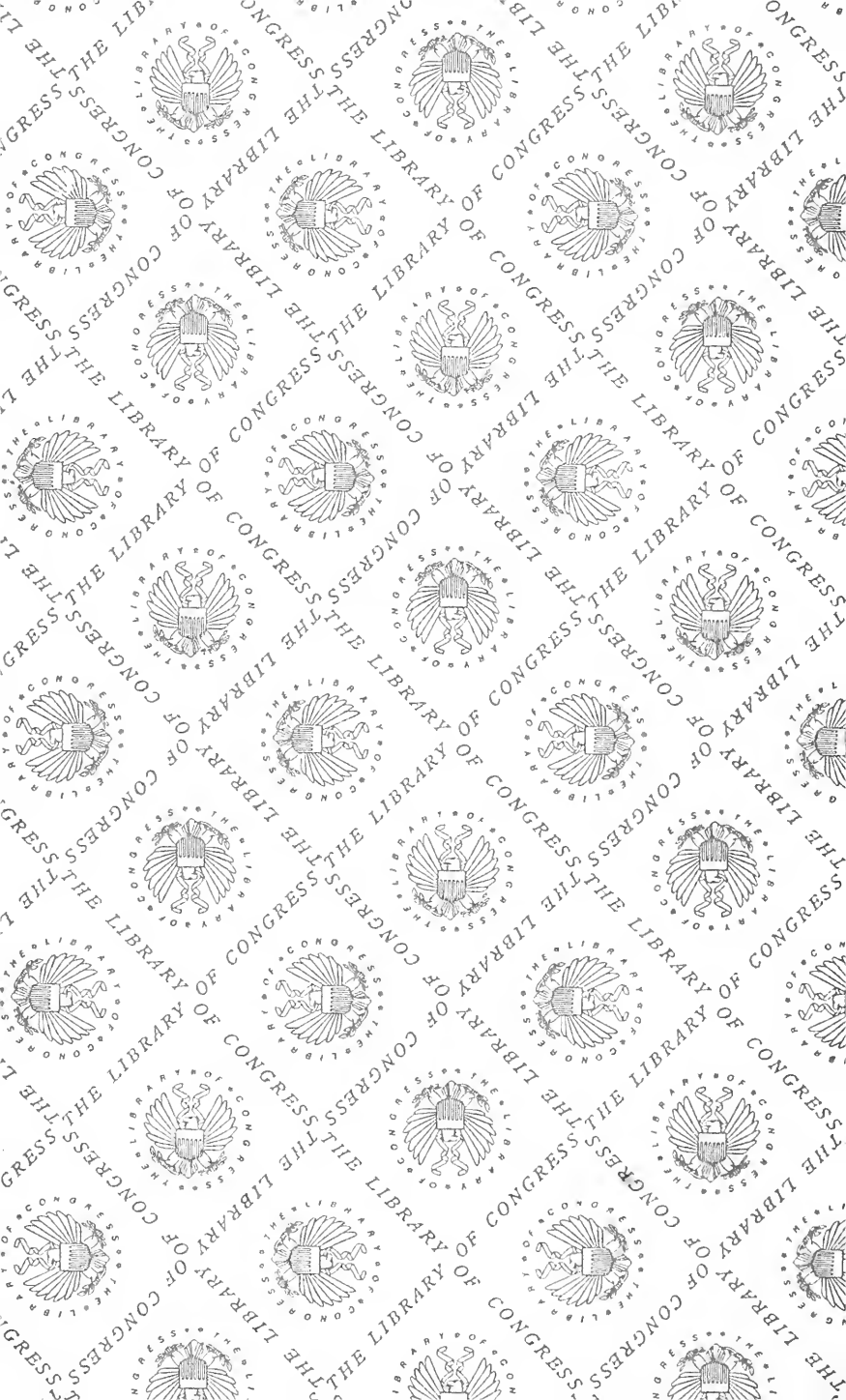


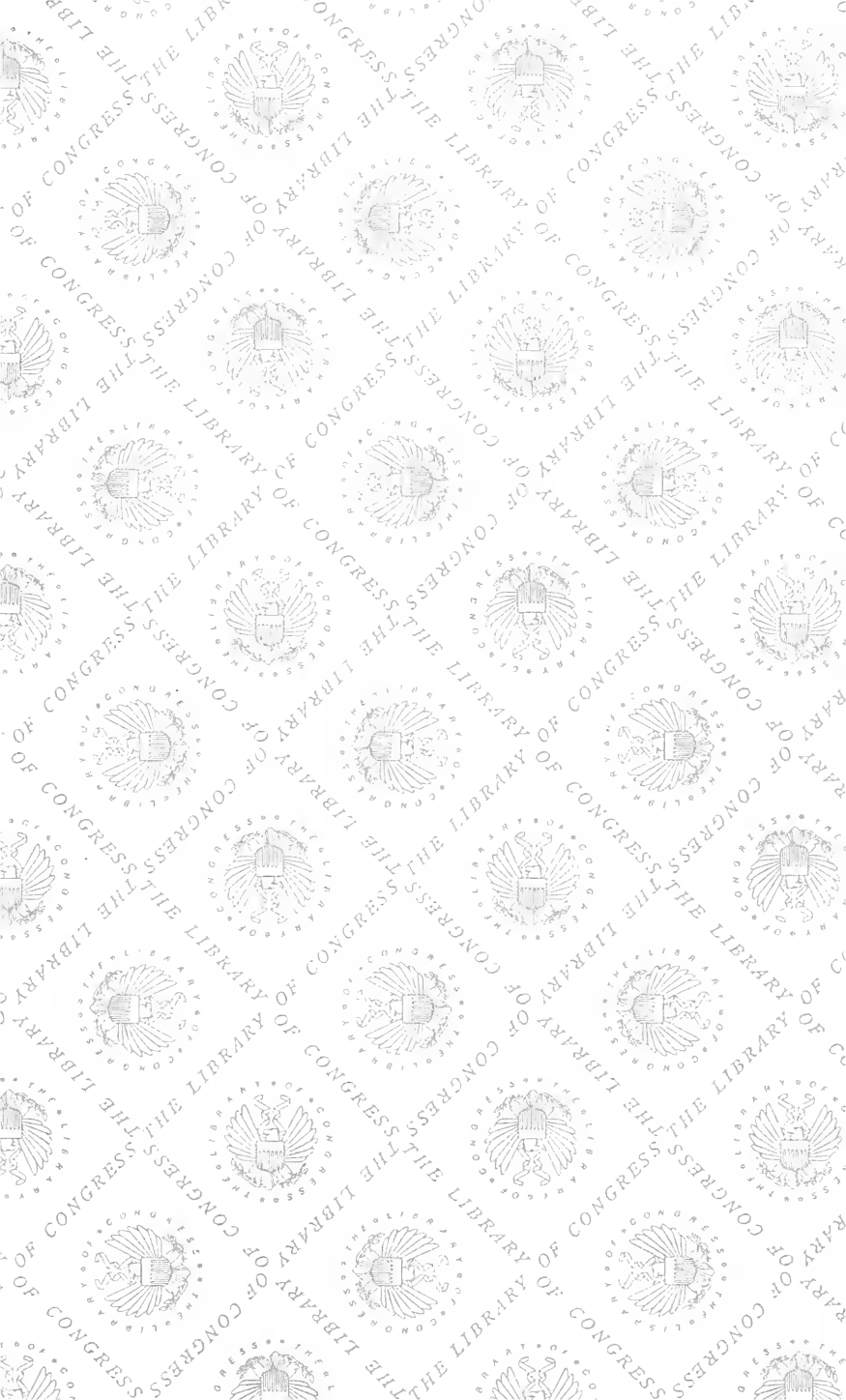
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DEUXIÈME SÉRIE

25me FASCICULE

Religion
in
New Netherland
1623-1664

By **FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, L. D.**

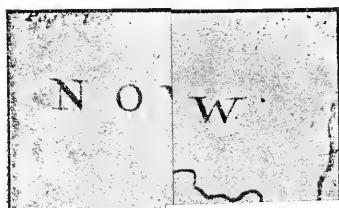
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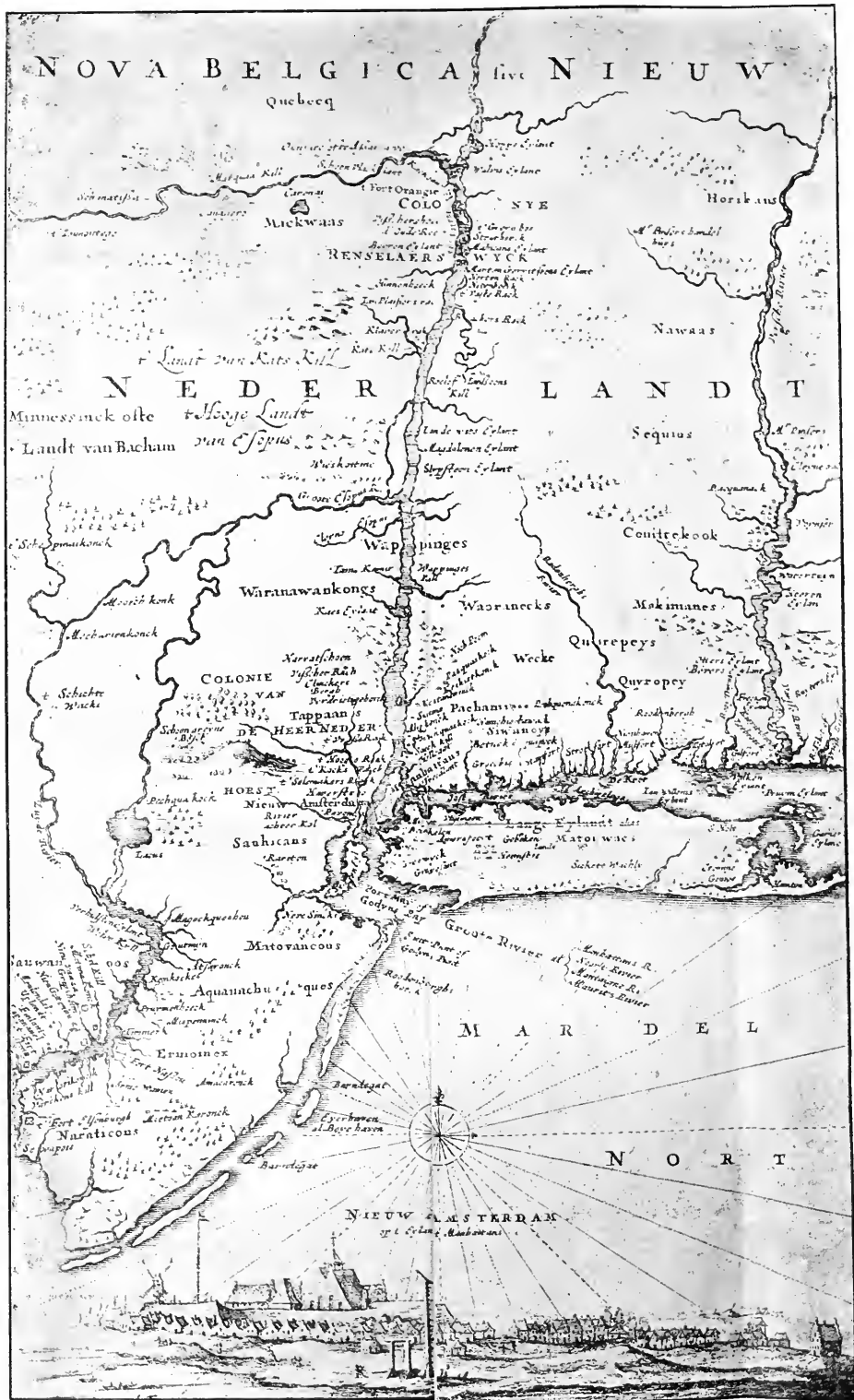
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VAN DER DONCK'S MAP OF AMSTERDAM—1656
With view of New Amsterdam





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OPUS QUOD INSCRIBITUR : *Religion in New
Netherland, a history of the development of the
religious conditions in the Province of New
Netherland (1623-1664)* BY F. J. ZWIERLEIN,
EX AUCTORITATE EMINENTISSIMI ET REVEREN-
DISSIMI CARDINALIS ARCHIEPISCOPI MECHLI-
NIENSIS ET LEGUM ACADEMICARUM PRÆ-
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in the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century, has been the source of much error in many publications dealing with the beginnings of the State of New York. References to such histories, even when at variance with the main conclusions of this book, have been avoided as much as possible, as the author preferred to present the results of his work in a positive and not in a polemic light.

Special thanks are due to the officials in the Hall of Records of Kings County, and in the Hall of Records of New York, to the library staffs of Cornell University, of the Long Island Historical Society, to Mr. D. Versteeg of the Holland Society Library, and to many friends, who were always ready to give advice and assistance. In conclusion the author wishes to express his deep sense of indebtedness to Mr. Leo Kelly, who kindly corrected the proofsheets of this book.

*St. Bernard's Seminary,
Rochester, N. Y.,
Easter, 1910*

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the rule, that only the Reformed Religion should be exercised within your province."

The policy of religious repression pursued in the Province of New Netherland on the outbreak of organized dissent was not merely local in character. The colonial clergy, the natural custodians of the colony's orthodoxy, merited for their zeal in this regard the commendation of their ecclesiastical superiors in Holland, the Classis of Amsterdam, which insisted quite as vigorously with the Directors of the West India Company in the Amsterdam Chamber on the repression of dissent in the colony, as the colonial clergy did with the civil authorities in the Province of New Netherland. The Director General did not fail to adopt all measures he judged necessary to fulfill the oath which bound him to maintain the exclusive worship of the Reformed Religion, and the Directors in Holland did not at any time repudiate the policy of excluding all other worship, but they tried to persuade Stuyvesant to admit some connivance in regard to dissent, if this were possible, as they feared injury to the material interests of the Company, unless the policy of religious repression was tempered by some moderation. To insure this, all repressive ordinances were finally ordered to be submitted to the Directors before their promulgation in the province, but as late as the summer of 1663 one of the Directors plainly told the Quaker, John Bowne, that the religious liberty he demanded in New Netherland was not granted there.

Religious conditions, however, were not uniform throughout the entire province, but were differentiated largely by the character of the local immigration. The

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charter, and finally the inhabitants of the same town at the instigation of Tobias Feake appealed to the charter in their protest against Stuyvesant's prohibition to give entertainment to the Quakers, but not at any time nor in any place did a body of English colonists¹ appeal to their charter to justify the organization of "unorthodox" worship in public or in private conventicles.

The religious conditions obtaining in the South, or Delaware, River country were closely dependent on the political changes effected in the course of its history. Occupied by a Dutch trading post and a few straggling settlers, it could not resist the intrusion of the Lutheran Swedes and the founding of New Sweden with the establishment of the Lutheran State Church. The admission of Dutch colonists from Utrecht with the privilege of exercising the Reformed worship attests for this region a greater degree of religious liberty than existed in any part of the Province of New Netherland. The conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch did not terminate Lutheran worship on the South River, as the outbreak of Indian hostilities necessitated the toleration of the Swedish worship with the ministrations of one of their ministers. The expenses of this invasion put the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company deeply in debt to the City of Amsterdam, which now in compensation for its loan acquired a tract of land on the South River, where the exclusive exercise of the Reformed worship was maintained, until the official orthodoxy had to give way to obtain colonists to

¹ John Bowne appealed to the Flushing charter in his arguments with the Directors at Amsterdam, but they refused to admit the appeal, as the charter was granted before the arrival of Quakers in the colony.

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this respect, but there is ample proof that the oath was administered to subordinates in the colonial government and to the officials of the patroon Kilian van Rensselaer. Officials of Rensselaerswyck swore to promote "the true and pure service of God in conformity with the Christian Reformed Religion." The "Nine Select Men", appointed by Stuyvesant in 1647 to represent the people, were also "to promote the honor of God and the welfare of our dear Fatherland to the best advantage of the Company and the prosperity of our good citizens, and to the preservation of the pure Reformed Religion." On the creation of a municipal court at New Amsterdam in 1653, the Burgomasters and Schepens were bound "under oath to help maintain the true Reformed Religion and to suffer no other." The vice-directors, appointed on the conquest of New Sweden for that region, were sworn "to promote the Reformed Religion," but Lutheran Swedes were also retained for inferior offices. Then on the erection of a small court of justice at Wiltwyck in 1661, the commissaries had also to swear that they would "maintain and exercise the Reformed Church service and no other." The judges were, therefore, to be "professors of the Reformed Religion." Even the court-clerk had to promise to promote "the glory of God and the pure service of His Word." There could hardly be any question of a religious qualification of this kind for office-holding in the towns settled almost entirely by English dissenters, but even here the Director General and Council did not fail to insist on a religious qualification when an opportunity to do so was presented. "The English do not only enjoy the right of nominating their own magis-

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The religious history of the Dutch Republic in this period is closely interwoven with the history of its struggle against the Spanish power. Dissatisfaction with the Spanish administration in the Netherlands had become so general towards the end of the sixteenth century, that all provinces united to obtain from their hereditary sovereign the withdrawal of the Spanish soldiery and the recognition of their ancient charters and liberties. This national movement developed in spite of internal religious differences. In fact, a provisional settlement of the religious issue was effected in 1576 by the treaty of union known as the Pacification of Ghent. The fifteen Catholic provinces came to an agreement with the two Calvinist provinces and deferred the definitive regulation of the religious question in those places, where Calvinism had been established to the exclusion of the Catholic worship, until the convocation of the States General after the successful expulsion of the Spanish soldiers and their adherents. These regions comprised the two provinces of Holland and Zeeland with Bommel and allied territories. Meanwhile, access to the Catholic and Calvinist provinces was to be free to the subjects and inhabitants of either side, provided nothing prejudicial to Catholic faith and worship was attempted outside of Holland and Zeeland and their allied territories. Every infraction of this provision either by deed or word was punishable as a disturbance of the public peace. However, conditions were made quite tolerable for the Calvinists in the Catholic provinces, as all placards formerly published against heresy and all criminal ordinances of the Duke of Alva were suspended, except in a breach of the public

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refuse to yield to the demands of the States, and in the hope that the delay would bring about an infection of the Catholic provinces with Protestantism, which would furnish a pretext for the demand of the general toleration of Calvinism in all the Netherlands. The Calvinists were destined to be disappointed. When Don John was fully persuaded that the Pacification of Ghent contained nothing contrary to the Catholic Religion and the authority of the King, he came to an agreement with the States General, which was confirmed in the Perpetual Edict of February 17, 1577. While the eleventh article recorded the pledge given by the States General at Luxemburg to maintain in everything and everywhere the Catholic Religion, the sixteenth article was careful to note that all the provisions of the Edict were subject to the articles of the Pacification of Ghent, which remained in full force. Before the ratification of this treaty, the States General had sent an embassy to the Prince of Orange to inform him of its contents and to explain that the pledge of the States General to maintain the Catholic Religion in everything and everywhere had been taken at Luxemburg before the States of Holland and Zeeland had joined the assembly of the States General at Brussels and consequently was binding only on the fifteen Catholic provinces.¹ The Prince and the States of Holland and Zeeland made some complaints, but offered to sign the treaty, if the States General promised first to have recourse to arms

¹ This shows how erroneous is Blok's deduction: "The Catholic Religion was to be maintained everywhere (thus also in Holland and Zeeland). This last stipulation was flagrantly at odds with the Pacification, etc." Blok, *A History of the People of the Netherlands*, iii. p. 114.

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to come to the city to give advice in the crisis. He soon dominated the negotiations and frustrated the attempts at a reconciliation with Don John. The arrival of the Archduke Matthias complicated the situation. He had been invited by some of the nobles, under the leadership of the Duke of Arschot, to replace Don John and to prevent the elevation of the Prince of Orange to this position, but the Archduke soon fell under the influence of William of Orange, who was created his lieutenant general at the request of Queen Elizabeth of England. The Prince's power had already been increased by his nomination as Governor of Brabant, which had been obtained from the States of that province by the exertion of violent popular pressure under the influence of his partisans. About the same time, the Duke of Arschot had been elected Governor of Flanders, but in the course of the session of the States of Flanders at Ghent the Prince and his adherents fomented a revolt, which resulted in the imprisonment of the Duke and some other Catholic leaders. A reign of terror under Calvinist tyranny ensued in Ghent, during which churches and monasteries were pillaged, monks and friars burnt alive, and the Blood Councillor Hessels and the ex-Procurator Visch hanged without any previous trial.¹ Similar flagrant violations of the Pacification of Ghent also took place elsewhere. Bruges, Antwerp and Brussels were made the scenes of incredible excesses by fanatic Calvinists. Retaliation on the part of Catholics ensued,

¹ The Rev. George Edmundson, M. A., writes: "William disclaimed any share in this act of violence, but it is difficult altogether to exculpate him." *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iii. chap. vi. *The Revolt of the Netherlands*, p. 248.

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attempt to execute its provisions. Meanwhile, the continuation of Calvinistic excesses made the Catholic party realize the necessity of united action. The Union of Arras was formed on January 6, 1579, to maintain the Pacification of Ghent, the Catholic faith, the obedience to the king and the privileges of the nation. Although the Union of Arras professed to be based on the Pacification of Ghent, the clause suspending the placards against heresy was suppressed. The formation of this Catholic league hastened the establishment of a Protestant league, already in process of formation, towards the end of the same month, the Union of Utrecht, also for the avowed purpose of strengthening the previous general union of the Pacification of Ghent. Nevertheless, according to this agreement, Holland and Zealand were free to act as they pleased in regard to religion, while the other provinces united in this league were to regulate themselves in accordance with the provisions of the Peace of Religion. While there was no straight line of cleavage produced between the North and South by the formation of these hostile leagues, the beginning was made that developed into the formation of two separate commonwealths. The southern cities of Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, Ypres, Lierre and the Franc du Bruges gave their hearty support to the Union of Utrecht, but finally had to yield to the authority of the Duke of Parma, whom the Catholic Malcontents had recognized by the treaty of May 19. The conquests of Parma always entailed the restoration of the Catholic faith and of the placards against heresy, but capital punishment was no longer inflicted for heresy after 1597. Dissenters had the choice between reconciliation

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Nevertheless, *all intention to burden or to make inquisition into any man's conscience was disclaimed by the legislators.*

The French protectorate proved a failure in spite of all the efforts of William of Orange after his recovery from the wound inflicted in the attempted assassination on March 18, 1582. The Duke of Anjou had arrived in the beginning of the year, after the States General had previously abjured their allegiance to Philip II. The failure of Anjou in his attempt to obtain independence by the seizure of several cities made a continuance of his sovereignty practically impossible. However, the Prince of Orange persisted in negotiating for a reconciliation until the day of the Duke's death, June 10, 1584, as he then saw no hope of help from the English Queen nor from the Lutheran Germans, who would have oppressed the Calvinists on the acquisition of power. Meanwhile, the States of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht were planning to confer sovereign authority over themselves on the Prince of Orange, who, according to one of the articles of the pact projected on this occasion, was to maintain exclusively the "true Reformed Religion," but without molestation of anyone on account of his belief. Before these plans matured, William of Orange was murdered by Balthassar Gerard, to whom the publication of the King's ban had suggested the deed. This action entailed an increase of severity in the measures for the repression of the Catholics, amongst whom some had manifested satisfaction in the death of the main author of the revolt that had cost them the free exercise of their religion. The placard of November 21, 1584, decreed banishment for all organ-

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the strict principles of the Calvinist zealots. The Church Order then adopted was provisionally approved by the States but *with the reservation of the right to exercise supervision over church and school.*

After the departure of Leicester, the executive power of the Council of State, on account of the objectionable presence of the three Englishmen amongst its members, was gradually absorbed by the States General, in which the influence of Holland predominated. The consolidation of these provinces into the federal state of the Dutch Republic was largely due to the ability of Holland's great statesman, the Advocate John van Oldenbarnevelt, supported by the able soldier, Maurice of Nassau, who had been appointed Captain General and Admiral of the Union by the States General. The union of all the Stadtholderates in the person of Maurice, with the exception of Friesland, where his cousin William Lewis of Nassau held that position, was a great step towards the unification of the country. There was hardly any need of Holland to instruct this ardent Calvinist as its Stadtholder to maintain the Reformed Religion. As early as June 23, 1587, he had published an ordinance prohibiting pilgrimages and "other superstitions," under a fine of twenty-four Carolus florins for each offense. This oppressive placard was renewed in 1588, 1590, 1591, and in more vigorous terms in 1647, no doubt on account of its frequent infraction. The offensive campaigns of Maurice cleared the federated provinces of Spanish garrisons and resulted in the formation of the new province of Stadt en Landen by the union of the city of Groningen with the Ommelands under the Stadtholder

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the peace negotiations which ensued led to the conclusion of the truce for twelve years on April 9, 1609. The plenipotentiaries of Albert and Isabella, although supported by President Jeannin, the saver of the Huguenots of Dijon after the night of St. Bartholomew, could obtain no concession in favor of Catholic worship except the promise that the States and Prince Maurice would respect the exclusive exercise of the Catholic Religion in the Brabant territory occupied by the troops of the Republic. Soon frequent complaints were made of the violation of this promise by the Hollanders. During the negotiations for the truce, the States General had shown themselves absolutely opposed to the free exercise of "papist" worship within their territories, and even denied the King of Spain the right to raise the question, as all decision in this matter entailed the exercise of sovereignty, and consequently could only depend on the sovereign States themselves. Meanwhile, the Calvinist ministers were representing the demand of the King of Spain for freedom of Catholic worship as the initial step to the reconquest of the rebellious provinces. Under these conditions, the king, on the ratification of the truce, could only express the hope that the States would treat kindly the Catholics who went among them during the time of its duration. Jeannin, prior to his departure, insisted again on the concession of religious freedom to Catholics, but the States could only be induced to promise in a general way that they would act with moderation. As soon as the news of the murder of Henry IV (May 14, 1610), whom Prince Maurice was preparing to assist in the reduction of the Duchy of Cleves, arrived in the United

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the Jews had their synagogues, the Mahometans their meetings and all kinds of sects their conventicles; the Catholics alone were excluded from all participation in the toleration of Holland. There were many Catholics in Friesland,¹ but they could worship with safety only in the castles of the nobles, of whom many still gave a tepid allegiance to the old faith. In Geldern² and Zeeland, Catholics possessed little liberty and had to assemble secretly for worship, while in Stadt en Landen the adherents of the old faith suffered more active persecution. However, the condition of the Catholics was more tolerable in some of the cities. Through the connivance of the magistracy, which in several places was open to a bribe, the Catholics obtained a great deal of liberty in the exercise of their faith in Harlem, Gouda, Leyden, Alckmaar and Hoorn.³

for the baptism of their children and for the celebration of marriage. A fine of 50 pounds was also placed on the witnesses and a fine of 400 pounds on the persons instigating the act. The same penalties were decreed for attendance at papist conventicles. Wiltens-Scheltus, *Kerkelyck Placaatboek*, i. 526.

¹ Persecution of Catholics was most violent in this province. Thousands of Catholics found safety in flight, and only a small number of priests remained in the province in deep concealment.

² Here Catholics were numerous. The policy of the government was directed to paralyse their strength. In 1624 the States deprived the clergy of the disposition of their revenues and declared null and void the sale, mortgaging, donation, exchange or any alienation of property on the part of "pretended" ecclesiastics or of papists in religious societies, sodalities and fraternities, etc. It was pleaded that many feared to adopt Calvinism and many returned to the old faith lest they might be disinherited. In 1640 the "klopjes" were declared incapable of receiving an inheritance. Finally measures were directed to the prevention of assemblies, that the Catholics attempted to facilitate by the removal of the walls between neighboring houses. For details cf. works of Knuttel and Hubert, with documents cited.

³ This was true to a certain extent at The Hague, where the legations of the Kings of France and Portugal and of the Republic of Venice had their chapels, which remained open also to the inhabitants of the city in spite of the frequent protests of the States of Holland at the instigation of The Hague consistory.

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National Church Synod, but Oldenbarnevelt feared lest the triumph of this party should lead to the domination of the Church over the State, and through his influence the proposals were rejected. To secure peace, the States of Holland, in January, 1614, prohibited the discussion of disputed questions by the preachers in the pulpits and enjoined moderation in such abstruse matters. Violent opposition to this measure arose in several important towns, also in Amsterdam, but Oldenbarnevelt was determined to overcome all opposition. When Maurice, who had begun to distrust the Advocate, gave his support to the Counter-Remonstrants and encouraged their opposition to the authority of the States, Oldenbarnevelt succeeded in inducing the States of Holland, in December, 1616, to raise a force of four thousand men to be at the disposal of the magistrates for the enforcement of order. Although the two Stadtholders commanded the votes of four out of seven provinces in the States General, this assembly decreed the convocation of the National Synod by only a narrow majority. The States of Holland, in spite of a powerful minority supported by Calvinist opinion throughout the province, refused to concur in the resolution of the States General. The seizure of a church at The Hague for the Counter-Remonstrants under the direction of Maurice led to the adoption of the "Scherpe Resolutie," proposed by the Advocate to the States of Holland, which refused to approve any convocation of a synod, national or provincial, infringing the sovereign rights and supremacy of the States in religious affairs. The city magistrates were directed to uphold the peace and to levy new

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and eighteen political commissioners representing the States. The Remonstrant minority was immediately put on trial for its teaching by the remainder of the Synod, from which they were finally ordered to withdraw after violent altercation. They then assembled in Rotterdam, where they denounced the tyranny of the dominant party, who condemned the Remonstrants as schismatics and heretics, and declared them unfit to hold any position in the churches, schools and universities of the country. The former liberal movement in favor of a revision of the Creeds of the Dutch Reformed Church was definitely checked by the Synod's approval of the Netherland Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism without any change, as the orthodox Calvinist faith was thought to be briefly but completely set forth in these. Now the States General imposed the "Act of Cessation," on pain of banishment, which deprived the Remonstrants of the right to preach and reduced them to the condition of private individuals. Only one of the Remonstrant members of the Synod signed; the remaining fourteen were forced to go into exile. In July, 1619, the States General prohibited the assemblies of the Remonstrants, but the ordinance was not enforced in the larger towns, as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Gouda, although this connivance greatly annoyed the Calvinist zealots. In all about two hundred Remonstrant preachers were deposed and of these seventy signed the Act of Cessation, about forty finally accepted the articles of Dortdrecht, with restoration to the ministry as a reward, and about eighty went into exile. These last attacked the dominant party, "the little ministers of the new Holland inquisition," with a mass of pam-

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rily in the lands of the Republic, under the penalty of being arrested and imprisoned as enemies of the State. A second offense on their part entailed punishment for disturbance of the public peace. Their hosts in the land were subject to a fine of one hundred pounds Flemish for the first offense, double the sum for the second offense, and to the penalty of corporal punishment and banishment for the third offense. The priests who previously had been authorized to reside in the Republic were bound to report their names and places of residence to the local magistrate, if they wished to continue the enjoyment of this privilege. All correspondence with foreign ecclesiastics was prohibited to the subjects of the Republic, and letters of this kind were to be surrendered to the magistrate on their receipt under a fine of fifty pounds for every infraction of the law. Catholic ceremonies were interdicted not only in the churches but also in private houses. The master of the house was subject to a fine of two hundred florins, each person present to a fine of twenty-five florins, and the officiating priest to the penalty of banishment. The priests who preached disobedience to *these laws* were to be prosecuted for sedition and subjected to corporal punishment, "even unto death," according to the gravity of the offense. Attendance at foreign Jesuit schools was again forbidden, and parents were ordered to recall their children from such places under a fine of one hundred florins for each month of delay. The congregations of devout women, "klopjes," were to be dissolved at once. Protestant orphans were not to be confided to the care of Catholic guardians, but to the care of the magistrate, if they had no near relations of

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able intervention of a stranger in the internal affairs of the Republic. A resolution was then passed by the States General to complete the penal legislation against Catholics on the plea that impunity to propagators of "Catholic superstitions" and the introduction of the papist hierarchy entailed undeniable dangers for public safety. The French plenipotentiary, Count d'Estrades, was not more successful in his attempt to have an article incorporated in the capitulation of the city of Hulst, granting the public exercise of the Catholic worship. When Frederick Henry transmitted the petition to the States General, the assembly expressed their great astonishment at this pernicious proposition. In the following year, when the French and Dutch planned a joint attack on Antwerp, Cardinal Mazarin was able to obtain only the grudging consent of his Dutch allies to the concession of four churches for Catholic worship on the conquest of this city. The joint expedition never took place.

The conclusion of the general peace of Münster in 1648 brought to the Republic a recognition of its sovereignty by Spain. The Catholics, sorely harassed in the past by the oppressive measures of the States General, which had often been anticipated and even reinforced by the penal legislation of the provincial States and of the town councils, hoped for some relaxation of the persecution with the cessation of hostilities, but the Calvinist clergy was loud in its protestations against any concession to "Roman idolatry," which would surely bring upon the Republic the anger of God. In spite of the opposition of the States of Holland, some relaxation was ordered by the States General within the

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lution adopted by the assembly, which decreed the maintenance of the ordinances of the National Synod of Dortdrecht, the enforcement of the placards against the Catholics and the retention of other sects "in all good order and quiet." The execution of this decree fell far short of the desires of the Calvinist ministers, who continually assailed the civil authorities with their remonstrances, and Catholics and sometimes adherents of other persuasions had continually to fear the penalties that might be inflicted according to law by the magistrates under pressure of the ministers. Government circles were not so inimical to the considerations which De la Court advanced. He believed that self-interest should prevent the dominant Calvinists from the attempt to suppress people of other persuasions, who were in the majority even in Holland, as persecution might provoke their emigration, to the great loss of the country. He tells us that most of the "old inhabitants," peasants, moneyed men, and nobles in that province were still Catholics, while there were also many Protestants, but mostly Mennonites or Rijnsburgers. In spite of all past vexatious measures, Catholics still formed a large majority of the population in the Provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel, although many of the Reformed were to be found in some districts, as the Veluwe, since John of Nassau was able to throw his influence into the balance. De la Torre's report of 1656 gives a very small number of Catholics for the three northern provinces, and Blok in his history estimates the number of Catholics above the Meuse at about half a million. This geographical distribution of the confessions represents the condition of

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CHAPTER II

GENERAL RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN NEW NETHERLAND

THE successful organization of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 rendered feasible the formation of a West India Company to realize more effectually the humiliation of the power of Spain. Very early William Ussellinx, an ardent Calvinist and an enemy to "all heretics and erring spirits," advocated the organization of such a commercial company to prey on the Spanish possessions, from which their enemy drew the "sinews of war," and to plant there the saving faith and the gospel of Jesus Christ, whereby the heathen might be rescued from the darkness of idolatry and be preserved from papistry.¹ Although the plan became popular, it was opposed by the East India Company, which feared for its monopoly, and by Oldenbarnevelt, who was anxious to avoid new complications with Spain. The successful negotiation of a truce in 1609 made any further effort on the part of Ussellinx fruitless. Nevertheless, in the very same year, the discoveries of Henry Hudson on the North American coast, while employed by the Dutch East India Company in the search of a

¹ Cf. O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, i. 31; prospectus for W. I. Co., *Arg. Gust.* p. 51, Jameson, William Ussellinx, *A. H. A. Papers*, ii. 39.

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of the Elector Palatine Frederick, is said to have urged this scheme to promote the Protestant cause in the Bohemian war. During the discussion of the drafts of the charter of the West India Company, Ferdinand had become Emperor, the Elector Palatine, the nephew of Prince Maurice and Count Frederick, had been chosen King of Bohemia, and the combination had been formed for the overthrow of the latter. The cause of Protestantism in Bohemia and especially of the German Calvinists appealed to the sympathies of the party now ruling in the United Provinces, but in the end the controlling factor in shaping the new organization was the proximate expiration of the truce with Spain and the renewal of hostilities.¹

The interests of the new company naturally centered in the Spanish seas about Brazil and the West Indies, while the Province of New Netherland received scant attention, although organized colonization began there almost as soon as the time for the subscriptions to the company terminated in 1623. When the question of religion presented itself in regard to the colony, the West India Company, the proprietor of the province, assumed the same authority which the civil power exercised in religious matters within the United Provinces. In addition, the right of patronage was claimed by the company over the colonial church. Usselinx had proposed in his plan the establishment of a council or college of theologians, who were to supply the company with godly ministers and teachers to instruct not only the colonists and their children, but

¹ Jameson, William Usselinx, A. H. A. Papers ii. 66-67.

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1624 by the Synod of North Holland, which gave to the Classis the charge of all the ecclesiastical interests in the colonies under the care of the Chamber located within the limits of its jurisdiction.¹ This practical solution of the question of the supervision of the colonial churches was immediately protested by deputies from Utrecht, Overijssel and especially of Gelderland, who held that the matter equally concerned all the churches of the land, and demanded that at least deputies from their respective synods might be admitted to a general assembly of delegates from the churches and classes, which had charge of colonial churches.² Such a general assembly, which had first been suggested by the Synod of North Holland at the expense of the commercial company with jurisdiction over these colonies,³ never was realized, and the individual classes continued to take charge of the colonial churches of the respective chambers within their jurisdiction. According to this rule, ministers were first sent to the colonies by the Classes of Hoorn and Enkhuysen, but, with the concentration of business at Amsterdam, this classis acquired almost exclusive control of the colonial churches, although it was not authorized to do this any more than other classes, where there were chambers of the companies.⁴ As early as 1628 Michaelius, the first minister of New Netherland, recognized the consistory of Amsterdam as the superior ecclesiastical authority of the colony.⁵

¹ Synod of North Holland, Aug. 6, etc., 1624. Eccl. Recs. N. Y., i. 38-39.

² Synod of North Holland, 1625, Aug. 12, etc. Ibid. 39.

³ Synod of North Holland, Aug. 6, 1624. Ibid. 38-39.

⁴ Synod of North Holland, Aug. 1, 1639. Ibid. 126.

⁵ Michaelius to Smoutius. Ibid. 54.

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copies of the minutes of these classes and of any documents bearing on these matters. If any difficulties arose in regard to doctrine or church polity in the colonial churches, which could not be readily solved by the particular classis or synod, the advice of the synods of the land was to be sought, unless there could be no delay, and then the facts of the case were to be communicated to them. The last article in this plan shows that the protesting synods wished to make it possible for persons under their jurisdiction to serve the colonial church. Those who manifested such a desire were to be held in good commendation by the classes in charge of such churches, provided they had the necessary qualifications.¹ Although the Synod of South Holland provisionally accepted these propositions, it gained the approval of other synods very slowly.² By 1648 it was accepted by all the synods, except Utrecht, which finally also agreed to the plan two years later.³ Thus the Classis of Amsterdam remained undisturbed in the direction and supervision of the colonial church of New Netherland. Ministers, Comforters of the Sick, and Schoolmasters had to qualify themselves for work in New Netherland before the Classis, who then presented them to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, and on their appointment gave them the necessary call, for which a special formula had been adopted in 1636.⁴ The

¹Synod of North Holland, Aug. 12, etc. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 158-161.

²Synod of North Holland, 1643, Ibid. 173-4, etc.; 1644, Aug. 11, etc., Art. 28. Ibid. 183-4; 1645, Aug. 8, etc., Art 20. Ibid. 190.

³Synod of North Holland, 1648, Aug. 11, etc., Ibid. 232; 1650, Aug. 6, etc., Ibid. 277-8.

⁴Cf. Ibid. 92-99.

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ment of the Dutch Reformed Church in the charter of Privileges and Exemptions of 1640. At this time, the Classis of Amsterdam feared that an appeal on the part of the Lutherans for freedom of public worship might be allowed by the States General, but their fear was groundless, and nothing was done to revoke the exclusive establishment of the Reformed Church of New Netherland.

Within the Province of New Netherland, the government was vested in the Director General, assisted by an advisory council, upon whom all other officials of the company in the colony were dependent for their authority.¹ The Director, as supreme magistrate, retained the direct control of the colonial church even after the establishment of inferior local courts in villages and in the city of New Amsterdam. The local courts had no jurisdiction over criminals and delinquents guilty of blasphemy, violation of God's Holy Name and religion. Such cases were reserved to the judgment of the Provincial Court.² All measures relative to the erection of churches and schools and the support of these institutions had to be confirmed, approved and commanded by the Director General and Council, except when there was question of churches established within patroonships, such as Rensselaerswyck on the North River and New Amstel on the South River.³ Comforters of the Sick, ministers and schoolmasters were usually appointed by the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, commissioned by the Classis of

¹ Cf. Osgood, *The Am. Colonies in the 17th Century*, ii. 100, sqq.

² This is the reason why the town minutes of this period contain little information on the religious life of the people.

³ Cf. *Col. Docs. N. Y.*, xiii. 198.

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ber of persons for the office, from which the Director General and Council selected a new church warden.¹

The school, which was also a religious institution, was likewise under the direct control of the colonial government. The presumption of Jacob van Corlaer to teach in a school without the order of the Director General and Council brought a very clear assertion of the powers of the government, which then refused to grant the requisite permission even in spite of the humble supplication of the Burghers and inhabitants and the intercession of the Burgomasters and some Schepens. Stuyvesant declared that "school teaching and the induction of a schoolmaster depends absolutely on the right of patronage."² This principle found a good illustration in the petition of the magistrates of Boswyck, who requested the approval of their contract with Boudewyn Maenhout as reader and schoolmaster. The Director General and Council fulfilled the request on the condition that the schoolmaster be first examined by the reverend clergy of New Amsterdam and declared fit for the performance of his duties.³ This regulation was probably due to the place of religion in the Dutch colonial school, where the principles and fundamentals of the Christian religion were also to be inculcated. One of the last ordinances of the Dutch provincial government ordered the two schoolmasters of New Amsterdam, Pietersen of the principal school and Van Hoboocken of the branch school in the Bouwery, to bring their children to the church on Wednesday to be

¹ Cf. Recs. New Amsterdam, vii. 142, 144, 175, 237, *passim*.

² *Ibid* ii. 348; Col. Docs. N.Y., xiv. 412, 413-14.

³ Council minute, Dec. 28, 1662, *Ibid* 519.

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to the observance of general public morals. This was especially true of the directorship of Peter Stuyvesant. He published with much greater frequency than his predecessors days of public prayer and thanksgiving, which he ordered to be celebrated with sermons and prayers in the English as well as the Dutch churches of the province. This was done sometimes to placate divine wrath, outraged by the sins of the people, sometimes to avert the impending evil of an Indian war or of a pestilential disease, sometimes to preserve the purity of the Calvinist faith endangered by the growth of dissent; in a word, to implore temporal and spiritual blessings for Church and State.¹ Wherever he noticed grave abuses in the religious and moral life of the people, he attempted to remedy the evil. Although there was an ordinance not to tap beer during divine service, as early as 1641, the conflict between the former minister of New Amsterdam, the Reverend Everardus Bogardus, and the former Director General William Kieft, had trained the people to the violation of the Sabbath. Shortly after his arrival, Stuyvesant saw that "the disregard, nay contempt, of God's holy laws and ordinances, which command us to keep holy in His Honor His day of rest, the Sabbath, and forbid all bodily injury and murder," was due to the prevalence of drunkenness amongst the inhabitants. He, therefore, prohibited all brewers, tapsters and innkeepers, on the Lord's day of rest, to "entertain people, tap or draw any wine, beer or strong waters of any kind and under any pretext before two o'clock in case there is no preaching, or else before four, except to a traveler

¹ Passim in Col. Docs. N. Y., i, ii, iii, xii, xiii, xiv.

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crafts and business, be it in houses, cellars, shops, ships, yachts, or on the streets and market places," were forbidden, "under the penalty of forfeiting all such wares, goods and merchandise and of redeeming them with the payment of twenty-five florins, to be applied until further orders for the support of the poor and the churches, besides a fine of one pound Flemish, payable by purchaser as well as seller, employee as well as employer, half of it going to the officer, the other half at the discretion of the court." Any person violating the Sabbath by excessive drinking, "to his disgrace and the offense of others," was subject to arrest by the Fiscal or any superior or inferior officer, and to arbitrary punishment by the court.¹ Regulations were also made to restrict the number of taverns, and to punish the sale of liquor to the Indians.

The ordinances for the observance of Sunday were not intended to be enforced only at New Amsterdam. As soon as the whole of the South River again came under the authority of the West India Company, in 1655, the vice-director, Jean Paul Jacquet, and his commissaries were instructed "to observe and have observed the placards and ordinances made and published heretofore against drinking on the Sabbath and the profanation of the same."²

The severity of the law was increased considerably in 1656. The Director General and Council forbade on the Lord's day of rest "the usual work of plowing, sowing,

¹ Ordinance, April 29, 1648. Recs. New Amsterdam, i. 9.

² Provisional Instructions. Nov. 29, 1655. Col. Docs. N. Y., xii.

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double as much for the second offense, "and four times double as much" for the third offense. The same penalties were decreed for the sale of liquor on Sunday, and the drunkard found on this day was to be conveyed to the guardhouse, where he was to remain at the discretion of the commissaries and in addition was to be fined one pound Flemish for the benefit of the officer who arrested the prisoner.¹ In 1663, Stuyvesant complained not only that the Sunday laws were not observed, but that they were "by some misinterpreted and misconstrued, as if the previously enacted placards referred to and applied to the maintenance and sanctification of only half the Sabbath." The Director General and Council, therefore, commanded the observance not only of a part but of the whole Sabbath, and warned the people that, "pending the Sabbath, from the rising to the setting of the sun, no customary labor shall be performed, much less clubs kept." The Director General and Council also forbade "all unusual exercises, such as games, boat, cart or wagon racing, fishing, fowling, running, sailing, nutting or picking strawberries, trafficking with the Indians or any like things, and amongst other things all dissolute and licentious plays, riots, calling children out to the streets and highways." The penalty for the violation of this ordinance was the forfeiture of the upper garment (*het Oppercleet*) or six guilders, according to the decision of the court, for the first offense, double for the second, and exemplary punishment for the third offense.² The pla-

¹ Ordinance, Nov. 18, 1661. Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 415-16.

² Ordinance, Sept. 10, 1663. Recs. New Amsterdam, iv. 301-2.

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Some of the delinquents were then summoned before the Director General and Council to be tried and fined for contempt. Several behaved insolently towards the chief magistracy, and were committed by the Director General and Council to prison.¹ On the protest of the Burgomasters and Schepens, the Director General and Council informed them that the establishment of an inferior court of justice under the name Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens or Commissaries in no way infringed or diminished "the power and authority of the Director General and Council to enact any ordinances or issue particular interdicts, especially those which tend to the glory of God, or the best interest of the inhabitants, or will prevent more sins, scandals, debaucheries and crimes, and properly correct, fine and punish obstinate transgressors."² When Cornelius van Tienhoven informed the Burgomasters and Schepens of the country-people's intention to ride the goose again in the following year, he was instructed, in response to his inquiry, "seasonably to declare the same to be illegal," as it had been forbidden by the Supreme Councillors.³

The prevalence of concubinage and irregularities in contracting matrimony, which occasioned the former, also called for Stuyvesant's intervention soon after his advent to the Province of New Netherland and repeatedly during the course of his administration. According to the laws of the Netherlands, and the

¹ Stuyvesant to Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens. Feb. 26, 1654. Recs. New Amsterdam, i. 172; Col. Docs. N.Y., xiv. 249.

² Stuyvesant to Schout, Burgomaster and Schepens. Feb. 26, 1654, Recs. New Amsterdam i. 173; Col. Docs. N. Y., xiv. 249.

³ Court minute. Feb. 8, 1655. Recs. New Amsterdam. i. 286.

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nance was issued that prohibited this practice and bound the contracting parties to prove that their bans had been published where they had resided for the previous year.¹ This legislation had been occasioned especially by the illegal proceedings of the Court of Gravesend, which published the bans of matrimony between Johan van Beeck and Maria Verleth, residents of New Amsterdam, without the consent of Stuyvesant, who had been made the guardian of the bridegroom by the father in Holland. This breach of the correct practice of the ecclesiastical and civil order of New Amsterdam was thought to prepare "a way whereby hereafter some sons and daughters, unwilling to obey parents and guardians, will, contrary to their wishes, secretly go and get married in such villages or elsewhere."² The magistrates of Gravesend contended that van Beeck was a freeman of their village and that the intervention of the Director General in this matter was a violation of their charter, but Stuyvesant retorted that he was also a freeman of New Amsterdam and of Amsterdam, that matrimony must be concluded according to divine and human laws, with the consent of parents, tutors or guardians, and that no infraction of the privileges of their charter was intended.³ On February 10, 1654, the court messenger was sent to Gravesend to renew the marriage ordinance of the Province of New Netherland, and to declare all marriages not concluded according to this statute, unlawful, "as contrary to all civil and political laws and ordinances, in force

¹ O'Callaghan. *Cal. Hist. MSS. (Dutch)* i. p. 134.

² Court minute, Jan. 26, 1654. *Recs. New Amsterdam*, i. 155.

³ Stuyvesant to magistrates of Gravesend, Jan. 20, 1654, *Col. Docs. N. Y.*, xiv. 243; Feb. 10, 1654, *Ibid.* 245-6.

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was put up by Johan van Beeck in various places of the city that contained this resolution of the Burgomasters and Schepens, the difficulties opposed by Director Stuyvesant to his marriage at Gravesend and at New Amsterdam, and his reasons for leaving the neighborhood to seek a safe retreat elsewhere.¹ Stuyvesant immediately demanded a copy of the resolution of the municipal court, which he reiterated again a week later, and sent a letter to all governors, deputy governors, magistrates and Christian neighbors, setting forth that Johan van Beeck and Maria Verleth had run off to New England to get married, and requesting them not to solemnize the marriage, but to send back the runaways.² When Stuyvesant learned that Van Beeck had been married by an unauthorized countryman, named Goodman Crab, living at Greenwich, against the laudable customs and laws of the United Netherlands, contrary to the advice and command of his lawful guardian, the Honorable Director General, and without a previous publication of the bans, he declared the marriage unlawful, and condemned Johan van Beeck and Maria Verleth to live separately under the penalty of being punished according to law for living in concubinage.³ Nevertheless, two years later Maria Verleth, the widow of Johan van Beeck, in the lawsuit for a surrender of letters addressed to her husband, that had arrived after his death, received a favorable decision from the Burgomasters and Schepens who based

[¹ Council minute. Feb. 27, 1654. O'Callaghan, *Cal. Hist. MSS. (Dutch)*, i. 135-136; Stuyvesant to Burgomasters. etc., March 2, 1654, *Recs. New Amsterdam*, i. 174.

² O'Callaghan, *Ibid.*

³ Council minute. Sept. 14, 1654. *Col. Docs. N. Y.*, xiv. 291.

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There was, therefore, no lack of paternal legislation to uplift the tone of public morality and religion in the Province of New Netherland, at least during the directorship of Peter Stuyvesant. However, most of the measures adopted for this purpose found little response in the life of the people. The Dutch inhabitants were largely indifferent to religion; the professed members of the Dutch Reformed Church never manifested great zeal in the practice of their faith; and all attempts at the organization of dissenting worship were strictly prohibited by law, and did in fact entail persecution.

¹ O'Callaghan. Cal. Hist. MSS. (Dutch), i. 215.

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properly belonged to the ministerial office. This divine service was very simple. It consisted of prayer, singing of psalms, the reading of some chapters of the bible and of some sermon of an orthodox Reformed minister.¹ This later became the model for the public worship allowed by the provincial authorities in the new settlements, English as well as Dutch, that could not be provided with an orthodox minister.² In all gatherings of the people, the Comforters of the Sick led in prayer according to the nature of the occasion. In the community, they were to be the watchful custodians of the faith and of the moral law, who were to instruct the ignorant, admonish sinners to repentance and amendment of life, and encourage the weak to perseverance in virtue. Accordingly on Sundays, Sebastian Jansz Crol and Jan Huyck read from the Scriptures and the commentaries to the commonalty that Minuit had concentrated on Manhattan Island. Meanwhile, François Molemacker was busily engaged in building a horsemill, over which was to be constructed a spacious room that would accommodate a large congregation. This structure was to be adorned with a tower, in which were to be hung the Spanish bells captured at Porto Rico by the Dutch fleet the preceeding year.³

¹ Cf. Instructions for the Comforters of the Sick, Adopted in Classis of Amsterdam, May 5, 1636, Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i, 96-97.

² The same policy was also adopted in Brazil by the College of the XIX. "The smaller places shall be served by precentors, Comforters of the Sick and schoolmasters, who shall offer up public prayers, read aloud from the Old and New Testament and from printed sermons; and tune the psalms." Proceedings of the College of the XIX. Ibid. 193.

³ Narratives of New Netherland. Wassenaer's Historical Verhael. p. 83-4. Dyer points out the fact that, while the wooden structure erected solely for church purposes by Wouter Van Twiller

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as elder in the Dutch and French churches respectively in Wesel. In the place of one of these elders, a new one was to be chosen every year from a double number lawfully proposed to the congregation. The occupation of all the members of the first consistory in public business with the exception of the minister made Michaelius fear the possibility of confusion and disorder in ecclesiastical and civil matters. To avoid this danger, he requested precise instructions for the governors of the Province and the Synodal acts for himself, so that the relations of Church and State might be well regulated.¹ It is generally asserted that there is no trace of any misunderstanding between Minuit and Michaelius, but the Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts disprove this. When the Director General and the secretary, Jan Van Remund, came into conflict with each other, the minister is declared to have been "very energetic here stirring up the fire between them; he ought to be a mediator in God's Church and community but he seems to me to be the contrary."² Kiliaen van Rensselaer in writing to Wouter van Twiller puts the blame on the colonial secretary, who had excited the minister against Minuit.³

The church organized at New Amsterdam comprised the Walloons and French, as well as the Dutch, although the Sunday service was performed only in the language of the latter, which all but a few individuals could understand. There was, therefore, no necessity for any special service in French, but Michaelius did

¹ Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 52-53.

² Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS. ed. by A. S. Van Laer, 1908. p. 169.

³ Ibid. pp. 267-8.

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recognition of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Province of New Netherland. The slow progress made in the colonization of the country led the Company to grant to its members who should plant colonies there a charter of privileges and exemptions,¹ by which feudal rights were guaranteed to such patroons. At the same time, freedom of colonization with liberal privileges was also offered to private persons in the United Provinces, who should settle there either on their own account or in the service of their masters. According to the twenty-seventh article, "*the Patroons and colonists shall in particular, and in the speediest manner endeavor to find out ways and means, whereby they may support a Minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and the zeal for religion may not grow cool and be neglected among them, and they shall from the first procure a Comforter of the Sick there.*"² Thus the first charter granted for the colonization of New Netherland by the West India Company made the maintenance of the ministry of the Reformed Church obligatory on the part of the patroons and the colonists. The Dutch Reformed Church, therefore, obtained a legal recognition of its establishment in the Province as early as 1629. At the time of the negotiation of this charter, the West India Company was anxious to appear in the light of the champion of the Dutch national

¹ Col. Docs. N. Y. ii. 551-7. Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland. 9.

² The provision of the charter was not a piece of legislation adopted in particular for New Netherland, but is also found in the draft of the conditions for colonies in general by the College of the XIX, June 12, 1627 and November 22, 1628. Cf. Extract from Dutch Archives. U. S. Commission on Boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. ii, pp. 52, 63.

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characterized by De Vries as a "mean barn,"¹ with a dwelling house and stable adjoining for the use of the minister, the Reverend Bogardus.

In the summer of the following year, the friendly relations between the Church and the Provincial authorities were again disturbed.² Although the occasion of the quarrel is unknown, Bogardus was accused of having sent a letter to Wouter Van Twiller, which was not dictated "by the spirit of the Lord," but "by a feeling unbecoming heathens, let alone Christians, much less a preacher of the Gospel." He is said to have described the Director as "a child of the devil, an incarnate villain, whose buckgoats are better than he," and to have threatened him with "such a shake from the pulpit, on the following Sunday, as would make him shudder."³ Somewhat later the peace of the Church of New Amsterdam was again disturbed by the trouble arising between the minister and the Schout Fiscal of the Province, Lubertus van Dincklagen, who in 1636 was sent to Holland by the Director and deprived of his wages for three years for his censure of the bad administration of the Province. He claimed he had been excommunicated by the machinations of the Reverend Everardus Bogardus and driven into the wilderness to escape the persecution instituted against him, where for days he

¹ Extracts from *Voyages of David Pieterzen de Vries*. N.Y. Hist. Soc. Col. 2d. Ser. iii, 101.

² Kiliaen van Rensselaer also puts the blame for this upon the secretary, Jan van Remund, who had stirred up the minister against Wouter Van Twiller. The Governor was accused of running "out on the street after the minister with a naked sword;" of being "proud and puffed up, always drunk as long as there is any wine... lazy and careless, hostile to the minister and no defender of religion, etc." Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS. pp. 267-8, 271.

³ Summons of Bogardus before Council by Kieft, June 11, 1646. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv, 69.

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worthy pastor, the Reverend Everardus Bogardus," the ministers were determined to do justice towards Lubbertus Van Dincklagen.¹ The case was still pending in May, 1642, but the published documents of the Classis fail to disclose its issue.

A new impulse to colonization was given on July 19, 1640, by the publication of a new charter of Freedoms and Exemptions which was extended to all in friendly relations with the Netherlands. The West India Company took this occasion to establish still more formally the Dutch Reformed Church. "*And no other religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherland, except the Reformed, as it is at present preached and practiced by public authority in the United Netherlands; and for this purpose the Company shall provide and maintain good and suitable preachers, schoolmasters and Comforters of the Sick.*"² Although this clause was intended to strengthen the position of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Province of New Netherland, the privileges extended by the charter to foreigners became the occasion of a large growth of dissent with the consequence of an attempt to infringe upon the exclusive establishment of the Reformed Church, which led to persecution.

Greater zeal for the Reformed Religion was also manifested after the publication of the new charter of Freedoms and Exemptions. The need of a new and more substantial church had been felt for some time. In 1640 the Director and Council appropriated a portion of the fines imposed by the court of justice to raise

¹ Acts of Deputies, May 5, 1642. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i, 152.

² Col. Docs. N. Y. i, 123.

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seventy-two feet long, fifty-two feet wide and sixteen feet high, for the sum of two thousand five hundred guilders.¹ On the advice of De Vries, a site was chosen for the new church within the fort, that the faithful while assembled in worship might be guarded against a sudden attack of the Indians. The walls of the building were soon raised and the roof covered with oak shingles, but the immediate completion of the building was retarded by the rise of factions within the Dutch community and by the outbreak of Indian hostilities. The inscription on the church even became a matter of complaint to the commonalty against the government of Kieft, who asserted therein that he had the community build the temple.

Anno 1642;

William Kieft, Directeur-Generael;

Heeft de Gemeente desen Tempel Doen Bouben.

A grievance was also later found in the position of the church in the fort, as "a fifth wheel to a coach," whereas the opponents of the governor would have preferred it in a more central location for the greater accommodation of the people at large. However, these objections were only urged after the development of unpleasant relations within the colony.²

The building activity of the church wardens at New Amsterdam had been stimulated largely by the intelligence that the colonists of Rensselaerswyck contemplated the erection of a church. Although this colony had

¹ Cf. copy of the contract in O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, i, 262 note 1.

² Remonstrance of the People of New Netherland to the States General, July 28, 1649, *Col. Docs. N. Y.* i, 271-318; or *Representation of New Netherland. Narratives of New Netherland*, p. 320.

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minister from Holland.¹ The schout, Jacob Planck, wrote that three hundred florins a year might be raised in the colony, but Kiliaen van Rensselaer knew full well, that no minister could be found to go there for that sum.² Meanwhile, in response to the request of the patroon, Kieft allowed the minister at Manhattan occasionally to go to Rensselaerswyck to console and admonish the colonists there and to celebrate the Lord's Supper with them.³

Ten years after the foundation of the colony the exemption of the settlers from the payment of taxes ceased, and the patroon then expected to develop resources for the support of an organized ministry from the tithes to be paid by the inhabitants.⁴ He anticipated within a short time sufficient revenue from this source for the erection of a small church, for which he himself sent the model, of a parsonage for the minister and of a dwelling for the sexton.⁵ However, the people of the colony opposed the payment of the tithes, to the great annoyance of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, who thought it "childish to think of a minister going there from here to be paid by the inhabitants individually.

¹ Letter. Kiliaen van Rensselaer to Jacob Albertz Planck October 3, 1636, Van Rensselaer-Bowier MSS. 328. Commission to Arent van Curler, as secretary and bookkeeper, May 12, 1639. Ibid. 434.

² Letter. Kiliaen van Rensselaer to Pieter van Munnickendam, May 8, 1638. Ibid. 408.

³ Letter. Kiliaen van Rensselaer to William Kieft, May 17, 1638. Ibid. 404. William Kieft to Kiliaen van Rensselaer August 14, 1638. Ibid. 423, Kiliaen van Rensselaer to Kieft May 12, 1639. Ibid. 431.

⁴ Commission to Pieter Cornelisz van Munnickendam as receiver of tithes and supercargo of the vessel, May 12, 1639. Ibid. p 436.

⁵ Cf. Instructions for Cornelis Teunisz van Breukelen as the representative of the patroon, August 4, 1639. Ibid. 459. Kiliaen van Rensselaer to Arent van Curler, July 18, 1641. Ibid. 561.

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visions for the maintenance of the minister, whose services were engaged for six years.¹ When the ship was about to sail, the Directors of the West India Company unexpectedly claimed the exclusive right to approve the appointment of the colonial clergy. There was no time to argue the case without delaying the departure of the vessel, and a compromise was allowed by the patroon, who consented to the approval of the minister's commission by the Directors without any prejudice to his rights as patroon of the colony.²

Kiliaen van Rensselaer did not limit the authority of Domine Megapolensis to ecclesiastical matters, but also made the minister the arbiter of all disputes arising between the chief official of the colony, Arent van Curler, and the next officer in rank, Adriaen van der Donck. He was instructed to "have an eye to the rights and advantages of the patroon, that the common welfare may not suffer from misunderstanding, contention and the like." The Domine's decision was to stand unquestioned until the patroon himself could look into the matter at issue.³ However, there is no evidence of friction between the minister and the officials. In fact, Arent van Curler

O'Callaghan's *Hist. of New Netherland*. i, 449; Munsell's *Annals of Albany*. i, 21, 92.

¹ Contract in O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*. i. 448-9. He was given free passage and board on ship for himself, wife and four children. If he should fall into the hands of the Dunkirkers, the patroon promised to ransom him and during his detention to give forty guilders monthly for his support. A parsonage was to be erected in the colony and a salary of one thousand and ten guilders yearly, with an increase of two hundred and fifty guilders yearly for the three following years, was stipulated.

² Ibid. 449, also in Van Rensselaer-Bowier MSS. p. 606-8. Dates differ; here April 6, in O'Callaghan, March 6.

³ Memorandum from Kiliaen van Rensselaer for Johannes Megapolensis. June 3, 1642. Van Rensselaer-Bowier MSS. 618.

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to debauch my people, exhausting them as long as they can find something to pay, and after that charging it to my account."¹ He, therefore, also planned severe legislation to limit the importation of liquor into the colony according to the needs of each family, but to the exclusion of dissipation and drunkenness. Offenses of this kind were also to be punished by heavy fines, which were to be doubled, if the culprit proved to be an officer, "as wine and spirits are the cause of God's wrath, of the patroon's loss and of all evils."²

On the outbreak of the Indian war, the Dutch minister at Manhattan, Everardus Bogardus, "many times in his sermons freely expressed himself against the horrible murders, covetousness, and other gross excesses."³ On several occasions, the Dutch in their revolting cruelty even outraged the blunted moral sense of the Indian savage. The ravages of the war, which reduced the Dutch settlers almost to the last extremity, made the government unpopular, and Kieft attempted to shift the responsibility for the war upon his advisors. One of these, Maryn Adriaesen, became so incensed at this treachery of the Director General, that he made a murderous but unsuccessful attack upon Kieft. The minister espoused the cause of the unfortunate man from the pulpit "in the most brutal manner." Later he again attacked Kieft.⁴ "What are the great men of the country but receptacles of wrath,

¹ Kiliaen van Rensselaer to William Kieft, June 8, 1642. Van Rensselaer-Bowier MSS. 622.

² Redress of the abuses and faults in the colony of Rensselaerswyck. Ibid.

³ Broad Advice. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2d. Ser. iii, (1857), 261-2.

⁴ Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv, 69-73.

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to realize that he could not continue in this course and attempted to obtain a reconciliation without compromising his dignity, but the minister had been too deeply outraged, and he naturally allied himself to the party, working for the removal of the incompetent governor, whom he openly attacked, outside of the church in the gatherings of the people on the occasion of weddings and christenings, and in the church in the course of his sermons. The matter came to a crisis in the beginning of 1646, when Kieft called upon Bogardus to answer for his continual opposition to the government. "Inasmuch as your duty and oath imperiously demand the maintenance of the magistracy; and whereas your conduct stirs the people to mutiny and rebellion, when they are already too much divided, causes schism and abuses in the church and makes us a scorn and a laughing stock to our neighbors, all which cannot be tolerated in a country where justice is maintained, therefore, our sacred duty imperiously requires us to prosecute you in a court of justice, and we have accordingly ordered a copy of these our deliberations to be delivered to you to answer in fourteen days." Bogardus, who had hitherto neglected to recognize any letter of the Director, was constrained to answer this bill of indictment, but his first reply was considered futile and absurd, and his second answer slanderous. After some further correspondence, the minister refused to enter into "a deep discussion of this affair" and challenged the competency of the Director and his council. The Director refused to allow that the matter transcended his powers, but, to obviate all pretext of slander, he declared his willingness to submit the case to the

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shepherd errs, the sheep go astray.”¹ The congregation numbered about one hundred and seventy members, most of whom were “very ignorant in regard to the true religion and very much given to drink.” John Backerus, whose services had been engaged temporarily, believed that “the source of much evil and great offense would be removed,” if the seventeen tap-houses were closed, with the exception of three or four. The vice of intemperance had obtained such sway that the minister despaired of being able to accomplish anything with many of the older people, who were “so far depraved that they are now ashamed to learn anything good.”² His hope was with the children, who might be influenced by the pious example of a new pastor and of a good schoolmaster. The abuses that had developed during the strife between Kieft and Bogardus had retarded the growth of religion and education. The church, although begun in 1642, still remained uncompleted, no schoolhouse had as yet been erected, and Kieft had been accused of misappropriating the funds collected for both these purposes. As the resources of the Directors were too limited to allow any vast expenditure, Stuyvesant now endeavored to obtain assistance from the people by the formation of a representative board of “Nine Select Men,” who, as good and faithful representatives of the commonalty, were “to promote the honor of God and the welfare of our dear fatherland to the best advantage of the Company and the prosperity of our good citizens, to the preservation

¹ Directors to Stuyvesant, April 7, 1648. Col. Docs. N.Y. xiv, 84.

² Backerus to Classis of Amsterdam, September 2, 1648. Eccl Recs. N. Y. i, 236.

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New Amsterdam. Although the patroons of Rensselaerswyck would gladly have seen Megapolensis continue his residence in their colony, they were not willing to hold him there against his will. However, they requested him to make some arrangements before his departure for the continuation "of some form of worship, such as the reading of some chapters of God's Word, or some good homily."¹ When Megapolensis arrived at New Amsterdam, on his way to the fatherland, Backerus had already left the town for Europe. His departure had been hastened by the measures adopted by Stuyvesant to repress any protest of the people against his autocratic government, which he feared might also be made the subject of this minister's discourse in the pulpit. At the same time, he protested that he did not wish to gain control of "ecclesiastical affairs which are left at the full disposal of said ministers and consistory," wherein the Director General offered all the aid and assistance that could lawfully be demanded from the chief magistrate of the country. In regard to other things, the minister was personally instructed by the Director General "not to read himself or have read by any of the church officers from the pulpit or elsewhere in the church at the request of any of the inhabitants any writing, petition or proposal having relation to the municipal or general government," until such writing had been signed by the Director himself or by the secretary on the order of the Director and Council.²

¹ Acts of Deputies. Classis of Amsterdam, March 29, 1649. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 249.

² Council Minute, May 8, 1649. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 114.

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sources at present were too limited to allow the erection of buildings, which were not very necessary. They believed that the poor could be well cared for with the proceeds of voluntary offerings and the fines, that were given to the Deaconry, as it was able to loan the company in New Amsterdam the sum of nine hundred to a thousand guilders.¹

The Remonstrance finally led to the incorporation of the city of New Amsterdam with a municipal court of Burgomasters and Schepens. The minutes of this court open on February 6, 1653, with a prayer, in which they thank God for his past blessings, beseech Him for strength and light in the administration of justice, so that they might be able to exercise the power entrusted to them "to the general good of the community and to the maintenance of the church."² Stuyvesant had attempted in vain to obtain some financial assistance for the maintenance of the civil, ecclesiastical and military servants of the company.³ Finally, in the fall of this year, Stuyvesant granted the Burgomasters and Schepens the usual excise on wine and beer consumed in the city of New Amsterdam, which they were to farm out to the highest bidder, if in return they paid subsidies for the maintenance of the works of the city, and the salaries of its ecclesiastical and civil servants.⁴ When a semi-annual payment became due, the ministers Megapolensis and Drisius applied to Stuyvesant,

¹ Representation of New Netherland (1650). Narratives of New Netherland, p. 327. Van Tienhoven's Answer. Ibid. p. 361-3.

² Recs. New Amsterdam. i, 48-9.

³ Directors to Stuyvesant, June 26, 1653. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 206.

⁴ Court minute, November 29, 1653. Recs. New Amsterdam, i. 130.

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solely be to attend to orphans and minor children within the jurisdiction of the city and to administer their property in and out of the city and oversee such administration by others." The deacons retained the care of the poor, but such great demands were made upon them by the poor of other towns, that the deacons, on June 11, 1661, requested the Director General and Council to have the adjacent villages make weekly collections for their own poor.¹ Such provisions were made by the ordinance of October. It speaks well for the good sense of the Dutch that goods and merchandise, belonging to the board of deacons and other charitable institutions, were exempt from the fee for weighing. The weigh-master was instructed to weigh these free and for God's sake.² This was the only exemption allowed from such taxes. The question of exemption from the Burgher excise and a tax on slaughtered cattle in regard to the clergy was discussed in 1656 by the court of New Amsterdam, which finally decided that no person was to be exempt from such taxes, as the Director General himself offered to pay.³ Nevertheless, in 1661 Alexander Carolus Curtius, the rector of the Latin school, contended that professors, preachers and rectors were exempt from excise taxes in Holland, but the court decided that the rector was to pay the excise.⁴

After the departure of Megapolensis from Rensse-

¹ Council minute, June 11, 1661, O'Callaghan. Cal. Hist. 226. MSS. (Dutch) i. Ordinance, October 22, 1661. Ibid. 230.

² Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, April 11, 1661. p. 393.

³ Court minute, October 2, 1656, October 26, October 30. Recs. New Amsterdam, ii, 179, 204.

⁴ Court minute. January 25, 1661. Recs. New Amsterdam, iii, 253.

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as the second minister at New Amsterdam.¹ Stuyvesant had recommended the case of this minister to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, but the Synod of North Holland had first to approve the reconciliation of Grasmeeer,² which was done only in August, 1652, after a repentant acknowledgment of his sins.³

Meanwhile, the services of two ministers had been obtained for the colonial church, which apparently precluded the return of William Grasmeeer to the colony. Stuyvesant had urged the appointment of a minister with some ability to preach to the English, who had settled in New Amsterdam, and were members of the Reformed Church. At this time, disturbances in England led the Reverend Samuel Drisius to retreat to Holland, where he declared his willingness to the Classis of Amsterdam to be employed in the ministry of New Netherland. Immediately the deputies of the Classis recommended his appointment as assistant to Domine Megapolensis in the church of New Amsterdam, as he was able to preach in both languages, English and Dutch, and if necessary even in French, and thus would prove "a great instrument for the propagation of God's Holy Word and glory."⁴ The Directors readily conceded the request of the Classis. A few months later Gideon Schaats, schoolmaster at Beets, received a call to the church of Rensselaerswyck, for which he was or-

¹ Acts of Classis of Amsterdam, February 12, 1652. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 301.

² Directors to Stuyvesant, April 4, 1652. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 174.

³ Synod of North Holland, August 12, et seq., 1652. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 312-13.

⁴ Directors to Stuyvesant, April 4, 1652. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 173. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 303-6.

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in bets a ton of beer at twenty-three or twenty-four guilders, or some other liquor." The better class were too few to be able to make up any deficiency of his salary. There was not even a house for the new minister, as the house that had been occupied by the former preacher was allotted to the new schout-fiscal,¹ and the congregation refused to build a new parsonage. The patroon of the colony only allowed the minister two hundred guilders for rent, while the rent of a decent domicile cost at least four hundred guilders. This forced the Rev. Gideon Schaats to come to some arrangement with the deacons of the church, from whom he obtained the use of the poor-house for his dwelling place, as there were then very few poor people in the colony. Meanwhile, a small new church had been erected in the heart of Beverwyck, which was then a village of about one hundred and twenty houses. Most of the inhabitants were in the employ of the West India Company, and when the second contract with patroon of the colony expired in 1657, van Rensselaer refused to pay any longer for services, which were mainly to the advantage of the servants of the company.² He was then reappointed "at the request of the inhabitants of Fort Orange and Beverwyck," by Stuyvesant at a salary of one hundred florins a month, which the company expected to be raised for the greater part by the congregation.³ The labors of Gideon

¹ Commission of Gerrit Swart. O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, ii. 564.

² Schaats to Domine Laurentius, June 27, 1657. *Eccl. Recs. N. Y.* i. 385-6.

³ Directors to Stuyvesant, May 20, 1658. *Col. Docs. N. Y.* xiv., 419.

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Ibid.

to become a parsonage and barn, as soon as the inhabitants collected more funds and the material necessary for a church. The erection of this edifice was confided to a commission, composed of the Reverend Megapolensis, Jan Snediger and Jan Strycker. On the erection of a parsonage and the grant of a parcel of land, Midwout felt too poor to bear further expenses alone¹ and permission was granted to call upon the inhabitants of Breukelen and Amersfoort to cut and hew timber to be used in the construction of a building for the exercise of Divine Service.² Poverty also made the support of the minister impossible for one single town, and Stuyvesant, on the petition of the magistrates, directed a collection to be taken up in the villages of Breukelen, Midwout and Amersfoort for the support of the minister, but Breukelen and the adjacent places agreed to contribute according to their means, only on the condition that Domine Polhemus would officiate alternately at Midwout and Breukelen, which the Director General and Council readily allowed.³ This arrangement met with serious objections from the people of Gravesend and Amersfoort, who were thus compelled every other Sunday to travel four hours each way, "all for one single sermon, which would be to some very troublesome and to others utterly impossible," while Midwout was only two hours walk from each town. A compromise was now effected according to which the Sunday sermon was to be delivered in the morning at Midwout, which was nearly equally distant from the

¹ Council minute, June 15, 1655. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 337.

² Council minute, February 9, 1655. Ibid. 311-12.

³ Letter to Director General and Council, February 25, 1656. Ibid. 338.

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Amersfoort and Breukelen, of which the first town was to be assessed four hundred florins and the other two three hundred respectively. In the beginning of 1657, the court of Midwout, with the consent of Stuyvesant, levied a tax of ten florins upon each lot or parcel of land, of which there were about forty in the town.¹ The same plan was also pursued in Amersfoort, which, with the voluntary contributions promised by Gravesend, thus hoped to realize the three hundred guilders, for which it was assessed for the support of the minister.² Breukelen alone was not content. This community was too small and too impoverished to be able to satisfy the demands made upon its resources for a ministry, which had not been engaged by the town, but had intruded itself against the wishes of the inhabitants. Besides the service of Domine Polhemus had proved unsatisfactory, inasmuch as the minister gave them only "a prayer instead of a sermon, that was finished before they could collect their thoughts, so that he gives small edification to the congregation." The magistrates thought that it might be more profitable to the people, if one of their own number were appointed "to read a sermon from a book of homilies every Sunday." They did not dispute the good will of Polhemus, but they believed that his faculties had been weakened by old age. Nevertheless, if he should persist to minister as before to them, they would give some voluntary contribution, but the congregation refused to be bound to any fixed sum in spite of the former promise of the

¹ Council minute, March 28, 1656. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 345.

² Council minute, January 15, 1657. Ibid. 378-9.

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good, until the tithes became due, when further orders would be given.¹ Thus the company was almost entirely relieved of the support of religion in Midwout with the exception of occasional subsidies.²

The inhabitants of Breukelen were never quite reconciled to this arrangement of divine service on Long Island and in 1659, "on account of the fatigue of the journey from Breukelen to Midwout and the great age of Reverend J. Polhemus, to whom it proves burdensome," they requested a preacher for themselves for the promotion of religion and their own edification.³ Accordingly the Classis of Amsterdam, on the recommendation of the West India Company, called the Reverend Henricus Selyns to the ministry of the Church of Breukelen, where upon his ordination he was commissioned "to preach the entire and saving Word of God; to administer the Sacraments according to the institution of Christ; to lead in public prayers of the congregation; and in union with the officers of the church, to preserve discipline and order; all in conformity with the Confession of Faith of the Netherland Church and the Heidelberg Catechism."⁴ On the arrival of the Reverend Selyns, the peace negotiations with the Esopus Indians so preoccupied the Provincial government, that his installation at Breukelen was delayed several months, during which the Company gave him an allowance for his support. Meanwhile, the magistrates of Breukelen

¹ Council minute, January 29, 1658. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 410.

² Four hundred fls. advanced by Company, Sept. 30, 1660. Council minute, Ibid. 482-3. Acknowledgment of subsidy of four hundred, fifteen and ten fls. Council minute March 29, 1661. Ibid. 499.

³ Council minute, Sept. 3, 1660. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 479-80.

⁴ Call, February 16, 1660. Ibid. 466.

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dam.¹ A year after the organization of a separate church in Breukelen, a schoolmaster, who was also sexton, chorister and precentor, was hired in the person of Carel De Beauvois.² On the departure of Domine Selyns after the expiration of his time of service in the summer of 1664, the schoolmaster was commissioned to read prayers and a sermon from an approved author every Sunday in the church for the improvement of the congregation, until another minister could be found.³ Selyns reported that during his ministry the church membership with God's help and grace had increased fourfold.⁴

There was also another minister, who had come to the Province of New Netherland at the same time as Domine Selyns, but had been ordained to minister to the inhabitants of Esopus. This was the Reverend Hermanus Blom, who had before been in the country while yet a proponent, and at the invitation of Stuyvesant had preached in several villages, to the great satisfaction of his hearers. After an opportunity was given by the Director General to the inhabitants of Esopus to hear Blom,⁵ they petitioned the provincial authorities to give him to them as their minister, and resolved to prepare a good Bouwery for his support, to which later settlers would also have to contribute proportionately to the obligations assumed by the present petition-

¹ Letter to Classis of Amsterdam, October 4, 1660. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 488.

² Contract, July 6, 1661. Stiles, Hist. of Brooklyn, i. 429.

³ Stiles, Ibid. 145.

⁴ Letter, June 9, 1664. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 548.

⁵ Stuyvesant to Lourissen at Esopus, August 11, 1659. Col. Docs: N. Y. xiii. 102.

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ise and swear in the presence of the Almighty and Everpresent God that they would "maintain and exercise the Reformed Church service and no other." The judges were, therefore, to be "professors of the Reformed Religion, as now preached in the United Netherland Churches in conformity with the Word of God and the order of the Synod of Dortdrecht." Even the court-clerk had to promise "to promote and help, as far as his position is concerned, the glory of God and the pure service of His Word."¹

The church suffered a severe blow in 1663 from the hostilities of the Indians, who slew twenty-four persons, and carried off forty-five prisoners. The dead left behind them many intestate estates, which became the occasion of serious differences between the magistrates and the minister with his consistory, between whom relations had already become somewhat strained. The magistrates were accused of arrogating to themselves the disposition of what was collected in the community either for the church or for the poor, while Domine Blom and his consistory were accused of opposing the magistrates in the appointment of administrators and in the inventory of estates left without any heirs or testamentary disposition. The minister claimed that he had only opposed the payment of the surplus of such estates in a particular case after the settlement of all liabilities to the magistrates, until it had been ascertained whether the overseers of the poor had any claim to the money, as the church had the care of the poor, who were then a

¹Council minute, Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 196, 398; Laws of New Netherland, 396.

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only to preach but even to keep school." This soon led to his departure for Virginia,¹ and the church of Haarlem was not supplied with a new minister in spite of Stuyvesant's petition. The people of Bergen² declared their willingness to raise a goodly sum for the support of a minister in their village, but as in the case of other villages of New Netherland this petition was also in vain. There were no ministers in Holland with sufficient zeal to prompt them to abandon their native country to labor in the struggling colonies of New Netherland, and the Company felt its resources too limited after its bankruptcy to assume additional burdens for the rich endowment of colonial churches, that would attract to them the young ministers or candidates to the ministry, at the beginning of their career.³ The only minister, who was ordained and sent to New Netherland on the eve of the English conquest, at the instance of the West India Company, was Samuel Megapolensis, the son of the old minister, who had recommended⁴ him to the Classis of Amsterdam for this ministry, as he was qualified through several years' attendance at the Academy of Cambridge in New England to preach to the English, who were in great want of preachers, and consequently open to the inroads of schism and heresy.⁵ In fact, Stuyvesant had asked the Directors to locate two English preachers in the English towns as early as 1659, but the Directors felt that it

¹ Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, August 5, 1664. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 555.

² Petition, November 1662. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii 232-3.

³ Cf. Classis of Amsterdam to Backerus, April 26, 1549. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i, 250.

⁴ Letter, September 25, 1658. Ibid. 436.

⁵ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, September 24, 1658. Ibid. 432-3.

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CHAPTER IV

RELIGION IN NEW SWEDEN BEFORE AND AFTER THE DUTCH CONQUEST

The Swedish immigration to territory claimed by the Dutch became an important factor in the development of the religious history of the Province of New Netherland. The attention of the Crown of Sweden had been directed to American colonial enterprise by the original projector of the Dutch West India Company, the exiled Antwerp merchant, William Usselinx. After his departure from the Netherlands, he had been engaged by Gustavus Adolphus to assist in the establishment of a Swedish trading company to do business in Asia, Africa, America and Magellica, for which he received a commission from the King, December 21, 1624.¹ Although Usselinx had been a champion of orthodox Calvinism, who could not even regard the Remonstrants but as free-thinkers, heretics, apostates from the Reformed Religion, and enemies of the State, he did not apparently scruple to work for the extension of the Swedish power and consequently of the Lutheran faith, whose bishops and ministers he endeavored especially to interest in the project, "the good means, which God has

¹ Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 1-2.

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Usselinx traveled extensively in the interests of the South Company of Sweden, little was accomplished to advance the realization of the colonial enterprise, which was still more impeded in 1629 by the demand made by the King upon the vessels of the Ship and the South Companies, then united into one.¹ Gustavus Adolphus had entered on his great war in Germany, that three years later led to his death on the field of battle.

Meanwhile, Usselinx had proposed an enlargement of the company, which was to become a great international Protestant association, but the amendment to the charter, drawn up to that effect on October 16, 1632, does not bear the signature of Gustavus Adolphus, whose death occurred three weeks later. The *Mercurius Germaniae* of William Usselinx was intended to set forth the advantages of this commercial project to the Germans, whose religious zeal he attempted to enkindle by citing the example of the bishops and pastors in Sweden, where "a special prayer has been composed for this, and is read at public worship and hours of prayer."² In the beginning of 1634, a charter was sanctioned, which in its amplified form also extended its privileges to the German Evangelical Nation. Usselinx now compiled the *Argonautica Gustaviana* to advocate this project, but the whole scheme collapsed, as far as Germany was concerned, with the defeat of Nördlingen. He now went to France, but failed in his endeavor to obtain the support of Louis XIII, to whom he represented the South Company as a great

¹ Jameson. *Am. Hist. Papers* ii. 165.

² *Ibid.*

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tion of a Swedish and Dutch combination, which, however, had at its disposal very limited resources. The whole capital invested did not exceed 24,000 florins,¹ of which one-half was subscribed in Holland by Blommaert and Peter Minuit, and the other half in Sweden by the three Oxenstiernas-Axel, the Chancellor, his brother Gabriel Gustafsen and the treasurer, Gabriel Bengtson—the Admiral Clas Fleming and Spiring. This company had not been formed to realize the projected expedition to Guinea, as this was considered too expensive for its limited resources; it was now resolved to trade and colonize on a part of the North American coast, which had not yet been occupied by either English or Dutch. Usselinx looked with an unfavorable eye on this small enterprise, which realized so little the gigantic schemes, that he had planned and still advocated. He wrote to Beyer, the Queen's secretary: "There is in my opinion little to be obtained thence but furs, skins and tobacco, which gave good profit when it was worth as many gulden as it is now of Lubeck shillings, besides the filthiness of it is to honorable people a great drawback, seeing how injurious it is to the health."²

Two small vessels of the United South and Ship Company, the Kalmar Nyckel and Gripen, were chartered and the whole expedition placed under the charge of Peter Minuit, while Samuel Blommaert was to remain in Holland as the commissary of the Dutch

¹ It finally took thirty-six thousand florins to fit out the expedition. Cf. Blommaert's letter to Axel Oxenstierna, January 6 1838, G. W. Kernkamp in *Bijdragen en Medeeelingen van Het Historisch Genootschap. Te Utrecht*, 29 Deel, 1908, p. 146.

² Usselin to John Beyer, March 16, 1639. *Ibid* p. 147, note 1.

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tile demonstration against Spain, whose adherents were to be "boldly attacked" wherever found, whereas the Dutch and English residing in New Sweden were to be treated as friends. The enmity towards Spain is still more patent in certain instructions, that amount practically to organized piracy against Spanish vessels in the waters of the West Indies.¹

Minuit sailed from Gottenburg late in the fall. After stopping in the Dutch port of Medemblik, he directed his course to the South River, where he arrived early in 1638. The Director of New Sweden immediately purchased from the Indians a small piece of land at Paghahacking, upon which he later built a fort named Christina in honor of the young Queen of Sweden.² Although the Dutch at Fort Nassau further up the river and the provincial authorities protested against the advent of these colonists as an intrusion into territory within the Province of New Netherland, the Swedes, according to the orders of the Directors in Holland, were to be permitted on the conquest of New Sweden to hold the land upon which Fort Christina stood, with a certain amount of garden land for the cultivation of tobacco, "as they seem to have bought it with the knowledge and consent of the Company."³ Yet the Chamber of the West India Company at Enck-

¹ Sprinchorn. *The Hist. of the Colony of New Sweden*. Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biogr. viii. 254, note 1. Blommaert frequently included the capture of good Spanish prizes in West India waters in his projected instructions for Minuit and in his communications to the Swedish Chancellor. Cf. letters, ed. by Kernkamp in *Bijdragen*, etc. 29 Deel. pp. 122, 128-9, 133, 139.

² Details in Blommaert's letters: September 4, 1638, *Ibid.* pp. 157-8, November 13, 1638. *Ibid.* 161-167, January 28, 1640. *Ibid.* 170-189.

³ Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 90.

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first colonization under Minuit was almost entirely Dutch. Lieutenant Mans Kling, who was left in command of the twenty-three men in Fort Christina, when Minuit¹ sailed in the fall to the West Indies, is the only Swede expressly mentioned amongst the first colonists. This is probably the reason why no Swedish clergyman of the Lutheran faith accompanied the first expedition. The exclusive occupation of the colonists in the fur trade, which caused "about thirty thousand florins injury" to the Dutch West India Company in the first year, nearly proved the ruin of the colony. In the second spring, they found themselves under the necessity of choosing either to remain and perish, or to abandon New Sweden and seek relief with the Dutch. The authorities at Manhattan assured them a cordial welcome.

This happy solution of the Swedish question for New Netherland was prevented by the timely arrival of a new Director in the person of Peter Hollander with a goodly number of colonists and fresh provisions. The new members of the colony were mainly Swedes, in consequence of the action of the Swedish government, which had ordered the deportation of Swedish married soldiers with their families, who had evaded service or were guilty of some offense, under promise to permit them to return in two years. The spiritual wants of the Swedish population found their provision in the ministration of the Lutheran clergyman, Reorus Torkil-

¹ Minuit perished in a hurricane while visiting a Dutch captain in his ship *Het Vliegende Hert*. According to instructions, he was cruising for a rich Spanish prize. Blommaert to Oxenstierna November 13, 1638 and January 28, 1640, *Bijdragen*, pp. 161; 177-8.

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arrival of Mans Kling, further purchases were made, so that the Province extended "from the borders of the Sea to Cape Henlopen in returning southwest towards Godyn's Bay; thence towards the great South River, as far as the Minquaaskil, where Fort Christina is constructed; and thence again towards South River, and the whole to a place which the savages call Sankikah," now Trenton Falls.¹

By this time the Dutch Swedish Combination, that had been organized for the purpose of trade and colonization on the American coast, not yet occupied by either the Dutch or the English, was transformed into a national trading company of Sweden. The first step towards the complete nationalization of the company was the permission granted to the old Ship and South Company of Sweden to embark its capital in this association in return for a monopoly of the tobacco trade in Sweden, Finland or Ingermanland.² When the Dutch partners showed some opposition to the plans of trade and colonization, pursued by the Swedes, the government resolved to buy out the Holland partners, "since they are a hindrance." The Swedish resident at The Hague was instructed to pay 18,000 guldens of the subsidies obtained from the States General to the Dutch associates, on the condition that they abandon all further claims.³ This marks the second period of the history of New Sweden.

A new company was now formed under the name of

¹ Col. Docs. N.Y. xii. 28 note.

² January 12, 1641. Ibid. 21-22.

³ February 20, 1641. Kammararkivet. Odhner, o. c. Penna. Mag. History and Biography iii, 400. 4

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hold upon the South River by the erection of a strong fort of heavy hemlock logs, called New Gottenburg; on the Island Tinicum, about twelve miles below Philadelphia, and later of another fort on the east shore of the bay near Salem Creek, sickness was weakening the population. During the summer, seventeen of the male emigrants died, amongst whom was the first pastor of the colony, the Reverend Reorus Torkillus.¹ Thus the colonial ministry was again reduced to one Swedish minister. About this time, the chancellor Brahe wrote to Printz, hoping that he would "gain firm foothold there and be able to lay so good a foundation *in tam vasta terra septentrionali*, that with God's gracious favor the whole North American Continent may in time be brought to the knowledge of His Son and become subject to the crown of Sweden." The Chancellor further gives expression to his fear that the Swedish colonists might be contaminated by the religious ideas and practices of the English and Dutch. Therefore, says he, "adorn your little church and priest after the Swedish fashion, with the usual habiliments of the altar, in distinction from the Hollanders and English, shunning all leaven of Calvinism," as "the outward ceremonial will not the less move them than others to sentiments of piety and devotion."² The reply of the Governor to this letter reveals the measures adopted by the authorities for the public worship of God in the colony. "Divine service is performed here in the good old Swedish tongue, our priest clothed in the vestments of the Mass on high festivals, solemn prayer-days, Sundays, and

¹Keen, 458. Narrative and Critical History of America. 12

²Keen, Ibid. 459.

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der, the son of Printz's sister, in the fall of the next year made it possible for the old minister to leave for the fatherland in the spring of 1648.¹ Israel Fluviander (Holgh?) either died or left New Sweden early in the year, as Lock was then the only clergyman residing in the Province.²

Printz himself was anxious to be relieved from the burden of his office. He wrote to this effect to Peter Brahe in 1650, promising his successor as good a position in the colony as he could find in Sweden. "I have taken possession of the best places, and still hold them. Notwithstanding repeated acts and protests of the Dutch, nothing whatever has been accomplished by them; and where on several occasions, they attempted to build within our boundaries, I at once threw down their work; so that, if the new governor brings enough people with him, they will very soon grow weary and disgusted, like the Puritans, who were most violent at first, but now leave us entirely in peace."³ The necessity of strengthening the authority of Sweden on the South River by new settlements of Swedes, who were still few in number, became most patent in the following year, when Stuyvesant, instructed to maintain "the rights of the company," which was then contemplating a settlement of the boundary question between the two jurisdictions, invaded New Sweden with a force of one hundred and twenty men, who were joined at Fort Nassau by eleven sail. This post was dismantled and a new fort was erected on the west bank of the river,

¹ Sprinchorn, *History of Colony of New Sweden*, Penn. Mag. of History and Biography, viii. 22.

² *Ibid.* p. 245.

³ Keen, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, iv. 466.

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had come "for action which it were culpable to neglect." The Dutch submitted without any show of resistance. The post was named anew Fort Trinity in honor of the feastday on which it was captured.¹ The whole South River was now in the power of the Swedes. When the Directors of the Dutch West India Company in Amsterdam heard of the capitulation of Fort Casimir, they ordered Stuyvesant to invade New Sweden as soon as the ship *De Waag*, carrying thirty-six guns and two hundred men, arrived at New Amsterdam.² Upon its arrival, Stuyvesant had completed his preparations and on August 26, 1655, he sailed with a force of three hundred and seventeen soldiers³ for the South River, where the Swedes, barely numbering five hundred souls, after some resistance submitted to the Dutch.⁴

The condition of the Reformed Church on the South River had never been satisfactory to the Dutch. The religious issue, presenting itself on the conquest of New Sweden, probably accounts for the presence of the Dutch minister Megapolensis in the expedition, which, according to Stuyvesant's proclamation,⁵ was not only to promote the welfare of the Province of New Netherland, and its good inhabitants, but also the Honor of God's Holy Name and the propagation of His Holy

¹ Keen, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, iv 472-3.

² Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 88-89.

³ Cf. catalogue of Frederick Muller & Cie. *Geographie-Voyages*, 1910. Deux lettres originales concernant la prise de forteresse Casimir au Zuydt Rivier (Deleware) par les Hollandais sur les Suédois, en 1655, "Johannes Bogaert schrijver" á Bontemantel, "den 28 augustij 1655 op de reede van de Menades" et "Int schip de Waegh den 31 October, 1655," 4 pp. in fol. O'Callaghan gives the number of soldiers at 600 to 700.

⁴ Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 98-106.

⁵ *Ibid.* 92.

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sometimes appears at the most awkward moment."¹ However, the interests of the Reformed Church were also safeguarded by the oath, which the Director General imposed upon his vice-director on the South River, Jean Paul Jacquet. He had to promise and swear to maintain and advance as much as possible "the Reformed Religion, as the same is preached here and in the Fatherland conformably to God's word and the Synod of Dort."² The two ministers, Peter Hjort and Matthias Nertunius, who had been stationed at Fort Casimir and Fort Christina, were sent to New Amsterdam, and finally transported, with Governor Rising and others who refused to submit to Dutch authority, to Europe. Thus the Reverend Lars Carlson Lock was the only Lutheran clergyman, who remained to minister to the Swedes and Finns, of whom at least two hundred lived on the river above Fort Christina. The Dutch ministers of New Amsterdam do not give a very flattering report of this man. "This Lutheran Preacher is a man of impious and scandalous habits, a wild, drunken, unmannerly clown, more inclined to look into the wine can than into the Bible. He would prefer drinking brandy two hours to preaching one . . . Last spring this preacher was tippling with a smith and while yet over their brandy, they came to fisticuffs and beat each others heads black and blue; yea, the smith tore all

¹ Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 119."

² Ibid. 117. This same oath³ (accidental changes of a word here and there) was taken by William Beeckman, appointed Commissary of the West India Company on the South River, July 30, 1658, by the Director General and Council.

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the belongings left by Jacob Jongh, who was indebted to the company to the extent of two hundred and forty guilders,¹ but Lock appealed to Stuyvesant for pardon and a remission of the fine, as his offense was due to ignorance. His self-marriage had been performed without any bad intention and he would have willingly submitted to the usages of the Reformed Church, if they had been known to him.² Acrelius states that Lock, who had been suspended from the exercise of his ministry some time, finally obtained a confirmation of his divorce from Stuyvesant, who also approved his second marriage. He was then again permitted to exercise his ministerial office among the Swedes.³

Another Lutheran minister came to the colony, a year after the conquest of the Province, in the ship *Mercurius*, which had sailed with eighty-eight emigrants from Gottenburg before the cessation of the Swedish rule.⁴ Although Stuyvesant was unable to prevent the emigrants from disembarking, he had Herr Matthias returned to Sweden in the same ship.⁵ The vice-director did not allow his two sons, born during his administration on the South River, to be baptized by the Lutheran minister,⁶ but he continually urged the appointment of a Dutch Reformed minister in that region as a means of promoting immigration thither.

¹ Minutes of Court at Altona, April 14, 1662. Col. Decs N. Y. xii. 366.

² Lock's petition to Stuyvesant, April 30, 1662. Ibid 367.

³ Acrelius, History of New Sweden. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Memoirs, xi. 100-101.

⁴ Sprinchorn, History of the Colony of New Sweden, Pa. Mag. of History and Biography, viii. p. 145.

⁵ Acrelius, History of New Sweden. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Memoirs xi. p. 92.

⁶ Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 410. Beeckman to Stuyvesant.

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debt to the City of Amsterdam. To liquidate this debt and at the same time to strengthen the southern boundary of the Province, the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber and the Burgomasters of the City carried on negotiations, which finally resulted in the cession of Fort Casimir and the territory on the west side of the river, from Christina Kill to the mouth of Delaware Bay, to the City of Amsterdam. The Burgomasters, in their draft of the conditions for the settlement, did not neglect to provide for religion. They proposed to erect, in the market-place or some other convenient spot of the colony; a public building suitable for divine service, a house for the minister, and also a school, which might serve at the same time as the residence of the schoolmaster, whose office included the duties of sexton and psalmsetter. The salaries of both were to be paid provisionally by the City, unless the Company decided otherwise.¹ In a later draft, the City of Amsterdam only offered to send there a schoolmaster, who was also to read the Holy Scriptures and set the Psalms,² but the States General, in its ratification of the report of its committee on the conditions for this settlement, insisted on the installation of a preacher and consistory as soon as the colony should number about two hundred families.³

By the spring of 1657, from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and eighty immigrants had settled at Fort Casimir, which now received the name of New Amstel. Here the vice-director of the City of Amsterdam Jacob Alrichs, took up his residence.

¹ Col. Docs. N. Y. i. 620.

² Ibid. 631.

³ Ibid. 637.

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become backsliders, and those, who are still weak in the faith, may be further strengthened.”¹ Before this letter reached Holland, the Classis of Amsterdam had already called and ordained the Reverend Everardus Welius for this post.² On the arrival of the new clergyman at the South River, a church was organized with Alrichs and Jan Williams as elders and with two deacons, one of whom, Pietersen, also performed the duties of a precentor and Comforter of the Sick. Everardus Welius, to the sorrow and grief of the colony, only officiated a short period, as he died on December 9, 1659. During his ministration, the church, which formerly counted only nineteen members, had increased to the number of sixty.³ A few months before this, the Commissioners of the colony at Amsterdam had an opportunity to make good their promise to repress dissenting worship in New Amstel. The Swedish parson had dared to preach there without permission. On August 22, 1659, they wrote to their vice-director, Alrichs, that he “must by proper means, put an end to or prevent such presumption on the part of other sectaries,” “as yet no other religion but the Reformed can or may be tolerated there.”⁴

The official orthodoxy of the colony began to give way in 1662 to the urgent necessity of obtaining colonists to repel English encroachments from Maryland. A company of Mennonites projected a settlement within the jurisdiction of the City’s colony at the Whorekill on

¹ Alrichs to Commissioners, April 13, 1657. Col. Docs. N. Y. ii. 7.

² Acts of Classis of Amsterdam. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 371.

³ Col. Docs. N. Y. ii. 111-112.

⁴ Ibid. 61.

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concluded by another hymn, after which the court was to assemble for the transaction of public business. Although the society was to be composed of persons of different creeds, each member of the community had to declare his religious persuasion, for "all intractable people, such as those in communion with the Roman See, usurious Jews, English stiffnecked Quakers, Puritans, foolhardy believers in the millenium, and obstinate modern pretenders to revelation" were not admitted into the colony.¹ In April, twenty-five Mennonite families declared their willingness to settle in the City's colony in New Netherland, if the City would loan each family two hundred guilders in addition to the passage money, for the repayment of which the whole body was to be bound. The authorities only granted each family a loan of one hundred guilders, including their passage money.² A few months later, the contract³ between the Burgomasters and Regents of the City of Amsterdam and Pieter Cornelius Plockhoy, the leader of the Mennonite settlers for the South River, was concluded for the tract of land at the Whorekill, which was to be exempt from all taxation for a term of twenty years. Twenty-five hundred guilders were raised by the City of Amsterdam and loaned to this association, which was also bound in its entirety for the repayment of this debt.

In the summer of the same year, Hinyossa, the successor of Alrichs, who had died in 1659, offered

¹ O'Callaghan, *New Netherland*, ii. 465-9. *Kort Verhaal van Nieuwe Nederlandt, Geleenthiet, Natuurlyke Voorrechten byzondere Bequaemheyt tur Vervolkingk*, etc.

² *Col. Docs. N. Y.* ii. 176.

³ *Ibid.* 176-177.

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Hadson, who had died on his passage to America, both of which manifest the condition of the orthodox faith on the South River at the time. The children had not been baptized since the death of the Reverend Welius, five years ago, and there were many persons in this region with "abominable sentiments," "who speak disrespectfully of the Holy Scriptures."¹ Meanwhile, the Directors of the Company had conceded to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam all the territory on the west side of the river and a tract three miles wide along the entire east bank. Thus the friction that existed between the magistrates of the City's colony and the authorities of the Company's colony at Altona was happily terminated. Since the death of Alrichs, the whole policy of his successor, Hinyossa, was to claim independence from the control of the Company's authority. He refused to have the proclamations of thanksgiving days sent by Stuyvesant published, and appointed days of thanksgiving in his own name instead.² A settlement of the question became urgent. The cession of this territory was also made in the hope that thus a barrier would be placed to the encroachments of Maryland, by active colonization on the part of the City of Amsterdam as the Burgomasters were bound to transport four hundred settlers thither every year. Although the City had even thought of restoring to the Company the territory previously obtained, the Burgomasters now persuaded themselves to continue and even increase their colonial enterprise, as "there is now as good an opportunity as

¹Selyns to Classis of Amsterdam. June 9, 1664. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 550.

²Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 390.

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CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS FACTORS IN THE ENGLISH IMMIGRATION

A constant stream of English immigration into the Province of New Netherland began when the West India Company, under pressure from the States General surrendered, in the fall of 1638, its monopoly of the fur trade, opened to free competition also the other internal trade of New Netherland to colonists of the Province, and extended all these privileges not only to the inhabitants of the United Provinces, but also to their allies and friends who might be inclined to sail thither to engage in the cultivation of the land.¹ Although this English immigration was at first composed only of individual settlers from Virginia and New England, the Provincial government in the year following felt the necessity of assuring itself of their allegiance. The English settlers were, therefore, ordered to subscribe to an oath of fidelity "to their High Mightinesses the Lords States General, his Highness of Orange, and the Noble Director and Council of New Netherland; to follow the Director or any of his Council, wherever they shall lead; to give instant warning of any treason, or

¹ O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, i. 200-3 (The proclamation is here printed in full.) Broadhead, *History of New York*, i. 288.

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ister of the Dutch Reformed Church.¹ With the extension of the rights of trade and property to foreigners, there might naturally be expected an increase of dissent. This may be the explanation of the more detailed religious legislation in the articles proposed by the West India Company, which recognized the importance of establishing the proper order for public worship in the first commencement and planting of the population according to the practice established by the government of the Netherlands. The decree which followed is of great interest, on account of the close resemblance of its phraseology to the decree drafted by Stuyvesant against the conventicles which later arose principally amongst the English settlers of Long Island. Although religion was to be taught and preached in the Province of New Netherland "according to the confession and formularies of unity . . . publicly accepted in the respective churches" of the fatherland, no person was thereby to be "in any wise constrained or aggrieved in his conscience," but every person was to be "free to live in peace and all decorum, provided he take care not to frequent any forbidden assemblies or conventicles, much less collect or get up any such; and further abstain from all public scandals and offenses which the magistrate is charged to prevent by all fitting reproofs and admonitions, and if necessary to advise the Company from time to time of what may occur there herein, so that confusion and misunderstanding may be timely obviated and prevented." The Company

¹Cf. Art. xxvii. The union of minister, schoolmaster and Comforter of the sick, evidently refers to the Dutch Reformed Church. Col. Docs. N. Y. ii. 551-7.

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Their deputies to the Assembly of the XIX were to urge free access to New Netherland for the Count of Solms and other inhabitants of those countries. They were also instructed to return with the conditions of such colonization, which the West India Company had been ordered to enact. If the Company failed to submit the new charter for approval and ratification to the States General, their High Mightinesses threatened to grant such a charter independent of the Company through the plentitude of its own power.¹ Finally on July 19, 1640, the new charter of Freedoms and Exemptions was promulgated, of which "all good inhabitants of the Netherlands and all others inclined to plant any colonies in New Netherland" might take advantage. The provisions of this revised charter in regard to religion are much less liberal in tone than the articles that had been proposed before by the Company. The subjection of the Church to the civil authority, which is expressed in all the Confessions of the Reformed Churches, also found its expression in this charter. It reserved to the Company the founding of churches, and to the Governor and Council the cognizance of all cases of religion.² The decree renewing the establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church in a negative form emphasizes the hostile spirit of the new constitution of the country towards dissent. "*And no other religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherland except*

¹ Proceedings of States General, May 31, 1640, in Col. Docs. N.Y. i. 118. The house of Solms had a county of about four hundred square miles, situated on the banks of the Lahn, near Nassau, Hesse and Wetzlar. Cf Bouillet, iv. 319 Calvinism was prevalent in that region.

² Cf. two last Arts. of the Freedoms and Exemptions. Ibid. 123

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also many Puritans or Independents, and many atheists and various servants of Baal among the English under this government, who conceal themselves under the name of Christians; it would create still greater confusion, if the obstinate and immovable Jews came to settle here.”¹ It may be interesting to note that the religious situation remained practically the same even after the cessation of Dutch rule. Governor Andros reported in 1678 that there were “religions of all sorts, one Church of England, several Presbyterians and Independents, Quakers and Anabaptists, of several sects, some Jews, but Presbyterians and Independents most numerous and substantial.”² Eight years later Governor Dongan affords a still clearer insight into the diversity of belief and the prevalence of religious indifference. “Here be not many of the Church of England; few Roman Catholics; abundance of Quakers; preachers, men and women especially; singing Quakers; ranting Quakers; Sabatarians; Antisabatarians; some Anabaptists; some Independents; some Jews; in short of all sorts of opinion there are some, and the most of none at all.”³ This religious indifference was not merely a later development under English rule, but a part of the heritage received from the Dutch.

The concession of the new charter of Freedoms and Exemptions for New Netherland coincided with the rise of a migratory movement in New England, where the poverty of the soil gave the settlers little inducement to remain. In the words of Winthrop, “many men began

¹ Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 336.

² Col. Docs. N. Y. iii. 262.

³ Ibid. 415

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Netherland about the conditions for a settlement of the English under Dutch jurisdiction. Kieft no doubt thought that settlements of Englishmen, bound by an oath of allegiance to the States General and to the West India Company, would prove a good barrier to further encroachments on the part of New England governments. The English were, therefore, permitted to settle in Dutch territory on equal terms with the other colonies of the Province¹ in accordance with the provisions of the charter of 1640, which became the basis of all future grants from the Dutch to the English. This guaranteed them practically "the very same liberties, both ecclesiastical and civil, which they enjoyed in the Massachusetts."² They were not granted, as some historians seem to think, freedom of religion, but freedom of *their* religion. The pronoun is essential and saves the "fair terms" to the English from being a violation of the colonial charter just promulgated by the West India Company. Both the Dutch of New Netherland and the English of New England felt that their religion did not differ "in fundamentals." Robinson himself, the founder of the "New England Way," had declared as early as 1619 "before God and men, that we agree so entirely with the Reformed Dutch Churches in the matter of religion, that we are ready to subscribe to all and every one of the articles of faith of those churches, as they are contained in the Harmony of Confessions of

¹ Journal of New Netherland (1641-1646). Col. Docs, N. Y. i. 181; For the conditions of an English colony, Cf. Council minute, June 6, 1641, in Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 8.

² Winthrop's Journal, ii. 35 (ed. Orig. Narratives of Early Am. Hist.)

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that the Westminster Assembly "had agreed upon a certain plan of church government, practically the same in most points as that of the Reformed Church of this country, and had laid the same before the Parliament of England . . . for approval," they experienced great gladness and singular "satisfaction" in "the assurance that between the English Church and our Church there should be effected a similar form of government."¹ Even the triumph of Independency over Presbyterianism in England did not change this friendly feeling of the Dutch towards the English Puritans. Upon the restoration, the States General of the United Provinces permitted "all Christian people of tender conscience in England and elsewhere, oppressed, full liberty to erect a colony in the West Indies between New England and Virginia in America . . . on the conditions and privileges granted by the committees of the respective chambers representing the Assembly of the XIX. . . Therefore, if any of the English, *good Christians* . . . shall be rationally disposed to transport themselves to the said place under the conduct of the United States, (they) shall have full liberty to live in the fear of the Lord."² Thus both English Congregationalists and English Presbyterians found a welcome in New Netherland, although the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Province naturally favored the latter, whose agreement with the Reformed Church was not limited to "fundamentals," but also extended to church polity in detail.

When the Court of Massachusetts learned of the intention of these families in Lynn and Ipswich to set-

¹ Synods of North and South Holland, *Eccl Recs.*[N. Y. i. 192.

² *Doc. Hist N Y.* iii. 37-39.

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Early in 1642, the Rev. Francis Doughty, Presbyterian minister, and his associates obtained a patent from the Director General and Council of New Netherland for a settlement at Mespeth on Long Island. Doughty had been a Church of England clergyman. Silenced for non-conformity, he emigrated to Massachusetts in 1637, and settled at Cohannet, now Taunton, where he soon "found that he had got out of the frying pan into the fire."¹ According to the account of Lechford, there was a church gathered in Taunton, comprising ten or twenty to the exclusion of the rest of the inhabitants. Doughty "opposed the gathering of the Church there, alleadging that according to the Covenant of Abraham, all mens children that were of baptized parents, and so Abraham's children, ought to be baptized." In obedience to the request of the ministers of the church, the magistrate ordered the constable to expel him from the Assembly on the plea that he was raising a disturbance. He was then forced to leave the town with his wife and children.² Doughty evidently had a following amongst the inhabitants of the town with Presbyterian tendencies who were not church members. Francis Doughty first went to Rhode Island, to which also Mr. Richard Smith, "a most respectable inhabitant and prime leading man in Taunton in Plymouth Colony" came, on leaving Plymouth "for his conscience's sake,

¹ Remonstrance of New Netherland to the States General, July 28, 1649. Care must be exercised in the use of this document, as the author Dr. van der Donck is pleading the case of his father-in-law the Rev. Doughty.

² Lechford, *Plaine Dealing*, p. 91 (ed. J. H. Trumbull).

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enjoy the same privileges as other subjects and to freely exercise *their* religion." The Director General and Council, in virtue of the desires of the Company, granted the petitioners permission to settle in the County of Westchester, which was then known as "Vredeland" or "the land of Peace."¹ The following summer, the patent was issued for the territory that he and his companions had occupied, but it makes no mention of religion.² Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, with Collins, her son-in-law, and all her family, also moved, in the summer of 1642, into Dutch territory and settled only a few miles east of the Throgmorton settlement on Pelham Neck near New Rochelle. The memory of her residence there is still preserved in the name of Hutchinson's River, the small stream that separates the Neck from the town of East Chester. The New England authorities understood very well the signification of this secession. Winthrop tells us that "these people had cast off ordinances and churches, and now at last their own people, and for larger accommodations had subjected themselves to the Dutch."³ The New England mind was inclined to see the hand of God in the calamities which the Indian war brought upon these settlements of wayward Englishmen.

Kieft had provoked a general uprising of the Algonquin tribes against the Dutch by the massacre of the River Indians, men, women and children, who had taken refuge at Vriesendaël, Pavonia and Manhattan from the Mohawks in search of the tribute from these

¹ Council minute, October 2, 1642. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 10.

² Ibid.

³ Winthrop's Journal, ii. 138.

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attributes not to Rev. Th. Welde, but to the pen of Governor Winthrop, with the exception of the introduction. "God's hand is the more apparently seen herein, to pick out this woeful woman, to make her and those belonging to her an unheard-of heavy example of their cruelty above others."¹ The Indians then attacked Throgmorton's settlement and killed "such of Mr. Throgmorton's and Mr. Cornhill's families as were at home; in all sixteen, and put their cattle into their houses and there burnt them." Fortunately a boat touched at the settlement at the time of the Indian attack, to which some women and children fled and were saved, but two of the boatmen going up to the houses were shot and killed. The few settlers who escaped removed again to Rhode Island.²

The fate of Captain Daniel Patrick³ was also considered by Winthrop as a punishment from God. Patrick had been brought from Holland, where he was a common soldier of the Prince's guard, and given a Captain's commission by the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Although there was little religion or morality in the soldier, he was admitted a member of the church of Watertown and made a freeman. Patrick soon "grew proud and very vicious, for though he had a wife of his own, a good Dutch woman and comely, yet he despised her and followed after other women."³ On the discovery of his evil life, Captain Patrick removed to Connecticut and, in company with Robert Feake, began in 1639 the settlement of Green-

¹ Adams, Charles Francis, ed. *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, 1636-38.

² Winthrop's Journal, ii. 138.

³ Ibid. 153.

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"so he fell down dead and never spake." The murderer was imprisoned but escaped out of custody. "This was the fruit of (Captain Patrick's) wicked course and breach of covenant with his wife, with the church, and that state who had called him and maintained him, and he found his death from that hand where he sought protection. It is observable that he was killed upon the Lord's day in the time of the afternoon exercise, (for he seldom went to public assemblies.)"¹

In the spring of 1644, another English colony of Presbyterians settled on Long Island under the Dutch jurisdiction. When the church of Wethersfield had been so rent by "contention and alienation of minds" that the two mediators, sent out by the parent church of Watertown, "could not bring them to any other accord than this, that the one party must remove to some other place,"² the seceders obtained from New Haven the lands that the colony had bought from the Rippowan Indians, and founded the town of Stamford. Over thirty families were settled by the fall of 1641. A feeling of dissatisfaction also developed in some inhabitants of this town, which led to a migration from Stamford to Long Island. This in all probability was occasioned by a change in the right of suffrage, necessitated by the incorporation of Stamford into the Colony of New Haven, which limited its right of suffrage to church members. The Presbyterians, who had amongst their number two ministers of their persuasion, Richard Denton and Robert Fordham, sent a commit-

¹ Winthrop's Journal, ii. 154.

² Ibid. i. 307-8.

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the *Reformed* religion, which they profess,¹ with the ecclesiastical discipline thereunto belonging." It may be of interest to note that the name of Richard Denton is not found in the list of the patentees.²

The history of the early church of Hempstead reveals no polity of the church apart from the government of the town. This close union of things spiritual and temporal is well symbolized in the use of the same edifice both as a church and as a town-house for the transaction of public business. It also was manifested in an order issued by the General Court with the consent

Sacra, so accurately considering the fourfold state of man, in his created purity, contracted deformity, restored beauty and celestial glory, that judicious persons, who have seen it, very much lament the churches being so much deprived of it. At length he got into Heaven beyond the clouds, and so beyond storms; waiting the return of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the clouds of Heaven, when he will have his reward among the saints." *Magnalia Christi*, i. 398.

His epitaph also gives a flattering estimate:

Hic jacet et fruitur Tranquilla sede Richardus Dentonius Cujus
Fama perennis erit.

Incola jam coeli velut Astra micantia fulget.

Que multes Fidei Lumina Clara dedit.

Flint, *Early Long Island*, 126.

¹ Patent, November 16, 1644, printed in Thompson, *History of Long Island*, ii. 5-6.

² It would be of interest to have the question solved of the relation of the document on file in the Public Record Office, London, dated 1628, to the settlers of the village of Hempstead on Long Island. The Lord Keeper Coventry has endorsed it: "this letter was set up on the church of Hamsted in County Hertford and delivered by Mr Sanders of the Star Chamber." It is addressed, "Michael Mean-well to Matthew Mark-well at his house in Muse-much parish," from Little-worth, which is the name of a parish in Berks. The letter gives the reasons why the author and some others have decided to go to New England. The objections urged against the Established Church refer both to polity and doctrine. Ceremonies, that have no express warrant in the Word of God, may not be used in the worship of God without sin. On appeal to the works of Cartwright, Penry and Knox, exception is taken to the teaching, that God's predestination resulted from his foreknowledge of good and evil, that Christ died for all men, that all children baptized are saved, that a man may fall away from grace, and that the Sabbath is not a divine institution. *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* i. 398.

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its provisions against trespassers. This was no doubt done at the instance of the town authorities themselves. The united action of the town authorities and the Provincial Government is also indicative of the sense of the union of the Church of the town with the Reformed Church of the Province. This is also shown by the ministration of Richard Denton in the English Congregation, organized in the capital of the Province, which worshipped in the same church building within the fort as the Dutch and French Reformed. An hour was assigned to them, that would not conflict with the use of the church by the Dutch congregation. The distinction between English Church and Dutch Church is clearly drawn in an ancient book of records in the Briggs family. "Sarah Woolsey was born in New York, August y^e 3d, in y^e year 1650, August 7, she was baptized in y^e *English church* by Mr. Denton, Capt. Newtown godfather, George Woolsey was born in New York, October 10, 1652; October 12 he was baptized in the *Dutch church*, Mrs. Newton godmother. Thomas Woolsey was born at Hempstead, April 10, 1655, and there baptized by Mr. Denton. Rebeckar Woolsey was born at New York February 13, 1659, February 16 she was baptized in the *Dutch church*, Mr. Bridges, godfather and her grandmother godmother."¹ This close communion with the provincial Church hardly admits any doubt in regard to the character of the Church of Hempstead, and its minister, who moreover is expressly designated by the Dutch clergyman as a "Presbyterian preacher, who is in agreement with our church in

¹ Briggs, C. A., Puritanism in N. Y. Mag. of Am. Hist. xiii, 42.

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by their personal appearance.¹ The authorities of both town and Province were anxious to obtain "an able and orthodox minister." In 1660, Stuyvesant took advantage of the departure of a New England minister, Mr. William Leveretts (Leveridge) by boat from New Amsterdam to acquaint the Directors with the needs of the English, who had been deprived of religious instruction for some time. In the spring of 1661, the Director General was informed that there were many unbaptized children in Hempstead in consequence of the long vacancy in the ministry of the town. He promised to send as soon as possible one of the Dutch ministers to administer the sacrament, "hooping and not doubting that yow will use all possible meanes that the towne may tymely be supplied with an able and orthodox minister to the edification of God's glorie and your owne Salvation." A few weeks later, Samuel Drisius visited the town, preached a sermon, and baptized forty-one children and an aged woman.² Finally, the services of the Rev. Jonah Fordham, the son of the old minister Robert Fordham, who had removed to Southampton, were engaged by the town of Hempstead. The minister's salary was fixed at seventy pounds sterling a year, which was to be raised by a rate levied on every man in town. When some refused "to contribute to the Maintenyancy of a Protestant Minister," the magistrates were empowered by the provincial council "not only to constrain those that are unwilling, but by further denyal to punish them as they

¹ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, October 22, 1657. *Eccles. Recs. N. Y.* i. 410-11.

² Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 497. Stuyvesant to Magistrates of Heemstede, March 25, 1661.

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this concession was found in "the Custome and manner of Holland." The settlers of the town of Flushing were the first to receive this concession in their charter. A few months later Gravesend received a charter with the same provision.

The Reverend Francis Doughty had returned to the colony of Mespeth upon the termination of the Indian war. Now internal dissensions arrested the progress of the settlement. Doughty claimed the privileges of a patroon and demanded from the settlers payment of their lands and an annual quitrent.¹ His associates, Richard and William Smith, opposed these proceedings because the minister was only one of a number of equal patentees.² These contentions probably gave rise to a defamatory song concerning the minister and his daughter, for which William Gerritsen, on June 10, 1645, was found guilty of libel and sentenced to stand bound to the May-pole in the fort with two rods around his neck and the libel over his head until the conclusion of the English sermon, and threatened to be flogged and banished, if he should dare to sing the song again.³ Doughty was evidently then ministering to the English congregation of New Amsterdam, whither he had again returned after a half year's residence in the Mespeth Colony. The case between Doughty and his associates was brought before the Provincial Court, and the Director General and Council decided that he had no control

¹ Tienhoven's answer to the Remonstrance, July 28, 1649. Col. Docs. N. Y. i, 424-31.

² Council minutes, February 7, March 7, 1646. O'Callaghan, Cal. Hist. MSS. (Dutch), i, 107-8

³ Council minutes, June 10, 1645. Ibid. 95.

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was thus assured a salary of six hundred guilders a year, to be raised from the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of the town. Under these circumstances, a conflict might be expected to develop in Flushing. In fact, differences soon manifested themselves and many began to absent themselves from the sermon and refused to contribute their share to the maintenance of the minister.¹ In spite of Stuyvesant's intervention, the salary remained unpaid.² The differences even became more pronounced and disturbed the peace and unanimity of the town, which seems to have been rent into two factions.³ William Harck, the sheriff of Flushing and his associates with the representatives of the opposite party: Thomas Sael, John Lawrence, and William Turner, presented their case to the Director General and Council with the request for a pious, learned and Reformed minister, who was to be supported by the contributions of each inhabitant according to his ability. The Director General and Council admitted the justice of their case and resolved to adopt the measures necessary to promote peace, union and tranquility in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. Doughty's restive nature could not suffer this to pass in

sation. O'Callaghan's insertion "of belief" after articles is misleading. Hist. of New Netherland. ii. 226.

¹ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, August 5, 1657. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 397. In the letter of October 22, they accompany their request for two English preachers with the petition "that direction may be given to the magistracy that the money be paid by the English to the magistrate, and not to the preacher, which gives rise to dissatisfaction."

² Mandeville, Flushing, Past and Present. When Doughty instituted a suit for the payment of his salary, it was discovered that the contract had been destroyed, William Lawrence's wife having "put it under a pye." Cf. Flint, Early Long Island, p. 174.

³ Col. Docs N. Y. xiv. 82.

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others "the bread in the form and manner in which the sacrament is usually celebrated and given." This was done without any authority, ecclesiastical or secular, contrary to the ecclesiastical rules of the Fatherland and especially to the placards of the Director General and Council, "expressly forbidding all such conventicles and gatherings, public or private, except the usual meetings, which are not only lawfully permitted, but also based on God's Word and ordered for the service of God, if they are held conformably to the Synod of Dort as in our Fatherland and in other churches of the Reformed Faith in Europe."¹ As soon as information of these proceedings reached New Amsterdam, the Fiscal was despatched to Flushing to arrest the preacher and the sheriff. William Hallett was degraded from his office, fined fifty pounds Flemish for neglect of duty, and banished from the Province of New Netherland. A few days later, he petitioned for the remission of the sentence of banishment, which was granted on the payment of the fine and the costs of the trial.² William Wickendam, in accordance with the provisions of the placard against conventicles, was condemned to a fine of one hundred pounds Flemish. After the payment of the fine and the costs incurred in his case, he was also to be banished from the Province, but as he was very poor, with a wife and children, and a cobbler by trade, his fine was remitted on the condition that, if he were caught within the province again, he was to pay the fine.

No appeal was made to the charter of the town by

¹ Col Docs. N. Y. xiv. 369-70 Megapolensis and Drisins to Classis of Amsterdam. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 396-7.

² O'Callaghan, Calender of N. Y. Hist. MSS. (Dutch), i. p. 178.

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roof carried off by a high wind in 1646 without injury to any of the inmates.¹ Lechford tells us that "the good Lady was almost undone by buying Master Humphries farme, Swampscot, which cost her nine or eleven hundred pounds."² Towards the end of the year 1642, Lady Deborah Moody, Mrs. King, and the wife of John Tilton were presented at the Quarterly Court "for houlding that the baptism of infants is not ordained of God."³ The following year, she was also "dealt withal by many of the elders and others, and admonished by the church of Salem, whereof she was a member, but, persisting still and to avoid further trouble," she removed "from under civil and church watch" to the Dutch on Long Island with many others likewise infected with Anabaptism.⁴ Under these circumstances, it is not strange that the inhabitants of Gravesend should also obtain a charter that granted them "the free libertie of conscience according to the costome and manner of Holland, without molestation or disturbance from any Madgistrate or Madgistrates or any other Ecclesiastical Minister that may ptend jurisdiction over them."⁵ The patentees received the power and authority to build a town or towns, which must have excluded any disqualification for the office of a magistrate on the ground of Anabaptism. Nevertheless, the Director General Stuyvesant and his Council insisted on a religious qualification for office in their answer to the remonstrance, that

¹ Winthrop's Journal, ii. 289.

² Lechford, *Plaine Dealing*, 98-99.

³ Lynn Recs. in Flint, *Hist. of Early Long Island*, 106, [notes 1-2.

⁴ Winthrop's Journal, ii. 126.

⁵ Doc. Hist N. Y. i. 411.

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organized ministry made them as ready to attack a "hireling" ministry, as the Quakers later became. On February 12, 1652, Megapolensis requested the Director and Council to restrain the Anabaptist Anna Smits "from using slanderous and calumniating expressions against God's Word and his servants."¹ Meanwhile, the Quaker movement gained adherents in the town, who soon became the object of a religious persecution. Another party also arose in Gravesend, which appealed, on April 12, 1660, to the Provincial government for relief in their religious destitution. Ten of the inhabitants of the village, only two of whom were English, the sheriff Charles Morgan and Lieutenant Nicholas Stillwell, informed the Director General and Council that "the licentious mode of living, the desecration of the Sabbath, the confusion of religious opinion prevalent in the village made many grow cold in the exercise of Christian virtue, and almost surpass the heathens, who have no knowledge of God and his commandments." They requested, therefore, that "a preacher be sent here, that the glory of God may be spread, the ignorant taught, the simple and innocent strengthened, and the licentious restrained." Stuyvesant and his Council were well pleased with this remonstrance and promised to fulfill their request, as soon as possible, but the English put an end to the Dutch rule before the promise was realized.²

The old settlement of Mespath never recovered entirely from the calamities of the Indian war. Even after the reoccupation of the colony, the dissensions

¹ Council minute. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 155-6.

² Council minute, April 12, 1660. Ibid. 406.

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preacher, "some inhabitants and unqualified persons ventured to hold conventicles and gatherings and assumed to teach the Gospel." Megapolensis and Drisius, therefore, petitioned the Director General and Council, on January 15, 1656, to intervene and provide for the continuance of legitimate religious worship during the absence of Mr. Moore by the appointment of a suitable person to read the Bible and some other orthodox work on Sunday, until other provisions were made. Stuyvesant entrusted the choice of a suitable reader to the two ministers with the advice of the magistrates and the best informed inhabitants of Newtown. At the same time, he expressed his decision to have placards issued against those persons who, without either ecclesiastical or secular authority, acted as teachers in interpreting and expounding God's Holy Word.¹ On February 1, 1656, all religious meetings, except the Reformed, were prohibited under severe penalties.² Meanwhile, the wife of John Moore, with her seven or eight children, apparently continued to dwell in the town minister's house. In the beginning of the year 1657, information was lodged with Stuyvesant that some of the inhabitants had in fact given Mr. Moore this house for his private use. The Director General promptly insisted that this house had been built "for a public use and successively for the Ministrij," and ordered the magistrates to submit an explanation of this strange proceeding.³ Mr. Moore again returned to Newtown and doubtless took up again the work of the

¹ Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 336-7.

² Recs. New Amsterdam, i. 20-21; ii. 34-35.

³ Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 384.

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go to rack and ruin for want of repair, to the great injury of religion in the town, which would thus be deprived of these resources for the continuance of a public ministry. Stuyvesant again insisted that the house and land "beeinge with our knowledge, Consent and helpe buildt for the publyck use of the ministry," could not be "given and transported for a private heerytadge." Francis Doughty was, therefore, commanded to give and grant peaceful possession of this house and land to the Schoolmaster Richard Mills, and the magistrates and the inhabitants of the town ordered on their part to give to the heirs of Mr. Moore what was their due.¹ Stuyvesant evidently tried to be very just towards Francis Doughty. On April 20 of the same year, Richard Mills was ordered to deliver to Mr. Doughty, trees, etc., planted and left on the lot of the deceased Mr. Moore.² After the surrender of the minister's house, the town thoroughly repaired the building. In the following year, the Reverend William Leverich removed from Huntington, where he had been pastor, to Newtown, which welcomed his advent. Measures were adopted by the town to raise a salary for the new minister. Later the town gave him two parcels of meadow "for his encouragement among them," to which were added twelve acres more at the east end of Long Traines Meadow. The inhabitants now felt the need of a more suitable place of worship, and on January 9, 1663, voted to build a meeting-house, but the disturbances leading up to the surrender

¹ Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 496.

² Council minute, April 20, 1661. O'Callaghan, *Cal. Hist. MSS. N. Y. (Dutch)*, i. 223.

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jurisdiction, which was terminated, on its annexation by Connecticut, in the fall of 1663.

In 1656, colonists, mostly from Hempstead, who desired "a place to improve their labors," received land and leave to settle beyond the hills by the South Sea at Canarise. This was the beginning of the village of Jamaica, which was known to the Dutch by the name of Rustdorp. The new settlement enjoyed the usual privileges possessed by the villages of Middelburg, Breuckelen, Midwout and Amersfort.¹ Although Quaker dissent manifested itself in the town of Jamaica a month after the arrival of the Quakers in New Amsterdam, the town at large was of one way of thinking in religion, so that church affairs were considered and transacted at the town-meetings.² Drastic measures were adopted by the Director General to stem the Quaker movement, which was also favored somewhat through the lack of an orthodox minister. It was in response to the urgent request of some of the townspeople, that Stuyvesant, in the beginning of 1661, sent Domine Drisius to baptize their children. On this occasion, the Dutch minister preached twice in Jamaica and baptized eight children and two aged women.³ The position of the orthodox faith was strengthened in the town by the appointment of new magistrates: Richard Everett, Nathaniel Denton, and Andrew Messenger. These men had been informers against the Quakers in town, and Stuyvesant felt that they could be trusted to promote the Protestant cause,

¹ O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, ii. 323

² Onderdonck, H. Jr. *Antiquities of the Parish Church, Jamaica*. *Am. Hist. Rec.* i. 27.

³ *Col Docs. N. Y.* xiv. 489-90.

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house and land was to revert to the town upon paying for such labor, as he had expended upon it, but if the town was the cause of his departure, then he was to be paid for what the house was worth. In the case of his death, the town reserved to itself the right of pre-emption, if his wife should decide to sell.¹ These liberal conditions were no doubt intended to make more certain this minister's continuance among them. The town now felt the need of a separate meeting house, which was built the same year. It was again agreed at the town-meeting that all the inhabitants of the town should pay toward the maintenance of a minister according to what they possess.² There may have been some growth of dissent with a consequent refusal on the part of the dissenters to submit to the church rates imposed by the town. Such a movement was favored by the disturbed condition of the Island on the encroachments of English authority.

A very significant movement of emigration from New Haven began to manifest itself on the restoration of Charles II. This colony only grudgingly acknowledged the King and in consequence had good reason to fear that the plan of Connecticut to absorb New Haven might be realized, as the King moreover bore no friendly feeling to this colony on account of its readiness to shelter the regicides Goffe and Whalley from his vengeance. The incorporation of New Haven was easily obtained by Governor Winthrop in the new charter graciously conceded to the colony of Connecti-

¹ Thompson, *History of Long Island*, ii. 100.

² Onderdonck, H. Jr. *Antiquities of the Parish Church, Jamaica Town Recs.*

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urged the continuance of all love and friendship between the two colonies, especially because of "our ioynt pffession of ourr ffaith in our Lord Jesus Christ not differing in fundamentalls."¹ The same idea is advanced in the course of the negotiations with the New Haven petitioners in still greater detail. Application was first made by John Stickland of Huntington in the name of a company of Englishmen for information whether the disposal of the land at Achter Kol was still free and whether encouragement would be given to these Englishmen, if they should persist in their project to settle there on an inspection of the locality.² In the beginning of June, 1661, Stuyvesant requested the English to send some of their number to view the land, after which the conditions for such a settlement might be established.³ Every courtesy was shown to the English envoys. On their return to New Haven, a committee was empowered by the English to conclude the terms, under which they with their friends and posterity could gradually settle in New Netherland at Achter Kol "for the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ in the Congregational way and all other means of comfort in subordination hereunto." They were in hopes that "the glory of God and benefit and welfare of the Dutch nation in America and the honor of their principals in Europe" would be promoted in a larger measure by their plantation than by any other settlement under Dutch jurisdiction. As they were "true

¹ Stuyvesant to Gov. Endicott. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 179.

² John Stickland to Brian Newtown, April 29, 1661. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 195.

³ June 2, 1661. Ibid.

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"by common consent such orders according to scripture as may be requisite for the suppressing of haiesies, schismes and false worships and for the establishment of truth with peace in those English churches." They also demanded the Governor and courts of New Amsterdam to protect the English churches and Synods "from any that oppose them or be injurious to them." The realization of this projected colony was impeded by the demand for practical autonomy in civil affairs, which the new colonists wished to regulate without the right of appeal to the Provincial government, "according to the fundamentalls receiued in New Haven Colonie," as far as it should suit "Christ's ends" and the conditions of the new settlement. Stuyvesant was ready to give the petitioners the usual privileges of the charter of 1640 in regard to the election of magistrates, the administration of justice and all civil affairs,¹ but this apparently did not satisfy the demands of the New Haven people, who sent John Gregory in the following spring to New Amsterdam to negotiate more favorable terms. Stuyvesant was willing to make all possible concessions in regard to religion and he again adverted to the fact "that there is noe at the least differency in the fundamentall points of religion, the differency in churches orders and government so small that wee doe not stick at it, therefore have left and leave still to the freedom off your owne consciences."² In fact, Stuyvesant had before expressed the hope that even these differences would be removed "by a neerer meetinge and conference" between the Dutch and English ministers with

¹ Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 210-11.

² Ibid. 216, March 11, 1662.

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of this colony should take advice with some English minister or churches within the Dutch Province, but he now demanded that the approbation and consent of the Governor and Council be obtained for the calling of a Synod.¹ He readily yielded, however, to their demand to restrict the right of suffrage to church members and granted them power to make laws, which would be confirmed by the Director General and Council, if they proved not to be repugnant to the laws of the United Netherlands and the Province of New Netherland.² All other demands were also granted. Negotiations now ceased for some time, as the English were waiting for the return of Mr. Winthrop in the hope of a settlement of the claims of the Dutch, disputed by Connecticut, and also as no further concessions could be made without the consent of the Directors in Holland.³ Meanwhile, Stuyvesant sent a report of these proceedings to the Directors, who warmly approved the plan of the English to settle under the Company's jurisdiction at Achter Kol, as they would serve as a strong outpost against the Raritan and Neversink Indians. This was of such importance to the Dutch Province that the Company was ready even to make concessions in the matter of appeal in criminal and capital cases. There were grave reasons against the concessions, as the New Haven colonists punished with death adultery, fornication, and similar offences according to the Law and Word of God, while the laws of the Netherlands were much more lenient in this regard. Nevertheless, the Company

¹ May 30, 1662. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 221.

² Ibid. 222.

³ Robert Treatt to Stuyvesant, June 29, 1663 Ibid. 267.

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matter ended, doubtless on account of the rumors that were prevalent in the New England colonies at this time, that the Province of New Netherland was soon to be subjected to English authority. In spite of the conquest of the Dutch Province, some of the New Haven people persisted in their design to settle in those parts on the presentation of a favorable opportunity. This occurred on the creation of the Province of New Jersey, which offered them permission to settle under a town constitution, limiting the franchise to communing church members. This settlement, under the leadership of Robert Treatt and the minister Abraham Pier-son, was established between the years 1665-67, with colonists from Guilford, Branford and Milford, on the Passaic River. The town first received the name of Milford, which was soon changed to Newark, the English home of its pastor.¹

¹ Cf. Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, ii. 12-15.

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maintenance of the Reformed Religion than the ecclesiastical authorities, who, in obedience to the command of the Classis of Amsterdam, "employed all diligence to ward off the wolves from the tender lambs of Christ."¹

On October 4, 1653, the Lutherans petitioned the Director General for permission to call a Lutheran minister from Holland and to organize a separate congregation for the public exercise of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession here in New Netherland. They had twice submitted a similar petition to the Governor, and had also addressed letters to the States of Holland and to the Directors of the West India Company to this effect.² A twofold pretext was advanced in these letters³ to Holland for their separation from the Reformed Church. They objected to the second question of the formula of baptism, used in the Dutch Church of New Amsterdam, in which, according to their statement, they were asked whether they acknowledged the dogma taught in the Christian Church "there" as the true doctrine. This was equivalent to a denial of their Lutheran Confession. Then they also objected to the strictness with which the Dutch ministers demanded the parents and sponsors to be present at the baptism of their children.

As soon as the Lutheran petition came to the knowledge of the Dutch ministers in New Amsterdam, they appealed to Stuyvesant, who "would rather relinquish his office than grant permission in this matter, since it is

¹ Letter of Classis of Amsterdam to consistory in New Netherland, May 26, 1656. in *Eccl. Recs. N. Y.* i. 348-9.

² Letter of Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, October 6, 1653, *Ibid.* 317-18.

³ Letter of the same to Director General and Council, August 23, 1658. *Ibid.* 428-30.

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cause of Christ. Under the influence of the Classis of Amsterdam, the Directors of the West India Company also classed with the Mennonites the English Independents amongst those who might urge claims for the freedom of religious worship upon the concession of such a privilege to the Lutherans. Some uneasiness was experienced in regard to the States of Holland, who might be inclined to grant the Lutheran petition, but these fears of the Classis were set at rest by the promise, by which the Directors of the West India Company bound themselves to resist any such concession.¹ In this matter, the decision of the West India Company was pronounced finally on February 23, 1654, when the Directors resolved not to tolerate any Lutheran pastors there, nor any other public worship than the true Reformed. The Classis of Amsterdam was perfectly satisfied and did not doubt but that henceforth the Reformed Doctrine "would be maintained without being hindered by the Lutherans and other erring spirits."² When the Directors of the Company announced to Stuyvesant their absolute denial of the Lutheran petition, "pursuant to the customs hitherto observed by us and the East India Company," they recommended him to deny all similar petitions, but "in the most civil and least offensive way, and to employ all possible but moderate means in order to induce them to listen, and finally join the Reformed Church,

¹ Classis of Amsterdam, Acts of Deputies, February 23, 1654, in *Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i.* 322.

² Classis of Amsterdam to Megapolensis and Drisius, February 26, 1654. *Ibid.* 323.

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wives to leave the Dutch Reformed Church and attend their conventicles. There was imminent danger, therefore, of a large leakage in the membership of the Dutch Reformed Church of New Amsterdam. Thus the Lutheran movement "would prove a plan of Satan to smother this infant, rising congregation almost in its birth, or at least obstruct the march of truth in its progress."¹

The Lutheran issue entered a new phase on the successful termination of Stuyvesant's expedition of conquest to the South River. Here a commercial colony under the authority of a company, composed originally of Swedes and Dutch, had become nationalized to the exclusion of the latter element.² As far as religion was concerned, this resulted in the establishment of the Lutheran Church on the Delaware, where divine service was to be "zealously performed according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Council of Upsala, and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church."³ The out-

¹ Remonstrance of Megapolensis and Drisius to Burgomasters and Schepens, July 6, 1657, in *Eccle. Recs. N. Y.* i. 387-88.

² Cf. Odhner, C. T., The founding of New Sweden, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, iii. 1879.

³ The position of the Lutheran Church in Sweden is well summarized in the Church Act of 1686 under King Charles XI, that also reflects the conditions obtaining in the earlier period, in question here. "In our kingdom and in the countries belonging thereto, all persons shall profess solely and simply the Christian doctrine and the Christian faith, which is contained in the Holy Word of God, in the prophetic and apostolic scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and which is comprehensively stated in the three chief symbols, the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, as well as in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of the year 1530, adopted 1593 by the Council at Upsala and explained in the entire so-called Book of Concord. And all those who assume any office as teachers in the churches, academies, gymnasia or schools, shall at their ordination, or when they receive a degree under oath solemnly subscribe this doctrine and confession." Cf. John Nicum, *The Confessional History*

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assemble for the private exercise of their worship. Nevertheless, the proximate occasion for the decree against conventicles was not given at Amsterdam but at Middelburg (Newtown). The inhabitants of this town were mostly Independents, with a few Presbyterians. The latter could not be supplied with a Presbyterian preacher, but a Mr. John Moore, who claimed to have been licensed in New England to preach, but not authorized to administer the sacraments, attended to their spiritual needs. On the departure of Mr. Moore, "some inhabitants and unqualified persons ventured to hold conventicles and gatherings and assumed to teach the Gospel." Other places in New Netherland were as destitute of an authorized ministry and there was imminent danger in the minds of the preachers of New Amsterdam that this bad example would find imitation and result in quarrels, confusion and disorders in Church and commonalty. On the receipt of a petition from the ministers of New Amsterdam for his intervention, Stuyvesant expressed his decision to have placards issued against those persons, who, without either ecclesiastical or secular authority, acted as teachers in interpreting and expounding God's Holy Word. Stuyvesant also felt that this was a violation of the political and ecclesiastical rules of the fatherland, and an occasion for an outbreak of heresy and schism. Consequently, all such conventicles, both public and private, were prohibited by the Director General and Council under heavy penalties in the ordinance of February 1, 1656.¹ Persons presuming to ex-

¹ Recs. of New Amsterdam, i. 20-21; ii. 34-35; Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 343-4.

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many other ardent Calvinists of his day, eagerly desired the close union of the various national Calvinist churches, which had found an early expression in the presence of delegates from these churches in the National Synod of Dortrecht (1618-19). He, therefore, appealed to the religious service of the Reformed Church, conformably to the Synod of Dortrecht, practiced in the Fatherland and the other Reformed churches of Europe, as the rule which was to establish the character of divine worship in his province. Thus, even at this time, Stuyvesant was ready to grant patents to new colonists, conceived along the lines followed by Kieft in his patents to Mespath, March 28, 1642,¹ and to Hempstead, November 16, 1644,² which assured the colonists the "exercise of the Reformed Religion, which they profess with the ecclesiastical discipline thereunto belonging." The mind of Stuyvesant on this point is clearly manifested later in his long correspondence with the Milford inhabitants, who intended to found a settlement under his jurisdiction, with freedom of worship, although they were not Presbyterians, as the Dutch, but Congregationalists.³

Although the ordinance legislated for the repression of the freedom of religious worship in conventicles not within the pale of the Reformed Church, the Director General and Council were careful to include the more liberal provisions of the "Articles" that had been proposed by John de Laet in the name of the West India

¹ Book of Patents GG. p. 49; cited in Riker, *Annals of Newtown*, p. 413.

² Thompson, *History of Long Island*, ii. 5-6.

³ Correspondence from April 29, 1661 to July 20, 1663. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 197, et passim.

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ordinance was entrusted to the fiscal and inferior magistrates and schouts throughout New Netherland, and its presence in some of the town records shows the fidelity with which these orders were fulfilled.¹ In this way, the Director General and Council believed that they had made ample provisions for "the glory of God, the promotion of the Reformed Religion and public peace, harmony, and welfare."

Although the decree against conventicles did not affect the position of the public worship of the Lutheran faith in the conquered territory of New Sweden, the Lutherans of New Amsterdam understood at once that their religious assemblies did come under the prohibitive ordinance. They, therefore, discontinued the divine services, which they had been holding regularly, in private, during the past year.² The West India Company was also under the impression that this decree had been directly aimed at the Lutherans. Its Directors resented Stuyvesant's methods of repression, which were so alien to the spirit of conciliation, with which they tried to inspire his policy towards Lutheran dissent, but, in point of fact, they did not revoke the decree, and expressly conceded only that measure of religious liberty, that had already been granted by the Director General himself: the free exercise of their religion in

¹ Niemant vermach heimlike of openbare conventiculen of vergaderinghe houden t'sij int lesen, singen, of prediken op de verbeurte van 100 ponden vlaems, en voor te toehoorders van ghelike 25 ponden vlaems bij ijder een, wat Religie of Secten het oock mochten sijn volgens den Placcat van den 1 February 1656. Corte aenwijsinghe van enighe placcaten over beganene uisusen etc. Het Bouk Van Het Durp Utrecht A^o 1657.

² Petition of the Lutherans to the Director General and Council October 24, 1656, in Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 359; and O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland, ii. 320.

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its deputies on Indian affairs to wait upon these Directors and magistrates of Amsterdam and insist on the "injuriousness of the general permission of all sorts of persuasions," but they could only learn that the matter was still far removed from a settlement.¹

Meanwhile, the Lutherans at New Amsterdam had received word from fellow-believers in Holland that they had obtained a decree from the Directors of the West India Company, according to which the Unaltered Augsburg Confession was to "be tolerated in the West Indies and New Netherland under their jurisdiction in the same manner as in the fatherland under its praiseworthy government." They, therefore, petitioned² the Director General and Council to allow them again to celebrate with prayer, reading and singing, until the arrival of a minister of their own persuasion, whom they expected to receive from the Fatherland next spring. Stuyvesant refused to alter his decree against conventicles and all public gatherings "except those for the divine service of the Reformed Church prevailing here," but he again declared that no one was to "suffer for this belief, nor be prevented each in his family from reading, thanksgiving, and singing according to their faith." If there were to be any changes in this legislation, they were to be made by the Directors of the Company, to whom the petition was finally sent. Thus the issue was again presented for settlement at Amsterdam, where the Classis instructed its deputies on Indian affairs "with all serious arguments . . . to check, at the

¹ Classis of Amsterdam, Acts of Deputies, vi. 39, i. 360 in Eccl. Recs. N. Y. November 7, 1656.

² Petition of the Lutherans, October 24, Ibid. i. 656, 359.

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force the consciences of men, and the ministers denied that this was the purpose of their intervention. Under these circumstances, the Classis, not feeling entirely at ease, resolved to encourage "the consistory in New Netherland to continue in their good zeal to check these evils in every possible way; diligence and labor are required to prevent false opinions and foul heresies from becoming prejudicial to the pure truth." This is also the burden of the letter,¹ which the Classis of Amsterdam sent the consistory of New Netherland, to introduce the Rev. Everardus Welius, the first minister to the City's colony of New Amstel.

The departure of a Lutheran minister, John Ernest Goedwater, for New Netherland in the ship "De Molen" on a mission from the Lutheran consistory was a new cause of anxiety to the Classis of Amsterdam. The Dutch ministers recognized the inconsistency of the concession of freedom of worship to the Swedish Lutherans on the South River and of its denial to the Dutch Lutherans on the North River at New Amsterdam. The Classis, therefore, resolved that the Directors were to be urged to correct this abuse in the territory of the West India Company and the Burgomasters requested to instruct their vice-director Alrichs to oppose the Lutherans and other sects in the district subject to the authority of the City of Amsterdam.² Both promised to be on their guard, and not permit, but rather endeavor to prevent the public exercise of the Lutheran worship.³ Stuyvesant, nevertheless, faith-

¹ Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 378.

² Classis of Amsterdam, Acts of Deputies, May 7, 1657, Ibid 377.

³ Acts of Classis of Amsterdam, Ibid. 382.

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enthusiasts.¹ The Burgomasters and Schepens immediately summoned the Lutheran preacher to appear before them for examination. He frankly confessed that he had been sent by the Lutheran consistory of Amsterdam to occupy the position of preacher here, as far as it was now permissible, though he felt confident that the ship "Waag" would bring the news of the concession of freedom of worship, which the Directors of the West India Company had under consideration at the time of his departure from the fatherland. The Burgomasters and Schepens could not believe that the Directors would tolerate any other worship than the true Reformed in this place, as the oath, which they took on the assumption of their office, "to help maintain the true Reformed Religion and to suffer no other religion or sects," had received the approval of the Directors. They, therefore, forbade the Lutheran minister to hold either public or private conventicles, and also to deliver to the Lutheran body in the city the letters, that he had brought from the Amsterdam consistory, until further orders. Then, as the matter concerned not only the city but the whole Province, they reported² these proceedings to the Director General and Council, who commended in every particular their action and ordered the Burgomasters of this city and also all inferior courts strictly to enforce the ordinance of February 1, 1656, against conventicles, as this was "necessary for the maintenance and conservation not

¹ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, August 14, 1657, etc., Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 400.

² Ibid. 389.

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was resolved to persevere with his adherents.¹ Stuyvesant became all the more determined in his demand, as the order of the Provincial Government had been treated with contempt. Goedwater was again commanded, on October 16, 1657, to leave in one of the two ships about to sail,² but he secretly carried off his books and bedding,³ and concealed himself in the house of Lawrence Noorman, a Lutheran farmer,⁴ to whom the Lutherans gave six guilders a week during the whole winter for the minister's support.⁵ The Fiscal was again ordered to place him under arrest for transportation to Holland at the earliest opportunity. Meanwhile, the Lutherans informed the Director General that their preacher was sick and requested the privilege of bringing him to the city for the medical care that he required. Stuyvesant granted the petition, but, on the arrival of Goedwater, immediately put him under the surveillance of the Fiscal, who was empowered to send the Lutheran minister to Holland on his recovery. This was done in the spring on the ship "De Bruynvisch." The Dutch ministers soon had the satisfaction of seeing the leader in the separatist movement of the Lutherans a punctual attendant at the Reformed service in his pew near the pulpit.⁶ Their joy was, however, soon marred by the

¹ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, September 10, 1659, in Eccl. Recs. N. Y. 449.

² Director and Council to Goedwater, Ibid. 408.

³ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, October 25, 1657, Ibid. 412.

⁴ Megapolensis and Drisius to Director General and Council, August 23, 1658, Ibid. 430.

⁵ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, September 24, 1658, Ibid. 433.

⁶ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, September 10, 1659, Ibid. 449. The statement of this letter, that Goedwater

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customs prevailing at the beginning of the Reformation, when circumstances also made it imperative for the Church to attract people of a different belief.¹ The Directors, therefore, ordered that the old formula of baptism, being "more moderate and less objectionable to those of other denominations," be used in the churches of the Province, and the words "present here in the church" be entirely omitted.² Stuyvesant gave a copy of this ordinance to the ministers, as soon as it came into his hands, and requested them to draw up "a full and correct view of the case."³

The ministers declared their willingness to follow the example of the apostolic churches, who, though they gave freedom for the sake of the weaker brethren in minor matters, would not yield one iota to the obstinate and perverse, who came to spy out the liberty of believers and to bring Christians into bondage. They knew that the Synod of The Hague in 1591 (Art. 28) put the question, proposed to parents and sponsors in the form—"Whether they acknowledge the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testaments, and in the articles of the Christian faith, and taught in conformity therewith, to be the true and perfect doctrine of salvation?" They were also aware that the Synod of Middelburg in 1581 (Art. 21) made the use or omission of the clause—"the doctrine taught here"—optional. Nevertheless, they did not feel that they could change the formula of Baptism that had been used so long in

¹ Directors to Stuyvesant, May 20, 1658, in Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 418.

² Directors to Stuyvesant, June 7, 1658, Ibid. 421.

³ Director General and Council to ministers of New Amsterdam, August 19, 1658, in Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 427.

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had prescribed the presence of the parents at the baptism of their children, these provisions were not strictly enforced. This practice had also moved the ministers at New Amsterdam to be lenient in regard to this point until they noticed that young persons, who could hardly carry the child, and who had scarcely more knowledge of religion, baptism, and the vows than the child itself, presented children for baptism. To correct this abuse, the ministers had urged from the pulpit that none could so well fulfill the promises made in regard to the children at baptism, as the parents, who were, in fact, bound to do this by the Word of God.¹ They, therefore, directed that henceforth no half grown youths were to present children for baptism.

The Classis of Amsterdam supported the ministers of the colony in their opposition, and begged them not to make any alterations in the customary forms, but the Directors persisted in their demands,² and manifested so much displeasure, that the deputies of the Classis on Indian affairs delayed addressing them on the subject until further correspondence with the brethren in New Netherland.³ The Directors were not satisfied with the fact, that the Lutherans were now again taking part in the divine service of the Reformed Church; they wished to exclude any possibility of another separation, that might arise if they should continue to

¹ Megapolensis and Drisius to Director General and Council, August 23, 1658, in Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 430.

² Classis of Amsterdam, Acts of Deputies, vi. 134; xix. 53. Ibid. i. 440; Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 429. Directors to Stuyvesant, February 13, 1659.

³ Acts of Classis of Amsterdam, February 24, 1659, vi. 135; xix. 54, in Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 442.

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newly appointed preachers, Blom and Selyns, who, before their departure from Holland, had also promised the Directors to make use of it in the exercise of their clerical office.¹ When Megapolensis and Drisius learned this, they also resolved to use the old formula, prescribed by the Directors, "with the design of avoiding any division in the churches of this country."² At this time, a feeling of unrest was noticeable among some Lutherans at Fort Orange, who began to take up a subscription for the salary of a Lutheran preacher, but this movement soon subsided.³ Here some Lutherans had already joined the Dutch Church, and others were gradually being led to it. The Classis of Amsterdam, after consulting the Directors, instructed the Reverend Gideon Schaats, the minister of Beverwyck at Fort Orange, freely to inform those good people, "that they may dismiss their newly conceived hopes, since they may find abundant edification and comfort of soul through the blessing of the Lord in the Reformed worship, if they harken diligently and endeavor to walk before God and man with a good conscience."⁴ This proved the end of the separatist movement of the Dutch Lutherans in New Netherland until the termination of the Dutch rule.

¹ Directors to Stuyvesant, April 16, 1660, in Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 461.

² Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam, October 4, 1660, in Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 486.

³ Gideon Schaats to Classis of Amsterdam, September 22, 1660, Ibid., 483.

⁴ Classis of Amsterdam to Gideon Schaats, December 5, 1661, Ibid. 515.

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was about to visit the Province for the thankless use of temporal blessings, "permitting and allowing the Spirit of Error to scatter its injurious passion amongst us in spiritual matters here and there, rising up and propagating a new unheard of abominable heresy, called Quakers, seeking to seduce many, yea were it possible even the true believers—all signs of God's just judgment and certain forerunners of severe punishments."¹

On August 6, 1657, a ship entered the harbor of New Amsterdam, that carried no flag to reveal its character and fired no salute before the fort to announce its arrival. The Fiscal, who went onboard, received no sign of respect, and the Director General was not more favored, when he received the visit of the master of the vessel, who "stood still with his hat firm on his head, as if a goat." Hardly a word could be gleaned in regard to conditions in Europe, but finally it was learned that the ship had Quakers on board. Although the Quakers reported that the Governor was "moderate in words and action," they departed the following morning as silently as they had come and sailed eastward towards Rhode Island, where the Dutch thought that they would settle, as the Quakers were not tolerated in any other place. However, several Quakers had secretly remained behind, and endeavored to disturb and excite the people by the testimony, to which they believed themselves moved by the Spirit. Two young women, Dorothy Waugh and May Witherhead, "began to quake and go into a frenzy" in the middle of the street, crying out in a loud voice, that men should repent, for the day

¹ Proclamation, January 21, 1658, in Recs. of New Amsterdam ii. 346-7.

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Hodgson "pacing the orchard alone in quiet meditation." He was at once arrested and confined in the house of Richard Gildersleeve. While the justice of peace went to church, the Quaker attracted a large crowd of people before the house, "who staid and heard the truth declared." On his return, the magistrate, annoyed at being thus outwitted, committed the prisoner to another house and immediately left for Manhattan to inform Stuyvesant of the arrest. The Director General commended the zeal of the magistrate in suppressing the "Quaker heresy," and sent the Fiscal with a guard of twelve musketeers to bring Hodgson and those who had entertained him in their homes to the Fort in New Amsterdam. Meanwhile, Hodgson, had renewed his tactics of the morning. "In the afternoon," he says, "many came to me, and even those that had been mine enemies, after they heard the truth, confessed it."

On the arrival of the Fiscal and guard, Hodgson was searched and his papers and Bible seized. He was then bound with cords and remanded to prison. Meanwhile, diligent search was made "for those two women who had entertained the stranger." As soon as they were found, they were placed under arrest, although one of them was burdened with a nursing infant. The two women were placed in a cart, to the tail of which Hodgson was tied and thus dragged through the woods and over bad roads, "whereby he was much torn and abused." On their arrival at Amsterdam, the women were put in prison, but soon after they were again released and allowed to return to their homes. Hodgson, however, was cast into a "dungeon full of vermin

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was again chained to the wheelbarrow and threatened with severer punishment, if he should dare to speak to any person. When he refused to keep silent, he was confined to his dungeon for several days, "two nights and one day and a half of which, without bread and water." Then he was taken to a room, where he was stripped to his waist and hung to the ceiling by his hands with a heavy log tied to his feet, "so that he could not turn his body." He was then scourged with rods by a negro slave until his flesh was cut into pieces, after which he was kept in the solitary confinement of a loathsome dungeon for two days, when he was again made to undergo the same savage torture. Hodgson now felt as though he were about to die and asked that some English person might be allowed to come to him. An English woman was then allowed to bathe his wounds. She thought that he could not live until morning. When she told her husband of the horrible condition of the prisoner, he tried to bribe the Fiscal with the offer of a fat ox to obtain permission for Hodgson's removal to his own house until he recovered. This was refused and the payment of the whole fine demanded. The Quaker would not consent to this and was kept "like a slave to hard work." Other persons also interested themselves in favor of the Quaker's release. An unknown person sent a letter to Stuyvesant and counselled him to send the obstinate Quaker to Rhode Island, as his labor was hardly worth the cost. When Stuyvesant's sister Anna, widow of Nicholas Bayard, interceded earnestly in behalf of the prisoner,

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their approval and then presented to the Director General and Council.¹ A town meeting was assembled in the house of Michael Milner, where the clerk read the remonstrance to the people of the town. Thirty-one signed this protest. They cannot condemn the Quakers nor can they stretch out their hands to punish, banish or persecute them, when they are bound by the law to do good unto all men, especially to those of the household of faith. If the alternative is placed before them, to choose between God and man, their conscience will not allow them to hesitate in the choice, as "that which is of God will stand, and that which is of man will come to nothing." They further declare that "the law of love, peace and liberty in the state, extending to Jews, Turks and Egyptians, as they are considered the sons of Adam, which is the glory of the outward state of Holland, so love, peace and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemns hatred, war and bondage." The Savior had pronounced woe unto those by whom scandal cometh; their desire "is not to offend one of his little ones in whatsoever forme, name or title hee appears in, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker; but shall be glad to see anything of God in any of them; desiring to do unto all men as wee desire all men to do unto us, which is the true law both of Church and State." They, therefore, conclude, that, if any Quakers should come to them in love, they cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them, but give them free ingress into their town and houses according to the

¹ Cross-examination of Hart, Col. Docs., N. Y., xiv. 404-405; petition of Hart for pardon, January 23, 1658, Ibid. 409.

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ter." This had been their conclusion of a close study of the patent, which they called their charter, and if they were in the dark in this matter, they desired to be corrected, as they did not know the articles, which the Fiscal had called their charter. They also protested that they had put into execution to the full extent of their powers their "Honners perticular wrting an order concerning y^e Quakers." If they were, therefore guilty of any offense, it was at most the result of ignorance, which they pleaded as the excuse for having signed a writing offensive to the Director General and Council, presented by Tobias Feake. Their fault was graciously forgiven and pardoned on the written acknowledgment of their error and promise to be more cautious in the future and on condition of paying the cost and mises of the law.¹ The clerk, Edward Hart, also obtained liberal treatment at the hands of the authorities under the same conditions. His request for a pardon had been supported by several of the inhabitants of Flushing, where he always had been willing to serve his neighbors, whose circumstances he knew thoroughly, being one of the oldest inhabitants of the town. Finally, the Director General and Council pardoned him, as he had drawn up the remonstrance at the instigation of the schout, Tobias Feake, and as he had a large family dependent upon him for their support.

Thus all the responsibility was thrown upon the schout of Flushing. Tobias Feake could not deny that he had received "an order from the Hon. Director General not to admit, lodge and entertain in the said village

¹ Col. Docs N. Y. xiv. 408, 409.

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even dare to attend to the cases pending in the court without further orders.¹ When William Lawrence, the oldest magistrate of the town, submitted a petition to this effect, it was resolved to suspend the meetings of the magistrates until the Director General and Council could personally visit the town or send a committee to give the orders, that were required by the conditions not only of Flushing, but also of the other neighboring English villages. Meanwhile, any extraordinary matter, requiring immediate attention, was to be referred to the Director General and Council.² At the time of this visit, the inhabitants of Flushing peaceably submitted to a modification of their municipal government, which Stuyvesant thought would prevent the disorders, "arising from town meetings." In the future, the sheriff, who was to be "acquainted not only with the English and Dutch language, but also with Dutch practical law," and the other magistrates were to consult in all cases a board "of seven of the most reasonable and respectable of the inhabitants, to be called tribunes and townsmen." The growth of Quaker influence was ascribed to the lack of an organized ministry in the English towns, and a tax of twelve stivers per morgen was imposed upon the inhabitants of Flushing "for the support of an orthodox minister." Six weeks were granted for the signature of a written submission to the provisions of this new charter. Upon the expiration of this term, recusants had the only alternative "to

¹ January 20, 1658, Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 408.

² January 22, 1658, Ibid.

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and of being implicated in the Flushing remonstrance. The accusation was made that he had gone, in the company of the clerk of Flushing, to the house of Edward Farrington, whom he had persuaded to sign the remonstrance. John Townsend admitted, that he had been at Flushing, and visited Farrington as an old acquaintance, but he denied that he had persuaded the magistrate to sign anything. He was also accused of having been in the company of a banished Quakeress at Gravesend. Although he also denied this charge, the suspicions of the court were not allayed. He was, therefore, given the choice either to go to prison, until the Fiscal could obtain more evidence on the friendly relations of the accused with the Quakers, or to give bail to the amount of twelve pounds sterling to ensure his appearance at the court on the summons of the Fiscal.¹ On the same day, judgment was also pronounced in the case of John Tilton, formerly town clerk, who had been imprisoned on the charge of the Schout of Gravesend,² that he had lodged a Quakeress, who had been banished from New Netherland, with some other persons of her adherents, belonging to that abominable sect. Tilton declared that the Quakeress had come to his house with other neighbors during his absence, but, in spite of his humble petition and former good conduct, he was fined "twelve pounds Flemish with the costs and mises of justice, to be applied, one-third in behalf of the Attorney General, one-third in behalf of the sheriff of Gravesend, and the rest as directed by law."³ The opposition to

¹ Council minute, January 10, 1658. Col. Docs N. Y. xiv. 407.

² Council minute, January 8, 1658. Ibid. 406.

³ Council minute, January 10, 1658. Ibid.

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sons Inhabiting In this Towne or y^e Limitts thereof shall duely resort and repaire to the Publique meetings, and Assemblies one the Lords dayes And one the Publique dayes of fastings and thanksgivings appointed by Publique Authority, both one the forenoones And Afternoones." Persons, who absented themselves "w'thout Just and Necessary Cause approved by the particular Court," were to "forfeict, for the first offence, five guilders, for y^e second Offence, ten guilders And for y^e third Offence, twenty Guilders." Those who proved refractory, perverse and obstinate, were to be "Lyable to the further Censure of the Court, Eyther for the Agravation of the fine, or for Corporall punishment or Banishment." Finally, persons informing the magistrates or the particular Court about the neglect or contempt of this order, were to be rewarded by one-half of the fine, the other half of which was to be converted to public use.¹ This ordinance, which had been passed by the General Court of Hempstead, September 16, 1650, was approved, ratified and confirmed, October 26, 1657, by the Director General and Council of New Netherland, who authorized the magistrates of the village to execute promptly its provisions against trespassers. The authentication of the copy and its record in the Town books by John James, the clerk of Hempstead, bear the date of January, 16, 1658. These facts show that the approved ordinance was returned to the town precisely at the time that the growth of the Quaker movement on Long Island claimed the strict attention of the authorities at New

¹ Recs. of Towns of N. and S. Hempstead, Long Island, i. 56-57.

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venticle or meeting in the woods, where there were two Quakers. The two women refused to admit themselves guilty of any offence, as they had gone out to meet the people of God.¹ The opposition, which was early manifested in this way by the magistrates of the town towards the Quakers, was the policy pursued without alteration in Hempstead. When Thomas Terry and Samuel Dearing petitioned for leave to settle some families at Matinecock within the jurisdiction of Hempstead, the magistrates of the town drew up a contract, dated July 4, 1661, which bound the petitioners to observe the laws of Hempstead, to admit only inhabitants possessing letters of commendation and approbation from the magistrates, elders or selected townsmen of their former place of residence, and finally "to bring in no Quakers or any such like opinionists, but such as are approved by the inhabitants of Hempstead." This contract was confirmed and still more specified in some details as late as June 23, 1663.²

New measures were adopted by Stuyvesant for the repression of the Quaker movement on Long Island in January, 1661. Letters from Jamaica, Flushing and Middelburg (Newton) had informed him, that the Quakers had uncommonly free access to the house of Henry Townsend, who had, therefore, been placed under arrest. A good occasion to investigate the condition of religion in the towns known to be infected was offered, when some of the inhabitants of Jamaica earnestly requested one of the clergymen of New

¹ Court minute, April 18, 1658. Thompson, *Hist. of Long Island*, ii, 12.

² Recs. of the Towns of N. and S. Hempstead, i. 143-145; Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 528-529.

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any equivocation to the charges of the public prosecutor, who demanded that the prisoners be condemned to a fine of six hundred florins each, according to the ordinance violated.¹ Henry Townsend finally acknowledged that he had lodged in his house some friends who are called Quakers, and that he had assembled a meeting at his house, at which one of them spoke, but he concluded with the protest, that, although they might squander and devour his estate and manacle his person, his soul was his God's and his opinions his own. He refused to pay the fine of twenty-five pounds to which he was sentenced on January 20th, and languished in prison, where he was daily supplied with food, which his nine-year-old daughter Rose passed to him through the gratings of the jail.² Samuel Spicer was fined only twelve pounds. An order was also issued for the banishment of John Tilton of Gravesend and John Townsend of Jamaica. Mrs. Micah Spicer was also prosecuted for entertaining the Quaker, but she was acquitted, as she did not know that George Wilson was a member of that sect.³

Stuyvesant was now determined to enforce the observance of the ordinance against private conventicles, especially in the village of Jamaica, where the movement of Quaker dissent was most prevalent at this time. Some of those who had been entrusted with authority had been so unfaithful to their office as to

¹ Council minute, January 9, 1661. Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 491.

² Thompson, *Hist. of Long Island*, ii. 292-3; 295.

³ Cal. of Dutch MSS., ed. O'Callaghan, i. 220-1; Col. Docs. N. Y. 1. c., note. Thompson says, "The widow Spicer, mother of Samuel, was also arrested, accused and condemned in an amende fifteen pounds Flanders."

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furnished with decent meat and victuals by those who still refused to concur in the desires of the government.¹ When these men remonstrated, they were informed that the soldiers would be withdrawn, as soon as they would sign the pledge to inform against the Quakers. Most of the recusants then sold out and removed to Oyster Bay beyond the jurisdiction of the Dutch government.²

In spite of all vigilance, the magistrates of Jamaica had to report, in August of the following year, to the Director General, that the majority of the inhabitants of the village were adherents of the abominable sect called Quakers. They themselves could do nothing to stop the increase of this sect, as the townspeople did not assemble in forbidden conventicles within their jurisdiction, but in a large meeting held every Sunday at the house of John Bowne in Flushing, where the dissenters gathered from the whole neighborhood.³ Stuyvesant then ordered all the magistrates and inhabitants of the English towns in the jurisdiction of New Netherland to assist the sheriff, Resolved Waldron, to imprison all persons, found in a prohibited or an unlawful meeting.⁴

John Bowne⁵ first visited Flushing on the fifteenth of June, 1651, in company with his brother-in-law, Edward Farrington. There he was married to Hannah

¹ Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 493

² Onderdonck, H., Jr., Amer. Hist. Rec. i, 210.

³ Council minute, August 24, 1662; Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 515.

⁴ Council minute, September 9, 1662, Ibid. 516.

⁵ For biographical data cf. Mandeville, Flushing Past and Present, p. 96, etc.; Thompson, Hist. of Long Island, ii. 285-6; 388; Watkins, Some Early New York Settlers from New England, in N. E. Hist. and Geneol. Reg., lv. 300 (1901); Henry Onderdonck, Jr., Amer. Hist. Rec., i. 8, note 1. 49-50 (1872).

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he decided to leave the prisoner under guard till next day. Meanwhile, Resolved Waldron went to the town and in the evening returned with the Schout of Flushing. Bowne then demanded the order of his arrest from the sheriff, who at first refused, but then handed it to him. When John Bowne saw that it was not a special warrant, but the general commission of Stuyvesant, which authorized Waldron to arrest any person found in an unlawful assembly, he refused to go on foot to New Amsterdam in virtue of that order, as the sheriff had found him in no assembly of any kind, but the sheriff threatened to carry him off bound hand and foot. The next day he was transported thither in a boat and imprisoned in the courthouse. He attempted to obtain a few words with the Director General, whom he saw mounting his horse, but Stuyvesant gave the sergeant to understand that he would speak with Bowne only on the condition, that he would put off his hat and stand bareheaded in his presence, which Bowne declared he could not do. Stuyvesant anticipated the same refusal on the following day, when Bowne was brought for trial to the court room. As soon as he heard the approach of the prisoner, even before he came into view, the Director General bade him to take off his hat, but, before John Bowne could refuse, he commanded the Schout to give him the necessary assistance to comply with the demand. Stuyvesant himself read the ordinance against conventicles to the prisoner, but Bowne denied that he had kept meetings of "heretics, deceivers and seducers", as he could not admit the servants of the Lord to be such. Stuyvesant refused to argue and bluntly asked if he would deny that he had kept con-

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and told him that he must remain until the fine was paid. The next day official notice of the fine was served on the prisoner, but he refused to pay anything on that account.¹

At Gravesend, John Tilton and Mary, his wife, were also taken prisoners and transported to New Amsterdam to be tried for having attended meetings and for having lodged persons of the abominable sect of the Quakers.² Goody Tilton was furthermore charged with "having, like a sorceress, gone from door to door to lure even young girls to join the Quakers."³ Two days after these complaints were made before the court, the Director General and Council issued an ordinance which interdicted under severe penalties the public exercise of any but the Reformed Religion, "either in houses, barns, ships or yachts, in the woods or fields, the provision of heretics, vagabonds or strollers with accommodations, and the introduction and distribution of all seditious or seducing books, papers or letters." The ordinance also required the registration of all persons arriving in the province, within six weeks of their advent, at the secretary's office, where they were also then to take the oath of allegiance. The execution of the ordinance was to be ensured by the provision, that all magistrates conniving at the violation of this statute were to be deposed from their office and declared incompetent to hold any public trust in the future.⁴ Two weeks after the proclamation of this ordinance,

¹ Journal of John Bowne, Amer. Hist. Rec. i. 4-8

² Council minute, September 19, 1662. O'Callaghan, Cal. Hist. MSS. (Dutch), i. 240.

³ Thompson, Hist. for Long Island, ii. 295.

⁴ O'Callaghan, Hist. of New Netherland, ii. 454-5.

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cause before the court, but Stuyvesant refused to grant this request of the prisoner and insisted that he either pay the fine or go into exile, but he allowed him to go home for a chest and clothes. Later William Leveridge was authorized to tell Bowne, that, if he would promise to go out of the Dutch jurisdiction within three months, he would be set free the next day, but John Bowne refused to give any answer to this proposition, except to the Director General in person. William Leveridge neglected to deliver the message to Stuyvesant, who now had the prisoner kept more closely than before in his place of confinement. On the last day of December, John Bowne was offered the liberty to visit, for the first days of the new year, his wife and friends, on the condition that he would promise to return to New Amsterdam on the evening of the third day. The Schout also told him that the Director General was still willing to set him free, if he would promise to remove with his family out of his jurisdiction within a month, but John Bowne refused to entertain this proffer of Stuyvesant. Faithful to his promise, Bowne returned to New Amsterdam before the expiration of his leave of absence, and then was allowed the freedom of the town. He could learn nothing of the intentions of the authorities, although his chest, clothes, and bedding were still retained in prison. When a ship was about to sail, Bowne met Resolved Waldron. Upon the enquiries of the Quaker, the Schout saw the Director General, and then told Bowne to bring his things from prison and to transfer them to the boat. John Bowne now succeeded in obtaining an interview with Stuyvesant, who was very moderate in

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should fail to deter these sectarians from further contempt of authority in Church and State.¹

When the Directors at Amsterdam received Stuyvesant's letter, they felt that it was time again to restrain the religious zeal of the Director General within the limits which they thought would not injure the interests of their colony. While they were also heartily desirous of seeing the Province free from Quakers and other sectarians, their zeal for the religious unity of the Province was tempered by the fear that a too rigorous policy might diminish the population and stop immigration, which had to be favored at this early stage of the development of the colony. Stuyvesant was, therefore, told, in the letter² of the Directors of April 16, 1663, that he might shut his eyes to the presence of dissent in New Netherland, or at least that he was not to force the conscience, but to allow everyone to have his own belief, as long as he behaved quietly and legally, gave no offence to his neighbors, and did not oppose the government. The Directors referred Stuyvesant to the moderation, practiced towards all forms of dissent in the City of Amsterdam, which made it the asylum of the persecuted and oppressed from every country, with the result of a large increase of its population. The same blessing would follow an imitation of this policy of moderation in the colony of New Netherland. The letter of the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber has generally been interpreted in the light of an edict of toleration extended to the Province of New Netherland, with which all per-

¹ O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, ii. 456-7; Brodhead, *Hist. of New York*, i. 706.

² Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 526.

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erates the command given repeatedly by the Directors in previous letters on similar occasions, at least to admit freedom of conscience, to allow every inhabitant of the Province to have his own belief. A more liberal interpretation of the letter also makes the conduct of the Directors towards John Bowne unintelligible.¹

When John Bowne arrived in Amsterdam, he went to the West India House and submitted a petition to the Directors, which they referred to a special committee. The festivities of the season delayed a hearing of the case for two weeks, after which Bowne, with a companion, William Caton, was summoned to appear before the members of this committee, who, at the time, were very moderate towards the Quaker, not speaking one word in approval of Stuyvesant's persecution. Nevertheless, when John Bowne demanded the revocation of the sentence of the Provincial Court, the committee declared that they had not the power to fulfill his request, but that they would refer the matter to the Company. New difficulties arose, when John Bowne attempted to obtain his personal effects from the warehouse of the West India Company. His petition to this effect had been granted by the committee, but the keeper of the warehouse with his subordinate officials, refused to deliver his goods, unless he paid for his passage from New Netherland, for which they received the approval of the Company.

Bowne also made an attempt to engage a passage back to New Netherland, and the merchant consented

¹ Journal of John Bowne, Amer. Hist. Rec. i. 4-8. The Journal substitutes numbers for the names of the month and begins the year in March, which is, therefore, the first month of the year in Bowne's system of chronology.

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justice from the Directors of the Company, but only beheld additional oppression. Although his persecutors had thus mocked at the oppression of the oppressed, and added afflictions to the afflicted, he still prayed that the Lord would not lay this to their charge, but give them eyes to see and hearts to do justice, that they may find mercy with the Lord in the day of judgment. As late as the ninth of June, he complained in his letter ¹ to his wife, that the Company detained his goods and denied him a passage home except on conditions, so gross and unreasonable, that he chose to suffer want of the dear company of his wife and children, imprisonment of his person, the ruin of his estate in his absence there, and the loss of his goods here, rather than to yield or consent to such injustice. At length, Bowne did become quite free of the Directors, and he tells us in his journal that he again arrived at New Amsterdam early in the year 1664. He immediately proceeded to his home in Flushing, which was the first house he entered in the country. It is said that John Bowne again met the old Governor after the establishment of the English rule, as a private citizen, who then seemed ashamed of what he had done, and glad to see the Quaker safe home again. ²

¹ Letter printed in full in Thompson, *Hist. of Long Island*, ii. 386-7.

² Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 237. Besse's account of the Bowne case is inaccurate.

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Brazil, who, with the zealous support of the Classis of Amsterdam, had forced the civil authorities, in 1638, to forbid the free exercise of the Jewish religion in public, that had been guaranteed them on the conquest of the country by the Dutch.¹

Stuyvesant's opposition to the Jews was not prompted merely by inborn prejudice. It was doubtlessly influenced by his unfortunate experience with the Jewish colony, established in 1652 on the island of Curaçoa, which, with the adjoining islands of Aruba and Bonaire, was subject to his authority under a vice-director. The Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber had entertained the thought of abandoning the island of Curaçoa, which yielded no satisfactory revenue,² when a new opportunity to develop the resources of the island was presented in its colonization with Jews. Jan de Illan, a Jew, was made a patroon of a colony on making known to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber his intention to transport a good number of colonists of his own nation there to settle and cultivate the land. Although the Directors suspected that he and his associates were planning to trade from Curaçoa to the West Indies and the Main, they were willing to make the experiment and time would show whether they could succeed with this nation, characterized by them as "crafty and generally treacherous."³ Stuyvesant, far from being hostile to this enterprise, ex-

¹ Netscher, *Les Hollandais au Brèsil*, 94-95; for the action of the Classis of Amsterdam, cf. *Eccl. Recs. N.Y.* i. 196; 204; 206. In both reference is also made to the persecution suffered by Catholics.

² Directors to Stuyvesant, March 21, 1651. *Col. Docs. N. Y.* xiv. 135.

³ Directors to Stuyvesant, April 4, 1652, *Ibid.* 172; also letter cited above.

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Christian worship or giving any offense to the Christian conscience.¹

In spite of these liberal conditions of their charter, the Jewish colony proved rather detrimental than profitable to the Company, which had been deceived both in regard to the resources of the projectors of this Jewish colonization and also in regard to the intentions of the patroon himself and his associates. Jan de Illan was deep in debt for the horses furnished him by the Company for his colony, where there was nothing which might be seized as security for its payment. The Directors also then learned that his partners in Holland possessed nothing. The Company owed him about 3,000 guilders for flour and clothing, which he had delivered to its servants, but even after the deduction

Faith: "The Company shall appoint in the aforesaid Colony a Schout for the maintenance of Justice and Police, provided the state of the colony be such as shall justify the appointment of a Governing Council, in which case the patroon or patroons shall nominate two of the most able persons living in the Colony being Dutch Christians of the Reformed Religion, through whom the Schout, as representative of the Company, may have supreme control in the country." This charter was modelled on the privileges granted the year previous by the Zealand Chamber to the people of the Hebrew Nation that had gone to the Wild Coast. The Egerton MSS. No. 2395, Fol. 46 in the British Museum, discovered by Mr. Lucien Wolfe of London, has been rightly identified by Oppenheim as a translation of the grant of the Zealand Chamber to the Jews, which was sent by some agent, probably to Thurloe. It is mentioned by Charles Longland in his letter from Leghorn to Cromwell's secretary, John Thurloe. Cf. *An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana*. Supplemental data, by Samuel Oppenheim. Pubs. Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc., No. 17, p. 54. Pubs. Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc., No. 16; Oppenheim, *Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana*. (The appendix contains important documents.) Cf. also Report of U. S. Commission on Venezuela-British Guiana Boundary.

¹ Cone, G. Herbert, *The Jews in Curaçoa*, Pubs. Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc., No. 10, pp. 148; Van der Kemp, *Ms. Translation, Dutch Recs.* N. Y. viii. 34; O'Callaghan, *Cal. N. Y. Hist. MSS. (Dutch)*, i. 329.

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at an exorbitant price. They were selling old curtains and other shreds at three times the price for which they might have been obtained in Holland. Jan de Illan in fact had asked the vice-director to credit the Indian chief with one hundred and fifty R. Dall., which he claimed to have delivered him in goods. On enquiry, it was learned that the value of the goods delivered would not exceed the sum of fl.25.17 in the fatherland. This was merely an example of a practise common among the Jews. However, the vice-director hoped to put a stop to such extortion, as Jan de Illan would lose the privileges of his patroonship because of his failure to fulfil its stipulations, which amongst other things bound him to have fifty settlers in his colony within four years. There were then not more than ten or twelve, and these wished to leave him and become planters under the direct jurisdiction of the Company.¹ When the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber received a report of the conditions existing in the Jewish colony, they decided to furnish the vice-director goods, with which he might be able to supply the colonists at a reasonable price and thus put an end to the extortion of the Jews. However, they refused to permit the colonists to leave the settlement of Jan de Illan until the expiration of the time of their service, when they would be free to go.² Two years later the vice-director Beck wrote Stuyvesant that three or four Jews solicited permission to leave the island, to which he readily consented, as their presence was more injurious

¹ Vice-Director Rodenburch to Directors, April 2, 1654 Van der Kemp, l. c., viii. 107, in Cone, l. c., 152.

² Directors to Vice-Director Rodenburch, July 7, 1654, Van der Kemp, l. c., viii. cited in Cone, l. c., 152-3.

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expiration of this time, de la Motthe was authorized, in case of non-payment within four days, to have the goods of the two greatest debtors, Abraham Israel and Judicq de Mereda, sold at public auction, and if the sum thus realized proved insufficient, he was furthermore authorized to proceed in like manner with the other Jewish passengers until the full acquittance of the debt.¹ When the sale of these goods still left a balance, the Court, at the request of the master of the vessel, placed under civil arrest two Jews as principals, David Israel and Moses Ambrosius, who were held for the payment of the balance.² The sailors now brought a suit against Asser Levy, from whom they demanded the payment of fl.106 still remaining due, but the Court upheld its previous decision, that the two Jews, who had been taken as principals, were to be held for the payment of the balance. Asser Levy had made the plea that he was no longer bound to pay, as he had offered to do so on the condition that his goods should not be sold.³ This plea did not save him from condemnation, when Rycke Nounes tried to recover fl.105.18 from Asser Levy, as her goods had been sold by auction to pay his freight over and above her own debt.⁴ The Court ordered him to satisfy her claims within fourteen days. When the sailors promised to wait for the payment of the balance of the freight of the Jews until the arrival of ships from the fatherland,

¹ Court minutes, September 10, 1654. Recs. New Amsterdam, i. 241.

² Court minutes, September 16, 1654. Ibid. 244.

³ Court minutes, October 5, 1654. Ibid. 249.

⁴ Court minutes, October 19, 1654. Ibid. 254.

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and passports to the Portuguese Jews to travel and to go to reside in New Netherland." The Jewish merchants of Amsterdam protested against this injury to their nation, which would also turn out to the disadvantage of the Company itself. The Jews, who in Brazil had risked their possessions and their blood in the defense of the country, were now dispersed here and there in great poverty and could only retrieve their shattered fortunes in some Dutch colony under the protection of the Company, as opportunities were not sufficient for all in Holland, and they could not go to Spain or Portugal on account of the Inquisition. There were powerful reasons urged in favor of a Jewish immigration to New Netherland by these Portuguese merchants. A Jewish immigration to New Netherland would increase the number of loyal subjects in the colony and result in an increase of its revenues. Then there were many Jews amongst the principal shareholders of the West India Company, who had always worked for its best interests and had even lost immense sums of money in its shares and obligations. The plea was successful, although the Directors confessed to Stuyvesant their desire to fulfill his request.¹ Formal permission was now given to the Jews to travel, reside and traffic in New Netherland, "provided they shall not become a charge upon the deaconry or the Company."² The following spring began the new immi-

¹ Directors to Stuyvesant, April 26, 1655. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv. 315; Petition of the Jewish Nation, January 1655, MS. in the Library of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., printed by Oppenheim, *Early Hist. of the Jews in New York*, pp. 9-13.

² This was done on February 22, 1655. Cf. Council minutes, March 14, 1656, vi, 321. O'Callaghan, *Cal. Hist. MSS. (Dutch)*, i. 162, Directors to Stuyvesant, June 14, 1656. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiv.

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in the spring of this year, were to prepare to leave at once. When the Burgomasters and Schepens took cognizance of this resolution, they had no objection to urge, but decided that the resolution "should take its course." They had just begun the trial of a Jew, Abraham de Lucena, charged with the double offense of keeping open his store during the sermon and selling by retail, for which the Schout of the City demanded the Jew to be deprived of his trade and condemned to a fine of six hundred guilders.¹ The Directors foresaw the same difficulties from Jewish residents in New Netherland as Stuyvesant did, and "would have liked to effectuate and fulfill" his wishes, but they felt unable to approve his policy in this respect, which they considered somewhat unreasonable and unfair, as the Jews had suffered considerable loss from the reconquest of Brazil by the Portuguese, and as they also still had large sums of money invested in the shares of the West India Company, of which it stood sorely in need in its present bankrupt condition.² They were, therefore, determined to regulate their conduct towards the Jews in New Netherland according to the concessions made by the Company on February 22, 1655, "provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the Company or the community, but be supported by their own Nation."

The Jews now endeavored to obtain several concessions from the provincial government. On July 27, 1655,

¹ Recs. of New Amsterdam, i. 290-291.

² Directors to Stuyvesant, April 26, 1655. Col Docs. N. Y. xiv. 315. Revised version in Oppenheim, *Early Hist. of Jews in New York*, p. 8. Manasseh Ben Israel in his *Humble Address to Cromwell*: "The Jews were enjoying a good part of the (Dutch) East and West India Companies."

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council of the citizens was authorized to carry into effect this legislation and to collect the tax once every month and, in case of refusal, to institute legal process for its payment.¹ Jacob Barsimson and Asser Levy then petitioned for leave to stand guard like other Burghers of New Amsterdam or to be relieved from the tax paid by the Jews, as "they must earn their living by manual labor." "The Director General and Council persist in the resolution passed, yet as the petitioners are of opinion that the result of this will be injurious to them, consent is hereby given to them to depart whenever and whither it pleases them."² A little later the Jewish merchants submitted a petition for permission to travel and trade on the South River, at Fort Orange and other places, situated within the jurisdiction of the Dutch government of New Netherland, in accordance with the concessions, that they had received from the West India Company in Amsterdam. The council adopted the suggestion of Cornelius van Tienhoven, who was of the opinion, that the concession of trading privileges on the South River and at Fort Orange to the Jews would be very injurious to the population residing in these districts. He, therefore, advised that the petition be denied for the coming winter and that a full report of the matter be submitted to the Directors in the fatherland. Meanwhile, these Jewish merchants were allowed to dispatch one or two persons to the South River to dispose of the goods that they had sent there, without thereby establishing a precedent, to

¹ Council minute, August 28, 1655. Col. Docs. N. Y. xii. 96.

² Council minute, November 5, 1655, O'Callaghan, Cal. Hist. MSS. N. Y. (Dutch) i. 155. N. Y. Col. MSS. vi. 147, in Oppenheim, Early Hist. of Jews in New York.

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A few months previous to this, Abraham de Lucena, Jacob Cohen Henricus, Salvador D'Andrada, Joseph D'Acosta and David Frera had requested the same rights in matters of trade and in the acquisition of real estate as the other citizens of the province on the plea that these privileges were included in the grant received from the Company and that they and their co-religionists were assessed the same as other citizens.¹ One of these Jews, Salvador D'Andrada, had purchased a house in New Amsterdam at a public auction, but the sale was cancelled on the contention that the Jews were not allowed to hold real estate.² The authorities of New Netherland refused to grant the requested right of property to the Jews and awaited further instructions from Holland.³ Although the Directors did order Stuyvesant to give the Jews the rights of trade and property, they did not give them full civil liberty, inasmuch as the Jews were not allowed to exercise any handicraft which they were prohibited to do in Amsterdam, and were not allowed to have open retail shops. Meanwhile, the religious privileges granted the Jews were not greater nor less than those granted to other forms of dissent in the Colony. They were allowed to exercise in all tranquillity their religion in their houses, which were, therefore, to be built "close

¹ Council minute, March 14, 1656. O'Callaghan, *Cal. Hist. MSS. (Dutch)* i. 162.

² Council minutes, December 17, 1655; December 23, 1655; January 15, 1656; March 14, 1656, O'Callaghan, *Ibid.* pp. 156, 157, 162.

³ "Ambachten op te stellen" wrongly translated by Berthold Fernow as shall not "be employed in any public service." O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, N. Y. p. 194, rightly translates "to exercise any handicraft," and also Oppenheim, *Early Hist. of Jews in New York*, p. 33, "to establish themselves as mechanics."

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permission "to bake and sell bread within the city as other bakers, but with closed door," he was informed that the request was directly contrary to the privileges of the Burghery of this City and to the orders of the Directors of the Company.¹ The Jews now realized the necessity of obtaining the Burgher right to enable them to continue in business, Asser Levy appeared before the Court of the Burgomasters and Schepens and requested to be admitted a Burgher. The request was refused and the petitioner referred to the Director General and Council,² to whom the Jews Salvador D'Andrada, Jacob Cohen Henricus, Abraham de Lucena and Joseph D'Acosta now appealed. They established their right to be admitted to citizenship on the grounds, that this privilege had been guaranteed them in the concessions of the Company, that the Jews possessed the right of citizenship in the City of Amsterdam, where certificates of citizenship were issued to them, and finally that the Jews, from the beginning of their residence in the Province of New Netherland, had borne their share with others in every burden of the citizens and continued to do so even then.³ The appeal was successful. The Burgomasters of the city were authorized and commanded to admit the remonstrants with their Nation among the citizens of New Netherland. Stuyvesant evidently no longer dared to antagonize the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber who were favorable to the Jews. Although he still called the Jews

¹ Court minute, April 11, 1657. Recs. of New Amsterdam, vii. 154.

² Ibid.

³ Council minute, April 20, 1657. Van der Kemp, *Translations of Dutch MSS.* viii, 531. Revised Translation, in Oppenheim, *Early Hist. of Jews*, p. 36.

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CHAPTER IX

INDIAN MISSIONS IN NEW NETHERLAND

I.—MISSIONARY LABORS OF THE DUTCH

The conversion of the American Indian usually received at least some mention in the colonial projects formed by Europeans in the seventeenth century. Usselinx, in his plan for the organization of the West India Company, used the missionary opportunities offered in America as an argument to further the project. "In the course of time the saving faith and gospel of Jesus Christ might be planted there, whereby the heathen would be rescued from the darkness of idolatry."¹ The plans of William Usselinx were rejected and the charter finally drawn up for the West India Company made no mention of any design to convert the Indians. However, the first Minister of the Province of New Netherland, Jonas Michaelius, on his arrival in 1628, gave some thought to this matter, but the difficulties of the task so impressed him, that no results were attained during his ministry. He found the natives "entirely savage and wild, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness, thievish, treacherous,

¹ O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*. i. 31; Brodhead. *Hist. of State of New York*. i. 23.

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the Company did not direct its efforts to the colonization of the province. On the establishment of the patroonships, the Company was even accused of trying to paralyse the efforts of the patroons to populate their colonies by its attempts to minimize the Freedoms and Exemptions granted in the charter of 1629. Kiliaen van Rensselaer in 1633 submitted a protest to the Assembly of the XIX and petitioned the deputies of the States General on this board for an extension of privileges, by which would be promoted "above all things the diffusion of the Christian Reformed Religion in those regions."¹ He felt that this ought to bring God's blessing on his undertaking.² In 1640, he instructed Arent van Curler to seize the opportunity, offered by the presentation of some gifts to several Indian chiefs from the patroon, to acquaint them with God, "who each day lets his bountiful gifts come to man through the fruitfulness, which he gives to the products of the earth and to man's sinful body."³ Two years later, at the instance of the patroon, John Megapolensis was called by the Classis of Amsterdam to "perform the duty of the Gospel to the advancement of God's Holy Name and the conversion of many poor blind men" in the colony.⁴ For the patroon did not merely look "to the profits of his investment, but had in especial view, by means of the settling of the country and the practice of godliness, to have the Christian

¹ Memorial. November 25, 1633. Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS. p. 249.

² Letter of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer to Planck, April 24, 1635. Ibid. p. 314.

³ Letter. July 2, 1641. Ibid. 508-9.

⁴ Commission of Megapolensis from Classis, March 22, 1642. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 149.

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New Netherland had come to these English from the Indians, and the Dutch, who "lived so barbarously in these respects and without punishment," were severely and angrily censured by their Puritan neighbors.¹ This evil had also become so bad in Rensselaerswyck that the patroon found it necessary to promulgate a placard against the sinful intercourse between the Dutch and the heathen women and girls. The first offense was punished by a fine of twenty-five guilders, which was increased to fifty guilders, if the woman became pregnant, and to one hundred guilders, if the woman gave birth to a child.² Habitual illicit intercourse entailed a yearly fine of fifty guilders and, "according to the circumstances," banishment from the colony. One third of the fines was to go to the officer, one-third to the commander at Rensselaers-Steyn, and the remainder to the patroon himself for the building of the church.³ The execution of this placard must have been somewhat neglected, as the new minister, sometime after his arrival in the colony, stated that the "Dutchmen run . . . very much" after the Indian

¹ Letter of De Rasières, 1627. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd Ser. ii. (1849) p. 352. Narratives of New Netherlands. ed. Jameson. p. 112.

² It is hard to see how the increase of the fine in these last two instances would not have led to race-suicide, if the ordinance could have been enforced. Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer intimates that this was the case. "The Dutch Records assert that, especially in the early days of traffic and incipient colonization, many traders lived with Indian women, yet they mention few half-breeds, and no visible tinge of dark blood survived in the veins of the New Netherlanders." Hist. of the City of New York. i. 56.

³ Redress of the abuses and faults in the colony of Rensselaerswyck. September 5, 1643. Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS. p. 694. Cf. Letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer to Johannes Megapolensis. March 13, 1643 and to Arent van Curler. May 13, 1639. Ibid. 442; 645-46.

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“to receive a water of great importance which effaces all stains and impurities from our soul.” The Iroquois immediately exclaimed, “Ah! the Dutch have often given me of that water of importance; I drank so much of it as to be so drunk, that they had to bind my feet and hands, lest I should do harm to some one.”¹ The outbreak of hostilities on the part of the Indians was precisely often the baneful result of the sale of liquor to the savages by the Dutch, who, through this and through the trade in firearms, often sought to acquire wealth without labor.

On the organization of the church after the arrival of the new minister in Rensselaerswyck, divine service awakened some curiosity among the Indians, and ten or twelve of their number attended it with long tobacco pipes in their mouths. They could not understand why the minister talked so much, while no one else in the congregation had a word to say. When they were informed later by the minister, that he told the Christians not to steal, or drink or commit adultery, or murder, and that they also ought not to be guilty of these crimes, the Indians only replied: “Why do so many Christians do these things?”² Although Megapolensis, on this occasion, promised the Indians to come to their country to teach them, when he understood their language better, the Dutch Reformed Church of New Netherland could only produce one Indian convert, who was “firm in his religious profession.”³ Indian

¹ Jesuit Rel. xxix. 152.

² Megapolensis. Tract on the Mohawks. Narratives of New Netherland, p. 178.

³ Van der Donck. A Description of New Netherland. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd Ser. vol. i. 214.

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they are subdued by the numbers and power of our people, and reduced to some sort of civilization, and also unless our people set them a better example than they have done heretofore.”¹ Van der Donck, the only lawyer in the province of New Netherland, also saw no hope of the conversion of the savages under the conditions obtaining in the country. He ‘advocated the establishment of good schools in convenient places for the instruction of the children, as the Indians themselves declared that they were “very desirous to have their children instructed in our language and religion.”’² However, this could not be done without some trouble and expense to the government. In fact, the commonalty of New Netherland in the remonstrance, which it addressed to the States General on July 28, 1649, had urged the conversion of the heathen, and the remonstrance received this favorable comment in that assembly: “The English and French have, each in their way, already done their duty in this regard. Nevertheless, we are older than they in that country, and, therefore, ought also begin. *Praestat sero quam nunquam.*”³ The patroon of Rensselaerswyck bound his new minister the Reverend Gideon Schaets “to use all Christian zeal there to bring up both the heathen and their children in the Christian religion” and promised to indemnify him “in case his Reverence should take any of the heathen children there to board and edu-

¹ Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam. August 5, 1657. Eccl. Recs. N. Y. i. 398-99.

² Van der Donck. o. c. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2d Ser. i. pp. 214-215.

³ Additional Observations on the Petition of the Commonalty of New Netherland to the States General, preceding the Remonstrance of July 28, 1649. Col. Docs. N. Y. i. 270.

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II.—THE DUTCH AND THE JESUIT MISSIONS AMONG
THE IROQUOIS

While the Dutch failed to take an active interest in the conversion of the savages within the province, they used their influence with their Indian allies to obtain the liberation of the Jesuit missionaries, who fell into the hands of these inveterate enemies of the French. In 1642, the Mohawks during a raid into French territory intercepted an expedition of Hurons, mostly Christians, accompanied by Father Jogues and two lay assistants Renè Goupil and William Coûture, with supplies for the distant mission of Ste. Marie. During the long journey to the Mohawk country, the Christian prisoners suffered the painful tortures and mutilations which savage cruelty suggested. On their arrival, Father Jogues sent word of their capture to the Dutch.¹ Soon after this, Crol, the commandant of Fort Orange, received an order from the Director General of the province, William Kieft, to effect the ransom of these prisoners,² but the Indians were not willing to accept any ransom. On the eighth of September, Arent van Curler, the commissary of Rensselaerswyck, who had gone into the Mohawk country with Labbadie and Jacob Jansen, assembled all the chiefs of the three castles and proposed the release of the Frenchmen. The Indians professed all friendship for their Dutch allies, but refused to discuss this question on the plea that the French burned the Mohawks, who fell into

¹ Letter. January 14, 1644, of Bartholomew Vimont, with details obtained from Father Jogues. Jes. Rel. xxv. 71.

² Letter. September 11, 1642 of Kieft to Kiliaen van Rensselaer. Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS. p. 625.

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and confirmed by the teaching of the Dutch, from whom the Indians had learned that the sign of the cross was a "veritable superstition," equally hateful to their European neighbors.¹ When the old Indian witnessed the action of René Goupil, he ordered a young man of his cabin, about to leave for the war, to kill the Christian sorcerer, as the sign of the cross would cause some harm to the child. The execution of the command was not long delayed. One day René Goupil and Father Jogues had withdrawn outside the village to perform their devotions with greater liberty. Their prayers were soon interrupted by two young men, who commanded them to return, but, at the entrance to the village, one of them drew a hatchet and struck down René Goupil, who fell half dead, invoking the Holy Name of Jesus. Jogues expected the same fate, but the Indian, after making sure of the death of his victim, told the Jesuit that his life was in the hands of another family. Somewhat later Jogues was called to eat in the cabin of the old Indian. When the Jesuit made the sign of the cross before the meal, the old man said to

¹ Letter of Father Bressani from Isle de Rhè, Nov. 16, 1644. Jes. Rels. xxxix. 85-87.

"Our Faith is accused of killing all who profess it . . . they also accused the Faith of the French of being responsible for all the ills with which the whole people or individual persons seem to be afflicted. That is what an Apostate tried to make those Barbarians believe, naming the Dutch as his authority for what he said. He asserted that the children of the Iroquois died two years after their Baptism, and that the Christians either fractured their legs or wounded their feet with thorns or became consumptive, or vomited their souls with their blood, or were assailed by some great misfortune." Preaching of the Faith to the Cayugas by Chaumonot and Ménard. Relation. 1656-57. Jes. Rels. xliii. 313-315.

"The Dutch, they (some Huron apostates) say, have preserved the Iroquois by allowing them to live in their own fashion, just as the black Gowns have ruined the Hurons by preaching the faith to them." Jes. Rels. xliv. 291.

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dition against Fort Richelieu. A Huron Indian, adopted by the Iroquois, previous to his departure, had demanded a letter from Jogues, who hastened to take the opportunity to inform the French governor of the plot in spite of the risk of his life. Thus the Iroquois were incensed against the Jesuit, upon whom they placed all the responsibility for their misfortunes in the expedition.¹ The Captain of the Dutch settlement, knowing the evil designs of the savages, suggested some means of escape, especially as the French Governor M. le Chevalier de Montmagny had prevented the savages of New France from coming to kill some Dutch.² To the astonishment of the Captain, Father Jogues deferred his decision until the next day. The Jesuit missionary had, in fact, resolved to spend the remainder of his days in captivity for the salvation of the Iroquois and their captives, of whom he had been able to baptize seventy in the past year. Now, however, the certainty of death if he remained and the hope of a return to the Mohawks under more favorable circumstances led him to consent to escape with the help of the Dutch. On the next day, Father Jogues told the Dutch Captain his intention to take advantage of his proffered assistance. A ship happened to be in the river at that time and the sailors, on the representations of the Captain, pledged their word that, if the Jesuit could once set foot on their vessel, they would make his place of refuge secure and would not have him leave the ship until he reached

¹ Letter of Jogues from Rensselaerswyck. August 30, 1643. *Jes. Rels.* xxv, 47.

² *Ibid.* 49. Charlevoix states that an order to obtain the deliverance of Father Jogues had been sent to all the commandants in New Belgium by the States General of Holland, from whom the Queen Regent of France had urgently requested this.

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plentiful provisions were sent for his consumption, the old miser barely gave him "as much as was necessary not to live, but not to die." Then the frequent visits of the Indians for purposes of trade to the room next to the garret, separated from it by planks with large intervening cracks, compelled Jogues to crouch behind casks, to avoid discovery, but at the price of great pain in the members of his body. Finally, gangrene began to manifest itself in the wound inflicted by the dog on his leg, but the kind ministration of the surgeon of the settlement saved his life also from this danger.

Meanwhile, the Director General of the province had learned that Father Jogues was not very much at ease in the vicinity of the Mohawks, who were induced by the Dutch towards the middle of September finally to accept some presents to the amount of three hundred livres. Then in accordance with the instructions of William Kieft, Father Jogues was taken by boat to New Amsterdam. The Dutch minister, who had shown him much kindness accompanied him down the Hudson River. "He was supplied with a number of bottles, which he dealt out lavishly,—especially on coming to an Island, to which he wished that my name should be given with the noise of cannon and of bottles." Jogues quaintly and naively remarks that "each one manifests his love in his own fashion." On his arrival at New Amsterdam, the Director General received him very humanely and furnished him with good raiment, of which he stood sorely in need. The inhabitants of the town gave the Jesuit missionary every token of regard and esteem. A Lutheran Pole, meeting him in a retired spot, fell at his feet, kissed his mutilated hands

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body.¹ Finally, all the savages clamored for his death by fire, but an old woman, to whom he had been given in the place of her grandfather, killed some time before in an encounter with the Hurons, ransomed the missionary with a belt of wampum, worth about thirty-five livres. He was received into her cabin, but her daughters could not bear the sight of him on account of the horrible appearance of his mangled body.² Meanwhile, the Dutch gave him good reason to hope for his ransom, which was finally effected without much difficulty, as the Indians held him in little esteem, because of his want of skill for everything, and because they believed that he would never get well of his ailments.³ The old woman ordered her son to take him to the Dutch and to deliver him into their hands after receiving some presents in return. The Dutch received the Jesuit, naked and with his fingers maimed and bleeding, in great kindness and satisfied the Indian with presents to the amount of about two hundred livres.⁴ He was clothed, placed under the care of the surgeon, and almost daily fed at the table of the Dutch minister.⁵ After he had been restored to health, he was brought to New Amsterdam, where he was finally placed on a ship, manned by Huguenots, sailing for Europe. He carried with him this letter of safe-conduct: "We, William Kieft, Director General, and the Council of New Netherland,

¹ Details given by Bressani himself in his *Relation* of 1653. *Jes. Rels.* xxxix.

² *Rel.* 1643-44 by Vimont. *Jes. Rels.* xxvi. 49.

³ Letter of Bressani from New Amsterdam. August 31, 1644. *Jes. Rels.* xxxix. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 78-79 with note 8.

⁵ Letter of Megapolensis and Drisius to Classis of Amsterdam. Sept. 28, 1658. *Eccl. Recs.* N. Y. i. 437.

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step into the canoe on this dangerous mission, they warned him not to speak in the beginning of the faith which was so repulsive to the Iroquois, as it seemed to exterminate everything that men held most dear. They also advised him to wear shorter apparel, as the long robe preached as well as the lips, and the warning was heeded.¹ On his arrival in the Mohawk country, his efforts to have the peace ratified by the Indians were successful. However, some savages with distrustful minds did not look with favor on a little box, which the Father left as a pledge of his return to the country, as they imagined that it enclosed some disastrous misfortune. Father Jogues opened the chest and showed these Indians that it contained no other mystery than some small necessities, for which he might have use on his return.² This conclusion of a peace with the fierce Mohawks raised in the hearts of the Jesuits great hopes of their final conversion. In the following summer, Father Jogues was, in fact, appointed to begin among these Indians a new mission under the patronage of the Holy Martyrs. He planned to spend the winter in the Mohawk country to begin with solidity the instruction of those infidels.³ Meanwhile, superstition had again poisoned the minds of the savages against the missionary in spite of all their former professions of undying friendship. Upon his arrival on the 17th of October, 1646, Father Jogues was stripped naked, loaded with blows and threatened with death on the following day. The savages kept their promise in spite of the opposition

¹ Rel. 1645-6 by Lalemant in Jes. Rels. xxix. 47, 49.

² Rel. 1645-6 by Lalemant in Jes. Rels. xxix 55, 57.

³ Bressani's Relation of 1653. Jes. Rels. xxxix. 235-36.

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have never been repaid, so that we think that, when complaints reach France, they will take care of their countrymen."¹

Two years later on August 20, 1653, a band of marauding Iroquois, during an incursion into Canada, captured Father Joseph Poncet and another Frenchman, Maturin Franchetot, while the Jesuit was speaking to the latter in his field to induce him to garner the little harvest of a poor French widow. On the arrival of these Indians in the Mohawk country, their prisoners were stripped of their clothing and compelled to run the gauntlet under a shower of blows. Later in the day, Father Poncet lost the first finger of his left hand, which was cut off by a child at the bidding of a savage in response to the request of an Indian woman. Meanwhile, the Mohawks, who were besieging Three Rivers, met with greater resistance than they had anticipated, and began to sue for peace, but the French refused to begin any negotiations, unless the Jesuit Father and his fellow-prisoner were restored. The Indian chief pleaded ignorance of the capture of these Frenchmen and immediately ordered two canoes to return to the Mohawk country to prevent any harm from being done to the prisoners, and to procure their release if still alive.² Franchetot had already been burned to death on the eighth of September, while the life of Father Poncet had been saved through his adoption by a good old woman in the place of a brother, killed or captured some time before. The Indian, who brought the mes-

¹ Letter of Directors to Stuyvesant. March 21, 1651. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 28.

² Relation. 1652-53. Jes. Rels. xl. 171.

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promise them to return the next summer.¹ Meanwhile, the Indian Councils gathered the presents and selected the embassy for the solemn conclusion of peace with the French. Father Poncet with his conductor and the other Iroquois finally arrived at Montreal on October 24th, and on the sixth of November the great affair of peace, so ardently desired, was brought to a close in Quebec.² The Mohawks left four of their number as hostages with the French, while two young soldiers volunteered to go to the Mohawk country in the same capacity at the request of the savages. In the calculation of the Mohawks, the peace was only a preliminary step to obtain the removal of the Hurons to their own country, which had been secretly proposed to the latter at the very time that they were discussing the conclusion of the peace with the French.³

During the winter of 1654, the Onondagas came to Quebec to strengthen the peace that they had already negotiated in the preceding fall. They also made the same secret proposals to the Hurons, who did not dare to refuse in their anxiety for peace, but demanded first a dwelling for the black robes, their teachers, whom they would

¹ The Relation of 1656-7 gives a curious fact, which may be mentioned here in its own words. "A woman, who was very ill at Onontaghé, had dreamed that she required a black gown to effect her cure. But, as the recent cruel massacre of our Fathers by those Barbarians deprived them of all hope of being able to obtain one from us, they applied to the Dutch, who sold them at a very high price the wretched cassock of Father Poncet, who had shortly before been despoiled of it by the Annienhronnons. The woman attributed her cure to it, and wished to keep it all her life as a precious relic." Jes. Rels xliii. 273.

² Relation of 1652-53. Jes. Rels. xl. 119-157.

³ Relation of 1653-54. Jes. Rels. xli. 47-49.

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Mohawks were disappointed by the fact that they had been forestalled by the Onondagas. The chief in a clever speech made their complaint known to the French. "Ought not one to enter a house by the door, and not by the chimney or roof of the cabin, unless he be a thief, and wish to take the inmates by surprise? We, the five Iroquois Nations, compose but one cabin; we maintain but one fire; and we have, from time immemorial, dwelt under one and the same roof. Well, then, will you not enter the cabin by the door, which is at the ground floor of the house? It is with us Mohawks, that you should begin; whereas you, by beginning with the Onondagas, try to enter by the roof and through the chimney. Have you no fear that the smoke may blind you, our fire not being extinguished and that you may fall from the top to the bottom, having nothing solid on which to plant your feet?" The French Governor assured the Mohawks that Father Le Moyne would also go to their country and gave him letters to deliver to the Jesuit missionary to inform him to that effect, but the Father had gained such a start that the Mohawk chief could not overtake him.¹ Father Le Moyne, on his arrival in the Onondaga country, received every evidence of good will on the part of the savages, who at this time had great fear of the issue of an impending war with the powerful Erie tribes or the Cat Nation. The chief of the Onondagas, speaking in the name of the Five Iroquois Nations, again told Father Le Moyne that it was their wish to acknowledge Him of whom he had told them, who is the master of their lives, and who was unknown to them,

¹ Relation. 1653-54. Jes. Rels. xli. 87-89.

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he was trying to discover the presence of the enemy for the sake of the Christian savages at work in the fields, whom he wished to warn. Persons were killed and taken captive on either side. Finally, the Mohawks, weary of the war, brought back the French captives and requested the restoration of their own Indians. They agreed not to attack the French any longer, nor to bear arms below Three Rivers, but they refused to discontinue the war against the Algonquins and Hurons, whom they might find above that village on the river of St. Lawrence. Father Le Moyne was now sent to the Mohawks to take back the prisoners, captured by the French, and "also to cement that peace, as well as it can be cemented with the Infidels who are allied to Heretics."¹ The Jesuit left Montreal on this mission, August 17, 1655, with twelve Iroquois and two Frenchmen. A month later the party reached their destination, where the Father was received with "extraordinary cordiality." A council was held, which passed in many exchanges of courtesy. Le Moyne then pushed on to the Dutch settlement where he was also received "with great demonstration of affection by the Dutch," from whom he learned of the attack of the River Indians upon New Amsterdam. On his return to the Mohawks, he almost met death at the hands of a madman, who finally was calmed by a quickwitted Indian squaw's suggestion to kill her dog in the place of the missionary. However, a Huron Christian had his head split without ceremony upon a mere suspicion that he had revealed to the Father some of the designs,

¹ Introduction to Copies of two Letters sent from New France. 1656. *Jes. Rel.* xli. 201-223.

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were not content. In a solemn council, on the 29th of February, the Savages told the Fathers, that they were tired of any further postponement of the French settlement, for which they had been waiting from year to year. In the event of further delay, they threatened to break the peace, which they had concluded with the French under this condition. A few days later, Father Dablon, realizing the urgency of the matter, set out for Canada with some Indian guides, and, after a weary journey through snow, ice and rain, arrived at Montreal on the 30th of March. All preparations for the new settlement were completed on the 17th of May. A band of about fifty Frenchmen, with Father Francis le Mercier, Father René Menard and Father Jacques Fremin, and Brothers Ambroise Broar and Joseph Boursier, accompanied Father Dablon back to Onondaga, where they arrived on the eleventh of July.

News of this French settlement at Onondaga soon reached the Dutch Province. Although the Jesuits believed that the Dutch were glad that they dwelt in these places, and reported that the Dutch were even willing to bring them horses and other commodities,¹ the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, informed by Stuyvesant of a French settlement among the Senecas, expressed their dissatisfaction, as the matter could only be to the disadvantage of the Province of New Netherland and its inhabitants. There is no doubt that their suspicions were well founded, for the Jesuits

back from Kebec without greater esteem and affection for our mysteries, and without a desire to be instructed and to embrace the Faith; they say that they experience quite different feelings when they return from the Dutch settlements." *Jes. Rels.* xlv. 45.

¹Relation of 1656-57. *Jes. Rels.* xliii. 185.

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Cat Nation. A number of murders committed by the Iroquois at Montreal confirmed the fears of the French, and resulted in the arrest of all the Iroquois found in Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec.¹ War was inevitable. The destruction of the French settlers had already been determined, when they escaped in a body, while the savages were overcome by sleep after a generous feast given by the French. After a perilous journey, they reached Montreal on the 3d of April, but three Frenchmen had lost their lives in the rapids of the St. Lawrence.²

The Onondaga settlement had been the source of much jealousy to the Mohawks. However, a Huron clan had also been forced to settle in the Mohawk country, in the spring of 1655, to obtain the peace, for which the Hurons sued, after their enemies had surprised their village on the Isle of Orleans. On his visit to the Mohawks in the summer, Father LeMoynes found these Hurons reduced to a state of slavery. "The husband was separated from the wife, and the children from their parents; in short they were serving those Barbarians as beasts of burden." As in the preceding year the missionary's labors were mainly claimed by this suffering flock among the heathen Mohawks. Like a good shepherd, "he consoled the afflicted; he taught the ignorant; he heard the confessions of those who came to him; he baptized the children; he made all pray to God; he exhorted all to persevere in the Faith and in avoiding sin." Little success followed his efforts with the Mohawks themselves. Nevertheless, he never

¹ Rel. 1657-58. Jes. Rel. xlv. 155-6.

² Letter of Paul Raguenaud. Ibid. 175-183.

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taught the Indians anything more than to make the sign of the Cross and such like superstitions.”¹ The missionary told the minister that he wanted only to chat. He informed him of the existence of wonderful mineral springs in the western part of the country inhabited by the Iroquois. There was a spring of salt water from which he had obtained excellent salt by boiling the water; there was an oil spring, which the Indians used to anoint their hair; and there was another spring of hot sulphurous water, in which paper and dry materials became ignited. The minister could not decide, whether all this was true, or whether it was a mere Jesuit lie, and so he mentioned the whole matter on the authority of the Jesuit to his ecclesiastical superiors in Holland.²

¹ The Dutch seem to have been under the impression that the conversion of the Indians to Christianity wrought by the Jesuits was superficial. Thus while Van der Donck admits that “the Jesuits have taken great pains and trouble in Canada to convert the Indians to the Roman Church,” he believes that the Indians profess that religion only “outwardly,” and so “inasmuch as they are not well instructed in its fundamental principles, they fall off lightly and make sport of the subject and its doctrine.” Van der Donck’s authority for this statement is the alleged experience of a Dutch merchant on a trading trip to Canada in 1639, who plied an Indian chief with liquor, loosening his tongue and imagination. “After he had drank two or three glasses of wine, . . . the chief said that he had been instructed so far that he often said mass among the Indians, and that on a certain occasion the place where the altar stood caught fire by accident, and our people made preparations to put out the fire, which he forbade them to do, saying that God who stands there is almighty, and he will put out the fire himself; and we waited with great attention, but the fire continued till all was burned up, with your Almighty God himself and with all the fine things about him. Since that time I have never held to that religion, but regard the sun and the moon much more, as being better than all your Gods are; for they warm the earth and cause the fruits to grow, when your lovely Gods cannot preserve themselves from the fire.” Van der Donck. *A Description of New Netherland*. N. Y. Hist. Society Coll. 2nd. Ser. i. (1841), p. 214.

² “The Springs, which are as numerous as they are wonderful, are nearly all minerals. Our little lake (Onondaga) which is only

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French Governor, who immediately took counsel with the principal inhabitants of Canada in regard to this matter. There was no objection raised to the commerce of the Dutch with Canada, as the Dutch had long been received in French ports as friends and allies of the Crown. The French Governor only stipulated that their ships were to observe the same customs, as the French vessels, which excluded all participation in the Indian trade and the public exercise on land of any religion that was opposed to the Roman faith.¹ Father Le Moyne communicated this reply to the Dutch from Fort Orange on April 7, 1658, and expressed regret that he was unable to accompany the first ship to Quebec, as he had planned to do, inasmuch as he would have with him, on his journey to Canada, "his sailors of the woods."² The Mohawks, in their negotiations for the release of the prisoners held by the French, had promised to bring back Father Le Moyne to Canada in the spring. They stopped at Fort Orange previous to their departure and the Jesuit took the opportunity to send a long letter to the Dutch minister, who had been a Catholic until his twenty-third year, when he had left the Church of Rome to become a follower of John Calvin. To win back the minister to

identified. There are several magnesian springs, but not located as in the text. I think it was one of the common springs, highly charged with sulphate of lime. John Bartram saw one of these in 1743, at Onondaga; but it was not oderous, being above the gypsum rocks. Cf. allusions to the mineral springs of that region, in Robert Munro's *Description of the Genesee Country* (N. Y. 1804; reprinted in N. Y. Doc. Hist. ii. 679-689.)—W. M. Beauchamp. Note 21. *Jes. Rels.* xliii. 326.

¹ Letter of Governor D'Aillebout to Father Le Moyne, Quebec. February 18, 1658. O'Callaghan. *Hist. of New Netherland.* ii. p. 364.

² Letter. *Ibid.*

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validity of a council did not depend on the approval of the Pope, but on its conformity with the Word of God—of course according to the Reformed interpretation—which alone assured the presence of the Holy Spirit, while Popes and Councils often contradicted one another. Megapolensis could not deny Calvin's departure from the Christian belief obtaining in the world before his day, but he represented Calvin's teaching as a restoration of the Gospel of Christ in its "purity," inasmuch as Calvin had discerned anew "the pure doctrines" of election, founded solely on the good pleasure of God, of Christ as the only sacrifice for sin and only mediator with God, of good works, done out of gratitude and for the glory of God, and not from the selfish motive of reward. The Dutch, minister, therefore, did not allow the charge of heresy against Calvin, "who brought back the doctrine of Christ's merits," while the Jesuits, putting off even the name of Christian, took refuge "in the fictitious merits, indulgences, and satisfactions" of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. He, therefore, tells Le Moyne to omit some names in his list of heretics and insert in their place various Orders of Monks and several Orders of Nuns. Finally Megapolensis implored the Jesuit in his advancing age to ponder on his responsibility to Christ for his stewardship, as he was profaning the holy ordinance of Christ in baptizing Indians, when they were willing to make the sign of the cross, and sometimes even when half dead. The Dutch minister promised to pray for Le Moyne "that he may be delivered from his errors and led to the true knowledge of Christ." The first ship dispatched from New Amsterdam to Canada

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ed with presents and also some prisoners and directed to invite the Elders to visit the Governor for the conclusion of a general peace with all the Nations. Good treatment was promised to the Mohawk prisoners, who were retained in captivity.¹ Shortly after the return of the Mohawks to their own country, fifteen of the oldest chiefs presented themselves at Fort Orange and requested the Dutch authorities to give them an interpreter, who was to assist them in the exchange of four French prisoners for Six Mohawk captives and in the conclusion of a peace with all the Indians of that region. The Dutch replied that they had no person who was able to act in such a capacity, but the Mohawks refused to allow such an excuse. "When ye were at war with the Indians, we went to the Manhattans and used our best endeavors to procure you peace. Ye are bound, therefore, now to befriend us on this occasion." The public crier was then sent around to offer one hundred guilders to any person, who would consent to act as interpreter to these Mohawks. One of the Company's soldiers, Henry Martin, volunteered and set out with the Mohawks, who promised to bring him back in safety at the end of forty days.²

On their arrival, the Mohawks, calling the attention of the French to the fact that the Captain of New Holland was their companion in this embassy, told the French Governor to seek the means of establishing a firm peace, but appointed the Mohawk village as the place of the council, in which all their nations would assemble. The Governor, speaking in the name of the

¹ Rel. 1657-58. Jes. Rels. xliv. 223.

² Cf. Letter. August 15, 1658. La Montague to M. De la Petrie. O'Callaghan. Hist. of New Netherland. ii. 366.

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to their country, while the two Oneidas were retained until two Frenchmen taken by the Onondagas should be restored.¹ In spite of the promises made by these Mohawks at the time of their departure, eight Frenchmen were taken captive a month later by a band of one hundred Mohawks near Three Rivers, but, shortly before this, some savages had killed nine Iroquois a day's journey above Montreal.² The Dutch requested the Mohawks to release their eight French prisoners and to restore them to their country, but the Mohawks deferred the answer to this request until the assembly of a council of their castles. They complained bitterly that the French did not keep the peace, as French savages attacked them, whenever they were out hunting, and thrashed them with the help of the disguised Frenchmen always among them.³ On January 16, 1660, Abraham Staes of Beverwyck wrote to Stuyvesant that the Mohawks had declared that they would bring back to Canada the French prisoners in the spring and then make a solid peace with the French. However, with the arrival of spring, the Iroquois threatened all the French settlements on the St. Lawrence.⁴ Seventeen young Frenchmen of Montreal under Dollard, with forty Huron Warriors, decided to cut off the Iroquois returning from the chase, but, in the month of June, they were hemmed in, in an old dilapidated fort at Long Sault, by seven hundred Iroquois, composed of two hundred Ononda-

¹ Journal des PP. Jésuites. 1659-1660. Jes. Rels. xlv. 81-95.

² Ibid. 107, 109.

³ Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange. September 24, 1659. Col. Docs. N. Y. xiii. 113.

⁴ Journal des PP. Jésuites. 1660. Jes. Rels. xlv. 153.

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existence there in want of all things." This misery was the work of a handful of Iroquois, who all together did not equal the thousandth part of those whose salvation they prevented. The Jesuits estimated the force of the Five Nations at this period at twenty-two hundred warriors, of which the Mohawks constituted five hundred "in two or three wretched villages," the Oneidas one hundred, the Onondagas and the Cayugas three hundred each, and the Senecas one thousand. Even this number was not composed solely of pure Iroquois, of whom scarcely more than twelve hundred could be found in the whole of the Five Nations.¹ The soul of the hostility of the Iroquois to the French was the Mohawk, who, before the advent of the Dutch, had been overcome in a ten years war by the Andastes and sometime before by the Algonquins so that the nation had been almost rendered extinct. They were then so humiliated that the mere name of Algonquin made the Mohawks tremble. However, when the Dutch took possession of New Netherland, they furnished those people with firearms, with which it was easy for them to conquer their conquerors, who were filled with terror at the mere sound of their guns. They became victorious everywhere and aspired to sovereign sway over all the Nations. There was, therefore, no hope of peace and the Jesuits felt that the destruction of these Indian was necessary to open the approaches to at least ten

¹ Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer says: "Yet even in the days of their greatest strength and power, during the first half of the seventeenth century, when they had procured firearms from the white men, they numbered not more than four thousand warriors, twenty thousand souls in all. Twice as many of their descendants, it has been computed, now survive in and near the State of New York." History of the City of New York. i. 58.

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twenty Frenchmen in captivity at Onondaga depended on this journey." The demand was reinforced by the production of a leaf torn out of a book with the signatures of the twenty Frenchmen to guarantee the good faith of the ambassadors. When the four Frenchmen, former captives at Onondaga, gave testimony of the kind treatment received by the French at the hands of those savages, the Governor and his councillors, after mature deliberation, accepted the proposals of the Indians. Father Le Moyne accompanied the ambassadors with the liberated Cayugas, after they had pledged their word to return at the end of forty days with the French captives and with some of their elders to deliberate on matters of public interest.¹

Father Le Moyne was received with great honor in Onondaga, where he found the twenty French captives under the protection of Garacontié. He reminded the savages of the promise to restore the French, but they consented to liberate only nine of them, seven at Onondaga and two at Cayuga, while the other Frenchmen were to remain at Onondaga with Father Le Moyne until next spring, when they also would obtain their liberty.² Garacontié headed the embassy, which left Onondaga towards the middle of September with the nine Frenchmen. Some of the Indians wished to abandon the enterprise, when they met an Onondaga chieftain, clothed in the cassock of Father Le Maistre, whom he had murdered shortly before, but Garacontié was able to overcome their fear of retaliation on their own per-

¹ Relation 1660-1661. Jes. Rels. xlv. 223-241.

² Letter of Le Moyne. August 25, and September 11, 1661, to Lalemant. Jes. Rels. xlvii. 69-83.

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kill us where they find us, without burdening themselves with us.”¹

During the winter, Father Le Moyne consoled the French in their captivity, strengthened the Huron Christians in their faith and laid the foundations to the conversion of the Iroquois. His life was not without danger from the hands of savages under the domination of the demon of dreams and of the demon of drink. One, who in a dream had seen himself dressed in a cassock, broke into the chapel, determined to strip the missionary of this garment. Another in a drunken fit attempted to pounce on the crucifix over the altar.² His hatchet was raised to strike the Jesuit, who was resolved to give his life sooner than surrender the image of the Crucified Saviour, but he was rescued by the Elders of the village. Some of the Indians “threw the blame on the Dutch, who (they say) furnish them a certain drink that makes madmen of the wisest, and deprives him of his reason before he knows it.” For the Indians brought brandy “from New Holland in such quantities as to make a veritable Pot-House of Onondaga.” To rid him of these afflictions for a time, the less cruel Cayugas invited Le Moyne to visit their villages. Here there was established a Huron village entirely Christian. A month later Father Le Moyne returned to Onondaga, where Garacontié had arrived from

¹ Letter to a friend at Three Rivers. The captive was soon delivered through the intervention of Garacontié. *Jes. Rels.* xlvii. 93.

² This crucifix, about two feet in height, had been carried off the year previous by the Mohawks from Argentenay on the Island of Orleans. Garacontié saw it at Agnié, and obtained it by giving them a rich present and holding an eloquent eulogy on the Crucifix. Cf. *Relation*, 1661-1662. *Jes. Rels.* xlvii. 215.

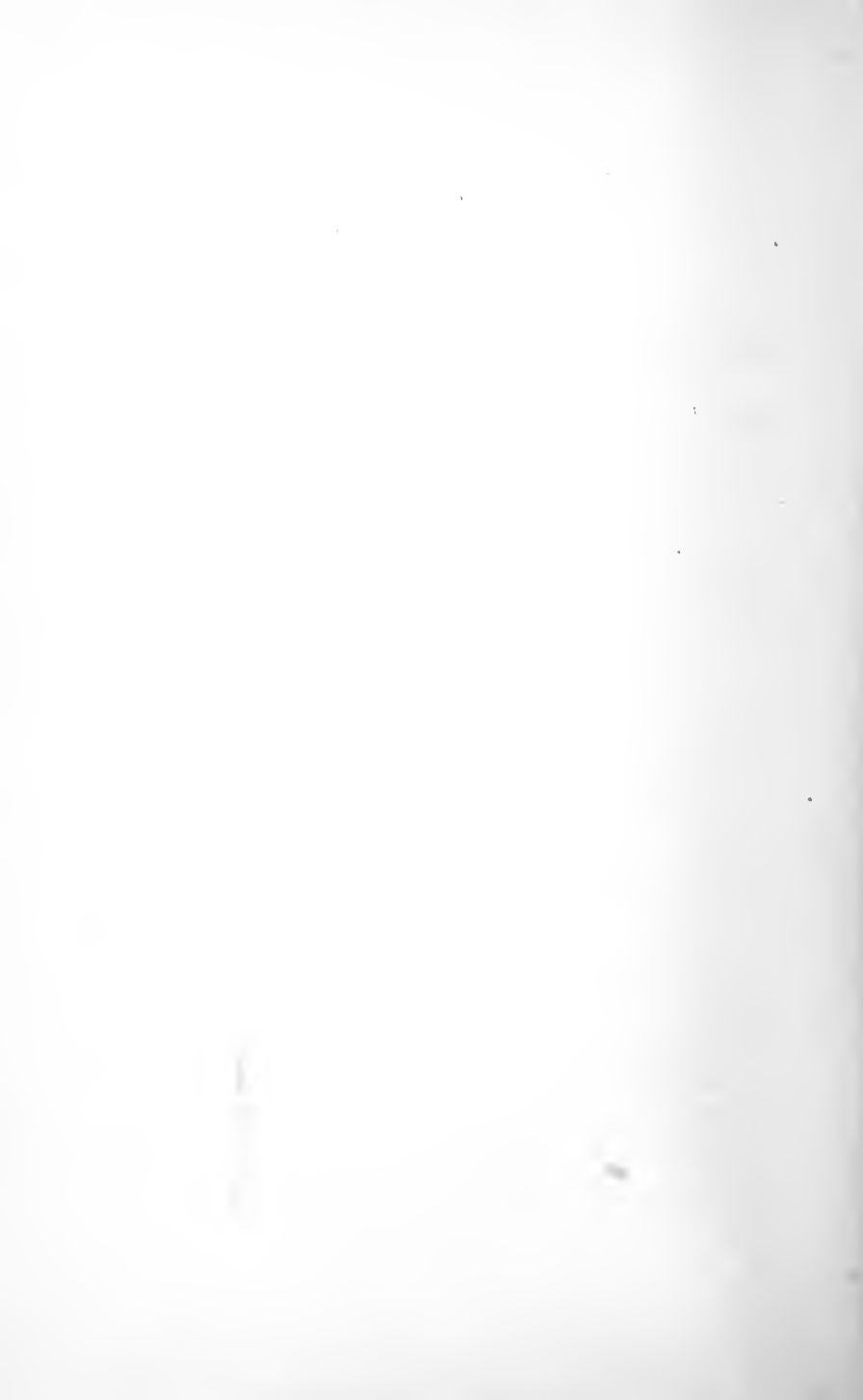
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to render thanks to God in the church."¹ The war between the Iroquois and the Andastes prevented the renewal of the French missions in that country during the two following years, while the domination of the Dutch in New Netherland still continued.

¹ Relation, 1661-1662. Jes. Rels. xlvii. 191-193.





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1629. Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions: grants in the form patroonships and colonies outside of Manhattan Island. First explicit legal recognition of the Dutch Reformed Church, for which the patroons and colonists are bound to provide.
1630. Foundation of patroonships: on the Delaware, Swanendael; on the Hudson at its mouth, Pavonia, and at Fort Orange Rensselaerswyck. The last patroonship was the only permanent foundation of this kind in New Netherland.
1632. Minuit recalled.
Lords Say and Seal, etc., receive from the Earl of Warwick the grant of Connecticut, but neglect colonization till several years later.
1633. Wouter Van Twiller, Director General. Everardus Bogardus, the second Dutch minister. Adam Rolandsen, the first schoolmaster. The "William of London" goes up the Hudson to trade, on the plea that this is English territory. Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut completed. A wooden church erected at Manhattan. Winthrop protests against Dutch occupation of Connecticut, which is claimed to be within the possessions of the English King. A little above Fort Good Hope, Plymouth erects a stockade (Windsor.)
1634. Trouble between the Dutch and the Raritans about New Amsterdam.
Pequods surrender to Massachusetts their rights to the Connecticut River country.
1635. A "Part of New England" and Long Island granted by the Plymouth Council to Lord Stirling. English encroachments on the Connecticut. Eight hundred English in Connecticut Valley. English settlements at Wethersfield and Windsor, and the following year at Springfield.
1638. William Kieft, Director General.
Swedes settle on the Delaware and build Fort Christina. New Sweden founded in spite of the protests of Kieft by the former Director Minuit.
1639. English settlements along Long Island Sound: New Haven, Stratford, Norwalk, Greenwich, encroachments on Dutch territory. Organization of Connecticut, and New Haven commonwealths.
1640. Farret visits Manhattan and in the name of Lord Stirling lays claim to all Long Island. He is arrested, but then dismissed. English attempt to settle there, but are expelled.
New Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions extended to all in friendly relations with the United Provinces, but pro-

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1645. General peace with the Indians. English settlers return to Mespeth and reestablish colony in its vicinity under the name of Newtown. Flushing founded by Massachusetts exiles. Gravesend patent issued. Curaçoa, Aruba and neighboring West India Islands placed under the jurisdiction of the Director of New Netherland. Quarrel between Director Kieft and Rev. Bogardus.
1646. New Haven encroaches on Dutch territory in the North and the Swedes do the same in the South. Kieft protests against the meeting of the New England commissioners at New Haven, which he claims to be within the limits of New Netherland. Amsterdam Chamber instructs Kieft to oppose all further English encroachments with all means at his disposal short of war. The Swedes pull down the arms of Holland erected on the site of Philadelphia, purchased by the Dutch from the Indians. Colendonck founded near Spyt den Duyvel. Patent issued for Katskill. Breuckelen incorporated. Father Jogues, S. J. put to death by the Mohawks.
1647. Peter Stuyvesant, Director. Population of New Netherland estimated at 2000. Cornelis Melyn and Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, two of the "Eight Men," prosecuted for their criticism of the previous administration, fined and banished. The board of "Nine Men" appointed to represent the commonalty, and to furnish revenue in support of the colonial government. Conflicts with the English. Lady Stirling's agent represents himself at Flushing and Hempstead as her governor of Long Island. He is arrested and sent to Holland, but escapes in England. Stuyvesant declares Dutch claim to all territory between the Delaware and the Connecticut and then he extends claim to territory between Cape Henlopen and Cap Cod. A Dutch ship seized at New Haven and brought to Manhattan.
1648. Conflicts with the Swedes on the Delaware. Swedes crowd the Dutch. Dutch trade ruined. New England complains of Dutch trading regulations. Stuyvesant anxious for a settlement of differences and for the establishment of an alliance. Unsettled condition of England prevents a settlement in Europe. Directors of West India Company recommend Stuyvesant "to endeavor to live in the best possible terms," as the English are too strong for the Dutch. General discontent results in the Dutch Province from the loss of trade. The "Nine Men" propose a mission to Holland to make known the state of the province.
1649. The journal of the "Nine Men", kept by Van der Donck for

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1653. London. Stuyvesant suggests that New England agents visit New Netherland to examine the evidence of such a plot, which is done.
 Connecticut and New Haven urge war with New Netherland, but Massachusetts persistently refuses to engage in such war. Captain Underhill raises the parliament flag on Long Island, and is banished. He seizes Fort Good Hope "with permission from the General Court of Hartford."
 Convention of delegates from various towns of the Province assemble at New Amsterdam, and vote a Remonstrance on the State of New Netherland, demanding a representative government, etc. This petition is sent to Holland. Stuyvesant dissolves the convention.
1654. Lutherans at New Amsterdam are denied permission to call a minister of their own persuasion and to worship publicly by themselves.
 An English expedition against New Netherland sails from England. Troops raised in New England, but the conclusion of peace prevents the invasion of New Netherland. The Swedes, under their new governor Rising, capture the Dutch fort Casimir, and call it Fort Trinity. A Swedish ship seized at Manhattan. English settle in Westchester in spite of Stuyvesant's prohibition to do so. Oyster Bay applies to New Haven to be under its jurisdiction. No attention is paid to Stuyvesant's complaints.
 Dutch ambassadors try to settle boundary question in England. Cromwell has received no information from New England and refuses to decide the question on the allegations of only one party.
1655. Some English raise the flag of England at Gravesend, L. I., and arrests follow. English settlers in West Chester refuse to recognize Dutch jurisdiction before the settlement of the boundary by England.
 Swedes on the Delaware reduced on the order of the West India Company. Lutheran Swedes are allowed the ministry of one Lutheran clergyman. The vice-director instructed by Stuyvesant to "maintain and protect the Reformed Religion." Indians invade New Amsterdam; Hoboken, Pavonia and Staten Island laid waste. General consternation.
 French settle at Onondaga. Mission begun by Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon. Jesuit chapel erected.
1656. Stuyvesant orders the formation of compact villages in imitation of "our New England neighbors" for better defense against the Indians.
 "Conventicles," or places of worship not in harmony with the established Dutch church are prohibited under heavy fines. Religious persecution ensues.
 The English of Westchester forced to acknowledge Dutch

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- 1662 Connecticut receives a royal charter to all territory south of Massachusetts to the ocean and West to the Pacific ocean with "the islands thereunto adjoining." Westchester and English towns on Long Island annexed.
 City of Amsterdam grants land on the Delaware to a colony of Mennonites.
 New Proclamation against the public exercise of any religion but that of the Dutch Reformed Continued persecution of the Quakers. John Bowne and others banished.
1663. The whole of the Delaware River surrendered to the City of Amsterdam.
 The authorities in Holland reprove Stuyvesant's severity in his treatment of dissenters. They would like some connivance, "at least the consciences of men ought to remain free and unshackled." The Directors insist on liberty of conscience, but not on liberty of worship, public or private.
 New Haven Puritans continue to negotiate for a settlement under Dutch jurisdiction.
 Massacre of the Dutch at the Esopus. Vigorous war against these Indians.
 Connecticut foments a revolt of the English on Long Island. Stuyvesant tries to refer "the matters unsettled to both superiors." Connecticut knows no New Netherland without "a patent for it from his majesty, but agrees not to exercise any jurisdiction "over the English plantations on the westerly end of Long Island," provided the Dutch agree to the same.
 Convention of Delegates from the Dutch towns in New Amsterdam. Remonstrance, with an exposition of the dangers from the English, adopted and dispatched to Amsterdam.
 Revolution on Long Island. Names of the English villages changed.
1664. New Netherland granted to the Duke of York. The English towns of Long Island elect Captain John Scott "to act as their president until his Royal Highness the Duke of York or his majesty should establish a government among them." Stuyvesant agrees to have the English towns under the King of England for twelve months until the settlement of the question by his majesty and the States General, and Scott agrees to have the Dutch towns remain for the same period under the States General.
 General Provincial Assembly of the Dutch at New Amsterdam refuses to vote supplies in defense of the Province against the Indians and the English.
 Peace with the Esopus Indians.
 English towns received under the government of Connecticut, which claims Long Island for one of those Islands expressed in the charter. Scott imprisoned by Connecticut. Winthrop removes Scott's officers and installs

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New Netherland Papers: 1636-1660.

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