the legs." The other members were in like manner intimidated, and the court was not held. Van Cortlandt remained in the city until the middle of August, when he was obliged to leave to avoid further insults, and to escape the dangers with which he was threatened. After a time he returned to look after his private business, but kept himself secluded. Before January 7, 1689, he with his wife again sought a place of safety. Leisler followed him with a warrant for his arrest, in which was included Nicholas Bayard and four others, but he managed to elude the officers and keep himself concealed.

Bayard had made himself very obnoxious to Leisler. He had kept up a correspondence with Andros, the late governor, and had written to some of the English ministers, in which he had spoken of Leisler and his supporters in no measured terms. One such letter had been intercepted by Leisler. Of all the members of the late government, he was the most bitter and troublesome. His arrest

was prosecuted with zeal. He was forced to return to the city on private business, and to see his only son, who was ill and not expected to live. The officers were soon on his track, searching the vessel on which he arrived, and private houses where he was supposed to be concealed. He escaped, and again went into hiding. The next time he ventured to return he was not so fortunate. Leisler, aware of his presence in the city, ordered the officers, with a guard of soldiers, to search his house. They broke it open, and while searching said that they were "ordered to take him dead or alive." They did not find him "at home," but in a house near by they seized him, and "in a most abusive manner dragged him to the fort." William Nicoll, a friend of Bayard's, was captured at the ferry hidden in the ferryman's house. The poor woman who had suffered him to occupy one of her rooms was also arrested.

Leisler was much elated at the capture of Bayard, who was put into irons and thrust into the dungeon of the fort. Occasionally he was chained in a chair and carried about the walls, as an exhibition to the populace. On his earnest petitions the rigor of his confinement was mitigated, but he was detained in prison until released by Governor Sloughter. While Leisler was thus occupied, the more distant towns were left to manage their own affairs with little interruption, except an occasional message or letter.

On July 1, 1689, authentic news reached Albany that William and Mary had succeeded to the throne of England. On its receipt, the mayor, Peter Schuyler, called a meeting of the Common Council, and it was voted to proclaim their majesties without delay. At noon a procession was formed at the City Hall and marched to the fort, where proclamation was made in English and Dutch, amid the firing of cannon and other demonstrations of joy. The procession returned to the City Hall, where the ceremonies

were repeated, and the day closed with bonfires and fireworks.

The citizens were harmonious and settled down to their usual occupations, unmindful of the excitement which followed the news of the revolution in New England and New York. The city government proceeded as before, and all was peace and good feeling. In less than a month, however, there were rumors that Leisler intended to establish his authority over the city, turn out the old officers, and make changes generally to conform to the order of administration he had inaugurated in New York. The Albanians were chiefly of Dutch descent, and altogether Protestant in religion. They were united, peaceable, and quiet, patiently waiting for a governor appointed by the Prince of Orange, now King of England. They saw no reason why they should be disturbed, and the community distracted by factions. They had had some experience of Leisler and his friend Milborne in their church troubles, some years before, and were not now disposed to submit their necks to his yoke. His rule must be short. Why, then, for a brief space only, should they accept his authority?

A convention of the civil and military officers was called on August 1st, to consider the situation, and it determined that public affairs should be managed by the mayor, Common Council, justices of the peace, and commissioned officers of the city and county, until orders came from the throne. To this agreement the people yielded a willing assent. There was no change in the government or its officers. They were the supreme authority of the city and county of Albany, as opposed to a faction in the city of New York which set up pretensions to govern the whole province.

War had been proclaimed between England and France,

and it became the first duty of the convention to prepare for defence against the French of Canada. Fifty persons were required each to hang a gun, powder, and balls in the church. Palisades were set up in place of those that were decayed, and a new battery was built in the northern wall. Some Frenchmen, settled on farms at Stillwater, and on the river above, who were suspected of holding correspondence with the enemy, were arrested and brought to the city. Some of the inhabitants were beginning to remove to places remote from the frontiers. The convention issued an order forbidding them to leave the city or county without permission, on pain of being pursued as "fugitives, cowards, runaways, vagabonds." Reports were brought that a French and Indian army was on the march for the borders. Messengers were immediately despatched to Kinderhook, Claverack, and other hamlets, to give the settlers warning. An alarm was given at Greenbush which occasioned much uneasiness, lest the enemy were at their gates. In the midst of their commotions there came a message of relief. The Onondagas sent one of their sachems to announce a great victory over the French at Montreal. The joy on this occasion was of short duration; for immediately came the report that the French were on Lake Champlain on their march against Albany. Scouts were ordered out, and men were sent to assist the Mohawks in fortifying their villages. The repairs on the fort and stockades of Albany were not yet complete. It was believed that there was such imminent danger that a full convention was called for consultation, which decided that in view of the great danger, and of their inability to defend themselves without assistance, help must be sought from abroad. An express was sent to "Captain Leisler and the other militia officers of New York," asking for one hundred men, six

hundred pounds of powder, and other ammunition. Before the convention adjourned, a message was brought that three farmers had been killed by the French at Saratoga. Two detachments were sent successively to the scene of the murders. There was hurry and excitement, but no confusion. Gentlemen arrived from New England to hold a conference with the Mohawks. A committee was appointed to assist them. New forts were ordered to be built at several outlying places for the protection of the inhabitants. A delegation was sent to Schenectady to arrange the differences which had suddenly broken out among the people. A justice of the peace was sent to Ulster County to procure twenty-five or thirty men. A small force was enlisted to garrison the fort at Saratoga.

The express to Leisler now returned, not with words of cheer and encouragement, but with private letters from him to two members of the convention, Captains Wendel and Bleecker, asking them to send two men to join his Committee of Safety at New York; and then something might be done.

The convention was disheartened, but did not despair. Robert Sanders was despatched to enlist Indians along the river and at Esopus for scouts. A subscription was made, to pay for one hundred enlisted men. Only three hundred and sixty-seven pounds were pledged—not half enough. The truth was that the people were poor; their trade for three years had been of little account, because of the war of the Five Nations with the French; their preparations to resist the French in case of an invasion had drawn heavily on their resources. They were at last convinced that they must appeal to the New England colonies. They therefore resolved, since no assistance could be expected from New York, to solicit the governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut each for one

hundred men, to garrison the forts and protect the frontiers during the ensuing winter. Letters were accordingly written to the governors of those colonies on September 23d, to which replies were received a month later. Massachusetts excused herself, because of her own war with the French and Indians, which required a large force to protect her frontiers. Connecticut answered that she would send eighty men, with their officers, but would expect the convention to provide for the officers' pay. The offer was promptly accepted, and a committee delegated to visit Hartford, to convey the thanks of the convention and to make the final arrangements.

Although no instructions had as yet been received from England, the convention voluntarily took the oath of allegiance to the king and queen, and the next day administered it to the officers and soldiers in garrison. Lieutenant Sharp, having taken the oath, was left in command of the fort. The militia-officers of Esopus, and the men of their companies, had promptly pledged their assistance in case Albany should be threatened by an invading army. The convention now believed that arrangements had been made to render the frontiers secure without the aid of Leisler and his committee, and was anxious that he should know it. Alderman Van Schaick was in New York, and he was requested to give this information. For the large amount of expense incurred, the city treasury had provided in part, and Robert Livingston, the town clerk, had advanced the remainder.

A rumor now reached the convention, that Leisler, although refusing to give any assistance where it was needed, had resolved to send up a detachment of soldiers to overthrow the present government. Van Schaick, who was still in New York, was directed to investigate the rumor, and, if true, to prevent such a procedure by all the

means in his power. "For," said they, "a new governor (Frontenac) has arrived in Canada, and fresh troubles and complications are likely to arise with the Indians, especially should the present government in Albany be disturbed." Van Schaick, learning the truth of the rumors, hastened his return to Albany, and reported to the convention that Leisler intended to overthrow the government by an armed intervention, and occupy the fort with other officers and men, alleging that the present officers were papists who could not be trusted.

They now decided to consult their constituents, who were assembled at the City Hall by an alarm rung on the church-bell. After discussion, the meeting resolved to support the convention as the only lawful government, and to oppose Leisler. Forty of the leading inhabitants signed a pledge to that effect. Leisler's efforts to gain control, by creating divisions in the party of law and order, were bearing fruit. Two of the prominent members of the convention withdrew, and soon afterward were found among Leisler's supporters. It became apparent that, for the sake of harmony, some concessions should be made to the jealousies slowly creeping into the community. Suspicions as to Lieutenant Sharp's fidelity, although he had taken the oath of allegiance, found circulation. Yielding to the pressure, the convention put Mayor Schuyler in command, and conducted him to his quarters within the fort on November 3, 1689.

The next day three sloops, with a company of soldiers, arrived from New York. A committee of the convention boarded one of the vessels to learn the object of their visit. Jacob Milborne, who appeared to be in command, replied to the questions of the committee by asking another, "Is the fort open to receive me and my men?" "No," was the prompt reply. "The mayor is in com-

mand, and will hold it." Milborne was invited to land and call on the convention. He accepted the invitation, and when he arrived, he found the hall packed with an anxious and curious crowd of citizens. Without noticing the convention, he began to address the crowd, in the style of a demagogue, telling them that now the time had come when they could throw off the yoke of tyrants and make themselves free. King James was a papist and usurper; all that had been done under his administration was void; all his appointments were illegal; now was the time for the people to choose their own officers, both civil and military. The convention was so surprised at this performance, that they made no immediate reply. On being taunted with their silence, "Time enough," said Dirk Wessels, the recorder. "It ought not to be expected that we should reply off-hand to such a strain of eloquence. The convention has provided quarters for the men, if they are here with good intentions, and the billets are now on the table." Milborne then delivered a letter signed by Jacob Leisler and others, but addressed to no one in particular. It was a remarkable document, as the revolution in England was cited as a precedent for the revolution in New York. "Humbly tracing the steps (of the Prince of Orange), and laying hold of the encouragement given by so royal an example, we have prevented the raging interest of the Roman Catholic party and their adherents in this province." There was no Roman Catholic party; scarcely half a dozen of that profession in the whole province. But the religious conscience was the surest element of success, and Leisler freely plied it with false statements. The letter commissioned Milborne to take charge of Albany, and protect it from its enemies. After the letter was read, quarters for the men were again offered, but declined. The next day a letter was received from

Adam Vrooman, of Schenectady, enclosing letters sent to him from Milborne, which revealed the plans and intentions of Leisler so fully, that the convention became more guarded and watchful in their intercourse with Milborne and his associates. The mayor, suspecting the intentions of the New Yorkers, had remained at his post in the fort to guard against surprise.

For several days negotiations between the convention and Milborne continued, the upshot of which was that they refused to accept Leisler's supremacy, but offered to receive the soldiers and provide for them to the best of their ability, on condition that they submitted to their authority. When Milborne failed here, as he had gained a considerable party, composed chiefly of such as were not entitled to a voice in the business, he undertook to get possession of the fort by force. He succeeded in putting one foot within the gate, but was thrust out. He and his men retired a short distance, faced about, displayed the king's flag, and loaded arms. The mayor and other members of the convention were not intimidated, but proclaimed from the parapet that they held the fort for the king; and that Milborne and his seditious troops would be held responsible for any blood that might be shed in the contest, and for the disorders which might follow. Some Mohawks, who had come to the city for aid in fortifying their castles, were astonished spectators of the scene. On learning the cause, they loaded their guns, and said that they would help their friends. They finally declared that they would fire on Milborne and his troops unless they retired. Dominic Dellius and others tried to pacify them. This was difficult, until Milborne withdrew and dismissed the troops. The firmness and tact of the friends of order probably saved the city from great disorders and bloodshed.

Milborne failed to accomplish what had been intended

—to take possession of the fort and government of the city. But he raised factions, and caused divisions among those who had been life-long friends, arraying members of the same family against one another. He left his troops under the command of Jochim Staats, a brother of Dr. Samuel Staats, one of Leisler's chief advisers, and returned discomfited to his superiors. He was a man unfit for his mission. He could talk, but could not convince. He had little wisdom and no discretion. It is surprising that Leisler and his advisers had so little tact in appointing such a man to deal with men like Peter Schuyler, Robert Livingston, and others of the same stamp who constituted the convention of Albany.

Ten days after Milborne's discomfiture, on November 25, 1689, Captain Bull and eighty-seven men arrived from Connecticut, marched into the city with flying colors, and were received with demonstrations of great satisfaction. They were quartered among the families of the convention and their friends. On the 29th, Lieutenant Talmadge and twenty-four men of the company were stationed at Schenectady. Jochim Staats, commanding the men sent from New York, was bound by such instructions, that he was not free to station his men at any of the outlying places where forts had been erected, but kept them in Albany, as if for the seizure of the fort should opportunity occur. The convention was so watchful and circumspect, that he gained nothing by the manœuvre. The friends of order had a double duty on their hands—to guard against the French, their open enemy, and secure themselves against the treachery of their own countrymen. They were thus compelled to neglect other and important duties, more particularly Indian affairs. Significant news reached them from the Indian country—that a council was to be held at Onondaga, to consider some propositions of the governor of

Canada, brought to them by two of Denonville's captives who had returned from France. A few days later, Peter Schuyler received a letter from a friend in the Mohawk country, announcing that "ambassadors from Onondaga and Oneida" were on the way to Albany with interesting news, and requested him to accompany them. They arrived on December 27th, and had an interview with the convention. They announced that three of their friends, who had been prisoners in France, had come to them with a message from the governor of Canada, requesting them to send their sachems to make peace between them; that thirteen only of the thirty-six whom Denonville had sent to the French galleys had returned, the others having died; and that they had resolved not to listen to the message, until in full council some of the gentlemen of Albany could be present and advise with them. They asked that Peter Schuyler, Johannes Wendel, and Jacques Cornelisen (Van Schaick) might be delegated to attend their council, and hear what the French governor had to offer.

The important topics to be discussed at this council were well understood by the convention. Frontenac had been restored to the chief command in Canada. He had brought with him some of the exiled Indians, whom he had sent to their country with overtures of peace, after attaching them to his interests. The joy of the Five Nations over the return of their countrymen was unbounded. There was now very great danger that in the era of good feeling they might listen to the pleasant words of the old governor, and be induced to come to some friendly arrangement with him to the prejudice of English interests. They knew that some one ought to attend the council and represent the province. But who should go? This question received serious consideration several days. It did not appear advisable that any members

of the convention should leave their posts. The affairs of the city were so critical that it seemed unwise to weaken their position in the face of the Leisler faction by sending away any of their leading men. After several sessions and earnest deliberations, it was decided to commission some of the wisest Mohawk sachems to represent them. To them were joined the sworn interpreter and Robert Sanders, a merchant of Albany, who understood the Indian language. They were provided with ample instructions, and a few presents.¹

¹Colden, in his *History of the Five Nations*, censures the convention for not sending more prominent persons to the Indian council. He understood the importance of holding the Five Nations steadfast in their allegiance to the English, but failed to see the reason why Peter Schuyler, or any other of the more prominent men of the convention, could not be spared from their posts at that particular crisis. Leisler had not yet ceased his efforts to gain control of Albany. His soldiers, ostensibly sent for the protection of the frontiers, remained in the city under secret instructions, which were paramount to all other considerations. He had gained control of the fort in New York when the constituted authorities were off their guard, and in the midst of confusions caused by himself and his adherents. The same thing had been attempted in Albany, and had only failed by the watchfulness and firmness of the guardians of its safety. Although foiled for the time, his agents were only looking out for a more favorable occasion. It was believed by the convention that if the Leisler faction succeeded in their designs, a greater injury would be the consequence than though for a time there was some apparent neglect of Indian politics. But Peter Schuyler was a wiser man in the management of Indians than Cadwallader Colden with his learning and fluent pen. In all probability the Mohawk sachems succeeded better in the Grand Council of the Five Nations for the English interests than any of the "prominent men" of Albany, Peter Schuyler not excepted. They were firmly attached to the English, and, with their instructions given by their friend Quidor, they knew what was required, and how to accomplish it. The final arrangements for the Indian council were completed on January 6, 1690. It quickly became apparent that their action in the business was wise and prudent.

There are no records now at Albany with regard to this council, although they probably once existed, for Colden, in his *History of the Five Nations*, vol. i., pp. 112-120 (ed. 1755), gives a full account of it, the

Only five days after Robert Sanders had received his instructions, the convention held a session, January 11, 1690, at which Captain Wendel presented a letter signed by Jacob Leisler, dated New York, December 28th, which was read, and is as follows :

“Gent^s—I having received orders from his maj^e King William for taking care of the Government, have commissioned Cap^t Jochim Staas to take into his Possession Fort Orange and to keep y^e Soldiers in good order and Discipline, and y^t y^e Magistracy may be in good Decorum have Ordered and doe hereby Order that free Elections be forthwith made for a Mayor and Aldermen whom I have Signified to Cap^t Staas with whom pray Correspond and give all due assistance for his Maj^{ty}s Interest and for y^e Safety of y^t city and county y^t so the Peace and Tranquil-

substance of which is repeated by Mr. Parkman in his *Count Frontenac and New France*, pp. 195-200. The general result was, that the Indians adhered to the English and remained opposed to the French. During the proceedings, Sadekanahie, an Onondaga speaker, stood up and said : “Brethren, we must stick to our brother Quidor (Peter Schayler), and look on Onontio (the governor of Canada) as our enemy, for he is a cheat.” The English interpreter told them that a new governor had arrived, bringing many soldiers ; that war had been declared against the French, and that the people of New England were fitting out ships against Canada. He advised them not to hearken to the French, for when they talk of peace war is in their heart. After some consultation the Indians answered :

“Brethren, our fire burns at Albany. We will not send to Cadaraqui ; we adhere to our old chain with Corlear ; we will prosecute the war with Onontio. Brethren, we are glad to hear the news you tell us, but tell us no lies.

“Brother Kinshon (that is, fish, or New England), we hear you design to send soldiers to the eastward against the Indians there ; but we advise you, now so many are united against the French, to fall immediately upon them. Strike at the root ; when the trunk shall be cut down, the branches fall of course.

“Corlear and Kinshon, courage ! courage ! In the spring to Quebec ! take that place, and you will have your feet on the necks of the French and all their friends in America.”

A belt of wampum representing three axes was sent to Peter Schuyler.

ity may be Preserved amongst you, untill we shall Receive further orders from y^e King, which is y^e needful matter at present from

“Your Loving Frinde

“JACOB LEYSLER ”

“To y^e military and civill officers
and y^e Protestant freemen Inha-
bitants of y^e city and county of
Albanic ”

This letter was written a few days after the order of King William to Captain Nicholson, Lieutenant-Governor, had been received by Leisler, who now assumed the functions of a dictator, without regard to the proclamation of the king directing all officers to hold their places and perform their duties until further orders. He directs a *free* election to be held for officers he had selected! How free when he named the men to be voted for!

The convention directed Richard Pretty, the sheriff, to call on Jochim Staats, and inquire whether any orders had been received from the king such as Leisler referred to? If so, they wished to see them, that they might conform to them at once. Pretty reported that Jochim Staats would come presently, and himself answer their queries.

Staats appeared, and explained that his orders were from Jacob Leisler, *Lieutenant-Governor*, by authority of the Nicholson letter. The next day in the afternoon, the convention again convened to consider the question, whether Jacob Leisler should be acknowledged as lieutenant-governor on no other authority than the Nicholson letter? It was decided unanimously in the negative, Captains Wendel and Bleecker explaining that, “because he writes himself so, they cannot comprehend whether it be so or not.” Captain Bull, of the Connecticut troops, was asked his opinion, and answered that, for anything which had ap-

peared, he could not judge him to be lieutenant-governor. The absent members of the convention afterward concurred in the vote. The convention then issued a ringing protest against Leisler and his supporters for their persistent efforts to disturb the peace and security of the city. The protest was published with great ceremony in English and Dutch. Jochim Staats did not gain possession of the fort, and Jacob Leisler again failed to be recognized as lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief.

The convention, having repelled the pretensions of Leisler, gave their attention to the security of the city and county. It was midwinter, but they knew that the season would not deter the French from a long and tedious march against an unprotected place, to strike a blow which might inflict serious injury on the English and inspire courage and confidence among their Indian allies. It was known that troops had been concentrated at Montreal, and preparations made for a winter campaign. No place was so accessible, or more exposed than Albany. There was reason to believe that an attack might be expected at any hour. Men had to be engaged to scout the country to the north as far as the lakes. Men who were willing to endure the exposures, and risk their lives in such employment, demanded for their services large pay, of which they had to be made secure. This it was difficult to do, owing to the poverty of the treasury and the want of ready money among the people. Captain Bull was bound by his instructions to keep his men in Albany or its immediate vicinity. Captain Staats, under orders from his superiors in New York, would give no assistance. At last some Mohawk Indians were employed, and furnished with ammunition. Forty of their warriors were at Schenectady, whose chiefs engaged, on January 21st, to march at once, and watch the routes the enemy must take to

reach the settlements. They promised to remain on duty until the breaking up of winter, when the danger would be past; but they failed to keep their engagements. The weather was cold, and a deep snow covered the ground. The people of Schenectady were kind and hospitable, and they found it comfortable to linger around their fires. Less than twenty days after they had received their supplies, the French and their savage allies were in Schenectady, and laid it in ashes. Had the Mohawks gone to scout as agreed, the poor people would have received warning, and have escaped their dreadful fate.

When Count de Frontenac returned to Canada, in October, 1689, he had found the people discouraged and despairing, because of their sufferings from the frequent raids of the Iroquois. That he might raise their spirits and give them new courage, he organized three winter expeditions against the English settlements. The one which left Montreal was directed against Albany, and numbered over two hundred men, French and Indians. On the march the Indians discouraged an attack on Albany, and their course was directed toward Schenectady. When within a few miles, they came to a cabin occupied by Indian women, who gave them such information as to the condition of the village that they forgot their fatigue, and vigorously pursued their march. They arrived at midnight of February 9th, and entered the place undiscovered. They silently dispersed throughout the village, and on a given signal they raised their terrible whoop and began the work of death. Houses were broken open, and their affrighted inmates butchered without resistance. The fort was stormed, and Lieutenant Talmadge with several of the garrison put to death. The houses were fired, and when the morning dawned Schenectady was a desolation. Sixty men, women, and children had been killed, and

many of them burned in their dwellings, while twenty-seven, mostly boys, were carried off prisoners. The poor people had felt themselves so secure, on account of the season and the severity of the weather, that they had not taken ordinary precautions against surprise. Even the gates of the stockade had not been closed, nor sentinels posted. The gates of the little fort were shut, but the soldiers were asleep. Only three days before, a committee from the convention at Albany had visited them, and urged them to be watchful, and on their guard against the enemy. No heed was given to this advice, so great was their sense of safety. The truth was, that Leisler, by his letters and agents, had obtained several adherents, who became so infatuated that they had thrown off restraint, and refused to obey their officers, threatening violence to Captain Sander Glen, a justice of the peace and member of the convention. Glen lived on the opposite side of the river, and had fortified his house, and was on his guard. In the morning a French officer and an Indian chief approached his citadel, and offered terms which were accepted. He saved his own family and property, and was instrumental in saving others.

Early the next morning, Simon Schermerhoorn, wounded and bleeding, rode into Albany and gave the alarm. Within a short time other fugitives arrived bringing the report that not only was Schenectady destroyed, but that an army was on its march toward Albany. Messengers hurried to Kinderhook, Claverack, and Kingston to warn the people and procure assistance. The report proved to be false, but it had caused delay in rendering assistance to those who had escaped the massacre and were in need of food and shelter. While expecting the enemy at their gates, no measures could be taken to pursue the party now retreating from Schenectady. They were followed, how-

ever, by a party of Mohawks, who captured fifteen, and killed three men on the borders of Canada.

One of the best accounts of the Schenectady massacre is contained in a letter to the government of Massachusetts, signed by Peter Schuyler, which is worth quoting in full :

“ Albany, the 15th day of Feb. 1689/90.

“ Honored Gentlemen,

“ To our great griefe and Sorrow, we must acquaint you with our Deplorable Condition, there having never the like Dreadfull massacre and murder been Committed in these Parts of America ; as hath been acted by the French and there Indians at Shinnechtady, 20 miles from Albanie betwixt Saturday and Sunday last at ii a clok at night. A Companie of Two hundred french and Indians fell upon said village and murdered sixty men women and children most barbarously, burning the Place and carried 27 along with them Prisoners, among which the leiftenant of Capt. Bull, Enos Talmadge, and 4 more of said company were Killed and 5 taken prisoners, the rest being Inhabitants ; and above 25 Persones there limbes frozen in the flight.

“ The cruelties committed at said Place no Penn can write nor Tongue express : the women bigg with childe rip'd up and the children alive throwne into the flames, and there heads dash'd in pieces against the Doors and windows.

“ But what shall we say ;—we must lay our hands upon our mouth and be silent. It is God's will and pleasure and we submitt ; it is but what our Sinns and Transgressions have deserved : and since generally human things are Directed by outward means, so we must ascribe this sad misfortune to the factions and Divisions which were amongst the People and there great Disobedience to there officers ; for they would Obey no Commands or keep any watch, so that the Enemy having discovered their negligence and security by there praying Maquase Indians,

(who were in the said place 2 or 3 days before the attaque was made), Came in and broak open their verry doors before any soule knew of it ; the Enemy divideing themselves in 3 severall Companies came in at 3 severall Places, no gates being shutt, and separated themselves 6 or 7 to a house, and in this manner begunn to Murther, spareing no man till they see all the houses open and master'd : and so took what Plunder they would, loading 30 or 40 of the best horses, and so went away about 11 or 12 a clock at noon on Sabbath day.

“It was as if the heavens combined for the Destruction of that poor Villadge ; that Saturday night a Snow fell above knee deep and dreadfull cold, and the poor people that escaped and brought us the news about break of day, did so much increase the number of the Enemy that we all concluded there was a considerable Army comeing to fall upon our City, as was affirmed were upon there march hither ; we being told not only then but the day after that they were 1900 att least. We sent out some few horse forth with after we had received the news, but scarcely could get through the deep snow, some whereof got to that desolate Place, and there being some few Maquase here in Towne, we got them to goe thither with our men in Companie, to send messengers in all haste to the Maquase Castles, and to spye where the Enemy went, who were not verry free to goe, the snow being so deep and afraid of being Discovered by there tract : but comeing to the Village were in such consternation seeing so many people and cattle kill'd and burnt, that it was not effected till 2 days after, when we heard that the Maquase knew nothing of it, upon which messengers were sent, and the Maquase of the first and 2d. Castle came down in 24 houres, whom we sent out with some of our young men in Pursute of the Enemy. Afterwards the Maquase of the 3d Castle came doune who are also gone out, but are afraid will not overtake them, and which is worse, if they doe fynde them fear will doe them no great hurt, the Indians amongst them being all of the kindred of our In-

dians : for the Policy of the French is so great that they Declare to some of the Maquase which they found at Shinnechtady that they would not doe the Maquase harm, yea if they should burn and destroy never so many houses at Canida and kill never so many French, they would not touch a hayr of there head ; for there Gouvernor had such an Inclination to that People, he would live in peace with them ; nay to gain the hearts of the Maquase whatever they desyred at Schinnechtady was granted, the women and children that were left alive upon there desyre were Released and Saved, the very houses where the Maquase lay at were saved upon there Request : so that they leave no Stone unturn'd to bring the Indians to there Devotion.

“The 40 Maquase that were out as Skouts at the Lake, whom we furnished with Pouder and Lead to lye there a purpose, we must conclude have knoune nothing of the Enemies comeing ; for they had posted themselves at one of the Passages the Enemy was past by ; which we must Impute to there negligence.

“The said French had Belts of Wampum along with them which they showed to a Maquase Squae at Schinnechtady, which they design'd to have given to our Indians upon Proposals of Peace, if they had met with any upon the way ; soe that we must conclude they want nothing but a Peace with our Indians to destroy all these parts.

“Our Maquase have got one of there Indians prisoner, whom they have Tortur'd and afterwards have Released him, but deliver'd him into our Custody ; for we fear'd he would make his Escape and Runn away to the Enemy : the said Indian confesses that there were 600 men preparing to come out upon this place or N. England, and one hundred men were gone out against Skach Kook Indians which was besides this 200 men ; and that this Company had been 22 days from Canida.

“After the French had done the principall mischeeffe at Shinnechtady, Capt. Sander a justice that lives cross the River was sent for by the Captain of the French, who had put himself in a posture of defence in his fort, with the

men that he could get by him ; when 13 came there and told him they should not fear, for there orders was not to wrong a chicken of his, upon which Capt. Sanders ordered them to lay doune there arms, and so were let in, where they left one man for a hostage, and Capt. Sauder went to there commander who told him he had commission to come and pay a debt which they owed. Col. Dongan, our Governor, had stirred up our Indians to do mischeeff at Canida, and they had done the same here ; and pulling his Commission out of his bosom, told he was strickly charged not to do any harm to him or his, since he but especially his wife had been so charitable to the French prisoners : so that Capt. Sanders saved sundry houses from being burnt and women and children from being carried away : but the snow was so extream deep that it was impossible for any woman to march a mile ; so that they took none but men and boys that could march.

“As soon as the Maquase of the first and 2d Castle came doune and see the Ruines of Shinnechtady were verry much greev'd. The 2 principall Captaine said to Mr. Wessels and some other gentlemen that were sent from Albany to Dispatch the Christians and Indians away in Pursute of the French—

“Now you see your Blood spilt and this is the beginning of your miseries if not suddenly Prevented ; Therefore write to all them that are in Covenant with us, viz' New England, Virginia and all the English Plantations of America to make all Readinesse to master Canida, early in the Spring with great Shippes, else you cannot live in Peace. You say your King is a great king and you are very numerous here in the Country, far above the French. You are soe, but now is the time to show it ; else the more you are, the greater shame it is to suffer the French to be master : and then we and all the 5 nations, yea all the farr nations must acknowledge you for a great People and master of the French if you now subdue it ; But hitherto we see the French are the Soldiers ; they have been at the northwest and killed the English there ; they have killed

the Indians at the Sinnikes Country, and now they come here and kill the Dutch, (meaning the Inhabitants of Shinnechtady who were formerly of the Dutch nation). They are victorious wherever they goe—Them of New England have told us they would destroy Canida : we have much Depended upon there great Promises since we know they are Potent enough to do it and now we know there is open warr. If we were but assured that the English would minde there Interest now and make Ready against the Spring, we would keep them in alarm : we must goe hand in hand and Destroy the French : we hope that your Government with men is come, which you have often told us of. You told us also that your King of England was so Potent that he had blokt up the French havens ; yet the French Governor is come and we hear nothing of yours. In the meantime we goe out now with sixty Maquase of the first and 2nd Castle, 25 River Indians besides the Christians, and above 100 men of the 3rd Castle are coming to morrow, we will pursue the Enemy and doubt not but to overtake them too and Rescue the Prisopers.

“Now Gentlemen the Indians speak well, yet we are satisfied by all there actions that they will side with the strongest, and the Indians that are among the French are all of our Indians Relations ; so it cannot be Imagined that they will destroy onanother. Therefore if there Majestyes Subjects doe not Rise like one only man against the French, there Majestyes Interest in this parts will be destroyed ; and they once being rooted out, all your Evills which spring from them as the fountain will be quash'd : the longer we stay the worse it will be, for we must doe it at last, and then probably after we have lost many hundreds of our People which would be fitt to help in such an Expedition. We have felt the smart of that nation and pray God our neighbors may not come to the same Disaster. We are satisfied they did not design to destroy Shinnechtady but all our out Plantations, but fyndeing them so secure, sett upon them and left the other untoucht, thinkeing they could never escape their cruelties.

“Dear neighbors and friends, we must acquaint you that never poor People in the world was in a worse Condition than we are at Present, no Governour nor Command, no money to forward any Expedition and scarce men enough to maintain the City; and we must conclude there only aim is this place, which once being attain'd, the 5 nations are rent from the English Crowne, and in stead of being a Bulwark to these Dominions as hitherto they have prov'd, will help to Ruine and Destroy the countrey and lay all waste. We have here plainly laid the case before you and doubt not but you will so much take it to heart and make all Readinesse in the Spring to invade Canida by water. We pray God continually for the arrivall of our Governour, without which we can doe but litle, haveing enough to doe to keep the Indians to our side with great Expense: for there Distractions and Revolutions at New Yorke hath brought us into a miserable condition; that without your assistance and the 50 men from N. Yorke we should not be able to keep the place if any Enemy came.

“We begg an answer with all haste that we may satisfy the Indians: we write to N. Yorke and other parts, of our mean condition. We long much to hear from your honors, having sent an Indian expresse the 15th January last with what papers related to the Indians at that time; since whene our messengers are come from Onondage and the Indians all declare to be faithfull to this Government. We have writt to Col. Fynchon to warn the upper towns to be upon their garde, feareing that some French and Indians might be out to Destroy them.

“We have no more to add in these troublesome times but that we are

“Honorable Gentlemen

“Your most humble and obed^t servants
the Convention of Albanie

“P. SCHUYLER, Mayor.

“DIRCK WESSELL

“K. V. RENSSELAER”¹

¹ The Andros Tracts, iii., 114.

Jacob Leisler, in letters to different parties, attributes the disaster of Schenectady to the Albany convention, aided by the government of Connecticut. He knew this not to be the true cause. He knew that the Albany convention had made great exertions to put the frontiers into a state of defence. When, at their earnest appeal, he refused them assistance unless they would surrender their independence and manhood, and become his vassals, they successfully applied to a sister colony. Their success angered him, and henceforth he termed them rebels; and John Allyn, the secretary of Connecticut, a hypocrite, etc. Leisler's interference to gain control of the whole province, and his refusal to assist the regularly constituted authorities of Albany, were the true causes. He had disorganized society in Schenectady. The people no longer obeyed their magistrates or observed the laws. They refused to make provision for the men sent for their protection, and neglected the simplest means for their own safety.

The convention did not relax their efforts to maintain their supremacy. The destruction of Schenectady was a serious calamity, and was used by their enemies to their prejudice. But they were conscious of being right, and were too courageous to surrender without further effort. Their number was small,—not over one hundred and fifty able to bear arms. They were poor, having exhausted all their resources in placing the city and neighboring hamlets in a state of comparative security, but they were not disheartened. They appealed to their friends in Ulster County for fifty men. Messengers were sent to the Mohawks to urge them to guard the country to the north. Robert Livingston was delegated to apply to Massachusetts and Connecticut for men and supplies. He was directed to suggest to those colonies to send out a fleet to threaten Quebec, and blockade the St. Lawrence to “shut out all

succor from France." They appointed a committee to visit New York, and "wait on the governor if he be arrived, otherwise on the authority there, to make known our true situation," and earnestly solicit assistance in men and supplies. The committee was also instructed to suggest, that it would be wise to have some war-ships join the New England fleet and attack Canada by sea. "Beseech them to lay aside all animosities and divisions, that every one may exert all his power to crush the common enemy."

In answer to their message, the Mohawks sent a delegation of their sachems, who assured the convention that they would do all in their power to prosecute the war, but urged united action on the part of all the colonies, that the war might be successful. The militia captains of Ulster replied that they would do what was possible to raise fifty men, but could not promise success, owing to the "distractions caused by the late revolution." Massachusetts and Connecticut counselled submission to Leisler. If this were done, then Canada might be invaded by sea, and an army raised to attack Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. Massachusetts was engaged in an expedition against Port Royal, and could contribute no men for the land forces. After Port Royal was taken their fleet would sail for Quebec. Connecticut would raise two hundred men to join the army at Albany. New York made no response to their earnest appeal.

On March 4th, Leisler issued a warrant for the arrest of Robert Livingston; and a commission to Jacob Milborne and two others to proceed to Albany with the forces which had been raised in New York and vicinity, take possession of the fort, and establish the supremacy of his government. The convention, unable to procure assistance, and threatened with invasion by Leisler's superior forces, made

a virtue of necessity, and accepted the advice of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Leisler's commissioners arrived, and assumed control of the government of Albany on March 17, 1690. The secretary of Connecticut having notified Leisler that their troops stationed at Albany, which had given him such great offence, would be withdrawn as soon as his had arrived, the commissioners called a meeting of the old Common Council to advise with them on the subject. They were not prepared, now that they were in command, to dispense with those men, and hence sought the influence of those who had procured their assistance in order to retain them. The fort was surrounded on the 20th, and on the 22d another joint meeting was held for the purpose of passing an ordinance forbidding reproaches on account of past differences. The members of the convention were ready and willing to aid in measures for the pacification of the people, and for unity of purpose against the common enemy. After this date the commissioners took entire control. Acting on the advice of Secretary Allyn, of Connecticut, to be moderate, and to make as few changes as possible of the officers in Albany, they issued a proclamation re-establishing the mayor, aldermen, and justices of the peace in their old positions. The militia was reorganized with several new men in commission in place of the old officers. Jochim Staats was put in command of the fort with a garrison of sixty men. Pickets were stationed on Lake Champlain at Crown Point and Otter Creek to watch the enemy. For the expedition against Canada men and supplies were to be furnished by New York and Albany, each its allotted share. The wants and necessities of the survivors of the Schenectady massacre were provided for. The mayor and aldermen assigned to committees and individuals the duty of providing spe-

cific articles included in the supplies to be furnished by Albany to the army, of which they assumed their full share. There was much activity with apparent harmony in making preparations for the coming campaign. Leisler assumed control of the expedition, and issued circular letters to the governors of the several colonies, including Virginia and Maryland, calling a congress at New York, on April 24th, to take into consideration all its details and requirements. An immediate reply was sent from Connecticut, saying that they were engaged to attend another meeting at that time in Rhode Island, and inviting Leisler to be present. Leisler, in his answer to this letter, said that the French had made another raid on Niskayuna, a hamlet near Albany, and had killed or captured eleven men, and added: "We are resolved to alter nothing as to our resolution; we are resolved to carry on the war against our bloody enemy, and spend our all, and life too. We shall be glad to accept any assistance you can afford, and, as for the rest, put our trust in God." Here spoke the patriot, and not the partisan. He had, however, no plain idea of the difficulties in the way of a successful invasion of Canada, or he would have been less sanguine, and more thorough in his preparations. It required longer time and more money to equip eight hundred or a thousand men for such a march than persons like himself, ignorant of the country, could conceive. Even men acquainted with the route, and the hardships endured by a small party in passing over it in time of peace, had little knowledge of the requirements of an army in the face of an enemy. It was a lesson difficult to learn, as was proved by repeated failures for the next seventy years. Meantime he fitted out a man-of-war, with twenty guns and a crew of one hundred and twenty men, to join the Massachusetts squadron, and was engaged in equipping two other vessels as cruisers.

Commissioners of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut arrived in New York about April 30th, to consult with Leisler on his projected expedition. It was finally agreed that New York should furnish 400 men, Massachusetts 160, Connecticut 135, Plymouth 60, and Maryland, "by promise," 100—total, 855 men; that Leisler should appoint the major-commandant, and the New England colonies the second in command. Leisler issued a commission to Milborne as commander-in-chief. This was a blunder, for Milborne was one of his most obnoxious partisans, and thoroughly ignorant of military affairs; a merchant's clerk, who had no education of a kind to fit him to command a body of men, all of whom were his superiors in the elements which make a soldier. The most that could be said of him was, that he made a fair off-hand speech, not to convince, but to amuse his auditors. He was conceited and obstinate, but desirous on all occasions to glorify Leisler. The government of Connecticut wrote to Leisler, recommending Major-General Fitz John Winthrop as the fittest man for the place. The writer said, that with Milborne "the soldiers at Albany were disgusted, and our own not well satisfied." Winthrop, on the other hand, would be agreeable to all. Leisler did not accept the suggestion, but adhered to Milborne, "knowing him to be a far-seeing and courageous man." However, by advice of his Council, he reconsidered the matter, and appointed Winthrop.

While these preparations and negotiations were in progress, an express from Onondaga arrived at Albany with a message from Arnout Cornelise Viele, then in the Indian Country, and an Onondaga sachem, that four Frenchmen had arrived, bringing with them two Indians returned from the "galleys," and that they had determined not to listen to them except in full council, which had been

called, and to which they now invited the gentlemen of Albany, who were requested to bring with them some who understood the French language. Peter Schuyler, Robert Sanders, two French residents of Albany, and some others were immediately commissioned to attend the council. It was the opinion of all parties that this was an occasion too important to be neglected. Consultations were held, and it was the unanimous sentiment of all parties that efforts should be made to produce a complete rupture between the French and the Five Nations. The surest way to accomplish this would be to seize these French emissaries, who, in time of war, had stolen into the country belonging to the English to tamper with their allies. Peter Schuyler and the other delegates left Albany with the clear understanding, that the Indians should be advised to treat the French as enemies, either by making these emissaries prisoners, or by killing them outright.

Frontenac had not been satisfied with the result of the Indian council held in the winter, which the more "prominent men" of Albany could not attend. The Indians who had been to Onondaga returned to Montreal on March 9, 1690; they remained silent some days, but at last, urged by the governor to speak, they delivered their message by six belts. Their spokesman was an Onondaga sachem, who had on some former occasion used very plain language to the late governor, Denonville. He now demanded, in the name of the Five Nations, the return of all the prisoners who had been carried to France, including the great war-chief; and said that the council-fire once kindled at Fort Frontenac, having gone out in blood, could not again be relighted; and that some other place must now be chosen for their treaties. Altogether the message was one of defiance, and not of submission.

When repeated to Frontenac at Quebec he was disappointed, and as soon as the rivers were clear of ice he sent another delegation to Onondaga, on whose arrival the general council was called, to which Peter Schuyler and Robert Sanders were sent as delegates. As to what happened at the council, we know only that the Frenchmen were seized by the sachems, and distributed among their different tribes, some of them perhaps to suffer death. Chevalier D'Aux, the chief, was more fortunate. He was given to Peter Schuyler and brought to Albany, and thence transferred to New York. His papers were secured, among which were his instructions from Frontenac, who seemed only desirous to learn why the previous embassy had been so unsuccessful. When Schuyler returned from Onondaga, he found that Leisler's commissioners had assumed entire control of the projected expedition. As he could render no efficient service in the city, he collected a few Mohawk warriors, and proceeded to Wood Creek on the route to Canada, where he engaged in making bark canoes for the use of the army.

General Winthrop, on his arrival at Albany, July 21st, found the army in no condition to march. Small-pox and other diseases had carried off many of the troops. Connecticut was the only colony which had furnished its quota of men. Maryland had sent less than fifty, New York only one hundred and fifty of the four hundred promised by Leisler. There were none from Massachusetts or Plymouth. The supplies were inadequate and of poor quality. There was no system or order, no controlling mind. It was a poor outlook for the success of the enterprise. It is quite probable that the general himself was not well qualified for his position, although a man of high character. He had no experience as a soldier, or as the leader of men. However, he made the best of the situation, and

hopefully began his march. The troops of his own colony made their first encampment for the night at the Flatts, the country residence of Peter Schuyler. At Saratoga he overtook Dirk Wessels, the recorder of Albany, with a company of volunteers. So poorly was the commissariat furnished, that within forty miles of his base he was obliged to send back a company to procure provisions. They were unable to obtain more than thirty-five cakes of bread per man, and some pork "scarce eatable." At the "great carrying place" (Fort Edward), he overtook the New York troops, who were carrying their canoes on their backs a distance of twelve miles, to the waters which empty into Lake Champlain. Again short of provisions, he sent back a company of horse to procure them. Leaving his army encamped, and accompanied by a few Indians, he proceeded down the creek, where Peter Schuyler was making canoes, which was slow work because of the lateness of the season, when "bark would not peel." He now called a council of war, and sought advice from the Mohawk chiefs. He got little encouragement or satisfaction. Captain Johnson, who had been sent back to Albany for supplies, returned and reported that no considerable quantity could be procured, because there was none in the city. He also brought intelligence from the Indian country, that in consequence of the small-pox the western Indians could not march to the rendezvous at the Isle La Motte, "for the great God had stopped up their way." Small-pox and fevers prevailed in the camp at the Forks. The general was discouraged. Should he attempt to prosecute the expedition, there were not canoes enough to carry half his troops able to march. Provisions were short, and it was not possible to procure them. He called a council of war, including the Indian chiefs. After due deliberation it was decided to abandon the enterprise. Such a result was a

great disappointment to the leading citizens of Albany then with the army. The influence upon the Indians, it was feared, would prove disastrous, and tend to alienate them from the English interests. For many years they had fought the French without assistance. They had made great sacrifices, and had lost many of their people. The country of their richest and most populous nation had been invaded, their villages burned, and their store of grain and growing crops destroyed. Without some demonstration on the part of the English, it was evident that they would become cold and indifferent, if not driven to make peace with the French and place themselves under their care and protection. It was, therefore, thought wise to send a smaller force into the enemy's country to commit all the damage possible, and thus convince the Indians that their English friends were not without courage and enterprise. Johannes Schuyler, the youngest brother of the mayor, volunteered to command the men, and lead them to the French fort La Prairie on the St. Lawrence. He was young, but from boyhood had acquired an intimate knowledge of Indian character. The Indians knew him well, and had no hesitation in accepting him as their leader. One hundred of them joined his company of forty Dutch and English. Winthrop gave him the commission of captain, furnished him with canoes and some provisions, and, with best wishes for success, despatched him on his perilous enterprise, after which he returned with his army to Albany. Before he left for Connecticut, he had the satisfaction of receiving from Schuyler an account of his march into Canada. He had been successful, killing six of the enemy and taking nineteen prisoners, besides destroying a large amount of property.

The issue of the campaign was a great disappointment to the men who had first projected it. If they could have

had its oversight and control, without the interference of Leisler, the result might have been different. They were certainly more competent to make the necessary preparations. They knew better what was required, and could have made ample provision for all contingencies. They might not have succeeded, for it was an untried experiment, but, in case of failure, they would have had the satisfaction of knowing that all had been done that could be to make it a success. It did not fail because Massachusetts did not send her quota of men. She had all she could do to protect her own extended borders, including Maine. Her fleet captured Port Royal, and after refitting sailed for Quebec. Could Winthrop have held on longer in his demonstrations against Montreal, and thus detained Frontenac and his army for the protection of that place, Quebec might have been captured. When Winthrop retired, Frontenac hastened back to his capital, arriving just in time to confront the fleet and defeat its design. The expedition failed more because Leisler's commission in charge was incompetent.

When Leisler received the news that the army had returned to Albany, he hastened up, and in a rage he placed the general and other officers under arrest, calling them cowards and traitors. He did not seem to know that he was himself in the least to blame. It was all owing to the "papists" and to Dominic Delliis, who to avoid arrest and imprisonment was obliged to take refuge in New England. The Indian chiefs looked on in astonishment. They were indignant that men long known and trusted should suffer so unjustly. They went to Leisler and demanded their release. He rendered a ready compliance, fearing the consequences of a refusal. Secretary Allyn wrote to him an indignant letter, demanding the honorable discharge of Winthrop, and the commissary of their

troops. He reminded him that "passion is not a catholic for the evils of state." Although Leisler disliked Allyn, he took his advice, and released the officers on parole to appear for trial in New York.

The destruction of Schenectady and the Canada expedition accomplished for Leisler that which otherwise could not have been done—they gave him control of Albany. But they did not change his nature or his policy. Believing his old opponents were still active, he continued to arrest and imprison. He knew not the virtues of forgiveness and kindness. It gave him little consolation, that he had not been recognized by the king. His letters and appeals to the ministry and bishops received no response. His agents were courteously received, but met with no encouragement. He lost the friendship of the New England colonies, which in the beginning of his career had given him some encouragement. Many of those who stood by him in the first stormy days of the revolution, now stood aside, and gave him no further assistance. He was almost alone. Yet he pursued the same arbitrary and dictatorial policy as when he floated to the surface on the passions of the populace. On October 8th he superseded Peter Schuyler as mayor of Albany, and appointed Captain Johannes Wendel to the place. On the same day he issued commissions for new justices of the peace and officers in the militia. Two days afterward he appointed a board of five commissioners, "to superintend, direct, order, and control all matters and things relating to the city and county of Albany," and to take in charge the Indian affairs. On October 14th a new board of aldermen and assistants was chosen, the members being men he had selected. The city and county which had so long resisted his pretensions were now under his authority. The people of Queens County were declared "rebels," be-

cause they were restive under his exactions. The courts were suspended, and Milborne was ordered to arrest the leaders and try them by court-martial. He was well aware that a new governor had been appointed, and that in all probability his assumed authority was drawing to a close. Friends in New York and elsewhere advised him to walk circumspectly, and "temper justice with mercy." Yet, under the impression that he would at last be recognized as the lawful lieutenant-governor, and believing that his enemies were still working for his overthrow, he held on in his chosen course to the last.

On January 25, 1691, Major Ingoldesby arrived in the harbor with two companies of troops. Sloughter, the new governor, who had sailed in another ship, had been separated from the fleet in a storm, and had not yet arrived. Ingoldesby demanded possession of the fort, and was refused, because he was unable to produce any authority from the king, except his commission as major. Leisler suspected it was a trick of his enemies to oust him from his place. Two weary months were spent in turmoil and confusion. Anticipating an attack on the fort, Leisler directed its guns on the city. The situation was critical. Connecticut counselled forbearance. The good Dr. Gerardus Beekman, a supporter of Leisler, became alarmed, and issued an address to the people of Kings and Queens Counties, recommending that "all things should remain in *statu quo* until the arrival of Governor Sloughter." Little or no attention was paid to Beekman's address, or to the good advice of the sister colony. Protests and proclamations were issued by both parties. Party spirit raged with violence. Leisler declared Ingoldesby and his associates to be the enemies of God, the king, and the people. He commanded them to disband and disperse, or be held responsible for the consequence, whether blood-

shed or other mischief. Only two days before the arrival of Governor Slaughter, shots were exchanged between the fort and Ingoldesby's command, killing and wounding several, and the next day the strife was renewed, but without casualties.

Slaughter arrived on March 19th, and the conflict ceased. Immediately after landing he went to the City Hall, published his commission in the usual form, and took the oath of office. He then sent Ingoldesby and his company to take possession of the fort. Leisler, still suspecting a trick, declined, and sent one of his officers to see whether Slaughter had really arrived. Slaughter received him affably, and sent him back to his master. Ingoldesby returned to the fort expecting a ready surrender. It was still refused, and again the third time with words of contempt. It was growing late at night, and further proceedings were adjourned.

On the following day Leisler wrote a courteous note to the governor, assuring him that now, being satisfied of his identity, he was ready to surrender the fort. Although no answer was returned, Ingoldesby marched his company to the gates, and was freely admitted. Bayard and Nicolls were released from their long confinement, and soon after were sworn in as members of the Council. Leisler with several of his friends was put under arrest, and committed to the custody of the guards. His political career had closed, and his life hung in the balance. He had committed gross mistakes, but most of all he did not open the gates of the fort to Slaughter when first summoned. It was an error of judgment that he did not make terms with Ingoldesby two months before. He might have suffered in some respects, but his life would not have been in jeopardy. His fear that his opponents might gain some advantage, his loss of power, his hope to be recognized by

the king, and his obstinacy would not let him listen to the advice of friends and gracefully yield his position.

The men whom he had persecuted and imprisoned were now in favor, and the advisers of the governor. He could hope for little consideration. He was aware of this, and humbly asked for a personal interview; if this were not granted, then for some mitigation in the rigor of his confinement. It was in vain. The legal proceedings preliminary to his trial were executed with despatch. Five days after his arrival, Governor Sloughter issued an order for a special term of court to try him for "rebellion and murder." A committee of the Council was appointed to prepare the evidence against him, of which Nicholas Bayard, his late prisoner in the fort, was one. Three able lawyers were selected to conduct the prosecution. On his arraignment before the court, he refused to plead to the indictment, until it was judicially decided whether he had not the authority to administer the government, and do what was alleged against him, by virtue of the Nicholson letter. The court submitted the question to the Council, who gave it as their unanimous opinion that the said letter conferred no authority on Jacob Leisler to assume the government. The Assembly, then in session, also passed a series of resolutions, containing a long list of charges against him. The trial proceeded. Jacob Milborne, his old secretary, and now his son-in-law, with six others, had been indicted for the like offences, and were tried at the same time. Leisler and Milborne refused to plead; the others put in a defence; but they were all convicted and sentenced to death. The governor was inclined to delay execution until he should receive instructions from the king, and advised that all should be pardoned except Leisler and Milborne. He was, however, overruled by the Council and the Assembly, who pressed him for immediate

execution, more especially of the most guilty. He yielded to their advice and entreaties as to Leisler and Milborne, and signed the warrant for their execution. The others were relieved.

When Leisler and Milborne were informed of their sentence, they and their friends appealed to the governor and Council to delay the execution until the pleasure of the king could be known. To no purpose; they were hanged, and afterward beheaded on May 17, 1691. The place selected for the execution was on Leisler's own estate, near the corner of Frankfort and Chatham Streets, New York, and their bodies were buried at the foot of the gallows.

Jacob Leisler fell a victim to the animosities which he had engendered. It was a cruel retaliation on the part of his opponents for the sufferings, imprisonments, and ignominies they had endured at his hands. Politically it was a blunder. In less than ten years, a governor, who had pronounced his execution a "barbarous murder," permitted his remains to be disinterred and buried with more than usual ceremony in the graveyard of the Dutch Church.

After the fall of Leisler Peter Schuyler was restored to his former positions. He entered upon his duties as mayor as though there had been no interruption, and in May the Council again appointed him one of the magistrates and judge of the Court of Common Pleas. The governor had previously nominated him for the Council, and he took the oath of office on June 30, 1692.

The situation on the frontiers demanded Slougher's immediate attention, and he directed the sachems of the Five Nations to be summoned to meet him in council at Albany. The destruction of Schenectady, the failure of the Canada expedition, the raids on the outlying settlements by the French and their Indian allies, and the unintelligent management by Leisler's commissioners had caused much con-

fusion among the citizens and Indians. The Five Nations were losing confidence in the English, and were open to the seductions of the French. As soon as affairs at the capital would permit, the governor went up to Albany, to meet the Five Nations in council, and to take measures for the better defence of the frontiers. He visited Schenectady, and saw the desolation of that once thriving village, and of the abandoned farms in its neighborhood. Returning to Albany, he had an interview with the "Christian Mohawks," who cordially thanked him for the return of Dominic Dellius, their Christian instructor. Governor Sloughter replied with some kind words of sympathy and encouragement, and presented them with ammunition and other articles suited to their wants and taste.

On June 1st, the representatives of the Five Nations having arrived, and the preparations complete, the governor and Council, assisted by the mayor, aldermen, and military officers, met forty chief sachems of the Five Nations (all being represented) in public council at the City Hall. Robert Livingston had returned from exile, and was at his old post as town clerk and secretary. The preparations for these public Indian conferences were made in private. The speeches of the governors were written out and arranged with their councils and the board of Indian affairs. The topics were few, and stated in simple words

¹ Dominic Dellius, minister at Albany, had taken great interest in the spiritual welfare of the Indians, more particularly of the Mohawks, who were most inclined to the religion of their white neighbors. Large numbers of them had followed the Jesuit missionaries to Canada; others, to the number of over a hundred, had been baptized by Dellius. He had succeeded in convincing them that the religion of the Protestants was to be preferred to that of the Jesuits, and by this means had stopped the emigration to Canada. All parties had deplored the loss of so many Mohawk warriors as had been seduced to abandon their country, but the only man who had succeeded in stopping their emigration was persecuted by a faction, and forced to flee in order to escape a dungeon.

adapted to the comprehension of the sachems, who, having no written language, relied upon their memory in making their reply. After the governor's speech the conference adjourned, to give the sachems time to consider his propositions and frame their answer. In council among themselves they discussed the various questions presented, and sometimes called in a confidential white friend to assist them, so that their reply should be what was expected and contain nothing offensive. At the next session of the conference, the sachem chosen for the purpose would deliver an oration touching all the points suggested in the governor's speech.

On the present occasion the governor made a brief address, alluding to the late difficulties, which were now happily arranged, congratulating them on their fidelity, warning them against the French and their Jesuit priests, "who are too subtle for you," and closing with a large present, among which were four hundred pounds of powder, five hundred pounds of lead, and fifteen guns. Next to rum, these articles were nearest the Indian heart. The quantity on this occasion was a surprise, and won their affections.

The next day four of the Five Nations (the Mohawks not joining) replied in a speech of twenty-one propositions, each one being concluded with a present of beaver skins. The day following the Mohawks made their answer. They had some news from Canada to communicate, unknown to the other nations, and hence were conceded the privilege of speaking alone, although in the presence of their brethren.

At this council, which adjourned on June 5th, it was arranged to attempt another expedition into Canada, on a smaller scale than that of the year before. The governor told the Indians that within fourteen days he intended to

send a party of Christians to Canada, and inquired how many would join them. They promised to go home and send some men (how many they could not say) to join the English forces.

Frontenac had received reinforcements and supplies from France, and was reported to be engaged in concentrating troops at Montreal preparatory to a descent on Albany. Both Indians and whites brought such information as to cause alarm. Sloughter wrote to the other colonies for men and means to defend Albany and the Five Nations. He made the broad statement, that they were the "defence and bulwark of the other colonies." "All the colonies would be endangered by the loss of Albany." In the replies the propositions were admitted. Meantime it was thought prudent to send out a small party, more to gain information and penetrate the designs of Frontenac than to do any considerable damage to the enemy. It was of this party that the governor spoke to the Indians. It was designed that the little army should consist of 200 English or Dutch, and 300 Mohawk and River Indians, under the command of Major Peter Schuyler, and should move north through Lake Champlain. The Senecas engaged to send 500 men down the St. Lawrence to co-operate with them. In fact, Schuyler's force was only 266 in all—120 whites, 80 Mohawks, and 66 River Indians.

Schuyler began his march with 120 English, on June 22d. The Mohawks did not appear according to promise, and the recorder, Dirk Wessels, was sent to their country to learn the cause. He found the men of two castles ready, waiting for the others. On reaching the third, he was surprised to learn that they had forgotten their engagement, and were mourning a dead chief. Robert Livingston exclaimed: "Would to God we had such a force that we needed not to count on such heathen for assist-

ance, for they are a broken reed ; but for the present there is no help for it, and they must be tenderly handled." It was the policy of England to rely on "such heathen" for the protection of the royal province of New York, while France was sending regiment after regiment of disciplined troops to Canada.

Schuyler's march was slow and tedious. His route was the same taken by Winthrop the year before. When he reached the forks of Wood Creek, he encamped, and began to build the little vessels which were to convey his men through Lake Champlain. Only a few Indians had joined him, and, while waiting for them, his provisions were consumed, so that he was obliged to send back to Albany for another supply. He moved slowly down toward the lake, making canoes, and waiting for his Indian contingent. At last he received word that the Mohawks had gone by way of Lake St. Sacrament, and would join him at Ticonderoga. He now moved on more rapidly, and reached the rendezvous on July 17th, where all his forces were united. Strange Indians had been discovered lurking about, which caused much circumspection on the march, and scouts were out night and day. Traces of the enemy in considerable numbers were found at various places. They were apparently watching his movements, and retired as he advanced. They were not challenged until within ten miles of Fort Chambly, when their scout in a canoe was fired on, and three of the four Indians wounded. At a council of war on July 28th, within hearing of the enemy's guns, it was determined to make an attack on Fort La Prairie, distant about twenty-six miles across the country through forests. The next day, while alarm-guns were firing from the French forts, they constructed a fortification for the protection of their canoes on the River Sorel, and twenty men were detailed

to guard the little fort containing the canoes, provisions, and wounded Indians. The next morning the army took up its line of march through the woods toward La Prairie, and after making eleven miles Major Schuyler found indications that a large party had recently passed toward Fort Chambly. Fearing for the safety of his canoes, he detached seven men to strengthen the guard and give intelligence of his discovery, that they might exercise all needed precautions against surprise. The army marched within ten miles of the enemy's fort, and camped for the night. Arrangements were now made for attacking at daybreak. It was anticipated that in the battle impending the contending parties might commingle, and as it might be difficult to distinguish friend from foe, especially a friendly Indian from an enemy, each man was ordered to fasten a "white ribbon, or piece of tape or linen, or bark of a tree upon a lock of hair, and the word was *Tisago* (which is courage) *Sopus*."

We will continue in Schuyler's own words :

"August 1st. We resolved to fall upon the Fort, by break of day went to prayers and marched towards La Prairie, and a mile on this side layd downe our baggage, marching over the corne field till within a quarter a mile of the Fort, then marched along the water side till we came to the windmilne within 80 paces of the Fort. On our march we saw a fire upon the land, and as we approached near the windmill, the fire was stirred three times to cause a flame, which we conceived to be their signe to the Forte. When we approached the windmilne the miller called, fired and killed one of our Indians, and one of my Christians fired and killed him attempting a second shott, soe that his body hung half in and half out of the window.

"Wee continued our march to storme the Fort, but before we came to the Fort we found a party of Indians

under Canoes, whom we engaged and destroyed most of them, and immediately after fell in with 420 men lying without the Fort ready to receive us; they charged us so hard as to force a retreat of 150 yards, where there happened a ditch, which our men possessed themselves of. The French advancing so farr in their full body were well received, and lost many of their Men. We drove them back but they rallied and advanced a second time towards the ditch & fired upon us, but did us noe damage. Instantly our people rose up and discharged upon their whole body, & killed a great many; nevertheless they rallied the third time, but to avoid the ditch, they drove their men towards the East and thought to divide our people; then we left the ditch, fell into their reer, and then in a full body ingaged them in the plain ground and faught them fairly, until we drove them into their Fort in great disorder and took three French prisoners.

“Then returned destroying and burning what we could of their Corne and hay (the greenesse of the Corne did much hinder the burning of it) unto our baggage. The prisoners upon examination told us there were 460 men at La Prairie, 40 in the Fort with the Gov^r and 420 without the Fort; we asked what men had marched by the path towards Chambly, they told 300 French and 40 Indians, whereupon we were resolved with all haste for our Canoes. In all this engagement we had lost but one Christian and one Indian and two Christians and one Indian more runn away towards our Canoes; one Christian and the Indian escaped, the other Christian was taken.

“We had not marched Eight miles until our spyes see the Enemy lying upon the aforesaid path in a halfe moon, the Enemy's scouts fires upon ours who returned to give us notice of the Enemy and received no harme; immediately we dismounted our baggage. I encouraged my Men, and told them there was no other choice, fight or dye they must, the Enemy being between us and our Canoes. We advanced briskly upon them and received their full volly of shott (which killed most of the Men we lost this expe-

dition) they fought stoutly one whole hour; a French captⁿ hearing me encourage our Men to fight for the honour of our King and the Protestant Religion, said aloud, I am here ready to answer you, but our Men being resolute, fell in upon them, broke thro' the middle of their body, until we got into their reere trampling upon their dead, then faced about upon them and faught them a pretty while close, until we made them give way, then drove them by strength of arm 400 paces before us, and to say the truth we were all glad to see them retreat. After this we marched in good order without disturbance towards our Canoes, taking our wounded Men along with us. In the last fight the Enemy had got our word by one of the three men that runn away from us; this they improved very much to their own advantage, several of our men in the heat of the fight gott into the body of the French; by reason of the same upon the approach of the Enemy in the last engagement the three French prisoners we had taken at La Prairie, attempting to escape, were knocked in the head by our Indians. . . .

“Having come at our Canoes we imbarqued and passed the River where we tarryed 5 hours for stragglng Men that came after, in which time five of our Men came to the water side & were brought over, and so soon as it was darke we advanced homewards one mile and encamped.

“August the 2nd. We took our march homewards and found 5 Elks in the way, which refreshed our whole company.

“9th. We arrived at Albany with all our wounded men. . . .

“Our number was	}	Christians	120	}	266
		Mohawques	80		
		R. Indians	66		

“We lost in the expedition 21 christians 16 mohaques 6 River Indians & the wounded in all 25.

“Soli Deo Laus et Gloria

Memorandum: Since the first date of this Journal 6 Christians and Indians thought to be killed are returned.

"Thought by all to have killed about 200 French and Indians."

On August 24th, Schuyler presented his report to the Council in New York. Governor Sloughter was not there to offer his congratulations. He had died suddenly on July 23d, while Schuyler was in camp at Crown Point.

Cadwallader Colden, in his "History of the Five Nations," says: "The French, by their own accounts, lost in the several attacks made by Schuyler two captains, six lieutenants, and five ensigns; and in all three hundred men, so that their slain were in number more than Major Schuyler had with him."¹

The French accounts to their government immediately after the contest report their loss much less than Schuyler's estimate, and the English loss "nearly two hundred." They admit, however, that the battles were the "most obstinate ever fought in Canada;" and that after the battle in the woods they could not pursue, the "men able to march being sent to the fort for assistance to carry off the wounded."

John Nelson, an English gentleman, taken prisoner by the French on the coast of Maine, arrived at Quebec at about the time that the news was received of Schuyler's expedition. In his memorial to the English Government on the state of the colonies, he says: "In an action performed by one Skyler of Albanie, whilst I arrived at Quebec in the year 1691, when he made one of the most vigorous and glorious attempts, that hath been known in those parts, with great slaughter on the enemies part, and losse on his own, in which if he had not been discovered

¹ History of the Five Nations, ed. 1755, vol. i., p. 131.

by an accident, it is very probable he had become master of Monreall. I have heard the thing reported so much in his honor by the French, that had the like been done by any of their nation, he could never missed of an acknowledgment, and reward from the court, tho I do not hear of any thing amongst us hath been done for him."

Perhaps, had Sloughter lived, some notice might have been taken of this expedition. Although Schuyler's journal was sent to the Board of Trade, I find nothing in the records to indicate that it was ever brought to the special attention of the English government. It was not the practice of English governors and officials to give much prominence to native New Yorkers, particularly those of Dutch extraction.

If Frontenac had entertained the project of attacking Albany, he put it aside after Schuyler's raid on La Prairie. But the reports as to his intentions were probably erroneous. At the time when Schuyler began his march, he was in no condition to take the offensive. The situation of Canada was well nigh desperate. During the war the French had lost, according to their own reports, over two thousand men, of whom more than five hundred were regulars. There was such want of provisions, that the governor could not support his few troops in garrison during the previous winter, but had quartered them on the farmers, who had little enough for their own families. It was not until the following July that ships arrived from France with supplies; but they brought no reinforcements, and the count was still forced to remain on the defensive.

Schuyler's success made a favorable impression on the Indians of the Five Nations. They now were convinced that the English could fight, and were willing to risk their lives in the war. Hitherto they had done all the fighting, and had lost many of their chiefs and warriors. They had

become despondent, and were inclined to peace. They soon learned, moreover, that this expedition was not a spasmodic effort, but that the government was untiring in its measures for the security of the frontiers, and was thus prepared for all consequences. The Assembly had voted a tax for the support of one hundred and fifty men to be stationed at Albany and vicinity for the winter. The fortifications of the city were repaired, a new fort was built at Schenectady, and men were stationed at Niskayuna and Half Moon. A company had been raised and put under the command of Peter Schuyler, "in all 108 effective men, upon the spot, except John Burk, who has run." All these measures convinced them that the English were now in earnest, and did not mean to leave them longer to carry on the war alone. They knew, also, that efforts had been made to obtain assistance from the other colonies, although without success; so important was it considered to protect Albany and themselves from falling into the hands of the enemy.

On June 6, 1692, Ingoldesby, who since the death of Sloughter had been acting governor, held a council with the Five Nations at Albany. At the close of his speech, he gave them a large lot of Indian goods, including four hundred pounds of powder and seven hundred pounds of lead, besides handsome presents to the chiefs individually. The sachems were so pleased with their reception and the presents, that they did not wait until the next day, according to custom, but replied at once. An Oneida sachem said that it was the interest of all, as subjects of one king, to prosecute the war with zeal and activity. They would join heartily in carrying it on, and would do their utmost to destroy the enemy, keeping him in constant alarm, searching him out from his holes, and "never let him rest till he be in his grave."

A Mohawk chief said that he was greatly surprised that the people of New York and the Five Nations were left to prosecute the war alone. "Where are they of Maryland, and Delaware River, and New England? Are they not the subjects of our great king? Are they not in the covenant chain with us? Pray, Brother Corlaer, tell us what is the matter. Perchance our great king has sold them; or have they fallen from their obedience? Have they withdrawn their arms from the covenant chain? Or, does the great king command us, the few subjects of this province, alone to urge this war against the French? Pray discover to us the mystery. It seems strange to us that the enemy should be allowed so much impunity, when, if we were united, we could destroy him in a day, root and branch."

The old covenant chain was renewed, and the tree of friendship planted; and, after making their usual presents of furs, they returned to their homes to prosecute the war with greater activity, but with varying success, and chiefly on the St. Lawrence River. The Iroquois had numerous parties out, who kept the French in continual alarm. They intercepted parties of traders, although under convoy, and almost annihilated the traffic on the river. They infested the neighborhood of Montreal, killing, burning, and capturing. The river between Montreal and Quebec was not safe. The harvests were gathered only under the protection of the soldiers. The Iroquois were ubiquitous, and filled the French with consternation and terror. Occasionally they met with reverses, and at the close of summer had lost many men.

Frontenac retaliated on the English for the sufferings inflicted by the Iroquois. Parties of French and Indians infested the frontiers from Maine to New York. They perpetrated the same cruelties, and committed the same

mischief on the unprotected inhabitants, as were endured by the Canadians. It was a guerrilla war on both sides, in which there was great individual distress and much loss of life, but no decided advantage.

Peter Schuyler, having taken the oath of office, took his seat at the Council board on June 30, 1692. He presented to the Council a statement of the situation on the frontiers, showing what was required to put them in a state of defence. The garrison at Albany was now in a starving condition, and on the point of mutiny. He had exhausted his own private stock of grain to supply their wants. There was wheat in the neighborhood nearly ready for the harvest, but, because of the recent murders by hostile Indians, the farmers could not reap it unless they were protected by armed men. The stockades and fortifications were decayed, and required a large expenditure for repairs. They were all of wood, and at their best a poor protection to the inhabitants against such an enemy as the French. The people had suffered so much in recent years by the interruption of trade, in war, and domestic troubles, that they were too poor to provide for their own security and the safety of the frontiers. It was all they could do to provide for their own subsistence. His speech made an impression, and the Council promised assistance.

He hastened his return to Albany for the purpose of holding a council with the Five Nations, whose sachems and warriors to the number of three hundred and fifty came to Albany to solicit aid for another foray into Canada. With the assistance of Robert Livingston, he furnished them with ammunition and other supplies, to the amount of fifty-four pounds and fifteen shillings, for a summer and fall campaign. If this were all, they would have been cheap auxiliaries, but when the large amounts in presents given to them at least once a year, and some-

times oftener, and the wear and tear of patience are considered, it will appear that they were expensive soldiers. Although these Indians were unassisted by English troops, they gave the poor old governor of Canada so much to look after on his own borders, that he was obliged to put off his intended expedition to New York, and content himself with small parties of Indians led by French officers.

Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, appointed in place of Colonel Sloughter, deceased, took the oath of office in New York, on August 30, 1692. He was instructed to enlarge the fortifications at Albany and Schenectady, and build others to protect the people from the incursions of the French and their Indian allies, *provided* that the expenses were defrayed out of the revenues of the province, or by individual contributions. No help was to be expected from England. The poor province was to protect itself in wars that were born in Europe, to provide salaries for needy men sent over to govern them, to enrich her merchants by monopoly of trade, and to fight the Canadian French. This was the kind of protection she flaunted in the faces of the patriots less than an hundred years afterward.

Fletcher was also instructed to assure the Five Nations of protection against the French, as subjects of the English crown, and, when opportunity offered, to buy their lands in "large tracts" for "small sums."

In his first letter to his government, Fletcher said that the province was greatly in debt for money borrowed at ten per cent. interest to serve a turn, trade much decayed, and the people generally discouraged. They are wearied with the support of the frontiers, most unjustly left on their shoulders, whilst their neighbors to the east and south receive the benefit. Even Maryland and Virginia are covered, and yet do not contribute a man or shilling to the common defence. The people are poor, owing to

the mismanagement of those who had exercised the king's power, and the necessity of carrying on this war by the militia and the Indians. "It seems utterly impossible for this single province to support the war another year." Not only are the people poor, but they are divided and contentious, caused by the feuds having their birth in the times of Leisler.

The English Government had begun at last to appreciate the importance of New York and the Five Nations as a defence to all their American colonies. The proprietors of New Jersey were induced to send instructions to their officers to render efficient aid to New York. To obtain assistance from Pennsylvania, Fletcher was commissioned its governor, as well as of Delaware. Massachusetts, by order of the queen, was required to give support whenever called for. The next year Fletcher was appointed commander-in-chief of the Connecticut militia. It was now supposed that the governor of New York was clothed with ample power and authority to protect the frontiers, but one thing was still wanting. With it, men might be secured to guard the exposed places without calling on the militia of those colonies. Without it, they could not be induced to march, even though commanded by Governor Fletcher. From the want of money, the frontiers which covered all the colonies were not yet adequately protected.

Fletcher resolved to visit Albany without previous notice, that he might the better procure a correct knowledge of the frontiers. On September 26th, he wrote a note to the Council on the margin of the journal, that he was about to leave for Albany, and directed them to watch over the affairs of New York in his absence. On this trip he visited Schenectady and other settlements in the vicinity, and saw their exposed and unprotected condition. He saw, too, some of the representatives of the

Five Nations, made them some presents, prevailed on them to make peace with the Shawanoes, whose delegates were in attendance for that purpose, and arranged for future operations against the French.

Schuyler had received information early in the fall, that Frontenac had some designs on foot against the province or its Indian allies. It was supposed that an attack would be made on Albany, owing to its defenceless condition. The warning was received in time to repair the fort and stockades, and procure additional forces from New York. These precautions undoubtedly saved the city from attack. The Mohawks suffered instead. Major Ingoldesby was in command of the forces stationed at Albany, and was charged with the duty of protecting the frontiers, including the Mohawk country. Hostile parties from Canada came up Lake Champlain to Otter Creek on the east side, when their destination was toward the villages of western Massachusetts; to Ticonderoga, and thence up Lake George, when the Mohawk valley was the objective point; through Wood Creek and down the Hudson, if Albany and the settlements near by were to be attacked. Parties sometimes started from Montreal with no definite plans, and left it to chance to determine their ultimate direction. At other times they were guided by their Indian allies, who turned them almost at pleasure from one point to another. There is little doubt that Frontenac intended to strike a blow at Albany, and it was only saved by a garrison stronger than usual. With a knowledge of French enterprise and daring, and the lesson of Schenectady, it would have been prudent to watch the paths leading to the Mohawk and Albany. This was not done, and on February 8, 1693, Albany was again startled with the report, that the French had fallen on the Mohawk castles. Lieutenant Johannes Schuyler was immediately despatched

with a troop of cavalry to Schenectady, but although there were some hundreds of soldiers under Ingoldesby's command, he hesitated to detach any of them to the aid of the Mohawks, fearful that there was a large body of the enemy on the way to Albany. It was well known that plans had been matured in France for the conquest of the province, and it was believed the effort was to have been made during that season. It was not thought probable that the result of all these preparations was merely a raid on the Mohawks. Twice before their country had been invaded, and once all their villages destroyed, but no permanent advantages had been secured by the invaders. It was not possible, so Ingoldesby reasoned, that this expedition, like the others, was only for the chastisement of the Mohawks, but the detachment of a larger army for the destruction of Albany. Hence the delay.

The Indians chose the summer for their incursions into Canada, when the forests were in leaf, affording protection, and game abroad, supplying them with food. On the other hand, the French were forced to make their attacks in winter, when the men were at home, and not on the war-path, or engaged in hunting. Louis XIV. had work on his hands in Europe, and could not spare his soldiers. The conquest of New York was deferred to a more convenient season. His active governor of Canada had but a comparatively small army with which to make a demonstration toward Albany, although it was finally directed against the Mohawks. The force consisted of 100 regulars, 325 Canadians, and 200 Indians. They were picked men, for none but the strongest could endure the long and tedious journey. The French began the march from Fort Chambly on January 27th, and were joined by the Indians, who were of various tribes, on the 30th. On February 16th they arrived in sight of one of the Mohawk villages.

The Mohawks occupied three castles, or villages, two within a short distance of each other, and the third and largest several miles up the river. As usual, they kept out no scouts or watchmen in or around their stockades. Ingoldesby was also at fault. Prudence would have required him to patrol the country between Albany and the lakes, but this had not been done. The enemy approached their victims unobserved. Gaining sight of the Indian village, the invaders halted until midnight; when all was quiet, they attacked both villages simultaneously. Their Indians scaled the palisades, and opened the gates. There was no resistance, for the Mohawks were asleep. They were taken and bound before they were aware of what was going on. The French, too, were surprised for another reason. They expected to find the men at home, but they were out hunting. They did not find ten men in the two castles. Leaving a detachment to guard the captive women and children, they marched the next day to the third castle, at which they arrived in the night. Hearing a war-song, they supposed that they were discovered, but, waiting awhile, all became quiet. The gates were opened, as at the other villages, and they rushed in without resistance. They killed several men and women at the first assault, and subsequently others were butchered by the intoxicated Indians. Here they found about forty men, most of whom were killed or captured. Frontenac had instructed them to kill the men, and to carry off the women and children.

It was now a question of earnest deliberation, whether they should march upon Albany. Their Indians objected, because they were encumbered with so many prisoners, "whom they could not be persuaded to kill," although they had promised to do so, "for this was one of the points on which the count had most insisted." It was

finally concluded to retreat. On February 22d, they burned the last of the Mohawk villages, and then took up their line of march for Canada, having 280 prisoners, mostly women and children.

On February 19,¹ Cornet Abeel returned to Albany from Captain Schuyler's troop, and requested that Major Peter Schuyler and Major Wessels might be despatched to Schenectady to pacify the Indians, who were dissatisfied that no soldiers had been sent to their assistance. Major Schuyler was permitted to go "at his own request." He went without troops, for Ingoldesby was unwilling to weaken his forces for the defence of Albany while yet uncertain as to the intentions of the enemy. It was not until three days afterward that he consented to send 200 men to the aid of his allies.

Major Schuyler, on his arrival at Schenectady, sent out scouts to gain information. It was known that the French were at two of the Mohawk villages, and, supposing that they had not yet marched on the third, the scouts were directed to hasten thither and give the alarm. But they returned without having done the work assigned them. Lieutenant Johannes Schuyler and Lieutenant Sanders were ordered to take six men and find the enemy. They reported that he occupied the two lower villages. The next day a large party was sent, with orders to remain and watch his movements. They reported by messenger that the situation was unchanged, except that from certain indications they supposed the warriors of the upper village had received warning, and had come to the rescue. Schuyler had kept Ingoldesby informed of all his move-

¹In the narrative a discrepancy in dates will be noticed. The part based on the French accounts follow their dates, or New Style. Other portions are taken from English reports, in which the dates are after the Old Style.

ments, and of all that he learned. He now despatched an express, requesting troops to be sent at once to join the Mohawks and offer battle to the enemy. It was on the receipt of this intelligence that Ingoldesby consented that 200 men should be detached from the 600 he had in and about Albany. His neglect to keep out scouting parties through the winter left him in ignorance of the intentions or numbers of the French, and he was still fearful of being attacked in his entrenchments. Had he now sent a larger force properly supplied, the French army might have been captured or dispersed.

The troops were in two companies, commanded by Captain Mathews, of the regulars, and Captain Arent Schuyler, brother of the major. They arrived at Schenectady in the afternoon, but Ingoldesby had omitted to send orders for an advance. Major Schuyler then despatched another messenger for orders, saying that the Mohawks threatened to leave, and under the pressure he would be forced to march without waiting longer for orders. The next day he crossed the river, when the long-awaited-for order was received; and at the same time came intelligence that the enemy had burned all the Mohawk villages, and was retreating.

Schuyler, with less than 300 English and a few Indians, pushed on, and in the evening word came that the Mohawks, who had been hunting, had returned, and would join him to the number of six hundred. He immediately despatched one of his aids to Ingoldesby, to ask for a supply of ammunition and provisions to be sent without delay. At two o'clock the next morning he was again on the march, and soon learned that the enemy was only eight miles from him. He pressed forward, and at night reached the place where the French had camped the night before. Here he waited until noon the next day for the

Mohawks, who, to the number of nearly 300 men and boys, some without arms, joined him, and the pursuit was continued. Scouts were kept out to gain information as to the movements of the French. It was found by their reports, that they were gaining on the enemy, who were encumbered with plunder and prisoners. The French were at last aware that they would be overtaken unless means were found to delay the pursuers. They sent back an Indian to inform the Mohawks, that if they were pressed too closely they would kill their prisoners. But there was no delay. On the 26th Schuyler learned that the French were not far in advance, having camped and intrenched, as if for the purpose of awaiting an attack. He again sent to Ingoldesby for reinforcements and provisions, and marched on. The next morning he came within sight of the enemy in an intrenched camp. He halted and made his dispositions for an attack, but his Indian auxiliaries were more disposed to throw up some defences, and while felling trees for that purpose the French sallied out to attack them. They were, however, repulsed and driven back. Again the Indians went to work on the defences, and again beat back the enemy. The third time the French came on in full force, but were again defeated with considerable loss. The pursuers were now left to finish their entrenchments without further interruption.

As the French were well posted and superior in number, according to the report of an escaped prisoner, Schuyler did not attack them, but watched their movements while waiting for the much-needed supplies of food and ammunition. Messengers were sent to Ingoldesby, praying him to hasten up more men and especially provisions, of which they were destitute, some of the men having been without food for two days. On the 28th he was informed that the French were preparing to retreat. A heavy snow-storm

was raging, but he ordered out his troops to intercept them. The men refused to march until they had had something to eat. Only sixty men, and some Indians could be induced to go out and watch them. On the 29th eighty men under Captain Simms arrived with supplies. The men as they received their rations fell into the line of march. At four o'clock P.M., the head of the column under Captains Mathews and Arent Schuyler, was so near the rear of the fleeing enemy, that they proposed to attack it if the Mohawks would join them. They refused, because they feared that if the French were attacked, they would kill their women and children who were still held as prisoners.

The French were nearing the Hudson River, and it was a question whether they could cross it, as the ice had broken up. They resorted to stratagem to cause delay on the part of their pursuers. They sent back some of the prisoners to their friends, with word that if they were attacked they would surely put to death the women and children. Hence the refusal of the Mohawks to join the English in making any attack. Schuyler was aware that if the enemy once crossed the river they would be safe, and he pressed the pursuit with all the more vigor. It was in vain. The French reached the river at a place where the ice was yet firm. It was a gorge, or bridge, for both above and below the water was clear. When Schuyler reached the river the enemy had escaped. He proposed to follow, but both officers and men were worn out with the ten days' ceaseless march; some were now without shoes, others without proper clothing, and they remonstrated. The Mohawks, fearing for their women, absolutely declined to go any farther. Schuyler, under such conditions, was constrained to abandon the pursuit and return to Schenectady.

Governor Fletcher had arrived at the latter place with 280 men from New York. The Hudson River being clear of ice, an unusual thing so early in the season, the governor was enabled to place his men on sloops and sail for Albany as soon as he received intelligence of the French invasion. Although he arrived too late to be of any assistance against the enemy, his expedition gave him great credit with the Five Nations, who conferred upon him the name of Cayenquirago, signifying "The Great Swift Arrow."

In this campaign the English loss was 4 soldiers and 4 Indians killed, 2 officers and 12 men, English and Indians, wounded. It was reported by escaped prisoners that the French loss was much greater, having 33 killed and 26 wounded; among the former were three officers and two Indian chiefs. The French narratives of the expedition are silent as to their loss, although admitting that their wounded embarrassed their retreat. They fortunately escaped across the river, but there their greatest sufferings commenced. They found that the provisions were spoiled which had been left on their advance for use on their return. They were obliged to abandon most of their prisoners, and to divide their forces into small parties to find game for subsistence. Some halted in camp too weak to travel, and waited for food from Montreal, whither some runners had been despatched to make known their situation; some boiled their moccasins into soup to sustain life; others died of starvation. Those who reached Montreal were so wasted by fatigue and hunger that they did not seem like human beings. Although Frontenac called it "a glorious success," the French admit that in some respects the expedition was a failure.

Major Schuyler, in his report, says that the enemy left twenty-seven of their dead on the field; and that in their

flight they burnt their blankets and baggage and beat their kettles to pieces to lighten their retreat, and abandoned nearly all their prisoners. "The Indians after their natural barbarity did cutt the enemies' dead to pieces, roasted them and eat them." Colden relates: "Major Schuyler, (as he told me himself) going among the Indians at that time, was invited to eat broth with them, which some of them had ready boiled, which he did, till they, putting the ladle into the kettle to take out more, brought out a Frenchman's hand, which put an end to his appetite."

Schuyler's conduct in this campaign met with the hearty approval of Colonel Fletcher, who recommended him to a captaincy in the regular forces, "for he has behaved himself well, understands the Indian language, and their way of fighting." This praise from an English governor was exceptional, but nothing came of it.

Never before had a governor responded so promptly to an alarm from the frontiers, or shown such thoroughness in his preparations. The people of Albany were delighted. The mayor and aldermen presented him with a cordial address, expressing their thanks, and asking that some provision be made for the remnant of the Mohawk nation, now destitute and dispersed.

The chief sachems of the Five Nations came to Albany, and were profuse in their compliments to the governor for coming so quickly to their assistance, "a thing never before known." In the name they gave him, Cayenquirago, they likened him to a swift arrow. They thanked him heartily for the provision he had made for the maintenance of their brethren, the Mohawks. They had suffered, they said, by the French, and were threatened with still greater calamities, but with the assistance of their English brothers they were resolved to prosecute the war.

Fletcher made them a very encouraging address, with

which they were pleased, but he was unable to make them any presents, owing to the haste with which he had left New York ; but he assured them that those would not be wanting at their next interview. Next summer, he said to the Mohawks, he would come to renew the covenant-chain, and would then bring them something to wipe away their tears for the loss of their relations ; meantime Major Schuyler would provide them a place to live in, and care for their support until their castles could be rebuilt. "Imitating the courage of your ancestors, you will seek a severe revenge upon the enemies who have burned your villages and carried away captive your women and children. You will perform such deeds of heroism as will reflect great renown upon your nation, and revive the memory of its ancient fame."

Whatever else may be said of Governor Fletcher, it may be said with truth, that he was one of the most active and energetic men who occupied the executive chair in colonial times. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the province, its wants, and burdens. He was early satisfied that, with the Five Nations as allies, it gave protection from French aggressions to almost all the other English colonies. He saw, however, that the burden of sustaining the war was greater than the people could bear without some assistance from those who profited by the advantages of its situation. He appealed to the government of England to require the other colonies to share the large expenses incurred, and caused the Council to explain to the crown the true situation, and suggest ways of relief. On his return from Albany, he was in frequent consultation with the Council on the situation, and in April visited Pennsylvania to assume the government of that colony. His stay there was short and not agreeable. He had poor success in securing any assist-

ance from the Assembly for the protection of the frontiers, which were their shield against enemies both French and Indian. He wrote to the English minister that the people of Pennsylvania were Quakers, who would not themselves fight or furnish money for others to fight. He sent an agent to England, with instructions to inform the Lords of Trade that this province was heavily burdened with debt, the treasury empty, and the people wearied with the constant drafts for men and money to defend the borders, with little or no support from the other colonies; that the supplies and presents necessary to retain the Five Nations in allegiance could not longer be furnished by this poor, famished colony; that those poor savages were the chiefest and cheapest bulwarks against the French, and that if they were lost Albany would be lost, while the other colonies could not escape disaster and ruin.

Although Fletcher could not persuade Pennsylvania, he induced Virginia to advance six hundred pounds currency, and Maryland half as much. The money was a material relief, and gave new courage to an overburdened people.

Governor Fletcher had engaged to meet the Five Nations in council at Albany early in the spring, but his visit to Pennsylvania had caused delay. He did not leave New York until June 13th, accompanied by Councillors Bayard and Van Cortlandt, who with Peter Schuyler were present at all his subsequent interviews with the Indian sachems. The minutes were kept by Clarkson, secretary of the colony, and are not as full and particular as when written by Robert Livingston.

The result of these conferences,¹ first with the Schagh-

¹ The official report is published in the Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, vol. iv., pp. 38-47, and there is a long account also in Colden's History of the Five Nations, vol. i., chap. 10, ed., 1755.

ticoke and River Indians, then with the Mohawks and finally with the sachems of all the Five Nations, during June and July, may be set forth in the concluding words of the River Indians : " We return you our hearty thanks for renewing and making bright that covenant-chain ; we will always oil and grease it, that it shall never rust, but be kept inviolable with you, our father, and with all the brethren of New England, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania." The Five Nations spoke in similar wise : " Now we have done, only must tell you again that we are extremely glad, and roll and tumble in joy that our Great King and Queen have been pleased to enlarge their favour to us in our greatest necessities, and that there is so much unity amongst all the brethren." The remembrance of Schuyler's march, and of the governor's quick arrival to their assistance, kind words, and very liberal presents of arms, brass kettles, clothing, " fashionable laced coats and hats," and lesser finery had induced the Indians to keep to the English alliance.

A French prisoner was delivered up to the English, and the Indians were urged henceforth to kill men only in battle.

Milet, a Jesuit priest, resided among the Oneidas. He had been taken prisoner some years before, and adopted by that nation. It was believed, with good reason, that he was rather a spy on their actions than a spiritual adviser, and betrayed the councils of the Five Nations. Fletcher was solicited to gain possession of his person, or have him sent away. In a private conference he labored with the sachems to this end, offering a bright Indian boy to take his place. The sachems made some vague promises, but refused to comply fully at that time.

This conference was considered very important. The Five Nations had been sorely distressed by the war. Their

fields had been devastated, their villages burned, and many of their bravest chiefs and warriors slain in battle. The French, through the Jesuit priests and missionaries, were well informed of their low condition, and whispered peace in their ears, provided that they would forsake the English and make terms with them. Some listened and were seduced. They were ready to "bury the hatchet," and were active in promoting the French designs. Fletcher, in the conference just closed, succeeded in restoring the English prestige, and induced them to prosecute the war.

On his way back to New York, the governor was overtaken by a messenger with the intelligence, that two large parties of French and Indians had left Montreal in an unknown direction, but it was believed that one was directed against the Five Nations and the other toward Albany. On receipt of the message, Ingoldesby was ordered to scout the country north toward the lakes, and Schuyler to station himself with some troops at Schenectady and wait for orders. It was afterwards known that such parties had commenced their march, but had been recalled by the French governor. Thus the frontiers were kept in a state of alarm and suspense, requiring vigilance and activity. Schuyler sent a Mohawk, one on whom he could rely, to Onondaga, to learn, if possible, the truth of this rumor. He returned on July 24th, and reported that it was not true that the French were about to invade the Indian country. But he brought other news, and letters of so much importance, that Dominic Delliis and Robert Livingston were induced to visit the governor at New York and take his instructions.

Before the last conference, some of the Oneidas had sent Tareha, one of their sachems, to the Count de Frontenac with a message of peace. The letters which Schuyler's messenger brought from Oneida were one from the supe-

rior of the Jesuits in Canada, and another from the Priest Milet to Dominic Dellius—the first, thanking him for his kindness to Priest Milet in providing him with some comforts in his captivity ; the second, informing him that Frontenac had recalled his war-parties, until he learned the result of the council of the Iroquois soon to be held at Onondaga, on the proposition of peace. Schuyler, in his letter to Fletcher by Dellius and Livingston, says :

“ I need not inform your Excellency how weary the Five Nations are of the war, nor of what bad consequence it is to have such a general meeting at Onondaga, devised by the French to divert them from annoying his territories or making any incursions upon his frontiers this season, or probably to spin out time till he be ready to make some attack upon them or us, since I presume he dare not leave Quebec for the present. It is without doubt he has some great design, that he is so earnest to make a peace with the Five Nations, or else it must be very low with him, if so it's a pity our fleet should slip the opportunity. Jurian tells me the messenger at Oneida brags much of his strength, of their fortifications at Quebec, number of men firing mortar-pieces and such stratagems.”

Tareha, on his arrival at Montreal, was received with consideration, and was thence conducted by a French officer to Quebec. Frontenac was polite and considerate ; he caused the military to parade, and the men-of-war in the harbor to fire salutes, in order to impress the mind of the simple savage with his power. In his interview with the governor, Tareha presented a belt which told his message. Ostensibly he had come to see a relative, but really to open negotiations for peace. He said that the Oneidas of his village wanted peace, and that he had given notice to all the Nations of his intended visit, and of his errand. He now spoke for the Oneidas alone, and not for the others.

The Count by a belt returned his answer—that the perfidy and cruelties of the Iroquois to his nation would justify him in holding Tareha himself responsible, and punishing him for the crimes of his nation. But influenced by humanity he would forgive, and listen to words of repentance. If the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas were also desirous of peace, they must immediately send two of the chief sachems of each nation to express their sorrow and regret for the past, and he would then listen to what they had to say on the subject of peace. Tareha, promising to return in September with another message, was courteously dismissed. He returned to Oneida, and with the Priest Milet, then an Oneida sachem of great influence, and no longer looked upon as a prisoner, succeeded in calling a council of the Nations to take into consideration the subject of peace and the message of Frontenac.

Fletcher, after the receipt of Schuyler's letter and his interview with Dellius and Livingston, wrote a letter to the sachems of the Five Nations to be delivered by a trusted messenger. He said he was surprised that, after all their solemn promises, the Oneidas had accepted a peace belt from the governor of Canada, and had in other respects been untrue to their word. He was still more surprised that they had presumed, at the suggestion of the enemy, to call a general council at Onondaga of the Nations, the River Indians and the English. Albany was the place for such councils, as had been the custom. If the French wanted peace, they should have applied to this government first, when the Five Nations would have been invited to the council. This province is true to all engagements, and able to protect you against your enemies. Be therefore steadfast to the covenant-chain. The letter was kind and dignified.

On receipt of the letter Major Schuyler despatched Dirk

Wessels, the recorder, together with Robert Sanders, to Onondaga, with instructions to call on the Mohawks and the Oneidas on their way, to show them the governor's letter, and to dissuade them from attending the council. At the upper Mohawk castle the sachems were called together, and the letter read to them. They decided not to attend the council, and to have nothing to do with the peace propositions. They sent a message to that effect to the other nations with seven bands of wampum having no belt.

Wessels passed the first Oneida village, and stopped at the second, where the sachems were called together, and the letter read in their presence, as also the message of the Mohawks. They answered that they would not go were it not that the Senecas and Cayugas were already there, and had sent for them. They proposed to take Priest Milet with them, but to this Wessels objected, and he remained, his master, the chief, forbidding him to go. He was evidently disappointed.

When Wessels and Sanders arrived at Onondaga they were welcomed by the sachems with fourteen bands of wampum. Wessels told them that he had been sent by the governor with something to offer them, but they endeavored to put him off to the general meeting. This led to some conversation; and to consume the time an Oneida Indian, who had just returned from Montreal, where he had seen the governor, related what he had heard and seen. The governor of Canada, he said, had told him that his master, the great king of France, was in a rage with the Iroquois; that he had just sent to Canada thirty great ships with a large number of men and abundance of ammunition; thirty more were to arrive in a few days, and fifteen hundred Ottawa Indians were on the march to join him; that he had offered peace to the Five Nations, and if they did

not accept it in twenty days, he would fall upon them and destroy them root and branch, for now beyond the sea all was peace, the French king having defeated the English and Dutch, and forced them to a peace.

After this glowing description of the power and intentions of the French governor, some of the sachems turned to Wessels, and asked for news from New York. Not to be outdone by an Indian, Wessels told them that the Mohawks lately returned from Canada told a different story; they had seen or heard nothing of the great ships, or soldiers, or Indian allies. As for peace beyond the sea, it did not look much like it, for the king of England had 80,000 men on 800 ships ready to sail for the invasion of France. Moreover, only lately three French men-of-war were on the coast of New England, and the largest one, carrying 36 guns and 280 men, had been captured.

The next day Wessels communicated Fletcher's letter to the Onondagas, Senecas and Cayugas in turn. They gave about the same answer: they were glad to hear his thoughts before the general meeting.

In the afternoon of August 14th, the council of the four nations assembled. The Oneidas entered a complaint against Wessels, that he had prevented the appearance with them of the sachem priest Milet. Although at first they were inclined to send for him, they reconsidered the matter at Wessel's suggestion, and forbade the Oneidas to bring him.

The next day was spent by the council in discussing Fletcher's letter and Frontenac's peace propositions, without arriving at any conclusion. The day following, Komasaden the chief sachem of the Oneidas said:

"As for the Mohawks, they have refused this meeting to you, Brethren of Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. It is now two years since you were all agreed that if there were

occasion to send to Canada that an Onocida should go. Now it happened that Tareha had a French prisoner whom he took to Canada to redeem his brother, and so the governor of Canada made use of this opportunity to send this belt along with him to show to the Five Nations that he did therewith offer them peace; which belt I now deliver to you, and refer it to the brethren to accept or reject it. I am the same man I was before, and my people will agree to your result."

While the council consulted about the grave questions presented, Wessels with the interpreters called on the chief sachem of the Onondagas, who was confined to his cabin with a lame leg,¹ to consult him on the situation. To his inquiries Aquadarondes replied :

"My understanding stands still about their different inclinations, for the Mohawks are as if conquered, the Onocidas wavering. The Senecas have great force, but more inclined to beaver-hunting than war, so that the Onondagas lie in the greatest danger. You hear in your ears the cry of women and children for the loss of their husbands and fathers. Great promises were made, now near five years ago, that Quebec should be taken by sea, but I don't hear that it is done. I speak not in reference to our brother, Cayenquirago (governor of New York), he behaves himself like a soldier and hath not been long here. New England, Virginia, and Maryland do nothing that we hear of. Our brother hath renewed the covenant for them, but that doth not knock the enemy in the head. So my senses are drunk, not knowing what to do."

Aquadarondes was subsequently persuaded to attend the council; and to carry out the farce of the "lame leg," he was supported to the wigwam on the shoulders of four men. He began his speech with a song, according to the custom of his nation :

¹ An excuse for not attending the council.

“The enemy is like a bear that we must beware of, and not be deceived by fair words. We must not also wholly reject him so as not to hear him at all. It is well known the governor of Canada hath always deceived us, so likewise the Jesuit in Oneida that causes all this disturbance amongst us in our country. We hearken too much to the governor of Canada, that he should offer us his deceitful patronage without considering that we have been for ever in covenant with our brethren without deceit herein. The governor of Canada shows his desire but I believe him not. Who knows when he will open his deceitful design. You have heard my opinion, I refer the rest to the brethren.”

Wessels then read the governor's letter, wishing them to take it into serious consideration, and not break the covenant-chain.

Two days more were spent by the council in apparently fruitless discussion. But the sachems were approaching a conclusion.

On the 19th there were eighty sachems present in council. A leading chief was the speaker :

“Tell our brother, Lord of the Swift Arrow, the covenant we made of old, we will keep inviolate. Here hangs the belt sent by the governor of Canada. We are resolved not to go to him. We will not do as formerly, capture and kill his messengers, but we will let him know, if he would treat for peace, he must go to our master, Governor Fletcher. He is master over us, just as the governor of Canada is master over his Indians.” He laid down a broad belt of wampum.

“Tell our brother, to manage the war against Quebec better than heretofore. He is a soldier. Let us see his prowess. Tell our brother, when any mischief is done in New England, they must not lay it to us. Tell our brother, this is our old Council house, in which we consult together, as in ancient times. Tell him we acknowl-

edge him our master, and we will listen to no one who speaks of peace." He also laid down a belt.

Wessels reminded them that, though they accepted the governor of New York as their master, they were resolved to disobey him by sending another messenger to Canada, and by declining to surrender the Jesuit Milet.

Aquaderondes answered that they had not hearkened to the governor of Canada, but would send a messenger to him, only to let him know that the governor of New York was their master. As for Milet, they had used all their means to have him surrendered, but his owner would not give him up.¹

The council now adjourned, after a session of four days. The Five Nations were in a position which made it of great importance to act deliberately and wisely. A false step might have proved their ruin. Wessels and Sanders had not accomplished all the governor wished, but in the main had been successful in their mission. The Five Nations were held to their allegiance, and pledged to prosecute the war. They had reason to be satisfied with the result, so far as they were concerned. The negotiations between the Five Nations and Canada were not, however, closed, but continued for months until peace was secured. The council had reserved the right to send a belt to the governor of Canada to inform him, as the subjects of New York, they could do nothing without the consent of Governor Fletcher, with whom he must discuss the terms of peace.

Tarcha, the Oneida chief, who brought the first peace

¹ When Milet was taken prisoner he was assigned to an Oneida sachem as his owner. Although Milet had been made a sachem, he still belonged to his master who had control of his person. It was not the custom of the Five Nations to surrender such prisoners unless their owners consented.

belt from Canada, was delegated to carry to Frontenac the belt and message of the council. He arrived in Canada in the following October, and delivered the message with the belt. Frontenac promptly rejected it with the remark that since the Iroquois were not willing to accept the terms he offered, he would find means to constrain them. Tareha, however, succeeded in gaining favor for himself and for that section of the Oneidas which he represented on his first visit.

Late in November, Major Schuyler received news from Onondaga that Tareha had returned, together with a request to meet the Five Nations in council at Onondaga without delay. Although it had been agreed that such councils should be held at Albany, the matter was so important that Governor Fletcher directed him to accept the invitation. He accordingly left Albany on January 4, 1694, persuaded the Mohawks to send four sachems with him, and proceeded several miles beyond the Mohawk village, where he found the snow so deep, that he was obliged to return. Two Indians were employed to carry a belt to the council, informing them of his inability to travel further, and requesting them to meet him in Albany, as soon as the travelling should permit.

The sachems of the Five Nations duly appeared in Albany, and on February 2, 1694, held a conference with Major Schuyler and the magistrates in the City Hall, Governor Fletcher not being present. Dekanissora, sachem of the Onondagas, and a great natural orator, was the principal speaker for the Indians. In beginning, he addressed the governor by his Indian name, Cayenquirago, as though he were present, and Major Schuyler, whom he called Quidor, as the governor's representative.

During the four days of negotiations it became evident that the Indians still wished to leave a loophole for inter-

course with the French, and that it would be impossible to prevent them. Dekanissora had at first asked to send a message to Frontenac that the Five Nations were ready to make peace with the French,—“not only to throw down the kettle of war and spill it, but break the kettle into pieces that it may not be able to be hung over again,”—but on condition that the English of New York should be included, as “we are inseparable and can have no peace with you so long as you are at war with them.” This Schuyler absolutely refused, but, after urgent entreaty, consented to allow two messengers to be sent to the Praying Indians, to say that the French need not expect them in the spring, as they had agreed to meet in Albany; that they would grant a truce for forty days if it were respected by the French and their Indians, and that in this interval if they or the French had anything to say to them they could come safely. This message was written out both in English and French, but Schuyler refused to send messengers of his own, leaving it all to the Indians.¹

On February 14th, Schuyler wrote to Governor Fletcher:

“I have struggled with the sachems of the Five Nations ten days. . . . They are awed and wearied of war, and distrust much our ability to support them against the growing power of the French. I would not for anything I had gone to Onondaga to have been there at their meeting. Then I should have quite despaired of ever effecting what I have done now, for I never found them speak with more hesitation, yet I have gained that point, to win time until your Excellency comes up, when they all engage to be here and Dekanissora in person, who is the man the Governor of Canada so much longs for. By this message to the Canada Praying Indians the French will find they cannot too much depend upon their words, but will see they

¹ A full account of this council is in Col. Doc. iv. pp. 85, and in Colden, i. pp. 165-173.

are so far influenced here to obey your Excellency's commands."

Robert Livingston also wrote to the same effect :

"I fear nothing will prevent their inclination for peace with the enemy, except we were fortunate enough to commit some spoil on the enemy, whereby we might be made formidable in their eyes, complaining that they see nothing that the English gain upon the French."

Indeed, it was admitted by all well-informed persons, that the Indians were tired of the war, because their foremost chiefs and warriors were slain, their crops destroyed, as well as their hunting and trade ; they were poor and distressed ; their spirits wellnigh broken. They had gained nothing by the war, while the English, not of New York only, but of all the colonies had been protected at the expense of their lives and blood. They gloried in war, and were proud of their fame. They began to see that war had its drawbacks, and that fame might be purchased at too high a price. They saw that their country had become the battle ground between two rival nations, while they were the principal sufferers. They desired peace for rest and recuperation, and had become willing to see the rivals fight out their own issues without their interference. Their blood had been shed for a nation apparently too poor to defend itself, and which rendered them no material assistance, relying upon them as the "cheapest defence," while the enemy was growing in strength and extending his conquests chiefly by his own means and energies. They had become the allies of the English through the Dutch who had always treated them with consideration, and were at peace with their northern neighbors. No rivalries had existed between the Dutch and the French, and they had not been required to defend the borders, but had been left

to pursue their hunting in peace, or wage their own wars against nations not more powerful than themselves.

The Indian couriers, who left Albany in March, arrived in due time at Montreal, and were immediately sent to Frontenac at Quebec. When the message they conveyed was understood, Frontenac kicked away the belts they had brought, and by this mark of contempt, indicated to the proudest nation in all the New World his indifference to peace. He addressed them in a haughty tone ; but becoming mollified, he directed them to return home with his belt and message to the Iroquois. He demanded that Dekanissora and two chiefs of each nation should be sent to him within two moons, during which time he would tie up the hatchet. But if they did not come he would no longer listen to them, and would "commit to the kettle" any one so rash as to attempt further negotiations. The way was now open to Dekanissora and those with him. It was to his voice only that he would listen. Should others attempt to come without him they would hardly escape "roasting."

The couriers returned to Montreal, and were there permitted to deliver their belts to the Indian proselytes, who in turn rejected them. The poor messengers returned home bearing Frontenac's belt, and two to the same purport from the proselytes. Their report of what they had seen and heard, in connection with the messages, made a profound sensation at Onondaga. The sachems were alarmed, and immediately arranged to comply with Frontenac's demands by sending Dekanissora and other leading chiefs to Quebec, in violation of their engagement to Schuyler. These delegates took their departure for Canada about the time that Sadakanahatie, the great war chief of Onondaga, and other sachems left to meet Governor Fletcher at Albany.

Dekanissora and his party arrived at Montreal within the time appointed. Frontenac received them with great kindness at Quebec. Two days afterward, May 23, 1694, he gave them a public reception, at which were assembled the dignitaries of the province, the clergy, and military officers including the principal Indian chiefs.

Dekanissora was in his element. He was proud of his eloquence and his position. He now stood on the "mat of Canada," a place he had longed to occupy, clothed in the "lace coat and hat" presented to him by Governor Fletcher. In person he was tall and graceful, easy in manner, fluent in speech. He presented ten belts, and in explaining their meaning he employed all the arts of a cultivated orator. The count and the audience were delighted.¹

In the name of the Iroquois nations he asked for peace, which should include also the Lord of the Swift Arrow and Peter Schuyler, "mayor and commandant of Albany." The former governors of Canada had begun the war in which there had been much blood shed on both sides. He appealed to the Frenchmen recently adopted by his nation, to the proselytes from the Mohawks, and those from the Onondagas, to unite with him in pleading for peace. The chief men of the Iroquois had been destroyed, and the nations needed peace. The French had cause for anger, but they should expel it from their hearts. The earth even around Fort Frontenac was red with blood. It should be hidden from sight and memory. The rivers and the forests were polluted. They should be cleansed.

¹ Colden says (i. 164), "He was grown old when I saw him, and heard him speak; he had great fluency in speaking, and a graceful elocution, that would have pleased in any part of the world. His person was tall and well made, and his features to my thinking, resembled much the Busto's of Cicero."

Peace was the remedy for all their sufferings. "We were in darkness. The heavens were obscured. By this last belt I dispel the clouds, and fasten the sun above us that we may once more enjoy the light of peace."

The count answered him the next day with seven belts, promising peace on certain conditions, refusing, however, to include the English and Dutch. At the conclusion of the audience the governor gave them a fine entertainment, and large presents. They then set out for home, conducted by a retinue of French officers.

Compared to this convention for display and parade, those at Albany were insignificant. Frontenac insisted on holding his more important conferences with Indians at the capital, where the chief officers of the province, civil and ecclesiastical, resided, and where at times large fleets were at anchor. It was natural for the Indians to be fond of shows and finery, and to be impressed with a display of strength and power. These occasions added much to Frontenac's influence over the Indian tribes. At this period the governor had greatly disposed the Five Nations to peace by exhibiting to those who had been to Quebec the war-ships in the harbor, military parades, the thunders of the artillery, and the fortifications of Quebec.

About the time appointed at the convention with Major Schuyler in February preceding, Sadakanahtie and other sachems appeared in Albany to meet Governor Fletcher. The records are singularly silent as to the proceedings of this conference. Fletcher returned to New York on May 14th, O.S., and informed his council that he "had intended to have given them the perusal of what passed at Albany," but finding some clerical errors in the proceedings he had left them for correction. They were probably recorded in the books of the Board for Indian Affairs now lost, and never sent to the home government. About this

time Robert Livingston was preparing to visit England on his own affairs, and those for the Indians were committed to other hands. Fletcher missed the old secretary in preparing his speeches, and in copying the proceedings for transmission to his government. In the historical manuscripts there is a record showing that the couriers, despatched to Canada in the winter, reported to the convention then assembled, that they had delivered the belts as directed, but that they had been rejected. On their return from Quebec the governor of Montreal gave them a paper, which they now presented to Governor Fletcher and the Five Nations.

Colden saw the records of the Board for Indian Affairs, and copied some of the proceedings.¹

The Indians at this meeting acknowledged that, contrary to their promise, they had sent envoys to the French, but excused themselves on the ground of fear. They must have peace. They were worn out by war, and while the French constantly received men from over the sea, they got no assistance from the other English colonies. After some discussion Fletcher agreed to meet the Indians again at Albany after a delay of a hundred days, during which he gave notice to the other English colonies, and invited them to send commissioners, in order to prevent in some way this peace with the French, which would be to all of them so disastrous.

The coming convention was of great importance, and no pains were spared to make it successful. Fletcher had learned something from the French, and as the same sachems, who had been so well received at Quebec in May, were to be present at this, he did not wish to be outdone by his northern neighbor. The New England

¹ History of the Five Nations, I., 173-179.

colonies had been invited to send some soldiers and to be represented by their highest officials. He wished, if possible, to obliterate the impressions made at Quebec by superior numbers and a grander display. His invitations had been favorably considered by the other colonies. If they could not send their soldiery, they determined to send delegates with appropriate presents.

Governor Fletcher called a meeting of his Council at Albany, on August 13th, to consider some matters contained in a letter of Sir William Phipps, governor of Massachusetts, who wished to be informed as to the mode of making presents to the Five Nations; whether they should be given in the name of the colonies furnishing them, or in the name of the king? New York had always presented them in the name of the king, and the Council determined this to be the better method on this occasion. At a subsequent meeting, attended by the delegates from Massachusetts and Connecticut, the subject was again considered, and the same conclusion was reached, that all presents should be made in the name of the king, without naming the colonies who furnished them. After this question was settled, Governor Fletcher made a brief statement as to the situation of this province, and of the Five Nations, showing the absolute need of assistance to protect the frontiers—a matter in which all the colonies were deeply concerned. The delegates from Massachusetts and Connecticut were silent, and the meeting adjourned. The next day, Governor Hamilton of New Jersey now being present, the subject was revived. Hamilton and Colonel Pinchon of Massachusetts agreed with Governor Fletcher, that for the safety of all the frontiers of New York should be guarded by at least five hundred men during the war. But no assistance was offered, and no action taken. New York received poor encouragement. Massa-

chusetts, however, proposed that the Five Nations interpose in her behalf against the eastern Indians. This proposition was objected to as inexpedient at the present time. In the treaty about to be made all the colonies were to be included, after which Fletcher promised to inform the Five Nations that the war by the eastern Indians on Massachusetts was an infraction of the covenant-chain, and call upon them to join him in an energetic protest against it.

On the morning of August 15, 1694, there were assembled, in the City Hall of Albany, Governor Fletcher with five members of the Council, Governor Hamilton of New Jersey, three delegates from Massachusetts, two from Connecticut, and all the magistrates, with many of the leading citizens, of Albany. The regular troops and militia passed in front of the hall. Five Mohawk sachems, three Oneidas, seven Onondagas, four Cayugas, with a retinue of Indians of inferior rank, marched from their lodgings, escorted by officers in showy uniforms, through the street lined with military into the hall, with Rode, the chief of the Mohawks, at their head, "singing songs of joy and peace." They were received by Governor Fletcher and the foreign commissioners with all due formality.

And yet, after all this parade and show, almost nothing was accomplished at this council. The Indians were determined to make peace with the French; they were unwilling to fight longer alone, and without support from their English allies,—and just this support not any of the colonial delegates could assure them. Fletcher, in a private conversation, took advantage of the only loophole left, when the sachems told him that the peace wanted only his approbation. He allowed them to make peace, provided that they also kept faithful to their covenants with the English. He could, however, receive no proposals from

the French, as peace could be made only by the two kings. But he asked whether they would permit the French to build again the fort at Cadaraqui. When the Indians answered that they should never allow this, Fletcher said: "If you permit the French to build anywhere on that lake, there will be an end of your liberty; your posterity will become slaves to the French. If ever you should permit them, I will look on it as an absolute breach of the chain with us. If the French attempt it, give me notice, and I will march the whole force of my government to your assistance." This was not without its effect.¹

The covenant-chain was renewed with the English, the council was dissolved, and Fletcher wrote to the Lords of Trade his impressions.

"The Five Nations have patched up a peace with the governor of Canada, being weary of the war. All well-informed persons here believe they are not altered in their affections to this province, or in love with the French. They were much wasted by the war, and no longer able to bear its burdens without the assistance they could not receive. I found the necessity upon me to acquiesce, not being in a situation to do otherwise. Should it happen that they transfer their allegiance to the French, Virginia and Maryland would quickly be in a flame. Although much wasted, they have done great injury to the French settlements. Among the presents I intended for them were some guns, powder, and lead, but, inasmuch as they had made peace, I did *not present* them."

Dekanissora, when he was at Quebec, had promised to return in eighty days, and finish the negotiations for peace. Meantime Frontenac concentrated his troops at Montreal, with the intention of proceeding to Cadaraqui to rebuild

¹ See Colden, i., pp. 179-188, for fuller particulars.

the fort before there were any further complications. His progress was stopped by the appearance of a few Iroquois sachems, who brought back thirteen prisoners, including the Jesuit Milet, and who asked him to stop the war on the English. On his refusal they notified him that some of their sachems were at Albany deliberating on his proposals of peace, and on their return Dekanissora would hasten to meet him as agreed.

But Dekanissora failed to keep his appointment, and Frontenac sent two of the proselytes to Onondaga for information, bearing belts and messages to the Iroquois. These envoys arrived at Onondaga in time for a great Indian council, to which the English had also been invited (January 31, 1695). Frontenac, while thanking the Five Nations for the surrender of Milet and his comrades, demanded the delivery of all the prisoners, and the presence of a delegation at Quebec in the spring to complete the peace. He informed them that he intended to put again a garrison at Cadaraqui, and that the eastern Indians had been sent to New England "to fight, and not to fetch beavers this winter, but scalps." Father Milet sent word that Governor Fletcher had delivered to the French all his prisoners, and had offered to help Count de Frontenac destroy all the Iroquois. The hint of Fletcher at the Albany convention now produced its effect. The Indians absolutely refused to allow Cadaraqui to be reoccupied, and rejected all of Frontenac's propositions. One of the speakers said, addressing Frontenac: "You call us children you have begotten. What father are you? You deal with us whom you call children as with hogs, which are called home from the woods by Indian corn and then put in prisons until they are killed."

The peace negotiations were now at an end, but, before returning to speak of the events which accompanied them,

I propose to examine the situation of the province of New York as to population and resources, and learn whether it was in a condition to prosecute the war with any vigor, or render any efficient assistance to its allies, the Five Nations.

The territory of New York under the Dutch extended from the Delaware to the Connecticut River, including Long Island, when the English took possession in 1664. New Jersey was given to some court favorites,¹ and the country on the south side of the Delaware Bay and River, now the State of Delaware, was left for a time in an indeterminate condition, without a government. Another section lying west of the Connecticut to within twenty miles of the Hudson was yielded to the colony of Connecticut. The population was now chiefly confined to Long Island and New York. The large grants of land on the east side of the Hudson to a few individuals seriously interfered with the progress of population, and that portion of the province was very thinly settled, not only at this period, but for a long time afterward. On the west side of the Hudson, between the north line of New Jersey and Albany, there were only two or three small villages in Ulster County. Gradually all the land on the west side of the river to a depth of twenty miles was purchased from the Indians and opened for settlement. All the country west of that line still belonged to its native proprietors, occupied here and there by their cabins and cornfields. It will be seen that the territory of the province which could be occupied was confined to Long Island, Staten Island, Manhattan Island, and two strips of land on the Hudson River, each twenty miles wide, extending north to Saratoga. Of this territory a few large

¹ Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.

landed proprietors and the Catskill Mountains occupied nearly one-half.

It does not appear there was any census of the inhabitants before 1698. In 1673 the number of men in the ten Dutch towns of Long Island was 645. In 1678 Sir Edmund Andros estimated the number of men able to bear arms at 2,000. In 1685 Governor Dongan said that it was difficult to determine the number of inhabitants, but he had ordered an account to be taken. Nothing came of it.

In 1697 Governor Fletcher directed a "perfect census to be taken of the city and county of Albany, showing the number of inhabitants before the war and now; how many families and persons removed during the war; how many were killed and taken prisoners; also the number of the Five Nations and River Indians before the war and now." The following was the result:

In 1689, before the war, there were in the city and county of Albany 662 men, 340 women, and 1,014 children. At the close of the war, in 1697, there were 382 men, 272 women, and 805 children. During the time of the war, 124 men, 68 women, and 209 children had removed to other places. Of the men 84 had been killed by the enemy, 16 taken prisoners, and 38 had died from natural causes.

Before the war the men of the Five Nations numbered 2,550; after the war, 1,230. The River Indians, including the Schaghticoke, were reduced from 250 to 90 men.

In 1698, a year after the close of the war, a particular enumeration of the inhabitants of the province was made by the direction of the Earl of Bellomont. It was found there were 5,066 men, 4,677 women, 6,154 children, and 2,170 negroes—in all, 18,067. Of this total there were on Long Island 7,208 whites and 1,053 negroes, or 8,261 in all. In Albany County there were 1,453 whites and 23

negroes ; Ulster and Dutchess Counties had 1,228 whites and 165 negroes ; New York, 4,237 whites and 700 negroes ; Richmond, 1,063 whites and negroes ; Westchester, 1,063, and Orange, 219.

It is seen that there were only 2,681 whites and 179 negroes in the frontier counties of Albany, Ulster, and Dutchess, while the bulk of the population was in portions of the province one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles distant. Estimates made by three well-informed persons, old residents, in 1696, agree substantially with the census of 1698. Jacob Leisler, son of Jacob Leisler, former military commandant, and his friend, Abraham Gouverneur, in the memorial of 1696, stated that in 1688 there were 8,000 families and 12,000 fighting men in the province. The census made ten years afterward by their friend and patroon, Bellomont, proved that they were in error, or that there had been a great diminution. But they were young men with a limited knowledge of the province outside of New York, and had a purpose to accomplish. Their memorial gave false information on all the facts with which it pretended to deal.

The census of 1703 showed a population of 20,748, white and black. In 1712 Governor Hunter ordered a census to be taken, but reported returns from only five counties, showing an increase of thirty-five per cent. in nine years. Writing to the Lords of Trade on this subject, the governor said : "I have not been able to obtain a complete census, the people being deterred by a simple superstition and observation that the great sickness followed the last numbering of the people." Again, in 1715, he wrote, "The superstition of the people is so unsurmountable I believe I shall never obtain a complete census." This phase of census-taking tempts me to make another quotation. Governor Burnet wrote, in 1726 :

“I send you a census of New York taken in 1723. I would have had one taken of New Jersey, but was advised it would make the people uneasy to attempt it. They are generally of New England extraction, and thereby enthusiasts. They would take it for a repetition of the sin of David in numbering the people, and might bring the like judgments.”

As the population of the province was small, no large amount of revenue could be expected. It was derived chiefly from duties on imports and exports of merchandise, from the excise, and from quit-rents. In 1687 it amounted to £3,000 currency. The reason why it was so small was given by the Assembly of 1693: “The ports on either side of us are *free* of any duties, while this is clogg'd.”

Chidley Brooke, collector of the port and receiver-general, rendered an account of revenues received and disbursed from 1690 to 1696, showing the entire amount received from all sources to have been £17,403 currency for the six years.

In their statement to the Lords of Trade, 1696, Messrs. Brooke and Nicoll fixed the average yearly revenue at about £4,000. Fletcher at the same time said it was only about £3,000, because of the loss of trade in war-times. Governor Bellomont, in 1698, attributed the decrease in the revenues since 1687 to the dishonesty of merchants and of the revenue officers. He was a Leislerian, and as an enemy of Fletcher he made no allowance for the revolutionary troubles and the burdens of the war. He sent to the Lords of Trade a statement of the revenues from 1692 to 1697, in which it appears that the largest amount received any one year was £3,934. He said, “To prove that Governor Fletcher and Mr. Brooke were corrupt, I dare undertake to make it double that amount.” He spoke without the book. Although the war was closed, and

trade had revived, the revenue the first year of his administration amounted to £5,267, and the next to £5,400.

Out of these revenues were paid the salaries of officers, including the governor, and all expenses of the government. An official in England, known as the auditor-general, received five per cent. on the gross receipts for doing nothing. His office was a sinecure, bestowed upon a poor minister or a court favorite.

These statistics are enough to show that New York alone had not the ability to prosecute the war successfully, or with energy. Albany was situated on the frontiers one hundred and fifty miles or more from those portions of the province which contained the bulk of the population. With her few inhabitants, and a small garrison of regular soldiers, she was unable to protect the outlying settlements, or even to defend herself. The greatest danger was in the winter, when there was no communication with New York except by Indian runners. The enemy's base of operations was at Montreal, whence his parties started on their raids, provided with all things necessary for a winter campaign. The success of these forays against Schenectady and the Mohawk country showed the importance of having a strong force stationed at Albany and the smaller places in its vicinity, during the winter season especially.

The French in Canada were not left to prosecute their enterprises unaided and alone. Their home government sent out almost every year large detachments of soldiers with all needed supplies. The governor was clothed with ample authority to impress into the service, when occasion required it, all the able-bodied men of the province. France furnished all the funds, and bore all the expenses of the war.

On the other hand, England furnished only two companies of regulars of one hundred men each. These, when

full, were only sufficient to garrison the fort at New York, and, in time of peace, the fort at Albany. But they were not always full. By death and desertion they were sometimes reduced to one-half of their complement. Besides, they were poorly paid and poorly supplied. There was some excuse for this neglect to render more assistance. William III. had hardly ascended the throne in time of revolution, when Louis XIV. declared war against him. To settle himself firmly in his seat, with a large and influential party against him, taxed his energies, and gave him little time to consider the affairs of the distant colonies. The war gave him employment, and absorbed the resources of his kingdom.

In consequence of Fletcher's strong representations as to the poverty of the province, its inability to prosecute the war and to hold the Five Nations to their allegiance, he had been made commander-in-chief over the militia of Connecticut and governor of Pennsylvania; and all the other colonies were directed to render assistance to New York. These measures proved to be insufficient. When in the following October he visited Hartford, and asked for some men to be sent to Albany, they questioned his commission, and declined to accede to his demands, but offered £600 in country produce as a compromise. Pennsylvania, as we have seen, refused to do anything, having received instructions from the proprietor, William Penn. The next year Fletcher's commission as commander of the militia of Connecticut was modified, and that of governor of Pennsylvania revoked. For five years, from January 30, 1691, to December 25, 1695, the other colonies contributed to the expenses of the war as follows :

Virginia, £1,560; Maryland, £800; East Jersey, £365; Connecticut, £600 in country produce, equivalent to £326

net cash—total, £3,051 currency. New York in the meantime had expended nearly £30,000. Besides the money contribution, New Jersey sent sixty-five men to the frontiers for the winter of 1693-94.¹

The English government, learning that the measures adopted up to that time had failed to accomplish the purpose, in August, 1694, took another method to protect the frontiers. By order in Council the several colonies were required to furnish quotas of men to be under the command of the governor of New York, or, if not men, the money to procure and sustain them. The quotas assigned to the several colonies were as follows: Connecticut, 120; Rhode Island, 48; Massachusetts, 350; Virginia, 240; Maryland, 160; Pennsylvania, 80; New Jersey, as many within 700 as the governor should elect, he being commander-in-chief of the militia of that province. At the same time it was resolved to strengthen the regular forces by the addition of two companies of grenadiers, who arrived in Boston the May following, and thence went to New York.

We will now go back to the time when the peace negotiations began, and relate the incidents of the war as they occurred on the borders. While peace was under consideration, the French were careful that they themselves should not be attacked by hostile parties, while the proselytes were encouraged to attack the English wherever found accessible and to keep them in constant alarm.

Toward the end of August, 1693, Major Schuyler re-

¹ Massachusetts contributed nothing. She was the most populous English colony in America, and possessed of much wealth. But the defence of her own settlements in Maine, and of her western borders in the valley of Connecticut River, were a great expense in men and money. The eastern Indians and the proselytes in Canada, under the direction of French officers, made frequent and bloody expeditions against her people.

ceived word that a party of Mohawks, who were out on the war-path before anything was known of the peace negotiations, had returned with two prisoners, one of whom they were torturing and preparing to burn. He hastened to the Mohawk country, as he had done before on like occasions, to rescue the man from his tormentors. He arrived none too soon. The Indians had torn off five of his finger-nails, and inflicted other wounds. He rescued the captive on the payment of £50 and conveyed him to his home, where he was carefully nursed, but in vain. He died after months of suffering. He was M. Crevier, a man of some consequence in Canada, who had previously lost a son in an attack on Salmon Falls, New Hampshire.

Early in October, 1693, Major Schuyler received information so important, that, although late at night, he despatched a messenger to Governor Fletcher. A party of French and Indians had been near the upper village of the Mohawks. They had captured a squaw, cut off her hair, and then released her, sending a message to her people, that no harm would be done to them if they did not leave their castle. She was sent to Albany, and while she was under examination another alarm was raised. A wagon going to the Flatts with provisions was attacked, and two soldiers were taken prisoners. This affair was so near the town, that it was supposed that the enemy might be in force to make the long-threatened assault on Albany. Alarm-guns were fired to warn the farmers, expresses were despatched to Esopus for the militia, as well as to the Mohawks and Oneidas. The fort had been repaired, and eighty-five recruits had just arrived to strengthen the garrison.

On the same night, Schuyler again writes that another party on the east side of the river had fired six shots at men

in a canoe, but without effect. But he had now become convinced, from the reports of his scouts, that these alarms had been caused by small scalping parties, and that there was no considerable force of the enemy in the neighborhood. He had been trying to hire men to send as scouts through the country up to the lakes, but had not succeeded because the men wanted their pay before they started, and he had no money or goods of his own, nor was he able to find men willing to advance or sell on government credit. The Indians were indifferent, and kept no watch. He distrusted them more and more, and feared they would go over to the enemy. Had Schuyler been aware of the peace negotiations begun by the Oneida chief, Tareha, he would have understood the apparent indifference of his Indian friends. These letters reached Fletcher while he was in Connecticut pleading in vain for men to guard the frontiers. No wonder he was almost in "despair, knowing not which way to turn for aid against an enemy who had recently received seven hundred soldiers from France."

"Our hardships grew upon us," Fletcher says. "Our Indians falter, and the enemy cunningly pass them by to turn their swords against our farmers." "The enemy is strong and vigilant," he writes, January 22, 1694. "With their large forces they compel our farmers to flee, and take refuge in the cities. I expect every hour intelligence of the enemy's approach. Whilst this small province is thus harassed, our neighbors are all at ease, and purchase their private advantages."

In the fall of 1694, Frontenac mustered a large force at Montreal, with the intention, it was believed by some, of making a winter campaign against the frontiers of New York. This caused fresh alarm. But Albany had been thoroughly fortified, and there were two hundred men in garrison besides a company of regulars. The excitement

soon subsided. It was afterward learned that Frontenac had determined to take possession of Cadaraqui, but had been delayed in his operations by his intrigues with the Five Nations for an apparent peace.

Cadaraqui, now Kingston, Canada, is situated at the foot of Lake Ontario, where the great river of Canada commences its course to the ocean. It was a point admirably adapted for a fort, which, if occupied by a garrison sufficiently strong to enforce the respect of the surrounding natives, could be a base of operations against the Iroquois. The country north of the lake as far west as Lake Huron and the Detroit, once occupied by large nations of Indians, had been conquered by the Iroquois, and was now their hunting-ground. The Count de Frontenac, appointed governor of Canada, arrived in 1672. The next year, with a considerable force, he ascended the St. Lawrence to Cadaraqui, where he held a conference with the Iroquois, and procured their consent for the erection of a trading-post, or fort, subsequently called Fort Frontenac. Two years afterward it was made over to La Salle, the great explorer, together with a large tract of land and some islands in the river, on condition that he should maintain the fort at his own expense. He was a friend of Frontenac, who shared in the profits of the fur trade, now prosecuted with such success as greatly to diminish the trade at Montreal. This awakened jealousies, and gave Frontenac much annoyance. La Salle was not contented to settle down as a mere trader. He was ambitious for the fame of a discoverer. Leaving his property in charge of another, he pushed out into the unknown west. After Frontenac was recalled, La Barre, his successor, seized the fort as public property. There Denonville gathered his forces for the invasion of the Seneca country. There he treacherously seized a number of the Iroquois warriors, whom he sent to the French gal-

leys. His treachery did not prosper. He was forced to abandon the place two years later.

The failure of La Barre and Denonville forced Louis XIV. to turn again to the Count de Frontenac, and restore him to his old position as governor of Canada. He arrived at Quebec in the fall of 1689, and hastened to Montreal, where he found Denonville, and learned to his disgust that he had sent orders to the commandant of Fort Frontenac to abandon it. He resolved that if possible the order should not be executed, and immediately organized a party of three hundred men for the relief of the place. They had proceeded but a short distance when they met the commandant and the garrison, who reported that the fort and stores had been destroyed according to orders.

Frontenac had suffered much in reputation by the construction of the fort, and it was the cause of his recall seven years before. He had always adhered to his convictions as to its usefulness, and now determined to rebuild and repossess it. It could not be done in a day, or perhaps in years, in consequence of the war. He would abide his time, and employ all his resources of authority and finesse to accomplish his purpose.

Among the Iroquois seized by Denonville and sent to France was a great war-chief, named by the French Orehaoué, whom his countrymen loved and mourned. After Frontenac was reappointed to Canada, he solicited the release of the surviving prisoners. They returned with him on the same vessel. He found means to make Orehaoué forget his wrongs, and firmly to attach him to his person. Frontenac, before leaving Montreal, despatched Orehaoué and three other returned prisoners to Onondaga on an embassy of peace, inviting the Iroquois sachems to visit him at Quebec. Frontenac knew quite well that he

could not repossess Cadaraqui with the forces then under his command, unless he could silence the opposition of the Five Nations and obtain their consent. But he steadily pursued his purpose, and Orehaoué was his chief negotiator for five years. At last, in April, 1694, he secured a sort of concession to his project, given more to obtain the peace so long under consideration than because the Nations desired the fort to be rebuilt. The count had not gained in the negotiations all he desired, but enough to prove to his friends he was master of the situation, and cause one of them to say : " In time of war he compels his enemies to come to him and supplicate for peace. And these are the notorious Iroquois, who formerly presented but two belts, one of war, the other of peace. Choose, they used to say ; it is indifferent to us which. Now they say, master of the earth, give us peace."

Frontenac indulged the hope, in his last conference with Dekanissora, that peace would be concluded at the next appointed meeting, when every obstacle would be removed from his repossessing Cadaraqui. Meanwhile he assembled a large force at Montreal, prepared to march at a moment's warning. While waiting for Dekanissora he was chafing with impatience. Dekanissora did not return. The season was now too far advanced for the march. He must wait until another year, and the useless negotiations were continued.

In February, 1695, Arnout Viele, who had been stationed at Onondaga as the governor's agent, wrote that Frontenac had sent a private belt to the Senecas and Cayugas, desiring them to remain neutral and saying that he would attack the Onondagas in the spring, and that he was offended with Dekanissora because he had not returned to Canada. Three days later Viele writes, that intelligence had been received that the French

and Indians were about to leave Montreal on an expedition against Onondaga, and Dekanissora claimed the assistance of three hundred men, as had been promised by Governor Fletcher. Subsequently a proselyte came to Albany, and reported that the governor of Canada would surely march in a short time against Albany or Onondaga. He said that some of the far Indians had asked Frontenac whether it was true that he was inclined to make peace with the Five Nations? and that he had replied that he had said so with his mouth, but that his heart was for war. Thus Frontenac amused his enemies until the way was clear to Cadaraqui.

Dekanissora became convinced that Frontenac was deceiving them. He and Sadakanahitic, the war-chief, with their wives, visited Governor Fletcher at New York, on April 8, 1695. Dirk Wessels (Ten Broeck), one of the foremost men of Albany, accompanied them as interpreter. By presents, flatteries, promises, and polite attentions the two chiefs, who had been so urgent for peace, were led to declare for war. Fletcher was exultant, and wrote in that tone to the Lords of Trade.

Meanwhile the long war was becoming exceedingly burdensome to the people of the province. Frontenac, to conceal his designs on Cadaraqui, caused frequent alarms. Now Albany was threatened, now Esopus, or Onondaga, or all the Five Nations. He sent out expeditions into New England to hang about the distant settlements, and thus compel Massachusetts to keep her forces at home. These alarms were the occasion of extraordinary expense. They were so frequent that at last the Assembly refused an appropriation, alleging that the numerous detachments were a grievous burden to the people.

This was on an occasion when news came from Albany that the French were on the march, either to repossess Ca-

daraqui or against Albany. The Council, believing that it was not a false alarm, and that the situation demanded prompt action, again raised more money on their individual bonds, and directed Major Schuyler to expend it for one hundred men to be stationed on the frontiers. Again appeals were made to the other colonies. Again came back the old answers—one, that their militia could not be compelled to leave its own borders; another, that men could not be sent without the consent of the Assembly, and that the Council refused to call a session; another, that men would be sent provided they were paid and fed. Meantime the soldiers were deserting for want of pay and subsistence. In the midst of these perplexities came the report, seemingly well authenticated, that a large French fleet was on the coast, and about to attack New York, "the key of the province."

Frontenac, while waiting at Montreal for his opportunity, during the winter and early spring of 1695 sent out several parties of Indians with French officers to harass the borders. One of the parties separated south of the lakes; one division went to the Mohawk country, where they captured three Indians; the other took a Dutchman within a league of Albany. All were not alike successful. Some secured "scalps which told no news." Two prose-lytes attacked five Dutchmen within hearing distance of Albany, and "took one scalp." Another party met a Dutchman on horseback some distance north of Albany. They killed the horse and ate it. Both the English and French tried to secure prisoners for the purpose of getting information, but the French Indians were not particular in this regard, a scalp being worth nearly as much in ready money in Canada as a prisoner. Two Mohawks fought three Frenchmen on Lake Champlain. It was a drawn battle, one being wounded on each side. Fifteen Mohawks

had a battle on the river near Montreal with a party of proselytes commanded by a French officer. The officer was killed, and his Indians fled, reporting they had killed six of the enemy. A large force was immediately despatched to the spot, of whom four Frenchmen were killed and the rest retreated. In July some French made a few prisoners near Albany, but were compelled to release them to save their own lives. They fled to Canada, but were pursued by a party of English and Mohawks, who, within hearing of the guns of Montreal, killed two Frenchmen and took seven prisoners. Soon afterward two Frenchmen were killed and four taken prisoners near La Prairie. At Boucherville one man was killed and two wounded. At Cape St. Michel, two days afterward, three of the bravest settlers were carried off by the Iroquois, who also appeared in such force on the river above Montreal that Frontenac despatched seven hundred men against them, but without meeting them. Near Fort Chambly a skirmish took place between a considerable number of Iroquois and a detachment of French and Indians. The Iroquois were defeated and lost some prisoners, one of whom was appointed to die to appease the shades of two Frenchmen killed in battle. The Count de Frontenac invited the Indians from a distance to witness the spectacle,—"to roast an Iroquois and drink his blood." Thus the war proceeded, fought by small parties with varying success, but without decisive results.

On March 16, 1695, Major Schuyler appeared at the Council with the intelligence that the French were about to reoccupy Cadaraqui. The report caused much excitement, for it was believed that the possession of that important post would give the French such advantage that the Indian trade of the province would be destroyed, and ultimately the friendship of the Five Nations would be lost.

The Council took immediate measures to raise three hundred men, and send them to Onondaga. Estimates were made, and the money to cover expenses was borrowed on the individual endorsements of the members of Council. The information proved to be false, and the alarm subsided. But Frontenac kept his men well in hand, and watched his opportunity. To allay suspicions of his intentions, he caused it to be reported that he was about to invade the country of the Onondagas, and chastise them for failing to come to finish the peace; and at another time, that he was on the eve of an expedition to New York. He managed to conceal his real intentions from the Indian spies and the English prisoners, some of whom he released and sent to their homes. He had time to make complete preparations. The opportunity he had been waiting for was presented about the middle of July. The Iroquois were in fancied security, and had withdrawn their watch parties. The way was clear, and the expedition started on their march up the river. It consisted of seven hundred picked men under brave and prudent officers. The first night they encamped at Lachine, and the next morning received their final instructions from the governor. The march from Montreal to Cadaraqui was arduous, and usually required many days, if not weeks, to accomplish. The work to be done was by no means light or insignificant. When the fort had been abandoned, all the buildings and the stockades had been burned. The walls had been undermined, a slow match had been applied, and it was supposed they were levelled with the ground. It was the assigned work of the seven hundred men to rebuild the fort, with the necessary barracks and building, and put it in a complete state of defence. The work was performed with "wonderful celerity." The walls of the fort were found to be in better condition than was expect-

ed, as the mines had failed to do their work effectually. Indeed, the Iroquois had visited the place after its abandonment, and had found a quantity of powder with other goods. It did not require much time for seven hundred skilled men to make the necessary repairs, erect the barracks, and put everything into proper shape. Guns were mounted, ample supplies of war-material and provisions were stored, and forty-eight men were detailed to garrison the works. The army returned to Montreal on August 14th, having been absent only twenty-six days, and had not lost a man. The work was completed without interference, but not without discovery. In view of what had been accomplished with so much care and safety, a French writer exclaims: "The sun dispersing the clouds does not afford greater joy to nature than did the return of this expedition to us. All Montreal hastened to the water-side, and received the heroes with cheers and every demonstration of joy."

On August 28th, Governor Fletcher informed his Council that Frontenac, with all his available forces, was endeavoring to repossess Cadaraqui, and the Five Nations called for assistance. It was ordered that as many men as could be spared from the frontiers should march to their aid. Major Schuyler, then in New York, was directed to hasten his return to Albany, take command of the forces, including volunteers, and march to the Mohawk country, in order to show to the Five Nations the readiness of the government to join them in repelling the enemy. At the same time a letter was received from Connecticut, in answer to one requesting them to send men to the frontiers to meet this emergency. Assistance was denied, unless the province of New York should pay all the expenses.

The news that Cadaraqui had been actually occupied by the French was brought to Albany early in September by

some Mohawk sachems, who demanded five hundred men to help expel them. "Send us the men," said they, "and we will furnish the canoes to transport them across the lake." They admitted that the building of the fort was a surprise, and in palliation of their fault for not keeping better watch they explained that one hundred and fifty of their warriors had been stationed on the lake to watch the movements of the French, but having captured a party of western Indians on their way to Montreal they returned home, as was their custom, to celebrate their victory by roasting the captives. It was while they were thus engaged that Frontenac seized the opportunity of re-establishing the fort.

The news was confirmed by a party of Oneidas, who added, that the French had already sent out parties from the fort against their nation, and they earnestly entreated to be supplied with ammunition with which to defend themselves.

On receipt of this intelligence at New York, it was agreed that all possible care should be used to encourage and support their Indian allies, and to this end the governor should go to Albany and place himself in communication with them.

The governor, on September 18th, held a conference at Albany with a few sachems. The Indians expected assistance, as had been promised, to expel the French from a place which was the key to their country, and believed by all to be a position whence great injury could be done not only to the Five Nations, but to the whole province. It was now too late in the season to send the men they asked, and it was a perplexing question how to deal with them on this occasion so as not to offend or discourage them.

Fletcher threw all the blame on the Indians, told them

that it was too late for an expedition that autumn, and pacified them with liberal presents. But he returned to New York despondent, and indignant with the other colonies, which had left him in the lurch. In the middle of October he was summoned back to meet once more his Indian allies.

Before his arrival, Dekanissora, the eloquent, and several other sachems had, on October 19th, demanded an audience of Peter Schuyler. They were in no friendly mood. "In the spring," Dekanissora began, "you bade us be watchful, and give you notice of any attempt to rebuild Cadaraqui. We did give you notice twice—first, that the French had begun their march; and again, that they were on the way. We alone could not prevent them reaching the fort, and you did not come to our help as promised. You tell us we are one flesh and blood, and yet you did not come to our assistance. We see many redcoats here, but none came to us. Pray, tell us why? If we are friends and brethren, why not together fight for our rights, and together die in defending them?"

Their temper was such that there was no use of attempting to reason with them. Means, however, were found to pacify them, and induce them to wait for the governor. Fletcher arrived the next day, and on being made acquainted with what had occurred, made reply in almost the same words that he had spoken a month before. Presents were made, and Dekanissora was mollified.

On his next meeting with his Council, the governor was not in his usual amiable frame of mind when returning from a successful conference. He was indignant. He said that the Indian sachems had never been so insolent, nor had told so many absolute falsehoods. He was on the whole greatly disgusted with his Indian allies. The Council soothed him with pleasant words, and advised him to

lay the whole history of these proceedings before the king, and particularly to inform him how impossible it was to procure assistance from the other colonies.

Count de Frontenac had succeeded in accomplishing his purpose in spite of the opposition of his enemies at home and abroad. In Canada his old opponents were still active. They considered that the reoccupation of Cadaraqui involved an unnecessary expense, and they succeeded in impressing their views upon the French Government, who sent instructions prohibiting it. The order reached the governor after the work was done. Frontenac was able to form a more correct and unbiassed judgment than his opponents, who feared that the fort might again be occupied by a great Indian trader, like La Salle, and who opposed the project from selfish means. Frontenac believed that in the end it would benefit Canadian merchants by directing all the fur trade down the river, instead of losing much of it through the Five Nations to New York. Cadaraqui would shut out from the regions north of the lake all enemies of the French, and become a base of future operations against the Iroquois. But whatever the result, it was now an accomplished fact, and the old count resolved that this point of vantage should not be abandoned.

The Five Nations, who had been so desirous of peace, were now actively engaged, and were the only fighters on the part of the English. Fletcher had all he could do to keep sufficient men in the garrisons to guard against surprise. None could be spared to accompany his allies on their raids. But he watched the results with interest. Among the historical MSS. is a curious paper, entitled a "Memorandum of what has been done by the Five Nations since the spring concerning the war to September 12, 1695." It gives a brief sketch of each party who had been

out and returned, with the results. At the end it gives the "Summary" of eleven parties.

"French killed, 15 ; ditto prisoners, 10 ; Indians killed, 3 ; ditto prisoners, 14—in all, 42. There are yet five parties out, one of which is led by a white man."

As to what was accomplished by the "five parties still out," we are not informed, nor are we able to learn that there was any more fighting on the borders until the following spring. The deep snow of the winter put a stop to all active operations. As soon as they could march, the proselytes made incursions into the Mohawk country and in the neighborhood of Albany. They secured two scalps and three prisoners. As an offset, the Mohawks captured two men and wounded another at Lachine. But if little harm was done by the enemy, the frontiers were not without excitement. Sixteen soldiers of the garrison at Schenectady deserted in the night of January 10, 1696. They were pursued by their officer, with a squad of soldiers and citizens. They were overtaken in the afternoon, and refusing to surrender some of them were killed. The others were secured by the energetic officer and carried to prison. The affair caused such excitement for a time that the war was almost forgotten.

Although little was accomplished in the winter against the English, Frontenac was prepared to strike the Five Nations, and for this purpose had collected a considerable army at Montreal for a winter campaign. His critics and his government had goaded him to almost any undertaking to recover his reputation, which had been injured by his peace negotiations with savages, who, it was believed, had outwitted him. It was his intention to march against the Onondagas, who had most offended him. The severity of the season and the great depth of snow were obstacles not to be overcome. He then resolved to pay the Mohawks

another visit. This design was also abandoned, because intelligence had been conveyed to the English, who were there, and, with the Mohawks, awaited the assault with a "firm foot." He then selected three hundred of his best men for a scout in the hunting-grounds of the Iroquois lying between the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa Rivers. After a march of three days this party was detained by a fall of snow which continued thirteen days. They then procured a fresh supply of provisions and continued their progress. Near Cadaraqui they captured eight and killed three Iroquois. The commander of the troops returned to Montreal on March 20th. He reported, "that throughout the entire forest he found seven feet of snow." Four of the prisoners were publicly burned at Montreal, by order of Frontenac.

"At length," says the French narrator, "arrived the time for the Great Kettle. The negotiations for peace, hitherto fruitless, showed conclusively that the Iroquois would never be brought to terms except by force of arms. The Onondaga nation was the most mutinous, and ought to be first punished. The count had wholly divested himself of those humane sentiments which remain in the heart of a good father notwithstanding his children's repeated faults. Severe chastisement became now necessary, mildness having been hitherto useless; but this great remedy should not be applied, except efficaciously. The occasion was favorable, and the entrepôt of Fort Frontenac (Cadaraqui) invited us not to defer operations any longer." The preparations commenced at the beginning of the preceding winter were now complete. Nothing could be added to ensure success. Everything was kept in readiness at Montreal. On June 16th the count set out from Quebec, having been preceded by the militia and by the Abenaki and Huron Indians. He arrived at Montreal on June 22d,

and devoted several days to the details of the expedition. On July 4th the army was at Lachine, and on the 6th encamped at Isle Perrot, where the order of march was arranged. Five hundred Indians were so distributed that a greater part of them were always with the vanguard, which was composed of two hundred regulars. These were followed by the boats containing provisions and baggage, in charge of the Canadian militia. M. de Callières commanded the vanguard, having in charge the cannon and mortars with their appurtenances. Next was the count, surrounded by his staff, the chief engineer, and the gentlemen volunteers. Four battalions of militia, under command of the governor of Three Rivers, formed the centre. The rear, consisting of two hundred regulars and two hundred Indians, was commanded by M. de Vaudreuil. All the veteran officers of Canada were distributed among the troops. The proselytes and other Indians were in charge of experienced French officers accustomed to Indian warfare. This order of march was not broken during the whole expedition, except that the van and rear exchanged places on alternate days.

Fourteen days after leaving Lachine the army arrived at Fort Frontenac, a short passage for so large an army up a river abounding in rapids. At the fort there was a detention of seven days, waiting for a re-enforcement of Ottawa Indians which did not come. Leaving the sick and disabled to the care of the surgeons, Frontenac crossed to the south shore of Lake Ontario, and on July 28th reached the mouth of the Oswego River, "the river of the Onondagas." This narrow stream was difficult of navigation, and at one place the boats and canoes with their freight were taken from the water and carried around the falls. The army made only five leagues in two days from dawn to dark. Frontenac, now seventy-

four years old, unable to walk, was carried in his canoe over the carrying-place on the shoulders of fifty Indians singing and uttering yells of joy. When the army arrived at Lake Onondaga, they coasted in two divisions along the shores, and landed at the head "sword in hand." Here a fort was built for the safe protection of the boats and canoes. After leaving the temporary fort, the army marched half a league and camped at a place called the Salt Springs. These springs excited the admiration of the French. They wished them at Quebec, for they would at that place make the "codfishery very easy."

With great toil and difficulty the army reached the objective point on August 4th. But the village and fort, the capital of the Iroquois nations, were in ashes. The Onondagas, having sent their women and children to a place of safety, aided by the Senecas and Cayugas, had determined to defend their homes. But learning by their scouts, and from deserters from the enemy, that the French were too strong to hope for success, they burned their cabins with the triple palisades of their village, and withdrew to the forests. The French lost the glory of their capture by siege and assault, but they consoled themselves that Indians never stand before a considerable force. The count was carried about in his chair, surrounded by his guard, issuing orders, and seeing all his plans fully carried out. He expected to reap a large reward, and be covered with glory. Finding no enemy to fight, no fortifications to assault with cannon and mortars, the French devoted themselves to the destruction of the corn in the fields and the granaries, and to the plunder, consisting of old hatchets, belts, and peltries. One man too old to walk was taken prisoner, and given to the Indian allies, who put him to death, in their usual barbarous manner, by slow tortures. Not a murmur escaped his lips. An Indian stabbed him

to end his sufferings. He exclaimed, "I thank thee, but you ought rather to finish the work by fire. Learn, ye French dogs, how to suffer; and ye Indians, dogs of dogs, learn how to die when ye are tortured and killed."

While the main army was at Onondaga, a detachment was sent against the Oneidas, under M. de Vaudreuil. When he approached one of the villages, he was met by a deputation, who offered their submission and requested him not to destroy their corn. They had a right to expect this favor, for here had resided the Priest Milet, and many of them were his proselytes. Vaudreuil replied, that he would not only destroy the corn, but the village also, for when they were in Canada, whither he proposed to carry them, they would want neither corn nor villages. He was as good as his word, although he caught only a few "to carry to Canada," the greater number having fled. A Mohawk, who had lived among the proselytes, but had come to Oneida, surrendered himself. He was treated as a deserter, and at Onondaga was tortured and burned. Truly was it said that Frontenac "divested himself of the sentiments of humanity." Vaudreuil made quick work of the duty assigned him, hastened doubtless by the report of a large army of English and Mohawks on the way to oppose him. He returned to his chief sooner than expected, with thirty-five Oneidas, and four Frenchmen who had been prisoners with that tribe.

Frontenac, having destroyed the corn, tortured and killed one Onondaga and one Mohawk, began his retreat on the 9th, and on August 15th arrived at Fort Frontenac. He accomplished so little, and his stay in the country was so short, that it may be fairly supposed his retreat was precipitated by the report that Fletcher would soon be on him with an "army more numerous than the trees in the woods." On his retreat the Iroquois hung on the skirts

of the army and obtained some scalps. They attacked the French in their boats on the river, and caused the loss of many lives by drowning. The count arrived at Montreal on August 20th, and closed his campaign by roasting another Mohawk prisoner at a slow fire.

Such were the results of this expensive expedition (but "the expense did not merit consideration") by an army of over 3,000 men, with artillery and other munitions of war, against a few hundred savages. However great the expense, and however small the results, Frontenac expressed himself as satisfied. The king approved of all that he had done, and encouraged him to persevere by holding out the hope of reward.

The prediction that the Onondagas would die of starvation did not prove true. The succors received from the English and from the other Indian nations were abundant. Their hunting and fishing were successful; their cabins were quickly rebuilt, and they were comfortable in their way. Not so in Canada. The withdrawal of the farmers and laborers from their employment to enter the ranks of the army prevented the planting of the usual spring grains. Of these there was a small harvest. The fear of Iroquois scalping parties interfered with the reaping of the winter wheat. On the whole there was so much scarcity of food that the government was obliged to intervene, and fix the prices to prevent extortion. Callières could not support the troops stationed at Montreal, and sent them to Quebec. The famine was severe, and Frontenac was obliged to abandon all his projected winter expeditions.

In July rumors were afloat in New York of the French invasion of the Onondaga country. Governor Fletcher was ready to go, and urged that some troops be sent forward to show our friendly zeal, but the Council objected to the expense of doing this on mere rumor, especially

as there was no money in the treasury. On August 2d Fletcher received sure intelligence that three thousand French were in the country of the Five Nations, and that Albany was in a state of fearful consternation. It was feared that the display of so much power would alienate those ancient allies, and attach them to their enemies. If this should happen the frontiers would be desolated. He did not wait for the advice of the Council, but hurried up the river to the scene of fear and alarm.

On arriving at Albany he called a council of war. He explained that, as soon as he had learned the French were in the Indian country, he had written to Connecticut and New Jersey asking for assistance, had ordered the batteries and fort to be put in a proper state of defence against an apprehended attack by sea, and had come off with a part of the garrison. In view of the alarming state of the country, he proposed to send some troops into the Mohawk country to cover the retreat of the Onondagas and Oneidas, and to show them his willingness to render all the aid in his power. It was the opinion of the Council, that, the enemy having retreated, it would be a useless expense to adopt the suggestion of the governor. But they advised that the Oneida sachems then in town should be condoled for their loss in a public meeting of all the civil and military officers present, at which time there should also be a consultation as to the proper methods to be adopted for restoring the destroyed Indian villages. The governor yielded to this advice. The misfortunes of the Oneidas were condoled in the usual form, and a report on the restoration of the Onondagas to their country was approved.

As nothing more could then be done, the governor re-organized the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs. These affairs had been managed sometimes by the mag-

istrates of Albany, at others by the English military officers, and again by the militia captains, or the aldermen. Fletcher now created an independent board, consisting of Major Peter Schuyler, Godfrey Dellius, Evert Bancker, Dirk Wessels, and the mayor of Albany. It was the duty of the board to transact all important business with the Indians in the governor's absence, and to report to him and the Council. The board was supplied with a moderate amount of money (one hundred pounds), to be expended in presents to sachems who chanced to visit Albany, for interpreters, messengers, and necessary expenses. The amount allotted to this board, and that given to Sir William Johnson, sole agent, less than fifty years afterward, present a striking contrast.

Measures were taken to supply the destitute Onondagas and Oneidas with food, and to this end the exportation of corn from Albany was prohibited until the Board of Commissioners had procured a full supply for their wants.

As had been known for years, the French were determined on the capture of the whole province at the first favorable opportunity, and had arranged a plan of attack by sea and land. New York was to have been taken by the fleet, while the governor of Canada marched from Montreal on Albany, and thence down the river to meet the fleet. After Fletcher's return from the frontiers, towards the end of August, it was reported from Boston that a French squadron was on the coast, which, taken in connection with Frontenac's declatations, led the authorities to believe that the long-contemplated invasion was near at hand. The governor wished to go to Albany to meet Frontenac "sword in hand," but the Council would not agree to this, and thought it more for the interests of the province that he should "abide in New York." It proved to be a false alarm, but none the less expensive to

an impoverished people. Connecticut and New Jersey responded to a certain extent to appeals for assistance. They, however, felt the hardships of the situation. There had been so many false alarms, and they had been so often called on for aid, to which they had felt obliged to give some sort of answer, that they had come to feel that they were annoyed without reason.

The Five Nations accepted the invitation to meet the governor in council, and appointed the latter part of September for the meeting. Ten days after his arrival at Albany, Fletcher had a pleasant and satisfactory interview with some Onondaga and Oneida sachems. Later, after the sachems of the other three nations came to town, he gave a public reception to all the Indian representatives, and made a speech suitable to the occasion. At its conclusion he distributed the presents received from England and furnished by the province, altogether amounting to £660 currency, of which £200 sterling, or £260 currency, were contributed by the king.

The sachems thanked the governor for the generous presents, particularly for the fifty-four brass kettles in which to cook their food, their old ones having been stolen by the enemy. They were as hearty in their expressions of friendship and allegiance as on any former occasion. The recent invasion of the Onondaga country had not alienated their affection. However, they asked that, inasmuch as they were now greatly reduced, some means might be devised to conquer Canada, or that they might be allowed to make peace on the best possible terms, for they were utterly unable to prosecute the war alone. The covenant-chain was renewed with all the Five Nations by Governor Fletcher on behalf of all the colonies. The conference separated with the best of feelings.

Meantime the predatory warfare continued, but was not prosecuted with much zeal or success. Toward the close of September, 1696, a party of French left Montreal for the frontiers of New York, guided by a proselyte. In the vicinity of Albany they separated; the major part, under Captain Dubeau, on the way to Kinderhook, was attacked by some River Indians and defeated with loss, the captain being mortally wounded. The remainder of his party were pursued. Some were killed or taken prisoners, and the others perished on the way home. The eight who left the party near Albany returned toward Canada. They met some proselytes, and mistaking each other for enemies a skirmish took place, in which some of the French were wounded and the chief of the proselytes was killed. The French mourned the loss of a brave man and active partisan; the English rejoiced that a man who had been a great scourge to the farmers and unguarded travellers had at last been put to death. He had taken many scalps and a few prisoners. Nominally a Christian, he was as cruel and barbarous as though he had never heard the gospel of peace.

The rumors of a contemplated expedition in force against Albany, apparently well authenticated, induced Governor Fletcher to make arrangements to spend the winter on the frontier, and in person direct the operations for its defence. His journey was not a comfortable one. He left New York on November 10th, and before reaching Ulster was twice forced aground by contrary winds. Above Ulster the ice closed around him and he was obliged to land. After leaving the vessel and reaching the shore over the ice, he walked five miles to Patcoke (Claverack), where he lodged in "his clothes with Dundalk accommodation." By accident Major Schuyler was in the neighborhood, and came to his relief. He reached

Albany on the 21st, crossing from Greenbush on the ice "afoot."

In December he met the sachems of the River Indians, and paid them the stipulated reward for the French, whom they had killed and captured in October—six pounds a head. By an Oneida chief he sent a belt and message to the Five Nations, calling a conference in Albany. To the Oneidas he sent another message, inquiring what business they had recently transacted with the governor of Canada? They replied that Frontenac had sent them a belt, telling them that by his late invasion of their country he had only whipped them a little, but that if they still adhered to the English he would come again, and utterly destroy them. That they answered, "If you succeed in destroying Albany, as you threaten, we shall be at a loss what to do. But we think the governor of New York can hold his own, and as long as he keeps his legs we will adhere to him. When they are knocked from under him, possibly we may come to you, but for the present we will wait."

During the winter the governor was not idle, although no enemy appeared. Frontenac had made great threats; but by reason of the famine he was unable to execute them. The Indian question was one of absorbing interest, and the governor gave it much attention. The Five Nations had become demoralized by the repeated invasions of their country. All but one had been visited by the French. Their villages and corn had been destroyed. They had fought without assistance, and were the principal sufferers. They saw that their English allies had not the ability to protect them. They now came to the conclusion either to make peace or to abandon their country. It required all the governor's address to overcome their convictions and hold them steady.

The new Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs reported, on January 4, 1697 :

“That the late invasion of the French in their country has put three of the nations, viz., the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagas, in such a consternation that very few of them live in their castles, and now are very well assured that nothing but your excellency’s presence here this winter kept them in their country. And we further find, by certain information which we have received from some of their chief people, that in case they are not covered with such a body of men as may protect them from the insults of the French, they will leave the government, which will not only be of consequence to this province, but to others of his majesty’s dominions on the main.

“That this last fall some of the Oneidas with their families (by the inducement of French emissaries) are gone over to Canada, and also (these emissaries) have appointed a time next spring to be among the nations again, which correspondence cannot be well prevented.

“That we are apprehensive the Governor of Canada, upon the late news come into these parts of a negotiation of peace between the two crowns, will make use of the same with the Indians to the prejudice of this part of his majesty’s dominions.

“That if any skulking parties of the French or Indians come upon this coast next spring, our farmers will be necessitated to remove from home to other places ; and it is purely your excellency’s being here that has stayed them this winter.

“Wherefore, under your excellency’s favor, we humbly offer to your Excellency’s prudent judgment and consideration, if consistent with his majesty’s honor, and interest of this Province, that a cessation of arms be concluded by your excellency between the Indians of this government and those of Canada, to prevent the further effusion of Christian blood by the inhuman cruelties and butcheries of those infidels.”

On this the governor decided to call a meeting of the Five Nations in March, but on account of the winter season it was postponed at the request of the sachems. Two Onondaga chiefs, however, Dekanissora and Sadakanahie, came to visit the governor. They remembered their reception in New York, and under pretext of telling the state of their affairs, and asking for advice, they had come for provisions and guns for their people and presents for themselves. It is needless to say that their requests were granted, and they received in addition some kegs of rum to "comfort them on their way home."

Fletcher returned to New York late in March. His winter in Albany had been of some service to the province and to its Indian allies. His presence on the frontiers, at a time so critical and dangerous, inspired confidence and courage. The French emissaries among the Five Nations had started some alarming rumors, which had obtained circulation and belief. Among them was one which caused unusual excitement—that the English were about to turn against them for their destruction. This by Fletcher's efforts was traced to its source and proved to be false. But he could not overcome their repugnance to a further prosecution of the war, and he was obliged to consent that they could again negotiate for a peace.

A cessation of hostilities between them and the proslaves was soon arranged. Frequent messages were sent from one to the other, and the summer passed in comparative quiet. The sachems made frequent visits to Albany, to give information to their friends and to seek advice. Occasionally some of the more prominent would go on to New York to visit the Great Swift Arrow. The governor entertained them at his own table, caused them to ride about the city in his own "coach and six," sent them

aboard the ships of war, and amused them with salvos of artillery. They were pleased with the attention, and favorably impressed with the apparent power and resources of the English. But when in addition to these courtesies they received laced hats and coats, to which were added large presents for their comfort, they were eloquent in their gratitude.

On December 27, 1697, the commissioners wrote to the governor that they had received direct information, that the governor of Canada was bent on some hostile demonstration, for he had called in his bushlopers (wood-rangers or Indian traders) and Indian allies, and had posted them at Montreal. Two days afterward they wrote, "We have received your letter announcing peace has been made between England and France. Immediately, as you directed, we sent couriers to the Five Nations with orders to bury the hatchet, and will send the good news to Canada by the first opportunity." It was joyful news to an impoverished province, and to the almost ruined Indian confederacy. On January 1, 1698, the commissioners, in accordance with the instructions received from Governor Fletcher, despatched Lieutenant Abraham Schuyler and Jean Rosic, a Frenchman, long a resident of Albany, to Canada with a flag of truce. They carried a printed copy of the treaty of peace, signed at Ryswyk, September 20, 1697, with a letter from Colonel Peter Schuyler and Mr. Dellius, requesting a cessation of hostilities, and announcing that the Five Nations had been directed to "bury the hatchet." The couriers arrived at Montreal toward the last of January, and their letters were forwarded to Frontenac at Quebec. He did not write, but directed the governor of Montreal to reply that he was glad to receive the news of peace, the confirmation whereof he was daily expecting. But as to a cessation of hostilities, it was not

thought proper to notice it. However, his winter campaign against the English and Mohawks was abandoned.

On February 26th Governor Fletcher announced, by proclamation, that an honorable peace had been made by the warring nations of Europe, and for this great blessing he appointed a day of thanksgiving.

Governor Fletcher's administration was drawing to its close. During his whole term of office war existed between England and France, involving their colonies. As governor, he had been active and vigilant, always on the alert to oppose the encroachments of his hostile neighbors. Had he been properly supported at home, his efforts to protect the province and her Indian allies would have been more effectual. While France furnished the governor of Canada with fresh troops and supplies almost annually, England did next to nothing. Two hundred men and occasional Indian presents made up the sum of her support in eight years of war. .

Fletcher found the colony rent into factions. It required more wisdom than he possessed to heal the differences and unite the people in their common defence. It was difficult to govern at all without becoming a partisan by patronizing one or the other faction. He attached himself to the party which overthrew the assumed government of Leisler, and which represented wealth and official position. Of course Leisler's friends were offended, and finally became his bitter enemies. They spared no pains or expense to make him uncomfortable, and to obtain his recall. Their agents in England were earnest and persistent in their representations against him, not flinching at untruths and unmerited abuse. When Robert Livingston, with his grievance, joined them, their work was accomplished. Fletcher was soon invited home. He last presided at the council on April 1, 1698.

Richard, Earl of Bellomont, was appointed governor of New York in March, 1697, and received his commission on June 18th following. Livingston and the friends of the late Jacob Leisler had filled his mind with prejudices against Fletcher and the party with which he acted, to such a degree that he was prepared at once to attach himself to the Leislerian faction, and to throw the whole weight of his influence in their behalf. He did not arrive in New York until April 2, 1698, nearly a year after the date of his commission. He came to a poor and unquiet province. Had he possessed more wisdom, and been less of a partisan, he might have healed the existing divisions, united the people, attached them to his person, and had a prosperous administration. But he was proud and overbearing, haughty in his manners, and unwilling to seek or take advice, except when it agreed with his own opinions. He was an open enemy of his predecessor, and could find nothing commendable in his transactions. His antipathy to Fletcher was made to include all Fletcher's friends and supporters. In his correspondence he made no allowance for imperfections and disorders in consequence of the war, but attributed the poverty of the people and an exhausted treasury to mal-administration and the dishonesty of officials. He came when the country was at peace; trade had begun to revive, farmers were cultivating their lands without fear of the scalping knife, mechanics were pursuing their several employments, and prosperity was beginning again to reward the diligent. But so anxious was Bellomont to set up a new standard of government and to introduce new methods that he was soon involved in controversies and quarrels, which made life a burden and hastened his death.

Bellomont's cares of government soon began. Colonel Schuyler and Dominic Dellius, commissioners of Indian

affairs, wrote, on April 6th, that four Cayuga and Seneca Indians had brought intelligence concerning the continued negotiations between the Onondagas and Oneidas and the French for a separate peace. To put a stop to such proceedings, they had appointed a conference with the governor, and had notified the sachems to be at Albany within forty days. Two weeks afterward Schuyler attended the Council in New York, when Indian affairs were freely discussed. Count de Frontenac had not yet received authentic notice of the peace from his government, and, although he did not trouble the frontiers of New York, he continued to send out parties against the border settlements of New England; and he refused to cease hostilities against the Five Nations, unless they made a separate peace with him. He claimed that the Iroquois were subjects of France, and that as long as they adhered to the English they were rebels, and should be treated as such. Besides this, he was offended that Governor Fletcher did not write to him when messengers were sent to him with a printed copy of the treaty of peace. It would indeed have been more polite if Fletcher had written, but the copy of the treaty was not official, and was only sent as an item of news for his information, with the hope that he would cease hostilities, as did the English. It was now determined by the Council to send commissioners, with a letter from Bellomont to Frontenac, not only to announce the peace concluded in September previous, but to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Schuyler and Mr. Delliuss were appointed to this duty.

They were instructed to proceed on their mission with as little delay as possible, and hand to Count de Frontenac a copy of the treaty of peace. They were also to take with them all French prisoners at New York or Albany, and deliver them at Montreal. They were to de-

mand the release of all English prisoners then in Canada, together with those of the Five Nations, as subjects of the British crown. And they were to require that all acts of hostility either against the English or the Five Nations should cease.

The earl wrote a friendly and dignified letter to the count, and another to M. de Callières, governor of Montreal. To the count he said, in conclusion, "I transmit this letter by Colonel Schuyler, member of his majesty's Council in this province, and Mr. Dellius, both gentlemen of character and merit, in order to evince to you the esteem I entertain for a person of your rank." In his instructions to the commissioners, and in his letters, he was careful to respect the rank and position of the French officials, in order that no offence might be given to their pride or sensibilities.

The commissioners received their instructions in New York, April 22d, and on May 8th left Albany for Canada. On their way they met, at Crown Point, a party of proselytes going to Albany with furs to trade; and the next day, two French Indians "arrayed as warriors," who said they were in pursuit of the traders to bring them back. Schuyler was soon undeceived as to their intentions by one of the prisoners, who told him that these men were on an expedition to take prisoners. They were not allowed to proceed. Schuyler and Dellius arrived at Montreal on the 19th, and delivered to Callières the letter of Bellomont and the twenty prisoners in their charge.

The great question of the time, as to whom the Five Nations belonged, received a prolonged discussion without a satisfactory conclusion. They arrived at Quebec on the 25th, and immediately called on the governor, by whom they were politely received. The next day the superior of the Jesuits and the clergy paid their respects.

Their credentials had been presented to Frontenac, who omitted no formalities in the reception of such high functionaries. On the 27th they had another interview with the count. Having previously given him a copy of the treaty of peace, they now formally demanded the release of the king's subjects, both Christians and Indians, who were detained as prisoners. The question as to the sovereignty over the Five Nations was again discussed. The count was willing to surrender the English prisoners, and would give orders to that effect ; but he declined to give up the Iroquois, until their deputies should come and make peace with him, as had been promised by some of their sachems. He claimed that they were French subjects, by right of discovery and by the occupancy of their country by forts and missions. On the other hand, the commissioners contended that, as a free and independent people, they had placed themselves and their country under English protection, and had always been recognized as English subjects and allies. They failed to convince Frontenac of the justice of their claim, and he firmly but courteously refused to yield to their demand. Three days afterward the English prisoners then at Quebec were collected together in their presence, and all but two or three refused to return with them. They had been carried away when mere children, had been educated in the Catholic religion, had formed new associations, had forgotten their old homes, and preferred to remain in Canada. The business of the commissioners was now accomplished. They had discharged the duties of their mission, and on May 31st left Quebec for home. At Three Rivers and Montreal other prisoners were released. They arrived at Albany on June 22d, with twenty English captives, and accompanied by forty French Indians with five hundred beaver skins.

Frontenac replied to the letter of Bellomont, that he had not yet received from France a confirmation of the peace, but was disposed from feelings of humanity to surrender the English prisoners in his hands, as soon as they could be collected from the various places where they were detained. He refused, however, to surrender the Iroquois, for the reasons assigned to the commissioners. He complimented the governor on his choice of persons sent to him, who appeared to him to be "gentlemen of merit;" and, not to be outdone in courtesy, concluded by saying: "The King of England could not send into those provinces a person capable of affording me more joy, by the reputation I understand you possess."

Bellomont was not able to meet the sachems of the Five Nations at the time appointed by the commissioners of Indian affairs. Missing the messengers sent to countermand the appointment, the sachems arrived in Albany on May 16th. Schuyler and Dellius were on the road to Canada; Bancker was absent. Dirk Wessels, the fourth commissioner, assisted by Robert Livingston, who was now at his old post, and some of the military officers and citizens, gave them an audience. The conference was short; long enough, however, to develop the fact that Frontenac was misled in making the declaration to the commissioners, that the Five Nations had sent delegates to negotiate a peace with him. The sachems now in Albany were the chiefs of the Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Oneidas. They emphatically denied that they were engaged in any negotiations with the French.

Governor Bellomont held his first conference with the Five Nations in July, 1698. It was largely attended by the chief sachems, and by the representative men of the province. The earl gives some account of it in one of his letters to the Board of Trade, and makes it the occasion of

passing some severe criticisms on his predecessor and his management of Indian affairs. A full account of the proceedings was carefully prepared by the secretary, Robert Livingston, and printed. It is a matter of some surprise that they were not reprinted among the colonial documents, as other like proceedings were. The absence of the document is a loss to the student of early history.¹

Bellomont complained that at first the Indians were so cold and reserved, that he was alarmed lest we had lost their affection; but when he discovered that they had been tampered with by Mr. Dellius, their behavior was accounted for. When they learned the errors into which they had been led by bad advisers, they became more confidential and communicative. To one more familiar with the speeches of Indians at their councils with the governors, there appears little or no difference in tone or sentiment. The Indian orators were students of human nature, and until they had learned something of the peculiar characteristics of a new governor they were cautious in the use of words. Fletcher was an exception. He came so unexpectedly to the assistance of the Mohawks, in the winter of 1693, that they were at once won by him, and unreservedly expressed their gratitude and praise. On the third day of the conference Bellomont bestowed a larger gratuity than had ever been given before by any governor. This was the key that opened their hearts; and they had now learned what would be most pleasing to the new governor's ears. In their reply to Bellomont's speech, after giving the usual history of the covenant-chain, they spoke of their present condition as being much reduced by reason of the war, and were unsparing in their censures of Col-

¹ A manuscript copy, made from the printed original, is in the library of Cornell University.

onel Fletcher, who had made large promises but small fulfilment.

Bellomont assured them of his protection, and of his readiness to come to their assistance at any time when they were menaced by the French. They held some French prisoners, and some of their people were yet captives in Canada, whom they were urgently desirous to have released. Bellomont undertook an exchange of prisoners, in which their friends should be included, and urged them by no means to pursue their negotiations with the governor of Canada for a separate treaty or for an exchange of prisoners. They promised, in conclusion, to be guided by his advice, and leave the management of affairs relating to peace or war to his superior wisdom. Bellomont was well pleased with his success in his first treaty. He reorganized the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, making it somewhat cumbersome and unwieldy. To Peter Schuyler, the mayor of the city, and Robert Livingston, as the leading members, he conjoined the aldermen and recorder of the city, the sheriff of the county, and the commandant of the garrison.¹ The governor was not altogether pleased with Peter Schuyler, more probably because of their difference in politics than for other reasons; and, had he been left entirely free to choose the commissioners, would have left Schuyler off the board. The Five Nations, in their public speeches, were urgent to have him retained, and mentioned him as the only man in the province to go out with his men and fight with them against the enemy; so that the governor and his near advisers did not think it prudent to slight their wishes.

¹ The Civil List under this date is not accurate. It makes the board to consist of the mayor, recorder, aldermen and commonalty, Dirk Wessels, and Hendrick House.

While in Albany Bellomont received much attention from the citizens, and, although suffering from the gout, he was gratified and pleased with his visit. The mayor and Common Council made him a congratulatory address, alleging that the "frontiers were truly refreshed by his lordship's presence," and thanking him for the change he had made in the management of Indian affairs. The principal citizens of Schenectady presented him with a humble petition, asking to be relieved from taxes for a time, on account of their great misfortunes in the war. To both address and petition he made formal replies, which were received with favor.

Soon after his return to New York, Bellomont reported to the Council his transactions at Albany, and laid before them the records of the conference, together with the several addresses and petitions he had received, as also the "haughty answer" of Count de Frontenac to his letter notifying him of the peace and proposing an exchange of prisoners. The Council were so well pleased with his success with the Indians, "and the good humor he had put them in," that Colonel Smith, the chief justice, was requested to compliment him on his "care and prudence, which had produced such happy results."

Five days afterward the Council was again convened. Some of the inferior sachems of Onondaga had continued negotiations with Frontenac for peace and exchange of prisoners through the proselytes. Their belts had been rejected. Frontenac refused an exchange until the sachems of the Iroquois should come and enter into a firm peace with him, otherwise he would again invade their country to destroy them. There was, consequently, excitement among the Five Nations, and a general council was called at Onondaga. Such was the purport of a message brought by Dekanissora and two other sachems to the commission-

ers at Albany, who thought it of sufficient importance to send the message and the sachems to the governor. The Council was informed that the Five Nations now desired assistance, and also asked that some Christian should attend their general meeting at Onondaga. Dekanissora was called in, and was assured by the governor that "he was fully resolved to succor and protect them. For that purpose he had ordered his lieutenant-governor, with his company, to repair to Albany, there to remain; and should it be required, he would go to their assistance with all the forces on the frontiers." He likewise promised to send Dirk Wessels, the mayor of Albany, to attend their meeting. Dekanissora was pleased with these promises, but said the way was long and difficult; the lieutenant-governor might not be able to reach them in time; and added, "If we cannot be protected from the French, we must make peace with them." Bellomont labored long to convince him that the great king was able and willing to give them all the protection they required. Dirk Wessels was directed to go to Onondaga with an interpreter, to advise with the sachems; and a messenger was despatched to Canada with a letter to Frontenac, demanding the surrender of the Indian prisoners and a cessation of his annoyances of the Five Nations.

Bellomont wrote a second, short, sharp letter to Frontenac, assuring him that if he invaded the Five Nations he would arm every man in the provinces under his government, if needs be, to join the Indians and repel him. He sent the letter by Captain Johannes Schuyler, with instructions to deliver it in the quickest possible time, and press for an answer. While in Canada he was also to procure all the information attainable, as to the designs of the French, their movements, and strength. Dirk Wessels was ordered to inform the sachems at Onondaga of the steps

taken to procure the release of their friends from captivity, and by all fair means to dissuade them from any farther intercourse with the French. Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan was directed to station himself at Albany and watch developments. Should he receive trustworthy intelligence that the French were on the march to invade the Indian country, he was required to muster all the militia of Albany and Ulster Counties, and, with all the regular forces on the frontiers, go to the support of the allies against the enemy, "for it is for the honor and interest of his majesty that the Five Nations be protected."

Mayor Wessels left Albany on his mission on August 27, 1698, and arrived at Onondaga on September 3d, having called on the Mohawks and Oneidas, who each sent two sachems with him as delegates to the council. The Indian sachems were not well satisfied with the message delivered to them from the governor; but they finally consented to comply with his directions, in so far, that they would send no French prisoners directly from their country to Canada, but by way of Albany, when their friends, the English, should appoint delegates to accompany them. In the meantime, if the French did them any harm, Brother Corlaer must bear the responsibility. Wessels returned to Albany on September 12th.

Johannes Schuyler left Albany on August 27th, and arrived at Quebec on September 9th. Without delay he waited upon the Count de Frontenac, to deliver the letters with which he had been entrusted. The count was angry with their substance and tone; he declared that he would pursue "unflinchingly" his methods and policy toward the Iroquois, for they were his rebellious children, and as a father he would chastise them until they submitted to his authority. In a subsequent interview he asked Schuyler as to Bellomont's strength, and expressed

surprise that he should be so quick to espouse the cause of the Iroquois, and not wait until the commissioners to be appointed under the treaty of Ryswyk had settled the boundaries between the two provinces. Schuyler replied that he was equally astonished that the count, knowing that commissioners had been already appointed on the boundary question, should still press the subjects of the English crown to come to him. This opened the vexed question as to the sovereignty of the Iroquois nations, and after a long discussion it was left unsettled, as it had been many times before. The next day the proclamation of peace was made with many demonstrations of joy, winding up with a grand dinner, at which toasts were drunk to the late belligerent kings and to the antagonistic governors.

Schuyler left Quebec for home on September 14th. At Three Rivers he heard that the sachems of the Five Nations had arrived at Montreal, and he resolved to learn, if possible, their errand; but on going to Montreal he found it a false report. He spent some days in that city not unprofitably. He was quick to observe that the governor of Canada was in no condition to fulfil his threats against the Five Nations. The troops were disbanded, or distributed among the various forts, and several of the officers were returning to France. Even in the frontier fort (Chambly) there were only twelve men. He reached home the last of September, and went directly to New York to report to the governor in person.

The lieutenant-governor had no occasion to call in the militia and march into the Indian country to resist the French. He remained quietly in Albany, and on October 8th received a call from Sadakanahie and other sachems, who had come, with five French prisoners, on their way to Canada for an exchange, pursuant to their engagement with Dirk Wessels at Onondaga. Nanfan

told them that Johannes Schuyler had returned from Canada, and was now in New York, but would be back in a few days. He thought that by waiting to see him they would be convinced that they need go no farther. On Schuyler's return they were induced by his representations to defer their journey to Canada, and to leave the Frenchmen in the fort for safe keeping.

The death of the Count de Frontenac, which occurred on November 28, 1698, at Quebec, was considered of so much importance to the pacification of the Five Nations, that a meeting of the commissioners of Indian affairs was convened on December 26th, at the request of Colonel Schuyler and Secretary Livingston, to take into consideration the expediency of sending the news by special messenger to their several villages. It was decided without hesitation to send a courier, provided with the usual credentials—"seven hands of wampum," on this occasion "two times seven hands." To secure despatch, the Mohawk sachem chosen for the errand was promised a "match coat" as his reward.

The death of Frontenac did not quiet the Indians. The French did not cease their pretensions, and were fertile in resources to induce them to come to Canada to make peace and release their prisoners. The Indians, naturally credulous, were easily made to believe the most improbable stories. Early in February, 1699, Dekanissora and an Oneida sachem appeared before the commissioners of Indian affairs, and gave a long and minute history of an Oneida's adventures in Canada while "in search of his father." At Montreal he fell in with M. Maricour, called by the Indians Stow Stow. This gentleman told the Oneida chief, among other things, that Johannes Schuyler, on his late visit, had fastened with "silver nails" their prisoners more securely than ever, and that they would never be

released until sachems from all the Iroquois nations should come to the governor with their French prisoners and made a final peace. Dekanissora went on to say, that when this chief returned home and told his story, the Five Nations held a council, and resolved to take the exchange of prisoners in their own hands. For this purpose they had selected the sachems to proceed at once on the business. When he left Onondaga they were not yet gone, but were busy with their preparations.

The commissioners, believing the affair to be of much importance, and to need immediate attention, despatched the interpreter to Onondaga, with instructions to stop the sachems bound for Canada ; or, if they had gone, to have them brought back. They also appointed the mayor of the city, Colonel Schuyler, and Dirk Wessels to go to Onondaga, to treat with the Indians and prevent their further negotiations with the French. When these gentlemen arrived in the Mohawk country they met an Onondaga sachem, who told them that their journey would be useless, as the men for Canada had been gone seven days.

The Indian delegates to Canada returned to Onondaga on March 21st, bearing five belts from M. de Callières, the acting governor, inviting them to come to Montreal within sixty days, when there should be an exchange of prisoners and all the differences should be amicably settled. A summons for a general meeting at the council-house was issued to all the nations, and a message with a belt sent to the Earl of Bellomont, requesting him to commission Colonel Schuyler and Major Wessels as delegates to attend the meeting. This request was not granted, for what reason does not appear. In place of these gentlemen, Colonel Schuyler's youngest brother, Johannes, and Captain John Bleecker were appointed. Their instructions were prepared by the Council and Assembly, an unusual proced-

ure, for it was the governor's prerogative to instruct all messengers and delegates sent directly from the capital, and he had always performed his duty in this respect. These instructions related mainly to the measures to be pursued to induce the Indians to break off their negotiations with Canada and to cease to hold intercourse with the French. For this purpose they must be reminded of the covenant-chain, and its renewal by his excellency last summer, "when it was confirmed with greater earnestness than ever before." "Their correspondence must be prevented by fair means or otherwise."

Meantime the commissioners had sent Johannes Glen and Nicholas Bleecker to Onondaga, to watch and report the proceedings of the Five Nations in their intercourse with the French agents and priests. They arrived in time to hear the purport of the messages of Callières by his five belts; and that of the proselytes, advising them for their own safety from their Indian enemies not to hunt on the north side of Lake Ontario. In view of the situation, they sent the interpreter to Albany to give full information to the commissioners, and to deliver the request of the sachems that Colonel Schuyler and Major Wessels should attend the council. After the interpreter had been absent some weeks, the sachems became impatient, and told Mr. Glen nothing could be done until their Christian brethren and Quidor (Colonel Schuyler) were with them. Glen accordingly returned to Albany to hasten the movements of the English delegates. He was surprised to find other gentlemen than those asked for about to start on their mission.

Johannes Schuyler and Bleecker arrived at Onondaga on April 28th, having by the way called on the Mohawks and the Oneidas. The former declined to have anything to do with the council, and sent a message with wampum, that

they submitted entirely to the direction of the Earl of Bellomont. At Onondaga they waited until May 7th, when the council assembled. They then delivered their message according to instructions, and withdrew. After consulting two days, Dekanissora returned their answer. In its tone and matter it was more independent than usual. He said that it was a source of grief to them, that the governor did not himself release their friends from captivity, while he forbade them to do it. The English were slow in procuring a general exchange, and he feared that their love had grown cold. "We have been deluded by fair promises and little fulfilment. The French governor not only keeps our men in prison, but threatens to invade our country, unless we go to him and make our peace; and yet the English governor forbids us to go under penalty of breaking the covenant-chain. Our brother wishes to build forts in our country. That should have been done when they were needed, in time of war. It is now peace, and they are of no use. Brother Corlaer, you say we are the King of England's subjects. Well, be it so. But if the French should make war on us, as they have done, pray let us have assistance, and not delude us with falsehoods, as formerly." Nevertheless, he promised they would obey the governor, and not go to Canada, but would attend the meeting in Albany, as appointed. "However, we desire the governor to be present in person."

Governor Bellomont could not attend the "appointed meeting," for he was in Boston, looking after the affairs of that colony, but more especially arranging matters to obtain his salary. The lieutenant-governor was in New York, and not able to attend. He sent a brief letter of instructions. The commissioners were left comparatively free to conduct the conference in accordance with their own judgment and the temper of the Indians.

Dekanissora had a great desire to go to Canada as often as he could find excuses to justify it. Although Frontenac and his successor had insisted on the Iroquois coming to make peace, so that there might be an exchange of prisoners, they had released from time to time several men, and there were now only two left in their possession. Dekanissora kept up all this worry of councils and conferences that consent at last might be given to him to make a diplomatic visit to the French governor for an exchange.

True to their appointment, the sachems of the Five Nations assembled at Albany on June 12, 1699. The commissioners held a private meeting, at which Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan's letter was read, and the form of address to be made at the public meeting agreed upon. Opportunely, two Albanians had just come back from Canada, and reported that the two Indian prisoners were at liberty, and could return to their friends whenever they chose. In their address the commissioners excused the absence of the governor, and rehearsed the proceedings of the last conference, reminding them of their solemn promises to have nothing more to do with the French. As to the prisoners, the belief was expressed that there were other reasons which prompted them to go to Canada than merely to bring back those two men. "That excuse is now out of doors," for those men are free, and can come back when they choose. The commissioners reminded them of the deceptions practised by the French "time out of mind," referring for instance to the affair of Cadaraqui, and hinting that there was a covert design on the part of the Canadian governor to again put in practice some other evil designs. Finally the Indians were told that, as subjects of the English crown, they must be obedient, and lay aside all thoughts of holding further communications with the French.

Dekanissora, who was evidently discontented, spoke

briefly : " Brother Corlaer and Quidor," addressing the governor as if present, and linking with his name that of the chairman of the commissioners, " you have stopped the path to Canada yesterday, and we submit." Aqueen-desa, alias Sadakanahie, took the word, and made a long speech. He denied that there was any other reason for their wish to go to Canada than a desire to rescue their poor countrymen from the French. He was glad that the path to Canada had been stopped, provided that it was shut against the brethren as well as to themselves, " for of late it has become a path knee-deep, so bare have you trod it. We are not the only ones deceived by the French. Last summer they made you believe, on the report of a poor Indian who came from Canada, that four of our nations had made peace, leaving out the Mohawks and the brethren, something quite impossible. So you see the French can deceive you as well as us.

" Corlaer and Quidor—Our heart is full, that no more regard is had to our prisoners. You tell us they are free ; but we have something else in our heads which makes us so eager to go to Canada. That is a tender point, and we beg you will handle it discreetly. Brethren, our stomach is full, for we see there is no thorough reconciliation between the French and us. Let Corlaer appease the French, that the kettle of wrath no longer boil. Devise some means to get our prisoners out of their hands, else some may go and take revenge."

This speech, from the great war-chief of the central nation, convinced the commissioners that something more must be done about the prisoners than the mere declaration that they were free. They accordingly asked for a " committee of conference." This was agreed to, and the committee appointed. Satisfactory arrangements were made to learn the true condition of the two men in Canada, and

it free to bring them home. But before the conference dissolved, such information was received, from both Indians and some Frenchmen just arrived in Albany, as to convince the sachems that it was no idle report that their men were free. After a four-days' anxious session, the meeting was adjourned with the best of feeling on both sides. Altogether the proceedings were wisely conducted by Colonel Schuyler and Robert Livingston.

However free the two Iroquois men may have appeared to be in Canada, and notwithstanding the declarations of Callières that they could return home when they pleased, they were still detained. Meantime the correspondence between Frontenac and Bellomont had been received by their respective governments, which issued peremptory orders, that all hostilities should cease between their colonies in America, until the boundary commissioners appointed by the treaty of Ryswyk had settled the limits; and that all prisoners and hostages should be at once surrendered. Duplicates of these orders were interchangeably sent to the governors of New York and Canada, with directions to forward the one to the other as soon as received. They were received at New York about July 1st, and Bellomont being still in New England, Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan sent the copy to Callières with a letter, under date July 3d, in which he took the opportunity to demand the return of those prisoners. Callières replied on August 6th. He reciprocates Nanfan's expressions of courtesy, and says that he will observe most punctually the commands of his master, the king; and as a beginning sends back the two Iroquois prisoners. Callières, with the packet sent from home and forwarded by Nanfan, received notice of his appointment to the governorship of Canada in place of the Count de Frontenac, deceased. It was a post he desired, and had solicited. He could well

afford to begin his administration with a strict compliance with the commands of his master.

It might be supposed, now that the questions of peace and the exchange of prisoners were settled, that there would be quiet on the borders, and little trouble with the Indians. It was a mistake, as we shall see presently. The most important question of all was not yet settled—that of boundaries. The French adhered with tenacity to their original claim, that the country of the Five Nations, except that occupied by the Mohawks, belonged to them by right of discovery and the law of nations. The commissioners under the treaty of Ryswyk, after giving the subject of the conflicting claims some consideration, adjourned without coming to any conclusion. Although there was peace, both nations were watchful lest one or the other should gain some advantage. Both courted the friendship of the Indians—the English to hold them to the “covenant-chain,” as their bulwark; and the French to seduce them, and attach them to their interests. To this end they employed various artifices to alarm their fears and arouse suspicions. Maricour was active and unscrupulous as to the reports he set afloat among them. He had lived in their country, knew their language, and had been adopted by them. From Fort Frontenac Onondaga was of easy access. Both French and Indians often visited each other, and Stow Stow found it easy to fill the minds of the credulous natives with all sorts of lies and falsehoods. Another means to weaken their attachment to the English—and it was more effectual than any other—was the religious zeal of the Jesuit missionaries. The Indians, by presents and blandishments, were induced to receive the priests and give them protection. The religious sentiment was awakened among them, and the missionaries gained converts and influence.

The English gave to the Indians no religious instructors, nor residents to become their adopted children. No forts or trading-posts were established on their borders. In their treaties and conferences they were required to come to Albany, as well as for trade, and there was no half-way station between the Hudson River and the far-off country of the Senecas, with whom and the Cayugas there was little intercourse. These were open to the French emissaries, and were gradually brought under their influence; and eventually the partisans of the French became the most numerous. The English were forced to rely on presents, the lower prices of their goods, and the higher prices paid for beaver-skins, as inducements to retain their affection and fidelity. But the Indian question was always troublesome and perplexing until Canada was conquered.

Colonel Schuyler, as chairman of the Indian board, was expected to keep the governor informed of all matters of interest relating to the Five Nations and the River Indians. The Schaghticokes, never very numerous or trustworthy, had dwindled in numbers, and had become thriftless and poor. However, the government thought it desirable to retain them in its interests, because their locality afforded opportunities for observing any hostile parties from the north, and giving notice to the border settlers. Hence they were invited to meet the governor when he held conferences with the Five Nations, and received the usual presents. They were related to the eastern Indians, and still kept up some sort of intercourse with them. Those eastern tribes were devoted to the French. It was almost a matter of course that their relatives, the Schaghticokes, should sympathize with them, and be open to French influences.

About the last of June Colonel Schuyler communicated to Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan some intelligence just

received, that the Schaghticoke Indians were about to settle on Onion River, "near Canada." In case of another war, he said, they will add to the number of our enemies, should they be permitted to carry out their design. The reason they assigned for their removal was that they were in debt to Albanians, were too poor to pay, and were in fear of their creditors. The commissioners laughed at their fears, assured them of protection, and forbade their removal. Nevertheless, it was thought that some fit person should be sent to them to quiet their fears and induce them to return. Nanfan approved the action taken by the board, and did not doubt its "wisdom in this important affair."

Soon after the late Indian conference the Onondaga nation was excited by a report brought from Canada by a proselyte, that the England and French had combined to extirpate all the Five Nations, and thus rid themselves of these troublesome neighbors. A messenger was sent to Albany to investigate the alarming report. He was assured that the report was false, and put into circulation by the same perfidious French who, in time of peace, had sent their friends to the galleys.

In September following the sachems of the Five Nations were invited to a convention at Albany, to receive a message and presents sent to them by the king, and to transact some business matters relating to Pennsylvania. The conference with the commissioners was hardly closed, when an express came from Onondaga to report that some French Indians had killed and scalped five Senecas while hunting near their castle. This was the fourth time some of the Five Nations had been killed since the peace. The commissioners immediately sent a courier to Governor Bellomont (still in New England) with the news, and soliciting his advice. In their letter Colonel Schuyler

and Secretary Livingston say, "the behavior of the French and their Indians since the peace has been intolerable." They inform the governor that they have just despatched the Mohawks and other Indians, as also the eastern Indians, who had engaged that three of their tribes should come and settle at Schaghticoke.

Toward the last of January, 1700, Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, wrote to Bellomont, enclosing copies of sworn statements of certain Indians, to the effect that there was to be a general rising of the Indians in New York and New England against the English, of which the Mohawks were the leaders. A Dutchman¹ was said to be at the bottom, as prime mover and instigator. It turned out to be a mere rumor, without any foundation, and was traced to a French source. At this time the Canadians were in a low condition, and unable, if inclined, to give the colonies much trouble. There was another scarcity of provisions, so stringent that it was almost a famine. The garrison at Fort Frontenac, as Colonel Schuyler wrote to the governor, was forced to procure food from the Onondaga Indians. Strange retribution for Frontenac's destruction of their crops in 1696!

The Earl of Bellomont, writing to the Lords of Trade, on February 28, 1700, refers to the French intrigues, and their impression on the Five Nations, and says :

"If a speedy and effectual course be not taken, we shall lose the Five Nations irrecoverably. The French never applied themselves so industriously as now to debauch them from us, and we on our parts have nothing nor do nothing to keep 'em in good humor and steady to us. The forts

¹ The people of Connecticut were more in fear of Dutchmen than of Indians. That the story might be sure of credibility, Winthrop's Indian informant shrewdly attributed the plot to a Dutchman's revelations to a Mohawk, and his advice to secure a store of powder and lead.

of Albany and Schenectady are so weak and ridiculous, that they look liker pounds to impound cattle in than forts. Our soldiers, who ought to be four hundred men, are not over one hundred eighty. The weakness of our frontier places and of our garrisons make us contemptible to the Five Nations above all other things. They are a discerning people, and know very well, that our pitiful forts, and a handful of half starved ragged soldiers cannot protect 'em from the French in time of war. . . . It falls out very unluckily, that Col. Schuyler and Mr. Livingston, who are the men of best figure in Albany, and are most popular with our Five Nations, and the principal men in managing them and keeping them firm to our interest, are at this time in the highest discontent imaginable, and truly not without reason, for both of them had good estates, but by victualing the companies they are almost (if not quite) broke. I believe they cannot have disbursed less than £7000 between 'em, besides what Col. Cortlandt has disbursed at York for the companies there, which I believe is £3000 by this time. If these 3 men knew what Sir W^m. Ashhurst writ to me of the four companies, being cut off all their arrear to the 25th of last March which is 27 months, it wou'd make 'em quite desperate ; but I dare not let them know a word of it. . . . Our Five Nations of Indians are the only barriers at present between the French of Canada, and Virginia and Maryland, as well as between the French and New York. Now if the French can so seduce those nations as to turn them against us, Virginia and Maryland will be quite destroyed, and with the greatest ease imaginable 300 of those Indians with their usual rapidity would not leave a planter or plantation in those two provinces in two months. . . ."

Notwithstanding the peace and the orders of the French king, M. de Longueuil, commandant of the French fort at Detroit, called a council of four nations of Indians within his jurisdiction, and ordered them to make war on the English and their allied Indians. Later in the year 1700,

he urged the White River tribe to lift the hatchet against the English, commencing by binding and pillaging all the English who came to them and on the Beautiful River (Ohio). The French, therefore, did not confine themselves to intrigues, but urged their Indians to war.

In consequence of the rumors that the Indians were forming a league to extirpate the English, Lord Bello-mont gave directions to the Indian board to send Colonel Schuyler, Robert Livingston, and Hendrick Hansen, late mayor of Albany, to Onondaga, and there make a thorough investigation of the alleged plot. These gentlemen left Albany on April 9, 1700, carrying with them full instructions, and an address to the Five Nations from his excellency. It was Livingston's first visit to "the countries he had heard so much talk of." In a private letter to the governor, he says, "The Indians are dejected and in a staggering condition, tho' they are so proud and will not own it. They are daily made so uneasy by the French, that I despair of a good issue, if something be not speedily done to relieve them. Presents will not do alone." He reported the negotiations of the three commissioners, supplemented by his own personal observations. Both are interesting papers. He remarks of the Mohawks: "They were much lessened by the late war, but more since the peace, by the French daily drawing them from us to Canada, so that near two-thirds of the nation are now actually in Canada with their families, who are kindly received, being clothed from head to foot, secured by a fort, and have priests to instruct them." Two reasons are assigned for their desertion: 1. "Fear; seeing the French so formidable as to destroy their castles, and we not able to protect them." 2. "Our neglect of sending ministers among them to instruct them in the Christian faith." The remedies to be applied, he remarks, are forts and missionaries:

a fort in the Onondaga country at the confluence of the Seneca and Oneida Rivers, and another as far west as Detroit; missionaries to teach them the Christian faith and practices, and to wean them especially "from the diabolical practice of poisoning one another." He found the "Indians the same as he always took them to be, a subtle, designing people," influenced mainly by fear and interest. They feared the French because of their blows; they loved the English because of their presents. In their estimation the French were the devil, and the English the source of good.

The commissioners returned to Albany on May 2d, having been absent three weeks. In their letter to the Earl of Bellomont, submitting their report, they say, "We learned that the French use all indirect means to vex and terrify them, more since the peace than ever; and if matters be suffered to go on as they do, we shall lose them at last. The French have a great faction among them; and those who are true to us are put out of the way. We are confident they are wholly ignorant of the designs of the eastern Indians against the English, for they have opened their hearts to us. In our opinion, the only way to secure them to the English interest is what your excellency proposes—a fort among them to protect them, and ministers to instruct them."

Their visit to the Indian country in some respects was not well timed. It was the fishing season, and the Indians were at the fisheries busily engaged in laying in a supply of food. In this work the chief sachems and warriors were employed as well as women and slaves. Rank proved no exception to the rule that each one by his own hands was obliged to procure his own food. The commissioners were obliged to go to the fishing stations, and look up the men they sought. The Mohawk sachems were on the river

above Little Falls ; the Oneidas were so far from home that they could not be seen ; the Onondagas were on the lakes and rivers of their country in various directions. With all who were found formal interviews were held, much after the manner of the conferences at Albany, by means of belts and wampum. They were enabled to study Indian character and habits from a new standpoint. In all their interviews they were told the same story of French intrigues, and of the reports they put in circulation—that the English had resolved to destroy them by refusing to furnish them with guns and ammunition, by the invasion of their country, and, above all, by poison. These false reports were received as truth by the credulous people ; even the eloquent Dekanissora pretended to believe them. Of course they had much influence in cooling their affection for their old friends, and driving them to the embraces of their deceivers.

The commissioners told them that Governor Bellomont had heard of such stories afloat among them, and had sent them to investigate the reports. They now assured them that there was no truth in them, as Lord Bellomont would prove at a general conference to be held at Albany in August next, to which all the Five Nations were invited. He would then show them that these reports were false, utterly false, propagated by the French to delude and debauch them. "He will then make you such presents, not of clothing only, but of guns and ammunition, in such quantities as will prove his love and friendship to you, and the lies of your enemy, the French. Besides this, he has represented to the great king your wishes to have a fort near your castle, and Protestant ministers to be settled among you ; and he is now daily expecting orders to build the one and settle the others. The French tell you the English will poison you. How absurd that your life-long friends should prove so vile. On the other hand, we have cause to

suspect, that your old enemies and ours have seduced you to poison one and another; for those of you who have been most faithful to us, and have done the most signal service, they and their whole families have been poisoned. They languish and die by slow degrees."

Belts were then left for the Senecas, Cayugas, and Oneidas, whom they had not seen, inviting them to a general conference in August. The sachems heartily thanked the commissioners for their visit. Their minds had been relieved of a great burden. They promised to keep the appointment to meet the governor in Albany at the end of one hundred and four days.¹

It was peace. But the French improved their leisure in repairing their fortifications at Quebec and Montreal, making them strong and substantial. The English were suffering theirs to decay. The four companies of regulars were reduced to fifty men each, and were not full at that. Their pay and subsistence were neglected, so that they were reduced to nakedness, "without shirts, breeches, shoes, or stockings." The French made their jests about the miserable fortifications of Albany, now so ruinous that the guns fell through the bastions, and the rotten stockades falling from their own weight. "I hope in God," exclaimed Captain Weems, of Fort Albany, "you will soon receive some money for me, for I am in miserable want." Truly, Lord Bellomont began to experience some of the trials and crosses in time of peace to which his predecessor had been exposed in time of war. His government greatly neglected him and his appeals in behalf of his poor province. He now, July 26th, wrote home, "the soldiers in garrison at Albany are in such a shameful con-

¹ The entire cost of the commissioners on this expedition was £260, including belts and presents. The service was undertaken for the interests of all the colonies, and was performed at the expense of the poorest.

dition for the want of clothes, that the women when passing them are obliged to cover their eyes. The Indians ask with significance, Do you think us such fools as to believe a king who cannot clothe his soldiers can protect us from the French with their fourteen hundred men all in good condition?"

The affairs of the province at this period were in considerable confusion. Bellomont had spent some time in New England, leaving Nanfan, the lieutenant-governor, in charge of New York. Nanfan was a young man, not very wise or energetic. The Five Nations had been much neglected. The Assembly, like the governor, was Leislerian in politics, and jealous of the men better acquainted with public affairs than themselves. They had declined to make appropriations for the better protection of the frontiers, or for presents for the Indians. The home government, occupied with their domestic troubles, had left the province and its governor to drift along as best they could. We have seen their condition and perplexities illustrated by the condition of the forts and garrisons. The reports of the commissioners to the Indian country have made us somewhat acquainted with the state of things among the Five Nations. In this connection, however, two or three anecdotes will not be inappropriate.

Some Indians of the Far Nations were at Onondaga, and were solicited by the interpreter to visit Albany with their furs. They replied that they were not "so green" as to place themselves in the power of those whose friends they had "knocked on the head."

Sadakanahitic, the great war-chief and a friend of the English, was forced by the French faction to flee from his home for fear of being poisoned, as was his son. He came to his friend Quidor, who gave him quarters on his farm. His son, as he thought, was poisoned and bewitched. While

languishing a great sore appeared on his side, out of which came handfuls of hair. Dekanissora had made an ill-assorted match. He had married a French proselyte, who had been "taught by the Jesuits to poison as well as pray." "The Jesuits furnished her with a subtle poison, which she carried about under her long finger-nails, and taught her how to use it. When water was called for, she dropped the poison in the cup." She was believed to have poisoned a "multitude" of those well affected to the English. On a journey to Albany in company with others, among whom was a Christian Mohawk ("a goodly young man"), she poisoned him, and his body was left by the wayside. At Albany she was recognized by a friend of the murdered Mohawk, and "he clubbed her to death."

The peace enabled some of the proselytes to visit their old home, and see old friends, both English and Indian. A party of them came to Albany in June with a quantity of beaver. The superior quality of the goods, and their cheapness, tempted them to leave the dearer markets of Montreal and steal away, in spite of all orders and prohibitions, to do their trading in Albany. They were treated kindly, with the hope of winning them back. They had an audience of the board of commissioners, and presented them, for the governor, twenty-nine beaver-skins, worth in currency forty-one pounds. They received presents in return of equal value, chargeable on the revenues of the province. Their speaker said that they came to trade, and not to talk of religion. Only this he would say, that all the while he lived here he never heard religion spoken of, or any mention made of converting him to the Christian faith. "If you had given us religious instructors, I doubt whether any of us had ever gone to Canada."

The Five Nations continued to be annoyed by the In-

dian allies of the French, notwithstanding the peace and the orders of the government. The tribes whom Longueuil had urged to lift the hatchet laid in wait for the Senecas while out hunting, and killed several of them.

A delegation of the Five Nations, Dekanissora among them, appeared before the commissioners, and entered a complaint against the French for their infraction of the peace. The far Indians had confessed that they had been urged to such deeds by the French themselves. It was now three years that the Five Nations had been harassed in this way. They were tired and worn out; they had no rest, no assurance of safety. The Senecas had now taken the matter of peace in their own hands, and had sent some of their sachems to Canada to negotiate.

A few days afterward some of the sachems again presented themselves before the commissioners with a report just received from Canada. The Seneca delegates had seen Callières at Montreal, and had complained of the murders perpetrated by the French Indians. He told them that it was their own fault, in not coming to him to make peace, and that as soon as they sent their sachems to him for that purpose he would take the hatchet from the hands of those Indians.

Sufficient proof has now been presented, that the French were insincere in their professions of courtesy and kindly feeling toward their English neighbors. All their protestations about observing the directions of their king in reference to the Five Nations were idle wind. They seem to have been determined to gain control over the Iroquois by all means in their power. It was chiefly the course they continued to pursue in this regard which ultimately proved so disastrous to them. Had they adopted a more honorable policy, and not sought universal empire, they might have retained a large portion of the American con-

continent over which to perpetuate their power and glory. Endeavoring to grasp too much, they lost the whole.

Only a few days before the time appointed for Bellomont to hold his conference with the Five Nations, in August, 1700, he received a letter from Colonel Schuyler, informing him that M. Maricour, with a priest and several other Frenchmen, had arrived at Onondaga. Bellomont then wrote a postscript to a letter he had just finished to the Lords of Trade, in which he says that the French have as many friends among the Onondagas as the English, a fact greatly to be regretted, for they are the most warlike of the Five Nations, except the Mohawks, "who are dwindled to nothing almost." He fears the Five Nations are lost, and "questions whether it be in the art of man to retrieve them." For once he does not attribute this state of things to Fletcher, but to the English Government itself, because it failed to comply with his advice, in consequence of which he "is left destitute in all manner of ways of support." He dare not now undertake to recover those nations from the French.

After his return from Boston, Bellomont met the Assembly. Their session was short, and not noteworthy, because the governor had to meet the Five Nations in conference at Albany in the middle of August. He was detained, as it was, longer than was prudent, and feared lest the sachems had arrived and were waiting for him. To his surprise, they were not there when he came. More than that, they did not come for two weeks. As usual, he suspected that they had been tampered with by his political opponents, and had purposely kept him waiting. The truth is, the governor was almost as credulous as the Indians. He could be made to believe almost anything, however absurd, of men who did not agree to all his notions, and had independence enough to express their opinions.

He afterward learned the cause of the delay. Many of the Indians were yet under the delusion, so studiously propagated by the French, that the English intended to poison them, and much time had been spent discussing the matter among themselves, before they could fully determine to put themselves within the power of Bellomont.

On August 26, 1700, sixteen days after the appointed time, the conference assembled. It was opened with great formality, and with imposing numbers. There were present, besides the governor, three of his Council, the mayor, recorder and aldermen of Albany, justices of the peace, the sheriff, officers of the garrison and prominent citizens, fifty sachems and as many warriors from all the Five Nations. The earl in a carefully prepared speech opened the proceedings. He alluded to the false reports put into circulation by the French Jesuits, and assured them that, before the close of their conference, they would be convinced the stories of killing them by poison or otherwise, and of refusing to furnish them with guns and ammunition, were utterly groundless. He then dwelt at length on the subject of religious instruction.¹ He contrasted the true Protestant religion to that of the Jesuits, and promised to supply them with ministers of the true gospel. Mr. Freeman was to be settled at Schenectady, who would instruct the Mohawks, and another young man was ready to reside as a missionary among them. Bellomont had become thoroughly convinced that the religious question among the Five Nations was important. The Mohawks, the most warlike and bar-

¹ Bellomont had just received trustworthy information that the Indian proselytes in Canada had greatly increased since the peace. In one village they had increased from eighty-seven fighting men to three hundred and fifty, chiefly recruited from the Mohawks, "who come, said a French merchant, like wolves around the village, and beg the priests to take compassion on them."

barous of all the Indian nations on the continent, and who had cruelly killed the Jesuit missionaries sixty years before, were now the most solicitous for religious instruction. They had deserted their country in large numbers, until the nation was "dwindled to nothing almost." Dominic Dellijs was the only Protestant minister who had been successful in winning converts. But he had been banished by Bellomont just after the close of the war, and his neophytes were left without a shepherd. Had he been permitted to remain and continue his labors, the rush to Canada would have been far less.

Sadakanahitic replied the next day to the governor's speech in courteous terms, accepting his advice, and expressing entire devotion to the covenant-chain. He declared that it was the wish of all the nations to have a Protestant minister settled at Onondaga, the capital, and closed by wishing the governor to make some arrangements to have them taught, as formerly, by the minister when they came to Albany.

After the conference was adjourned for the day, some of the Protestant Mohawks asked liberty to speak. Hendrick, their spokesman, said that since yesterday, acting upon the governor's advice to the Five Nations, they "had prevailed upon Brandt, and Jacob, and three others, who had determined to emigrate to Canada, to stay in their own country." Brandt confirmed what Hendrick had said. "He was now resolved to live and die in his country," and he further instructed in the Protestant religion. These were men who had been taught and baptized by Dominic Dellijs. Hendrick was admitted to membership in the Dutch Church.

On the third day of the session Bellomont referred to their wish of having a Protestant minister settled at Onondaga, and said that he had conversed with some clergy-

men, and had found that there was an unwillingness to settle there, unless there were a fort to protect them from enemies. This was reasonable, and inasmuch as they had once asked him to build one, he and the Assembly had arranged to comply with their wishes. For this purpose an engineer now present would visit their country to fix the site, and as soon as he reported the work would be begun.

Sadakanahitic, in behalf of the Five Nations, heartily thanked his lordship for all he proposed as to missionaries and the fort. He proffered their cheerful assistance to the engineer when in their country looking for the best location for a military establishment.

On the fourth day of the session Bellomont, among other things, proposed that they should send three sons of their sachems to New York to be instructed in English and Indian free of charge. To this it was replied, that they were not masters of their children; that their wives were the sole disposers of them while under age.

The sixth day his lordship made them a farewell speech, and then distributed the presents provided by the Assembly. Among them were two hundred guns, twelve hundred pounds of powder, and two thousand pounds of lead. These were convincing arguments to show the falsity of the reports circulated by the French.

The sachems had not come prepared to exchange presents so large and costly, and were obliged to go to the market and buy an additional stock of beaver-skins. The next day Sadakanahitic made several propositions in reply to the governor's speech, and presented at the end of each one nine beavers, amounting in all to ninety, to which Hendrick, the Protestant Mohawk, added eighteen. These were the governor's perquisites, and amounted to over £150.

After the public conferences the earl held some private interviews with a few chosen sachems, as also with the River Indians. In all he spent eight days with the Indians. Dekanissora was not present; probably he was fearful of poisoned rum. Sadakanahatie was the principal speaker. He proved himself on this occasion more than a match for Bellomont, showing, in a quiet way, the absurdity of some of the governor's propositions. Perhaps it was this, perhaps the gout, which put the governor out of humor; his temper was certainly ruffled. In his long letter to the Lords of Trade, giving an account of this convention, he shows his discontent and irritability in several ways. "My conference lasted seven or eight days, and in my whole life I never went under such fatigue. I was shut up in a close chamber with fifty sachems, who, besides the stink of bears' grease, with which they plentifully daubed themselves, were either continually smoking tobacco or drinking rum." The Assembly was not so loyal as when he first met them, and had passed several "frivolous" bills. The "angry men had succeeded in intimidating them." The commissioners for Indian affairs were detected in "unfair practices, by making large bills for care of the Indians, and Colonel Schuyler above all others was guilty of this." "Sadakanahatie and twenty-five others had been maintained at his house two months at the king's charge." "Colonel Schuyler was vain enough to absent himself from one of the sessions, and have one of his friends call for him." "I was eight days and as many nights coming down the Hudson in a little, nasty sloop." The Five Nations "are apt to be perfidious." "I suspended Lieutenant Lancaster Symms for two years' absence from his post." "Major Ingoldesby has been absent four years, and was so brutish as to leave his wife and children to starve." "I have suspended Chaplain Smith

for immorality." "I suspended Mr. Augustine Graham for drunkenness and rowdyism." "I am puzzled to know whom to recommend for new councillors, unless merchants." "At Albany the soldiers are worse used than here, to Mr. Livingston's only satisfaction." "Mr. Cortlandt has grown crazy and infirm." "The merchants here have combined against me." "The soldiers that came last from England were about to mutiny." "I shall conclude by reminding your lordships of a better salary for myself."

"Postscript—My part of the conference was every word dictated by me, and drawn by my own hand," for the want of a competent secretary. "I hope your lordships will increase my salary very soon." The truth was, Bellomont saw that his popularity was on the wane, which wounded his pride. He said many things which in more complacent moods he would have passed in silence.

While in Albany the governor revoked his former instructions to the commissioners for Indian affairs, and substituted a new code. He was not satisfied with the large bills of expenses incurred for the entertainment of the Indian sachems who came to Albany on business relating to their affairs, or for asylum, as in the case of Sadakanahitic and his twenty-five friends, although they had been invited to come, without limit as to numbers, whenever they had messages to deliver, or business of importance to transact. They had been notified particularly to retire to Albany whenever they were menaced with dangers they could not otherwise escape. Such was the case with Sadakanahitic and his party. This danger and its nature were well-known to Bellomont, and their escape to Colonel Schuyler's farm he had approved. The new instructions required the commissioners to notify all the Five Nations "to send no more than three Indians on any message whatever, and such

messengers are allowed to stay no longer than three days at most on the king's charge, and will be allowed three shillings a day each in cash for their board. Any provisions or money are absolutely forbidden to be paid otherwise than the above to any Indian, at the king's expense, from this date." The effect of this notice will be seen hereafter. Measures like this caused the Five Nations, "the bulwark of the English colonies," "the only barrier against the French," to be "sullen and out of humor," as Bellomont said that they were at first in his late conference.

The Five Nations acknowledged themselves to be the subjects of the English crown, but did not wish to be reminded of it too often. They preferred to be treated as an independent people, who were the friends and allies of the English. At this conference their old friends and advisers had been neglected, and some of them insulted by unjust suspicions and accusations. Bellomont consequently had been left to frame his own speeches, and "draw them with his own hand." He had no personal magnetism, and little acquaintance with Indian character, or with their modes of thought or expression; his speeches were didactic, and wholly destitute of imagination; he made no allusions to the renown of their fathers, or to the glory of their own warlike deeds; he did not call them "brethren," except at the beginning of his speech; he addressed them more as inferiors subject to instructions and commands. It is no marvel that they appeared cold and not well pleased. It was not until they caught sight of the presents that they assumed their wonted cheerfulness. Bellomont was conscious that the conference was not a success, but did not seem to think that the failure was attributable to himself. It was because, as he believed, his political opponents, "the angry men," had sown distrust, and had prejudiced the Indians against him.

Another thing displeased him. An address, drawn by Robert Livingston, and numerously signed by the citizens of Albany of both political parties, was presented to him. It contained matter which was disagreeable, not to say offensive. A fort at Onondaga was his favorite measure, and he had expended much labor with the Assembly to procure an appropriation to build it, and with the Indians to obtain their consent ; and now the Albanians united to oppose it.

The address refers to the hardships of Albany during the late war, in which many of the inhabitants were killed and taken prisoners, property destroyed, trade ruined, population reduced by removals to places of greater security, desertions of the Indians to Canada since the peace, the gloomy outlook for the future in case of war, fortifications gone to decay, soldiers in rags and many deserting, and public debts unpaid. To remedy these evils in part they pray that a good stone fort may be built in Albany, sufficiently large and strong to afford protection to the people in time of invasion, and a retreat for the allied Indians if driven from their villages. This they desire should be done before a fort is erected at Onondaga. They allege that the latter would prove so expensive, being so far away, that the appropriation would be insufficient to complete it ; or, if erected, unless better care was taken of it than of the forts at Albany and Schenectady, it would inevitably fall into the hands of the French should another war occur, and prove the means of the complete subjugation of the Five Nations to the crown of France.

The governor made no response to this address. Its statements and arguments were too strong for a satisfactory answer. Silence was wisdom. He was silenced, but not convinced ; he determined to push the work. He

instructed Colonel Romer, the king's chief engineer in America, to go to Onondaga with all convenient speed, and select a site for the proposed fort. After this was done he was to visit the countries of the Cayugas and Senecas. At Onondaga he was directed to inspect the salt spring, "taste the water, and give him his opinion thereof." He must also "view a spring eight miles beyond the Senecas' farthest castle, which they have told me blazes up in a flame when a firebrand is put into it. You must taste the water, give me your opinion of it, and bring with you some of it."

We will follow Colonel Romer into the Indian country, and learn of his success in locating the fort. The assembly had appointed two commissioners, Peter Van Brugh and Hendrick Hansen, of Albany, to superintend its erection, and they accompanied the engineer on his journey. Romer was a foreigner, and knew little of the people among whom he was sent. Van Brugh and Hansen knew scarcely more, and although as magistrates they had attended the Indian conferences, and the latter had accompanied Colonel Schuyler and Robert Livingston to Onondaga, they had never participated largely in the management of Indian affairs. The want of ordinary prudence in sending such a party on important business among men of great shrewdness was a blunder such as none but Bellomont would have committed. The result proved what might have been expected—an entire failure.

The engineer's party left Albany on September 13, 1700, and arrived at Onondaga on the 26th. They started on horseback; but after leaving Schenectady they found that they could not carry their baggage, and hired a canoe. After travelling two days on horseback and with canoe they reached the second Mohawk village, when they transferred the baggage to the backs of four Indians. At the next vil-

lage two of the carriers gave out, and their loads were taken up by two squaws. With these attendants they reached Oneida on the 23d, and were lodged in the cabin of a sachem. In the morning they called the sachems together, and desired them to have a canoe in readiness for Colonel Romer on his return. Various objections were raised, and finally the request was refused. Their host said that he was very sorry, but as he was about to start on the war-path with his braves he saw no help for it. Their carriers then left them, and they were obliged to look for others. Finally they reached Onondaga, where a cabin was speedily prepared for their use. Dekanissora and some others were not at home, having gone to meet the Seneca sachems returning from Canada, to hear the news. The next morning the party asked for a canoe, in which to go by water to examine a place for the location of the fort. The Indians said that there were none; but they could not talk about it now; they must wait till all the sachems were at home. The day after the sachems were not yet come, although they were daily expected; and it was a scandal to talk about business until all were come together. The third day there was the same excuse. But learning from his son that Dekanissora knew nothing about this business, and might not return in some days, Romer persuaded the sachems to send for him. The Seneca sachems arrived from Canada on the 30th, and the whole day was occupied with their narrative of what had occurred in Canada. In the afternoon Romer learned that the messenger who had been directed to go for Dekanissora had not performed his duty, and he then hired a man to go for him. Dekanissora arrived in the afternoon of October 1st, and called the sachems together. Romer's first request was for a canoe to be prepared for him with which to return;

his second, that they should lend him two canoes, and two of their men, for the purpose of seeking a place on which to build the fort. The sachems replied that they would give an answer in the morning.

In the morning Dekanissora said that the Oneida sachems had come to hear the news from Canada, and as they were in a hurry to return home the day would have to be devoted to that business first. After the Canada business was concluded, Dekanissora told the party that two canoes and three Indians would be at their service the next day, but as they were poor they would expect to be paid. As for the canoe for Colonel Romer, he would consult with them on their return. On the morrow the sachem who had been detailed to go with them was drunk, and they had to look for another. They spent the day on the lake, but found no suitable place for a fort.

Colonel Romer had been instructed to impress upon the nations the power and strength of the king to protect them from the French, and of the governor's kindness, provided they were faithful. The day after the fruitless trip on the lake was devoted to this duty. He held a conference with Dekanissora and a few other sachems, assisted by the Senecas just returned from Canada. Dekanissora was the speaker, and again rehearsed the proceedings with the French governor, after which he turned to Romer and his party, and with a little chain of wampum remarked: "Brother Corlaer, as we are one in heart and soul, what one knows the other ought to know also. Brother Corlaer, it is not good that we should know nothing of what you say in Canada."

Romer replied by his match-coat, for he had nothing else to give: "Brethren, we are sorry to hear that since the death of Dekanissora's wife he is resolved to divest himself of business cares, and live solitary, like a hermit. We

desire him to return, and resume the government. Brethren, I hope that according to your promise you will not suffer the French or French priests to be among you."

Dekanissora replied: "As to that, we should soon send some great sachem who could speak with them."

On October 6th, Dekanissora and one other sachem went with Romer's party to the outlet of Oneida Lake, where a short distance off they found a suitable site for a fort. Returning to Onondaga on the 7th, they found that the men and Indians had arrived whom Bellomont had delegated to go to the far Indians with his passes through the Five Nations. The Onondaga sachems, learning the business of these men, were not pleased, and left in an angry mood. The men were frightened by the stories told them by the Onondagas of the dangers of such a trip. They resolved to give up the journey, and return home. Poor Romer thought it was time for him to move, and get out of the Indian country as soon as possible. On the 8th he went within half a mile of the castle, and, fearing to go nearer because of the drunken Indians, he sent for Dekanissora and the other sachems to meet them in the field. They came and held a final interview.

Romer reproved them for not furnishing a canoe, that he might go home by water, and observe how the waterway might be improved, according to the governor's instructions. To this they made no reply. To the question as to the best location for the fort, it was said: "Two nations cannot decide; you must wait until we consult with the other two." "When will the Indians be ready to work on the fort?" "If you begin work too early in the spring, you must work alone, for our people will be hunting. Therefore I pity you," said the orator. "Better not commence work until after our next conference in the spring." Dekanissora gave them a bit of parting advice: "Brother

Corlaer, if it should so happen that some French priests come here, do not send an interpreter only, but also a great officer or two, with whom to consult," and threw down a beaver. Colonel Romer innocently remarks, "having nothing else to give, we presented them with a gun, which Mr. Livingston had lent me for mine own use." After the party had mounted, the Indians gave a loud huzza, and thus they parted.

Romer did not taste the waters of the saline spring, nor did he visit the well whose waters broke into a blaze on the application of a torch. He was glad to get away, and did not prolong his stay with the Indian allies.

Bellomont's stupidity in this whole affair was marvellous. In his conference he had treated the Five Nations as wards of his government, and issued his orders as laws to be obeyed. He had distributed a large amount of presents, and had seemed to believe that was sufficient to ensure a full compliance with all his arrangements, not taking into account the beavers he received in return, which, according to their custom, the Indians believed a full equivalent for all which they had received. He had required them to furnish three men to guide the engineer in his explorations, and to provide canoes for his use on Oneida Lake, Wood Creek, and the Mohawk River, but he had made no provision for compensation. He had directed the engineer and his party to confer with the Onondaga and other sachems, but had given them no belts or presents, not even a string or handful of wampum, so that in obeying his instructions Colonel Romer was obliged to use his overcoat and a borrowed gun. The men who had influence with the sachems had been studiously ignored, even to the interpreter, while others who had no influence had been selected to execute a work which he pretended to believe of the first importance. He had ordered the

Indians to give unobstructed passage to the remote Indians through their country to Albany, and to traders going thence to them. Without waiting for their consent, merely on the strength of his orders, he had organized a party of traders and River Indians to visit the distant tribes, and had given them passes, which he supposed the Five Nations would respect without any notice of his intentions. Dekanissora was in disgrace with his tribe, and had retired for a time to private life; him he had selected as the particular man with whom the engineering party should communicate. Sadakanahitic, the most influential and active of all the chiefs, was neglected. It is no marvel, with such arrangements and instructions, with such neglect of the commonest precautions, with such overbearing treatment of a people proud of their position, as the masters of a great empire conquered by their arms, and as the arbiters between two rival European nations, the project of the fort and trade with far-off tribes should have utterly failed. Well might Dekanissora and his few friends raise a "loud huzza" when they saw the engineer and the commissioners of the fort on their homeward march.

Bellomont could not see, or would not admit, that he was at fault for the failure of his projects. He suspected that Colonel Schuyler and his friends "had infused a jealousy into the Indians," which made them averse to the fort. "If," said he, "I could manage the Five Nations to my mind, I could accomplish my purpose; but we have some men at Albany as angry as any in New York, and they cross all my measures with the Indians. They are cunning, and I cannot prove it on them." Mr. Livingston assured me that there was a league between Colonel Schuyler, Major Wessels, Mr. Dellijs, Mr. Bancker, and the chief sachems; that the latter would transact no

business without the privity of the former." No doubt there was such an understanding, when those gentlemen were commissioners of Indian affairs; but, except Colonel Schuyler, they had ceased to hold that office more than two years before this period, and Mr. Dellius' long since was in Holland.

Bellomont had no doubt that Colonel Schuyler had been playing tricks, yet so cunningly that he could not be detected, and in the same connection he says, "Schuyler is wholly under the influence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Nicol." He thought his best course for securing the Five Nations would be to live at Albany a year, where he could "watch the behavior of Colonel Schuyler and his associates." "I would let him know, and the Indians see, that I had the management of them, and not he." Poor man! he had already convinced them of this fact by his late management. "Jealousy had been infused into" his own mind, not of himself and his methods, but of Schuyler, whose "management" had been more successful than his own.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF DIRECTORS, GOVERNORS, ETC., OF NEW AMSTERDAM AND NEW YORK IN COLONIAL TIMES.

TITLE.	NAME.	ADMINISTRATION BEGAN.
<i>Under the Dutch.</i>		
Director-General,	ADRIAEN JORIS,	1623
“ “	CORNELIS JACOBSEN MAY,	1624
“ “	WILLEM VERHULST,	1625
“ “	PETER MINUIT,	May 4, 1626
	The Council,	March, 1632
“ “	WOUTER VAN TWILLER,	April, 1633
“ “	WILLIAM KIEFT,	March 28, 1638
“ “	PETER STUYVESANT,	May 11, 1647
<i>Under the English.</i>		
Governor,	RICHARD NICOLLS,	Sept. 8, 1664
“	COLONEL FRANCIS LOVELACE,	Aug. 17, 1667
<i>Under the Dutch.</i>		
	CORNELIS EVERTSE, JR., JACOB BENCKES, and a Council of War,	Aug. 12, 1673
Director-General,	ANTHONY COLVE,	Sept. 19, 1673
<i>Under the English.</i>		
Governor,	MAJOR EDMUND ANDROS,	Nov. 10, 1674
Commander-in-chief,	ANTHONY BROCKHOLLES,	Nov. 16, 1677
Governor,	SIR EDMUND ANDROS,	Aug. 7, 1678
Commander-in-chief,	ANTHONY BROCKHOLLES,	Jany. 13, 1681
Governor,	COLONEL THOMAS DONGAN,	Aug. 27, 1682
“	SIR EDMUND ANDROS,	Aug. 11, 1688

TITLE.	NAME.	ADMINISTRATION BEGAN.
Lieutenant-Governor,	FRANCIS NICHOLSON,	Oct. 9, 1688
	JACOB LEISLER,	June 3, 1689
Governor,	COLONEL HENRY SLOUGHTER,	March 19, 1691
Commander-in-chief,	MAJOR RICHARD INGOLDESBY,	July 26, 1691
Governor,	COLONEL BENJAMIN FLETCHER,	Aug. 30, 1692
"	RICHARD COOTE, Earl of Bellomont,	April 13, 1698
Lieut.-Gov.,	JOHN NANFAN,	May 17, 1699
Governor,	EARL OF BELLOMONT,	July 24, 1700
	The Eldest Councillor present,	March 5, 1701
Lieut.-Gov.,	JOHN NANFAN,	May 19, 1701
Governor,	EDWARD HYDE, Viscount Cornbury,	May 3, 1702
"	JOHN, LORD LOVELACE,	Dec. 18, 1708
President,	PETER SCHUYLER,	May 6, 1709
Lieut.-Gov.,	RICHARD INGOLDESBY,	May 9, 1709
President,	PETER SCHUYLER,	May 25, 1709
Lieut.-Gov.,	RICHARD INGOLDESBY,	June 1, 1709
President,	GERARDUS BEECKMAN,	April 10, 1710
Governor,	BRIGADIER ROBERT HUNTER,	June 14, 1710
President,	PETER SCHUYLER,	July 21, 1719
Governor,	WILLIAM BURNET,	Sept. 17, 1720
"	JOHN MONTGOMERIE,	April 15, 1728
President,	RIP VAN DAM,	July 1, 1731
Governor,	COLONEL WILLIAM COSBY,	Aug. 1, 1732
Pres. & Lieut.-Gov.,	GEORGE CLARKE, ¹	March 10, 1736
Governor,	ADMIRAL GEORGE CLINTON,	Sept. 2, 1743
"	SIR DANVERS OSBORNE, Bart.,	Oct. 10, 1753
Lieut.-Gov.,	JAMES DE LANCEY,	Oct. 12, 1753
Governor,	SIR CHARLES HARDY,	Sept. 3, 1755
Lieut.-Gov.,	JAMES DE LANCEY,	June 3, 1757
Pres. & Lieut.-Gov.,	CADWALLADER COLDEN,	Aug. 4, 1760
Governor,	MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT MONCKTON,	Oct. 26, 1761
Lieut.-Gov.,	CADWALLADER COLDEN,	Nov. 18, 1761
Governor,	MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT MONCKTON,	June 14, 1762
Lieut.-Gov.,	CADWALLADER COLDEN,	June 28, 1763
Governor,	SIR HENRY MOORE, Bart.,	Nov. 13, 1765

¹ Commissioned as lieutenant-governor July 30, 1736; sworn October 30, 1736. Lord De La Warr was appointed governor June, 1737, but resigned in September following.

TITLE.	NAME.	ADMINISTRATION BEGAN.
Lieut.-Gov.,	CADWALLADER COLDEN,	Sept. 12, 1769
Governor,	JOHN MURRAY, Earl of Dunmore,	Oct. 19, 1770
"	WILLIAM TRYON,	July 9, 1771
Lieut.-Gov.,	CADWALLADER COLDEN,	April 7, 1774
Governor,	WILLIAM TRYON,	June 28, 1775
"	JAMES ROBERTSON,*	March 23, 1780
Lieut.-Gov.,	ANDREW ELLIOTT,*	April 17, 1783

* Not recognized by the State.

