Unit III
Different Religions

Introduction Unit III: Different Religions.

The religious tolerance foreigners found in the Dutch Republic was not reflected in New Netherland. Certainly during the rule of Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant, people with convictions other than those of the Calvinist church (or Dutch Reformed Church) faced problems. Public services, other than Dutch Reformed, were not allowed and offenders of this law were fined or imprisoned. The documents selected for this unit are meant to illustrate this situation. They also reveal that despite the privileged position of the Dutch Reformed church, other religions and sects existed and tried to be accepted and recognized.

In order to make students aware of the personal struggle and experience this could bring along, parts of the journal of John Bowne, a Quaker, can be analyzed. These documents were also chosen, because they are some of the few New Netherland documents written in English. In need only of transcription and not of translation, they bring students somewhat closer to the process of dealing with original documents. Matters such as spelling differences between the 17th and 20th centuries (not only in English, but also in Dutch) can be discussed. By analyzing the journal and the letters regarding John Bowne's case, students will realize how important a role religion played in a seventeenth-century society. Additional reading materials and lesson possibilities are listed under resources.

Unit Objectives

1. Students will be aware of the role of religion in New Netherland.
2. Students will be aware of the diversity of religions in New Netherland.
3. Students will realize that a translation is an interpretation of a primary source.

Lesson 1: (may take two periods)

Objectives	Activities	Resources
1. Students will be aware of the position and status of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Netherland. 2. Students will realize the importance of religion in the lives of 17th-century people. 3. Students will be aware that translated primary sources are subjective; they are a translator's interpretation.	1. Discuss with students the role of religion in today's society. When changing the subject to the 17th century, explain Calvinism and Dutch Reformed. 2. Have students read two documents indicating that the Dutch Reformed Church is the only accepted church in NN. 3. Have students complete assignments on the documents: A. The ordinance on p. 100: a. What are conventicles? b. After reading the next page (p. 101), tell in your own words what this ordinance means. Was it applied? Explain. B. The petition of Megapolensis and Drisius, p. 102. a. Megapolensis and Drisius were both ministers. In which church? b. What is their request? c. What was the reason for their request?	1. *Ecclesiastical Records*: 386-88, 432-4. 2. *Laws and Ordinances*, 211-12. 3. *Fort Orange Court Minutes*: 216, 220. 4. Oppenheim, Samuel. *The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1654-1664* (New York, 1909): 20. 5. Dictionary.

Objectives	Activities	Resources
	c. What was the reason for their request? d. Are there other religious groups in New Netherland? How do you know that? e. What do you think of the request of the two ministers? 4. Have students read p. and complete assignments: A. Which religious groups are, according to this fragment, represented in New Netherland? B. The translator wants to make his point clear by showing the original in a footnote. Doing that, he shows, however, that a mistake has been made in the translation. Looking at footnote 21, you can see that the original reads: "*Lutheriaensche Papisten*", which means "Lutheran papists". 1. What are Papists? 2. What is the difference between this and the translation? 3. What is the danger of a translation like the one offered in this document-fragment? D. After reading the letter by Megapolensis and Drisius, p. and, discuss if there are Catholics in New Netherland. Explain. Which other religions are, according to Megapolensis and Drisius, in New Netherland?	

ORDINANCE

Of the Director and Council of New Netherland against Conventicles.
Passed 1 *February*, 1656.
[N. Y. Col. MSS. VI. 261; XVI. 66.]

Preamble.

WHEREAS the Director and Council of *New Netherland* are credibly informed and apprized that here and there within this Province not only are Conventicles and Meetings held, but also that some unqualified persons in such Meetings assume the ministerial office, the expounding and explanation of the Holy word of God, without being called or appointed thereto by ecclesiastical or civil authority, which is in direct contravention and opposition to the general Civil and Ecclesiastical order of our Fatherland, besides that, many dangerous Heresies and Schisms are to be apprehended from such manner of meetings. Therefore, the Director General and Council aforesaid hereby absolutely and expressly forbid all such Conventicles and Meetings, whether public or private, differing from the customary, and not only lawful but scripturally founded and ordained Meetings of the Reformed Divine Service, as this is observed and enforced, according to the Synod of *Dortrecht*, in this Country, in our Fatherland and other Reformed Churches in *Europe*, under the penalty of One hundred pounds Flemish to be forfeited by all those who, being unqualified, take upon themselves, either on Sundays or other days, any office whether of Preacher.

Religious Meetings other than those of Reformed Dutch Church, prohibited.

Unqualified Preachers to pay a fine of 100 pounds.

Persons assisting at such Meetings to pay a fine of £ 25

Reader or Singer, in such Meetings differing from the customary and legal Assemblies, and 25 like pounds to be forfeited by every one, whether Man or Woman, married or unmarried, who is found in such Meetings. The Director General and Council do not, however, hereby intend any constraint of conscience in violation of previously granted Patents, nor to prohibit the reading of God's Holy Word, Family prayers and Worship, each in his household, but all public and private Conventicles and Meetings, whether in public or private houses, differing from the repeatedly mentioned customary and ordained Reformed Religion.

Law not to apply to freedom of Religion already granted in charters,

Or to Private family worship.

In order that this may henceforward be the better observed and obeyed, and that no one pretend ignorance thereof, the Director General and Council command their Fiscal and the Inferior Magistrates and Sheriffs to publish and cause to be published these presents everywhere within this Province and to cause them to be executed against the Contraveners, the more especially as we find such to pertain to the honor of God, the advancement of the Reformed Religion and the general peace, harmony and wellbeing of the country.

Law to be published throughout the Province.

Thus done, resolved, resumed and enacted in Fort *Amsterdam* in *New Netherland* this First of February, A° 1656.

NOTE.—The preceding Law was aimed against the Independents of *Middelburg* (now Newtown) L. I., and the Lutherans of *New Amsterdam*.

On the 15 Jan., 1656, the Rev. Messrs. *Megapolensis* and *Drisius*, Ministers of *New Amsterdam* complained to the Director and Council that, since the departure of the Rev. Mr. *Moore* from *Middelburgh*, some of the Inhabitants of that town had, though entirely unqualified, presumed to hold Conventicles or Religious Meetings and to act in these as Ministers of the Gospel, whence nothing else could be expected than quarrels, confusion and disorder both in Church and State in that place, and a bad example to other parts of the Province. They, therefore, requested that some provision be made against such unlicensed proceedings. The subject was renewed on the 18th of the

He demands payment of the sum of *f*35:4:– for expenses as above.

The defendant admits the debt and agrees to pay within the time of two months.

The court passes judgment for the plaintiff, plus expenses, and allows six weeks' delay.

Idem plaintiff, against Willem Hofmeyer, defendant. Demands judgment for *f*20:16, by balance of accounts, on account of expenses as above.

The defendant claims that he settled with Mary Goossens and therefore does not owe as much. He agrees to prove it.

Idem plaintiff, against Poulus Maertens, defendant and attached debtor.*

Default.

The officer demands a fine of sixty guilders for violation of the attachment. The magistrates take the matter under advisement.

Idem plaintiff, against Abram Pietersz Vosburch, defendant.

Default.

[245] Frans Barentsz Pastoor, plaintiff, against the same defendant.

Default.

Johan de Deckere, *nomine officy* plaintiff, against Tierck Claesen, defendant.

He demands that the defendant be fined sixty guilders for having fought last Sunday with Willem Tellier, and also for having killed a goat belonging to Sander Leendertsz.

The court, having heard the defendant's confession, condemns him to pay a fine of two and a half beavers, plus expenses.

Idem plaintiff, against the same defendant, for having been found last Sunday in the company of the Lutherans, performing divine service, contrary to the ordinance issued against it.† Demands therefore that he be fined *f*6, plus expenses.

The court, having heard the confession of the defendant, condemns him to pay the fine demanded.‡

Idem plaintiff, against Hendrick Jochemsz, defendant.

He demands that the defendant be fined six guilders, plus expenses,

* *gearresteerde*: a person under attachment for debt owed (*WNT*, 2:696)

† See *LO*, 211.

‡ One hundred pounds Flemish; see ordinance cited in previous note.

Whereas the defendant, or person in detention, acknowledges that he wrote and made a lampoon, which being read is found to be slanderous and defamatory, the plaintiff persists in his conclusion or else demands that the defendant be condemned to pay a pecuniary fine, plus expenses.

The magistrates condemn the defendant to pay a fine or penalty of 20 guilders and in addition 6 guilders for jailer's fee and other expenses.

Idem plaintiff, having attached certain house rent and a house standing here in the fort, belonging to Aelbert *de Noorman*. As a defense the defendant claims lack of jurisdiction.*

He concludes that the attachment, as being duly and lawfully made, shall hold good until the termination of the case. Furthermore, that the defendant shall be condemned to pay first a sum of fifteen times six guilders and in addition a sum of twenty-five guilders, all because the defendant on Sunday a week ago together with fifteen other persons, was found holding separate divine service at the house of Willem Juriaensz, contrary to the ordinance passed against it.

Default with decree granting the attachment.

[250] Tomas Chambers, plaintiff, against Jacob Jansz Stol, defendant, to make oath as requested.

The defendant, having taken the requested oath, declares that he and Johanna de Hulter, in regard to the expense of having their grain thrashed at the Esopus, had agreed with the aforesaid Chambers on the following conditions, namely, that as soon as each of the three received his or her grain, or the same was thrashed, each party was to pay his own expenses, but that nothing was said or agreed upon as to each of them bearing, share and share alike, the total expense of thrashing the grain, except that it was agreed upon that the cost of shipping would be borne and paid by each in proportion to the quantity of grain. So help him God.

Interrogatories upon which, at the request of Johan de Deckere, commissary and officer here, is to be heard and examined Lambert van Valckenburch, sergeant of the burgher company, being summoned by the court to give testimony to the truth.

* The defendant refers to himself as an *overgedlaechdle*, which indicates that he is not subject to this court's jurisdiction. Albert Andriessen *de Noorman* was a subject of the patroonship of Rensselaerswijck and the jurisdiction of its court.

PETITION OF THE REVS. MEGAPOLENSIS AND DRISIUS TO THE BURGOMASTERS, ETC., AGAINST TOLERATING THE LUTHERANS.

July 6, 1657.

To the Hon. Burgomasters and Schepens of the city of Amsterdam, New Netherland:—

The ministers of this city, with all due respect, desire to send in this, their remonstrance. They have understood that there has arrived by the ship "De Molen", a Lutheran minister; that he designs settling, in his official capacity, in this important place; that it is evidently their intention, if they obtain a foothold in this place, to extend themselves, which they may then do the more easily, to other parts of this province. In our opinion this must operate injuriously to the policy of the government, as well as of the Reformed Religion, unless it be successfully opposed at the beginning. For 1657

1. The Lutherans and their adherents have been forbidden heretofore, to hold their separate conventicles, altho' they have repeatedly solicited this privilege of the Hon. Directors in vain. They nevertheless obstinately and perseveringly persist in prosecuting their object against the known and declared will of the government of this place. If they should gain this object, they would doubtless attempt to proceed further.

2. We feel sure that great contention and discord will develope therefrom, not only among the inhabitants and citizens in general, but also in families, of which we have had proofs and complaints during the past year. For example, some husbands have forced their wives to leave their own church, and attend their conventicles.

3. Large numbers of Lutherans have been found in the East Indies, and also, formerly, in Brazil, but we do not know that the public exercise of their religion was ever allowed them; doubtless because strife in religious matters would produce confusion in political affairs.

4. Thus, also, the number of hearers in our (Reformed) church would be perceptibly diminished. Many of that persuasion have continued attentive hearers among us, and several have united themselves with our church. These would separate themselves from us, if separate worship, according to the Lutheran form, should be allowed.

5. The treasury of our deacons, (the poor fund) would be considerably diminished, and become unable to sustain the burdens it has hitherto borne. It is known to your Hon. Body that there is no other means provided for the support of the poor, save what is collected in the church. This is given to widows, orphans, and to all who make suitable application whatever may be their religious persuasion. This could not be done under any other arrangement.

6. If the Lutherans should be indulged in the exercise of their (public) worship, the Papist, Mennonites and others, would soon
1657 make similar claims. Thus we would soon become a Babel of confusion, instead of remaining a united and peaceful people. Indeed it would prove a plan of Satan to smother this infant, rising congregation, almost in its birth, or at least to obstruct the march of truth in its progress.

We therefore request your Hon. Body earnestly to consider the measure referred to, as injurious to the political as well as to the religious interests of this place; and, following in the footsteps of your predecessors in authority in this city, as well as in the Province at large, will take measures to arrest the evil ready to creep in, and prevent it according to your best ability. So doing, etc. Your Honors' Obedient

John Megapolensis.

July 6, (12) 1657. Samuel Drisius.

CLASSIS OF AMSTERDAM.

Correspondence from America.

1658, Sept. 24th.

Revs. J. Megapolensis and S. Drisius to the Classis of Amsterdam.
(Abstract of, in Acts of Deputies, Jan, 13, 1659. xx. 391.)

Reverend, Pious and Learned Fathers and Brethren in Christ: —

Your letter of May 26th last, (1658,) came safely to hand. We observe your diligence to promote the interests of the church of Jesus Christ in this province, that confusion may be prevented, and that the delightful harmony which has hitherto existed among us here, may continue. At the same time we rejoice that the Hon. Directors have committed this matter to you, and we hope that God will strengthen you in your laudable efforts. Last year we placed before you particularly the circumstances of the churches both in the Dutch and English towns. And as this subject has been placed by your Rev. body before the Hon. Directors, we hope that their Honors will take into earnest consideration the sadly destitute circumstances of the English towns. These, by reason of the removal or death of their preachers, continually appeal with increasing earnestness for instant provision; for we learn that one of the English towns, through lack of a Presbyterian minister,

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is already engaged in seeking an Independent from (New) England. The raving Quakers have not settled down, but continue to disturb the people of the province by their wanderings and outcries. For although our government has issued orders against these fanatics, nevertheless they do not fail to pour forth their venom. There is but one place in New England where they are tolerated, and that is Rhode Island, which is the caeca latrina of New England. Thence they swarm to and fro sowing their tares.

The matter of the Lutherans remains still in a very smoky condition. Last year the Lutheran pastor, (John Goëtwater) was directed to return by the ships to Holland. Instead of this he went out of the city and concealed himself with a Lutheran farmer during the whole winter, where they supported him at the rate of six guilders ($2.40) per week. On the 4th of August last, when we celebrated the Lord's Supper, they made a collection among themselves for him. The Fiscal was again directed to arrest him, and compell him to leave by one of the earliest ships. In the meantime the Lutherans came and represented to the Director-General that their preacher was sick at the farmer's, and besought the privilege of bringing him within the place for treatment. This was granted them. The Fiscal was at the same time empowered to watch over him, and when well again, to send him to Holland. Whether, on his recovery, he will return or conceal himself again, time must show. We fear it is a stratagem to hold the matter in suspense, and gain more time. We suspect this the more, as they have said that they will make us appear in an unfavorable light before the Hon. Directors of the West India Company. As to the great precision we employ in the administration of Baptism, the accompanying documents will furnish the proper proofs to your Rev. body. (See those of May 28, Aug. 19 and Aug. 23, 1658.)

It appears to us that it would be very advantageous to the Dutch church, to send over good Dutch ministers who might be temporarily placed in the smaller Dutch towns, and afterward on the death

or disability of other Dutch ministers, to be transferred to the more populous towns. And such transfers would very soon be required, as Domine Schaats is a man in feeble health; Domine Polhemius is already sixty years old, and both of us have entered in our fifty seventh year. There is much need of two more learned and godly ministers in this province, as the Jesuits in Canada or Nova Francia are seeking to force an entrance among us, and introduce their idolatries and superstitions. For when the French made peace with our Indians, the Mohawks, several Jesuits went among them, and have since continued there. One of them named Simon Le Môyne has been several times at Fort Orange, and last fall came here to Manhattan, doubtless to encourage the papists, both Dutch and French, residing here, and to observe the condition of our affairs. He remained here eight days, and then returned to Fort Orange, and thence by land to Canada.

We commend your Reverences to the protection of the Most High, who is able to keep you, and do abundantly above what we can ask or think, and place you blameless before His throne. With salutations to the Rev. Classis,

Yours affectionately,

Joannes Megapolensis.
Samuel Drisius.

New Amsterdam,
in New Netherland,
Sept. 24th, 1658.

relating to the Jews is also here given, for the first time. The reference reads as follows:

> To give liberty to the Jews will be very detrimental there, because the Christians there will not be able at the same time to do business. Giving them liberty, we cannot refuse the Lutherans and Papists.[28]

That Stuyvesant wrote more at length on this subject in this letter is indicated by abstracts of published letters, found among the MSS. in Philadelphia.[29]

In line with Stuyvesant's letter is a statement appearing in a letter from the Classis of Amsterdam to the Consistory in New Netherland, dated May 26, 1656.[30]

Remarking that the Lutherans must have abandoned their intention of procuring a minister of their persuasion, they say:

> Our Rev. Classis indeed looked upon this matter as an affair of great importance, for the Menonists and English Independents, of whom there is said to be not a few there, might have been led to undertake the same thing in their turn, and would probably have attempted to introduce public gatherings. In fact we are informed that even the Jews have made request of the Honorable Governor and have also attempted in that country to erect a synagogue for the exercise of their blasphemous religion.

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[28] The Dutch reads:

De jootsche vryheyt seer schadelyck aldaer te weesen, alsoo de Christenen daer tegl. niet connen handelen, ende haer vryicheijt gevende, de Luteriaensche papisten niet sullen connen weijgeren.

[29] In the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is an abstract by Hans Bontemantel of the Directors' letter to Stuyvesant of April 26, 1655, already quoted from, which he heads: "Some notes of the letter written to the Director and Council in New Netherland April 26, 1655," and in which the part about the Jews is condensed by him to read as follows, as translated from the Dutch:

That the Jews may live, trade and traffic there, pursuant to apostilles here given by the Company at their request.

[30] *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, I, p. 348.

Lesson 2: The Lutherans in New Netherland

Objectives	Activities	Resources
1. Students will be aware of the position and status of Lutherans in New Netherland.	1. Explain what Lutherans and Calvinists are. 2. Have students read the petition of the Lutherans in 1659 (p. 107–108) and complete the following assignments: a. Place the petition of the Lutherans on your time line (p. 2). b. The position of the Lutherans in New Netherland is different from their status in the United Provinces. What is the difference and why are they disappointed? c. Briefly describe what happened to them. d. What is their request? e. When were they finally allowed to publicly exercise their religion? Fill out on the time line.	1. A. J. F. van Laer, *The Lutheran Church in New York, 1649-1772, Records in the Lutheran Church Archives at Amsterdam, Holland*, (New York, 1946): 38-41, 49. The translations of documents (including letters and petitions) in this book provide excellent material for more lessons.

PETITION of the Lutherans in New Netherland to the Directors of the West India Company. May 20, 1659

Hon. ———— *etc.*

We, your honors' faithful and obedient adherents of the U[naltered] A[ugsburg] C[onfession], residing under your jurisdiction in N. Netherland, on the Manhates, Long Island, Fort Orange and the oolonies thereabout, hereby humbly show with due reverence and submissiveness that we, finding ourselves together in these parts of America from different countries of Europe, and thinking of the great and eminent benefits which those of our Faith enjoy under the High and Mighty Lords the States General, our Sovereigns, in the United Provinces, by the toleration of the doctrine of the U. A. C., we have already for more than five years written to our Consistory at Amsterdam to petition and solicit for us from the Hon. Directors of the Chartered West India Company, our superiors, the *Exercitium Religionis,*

which [Consistory], in a letter dated June 14, 1656, informed us that some of our lords [Directors] had advised their committee that it was resolved and decided by them that we here in this country adhering to the U. A. Confession would, like those *in patria,* be tolerated by connivance. Whereupon, being rejoiced thereat, we made known this report in a petition to the Hon. Director General Petrus Stuyvesant, whose apostil thereon was that he would find out the truth about it, so that he had no objection.

We afterwards further wrote to our Consistory and desired that in accordance with the promises made by some of our lords Directors they would send us a faithful pastor, which indeed was done in the year 1657, on the 10th of April, about two years ago, but upon his arrival our Hon. Director General expressly declared that, assuming that the Hon. Directors of the West India Company had consented to it, he would nevertheless not allow himself to be dictated to therein by them, inasmuch as he had taken an oath before their High Mightinesses. He thereupon proceeded sharply, had ordinances publicly posted against our meetings upon forfeiture of 100 pounds Flemish, drove our spiritual leader from Manhattan Island, served several notices on him to leave the province, threatened to fine those who offered him assistance, had him arrested and placed in the custody of court messengers and soldiers and now, finally, has sent him back to the fatherland, which causes us much sorrow and affliction. But since in these two years and as long as our pastor has been in this country many people, thinking that here freedom [of worship] had been obtained for us, have come and still continue to come, we now find ourselves considerably stronger than before; at Fort Orange there are from 70 to 80 families, here at the Manhatans and on Long Island also fully that many, including permanent residents and mechanics, but mostly farmers. As we cannot well leave, yet, without the exercise of religion can still less live, we have, in a petition to our magistrates and the Hon. Director General, requested to grant us a wild, uninhabited place on the island, two or three miles from the Manhatans, or at the ferry, or on Long Island, or at Paulus Hoeck, or wherever it might be, to practise our religion in all quietness and reverence, and this in order that we might not be in their way and that thereby a wild place might be brought under cultivation, but this also has been refused us.

We therefore turn to your honors, praying and beseeching you to be pleased to consider among yourselves the welfare and profit of this country, consisting in populating the same, and to inquire how many farmers are already leaving the land, selling their farms and preparing to leave, and how many [others] are auctioning off and selling their houses and so must reluctantly give up

their business. Furthermore, the sight thereof will turn many against this country, who otherwise would have liked it and will even be kept away from it, all of which can be prevented by the toleration of our religion of the U. A. Confession. This, as faithful and vigilant subjects we humbly wished to bring to your honors' attention and we remain your honors' faithful and obedient members adhering to the U. A. Confession in New Netherland, and in the absence of the others we have jointly signed this in haste, the 20th of May 1659, at Manhatans, in N. Netherland.

Harmen Yansen
Eldert Juryanse van Stenhuse
Gerrit Meyer
X Peter Jansen
X Albert Jansen
Eberhardt Hedeman
Mattheus Capito
Lucas Dircksen
Chris in Peters
Juryen Jansen
Marten Hoffman
John Seunson
Eurt Luc
Hans Kettel
Is Mensen [J Smensen?]
Johan MasTtrs [Masters?]
Cllass Schardyc
Teirck Jansen
Jochum Schoemacker
Gerrit Molenaer
Hendrick Jansen Spieringh
Jan Raynertsoon [Maynertsoon?]
Hacken Bruyb
Mayndert Barensen
Cornelis Marisen factor
Stofve Stofssen [Stoffel Stoffelsen?]
Carsten Jansen
Chrysteyan Nyssen
Yan Cornelsen
Matys Moller
Davit Wesel
Jan Pietersoon
Cobes Wilbordt
Albert Pietersen trompetter
Lorens Andres
Barendt Krudup
Wilmen Traphegen [Wilman Traphagen]
Cristian Wolf
Poules Cristianesz
Pieter Jansen smit
The mark X of Heynrick Jansen Sluyter
Dirrich Jacobsenn
Siester Michgälsen
Nicklas Jssersen
Wollgang Karsten Von Wolffenbuttel [Wolffenbüttel]
Andreas Rees Von der Liebstadt [von Lippstadt]
Andreas Leensen [?]
Heinrich Heinrichsz
Simon Jansen
X is the mark of Jansen Von der Ham
Corneelus Matheysen
Claes Tysen
Claes Böm
Jonas Magni [Magnus]
Magnus Pittersz
Willsz Dober [?]
Andreas Hansen
Herman Smeman
X the mark of Claes Snyder
X the mark of Jan Brouwer
Casper Steinmets
X the mark of Marten Jansen Meyer
X the mark of Mathys Diresen
Hans Drepery [Dreper]
Jan Hyndrychse Steelman
Volgart Jansen
the mark X [of] Lodewyk Jonge

Amst. Luth. Ch. Arch. [Portfolio America.]

ORDER by Governor Nicolls on the petition of the Lutherans. December 6/16, 1664

Copy of Apostil of the Hon. Governor Ritzaërt Nicolaes.

[Whereas] several persons under my government, who are adherents of the Lutheran faith, [and who] have taken the oath of fidelity to his Majesty and his Royal Highness, and to such governor or other officer as is or shall be appointed there, have by petition requested that they might have liberty to send for one or more pastors of the aforesaid religion and that they might freely and publicly exercise their religion according to their conscience, I have given my consent thereto, on condition that they shall molest no one of other [faith] and that they shall be obedient to the present authorities.

Whereunto I have set my hand and seal at Fort James in New York, on the island of Manatans, the 6th day of December A°. 1664.[25]

[Was signed:] Ritzaert Nicolaes.

[Endorsed:] *New Netherland. Received in Consistory the 3d of June 1665.*

Amst. Luth. Ch. Arch. [Portfolio America.]

[25] Old style date, corresponding to December 16, 1664, new style. Both the petition and the order thereon are translated from crude Dutch translations which were enclosed in the letter of Dec. 8/18, 1664.

Lesson 3: Jews in New Netherland

Objectives	Activities	Resources
1. Students will be aware of the status and position of Jews in New Netherland. 2. Students will be aware of the fact that a translation is an interpretation, and sometimes not reliable.	1. Have students read various documents and complete the following assignments: a. The letter from Minister Megapolensis on p. 111 has been translated in different ways. The two copies provided here show information about the Jewish population in New Amsterdam. In one translation a translator has made a mistake. Try to find the mistake and explain why this is a serious mistake. Also describe how a researcher should work with information drawn out of translated primary sources. b. Why is the January 1655 document (p. 112-113b) "one of the most important documents" in relation to the settlement of the Jews in this country? What is the request of the petitioners? And what is the answer in April 1655 (p. 112a)? c. Read the next two documents (p. 114 and 115; marked passages) and list for each: a. year; b. request c. names of petitioner(s);	1. *Ecclesiastical Records*: 352. 2. *Laws and Ordinances*: 211-12. 3. Oppenheim, *History of the Jews*, 8-11; 73-74; 36. 4. *RNA*, vol. VII: 154; 258-61. 5. *RNA*, vol. II: 396-97. 6. Recommended readings: 1. Martha Dickinson Shattuck, A Civil Society: Court and Community in Beverwijck, New Netherland, 1652-1664, Dissertation Boston University, 1993.

(Continued on next page) (Continued on next page)

Objectives	Activities	Resources
	d. answer to the petition. e. List them on the time line (p 2). f. What is the difference with the situation in the Dutch Republic? d. p. 116 a: A. Keyser against Jacob Bersimson; p. 116 b: Storm Alberzen against Jacob Barsimson. What do these documents reveal about the attitude toward Jews? e. p. 117 and 118: sworn butchers. The two Jewish butchers have their own oath. a. How is it different from the other butchers? b. What do these documents reveal about the attitude toward other religions, in this case the Jews? c. What does the document reveal about the size of the Jewish population in New Amsterdam in 1660, compared to 1655? Explain your answer. 2. Discuss their findings with the students. Explain burgher right.	2. Samuel Oppenheim, *The Early History of Jews in New York*, 1654-1664 (New York, 1909).

Some Jews came from Holland last summer, in order to trade. Later a few Jews came upon the same ship as De Polheymius; they were healthy, but poor. It would have been proper, that they should have been supported by their own people, but they have been at our charge, so that we have had to spend several hundred guilders for their support. They came several times to my house, weeping and bemoaning their misery. If I directed them to the Jewish merchants, they said, that they would not even lend them a few stivers. Some more have come from Holland this spring. They report that still more of the same lot would follow, and then they would build here a synagogue. This causes among the congregation here a great deal of complaint and murmuring. These people, have no other God than the unrighteous Mammon, and no other aim than to get possession of christian property, and to win all other merchants by drawing all trade towards themselves. Therefore we request your Reverences to obtain from the Lords-Directors, that these godless rascals, who are of no benefit to the country, but look at everything for their own profit, may be sent away from here. For as we have here Papists, Mennonites and Lutherans among the Dutch; also many Puritans or Independents, and many Atheists and various other servants of Baal among the

II.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF REV. JOHN MEGAPOLENSIS, DATED AMSTERDAM, IN NEW NETHERLAND, THE 18TH MARCH, 1655, TO THE CLASSIS OF AMSTERDAM.*

We have cause to be grateful to the Lords Directors and to your Reverences for the care and trouble taken to procure for the Dutch on Long Island a good clergyman, even though it has not yet resulted in anything. Meanwhile, God has led Domine Joannes Polhemius from Brazil, over the Carribean Islands, to this place. He has for the present gone to Long Island, to a village called Midwout . . . . Last summer some Jews came here from Holland, in order to trade. Afterwards some Jews, poor and healthy, also came here on the same ship with D: Polheijmis. It would have been proper that these had been supported by their own nation, but they have been at our charge, so that we have had to spend several hundred guilders for their support. They came several times to my house, weeping and bewailing their misery, and when I directed them to the Jewish merchant they said that he would not lend them a single stiver. Now again in the spring some have come from Holland, and report that a great many of that lot would yet follow and then build here their synagogue. This causes among the congregation here a great deal of complaint and murmuring. These people have no other God than the unrighteous Mammon, and no other aim than to get possession of Christian property, and to win all other merchants by drawing all trade towards themselves. Therefore, we request your Reverences to obtain from the Lords Directors that these godless rascals, who are of no benefit to the country, but look at everything for their own profit, may be sent away from here. For, as we have here Papists, Mennonites and Lutherans among the Dutch; also many Puritans or Independents, and many Atheists and various other servants of Baal among the English under this Government, who conceal themselves under the name of Christians; it would create a still greater confusion, if the obstinate and immovable Jews came to settle here.

often been printed, but it is deemed well to give again the part relating to the Jews, in a revised translation, differing somewhat from that officially published.[8] The variations will be indicated in a foot note. This reply, dated April 26, 1655, reads as follows:

We would have liked to effectuate and fulfill [a] your wishes and request that the new territories should no more be allowed to be infected (b) by people of the Jewish nation, for we foresee therefrom (c) the same difficulties which you fear, but after having further weighed and considered the matter, we observe that this (d) would be somewhat (e) unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by this nation, with others, (f) in the taking of Brazil, as (g) also because of the large amount of capital which they still (h) have invested in the shares of this company. Therefore after many deliberations we have finally (i) decided and resolved to apostille (j) upon a certain petition presented by said Portuguese Jews that these people may travel and trade to and in New Netherland (k) and live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or to the community, but be supported by their own nation. You will now (l) govern yourself accordingly.

[8] See *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, XIV, p. 315.

[a] (a) In the official printed translation by Mr. Berthold Fernow the reading is "agree to." The original reads "geeffectueert ende volbracht."

(b) The original, following Stuyvesant's letter, reads "geinfecteert," and was misread by Fernow as "geinserteert" and translated by him as "invaded." "Niet meer . . . . mochte werden" was translated "should not be further."

(c) The original is "hieruyt," which Fernow made "from such immigration."

(d) The original is "tselve," which Fernow translated "it."

(e) The original has "hebben gemerckt tselve *eenichsints* strydende te syn tegens de reden ende billickheyt." Fernow omitted translation of "eenichsints," meaning "somewhat."

(f) Fernow made this "the Jews." The original has "dese natie int generael," or "this nation in general," a better reading of which is as above given.

(g) Fernow made "als" "and." The original has "soo van den . . . . als de," or "because of the . . . . as the."

The petition referred to in the company's reply has not heretofore been published, and is here given, as translated from the Dutch, following the form in the original version which is given below. It was made in Amsterdam, and is undoubtedly one of the most important documents we have in relation to the settlement of the Jews in this country. It reads as follows:

1655, January Petition of the Jewish Nation.

To the Honorable Lords, Directors of the Chartered West India Company, Chamber of the City of Amsterdam.

The merchants of the Portuguese Nation residing in this City respectfully remonstrate to your Honors that it has come to their knowledge that your Honors raise obstacles to the giving of permits or passports to the Portuguese Jews to travel and to go to reside in New Netherland, which if persisted in will result to the great disadvantage of the Jewish nation. It also can be of no advantage to the general Company but rather damaging.

Granted that they may reside and traffic, provided they shall not become a charge upon the deaconry or the Company.

There are many of the nation who have lost their possessions at Pernambuco and have arrived from there in great poverty, and part of them have been dispersed here and there. So that your petitioners had to expend large sums of money for their necessaries of life, and through lack of opportunity all cannot remain here to live. And as they cannot

(h) The original has "alsnoch," which Fernow did not translate.

(i) The original has "Sulcx dat we eyntelyck nae menichvuldige deliberatien hebben," which Fernow made "After many consultations we have."

(j) The original has "te appostillieren," which Fernow did not translate. This word means "to note" or "to note in the margin" or "to note at the foot," and becomes important in examining the copy of the petition which has a note, at the side, of the granting of it.

(k) Fernow translated "syluyden sullen mogen varen ende negotieren naer ende op nieunederlandt, oock aldaer woonen ende verblijven," as "they shall have permission to sail to and trade

go to Spain or Portugal because of the Inquisition, a great part of the aforesaid people must in time be obliged to depart for other territories of their High Mightinesses the States-General and their Companies, in order there, through their labor and efforts, to be able to exist under the protection of the administrators of your Honorable Directors, observing and obeying your Honors' orders and commands.

It is well known to your Honors that the Jewish nation in Brazil have at all times been faithful and have striven to guard and maintain that place, risking for that purpose their possessions and their blood.

Yonder land is extensive and spacious. The more of loyal people that go to live there, the better it is in regard to the population of the country as in regard to the payment of various excises and taxes which may be imposed there, and in regard to the increase of trade, and also to the importation of all the necessaries that may be sent there.

Your Honors should also consider that the Honorable Lords, the Burgomasters of the City and the Honorable High Illustrious Mighty Lords, the States-General, have in political matters always protected and considered the Jewish nation as upon the same footing as all the inhabitants and burghers. Also it is conditioned in the treaty of perpetual peace with the King of Spain that the Jewish nation shall also enjoy the same liberty as all other inhabitants of these lands.

Your Honors should also please consider that many of the Jewish nation are principal shareholders in the Company. They have always striven their best for the Company, and many of their nation have lost immense and great capital in its shares and obligations.

The Company has by a general resolution consented that those who wish to populate the Colony shall enjoy certain districts of land gratis. Why should now certain subjects of this State not be allowed to travel thither and live there? The French consent

in New Netherland, and to live and remain there." The translation above is closer to the original and shows that the grant was larger than his translation indicated, as it gave the Jews the right not only to trade in but also to New Netherland. This gave them the right to bring in goods from abroad. As given by Fernow, the right was simply to trade in New Netherland.

(1) The original has "alsnu," which Fernow did not translate.

that the Portuguese Jews may traffic and live in Martinique, Christopher and others of their territories, whither also some have gone from here, as your Honors know. The English also consent at the present time that the Portuguese and Jewish nation may go from London and settle at Barbados, whither also some have gone.

As foreign nations consent that the Jewish nation may go to live and trade in their territories, how can your Honors forbid the same and refuse transportation to this Portuguese nation who reside here and have been settled here well on to about sixty years, many also being born here and confirmed burghers, and this to a land that needs people for its increase?

Therefore the petitioners request, for the reasons given above (as also others which they omit to avoid prolixity), that your Honors be pleased not to exclude but to grant the Jewish nation passage to and residence in that country; otherwise this would result in a great prejudice to their reputation. Also that by an Apostille and Act the Jewish nation be permitted, together with other inhabitants, to travel, live and traffic there, and with them enjoy liberty on condition of contributing like others, &c. Which doing, &c.[11]

[11] The Dutch original of the above is as follows:

1655, January Request vande Joodsche Natie.

Aende Ed: Heeren de Bewinthebberen vande geoctroijeerde Westjndische Compe ter Camere der Stad Amsteiredamme.

De cooplieden vande Portugese Natie, hier ter Steede woonende, remonstreeren aen uwe Ed: reverentel. dat aen haere kennisse is gecomen, dat uwe Ede difficulteijt maecken, parmissie ofte paspoorten te geven aen portugeese Jooden omme te mogen varen en te gaen woonen in Nieu Nederlant, tweick soo daer bij geexsisteert wert, sal strecken tot groot nadeel vande Joodtsche Natie, oock can tselve geen voordeel geven vande Generale Compe., jmmers eer schadelyck. Daer sijn veel van die Natie, die haer welvaren verlooren hebben tot Phernambuco, en sijn van daer met groote arremoede overgecomen, een gedeelte sijn noch hier en daer verstroijt sulcx dat de Suppiten met groote Somme geits hare behoeften moeten remedieeren, en door gebreck van possibiliteijt connen alle deselve alhier niet blijven

Is toegestaen dat se mogen woonen en trafiqueeren mits deselve niet tot laste van de diaconien comende ofte de Compagne

Follows the Oath taken by the Burghers; drawn up by the R^t Honble Director General and Council.

I, N. N., promise and swear in the presence of Almighty God to be true and faithful to the sovereignty of the Noble, High Mighty Lords States General of the United Netherlands and Supreme Jurisdiction of the Honble Lords Directors of the Privileged West India Company as Lords and Patroons of this New Netherland Province, their Director General and Council already appointed or hereafter to be appointed; and to shew in the first place them, the Burgomasters and Rulers of this City, present and future, all respect and reverence and to obey them in all honest and just matters as a faithful subject and good Burgher is bound to do, as long as I shall continue in this Province. So Truly Help me God Almighty!

The 11th April, 1657.

Jacob Cohin Hendricus, a Jew, appears in the Court of Burgomasters; requests permission to bake and sell bread within this City, as other bakers, but with closed door. Which being deliberated on, 'tis decreed, as this is directly contrary to the privilege granted by the Honble Director General and Council to the Burghery of this City and also against the orders given by the Honble Lords Majores, the petitioners request cannot be granted.

On the petition of Willm Harck and Joris Wolsey, the Marshal de Vos is sent for to the Court of Burgomasters and ordered duly to fill his office without regard for any one and immediately to give new notice to Jan Larens.

Tibout Riversen requests by petition leave to tap. Whereupon is apostilled:—Before the petitioner's prayer can be granted, he must purchase his Burgher right within this City, when further disposition shall be made herein.

Asser Levy, a Jew, appears in Court; requests to be admitted a Burgher; claims that such ought not be refused him, as he keeps watch and ward (*tocht en wacht*) like other Burghers; shewing a Burgher certificate from the City of Amsterdam, that the Jew is Burgher there. Which being deliberated on, tis decreed as before that it cannot be allowed, and he shall apply to the Director General and Council.

Daniel Teneur appears in Court; requests that he may build on the

Copy.

To the Noble Worships, the Director General and Council of New Netherland.

We, the undersigned, of the Jewish Nation here, make known, with due reverence, how that one of our Nation repaired to the City Hall of this City and requested of the Noble Burgomasters that he might obtain his Burgher certificate, like other Burghers, which to our great surprise was declined and refused by the Noble Burgomasters, and whereas the Worshipful Lords consented under date of February 15, 1655, at the request of our Nation, that we should enjoy here the same freedom as other inhabitants of New Netherland enjoy, as appears from the petition here annexed; further that our Nation enjoys in the City of Amsterdam in Holland the Burgher right, and he who asks therefor receives a Burgher certificate there, as appears by the Burgher certificate hereto annexed; also that our Nation, as long as they have been here, have, with others, borne and paid, and still bear, all Burgher burdens: We, therefore, reverently request your Noble Worships to please not exclude nor shut us out from the Burgher right, but to notify the Noble Burgomasters that they should permit us, like other Burghers, to enjoy the Burgher right, and for this purpose to give us the customary Burgher certificate, in conformity with the order of the Worshipful Lords Directors above mentioned. Upon which, awaiting your Noble Worships' gracious and favorable apostille, we shall remain, as heretofore,

(Below stood)

Yours Noble Worships' Humble Servants,

SALVADOR DANDRADA,
JACOB COHEN HENRICQUES,
ABRAHAM DELUCENA,
JOSEPH D'ACOSTA.

On the above petition is apostilled:

The Burgomasters of this City are hereby authorized and at the same time charged to admit the petitioners herein and their Nation to the Burghership, in due form. Dated as above.

P. STUYVESANT,
NICASIUS DESILLE,
PIETER TONNEMAN.

Dated, April 20, 1657.

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[44] *N. Y. Col. MSS.*, Vol. VIII, p. 531. Cf. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 6, p. 87.

and striking at him three times with a branch of a peach tree; and he demands, that Gerrit Hendrickzen shall be ordered no longer to ill treat him and his wife, and the Street Inspectors be directed ocularly to inspect and report concerning the fencing and to arbitrate concerning the raising of his lot, as to how much each shall have to bear; that he will willingly submit. Gerrit Hendricksen denies, what Frerick Aarsen gives in in writing, and says he experiences great trouble from Frerick Aarsen, and that he took a twig of a peach tree, threatening Frerick Aarsen, and that Frerick Aarsen took a broomstick and struck at him and lifting it up again struck it against his own windows, saying that he will complain of him for assault and that the mason's Beletje and Cristiaen the Serjeant, who is gone to the Esopus, saw it, who will testify to it and Beletje Metzelaar is present. Beletje Metzelaar (mason) appears in Court and declares, that Frerick Aarsen and Gerrit Hendrickzen had words with each other and that Gerrit Hendricksen took a twig of a peach tree to strike Frerick Aarsen and that Frerick Aarsen took a broomstick striking at Gerrit and raising it up again struck it against his own window. The Schout demands the fine. Schepen Pieter Wolfersen van Couwenhoven explains the difference regarding the survey of the lots. The Court postpone the matter in question, until the arrival of the Serjeant to give a deposition in the case, and parties are meanwhile ordered to observe the peace towards each other.

Adriaen Keyser, pltf. v/s Jacob Bersimson, a Jew, deft. Though deft. is absent, yet no default is entered against him, as he was summoned on his Sabbath.

Jan van Leiden, pltf. v/s Pieter Taalman, deft., demands from deft. 297 lbs of tobacco for Spanish wine and stockings which he deft. received from him. Deft. being absent, sends his answer in writing to the Court, demanding declaration of the demand and protests against said van Leiden for all costs, damages and wrong. The Court orders copy to be delivered to party to answer thereunto at the next Court day.

Pieter van de Linde, pltf. v/s Jacob Davidtsen, deft. Plft. says, he summoned deft. to give evidence of the truth regarding the purchase of tobacco, which he pltf. bought for Claas Teunisen of Jan Coupal. The Court orders Pieter Van de Linde to cause the deposition to be written by the Secretary.

Cornelis Langevelt, arrestant and pltf. v/s Storm Alberzen, arrested and deft. Pltf. demands from deft. fl. 58: 10 in beavers according to obligation dated 3 Feby which must be paid in the June following. Deft. says Joost, the mate of Cornelis Langevelt had the beavers attached at Fort Orange. The Court declares the arrest valid until the money shall be deposited.

Engeltje Foppe pltf., v/s Jacob Steendam, deft. Pltf. says, deft. sold her a tub of twisted tobacco at 8 stiv. the lb. and had the same inspected, but declares it no good and that it was not worth the price, exhibiting a sample to the Court. Deft. says, she, the pltf., bought a tub of twisted tobacco and he gave her a sample from the top and the middle and that she said, she had shewn it to people, but they say it is not good and that she was willing to keep the tobacco for six stivers, but he answered her, that he would not give it less than 8 stiv. and that he would not take it back as the tobacco was a long time at her house and got spoiled there. The Court refer the tobacco in question to Pieter Cornelisen van der Veen and Isaack Grevera to inspect it in presence of the Schepen Cornelis Steenwyck, whether it is merchantable or not.

Storm Alberzen, pltf. v/s Jacob Bersimson, a Jew, deft. No default is entered against deft. though absent, for reasons before mentioned, as he is summoned on their Sabbath.

Cornelis the carpenter, pltf. v/s Samuel Etsal, deft. Deft. in default.

Abraham Rycken, pltf. v/s Jan Rutgersen, deft. The Schout states that Jan Rutgersen was ordered to deposit the monies, which the pltf. was demanding from him the deft., within four times four and twenty hours and has remained in default thereof; requesting that Jan Rutgersen shall remain in the City Hall until the monies are paid. The Court orders Jan Rutgersen to remain in the City Hall until the monies are paid or to give security for the payment within six days.

The Treasurer Allard Anthony appears in Court, demanding that the judgment pronounced by the Court in date 29th Octobr 1657 between him and Storm Alberzen may be satisfied and as Storm Alberzen is here and has no effects, he demands that he be placed in prison until the judgment be satisfied. The Court orders Storm Alberzen to go to prison and to remain there until the abovementioned judgment be satisfied.

In order to prevent all fraud, Burgomasters resolve to appoint Sworn Butchers, who shall have the killing of all cattle to be consumed within this City's jurisdiction.

Friday, 15th Octob' 1660. In the City Hall. Present the Heeren Marten Cregier, Allard Anthony.

On the petition of the neighbours on both sides of the *Prince Graght*,* is apostilled:—Burgomasters order and direct each and every one to pave his lot before his door as far as his lot extends, this winter so far at least that it can be made use of a-foot, and Burgomasters shall make the vacant one by Joghim Beekman's, fitting or passable, as they shall find it most advantageous.

Symon Joosten appearing in Court was told, if he desires to be sworn butcher, he must first purchase his Burgher Right, paying therefor fl. 20. Holland currency. Symon Joosten declares, he is not desirous to be butcher, requesting, that he may sell his meat, that he may bring for Sale, on payment of the excise, and that he may not be troubled by the butcher. Which is allowed him.

Dirck Volckerzen appearing in Court is asked where he found the log he sold to Andrees Joghimsen? Answer, he fished it near the *Two Brothers* † by Hell Gate and did not cut it, and declares further, that the timber near his house belongs to Jan Coopal, and if he must restore the log demands salvage. Whereupon is answered, That he shall have it, when he can prove that he fished it.

Asser Levy, Eghbert Meindersen, Gerrit Jansen Roos, Roelof Jansen Veter Maacker, Jan van Haarlem, appear in Court, requesting to be sworn butchers, and are accepted by the Burgomasters on the following articles and oath.

INSTRUCTION FOR THE SWORN BUTCHERS.

First. They shall be bound to accommodate each and every one without delay, as much as is in their power, and bring with them their own tools necessary for slaughtering.

Secondly. They shall not kill any cattle before and until a proper

* Broad Str., betw. Beaver Str. and Exchange Place.

† Two small islands in the East R., East of Randall's Isl. and South of West Farms, Westchester Co.

permit shall be exhibited to them from the *Pachter* (Farmer of the Excise) for the animal to be killed, that it has paid the excise.

Thirdly. They shall be bound to kill all cattle which shall be offered for slaughtering within the jurisdiction of this City.

Fourthly. They shall and may demand and take for the slaughtering of each animal as follows:—

For one ox or cow.....Five guilders
For one hog.....One Dollar
For one sheep, calf, or goat.....One guilder

Other smaller animals in proportion.

Which articles having been read to the aforesaid persons, they are asked if they, or theirs, will submit to these articles? Answer, Yes; Then Asser Levy requests to be excused from killing hogs, as his religion does not allow him to do it; which was granted him. And they accordingly took the following Oath except Asser aforesaid, who took the oath, which the Jews are accustomed to take.

OATH FOR THE SWORN BUTCHERS.

We promise and swear in the presence of the Most High, that we shall honestly conform ourselves to the articles read to us; slaughter no animals within this City's jurisdiction except those, for which a proper permit is shewn to us, that the same are entered duly with the Farmer within this City's jurisdiction, and serve every one as much as lies in our power. So Truly Help us God Almighty!

PLACARD.

Whereas Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens of this City of Amsterdam in N. Netherland, in accordance with the laudable custom of our Fatherland and for the accommodation of the Burghers and inhabitants of this City have thought it expedient that sworn butchers be accepted and chosen who shall be empowered to slaughter all cattle to be consumed within this City's jurisdiction; They have, therefore, accepted and selected thereunto Eghbert Meinderzen, Asser Levy, Roelof Jansen Veter Maacker, Gerrit Janzen Roos, Jan van Haarlem, Pieter Janzen vande Lange Straat, Hendrick Volckerzen, Daniel Tourneur, Paulus van de Beeck, Gerrit Fullewever, who are made known to the Commonalty that every one, who has any cattle to be slaughtered may speak to them, who as much as possible shall aid and accommodate every one; and they

may demand and receive for fees of one ox or cow five guilders; for a hog, one dollar; for a sheep, calf, or goat one guilder; other small animals in proportion: They interdict and forbid each and every one to kill or cause to be killed any cattle whatsoever except by the aforesaid sworn butchers, under the penalty of twenty five guilders to be applied as is proper. Thus done and ordained in Amsterdam in N. Netherland at the Court of the Honble Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens the 15th Octobr 1660.

Monday, 18th Octob. 1660. In the City Hall. Present the Heeren Pieter Tonneman, Marten Cregier, Allard Anthony, Cornelis Steenwyck.

Eghbert Meinderzen appearing in Court is told, that complaints are lodged against him by those, who bring meat to market here to sell, that he obliges them to purchase their Burgher Right first, before they sell any meat, and that he has caused them to be dunned for a day and a half until they get a permit; warning him not to do so any more, or that it shall be attended to.

Hendrick Volckertsen, Pieter Jansen vande Langh Straat, Daniel Tourneur, Master Paulus and Gerrit Fulwever appear in Court requesting to be sworn butchers in this City who are accepted as butchers by the Burgomasters after taking the oath, the articles of the instruction having been previously read to them.

Friday 29th Octob^r 1660. In the City Hall. Present the Heeren Pieter Tonneman Marten Cregier, Allard Anthony.

The Schout, Pieter Tonneman, pltf. v/s Eghbert Meinderzen, butcher, deft. The pltf. says, that the deft. with one Willem Jansen van Borckeloo, unsworn butcher, has slaughtered and therefore entered the fine against him. He, nevertheless, has not given that over, but proceeded therein in direct opposition to the Placard therein enacted; therefore demanding from the deft. according to placard the fine of twenty five guilders with costs; requesting that he shall be forbidden to slaughter. Deft. says, that Willem Janzen only to help him in his necessity. Burgomasters condemn Eghbert Meyndersen in the penalty of 25 gl. according to Placard with costs; They interdict and forbid him to slaughter any more cattle for the space of six weeks from this date.

The Schout Pieter Tonneman, pltf. v/s Willem Janzen van Borckeloo, deft. The pltf. says, that the deft. not being a sworn butcher has against the Ordinance and Placard slaughtered cattle with Eghbert Meyndersen, and though he entered the fine against him, yet he did not leave off; demanding therefore the fine of twenty five guilders, with costs. Deft. says he had no knowledge of the Placard or of the existence of such Ordinance; and had also butchered heretofore and is bound to support his wife and children. Burgomasters condemn Willem Jansen van Borckeloo in a fine of twenty five guilders according to placard, with costs.

Moses Lucena appears in Court requesting to be a sworn butcher, which was granted him according to oath to be taken on the instruction of sworn butchers, and he has taken the same at the hands of the Officer agreably to the oath of the Jews, having first requested not to be bound to kill any hogs; which was allowed him.

This date, 30th Octob^r 1660, Eghbert Meindersen presents to Burgomasters the following petition:—

To the Honble Burgomasters of the City of Amsterdam in N. Netherland.

Eghbert Meindersen, butcher, respectfully represents, that he, the petitioner, has paid the fine, which your Honors had ordered to be paid; he, the petitioner, therefore respectfully requests, your Honor will be pleased to permit and allow him to slaughter along with the other sworn butchers within this City: Awaiting hereupon your Worships favorable Apostille, Which doing remains (Under Stood) Your obedient Servant,

signed Eghbert Meindersen.

Hereupon granted as apostille: Burgomasters through special consideration release petitioner from his condemned six weeks, with this reserve that he demean himself for the future as an honorable Burgher.

Willem Janzen van Borckeloo presents to the Burgomasters the following petition:—

To the Honble Burgomasters Your Honours of the City Amsterdam in N: Netherland.

Willem Jansen van Borckelo respectfully represents to your Hon^rs, that he has settled with the Schout Pieter Tonneman for Your Hon^rs judgment. And whereas he is again inclined to earn a little by butchering,

Lesson 4: The Quakers in New Netherland

Objectives	Activities	Resources
1. Students will be aware of the status and position of the Quakers in New Netherland. 2. Students will be able to identify with a member of a religious sect in New Netherland. 3. Students will become aware of the important role religion had in people's lives in the 17th century.	1. Have students read documents on the pages 120–123. 2. In class discuss with students: a. What are Quakers? b. Were they welcome in New Netherland? How do you know? What happened to them? c. How do Flushing's inhabitants think about freedom of religion? Quote the sentence (s) that you find most important (p 121). d. Compare the charter on p. 120 from 1641 with the 1656 ordinance on p. 122 of this unit. What are the differences? 4. Have students locate the English towns on Long Island. 5. Have students read p. 123 and complete the following assignment: describe and analyze the judgment on Henry Townsend. In your opinion, was the punishment justified? What had he done wrong? Would he have expected this in a Dutch colony? Why/why not? 6. In discussion of the above, have students put Townsend's judgment on the time line.	1. *Laws and Ordinances*: 27,211–212. 2. *Ecclesiastical Records*: 426, 412-13. 3. *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, vol. XIV: 407-408. 4. Map New Netherland, detail Long Island.

FREEDOMS AND PRIVILEGES

Granted by the Director and Council of New Netherland to English Settlers. 6 *June*, 1641.

[N. Y. Col. MSS. IV. 93.]

WHEREAS a considerable number of respectable Englishmen with their Clergyman, have applied to us for permission to settle here and to reside under us, and requested that some Articles might be offered to them, We have therefore Resolved to communicate the following Articles to them. Preamble.

I. They shall be bound to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Noble Lords States General and the West India Company under whose protection they will reside. English Settlers to take the Oath of Allegiance;

II. They shall enjoy free exercise of Religion. To have Religious freedom;

III. With regard to Political Government; if they desire a Magistracy, they shall have the privilege of nominating three or more persons from the fittest among them, from which nomination the Governor of *New Netherland* shall make the election. Which Magistrate shall be empowered in all Civil Actions to adjudge definitively as high as Forty Guilders; beyond that an appeal may be made to the Governor and Council of *New Netherland;* and in Criminal cases, to Corporal punishment *(tot bloetlaten toe).* And to nominate their own Magistrates. Jurisdiction of their Courts.

IV. They shall not be at liberty to erect any Forts, without permission. Not to erect Forts.

V. The land shall be shown to them free of expense, and they shall cultivate it ten years in full propriety, without paying any rent, and at the expiration of the said Ten years they shall pay the Tenths. To be exempt from Tenths for ten years;

Extract from a letter written August 14, 1657, in Amsterdam, in New Netherland.

It is related that on August 12, (1656) a ship had arrived there from the sea. On coming near to the fort, it fired no salute, flew no flag except from the fore-mast. It was a ship full of Quakers. The fiscal having boarded her, they paid him no respect; neither did the captain show any respect to the Heer-General on landing. They had come from London in eight (?) days, and went on to New England the next day — as is supposed to Rhode Island. On sailing away they left two quiet women on land, who at once began to quake. They were arrested and without doubt sent away.

Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of Flushing, L. I., Against the Law Against Quakers and Subsequent Proceedings by the Government Against Them and Others Favoring Quakers.

Right Honorable. You have been pleased to send up unto us a certain Prohibition or Command, that wee shoulde not receive or entertaine any of those people called Quakers, because thay are supposed to bee by some seducers of the people; for our parte wee cannot condem them in this case, neither can wee stretch out our hands against them to punish, bannish or persecute them, for out of Christ, God is a consuming fire, and it is a fearful thing to fall into the handes of the liveing God; wee desire therefore in this case not to judge least wee be judged, neither to Condem least wee bee Condemed, but rather let every man stand and fall to his own. Maister wee are bounde by the Law to doe good unto all men, especially to those of the Household of faith; and though for the present wee seeme to bee unsensible of the law and the Lawgiver; yet when death and the Law assault us: if we have (not) our advocate to seeke, who shall plead for us in this case of Conscience betwixt God and our own soules; the powers of this world can neither attack us neither excuse us, for if God justify who can Condem, and if God Condem there is none can justifye; and for those Jealowsies and suspitions which some haue of them that they are destructive unto Magistracy and Ministry that cannot bee; for the Magistrate hath the Sword in his hand and the Minister hath the Sword in his hand as witnesse those tow great examples which all Maiestrates and Ministers are to follow M (oses) and Christ; whom God raised up Maintained and defended against all the Enemies both of flesh and spirit, and therefore that wich is of God will stand, and that which is of man will (come) to

noething: and as the Lord hath taught Moses, or the Civill power, to give an outward libertie in the State by the law written in his heart designed (for) the good of all and can truly judge who is good and who is evill, who is true and who is false, and can pass definitiue sentence of life or (death) against that man which rises up against the fundamental law of the States Generall, soe (he) hath made his Ministers a savor of life unto (life?), and a savor of death unto death.

The law of loue, peace and libertie in the states extending to Jews, Turks and Egyptians, as they are considered the sonnes of Adam, which is the glory of the outward State of Holland; so loue, peace and libertie extending to all in Christ Jesus, Condems hatred, warre and bondage; and because our Savior saith it is impossible but that offence will come, but woe be unto him by whom they Commeth, our desire is not to offend one of his little ones in whatsoever forme, name or title hee appreares in, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker; but shall be glad to see anything of God in any of them: desireing to doe unto all men as wee desire all men should doe unto us, which is the true law both of Church and State; for our Saviour saith this is the Law and the Prophets; Therefore if any of these said persons come in loue unto us, wee cannot in Conscience lay violent hands upon them, but give them free Egresse into our Towne and howses as God shall perswade our Consciences; and in this we are true subjects both of the Church and State; for wee are bounde by the law of God and man to do good unto all men, and evill to no man; and this is according to the Pattent and Charter of our Towne given unto us in the name of the States Generall which we are not willing to infringe and violate but shall hold to our pattent and shall remaine your Humble Subjects the inhabitants of Vlishing; written the 27th of December in the Yeare 1657 by mee

Edward Heart, Clericus.
Tobias Feake,
The Marke of William Noble,
William Thorne, Sr.
The Marke of William Thorne, Jr.
Edward Tarne?
John Storer,
Nathaniel Hefferd,
Benjamin Hubbard,
The Marke of William Pidgion,
The Marke of George Clere,
Elias Doughtie,
Antonie Feild,
Richard Stocton,
Edward Griffine,
Nathaniel Tue,
Nicolas Blackford,
The Marke M of Micah Tue,
The Marke P of Philipp Ud,
Edward Ffarington,
Robert Ffield, Sr.
Robert Ffield, Jr.
Nick Colas Parsell,
Michael Milner,
Henry Townsend,
George Wright,
John Foard,
Henry Samtell,
Edward Heart,
John Mastine,
John Townesend.

First of January, 1658.

posting thereof, duly to inspect all departing and arriving Vessels, Boats, Carts, or Wagons and to proceed against the Smugglers as the case may require.

Thus done, enacted and resumed the 27 January, A° 1656.

ORDINANCE

Of the Director and Council of New Netherland against Conventicles.
Passed 1 February, 1656.
[N. Y. Col. MSS. VI. 261; XVI. 66.]

Preamble.

WHEREAS the Director and Council of *New Netherland* are credibly informed and apprized that here and there within this Province not only are Conventicles and Meetings held, but also that some unqualified persons in such Meetings assume the ministerial office, the expounding and explanation of the Holy word of God, without being called or appointed thereto by ecclesiastical or civil authority, which is in direct contravention and opposition to the general Civil and Ecclesiastical order of our Fatherland, besides that, many dangerous Heresies and Schisms are to be apprehended from such manner of meetings. Therefore, the Director General and Council aforesaid hereby absolutely and expressly forbid all such Conventicles and Meetings, whether public or private, differing from the customary, and not only lawful but scripturally founded and ordained Meetings of the Reformed Divine Service, as this is observed and enforced, according to the Synod of *Dortrecht*, in this Country, in our Fatherland and other Reformed Churches in *Europe*, under the penalty of One hundred pounds Flemish to be forfeited by all those who, being unqualified, take upon themselves, either on Sundays or other days, any office whether of Preacher.

Religious Meetings other than those of Reformed Dutch Church, prohibited.

Unqualified Preachers to pay a fine of 100 pounds.

Persons assisting at such Meetings to pay a fine of £25

Reader or Singer, in such Meetings differing from the customary and legal Assemblies, and 25 like pounds to be forfeited by every one, whether Man or Woman, married or unmarried, who is found in such Meetings. The Director General and Council do not, however, hereby intend any constraint of conscience in violation of previously granted Patents, nor to prohibit the reading of God's Holy Word, Family prayers and Worship, each in his household, but all public and private Conventicles and Meetings, whether in public or private houses, differing from the repeatedly mentioned customary and ordained Reformed Religion.

Law not to apply to freedom of Religion already granted in charters,

Or to Private family worship.

In order that this may henceforward be the better observed and obeyed, and that no one pretend ignorance thereof, the Director General and Council command their Fiscal and the Inferior Magistrates and Sheriffs to publish and cause to be published these presents everywhere within this Province and to cause them to be executed against the Contraveners, the more especially as we find such to pertain to the honor of God, the advancement of the Reformed Religion and the general peace, harmony and wellbeing of the country.

Law to be published through out the Province.

Thus done, resolved, resumed and enacted in Fort *Amsterdam* in *New Netherland* this First of February, A° 1656.

NOTE.—The preceding Law was aimed against the Independents of *Middelburg* (now Newtown) L. I., and the Lutherans of *New Amsterdam*.

On the 15 Jan., 1656, the Rev. Messrs. *Megapolensis* and *Drisius*, Ministers of *New Amsterdam* complained to the Director and Council that, since the departure of the Rev. Mr. *Moore* from *Middelburgh*, some of the Inhabitants of that town had, though entirely unqualified, presumed to hold Conventicles or Religious Meetings and to act in these as Ministers of the Gospel, whence nothing else could be expected than quarrels, confusion and disorder both in Church and State in that place, and a bad example to other parts of the Province. They, therefore, requested that some provision be made against such unlicensed proceedings. The subject was renewed on the 18th of the

Before the Council appeared upon summons *John Townsend*, who being questioned, whether he had not gone, while at *Vlissingen*, with the Clerk *Edward Hart* to the house of *Edward Farrington* and had not persuaded *Edward Farrington* to sign the foregoing remonstrance, answered that he had been at *Vlissingen* and visited *Farrington*, being an old acquaintance, but had not persuaded him to sign anything.

Further questioned, whether he had been at *Gravesend* with the banished Quakeress, he answered he had been at *Gravesend*, but not in her company.

As there are other suspicious indications, that the said *Townsend* was friendly to the Quakers, he is given the choice either to go to prison, until the Fiscal shall have further informed himself on this point or to give bail for twelve pound sterling, that he will appear upon the Fiscal's summons; he promised to give bail, which he has done as the records prove. Date as above (10th January.)

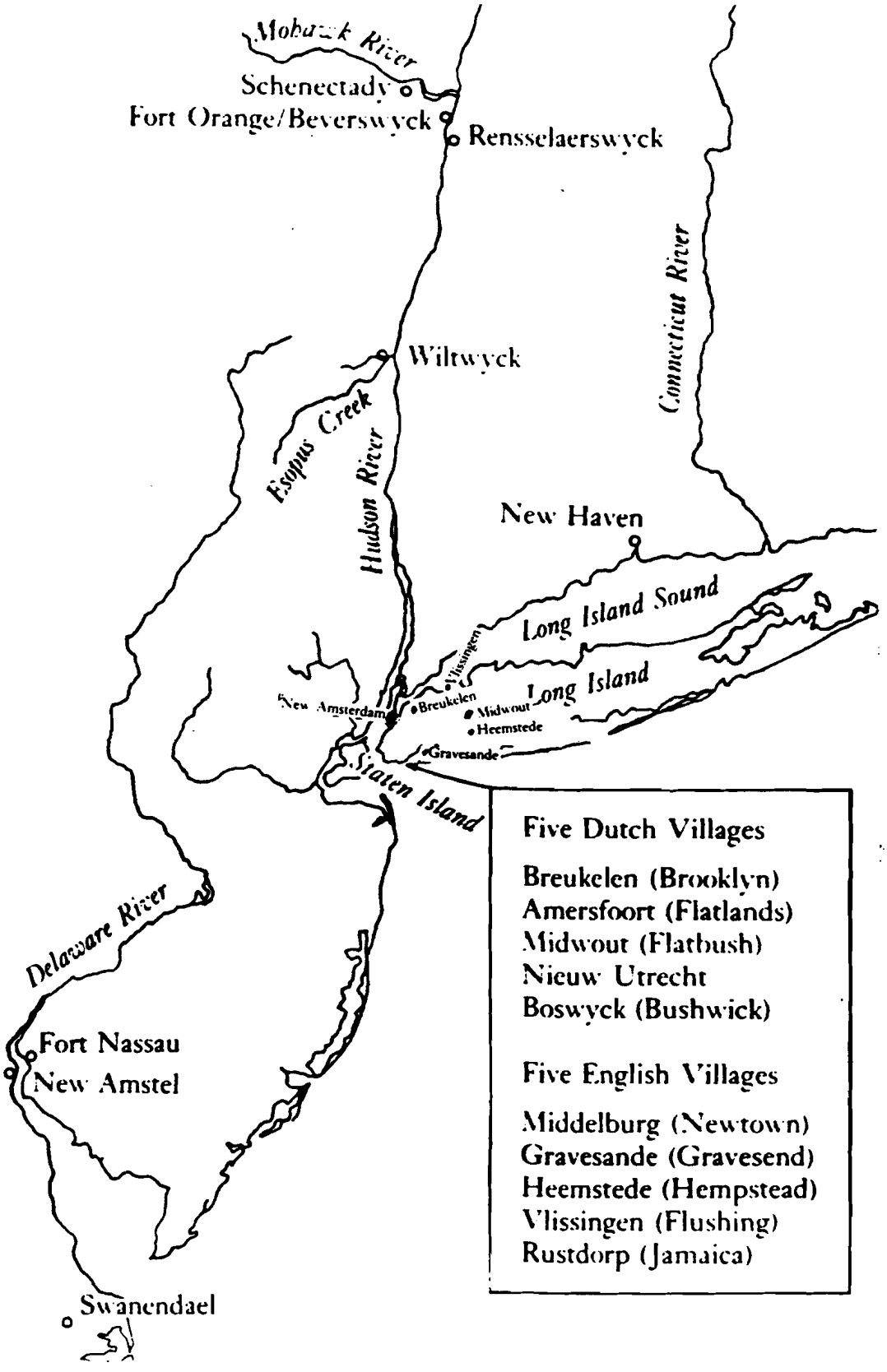
15th of January 1658.

Henry Townsend, who on the 8th inst. had been summoned for reasons stated in the resolution of that day, appeared before the Council this day and the Fiscal *Nicasius de Sille*, as law-officer, demanded by word of mouth, that, as the said *Henry Townsend* had before now and again lately transgressed and disobeyed the placats of the Director-General and Council in lodging and keeping with the sect called Quakers, which he openly acknowledges, the said *Henry Townsend* for the stated reasons should be condemned to a fine of one hundred pounds Flemish, as an example for other transgressors and contumacious offenders of good order and the placats of the Director-General and Council in *New Netherland*.

Having heard the demand of the Fiscal and the confession of the said *Henry Townsend*, the Director-General and Council of *New Netherland*, administering the law in the name of their High: Might: the Lords States General of the *United Netherlands* and the Lords Directors of the Priv. W. I. Company condemn said *Henry Townsend* to a fine of 300 fl, to be applied as directed by law, he to remain in prison, until the fine has been paid with the costs and mises of law as an example to others.

Done in Council, the 15th of January 1658.

P. Stuyvesant.


Mohawk River
Schenectady
Fort Orange/Beverswyck
Rensselaerswyck
Connecticut River
Wiltwyck
Esopus Creek
Hudson River
New Haven
Long Island Sound
Vlissingen
Long Island
New Amsterdam
Breukelen
Midwout
Heemstede
Gravesande
Staten Island
Delaware River
Fort Nassau
New Amstel
Swanendael
Five Dutch Villages
Breukelen (Brooklyn)
Amersfoort (Flatlands)
Midwout (Flatbush)
Nieuw Utrecht
Boswyck (Bushwick)
Five English Villages
Middelburg (Newtown)
Gravesande (Gravesend)
Heemstede (Hempstead)
Vlissingen (Flushing)
Rustdorp (Jamaica)

Lesson 5: Quakers

Objectives	Activites	Resources
1. Students will be aware of the status and position of the Quakers in New Netherland. 2. Students will be aware of difference in spelling between the 20th and the 17th century. 3. Students will be able to identify with one Quaker in New Netherland.	1. Distribute or explain orally information on "The Life and Times of John Bowne"; this can be done orally by teacher. 2. Divide p 128–134 in fragments and distribute to pairs. Have students read in pairs the transcribed text of John Bowne's diary (it may be helpful to have students read text aloud). 3. Have students, in pairs, complete the following assignments: a. In which part of John Bowne's life did your document take place? b. Where did the events in the document you read take place? c. Describe in your own words what happened. d. Mention some differences in John Bowne's spelling and the modern American spelling. 4. In class discussion, a. have students put the various document fragments in the right time order. b. point out that the transcription is the first part of the process of publication of New Netherland documents. The Dutch documents will, after being transcribed, have to be translated.	1. Herbert F. Ricard (transcr. & ed.), *Journal of John Bowne 1650-1694*, (New Orleans, 1975); fragments. 2. A. Kupka, *The Life and Times of John Bowne* (Flushing).

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

JOHN BOWNE

BY

AUGUST KUPKA

FLUSHING HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FLUSHING, NEW YORK

IN 1649 Thomas Bowne, his son John Bowne and his daughter Dorothy visited Boston, Mass. The year after their arrival John Bowne returned to England to attend to some important business. In 1651 he again came to Boston. In the meantime his father had learned of the settlements in the New Netherlands and became interested in the village called Vlissingen by the Dutch, later known as Flushing. He now sent John Bowne and his brother-in-law, Dorothy's husband, Edward Farrington, to see how the land lay.

Upon reaching Flushing they found some English people had settled there, including their kinsman, Thomas Farrington.

In 1655 the Bowne's settled in Flushing, the exact bounds of their land are not known but were approximately the Northern Boulevard on the north, Sanford Avenue on the south, Union Street on the west, and Murray Street to the east; an area which extended over part of what later became the village. At the time the Bowne's settled in Flushing conditions were very primitive indeed. There were only about a dozen houses on the turnpike or main road which stretched eastward from Flushing Creek. Retail trade was conducted principally with boatmen who transported farm produce to New Amsterdam (later named New York) and brought back goods ordered by the shippers of the farm produce; one of these boatmen carried a stock of goods on a sloop. In 1657 a small retail store was established where farm products were traded for a few necessaries of life that could not be raised from the soil.

The earliest known physician in the settlement was Dr. Henry Taylor, an Englishman who began his practice about the year 1675. Dr. Rodman, physician, minister and farmer, came later on.

John Bowne was born at Matlock, England, on May 9th, 1627. On May 7th, 1656, Bowne married Hannah Feake. (Thompson in his *History of Long Island* states: "He married Hannah, daughter of Robert Field of the Society of Friends"). They lived with his father, Thomas Bowne. in the house built when they settled in Flushing.

Wild life abounded. An unusual incident in an encounter Thomas Bowne had with a bear is related by Cornelia M. Parsons in the "Quaker Cross." He was on his way to John Bowne's house, then in course of construction, when he met the bear on the outskirts of the woods. Seeing the creature, his jaws wide open, making ready for attack, he bethought himself of his crutch and thrust it down the bear's throat, killing it.

The Indians were Algonquins and of the Matinecoc clan, which inhabited the westerly end of the north shore of Long Island. They were peaceable and dwelt in amity with the colonists; lived principally by fishing and hunting and on the shellfish which were plentiful. Some of them were engaged in the manufacture of wampum from the shells. Salt hay, which grew extensively on the Flushing meadows, was cut and utilized by them.

At this time religious feeling was running high, with an official state religion in most countries, whose tenets were strictly enforced. There was religious tolerance in the Netherlands although it also had a State Church, the Dutch Reformed Church.

About this time, to be more specific, in the year 1649, George Fox founded the religious Society of Friends in England, popularly known as the Quakers. Fox's creed was simple. It exhorted the people to lead a virtuous life, recognized no affinity between learning and religion, had no ritual, rejected all that is formal, and no ordained ministry. Exalted the guidance of the holy spirit or an inward light; to this end it is the custom for Quakers to have silent meditation at their meetings. But gentle, generous and kindly as they are today, many of the early Quakers followed the methods of George Fox, forcing their conception of Christianity on unwilling listeners and often disturbing the peace and thereby they caused much trouble to the authorities in maintaining law and order,

They came to all of the American colonies, including the New Netherland. When a party of Quakers landed in the town of New Amsterdam, they were very aggressive, haranging against steeple houses (churches), the priesthood, and the powers that be in general, creating scenes of disorder. Although not treated as harshly as in New England, the sect was for this reason regarded as a problem by the authorities and disliked almost everywhere.

The rules of the West India Company regarding religious services were based upon an old law of the Netherlands which forbade any other church than the Dutch Reformed. Director

Peter Stuyvesant, feeling his responsibility to the West India Company to enforce this rule and yielding to the pressure of the clergy, came into conflict at first with the Lutherans, then the Baptists, and finally also with the Quakers.

Hannah, the wife of John Bowne, was a Quaker and Bowne, after attending some of the meetings and upon being "convinced of the truth and principles they held," also became a Quaker.

In 1661, with the size of John Bowne's family increasing, they needed more room and Bowne built a house of his own on Bowne Street at the corner of Thirty-seventh Avenue (Fox Lane), the present Bowne House. This house was occupied by descendants of Bowne until the year 1945, when as a climax to the tercentenary celebration of the founding of Flushing, Supreme Court Justice Charles S. Colden, chairman of the committee, and a group of his townsmen raised the funds to buy the house. It was dedicated on October 19, 1945, the 300th anniversary of the founding of Flushing, and has since been open to the public with no charge for admission.

In 1662, upon completion of the Bowne House, the Quakers who had been holding their meetings in a little clearing hidden from the high road, were invited by Bowne to meet in the Bowne house. It was not long before a complaint of violating the order of Director General Stuyvesant and the council regarding religious conventicles was lodged against him, and on September 14th he was found guilty and fined, also charged to abstain from holding such meetings in the future, under penalty of double the fine, and upon a third conviction be banished from the colony. Bowne refused to pay the fine and was imprisoned in New Amsterdam; finally he was sent to Holland for a hearing before the Directors of the West India Company. After considering his case the Directors, in their decision, said in part as follows: "Although it is our cordial desire that similar and other sectarians might not be found there, yet as the contrary seems to be the case, we doubt very much if vigorous proceedings ought not to be discontinued. . . . Wherefore it is our opinion that some connivance would be useful that the consciences of men, at least, ought to remain free and unshackled. Let everyone be unmolested as long as his conduct in a political sense is unimpeachable, as long as he does not disturb others or oppose the government."

Thereafter the Quakers continued to hold their meetings in the Bowne House until the Quaker Meeting House was erected in 1694 on Northern Boulevard, west of Union Street. It is still used for religious services and is the oldest house of worship on Long Island. At the time it was built Quakers not being recognized in law, the title to the property was at first taken in the name of John Bowne and John Rodman, later by the Society of Friends in 1797 after the establishment of our republic.

In season when the weather permitted the larger Quaker meetings were held in the open air. George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, visited America in 1672. He came to Flushing, the guest of John Bowne, and preached under two large oak trees which became known as the Fox Oaks. After the meeting was over all were invited to partake of Bowne's hospitality on his lawn across the lane from the Oaks.

The Fox Oaks were estimated to be over 400 years old, in size they measured about sixteen feet in circumference two feet from the ground. The Flushing Historical Society has placed a granite monument at the place where they stood.

Hannah Bowne

After the visit of George Fox, Hannah Bowne decided to become a Quaker preacher, and made two religious visits to England in 1675. In August, 1676, John Bowne joined his wife abroad; together they travelled through parts of Great Britain and later joined Willian Penn and George Fox on a preaching tour of Holland and Germany. Hannah Bowne fell ill on their return to London and died in December, 1677. In 1683 John Bowne became the first Treasurer of Queens County, New York.

John Bowne was thrice married. His first wife, as mentioned heretofore, was Hannah Feake, his second wife was Hannah Bickerstaff, and the third wife was Mary Cock.

John Bowne had thirteen children. These children were: By Hannah Feake — 1st, John, who died young; 2nd, Elizabeth, who was married to M. John Prier, then Samuel Titus; 3rd, Abigail, married to Richard Willets; 4th, Hannah, married to Benjamin Field; 5th, Samuel, married to Mary Becket; 6th, Dorothy, married to Henry Franklyn; 7th, Martha, married to Joseph Thorne. By his second wife, Hannah Bickerstaff, whom he married on February 12, 1679 — 8th child, Sarah; 9th, John; 10th, Thomas; 11th, John, married to Elizabeth Lawrence. By his third wife, Mary Cock, whom he married on April 26, 1693 — 12th child, Amy, married to Richard Hallett, and the 13th child, Ruth, born 1695, after the death of John Bowne.

Note: As to repetition of name John — It was the practice to try and carry on the given name of the father; if the child died the name was given to the next son that was born.

Family trees of Bowne have been made but none brought up to date. The most eminent descendant of John Bowne was Walter Bowne, Mayor of New York City from 1828 to 1833.

John Bowne died at Flushing on October 20, 1695.

FLUSHING HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1902

Chartered by the State of New York, 1906

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Case the Printer (Henry A. Mayer), Flushing, N. Y.

month in ye year 1673
befour Martha wee had a sonn still born and after her another sonn stillborn in Dublin scittie {city} Iarla {Ireland}.

Fol. 49

in the yeare 1662 nustil[56] on the first day of 7th month Resolued[57] the scout Came to my house att vlishing with a company of meen with sords and gonns (where I was tending my wife being sike in bed and my yongest Child[58] sike in my armes which was both soe Ill that wee watched too or three with them) hee tould mee I must goe with him to the generall[59] I tould him my famiely was not in a condishon for mee to leu them hee sead hee could not helpe that hee must folow his order[60] but would not show it mee soe it beeing to late to goe that day hee left his men there and went to drinking in the towne and Came agenn in the night and with him the scout of the toune[61] before whome I demanded his order which hee denyed before many people but at last I say it by which order hee was to take such as hee should find in vnlawfull meetings[62] but found mee in non

Fol. 49 verso

soe I tould him I did deny to goe one fout with him by vertu of that order hee sead then hee would bynd mee hand and fout and Carie mee I tould him hee might doe what hee was suferd but by that order hee oght not to carie mee a way soe the next day like a wicked hard-harted man hee caried mee in a bott to monhatons leueing my family in that condishon and put mee in the Cort a gard[63] before the gouerners dore soe the next day seeing the gourner a bout to take horse I sent the sargant of the company to tell him I did desier to speke a few words with him soe the man came and tould mee in Duch and shewed mee by his actions that the generall sead If I would put of my hatt and stand bare heded hee would speake

with mee I tould him I could not vpon that grount[64] soe hee sent mee word agen then hee could not speke with mee soe the solgers did breke out in lafter at itt

Fol. 50

then the next day being the Cort day[65] the scout feacht mee to the Cort where I thinke before my body was in there viwe within the Chamber dore the gouerner bad mee put of my hatt but before I could make anser he bad the scout take it ofe then hee asked mee about meetings and after some words seayd I had broken there law soe hee caled for it and read it to mee wherein hee termed the saruants of the lord to be heriticks decuers {deceivers} se-dusers[66] or such like and then asked mee if I would deny that I had kept meetings I ansered I should not deny meetings but that I had kept such meetings or enterteaned such persons as hee there read of I did deny for I could not owne them to bee such but hee would not reson it at all then hee seaid but will you deny meetings I anserd I shall nether deny nor afeairm will you put vs to prouit {prove it} seaid hee I sead nay I shall not put you to prouing but if you haue any thing agenst mee you may actt heare I ame in your hands redy to

Fol. 50 verso

to sufer what you shall bee suferd to in flict vpon mee or to that porpose soe ye gourner put by all resoning and they spake to mee to pase forth I seaid I was willing first to giue them to vnderstand the Condishon of my family and the Cruelty of bringing mee soe from them soe when I had declard it to them I sead now doe you Jouge at whose hands it will be requierd if the sufer in my apsance the gouerner sead at yours soe being spokne too I was going a way and too or three of them spake to mee to take my hatt which I did not intend to leue so it lying by the dore I tooke it

and went to the Cort a gard a genn and the scout
came a litel after and tould mee when I had pead
a hundrd and fifty gilders I myght go home I asked
him what I must doe till then hee sead I must
tarie there in that plase

Fol. 51

soe the next morning hee came and gaue mee a writ-
ing in duch and tould mee the gouerner had sent
mee a copy of the Corts sentence[67] hee was not a
shamed of what hee did and if I would I might
haue it in english[68] it was that for such and
such things I was fined and must pay a hundrd and
fifty gillders and charges and other particelers
what must follow if I did soe a genn I tould him
I could pay nothing vpon that acount soe I was
kept there till the 25 day of that month then
came the fisgall and scout in great rage demanded
of mee to anser the Cort sentenc which I denyed
as before soe I was prsantly carid or garded a
waey to the dengon and there put a stricket
charge being giuen to the gard of solders which
was by both day and {night} to let no body com at
mee or speke with mee soe I was kept ther and
alowed no thing but cors bread and water that they
knew of till the

Fol. 51 verso

6th day of the 8th month then Came the scout
about the midel of the day and hee Calling to mee
bad mee to make vp my beding I must goe to another
place soe I was brought to the State hous and
there put in the pison roum[69] where I haue remain-
ed til this 19th of the 9th month being the 4th
day of the weeke and yet remaine[70] here. the dors
being open some times for a weeke together some
times more some times lese both day and night.
sometimes locked vp for a litel space about which
time and since I here dayly of great thretenings
what is intended to bee done to mee at the Comeing
home of the gouerner[71] which is looked for speedely

this morning Nickolis Daueis[72] Came here this 22th
of the 9th month being the last day of the weeke
Ould Style

Fol. 52

soe it continewed till the 6th day of the next
weeke in the morning then the fisgall[73] gaue or-
der to locke mee vp and sead it was the gouerners
order allso but at night it the dore was sett open
agen and the next morning nicholis daues went a
way being ye last day of the weeke the same day
went a way my deare friends Robert hodgshon[74] and
John hudson to grauesand and left my wife with
mee shee went a way the next secend day morning
being the 1th day of the 10th month Ould Style
then on the 5th day of the weeke the 4th day of
the month came Resolued and tould mee hee came then
from the gouerner and Cort to tell mee that If I
would not pay the fyne and charges they was resolued
to send mee out of the Countery[75] ether to holland
or some where

Fol. 52 verso

then on the 6th day of the weeke the dore was
locked but opened at night to let in friends and
the next marning to let them out but since I haue
not had libertie to goe out of the roume this day
being the 3th of the weeke the 9th of the month the
fisgall tould Liddiea bowne that[76] the will send
mee for holand when the shippe goeth that night
I rit to Stinwick[77] to goe to the gouerner to tel
him I desierd to come to the court to speke for
my selfe soe on the 5th of the weeke in ye morn-
ing gouer[78] and Stinwick went and tould the gouer-
ner which hee did refuse to grant but sead I should
ether pay or goe soe I writ home for a chist and
Clothes which came

Fol. 53

downe sowne after then on the 16th of the mont

the 3 day of the weeke at night came william leueridg[79] to aske mee if I would exsepte of the gouerners profer which was to goe out of the Juriedicktion in 3 months tim which if I would promis to doe hee would engage I should bee set free the nex day I tould him the gouerner had made no such profer to mee but If I might come to ye speech of him then If hee did aske mee a queston I should be like to make anser for I did desier to speke with the gouerner my selfe soe hee sead hee would speke with the gouerner a gene the next morning and in the maring sead soe a genn at gorge wolsies[80] and did goe too him

Fol. 53 verso

as him selfe sead and being asked by Robert terie[81] and gorge wolsie of it hee sead hee had for got it and soe went away home now whether hee lyed in saying hee would and did not or whether in doeing and seaying hee had not don but forgot I know not but at the best it was ad innough and that marning betimes Cornnelas Stinwick tould Robert terie that the seccretary[82] him selfe had tould him that marning that I was free but presently after I was kept Closer thin euer I was before in this roume whether william Leueridg was the case of it I cannot tell then on the first day of the weeke the 21 of the 10th month Came the scout in the marning and asked mee if the should lett mee haue liberty to goe see my wife and friends whether I would promis to Come there a gen on the 3 day at euening I tould him yea if the lord would or else hee sead the gouerner would sett mee free

Fol. 54

If I would promis to remoue my selfe and famelie out of his Juriedicshon in a months time but I Could not make any such promis soe I had liberty to goe home then on the 3 day of the weeke before my time was out I came to monadose {Manhattan} and went amongst the marchants by the weay house[83] and

Stinwicke went with mee to his house and as hee did knock at the dore resolued came by soe Stinwicke spake to him to tel the gouerner I was come and to aske him If I might haue {liberty} to bee abrod in the toune and I spake to him also and hee torned himselfe about vpon his heele and lafed and seemed to byte his tong and wonder its like hee thoght I would not haue come agene soe I pased too and agen in the towne all that weeke out and could here nothing what they did in tend[84] but when I asked any queson about it I was bid lett it a lone a while and my Chist Clothes and bedding was kept still in the prison then on the {seco}nd day of the next weeke the 29th of the 10th month the shipe being falne {fallen; i.e. anchored off shore preparatory to sailing} downe the day before the bott Came vp to fech the pasengers abord

Fol. 54 verso

soe I walked to the bridge[85] where the bott lay becase I was not willing to bee out of sight and there meeting with resolued I asked him If hee had any thing to say to mee from the gouerner hee seayd hee should tell mee presantly soe a litel after hee came and tould mee I must get a Cart and featch my things from the prison and put them in the bott soe I anserd him somthing too it and tould him I did desier to speke with the gouerner my selfe soe being free to take that opertunyty to haue my things out of prison I got a Cart and brought my things and put them in the widdow wesels house[86] nere where the bott lay and then went to my lodging to write a letter to my wife and while I was a writing it the scout came and tould mee I might speke with the gouerner If I had any bisenis with him soe I went to his house and was caled in to a pryvet roume where hee with one of his writers was a writing to send for holand and was very bisie as hee tould mee

Fol. 55

Soe I tould him I hard hee ment to send mee away in the shipe and I did desier to know wherefore

soe hee tould mee becase I did not anser the sentence of the Corte soe I asked him if that was onely and a lone the case hee sead yea then I desierd hee would giue it mee soe vnder his hand that If any should aske mee I myght haue it to shew soe after some more words hee went to writing him selfe and then gaue it to his secetary to writ feare and then set his name to it and the secetary alsoe then the gaue it mee but it was not in those words as wee had spoken I alsoe asked him what the shipe master should doe with mee hee tould mee put me ashore ether in holland or anywhere where the shipe put in or to that porpose hee speake then after some words to seuerall things hee tould mee hee was very bisie and if wee should talke til the morow marning hee thoght wee should doe one another no good but hee caried him selfe very moderate to mee all that time and sead if I would promis to goe out of the Juriedicshon in three months time hee would sett mee free

Fol. 55 verso

soe after I had spoken something as to my inoscency towards them and how clere I was from desiering any hort vnto them or any reuenge vpon them for any thing the had done agenst mee the gouerner anserd I thank you for it and Caled mee goodman bowne soe not haueing forder liberty I pased away soe that night my things was put in the bott but by who I know not then on the 3 day of the weeke[87] when the peeple was redy to goe the scout put mee in the bott and soe I was Caried a bord then the 4th day of the weeke being the 31st day of the tenth month ould style {December} wee set seall about the midel of the day and went out to sea and for nere a fortnight wee had for the most part very hard wether in which time wee had too sore stormes out of which the lord did wonderfully deliuer vs presed {praised} bee his name for euermore

Fol. 56

then it beeing a bout the full of the mowne it sett in very fine wether and did Continewe 7 or 8 days the wind being very constant at south then the 21 of the month it bloed hard on the 22 alsoe that day wee say a seal before vs standin the same Corse as wee did soe wee put out our topseals & the pout out theres soe wee thengking them to bee english made all the seale wee could and put out our flag becas wee would haue spoken with them then the put out french Colers all white[88] and at night stead and spake to vs and sead the came from Cristofors[89] the next day wee say them to the wind wards of vs and another to leweard which wee thought came from england the past by towards the westward then the next day wee say the french ship a gen being the 24 of the 10 {should be 11} month the last day of the weeke that day wee sounded[42] in hopes of ground

Fol. 56 verso

but found no ground then the wind came more a head and blew more and more then the french shipe came to vs agen nere night but the storm encresed soe that wee could not tell what one another sead soe it was a great storme for about 3 days then wee had somthing tolerable wether a gen but could {cold} and the wind still a genst vs soe the wind contined still contrarie and the wether could then at the begining of the 12 month {February} wee had a hard storm then the 3 day of the weeke being the 3 allsoe of the month wee say a great shipe comeing to wards vs very nere soe oure flag went out then the put out the english Colers and stoud a way then the 4 day wee had fine Comfortable wether and the wind came at nor northwest soe that wee I thinkt could make good oure corse but it sowne changed a gen and blew very hard and was very rough wether til the 5 day towards night then it was tolerable that night and the 6 day was pritie good wether but the wind at northeast

the 3 day of the weeke at night came william leueridg[79] to aske mee if I would exsepte of the gouerners profer which was to goe out of the Juriedicktion in 3 months tim which if I would promis to doe hee would engage I should bee set free the nex day I tould him the gouerner had made no such profer to mee but If I might come to ye speech of him then If hee did aske mee a queston I should be like to make anser for I did desier to speke with the gouerner my selfe soe hee sead hee would speke with the gouerner a gene the next morning and in the maring sead soe a genn at gorge wolsies[80] and did goe too him

Fol. 53 verso

as him selfe sead and being asked by Robert terie[81] and gorge wolsie of it hee sead hee had for got it and soe went away home now whether hee lyed in saying hee would and did not or whether in doeing and seaying hee had not don but forgot I know not but at the best it was ad innough and that marning betimes Cornnelas Stinwick tould Robert terie that the seccretary[82] him selfe had tould him that marning that I was free but presently after I was kept Closer thin euer I was before in this roume whether william Leueridg was the case of it I cannot tell then on the first day of the weeke the 21 of the 10th month Came the scout in the marning and asked mee if the should lett mee haue liberty to goe see my wife and friends whether I would promis to Come there a gen on the 3 day at euening I tould him yea if the lord would or else hee sead the gouerner would sett mee free

Fol. 54

If I would promis to remoue my selfe and famelie out of his Juriedicshon in a months time but I Could not make any such promis soe I had liberty to goe home then on the 3 day of the weeke before my time was out I came to monadose {Manhattan} and went amongst the marchants by the weay house[83] and

Stinwicke went with mee to his house and as hee did knock at the dore resolued came by soe Stinwicke spake to him to tel the gouerner I was come and to aske him If I might haue {liberty} to bee abrod in the toune and I spake to him also and hee torned himselfe about vpon his heele and lafed and seemed to byte his tong and wonder its like hee thoght I would not haue come agene soe I pased too and agen in the towne all that weeke out and could here nothing what they did in tend[84] but when I asked any queson about it I was bid lett it a lone a while and my Chist Clothes and bedding was kept still in the prison then on the {seco}nd day of the next weeke the 29th of the 10th month the shipe being falne {fallen; i.e. anchored off shore preparatory to sailing} downe the day before the bott Came vp to fech the pasengers abord

Fol. 54 verso

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Fol. 55

Soe I tould him I hard hee ment to send mee away in the shipe and I did desier to know wherefore

then it was very hard starme wether a gen till the
10 day of the month the 3 of the weeke then it
was tolerable weth {weather} but the wind still
very Crose

Fol. 57

but that night a storme a gene the next marning
a litel beter that was the 11 day a bout the 10th
our wee say a shipe to lewerd of vs then towards
niyght wee com nere them and when oure flage was
out they put out the english Collers but the weth-
er being rough and our shipe sealing with one
maineseale would not stere well then wee had pretie
good wether that night the mowne was at the full
and was much eclipced then the 12 day we could
see the shipe all day but could not come at them
the beeing gott to windward then that night bee-
ing good wether wee made more sale soe the 13 day
being the 6 day of the weeke wee could not see the
shipe that day was good wether and the wind at nor-
west yett not very good for vs wee was droue soe
fore {far} to the southerd but wee bore prety much
sale that day then the 14 day was a very Comforth-
able day but litel wind and it shifted from nor-
west to west then to south west so wee was in
hopes of a good wind and good wether

Fol. 57 verso

but in the euening it blew at south in the night
at southest in the marning at east being the 15
of the month the first day of the weeke and blew
very frish betwixt east and southeast but in the
after part of the day the wind came at south and
southwest and there it seteld and fine moderate
wether and soe did continew all night a braue top-
seale gale and the 16 day maring allso but fogie
then wee did sound agenn but had noe ground soe wee
sealed brauely all day til towards night then we
tooke in topseals and did heaue the lead a gen and
had ground at 80 fadam that which came vp was litel
thin grauel stones the wether very fogie and wett
and the wind blew fresh soe wee sealed very well

Jone Broksopp[101] and went home with hir where I made my cheefest abyding while I stayed there then on the 23 day J:b: T: ffowke[102] and I sett forth towards Yarke and came thether the 24 day where wee found deare william dewsbery[103] peeter person[104] & many more sweete friends where wee steade till ye 27 day and gott home a genne to Jones the 28 day then the 29 day wee hade a meeting at John ffrettwells[105] att stensbee there I tooke leue of deare T:b: Jone: b:[101] and many more friends and pased to mansefeeld with friends that night the 30th day I went to nottinghame and saye william smith[106] in prison and lodge[d]

Fol. 61 verso

that night att John and hanna reckles[107] 1663 {the year is written at top of page} ye 31th day I came to lester {Leicester} wher I found will smith[108] of sylbee and a bout 5 more friends in prison then the 4th day of the 2 month I came to london and tooke my lodgeing att John wolderidges[109] att the red Cooke in bow lane (very nere to Jer Robertses)[110] from whence I tooke leue the 23 day and pased to grausend where I lodged that night at the howse of Robert deay[111] then ye 24 day I went a bord william williamsons shipe of ratterdam caled the ellena wee sealled that day to leey rode[112] the 25 day the wind was prety good and a bout the 2 or 3 houre wee lost the sight of england the 26 day about 10 the seamen did seay the say land[113] but wee had litell wind this was ye first day of ye weeke that night wee got in and cam to anker aboue the brill[114] the 27 I with others went by land to modlin sluce[115] there wee hyerd a wagin to carie vs to rotterdam and came

Fol. 62

t[hrough several ver]ie fine townes and gott to rotterdame at mid day and staid ther that night then the 28 nere night Benjama[n] forely[116] and

I went out and did pase thrugh delf Ladne and harlam[117] and in the morning on the 29 wee Came to amsterdame then the 30: day being the 5 day of the weeke wee went to the westinda house[118] and liuerd (delivered) in my first paper[119] which was read and then left to a committie before whome after much waiting: 14 days after deare W:C:[120] and I was calld in the was verie moderate to vs did not speake one word agenst vs or [any] of oure friends in any perticeler one word tending to the liking of any thing the gouer had done agenst me or any other but asked what wee did desier of them and when the vnderstood our mynds the freely promised that next day my goods should bee deliuerd to mee but for the other thing choce not doe it of them selues but would speake of it to the company of whom wee must looke for anser this was [the] 14th day of the 3 month ould style then the next day wee came to hau[e] the goods which was ordered to bee deliuerd but after consultation mongst some vnderlings the was denyed exept I would pay for my passage; this put me vpon a second writing to them which wee giue in

Fol. 62 verso

the 18th day [ ] that day and the next [ ] allsoe then haueing had some [?] with the marchant a bout pasage (becase hee wanted pay for the first) att length hee promised mee that I should haue pasage for my mony as well as others if I gott a passe which all that went thither are to haue soe I went with others for a passe but hee deneyed to giue mee one exept hee had order from the Companie or some of them this did put mee vpon a 3 writing to them which I beeing alone sent in on the 25; day and after some [t]ime I was caled in and the man Calld Lord pergens[121] (or perkins) siting att ye head of the table asked if I would anie thing with them I sead I had giuen in seueral writings to which I did desier ther anser hee sead haue any furder to say by word of mouth I sead nay but that you would consider of

these things and doe therein as you would be done
vnto then hee seaid if you please to with draw wee
shall consider of them afterward I was cald agen
then hee said the gentelmen here haue considered
of ye: things and desiers to know whether you intend
to goe to feach your wife or to stay there I said
nay I haue no intent to feach my wife and Child-
ern here but to laber to maintaine ther as I vse
[t]o doe but wee thinke seaid hee

Fol. 63

you was best to stay heare and sen[d] for your
wife and Childeren for wee doe not giue liberty
there I sead liberty was promised to vs in a
patent giuen by vertue of a commision from the
prince the stats generall and the westindea Com-
panie; hee seaid who gaue that patent gouerner
kifiet[122] oh seaid hee that was before any or
but few of your Judgment was harde of I seaid
wee are known to bee a peseable people hee seaid
but if you bee a pesable people and willnot bee
subject to the Laws and plakados which are pub-
lished wee cannot sufer you in oure Jurediction
I seaid it is good first to consider whether that
law or plackad that was published bee acording to
Justis & righteousnesse or whether it be not
quite contrarie to it and allso to that libertie
promised to vs in our patent and I desier ye
Companie would red or here it red I haue a copie
of it by mee hee seaid if I would walke out a
while the would a pritie time after the cald mee
in a gen then hee standing vp sett a bould face
on a bad case and tould mee the had read it and
considerd of it and did find it verie good and
like it well the{n} after some words a bout it I
seeing there wickednesse seaid what you ar plesed
to giue in anser to these things I desier to haue
itt in writing vnder your hands nay seaid hee wee
will giue you nothing vnder our hands but wee will
draw up a writing of such

Fol. 63 verso

partickelers as vnto which if you will sett your
hand you may goe and dwell ther and allso sead all
those that will not be subject to that plakad and
all other that ether are all redy or shall bee her-
after made shallnotliue in oure Jurediction then
it was concluded that I should come the next sitting
being the 28th day to see there writing and to giue
my anser to it when hee seaid I should haue them all
to gether soe I and my friends came expecting an
opertuniety of speech with them but had it not soe
when the was risen the speker cald vs in to another
roume and gaue vs a bad paper in duch[119] which I
gott translated and left my anser[123] in writing for
them (in duch) after too of them perkins a and the
advocate had red it and promisd to {de}liuer it in
to the whole, soe after a month weaiting of them
att there howse a leuen sittings being pritie clere
of them I came a way[124] on the 30 day with deare
W:C: {William Caton} to John smiths at leyden and
stayed there that night and the next day and night
and the first day of the 4th month I parted with
deare Will: Caton and came to rotterdam where I
stayd one night and 2th day came a bord the same
shipe (which caried mee thither) about midday and
gott to the brille[114]

Fol. 64

then the 3 day being the 4 of ye weeke wee gott
out and ride that night in sight of the brill then
the 4 day wee went but litell for wee could see
sealand {Zealand} most of the day soe wee seald
that night but litel wind, and com to anker 5th
day feaire in sight of seland and had fine wether
but litel wind and that right agenst vs then
when the tyde torned wee sayled agen and lost
sealand and wheen the tyde was spent wee ankerd
in vew of flanders then on the 6th day marning
wee sett seall and had a fine souterly wind and
lost sight of land but was be calmed and cast an-
ker a gaine til the tyde came for vs then wee sett
sale a gain and towards euening wee say france and
sowne after the sciper on the maine topp say eng-

Lesson 6: Quakers

Objectives	Activities	Resources
1. Students will be aware of the personal religious struggle of a 17th-century inhabitant of New Netherland. 2. Students will be aware of the different view points on religion in the 17th century. 3. Students will be aware of the difference between modern English and 17th-century English.	1. Divide p. 136–137 in four parts, namely a. Stuyvesant's letter to the Directors of the WIC (Fn. 87) b. John Bowne's letter to the Directors (Fn. 123) c. John Bowne's letter to his wife (Fn. 124) d. Letter from the WIC Directors to Stuyvesant (April 16, 1663) 2. Distribute the above to groups, who complete the following assignments: a. At what time is the letter written? By whom and to whom is it addressed? b. State the main thought. 3. With the class discuss the above in connection with the material provided in lesson 5. Put John Bowne's journey to Holland on the time line.	1. Herbert F. Ricard (transcr. & ed.), *Journal of John Bowne 1650-1694* (New Orleans, 1975); fragments.

n.s., "Whereas John Bowne obstinately declines to submit to the judgment of the Director General and Council, so he is in conformity to the resolution of the 14th of December last, commanded to depart from here in the ship the Fox now ready to sail, while it is once more left to his choice either to obey and submit to the judgment in paying the amende imposed upon him, or otherwise at sight of this to depart in the aforesaid ship."

85. Three small bridges crossed the Ditch or Canal which flowed along present Broad Street. This one was near Bridge Street.

86. Neeltie or Cornelia Wessels had an eating house and tavern which stood on Pearl Street, near Broad Street.

87. On this day, Stuyvesant wrote an account of the proceedings against John Bowne for the Directors of the West India Company.

"Right Honorable, Worshipful Gentlemen:

In our general letter we omitted to relate the troubles and difficulties which we and many of the good inhabitants some time ago met with and are still daily experiencing from the sect called Quakers in the country and chiefly in the English villages, where they establish and hold forbidden conventicles, contrary to the published ordinances and placards, thus disturbing the public peace, in such a way that several magistrates and well affectioned subjects have at divers times remonstrated and complained to us about their insufferable obstinacy and their unwillingness to obey either orders or judgments. Among others we have, on account of his transgressions, condemned one of their principal leaders, John Bowne, in accordance with the placards, in a fine of fl. 150 in seawan, for the payment of which he has been now under arrest for about three months, in spite of which he remains obstinate and continues to refuse to pay the same, so that we have at last resolved, or rather were

compelled, to send him out of the province by this ship, in the hope that others might thereby be discouraged. If by this means no cure or improvement is wrought in others, we shall against our inclination be compelled to proceed against such persons in a more severe manner, for which we first and previously solicit your Honor's wiser and farther seeing judgment. Wherewith, after cordial salutation, we commend your Honors to God's protection and remain,

Worshipful and Right Honorable Gentlemen,

Your Honors' Faithful servant,

Fort Amsterdam,
in New Netherland
the 9th of January 1663"

88. The white flag of the Bourbons, although actually the royal flag, was frequently flown as the French national flag.

89. St. Christophers or St. Kitts, a small island in the West Indies, 125 miles east and south of Porto Rico.

90. Waterford, on the southeastern coast of Ireland.

91. Stephen and Rebecca Rich were Quakers living at Lazars Hill, Dublin. Lazars Hill, also called Lazy Hill, was so named for a leper hospital erected there.

92. Elizabeth Gardiner, widow of John Gardiner, was among the first Quakers in Dublin.

93. Holyhead, on Holyhead Island, just off the northwest coast of Wales. It is directly across the Irish Sea from Dublin.

94. Westchester, the old name for Chester.

95. Humphrey Woolrich, a staunch Quaker pamphleteer.

96. Quakers were confined in the House of Correction at Middlewich, about twenty miles east of Chester.

123. "Friends, the paper drawn up for me to subscribe I have perused and weighed, and do find the same not according to that engagement to me through one of your members, viz.: That he or you would do therein by me as you would be done unto, and not otherwise. For which of you being taken from your wife and family, without just cause, would be bound from returning to them unless upon terms to act contrary to your conscience, and deny your faith and religion, yet this in effect do you require of me and not less. But, truly, I cannot think that you did in sober earnest ever think I would subscribe to any such thing, it being the very thing for which I rather chose freely to suffer want of the company of my dear wife and children, imprisonment of my person, the ruin of my estate in my absence there, and the loss of my goods here, than to yield or consent to such an unreasonable thing as you here by would enjoin me unto. For which I am persuaded that you will not only be judged in the sight of God, but by good and godly men, rather to have mocked at the oppressions of the oppressed, and added afflictions to the afflicted than herein to have done to me as you in the like case would be done unto, which the royal cause of our God requires. I have with patience and moderation waited several weeks expecting justice from you, but behold an addition to my oppression in the measure I receive. Wherefore I have this now to request for you, that the Lord will not lay this to your charge, but to give eyes to see and hearts to do justice, that you may find mercy with the Lord in the day of judgment.

"JOHN BOWNE."

124. Another account of Bowne's experience is contained in a letter to his wife

"I manifested my case to the westindie Companie by sending in a writing which the y read and accordingly apoynted Comitties to Sitt about it but it being feasting time and the(y) that are great not mynding them that are littel we could

not gett a hearing of 14 days but when wee (I and will: Catton my friend and interpritter) was co(me be)fore them they was very moderate and could not to take any (of)fence at (?our hats) or the like nether one word agenst mee in any perticuler nor one (wor)d tending to the likeing of anything that was done against mee but freely and with a ioynt consent promised without any scrupel that the next day at the tenth hour my goods should be delivered mee and the next day when wee came there order was given to the keeper of the gard hous to that purpose but hee with others of the underling ofesers consulted to gether and asked mee if I had peaid my pasage and ye anser being nay the(y) would not deliver them soe the merchant and Sciper being ernest of a (?passage) mony and the company (though ordered thereunto by the governer not willing to pay money upon such an account and the bad thing taking place in them the(y) doe not onely detain my goods but allso deny me a pasage home except upon grose and unresonable termes (which I could rather downe my life thin yeald unto) which may apeare by those writings which I thinke to send: which if I doe I would not have them publick there abouts."

John Bowne evidently did not realize at this time the extent of the success of his appeal to the authorities. On April 16, 1663, the Directors of the West India Company wrote the following instructions to Stuyvesant

"Your last letter informed us that you had banished from the Province and sent hither by ship a certain Quaker, John Bowne by name: although we heartily desire, that these and other sectarians remained away from there, yet as they do not, we doubt very much, whether we can proceed against them rigorously without diminishing the population and stopping immigration, which must be favored at a so tender stage of the country's existence. You may therefore shut your eyes, at least not force people's consciences, but allow every one to have his own belief, as long as he behaves quietly and legally, gives no offence to his neighbors and does not oppose the government. As the government of this city has always practised this maxim of moderation and consequently has often had a considerable influx of people, we do not doubt, that your Province too would be benefitted by it."