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THE STORY OF NEW NETHERLAND

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DOMINE SELYNS to DR. COTTON MATHER.



VAN RENSSELAER AND THE NIJKERK WORTHIES

THE STORY OF NEW NETHERLAND

THE DUTCH IN AMERICA

BY

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS

MEMBER OF THE NETHERLANDISH SOCIETIES OF LEYDEN
MIDDLEBURG AND LEEUWARDEN



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IN RADIANT MEMORY OF

“DEAR OLD DORP”

WHERE THE CHILDREN OF HOLLANDER, PILGRIM AND PURITAN
IN MINGLED STRAIN OF BLOOD AND COMMON HERITAGE
OF ANCESTRAL MEMORIES MADE GOOD AMERICANS

PREFACE

LET us understand the difference between Germany and Holland, the Dutch and the Germans, separate history from fairy tales, and distinguish jokes from facts.

Despite official documents, book-titles, and memorial tablets, there was never any such place or state as New Netherlands, nor any admiral named "van" Tromp, nor any Dutch clergyman with the title of "Dominie." The word "schnapps" was not in the Dutchman's vocabulary, nor did Hollanders ever talk Pennsylvania German, — as is represented in the stage dialect of Rip van Winkle. The earliest settlers of New Netherland did not smoke tobacco. The Dutch folks of New Amsterdam did not associate Santa Claus with Christmas, but on the 6th of December they celebrated St. Nicholas's Day, and on the 25th of the same month the birthday of the Christ. The hardy, active men who made New Netherland were not fat, or old, or stupid fellows. They were young men, lithe, alert, and venturesome. The first comers knew little or nothing about tobacco, though they quickly learned its use from the Indians, and even smoked the home-grown article, presented to them by the Pilgrims of Massachusetts. Not one of them pronounced

the syllable "dam" in "Amsterdam" or "Rotterdam," as if he were swearing in English.

Most of the grotesque stories about the Hollanders in New Amsterdam grew up in late times, long after Dutch ceased to be spoken in America. Then their geographical names were corrupted and a luxuriant crop of mythology, like fungus, gave the funny fellows their chance. Then the vulgarity and dregs of Dutch speech, with much of its snap and vitality, also, entered into American English. Then "schnapps," a German word, "Dominie," a Scotch spelling of the Latin "Domine," and "van" Tromp with his legendary broom, — prefix and besom being both purely British inventions, — came into our speech to corrupt English. Then young Washington Irving, without having seen any but the southern portion of decadent Holland, took the world-wide myth of Rip from the Shop, which has nothing in it peculiarly Dutch, out of its setting in Germany, located it in the Catskills, and made a funny picture of New Netherland men and ways. What if he had got hold of Pilgrims or Puritans first?

In hundreds of volumes purporting to be serious history, Irving's comic supplement to the early history of New York is quoted as both fact and truth. Its coloring has been accepted as exact by so-called American historians. Darley's caricatures and Boughton's delicious jokes on canvas have kept up the illusion. With such material his-

toriographers, taking themselves seriously, pieced out their narratives when original research and documents were both lacking.

After the English conquest of 1664, the Dutch language, gradually falling out of law and business, was heard in the church and home, but written only by the ministers. Even after it was bowed out of the pulpit, it was lovingly kept in use by the aged. It lingered longest in the country and in the city kitchens among the black slaves and the servants. Yet its snap (the very word, in this sense, is Dutch), vigor, and picturesqueness have enriched American English. Often grotesquely altered in form, as in "boss," "boom," "hunker," "boodle," etc., or in familiar terms like "forlorn hope," "taps," etc., it has furnished many of our expressions in military, political, and social life and much of our slang. "Americanisms," borrowed from Low Country speech, have puzzled European students of English as spoken on this side of the Atlantic, who do not recognize old friends and the ghosts of history. Even the colors in "Old Glory" are criticised harshly, because the historically Dutch origin of our flag, especially of the stripes, which stand for federal government, is not known or considered. Many British jibes and falsehoods about the Dutch, to our shame, mar our speech and writing. Of this we should repent, because four of our original thirteen states were settled from the Netherlands.

Yet the pendulum may swing too far either way. After the caricaturist follows the flatterer, though neither may ever have read or written a Dutch sentence. Diedrich Knickerbocker's "History of New York" and some recent books show the extremes of jovial detraction and uncritical laudation. While our British friends tell about "van" Tromp and some decry even their best king, William III ("Dutch Billy") as a "sour Calvinist," the speeches of those who glorify Dutch ancestors often soar as far beyond fact as do balloons above the earth, and an after-dinner "wind-trade" flourishes as in the days of speculation in tulip bulbs.

To understand the Dutch people, we must not inquire of aliens in speech or temper, or of belated tradition. To get the truth one must see the Dutch homeland, go into the archives for the past, and let those long dead speak in their own defense. He must live among the Hollanders, and with their descendants, to know the real character of the people who laid the foundations of our four Middle States. Then the student, who, like the author, is not of Dutch blood or inheritance, can emancipate himself from old wives' fables, distorted views, and damaging traditions.

While, therefore, reckoning as assets some knowledge of the language of the Netherlands and study in their archives during seven visits beyond sea, perusal of the books and papers in the deacons' chest in Schenectady and in the State Library at

Albany, and familiarity with the local records of church and village in the valleys of the Hudson, the Mohawk, and the Raritan, I count as even more valuable my fourteen years of life with descendants of people from Patria in two Dutch-American towns. I studied five years at New Brunswick, New Jersey, the Dutch-American educational capital. For nine years, as Domine of the Dutch church of Schenectady, I served a congregation uniquely rich in heirlooms and documents, the people being for the most part descendants of the pioneers of 1661. In both places I learned fact and truth in human lives as well as in parchments. Many current notions about New Netherland were seen to be vulgar errors, of which Americans should be ashamed. From the age of fourteen, until going to Boston to live, I was during twenty-five years a member of the Reformed Church in America, drinking in her noble traditions, while critically challenging all statements passing as history ; for between the truth of history and the truth of religion there is no vital difference. Happily my predecessors or neighbors, in Schenectady (Pearson, Vermilye, Yates, MacMurray), in New Brunswick (Brodhead, Van Pelt, Corwin, Utterwick, and Hansen), in Albany (Berthold Fernow), and in Ithaca (T. W. Strong and G. W. Schuyler) were prominent among those who have recovered the true story of the Dutch in America and given us genuine American history. To these, to my

fellow alumni of Rutgers College, to Mr. Irving Elting, Mr. Dingman Versteeg, Professor P. J. Blok of Leyden, Mr. G. Beernink of Nijkerk, the scholarly translator and editor of the Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts, Mr. E. van Laer, at Albany, and to many archivists in Holland, I am greatly indebted. I invite the student to scan also the list of authorities at the end of this volume.

I shall attempt to tell who the settlers of the Middle States and the founders of the Empire State were, what ideas and customs they brought here, how they struggled, first against a selfish corporation and next against English dukes and kings, for the rights of the Fatherland, and won; how, happily for us Americans, they resisted all English attempts to fasten a state church upon the people; how and why their descendants were so loyal to the Continental cause and Congress, and how large are our inheritances from Dutch law, order, freedom, culture, and from those achievements for civilization and humanity in which the Netherlands so long led the world. Avoiding in the text, as far as possible, any ostentation of learning or research, I have tried to show my fellow Americans how worthy of serious study are our national origins other than English, and how rich is our inheritance from the Netherlands.

W. E. G.

ITHACA, N. Y., March 2, 1909.

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THE STORY OF NEW NETHERLAND

CHAPTER I

HUDSON SEEKS THE SEA PATH TO CHINA

WHEN, in 1567, the Spanish Duke of Alva marched with his terrible "Black Beards" towards the Netherlands to subdue the Dutch people to the ideas of Philip II, the boy that grew up to found the Dutch West India Company was born. One hundred thousand Walloons, or French-speaking inhabitants of the Low Countries, fled at once to foreign lands. Within fifty years, half a million refugees from the Belgic Netherlands were dwelling in England, Holland, Germany, or in Switzerland, and enriching those countries by their talents, character, and industry. Instead of fewer than a million people living in 1567 on four thousand square miles of poor soil, the Dutch Republic had in 1609 a population of three and a half millions, or one as large as that of England.

The Dutch end of the sea-route to Manhattan had been prepared before Columbus made land-fall. William Usselinx, born at Antwerp, founder of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies that began the settlements of New York and Delaware, became interested in American enterprises

by living in the Azores. These islands had been rediscovered by Dutch sailors in 1431 and colonized, becoming a new Netherland. From this point the ships bound for the New World began their westward voyages. Lying eight hundred miles west of Portugal, these nine islands emerge from the ocean on nearly the parallels of our Middle States. England lies in high latitudes. Cabot, Davis, and Frobisher, steering directly west, entered sub-polar regions. From the Azores to Sandy Hook is almost a straight line. In our day the German submarine cable connects Continental Europe with America, by way of the Azores and Embden.

When both Orient and Occident were opened to trade the islands rose directly in the path of commerce. Here, as to a school, one must come to learn about colonial business. For a long time the Azores were associated with America, but after the Spaniards occupied them, the Canaries became the base of supplies and point of departure across the Atlantic.

In 1591, when the triumphant Dutch Republic was twelve years old, Usselinx returned and began to agitate in favor of trade with America. He kept up the work of arousing public opinion until his death at eighty, leaving fifty printed works behind him. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed, but the Great Truce of 1609 compelled postponement of his schemes for

a West India Company, which was not organized until 1621. Meanwhile, however, the offer of the States-General of twenty-five thousand guilders to any one who should discover the northeastern route to China and Japan was a lure. So some Amsterdam merchants fitted out the flyboat *Half Moon*, with a crew of sixteen men, half English and half Dutch. It was named the *Half Moon*, after the victorious flagship, in which, in 1602, Vice-Admiral Kant had beaten the Spaniards in a great naval battle. Five days before the signing of the truce, April 4, 1609, Hudson weighed anchor and sailed for Nova Zembla.

In Arctic seas, amid icebergs and blizzards, he had to face a mutiny. The sailors, not relishing the idea of being frozen fast among polar bears, demanded that he go back. Hudson flanked the mutineers by steering westward across the Atlantic.

Other pathfinders were then on the inland waters of America, all looking for the Chinese gate and "the needle's eye." Champlain at the northern lake side was meddling with firearms in Indian quarrels. John Smith on the lower Susquehanna kept hunting for that open sea in which he believed. Hudson, and later La Salle, was soon to join them, searching for the same mythical water. The "China rapids" in the St. Lawrence River, called in jest *La Chine*, tell how La Salle also sought but found not. This idea of an inland

ocean, called Verrazano's Sea, then filled men's minds. Even to the end of the nineteenth century it dominated English fiction.

Before leaving the homeland, Smith had written to Hudson telling him of this water somewhere near the fortieth parallel, and extending perhaps to the Pacific. Hudson, besides having his head full of the notion, carried Smith's letter in his pocket. Notwithstanding that entrance into America meant a virtual breaking of Holland's truce with Spain, Hudson hoped to find the route to China.

Over the indigo blue of the Gulf Stream Hudson reached in mid-July the Maine coast, stopped to remast his ship, and then moved southward. In August he passed "the King's river in Virginia," where, he wrote, "our Englishmen" were. On the 28th, he put into Delaware Bay, but a strong current and much sand forbade the idea of an immediate route to China. On the 3d of September he doubled Sandy Hook. Here, near the fortieth parallel, so often talked about with Smith, was a great opening. What might it not lead to? Anchor was cast for the night, and the orange, white, and blue flag, with the initials O. I. C., was mirrored on the receding tide.

We must put away twentieth-century ideas and think with Hudson and his sailors. Neither he nor they were wise in modern science. "Nature-faking" of the most exaggerated kind was then in vogue. Mythical zoölogy was represented on

maps and in books. In the Leyden Museum, among the curiosities catalogued was "the hand of a Mermaide," and Hudson's sailors had seen "mermaids" near the Russian icebergs, where we should find seals. Near the Catskills, they ate "dog," which would be "coon" to our taste and eye, for all Indian dogs were then very small. Neither the big hounds of Europe nor the white daisies, now so common in the Hudson valley and brought from beyond sea, were then known in America. The sailors enjoyed "Turkish wheat," where we relish corn in ear. Happy the release, if they, like some British tourists eating to-day, bit too far into the cob and got their teeth out safely. If they found "gold," or discovered what seemed valuable minerals, because of the colors of the rocks, they were only like other explorers. The beautiful New World was full of awe, wonder, and mystery. Nothing is more evident than the Dutchmen's delight in nature.

The Half Moon lay at anchor for a week in the lower bay. "Three great rivers" were noticed, two of them being the Passaic and the Hackensack. Though the strangers were welcomed by the red men, yet before long arrows and bullets were shot in hostile exchange. John Colman filled the first white man's grave. Then the ship moved up past Manhattan, to which it is sheer tautology to link the word "island," for the name includes the idea of a place inclosed by two rivers. Although

the wild men were treated to liquor, the word Manhattan has no meaning of drink or intoxication in it. For thirteen miles they sailed along the majestic Palisade Rocks, from which the mythical "Norumbega" probably got its name. Through the broadened stream forming Haverstraw and Tappan bays, and in view of the landmarks later named Tedious, Stony, and Verplanck's points, past islands now the bases of lighthouses, and around Dunderberg, they reached the narrower and deeper river flanked by lordly mountains. They cast anchor under the splendid plateau of West Point.

Anchorage was made at night and strict watch was kept, for what could fifteen men do, if thousands of red warriors should attack? In one case, twenty-eight canoes filled with people came out to trade pumpkins and corn for kitchen ware, axes, beads, and copper kettles. More than once, native thieves climbed into or escaped from the stern windows with loot, and some of these were shot dead. There were other disturbances, and the fault was not all on one side. Gunpowder, firearms, alcohol, and iron came thus at one time into the Indian world.

The gorgeous hues of the maples and of the "American calico plant," and the splendor of the scenery, especially after their late sub-polar experiences, made this seem to the Dutchmen the fairest land their eyes had ever feasted upon. As

they emerged into a tamer foreground of flat stretches, there rose towards the western horizon the Catskills, out of which flow the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers.

Invited to dinner, Hudson was paddled ashore in an Indian canoe. He landed and partook of American refreshments with a chief who was head of a village of forty males and seventeen females. Their roundhouse was of oak bark with an arched roof. Great stores of corn and beans, provision for the winter's succotash, piled up and amounting to three shiploads, lay near the house, besides what was growing in the fields. These showed the provident habits of these agricultural Indians, who as yet knew nothing of horses and cows. Cooked food was served in "well-made red wooden bowls." With shell knives the red women skinned "a fat dog" for a further feast, for they supposed their guests would stay over night; but life in the Stone Age is a bore to a civilized man. A short visit was enough, and Hudson returned to his floating home.

The little ship beat her way northward, but the water shoaled. No open sea, or China, or any Pacific Ocean, was in sight. Juet, the mate, penetrated in a boat beyond what are now Watervliet, Waterford, and Troy. They saw not a tide-water river in lordly flood, but many rapids and shallows. Even had they reached the river's source, in the Tear-of-the-Clouds Lake at the top of Mount

Marcy, they would have been no nearer, but farther off from Japan.

Back and down the Half Moon moved to the ocean, her crew killing not a few natives, and staining land and water with needless blood. The "falconet," or little cannon of two inches bore, throwing a two-pound shot, was more than once fired to sink the canoes. Evidently this was what the sailors dub "an unhappy ship," nor can the intruders be acquitted of the charges of murder and of making drunkards.

On the 4th of October the Half Moon was at sea again. Yet where should the crew go? To return to Holland might mean the gallows, for they had mutinied. The ship was pointed towards Ireland for the winter; but how or why we know not, the Half Moon cast anchor at Dartmouth on the 7th of November, 1609, and the English sailors forced Hudson to land. King James sent orders to hold the vessel. He actually forbade Hudson to leave England, hoping to get the full benefit of his discovery. The captain, however, had sent on his report to Amsterdam, asking for good sailors in place of bad ones.

The problem was solved by the Muscovy Company again impressing Hudson into its service, and the Half Moon was released. Hudson, intent on solving the world's mystery, recrossed the Atlantic. After discovering America's greatest inland sea, though not the way to China, he met lonely

death in 1610 by starvation. Under the veil of apparent failure, Hudson's life was a success that shines with splendor as the ages roll on. For Holland he opened a great door of opportunity.

As Captain John Smith's name is linked with four of the United States, Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York, so Hudson's personality is preserved in American history and in legend. His name is written imperishably on a bay, a river, and a strait. His career illustrates the truth that a man often achieves his best for the race after he is dead. Hudson rests from his labors and his works do follow.¹

¹ Some of the greatest of the makers of New Netherland, Hudson, de Forest, Minuit, van Curler, sleep in graves unknown.

CHAPTER II

THE MANHATTAN PIONEERS

THE quick-witted Netherlanders lost no time. Before the Half Moon was free from King James's clutches, merchants in Amsterdam had formed a syndicate to send a trading-ship across the Atlantic with Juet, mate of the Half Moon, as master of the new vessel. She was the pioneer of a great fleet with homely names, such as the Fortune, Tiger, Spotted Cow, Wood-Yard, Orange Tree, Arms of Amsterdam, Black Eagle, Blue Cock, Flower of Gelderland, Unity, The Pear Tree, New Netherland's Fortune, White Horse, Herring, Salt Mountain, Prince Maurice, which crossed the Atlantic and came back laden with American furs.

In 1612 two famous skippers, Adrian Block in the Tiger and Hendrick Christiansen in the Fortune, crossed over and brought back to Holland not only a cargo of skins, but two sons of Indian chiefs, named Orson and Valentine. Between 1612 and 1621, Christiansen made ten voyages into the great river. On Castle Island, now part of the city of Albany, he built a fort and trading-station. At Esopus a *ronduit*, or circular fort, was erected in 1614.

By what name was "the Rhine of America" then known? The Indians called it the Shatemuc; Juet spoke of it as "the Great Stream," but soon it was known among the patriotic Dutchmen as the Mauritius, after the Union General Maurice. To others it was the North River, or the River Flowing out of the Mountains. Not until after 1664 did Englishmen give it the name Hudson.

The Dutchmen took a hint from native architecture, and with the aid of the Indians built huts of timber and bark. These were about at No. 39 Broadway, where are the offices of the Holland-America Line, and then much nearer the water; for Manhattan has been artificially lengthened. Christiansen and his men spent the winter among the virgin forests which covered the spaces now occupied by the tunnel-like streets, on which rise skyscrapers made of Pittsburg steel, higher than Babel's Tower. This original Holland Society ate dinners with keen appetites and splendid digestion.

They noted the landmarks. Probably the first place to get a name was the Kaap, or cape, the rocky southern end of the island, called also the Hook; and later "Capsey" Hook. This became in time the official landing-place, being furnished with an iron rail for the safety of passengers, land lubbers, and boatmen embarking and disembarking. The water space covering the Kaap has long since been "gedempte," as the Dutch say, that is, dumped full of earth, and people in crossing the

"Battery" walk over the historic place now under water.

Between Capsey Hook and Spuyten Duyvil, the Dutchmen in exploring the island found a wonderfully varied landscape, — high and low hills, lakes, swamps, forests, stretches of bald rock, grassy meadows, Indian trails, "castles," and villages, with fields of corn and patches of melons and beans. These, with amazing abundance of four-footed, winged, finny, and shell game, furnished juicy and delicious food, and filled the Dutchmen with enthusiastic admiration. At home in Patria they had had to get their "staff of life" out of a spongy soil, which their ancestors after ages of toil drew up from the ocean, or fertilized into life from the dead sand of the sea bottom. Even after winning their land from the waves, it must be continually guarded lest it slip away into marsh or water. The boundless fertility of the New World filled them with perpetual surprise. The vast number of springs, brooks, and rills and the variety and grandeur of the trees were especially impressive. It recalled the Land of Promise about which they had read and their domines had often preached.

Where is now the City Hall Park, stretched grassy meadows. Imposing hills, long since leveled, suggested dreams of future windmills. "The Swamp," still the centre of New York's leather trade, at that time required a boat to cross it. Canal Street was then a river, enlarging into a

lake, rich in islands, coves, and inlets fringed with trees, whose leaves made shade and whose roots were the hiding-places of trout. Where lay heaps of clam and oyster shell fragments, left over from Indian feasts and wampum-making, visions of lime-kilns at once rose in the Dutchmen's minds; so they called it Kalk Hoek, or Lime Point. As an ordinary Dutchman pronounces Delft "Delleft," so "Kalk" in a sailor's mouth became "Kallek." In time the English called it the Collect, and in the days of its use as a rubbish receiver, it was well worthy of its name.

The Indian village, where lived the Manhattans, or Island Indians, the Mana-hattas, was situated between high land and water, and was favorable for defense and food. Crowning the hill was the "castle" or palisaded village. Below were the maize lands and the endless supplies of furs, game, material for shell money, fresh- and salt-water fish, and the clams, oysters, and eels that thrive in tidal waters. At the river's mouth was Canoe Place.

The American scenery was very different from that of the flat Veluwe, the shore dunes, or the sunken polders of dear Patria. From the varied shores of Manhattan, high and rocky, low and sandy, shell-strewn or stony, gravel or beach, or from coign of vantage on hills, whether bare or bosky, or out of forest vistas, these pioneers feasted on the scenery. Across the narrow East River

rose the sand banks, or "Brooklyn Heights," a striking feature in the general flatness of that island of Seawanaka, or wampum-land of the Indians, but not called "Long" until nearly a century later. Across, on the sunset side, "the great rocks of Weehawken" towered above the meadows of the very low Hackensack valley. The columnar lines of the Palisades, frowning on the upper river's front and casting early and long afternoon shadows, mightily impressed men from a flat and sunken land. Their own writings show how handsomely the Netherlanders appraised their new possessions. The pages of Wassenaer fairly glow with enthusiastic description. Though ready to utilize their full resources, they looked for quick returns. So long as the wild animals, easily trapped or shot, carried a fortune on their backs, and the Indian demand was for metal goods and trinkets, nothing else paid like peltry. Besides, to fight the Spaniards and set Patria permanently free, ready cash was the first requirement.

Yet there were those who heeded the beckoning of the shining waters and listened to the call of the woods. Block left off "trucking," to win the prize promised to discoverers of new lands. We shall soon find him afloat. A new map meant credentials to fame.

Three other Dutchmen from Fort Orange had some lively adventures inland during the year 1614, and increased unwillingly Europe's know-

ledge of American geography. Starting out with some Mohican Indians, they were made prisoners by the Iroquois and taken probably into the Susquehanna region. It is quite possible that, supposed to be Spaniards or Frenchmen, they were kept a while at the stronghold on "Spanish Hill" near Waverly, New York, and then, by way of the Delaware River, released or ransomed. Whatever may have been their full itinerary, these men gave information that was incorporated into a map, dated 1604-16, and discovered by Mr. Brodhead in the archives at the Hague. It is "the oldest muniment" for the history of the Empire State.

When Skipper Block's vessel caught fire and became ashes and scrap iron, the doughty Dutchman built a new yacht, the pioneer craft of the Empire State, the *Onrust*, or *Restless*, of sixteen tons. The map-makers had not yet known of the long sound stretching from Manhattan to Montauk. They had pictured New England as coming down to the ocean. From a hilltop on Manhattan, Block may have seen the agitated waters glistening in the morning sun, and named their place "*Heldergat*," or *Shining Gate*; or he may have remembered the *Hellegat*, between *Axel* and *Hulst* in *Zeeland*. Passing eastward over the rapids and shallows of *Hell Gate* (the sunken fan-shaped rocks, which were blown up by General Gilmore in 1877), Block was surprised to find what seemed to be an inland sea. Judging from the many senti-

mental names, such as Lapwing's Point, Vale of Swans, Clover Nook, Children's Corner, given by the Dutch in America, it is just as likely that the name "Hell" Gate (as in Helderberg, the Shining Hills) suggests heaven and its light, as their opposites. Yet it may be only the rough sailors' dubbing of a place difficult of navigation. He found the water, like the Hudson, salt, but he also learned by tasting that the big stream flowing in a rush from the north was sweet.

Spending several weeks in exploration, Block put down on his map the Fresh (Connecticut) River; Rood (red), or Rhode Island; and many other names long since translated or corrupted into good, possible, or "Connecticut" English. In Dutch, Rood, like *Roos* in Roosevelt, is pronounced as Rhode, though thousands of Americans still say *Russ-velt* instead of *Rōs-e-velt*. Block Island, reckoned in Newport County, and Block Island Sound perpetuate the skipper's name.

Meanwhile interest in their possessions was increasing among the Dutch. Other merchants hazarded their yachts in trans-Atlantic trade. So long at war with Spain, with all their energies engaged, they could not, even in time of truce, restrain themselves.

Excitement, being in the air, did not need stimulus, but the Dutch Congress, in March, 1614, fed fuel to the flame by fresh offers. Whosoever should discover a new country and give informa-

tion within a fortnight after his return, and then make four voyages to the new land, should have a monopoly of its trade. Quick to close with the offer, in July, 1614, a company of merchants, in six cities, in virtue of Henry Hudson's discovery, petitioned the States-General for a charter.

This paper was as yet unacted upon, when, on October 1, Block, with his map, arrived in Holland. On the 11th he had the floor, and told of the lands and peoples he had seen. His chart, or "figurative map," revealed a new inland sea, a great island, numerous waterways, and a new entrance to Manhattan, besides locating rivers and Indian tribes.

Clearly Block had the right of way over the Syndicate of the Six Cities, and on the same day a charter was issued to "The United New Netherland Company."

The official name given to the new-found land, discovered by Hudson and exploited by Block, was New Netherland, — not New Netherlands, as so many careless writers, and even book titles, public documents, and bronze tablets have it. The Dutch patriots gave the land of hope in America not a plural form, which might suggest the ten provinces that had left the covenant of freedom and gone back to Spain, but one that had recalled united Patria, — the seven free and independent states forming the Dutch Republic, now one country and one nation. The new name reflected "the

Union," one and indivisible. It was and should be ever, in speech and writing, New Netherland.

The actual history of Dutch exploration all over the world has been for the most part erased, like chalk lines from a school blackboard, by later persons, chiefly English, yet it is interesting to know the method in Dutch names. Sentiment and patriotism were predominant. In Java, Ceylon, Formosa, South America, the West Indies, and New Netherland, they recall *Patria* and its great men or their homes. There were many *Staten* islands, *Mauritius* rivers and lands, *Sandy Hooks*, *Forts Nassau* and *Orange*, *Dunderbergs*, *Batavias*, and names ending in "dam" and "dyke" all over the world. *Kills*, *bergs*, *havens*, *gates*, *corners*, *wijks*, and other hooks and eyes of geographical speech hold the landscape in the mind's map.

Within the towns, whether in Java, India, or North America, are found a *Maiden's Lane*, a *Broadway*, a *Wall* and a *High Street*, besides canals and "*grachts*," new, old, or "*gedempte*," with short or long "*paths*." In addition to these were the same institutions of religion, fraternity, charity, police protection, prevention of fire, and the usual features of Dutch city government.

In the churches, similar offices and customs existed. The original praiseworthy traits of character—industry, honesty, devoutness, loyalty, patience, and cleanliness—are seen in the daily life of the people. These marked the Dutchman

in the Greater Netherlands, as surely as did the symbol of the lion minted on his guilder; while the one sentiment which dominated all was that of William, "the Father of the Fatherland," — "I will maintain."

The Dutchmen faced bravely their new responsibilities of national expansion. In Patria, a new school was called forth by the necessities of colonization in Asia and America. Under the patronage of the India companies, the city of Leyden, which furnished the first settlers of both Massachusetts and New York, instituted a seminary for the training of missionaries. It was founded in the same year, 1622, that saw the organization in Rome of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Out of this Leyden school went forth famous scholars and teachers; among others, George Candidus and Robert Junius of Formosa. The Dutch made good their professed desire to convert the aborigines to a higher form of faith, and to uplift them through education, and their records show it. Henceforth the school and church, schoolmaster and Domine, were to go in the ship with the pioneers from Patria. By the terms of his call and ordination vows, the Domine served on both land and water.

Such was the beginning of New Netherland. As explored and occupied by the Dutch, it included the region between the Connecticut and the Susquehanna rivers, watered by the streams rising in the Catskills and the Adirondacks.

CHAPTER III

JESSE DE FOREST AND THE HOME-MAKERS

THE shiploads of American furs sold in Amsterdam set Dutch money-makers hot on the trail for more. Led by Usselinx, they urged in the State Legislature of Holland that a West India Company be formed. Asia had enriched the Republic. Why should not New Netherland?

Not while the truce with Spain lasted could the national congress grant the petition of Usselinx; but in 1621, when war was renewed, consent was given. Then, like hounds from the leash, the Dutch leaped to lead all nations in commercial enterprise. In June, 1621, the West India Company was chartered. The governor-general of the new corporation must be commissioned and approved by the congress; but, except on this point, its powers were sovereign. It could effect treaties and alliances with princes and potentates, erect forts, levy and arm soldiers, dispatch war vessels, plant colonies, carry on war, and establish government. Its products imported into Holland were free of all taxes for the space of eight years. Its proud flag bore the monogram G. W. C., for it possessed the coveted privileges of a *Geoctrooyed*, or chartered corporation with monopoly.

This charter made possible the cradle history of America's greatest city. The first object was war against Spain. The second was commerce for the enrichment of the Dutch Republic. Hence the great powers granted to the company. In the Netherlands were no mines and very little fertile soil. The life of the State must be maintained by riches won in and on the sea, and by trade with other lands. Holland in the seventeenth century had to do what Japan must do in the twentieth, in order to feed her people and maintain her growth. Hence the extraordinary commercial expansion of 1621.

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that colonization was only one method chosen to enrich the mother country. The Company was not obliged to populate new lands in America. The charter word is *may* (*mogen*), not *must*. There was no urgent call for a colony beyond the Atlantic, for Dutch people did not need or desire to leave *Patria*. Religion was free, and employment and money were easy to get.

Where, then, was the Republic, not at all overpopulated, to get the colonists? There was little to attract the native Hollander away from home, and a hundred men were ready to enlist as soldiers or sailors to fight or spoil the Spaniards to one willing to go out as a farmer in savage lands. However, — and here is the secret of the initial emigration, — there were several hundred thousand for-

eigners or "Walloons," living as guests in "the land where conscience was free," and some of these, especially in Leyden and Amsterdam, were ready to try a "hazard of new fortunes."

Other companies of refugees for conscience' sake, besides "The Pilgrim Fathers of New England," were in Leyden; for the city was then recovering grandly from its famous siege. The cloth trade attracted work-people from many countries, who had churches according to their own tastes. All these, whatever their language, were "Walsh" or "Walloons," that is, foreigners. Out of Leyden came the first colonists who settled both New England and New Netherland.

Generous offers were made first to the "Pilgrims" or English refugees, but these wanted a convoy of war vessels, to protect them against pirates and Spaniards, which the Government could not then spare.

The real colonizer of New Netherland was Jesse de Forest, a Walloon, born between 1570 and 1580 at Avesnes, then in the Netherlands, but now, and since 1819, in France, who was in Leyden in 1605 pursuing his trade as a dyer. In this city, four of his ten children were born, his son Isaac, who became the father of the American de Forests, seeing the light in 1616. Becoming interested in emigration to America, or "the West Indies," he made an application in June, 1621, through Sir Dudley Carleton, the English envoy,

in the name of fifty-six Walloon families to go to "Virginia." When the answer of King James was received, it was not satisfactory.

So on August 27, 1622, Jesse de Forest petitioned the States-General for permission to enroll families, who should settle in New Netherland. His petition was allowed. It was his company that embarked on the first colonizing ship, the *New Netherland*, to make homes and begin the settlement of the Empire State.

In the Leyden archives, we hear nothing further directly from Jesse, except that he had left for America. His brother, Gerard de Forest, petitioned the burgomasters of Leyden, saying that his brother Jesse "had lately gone to the West Indies," — a general name for America, — and he asked permission to replace his brother in his position, according to the regulations of the city and guild. The records of the City Council show that this paper was sent by the magistrates for advice to the Aldermen of the Dyers' Guild, and that permission in due form was given to Gerard de Forest to take his brother's place as a master-dyer. Jesse de Forest deserves honor as leader of the first band of thirty-one families from Leyden, who began the community of homes in New Netherland.

As these people, who were willing to try their fortune in America, did not ask for the protection of big frigates, their request was quickly granted. The first-class new ship of two hundred and sixty

tons, roomy and clean, took Jesse de Forest's first party of thirty-one families over sea. A small armed yacht, the Mackerel, commanded by Captain Cornelis J. May, was to convoy them past the pirates of Dunkirk and across the Atlantic.

The larger of these historic vessels, like its fellows of those days, had no jib. Instead of the bowsprit of modern days, with its stays, a spar projected forward, on which two or three little square sails could be spread. The main place of habitation for passengers was in "the tower," of two stories, very high and with two rows of ports or windows. The stern view of the New Netherland, with its affluence of carving and emblems, and a mighty lamp at the top, which illuminated the back track, was most imposing. High over all flew the great orange, white, and blue flag, with the triple monogram G. W. C., that is, The (Geoctrooyed, or) Chartered West [India] Company. This pioneer Dutch ship, eighty tons larger than the Mayflower, was probably three times the size of Henry Hudson's yacht.

All merchant vessels went armed in those days, and the New Netherland was prepared to fight, in case Spaniard or Dunkirker hove in sight. Besides carrying the flag of the Republic at the mizzen and peak, she was ready to poke out cold iron noses from the portholes and blaze forth fire and shot if attacked. Plenty of "iron beans" for the cannon were on board.

We do not know all the details of Jesse de Forest's life, but we can trace him in the Netherlands from city to city and from communion table to communion table, for he was, first of all, a Bible Christian. Religion was the first care with his colonists. Arrangements were made with the reverend Classis of Amsterdam for church officers to provide cheer and consolation. These being duly furnished, in March, 1623, fathers and mothers, boys and girls, said good-by to their friends in hospitable Holland and cleared for the land of hope beyond the Atlantic. Truce was over, and mighty Dutch fleets sailed to Angola in Africa and to Brazil to conquer the Portuguese and Spanish possessions, but this single ship, almost tiny in contrast, bore freight of peaceful colonists who were to begin the homes of the future Empire State of the American Union, and Jesse de Forest was the soul of the enterprise. It may be that they did not see Manhattan until 1624.

These beginners of our Middle States and the men who sent them over were neither dreamers nor "humorists." They stood for pure family life, for the Church and the school, and for farming, the true source of all legitimate national wealth of land-dwellers, for they were, most of them, either skilled workmen or tillers of the soil. They were not likely, when landed, to go hunting in the woods for gold or silver mines. They did not come with their brains full of spectres of mythology, such as

drove the Spaniards into waterless deserts to seek the Gilded Man, Fountains of Youth, the Seven Cities of Cibola, and various other things that exist only in fairyland. They had once given up home and all that was dear to them, when driven out of the Belgic Netherlands, and had fled to Holland to enjoy freedom of conscience. The Republic was now their own Patria, and they were about to trust God again and seek homes in the New World. They were the real settlers of New Netherland, "John Company" being merely the figurehead and money-maker. Among these thirty-one families, with children and young men and maidens of marriageable age, the adults in the company, of course, spoke French. Bible-reading and singing of the psalms in Marot's version were part of the daily routine of a Walloon family. The Belgic Confession of Faith, which many of the adults knew by heart, was their foundation creed, as it was of the Dutch National Church, already established for over a half-century. It was first written in French in 1561, by Guido de Bres, who was burnt by the Spaniards in 1567. In its revised Dutch form of 1619 the children learned it thoroughly. The keynote of its deep harmonies is sounded in Article I: "God . . . the overflowing fountain of all good."

The young folks born in Leyden, who had attended the Dutch public schools, spoke the language of the captain and crew and of Patria. They

were in effect young Dutchmen, and loyal to the Republic and to the orange, white, and blue flag. Every ship had its "Comforter of the sick," who was well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and the form of words duly provided in the familiar liturgy of the National Church.

Happily no Dunkirkers or Spaniards challenged those pioneer ships, and they may have remained some time in the West Indies, but on entering the Narrows in New York Bay, possibly early in 1624, the Netherlanders saw a French vessel lying at anchor. Not willing to tolerate a stranger, the Mackerel ran out her guns and showed the necessity of departure. The Frenchmen took the hint at once, and the Dutch were left alone.

Like a sower, going forth to sow in the seed bed of a future empire, was Captain May in the good, clean ship New Netherland. Each of the new settlements was called a "concentration," — after the Spanish term. Eighteen of the passengers were left on Manhattan, and these were the first families from Europe to dwell upon the island; but the settlement, if at first called New Avesnes, was destined to be New Amsterdam and New York. Several couples disembarked on the land named after the seven States of the Dutch Republic, Staten Island. In a *bocht*, or bend in the East River, several families made a settlement. This loop, or cove, was, like Walkill, later called the Waal, or Walloon's Boght, or Wallabout.

Eighteen families were planted on the site of the future city of Albany, and left under the command of Adrian Joris, lieutenant to Captain May. Fort Orange, a redoubt with four angles, was built and armed with cannon that fired stone balls for defense. Inside this inclosure, Sarah, the first baby of the colonists, was born, in June, 1625. Her father's name, as he wrote it in Walloon French, was Simon de Rapello, but the Dutch of it is Simon Rapelye. Her mother's name was du Trieux, in modern form, Truax. In a year or two, cradles were in demand. Fathers were ready to make these out of rough timber with barrel-head rockers, but the mothers "drew the line" here, and the importation of Dutch cradles from Holland into New Netherland was quite frequent until the year 1664.

A better defense than Fort Orange, with its cannon and gunpowder, was a league of peace made with the "wilden" of the forest and the river, that is, the Iroquois and the Mohicans. This covenant of friendship was perpetual. In succeeding years, when the people at Esopus and on Manhattan were in terror and saw fire, blood, and devastation, those at Fort Orange found the red men "as quiet as lambs." From the beginning to the end of the Dutch rule in America this, the northern end of the colony, was the most peaceful, the best governed, and, on the whole, the most prosperous portion of New Netherland. Manhat-

tan was cosmopolitan. The distinctively Dutch part of the colony and province lay in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. Civic life in New Netherland was typical, not on the manors or the island, but in the village communities of free farmers, as on Long Island, at Schenectady, Esopus, and New Paltz.

CHAPTER IV

PETER MINUIT, FIRST CIVIL GOVERNOR

IN the new domain, the favorite seat of administration seems at first to have been on the Delaware, rather than on the Hudson.

Captain May, after one year, was succeeded by William Verhulst, whose name happily no English map-maker has rubbed out, for it is recalled in "Verhulsten Island," and perhaps in "Hollanders' Creek" near Philadelphia. This colony seemed so promising that it was determined to have a director-general for New Netherland. He was to be advised by a council of five members. Besides these, who were not Walloons but Hollanders, there were to be a secretary and a treasurer.

In other words, here was a civil government, which was a miniature of the Dutch municipal system, and a manifestation of the Netherlands genius for city organization. It came to pass that all the cities in the American colonies up to the time of the Revolution were Dutch; and, except Albany, all these cities lay along a line stretching from New York to Philadelphia. All the other settlements in the thirteen colonies, from Georgia to New Hampshire, were towns or villages.

Let us see who it was that the Company se-

lected as the first Civil Governor or Director-General of New Netherland. Every time we pass down Fifth Avenue, at Twenty-ninth and at Forty-seventh Street, we may read his name on the bronze tablets set in the Reformed Dutch Church edifices standing on these corners. Of this church he was a deacon. A grand gentleman and a cosmopolitan character was Peter Minuit, who may be called the founder of the greatest and the smallest states, New York and Delaware, in the American Union. We may pronounce his name Minawee, as he sometimes wrote it, to ease some tongues. His ancestors were Huguenots, but this cultivated gentleman spoke French, Dutch, and probably German and English, being thus a prototype of the composite American, superbly fitted to be a pioneer and ruler.

Receiving his commission six days before Christmas, 1625, he began at once to equip himself for his great work of transforming trading-stations into agricultural communities. He found out all he could about the soil and climate of New Netherland. Then he selected carefully seeds, live stock, farmers' tools, food plants, and other useful vegetables. With his council, except the secretary, he sailed in the ship *Sea Mew* from Amsterdam, December 19, 1625. After many delays, from contrary winds and other causes, he sighted Sandy Hook, May 4, 1626.

Minuit's first official act, eighteen years before

William Penn was born, set for Puritan and Cavalier, as well as for proprietors of colonies in America, a noble precedent. He carried out, according to the letter and wholly in the spirit, his directions as set down in the Charter of the Company. He called together the Indian chiefs and purchased of them the island named Manhattan, for what was for them the very generous sum of sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. In modern values, this would be about three hundred dollars. As expressed in trinkets, mirrors, hatchets, tools, and clothing stuffs, it must have seemed like a mountain of wealth to the Indians. The place of sale may have been the Bowling Green, then the heart of the hamlet of New Amsterdam.

Governor Minuit's secretary, who had arrived in the ship *Arms of Amsterdam*, July 26, 1625, was Isaac de Rasieres. As was very proper for one who was to have a good deal to do with Walloons or French-speaking Belgian colonists, he could talk and write French. He had the pen of a ready writer, and to him we owe a unique and picturesque account of the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth.

A fort must be built for defense, as the ships of any nation could easily enter the river from the sea, a fact which made New Amsterdam from the very first a cosmopolitan place, filled with visitors and sailors speaking many languages. Dutch army engineers had then no superiors in the world.



GOVERNOR MINUIT PURCHASING MANHATTAN

The greatest of them, Prince Maurice, had died at the Hague, April 23, 1625, the year before ; but one of his officers, Kryn Frederickse, came over with Minuit. He laid out and began building an earthwork with four bastions, named Fort Amsterdam after the home city. In 1635 the fortification was faced on the inside with cut stone and good masonry, and the outside was sodded and made beautifully verdant. This fort had a varied history, and as kings rose and fell it was called after James, William, Anne, and George. De Rasieres first proposed the name, "The Battery," but not until Leisler threw up entrenchments beyond and seaward, was this term much used. In 1789 the ramparts were leveled, and in 1818 a marble column was erected on the spot. Now the great new Custom House, with groups of sculpture symbolical of the four continents, and many historic figures, including one of Admiral Tromp, occupies the site.

Doctor Wassenaer of Amsterdam, who printed the news of the world in his day, is our chief authority as to how things looked on Manhattan before 1630. East of the fort, where now towers the Merchants' Building, were four or five shops or warehouses of "stone," or hard burned brick. "Winkle" means a shop, or storehouse, and Rip van Winkle is Rip from the shop, or Rip the storekeeper. The name of Winkle Street, now built over, long kept these first shops in memory. Pearl Street, laid out in 1633, may have been called so

first by the children who picked up and played with the pearly shells then lining the beach facing the bay.

The Netherlanders being an intensely religious people, the desire of the colonists was to have worship at once, and the two Comforters of the sick, Sebastian Jansen Krol and Jan Huyck, who came over with Minuit, were active in their ministrations.

Thus the very beginnings of the foundations of New York State were laid in praise and prayer to God, and with provision made for human need and suffering and for spiritual aspirations. The creed most often recited was that traditionally named the "Apostles'," which the Dutch call "The Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith."

At this time there were still living at Leyden many English colonists who later went to America and joined the company of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the Walloons in New Netherland knew them.

As fellow Christians, it was meet that the Manhattaners and Plymouth folk, neighbors, on both sides of the Atlantic, should be friends, especially since both professed to have crossed the ocean and come to America to convert the savages to the doctrines of the Prince of Peace. Nevertheless, it was not yet time for the united Continental America of 1776, and the jealous quarrels and wars of the countries and kingdoms of Europe had already, in 1623, been transferred to America. They were to last until after the Spanish War of 1900, and

until the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine put an end to the long strifes and bloodsheddings inherited from Europe.

Although the Dutch asserted ownership to New Netherland by the triple rights of discovery, prompt occupation, and colonization, the British Government wanted the whole of North America, under the flimsy pretext of Cabot's discovery in 1497, when he peeped at portions of the coast. Hence in 1623, since England claimed as part of Virginia the territory on which the Dutch had settled while the West India Company called the land its own, there was danger of a collision. The governors of Manhattan and Plymouth had exchanged letters in Dutch, for Bradford, like most of the young people of Plymouth, especially those born in Holland, could read and write that language. In his letter of 1629, Bradford put on record the kind treatment which the Pilgrims had received, and which some were still enjoying in Leyden, — "for which we are bound to be thankful and our children after us." Thus Bradford, possibly the greatest of the Pilgrims, himself furnished, in spirit and letter, the inscription in bronze placed by the Boston Congregational Club in 1906 on the walls of the Dutch Church at Delfshaven, now part of Rotterdam.

Nevertheless correspondence did not fully answer the case, and the Manhattan and Plymouth men must see one another face to face. Since Brad-

ford had requested it, Governor Minuit sent his secretary, Isaac de Rasieres, with a squad of soldiers and one of the trumpeters of the Republic, on a mission to the Pilgrim settlement. Perhaps this sounder of parleys may have been Anthony van Curler, who, like his fellow music-making patriots, was proud of his fringed pendant of red, white, and blue silk hung on his trumpet. De Rasieres embarked on the good ship Nassau. One may picture the ceremonious reception on the shore, not far from the famous Plymouth Rock that lives colossal in poetry and after-dinner rhetoric.

The presents from Manhattan, consisting of three kinds of cloth, a chest of white sugar, and some small wares, were offered and received. The Plymouth people gave in exchange some of their own home-grown tobacco, for the new Yankees were ahead of the "Knickerbockers" in the tobacco business. But far greater than any gifts of food, or wear, or ammunition for pipe-smoke, was the enriching lesson in practical economics which the skilled traders from the foremost commercial country in Europe taught the Pilgrims. De Rasieres introduced into Plymouth the Indian shell money, or wampum, made by stringing the perforated shells into belts, or bands.

Had Governor Minuit been allowed to continue the development of New Netherland according to his own ideas, its story might have been one of nearly continuous peace and prosperity. His zeal

and energy in promoting agriculture have left their marks on the Empire State even to this day. He wisely distributed among white men the seeds and grafts which caused gardens to grow and orchards to spring up, and which among the Indians began their march to the Cayuga Lake region and the Niagara plateau. The Long House of the Iroquois became famous for the variety and richness of its fruits and vegetables.

Determined to prove to the Company what could be done in the New World, and to reveal the wealth of naval stores of all kinds in the colony, Minuit inaugurated the enterprise of ship-building. He laid the keel of the second vessel to receive the name of New Netherland, which when afloat was as big as a ship of the line in the Dutch navy. To get the timber of proper length and quality he sent his axemen into the region of the Mohawk Valley. This magnificent ship, pierced for thirty cannon and registered at eight hundred tons burthen, was launched, loaded, and sent to Holland. There it made a sensation. It was seen that the colony could be made the basis of offensive naval war against the Spaniards.

Yet the fur trade was the main source of immediate wealth, and next, to securing the comfort and safety of the colonists, this was Minuit's chief concern. Many were the ships loaded with peltries which he dispatched to Amsterdam. In 1630 the imports amounted to 113,000 guilders, while the

exports, chiefly furs, were 130,000, making a handsome profit to the Company.

In return more emigrant vessels from Patria, with hopeful planters and fresh cargoes of necessities for field, house, and garden, crossed the Atlantic. The frames of not a few buildings and frequent loads of brick taken as ballast were sent to take the places of the temporary bark structures or log cabins. The thousand little contrivances so common in Holland, calculated to make home comfortable, were shipped in quantities. Interesting are the frequent references in "the Amsterdam Correspondence" to the invoices of books, Bibles, catechisms, and hymn-books, sent to supply the various needs of school, pulpit, study, and worship. The Dutch were a reading people, and in no country were the printed page, the bound book, and the engraving cheaper than in Holland.

Nevertheless, in spite of all the efforts made to attract Dutch colonists to the new lands beyond sea, emigration was slow. Why should any native want to leave the triumphant Republic? So something must be done to increase Dutch population in America.

Minuit's excellent plans were upset. In their greed for more money, certain shrewd members of the West India Company took the step which introduced feudalism on American soil. Instead of progress, their seeming enterprise was reversion

towards the mediævalism from which the Dutch had long before delivered themselves. They recalled Minuit, at whose story and fortunes we shall glance again.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CHURCH AND DOMINE

THE career of the first Domine, or reverend pastor, in New Netherland, shows how rich life was under the risen sun of the Dutch Republic, then the land of opportunity. Whether in the army, navy, merchant marine, trade, diplomacy, law, medicine, or theology, there was not only sure promotion for the alert and diligent, but a fair chance of advancement to "everybody that was anybody."

The Reverend Jonas Michaelius, or, in plain Dutch, Michel, was born in 1577, and was educated in Holland's public schools. When twenty-three years old he went to the great University of Leyden, then in its lion-like youth, and matriculated September 6, 1600. He was a student at the same time with Jacob Cats and Vossius. He received his *beroep*, or call, to two villages in North Holland, and was settled as pastor at Hem, from 1612 to 1614, on a salary of seventy-five guilders, or thirty dollars. Then he took himself a wife, who bore him three daughters.

Though now but a place of six or seven hundred people Hem has an interesting history. Its story during feudalism, its elevation to the rank of a city with citizen-rights, magistracy, and govern-

ment, its part in the bread-and-cheese riots of 1492 and the fine imposed upon it therefor, the documents relating to its disputes and arbitrations with other cities, its coöperation during the war for freedom, without money or price, to fortify the city of Hoorn against the Spaniards, and its independence of manorial rights make very interesting subjects of study to mediævalists.

The young parson did not fear adventures by land or sea. When, in 1624, Admiral Piet Hein took Brazil, Michaelius went out to be minister of the Dutch church at Bahia, or San Salvador. The Portuguese recaptured the place next year, and Domine Michaelius then became chaplain of the fort in Guinea. He came back to Holland in 1627. On two continents, South America and Africa, he learned to know all sorts, conditions, and characters of men of many colors. One of his voyages was made with a man, then first mate, who later as captain took him to America. Michaelius had "roamed about with him a great deal, even lodged in the same hut, but never knew that he was such a brute and drunkard." After a stormy voyage, the Domine, his three little daughters, and their mother arrived on Manhattan, January 24, 1628.

The hardships were too much for the Domine's wife. She died after being in the new country only a few weeks, and her body filled one of the first graves in the little cemetery. The poor widower mourned piteously, "without her society and assist-

ance," when thus left with motherless children in a wild land, but he set bravely at work to bury his sorrows in scholarly toil and sweet human ministrations.

Coming from a land flowing with milk and cream, and rich in fruits and vegetables, cheese and eggs, the parson found these articles on Manhattan were rare and high-priced. At first, he and his little family had to live on ship's rations, beans, gray peas, barley, and stock fish. All this was different from the fare on the bountiful tables of Holland. The coming winter seemed hard enough. The fur business was dull, for the Iroquois from the north were ravaging the land of the Mohican Indians. Splendid American oak and hickory timber was being cut and carried back to the Fatherland, but ships were few. A windmill was in course of erection, to saw the wood, and the gristmill was already in operation. Brick-making had begun, but skilled labor was lacking. Oyster shells for lime were abundant, and both land and water were full of food.

These great heaps of shells were like the sweepings of the mint, for they were what was left over after the squaws had broken out the blue eye spots from the clam shells and the tops of the univalves, to make Indian money or wampum. In those ancient accumulations one rarely finds a perfect shell. The squaws were surprised to see such refuse burnt to make good white lime.

Michaelius concludes a long inventory of the resources of the New Netherland by saying, "The country is good and pleasant, the climate is healthy, notwithstanding the sudden changes of cold and heat. The sun is very warm, the winter is strong and severe, and continues fully as long as in our country." Plenty of furs and fuel were needed. "The best remedy is not to spare the wood, of which there is enough, and to cover one's self with rough skins, which can be easily obtained."

This first Dutch pastor, like his American successors and his brethren at home, was always addressed as "Domine," which means master or rector. Our dictionaries have been corrupted by the Scotch method of spelling "dominie," which was unknown in the records or in American English until the New York Dutch were swamped as to numbers by British emigrants. This form of address, "Domine," was, and is, respectful, affectionate, and honorable. One American printer, who recently mixed up the "stickit minister's" title with that of his Divine Master, thus misprinted the Vulgate Scriptures, "*Dominie Quo Vadis*"! The Dutch domines in America were university graduates in almost every instance, and most of them were gentlemen of high breeding and scholarship. *Dominie* means a schoolmaster, and in this form is not a Dutch word. It is always *Domine* in the records of *Patria*.

Without desiring to be a busybody, Michaelius

gave his opinion as to what ought to be done to make the Manhattan settlement a model one. He asked from home for copies of the Acts of the Synod, "both the special one relating to this region and those which were provincial and national."

Having been in Africa, he could judge fairly well concerning certain of the red man's deficiencies, but his theological prejudices, being those of his age, rendered him hardly able to appraise fairly the Indian's moral worth. He was not well impressed with the first families of America as represented by the Algonquin Indians, whom he found "entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as garden poles." And indeed as compared with the Iroquois, who were much more advanced in social, political, and economical life, the Manhattan savages were rather low in the scale of humanity. The men of the inland woods considered the river Indians south of them as fit objects for contempt and vengeance.

The intercourse between the white and the red men was carried on by signs. Most of the Dutch children and some adults picked up a certain amount of the Indian language, but they could not understand the savages when talking among themselves. The Domine's heart yearned for the little folks in the woods. "It would be well, then, to leave the parents as they are, and begin with the children who are still young."

The widower had difficulty with his housekeep-

ing, for his daughters were quite young and maid servants were few indeed. Already there were African slaves from Angola and the mouth of the Congo, — “thievish, lazy, and useless trash.”

His first letter reveals thus very early the one great trial which vexed the matrons of New Netherland most severely in the colony's early days. The lack of good domestic help did not arise because no housemaids came from Holland, for, in fact, the rosy-cheeked girls and women of marriageable age crossed the Atlantic in considerable numbers, but usually at the expense of their mistresses. The stipulation was made that they should repay the cost of their passage, if they left the service of their patrons before a definite period. Yet, almost as soon as they landed, the maids were courted by young Dutchmen who were doing well and wanted wives. Among the colonial documents extant are those of Dutch ladies who had brought over young women as servants, and who were in a surprisingly short time left to do their own work. The ladies complained because some Jan, Dirck, or Claes wanted their Trintje, Annetje, or Alida, for his bride. They demanded from the would-be bridegrooms the money they had paid out for the maidens' passage. Neither Indians nor the first negro slaves made good servants, but later a better class of blacks came in and did well in household service.

At the first opportunity Domine Michaelius,

having visited the people in their bark houses and reed huts, proposed to organize a church. For his deacons he chose Governor Minuit and Captain Krol from up the river at Fort Orange.

The Dutch were not at all behind the founders of Massachusetts or Virginia in worship, while they were ahead of them in completed church life. The first fully organized Reformed, or Protestant, Church in America began on Manhattan in 1628. By this is meant not merely a place of worship, as at Jamestown, nor part of the congregation with lay elders, as at Plymouth, but the full corporation, with salaried minister, board of officers, and communicants forming a congregation, — members in good standing, bringing letters from the churches in the home land, or uniting on confession of faith. Such was the first Dutch church in North America, and such there was not in Virginia or Massachusetts. This association of adults, already baptized in the Christian faith and uniting together as pastor and officers, met every Sabbath for divine worship, scriptural instruction, the use and enjoyment of the sacraments, and the propagation of the faith. They were banded together under the forms of order, doctrine, and discipline of the National Reformed Church of the Netherlands for spiritual culture, the dispensing of charity, help of the poor, comfort to the bereaved, and consolation to the sick. For the present, "the Church in the Fort" was gathered in the loft of the horse mill.

One of the first houses of industry which the Dutch Jack built in his new country was for the grinding of grain into meal. The flour barrels still to be seen on the city's coat of arms, though added afterwards, tell a tale of one of the first industries (and one of the later monopolies) on Manhattan. A circular trough or track was dug in the ground, its bottom floored with brick, and a huge mill-stone was made to roll in this trough, the wheel grinding the grain to meal. One end of the long axle was fixed in an upright pole for a spindle, and a horse, hitched to the farther end, made his monotonous round. Later, iron-hooped burr mill-stones made in the southern Netherlands turned out fine flour. When these no longer served their purpose, they were "cast out and trodden under foot of man," serving as paving-stones.

The horse mill, located in the rear of what is now Nos. 20 and 28 South William Street, was a two-storied affair, and was occupied by the parson or precentor and worshipers on Sundays. On the first floor were the mill and accommodation for man and beast. On the second floor were the bags of flour. Here, amid these supplies of food for the body, the Dutch people met to prevent spiritual famine and feed their souls with heavenly bread. A carpenter could easily put together the timber for a pulpit, on which the fore-reader could read a sermon and the creed, offer a prayer from the liturgy, and start the psalm tune, or the Domine

preach and pray. Here were sung the uplifting Hebrew psalms, done into mother-speech and set to the tones of the long-drawn Gregorian chant, as in dear Patria. Here were read the grand sentences, with their rich cadences of Calvin's "Form for the Administration of the Lord's Supper," the heart of which beats in the words, "We seek our life out of ourselves in God."

All important is the history of "the Reformed Church in America," because the highest Dutch social life was closely associated with the Church, and was from the first found in its largest and fullest form in the congregations. The Church nourished a spirit of democracy, besides maintaining the schools and culture after the English conquered New Netherland and the royal governors abolished the public schools. Then the Church, from its pastors, precentors, and educated men, had to furnish and support teachers for the girls and boys. The Reformed Dutch Church was the seedbed for the sprouting of American and Continental, as opposed to aristocratic British notions. The language, customs, traditions, and best inheritances of Patria lingered longest, and are to-day found most notably in the Reformed churches in the East and West of our country. When New Netherland ceased to be, the Dutch Church and people still remained a potent element in the making of the American man and the world's grandest political structure.

CHAPTER VI

WALTER VAN TWILLER, DIRECTOR-GENERAL

THE funny fellows, both penmen and artists, who saw American Dutchmen a century or two after New Netherland had passed away, and who have essayed to write or picture the history of New Amsterdam, give us the impression that most of the Dutch colonists were old and fat, stupid, choleric, and lazy, and lived in a cloud of tobacco smoke. Thus these caricaturists cast a glow more humorous than luminous over the early history of the State of New York. In picturing van Twiller, the successor of Minuit, some of them have made a big blunder, for they have confounded father and son. They have set before us their idea of the fourth Director of New Netherland, from the father, Walter van Twiller, born in 1580, instead of the real person, his son, Walter, who first saw the light, as the *Nijkerk* records show, May 22, 1606. So far from being the aged, fat, and overgrown person represented in caricature, Van Twiller was youthful and inexperienced, and his faults were those of a young man unused to authority and hampered by his instructions.

In Guelderland, the van Twiller estate, mentioned as early as A. D. 1530, lay in the hamlet of

Schlechtenhorst in the Nijkerk Commune. Wolter, or Wouter, as the old spelling is, was betrothed with Marita van Rensselaer, daughter of Henrick, July 11, 1605, and was married three weeks later. Walter, their son, the future Director, was the firstborn in a family of nine children, sons and daughters. Several of the sons came to New Netherland in the service of their uncle, Kilian van Rensselaer.

The West India Company, instead of choosing Isaac de Rasieres Director-General, appointed Walter van Twiller, who was taken as a clerk from the counting-house at Amsterdam. Though with some experience on a cattleship voyage to America, he was, when but twenty-seven years old (instead of fifty-three), made Governor of New Netherland. He showed more energy, perhaps, in developing the colony than wisdom in dealing with men. He was an expert agriculturist, an energetic manager, a steadfast friend, a shrewd diplomatist, and a most gallant admirer and protector of women. His chief fault lay in being "a jolly good fellow." He was too fond of drinking, and withal too ready to be the nephew of his uncle in enriching himself and his family connections at the expense of the Company. One can read his true story in the Van Rensselaer-Bowier Manuscripts, published in 1908 by the New York State Education Department.

There was very good reason, also, why van

Twiller seemed to be slow in both judgment and action, when any question of hostilities with the English came up. However much the Yankees might crowd out the Dutchmen in Connecticut or trespass even upon New Netherland's home domain, van Twiller had strict orders from the Company and from the States-General not to make war. In 1633 Spain was yet unbeaten. The Dutch war of independence, not yet over, was to last fifteen years longer. Holland and England having made an alliance of friendship, it was manifestly impossible for van Twiller, in dealing with trespassers, to take such measures against Englishmen as would result in bloodshed. It was expected that the King would restrain his subjects.

Spain was renewing her activities in war, and the Dunkirk pirates were lively when the Company sent over the new Director-General in the warship *Salt Mountain*, with twenty cannon and one hundred and four soldiers, under Captain Hesse. Conrad Notelman was the schout, or sheriff. Besides these worthies, there were the typical Dutch reinforcements, the Domine, Rev. Everardus Bogardus, and the accredited schoolmaster, Adam Roelandsen, and Jacob van Curler, his young friend, schoolmate, and relative from Nijkerk. They often went gunning together in the New, as they had done in the Old Netherland.

Only a few days after the new Director had arrived, he found out how forward the Englishmen

were in trading wherever they pleased ; well knowing, as they did, not only how weak their own King Charles was, but how anxious the Dutch were to avoid rupture with him.

Jacob Eelkins, who in 1618, in the employ of Amsterdam Dutch merchants, had built Fort Nassau on the Hudson River (near Albany) and made a compact of peace with the Iroquois and sold them firearms, was now in the employ of a London firm of merchants. He knew the exact state of political affairs, and was familiar with the talk in England. On April 13, 1633, on a vessel named the William and flying the English flag, he appeared in the Hudson River and was moving northward. Van Twiller ordered him to stop and come ashore. Eelkins obeyed, but claimed that he was in Virginia on English property and had a right to trade with the savages. Van Twiller denied this, but let him go on deck again. What was his surprise to see Eelkins weigh anchor and proceed up the river. Thereupon, instead of firing on the bold poacher, the impulsive young Governor ordered a barrel of wine to the river shore and invited everybody to drink at the Company's expense. He proposed the health of Prince Frederick Henry, the power-holder of the Netherlands, and quaffed confusion to his enemies. Thus was the title to New Netherland properly confirmed ! Eelkins, however, was caught and expelled from the country in disgrace.

On the Connecticut River, van Twiller had a still more serious problem to face. By right of Captain Block's exploration, the Dutch claimed the land west of this Fresh River as part of New Netherland. In 1632, large tracts of land on both sides of the river were bought from the Indians, a fort was built where Hartford now stands, and a flourishing trade began. Charmed by the sweet birdsong, which so reminded them of home, the Dutchmen named the place at the mouth of the stream after the lapwing, or phœbe bird, Kievit's Hoek, or Lapwing's Point; but the fort, in expectation of profits, they named the House of Good Hope.

Carrying out his orders, van Twiller sent as a commandant of the new fort his playmate from boyhood, Jacobus van Curler, then only twenty-three years old, born at Nijkerk, June 11, 1610. A capable artilleryman, Hans Janse Eencluyts, of whom we shall hear again in Schenectady, had charge of the two little cannon mounted on platforms. Unless a shot, by an extremely lucky hit, should strike a fast passing boat low down amidships, there was little risk to a blockade runner in taking his chances while moving up the river.

All this did Holmes and the Plymouth men know well, when, in September, 1633, to occupy Windsor, they sailed safely past van Curler, who had peremptory and peaceful orders. The alliance must not be violated. With the European situa-

tion as it was, little could result from the Director's actions, except some funny moves in the game of bluff. The English, who cared very little either for King Charles Stuart, then on his shaky throne, or for Their High Mightinesses at the Hague, were pouring into Connecticut by hundreds, and were determined to occupy the land. A great migration from Massachusetts set in, and soon Windsor and Hartford had a population of nearly a thousand persons. Literally, they swamped out the Dutchmen. Even when van Twiller sent a company of seventy soldiers to make a military demonstration, as if to drive out the English from their fortified blockhouse at Windsor, no one besides the trumpeter could or did do anything, for orders were peremptory against bloodshed ; so, after seeing the place and its cannon, all marched back to Manhattan. The time for a war between the two nations had not come.

Nevertheless, the Dutch nobly sustained their part in keeping order. When Captain Stone, the Virginian, was murdered by some Pequot Indians, van Curler had the murderers seized and hanged, and then made friendly overtures to the Boston people.

Van Twiller, in spite of his requests, received no permission from home to fight the English, however they might insult, dare, or trespass ; but when he heard of Indian disorders, he took vigor-

ous action. His chivalry could never be called in question. In November, 1635, young John Winthrop landed with a party at Kievit's Hoek, tore down the arms of the States-General, and calling the place Saybrook after his patrons, had a fort built by Lyon Gardner. The House of Good Hope up the river was thus virtually blockaded. Nevertheless, when in 1637 Wethersfield was attacked and nine men were killed and two English girls taken captive, van Twiller at once despatched a sloop from Manhattan with orders to rescue the maids at any cost. At the Thames River, a half-dozen Pequots, invited on board, were offered ransom for the captives. This being refused by the braves, the skipper held them as hostages until the girls were returned and later safely delivered to their friends.

The golden age of the Dutch West India Company and the reign of van Twiller, from 1633 to 1637, covered the same years. A luxuriant crop of windmills of the approved pattern sprang up on favorable elevations on Manhattan, and many other signs of prosperity were visible. Besides the Governor's mansion erected within the fort, barracks for the troops and the second church edifice rose to view. It was six-sided, or hexagonal, in shape, with a roof running up to a point and surmounted by a belfry, on which was the cock of St. Nicholas, — the symbol of vigilance and the resurrection. There were several churches of this model in the

colonies of Java and the West Indies. In 1656, one was built at the Hague, and a fine one in Rotterdam was erected according to this fashion as late as 1847.

It is generally believed that van Twiller looked after his own interests more than those of "John Company," and that he was a debauched and dishonest man; yet, as simple fact, very little was actually proved against him. He lived the strenuous life, and so was often misunderstood. He was given to excess of conviviality, but with all his faults he had unbounded energy. He was certainly an enthusiastic agriculturist, and did much to develop dairying, fruit culture, and farming. Besides repairing the fort, erecting new windmills, obtaining large grants from the Indians, and developing the trade with the Indians and commerce with the West Indies, he was active in many other good things, about which his burlesquers and detractors are silent. He was such a friend to the Indians that later, during his successor's wicked war, the red men called loudly for van Twiller as their just benefactor. In the delicate matter of the boundary line between Connecticut and New Netherland, he was diplomatic and courteous. He firmly insisted on an appeal to the transatlantic sovereigns in Europe, and argued that local governors in America should not settle such important questions. Under him, the new church was erected. His knowledge of land and cattle served him well, and he became

the largest private farm owner, after the Patroons, in the colony. With full faith in its future, he bought about fifteen thousand acres including several small islands, and part of Long Island. Nutten, one of these islands, famous for its nut trees, and a favorite place for the Dutch boys of Manhattan to visit by swimming or rowing, is still called, because of his purchase, Governor's Island. He gave to Gravesend, one of the English villages on Long Island, an astonishingly liberal charter, which contrasts strongly with Stuyvesant's bigotry.

It may be that van Twiller abused his official position, laying his fingers on choice bits of territory, and that striking hands with some members of his council, he gained his ends. Perhaps he favored the Patroon's colony at Rensselaerwijk too much. It is certain that while the Company's farms hardly paid expenses of their keep, van Twiller and some of his friends were getting rich and had fine pastures and gardens. He came into collision with men of good sense, and at last had arrayed against him all the forces of decency and restraint, military, popular, and ecclesiastical.

Being a son of thunder, rather than of consolation, Domine Bogardus, disapproving of van Twiller's folly, rebuked him for speculation; or, as we now call it, "graft." He even called him a "devil's child," and threatened to expose him more fully from the pulpit. To reinforce the Domine, the schout, van Dincklagen, after remon-

strating vainly with the Director-General, crossed the ocean to denounce him to the States-General. Under pressure of the National Congress, the Company investigated the numerous complaints, and van Twiller was dismissed from office. He took his humiliation very lightly, however. With his houses and lands, live stock and tobacco plantations, he continued to amass riches. He was known as one of the wealthiest landowners in the colony.

When his indulgent uncle, Kilian van Rensselaer, the Patroon, died in 1646, van Twiller, being named as executor of his estate, returned finally to Nijkerk to care for the property and bring up the son and heir, Johannes, who was still under age, and his son Nicholas, born in 1636, of whom we shall hear again. Van Twiller also kept up controversies with the corporation, by which he was described as "an ungrateful man who had sucked his wealth from the breasts of the Company which he now abuses."

Van Twiller set an example to his successor Kieft. Though never followed by Stuyvesant, this "slow" or "smart" Dutchman, who was as "brainy" as most of the men who win fame on Wall Street, gave quick precedents to the later English governors, almost every one of whom was a land speculator to a disgraceful and often dishonest extent. For not making war on the English trespassers, however, van Twiller was no more

to blame than was a certain captain of the United States navy in 1846, who, though in command of a seventy-four-gun ship of the line and a frigate, even when pushed rudely by an Asiatic sailor, obeyed his orders, and refrained not only from blood reprisal, but from retaliation of any sort. In due time, when, her freedom fully won from Spain, Holland in the war caused by the British Navigation Act — the same which brought on our own Revolutionary War — was goaded to fight her insolent foe on the sea, the record of the two Tromps and of de Ruyter showed what Dutchmen could do when honor demanded.

Negro slavery was introduced into New Netherland by the West India Company against the wish of the people. Eleven black men and some black women formed the first consignment in 1626, and more came in 1629. This proceeding was not in accordance with law. Yet it tallied with the spirit of the age. The Dutch common people were opposed to slavery, but the Company forced it upon them. In 1646, at the request of Domine Megapolensis and the congregations on Manhattan, the elderly slaves were given their freedom, but only on the hard conditions of furnishing to the Company one fat hog and twenty-two bushels of grain annually during the lifetime of each manumitted person, while their children remained in servitude. Slavery in New Netherland was very mild in form, and not until after the English conquest was there

severity, with the consequent alleged negro plots and race wars. The black slave, like "the strictly brought up child who knows nothing of strictness," scarcely felt his bonds. Besides being almost wholly a house servant, given a patch of land to cultivate for himself, and always allowed to buy his freedom, he took Pinxter Day as his own for a carnival of fun. No surer proof of the general kindness of the Dutch to their black servants can be imagined than that fixed in Article LIX, in the legislation of the Reformed Dutch Church in regard to baptism and membership and the free privileges of the Church: "In the Church there is no difference between bond and free, but all are one in Christ."

CHAPTER VII

THE PATROONS AND THE MANORS

WE have seen that Dutch colonists for New Netherland were difficult to secure, and that artificial stimulus to emigration was needed. From England good men were driven out by spiritual tyranny, but in Holland conscience was free and the country well off. The ordinary lures — gold, fish, furs, freedom to worship God — which led Spaniards, Frenchmen, some Dutchmen, and many Englishmen beyond sea, did not suffice for the men of the Republic. So “John Company” hit upon a new device, which was nothing less than a reversion to feudalism.

In the Netherlands, the three classes of society were nobles, burghers or citizens, and the common people. The nobles, who lived mostly in the country, were landowners, and often patroons, that is, patrons, or manor lords of vast estates; but the burghers, who governed the cities, formed the aristocracy, and had great powers. The consuming ambition of the merchants, who were gaining wealth rapidly, was to own land, and thus be like the nobles. This desire could not well be gratified in a small country like Holland. Here the earth had to be rescued by pump, spade, and dyke from under

the jealous waters, and held only through sleepless vigilance. In America land was plentiful and cheap. It was this coveted prize that was a lure. By securing and owning great manors in New Netherland, plain burghers might become landed proprietors and rank as nobles.

So, with the threefold idea of enlarging their fortunes, becoming patroons, and developing New Netherland, the directors of the Dutch West India Company, in 1630, enlarged their plans. Reserving Manhattan to the corporation, they issued the charter of "Privileges and Exemptions." This allowed a private person to take up stretches of land sixteen miles long facing a navigable river, or eight miles on either side of one, and extending as far back into the country as might be. Such a promoter, if he planted a colony of at least fifty adults, within four years, was a patroon on a manor, and had feudal rights over colonists. During their decade of bonded service, the tenants could not leave their master, and if they did so, they were to be treated as runaways, and could be arrested. The Patroons, though free to trade, must pay at Manhattan five per cent duty on their cargoes.

Here was a selfish scheme for the enrichment of a few monopolists. It was utterly opposed to the spirit of freedom-loving Holland. The Company's methods were already bad enough, as the immigrants, on Manhattan, for example, could not own

land in fee simple, but were tenants at will. This new scheme simply added another and a rival sovereignty. It was bound to be the source of unnumbered troubles, causing frequent conflicts of jurisdiction between the agents of the Company and the Patroons, besides anger and irritation among tenants, who were subjected to "the double pressure of feudal exaction and mercantile monopoly." The system, which was a step backwards, was hated from the first by all self-respecting free settlers. Colonists who settled under patroon and manor were free of all taxes for ten years. They were not freemen, but semi-serfs. The patroon system was one of many Old World ideas that would not work in America.

In favor of this semi-feudalism, probably suggested by French methods in Canada, it may be said, however, that in all cases above the value of fifty guilders, the tenants on the manors had the right of appeal. Independent farmers, as well as patroons and manor-tenants after discharging their obligations, were encouraged to seek homesteads. Other benefits in the charter of Exemptions were in favor of the Indians, and of religion and morals, so that, despite objectionable features in the new plan of colonization, there was hope of a large emigration from Patria.

As matter of fact, however, only one of the manors, that of van Rensselaer, ever became a success. This result was due as much to the high

character of the people settling it as to that of the van Rensselaers, high as this was.

The men who devised this feudal scheme were among the first to take advantage of it. So far forward were Messrs. Godyn and Blommaert, that even before the adoption of the charter in Holland they had bought, through their agent, a manor, that is, a *Riddergoed*, or knight's estate, on Delaware Bay. The Indians, by agreement made with pen and ink, were paid for a tract of land thirty-two miles long from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of the river. This was the first European land title written within the State of Delaware.

Kilian van Rensselaer bought from the Indians, first through Captain Krol and later through Gillis Housett, the land which is now the larger part of the counties of Albany and Rensselaer in New York, making an estate of about a thousand square miles. Hendrik and Alexander van der Capellen, two brothers, and one an ancestor of our nation's friend during the War for Independence, bought Staten Island and land of the Navesink and Raritan Indians. Michael Pauw (in Latin Pavonius, or peacock) secured Staten Island, Hoboken, and what is now Jersey City, calling his domain Pavonia.

Thus was the land seized, not as in Europe, by the might and sword of the border brawler, but by the craft of the pen held by the man in the

counting-house. Already in New France or Canada, the French had set the Dutch the bad example of feudalism; but, at its worst, the Dutch system was much milder in its features than either the British or the Gallic model.

Yet notwithstanding the advantages offered to poor folks, the whole system of patroons and manors was detestable to a free Dutchman. As matter of fact and history, no Dutch village community was ever founded under the charter of 1629. Not until the States-General broke the Company's monopoly and proclaimed more liberal terms of land settlement in the charter of 1640, did the free villages of Esopus, Schenectady, and those on Long Island spring up. In the end, it was to issue that, whether in French Canada, Dutch New Netherland, English New York or Virginia, or in the Southern Confederacy, where belated feudalism attempted, even by going to war, to root itself, this Old World system of land tenure and reciprocal service was unsuitable and impossible in America.

Feudalism never promotes peace, and without military force is an absurdity. The new system, even on paper, nearly rent the Company in twain. In Amsterdam there were jealousy and criminations, and certain directors of the Company were charged with abusing their position in order to secure land. After a storm of criticism, the Patroons divided the spoil with others, to whom they

granted shares in their estates, though keeping control of the stock. Nevertheless, the tendency of the Patroons was ever to exceed rather than to limit their powers. They even went so far as to invade the Company's darling monopoly of the fur trade, by sending agents and setting up trading-stations in new regions. This brought on another storm of bitter complaints. On the Bourse and in the Chambers jealousies were rife. Some one must be made a scapegoat.

In New Netherland Minuit, as a good servant of the corporation which employed him, continued to do his best. He was popular, progressive, and unceasingly active. Yet, since he had, by obeying and carrying out his orders, seemed to aid and abet the great dividers of the land, he was selected as victim and recalled. In reality, it was deemed no longer necessary to conciliate the Walloons, for many of them had returned to Holland, and native Dutchmen were now to come over in large numbers; and, besides, van Rensselaer had a nephew he wanted to advance. Minuit went back on the ship *Unity* (*Eendracht*) with some homesick colonists, including some of Jesse de Forest's children. Arriving March, 1632, at Plymouth, England, his ship was attached on the charge of the Dutch trading illegally on English territory. In May she was quietly released, and soon reached Holland.

At home Minuit found himself blamed because

so much of the Company's land had got into the hands of the Patroons. Evidently he was the victim of pique, and he did not regain office. To the end of his days he felt aggrieved at the soulless corporation. Meanwhile something not on land, but in the water, was drawing Dutchmen to New Netherland.

The beaver, the codfish, gold, spices, and the path to China were all magnets to attract practical white men away from their northern European homes to America, but it was the whale that lured the Dutch to settle on the Delaware River. While the Spaniards followed the dreams of their own imagination, seeking the gilded man and the fountain of youth, the northern Europeans came for things marketable.

From the eleventh century, the Basques had hunted the whale in the high latitudes of Europe, and in 1372, as alleged, ventured even into American waters. When Henry Hudson found the bow-head whales off Spitzbergen, Dutchmen became wild over the idea of making fortunes from blubber. To "strike oil" in the sea was their one idea. In 1611 the Greenland and Northern Whaling Company was formed in Holland. Smeerenburg or "Grease Town" was for many years a famous Dutch settlement in Spitzbergen. Before the century closed, nearly three hundred Dutch ships, manned by fifteen thousand sailors, caught a thousand whales annually.

While excitement and promise were still new, David Pietersen de Vries of Hoorn, who had sailed around the world and was familiar with the East Indies, joined in the sport. He had heard of whales on the Atlantic coast and in the South River of New Netherland. Van der Donck later told of two whales that in 1646 swam up the North River, and one grounding on Whale Island, near the great Falls at Cohoes, brought a supply of oil to the colonists' doors, besides causing the Mohawk River to swim with grease for three weeks. Still later Manhattan had her whale hunters, and Poughkeepsie became the headquarters of a whaling-fleet.

De Vries is one of the Dutch authors who wrote about New Netherland, and has left us a good book, in which is a true portrait of himself at the age of sixty, with his coat of arms. Stars, crescent, clover leaf, and fruit are on his shield. The crest of his open-barred helmet is a silver sphere, or the world enwrapped with bands suggestive of voyages and man's conquest over nature. The motto is well translated : —

The while, around the globe's four quarters I did steer,
I on the open helmet bore a silver sphere.

The first colony of thirty settlers, with cattle and stores, who were to re-colonize the South River region, once temporarily occupied by May's colony in 1623, was sent out by the five co-Patroons, in December, 1630, in the big ship *Walvisch*, or

Whale. A yacht of eighteen guns accompanied them. The smart Dunkirkers, ever on the alert, seeing the two ships separated, dashed out from behind their sandbanks and captured the smaller vessel, and the big ship went on alone. By way of the West Indies, the Whale entered Delaware Bay in April, 1631, and Peter Heyes, the commander, landed his people a few miles above Cape Henlopen. He built a brick house with palisades, and called the place Swaanendael, or Swan Valley. Probably from this reason the Indians called the Dutch "Swannekens." Gillis Housett, of whom we heard in the north, was commandant. On the other side of the river or Godyn Bay, Heyes bought from the Indian chiefs a tract of land twelve miles square.

It is not at all probable that the Indians ever understood a contract of this sort, as did the white purchasers, or knew that in receiving a few axes, shovels, beads, pans, pots, and some cloth, they were losing all claim to the land. Their ideas of property were of the Stone Age. They thought only of joint occupation, with the right to plant, fish, and hunt. Nor had these Algonquins the same unity of organization which might give the sale of land, as in a case by the Iroquois, the security of a modern business transaction. The forest men, as distinct from the tide-water Indians, transferred their land with the solemn accompaniment of wampum as record. These same lands, in three states, in the

Delaware Valley, were bought and sold over and over again by Dutch, Swedes, and English. It is probably true that, in 1682, the noble Christian teachings of the Lutheran Swedes and their exemplary lives among the savages, during forty years or more, had predisposed them to trust and welcome kindly the founder of Pennsylvania. Yet it may be that the most potent reason why the Lenni-Lenape held to Penn's treaty was that they were threatened by the Iroquois with extermination if they violated it.

The redskins and the Dutchmen quickly misunderstood one another. Flags and tokens of sovereignty were not seen in the same light by savages as by Europeans. According to civilized customs, a pole was erected on the purchased land, and a piece of tin, with the arms of the Netherlands painted on it, was nailed to the pole. One day, in innocence and without a twinge of conscience, a chieftain, wanting the shining metal to ornament his tobacco pipes, walked off with it. Housett at once took this as direct insult or treachery. He made such a noise about it that some of the tribe killed the offender and brought one part of his body as a token. Then the horrified Dutchman upbraided the savages for going too far. He had meant only to scold and scorn.

But the mischief was done, and blood revenge was the savage law. Secretly armed, the kinsmen of the murdered man came into the settlement.

All were working in the fields except the commandant and a sick man who was guarded by a chained mastiff. Of this animal the Indians were more afraid than of an armed man. If at this time they had dogs, they certainly were not of the breeds of Europe, or their equals in courage or size. Housett, when off his guard, was tomahawked and fell dead at once, but the faithful dog died game, filled like a pincushion with shafts, before he gave up. It took twenty-five arrows to finish him. This plucky hound was brought from the land in which one of its own species saved the life of the Father of the Fatherland. Both on the statue in the Hague and on the tomb in Delft one sees a little dog represented at the feet of William the Silent.

One by one the men and women in the fields were shot, the horses and cattle killed, and houses and palisades set on fire. The next day the sun rose on blackened ruins and scattered corpses. This was the sight seen on December 6, 1632. Tragic as it was in its end, this settlement was "the cradling of a state."

After five months' delay, de Vries had sailed in the new ship *New Netherland*, built on Manhattan, by Minuit, of Mohawk River timber. Exulting in hopes of whale oil and crops, he arrived off Swaanendael only to find desolation and death. He heard the story from a native, but instead of taking revenge and thus probably making the innocent suffer, he opened trade and rebuilt the

settlement. He named the pretty creek, or kill, Hoorn Kill, for his native town; but long afterwards Englishmen changed the word in form and spelling, thus giving the stream an offensive name, besides inventing a bad story to fit the vile and false word that long disfigured our maps.

The prospect of making a fortune from whales proved a delusion, and de Vries later abandoned Swaanendael. For nearly twenty years, except in an occasional trading ship, the Dutch were absent from the Delaware River.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RENSSELAERWIJK COLONY

VAN RENSSELAER'S colony was planted on ground that was sacred and classic in Iroquois tradition. Here was the Eastern Door of the Long House. Naturally one expects to find the gateway into the Iroquois country where two valleys and streams join, at the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson. Eastbound travelers in moccasin and canoe, however, made detour at Schenectady. By turning to the right into the valley of Norman's Kill, and following the stream southwardly, they avoided the shallow windings of the lower Mohawk, the sandhills of Niskayuna, and the great falls at Cohoes. This trail from Niagara and the Far West formed the great Indian highway of America.

At Tawasentha on the Hudson was one of the most sacred places in Iroquois tradition. Besides being "the place of many dead," it was the home of Hiawatha, the great culture-hero, and the reputed founder of the league of the Five Nations. Here, with burial of the tomahawk and smoking of the calumet, councils were held and treaties compacted between various tribes. Here they first met the white man, exchanging furs for fire-water

and the firearms with which they humbled their vassals.

On their westward route, they avoided the hills, sands, and cataracts northward, and through the valley of Norman's Kill rejoined the Mohawk trail. The "kill" took its name from Andries Bradt, who was a Norman, Northman, or Norseman, that is, a Dane, or of Danish extraction, who settled on its banks in 1630. This pretty stream, with its flower-lined cliffs and alluring rock crannies, meandering through daisy-clothed meadows, recalls in its name the home of the Vikings.

The first covenant of friendship between the Iroquois and the Hollanders was here entered into by Jacob Eelkins in 1617. Adrian Joris, a wise and energetic superintendent, confirmed the compact in 1623.

Daniel van Kriekenbeek, the successor of Joris, was less wary and more susceptible to Indian eloquence. Opposite, on the east side of the river, at Green Bush, rose the palisaded castle of the Mohicans. In 1626 they asked the Dutch commandant to aid them in a raid against the Mohawks. Kriekenbeek foolishly consented, and set out with six of his men towards Schenectady, but the Western red men were alert, and the whole party was driven back by a volley of arrows. Among the many slain were four Dutchmen, including the commandant. Then the white people learned to their horror that the Iroquois were, on some occa-

sions at least, cannibals. They first roasted and ate one Hollander, probably an unusually brave fighter. Then the victors took back a leg and an arm to hang up in their council house to show that Europeans were not invincible. Other similar instances proved that cannibalism, though not usual, was neither excessively rare nor practiced in mere bravado. Hunger was sufficient to fill the kettle with human flesh, when other food was not at hand or was difficult to procure.

When Peter Barentsen, the new commandant for Fort Orange, arrived on the scene from Manhattan, the Iroquois hastened to explain the recent unpleasant affair. They justified themselves, and declared that they had no enmity with the Dutch. Barentsen accepted the explanation. Packs of furs were brought in, and peaceful traffic was resumed.

Barentsen was relieved by Captain Sebastian Krol, or Crol (pronounced Crull), a church elder, a comforter of the sick, and one of the shining characters of New Netherland. To him is ascribed the *cruller*, or Krol-*yer*, a toothsome delicacy of high repute. The word is unknown in Holland, and the makers of dictionaries have vainly endeavored to derive the word from the Dutch, or German *krullen*, to curl. When provisions were short, or the bill of fare at Fort Orange was monotonous, Captain Krol supplied a new sort of *olekoek*, that is, "fried cake," "doughnut," or compound of flour, eggs, butter, and sugar. Krol, with his

"crullers," added a new delicacy to the frontier table.

Krol was a church officer, and occasionally went down the river to Manhattan to sit in the Consistory Meeting of the First Reformed Church in North America. With Domine Michaelius he grieved at the loose morals of a new community, and at "the speech of Ashdod" heard from the half-breeds. However, unlike that other colonial governor, Nehemiah, Krol did not smite or pluck off the hair of the fathers. Rather, like Malachi, he palliated the situation, for many of the Dutch pioneers had left home before being married. "Let none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth" — even if she were a squaw — was good advice.

The lonely Dutch bachelors were soon to have brides from home. In 1630 Krol was delighted to receive an order from Kilian van Rensselaer to purchase for him, from the Iroquois proprietors, a great estate. The commissary, the overseer of farms, and a company of farmers furnished with tools, implements, and cattle would shortly arrive. A church and school, with a domine and master, were also promised to complete the new manor.

The Patroon of Nijkerk fitted up a comfortable ship, named the Eendracht, or Unity, from the motto of the Republic, *Eendracht maaght macht*, which means "Unity makes strength," and put her

under the charge of Captain John Brouwer. The colonists could not feel safe until they were well out on the ocean, because of the Dunkirkers, or Belgian-Spanish pirates. The admiralty, or naval station at Dunkirk, for privateers and war vessels flying the Spanish flag, had been organized by the Duke of Parma in 1583. In four years these pirates had become so dangerous that the States-General ordered that when captured no mercy be shown to either masters or men. In many a Dutch port the gallows stood ready, and the hangman began his work at once. Dutch vessels could go out only in convoy or heavily armed. Even then, the Dunkirkers could sometimes by numbers overcome four or five state ships, even men-of-war, saving themselves and their booty behind the dangerous Flemish sandbanks. Many a ship bound for America was thus caught and plundered, and its passengers were held to ransom. For sixty years this war on the waters between the Dutch sailors and the Dunkirkers continued. It was to root the pirates out of their lairs that the States-General sent Maurice, their young commander-in-chief, into the enemy's country. Though the supreme object was not then attained, the decisive victory of Newport was gained in June, 1600, and incidentally fresh honor came to the van Rensselaers from this campaign, as we shall now see.

Descendants of the Crusaders, this family bore on the shield of their arms a cross of the Knights

of St. John, silver on a red ground, with the motto, *Niemand Zonder*, or "No man without" (a cross). Now, at their city home in Amsterdam, they were to receive a special honor from Prince Maurice. Heer van Rensselaer was one of the cavalcade of mounted gentlemen who constituted the prince's escort of honor when, after his victory, he entered that city in triumphant array. He hung cressets, or iron baskets of fire, around the walls and on the roof of his mansion, and the effect was so striking that Maurice, summoning the householder, congratulated him on his artistic triumph, and told him to take as his family motto *Omnibus effulgeo*, "I outshine all." The flaming torch in an iron basket henceforth became part of the *wapen*, or arms, of the head of the van Rensselaer house.

The passenger list of the ship *Unity* was made up of mechanics, farmers, and capable men with families, people who had grown up together from childhood. The women were especially well fitted to be the ancestresses of families that should attain renown. In Holland girls were as well educated in the public schools as were boys. After a maidenhood spent in mastery of household science and art, they became real partners with their husbands in their business or enterprises. We shall hear further about several of these typical Dutch women, whose Bibles, silver-clasped and held in hand or at belt, chatelaines holding keys, tablets, needle-cases, etc., cake-moulds, dresses, linen

REDRES

Van de

**Abuyfen ende Faulten in de
Colonie van Kentselaers-wijck.**



t A M S T E R D A M.

Gedrukt by Thunis Iacobfz, Woonende in de Wolbe-
straet/in de Historie van Iosephus/ Anno 1643.

TITLE PAGE SHOWING SHIP BEARING DUTCH COLONISTS

chests, and what-not, are still in the possession of their descendants. There was Maryje (that is, little Mary or Maria) Jonas, who was the midwife, or "trained nurse," of the period. With her came two young and handsome daughters who quickly learned the language of the Indians, and were always friends of the red men. It was her daughter Annetje, better known as "Anneke" Janse, with whom the young fellow Roelof Janse, in the employ of the Patroon, fell desperately in love. They were married, and four children were born to them, and these became more famous than even their ambitious mother, perhaps, dreamed they would be.

Of Annetje, or little Ann, tradition says that she was lively, energetic, smart, frugal, with rosy cheeks and snapping black eyes, and that she kept her good looks until she died of a good old age. By her thrift and wifely help, her husband was able in a few years to leave the service of the Patroon, and bidding good-by to feudalism, to live on Manhattan. He bought a farm of sixty acres overlooking the Hudson River, but died soon after his arrival, leaving a buxom and pretty widow. "Anneke Janse" married Domine Bogardus, to her social advantage, and is the ancestress of many thousands of people. Her sister Maryje excelled even Anneke, for she married three times, and had a child by each husband, thus having much to do with the founding of

three families. These were typical women of New Netherland.

Why Kilian van Rensselaer's proved to be the best colony will be seen when we glance at the old home of his agents and colonists in Guelderland. "Like fathers like sons." Nor is it any accident that near Fort Orange and Rensselaerwijk are Guilderland and Guilderland Center, of sweet personal or ancestral memory to thousands of Americans. To see these people at home is to know them as they were, for better or worse, and to understand what they would bring with them. We shall later cross the ocean, view the monuments, read the documents, and survey the scene.

CHAPTER IX

KIEFT AND HIS INDIAN WAR

WHO can divine what wisdom brooded over the College of the Nineteen Directors of the Company, when they chose Van Twiller's successor, William Kieft? Though with more abilities and experience, while possibly less foolish, Kieft was scarcely fitted to be either a statesman or a first-class business man. Very probably it was in the reaction against too much patroonism that such a man was appointed. It is probable, also, that in political influence with the States-General, rather than in special favor with the Company, lay the secret of Kieft's selection. Wishing to avoid war with England until the Spaniards were overcome, especially since the fortunes of the West India Company were declining, the Dutch National Congress made direct choice of this man who promised great reforms. It is certain that dark stories were told of his previous misbehavior in France and Turkey, before reaching America, and that from the first he as surely boasted of his power as it seems he intended to misuse it.

Kieft took the oath of office, which he was to break in manifold ways, and sailed on the ship *Herring*. To avoid the terrible Hatteras and

Jersey coast storms, he spent the winter at the Bermudas, and arrived at Manhattan, March 28, 1638.

He took hold of things with the energy of an absolute ruler and with the effect of a new broom. He hoped to remedy all disorders and defects by proclamations. He erected and set in operation a brewery and made good beer,—then the daily drink of Europe; for tea, coffee, cocoa, and hot drinks were not yet. The first in the United States territory, this brewery made profits. Yet Kieft would allow no taprooms open during divine service, or after one o'clock A. M. Then “tap-toe” (in our language, “tattoo” or “taps,” and now a military signal for bedtime) sounded. He refused to have firearms sold to the Indians. He had the curfew rung at nine P. M. He planted orchards and gardens and opened two annual cattle fairs. He built a hotel at the corner of Pearl Street and Coenties Slip. He put the Company’s farms in such good condition that the better class of native Dutch colonists began to come over from Patria in larger numbers.

Yet his first official act showed him to be a tyrant, and he never reformed. His method was farcical. His idea of duty was to do as he pleased. He wrote, “I am my own master, for I have my commission, not from the Company, but from the States-General.” He appointed the Huguenot physician, Johannes la Montagne, his sole coun-

cilor, giving one vote to the doctor and having two votes for himself. The affairs of the province were administered by these two men, aided also by the secretary and the schout.

Domine Bogardus was not afraid of Kieft. It was a good thing for the colony that he was not, and that there was a man of influence brave enough to oppose high-handed folly. No newspapers or ballot boxes being in operation to improve the government, the pulpit was almost the only place in which the best organ of public opinion could restrain the Director-General.

Kieft, stimulated by Captain de Vries, did something towards improving morals and religion, but his self-conceit came near spoiling his good intentions. However, after a popular subscription, a new church edifice was reared, wherein Domine Bogardus held forth for five years longer. Yet the preacher would not truckle to the Director, or approve his wicked doings. When Kieft began his wholly unjustifiable and bloody Indian war, Bogardus denounced him from the pulpit, taking the part of the people against their bad ruler, and demanding an appeal for justice to Patria. This Kieft would not allow. He even made a counter charge against the Domine, of being too fond of wine and of taking part with the malcontents. Then, instead of attending divine worship, Kieft stayed away and ordered drums to be beaten and cannon to be fired, making things as uncomfortable for

the worshipers as possible. Thus the teapot tempest was kept up.

Under Kieft's administration, the southern part of New Netherland was nearly ruined in war with the Indians in the tide-water region. Several causes may be stated for this terrible but utterly needless calamity. In the first place, there was undying hatred between the Iroquois and the Algonquins, and it was not always easy for the Dutch to prevent getting mixed up in forest politics or to keep out of the red men's quarrels. Again, the divided territory and jurisdiction — of the Patroon at Rensselaerwijk and of the Director at Manhattan — made serious trouble because the Iroquois could freely buy guns and powder in the north, while these munitions of war were forbidden to the Algonquins in the south. The bloodshed which followed the quarrels arising through misunderstandings of language and customs, between white man and red, boded dire evil to all the colonists.

When, for example, some pigs were stolen from Staten Island by some of "John Company's" servants, the blame was laid on the Raritan Indians, who lived twenty miles inland. Thereupon Kieft sent a party of soldiers among them who killed several, plundered their houses, and destroyed their crops. The savages, unable to understand such treatment, were at once changed from friendly neighbors into sullen enemies, secretly sworn to revenge. When clouds of danger were seen arising,

Kieft began to repair the fort. This gave him a pretext for going further in his career of tyranny. In order to raise revenue for this extra expense, he laid a tax upon the River Indians. This was flying in the face of all Dutch precedent and principle in the Fatherland. "No taxation without consent" was a maxim as old as the abolition of feudalism.

At this trick, the Indians were surprised and angry; but when the Raritans proceeded to discharge their debts of vengeance by descending on Staten Island and killing four colonists and burning their grain and tobacco, Kieft set one tribe against the other. He offered the North River Indians a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum for every Raritan's head. This started intestine war among the savages, in which Pacham, a wily sachem at Haverstraw, led off. Among the striking autumn novelties at Manhattan was the sight of this chief marching down Broadway with a dead man's hand hanging to a stick. It had belonged to the Raritan chief. Presenting this token of bloody service to the Director, he claimed his reward.

Twenty years before, under Van Twiller's administration, some rascally Dutchman, unknown to the authorities, had wantonly killed a savage, whose nephew, an Indian boy, who witnessed the murder, vowed to be revenged for the death of his kinsman. The young brave nourished his wrath for years, and when grown up, all white men being

alike to him, he entered the shop of Claes Smits, a wheelwright, and smote him dead with an axe. When Kieft demanded satisfaction of the sachem, he received a history of the case, but no more. He sent soldiers, but they failed to arrest the assassin.

By this time Kieft's folly in taxing Indians and opening a market for heads and scalps had disgusted every one, but, like a true poltroon, he himself kept out of personal danger. Men openly twitted him with sleeping in the fort and sending others to risk their lives on his abominable errands. Portents of war were every day growing more threatening, yet the people had no share in the government, as in the Fatherland, while they had to suffer from the Director's folly. So, to save his own skin, Kieft called together the heads of families on Manhattan Island for deliberation and advice before going to war. These at once chose "Twelve Select Men," all Hollanders, and de Vries was made president. Their counsel was promptly given against war, while they stoutly called for reforms at home. Only after long argument, and the Director's consenting to head the expedition in person, did hostilities begin, and then under limits and conditions imposed by the Twelve Men.

The first expedition, under Ensign van Dyck, who is the ancestor of many notable and noble men still living, was a failure, but the Indians were alarmed and sued for peace. A treaty was

made at the home of Jonas Bronk, from whose name Bronxville and the Borough of the Bronx take theirs.

Peace was of short duration. The story of the war that broke out again is a long one, and has been often told. The Iroquois from the north attacked the Mohicans in the lower Hudson valley, driving them across the river like sheep before wolves. Those who survived Mohawk bullets and tomahawks were slaughtered by Dutch soldiers sent by Kieft at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook. Then fifty Englishmen were enrolled and led by Captain John Underhill. In February, 1644, these attacked and burned an Indian town in Connecticut with frightful slaughter. The men who were opposed to Kieft's policy, and who throughout pleaded for justice to the Indians, were de Vries and Jacobus van Curler.

Kieft had failed to saddle the responsibility of war on the Twelve Men, and dissolved the Assembly. For a time the people were denied the rights of the Fatherland and left as political exiles. They suffered that for which their fathers took up arms against the Spaniards, — "taxation without consent." Nothing could be more diametrically opposed to Dutch political genius and long-established custom in the Netherlands than Kieft's procedure. Taxation, only as voted by those who were to pay the taxes, was the established Dutch principle, to which Kieft was a traitor. Under

pressure, the Governor again called a popular Assembly of the Eight Men, for consultation.

When, in order to pay the English soldiers, Kieft proposed a new excise to be laid on liquors and beaver, the Eight Men opposed him, and demanded that the Company attend to the defense of the colony. Taking a bold step, they petitioned the West India Company to recall Kieft. During five years there had hardly been as many months of peace. Their petition was heard, and Kieft was ordered home.

Like the cow of the Dutch proverb that kicks over the bucket of milk she produces, Kieft spoiled the good results of his earlier energy and enterprise by dealing the colony a blow from which it did not recover until after 1664. Under him, during the Indian wars, the population of New Netherland was reduced over half. What he did of evil was wholly against the wish and will of the people. Between "John Company" and William Kieft, a foolish corporation and their foolish servant, the people of lower New Netherland were nearly crushed.

As there were two distinct Indian domains, on the plateau and in the tide-water region, Iroquois and Algonquin, so in New Netherland there were two different Dutch policies in dealing with the natives, according as the white man's principles were incarnated in Arendt van Curler or William Kieft. In the north was an almost unbroken peace

founded on mutual respect and justice. In the south were turmoil, bloodshed, waste, and devastation, the fruit of hatred and unrighteousness.

The Company now selected a military man as Director-General, whose commission on its behalf was signed by the Jonkheer Alexander van der Capellen, ancestor of our friend Derck during the Revolution. In the *Princess*, one of the squadron of four ships, Stuyvesant, the man destined to live up to his name and stir up things, embarked for Manhattan.

In August, 1647, the returning ship *Princess*, which bore both Domine Bogardus and Director Kieft, sailed for Patria, but was wrecked off the coast of Wales, and both notoriety were drowned. Happily, to cleanse the stain of his life, Kieft in his last words confessed that he had done wrong, and requested to be forgiven. Only twenty of the passengers or crew were saved. Kieft's two accusers, Melyn and Kuyter, were rescued, one of them, like Cæsar, saving his manuscript, in his teeth as it were, for he at once set about recovering from the waves the box containing the papers of accusation, and he found them. In the States-General these representatives of New Netherland presented the case of the people so well that we shall find them, at the psychological moment, rising in behalf of the people in judgment against Peter Stuyvesant, the implacable hater of popular free institutions.

CHAPTER X

NIJKERK : THE OLD HOME BEYOND SEA

To find the home of the successful planters of the northern and best part of New Netherland, we must look across the Zuyder Zee, in Guelderland. Here at Nijkerk, or near by, lived the van Rensselaers, van Curlers, van Twillers, van Schlechtenhorsts, and other families, who sent their young men and women as pioneers to our shores. From this ancient home came scores of the ancestors of the people of the Empire State. These hardy sons and daughters of the Dutch Republic were true Argonauts. They sailed away to cover the soil of the New Netherland with a golden fleece.

The origin of Nijkerk, which means New Church, is not fully known, but its story we learn from Arend van Schlechtenhorst's "History of Gelderland," from page 107 and onward. This author, who wrote his history in 1649, was a kinsman of Brandt van Schlechtenhorst, commissary at Rensselaerwijk, from 1647 to 1652, who acquired Katskill, Claverack, and the site of the future city of Troy for his patroon, in whose name, also, he withstood Stuyvesant, and by him was made prisoner.

Perhaps Nijkerk got its name when the darkness of paganism had so far lifted that a Christian house

of worship was built here, A. D. 1222. It was given municipal rights in 1413, and fortified with gates and walls, of which there are now no trace. In the mediæval wars it was several times besieged and plundered by border ruffians and militant bishops. After so many people left it for the New Netherland, Nijkerk dwindled to a village, but in 1808 was elevated to the rank of a city by King Louis Bonaparte.

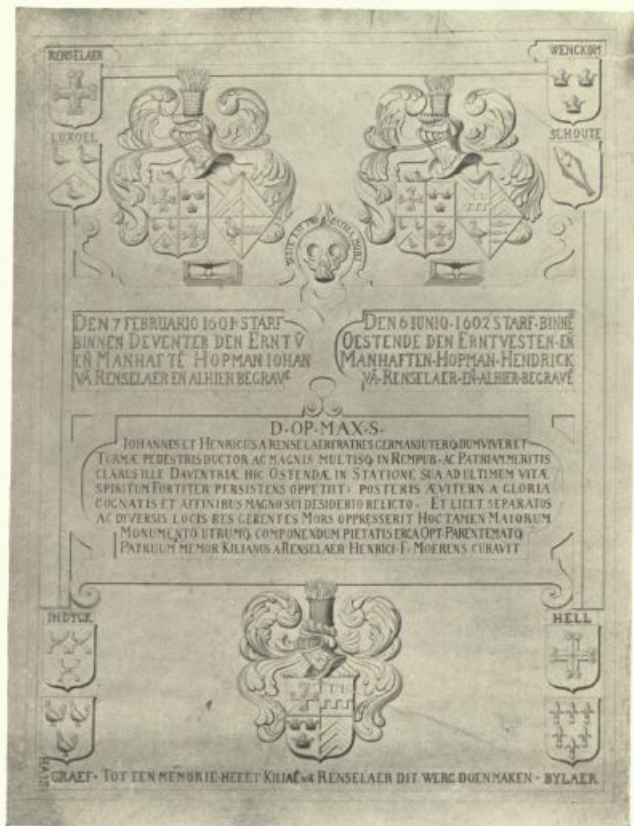
In the Middle Ages, forests covered not only Holland (wood-land), but most of the Netherlands. Then deer were plentiful, and the place called Rensselaer meant the deer's hiding-place, or the stag's lair. The estate, which lies about three miles south of Nijkerk, was given for service in war and thus became a *Riddergoed*, that is, a manor, or knight's property. Its ownership conferred a title upon the head of the family, and also called for military service of the tenants in support of the lord, or patroon. Thus the name Van Rensselaer means "from the deer's lair." The family has died out in the Netherlands, and the ancient manor house now belongs to a farmer. The last of the name was buried at Nijkerk, April 11, 1819. The weathervanes on the gabled houses of the old estate long bore the crest of the van Rensselaers. In the struggle for independence from Spain not a few of the men gave their lives for their country. Other names in Nijkerk church and cemeteries are the same as those we read on the gravestones

in Schenectady, Kingston, Yonkers, and Tarrytown.

One might as well attempt to write the history of Japan and leave out Mikadoism as to essay the story of Netherland, either Old or New, and ignore the Reformed Church, for the Church was before the State, and the Reformation preceded the Republic. When the rule of universal spiritual government from one city in Italy was abolished, national churches sprang up. Instead of prayers in Latin, the new worship and praise were enjoyed in the people's own language. At the same time the customs in daily life and on Sunday were changed, and the Bible in the language of home became a household book.

The Reformation came to Nijkerk in 1593. Before that time, church and worship were in harmony with the spectacular features of feudalism, and were very impressive to the eye, ear, and to the senses generally. Incense, lights, vestments, and genuflections gave way to a much simpler ritual, consisting of prayer, psalm-singing, Bible-reading, and the sermon instead of the mass. The church interior was made almost bald in its plainness.

Economic, educational, and political improvements gave the Netherlands modern statehood. Most striking was the new system of popular education. The public schools were separated from the Church, though much of the teaching was still doctrinal or religious.



THE VAN RENSSELAER TOMB IN NIJKERK CHURCH

Nijkerk was a typical Dutch town. What went on here was accomplished, sooner or later, in every community in the Republic. We thus learn what habits and ideas the emigrants brought to New Netherland, better than from any modern authors or after-dinner speeches. Instruction in the public schools sustained by taxation was free to all children, girls as well as boys, until the age of twelve. At Harderwijk, a few miles distant, Dutch, French, German, and Latin were taught at the High School, founded in 1375, and given a new edifice in 1614. At Nijkerk, the common branches, reading, writing, and arithmetic, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, or the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith, prayers, catechism, music, singing, and manners were taught. Meals were eaten early. School began at six o'clock in summer and seven in winter, and the hours of instruction were from six to eight, nine to ten, twelve to two, and three to four; plenty of play alternating with work in school. On Wednesday and Saturday afternoons there was holiday from one o'clock.

We shall hear further of the New Church folk in America, for hundreds of them came to settle on the enormously large van Rensselaer manor and in the Mohawk Valley and elsewhere. More than any other place in the old country, does Nijkerk deserve to be called the mother town of New York State. More Americans of Dutch descent are descended from the Guelderland emigrants than

from those hailing from any other community in Patria. Furthermore, the two men who embodied antagonistic ideas, the Old World notion of feudalism and the principle to which the New World is consecrated,—full personal freedom,—were natives of Nijkerk. They were Kilian van Rensselaer and Arendt van Curler.

Other folks from the New Church town, who became famous in the cradle days of the Empire State, will be spoken of hereafter, in the proper place. The van Twillers, the van Rensselaers, and the van Curlers intermarried during many generations, and on the 9th of March, 1656, in the fine old church, already rich in organ and sculptured tombs, was placed a “storied window richly dight,” containing the names and the coats-of-arms of the three families. This custom, of presenting stained-glass windows containing the family arms, by patroons and prominent families, was a very ancient one, and was afterward continued in the American Dutch Reformed churches, “after the manner of Patria.”

The good people of Nijkerk were diligent, industrious, and fond of the Church and the market. They hated laziness and dirt as the worst forms of original sin. They loved schools and genuine religion, alternated work with play, and were ready for what the world might bring them. They turned to the right, as their statute law and that of most Dutch towns then did direct and still does direct.

The ruts of their wagons, after long litigation and through the influence of New York State, have become the gauge of standard width in the United States, bringing order out of confusion. They set the gable end of their houses fronting the street so that they might save the rain water for washing and that the snow in winter might fall into their own yards, and not on the people in the streets. They enjoyed, with abounding delight of body and soul, even as they rigidly observed, the Kermis, New Year's Day, Easter, Whitsuntide, and other holy anniversaries and seasons, closing the twelfth month with two festivals, one of St. Nicholas, or Santa Claus, on December 6, and the other of Christmas, on December 25.

At church they always gave money in two collections, which were taken up by the deacons in velvet bags hitched to the end of long poles. They worshiped in a two-hour morning service, and were scandalized if it were shorter. They listened to the hour-long sermon, delivered in two parts, didactic and practical, and invariably divided by a collection in between. Of the two almsgivings, one was for the Church, the other for the poor. They fed and dressed comfortably. When born, they were baptized at the font in the church. When mature, they were married in their homes, taking up a collection for the poor. At the communion table, they were cheered and warned in the words of the noble liturgy of the Reformed Church, duly established

in the Netherlands in 1568, and soon growing by expansion in other lands and continents.

There were scores of Dutch churches in Asia, Africa, the West Indies, and South America, long before there was one organized in New Netherland, in 1628. These were governed by a consistory composed of the reverend Domine, elders, and deacons, and further officered by a fore-singer, Scripture-reader, Comforter of the sick, or church-master, one and all, as the case might be, or, as in some instances, with every one of these officers. In Dutch Formosa was the largest foreign missionary station then known to any national or free church in Europe, and the first, on a great scale, in modern times. The Classis of Amsterdam was in itself the greatest missionary society in Europe, and, in fact, the general agent of Protestant Europe, and helped many thousands of people, British, German, French, and Walloon, besides Netherlanders, to get to America.

I enjoyed none of my many rambles in the Netherlands, during seven visits, more than when I visited Guelderland and the Nijkerk neighborhood. There I saw more intimately, and visited oftener than elsewhere, the homes of the peasantry and the common people, noticing how, in the Mohawk and Hudson valleys, the first settlers copied the models of the home land, in house, church, customs, speech, and, at first, even in costume, footgear and headgear, and curious notions.

In the twentieth century Nijkerk has a population of 8124. We may sum up what Terwen said, in his three-volume album of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, rich in steel plates, published a generation or two ago:—

“Nijkerk lies in the midst of tobacco lands, pretty gardens, and grainfields, three fourths of an hour’s walk from the Zuyder Zee, with which it has communication by means of a good harbor. It is two hours [as the pipe is smoked, or the feet can carry one] northeast of Amersfoort, on the streetway from that city to Harderwijk and Zwolle.”

In Amersfoort was born John of Barneveld, and in Zwolle lived Thomas à Kempis, and Baron van der Capellen, whose ancestor was a patroon on Staten Island, and who was himself our generous friend in the Revolution, to whose honor and memory, on June 6, 1908, the Holland Society of New York reared a noble bronze tablet.

Nijkerk is moderately large in its compass, and possesses fourteen streets, a free Reformed church on the Holker Street, with an unusually fine organ and a handsome clock tower with chimes and dial; a Roman Catholic church, with tower and organ; a church of the Seceders (Christian Reformed, now numerous in Iowa, Dakota, and Michigan); and two synagogues, of which only one is used. Besides these, are the very imposing new edifice, the Reformed Church Hospital, and

a Home for Old Men and Women, with a building for the Roman Catholic church community and carried on by Sisters of Mercy, good provision for public instruction, and methods for the prevention of beggary, etc. In the neighborhood lies the free open space of Salenstein. To-day, alert, clean, bright, with all modern equipments, Nijkerk enjoys daily communication with the outer world by means of post, telegraph, telephone, bicycles, automobiles, and seventy railway trains daily.

Such are the usual features of a typical Dutch town, showing ample provision for worship, benevolence, recreation, and industry, and all these were established from times remote. Here are the markets for the sale of fish, cattle, vegetables and grain, live stock of various sorts, cheese, and the products of the cow. All around are the evidences of that human toil which, after a thousand years of labor, has made a garden of the old sea-bottom, over which fish used to feed and disport themselves.

Until both Orient and Occident revealed their mysteries, neither pipes nor potatoes, tea nor coffee, sugar nor cheap spices were known in Nijkerk. A new social era dawned comparatively late in the seventeenth century, when American tobacco, the Arabian bean, the Chinese leaf, and the Indian tuber were brought to "the dorp." The fried or baked potato, dipped in gravy, eked out the

midday meal, and the earthen coffee-pot simmered at the window to cheer the toiler, unloosen the tongue, and tap the social virtues. In time, that is, in the eighteenth century, the Delft ware on the dresser and tiles at the chimney side were common enough. Tobacco smoking, never at first allowed in the house, became the luxury of the men as they sat on the side seat of the front door "stoep," that is, the step, or porchway; but all these novelties were long after the time of Henry Hudson. Most of them were next to unknown until after 1650. Emigration to New Netherland occupied scarcely forty years, beginning in 1623 and ceasing in 1663.

Happy was it for Kilian van Rensselaer, the Patroon of Guelderland's mediæval acres, that, when he wanted to create a principality in the New World, his long and happy acquaintance with the sons of the soil and daughters of his neighbors enabled him to draw upon a reserve of sturdy young manhood and womanhood. There is a reason why the manor of Rensselaerwijk was the only successful one in New Netherland.

It may be that some of van Rensselaer's appointments to office—as when he raised his nephew, Walter van Twiller, from being a clerk in the West India Company's counting-house to be the Director-General of New Netherland—were not happy. Yet most of those selected by him, young as they were, made an excellent

record in the New World. Chief of these was the immortal Arendt van Curler, whose name the Indians made the title for governors, kings, and emperors.

CHAPTER XI

THE MAKER OF THE SILVER CHAIN

THE settlement, or "colonie," near Fort Orange, was at first named from the shape of the land at the riverbank, the Dutch word meaning hoop-net, and the old neighborhood in Albany is still so called.

Later, this gave way to Beverwijk, or Beaver Town, from the plenteousness of beaver skins seen in the trade with the Indians, though there is a town in North Holland, not far from Amsterdam, also named Beverwijk. Ultimately, when the settlement flourished under Arendt van Curler, it was very properly called Rensselaerwijk.

"Heroes are made early." The coming of Arendt van Curler opened a new chapter in the history of the Patroon's colony. He was seventeen years old when he crossed the Atlantic, in December, 1637.

The van Curler estate near Putten in Guelderland, not far from Nijkerk, is mentioned in the list of property owners made in 1313. Gosen van Curler was the schout, or sheriff, of Nijkerk, in 1593. In the Book of Baptisms of the Reformed Church (1593-1620) is the record that on the

29th of August, 1594, "Gosen Corler's and Gertgen Boldewin's child was baptized and named Henrick." This Henrick was the father of Arendt van Curler, who was baptized February 6, 1620. In 1637 he went to New Netherland, first as assistant to the schout at Rensselaerwijk, but later was made commissary or superintendent. He made a success of the drooping settlement, which ultimately became Albany, and later, in 1661, he founded Schenectady. His name lives immortal not only on the landscape of New York, but in the title bestowed by the Iroquois on the Governor of the Empire State and the King of Great Britain. Other records at Nijkerk tell of both Arendt and Jacobus van Curler. The old van Curler homestead, "Corlaar," made modern in appearance, still stands amid flowers and canals.

After Arendt van Curler had served for a while as subordinate at Rensselaerwijk, he was promoted by the Patroon to be superintendent, and at once set to work to improve the comfort of the settlers. His jurisdiction extended from Beeren, or Bear's Island, in the Hudson, to the northern boundary between the Algonquin and Iroquois, at Rock Regio, or Rock Dunder, in Lake Champlain, now opposite Burlington, Vermont. He provided food and shelter for the numerous emigrants arriving at Rensselaerwijk, and arranged that there should be no delay at Manhattan. This he sometimes did by bringing the people up the river in



CORLAAR IN 1908. HOME OF ARENDT VAN CURLER

fast canoes paddled by Indians instead of in slow sloops. The freight might come later, but van Curler believed in settling the farmers on the land at once. He then enlarged and developed, withal putting on an unshakable basis, the Dutch policy of peace with the Indians.

Van Curler was one of the first men to perceive the true humanity of the native American and to realize his value. The Indians were so very numerous all around, that it would have been easy for them to combine and overwhelm the new settlement, but van Curler, besides being a noble character, had learned experience from the folly of the Manhattan rulers. Studying into causes which made Indian wars in Virginia and New England so disastrous, and being a Christian of the right sort, as well as a believer that the continent was big enough for both its first inhabitants and the newcomers, he renewed with the Iroquois, but with solemn and imposing ceremonies, the league of peace. "The covenant of Corlaer" was always referred to by the Indians as "the Silver Chain of Friendship."

Van Curler knew the French also, and understood how well suited the Latin races were for gaining influence and control through their alliance with the Indians. He foresaw the coming struggle between those two types of civilization, the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon (the Angles and Saxons were Dutch before they were English),

and he determined to keep friendship inviolable with the red man.

Faithful to his trust as agent of the Patroon, van Curler sometimes found matters of duty disagreeable. The rules of the Company forbade free trade in "the bush" or open forest, and in carrying out the Patroon's orders, he came into collision with Adrian van der Donck, the first lawyer in New Netherland. "Every peasant was a trader," as de Vries had noticed, and the Patroon's right of monopoly must be maintained and enforced. This brought on a struggle. The "bos-lopers," wood runners, or irregular forest traders, in protest, put their names to a paper in a circle, so that it should not be known who had first signed the "round robin." Thus the ringleader was anonymous. They employed the young lawyer, van der Donck, then the only one in New Netherland, as their advocate; but they failed, because the Patroon had his rights of monopoly confirmed by charter. Showing this document, van Curler gained his point and regained his popularity. Even during the time of Kieft's war, van Curler's firm hand in the colony and unbounded influence with the Five Nations were like a wall of fire guarding the prosperity of the colony.

The social life of the future capital city began around and centred in the congregation, when in 1643 a church neighborhood, or parish, was created by van Curler, the commissary, and Megapolensis.

The Domine at once began the study of the Mohawk dialect, which, belonging to the Iroquois family of languages, was very different from the Mohican speech. It was hard work at first, but *Virtus vim vicit*, as the arms of Haarlem have it. Intellect overcame the brute force of inertia. In time he was able to preach to the savages, and won not a few of them to such a measure of Christianity as they could receive. In the case of the children taken young and steadily taught, he was very successful.

The scholarly man from civilization in a world of wild men was amused at what he saw. Until about twelve, the copper-colored little folks were only Nature's covering. In summer their elders followed suit, literally. The Indians' skin was so hardened to the elements, that the ordinary house diseases of the white man were unknown to them. In winter they wore clothes taken directly off the deer and bear. Moccasins and leggings were of buckskin, but the natives plaited corn leaves together, making a rustling suit of clothes that seemed odd indeed. They painted their faces red or blue, "making themselves look like the devil." When they bought coarse duffel, or frieze, similar to our Ulster cloth, they were very proud of the woven stuff, thinking it very fine. The squaws outdid the Dutch maids and mothers in dressing their hair, and the styles of their headgear were sometimes astonishing. They used bear's grease on their

tresses, and smeared it over their bodies to keep away parasites. The men hunted, fished, and fought. The hoe and the cradle were beneath them. The women did all the work at the fire and in the field, yet were able to bring forth their children without ceasing their toil for more than a few minutes. The newborn babes were washed in the cold river, or even in the snow. According to the Domine's notion, marriage was unknown among the savages.

The "Wilden" were great eaters. Carrying their kettles, dried corn, and wooden bowls and spoons with them, they cooked a meal whenever it suited them. After taking prisoners they tortured them, making them dance and sing. Sometimes they roasted and ate their prizes. In war they usually spared the children and the women, unless the latter were very old. In pain and disease they thought the devil was biting them. Indeed, the wild men were almost as diligent as some Christians are in attributing all things undelightful to "the devil." Him they considered to be a very industrious person. At first the Domine thought savages entire strangers to all "religion." This was because they laughed at the Dutchmen when praying. Learning what was being done in church, they were much impressed. Until they understood what worship in the Christian way meant, it was all very comical to them, but they were too polite to make any disturbance when invited into the pews. They

came with long pipes in their mouths, smoking tobacco, as at their own pow-wows. They were very much put out to find that they must not answer the Domine when he was talking. They innocently asked what he wanted, that he stood and talked so much when no one else spoke a word.

Part of the regular morning worship, according to the Netherlands liturgy, was the reading of the Ten Commandments. The Domine told them that he was admonishing the Christians not to do any wrong, not to steal, murder, commit adultery, or even to drink to drunkenness. He said also that the Mohawks ought not to do these things, and he promised when he knew the language better to go into their country and teach them. The Indians, genuine Pharisees of their own kind, asked why the white men did such naughty things. They had a great opinion of themselves, and considered themselves very smart. Their common name for the Dutchmen was "cloth-makers," or "iron-workers," because they could weave and had metal tools. .

Arendt van Curler, ever busy in developing the manor, remained in the service of the Patroon until the death of the latter. With his bride, Antonia Slaghboom, who may have been the widow of Jonas Bronk, he visited his native country and Nijkerk in 1644. He had made Rensselaerwijk a success. His name is fitly inscribed in the cathe-

dral in the capital city of the Empire State, as one of its founders.

There were three van Curlers in the colony, the second, on Manhattan Island, being Anthony, the trumpeter. In the records of Nijkerk we do not find his name. He was probably not of kin to the worthy church masters, town officers, and the cultured and benevolent folk in Guelderland. Yet in the mythology of New Netherland his figure is unique and colossal. He stands in popular notion next to Peter Stuyvesant. His place in the written record, however, occupies less than five lines. At an outdoor dinner in the fort given to the departing de Vries and his crew, after their Delaware venture, Anthony sounded a blast. Two petty officers of the company, one a storekeeper of the fort and the other of the ship, for some reason, scolded the trumpeter roundly. Thereupon van Curler gave them a thrashing, and in vengeful mood they ran home for their swords. After pouring out their wrath at the Director's house and sleeping over the matter, they concluded not to fight. In the morning, "they feared the trumpeter more than they sought him." This is all that history tells of the renowned Anthony, who in legend is a veritable Brocken spectre, his nose a mountain, his power to break maidens' hearts unmeasured, and his determination invincible; yes, *Spuyten Duyvil*, that is, in spite of the devil.

Jacobus van Curler of Nijkerk, cousin of Arendt,

on his return from Connecticut, whither he had been sent by van Twiller, bought land on Manhattan from four Indian chiefs at the place fronting the East River, since famous as Corlaer's Hook, near the end of Grand Street. He became a member of the Governor's Council, and was later a schoolmaster and a property owner on Long Island. He was ever a friend of the Indians and a useful citizen of high character. He was one of the most prominent and influential men in the development of Long Island, — whose detailed history we cannot even glance at. He remained in New Netherland until he was sixty years old, and then returned to Nijkerk. His is one of the names that adorn the annals of New Netherland.

CHAPTER XII

STUYVESANT AND HIS RULE

MILITARY men are usually failures as civil rulers, and Peter Stuyvesant, the next Director-General of New Netherland, was no exception to the common experience. Nevertheless, his familiar figure and personality have thrown all predecessors into the shadowy background. Being, as the people saw him, a creature of flesh, blood, clothes, wood, and silver, he was a most picturesque personage, on which fiction and caricature have delighted to dwell. His long career, of seventeen years in the public activities of the Dutch Manhattan village and eighteen years as a private gentleman in the social life of the English city, has left an enduring impression on the metropolis. Minuit, van Twiller, and Kieft are to-day but as profiles in silhouette, while Stuyvesant's features are clear and his portrait is familiar. Indeed, he seems to be a living person among us.

One of the brave man's legs had been lost in West Indian warfare, and had been replaced, through the combined services of the carpenter and silversmith, by a triumph of art and skill. Tradition, with varied tongue, tells of silver nails, studs, bands, or, and most probably, bullion lace as ornamenting

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his timber supplement. From nursery legend alone, we can almost see "Old Silvernails" stomping down Broadway and giving his orders like a general in battle. Among the scores of American place-names containing "silver," at least one, in Connecticut, Silvernails, famous for its eggs and poultry, recalls the popular nickname of the warrior-governor.

It was a bright, warm day on May 24, 1647, when the Director and his retinue stepped ashore near the fort. In this tall and dignified man, then forty-five years old, the people saw the son of a Domine, the scion of a noble family, a brave soldier, and an officer experienced in colonial administration.

Whatever his personal limitations, however colossal his egotism, or whatever his lack of sympathy with popular rights, Stuyvesant was in private character above reproach. With a high sense of honor he had purity of purpose. His honesty was above question, as his integrity was unspotted. In short, he had all the merits of a soldier and all the faults of a military man unsuited to civil government, and he met with the usual failure. With the conscience of a Roman functionary, he incarnated the corporation. He disliked personal opposition of any sort whatever, and he took it as a direct insult when the orders he gave were not instantly obeyed.

So far from being a typical Dutchman, Peter

Stuyvesant was more like a Muscovite or Spaniard. In most of his public actions, he flew in the face of Dutch precedents, flouted the spirit of the Republic, and trampled on the first instincts of free men. In this he was as narrowly conscientious as the Duke of Alva. Among the exceptionally unwise things done by Stuyvesant was his prohibition of popular amusements at Easter and Christmas time.

Of much more importance for the social welfare of the colony than Stuyvesant's rigid military conscience, was the fact that he brought with him a wife, and thus made a home. Van Twiller and Kieft were probably lone men, without the restraints of a household. With the new Governor, however, came ladies of character and refinement, and of Huguenot origin. Mrs. Samuel Bayard, whose husband had been a brother of Mrs. Stuyvesant, accompanied the Governor's wife. With her three children, Peter, Balthasar, and Nicholas, Mrs. Bayard assisted her brother and sister-in-law, and was helped by them to make a home for her sons in the New World. With two such women of culture, Manhattan society was sure to be elevated. Happily also van Dincklagen, the officer who assisted in bringing about the removal of van Twiller and Kieft, remained in office, to be, as before, a champion of the people.

It was probably the disputes with England, then looming up towards war, that prompted the ap-

pointment of a purely military character like Stuyvesant. However, the new Governor found that one of his first tasks was with impudent cattle rather than with trespassing Yankees. The cows, mounting the grassy slopes of the fort to graze, not only threatened to trample down the defenses of New Amsterdam, but actually looked down unenviously upon the garrison. The hogs, rooting up the earthen walls, leered at the soldiers and sniffed at the heroes within. The Governor at once called for reform and repair, but in the wrong way. He did not live up to the Dutch doctrine of "no taxation without consent," for which his countrymen were even then fighting at home. He ordered the impounding of cattle and the levying of a tax to rebuild and enlarge the fort.

At once this military commander met with the sturdy resistance of patriotic freemen. He found that his countrymen had changed their skies, but not their steadfast minds. Refusing to be slaves of a corporation, they demanded the same rights as in the Fatherland. They declined to pay the taxes which they did not themselves vote. This right of representation in government and the voting of taxes had been the Netherlands' cherished possession since the Crusades, when they had won it from their feudal lords. It was questioned only by the Spanish King, whom they had abjured for treachery. Now, in a new world, the people did not propose to revert to mediæval ways at the

beck and nod of a man with a feudal baron's mind.

Among those of the Nine Men who steadfastly resisted Stuyvesant was Adrian van der Donck, who might almost be called the father of the real city, as compared with the earlier hamlet, of New Amsterdam. A graduate of the University of Leyden, he hated to see law trampled under foot either by a corporation or by its creature. Being, like several other choice men in New Netherland, a yonkheer, or young lord, he bought a manor of the Indians north of Spuyten Duyvil Creek, which was called "the Yonkheer's Land," and thus his title remains in the name of the town which grew upon it. When the Nine Men proposed to call a town meeting, after the ancient style known in Patria for ages, Stuyvesant took van der Donck's act as a personal insult, and threw the lawyer into prison. Later, he treated van Schlechtenhorst, the Patroon's agent, in the same way.

Just at this juncture there arrived from Holland Mynheers Melyn and Kuyter. They were armed with an order from the States-General condemning the Director, and ordering him to defend himself by attorney from the charges against him. This quieted the lion, and he behaved himself by freeing van der Donck. But when "John Company" sent Stuyvesant a letter, he became obstinate and vindictive again. Then the Nine Men, in the name of the people, prepared their famous *Vertoogh*,

or Remonstrance. Van der Donck was their penman. They asked that the Dutch National Congress should assume the direct rule over New Netherland, that they at New Amsterdam should have a burghers' or municipal government, and that the boundaries of New Netherland should be rectified by treaty and clearly defined.

Van der Donck, with facile pen and pleasing voice, succeeded with the States-General so far as to get municipal government for New Amsterdam, and an order to the Director to inaugurate it. Nevertheless, corporationism was then as strong in the Dutch as it is now in the American Republic. Men high in the Government at the Hague used vested rights in defiance of popular wishes and welfare. The great argument against justice and righteousness was the West India Company itself. These monopolists scouted the idea of popular government, and could see no need of change in either conditions or the Directorship. This stiffened Stuyvesant's back, and his behavior more closely than ever resembled that of a Japanese daimio or a spoiled child. Besides browbeating and insulting the Nine Men, he attempted to smother representative government by leaving unfilled the vacancies in the Board of Nine Men as they occurred, but once again these appealed to the States-General with effect, and in 1653 municipal government was proclaimed.

The burgomaster, schout, and schepens met

once a week in the City Hall or Stadt-Huys (whence our word "State House"), and after due form of prayer proceeded to business. With a craft quite equaling what we have so often seen in our free land, the "machine," consisting of "John Company" and Peter, had so "fixed" it that the Director not only appointed the city officers, but even made ordinances on his own account. Stuyvesant never lacked vigor and conscientious industry, and from 1653 dates an era of progress and prosperity on Manhattan and in New Netherland at large.

Yet the credit of good results in no sense belongs to Stuyvesant, but rather to van der Donck. In Holland, this legal gentleman, true father of municipal New York, himself became literally a *stuyvesant*, or stirrer up of the sand. He labored incessantly both by voice and pen. Besides discussions at the Hague and a fierce war with printer's ink against "John Company," he wrote in 1655 a book entitled "A Description of New Netherland," which was widely read by all classes. It awakened more general interest and curiosity in the new land beyond sea than anything yet attempted. In some of its pictures the artist told fairy tales and got his imaginary animals, from the menageries of heraldry and mythology, mixed with those of reality in one happy family. It is amusing to see unicorns on Manhattan, elks that seem to be fighting horses, beavers snarling at hyenas, and eagles

making prey of the unicorn, to say nothing of palm trees and other tropical features. Van der Donck was not the first author whose text was contradicted by the illustrations put in by his publishers. The first and best description of the American beaver is found in this book, in which, also, with a warning against the awful waste of timber, we find a noble plea for forest preservation. Accurate in telling what he saw, van der Donck was at times misled by what he heard. Nevertheless, through van der Donck's leaven, the colony became a real New Netherland, worthy of its name.

When men of all the various creeds and nationalities who breathed the air of freedom in the Dutch Republic were assured of similar privilege in New Netherland, many crossed the Atlantic. Between 1653 and 1664, the population increased to about twelve thousand, of whom three thousand were on Manhattan. If any one should be honored with a statue by the citizens of New York, it is van der Donck. To him belongs largely the credit of changing the trading-post into a cosmopolitan city, in which twenty languages were spoken, and one to which came children of the same Heavenly Father who sought Him in many ways, and who under a governor like Minuit might have dwelt as brothers in one family.

It was a wolf's welcome that Stuyvesant gave the Lutheran, the Jew, the Quaker, the Anabap-

tist, the Independent, and all who attended "conventicles," that is, little meetings, apart from the Dutch Church.

The Lutherans in Holland had perfect freedom of worship, but when those on Manhattan asked for permission to worship publicly in their own way, they were denied. Bigotry, in the person of the Director, fell back on its "oath" and on Domine and Classis, and "one of the crowning glories of the Fatherland, freedom of conscience and worship, was for a season denied to New Netherland." In time, after petty annoyances, and when the Director had been rebuked even by the Company, the Lutherans found peace, freedom, and prosperity, being now the fourth largest religious body in the United States.

When the Portuguese recaptured Brazil, the Jews had to fly for life. In September, 1654, in the little Dutch ship *St. Catrina* — the American Hebrews' *Mayflower* — twenty-three fugitives arrived at Manhattan. Their goods were promptly sold at auction for the passage money. Harshly treated by Stuyvesant, they waited patiently until deliverance came from "the land where conscience was free." The Company rebuked their Director for his utterly un-Dutch behavior, and the States-General in 1655 gave special permission to the Jews to live and trade in New Netherland. In time New York became the largest Jewish city, and the College of the City of

New York — the man child of Townsend Harris's brain and heart — "the greatest Jewish University," in the world.

In their illiberal policy, the local authorities in Church and State acted contrary to the procedure in the Fatherland. The best apology we can make for either the clerical or the military persecutors on Manhattan is that they were men of their age. It seems, also, to be a law of nature that provincial people usually exceed those in the Fatherland in the intensity of their convictions. The prevailing sentiment in the Netherlands was that of moderation, and the temper that of Erasmus and William the Silent, rather than that of men who mistook their own will and *ism*, when linked with power, for God's will and truth.

Stuyvesant's genius as a soldier shone in war, and in military operations his record is admirable. He understood the character of the Indians, realized the intense pride of the Iroquois, and negotiated successfully with the Mohawks, but he frowned upon all suggestions, at home or from Holland, that savages should be employed as allies in war. Stuyvesant laid out the village of Esopus, in what is now the oldest part of Kingston, garrisoned it, and inflicted condign punishment upon the savages who massacred the whites at Wiltwijk. He resisted successfully the attempts of Englishmen to make a lodgment for trade upon the Delaware. He visited Hartford, and by his

negotiations, as well as by his firmness with the English settlers on Long Island, staved off the inevitable inrush of the multiplying New Englanders, and nullified the secret plots of England's unscrupulous rulers.

Faithful to the corporation which he represented, he tried to destroy the Patroon's jurisdiction, repeatedly visiting Fort Orange and Rensselaerwijk, or sending soldiers to enforce the Company's authority there. With a true dog-in-the-manger spirit, "John" and Peter refused to have Arendt van Curler's settlement at Schenectady surveyed, lest these free farmers on the Mohawk might trade with the Indians. At these freemen we will now glance.

CHAPTER XIII

OUTSIDE FEUDALISM: THE FREE FARMERS

"IN Netherlands' story the people is ever the true hero," wrote Motley, who told one part of the patriots' story in *Patria*. Yet no less true is this in the story of Dutch America. The pompous corporation officials have attracted attention, even to caricature or transfiguration, but it was the plain people who made New Netherland. Theirs were the heroic figures, and the best things in the Empire State are inheritances from them. Like most office-holders, the Company's servants succumbed to the intoxication of authority, but the people sanely and soberly laid the foundations and reared the enduring structure. On Long Island, at Esopus and New Paltz, and especially at Schenectady, — places outside of feudalism and only in part subject to "John Company," — was this truth most manifest.

Arendt van Curler was a true people's man. There was a number of farmers with their families at Rensselaerwijk, who, preferring freedom to immediate prosperity, wished to settle outside the Patroon's manor. They would rather take the risks of living on the frontier, and thus own their homes, than be semi-serfs under feudalism.

The "Patroon was always present in his court-baron," theoretically at least, and the colonists of the manor were subject to such laws as the Patroon or his deputies might establish. The colonists of the manor also promised that they would not appeal from the manorial court to the Director-General and Council at Fort Amsterdam. From this galling restraint, the free farmers, led by van Curler, would be free under the liberal provisions of the act of the States-General of 1640. In name and theory, New Netherland was past and gone when Schenectady was settled, but was Dutch to the core, and remained so until the Revolution, when its people became intensely American and loyal to the Continental Congress.

Schenectady was not the only free village organized before the fall of New Netherland. In 1652 some free farmers, who chafed under manorial rule and wanted to be owners of the soil they tilled and not semi-serfs, came and settled at Esopus. Receiving the soil as a free gift from the Indians, the settlement was named Wiltwijk; that is, the Place of the Willing Gift, or the Town of Good Will. Stuyvesant, in the name of the Company, bestowed also a charter, giving the people the powers possessed by other incorporated towns, including the idea of rotation in office. Roeloff Swartwout was appointed the first schout or sheriff, taking rank above the burgomasters and schepens. There were Indian wars and troubles which can-

not be here noted. After the English conquest, the place was named Kingston.

As was natural for a people coming from a land rescued from the ocean, whose highways were canals, the Dutchman settled at the mouth of or along streams which flow into the river.

The Dutchman had an eye for good land, making such excellent choice that, unlike the New Englanders, who lived for the most part on poor soil, the débris of glaciers, and who abandoned their holdings, the farms of the Hudson River region passed down from father to son through successive generations. This is probably the reason why the Dutch of the river counties of New York contributed so much smaller a proportion of emigrants to the fertile fields of the West than New England or any other part of the East ; although the Germans in Pennsylvania were very much like the Dutch in New York in this respect.

In the Netherlands, a country of city republics, even from feudal times, almost every important town or city was fortified, usually with geometric fortifications, or many-sided ramparts and moats. At the junction or corner between the walls and uniting them, was a little round sconce or fort, which being of circular shape was called a *ronduit*. In 1614 men of the United New Netherland Company built one of these small fortifications at the mouth of the creek ; hence the name "*Rondout*," — now part of the city of Kingston. Here

was the first capital of New York State, here its constitution⁸ was adopted, here yet stands the Senate House, rich in relics of earlier days, and here rises the grand edifice of the old Reformed Dutch Church, organized in 1659, the present superb structure dating from early in the last century. It enshrines the records of the congregation, complete and unbroken from 1660. As illustrating the common idea of associating the Church with the school, provision was early made for education, and here, in 1773, the Kingston Academy, one of the earliest and possibly the first school of a high grade in the state, was founded, being in 1864 merged into the free school system. The year 1908 saw the reinterment, with military and civil honors, of the first governor of New York, George Clinton.

There were several places named the "New Dorp," one being on Staten Island. One was made in 1662 by settlers who moved back from Wiltwijk, although all new villages, Schenectady, for example, did not retain this descriptive name. New Dorp, near Wiltwijk, was named Hurley, after the English governor's paternal estate. Louis du Bois, the Walloon (hence the Walkill or Walloon's stream), settled at New Dorp, and afterwards led the pioneer band at New Paltz. Here was measured off, as in other Dutch villages, a common "for woods, pasturage and drifts of cattle," — the word drift in Dutch meaning course or run. At New Dorp they excluded from the proprietorship

all who were not inhabitants of the town, for each dweller owned his house, and the adjacent plot was private property, while the rest of the territory was collective property. New Paltz showed many of the peculiar characteristics of early village community life more distinctly, and for a longer time, than any other town along the Hudson River.

The "Duke's laws," of which we shall hear more, recognized the village customs, that is, the voters were the freeholders, and suffrage was based on ownership of land. "Fence-viewers" were to be appointed, and every hog and cow must be marked with the public brand of the town and the private mark of the owner, or else be liable to be put into the penfold, or the "pound." The people made circular or ring fences many miles long, each owner of the land building, in proportion to his valuation, his part of the ring fence, while the fence-viewer must inspect all. The separate holdings were not, for many years, fenced off in severalty, nor, till near the nineteenth century, was any considerable proportion of the common tract divided by partition and allotment to individual proprietors. The same customs of land-holding prevailed in Dutchess County, in which was the waterfall called Poogkepesingh, or Poughkeepsie, and in which the first courthouse was constructed of wood furnished chiefly from the common.

In the Wallkill valley, the name of the water suggests the presence of a foreigner or Walloon.

The Wallkill, flowing between the Hudson and the Delaware, rising in Sussex County, New Jersey, passes northeast into New York, intersecting Orange and Ulster counties, uniting with the Rondout River. Thus it flows northward through picturesque scenery for about sixscore miles, while its three great neighbors, the Hudson, Delaware, and Susquehanna, flow southward. Here the Huguenots from the Paltz, or the Rhine Palatinate, came to find a home and peace in 1678. The first settlers purchased the land of the Indians, and most of the homesteads have been handed down in families ever since the first payment of wampum or the first deed of parchment.

Like oil poured from vessel to vessel were these people, — first hounded from their native land, France, and then dragooned from the Rhine Valley. Their initial habitations were of logs, but these in time gave way to stone. The struggle with languages was not merely from French (used until 1733) to Dutch (spoken until 1800), but also from Dutch to English, so that many a New Paltzer enjoyed or wrestled with three vernaculars in his one lifetime. Hence the polyglot records of Ulster County. In the evolution of government, transit was made from a simple regulation of public affairs by the heads of families to government by the *Dusina* or Twelve Men chosen annually. This dozen of dignitaries had supervision of the land titles, but most of the public questions as they emerged

were decided by the body of voters. The name New Paltz, or New Palatinate, recalls the place of their temporary sojourn when driven out of France, and between the Rhine of Europe and the Rhine of America there was "a bond of union formed by the institutional relationship of the village community." New Paltz was the typical village community of the Hudson River. To-day their house of worship is among the noblest specimens of early nineteenth-century architecture.

In the long struggle between the people and the corporation directed by Kieft and Stuyvesant, the Dutch spirit was ever manifest, until in 1652 the people succeeded in getting municipal government for New Amsterdam. Then also Beverwijk, made independent of the Patroon's colony, was released from feudal jurisdiction. Brooklyn and the adjacent towns on Long Island secured an increase of local authority. Then followed the great influx of Walloons, Huguenots, and Waldenses from Europe and Puritans from New England, seeking through ownership in land to obtain the rights, which elsewhere were denied them, in the name of God. From this time forth, the agricultural settlements increased, and under freer government, villages and towns grew up on lands granted directly to those who were to cultivate the soil.

In all the early villages in New Netherland, Brooklyn, New Amsterdam, Wiltwijk, the Long Island towns, etc., there were common lands and

a common pasture. The City Hall Park in New York still remains as the survival of a village common, on which the cows grazed every day, returning every night, under the guidance of the hornmen, as in ancient Patria. The "Bowery" meant not only the land inclosed, but the dwelling-house on it. "Bowery" was equivalent to the English expression "house and home." Every Dutchman who owned land, or had rights to the common timber or pasture, felt that he had a right to vote, and he cursed both Company and patroon that dared to deprive him of his ancestral rights, which, since the days of the Moot and the Mark and the lifting up of the chief on the shield, amid popular acclamation, he had not forgotten.

Even in the days of Kieft, before he was a degenerate monopolist, his patent given to the town of Gravesend in the year 1645 to the settlers from New England is a charter of Dutch civil and religious freedom, unlike anything known in England, giving the people the right to nominate and elect three of their ablest approved honest men to act as a local court, with the usual jurisdiction in all matters of local government. The gift of land, which secured with the ownership liberty of conscience and the selection of their own ministers, was the great encouragement to settle new regions. No writer has presented these facts more clearly than Mr. Irving Elting in his monograph, "Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River."

CHAPTER XIV

DUTCH AND SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE RIVER

AFTER the failure of the Swaanendael venture of 1630, although no permanent Dutch settlement was made by the Dutch on the South River before 1640, their fur-traders were busy on the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, and in that region, until an invasion, as they considered it, on a large scale, from Sweden, called forth first their diplomacy, and then force.

Usselinx saw the Swedish West India Company chartered as early as 1626. This was the year that the Princess Christina (whose name ought to be that of the State of Delaware) was born; but absorbed in the work of securing freedom of conscience, Gustavus Adolphus had to postpone the work of building up a New Sweden in America. Dying on the field of Lutzen, he left his darling project of a colony in America, "the jewel of his kingdom," to his daughter, then a little girl of eleven, of masculine education. Right royally did Queen Christina attempt to carry out her father's wish. Calling to her aid Peter Minuit, she bade him go and occupy the deserted Delaware region, dispatching him late in 1637 with two ships and fifty colonists to found New Sweden.

Just when the buds were opening, Minuit arrived inside Delaware Bay, in April, 1638, and began a settlement not far from Cape Henlopen and near Lewes in Delaware. One of the first buildings erected after the fort was the Lutheran church, the first in America. Rev. Reorus Torkillas was pastor of this Christian congregation.

Minuit also built a fort at Minqua Kill, now within the limits of Wilmington, naming it after Queen Christina. He not only bought from the Indians the lands which the Swedes occupied, but he treated them with firmness and kindness, making them his fast friends. Later, the Swedish claim extended inland to the great falls of the Susquehanna River. With his garrison of soldiers and ships of war Minuit laughed when, very soon after, he received notice from Director Kieft on Manhattan, that he was a trespasser and must be off. Kieft had no force to back his order, and was himself surprised at the answer the Company sent to his request for ships and soldiers. Instead of iron arguments, the Director was to use his eloquence of persuasion; but failing to oust the intruders, was to live on as good terms with them as possible. What a change in the temper of the great fighting corporation that had swallowed up Spanish silver fleets and cities, very much as a shark devours herrings!

The truth is that this was a period of reaction in Holland against "John Company." The feeling

soon expressed itself in the liberal charter of 1640, which limited the West India Company's power and encouraged what was next to impossible under the old régime, the growth of free village communities in New Netherland. When well-loaded ships sailed home from New Sweden, some enterprising Dutchmen, who hated the close corporation in Amsterdam, united themselves in an independent enterprise, and sent over a ship with colonists, well supplied, to settle on the Delaware.

These freemen, who were opposed to patroons and manors, arrived just at the nick of time, for the Swedes had not yet been reinforced. The first glow of excitement was over, and trade was poor. Not having enough to eat, the colonists from Sweden were about to move to Manhattan rather than starve. Everything changed when the Dutch ship, supplies, and people arrived. The Netherlanders, in hearty coöperation with the Scandinavians, settled a few miles farther up the river. In the autumn, fresh reinforcements and provisions arrived in three ships from Sweden. Leaving to the new officers his command, Minuit left for the West Indies to develop trade. Even more hearty was the mutual agreement of Dutch and Swedes as against the Yankees, when, in 1641, a party from New Haven entered the river and settled on the Schuylkill and at Salem on the Delaware. As they had promised, when warned by Kieft, not to settle or trade in New Netherland, he garrisoned

Fort Nassau, and sent his agent Jansen in an armed ship to deport them. This was accomplished without bloodshed. So two nations, instead of three, dominated the region.

In the West Indies, Minuit, while dining on a friend's ship, was caught in a storm and lost his life. In February, 1643, the second Swedish colony arrived, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Printz, an officer of great activity, but hardly, if Swedish critics judge aright, of brilliant military reputation. His *avoiirdupois* was greater than his soldierly record. His weight was four hundred pounds. He settled Tinicum, building a fort on the island, and calling the place New Gottenburg, which soon became like a bustling little city. In 1644 he built Fort Elsingburg on Salem Creek, on the other side of the river, where for a while the New Haven people had lived. All this was done in accordance with his orders from home to shut up the river. Printz ruled over his domain, which extended from the ocean to the falls where Trenton now is. Even the Dutch were compelled to strike their flag in passing, and no further settlements by them were permitted.

On the intellectual side, the Swedes were quite equal to New Englanders or Dutchmen, and the catechism of the Lutheran Church was the first Protestant book to be translated into an Indian tongue, being put into Algonquin by the chaplain, Rev. John Campanius, who served from 1643

to 1649 in his church on Tinicum Island, which was the first house of worship within the limits of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, the printing of the catechism was delayed until 1696. In the Lord's Prayer, the initial petition, instead of for "daily bread," is for plenty of corn and venison,—as best suiting an Indian.

According to orders from Manhattan, Andries Hudde, a Dutchman, bought from the Indians in 1642 the site of Philadelphia, and set up a pole, nailing on it the Company's arms. This Printz removed, tearing up Hudde's note of remonstrance and sending his messenger flying. Others who followed the first came back bruised and bloody. Yet Governor Kieft, having no force, could do nothing. Printz built a palisaded house on the Schuylkill; but the Indians, now opposed to the Swedes, helped Hudde to build "Fort" Beversvrede.

When Printz sent twenty men to destroy the Dutch stronghold, the Indians compelled them to retire. Then, to spite Hudde, Printz built a house right in front of Fort Nassau, shutting out the view of the river. Hudde was helpless. With only six men to garrison two forts, many miles apart, he could do nothing.

Stuyvesant at last found time to attend to Printz and to investigate the claims of Sweden. He first headed off and turned back another party of fifty poachers in two ships from New Haven, and

then, in July, 1651, started for Fort Nassau with a retinue and a chaplain, Samuel Megapolensis, son of the elder Domine. Meeting Printz, he demanded evidences of ownership and documents of sale. The answer was that these might be in Stockholm, but were not there and then accessible. Stuyvesant thereupon bought of the sachems all the land on both sides of the river to the bay, except Fort Christina, which the Indians had sold to Minuit. Despite the protests of Printz, he built Fort Casimir on the site of the present Newcastle, four miles below the Swedish Fort Christina, naming it after his former commander, the Stadtholder of Friesland, and paying the Indians for the land.

After this Printz, left without resources, was quiet. Two years later he went back to Sweden, leaving his daughter's husband, Poppegoya, in command. As the Swedish colonists were not reinforced they were discouraged, until in May, 1654, Governor Johan Rysingh arrived with two hundred colonists, a force of soldiers, and a chaplain.

On Trinity Sunday, 1654, the Swedes surprised and captured Fort Casimir, which had no powder in its magazine, and named it Fort Trinity. Stuyvesant, after reporting to the Company the "infamous surrender," was ordered to retake the fort and drive out the Swedes. Having an expected attack from New England to provide

for, he postponed his expedition until the war-ships King Solomon, Great Christopher, and the Balance, with a French privateer, the Hope, had come over from Amsterdam. Then on Manhattan the drum beat for volunteers, and every ship and house furnished men. Three river yachts joined the little squadron. On the first Sunday in September, after sermon and worship, the seven vessels, with seven hundred men,—probably one third of all the able-bodied males in New Netherland,—and possibly the largest host of white men yet gathered for war on American soil, moved down the bay in gala array of flags and streamers. They made a picture worthy of a painter. Nevertheless, the wily savages did not fail to note the absence of the fighting men.

On the following Friday, in the Delaware, a review was held and the building of batteries begun. By the 25th of September both Swedish forts were in the hands of the Dutch, by surrender, and without the shedding of a drop of blood. The Swedish flag was hauled down, and the tricolor of the Republic run up. The most honorable and generous terms were granted the Swedes. They could remain as settlers under the Company, or be repatriated.

Nearly all the Swedes remained in their homes to add their gifts and graces of character to the building up of the commonwealths which became Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jer-

sey. If they longed for revenge, they had only to wait nine years, before the English, whom they looked on to redress their wrongs, hoisted the flag of St. George. Gradually their form of worship and government — "The Old Swedes' Church" at Wecaco in Philadelphia and Trinity Church at Wilmington — became Episcopal and their speech changed to English. Holy Trinity Church, so rich in the memorials of Old and New Sweden in Delaware, was rebuilt of brick in 1698, and is probably the oldest church edifice in continuous use in the United States. Its historic graveyard includes the site of one of Stuyvesant's three-gun batteries.

A few Netherlanders from time to time reinforced their brethren on the South River. The land, after being quarreled over by the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, was purchased by William Penn.

The Dutch settlement was named New Amstel, after Patria's chief city, on the river of this name. On his way to Long Island, in 1654, the Rev. Johannes Theodorus Polhemus, the Swiss ancestor of the great clan of Americans of that name, stopped at New Amstel. This Domine, long settled in the Palatine, whence he had been driven out by persecution, had served eighteen years in Brazil. He organized a Reformed church at New Amstel, and was the first to propose an association of Dutch American ministers and churches. Then Domine Welius followed, serving for two years.

The congregation called a young man, Warnerus Hadson, who was duly ordained, but he died on the ocean passage. Then followed the ever popular Tassemacher, who labored here from 1679 to 1682.

In 1888 our Swedish fellow citizens in the East and West, who, especially since 1830, have enriched our national composite with their virtues, energies, and industry, celebrated the quarter-millennial of the first settlement of their countrymen within the United States.

Small as is the State of Delaware, it has a long and honorable history. Many landings of famous men and nationalities have been made on its shores, which face the ocean and a noble bay and river. The Dutch, the Swedes, the Cavalier English, the Quakers May and Verhulsten, Peter Minuit, George Holmes, and William Penn, stepped in succession on the soil. The descendants of the original cosmopolitan population were bitterly opposed to British rule, and were ready at the Revolution to assert and maintain independence. The regiment of Continentals raised in the Diamond State — "the Blue Hen's Chickens" — made a noble record in battle and campaigns.

To-day the trans-Atlantic suggestions and survivals in Delaware are Swedish rather than Netherlandish. At Wilmington, Delaware's chief city, and especially in the old Trinity Church and burying-ground, is this impressively so. Inquiring in

one place for the Dutch colonial documents, I found that many of these papers in an unknown tongue had long since been used to light office fires. Yet there were and there are "Delaware Dutch," who annually, on January 23, celebrate ancestral virtues and triumphs with the "Netherlands Society of Philadelphia."

A woman's club for culture and a miniature Holland Society to recover and preserve Dutch history take their names from Swaanendael. In 1905 the landing-place of the Dutch in the State of Delaware, the site of Fort Casimir, at New Castle, built in 1657, was marked by the unveiling of a granite monument, in the presence of many people from the four Middle States, which now occupy the area of New Netherland. The Delaware branch of the Society of Colonial Dames reared this reminder of the republicans who planted the orange, white, and blue flag on their soil.

It is to the original settlement of the Dutch on her soil, and to their skillful diplomacy at the surrender of 1664, that Delaware owes her existence as a separate state. We shall see, also, that here dwelt "the father of modern socialism," Peter Cornelius Plockhoy, whose English writings during the Commonwealth, in a later century, inspired the Brook Farm experiment in New England.

CHAPTER XV

THE FALL OF NEW NETHERLAND

NEITHER legitimate trade nor colonization was necessarily the first idea with "John Company." War, devastation of the Spanish possessions, capture of silver and gold, and traffic in slaves were their primal objects. Against the pleading of Usselinx, who protested against slavery, these notions, economically false and in the end disastrous, were embodied in the charter. On the seas, and in the West Indies and South America, this corporation secured its loot and made its greatest conquests. New Netherland was only a by-product. Indeed, if this northern colony had not been at first looked upon chiefly as a station on the way home from Brazil and the Caribbean Sea it might never have started.

On the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce, before one ship of colonists was dispatched to Manhattan, the first fleet had been sent to South America. The second expedition, in 1624, consisting of twenty-six ships, with five hundred cannon, sixteen hundred sailors and seventeen hundred soldiers, captured Bahia, or San Salvador, the seat of the Portuguese Government. In two years, eighty ships, with fifteen hundred cannon and

nine thousand sailors and soldiers, had crossed the Atlantic. Although the Portuguese regained Bahia in 1625, yet in 1627 the Dutch took fifty-five vessels from the enemy, and in 1628 dispatched three great squadrons westward.

One of these, under Piet Heyn, with thirty-one ships, seven hundred cannon, and four thousand men, captured the Spanish "plate" or silver fleet on September 8. The cargo of pearls, gold, silver (140,000 lbs.), indigo, sugar, aromatic woods, and furs was sold at auction for fifteen million guilders, over \$15,000,000 in our values, and the West India Company declared a dividend of fifty per cent. Compared with such a prize, New Netherland was more like forgotten Ishmael in the desert than princely Moses exalted among courtiers. Other fleets of privateers brought to the Company's wharves the next year, 1629, one hundred and four prizes, or what would now be worth \$8,000,000, so that dividends of fifty and twenty-five per cent were declared. In 1630 Brazil was taken and occupied. John Maurice, Count of Nassau, whose splendid old home on the Viver, at the Hague, is now a great picture gallery, was Governor-General of Brazil for eight years (1636-44). He brought home a fortune. Compared with the magnificent burglary of war, the settlement of the Hudson River region seemed but a trifle.

All this fighting and robbing, permissible ac-

according to the ethics of war, differed from true colonization, which means permanence. Planting a colony with roots was quieter but nobler work. The contrast between "a river of silver a yard deep" flowing into the Company's coffers from South America and the West Indies, and the slow returns from the colder climates of North America, in furs, fish, and grain, explains why it was that immigrants were hard to obtain for the new colony, and also why the Company neglected New Netherland, and even allowed official oppression. Yet all the more clearly shines the true story of the Dutch in America, which is not that of official figure-heads, but of the "Commonality." Probably it reveals the reason why the first use of the phrase "the people," in an American document, occurred in New York State.

This was the trans-Atlantic side of the matter, explaining why New Netherland fell. On American soil troubles were thickening. In 1663, two years after receiving its charter, Wiltwijk suffered the massacre by the Indians, and this seemed the signal for misfortunes to come on the gallop; yet while "John Company" was falling on grief, "Farmer John" was rising to his own. The people's rights and representatives won. Under the combined pressure of a costly Indian war, invasion by Connecticut trespassers, the revolt of the English villages on Long Island, and an exhausted treasury, the principle of popular repre-

sentation, despite the arbitrary Stuyvesant, was for the first time fully recognized in the province. The Assembly, elected by plurality vote of the inhabitants of twelve Dutch villages in New Netherland, gathered on Manhattan, April 12, 1664.

It was too late to save either corporation or nationality. The exasperation and weariness induced by the long struggle for their rights had already prepared the people to yield to English rule ; but little or nothing was gained in the way of self-government. Within five months the flag of England floated over all New Netherland. Then the people of New York had to wait twenty years before they won back from England, or, rather from the Dutch King William III, what they had gained under Stuyvesant.

From the South River, in 1663, the Director hurried back on call to Manhattan, for another Indian outbreak threatened the very existence of the colony. A Dutchman had shot a squaw while she was stealing some peaches in his orchard, and her own tribe quickly roused to vengeance the savages of the New Jersey, Hudson River, and Connecticut regions, to the number of nearly two thousand. From sixty-two war canoes, they landed at night on the nearly defenseless Manhattan, pretending to be looking for Iroquois. After looting several houses, they were persuaded to leave the next night, but not until they had killed the squaw's murderer and another man. Driven off

by the burgher guard from the fort, they paddled over to Pavonia and Hoboken, and began a carnival of murder and fire. Thence going to Staten Island, they ravaged the farms and tomahawked the people, about ninety in number. In three days, five hundred and fifty Dutch settlers were corpses or captives, or, ruined in estate, were fugitives suffering hunger. The terror-stricken people of Long Island and Esopus crowded into Manhattan, and cowered behind the palisades below what is now Wall Street.

This was the situation when Stuyvesant returned, on October 12. He cheered up the people, strengthened the wooden wall with a platform for soldiers to stand upon while repelling assailants, and impressed all able-bodied men on the ships as guards and soldiers. The Indians felt Stuyvesant's firm hand, and understood at once with whom they were dealing. The captives were for the most part ransomed, and gradually peace settled down. Stuyvesant laid the blame of this Indian uprising on a few foolish men, and insisted that the people were too scattered, and that henceforth they should live concentrated in villages.

This Indian calamity, following upon the enormous expense of the South River expedition against the Swedes, helped to seal the fate of New Netherland, which could no longer pay its expenses, while at home the Company was wabbling towards bankruptcy. The Delaware River lands

were sold to the city of Amsterdam for seven hundred thousand guilders, or \$3,500,000 in present values. This transaction helped a little, but the end was not far off. Peace with Spain in 1648 had crippled the fighting corporation. There were no more Spanish fleets to rob or towns to ravage, and "John Company" was not educated to make money by mere honest trade and peaceful, plodding business.

The deceitfulness and uncertainty as well as the danger of sudden wealth, especially the sort gained in the legalized robbery of war, were never more signally illustrated than in Spain first, and later in Holland. It meant bankruptcy for the West India Company, and for the Low Countries economic anæmia, poverty, and distress, until better ideas prevailed.

Commercial rivalry between the Dutch and English, strained to the breaking point, eventuated in a war for markets and selfish monopoly. The question of ship transportation ruptured the long and close friendship of centuries between Holland and England. The desire for pounds, shillings, and pence being stronger than sentiment, the men that were once brothers in their love of freedom began the slaughter of one another on the seas. The special prize was the Orient and its commerce, New Netherland being only an appendix. Doubtless the affair at Amboyna, in 1623, in which the Dutch and Japanese shed British blood,

furnished the pretext. As a rule, when war-makers begin their business, ethics is invoked to create enthusiasm, and patriotism is fired by appeals to other motives, even those as low as the market. The Navigation Act of 1651 built a Chinese Wall around England. It required that all merchandise brought into England must be in English ships. This was a severe blow struck at Dutch commerce, for the Dutch were then the common carriers of the world. It was not only the cause of the naval wars of the Dutch (1652-74), but the chief provocation to the American War of Independence in 1775. It created also a spirit of insolence that remained unbroken until the American ship-duels of 1812 tamed the British lion's pride.

The untruthful King, Charles II, was an adept at deception. He knew the weakness of New Netherland, and made ready to swoop upon it. In 1664 he hoodwinked the ambassador of the Dutch Republic in London as to his true purpose of sending the British warships, in time of peace, on a buccaneering raid upon New Netherland. He did not even keep faith with his brother James, the Duke of York, notwithstanding the adage of "Honor among thieves." While the fleet was at sea, in order to raise money for his needs, he gave away part of New Netherland, "the Jerseys," to two of his favorites, Carteret and Berkeley. Charles violated the doctrine laid down by Queen

Elizabeth in her theory of title to new lands, that occupation after discovery secures possession.

New Amsterdam was taken at a time when utterly defenseless. There were so few men in it, that even if it had been well fortified, and powder had been plentiful, the defenders would have had to stand twenty-two feet apart in order to man the line of defense. On board several hundred privateers were New Englanders, who had already offered their services freely against the Dutch, while crowds were flocking near on horse and foot ready for loot. The four large royal men-of-war, manned with soldiers and marines, landed their infantry at Gravesend on August 26, 1664. These marched up Long Island, and camped near the ferry opposite the little town which lay below Wall Street on Manhattan Island. On September 4 the frigates, under full sail, moved up and ranged themselves opposite the fort. As many as possible of the cannon on deck were moved over to one side, facing the town, the men "having orders, and intending, if any resistance were offered, to fire a full broadside into this open place, and so to take the city by force, and give up everything to plunder and a blood bath." So wrote Domine Drisius, eye-witness at the time.

Stuyvesant, in spite of his rage as a soldier, was overruled by cool-headed men. He had to look between the gabions and see the English frigates move up the river, and he yielded. One of the

greatest glories of England is her generous treatment of conquered foes. The Dutch secured excellent terms of surrender, and there was no loot. They were to continue free denizens, to keep their private property, and to dispose of it at pleasure. Especially were they to enjoy their own customs concerning inheritances, which were those of a republic, in which all the children received an equal share, and not those of a monarchy, in which the eldest son obtained the entailed property. As yet in New Netherland there was no "aristocratic party," such as cursed the land in later times; nor, despite Stuyvesant schemes, were class distinctions recognized. In religious matters, Article VIII of the capitulation read, "The Dutch shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in Divine worship and in Church government." Men of all creeds had equal rights. In spite of Stuyvesant of mediæval mind, and of English political Churchmen who strove to fasten a state church upon the province, the Dutch were determined to keep religious liberty as sacred as in Holland, and they did. They safeguarded free religion until, in 1777, the Constitution of New York State permitted "the free exercise of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference of all mankind."

The morality of the raid of 1664 is forever clear. The revenge of the Dutch came in de Ruyter's defeat of the English fleet and his foray into

the Thames. The Dutch descent upon Chatham gave to England her greatest national humiliation, to be followed a century later by the surrender of two British armies on American soil. In less than four generations of unrest under British rule, the sons of New Netherlanders again dwelt under the old striped flag of the Republic of the United Netherlands, with the stars of new and old statehood, — “Old Glory” epitomizing history and containing prophecy. Of those Dutch who refused to live under such government as the Stuarts were likely to furnish, hundreds of the better sort returned to Patria, or tried new ventures of life and fortune in the West or East Indies, or scattered to other colonies. Not a few emigrated to Virginia and the Carolinas, where in later days we find, besides the names of many able men associated with Lord Baltimore and William Penn, not a few of eminence, like those of van Bibber and van Noppen. Others appear, often in greatly altered forms, which shine in the annals of war and peace.

CHAPTER XVI

LIFE AND AMUSEMENTS OF THE YOUNG FOLKS

IN coming under English rule the Dutch lost much and gained more. One of the first things done by the conquerors of New Netherland was to sweep away the public schools, which, along with their language and religion, the home-makers from *Patria* had brought with them. The idea of general popular education, the very foundation of the Dutch Republic, was openly scoffed at by the aristocratic governors and systematically hindered by them. Thus it came to pass that the girls and boys in the new province of New York were the first to be seriously affected by the change of flags, while a heavier responsibility for the education of the young was thrown upon the Dutch Church and her ministers, who were henceforth to maintain schools conducted in the Dutch vernacular. No doubt at first the youngsters enjoyed the freedom from school life.

It is indeed surprising to note how little change passed over the daily life of the people because of the "English conquest." Outwardly, names and forms were altered somewhat, but habits remained very much as of yore. Happily for the future of the United States, Dutch republican ideas

remained. In politics everything was nominally English, but social and church life and democratic ideas were Dutch. So far as any immediate benefit in representative government was concerned, the Dutchmen found themselves out of the frying pan and into the fire. A royal master across the water tried to rule law-loving freemen by "secret instructions" through his creatures, only to find the people unflinchingly opposed to revolution, even when attempted by kings. The Dutchmen insisted on representative government, according to law.

If ever young folks lived happy lives and had especially good times on extra occasions, the Dutch boys and girls in both Old and New Netherland certainly did. Holland is the land of Santa Claus and dyed Easter eggs. Besides the patron saint's day of December 6, there were Christmas, New Year's Day, Twelfth Night, Easter, Pinxter, Thanksgiving Day, Kermis, and school holidays and feast days coming pretty steadily along throughout the year. As for toys and games and all kinds of sport, the Dutch books and pictures of the seventeenth century and the museums and heirlooms in Patria show that these were numbered by the score. Games with ball, bat, stilts, hoop, top, sling, swing, sucker, bow and arrow, sleds and skates, drums and trumpets; tennis, golf, cricket, and forty other ways of having a good time, besides the easy things for girls and the more or less athletic sports for

boys, are pictured as part of the young people's life in the old country, and popular proverbs and sayings mirror them in speech. Dutch idioms, traditions, and the real life of the old country to-day show how parents made life enjoyable for the young folks; and what the Dutch did in Holland they continued to do in America. Even the extant manuscripts of the Domines' sermons show this, for the fun was oftener fast and furious than slow and harmless, so that from the pulpit occasionally dropped the seasoning of rebuke. Still further, one familiar with Dutch survivals in American speech, particularly on the playground, and with terms not found in the dictionary, recognizes scores of words of Netherlands origin.

Winter sports, especially in favor in the Netherlands, continue in America. On the network of canals in Patria — thousands of shallow trenches, ponds, and overflowed meadows — ice formed easily and lasted through many weeks. Holland is the land of skates and sleighs. Children and young people hardly learn to skate; they begin it naturally, and keep it up all their lives. Whether for fun and in parties, or to go to the market, to church, to weddings or funerals, they move by rapid transit on steel. A pair of skates is a passport to comradeship. No need of music or a band! With rhythm in every motion, parties of young folks in everyday clothes glide over the ice, motored from within. With the ease of winged creatures, they move

singly, or holding, a dozen of them, to a pole, and keeping time and the poetry of motion as they speed on shining metal over the gleaming surface. Every habit and each trick known on Holland canals or ponds was reproduced on the Mohawk and Hudson.

Then there was the ice-yacht, or sailboat on runners, sometimes reduced for swiftness to a long plank with cross-pieces for seats and with skate irons. Equipped with mast, canvas, and some cordage, it seemed to race with the wind itself. As for coasting, wherever flat Holland could show a hill or slope, or Friesland furnished a *terp* or artificial mound, there were the boys and girls at fun. On the ice, lady or lass sat in a hand sleigh, while husband or swain pushed as he skated. All this shows the reason why Newburg-on-the-Hudson and Albany and the hills of Dorp are so famous for coasting, and the North River for ice-yachts, and why, from the first generation of settlers, the Dutch-American towns were noted for sledding, sleighing, and skating.

When we look at our vocabulary and read of "sleigh," "sled," "skate," "ice-yacht," "stove," we realize how much we owe the Dutch in the way of winter fun and comforts. They brought these things with them from their old homes, and put them to use at once. At the loan exhibition in Schenectady, in 1880, when we celebrated a real Kermis, that is, literally, the festival in honor of



Ontworpen in 1711 door Jan



Ontworpen in 1711 door Jan

the founding of the church and village two centuries before, nothing was more astonishing than the tremendous array of toys and implements to amuse and tickle the little folks. Papooses and Kinder, as was fit in a frontier settlement, played together. Here were dolls, hoops, knickers, or marbles, skates, masks, toys, and ornaments, home-made, or brought from Holland, cake moulds for shaping the dough of cookies before baking, and things gay for decoration on St. Nicholas' Day and at Christmas time.

Very early in the history, and long after the fall of New Netherland, the ice-yacht was a winter feature up and down the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, just as soon as Jack Frost had furnished a floor more level than the humpy and sculptured stone pavements of the big churches in Patria. Not all of the boys and girls might afford iron-runnered skates, or could wait to buy or get them from Europe. What odds? They were bound to "ride" on skates, as the Dutch say. Ox bones, being plentiful, were quickly chopped or filed flat and then strapped or tied on. It was common to see bands of red-cheeked boys and girls skating together or in "wings," circling round. If ice had formed by Santa Claus' Day, then December 6 was a carnival on skates, and the Binne Kill at Schenectady, the Collect (bad English for the vulgar Dutch Kalk, pronounced Kallek) on Manhattan, and the Hudson at Albany, made scenes

of color, life, fun, and sport that could not be beaten in all the colonies. They were fond of skates with tremendously protruding irons, which at the front ends curled up into big circles. On these, long and strong, scores of miles were easily covered. Sometimes men skated all the way from Fort Orange to Manhattan.

Thanksgiving Day, usually in October, which was ancient and common in Patria long before it was heard of in America, continued in New Netherland, and gave a sort of closure on summer sports. Then the programme of stalwart, outdoor activities and winter joys opened in earnest. After Santa Claus' Day, December 6, preparations for Christmas and its feastings began. If gilded and frosted gingerbread made into figures of the good saints, warriors, horses, wagons, and other odd shapes, and Deventer cookies, rich in every sort of spice and fruit, abounded for the children on the saint's day, the oven turned out even a more wonderful store of goodies for both old and young at Christmas time. Poems, recitations, and songs were part of the programme, and the social joys were apt to last several days.

Greatest of all days in the Dutch calendar was New Year's. Greetings, gifts, visits, were the order of daylight, while fun, frolic, the dance, refreshments, and sleigh rides made the rule of the night. Before big hearths and roaring wood-fires, the hero tales and wonder stories of the Fa-

therland made long and joyous evenings after the short winter days. The Dutch retired early. For the little folks, trundle beds were rolled in and out from under the higher bedsteads of the elders. All slept under wool and feathers in houses which, whether log, board, stone, or brick, kept no fires burning at night, unless it were a live coal or two smothered in ashes. For those whose evening courtship was to be done, bundling, or covering with quilts or blankets, was the rule along the whole Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Georgia, and New Netherland made no exception.

The winter was the busy school time, and Sunday had also a long double hour of sitting, which tried the patience and good manners of the young folks.

Many are the local traditions of misunderstandings between the small boy and his mentors,—the Domine, sexton, schoolmaster, pasture-keeper, and magistrate. We must not take too seriously some of these legends, nor imagine that young folks did not have as good a time in those days, or that they inherited a larger measure of total depravity than do we in these later days. If we have any sense of humor and the least imagination, we can see how different were the points of view of sedate adults and lively youngsters then as well as now. For example, in filling up an old well long disused and not far from the wall-line of the fourth church edifice in Schenectady, torn down to make room

for a new, larger fifth building, the skeletons of two boys were found at the bottom. Now it does not follow, despite local legend, that they had suffered a fate similar to that of the Princes in the Tower at the hands of an irate sexton, because of juvenile bad behavior in church. Nevertheless, tradition avers that boys on the backless seats of pine were not always as quiet as the mice of the proverb. It is alleged that the cherub-faced girls whispered and even flirted, while the Domine preached, and that ever and anon pebbles and marbles, instead of coins, were found in the velvet collection bags of the deacons.

All evidences go to show that the girls had a good time. They were kept so busy with household duties and accomplishments — then so much more numerous than in our day of patents, machinery, and factories — that they entered into merrymaking with a vim equal to that shown by the boys. In winter, the morning might be given to putting the house in order and furnishing the larder from dairy and kitchen, for the unfathomable appetites of the men and lads. But Penelope's afternoons were spent at the distaff or spinning-wheel, or with sewing-basket or darning needles. In the evenings there were social joys, guessing games, and trials of chance. The ever present refreshments came at the proper moment of vacuity and full appreciation. Kissing games were much more common than now. In spring, when "good sap-

weather," of alternate sunshine by day and freezing by night, turned the maple trees into saccharine fountains, "sugaring-off" was the evening joy of the Mohawk Valley, the hot sap being boiled down and run on snow, of which each of the young folks had a pan easily refilled.

When the season of flowers opened, no people more than the Dutch kept tally of the floral calendar of leaf, color, and perfume of "the angels of the grass." For each of the great Church and Christian festivals there was a special flower with its sentiment and meaning. Gladly did they welcome the hepatica as the Paschal bloom. When the passion flower came from the tropics, the wistaria from Japan, and the white daisy from England, the old friends and new acquaintances dwelt together in the same gardens. From Haarlem, the floral capital of the world, and Leyden, the home city of learning in Patria, novelties were imported frequently to give variety either to the stiff, formal gardens borrowed from and so fashionable in Europe, or to the dooryards in which individual taste ruled.

Back of the tremendous commercial activities of the fur-trade, as seen in bales, heaps, and counters, in warehouses and on ships, was the wonder world of live animals. The forest, with its mystery, was ever a lure. Most boys and girls had their live pets from the woods, caught in traps or captured after the parents of the young animals

had become meat and fur. Hill, glen, meadow, and brooksides meant enterprise and activity for the lad. Even the little boy had his blunt arrows, and playing with Indians of like age, he was able to rival them, and bring down real birds, to trap the smaller animals, and to bring home many a string of fish for dinner. When old enough to be trusted with guns, the boys went out into the forest for venison. As for rabbits, wild pigeons, and smaller game, they were innumerable. Young Jacobus van Curler, out shooting with van Twiller, boasted that he had killed over a hundred blackbirds at one shot. In April wild pigeons flew in such masses that the sun's light was lessened, and so low that they could be knocked down with clubs.

In Schenectady, when only a few canoes drawn up on the riverbank and a parallelogram of stakes in the pine forests scarcely made the creatures in fur and feather suspicious of danger, wild turkeys and deer, coming from the hills to drink, were sometimes killed within the palisades. Ducks were shot along Cow Horn Creek, and in the marshes near the town, down to the end of the eighteenth century. Indeed, I can remember when, as late as 1881, notwithstanding railways and civilization, a wild stag from the Adirondacks, having lost its way, fled across the frozen Mohawk River, and rushed into the streets of Schenectady. Chased by dogs, it got its antlers tangled up in the iron fence of St. George's Churchyard. Yet

not easily was its freedom lost! It demolished utterly with its hoofs the clothes of a strong man who thought to capture it alive and quickly.

One pleasant feature of frontier life, despite its roughness, was the close mutual acquaintance of all domestic animals, four-footed and human. As even to-day, one in a city can tell, by their feelings of fear or trust in a horse, for example, the children born and bred in the country and those who have lived between brick walls, so even in New Netherland the sports of town and country differed, and human beings lived nearer nature in village and country than in the towns. *Kiō ni mō inaka* (even in the metropolis there are boors) and *Kiō sumeru* (where you live, that is the capital) might be Dutch as well as Japanese proverbs, for there was culture on the frontier and rudeness on Manhattan.

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL LIFE IN NEW NETHERLAND

IN no country of Europe was human existence more intensely social than the Netherlands, where the climate and soil compelled people to live much indoors. A thousand contrivances, designed to make sedentary life enjoyable, were in use, while art bloomed as in a garden. The Dutchman's fire-side was famous for comforts unknown in sunnier lands, and his house, a true home, was a museum of delights. The tell-tale etymology of most of our homely words, descriptive of textiles, costumes, house furnishings and equipment, betray their Dutch origin. Our underclothing, beds, furniture, kitchen belongings, and parlor necessities, from the "stovey," to warm our feet, to the easel, or little donkey, to hold our pictures, recall in their names the country of their origin.

Man makes a camp, but woman the home. In Holland the whole system of school training, from Finsterwolde to Flushing and from Scheveningen to Winterswijk, was built on the idea of the equal but not identical education for both sexes. Mutual helpfulness between man and woman was expected on the farm and in the shop. The girls went to the public schools along with the boys, and all alike

to the age of twelve. After that, the burghers and well-to-do people made their daughters study to be thoroughly practical in home and business. Economy, administration, the keeping of accounts, and the management of farm, garden, dairy, shop, and household were according to rigid training. Success was the prize of ambition. Legitimate rivalry was encouraged and cultivated. A young woman was led to find her enjoyment in preparing herself to be not only a good wife and mother, but a wise conservator of her husband's property and fortune. The popular art, proverbs, and literature illustrate this, but matter-of-fact local records illuminate it.

All Dutch history shows how nobly the women were helpmates of the men in managing those hospitals, orphanages, and retreats for aged couples, and homes for old men and women, which made the glory of Holland. Women as well as men won the independence of the Fatherland. Compelled during their eighty years of struggle for freedom to provide for thousands of widows, orphans, cripples, wounded soldiers, and victims of the Inquisition, the Dutch people in their little country developed a vast and minute system of charity, the like of which was not to be found in Europe, and which is as yet unexcelled. In no lands were the laws more favorable to women. Such development had its roots far back in the Middle Ages.

To New Netherland the woman brought her in-

herited habit and her strict training : first, to make of temporary quarters — the straw shack, the bark house, or the hut of boards — a home, and then, to transform it into a dwelling rich in comforts. Unceasing industry, thrift, and hatred of waste, as of dirt and laziness, enabled the settler in a year of good harvests to begin wealth, or in poor times to bear bravely enforced poverty. Or, if at Wiltwijk, Schenectady, or on Staten Island, the savages laid the settlement in ashes reddened with blood, nothing exhibits Dutch pluck and endurance better than the return again of the desolate to cast their seed into the ground and rebuild their homes. In no case did savagery ultimately triumph.

The Dutch never took kindly to the axe or the log cabin. In succession to their first creditable houses of bark, after the Iroquois model, they had frame houses of sawn timber, for they very early set up sawmills. But the typical house in New Netherland consisted of two brick walls, gabled and crow-stepped, with the intervening space of timber. Thus they combined the solidity of stone with the interior dryness of the wooden dwelling.

After the first frontier novelties of experience were over, the Dutch shack, dugout, or wooden house was rebuilt of stone or brick. Besides early baking their own clay into stone (*baksteen*), much brick, and probably most of the glazed tiles and material for wall chequering, was brought from Holland as ship's ballast. Thus in the majority

of cases the front and rear walls, or gabled ends, were of mineral material, the whole intervening space except the chimney being of wood, and often strengthened with iron rods. One of the gables faced the street, and the other the garden, with a stoop, or porch, at each end, the front one having seats and railings. When such a house got too old, it was common, as I have often seen, "to tear out everything but the frame," and, between the old thick gable ends of brick or stone, to rebuild with modern timber, in new interior arrangements.

The door was divided crosswise into two parts, upper and lower, the former to let in air and light, and the latter to keep out the pigs, chickens, and marauders of all sorts. The Dutch bisected door goes back to feudal days, when every comer might be challenged before being given entrance. Of similar warlike origin was the projecting second story, which, overlapping by its extension the doorway beneath, allowed the defender above to guard against attack by fire or weapon. In many old Dutch houses in the Mohawk and Hudson valleys this feature served admirably against hostile Indians. In the later frame dwelling, ancient history and survival are suggested by a conventional moulding which reveals the projection of a few inches only. The bricks, near the gables, wrought in the form of crow-steps, or top-pieces serving as chimneys, were laid in curious triangular or chequered patterns, just as one sees in Friesland to-

day. Indeed, the keen-eyed visitor to Holland can recognize the original model and features of many an old house in Kingston and Schenectady. The ancestral traits reappear in the domestic architecture of the New World as infallibly as the noses, mouths, eyes, and hair common to the grandparents, parents, and grandchildren in the same towns.

At one point there was a notable departure from the model in Patria, and that was in the windows, which on Manhattan and in old Dorp, for example, were small. In Holland, even though the panes of glass be very small and the house fronts narrow, the window spaces are and were large. This is because in Holland windows have from mediæval times been taxed by number. Much of the war revenue was thus raised. In New Netherland no such reason existed permanently, and a sash of many panes, being cheaper and less liable to break, was used. Thus the house lights were modest in size as compared with the large windows in Patria.

On the outside, fastened into the bricks, were "ankers," or iron clamps, hammered into figures showing dates. If it were possible to have a weather-vane, cock, arrow, monogram, family crest, or arms on the gable top, it was sure to be there. The blacksmith, or anchor-smith, was an important person in the New Netherland village. He was usually an artist, more or less ambitious, for

he made floriated patterns of hinges or braces that might branch out over most of the area of the upper or lower leaf of the door. He enjoyed pounding out colossal figures, 1, 6, or 7, and other digital numerals, for the ornamentation of the house front. He was probably also the maker of the big church door-lock. On his anvil he beat out the key, brazing on the bit or web, rounding on his anvil's beak a bow and forging it to the shank, and filing out the wards. He also was responsible for the church weather-vane, which in frontier days, instead of stamped gilded metal, representing a cock, lamb, beaver, or other emblem of doctrine or virtue, was usually cut or punched out of sheet iron.

The anchor-smith followed mason and carpenter in the building of a house. He equipped the fireplace with a cast-iron jamb, andirons, and the great swinging pot-holder with chain and hangers. Often the iron jamb or back was a casting containing dates, emblems, mottoes, scriptural or other quotations, proverbs, or poems. Only in late days, when the Dutchmen learned from the Japanese to make Delft ware, and applied their knowledge to tiles, were those miniature Bible panoramas set up to adorn the front and sides, creating a fashion which was borrowed by the New Englanders. Delft tiles served as the picture galleries at which our American painters, Trumbull, Allston, Vanderlyn, and others, received their first impressions and stimulus to art. Often these tiles had on them

mere outlines of biblical events, with numbers showing the text which one must look up in order to understand the pictorial illusion. On others the designs were suggestions rather than pictures, mere "lesson helps."

The fireplace was literally the focus of the house and the home. It was big enough usually to accommodate the whole family, should they want all at once to get inside to look up its black throat, to see whether Santa Claus or Kris Kringle were coming. Inside its length, up and down, were usually steps or projections on which the chimney sweep or cleaner, usually a boy not too fat, could steady his feet while brushing or scraping off the soot or the stalactites of pine tar. Hickory was the best fuel, however, and kept the chimney neater. The inner hearth was most often of brick, but the broad outer hearthstone consisted frequently of one slab of noble length and width. The back log, gloried in and celebrated in song and proverb, was so huge that in many cases the house was purposely built against the side of a hill, in order that the kitchen door might be level with the ground. A heavy section of tree trunk, sawed to the right length, was hauled in by a horse, rolled and set as the background of the fire, while corncobs, brush, and fagots blazed in front.

Here, after the serious work of preparing the food was over, the family sat for rest, worship, chat and gossip, jokes and merriment, and no people were

wittier, brighter, or more full of fun than the Dutch. In winter the long evenings were given up to stories, finger games, with lullaby for baby and pipe for papa, and then, at the right time, cider, apples, nuts, and refreshments as desired. For the real old folks the hearth was the place of memory, but for the young it was the seed-bed of dreams. In the darting tongues of the blaze and the deep glow of the embers lad and lassie saw the castles of the future, and the aged pictures of the past.

Carpets and matting were, for the most part, unknown. Instead of these hidiers of dirt and holders of germs, the floor was scrubbed until it shone, and then sprinkled with white sand, which was made into fanciful patterns with the end of a broomstick, a custom which one sees in the back country in Holland to-day. Such a floor dressing, swept off and renewed every week, made life for the vermin so disagreeable that they kept out and away. In the homes of the well-to-do rugs were common.

The "threshold covenant" was an ancient and serious thing with the Dutch. In other words, the front door was opened only on great occasions of joy, or when a bride or a corpse was to cross the line dividing outdoors from indoors. For every-day use, and for everybody in general, the kitchen door was the proper entrance. Often the hallway was from front to rear, the sitting-room being at the back and the parlor in front. In small houses, numbering fewer apartments than the fingers on one

hand, the bedrooms were in the wall, or were like cupboards, shut up during the day and opened at night, and climbed up and into by means of a short step-ladder. In a word, just as one still sees in the old homeland to-day, and recognizes on the canvases, from Ostade to Israels, so, within my remembrance, were the interiors in Dutch America. To the Domine of the congregation it was the matron's pride to show all, from cellar to attic, with the wondrous store of house-linen and table equipment.

The beds were made of hay or straw, corn leaves or silk moss, hair or feathers, sewed into "tick-ing,"—which is an English word of Dutch origin. Sassafras wood was at first much in demand for supposed protection from unwelcome bed mates, securing, it was believed, to each person the exclusive use of his own cuticle. As civilization advanced, the bunk, or box lined with dry leaves, spruce boughs, or pine needles gave way to the four-poster bed, and in later times favorite imported woods were in fashion. Long after Manhattan was swapped off for Surinam, with its forests of mahogany, this timber became plentiful and in fashion for furniture. To take the chill off the pure linen sheets, long-handled brass bed-warmers were used. Polished until their basins shone like gold, these hung on the walls by day as part of the decoration of the room, to become hand-stoves at night. Except what one's own caloric and the thick

folds of quilt, blanket, or comfortable furnished, the bed-warmer was usually the only source of heat allowed in the sleeping-chamber, though later luxury allowed wood stoves. As a rule, all the family, the parents up in the heights of piled feather beds or mattresses, and children in the trundle beds beneath, slept in pure cold air, for the great open chimney was a capital ventilator. "When hearts are light and life is new," slumber after prayers was usually too sudden and too sound to know much of the variations of the thermometer. The Dutchmen took sleep as a serious thing, enjoyed plenty of it, and believed in it as one of life's best blessings. How beautiful is the evening prayer in the liturgy of the Dutch Church, — "Temper our sleep that it be not disorderly, that we remain spotless both in body and soul, nay, that our sleep itself may be to Thy glory."

Marriage, which begins the family, was the greatest event in a Dutch home. The New Netherlanders believed in a big company and well-loaded tables, to which all within the circle of their acquaintance, albeit well graded, were invited; though on this one occasion, rich and poor, if blood relatives, met on a common basis. Usually the black slaves or servants were allowed the privilege of seeing the ceremony. The Domine, in his gown and bands, was never happier than at this binding of hearts for the making of a home, and for the enlargement of all sweet human relation-

ships and influences. The marriage ritual of the Dutch, like the national art, is as full of realism as is a canvas of Rembrandt or Jan Steen. It starts out, as does its catechism, with the idea of comfort and consolation. It faces the fact that the nuptial bond doubles at once both joys and sorrows. It relates the Genesis story of Eden, with its ocean-deep, poetic truth, and it recalls the Gospel narrative of Cana in Galilee, promising also divine aid and protection. The Almighty Father himself gave Eve to Adam to be his wife, "witnessing thereby that He doth yet, as with his hand, bring unto every man his wife." In biblical phrase, the groom was told to lead, instruct, comfort, protect, and love his wife and maintain his "household honestly and likewise have something to give to the poor." The bride was warned against exercising dominion over the husband. Then the vital questions were asked, responses made, and the benison bestowed. It was the usual custom at weddings to take up a collection for the benefit of the poor.

Whatever else was absent, flowers of the gayest hue were in evidence, and decorations were plentiful. The crowning joys for the guests were at the table, with eatables and drinkables got ready days in advance. There were no wedding journeys in colonial days, and sometimes the practical jokes played on bride and groom by the lower classes were rough and uncanny, there being even less

opportunity to escape tormentors than young folks have in our day.

When the windows of heaven opened and the cradle rocked with new treasures, or, in paternal phrase, the couple was "visited" from heaven, christening and public name-giving usually took place in the church within a few days, and often on the following Sunday if the mother was able to be present. Brave were the women then, and small families were rare. Many a Dutch proverb tells how safe, how healthful, and how blessed is normal humanity that shirks no pain or care, and how good is the "love that lightens all distress" for womankind. As artificial foods were next to unknown, mothers fed their offspring from nature's pure fountains, and the babies thrived on the real nourishment, which no machinery or substitute for mother's milk can give. The solemn ritual of the Church transfigured even common life, and spread a halo over the cradle.

Nine tenths of all the girls' names, and most of the boys', ended in *ie*, a tender and affectionate diminutive, which in English has become *y*. Gertje, Grietje, Annetje, Elsje — that is, Gertrude, or Gertie, Margaret or Maggie, Ann or Annie, and Alice or Elsie — were usually among their own near kindred so addressed or referred to even to the end of their days. The boys dropped their pendants earlier. Family names were not in universal use in Europe until after the Reformation. Then

and thereafter, as the Bible became, in Northern Europe, not only a household book, but an encyclopædia, girls received other names besides Mary and Elizabeth, and boys' names, besides those given in christening, John, Peter, and Paul, were known. Dutch sons added *s* or *se*, *sen* or *zoon*, to their father's baptismal name to show that they were Johnson, Williamson, Wilkins, etc., that is, the son of John or William, or little William. Hence we have Janse Petersen, etc. For family cognomens they adjoined the names of their trade or occupation, as in Dirck de Bakker, that is, Theodore the baker; or (if a potter or baker of clay marbles) "Knicker bocker"; or the place whence they came. *De* means "the," and *van* signifies "from." Hence the frequency of these prefixes. The dam, the dike, field, morass, sand, wharf, city, town, village, or church, reappear in names, such as van Dam, van Dyke, van Antwerp, etc., just as on the business signs of some returned Dutchmen in Holland, one may read Jan van America, Hendrijk van Chicago, etc. The prefix *van* should, almost invariably, be written with a small *v*; for in very few cases among the seventeenth-century emigrants did *van* mean anything else than *from*. It was rarely a real part of the family name.

The Bible in the superb and scholarly States-General version, ordered in 1619, was more than a daily book, in use at family worship, for general reading and hunting up the proof-texts wherewith



January
April
July
October

February
May
August
November

March
June
September
December

"A POEM IN TWELVE CANTOS." THE CYCLE OF THE YEAR
(In First Reformed Church, Schenectady. The Banker Screen)

to fortify the catechism, which every child of decent parents was supposed to know, and usually did know—for better or worse. It was also a story-book, a mine for “Sunday amusements,” such as puzzles and conundrums, an encyclopædia of general knowledge, and the sacred repository of family records and traditions. What we call “family Bibles,” for pulpit or desk use, were carried to church usually by a big black slave; but in the ships, the Domine’s or Church copy came over as freight rather than as personal baggage, so huge and heavy were these illustrated Bibles.

Domine Bogardus’s Bible was older than the “revised version” of the States-General. Dated 1543 and handsomely printed, it is a massive volume a foot and a half long, one foot wide, and half a foot thick. Its covers are half an inch in thickness, and are bound on the corners with heavy brass mountings ornamented. One can understand why a book is said to be bound in “boards,” which now means pasteboard, but formerly was real timber. Of the hundreds of Dutch Bibles I have examined, apart from their valuable historical entries, the striking feature in many of the larger editions is the excellence of the woodcuts and the clearness of the maps, these latter showing America—with its northwest coast as yet unknown—and some the mythical “Verazano’s Sea.” The hooded and rosy-cheeked maidens wore in chatelaine fashion their Bibles

at their girdles, held by silver chain and waist hood, or sheathed in velvet or silk bags.

It was around the Church and the Bible that the best life in New Netherland centred, and from these sources it was nourished.

Social morality in New Netherland was of a high standard. Divorces were unknown. The opinion is practically unanimous among those who have studied the local records and Church discipline in American colonial days, that no colonies, Puritan or Cavalier, North or South, excelled, even if they equaled, in morality the Continental settlers, Walloon, Dutch, and Huguenot, who began the Middle States of the American Union.

CHAPTER XVIII

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

THE Dutch came to America from a country in which printing was free and books were cheap. Public schools, for all children to the age of twelve, sustained by taxation and giving free elementary instruction, had existed in most of the towns from the Middle Ages. There was, besides these, a large number of Church schools, in which the young people of the upper classes received instruction in Latin and the humanities. Long before England enjoyed the "liberty of unlicensed printing," for which Milton made seraphic plea, printers in the Netherlands were busy in free competition, and books were as common as bread and cheese. One of the chief elements of success in the Eighty Years' War against Spain, as later in the case of Japan and Russia, was the power of general popular education.

Among the first and very definite provisions made, when the West India Company was formed, were those for ministers and schoolmasters, both of whom were required to show certificates before they received their appointment. The Domines must be university graduates, as a rule, though the instructors need not necessarily be such, but

in both cases they must be educated gentlemen. Michaelius's letter of 1628, long preserved among the dusty papers of a civil court of Amsterdam, not only pictures the first Communion Sunday in New Amsterdam, but gives his ideas of the true philosophy of education,—that is, to begin early with the children. On Manhattan, public school education was only five years later than Church life. New Netherland was the only one of the colonies in which elementary instruction for the youth of both sexes was maintained out of the public moneys.

Michaelius was also a teacher on week days. He began with the catechism. The Domine's good work of training the savage children was interfered with through one redeeming trait of Indian character, their fondness for their offspring. "Time and again the little heathen, when just about emerging into light, are carried off by the parents, to be swallowed up again in the darkness of paganism," wrote this observer and philosopher.

The schoolmasters of the future Empire State, beginning with Adam Roelandsen, crossed the ocean with all the glow of pioneers to begin their work, which was primarily among the white children of their own countrymen, though the pastors also taught not a few of the papooses. These schoolmasters came with their certificates. They have left their names on the landscape, as well as in the records, and their history is in the main

highly creditable. From modern writers, who seek out the odd and curious, the incompetent and disreputable pedagogues have attracted much notice. The steady work of the good men, done without the noise of trumpets, is left unnoticed. The school which Roelandsen began on Manhattan in 1633 continued with varying success, and was maintained at the public expense, until the downfall of New Netherland in 1664. The English rulers cared little or nothing about public elementary instruction supported by taxation, and they swept away the Dutch public schools. Then the Dutch school on Manhattan was taken over by the Church, and has ever since been maintained in unbroken continuity. It is still in flourishing prosperity and situated in a fine building, where I have more than once visited it. A "History of the Collegiate Church School" has been published. When, in 1800, Rev. William Linn, pastor of the Dutch Church and regent of the University of the State of New York, preached his "gleaming sermon," as it was called, the response from the people in a collection was eleven hundred dollars, an amount at that time considered wonderful.

No special schoolhouses are known to have been built in the very early years of New Netherland. The schoolroom was attached to the church, or was in the edifice itself. On Manhattan it was in the City Hall.

Johannes Backerus, of Barcinger, Hoorn, may

serve as one of many examples of the Dutch desire for learned ministers and teachers and the strictness of examination for certificates. He was introduced by letter from Domine Megapolensis, then minister at Koedijk, or the Cow Dike, as one willing to go out to the East Indies as Comforter of the sick. Not having a regular education, the young man's application was declined, and not until after three years of hard study and several trials and examinations was he ordained, October 16, 1642, — all of which shows how careful the Dutch authorities were to have learned and acceptable ministers, as well as schoolmasters. After signing a contract for four years with the Company, Backerus proceeded to Curaçoa, becoming acquainted there with Peter Stuyvesant. Later he accompanied the new governor to Manhattan. Here he found one hundred and seventy members of the Church, and John Stevenson, who had been teaching school for seven years. Backerus did not wholly approve of Stuyvesant, and after two years' work as pedagogue he sailed from New Amsterdam, August 15, 1649, with charges against the governor.

In 1647, when Stuyvesant tried to mix together taxation for school support and for military purposes, he found the Dutchmen against him. "Let John Company attend to his own proper business, and repair the fort, while we, gladly doing what we and our fathers had done for centuries, will

pay the taxes to support the public schools," was the gist of their answer. The upshot of the discussion was that the Nine Men promptly agreed to reorganize the school, finish the church edifice, and cheerfully lay a school and Church tax upon themselves, but they demanded that the Company should repair the fort.

In 1649, the Nine Men complained, and directed that there should be two good masters in the public schools. "As it is now, the school is kept very irregularly; one and another keeping it according to his pleasure and as long as he thinks proper." Stuyvesant, writing to the Classis of Amsterdam, seconded the request most earnestly. On January 10, 1650, the Classis sent out William Vestens, "a good, Godfearing man," as Comforter of the sick and schoolmaster on Manhattan. He taught for five years. Later Jan, or Johannes, de la Montagne taught in the Herberg, or City Hall, at a salary worth in our day one thousand dollars.

Various other names of Dutch schoolmasters, clerical or lay, are known of those who served on Long Island and in New Jersey and Delaware, some very creditably, those doing the best work being least heard from or noticed by later writers. Among those whose records are known were Everts Petersen, Gideon Schaats, Jacobus van Curler, Alexander Curtius, Godfrey Dellijs, and Bernardus Freeman, who taught the children, white and red. Some of the scholarly men have left literary

memorials in prose and verse, as seen in the Hon. Henry C. Murphy's "Anthology of New Netherland."

Many of the Dutch Domines were men of science also. Hence neither the weeds of narrow intolerance, nor such a deadly night-shade of superstition as belief in witchcraft, could easily grow up among the Dutch Christians, who were, for the most part, liberal-minded Bible readers. Rev. Peter Weeksten, a graduate of Leyden University, before preaching at Kingston, from 1681 to 1687, had been Latin master at Haarlem. Rev. John Peter Nucella, who served the Church at Kingston from 1689 to 1704, was active in public education until he was appointed by Queen Anne to take charge of the Dutch Royal Chapel of St. James in London. These instances serve as examples of more, whom we cannot mention for lack of space.

In general, it may be said that every town and village community was fairly well served by Dutch preachers after the English conquest, for wherever there was a church there was a precentor or *voorlezer*, who acted also as pedagogue. Scores of autographs of these men are extant on the church records. Quite often the day-school teacher was unduly ambitious and sought to climb into the pulpit.

Yet though the accepted Domine might be a schoolmaster, the converse was not true of the pedagogue. No wielder of the *klap* could enter the

pulpit unless duly licensed and ordained. Some of them did thus enter, but others were kept out by the hedges of severe examinations. Nevertheless, startling stories are told of one or two who, by trickery or collusion with the dupes of the British governors, got in, and to the grief of the orthodox, added to the gayety of the ungodly. One such, after a career of marrying, christening, baptizing, and preaching which lined his pockets, was found out and exposed, and he fled the country in 1715. At this date, his name is usually spoken only with an uncomplimentary smile.

It must be remembered that the school record and educational activities of the Dutch in New York did not end with the one generation, or thirty-three years, between Adam Roelandsen and the English conquest of 1664, but stretched for the most part until 1800. From the first the New Netherlanders were not originating anything, but merely transplanting the institutions of Patria. Hence the instruction was not, as at first in Massachusetts, for boys only, based chiefly on Latin, and mainly as preparation for the ministry of the Church, but was for girls as well as boys. New England's first school was a college, the second was a Latin school, and the next schools were simply feeders for the college. Not until Andros's time were there schools for elementary training. The chief idea of education was to maintain a learned clergy. The New England girls were not

given free public education until the colonial era was over.

In New Netherland elementary education for all children, without regard to class, sex, or social condition, was from the first a matter of public concern and support. As against this, after 1664, was the English idea of schools for the nobles, the clergy, and "sons of quality." The royal governors of New York province would approve only of Latin schools. England had "Board" or public schools with elementary instruction for all only within the memory of men now living. In Holland mediæval records tell how general was popular education.

New York has the honor of founding the first free public elementary school within the limits of the United States. The Dutch policy of state supervision of schools, without the interference of a state church,—which latter, neither New Netherland nor New York, as province or State, as a whole, ever had on her soil,—showed but orderly evolution when the University of the State of New York was formed. With this institution, the name of Alexander Hamilton is justly associated. It now guards, in beautiful order, the educational interests of eight millions of people, without dictation of Church, sect, priest, or parson. "The first organized government in the world to enshrine in her fundamental law the sacred pledge of absolute spiritual independence and of politi-

cal action without ecclesiastical intervention" was that of the State of New York.

Besides having the oldest school in the United States, still in daily operation, the Dutch of New Netherland organized and maintained academies and colleges in the Raritan, Hudson, and Mohawk valleys, most of which have been in continuous existence to the present time. Modern immigrants from Holland in the West show the same love for education. The American Netherlanders were from the first the peers of the "Yankees" in a desire for a learned ministry, public schools, general popular education, and home culture, while they excelled the New Englanders in their regard for science and in freedom from superstition. They fell behind, in later days, because they persisted too long in the use of what, after 1700, was virtually a foreign language, while cut off from vital contact with the culture which *Patria* had given. If in the systematizing and state supervision of public education New York has led all the states of the Union, the reason for this lies in the previous preparation and character of the cosmopolitan people, and especially of those who came from "the land where conscience was free," — the original home of the free, public, elementary school system.

The limits of our little book do not allow notice of "the intellectuals" of New Netherland and of their literary productions, which when examined, as in Corwin's *Manual*, are found to be notable in

product and respectable in quality. Steendam, Selyns, and de Sille were the poets, and their verses have been collected in Henry C. Murphy's "Anthology of New Netherland." Thus writes Steendam in 1661:—

New Netherland, thou noblest spot of earth,
Where bounteous Heaven ever poureth forth
The fulness of His gifts, of greatest worth,
Mankind to nourish.

CHAPTER XIX

SUNDAYS IN COLONIAL DAYS

MOST of the Dutch churches in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys had a family resemblance in their solidity and small proportions, several of them being built in whole or in part of little yellow bricks brought from Holland. The diminutive, square, hooded windows were set with tiny panes of glass. Happily they were guarded on the outside by heavy iron cross-bars, for the small boys, then as in our day, threw stones. The gable end faced the road. In the towns this architectural feature meant, "Love thy neighbor as thyself,"—the idea being to let the snow and rain fall in your own yard and not on the heads of street folks and passers-by.

The Sleepy Hollow church at Tarrytown, still standing and in use, though greatly altered, is a fair type of those structures. Inside the edifice were two connected galleries, one on the west and one on the north side, and both were very near neighbors to the high pulpit. Two beams, each a foot square, set north and south across the inside of the building, bound the walls together. The ceiling was of white painted boards. The six-sided sounding-board of white oak, five feet above the

pulpit, was suspended from the crossed timber above by an iron rod. To these beams the kievits, or phæbe birds — after which Kievit's Hoek, on the Connecticut River, was named — used to come and build their nests. Untaught in the golden virtue of silence, these and other feathered visitors kept up gossip and scolding during the service, to the disturbance of the Domine and the delight of the little folks.

The sturdy Dutchman, like other puritans, disdained support to his spine while listening to doctrinal sermons one or two hours long. Before the Reformation there were no pews, for these came in with Protestantism, and are a family institution. At first it was a luxury, as well as a novelty, to sit at all. When aristocratic fashions imported from England prevailed, there were in the Dutch churches at Albany, Schenectady, and in other places, on either side of the old pulpit, "the thrones," that is, seats elevated a little above the level of the others, covered with rich curtains, and meant for the special use of the family of the lord of the manor, or, in a free town, the local magistrates. Here sat the Patroon and his wife, he occupying the one side and the lady the other. In later days, during devotional exercises, there were short curtains sliding on brass rods, and screening off the inmates, which were drawn aside during the sermon, making the inmates, the Domine, and the congregation visible to one another.

The Tarrytown bell, still swinging in the belfry and summoning summer worshipers, was, like others, in the Mohawk Valley and on Manhattan, cast in Patria. Amsterdam was famous for its foundries, and the metal from captured Spanish cannon was plentiful and cheap. The bronze of many hundreds of the bells in music-loving Holland once made the thunder of war. Besides its rich ornamentation of raised figures, the Tarrytown bell bears the inscription from Romans viii. 31, — “*Si Deus nobis, quis contra nos,*” and the date 1685. In very early days the bell was rung in most of the settlements three times a day, to sound the hours of breakfast, dinner, and supper for housekeepers and the men at work in field or street, and always when there was a christening. Then people went in the church to see the baby held in the Domine’s arms. Whoever else might come, the minister and elder must be present.

On the sacramental table the communion service of colonial days, sometimes of pewter, but oftener of silver, is in many Reformed churches still in use. In larger edifices, long tables were laid down the aisles. The baptismal bowl used to be placed in a socket or bracket extending from the pulpit. The pulpits, usually brought from Holland, were octagonal in shape, each suggesting a wineglass in form, and just large enough to hold one man. Set up on a wooden standard, or demi-column, about nine inches in thickness,

each was mounted by a little stairway. Loftier than the minister's crown was a peg upon which to hang his cocked hat. In silken gown and neck band of linen, cambric *befje*, or bands, the Domine set out from the parsonage arrayed for service. On entering he doffed his three-cornered hat, and then the men streamed behind him to their seats.

The Dutch Church edifices were greatly altered after the Revolutionary War, and in one respect they were made to conform to the simple and more democratic style common before the English conquest. Then also the relics of feudalism, the curtained seats of grandeur for the manor lord and lady and places for the magistrates, were removed. In their stead were set, as in Holland, pews for the members of the Consistory, elders and deacons, in front of each of whom, on the projecting shelf of the pew front, was laid a Bible. The hymn-book had bound up with it the Heidelberg Catechism, the Belgic Confession of Faith, the Canons of the Synod of Dort, held in 1619, and the forms for Ordination, Communion, Marriage, Burial, and Installation used in the liturgy, and also the prayers of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. When in modern days the wineglass pulpit was exchanged for a more fashionable sort, the mahogany of the old one was usually made into souvenirs of some kind, tables or bookcases. Invertebrated hard oak was exchanged for soft pine benches without cushions,

but with high, straight backs. It seemed like veritable laps of luxury, and "flowery beds of ease," when cushioned seats were provided for saints and sinners alike.

In colonial days, the meeting-house in winter was warmed chiefly by the zeal of the preacher. The bodily heat of the men was kept in by great-coats. No wood stove radiated roasting heat a few inches, nor did sheet-iron pipes of imposing length and ugliness, as in later times, traverse the space from wall to wall. The women found the holy tabernacles less arctic and more amiable than did the men. Girls and matrons, who came with silver-clasped Bibles, hung by chatelaines at their belts, had foot stoves. In the case of well-to-do folk these were usually carried by the negro servants. In other instances, the boys, or servant maids, or even Mynheer himself, were the heat-bearers. In later days, hot bricks from the sleigh were wrapped up, and took the place of "stovey" for caloric. If the "klinkers" got cold before the service ended, — for sermons were considered outrageous, and it was thought that the Domine "ran out of timber" if they were too short, — the men went right up to the stove and heated them again on the logs or embers. In modern days, when cast-iron wood burners were introduced, high was their mounting on stilts, — so that the galleries could get warm. Terrific at times was the raking and banging of the iron door by the sexton, who was

very apt to magnify his office as fireman, even to the extent of a million diameters.

Usually saplings, that grew to be grand old trees, were early planted near the "Kerk." In the summer time the men sat out under their shade on smooth stones or benches until the minister came, when they all rose up like a flock of sheep, following their wether into the fold. Many were the proverbs about the Domine, who, in the days before newspapers and magazines, was on week days a walking library and on Sunday an oracle. "As the Domine sneezes, so sneeze we all," was a common saying. "I hold by your coat tails, Domine," confessed many a docile parishioner. Before the social pipe or glass was enjoyed, "Domine eerst" was the polite and waiting word. No wonder that the sociable pastor visited often at the most hospitable homes, and sometimes brought down the sarcastic fling, "The Domine comes often for the wine"; while of a reverend but incorrigible old pipe smoker it was said, "He belongs to the family of John Tobacco" (Jan Tabak). Considering the pithiness of many Dutch proverbs, "translation is treachery."

At Dorp, or Schenectady, when the *juffrouw*, or Domine's wife, entered the church, the whole congregation stood up to greet her. It was the universal clerical custom for the preacher, before mounting the pulpit, to stand at the foot of the stairs, and, with one hand holding his hat and the

other raised in silent prayer, to make spiritual invocation before he ascended. When seated, he selected the biblical passage for the clerk or fore-reader, who had his desk below. This important person, often school-teacher, funeral director, and man of much if not all work, read to the people the appointed chapter of Scripture, and afterwards gave out the psalm, usually acting as precentor. This order of worship is still followed in the Fatherland. If these colonial assistants read with the same fine effect and reverend devotion as I have often heard the Scriptures rendered by the precentors in Holland, it seems no wonder that Scripture-reading then, as now, was often declared and felt to be quite as important as the minister's discourse, for correct reading is, *ipso facto*, both illumination and commentary.

The ordinary sermon was from seventy-five to ninety minutes long, with occasional tendency to plethoric continuity. Being divided into two parts, with a collection in between, it was borne more cheerfully than in later times, when books were numerous and homilies must be short. Then the proverb was occasionally flung at the Domine, "He can't let go of his sermon."

The universal rule was to take at every service two collections for almsgiving, — one for the Church support, and one for the poor. There was nothing stingy about a Dutchman when it came to his Church. His was ever an open hand, and few

people support their spiritual shepherds better than the Dutch. On Communion Sundays, the table was drawn out to its full length, inside the railing or down the aisle, and the people sat around it in successive companies, every company receiving an address from the minister. As each person approached the table, he, or more often she, would lift the edge of the cloth and deposit under it the silver or copper coin, which was to be used only for the purchase of bread and wine for the sacrament.

At noon there was an hour's intermission between the services, when the people ate their lunch and chatted together, usually in the grove near the church. Planted as shoots, these chestnuts, oaks, maples, or poplars grew up to be magnificent "trees of the Lord, full of sap." With their increase the worshiper's storehouse of precious memories and sweet experiences was filled.

The subjects with these neighbors were at first theological and edifying, but soon tapered off to matters of daily routine, simple business, or elaborate gossip. People rode long distances on horseback, and this equitation gave the young men an opportunity to exhibit their dexterity and gallantry in assisting the rosy maids from their saddles. The courtings, the flirtations, the love-makings, and the delightful little nothings that took place during the intermission between sermons were moments of joy at the time, and became

rich flowers in memory's gardens. Although excess of this "charm that Eden never lost" might spoil, for the afternoon, the full effect of the second sermon, yet who, other than the Domine, would be called in to complete the work begun on Sunday noon and join for life the lovers? Verily "the better the day the better the deed." The church records and the private cash accounts of the Domines show that the people were as generous then as now, indeed, rather more so, we judge from the many books we have seen, in paying for the privilege of linking their lives with yoke-fellows. In Dutch neither man nor woman is married *to* any one. Bride or groom marries *with* him or her. In New Netherland boys and girls were both educated, and men and women were more on an equality than after the time of English fashions. Until quite recent times all marriage fees were paid by the Domine into the church treasury, and were not private perquisites, as at present, or gifts to the lady of the parsonage.

The first use of the English language at a baptism, September 25, 1785, greatly offended some good people, who made mighty outcry against the innovation. "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange tongue?" voiced their feeling. Indeed, it was difficult for Dutch folk in their old age to understand how God could reveal his truths in any language but that of their fathers.

CHAPTER XX

ALBANY AND ITS ANNALS

THE settlement near the head of Hudson River navigation was named successively Fort Orange, Rensselaerwijk, Beverwijk, Willemstadt, and Albany. The business of the Company centred in the fort, that of the patroon in office and warehouse. While in the Church was the focus of the higher life of the community, the manor house was the seat of a generous hospitality. After the English conquest, several of the royal governors were entertained here, receiving impressions of a refinement of manners and home life, for which their prejudices, engendered by national rivalry and the wars between England and Holland, had not prepared them.

Concerning Albany there is a rich literature of description, and the works of Kalm, and Mrs. Grant, and Cooper's "Satanstoe," may be mentioned as examples, but these and the documents and writings after 1664 hardly concern us. We can but glance at life here subsequent to the fall of New Netherland.

After the learned Domine Megapolensis removed to Manhattan, the community enjoyed the services first of Domine Schaats, and then of a long line of

learned ministers, who were university graduates. When the weaknesses of age were creeping on, these showed the graces and virtues and the faults and infirmities of men who in the sacred office have the usual experiences in dealing with saints and sinners,—the former sometimes giving as much trouble to the shepherd of the flock as did the straying sheep. One of these lovely characters wanting to get rid of his Domine, after making his life a burden gave him a strong hint that he had better go to a new field. The reverend pastor, on opening his door one morning, found a walking staff and a loaf of bread, and on the doorstep a pair of shoes with the toes pointing outward. In each shoe lay a silver coin for the journey.

Such things were not done in frontier days. Only when men had become purse-proud was the roughness of frontier life exchanged for subtle malice. After a few generations most of the industrious Albany folks were well off, and then Jeshurun often “waxed fat and kicked.” In the main, however, the relations between the Domine and his household and with all his parishioners were mutually pleasant. The threefold influences emanating from the Stadt-Huys, the manorial mansion, and the parsonage, with the abundant wealth of the burghers, the frequent visits of the Indians in both groups and crowds, the numerous negro slaves and servants in gay livery, and the almost constant coming and going of royal regiments and

commanders gave Albany the air of a metropolitan city. Its situation at the head of river navigation, having easy connection with Canada, and being withal the gateway into the Mohawk Valley and the beginning of the pathway to the great West, showed that it was, with the fur and lumbering industry, destined to wealth, and when New York became a state, to be its capital.

With the demand for luxury, finer clothes, and a natural desire to have prosperity display itself in elegant and sometimes ostentatious living, shops were early opened to supply the needs of the Dutch folks. Clothing, many things of adornment, and almost every sort of smallclothes were made at home, but shoes were imported ready made. Both at Albany and on Manhattan some of these shops became famous throughout the province. In the ladies' wardrobe, the kimono, imported from Japan, or made something after the style of Japanese garments, was quite common. This was the time of abundant commerce between Holland and the Empire of the Rising Sun, which was closed to all nationalities in Europe except the Dutch. Articles of Japanese lacquer (lacwark) and Japanese swords are heard of and noted in the colonial inventories. The Japanese *rok*, chamber-gown or dressing-sack exclusively for women (curiously called kimono, which is the general term for a garment), was almost as well known in Europe and America then as it is now.

This was the time of fads and fashions in Patria, which were reproduced in Dutch America. Originating in a little country already gorged with the wealth of the Orient, we see them in the changing scene reflected on the canvas and often told in a story within a picture frame. The imported Dutch fashions showed themselves in America especially when Delft ware appeared, in the hanging of crockery on the walls, and in rows of dishes on dressers. The lining of fireplaces with tiles rich in Scripture scenes and incidents, represented the Bible scenes as children could understand them. The liking for silver, as well as the abundance of it, was shown in making and presenting souvenir spoons, with special gifts at weddings, funerals, christenings, birthdays, and church festivals. In the rich social life of the Netherlands, these things of art were commonplaces rather than luxuries.

None of the colonists of the many nationalities in the thirteen colonies excelled the Dutch in household necessities and luxuries. Indeed, as was often said, there were people who could get along without the former, but must have the latter. Even the first question of their catechism had the word "comfort" in it. In the eighteenth century the first stages of colonial life had passed and wealth had accumulated. The English governors sent to rule New Netherland were surprised not only at the fine manners of the Dutch, which were no new thing, but at the luxury so generally enjoyed.

On the frontier it was necessary to have in the shops supplies of what the Indians wanted. The new materials and appliances of Europe had almost annihilated native crafts and industries. The red man could not make for himself or repair the guns, tools, and textiles which he bought for furs and wampum. He scorned the white man's civilization, which virtually meant in his eyes the degradation of a man, as warrior and hunter, to the level of a squaw. He was equally opposed to the elevation of woman, who was his toy and slave. The white man's powers of destruction and his vices were learned much more easily than were his virtues or his constructive ability. The savage could shoot and kill, drink brandy or swill beer to drunkenness, but he could neither mend, nor distill, nor brew.

Because of contact with the palefaces, the Indian in his degradation exhibited the harmony and the discords of what we term civilization. The forces of destruction and advance must be in equilibrium, with a general tendency toward the prevalence of the good, or the race reverts to brutishness. It was not the Indian only who illustrated this law. The European colonists who left the Church and social restraints, and, it may be, adopted Indian ways, sank lower and lower, and furnished the social waste, of which, all things considered, there was in New Netherland surprisingly little.

The settlements on the site of Albany, Dutch and English, for a hundred years remained the centre of the Indian trade. Then the city became the base of military operations. Although furs, fish, river traffic, and the lumber industry had in succession brought wealth, each or all of these were but slight means of enrichment as compared with war contracts. When large armies moved up and down the great water-troughs, or the land paths, between Manhattan and Canada and from the Hudson to the Niagara, certain trades proved to be especially profitable. Interior ammunition in those days was deemed as indispensable as powder and ball, and no soldiers marched without plenty of rum barrels. The molasses brought from the West Indies was turned into a liquid which, after pouring rivulets of bliss down the throat, set the brain on fire. Besides the military demand for "courage,"—ascribed to the Dutch, but usually made in New England, and quite English, also,—the Indian traders carried tens of thousands of kegs into the wilderness to make beasts of the savages, and to cause fighting and murder. The Indians when returning home from Albany must also have a good supply. Indeed, the town was long like a fountain, ever sending forth streams sweet in the tasting, but in effects bitter. The Iroquois found that no bite of copperhead or rattlesnake was worse than that of the invisible serpent in the bottle. No Indian

eloquence reached a higher point of pathos than when the victims of the distillery themselves begged for prohibition. Piteous were the appeals of the chiefs to have the firewater kept out of their villages, but the white man's greed prevailed over his ethics. On the whole, the Dutch legislation regulating the sale of liquor among the Indians was far in advance of the English, who made steady importation of negroes, notions, molasses, and New England rum.

The first house of worship in Albany was near the present steamboat landing. It was small and cheaply built. By 1656, when the second edifice was reared, there were not a few men of substance in the community. With the Patroon's contribution of a thousand guilders and the people's subscription of fifteen hundred more, there was the wherewithal for rearing a noble structure. When finished it was the delight of the inhabitants and the wonder of the Indians. Like Solomon's litter, it was paved with love. The corner stone was laid by the oldest magistrate, Rutger Jacobsen, with the usual ceremonies, according to the beautiful liturgy of the Reformed Church. This, though then verbally different from the present form, always included the idea of the Hebrew poet, — "Except the Lord build the city, they labor in vain who build it." Profoundly religious, "*Nisi Dominus frustra*" was ever in the Netherlander's thoughts, as it was also on the seal of his Church;

and this, because the thought — without God, all is vain — was the very marrow of his theology.

A pulpit in those days was the symbol of authoritative utterance. The congregation subscribing twenty-five beavers and the Company adding seventy-five guilders, a wineglass-shaped structure was sent over from Holland, in which many godly and eloquent men have stood. As a precious relic it is still preserved. The Company, also, gave a bell, which long rang out with its silvery tongue the invitation to worship. The notable church adornments consisted of *wapen*, or coats of arms, of the principal families, wrought into the glass of the windows. Besides the most illustrious of these names, the Schuylers, Wendells, van Rensselaers, etc., there were hundreds of others, now listed and accessible in the Year Books of the Holland Society of New York.

CHAPTER XXI

DORP AND ITS STORY

THE Iroquois term of location eastward of the Long House, "Schenectady," has been spelled in fifty-nine different ways, and the names of the modern city are many and significant. "Schnonowe," "The Dorp," "Les nouvelles habitations hollandaises," "Schenectady," "Schoon-echten-deel" (beautiful portion), "The Ancient City," "The Finished Place," "The Electric Capital," are names given fondly or humorously to the first settlement on the Mohawk, or the municipality founded by Arendt van Curler, whose noble life ended in 1667.

In the next year, 1668, a fresh move on the chessboard of European politics made the young settlement thrill. The triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden against France, the owner of Canada, populated the American woods with scalp-hunters, and made new danger for the frontiersmen. Although for the safety of New York the Iroquois in the Long House were still like a wall of life and fire, yet politics and religion, being yoked together, had altered the situation. The French Jesuits had converted many Mohawks, and led off a contingent of "praying Indians" to Mon-

treal. Their new zeal, added to their elemental passions, made war a delight. In this was a startling danger for the Dorp on the Mohawk.

These free farmers were never in favor either with the aristocratic manor folks at Albany, or with "John Company's" servants at Manhattan, or with the Court party that fawned on the English governors or fattened with the land speculators from Great Britain. Very much as the rich Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay at first looked down on the Pilgrims at Plymouth — as Anabaptists, poor relations, and as too democratic, even to boorishness — was the southern view of the frontier villagers on the Mohawk. Andros was especially severe with "the Dorp," and on one occasion he actually blockaded the place for a month. The right to bolt flour and to trade in furs was denied the Dorpians, and many a time did the sheriff come up from Albany to search houses and keep money in the pockets of patroon and Company. The bolting of flour was Manhattan's monopoly, to the bloating in wealth of men already rich, and to the inconvenience and impoverishing of the villagers who could have only meal. It is significant that on the city seal of Schenectady is a sheaf of wheat, while on that of New York City are windmill sails and barrels of flour. The secret of Manhattan's early wealth and of Schenectady's hardship is thus told as eloquently as the golden codfish of Massachusetts reveals the sea as the source of colonial riches.

Jacob Leisler opposed this monopoly, and stood for the freedom of the people. When, by the choice of the men of the province and appointment of the Committee of Safety, Leisler was made Director of Affairs, he promised the Schenectady people freedom of trade and the right to bolt flour. Was it any wonder that, in 1690, most of the Schenectady people were Leislerian in sympathy and acts? Yet as there were also anti-Leislerians, the Dorp was as a house divided against itself, — a fact which, alas, was known in Canada.

Peter Tassemacher (the name meaning pocket or cup maker) was the first Domine settled in the Dorp. He had seen not a little of the world before he was killed to please the Versailles boudoir. After his preparatory examination at Rhenen on the Rhine, he had been a teacher in the English Church at the Hague, served in South America, and after 1652 in several churches in lower New Netherland, being popular wherever he went. Yet he had his critics. Two Labadists, Danker and Sluyter, while prospecting for a settlement of their fellow believers in America, and before deciding upon Maryland, visited Schenectady. Their snarling criticisms of the sermons and manners of this and other Dutch ministers may be read in the published journal of their travels. Tassemacher must have been at least ordinarily eloquent.

The Church at Schenectady began its existence

some time before 1680. The old artilleryman, Hans Janse Eencluyts, who had served the Company, with Jacobus van Curler, in Connecticut, and later the Patroon at Rensselaerwijk, lived on the ground which is now the campus of Union College. Eencluyts's Kill, "the brook which bounds through Union's grounds," still bears his name on its murmuring waters. He made over to the Church, for the benefit of the poor at Schenectady, his plantation, on condition that he should be kept in his old age and weakness. The deacons took good care of him until his death in 1683. Then they buried him with honors, and administered on his estate. The *Arme weg*, or "poor pasture," furnished fodder for the villagers' cows for nearly two centuries.

According to local tradition, some people who were owners of cattle, but not at all "poor," abused the generosity of the deacons, and took advantage of the free pasture. Thereupon a law was made that all cows properly entitled to free grass should have one horn painted red. The cure proved worse than the disease. Soon every cow in the place had a crimson horn. In a sense not modern the town was "painted red."

Dutch churches have ever been guardians of the poor, the orphan, the aged, and of all who were without natural protectors. No country on earth excelled Patria in wisely and beneficently organized charity, and what the people were and

did in Patria was but slightly changed in New Netherland. By the faithful work of the churches, as administered by the deacons and the family organization, many of the modern miscellaneous charities were rendered unnecessary.

The prosperous condition of the poor fund, from 1680 to 1690, is shown in that, when the deacons' accounts were audited by Domine Tassemacher, the money on hand amounted to about 4000 guilders, or \$1000, worth now at least \$5000,—a handsome sum for a little church in a frontier village of sixty log cabins. On the parsonage they built for the Domine, Claes van der Volgen helped. He was the famous young man, who, his life spared in the massacre of 1690, went to Canada, was adopted into the tribe, lived as an Indian, but returned to his home, and died in old age as a Christian, a deacon, and a Dorpian. Happily a Delilah, of whom he was enamored, sheared off his scalp lock, and the strength of his Indian desires vanished.

It is to be hoped that the Domine had light enough to read his Hebrew Bible and Greek New Testament in his little parsonage study-room, for an item of two glass windows costing ten guilders is not suggestive of luxury. It reveals rather the scarcity of the transparent medium imported from Europe. The home-made "lights" in most of the houses consisted of tough paper greased with lard, with perhaps many a joke about "American

stained glass," which was hardly up to the Gouda standard in Patria. The Dutch had even petitioned to build a new house of worship for their popular pastor. The extra expenses, to which the congregation was put on the Domine's account, were evidently in anticipation of his marriage, about which tradition has many tongues. A buxom young widow was to be the *juffrouw*, and the merrymaking on the sad night of February 8, 1690, is said to have been the engagement party, after the manner of Patria. According to another legend, a squaw, for soiling with snow or mud the spotless floor, was roundly scolded by a neat housewife. The Indian woman, who possibly suspected what was coming, answered that it would be dirty enough in a few days. Instead of nuptials, the parsonage became the scene of slaughter and the funeral pile of its occupant.

Between danger from Canada and the Leisler troubles, the villagers were already in the shadow of a great peril from without and in danger of anarchy from within. During the previous summer of 1689, the haughty Mohawks of the Mohawk Valley, allies of the Dutch and English, had destroyed Montreal. For this proceeding, the French were bound to take vengeance. The Leisler troubles divided the people, and the "Commonality" were ready to take up arms against the partisans of Andros, the flour monopolists, and the Jacobites. Yet both parties laughed at the idea of the distant

French being able so soon to recoup and unite for a blow on the settlements as far south as Albany. Besides, they forgot those Mohawks who were allies with the French in faith. Their criminal neglect and fatal delusion brought the Dorpians to grief.

After years of locked gates, sentinels pacing their lonely rounds on the palisade platform, after the building of a fort, and — as the result of Leisler's union of the colonies — the reinforcements of its garrison by Connecticut militia, Fate seemed to mock Providence. Just when the storm of war broke without warning, the gates were wide open, the entrance being blocked only by a fall of snow and by two mock sentinels of the same material. One and all, soldiers and burghers, from cradled babies to venerable sires, the Domine and his flock, the latter after a merrymaking between sunset and midnight, were wrapped in the deepest slumbers.

All this amazing neglect of common care was because of the division of the people into Leisler and anti-Leisler parties. In the vehemence of factional quarrels, ordinary precautions were not taken, and danger was sniffed at. In mid-winter, with from five to twenty feet of snow on the trails, who would be so mad as to face danger and cold over a stretch of a hundred miles? Yet the French dared.

More than one description of the fort and hamlet that thus tempted mighty France in Canada

had been sent to Versailles. Woman's beauty, courtly favor, and royal commands, in an age of loyalty, were the spurs that drove the gallant young French officers to brave the menace of death by cold and starvation. They would root out the nest of heretics, and win, perhaps, a fur preserve for the glutting of the markets of France. So, on snowshoes, leading their red allies and their loyal henchmen through winter's whiteness and silence, they reached the Mohawk. To their surprise, on crossing the river's ice sheet, the Frenchmen found the village gates open.

Quickly ranging themselves in lines along the streets, they raised the war whoop, and with spear, tomahawk, sword, powder and ball, began the work of blood. At the outset, one unforgetting Canada brave, long ago treated kindly by Deacon Wendell, came with a led horse, dragged out his friend, threw a blanket over him, and at the gate, past all his fellow savages, gave the brute a whack on the flank which started the rider to Albany. Nearly dead and half frozen, Deacon Wendell lived to become the ancestor of the witty essayist and physico-theologian, our Oliver Wendell Holmes, who himself told me the story that is confirmed by witnesses of the old time.

Among the victims was Domine Tassemacher. He was to have been saved, for the Frenchmen wanted his papers. Tomahawked early in the massacre, and tossed back to cremation in his par-

sonage, little that had once been his was found in the ashes. Another victim was a son of Anneke Janse. Among the saved or lost were the ancestors of scores of the most famous families of the Empire State.

At daylight Sanders Glen, an anti-Leislerian, who lived in his loopholed and palisaded house at Scotia, across the river, was visited by the French officers. They promised him his life and the lives of his relatives then among the prisoners, because of his past kindness to their people. Going over to the village, he chose out so many to be set free that the Canadian Mohawks grumbled, and further rescue proceedings were stopped. Then the plunder was loaded on fifty horses, the twenty-seven captives tied, and all the houses, except four or five, were set on fire. Sixty corpses lay on the level waste of ashes. Twenty-five persons had escaped. Most of the dead who were not killed at once, but who in mortal wounds perished in their night-clothes, were found frozen on what was later called "Martyrs Street." The anti-Leislerians gloated because Leisler's "seditious letters now found all bloody upon Schenectady streets, with the motions of a free trade, bolting," etc., had been picked up.

Schenectady became the theme of grave debate between Versailles and London. Gay was the chat among lace-cuffed ministers of Louis XIV over the destruction of the heretics of the frontier village. But the Dutchmen of Dorp, though cast

down, would not be destroyed. They hated Albany patroonism and feudalism and Manhattan monopolies as bitterly as ever. As unquailing in their perseverance, and as tenacious in their love of freedom as had been their fathers behind the dikes, the remnant came back. These free farmers, despite poverty and all discouragements, would neither yield to the seductions of patroonism at Albany, nor back down before the further menace from Canada. Freedom was too sweet.

As soon as spring warmed the ground, the remnant of the survivors were back to seed their farms, to rebuild among the ashes their homes, and on the old site to uprear the palisades and start the town again. At intervals they welcomed back from captivity the captives, often grown from boyhood to man's estate. Sometimes these had been adopted into Indian families, but on their return they were quickly won to civilization again.

Until the Peace of Ryswijk, in 1697, there was no safety in the Mohawk Valley except behind fortifications. The farmer worked with a musket at his side. There were many funerals of men found in the fields without hair and with lead inside their bodies. More than one skull have I seen at Dorp cloven by tomahawks, or perforated with balls, and sometimes with leaden bullets rattling inside, when the old cemetery was emptied. Nevertheless, because of the movement of large bodies of British soldiers through the town, wealth increased.

By 1700 the people were able to call a minister and build a new house of worship. Thenceforth life became much richer in every way. In 1734 a fine new stone church, fifty-six by eighty feet, was built. With a belfry, bell from Amsterdam, clock, and a gilded weather-vane surmounting all, the sacred edifice must have seemed almost metropolitan in its imposing proportions. For over a century, until it melted in a fire which consumed this fourth house of worship, the sweet tones of the bell from *Patria* called to prayer and praise.

When the daily promenades of "our rural divinity" ceased, and paved streets and brick sidewalks came into fashion, in place of lanes and cow-tracks, the New York Central Railroad Company wanted the land which was formerly "the poor pasture," just about the time that the Church lost the edifice by fire. The *Arme weg* of Eenclyus, over which iron horses had long been careering, was sold for \$11,500, which sum was applied, in 1862, to the building of the gem of architecture on which Edward Tuckerman Potter, brother of the late bishop now at rest in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, lavished the wealth of his genius. When in June, 1880, we celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the Church, with blazoned banners, floral symbols of bell, hourglass, font, and vane, with the church charter and other muniments in evidence, the list in the local newspapers showed that the Dutch clans and families,

with some others, were well represented. As the local newspapers reported:—

The Bankers, Barhydts, Buskirks, Chisms, Clutes, Condes, Corls, Cregiers, de Forests, de Graffs, Duryees, Felthousens, Fondas, Freemans, Fullers, Gillespies, Glenns, Greggs, Groots, Grouts, Hagamans, Hamlins, Harmans, Hoags, Kittles, Kleins, Lansings, Marcelluses, Mynderses, Oothouts, Ostrandors, Ostroms, Ouderkirks, Parmentiers, Pearses, Peeks, Plancks, Propers, Putnams, Quackenbushes, Quants, Reagleses, Reeses, Relyeas, Rosas, Ruoffs, Sanderses, Schermerhorns, Schoolcrafts, Schuylers, Sellyes, Shaffers, Sitterleys, Slovers, Snyders, Speirs, Swarts, Switses, Swortfiguers, Tellers, Thorntons, Tolls, Truaxs, Twombles, Turnbolls, Tymesons, the Vans of all sorts the Vedders, the Veeders, Vieles, Visschers, Vibbards, Vorheeses, Vroomans, Waldrons, Wassons, Weatherwaxes, Weekses, Wellers, Wemples, Wendells, Wessels, Westinghouses, Whitmyers, Wilkies, Winegarts, Whitbecks, were all out Sunday at the bi-centennial exercises in the First Reformed Church, besides scores of others bearing names familiar in Holland.

Most prominent among the floral symbols on bi-centennial day were those of the Holy Book, the marriage bell, and the baptismal bowl. On Manhattan in 1694 the people's silver offerings of coins and ornaments were sent to Patria, and the Amsterdam artisans melted down the treasure and hammered out the sacred vessel still used in the church on Madison Avenue. From Schenectady a

similar offering of white metal enriched the rim of the church bell. In these baskets of silver translation lie Domine Selyns's apples of gold : —

Not on mere water fix your sight,
 Ne'er to 've been born were better,
 But look for more in baptism's rite,
 Than that which kills — the letter.
 For, with his precious blood Christ knows
 How from my sins to cleanse me;
 And by His Spirit life bestows,
 Washing the wound that stains me.

The limits of this little book do not allow a chapter on "the intellectuals" of New Netherland, nor on its bibliography. There were poets and prose writers, and not all the works printed in Dutch were volumes of sermons. The church in Schenectady was typical in having a long line of scholarly pastors, graduates of universities, whose books in Mohawk, Dutch, and English, and the literature about the men and their writings, would make a respectable library.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ENGLISH GOVERNORS

THE existence of New Netherland as a political entity ceased in 1664, after which, except for a short time in 1674, the Dutch people and their descendants were cut off from vital connection with Patria. All accounts and descriptions of the New York Dutchmen after these dates, especially when penned or drawn by persons living much later, are to be read with caution and taken with much critical salt.

Happily for all, Colonel Richard Nicolls, the first governor of the Duke of York's province, spoke both Dutch and French. He was a conscientious Irish gentleman, who soon became master of hearts, winning all by his firmness, tact, and justice. Among his first works were friendly consultation with the leading men in the province, rectification of its boundary lines, and renewal of covenant relations with the Indians.

Nicolls and Stuyvesant became good friends. It is even suspected that the Irishman learned much from the Dutchman; for, despite his merit, the King's officer was as arbitrary in action as was the servant of the late "John Company." Nicolls broke his promises of popular representation by

summoning only a portion of the people, instead of all, by their delegates, to consider the new code of laws; but against this sweeping away their rights as citizens of New Amsterdam, the Dutch made vigorous protest. Nor was the English system of trial by jury (vulgarly supposed to date from Magna Charta) at all popular.

After four years, Nicolls was succeeded by Sir Francis Lovelace, a man of less ability and character, and even more arbitrary. Lovelace was the leader in a grand procession of English land speculators, who, making full use of their office, were in a hurry to get rich. Yet so long as the people saw that their governors meant even fairly well, and that their old customs or convictions were not disturbed, they loyally upheld them. The Duke's laws were accepted as surprisingly liberal (their real purpose not being yet revealed), and the Dutch, being ever a law-abiding people not given to quarreling over things apparently evil, so long as the desirable substance remained, acquiesced. Nevertheless, after two years, the general verdict seemed to be that, as compared with the sort furnished by kings and dukes, republican government was by far the better thing.

When, therefore, Charles II of England joined Louis XIV in a compact of despots to destroy Dutch freedom, and war broke out, the news of a fleet of fifteen ships floating the orange, white, and blue flag, and approaching New York, was received

with joy. In Patria the Dutch cut the dikes, put their country under water, and drove out the French invaders. In New York Americans were quite ready to welcome Admiral Cornelius Evertsen and Jacob Bincks. On August 7, 1673, twenty-three splendid Dutch warships with sixteen hundred soldiers of the Republic dotted the waters of New York Bay. Once more, on August 9, the flag of seven stripes, red and white, of the federal Republic floated over Manhattan. There were many tears of joy shed, caps thrown into the air, and huzzas of "Oranje boven" (up with the orange) given, as the symbol of freedom and federation once more kissed the breeze.

New York became New Netherland again. There were dissolving views of names and forms, as on the white sheet in lantern light, but the substance of society and daily custom scarcely knew change. The fort, enlarged and renamed Willem Hendrik, after the new stadtholder, William II, at home, and King William III in England, now mounted nearly two hundred guns. Colonel Anthony Colve was the military administrator.

By this time "John Company" was defunct. The people, through their burgomasters and schepens, petitioned the States-General to assume the government of the province, which was agreed to, and Admiral de Ruyter's secretary, Joris Adringa, was appointed civil governor; but little beyond routine was, or could be, done, as we shall see.

In England, Parliament having had enough of King Charles, compelled him to stop the war, refusing to vote money or supplies, unless the royal job of doing the vile work of Louis XIV was called off. At the treaty made at Westminster, the Dutch, as many Englishmen thought, got the best of the bargain in diplomacy, for tropical regions were then considered much more valuable than colder lands. New York was given back to England, and Holland received Surinam, or, as it was then, Surreyham.

Down in South America, on its north front, we find a country which we English-speaking people call Dutch Guiana, but which the Netherlands have corrupted into "Surinam." Through this region Sir Walter Raleigh vainly strove to penetrate, to find the famed El Dorado, or country of the Gilded Man. Yet all the European colonies in South America, English, Dutch, and French, were at first failures. Dutch Guiana had been settled by the English, and British Guiana by the Dutch. When, after many trials, the English settlement became a success, the country was named after the Earl of Surrey. The tourist's impression of the country to-day is that of a transported Holland, in which the official language is Dutch and the parlance of the people is "taki-taki." The streets of the capital, Paramaribo, are lined with great mahogany trees, making arches that suggest cathedral aisles, or the "high embowéd

roof" of Milton's poetry. Thus is Dutch America transferred from the north to the south, from the continent beneath the Dipper to the continent under the Southern Cross.

At once Charles Stuart, the King, handed over the American province to James, Duke of York, who appointed Andros, a young major of dragoons, to be governor. In October, 1674, Andros arrived with the English frigates, *Diamond* and *Castle*. He was destined to play the rôle, so common in history, of a man successful in military life who becomes a failure in civil affairs.

Good dinners and speeches, with complimentary presents, between Colve and Andros, made the exchange of ownership as polite and pleasant an affair as were those parlor reunions of diplomats in Europe which unleashed armies to soak the earth with human blood. Perhaps Andros did not know he was to be such a cat's paw and get so badly burned while trying to govern freemen, who, in both New England and New Netherland, loved the statutes of the realm, and law, which is older than kings or thrones, better than "secret instructions." The Duke's were again put in force in New York.

One of the first things Andros did was to revert to a mediæval practice as unjust to the province at large as anything ever done by the hated West India Company. He took away from the people of the interior towns the right to bolt and export flour, that is, sift meal from bran and sell it as fine

flour. This outrageous monopoly, which meant little less than robbery and oppression of the farmers and millers of the province, so enriched New York City that its wealth during the sixteen years of the monopoly's existence was tripled. At Albany and Schenectady this act caused men to grind their teeth in rage at such flagrant injustice, and created a state of feeling which made Leisler's power possible. In other ways, Andros, the ultra-royalist, made himself hateful to both Puritan New England and Dutch New York. Nor did he satisfy his master, King James II, who recalled him and sent over Governor Thomas Dongan in his place.

Dongan convened a general assembly by votes of the people, which met October 17, 1683, — a large majority of the representatives being Dutchmen. They immediately passed the Charter of Liberties, which was intended to limit the powers of the governor and to secure the rights of the people, by means of a permanent popular representative assembly. This charter enacted that "the supreme legislative authority under His Majesty and His Royal Highness, James, Duke of York, Albany, etc., Lord Proprietor of the said Province, shall forever be and reside in the governor, council, and the people met in a general assembly."

The people were thus made a constituent part of the Assembly by their chosen representatives, and the principle which Holland had already for

more than two centuries maintained, that is, taxation only by consent, was incorporated in the charter. This is the first use of the words "the people" in any American document. Governor Dongan approved and the Duke signed this charter, October 4, 1684, commenting favorably upon it. He even went so far as to say that if any amendments were made, they should be more advantageous to the people. Everything looked now as if a long bright day of absolute religious freedom had dawned upon New York, and this, notwithstanding the fact that several Jesuits had arrived with Dongan. There was great rejoicing, and the Dutch and other free churchmen felt happy indeed. The charter really gave more privileges to New York than were enjoyed by any other province, for no other charter had in it the expression "the people," who were thus recognized as an equal factor in the government.

The document had been engrossed, but was not yet registered, when Charles II died, on February 6, 1685. Then the Duke of York became King of England, and at once everything was changed. The transmission of the New York charter was suspended, for the dukedom of New York had become a royal province.

In becoming sovereign, the quondam Lord Proprietor revealed at once the cloven foot. He declined flatly to complete the work he had once approved. Nevertheless, being an adept in cun-

ning and deception, he did not at once withdraw his signature or veto the charter, but actually allowed it to remain temporarily in force, while in the secret instructions which he as King sent to Governor Dongan, May 29, 1686, he wrote, annulling the Charter of Liberties. He said: "We declare our will and pleasure that the said bill or charter of franchise be forthwith repealed and disallowed."

New York was placed under the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was to license all the schoolmasters who should come from England. The absurdity of this measure is seen in the fact that as yet there was only a handful of English Conformists in New York, who had not one church building in all the province.

The Dutch at once took the alarm, and began to organize that sturdy resistance which, ten years later, secured for them a charter that virtually annulled what King James and all his host had tried to foist upon them. In reality, the one object of this seemingly religious freedom, arrayed in the sheep's clothing of apparent liberality, was to secure an entrance of that form of Christianity, to be established by royal decree, for which King James later posed as champion. Yet, whereas one order in the Roman Communion was patronized by the French Governor, Denonville, in Canada, another one was favored by the Irish Governor Dongan in New York, who had his own chapel

and worship under Father Hervey. There was much clashing, and the correspondence between the governors of Canada and New York, especially that relating to French brandy and Irish whiskey, and of fresh and rotten oranges, is decidedly amusing.

Dongan gives a lively picture of the variety of religious forms, and his letter reads like a United States Census Report. There were Calvinism in four languages, Lutheranism in German, which he called "Dutch," abundance of Quaker preachers, men, and especially women, "singing Quakers, ranting Quakers, Sabbatarians, anti-Sabbatarians, some Jews, in short, of all sorts of opinion there are some and the most part of none at all. . . . But as for the King's natural born subjects, that live on Long Island and other parts of the government, I find it a hard task to make them pay their ministers."

The direct emigration from England to Manhattan was very slow and never very great. Dongan wrote in 1686 that not more than twenty families had come over from Great Britain, but on Long Island the Dutch and English population was increasing.

Dongan, who deserves a biography, held back, as long as he could, the news from the people that their liberties were abrogated. Under him city charters were given to New York and Albany, — the first true cities in North America. In Janu-

ary, 1687, he issued the King's proclamation. Then he and his council assumed all authority. This left New York again a helpless, conquered province, the people having no voice in legislation or taxation. This for Dutchmen, who for centuries had paid only the taxes they themselves voted, could not last long. It meant revolution. After such tyranny, Bunker Hill and Yorktown were sure to come. The Declaration of 1776 was counter revolution against crowned law breakers.

King James was determined to unite New England and New York in one province, even if he had to trample on law and blot out charters. He recalled the good Governor Dongan, and sent over his own more pliable tool Andros, who annexed New York, New Jersey, and the eastern colonies as one royal province to the autocrat of all the Englands. Andros's commission over this enlarged territory is dated April 7, 1688, but already Englishmen in the old home, who valued their endangered liberties, were preparing a secret invitation to a Dutch deliverer to come over and save them. On November 5, William III unfurled his banner bearing the ancient legend of the House of Nassau, "I will maintain." Two days before Christmas, in 1688, the despot James fled the country.

William III, brought up in the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, which was the Church of four fifths of the people of New York, was very tolerant in church government and modes of worship.

Reality was his constant quest. It troubled him little to adopt the form of worship used in the Anglican Church, and in a few months the Act of Toleration was passed which began for modern England its career of freedom, hastening the time when the free churchmen should exceed by seats in the chapel and church edifices the Conformists. Yet before matters in New York settled down to peace under liberty, there was to take place "the Leisler episode," the truth concerning which has so long suffered eclipse.

CHAPTER XXIII

JACOB LEISLER : THE PEOPLE'S CHAMPION

"THE Leisler episode" has been treated as a family quarrel, as a social cataclysm, as a disturbance between parsons and their flocks, and as a struggle of "Protestants" against "Papists." The best view to take is that of the cool historian, who looks at the background and scans the latest evidence.

After the English conquest of 1664, with the increase of wealth, and the importation of English court notions, fashions, and social gradations, unknown in a republic, there grew up an "aristocratic party." Scores of Dutchmen fawned on the English governors, securing fat offices and arrogating to themselves luxury and privileges unknown in simpler days. These were the men who had secured for New York City the flour monopoly, which took away from other places the right to bolt meal, that is, to sift out the bran and make flour. The monopolists were hated by the farmers, who looked on the Manhattan "court" as a centre of oppression.

In Europe, France under Louis XIV had become the paramount power. Its State Church was a persecutor. Tens of thousands of Huguenots, in

fear of their lives, fled to Germany and Holland, but Louis sent his armies to ravage the Palatinate, or Rhine region, and in person invaded the Netherlands. The Dutch put their country under water and forced the French to retreat. William III of Holland gave his life to checkmate the plans of Louis, who in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had given freedom of conscience to the Huguenots. Thousands of these French Bible-readers came to America. Among them was Jacob Leisler, the son of a French exiled minister and born at Frankfort. He had enlisted as a soldier in the Dutch West India Company. After this military service, he rose, by his diligence and character, to be a church officer, one of the richest merchants in New Netherland, and a judge. Naturally he was an intense Protestant, for he knew what persecution meant. As a deacon in the Dutch Reformed Church and a man of wide experience, he loved the people, and generously helped the French immigrants. He was just the man to voice the feeling and act the will of the "Commonality," or, in American English, the people.

Unfortunately, the Domines then in the province did what the clergy so often do to-day, — they allowed their sympathies to go with their tastes. At the crisis, they turned their backs on the "Commonality," and sided with the men of wealth and office, many of whom were Anglo-maniacs of an acute type.

King William III landed at Torbay with an army, half Dutch and half Huguenot, and was proclaimed in Great Britain and America as sovereign. The people of New York were wild with joy. The French immigrants, who had never slept a night without fear lest King James II might make alliance with the French, and send an army from Canada to invade New York and ship them all back to France, were now sure of safety and freedom. The Dutch rejoiced because England had a king of their own blood and liberal ideas.

On Manhattan the situation was critical, for the office-holders, being all the creatures of James, had power to work mischief. The people waited anxiously for King William's agents, but when neither these nor the dispatches came, they showed their power. In Boston the citizens arrested and imprisoned Governor Andros, and appointed a Committee of Safety.

The fort on Manhattan must be held by King William's friends. Of the trained band of volunteers, Leisler was made first captain and then colonel. When the royal governor, Nicholson, overstepped his authority and arbitrarily dismissed a sentinel, who was a gentleman, he found the people rising in wrath, and he fled. Then the counties selected a Committee of Safety, and appointed Jacob Leisler captain of the fort. Later, they made him commander or governor of the whole province.



WILLIAM III AND QUEEN MARY
ON SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK

There was no "usurpation" about it. Leisler chose counselors from each of the different nationalities.

Unfortunately, the aristocratic element for the most part stood aloof. The Domines, socially well disposed toward the former civil officials, who were members of their churches, held to the old order of things. In this, as so often with clerical conservatives, they proved themselves unable to read the signs of the times, or to understand that in the people is a truer instinct of order and righteousness than in the circles of privilege and fashion. At any rate, there seemed to be in the Reformed clergy very little of the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. The Reverend Messrs. Selyns, Dellius, and Varick thundered from their pulpits against Leisler's authority, so that he and his party were more bitterly excited. The Leislerians thought a divine opportunity had been given to establish better government and to separate Church and State. Their feelings, as members of the Dutch Church, which in Patria had always stood for the freedom of the people, were outraged. They were bitterly disappointed in their ministers. Almost to a man, the free farmers sided with Leisler. In the towns, while the people were divided, the majority favored the ruler whom the people had chosen.

With the whole populace—the Domines and the wealthier classes on one side, and the plain

people and anti-monopolists on the other — ranged in two opposite camps, there was something like civil war. The people stayed away from worship, refused to pay clerical salaries, and began to persecute and punish their pastors. Dellius fled to Boston, and Domine Varick of Long Island to Delaware. Varick was afterwards kept prisoner in the fort six months, dying ultimately from the effects of his ill treatment. It was a new thing in Dutch history when the ministers sided with the aristocrats against the people; for, throughout the grand story of freedom-loving Holland, people and pastors were one as against the privilege and prerogative. In the Netherlands the Dutch Republic was the child of the Church.

The “upper classes” made a sad mistake in not accepting the action of the people, as expressed in their Committee of Safety. The over-prudent clergy were probably influenced by social reasons, as pastors are so apt to be. Leisler was not “an illiterate German.” He was a prominent merchant and church officer, and had been duly chosen by the Committee of Safety because of his high character and ability. He had American and Continental ideas, and foresaw the future. He felt the necessity of a union of the colonies, and saw the danger from Canada that was imminent over Albany and Schenectady. He was the first man to call a Congress of the colonies to propose unity of action and secure mutual strength against France

in Canada. The Congress met on Manhattan in the spring of 1690. Little was accomplished in the military campaign which followed, and by the fleet sent to Canada, but the Congress sent colonial men thinking of future union.

Leisler could not write English perfectly or express himself easily in this language, but he spoke and wrote German, Dutch, and French fluently, and had the mind of a statesman. At every step of his difficult task Leisler strove to respect the forms of law, but, provoked at every turn with the violent opposition of the office-holding and money-making party, he was forced into doing arbitrary acts; yet, on the whole, considering his complicated tasks, and despite his mistakes, his career was noble and unselfish.

Dilatoriness in the slow-working British Government in this instance, even as in the time of our Revolution and Civil War, was the chief cause of the troubles which followed. King William appointed Sloughter governor. He, getting wrecked on the Bermudas, sent Captain Ingoldsby three months ahead of him. When the latter arrived at Manhattan, though without credentials, the old councilors of King James quickly gained his ear and advised him to demand at once the surrender of the fort. For this Ingoldsby had no commission, right in law, or authority. His business was to wait. Leisler, like a true soldier and a loyal subject, refused his demand.

This decision gave Leisler's enemies their murderous chance. On the arrival of Slougher, they had Leisler arrested. In spite of the efforts of the citizens, headed by Rev. Mr. Daillé, Leisler and his son-in-law, Milborne, were tried on the charge of treason and hanged, and their property was confiscated. As bravely as John Brown on the Charlestown scaffold, as nobly sweet in forgiving spirit and as became a true follower of the Victim on Calvary, Leisler died, finishing his career as a Christian gentleman and far-seeing statesman consistently and logically. The execution took place beyond the city walls, on the site of the New York Tribune building.

This brutal and lawless act of the British governor was an insult to the people who put Leisler into power, and on whose support he had based his right to power. Forced into many seemingly arbitrary acts by the exigencies of his difficult task, Leisler had done the right as God gave him to see the right.

The Leisler affair began a long dispute between "the short hairs" and "the swallow tails," the minority of privilege and the multitude of plain people, to the great injury of religion and order. Incidentally it precipitated the massacre at Schenectady and its destruction in fire and blood. The Leislerians and anti-Leislerians were opposed in politics, church affairs, and daily life during many years.

Until our own time Leisler was looked upon as a "usurper," and the wrong and injustice done his name are almost as great as those so long inflicted on Cromwell, the Anabaptists, and other forerunners of American safeguarded freedom. Heated prejudice has beclouded both fact and truth. Some respectable American historians, and the Tory writers to a man, and even Englishmen professing to be scholars, took this view, which my honored predecessor, Dr. A. G. Vermilye, after minute research, has completely overthrown. Leisler is unanswerably vindicated by the facts, and our encyclopædias need revision.

Yet England loves fair play. It is now clear that the long delay of King William in answering Leisler's repeated explanations of his act and appeals for orders, arose from Dr. Cotton Mather's desire to have royal communications made slow, in order that New England and its popular rights might profit thereby, — though probably without intentional purpose of injury to Leisler or the people of New York. Soon the whole affair was reviewed and the iniquity of the hasty verdict demonstrated.

In England, Parliament legalized Leisler's action and removed the attainder of treason, and Queen Anne restored Leisler's estates to his family. Nevertheless, Governor Fletcher (1692–98) obeyed neither King nor Parliament, and set himself against their authority. In 1698

Leisler's relatives asked Lord Bellomont, then governor, for permission to take up the bodies, which were buried near the gallows, and give them Christian burial in the Dutch Church edifice on Garden Street. Bellomont, "the hurricane reform governor," probably out of sincere compassion, went to the other extreme in rebuking ostentatiously his predecessor and in vindicating the power of the law. He had the corpses exhumed, and although all the ministers and the Consistory of the Church were loud in their protests, — shall it be said to their shame? — the bodies of Leisler and Milborne were buried under the church floor. At midnight twelve hundred people exultantly furnished the funeral escort. The attitude of the church authorities long alienated the plain people from worshiping in the sacred edifices, and it was felt that the Domines had no sympathy with the feeling of the populace. By her historical origin and her long record as champion of the people's rights, the Dutch Church has no business ever to side with partisans, who represent either wealth and power on the one side, or coarseness and turbulence on the other. Her place is ever as mediator and reconciler, and such in later days, true to her old traditions, she became, as we shall see.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

NEW YORK province, conquered as a fief of the English Crown, was a feudatory principality, while the proprietor was a duke; but when the Duke of York became sovereign, New York was the Crown's land, — a province with provincial government. Was, then, the claim of the new owner by right of prior discovery, or by conquest? If the former, then the Dutch had been only trespassers on English soil, and the English legal system, with all its inheritances from feudalism, would at once prevail. This would make life intolerable to freeborn republicans. If, on the other hand, the basis of the claim was conquest, then the Dutch system of jurisprudence, which was founded on Roman law, together with the especial ordinances of New Netherland, would remain in force until repealed. The crown lawyers of England were to have settled the question, but, as they never did, the people of New York solved the problem for themselves.

A high authority has declared that the "civil administration of the Dutch left its permanent impress on the customs, laws, and civilization of New York and New Jersey. . . . Dutch jurisprudence founded on Roman law was superior to the con-

temporary feudal law introduced by the English." The Dutch legislation concerning police, property, inheritances, and status shows a highly civilized state of society. The laws relative to the public records of legal instruments were in advance of contemporary English law. No principle of primogeniture prevailed. The penal laws of New York were always more enlightened and less severe than those in other colonies founded by England, — a direct result of the earlier Dutch institutions, which were more humane.

At the surrender the English received one of the most flourishing colonies in America, possessing a hardy, vigorous, and thrifty people, well adapted to all the principles of civil and religious freedom. These Dutch colonists cheerfully accepted all that was good in English customs and laws, but stoutly and successfully resisted what they considered undesirable. This could not have been the case if their prior political, religious, and social conditions had not been of a superior kind.

Now began the battle of justice, for the fundamental and ultimate question was left virtually undecided until July 4, 1776.

From the very beginning, the Dutch determined to preserve the right, confirmed in 1664, of the congregation to elect its own officers. They were on the alert against any law that looked to the establishment of the Church of England on American soil. The first English governors, not understanding what kind of people they had to deal

with, did not comprehend the seriousness of the situation. They assumed, contrary to the fact, that the Church of England was established in the colony of New York. All such trickery was nullified by Dutch vigilance.

King Charles II sent "secret instructions" to his five commissioners in and about New England, and these instructions had a double purpose. These royal agents were not only to take the territory held by the Dutch, but they were also to get away from the New England colonists their charters, or to have them so modified that the King's power would be so increased that even church officers would be under royal appointment.

Walter van Twiller, returning to Holland, took charge in Nijkerk of the education of the Patroon's son, Nicholas, born in 1647. At an early age, Nicholas van Rensselaer joined a ring of gay young fellows at the Hague, who surrounded Charles Stuart. By predicting that Charles would be King, Nicholas got into the royal good graces. He crossed to America in the suite of Andros, and tried to get the ancestral manor, but failed in the courts. In July, 1674, the Duke of York recommended Nicholas to Governor Andros for a "living" in one of the Dutch churches. This meant an invasion of the rights of the Dutch Church, as guaranteed by treaty, and, besides, Nicholas had no credentials, not having received ordination in Holland. The full story of the successful resistance of this at-

tempted invasion by the English State Church is told in the Ecclesiastical Records published by the State of New York. These show that the claim that the Anglican Church was established in New York was an absurdity. Andros assumed that it was, and this baseless assumption has been often repeated, not only by Europeans, but by not a few American writers, and even in legal documents on our own soil.

In 1679 the Dutch clergymen formed a Classis, — the first in the New World, — and ordained Rev. Petrus Tassemacher to the ministry, thus exercising their full ecclesiastical rights, and their proceedings were approved by the Classis of Amsterdam, no Anglican bishop having anything to do with the matter.

The long battle for full liberty of conscience lasted one hundred and thirteen years, from 1664 to 1777, for the Dutch resisted the claim of the Bishop of London to install ministers and school-masters in New York province. In 1691 they rejected Governor Sloughter's bill to have ministers supported by taxation. Fletcher, his successor, pressed the same point, and the Dutch Assembly opposed him. The "Ministry Act" of 1693 as finally passed was limited to certain parishes in only four out of ten counties. It did not establish the Anglican Church in New York province. Here was a lofty monument on the way to American freedom.

As early as December 12, 1686, the Dutch petitioned for a new church edifice outside the fort in Garden Street. On May 11, 1696, after a ten years' battle of wits, the British governor, seeing that nine tenths of the people were opposed to his schemes, found that he had better yield, and the charter was signed. The Garden Street Church people were given the right in law to manage all their own affairs, such as the calling of ministers and the induction of them into office, without any interference. This was the first royal charter given in the Middle States, and it became the model for the other charters of the Dutch churches. It made the Consistory "a body politic and corporate" in fact and name,—"Minister, Elders, and Deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York."

The Episcopal people followed the excellent example of the Dutch, and they also secured a charter, which was issued May 6, 1696. This document, strangely enough, declares no fewer than twelve times, but without ground of fact, in a single instance of assertion, that the Ministry Act of 1693 establishes the Church of England. Subsequent legislation was necessary to give legal existence to this corporation of Trinity Church.

Even the Ministry Act of 1693, which was to establish the Church of England in some places in four out of ten counties of New York, was not valid until the King had signed it. This he did

not do until nearly four years after it was passed, on May 11, 1696, five days after the granting of Trinity Church Charter.

Meanwhile Christians were comrades. Despite the politics in the case, and while lawyers and legislators were busy on the worldly side of the matter, the Episcopal and Reformed ministers enjoyed the communion of saints. They practiced both professional and real politeness, cultivated close personal friendship, and worshiped under the same roof. During the Revolutionary War, when the British made stables as well as hospitals of our sacred edifices on Manhattan, as they had done in Boston, this former courtesy of lending the Dutch churches was not forgotten, but warmly reciprocated. In 1779 the vestry of Trinity Church passed the following resolution: "It being represented that the old Dutch Church is now used as a hospital for His Majesty's troops, this corporation, impressed with a grateful remembrance of the former kindness of the members of that ancient church, do offer the use of St. George's Church to that congregation for celebrating divine worship."

The Roman Catholics had a hard time of it in New York, until the Revolution gave the people, in their capacity of a sovereign State, opportunity to reject forever the Old World ideas inherited from the Middle Ages. On August 9, 1700, under Governor Bellomont, there was passed an "Act

against Jesuits and Popish Priests." It banished all Jesuits, and forbade the exercise of Roman Catholic worship in the province of New York under severe penalties. This law continued in force until the American Revolution, when, under American ideas and government, all religionists of every name were permitted to worship in freedom.

The Supplementary Act, passed May 19, 1703, was founded on those assertions about the Ministry Act, which had no basis in fact. When this was put in operation, further trouble loomed up. The new act contained a false statement: "The Church of England by law established"!! Although English Conformists entertained some high expectations, the majority of the people in the province treated this and most of Lord Cornbury's legislation as stupid jokes. After his disgraceful administration (1702-08), the troubles between governor and Assembly nearly ceased, because the necessity for amending the Ministry Act almost out of shape and meaning was obviated. Queen Anne had sequestered or confiscated the so-called "Queen's Farm" for the support of Trinity Church. The various bills introduced by the people's representatives for repeal of the Ministry Act were indeed vetoed or smothered by the governor or council, and when the Assembly sent its committees to know what had become of these bills, they received no satisfaction. Nevertheless, the people steadily resisted the collection of the

tithes. Lawsuits were very common, until it was finally demonstrated that the statutes of Great Britain had no relation to the colony of New York.

The Dutch and other free churchmen settled the question at law, that all Protestant bodies had equal rights.

Cornbury's rascalities had one good effect in uniting the people of all nationalities in the province, and in hastening the dawn of American liberty. Nevertheless, many disgusted New Yorkers left to settle in the valleys of the Raritan and Millstone, while the more republican government of New Jersey drew away people from both New England and New York. These, settling in the central counties, Middlesex, Somerset, and Hunterdon, made this region the garden of the Dutch Church, in which Queen's, or Rutgers College and the Theological Seminary rose as lilies of the Raritan valley. In a word, the Dutch, after they got their charters, stood on an impregnable rock and won full liberty. Their battle of one hundred and thirteen years is one of the most significant episodes in American history. Like their ancestors in Holland, the Dutch free churchmen "throve by persecution, and extracted victory from defeat."

The Dutch West India Company, a vast trading and privateering corporation, owned New York for forty-one years. Then for twenty years New



COLONEL JOHN TAYLOR, OF RUTGERS COLLEGE

York was the private property of the Duke of York, finally becoming the possession of the Crown of England. While New England and Virginia were under liberal charters, and other colonies had more or less generous proprietary government, the people of the State destined to lead all had to fight ceaselessly for the rights of free-men. These very difficulties, met and surmounted, gave the commonwealth a unique strength. Politically and educationally, New York was pioneer in the ideas and institutions distinctively American, and became the school of law for the United States. In education, "New England gave to America the common school system which the Puritans found in Holland, but New York led the way in developing the public school system on a large scale."

Religious freedom was established in New York, when Rev. Francis Makemie, a Presbyterian, made bold to preach without permission. Indicted and tried, he was defended by three of the foremost lawyers in the colony, who were Episcopalians, but who knew that law was older than thrones, and that "secret instructions" from king to governor were not law. This first blow struck in the colonies at the royal prerogative was dealt in 1707. In New Jersey the lesson was quickly learned and followed. When Cornbury read his "instructions," he was answered by one of New York's great men, speaking for the legislature, "You

need not read your instructions to us, they are not law." In the next year, 1708, the keynote of all the subsequent resistance of the colonies is heard in the Resolutions passed by the New York Assembly, which read as follows : —

Resolved, that it is and always has been the unquestionable right of every man in this colony that he hath a perfect and entire property in his goods and estates.

Resolved, that the imposing and levying of any moneys upon Her Majesty's subjects in this colony under any pretense or color whatsoever, without consent in General Assembly, is a grievance and a violation of the people's property.

This solemn declaration of the New York General Assembly was made fifty years before the Boston speech of James Otis, or Patrick Henry's Richmond oration. After 1708, the Assembly granted only an annual supply, the money to be collected by their own treasurer and not by the Collector of the Crown, and to be disbursed under their own direction. Thus the contest between right and prerogative continued until the Revolution. In spite of all that any governor could do, by storm or entreaty, by threat or flattery, by vainly showing his "instructions" and talking of his "honor pledged to their enforcement," the people held to the ancient principle, so clearly enunciated in the Netherlands in 1477, — "no taxation without consent." The contest ended by the

surrender of the Governor instead of the Assembly, the royal executive promising in 1715 to do as the people's representatives directed. The result was brought about through the form of exchange commonly called a "deal," for the Governor and the Crown opposed the naturalization of all foreigners in the colony, while the New Yorkers desired it. These new foreigners were the Swiss and Germans from the Rhine Palatinate. Another episode, with a meaning that looked to July 4, 1776, was the trial and acquittal of the German printer, Zenger, which settled the question of the freedom of speech and of the press in the right way.

CHAPTER XXV

INDEPENDENCE FROM HOLLAND

THOUGH we Americans speak the English language, our country is not a New England, or a New Britain, but a New Europe. Our race gained a thousand years of potency by crossing the Atlantic. Old World ideas, unless modified, will not work on our continent. Yet, "above all nations is humanity."

Dutchmen in America, like men of other strains and stocks, face to face with new problems, found themselves compelled to cut apron strings, and firmly but reverently, first ask and then demand of Patria to grant her sons freedom to grapple with new tasks in their own way. That was the meaning of the troubles and differences which came into the eighteenth-century Dutch Church. This typical Netherlands institution and survival in America is conservative, above all others, of things distinctively Dutch.

In 1739 seventy-five years had passed since the English conquest, and two generations had grown up. Only a few octogenarians among the Dutch Churchmen had seen Patria. Most of the people spoke the Dutch language, but were loyal to the British King, yet from a sense of duty rather than

from affection or admiration, and increasingly they were of the "Continental" spirit. The very attempt to serve two masters made them eager to rest their supreme loyalty in that law of safeguarded liberty, which, older than thrones, is common to the two countries which were one in love of order and progress. Hence, the people of Dutch descent in the middle colonies were unusually strong Americans.

The common English or insular term for all people of Teutonic stock was "Dutch," a word meaning literally, the peoples. The Netherlanders were spoken of as "Neder" or "Low" Dutch, the Germans being "High Dutch." The reference being to geographical, not moral conditions, the English were the lowest of all three levels. As English became increasingly the language of New York and accurate knowledge of Holland faded away, both New Yorkers and New Englanders, who were copyists of the English, sank to shameful depths of ignorance concerning Patria and the Netherlanders.

It was increasingly felt by the Dutch Churchmen that they must attend to church business themselves, and have student candidates and ministers raised up on this side of the Atlantic. Happily the Classis of Amsterdam was a liberal-minded body, and the Americans were urged to form a Cœtus, or Association, as had been done already in Surinam. On September 5, 1737, seven ministers

met in New York and drew up a plan to heal divisions, give effective counsel, promote unity, and attract ministers from Europe to America.

While the popular hunger and thirst for education increased, there was constant fear lest the British Government should force a state church on the people and establish a sectarian college, just as in England the two older universities had been closed to all but members of one form of Christianity. This and the heterogeneousness of the population made the growth of systematic education in New York a slow one.

William Livingstone had warned the Dutch that "all pretenses of the political church people at sisterhood and identity were fallacious and hypocritical." Hence the course of Domine Frelinghuysen, who called a meeting of the Cœtus for May 30, 1755, to take action concerning an American Classis and the university for the Dutch Church. After eleven years of debate, the American Classis, in 1766, obtained the charter. As there was a King's College in New York City, this one in New Jersey was called Queen's, and is now Rutgers College.

One argument for an independent Dutch Church in America was that an oath of allegiance to Great Britain was inconsistent with obedience to the foreign State Church of Holland. Yet there were other elements entering in to prepare both Dutch and English to sever their bonds with Europe.

It was difficult then, however, as it is for some of the old Dutchmen of to-day in Michigan and Iowa, to understand how the omnipotent God can be trusted to reveal truth in any language but the Dutch, or in any theology but that of Dordrecht and the seventeenth century. How, also, sound catechetics can be taught in English is still, to some fresh from the turf of Patria, a mystery passing their understanding. Nevertheless, there were loyal Dutch Churchmen on Manhattan willing to trust the Almighty and the English language, and in 1763 they called the Rev. Archibald Laidlie, a graduate of Edinburgh University, and then pastor at Flushing in Zealand. The introduction of English preaching in New York City resulted in a lawsuit, besides sad losses of temper, money, and membership, but the English side won. About the year 1770 Laidlie translated the Heidelberg Catechism into English, and the excellence and the grace of his work may be seen to this day. He was made S. T. D., by the College of New Jersey, in 1770. While in exile from the city, on account of the Revolution, he died of consumption.

The Rev. Lambertus de Ronde, a genuine "Continental" patriot, had in 1763 made an English version of the Heidelberg Catechism, and was the author of the first book in the English language published by a member of the Reformed Dutch Church in America,—a manual of theology and preparation for Communion. When driven from

Manhattan by the British occupation of New York in 1776, he preached in the churches farther north in the Hudson River Valley. When "the people of the United States" had their National Government in 1787, de Ronde translated into Dutch the Constitution of the United States, and when this instrument had been adopted by six states, the Dutch version was printed in 1788, and published by order of the federal committee in the city of Albany. It had a tremendous influence among older men of the State, backing Alexander Hamilton, and securing New York for the Union and Constitution.

Meanwhile, the two parties in the Dutch Church squabbled together, and sometimes like saints who "serve the Lord as if the devil were in them," but the peacemaker was being raised up, who was to grapple with the difficulties and bring order out of chaos.

John H. Livingston, born in Poughkeepsie in 1746 and graduated at Yale College in 1762, was the bearer of the olive branch. He spent the winter of 1765-66 on Manhattan, and was much in the society of Domine Laidlie. Then, on May 12, 1766, like our own Motley of later days, he sailed to Holland, for the sources and the masters, and entered Utrecht University. He was the last of the American youth who went to Holland for the study of theology.

Thirty-four ministers and over one hundred

churches composed the Reformed Dutch Church when Livingston returned, on September 3, 1770. A preacher, a scholar, a statesman of the highest ability, he, as soon as affairs were ripe, proposed a plan of union which should unite all parties. A convention was called for October 15, 1771, to establish a firm and enduring church constitution. Twenty-two ministers and twenty-five elders, representing in all thirty-four churches, were present at the meeting. Of these, half a dozen had originally been French and about twenty German Reformed, most of whom were gradually Hollandized and ultimately Anglicized as to language. In these one hundred churches, during the century and a half of colonial dependence, one hundred and twelve ministers had officiated, of whom thirty-four were living at this union of the two parties.

This Dutch Church Congress in 1771, composed of the children of several European nations, the first of its kind in America, was but a prelude to that of the gathering of the fifty-five Continental delegates in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia in 1774. It certainly proved to be a powerful incentive to American freedom and law-abiding resistance to King George's revolution, which he and Parliament forced on the colonies. As simple fact, every one of the Dutch friends of ecclesiastical independence belonged also to the "Continental" party of freedom in 1776, and throughout the war. The Dutch Church was a unit in

resisting British attempts to overthrow American liberty, though there were many Dutch Tories.

At a second convention called, according to arrangement, June 16, 1772, twenty-six ministers and forty-three elders from one hundred churches were present, and almost every one subscribed to the Plan of Union. When they heard read the letter, from the mother Classis in Holland, sent to the Convention, dated January 14, 1771, they found to the joy of all that their Plan of Union was approved.

The written constitution, which grew out of this Dutch Church Congress, is a notable document in American history, and a splendid specimen of a republican and representative frame of government. It gave a model for the national Constitution of 1787.

The General Synod thus created, which met triennially, took on a decidedly American form in being not only conventional but representative, that is, consisting of all ministers in the Church and an elder from each congregation.

Article LIX is especially worthy of mention, as showing that attitude of the Church, in regard to the servitude of Africans, which gave the Reformed Dutch Church in the nineteenth century its unique position throughout the whole slavery agitation and the Civil War. "In the Church there is no difference between bond and free, but all are one in Christ. Whenever, therefore, slaves or

black people shall be baptized, or become members in full communion of the Church, they shall be admitted to equal privileges with all other members of the same standing; their infant children shall be entitled to baptism, and in every respect be treated with the same attention that the children of white or free parents are in the Church. Any minister, who, upon any pretense, shall refuse to admit slaves or their children to the privileges to which they are entitled, shall, complaint being exhibited and proved, be severely reprimanded by the Classis to which he belongs."

Thus the Church that had already welcomed the red man to font and altar showed brotherhood to the negroes. So it came to pass that on scores of old record books of the Dutch churches are hundreds of names of members who were black brethren, baptized, and communicants, and right nobly did many a Simon the Niger carry his cross. A permanent feature of the Dutch congregations was the devout colored worshiper who sat in the gallery. On baptismal and Communion Sabbaths, the children of the slaves, or the free blacks, or the new immigrants from the Indies or the Dark Continent, stood up, with their white masters in the flesh to be brethren with them in the Spirit, to take the same vows, and answer to the same questions of loyalty to a common Saviour and obedience to the church rules, "Yes, truly with all my heart." Before the baptismal

font, the dusky fathers and mothers held their babes for the same waters of covenant and consecration, making like promises, and receiving like guarantee of spiritual culture as the highest in the land.

No body of Christians on the North American continent entered more profoundly in mind, or realized more fully in practice, the spiritual democracy of believers than the people of the Reformed Dutch Church. The names of pickaninnies and papooses, adult slaves and warriors, servants, "proselytes," black, red, and white, on the pages of Dutch Church registers sparkle among the undying glories of American colonial life. It was as though the negatives of those photographs of primeval Christianity, taken by the slave and "prisoner of Jesus Christ" at Ephesus, Corinth, or Rome, in the first century, had been developed and enlarged in the sunshine of the Western world. The prayer "Sun of Divine Justice, shine on us," with the added "et Occidentem" (the West), was throughout every generation, from the days of the first Manhattan congregation, gloriously and repeatedly fulfilled. In the Reformed Church, by excellence, Ethiopia held her gift-laden hands unto God, and despite all human infirmities Salem's ebony sons and daughters adorned the doctrine of their Saviour.

The story of New Netherland may be written in the history of the various towns making up the

colony, province, and states of New York and New Jersey, but none in the whole country probably suffered worse than New Brunswick. Later, in place of the burnt college, the trustees built a two-story frame house, painted white, without a cupola or belfry, facing the north. In true Dutch style, it was set with its gable end toward George Street.

During the first troublous but fruitful period, "Old Rutgers," "on the banks of the old Raritan," graduated over sixty young men, ten of whom became ministers. Others were leaders in politics and science. The "new" building, still called Queen's College, not reared until 1809, was planned by the architect of the City Hall in New York. Dr. Livingston, appointed in 1784 and serving elsewhere, came to New Brunswick and opened the theological seminary in 1810, possibly the first in America. In 1863 the State College of New Jersey, for the benefit of agriculture and mechanic arts, was founded, and in 1865 was organized as a department in Rutgers College.

Men are influenced by precedents, and gladly receive the lessons of experience, while profiting by the mistakes and successes of others. This Plan of Union, by men of the four Middle States, with its masterly written constitution of 1771 powerfully influenced the Constitutional Convention of the United States in 1787.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DUTCH DOMINES IN THE REVOLUTION

THE period from 1764 to 1804 gave the Dutch Domines a fivefold trial of intellect, character, tact, tongue, and temper, such as mortal beings are rarely called upon to undergo. The manner in which they conducted themselves and the triumphs which they completed show the sterling quality of their manhood, which was worthy of the best traditions of their race. They were compelled to change their speech for both conversation and formal discourse. They faced dissensions and difficulties within their own congregations. Problems, social, political, and linguistic, confronted them daily, compelling continual nice and repeated adjustment.

Hardly were they settled in their new loyalty to Great Britain than they were compelled to renounce it. Being of the most intensely "Continental" spirit, they, with their fellow Americans, must needs face the storm of the Revolution, which divided households into Tories and Patriots. Lest they should not have enough discipline of tongue, temper, body, and spirit, it pleased Providence to transfer quickly the seat of war from the Eastern colonies into the very garden of the Dutch churches

in New York and New Jersey. Nevertheless, the twofold battle of loyalties, languages, and new conditions was bravely and successfully fought out.

After the British left Boston, the territory of the Dutch Church became the seat of war. Her church buildings were desecrated, used as hospitals, stables, barracks, or set on fire. Most of her ministers, driven from their homes, fled only to rouse the patriotic ardor and inspire the martial courage of the people. Some of them were strikingly prominent, and the British tried hard to capture them.

We will look at some of these men famous in local tradition.

Rev. Johannes Schureman, American-born, but licensed in Holland, is the hero in Murdoch's book, "The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills." He had the traditional build of one of Hendrik Hudson's sailors of the Half Moon, being short and plump, with a powerful voice. Like almost every one of the friends of the Reformed Church's independence of Holland, he was a true Continental. Set over two large congregations in Ulster County, his life was very laborious, for he had all the noble disadvantages of a good character, in being willing to serve all, and he was also a doctor of medicine. In his mind, the interests of religion and freedom were one. As strong as he was courageous, he went through the wilderness alone, but in faith and with his musket primed and powder dry. He would probably not have been taken alive, and the Brit-

ish knew it. They were never able to capture him.

Domine Eilardis Westerloo, born at Groningen, 1738, reached the New World and settled at Albany in 1760. Wise, conciliating, and peaceful, in the hottest period of the church strife — that is, when friction between the Old World and the New World notions was at flaming heat — he gained the respect and confidence of both parties. When the flag of the thirteen red and white stripes, so very much like his ancestral banner of liberty, was unfurled in 1775, he at once ranged himself and his people under its folds. When mighty Burgoyne and his terrible host were moving down from Canada toward Albany, fear was in all hearts; for General Philip Schuyler — a Dutch Church deacon — had not yet brought to completion the work which was to issue in the escort of Burgoyne as prisoner, within the palisades and down Pearl Street, into Albany, but Domine Westerloo kept his church open and cheered his people, even till Yorktown closed the campaigns. When the work of fighting Hessians and redcoats was over, he grappled with the English language and preached in the vernacular of the new nation. Domine Westerloo welcomed Washington, when, as President, he visited Albany and Schenectady. Westerloo wrote Latin with greater purity than President Stiles of Yale College had ever known.

How very different from the Dutchmen on the

stage, in comic opera, and in Irving's caricatures, were the real people! During the French and Indian War, the chaplain of a Massachusetts regiment dined with Domine Vrooman at Schenectady, July 4, 1758. He drew a pen picture of his host, then thirty years old, "in height six feet four and a half inches, and every way large in proportion. . . . [He] explains a text in the morning and preaches divinity in the afternoon. The people here attend their public religious services with great devotion." There was no handsomer man or more striking clerical figure in the Revolution than that of Domine Barent Vrooman, who served his people from 1753 to 1784. He was the great-grandson of the emigrant Hendrik, who, with his two sons, Adam and Bartholomew, and the wife and infant of Adam, were slain in the massacre of 1690.

Schenectady, during the Revolution, was a palisaded town, enlarged to hold the refugees of the Mohawk Valley, and many of the five hundred widows and two thousand orphans of Tryon County, which Brant and Butler and their Indians and Tories had made, dwelt here for safety. The Domine's charity was proverbial. Between his Bible and the basket of supplies on his arm, his memory is still green in "Old Dorp." The right wing of Sullivan's expedition of 1779, Clinton's brigade of three New York regiments, composed largely of Dutchmen, to crush savagery and open the Empire State to civilization, assembled here

and marched thence through the Susquehanna, Chemung, and Genesee valleys.

Washington did not lean upon a reed when he depended upon the sturdy patriotism and loyalty of "the Dutch Belt," extending from Albany to Manhattan, and up the Raritan valley towards the Delaware. In the darkest hours, the Father of his Country found his safest asylum among the New Jersey Dutchmen. The river margins of the Hudson, Hackensack, Passaic, and Raritan are rich in authentic traditions of heroism and romance, for the whole weight of the Dutch Church and people was found on the side of true republicanism. Several of their Domines, whose thrilling adventures must be passed by for lack of space, were personally known to Washington, for whom by hereditary training they were prepared. None understood more clearly the meaning of the American Revolution and the meaning of independence; for, as John Adams said in 1771, "the originals of the two republics [Dutch and American] are so much alike that the history of one seems like a transcript from that of the other." The Dutch Jerseymen braced up the backbone of the Continental cause at its most trying time, when in the valleys of the Raritan and Delaware the fires of war burned most fiercely.

New Jersey, destined to be the campground of armies and the scene of one hundred battles or skirmishes, was well prepared for the coming war

storm. Two months before the battle of Bunker Hill the Dutch Church appointed a day of humiliation and prayer. Her pulpits rang with stirring appeals, for all the Domines and people were in hearty sympathy with the cause of freedom. Two days before the Declaration of Independence New Jersey asserted her statehood.

Queen's College at New Brunswick, hardly on its feet before the storm of war broke, adjourned at once to the battlefield, for professors and students enlisted, as a body, in the Continental army. The first regular graduate was Simeon De Witt. Being a man of science and the ablest surveyor in the colonies, he was made geographer of the army, and rose to be a staff officer with General Washington. He was present at Saratoga and Yorktown, two of the greatest events of the Revolutionary War, when whole armies were surrendered. For the event, third in importance, the expedition of General John Sullivan in 1779, which by destroying the Iroquois Confederacy and preventing any further rear attacks on the frontier made Yorktown possible, De Witt made the maps. Later, as Surveyor-General of the State of New York, he opened its forests to civilization, founded the city of Ithaca, prepared the way for the United States Weather Bureau, and laid the foundation of our national land-system of measures and registration, — a pretty fair record for Rutgers's first graduate. He is immortalized, both by Cooper in his novel,

"The Chainbearer," and by a blundering poet who dubbed him "Godfather of the newly christened West," in allusion to the classical names in New York, with which De Witt had nothing to do.

Of the two New Jersey colleges, one, Princeton, was destined to have a battle fought at its doors, and the other, Rutgers, to have its campus trodden by the patriot army in retreat.

One of the Dutch parsons whom King George's redcoats would have hanged, if they could have drawn a rope around his neck, was Domine Jacob Rutsen Hardenberg, brother of Washington's staff officer. His church was at Raritan, New Jersey. He usually slept with a musket at his side. His public zeal so angered the Tories, that Colonel Simcoe once organized an expedition of the Queen's Rangers to capture him. When they arrived at his church, and found their bird flown, they burnt the building to the ground. In the Raritan valley the perfume of his name and his wife's is as an unfading flower.

Other famous Domines, whose patriotic voices, as trumpets of freedom, led young men to enlist in the Continental armies, were Du Bois, Leydt, Goetschius, Foering, Romeyn, van Bunschoten, etc., whose biographies are given in Corwin's "Manual of the Reformed Church." Van Bunschoten left what is perhaps the oldest educational endowment in money given by a native American.

Several of these ministers were well known to Washington.

These Americans of Dutch descent were, in word and act, in full harmony with their ancestral record and that of the men of the contemporaneous Republic of the United Netherlands. At St. Eustatius, in the West Indies, on the 16th of November, 1776, the Dutch governor, Johannes de Graeff, after reading the American Declaration of Independence saluted our flag of thirteen stripes. Between 1775 and 1783, half of our war supplies imported from Europe came from this island. The Dutch of *Patria* sent us soldiers and officers of merit, struck medals in our honor, received John Adams, acknowledged our independence, became our allies, and made us a loan of money, which, when paid up, principal and interest, amounted to fourteen millions of dollars; and then, under the auspices of the Holland Land Company, this same money was invested to develop four million acres of the wild lands of western New York and Pennsylvania. "In love of liberty and bravery in the defense of it, she," said Benjamin Franklin, in speaking of Holland, "has been our great example."

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MODERN PILGRIM FATHERS

THE one institution surviving from New Netherland, the depository of its authentic history and the incarnation of its spirit, is "the Reformed Church in America." It comprises about half a million people in seven hundred congregations, chiefly in eastern New York and northern New Jersey, in the Hudson, Mohawk, and Raritan valleys, and in Michigan, Iowa, and Nebraska, with its chief seats of education at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and Holland, Michigan.

Reviewing the history of the Church from 1628 to 1792, we note the successive steps: (1) emigration from Holland (1628-64); (2) resistance to English attempts to establish the church of a small minority upon a vast majority (1664-1708); (3) the conflict within, between dead formulas and a higher moral life (1708-54); and (4) finally, the struggle to harmonize Old World ideas and New World necessities, including the change of language from Dutch to English (1754-71), resulting in the mastery of the English language and the establishment of a college and school of theology.

Hardly had the strife of tongues ceased and the



THE DUTCH IN THE ARCTIC SEAS



PIET HEIN CAPTURING THE SPANISH SILVER FLEET



WHERE OUR FLAG WAS FIRST SALUTED. ST. EUSTATIUS

new work of peace begun, when the storm of the British invasion broke. Its worst devastations, from 1776 to 1782, were in the field of the Dutch churches, scattering ministers and congregations, and destroying many edifices.

When "revolution" from without had been successfully overcome and civil liberty safeguarded, there came with independence new problems and responsibilities. Now the Dutch Church must become missionary. The call from the wilderness was loud and great. Piteous appeals for preachers and teachers came from the regions of the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers in New York, and from Canada, Virginia, and even Kentucky. The first outpost home-missionary church, organized in 1794, was on the line of Sullivan's expedition of 1779, at Chenango Forks, near Binghamton. Union College, which grew out of the Schenectady Academy, was founded in 1785, chiefly by the efforts of the people of the Dutch Church in northern New York.

Between 1768 and 1800, New Jersey Dutchmen, from Bergen and Somerset counties, moved westward in a caravan of one hundred and fifty families and seven hundred souls to Conewago and Hanover, near the battlefield of Gettysburg. There they built churches and made farms. Thence, with the restless pioneer spirit, two lines of settlers moved, the one to the Genesee Country, and the other to Kentucky. In the New York lake region,

Dutch churches rose at Sempronius, Ovid, Varna, Benton, Owasco, Brookton, Farmer, Geneva, and other places, and were fed for a while by streams of emigration.

To Kentucky the children of Dutch ancestors moved westward in 1780 and 1793, driving their cattle before them. From the upper Ohio, they floated down the river to Maysville, and then marched to Harrodsburg and settled there. From this point, as from a hive, colonies swarmed off into southern Ohio and Indiana. The descendants of these Dutchmen may be found all through the West, even to Alaska, and a few of them have reached national fame.

Some emigration took place from Holland to America after the peace of 1783. When the debt of the United States was paid to the Dutch bankers, who had made the loan of millions of dollars to help us, the recipients preferred to keep their money invested in America. The Holland Land Company was formed by Amsterdam capitalists, and nearly four million acres were bought in New York and Pennsylvania, and opened to settlers on easy terms. On the map of New York suggestive Dutch names, such as Tromp, Barneveld, Linklaen, Scriba, Busti, Cazenovia, de Ruyter, Holland Patent, and Batavia, tell the story of pioneer activity in the days of the Batavian Republic. The city on Buffalo Creek was laid out as New Amsterdam, and its avenues named after Dutch worthies.

With this enterprise may be linked the honored names of Harm Jan Huidekoper and his descendants. Settling at Meadville, Pennsylvania, they made this place the centre of refining and educational influences, of which the Meadville Theological School is a noble expression. Huidekoper's name became the synonym of integrity. When the more liberal phases of religion stirred men's minds, and men asked what the Unitarian form of faith was, it passed into a proverb, "Nobody knows but Huidekoper, and he won't tell."

When also, late in the eighteenth century, the triumphant republican ideas of the United States, spreading to Europe, occasioned disturbances in the Old World and a revolution in Holland, two leaders on the popular side, after suffering a defeat more nominal than real, made their way to America. They were Colonel Adam G. Mappa and Adrian van der Kemp, who settled at Barneveld, a few miles north of Utica, later called Trenton, and now postally renamed as at first. Mappa became agent of the Holland Land Company, and van der Kemp one of the assistant Justices of the Ulster County Court. In July, 1792, van der Kemp made a journey on horseback to Buffalo. With the hereditary instinct of a Netherlander, as well as by the eye of faith and science, foreseeing the Erie Canal, he then wrote to his friend Mappa as follows : —

"See here, then, an easy communication by

water carriage open between the most distant part of this extensive commonwealth; see the markets of New York, Albany, and Schenectady glutted with the produce of the West and the comforts of the South distributed with a liberal hand among the agriculturers of this new country." He sees also old Fort Schuyler (Utica) "transformed into an opulent mercantile city." The "tomahawk and scalping knife shall be replaced by the chisel and pencil of the artist and the wigwam by marble palaces. . . . Go on then and dig canals through the western district. . . . Give me the republican wand of Capius Popilius, and I will go to the water nymph Erie and trace a beautiful canal, through which her ladyship shall be compelled to pay of her tribute to the ocean through the Genesee Country."

Thirty years later, in 1822, Governor De Witt Clinton wrote to van der Kemp, his Dutch friend, whom he called "the most learned man in America," "Your letter to Colonel Mappa on the canal written in 1792 is really a curiosity. It gives you the original invention of the Erie route." Three years later, in 1825, the waters of the Great Lakes and the Atlantic were united.

A refined society of cultivated Netherlanders grew up in Barneveld, and here or near by, perhaps, Fenimore Cooper found the originals of some of his pictures of culture in that New York wilderness, at which critics have laughed, declaring

them overdrawn, but which existed in fact. The Tank Memorial Home, at Oberlin, Ohio, commemorates a husband and wife, the latter a daughter of the gallant General and Baron van Boetzelaer, who in 1793 defended the fort at Willemstad against the French invaders of the Netherlands. When, at the death of the old lady, her linen, plate, miniatures, books, and household effects were sold, the revelation to the average American of the riches and elegant taste of a refined Dutch home was impressive.

Even though possessing but wrecks of their fortune, few libraries in the country excelled in quality those of the two refugees, Mappa and van der Kemp, the latter of whom corresponded with the great men of our country, Washington, Jefferson, John Adams, and the leading lights of Harvard College, which in 1820 gave him the degree of LL.D. He had been the friend and companion of such Hollanders among those who were our friends during our struggle for independence as Dr. Calkoens and Professor Jean Luzac, and especially of the great Baron Joan Derek van de Capellen. Best of all, it was van der Kemp who, besides getting from Holland precious documents, translated into English the early records of New Netherland and the Dutch West India Company. In his cottage at Olden Barneveld, he put into English forty volumes, which, with the originals, were safely delivered in Albany, and formed the basis of the Doc-

umentary History of New York printed by order of the legislature.

The second large emigration of New Netherlanders to America took place more than two centuries after the first, not to New York, but into or near the upper Mississippi Valley, and was in this wise.

When "the Dutch took Holland," and drove out their French oppressors and marched to Waterloo, a constitutional monarchy, which fulfilled the hopes of the Republic, gave new unity to the Dutch nation. Nevertheless, King William I, who came into power in 1816, changed the old democratic and representative government of the national Church to one that was bureaucratic, and employed cavalry, infantry, and artillery to enforce his will.

Affairs came to a crisis in 1834. Then, like the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620, Dutchmen left their native land for freedom of conscience. When the emigration had taken on large proportions, the alarmed Dutch Government secured the abdication of old King William, and persecution at once ceased.

Meanwhile the Domines, van Raalte, Scholte, and others, led colonies by way of Manhattan and the Mohawk Valley to Michigan, or from New Orleans, up the Mississippi to Iowa. These people came not as mere emigrants. They were true colonists, and made homes and became Americans. They came largely as churches with their pastors, and they named the new settlements after their old homes. Hence the Dutch names of so many

localities in our Western States. Parts of the map of Michigan read like transcripts from Queen Wilhelmina's kingdom. Amid lonely forests, wild beasts, malaria, and homesickness, they persevered. The city of refuge, to which the primitive Christians from Jerusalem fled, when destroyed by the Romans, was Pella, and the new home in Iowa was called after it.

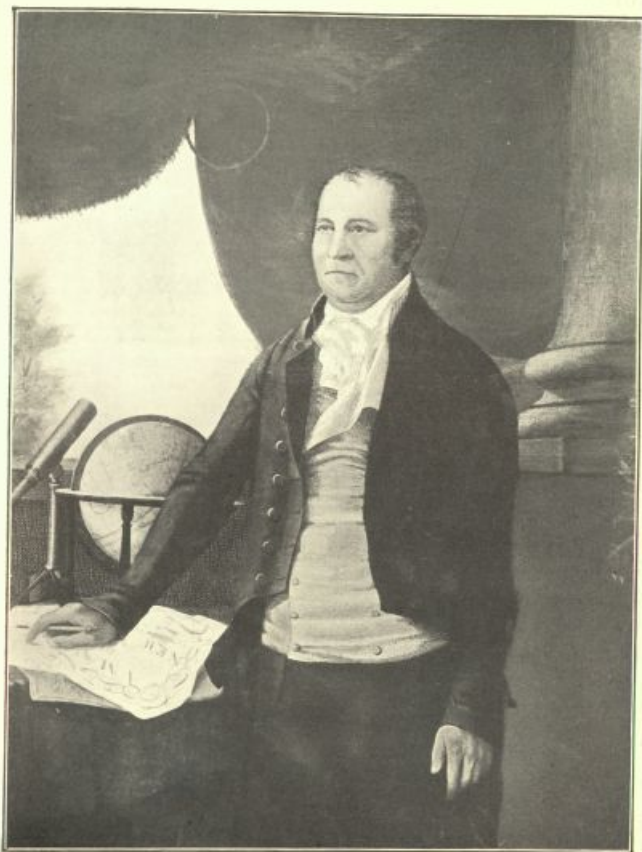
Novel and discouraging experiences met the newcomers. Besides frosts in August, fires, floods, and wild cats, there were amusing contacts with birds and beasts, human and equine nature. When a Frisian gentleman-farmer, proud of his knowledge of horses, landed at Keokuk, he bought a wagon, picked out and harnessed to it a fine pair of animals, and then, loading his goods and family aboard, gave in Dutch the usual signal to the horses to move. The dumb brutes did not even whisk their ears. He spoke louder and more clearly. Still they were deaf and immovable. Horrified to think that after all his expert knowledge he might have been deceived in his purchase, but disdaining to use a whip or pull the check-rein, he patted the horses' necks and whispered more coaxing words in his vernacular. Not a hoof was lifted. Suddenly a native appeared and took in the whole situation. He knew that these horses understood the Keokuk dialect. At once he cried, "Get up!" Thereupon, the team moved so swiftly, that their Frisian owner had difficulty in recover-

ing his property. His first lesson in English was in the variety understood by horses.

In April, 1848, the Michigan Domines and consistories united as a Reformed Dutch Church, and at Albany, in April, 1850, "the ancient place of treaties," — hallowed alike to Iroquois and Dutchmen, — these modern Pilgrim Fathers came to make a new "covenant of Corlaer" and to "brighten the silver chain" of friendship with their brethren in the American Reformed Church.

These modern Pilgrim Fathers and their families constitute nearly one third of the Reformed Church in America, while the "Christian Reformed" people also thrive and do a noble work in developing the Republic. Perhaps the greatest concentration of modern Netherlanders and their descendants is in Grand Rapids, the "furniture capital" of the United States. They are, however, numerous in Chicago, all over Michigan, in Iowa, Dakota, at Paterson, New Jersey, and in a few other places. Possibly a million Netherlanders, in character above reproach, since the forties, have come to the United States.

In the world's broad harvest field, and for the uplift of humanity in other lands, the Americans of Dutch descent have wrought nobly. The Dutch were the first to study the religions, languages, and civilizations of the Far East, and the Netherlands Reformed Church was for a time the missionary agent of all Protestant Europe. By herself



SIMEON DE WITT, SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF NEW YORK STATE

alone, she was the pioneer on a large scale of the modern enterprises of foreign missions, notably in Formosa, Java, and the East Indies. Her daughter, the brave little Reformed Church in America, had her attention early drawn to the cradle continent of Asia, to which the debt of Occidental Christianity and civilization is inexpressibly great. Some of the most successful Christian missions in India, China, Japan, and in the Malay and Moslem worlds have been founded and steadily supported by the Reformed Church in America, and mighty has been her part in the educational conquest of Asia. In Japan, as shown in the biographies of "Verbeck of Japan" and of Brown "A Maker of the New Orient," it is perfectly safe to say that no body of Christians has had more to do with the first sowing of the seed of science and the remaking of that nation into a modern world-power. As is the rule with the faithful toilers for man, the best results for the race begin after the death of the toilers.

In our day the schools, hospitals, and churches of American Dutchmen are maintained by a noble force of highly educated men and women in India, China, Japan, and Arabia. These scholars have created a new literature in the language of the people of these lands. In the translation of the Book of Books into the tongues of old and advanced civilizations, they have been pioneers and leaders. In addition, Dr. Van Dyke, direct de-

scendant of the famous Indian fighter in Kieft's time, completed in a style of elegant scholarship the Arabic version of the Holy Scriptures, which can be read by one hundred and thirty millions of the human race.

The nations of Europe are gradually coming to accept the American doctrine, of which the Reformed Dutch Church was so early an exponent, namely, that Indians, Africans, and the Asiatic peoples exist, not to be conquered, but to be healed, helped, taught, and made brothers.

Surveying in retrospect the story of Manhattan, we see that New York City has been in succession the Indian's home, the Dutchman's camp, village, and municipality, the English and the American city, and the modern metropolis of the Western world. Its population has been Indian, Dutch, and always, since the white man came, cosmopolitan. After the second war with Great Britain, the New Englanders began an exodus from their old homes, and added a permanent element of good to its composition. Then in succession, streams of Irish, Germans, Italians, Russians, and men of other nationalities, came to its hospitable board, to taste the sweets of freedom. These made it at once the greatest American, the largest German, the most populous Irish, and the richest Jewish, city in the world.

New York was the only one of the original thirteen colonies which was conquered by a foreign

power, made a royal province, and left without charter or proprietors. It had, therefore, the longest struggle for law and liberty. The full story of this contest, ending in 1777, forms an unwritten chapter in the history of the United States. Having epitomized it in a former writing (in "Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations") in 1891, I can, after a more thorough study, reaffirm that "having no royal charter, the composite people of New York, gathered from many nations, but instinct with the principles of the free Republic of Holland, were obliged to study carefully the foundations of government and jurisprudence. It is true that in the evolution of this Commonwealth the people were led by the lawyers, rather than by the clergy. Constantly resisting the invasions of royal prerogative, they formed on an immutable basis of law and right that Empire State which in its construction and general features is, of all those in the Union, the most typically American. Its historical precedents are not found in a monarchy, but in a republic. It is less the fruit of English than of Teutonic civilization."

APPENDIX

A. THE FRAMEWORK OF CHRONOLOGY

- 1431. Dutch sailors re-discover and colonize the Azores.
- 1567. Spanish invasion of the Netherlands. Flight of Walloons.
- 1577. First National Synod of the Netherlands Church.
- 1581. Dutch Declaration of Independence. Reward of 25,000 guilders offered for a new way to China.
- 1597-1616. Dutch circumnavigations of the globe.
- 1602. The Dutch East India Company formed.
- 1609. Great Truce. Henry Hudson enters the Great River.
- 1609-1614. Visits of fur-traders. Huts on Manhattan.
- 1614. Block's Exploration and Map. New Netherland named. The United New Netherland Company. Trading posts.
- 1621. The West India Company chartered.
- 1622. Jesse de Forest in Leyden enrolls emigrants for America.
- 1623-1624. Walloons colonize New Netherland.
- 1626. Civil government. Minuit buys Manhattan.
- 1628. First Dutch Church. Domine Michaelius.
- 1630. Feudalism introduced. The Patroon system. Colony at Rensselaerwijk begun by Nijkerk Dutch people.
- 1633. Adam Roelandsen, first schoolmaster, arrives.
- 1633-1638. Walter van Twiller, Director-General.

1637. Arendt van Curler arrives. Peace policy with the Iroquois.
- 1638-1647. Kieft Director-General. Indian wars.
1640. New Netherland open to all. Free village communities.
1641. First popular assembly. The Twelve Men.
1642. Domine Megapolensis. Church formed.
1643. Second popular assembly. The Eight Men.
- 1647-1664. Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General.
1647. Election of the Nine Men by the people.
1653. Hebrews arrive at Manhattan.
1655. Fall of New Sweden.
1661. Wiltwijk, Schenectady, and settlements of free farmers.
1664. English conquest. New York a feudal province.
1673. Dutch recapture New Netherland.
1674. Treaty of Westminster. Surinam given to the Dutch.
1675. Andros governor. Manhattan monopoly of bolting flour.
1683. Charter of Liberties. "Governor, Council, and the people met in general assembly." Arrival of the Huguenots in New York.
1685. Charter annulled. New York a royal province.
1688. Revolution in England. William III, of Holland, King.
1690. Uprising of the people. Jacob Leisler governor. First Congress of the Colonies. French invasion from Canada. Schenectady burned. Attempts of British governors to force a State Church on the people. Resistance of the Assembly. British failure.

1695. The Dutch obtain a charter of free Church government.
- 1702-1708. Cornbury's oppression causes a large Dutch emigration into the Raritan valley.
1705. Cessation of legislation in behalf of the Church of England.
- 1708-1792. Struggle for ecclesiastical independence from Holland. The battle of languages.
1766. Charter of Rutgers College signed.
1771. Dutch Church congress and written constitution.
- 1775-1783. War of the Revolution. Its chief seat within the area of New Netherland.
1776. First foreign salute to the American flag by Governor de Graeff at St. Eustatius.
1780. Recognition of the American by the Dutch Republic.
- 1792-1800. Holland Land Company, purchasing four million acres, develops western New York and Pennsylvania.
1796. Emigration westward of New Jersey Dutchmen.
1800. English language in general use.
1844. Large immigration of Dutch into the Western States.
1904. Second person with Dutch name elected President of the United States.

B. AUTHORITIES USED IN PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME

In addition to the standard authorities, Wassenaer, de Laet, van Meteren, de Vries, van der Donck, and the early Dutch writers, I have made plentiful use of

the local town, city, and church records of New Netherland, though not always trusting the published translations, but consulting the originals; also; —

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