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Order and Authority in New Netherland: The 1653 Remonstrance and Early Settlement Politics

Simon Middleton

ON December 10, 1653, nineteen delegates from eight of New Netherland's Dutch and English towns gathered to discuss the colony's condition at the former tavern that served as New Amsterdam's city hall. The assembly boasted long-term residents and men of status and experience in local politics. New Amsterdam's burgo-masters, Arent van Hattem and Marten Kregier, and schepen Paulus van der Grift represented the municipal government, which had held its first meeting eleven months earlier after almost a decade of debate concerning community rights. Willem Beeckman and Frederick Lubbertsz, also veterans of the deliberations concerning city government, spoke for Breuckelen. The delegates from Flushing, Gravesend, Hempstead, and Middleburgh were English puritans: farmers, traders, and soldiers who had quit the Bay Colony in search of land and religious freedom and migrated to New Netherland in the early 1640s. They included George Baxter, Robert Coe, and Tobias Feake, all of whom made frequent appearances in the colony's records before and after 1653 as minor office-holders, Indian fighters, and religious radicals. The Dutch towns of Amersfoort and Midwout lacked a recognized court of their own and thus technically the authority to send delegates, but they were represented by five settlers including Englishman Thomas Spicer. Following a day of discussion, the nineteen drew up a remonstrance that was severely critical of the West India Company's provincial government and its director general, Petrus Stuyvesant. Subscribing to common principles, the settlers identified shared concerns and outlined what they considered

Simon Middleton teaches early American history at the University of Sheffield. For comments on this article, he thanks the participants of the *William and Mary Quarterly*–Early Modern Studies Institute Workshop, Huntington Library, 2006, Karen Kupperman and the 2008 New York University Atlantic Seminar, Trevor Burnard, Henry B. Hoff, Jaap Jacobs, Martha Shattuck, Peter Thompson, David Voorhees, and the anonymous readers for the *William and Mary Quarterly*. Thanks also to Evan Haefeli and Daniel K. Richter for comments on the map.

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the proper character and operation of legitimate government in New Netherland. The following day they presented the document to Stuyvesant and withdrew to await his reply.¹

The delegates acknowledged the divine and natural origins of government and declared their allegiance to the West India Company and its designates. Yet they also presented themselves as freemen and subjects of the United Provinces who had to defend the common good in the face of an arbitrary and illegitimate administration. Their remonstrance has generated a variety of scholarly responses. Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century historians celebrated the gathering as a liberal protest against a despotic official that “would have met with approval in the New York of Stamp Act or of Revolutionary days.”² When such Whiggish teleologies became unfashionable, interest in the delegates’ dissent diminished and Stuyvesant’s reputation as a hard-nosed autocrat became entrenched. Michael Kammen considered the remonstrance indicative of the colony’s ethnoreligious diversity and undeveloped public institutions. Noting contemporary assessments of the director as a man “peacock like with great state and pomposity” who bore himself as if he were a “Muscovy Duke,” Kammen argued that given the circumstances Stuyvesant’s severity was understandable.³ More recent studies

¹ Burgomasters and schepens were municipal officials broadly similar to English mayors and aldermen. The full list of delegates comprised Marten Kregier, Arent van Hattem, and Paulus van der Grift for New Amsterdam; Willem Beeckman, Frederick Lubbertsz, and Paulus van der Beeck for Breuckelen; Tobias Feake and John Hicks for Flushing; Robert Coe and Thomas Hazzard for Middelburgh; John Seaman and William Washburn for Hempstead; John Strycker, Thomas Swartwout, and Pieter Wolfertsen for Amersfoort; Elbert Elbertsen and Thomas Spicer for Midwout; and George Baxter and James Hubbard for Gravesend. Four of the towns were Dutch and four English. Ten of the delegates were Dutch and nine were English. See “Petition of the Commanalty of New Netherland, &c., to Director Stuyvesant,” in E. B. O’Callaghan et al., eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, comp. John Romeyn Brodhead (Albany, N.Y., 1856), 1: 550–52, esp. 552. The remonstrance is also reproduced in “The humble remonstrance and petition of the colonies and villages in this New Netherland Province,” in Arnold J. F. van Laer et al., eds., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch* (Baltimore, 1983), 5: 91–94.

² [Mariana Griswold] van Rensselaer, *History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1909), 1: 350 (quotation); John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1853), 1: 571–73; E. B. O’Callaghan, *The History of New Netherland; Or, New York under the Dutch* (New York, 1848), 2: 242–43.

³ *Remonstrance of New Netherland, and the Occurences There. Addressed to the High and Mighty Lords States General of the United Netherlands, by the People of New Netherland, on the 28th July, 1649, 1650*, in O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 271–318 (“peacock like,” 1: 310); “Extract from a Latin letter, addressed by Van Dincklage to Van der Donck, 19th September, 1651,” *ibid.*, 1: 453 (“Muscovy Duke”); Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York, 1975), 48–73. Other dissenters from the earlier, celebratory view of settlers’ protest



have challenged this impressionistic view of the colony's administration and its directors. Where earlier investigators found chaotic cultural pluralism, revisionists have traced a vibrant Dutch culture and administrative and judicial practice modeled on the towns of the republic. Far from an autocrat operating with a free hand, Stuyvesant worked within constraints set by the States General and Dutch precedent, by the company's shareholders and board, and by the provincial council and the views expressed by ad hoc panels of settler representatives convened to consider local affairs. There were occasional conflicts, especially during the transformation of the West India Company from a commercial to a civil administration in the 1640s. But aside from these intermittent disagreements, the persistence of Dutch culture ensured a broad consensus regarding the character if not always the pace of administrative reform. One of the few points of agreement between earlier commentators and revisionists concerns the marginality of the 1653 assembly: ascribing the gathering's radical sentiments to troublesome English puritans, as did Stuyvesant, scholars judge the remonstrance to have expressed heterodox and inchoate opinions outside mainstream public discourse with little or no bearing on New Netherland's administration.⁴

Rather than epiphenomenal to contemporary political culture, the 1653 remonstrance represented an important and enlightening moment of Anglo-Dutch settler collaboration at a critical time in the colony's history. Considered in the context of the migration and political exchanges of the preceding decade, it sheds light on contemporary views of legitimate government. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia ended decades of conflict and initiated tumultuous changes in Europe. In England and the United Provinces, republican governments resisted and supplanted monarchical authority and then fought the first of three wars over navigation and

include Albert E. McKinley, "The English and Dutch Towns of New Netherland," *American Historical Review* 6, no. 1 (October 1900): 1–18, esp. 12; Philip L. White, "Municipal Government Comes to Manhattan," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (April 1953): 146–57.

⁴ Jaap Jacobs, *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden, Netherlands, 2005), chap. 3. See also Jacobs, "'To favor this new and growing city of New Amsterdam with a court of justice': The Relations between Rulers and Ruled in New Amsterdam," in *Amsterdam–New York: Transatlantic Relations and Urban Identities since 1653*, ed. George Harink and Hans Krabbendam (Amsterdam, Netherlands, 2005), 17–29; Willem Frijhoff, "Neglected Networks: Director Williem Kieft (1602–1647) and his Dutch Relatives," in *Revisiting New Netherland: Perspectives on Early Dutch America*, ed. Joyce D. Goodfriend (Leiden, Netherlands, 2005), 147–204; Jacobs, "Like Father, Like Son? The Early Years of Petrus Stuyvesant," *ibid.*, 205–42. For a review of the import of revisionist writing on New Netherland, see Goodfriend, "Writing/Righting Dutch Colonial History," *New York History: Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 80, no. 1 (January 1999): 5–28.



trade interests. Throughout these domestic and foreign calamities, presses churned out pamphlets fueling debates concerning the relationship between rulers and the ruled across the Atlantic world. Assembling midway through the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54), the New Netherland delegates adumbrated their own challenge to the authoritarian claims of the company's administration. In particular they averred that the provincial government's legitimacy depended not only on the powers delegated by the States General and West India Company but also on the application of those powers by public officials under the scrutiny of respectable settlers. Concerns regarding officeholders' virtue were a prevalent feature of the diverse polities from which the settlers hailed. Such concerns were understandable at a time when public officials claimed a natural authority derived from personal qualities of honor, dignity, and impartiality and subjects' status and rights depended on their membership in particular communities and the provisions of corporate bodies and positive, human law. In New Netherland the colonists worried about signs of corruption, favoritism, and the balance between private interests and the public good. They looked to safeguards, such as the hearing of counsel and deferential petitions, to check the spread of vice in public life. They also argued for some measure of participation by respectable subjects in civil and productive conversations concerning administration as a guarantee of provincial order and authority.⁵

In England and the Dutch Republic, the local and idiosyncratic arrangements achieved within this general schema led to the develop-

⁵ Herbert H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), 25–97; Pieter Geyl, *Orange and Stuart, 1641–1672*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (1969; repr., London, 2001), chaps. 2–3. See also Simon Groenveld, "The House of Orange and the House of Stuart, 1639–1650: A Revision," *Historical Journal* 34, no. 4 (December 1991): 955–72; Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (London, 2000), chaps. 3–4; Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in the Age of Revolution, 1640–1661* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), chap. 5. For the concept of natural authority, see Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, "Introduction: Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Early Modern Society," in *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy, and Subordination in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Braddick and Walter (Cambridge, 2001), 1–42; Braddick, "Administrative Performance: The Representation of Political Authority in Early Modern England," *ibid.*, 166–87; Willem Frijhoff et al., *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, trans. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Basingstoke, Eng., 2004), 1: 88–106, 187–90. For early America, see T. H. Breen, *The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630–1730* (New Haven, Conn., 1970), chap. 1; ; Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, ed. Stanley N. Katz (Boston, 1971), 135–59, esp. 136–37; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, 2d ed. (Lanham, Md., 2007), 17–19.



ment of the largely self-governing communities that clashed with claims of monarchical and centralizing powers at midcentury.⁶ These assumptions also figured in the more idealistic motives for English and Dutch colonization schemes. Once in the colonies, however, settlers and their governors found that conditions presented unanticipated and frequently intractable challenges to the kind of relationships and exchanges likely to realize harmony and settler deference. In New Netherland, a thinly populated territory scarred by Indian conflicts, the company relied on migrants from diverse European and colonial locations to sustain a colony it considered secondary to its interests in the South Atlantic. Stuyvesant and his predecessor, Willem Kieft, demanded their subjects' deference. But settler loyalties were unpredictable, reflecting changing conditions and divergent material, ethnic, and confessional interests. In the decade preceding the 1653 remonstrance, colonial conditions nurtured shared anxieties and occasional collaboration but did not foster a common or even consistent commitment to a particular tradition of government. Different sides invoked Dutch and other precedents and practices, yet settlers' objections had less to do with the particular form of local government and more with its operation and function: the extent to which it acted, and was seen to act, to secure individual and community liberties and what the colonists considered the common good. The 1653 remonstrance warrants attention in these terms, as an unprecedented instance of collaboration that drew together, if only

⁶ For England, see Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge, 1995); Patrick Collinson, “The State as Monarchical Commonwealth: ‘Tudor’ England,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 15, no. 1 (March 2002): 89–95, esp. 89; Phil Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2005), chaps. 2–3; Withington, “Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (October 2007): 1016–38. For the Dutch Republic, see A. T. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge, 1991), 156–59; Henk van Nierop, “Private Interests, Public Policies: Petitions in the Dutch Republic,” in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. and Adele Seeff (Newark, Del., 2000), 33–39. See also J. L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Politics of Particularism* (Oxford, 1994), 5–57; Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen, eds., *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. chaps. 3–4, 6; Peter Blickle, ed., *Resistance, Representation, and Community* (Oxford, 1997), 256–91; Wyger R. E. Velema, “‘That a Republic is Better than a Monarchy’: Anti-Monarchism in Early Modern Dutch Political Thought,” in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, vol. 1, *Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge, 2002), 1: 9–25; Van Gelderen, “Aristotelians, Monarchomachs and Republicans: Sovereignty and *respublica mixta* in Dutch and German Political Thought, 1580–1650,” *ibid.*, 1: 195–217.



fleetingly, settlers from different constituencies and articulated a common set of arguments about provincial order and authority.⁷

THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH jostled for territory from early in their occupation of northeastern America (Figure I). In the decade after 1629, the migration of thousands of puritans to Massachusetts and the sprawl of English settlement prompted a contest for control of the fertile Connecticut River valley. In June 1633 the West India Company tried to secure its position, purchasing a three-mile stretch of land along the Connecticut River and establishing a blockhouse at Fort Good Hope. This initiative failed to stem the English tide. In 1633 and 1635, groups from Dorchester and Watertown, pushed by doctrinal and political discord and pulled by the lure of available land and the Indian trade, settled at Windsor and Wethersfield. In 1636 Roger Williams founded Providence with twelve companions he later described as “loving friends and neighbours” on land purchased from the Narragansetts.⁸ The fol-

⁷ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), chap. 5; Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge, 2001), 123–85; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge, 2003), 63, 78; Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise: An Elizabethan’s Obsession for an English America* (New Haven, Conn., 2007), 257–60. For colonial experience, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630–1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, 1993), chap. 3; Alexander B. Haskell, “‘The Affections of the People’: Ideology and the Politics of State Building in Colonial Virginia, 1607–1754” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2004), 6–8; Michael P. Winship “Godly Republicanism and the Origins of the Massachusetts Polity,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 63, no. 3 (July 2006): 427–62. For Anglo-Dutch rivalry and continuing debate concerning New Netherland’s demographic profile, see O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 542–46, 564–67, 2: 131–63; Benjamin Schmidt, “Mapping an Empire: Cartographic and Colonial Rivalry in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English North America,” *WMQ* 54, no. 3 (July 1997): 549–78. Oliver Rink estimated the provincial population at five hundred in 1628, twenty-five hundred following the Indian wars of 1639–45, and no more than nine thousand in 1664, approximately six thousand of whom arrived after 1655. See Rink, “The People of New Netherland: Notes on Non-English Immigration to New York in the Seventeenth Century,” *New York History* 62, no. 1 (January 1981): 5–42, esp. 31–35. By contrast Edward Johnson put New England’s population in 1643 at some 21,200 men, women, and children in his *Wonder-Working Providence*, 2,000 or so of whom had migrated to southern New England. See Johnson, *A History of New-England. From the English Planting in the Yeere 1628. Untill the Yeere 1652 . . .* (London, 1654), 31. See also David Sterns Cohen, “How Dutch Were the Dutch of New Netherland?” *New York History* 62, no. 1 (January 1981): 43–60; Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 45–95.

⁸ Roger Williams, “Memorandum or ‘Initial Deed’ from Roger Williams of the lands purchased by Canonicus and Miantonnomi,” 1638, in John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England* (Providence, R.I., 1856), 1: 19.



set of fundamental orders including the principle that the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people. By the end of the decade, the puritan surge engulfed large swaths of territory formerly claimed by the West India Company. The once-isolated Dutch Fort Good Hope stood at the center of the bustling English town of Hartford.⁹

The mingling of Dutch, English, and native populations complicated already vexed questions of landownership and control. The West India Company sought to trade with the Amerindians rather than establish permanent settlements. When it endeavored to acquire Amerindian land titles, most famously with the “purchase” of Manhattan in 1626, it was partly to counter English assertions that New Netherland fell within the bounds of Virginia or as *terra nullius* was free and open to colonization. Circumstances on the ground, however, favored the more numerous English. In the wake of the 1637–38 Pequot War, some two thousand English settlers moved into Connecticut, many under the auspices of agreements made with Amerindian communities. Different groups clashed with the company’s officers and farmers over rights to fence, plow, and sow fields. There was little or no consistency in this opportunistic land grab: powerful English lobbies frustrated the West India Company by denying Dutch territorial claims one minute and offering to buy them out the next. Some grew bolder following the collapse of the Stuart dynasty in England and cited ungodly attitudes among the Dutch—evident, they claimed, in the company’s disinterest in the establishment of permanent communities—as justification for land seizures. Weaker groups, such as the small bands of puritan dissenters who migrated south in search of farms and protection from Indian attack, sought “the protection of the noble Lords, the States, his Highness, the Prince of Orange, and the West India Company, or their Governor-General of New Netherland” and promised to behave as “honest subjects.”¹⁰

⁹ Isabel MacBeath Calder, *The New Haven Colony* (New Haven, Conn., 1934), 51–52; Robert J. Taylor, *Colonial Connecticut: A History* (Millwood, N.Y., 1979). For the West India Company’s view of these developments, see O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 2: 133–42.

¹⁰ O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 2: 144 (quotations). Many New Englanders first explored Connecticut as militiamen during the Pequot War and also realized the possibilities for new settlements on Long Island. In 1637 Israel Stoughton and John Underhill returned from the war and extolled the virtues of the coast between Saybrook and Fairfield: “The place and places whither God’s providence carried us, that is, to Quillipeage River, and so beyond to the Dutch,” wrote Stoughton to John Winthrop. See Stoughton to Winthrop, ca. Aug. 14, 1637, in John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649* (Boston, Mass., 1825), 1: 398–401 (quotation, 1: 400). Stoughton also noted that the coast “is too good for any but friend” and “the Dutch will seize it if the English do not.” See “Copy of a Letter from Israel Stoughton to the Governor of Massachusetts,” [ca.



Fearing that New Netherland would shortly be overrun, the West India Company again sought to secure its position, purchasing all the land west of Oyster Bay from the Canarsee Indians. It also revised the colony's "Freedoms and Exemptions," suspending its trading monopoly and offering "one hundred morgens of land" (about two hundred acres) to anyone who undertook to settle five colonists over the age of fifteen. Hoping that freedom of trade would encourage immigration and deliver badly needed revenue from duties on exported furs and imported supplies, the company declared that "should it happen that the dwelling places of private colonists become so numerous as to be accounted towns," residents could nominate their own magistrates for confirmation by the provincial director.¹¹ These revised "Freedoms and Exemptions" stimulated a new wave of relocation, taking restless Englishmen and Englishwomen farther into West India Company territory. In 1641, following disputes in Wethersfield, the Reverend Richard Denton and a dozen or so families settled Stamford on land claimed by the settlers at New Haven. Within two years the Stamfordites fell out with their neighbors, and Denton and his followers moved to Hempstead, Long Island, on land secured from the Indians. The Stamford group followed a trail blazed by the Reverend Francis Doughty, Hutchinson, John Throckmorton, and their families and followers, all of whom led bands of settlers from Connecticut to the government of the West India Company in the early 1640s. In 1643 a group gathered around Deborah Moody—an Anabaptist and widow of English aristocrat Henry Moody—

Aug. 14, 1637], in Thomas Hutchinson, ed., *A collection of original papers relative to The history of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay* (Boston, 1769), 61–63 (quotations, 62). In 1640 the sachem Uncas ceded control of Mohegan land to Connecticut. See O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 128–29, 564–67; Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York, 1982), 226. In July 1640 Daniel Patrick and Robert Feake purchased the land around what became Greenwich in the name of the New Haven colony but, being warned by the West India Company and admitting concerns for their title and security, Patrick and Elizabeth Feake (wife of Robert Feake) put themselves under the authority of the Dutch and claimed "the same privileges that all Patroons of New Netherland have obtained" in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 2: 142–44 (quotation, 2: 144); Calder, *New Haven Colony*, 62; Willem Frijhoff, "The West India Company and the Reformed Church: Neglect or Concern?" *De Halve Maen* 70, no. 3 (Fall 1997): 57–68, esp. 60; Faren R. Siminoff, *Crossing the Sound: The Rise of Atlantic American Communities in Seventeenth-Century Eastern Long Island* (New York, 2004), 97–98.

¹¹ "Resolution of the States General on a New Draft of Freedoms and Exemptions," in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 118; "Proposed Freedoms and Exemptions for New Netherland. 1640," *ibid.*, 1: 119–23 ("one hundred morgens," 1: 119, "should it happen," 1: 120); O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 1: 392–93.



receiving a patent for land secured from Indians at what became Gravesend. Another group, mostly drawn from Rhode Island, secured a patent to establish Flushing in October 1645. In each case the settlers secured title to the land and liberal administrative rights and privileges in return for promising to conduct themselves as obedient subjects of the States General and West India Company.¹²

All nine of the English delegates who signed the 1653 remonstrance can be traced to this secondary migration following the revised 1640 "Freedoms and Exemptions." Thomas Hazzard and Thomas Spicer had lived in Rhode Island before coming to New Netherland; Spicer moved to Vreedland with Throckmorton's group and was listed as part of the company that established Gravesend with Deborah Moody before settling in Midwout. John Hicks followed Coddington from Boston to Pocasset and then to Newport before establishing himself as one of the eighteen original patentees of Flushing.¹³ George Baxter, who emerged

¹² Calder, *New Haven Colony*, 76–77; Martha Dickinson Shattuck, "Heemstede: An English Town under Dutch Rule," in *The Roots and Heritage of Hempstead Town*, ed. Natalie A. Naylor (Interlaken, N.Y., 1994), 29–44. Copies of the original patents and grants can still be found in published collections. See for example Willem Kieft's grant to Rev. Francis Doughty and his followers in March 1642, Kieft, "Patent for a Large Tract of Land on Long Island (Newtown, L.I.)," in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 38–39, esp. 14: 38; "Patent to Francis Doughty and Companion," Mar. 28, 1642, in Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, Volumes GG, HH, and II*, 15; Jessica Kross, *The Evolution of an American Town: Newtown, New York, 1642–1775* (Philadelphia, 1983), 21. See also O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 13: 8, 10; E. B. O'Callaghan, ed. and trans., *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638–1674* (Albany, N.Y., 1868), 27.

¹³ Thomas Hazzard came originally from Lyme Regis in Dorset and settled first in Boston in 1636. See "The names of such as desire to be made freemen," Oct. 19, 1630, in Lucius R. Paige, ed., "List of Freemen," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 3, no. 1 (January 1849): 89–96, esp. 94; Osgood Field, "Sketch of the Family of Field of the West Riding of Yorkshire, England, and of Flushing and Newtown, Long Island, New York," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 17 (April 1863): 106–12, esp. 112; Jane Fletcher Fiske, "Edward Wilcox of Lincolnshire and Rhode Island," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 147 (April 1993): 188–91, esp. 191. For Thomas Spicer, see the Flushing patent listing the original patentees in O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 48; David M. Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory to Persons in New Netherland from 1613–1674* (Salem, Mass., 1999), vol. 3. John Hicks was also listed as a freeman at Rhode Island in March 1641 and as one of the Flushing patentees in 1645. See Field, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 17: 110–11. Tobias Feake was an orphan who came to New England as a teenager to live with his uncle, Lt. Robert Feake, before moving to Greenwich in the wake of the expulsions of John Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson and from there to Flushing. See George E. McCracken, "The Feake Family of Norfolk, London, and Colonial America," in *Genealogies of Long Island Families: From the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, ed. Henry B. Hoff (Baltimore, 1987), 1: 420–27, esp. 1: 420–22; Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory*, vol. 2; Roger Thompson, *Divided We Stand:*



as a key figure and whom Petrus Stuyvesant would later suspect as the lead author of the 1653 remonstrance, was part of a group who received a patent for land on “Manhattans” in August 1641 and later negotiated the patent given to Gravesend.¹⁴ At this August meeting, Willem Kieft also recruited Baxter as his English secretary and translator, a position he held for the next eleven years.¹⁵

The delegates’ migration within companies gathered around socially prominent or inspirational figures adhered to the earlier pattern of

Watertown, Massachusetts, 1630–1680 (Amherst, Mass., 2001), 188–89. Robert Coe and his family, originally from Boxford in Suffolk, also quit Watertown following the free-grace controversy and followed Richard Denton to Wethersfield and then Stamford before moving to Hempstead in 1643. Coe and his three sons were aboard the *Francis* bound for Massachusetts out of Ipswich in April 1634. See Tho. Clere et al., “A Note of the Names and Ages of All Passengers which Tooke Shipping in the Francis of Ipswich, Mr John Cutting Bound for New England the Last of Aprill, 1634,” in S. G. D., “The Founders of New England,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 14, no. 4 (October 1860): 297–346, esp. 331. He was sworn a freeman in Massachusetts that September. See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 3: 93. For his subsequent relocations, see “Memoranda Concerning the Eliot, Lane and Jessop Families,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 10, no. 4 (October 1856): 357–58, esp. 358; W. H. W., “Gleanings—No. 4,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 13, no. 4 (October 1859): 301–3, esp. 301. See also Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory*, vol. 1; O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: 495–96.

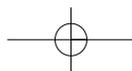
¹⁴ O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 596–97 (quotation, 1: 596).

¹⁵ George Baxter may have accompanied William Coddington to Rhode Island in 1637–38, and his title and duties in New Netherland suggest a military background. For his early land deals, appointment as English secretary, and role in the settlement of Gravesend, *ibid.*, 1: 596–97, 14: 41; O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: app.; Laurence LaT. Driggs, “The Two Baxters of New Amsterdam,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 70, no. 1 (January 1939): 3–16; Linda Briggs Biemer, *Women and Property in Colonial New York: The Transition from Dutch to English Law, 1643–1727* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1983), 18; Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory*, vol. 1. James Hubbard, Baxter’s sergeant in the late 1640s and early 1650s, may also have seen military service and come to Massachusetts via the West Indies in the summer of 1635. See David Pulsifer, comp., “Early Records of Boston,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 7, no. 2 (April 1853): 159–62, esp. 160; Wm. B. Trask, comp., “Early Records of Boston,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 8, no. 4 (October 1854): 345–50, esp. 346; Johan Winsser, “Nicholas Trerise, Mariner of Wapping and Charlestown,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 143 (January 1989): 25–39, esp. 28. John Seaman came to Long Island from Massachusetts via Wethersfield and Stamford. See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 10: 358; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 13: 301; Charles B. Moore, “The Early History of Hempstead, L.I.,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 10, no. 1 (January 1879): 5–16, esp. 13; Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory*, vol. 3. Using genealogical sources I have tracked the movements of twenty-six out of the sixty-six original Hempstead patentees, which conform to this pattern of primary and secondary relocations.



movement from England. For those who acquired land and commercial interests and whose military experience was invaluable for the settlement of new towns, the lure of increased opportunities and the company's liberal terms may have drawn them to New Netherland. Others had clearly struggled to settle among their own countrymen, first in the Bay Colony and then Connecticut. The timing of their departure and the association of some with religious heterodoxy indicate that the English ranks were peppered with men and women who would brook no interference in pursuit of a godly life. Whether dedicated to farming or to faith, these communities, sometimes made up of only a handful of families, brought together settlers with recent experience of bloody Indian conflict whose religious views ranged from the conservatives of Hartford to the radicals of Rhode Island. Some also had firsthand knowledge of the Dutch Republic's federal political structure and the balance it struck between the local particularities and provincial authority. All had quit the Bay Colony for the protection of the West India Company and United Colonies. Indicating their determination to establish permanent communities in New Netherland, the English were careful to agree to charters, patents, and Indian relationships that stipulated settlement on clear and unimpeachable terms.¹⁶

¹⁶ John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), chaps. 1–2; Roger Thompson, *Mobility and Migration: East Anglian Founders of New England, 1629–1640* (Amherst, Mass., 1994), 184–205. James Hubbard was banished from Lynn, Mass., on the same day as Deborah Moody for denying the validity of infant baptism. In 1661 Thomas Spicer was arrested and fined for associating with Quakers; the following year, he was ordered out of New Netherland for continuing to frequent conventicles. See Biemer, *Women and Property in New York*, 18, 31. Tobias Feake's kin and marriages indicated his affiliation with a tightly knit and heterodox group: he first married Annetje Alberts van Beyeren, the Dutch widow of his uncle's former militia captain, Daniel Patrick, after Patrick was murdered by an irate Dutch settler in 1644. When Feake's first wife died, he remarried, this time to Mary Patrick, likely sister of Daniel. By 1657 Feake was schout (sheriff) in Flushing and a signatory to the remonstrance against Petrus Stuyvesant's ordinance forbidding the harboring of Quakers. For the free-grace controversy in Massachusetts and the varieties of antinomianism, see Michael P. Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636–1641* (Princeton, N.J., 2002); David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Stanford, Calif., 2004). In addition to those who had served in the Dutch wars against the Spanish, Englishmen well acquainted with the republic and the Dutch language and constitution included Plymouth traders Isaac Allerton; his occasional partner Thomas Willet, who became New York City's first English mayor after the English conquest; and Thomas Hall, who worked briefly for Jacob van Corlear, agent for Kiliaen van Rensselaer, before becoming a freeman and establishing a tobacco plantation on land secured from the company. George Woolsey grew up in Rotterdam before coming to New Netherland in the early 1640s. See J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664* (New York, 1909), 375; Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, "The Pilgrims and Other English in Leiden Records: Some New Pilgrim Documents," *New England Historical and*



The 1640 revised “Freedoms and Exemptions” also stimulated the immigration of new settlers from diverse Dutch provinces as well as towns and villages in modern-day France, Germany, and Sweden. About one-third of these newcomers arrived as part of families and households. Many were likely driven out by the ill-effects of the Thirty Years’ War, and few if any claimed membership in the kinds of company that characterized English settlement. Future delegate Paulus van der Beeck, for example, came alone from Bremen, Germany, and married Maria Thomas Baddie, widow of Jacob Verdon, following his arrival in New Amsterdam in October 1644. In the same year, Paulus van der Grift, company employee and captain of the ship *Great Gerrit*, acquired land in New Amsterdam, though he did not settle with his family until three years later, when he conveyed the new director, Stuyvesant, to the colony. The newcomers joined established Dutch colonists such as Elbert Elbertsen from Nieuwerkerken, who came in the early 1630s as a teenage farmhand, married well, and by the 1640s managed a sizable family farm. Frederick Lubbertsz also arrived in the 1630s and clawed his way to success first in farming and then in cattle breeding; following the company’s suspension of its trade monopoly in 1640, he turned to shipping goods for the Indian trade on the North River.¹⁷ Others would not

Genealogical Register 143 (July 1989): 195–212; Cynthia J. Van Zandt, “The Dutch Connection: Isaac Allerton and the Dynamics of English Cultural Anxiety in the *Gouden Eeuw*,” in *Connecting Cultures: The Netherlands in Five Centuries of Transatlantic Exchange*, ed. Rosemarijn Hoefte and Johanna C. Kardux (Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1994), 51–76.

¹⁷ David Sterns Cohen’s sample of approximately nine hundred immigrants for the period 1630–64 indicates that a majority of settlers came from provinces other than Holland and that almost half came from territories adjacent to the Netherlands. See Cohen, *New York History* 62: 60. Janny Venema found that as many as one-quarter of Beverwijck’s inhabitants were of non-Dutch origin, and “although government and church rules . . . were established in the province of Holland only a few of the ‘Dutch’ settlers” claimed roots in that province and most came from inland areas. See Venema, *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652–1664* (Hilversum, Netherlands, 2003), 101. See also Rink, *New York History* 62: 17–42. For Paulus van der Beeck, see David M. Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory to Persons in New Netherland from 1613–1674: 2004 Supplement* (Salem, Mass., 2004), 311. For Elbert Elbertsen, see George E. McCracken, “Stoothoff-Cool Notes,” *American Genealogist* 45 (1969): 177–79, esp. 177–78; Wilson V. Ledley, “The Stoothoff Family on Long Island, and in New Jersey,” in *Genealogies of New Jersey Families from the Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, ed. Joseph R. Klett (Baltimore, 1996), 1: 844–56, esp. 1: 844–47; Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory*, vol. 3. For Frederick Lubbertsz, see O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 415, 2: 140, 14: 31–32; Teunis G. Bergen, *Register in Alphabetical Order, of the Early Settlers of Kings County, Long Island, N.Y., from Its First Settlement by Europeans to 1700* (New York, 1881), 194; Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory*, vol. 2. In 1633 he participated in the negotiation of land rights with the English. See O’Callaghan et al., *Documents*



arrive until the late 1640s and early 1650s. But whenever they came, the Dutch and other non-English newcomers more often came alone, in small family groups, or as employees mostly interested in trade rather than farming. When they settled outside New Amsterdam, it was on isolated homesteads and waterways hoping to steal a march on downriver fur traders.¹⁸

Shared conditions, experiences, and attitudes mitigated the differences in migration and settlement patterns, priorities placed on land over trade, and ethnic backgrounds that distinguished English and Dutch delegates and their respective settler communities. Confessional loyalties that divided conservative Calvinists from the heterodox could, in less extreme forms, connect subscribers to the international Protestant cause. Some of the delegates were united by ties of kinship or marriage to respectable and occasionally prominent colonial households. All shared an interest in the province's governance and its commercial future. These common interests fostered links between families and communities as prominent householders married, intermarried, baptized their children, or witnessed baptism of others in the Dutch Reformed Church.¹⁹ English and Dutch settlers agreed that provincial defense was

Relative to History of New-York, 2: 140. See also Hopper Striker Mott, "Jan and Jacobus Strijcker and Some of Their Descendants," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 38, no. 1 (January 1907): 1–9; William J. Hoffman, "Random Notes Concerning Settlers of Dutch Descent," *American Genealogist* 29, no. 2 (April 1953): 65–76, no. 3 (July 1953): 146–52, esp. 73, 146; John Blythe Dobson, "Swaentje Jans and Her Five Husbands," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 129 (July 1998): 161–70, esp. 166 n. 17. Unless otherwise stated, details on Dutch delegates are drawn from the sources identified in this footnote.

¹⁸ Jessica Kross found that of the 605 patents granted from 1639 to 1664, only 14 were given for towns and collective settlements and of these 14 only 7 were Dutch patentees. See Kross, *Evolution of an American Town*, 13. In the wake of Kieft's War, the company urged that the settlers "endeavor as much as possible . . . [to] settle themselves with a certain number of families . . . in the manner of villages, towns and hamlets, as the English are in the habit of doing, who thereby live more securely." See "Instructions to the Director General and Council of New Netherland," July 7, 1645, in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 160–62 (quotation, 1: 161); Donna Merwick, *Possessing Albany, 1630–1710: The Dutch and English Experiences* (Cambridge, 2002); Merwick, *The Shame and the Sorrow: Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland* (Philadelphia, 2006).

¹⁹ For example John Seaman's wife, Elizabeth Strickland, connected him to a father-in-law who had served as a justice and militia sergeant in Massachusetts before moving to Wethersfield and Fairfield, eventually settling at Hempstead as one of the six founding patentees in 1644. John Hicks's wife, Elizabeth Field, made him the son-in-law of Robert Field, who had followed Richard Denton out of Massachusetts and who lived for a time in Rhode Island before moving to Flushing, again as one of the original patentees, in 1645. In the summer of 1653, Field was one of eight delegates dispatched by the English towns on Long Island to discuss Anglo-Dutch relationships at a conference held at Newport, R.I. See Field, *New England*



the West India Company's responsibility. They also participated in local administration, and by the mid-1640s many of the future delegates were on the way to lengthy public careers. Serving in various capacities, settlers from diverse backgrounds demonstrated their commitment to a shared view of the citizen as active participant in community affairs. For some of the delegates—notably Baxter, James Hubbard, and Marten Kregier—and their neighbors, military skills gained in the Thirty Years' War enhanced this shared sense of public place and duty. In the view of some, military service afforded status to men from humble backgrounds and membership in a self-conscious profession governed by recognized international codes. This status, and the sensibilities it sustained, reached beyond the battlefields of Europe and into community life in the form of the civic and private military companies and citizen militias established in New England and New Amsterdam.²⁰

Historical and Genealogical Register 17: 110–11. Willem Beeckman's marriage to Catalina de Boogh connected him to well-to-do trader and ship's captain Hendrick de Boogh, from Beverwijk. From 1641 to 1645, at least nine Englishwomen took Dutch husbands. See Charles B. Moore, "English and Dutch Intermarriages," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 4, no. 3 (July 1873): 127–39. Prominent unions included the 1643 marriage of Gysbert Opdyck, commander of Fort Good Hope until 1640 and after 1642 the company's Commissary of Provisions, to Catherine Smith, daughter of New Englander Richard Smith. Adriaen van der Donck, leader of a Dutch lobby on behalf of reform after 1649, married Maria Doughty, daughter of Rev. Francis Doughty, in 1645. Englishmen with Dutch wives included John Underhill and Tobias Feake. See Tom Lewis, *The Hudson: A History* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), 76. Other English marriages in the Dutch Church, from 1642 records, include Gregorius Cool from the "Provincie Van Essex" to "Francoise Deen . . . Van Oxfort in Engelant"; Sara Brandt [*sic*] from "Provincie van hertfort" to Rebecca Ratsen "Van Colchester"; Egmoont Sticke from "provincie Van Sutfolk" to Hanna Bellingram from "Provincie Van Lincol"; and Thomas Cornelis from "Provincie Van Hertfort" to Elisabeth Fiscock from "Van Pleymouth in Engelt." See Samuel S. Purple, ed., *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New York: Marriages from 11 December, 1639, to 26 August, 1801* (New York, 1890), 11–12. For information concerning baptisms and witnesses, see Thomas Grier Evans, ed., *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New York: Baptisms* (1901; repr., Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1968), 1: 10–27. These are also listed in "Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 5, nos. 1–2 (January–April 1874): 26–34, 84–99.

²⁰ Robert Coe, fifty-five in 1653, had been a leading figure in the settlement of Stamford, which he represented at Hartford for two years before settling in Hempstead in 1643. He served as a magistrate for Hempstead following the 1653 remonstrance, ending up as a high sheriff of Yorkshire on Long Island. See O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 345–46, 504–5, 619–20, 623, 626, 629–30. John Hicks represented Flushing in 1653, and with other English delegates, including John Seaman and William Washburn, protested against the paying of tenths in 1656; he was a member of the committee that confirmed the purchase of the land on which Hempstead sat in 1657, and he regularly represented the community in discussions with the provincial government. John Seaman, thirty-three



In the early 1640s, settlers with military experience were in particular demand. A dispute over tributes exacted from the Raritan Indians by Director Kieft spiraled into a conflict that provoked far-reaching criticism of the provincial government. Kieft's punitive attacks inflamed smoldering European-Amerindian tensions, culminating with the massacre of some eighty Wecquaesgeek Indians across the Hudson River at Pavonia. Thereafter the conflict was very much an Anglo-Dutch affair, Europeans and Amerindians launching raids and counterattacks in retaliation for atrocities committed by the other. In the summer of 1643, Indians destroyed the settlements established by Doughty, the Hutchinsons, and Throckmorton. At Gravesend a force of forty Englishmen held out long enough to allow Deborah Moody and her followers to flee to the nearby Dutch town of Amersfoort. By September 1643 Dutch residents in New Amsterdam resolved to seek help from "our English neighbors, at the North" and to enlist "as many Englishmen as were in the country."²¹

in 1653, would later serve as a magistrate for Hempstead, quelling a tax strike by the settlers in the 1650s, and then as a schepen following the brief restoration of Dutch rule in 1672–74. He was also involved in the settling of local boundary disputes (*ibid.*, 14: 362–63, 416, 496–97, 509, 516–17, 521, 565, 629). Thomas Spicer served as the first treasurer of Portsmouth, R.I., before relocating to New Netherland. Frederick Lubbertsz served as one of the Twelve Men, a panel of settler representatives convened in 1641, and then multiple terms as a schepen in Breuckelen following the 1653 assembly. In 1663 he was a member of a convention called to address Indian hostilities at Esopus and then in 1665 he was one of those chosen to meet with Richard Nicolls to establish the English administration following the conquest. In 1673 Lubbertsz, by then in his seventies, served a final term as schepen when the Dutch retook the colony during the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1672–73 (*ibid.*, 1: 414–15, 14: 314, 318–19, 545–46; Berthold Fernow, ed., *The Records of New Amsterdam: From 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini* [New York, 1897], 2: 319, 3: 260, 4: 25). Willem Beeckman served as an official in the South River Colony as well as multiple terms as a schepen and burgomaster in New Amsterdam and, following the English takeover, deputy mayor of New York. He also served as one of the town's orphan masters and as schout at Esopus. See O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 495–503, esp. 1: 499, 510–11, 2: 75–76, 112–14; Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, 2: 30, 282, 319–20, 336, 342–43, 6: 247, 396, 398, 7: 111, 113, 175. Estimates suggest that as many as one hundred thousand English soldiers served in the Thirty Years' War, an indeterminate but significant number of whom headed for the colonies from the 1620s through the 1640s. See D. J. B. Trim, "Army, Society and Military Professionalism in the Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War," in *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. Trim (Leiden, Netherlands, 2003), 269–89; Trim, "Calvinist Internationalism and the English Officer Corps, 1562–1642," *History Compass* 4, no. 6 (October 2006): 1024–48; Louise A. Breen, "Religious Radicalism in the Puritan Officer Corps: Heterodoxy, the Artillery Company, and Cultural Integration in Seventeenth-Century Boston," *New England Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (March 1995): 3–43.

²¹ O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 181–88 (quotations, 1: 185). Within days of the Pavonia attack, Dutch forces led by Maryn Adriaenzen were "reinforced by an English troop." See "Journal of New Netherland," in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1:



Combined Dutch and English forces engaged the Indians on Long Island and across the sound at Stamford and Greenwich, where John Underhill reprised a tactic from the Pequot War and torched a village, killing some seven hundred Indian men, women, and children. Underhill's atrocity weakened what had always been a loose alliance of Indian communities, prompting nearby sachems to sue for peace and ensuring the cessation of hostilities the following summer. The war that united the diverse bands of Indians in the Lower Hudson Valley against New Netherland may have accounted for the liberal patents and charters Kieft negotiated with English townspeople to convince them to remain on Long Island and rebuild their shattered communities.²²

The horrors of the war also galvanized influential individuals and groups within the Dutch population into action against Kieft and his administration. In 1641, 1643, and 1644, the director convened panels of settler representatives chosen by the commonality, prominent settler families and property holders, to advise on the Indian war. On each

179–88, esp. 1: 183–85; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (1960; repr., Lincoln, Neb., 1997), 76–78. In contrast to the Pequot War (1637–38) and King Philip's War (1675–76), we lack a full-length study of Kieft's War (1643–45). For a contemporary account, see the "Journal of New Netherland written in the years 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, and 1646," *ibid.*, 1: 179–88. See also Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York*, 60–85; Evan Haefeli, "Kieft's War and the Cultures of Violence in Colonial America," in *Lethal Imagination: Violence and Brutality in American History*, ed. Michael A. Bellesiles (New York, 1999), 17–40; Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 133–39; Merwick, *Shame and the Sorrow*, 137–70. Willem Kieft is generally blamed for the war, though his demand for tributes may have been an understandable attempt to construct the kind of client-patron alliance that characterized English-Amerindian relationships in southern New England in the wake of the Pequot War. For the realignment of English-Amerindian relationships, see Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 203–25; Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585–1685* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), chap. 3; Oberg, *Uncas: First of the Mohegans* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003), 63–87.

²² The force responsible for the massacre was estimated at 150 men, easily outnumbering the 100 or so soldiers the West India Company had stationed at various locations around New Netherland. See Van Rensselaer, *History of City of New York*, 1: 231–32; Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 54. For the Indians suing for peace, see O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 13: 17–18, 56. Petrus Stuyvesant would later complain that the English enjoyed greater privileges than other, Dutch colonists. For the Hempstead and Flushing charters, see O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 42–46, 48–51, 97. For the Gravesend charter, see E. B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York: Arranged under Direction of the Hon. Christopher Morgan, Secretary of State* (Albany, N.Y., 1849), 1: 629–32. Langdon Wright also notes that Willem Kieft went beyond the limits established by the 1640 "Freedoms and Exemptions" when agreeing to terms with the English. See Wright, "Local Government and Central Authority in New Netherland," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (January 1973): 7–29, esp. 11.



occasion these panels of Twelve and Eight Men went beyond their directed agenda and debated general administrative and commercial reforms. Invoking the model of a “council of a small village in Fatherland,” the commonality’s representatives called for greater and continuous representation. They wanted more opportunities to offer counsel regarding local affairs and taxes. They wanted to be present at criminal hearings, and they wanted the freedom to move about the colony and trade. Kieft considered the settlers’ meetings and demands “a dangerous consequence, and to the great injury both of the country and of our authority.” Writing to the States General, the representatives painted a miserable picture of villages and fields put to the torch, crops rotting where they lay, and starving and ill-defended families “seated here in the midst of thousands of Indians and barbarians, from whom is to be experienced neither peace nor pity.” Yet when the representatives tried “to propose anything tending in their judgment to the public good . . . the Director met them with sundry biting and scoffing taunts.” Consequently, “Every place is going to ruin; neither counsel nor advice is taken; the only talk here is of princely power.”²³ At best, as far as the company’s critics were concerned, the war had shown the shareholders’ failure to populate and adequately secure the colony. At worst it had given a grotesque dramatization of the constitutional and moral failings besetting a commercial and military organization ill-equipped to exercise civil authority.²⁴

Stuyvesant and the council had to contend with this lobby following his arrival in 1647. Stuyvesant tried to silence the most vociferous critics and appease the rest by convening a new panel of representatives, called the Nine Men, to consult on public affairs. The Nine, however, rapidly became the focus for renewed calls for reform from merchants and residents intent on augmenting the community’s administrative and commercial rights and privileges. In 1649 the Nine and their supporters drew

²³ O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 201–3 (“council,” 1: 202, “dangerous consequence,” 1: 203), 209–13 (“seated here,” 1: 210, “to propose anything,” 1: 212, “Every place,” 1: 211).

²⁴ “Petition of the Twelve Men and the Answer Thereto,” Jan. 21, 1642, *ibid.*, 1: 201–3, 210–13, 415–16; Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 137–39. English settlers Isaac Allerton and Thomas Hall both sat as settler representatives as part of the Eight Men in 1643–44 and Hall as one of the Nine Men in 1647–50. See also footnote 26. Additional complaints and remonstrations came in a second panel of settler representatives. See “The Eight Men to the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company,” Oct. 28, 1644, in O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 209–13; Merwick, *Shame and the Sorrow*, 135–69. Willem Frijhoff places the colony’s minister, Everardus Bogardus, in the lead of this critique. See Frijhoff, *Fulfilling God’s Mission: The Two Worlds of Dominie Everardus Bogardus, 1607–1647* (Leiden, Netherlands, 2007), chaps. 13–14.



up a record of complaints since Kieft's time, again charging the company with failing to nurture and defend the colony. In a remonstrance that ran to more than forty quartos of close print, they called for administrative reforms in keeping with previous requests and in accordance with Dutch precedents and practice. To bolster their arguments, and underscoring the perceived connection between civility and legitimate authority, they invoked the example of New England, in which neither "Patroons, Lords nor Princes are known . . . only the People." Additionally, "Each Governor is like a Sovereign in his place, but comports himself most discreetly." Consequently, the governors "are, and are esteemed, Governors next to God by the people, so long as the latter please," and because the people have the "power to make a change; and they would make a change in case of improper behavior, and that they therefore say is the bridle of their great men."²⁵ The director's response to the Nine's criticisms was in stark contrast to the idealized dignity and discretion of Massachusetts magistrates: writing to the delegation in The Hague, one of the Nine reported that "Our great Muscovy Duke goes on as usual, with something of the wolf; the older he gets the more inclined is he to bite."²⁶

As the New Amsterdammers, including several leading English traders, lobbied for municipal and commercial privileges, the puritan villages on Long Island busied themselves with designs on Indian lands and squabbles over the appointment of public officials and ministers. Not long after his arrival, Stuyvesant received a delegation of deputies from Hempstead who reported fears that Antinomy, son of sachem Mecohgawodt, was plotting to murder the English as they were "harvesting their grain and hay, and then cut off their entire village."²⁷ But the director and his council suspected the petitioners of fabrication and dispatched a delegation to make inquiries. In January 1648 Stuyvesant was called to intervene in a dispute between the settlers at Flushing,

²⁵ "Additional Observations on the Preceding Petition," in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 262–70 (quotations, 1: 266).

²⁶ "Extract from a Latin Letter, Addressed by Van Dincklage to Van der Donck, 19th September, 1651," *ibid.*, 1: 453 (quotation). For the appointment of the Nine, see Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 4: 438–39. The Nine comprised three merchants, three burghers, and three farmers selected to reflect different provincial constituencies. They included Elbert Elbertsen, who also attended the 1653 assembly. For their remonstrance, see O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 259–63, 271–318, 332–37. The fullest discussions are Dennis J. Maika, "Commerce and Community: Manhattan Merchants in the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1995), pt. 1; Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 143–51.

²⁷ "Resolution to Send Secretary van Tienhoven to Hempstead, To Inquire into the Truth of a Report of Indian Troubles There," Aug. 23, 1647, in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 79.



some of whom refused to accept the nomination for schout (sheriff) or to contribute toward the maintenance of the minister. Three months later Stuyvesant's attention was again called to Flushing, this time by the parents of Jane Smith, whom the schout, William Harck, had illegally married to Thomas Newton. Historians have usually interpreted Anglo-Dutch relationships in this period as an "uneasy alliance."²⁸ Though this description is generally accurate, especially following the rupture of the First Anglo-Dutch War, the disputes at Flushing suggest the need to take account of divisions within the English community and the willingness of some to appeal to the provincial authorities to resolve internal conflicts. In the late 1640s and early 1650s, there is also evidence of support for Stuyvesant from within sections of the colony's English community.²⁹

As the campaign of his critics among the Nine gathered pace, Stuyvesant increasingly relied on a close circle of stalwarts, including his longtime assistant, Englishman Brian Newton, and Baxter. Newton had fought for the Dutch against the Spanish and signed on with the company in 1630. When others such as Baxter and Underhill joined the puritans destined for New England, Newton remained with the company, eventually accompanying Stuyvesant to Curaçao in 1634. Once in New Netherland, the English veterans gravitated toward one another and Stuyvesant seemed to prefer the companionship and counsel of like-

²⁸ Martha Dickinson Shattuck, "The Dutch and the English on Long Island: An Uneasy Alliance," *De Halve Maen* 68, no. 4 (Winter 1995): 80–85.

²⁹ Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 4: 474–75. The following month the sheriff in Flushing requested that the provincial government "favor them with a pious, learned and reformed minister" and put an end to the "present differences in a manner, that shall promote peace, quietness and unanimity . . . under the protection of their High Mightinesses, his Highness of Orange, the Honble Lords Directors, and the present administration." See O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 82. See also the letter from Robert Husted and associates from Greenwich, which placed itself under the protection of New Netherland in 1642, requesting that Petrus Stuyvesant intervene in local land disputes in September 1649 (*ibid.*, 14: 116–17). William Harck had not only presided over an illegitimate ceremony but "also provided them instantaneously in his house with bed and room to consummate the marriage." See Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 4: 502 (quotation); Frederick W. Bailey, "The Ancestry of the Hon. John Hart, of Hopewell, N.J., Signer of the Declaration of Independence," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 26, no. 4 (October 1895): 170–77, esp. 171. Stuyvesant took a dim view of the ceremony, fining the bride and bridegroom three hundred guilders and Harck a further six hundred guilders. See O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: 226. Thomas Newton was a fugitive from justice in New England and his handing over to the New England Commissioners was negotiated as part of the 1650 Hartford Treaty, much to the chagrin of John Underhill, who invoked the return of Newton as one of his complaints concerning Stuyvesant's abuse of his position in his 1653 protest. For more on Newton, see William K. Holdsworth, "Adultery or Witchcraft? A New Note on an Old Case in Connecticut," *New England Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (September 1975): 394–409.



minded military men. In 1650 Baxter's connection to Stuyvesant prompted slanderous mutterings by one long-standing resident of Gravesend. The following year Baxter relied on his association with the director to influence the selection of magistrates at Gravesend, decrying the candidates he opposed as men of "small or noe abilities in any respect to sett as it were in yor place in the seate of Justice."³⁰

Stuyvesant's Dutch critics and disaffected councilors bristled at his reliance on English advisers whom they accused of conspiring against Dutch interests. But in September 1650, Stuyvesant confounded his detractors by selecting Baxter and Thomas Willet as the colony's representatives at negotiations to resolve long-standing boundary disputes with the New Englanders held at Hartford. The Dutch complained of

³⁰ O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 130 (quotation). In 1655 Brian Newton invoked his twenty-five years of service to the company in a petition requesting return passage to New Netherland. See Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed., *Council Minutes, 1655-56* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1995), 172. In addition to the Englishmen, Petrus Stuyvesant looked to French Huguenots Adriaen Keyser, Johannes La Montagne, and Paulus van der Grift. Stuyvesant's critics' low opinion of his confidants and the poor quality of debate in the provincial council is in [Adriaen van der Donck?], "The Representation of New Netherland, 1650," in Jameson, *Narratives*, 285-354, esp. 337-41. The support of English veterans for the provincial director dates back to at least 1644 and Willem Kieft's administration, when a group of soldiers including George Baxter, John Underhill, and Thomas Willet confronted a group of Dutch settlers who were critical of the director and his handling of the war. See Henry C. Shelley, *John Underhill: Captain of New England and New Netherland* (New York, 1932), 327-29; O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Dutch Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York, 1630-1664* (1865; repr., Ridgewood, N.J., 1968), 27. For Newton, see O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: 19-20. Other prominent English figures included Charles Bridges, Batavianized to Carel van Brugge, and George Woolsey, also known as Jarge Woltzen and Joris Wolsey. See Venema, *Beverwijck*, 48-49. Baptism records suggest that the Baxter, Bridges, Newton, Stuyvesant, and Woolsey families were also close and attended the baptism of each other's children. See for example the 1647 baptism of Stuyvesant's son, Balthazar, at which "Nuton en syn vr [wife]" were witnesses. See Evans, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church*, 23. Thomas Applegate reported to Robert Clark, Baxter's future father-in-law, that "ye Governor Stuyvesant hath layed out your daughter for Ensign Baxter" and urged caution, calling Baxter a "beggery scabb" and accusing him of adultery with James Hubbard's wife. See Driggs, "The Two Baxters of New Amsterdam," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 70 (January 1939): 3-16, esp. 8-9. Baxter recommended the tightening up of local election procedures so that instead of the townspeople electing "three of the ablest, approved honest men," they would choose "one leading man" who would then nominate a second and these two select a third and so on until there were six candidates, three to serve as magistrates and three as assistants. Under this arrangement Baxter and his associates retained the magistracy in Hempstead until they were expelled following the 1654 rebellion. See O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: 263-64 (quotation, 2: 263). See also "Letter of George Baxter to Dir. Stuyvesant . . . requesting him not to appoint the magistrate lately nominated," in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 130.



secret negotiations and accused Stuyvesant of being misled by his duplicitous advisers and seduced by English blandishments. The director's supporters struck back in letters to the company's directors in Amsterdam, urging that they support "our present Governor against all malignant persons." In September 1651 Baxter went further, arguing that "the power of electing a Governor among ourselves . . . would be our ruin and destruction by reason of our factions." Given the potential for disorder, Baxter continued, the colony required a government that was "compulsory or by force." The alternative was a colony in which "every one would desire to do what would please and gratify himself . . . [and] the strongest would swallow up the weakest." Yet within three years, these same Gravesend magistrates were urging rebellion against an administration they previously credited with ensuring "the general welfare and prosperity of the entire country."³¹

The settlers who came to New Netherland were jealous of their rights and privileges. They were careful to establish communities on clear and advantageous terms, and their background and shared experiences provided for moments of collaboration as well as contest. They suffered during a murderous war, feared renewed attacks, and shared expectations of company protection and dismay when that protection was found wanting. They were committed to the notion that legitimate government depended on recognized laws, precedents, rights, and privileges and had to serve the general good. Facing novel and sometimes terrifying circumstances, they experimented with forms of argument and association, claiming status as representatives of the commonality or distinct communities and invoking foundational political principles as well

³¹ O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 2: 153–54 (quotations). Thus Lubertus van Dincklage complained of the prominence of Brian Newton, "who does not understand the Dutch language, and pronounces judgment, with his Honor, on political and all other matters." See O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 441–42 (quotation). See also the Nine's complaints, *ibid.*, 1: 283–87, esp. 285, 459–60, 495–502, esp. 496. For assessments of the significance of the Hartford Treaty, see Ronald D. Cohen, "The Hartford Treaty of 1650: Anglo-Dutch Cooperation in the Seventeenth Century," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (October 1969): 311–32; Jaap Jacobs, "The Hartford Treaty: A European Perspective on a New World Conflict," *De Halve Maen* 68, no. 4 (Winter 1995): 74–79. George Baxter and his fellow Gravesend magistrates closed their letter by noting, "Tis not with us as in our Fatherland, or as in Kingdoms and Republics which are established and settled by long and well experienced laws and fundamentals." Rather in "our little body, made up of . . . folks of different nations, many things occur . . . for which there are no rules nor examples," and, with this embryonic state in mind, the administration was best left to the "discretion of a well experienced Governor." See "The Magistrates of Gravesend to the Directors at Amsterdam," Aug. 20, 1650, Sept. 14, 1651, in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 2: 153–56 (quotation, 2: 156); Van Rensselaer, *History of City of New York*, 313–14.



as rights to property, representation, and participation in local affairs. They were not predisposed toward antagonism with the provincial government. But though those close to the director defended his prerogative, others felt rebuffed or, worse, victimized, in their view, by a partial, misguided, and possibly corrupt administration. Rather than an inclusive, in the sense of populist or democratic, politics, the colonists were consistent in their call for a representative administration based on meaningful dialogue between provincial officers and community leaders. Thus each side challenged their opponents' credentials and style of participation. The Nine denounced Kieft and Stuyvesant for "comport[ing] themselves like sovereign tyrants," and the directors were similarly scathing in their characterization of "mutinous" and "insulting" critics. Baxter opposed candidates for the magistracy in Gravesend he considered of small or no abilities and urged the appointment of those he judged the "discreetest" and "honest men of good estate."³² Dutch critics questioned the motives and linguistic abilities of the Englishmen who represented the colony at crucial treaty negotiations. The petitions and memoranda that litter the records also reveal the colonists' ability to marshal subtle and timely arguments, deferring to the provincial authorities one minute and asserting their individual and community rights the next. Within these arguments, whether sincere or tactically deployed, ad hominem attacks indicated deeply held convictions concerning the connection between the character and behavior of participants and officeholders in the maintenance of order and authority in New Netherland.³³

IN THE SUMMER OF 1649, the Nine had dispatched delegates to the States General in Holland to present their case for a "suitable municipal (*borgerlycke*) government . . . resembling the laudable Government of our Fatherland."³⁴ During the next three years, the delegates argued their case as the republic experienced its severest constitutional crisis in thirty years and prepared for war with England. A failed coup d'état by the stadtholder, William II, and the victory of Holland, the most powerful province in the republic, revived arguments concerning the rights and

³² "Additional Observations on the Preceding Petition," in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 262–70 ("comport[ing] themselves," 1: 264 n. 7), 321–24, esp. 321–22 ("mutinous," 1: 322); "Letter of George Baxter to Dir. Stuyvesant . . . requesting him not to appoint the magistrate lately nominated," *ibid.*, 14: 130 ("discreetest").

³³ For other uses of "honest," implying respectability and having the good of the community in mind, *ibid.*, 14: 81, 88–89, 102–9, esp. 104, 117–22, esp. 119, 152, 169, 194, 215–18, esp. 216–17, 221–22, 243.

³⁴ "Petition of the Commonalty of New Netherland to the States General," Oct. 13, 1649, in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 259–63 (quotation, 1: 260), 271–318, 332–37.



privileges of autonomous states and towns within the federal constitution. In England the Rump Parliament executed Charles I and established a commonwealth. After a failed attempt to ally with the United Provinces, the English introduced a Navigation Act intended to force the Dutch out of the American trade and tighten control of Virginia and other royalist colonies. In 1652 news reached Holland that English presses were reprinting accounts of the Amboyna massacre to whip up anti-Dutch sentiment. The emerging Anglo-Dutch conflict discouraged the States General from undermining the West India Company's chartered authority. But following an inquiry into the New Amsterdam delegates' case, the company instructed Petrus Stuyvesant to placate his critics and equip New Amsterdam with a burgher government, a schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens.³⁵

The outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch War clearly increased the need for a local administration that could manage the funding and repair of city defenses. Establishing the city government in February 1653, Stuyvesant chose relative newcomers such as Arent van Hattem and confidants Willem Beeckman and Paulus van der Grift as the first burgomasters and schepens. Thereafter he also introduced a new excise on wines and spirits, unpopular regulations on merchant prices, and a program of demanding public works to improve city defenses. On March 13 forty-three of New Amsterdam's leading citizens agreed to a loan of five thousand guilders for defense costs, on a note to be repaid out of city taxes beginning in November. As the months passed, disputes concerning the mounting charges and responsibility for the repair of the fort soured relationships between the director and the newly installed municipal officers. In August the magistrates refused additional funding unless they were first granted control of the city's wine and beer excise. Exchanges remained polite, but there was no mistaking the increasingly acrimonious tone. By mid-November the two sides were deadlocked. The magistrates resolved "to go in a body to the Director General, and demand . . . the grant of the entire excise . . . and in case of refusal,

³⁵ Pieter Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1961), 1: 13–25; Rowen, *John de Witt*, 65; Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), 600–609; Maika, "Commerce and Community," 95–118. Amboyna was an island in the Moluccas where the Dutch were alleged to have brutally murdered ten English merchants in 1623, effectively ending England's participation in the spice trade. For the clamor surrounding the Amboyna affair in the 1620s, see Anthony Milton, "Marketing a Massacre: Amboyna, the East India Company and the Public Sphere in Early Stuart England," in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester, Eng., 2007), 168–90. For English imperial policy and the Navigation Act, see Thomas Leng, *Benjamin Worsley (1618–1677): Trade, Interest and the Spirit in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge, Eng., 2008), chap. 3.



unanimously to request our dismissal, since it is impossible for us to continue any longer.”³⁶

Amid this municipal wrangle, rumors picked up from Indian contacts and circulated by the settlers at Hempstead charged Stuyvesant and the Dutch with conspiring with Narragansett allies to murder the English. John Underhill got word to associates in New Haven and news spread to Boston, prompting an emergency meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England. Meanwhile Underhill hoisted the flag of the English commonwealth at Flushing and drew up a thirteen-point “Vindication” inciting his neighbors to rise against the provincial government. Inspired by international events and rising anti-Dutch sentiment, Underhill called on “all honest hearts that seek the glory of God” to “Renounce the Iniquitous Government of Peter Stuyvesant,” throw off “this tyrannical yoke,” and submit “to the Parliament of England.” The zealous captain also featured prominently in a tract drawing comparisons between the vulnerability of the English settlers on Long Island and the ill-fated traders at Amboyna. Denouncing those who would become “traitors to one another for the sake of your own quiet welfare,” Underhill failed to inspire a local rising or secure the backing of New England.³⁷ Massachusetts, the senior partner in the United

³⁶ Court Minutes, New Amsterdam, in Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, 1: 65–68, 72–74, 78, 90–92, 103–4, 126–30 (quotation, 1: 128), 144–45. On November 25 Petrus Stuyvesant granted the burgomasters and schepens control of the beer and wine excise, but the dispute over conditions continued. See Stuyvesant to the Alderman, [ca. 1652], General Meeting of the Director-General and Council, Mar. 13, 1653, in Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 13–14, 63–66, 68, 74, 78–79, 80–82, esp. 5: 14, 63, 65, 81. The sums involved were considerable: the wine and beer excise alone was estimated at four thousand guilders per year in 1650. See O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 422–32, esp. 425. Stuyvesant’s confidant, Willem Beeckman, originally from Hasselt in Overijssel, came to New Netherland aboard the *Princess* in May 1647. See William J. Hoffman, “Alexander D’Hiniossa, The Last Dutch Director of the Delaware,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 73, no. 4 (October 1942): 246–50, esp. 248; L. Sprague de Camp, “John Beekman of New York City and Some of His Descendants,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 81, no. 3 (July 1950): 132–41, esp. 132; Riker, *Genealogical and Biographical Directory Supplement*, 22.

³⁷ “Vindication of Captain John Underhill in the Name of as Many of the Dutch and English as the Matter Concerns, Which Justly Impels Us to Renounce the Iniquitous Government of Peter Stuyvesant over the Inhabitants Living and Dwelling on Long Island, in America,” in O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 2: 151–52 (quotations, 2: 152). Opinions have long differed concerning the truth of these rumors regarding Dutch and Indian plots against the English on Long Island. Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer blamed Mohegan sachem Uncas for spreading tales that aimed to discredit his Narragansett foes. See Van Rensselaer, *History of City of New York*, 1: 338. Henry Shelley argued that the suspicions were reasonable given Dutch insecurities and correspondence between Petrus Stuyvesant and the West India Company. See Shelley, *John Underhill*, 352–55.



Colonies, was not eager to nurture the fortunes of heterodox radicals on its borders. Lacking colony-wide support, Underhill and Thomas Baxter, another disaffected Long Island rebel, satisfied themselves with commissions from Rhode Island to engage the Dutch. By the autumn Baxter had turned from privateering to piracy, harrying Dutch and English shipping and farms. On November 26 Stuyvesant convened an assembly of council members, city magistrates, and representatives from three English towns to consider provincial defense. It was out of this meeting that calls for a second meeting and ultimately the 1653 remonstrance emerged.³⁸

Underhill's rebellion and its failure were indicative of the fault line evident in Flushing since the Thomas Newton affair and the struggles over ministerial appointment. To his supporters Underhill was a godly and courageous man, willing to sacrifice the quiet and welfare he insisted others forgo in pursuit of just and godly government. To his critics he was an unpredictable gadfly whose self-righteous zealotry put him beyond the bounds of meaningful dialogue. There was, in fact, little difference between the grievances set out in Underhill's "Vindication" and those raised by the delegates in December.³⁹ But as practical approaches to political engagement, they were clearly worlds apart. The

Whatever the explanation, Underhill's "Vindication" invoked the memory of Dutch perfidy in the Amboyna affair. Such was the feeling whipped up by the prewar retelling of the Amboyna massacre that the 1654 treaty, which ended the First Anglo-Dutch War, included an English demand for reparations for the alleged attack thirty years earlier. See O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: 229–33. For a copy of the Amboyna pamphlet, *ibid.*, 2: 571–72.

³⁸ We can only wonder at the possible connections among Thomas Baxter, English secretary George Baxter, and other prominent Englishmen. Thomas Baxter was present at the tavern brawl between pro-Kieft Englishmen and anti-Kieft Dutchmen in 1644, and he makes occasional appearances in the records thereafter. The 1652 baptism of Thomas Baxter's daughter, Elsie, included Carel Verbrugge and, perhaps her namesake, Elsie Newton (wife of Brian Newton) as witnesses. See Evans, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church*, 32. But I have yet to find more compelling links between the two Baxters and, equally tantalizing, Thomas Newton and Stuyvesant's assistant, Brian Nuton/Newton.

³⁹ Shelley, *John Underhill*, 360–83. Underhill considered himself a latter-day Jephthah, the Old Testament hero who was cast out of Israel but allowed to return after his victories on behalf of the Israelites over the Ammonites. See Louise A. Breen, *Transgressing the Bounds: Subversive Enterprises among the Puritan Elite in Massachusetts, 1630–1692* (Oxford, 2001), chap. 2. Underhill perhaps typifies the kind of extremism that differentiated English and Dutch republicanism and the former's more overt engagement with religious and evangelical objectives. See Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2004), 41–42; Jonathan I. Israel, "Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and English Thought," in *The Exchange of Ideas: Religion, Scholarship and Art in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle (Zutphen, Netherlands, 1994), 13–30.



outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War and the establishment of a municipal government in New Amsterdam seem to have driven a wedge between Stuyvesant and erstwhile supporters such as George Baxter. But in the summer and winter of 1653, the former English secretary and current magistrate from Gravesend was not ready to join a godly rebellion. Underhill's failed revolt is noteworthy, then, not only for setting in motion the chain of events that culminated with the December remonstrance but also for the manner in which it marked a boundary of political extremism within which the Dutch and English delegates were determined to remain.

Representatives from New Amsterdam, Flushing, Gravesend, and Newtown first met at the end of November, but the assembly quickly fell into disarray. The English refused to acknowledge Stuyvesant's representatives "because he could not protect them," and they threatened to cease paying taxes and duties. Swearing loyalty to the States General and the company, the English invited the New Amsterdammers to join a "firm alliance . . . in peace as brothers and friends," seeking to isolate Stuyvesant and perhaps appealing to the Dutch as comrades in an international Protestant cause. The city's representatives reported these overtures to the director, who offered his qualified assent. Noting the balance of English and Dutch town delegates and acknowledging the significance of popular support in provincial lobbies, he also announced his intention to grant courts of justice to Amersfoort, Breuckelen, and Midwout so that together with Fort Orange "there would be sufficient votes against" the English in the future.⁴⁰ Returning to the meeting, the Dutch agreed to a coalition and suggested petitioning the authorities in Holland, following a consultation with the neighboring communities of Amersfoort, Breuckelen, Midwout, and Staten Island. The delegates agreed to meet two weeks later, on December 10, "for the purpose of writing a joint letter to the Directors as Lords and Patroons of this Province on the present state of affairs here."⁴¹

The remonstrance drawn up that day was first written out in English, probably by Baxter, but finding "nothing in it prejudicial to the

⁴⁰ Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 84–85 (quotations). The absence of Brian Newton, whom one might have expected Petrus Stuyvesant to send to negotiate with the English, was perhaps noteworthy. Newton is identified as a member of the council on May 12, 1653 (*ibid.*, 5: 70), but thereafter lost his position and went back to Holland before returning and being restored to a measure of prominence as a military officer early in 1655.

⁴¹ "Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam to Director General and Supreme Council of New Netherland," Nov. 29, 1653, in Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, 1: 131–32 (quotation, 1: 131); Nov. 26, 1653, in Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 84–85, esp. 5: 85; O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 223–25; O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: 238.



country and its inhabitants, nor to the abridgment of the power and authority of the . . . High Lords [of] States, or of the West India Company,” the Dutch representatives endorsed and translated the text for presentation to Stuyvesant.⁴² They began by acknowledging the authority of the “paternal government which God (in nature) has established . . . for the maintenance and preservation of peace and the good of mankind.” They declared their allegiance to “His ministers,” the States General (the governing body of the Dutch federation), which exercised “the High and Mighty power . . . to promote the welfare of their subjects . . . within the United Provinces and in the foreign settlements thereunto.” They also recognized all subaltern magistrates commissioned for the same purpose, including the directors of the West India Company and their officers and appointees. Presenting themselves as subjects concerned with the common good, the delegates prayed that their presentation be “*not interpreted sinisterly, but rather advantageously*” as well-intentioned counsel. This deferential posturing belied an unmistakable assertion of individual and community rights. As free subjects of “*our sovereigns, the high and mighty, lords States-General,*” the delegates “humbly conceive our privileges to be the same, harmonizing in every respect with those of the Netherlands, being a member dependent on that state and not a conquered or subjugated people.” They had, they argued, purchased “the soil with our own money,” transformed “a wilderness of woods and erected into a few small villages,” and settled in New Netherland by “a mutual covenant and contract,” adhering to freedoms and privileges, “expecting every enlargement and amplification, but no abridgement thereof.” In so doing, the delegates averred, “nations from divers quarters of the globe” had placed themselves under the protection of the United Provinces and become “now incorporated, as it were one body, *under our sovereigns.*”⁴³

Notwithstanding this presumptive claim to the status of free subjects inhabiting an incorporated community, the representatives feared the “establishment of an arbitrary government among us.” This government had “crushed our spirits and disheartened us, in our labors and callings, so that we, being in a wilderness, are unable to promote the good of the country with the same zeal and inclination as heretofore.” Identifying Stuyvesant and his provincial administration as the source of their woes, the delegates charged the director with questionable land dealings and inadequate defenses against Indian attacks so that they feared “every year, that a new war will be again begun by the Natives of

⁴² O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 550–52, esp. 551, 552–53, esp. 553 (quotation).

⁴³ Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 91–92.



this country.” These problems, it seemed, were symptomatic of a more fundamental and disturbing malaise: “’Tis contrary to the first intentions and genuine principles of every well regulated government,” the remonstrance averred, “that one or more men should arrogate to themselves the exclusive power to dispose, at will, of the life and property of any individual,” especially when this arrogation was done under pretense of laws enacted “without the consent, knowledge or election of the whole Body” or its representatives. But, the delegates explained in additional notes elucidating their key themes, such had been their experience of late. Stuyvesant made decisions without their knowledge, “yea frequently without summoning his adjoined Councillors”; when councillors were called, it was to “approve of his plans [rather] than to assist in consultation.” Resolutions adopted with the consent of New Amsterdam’s burgomasters were “changed and altered, without their knowledge.” In the delegates’ view, the director’s actions amounted to the appointment of officers and the introduction of laws “without the approbation of the Country,” contrary to the practice and freedoms “of the Dutch Government, and odious to every freeborn man.” Worst of all, when they assembled to discuss “the good of the country,” the director “with arrogant words disclaims his fellow subjects.” Consequently, the colony was governed “according to the pleasure and caprice of Dr. Stuyvesant and one or two of his favorite Sycophants.”⁴⁴

Though each of the town delegations had its reasons for subscribing to the remonstrance criticizing Stuyvesant, what emerged from microstruggles over the form and use of public power had morphed into a debate of political first principles. The New Amsterdam officers, embroiled in ongoing disputes concerning their status and administrative authority, may have hoped to bring pressure to bear on the director by colluding with their troublesome English neighbors. The English, Stuyvesant supposed, aimed at avoiding paying the taxes, called tenths, that were about to fall due on their improved lands; he also suspected that they might be trying to draw the Dutch into an alliance with New England. The delegates from Amersfoort, Breuckelen, and Midwout perhaps came anticipating enhanced privileges in the future. Since scholars cannot recover the delegates’ motives with certainty, and given the possibility of dissembling and subterfuge, speculations concerning their sincerity or cynicism are of limited use in understanding the principles that

⁴⁴ “Petition of the Commonalty of New Netherland, etc., to Director Stuyvesant,” Dec. 11, 1653, “Short Notes in the Form of Explanation of Some Points Contained in the Remonstrance of the Colonies and Villages of the New Netherland Provinces . . .,” Dec. 30, 1653, in O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 550–52, 553–55 (quotations, 1: 551–52, 554).



grounded their arguments. Indeed, looking for realpolitik concerns that lay behind the delegates' arguments discourages investigation of the language the nineteen spent most of a day crafting. Regardless of their intentions, if the delegates were to appeal successfully to third parties in New Netherland and the Dutch Republic against Stuyvesant's administration, they had to make credible and effective arguments. Stuyvesant, for his part, was similarly intent on not only asserting his authority but also winning the argument, especially to the satisfaction of his employers in Amsterdam. Whatever their motives, then, the desire of each side to legitimate its position required that they make arguments with a broad appeal.⁴⁵ Thus the exchange over the 1653 remonstrance furnishes a glimpse of what dissenting and ruling factions considered the most effective grounds on which to challenge and defend provincial authority.

In keeping with established tactics, Stuyvesant challenged the delegates' characters and tried to invalidate their credentials as political participants. Writing to the signatories, he first declared that parts of the document were "either unclearly phrased or badly translated" and requested new copies for each member of the council. Then he proclaimed their gathering illegal—Amersfoort, Breuckelen, and Midwout lacking the authority to send representatives to such a meeting—and denounced the other delegates as "a few unauthorized commissioners who are abusively assuming the rights and privileges of the whole." The following day, December 13, he began a detailed rebuttal by mocking the Dutch representatives as men who needed the English "to tell them what to remonstrate."⁴⁶ Thereafter he promoted divisions within the assembly—the English "enjoy[ing] more privileges, than . . . any Hollander"—and raised suspicions concerning their motives because "secret claims and losses" could not be "adjusted as long as they remain secret." Thereafter Stuyvesant's reply focused on what he considered the document's many errors and infelicities: the delegates' claim to speak for the "Colonies and Villages" in New Netherland was invalid because Beverwijck, Rensselaerswijck, Staten Island, and the inhabitants of the South River were not represented; the assertion that the delegates had purchased land from the natives was an "absolute untruth," and their pretension to constitute "one body" with a right to elect magistrates and consent to laws was absurd. Their claim to privileges commensurate with those of the citizens of the United Provinces was equally outlandish, unless they intended to send deputies to the States General like

⁴⁵ Quentin Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts," in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. James Tully (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 68–78.

⁴⁶ Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 94–95.



other “Provinces and Cities of *Netherland*.” Moreover how was it, the director demanded, that the delegates had by their own admission “voluntarily submitted” in a “mutual covenant and contract” to a government they now condemned as arbitrary?⁴⁷ Where once his Dutch critics had denounced his English advisers, now Stuyvesant unpacked the argument made by a former stalwart and wondered whether “George Bacxter, understands it himself.”⁴⁸ Through this combination of personal slights, imputations concerning motives, and the seeming demolition of his critics’ arguments, Stuyvesant aimed to demonstrate that the delegates were at best unqualified and befuddled and, at worst, if they continued with their dissent, purveyors of rebellious doctrines that aimed to overthrow the state.

Yet, despite all, the delegates persisted in their claim to the status of free subjects with a right to scrutinize and thereby in some fashion participate in the provincial administration. When asked for copies, they refused, proposing that Stuyvesant make his own copies from the “original” submitted. They insisted on a considered reply and called on the director and his council to “furnish a categorical answer to each point in the remonstrance” so that they might “know how to conduct themselves.” The delegates rejected Stuyvesant’s characterization of their calling of other villages to the assembly as illegal because “the aforesaid villages were not written to . . . except with the foreknowledge of the honorable director-general and council.” Furthermore, they continued, the assembly was intended for the “service and protection of the country” and “the laws of nature give to all men the right to assemble for the welfare and protection of their freedom and property.”⁴⁹ Refusing repeated orders to disperse, the delegates, when they finally adjourned, sent a copy of the remonstrance and explanatory notes to the burgomasters in Amsterdam, beseeching them to “prevail on the Directors of the Incorporated West India Company . . . to concert good and suitable means, tending to the protection and security of this state.”⁵⁰

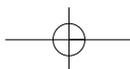
The core of the dispute centered on different views of what constituted the legitimate use of political power. Stuyvesant and the delegates agreed that such power derived from God and that it should be used “for the preservation and protection of the privileges, freedom and property of

⁴⁷ O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 232–36 (“enjoy[ing] more privileges,” “Colonies and Villages,” 14: 233, “secret claims,” 14: 236, “voluntarily submitted,” 14: 234).

⁴⁸ Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 95–100 (quotation, 96).

⁴⁹ Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 94 (“original”), 100 (“aforesaid villages”).

⁵⁰ O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 549–50.



the Company and the good inhabitants” of New Netherland.⁵¹ For Stuyvesant the authority for the use of that power lay “not [with] all men generally” but with the States General and their delegated agents, including the West India Company and those whom they appointed to the office of director and membership of the provincial council.⁵² This delegation was the foundation for the provincial authority settled on the company in the 1621 charter granted by the States General. The company had conceded elements of its chartered authority—under revised “Freedoms and Exemptions” issued in 1629 and 1639 and in the granting of local courts of justice to English and Dutch towns—but these concessions in no way diminished the company’s status as the colony’s supreme governing body. Thus the director and his council, acting with the authority of the West India Company and States General, were free to appoint officers, introduce laws, heed councilors, and call and forbid assemblies as they saw fit.

Stuyvesant’s authoritarian position is intelligible within a broadly construed theory of absolutism, which vested sovereignty in a single body or ruler and forbade disobedience to commands other than those that contradicted divine injunctions. The influence of this theory was visible throughout early modern Europe even in places where monarchy and absolutism were publicly opposed. Reflecting the influence of texts such as Jean Bodin’s *Les six livres de la republique* (1576), conservatives and centralized authorities alarmed by the disorder and moral panic provoked by economic crises and rising tides of religious and political dissent drew on notions of indivisibility of sovereignty and the supremacy of legislative power. In this sense Stuyvesant’s rejection of the legitimacy of dissent and insistence on obedience were also tropes and principles that were ubiquitous features of contemporary authoritarian political discourse, routinely invoked by those seeking to rebuff views they considered libertarian and destructive of order and natural authority. The alternative to this form of authority, at least as far as Stuyvesant was concerned, was to leave matters to “the people generally” and thereafter “every one would want for Magistrate a man of his own stamp . . . a thief would choose . . . a thief and a dishonest man, a drunkard, a smuggler . . . their likes, in order to commit felonies and frauds.”⁵³ It was pre-

⁵¹ Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 102.

⁵² “Council Minutes. Consideration of the Last Request Made by the So-Called Delegates on the 13th of December 1653,” in O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 239–40 (quotation, 14: 239); Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 97, 166–67.

⁵³ “Deductions Made by the Director-General and Council Regarding the Remonstrance of the 11th of December Signed by the Burgomasters and Schepens of this City and Some Englishmen,” in O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 233–36 (quotations, 14: 235).



cisely this argument that George Baxter and his fellow Gravesend magistrates had made when defending the director against his Dutch critics in September 1651. Stuyvesant's rejection of the remonstrance maintained this line, resembling other contemporary defenses of the negative voice and, taken to the extreme, echoing arguments made on behalf of the authority of centralizing powers in England and the Dutch Republic.⁵⁴

The delegates' challenge rested on the view that constitutional and civil authorities, customs and precedents, and the standards evident in public officials' performance all mediated the divinely ordained power exercised by worldly magistrates. The dissenters never forswore loyalty to the States General and the West India Company's officers and designates. But they made a distinction that Stuyvesant did not: between the authority of the office, which was deserving of respect, and the authority of the officeholder, which depended on his comportment and style as judged by qualified subjects. When Stuyvesant appointed officers without the consent or approval of popular representatives, refused to heed well-intentioned counsel, and demonstrated favoritism rather than impartiality, he undermined his authority and, in the delegates' eyes, supplied grounds for legitimate protest. In particular, when the delegates wanted to convince readers "how great an appearance there is of the establishment of an arbitrary government among us," they pointed to Stuyvesant's incivility and "arrogant words . . . though filling a high and honorable office."⁵⁵

ULTIMATELY, WHETHER the *ad hominem* attacks that pepper the records of New Netherland and other early colonies are accurate estimations of character is not as noteworthy as the insights such attacks offer into contemporary political sensibilities. Inhabiting a contested territory, plagued by Indian wars, and lacking what George Baxter called "long and well experienced laws and fundamentals," the colonists were governed by officers of a commercial and military company.⁵⁶ The challenge

⁵⁴ Johann P. Sommerville, "English and European Political Ideas in the Early Seventeenth Century: Revisionism and the Case of Absolutism," *Journal of British Studies* 35, no. 2 (April 1996): 168–94; Van Gelderen, "Aristotelians, Monarchomachs and Republicans," 1: 195–217. For Jean Bodin and his attack on Huguenot theories of resistance, see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1978), 2: 284–301. See also Wolfgang Weber, "What a Good Ruler Should Not Do: Theoretical Limits of Royal Power in European Theories of Absolutism, 1500–1700," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, no. 4 (Winter 1995): 897–915.

⁵⁵ "Short Notes in the Form of Explanation of Some Points Contained in the Remonstrance of the Colonies and Villages of the New Netherland Provinces . . ." Dec. 30, 1653, in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 1: 453, 553–55 (quotations, 1: 554).

⁵⁶ "The Magistrates of Gravesend to the Directors at Amsterdam," Sept. 4, 1651, *ibid.*, 2: 154–56 (quotation, 2: 156).



facing those seeking to establish free and independent settlements was considerable and, as the migrating puritans and their deliberative pursuit of Dutch freedoms demonstrated, fundamental rights to life and property depended on inclusion in a broader community governed by a recognized sovereign state. The colonists tried to secure their rights and privileges via patents, offices, and membership in specific corporate bodies and chartered communities, some acknowledged by the West India Company and others claimed by the settlers. Thereafter they remained sensitive to the actions and attitudes of the governors and scrutinized the behavior and policies of public officials for insights into the tenor and objectives of provincial administration. Their New World conditions may have heightened the degree of this insecurity, marking their experience as peculiarly colonial. The mingling of colonists and communities most likely accounts for their sometimes grab-bag approach, asserting their rights and privileges on the basis of diverse principles and arguments including Dutch laws, divine and natural rights, and English and customary practice. Rather than adhering to unalloyed Dutch or English ways, New Netherland's early settlers drew on diverse sources and sometimes contradictory principles from a more or less recognizable and common Christian, humanist, and civic European heritage.

It is difficult to fit these events and claims into accepted narratives of early settlement politics. If there was no consistent frontier campaign for liberty as Whig historians once believed, neither was New Netherland's early politics chaotic or merely local, insular and detached from wider events. The influence of Dutch traditions and precedents is evident from early on, yet so are appeals to divine law, natural rights, customs, and expectations that derived from a broader European heritage. The adaptation of these multiple sources and traditions was incremental and contingent on local circumstances, but at critical moments outside events clearly impinged on colonial loyalties and tactics. The challenges facing New Netherlanders resembled those that faced other diminutive and remote early modern communities. Engaging with the question of order and authority in their own communities, and buffeted by events beyond their control, the settlers struggled to accommodate provincial and imperial powers and interests from which they realized there could be no absolute immunity. Though these were local debates, they were far from inward looking and merely localist. Settlers took their lead from events in the wider Atlantic world and appealed to regional and European lobbies and authorities in written and printed texts. In so doing they drew on their common European heritage and experimented with forms of argument and political association that placed some Englishmen



with Dutch traders in New Amsterdam's municipal lobby and others with officials in the provincial government.⁵⁷

Late in the spring of 1654, however, international events decided the loyalties of key players and the immediate future of the colony. Within weeks of the December remonstrance, Baxter, James Hubbard, and their associates in Gravesend were again writing to the company, this time to "furnish evidence of our fidelity or loyalty to their High Mightinesses." Attributing their participation in the December meeting to the "sad differences between both [our] States . . . [and] a certain report of the Indians or natives having risen up against us," they had intended no "jealousy or intention of revolting," though "information to the contrary may have reached you."⁵⁸ Even as the Gravesend magistrates endeavored to ingratiate themselves with the Company, however, Cromwell ordered a flotilla of six ships to assist the New Englanders in the conquest of New Netherland. Through the spring and early summer, the Massachusetts General Court and English communities at Hartford and on Long Island prepared for war. In May Isaac Allerton sent word to Petrus Stuyvesant and his council that an attack was likely. The director

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 156. For long-standing assessments of the chaotic nature of early settlement politics, see Jack P. Greene, "Changing Interpretations of Early American Politics," in *The Reinterpretation of Early American History: Essays in Honor of John Edwin Pomfret*, ed. Ray Allen Billington (San Marino, Calif., 1966), 151–84, esp. 151–77; John M. Murrin, "Political Development," in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, ed. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore, 1984), 408–56; Alan Tully, "Colonial Politics," in *A Companion to Colonial America*, ed. Daniel Vickers (Oxford, 2003). For the characterization of early settlement politics as insular and inveterately localist, see T. H. Breen, "Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions," *WMQ* 32, no. 1 (January 1975): 3–28. For work in a similar vein, see Kenneth A. Lockridge, *Settlement and Unsettling in Early America: The Crisis of Political Legitimacy before the Revolution* (Cambridge, 1981); James R. Perry, *The Formation of a Society on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1615–1655* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), chap. 9, esp. 227–28. For one example of similar struggles in other diminutive and remote early modern communities, see Michael Braddick's discussion of the "clubmen" in the English provinces and their reactions to parliamentary forces in the mid-1640s in Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars* (London, 2008), 413–21. One measure of the early settlers' awareness of contemporary political ideas and debates on government is the quality of their libraries, for example the "Inventory Taken of the Effects of Mr. Gysbert van Imbroch . . . Having Been Requested . . . during His Life," Sept. 1, 1665, and "Conditions and Terms whereupon the Effects of the Deceased Mr. Gysbert Van Imbroch, Surgeon, Will Be Publicly Sold to the Highest Bidder by the Appointed Guardians of the Minor Children," Sept. 9, 1665, in Peter R. Christoph, Kenneth Scott, and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, eds., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch; Kingston Papers*, trans. Dingman Versteeg (Baltimore, 1976), 2: 566–75, esp. 2: 568–69, 574. I am grateful to David Voorhees for this reference.

⁵⁸ "The Magistrates of Gravesend to the Directors at Amsterdam," Dec. 27, 1653, in O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 2: 158–59.



wrote to his counterparts in Virginia and New Haven promising friendship, eased the regulation of merchant prices in the city, and awarded the municipal government the long-sought-after excise on wines and spirits. But Stuyvesant was forced to acknowledge that the “country people, notwithstanding their belonging to our nation, will do little for the repairs of the fortifications . . . still less come to this City to assist in its defense” and that the English “abetted, favored, harbored, sustained and supported” the rebels and “although under oath of allegiance . . . would fight rather against, than for us.”⁵⁹ Lacking provincial allies, Stuyvesant looked on as his erstwhile English subjects, including Baxter and Hubbard, held meetings in Gravesend, Hempstead, and Middleburgh, elected their own officials, and planned the seizure of Dutch vessels.

In July, on the eve of New England’s invasion, news of the May treaty ending the First Anglo-Dutch War reached New Netherland. England’s attention turned to the domestic effects of civil war and restraining the royalist sympathies in Virginia and the Caribbean. The Dutch secured a ten-year stay of execution in New Netherland. The ship that brought news of the colony’s relief also delivered the West India Company’s response to the 1653 remonstrance. Considering it the “height of presumption in the people to protest against the government,” the company reproached its director for engaging with the protestors. Such dialogue, it wrote, was characteristic of overly cautious governors who “prostitute their authority when they use only protests against their subjects.” The company ordered Stuyvesant to punish the English residents “in an exemplary manner” and commanded New Amsterdam’s municipal officers to shun further “English or other conventicles, either for deliberating on affairs of state.”⁶⁰ For all their bluster, however, the company allowed reforms in local relationships thereafter. In New Amsterdam the municipal government added incrementally to its authority, presiding over biweekly courts and all manner of civic and commercial regulations.⁶¹ As head of the provincial govern-

⁵⁹ “Resolutions Adopted Concerning the Proposals Made by the Director-General,” June 2, 1654, in O’Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 269–71 (“country people,” 14: 269, “although under oath,” 14: 270); Van Laer et al., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, 5: 104, 106–7, 113–14, 126 (“abetted”), 129, 140, 146, 153, 155; Brodhead, *History of State of New York*, 582–84.

⁶⁰ O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: 266.

⁶¹ In 1656 the municipal officers also secured the right to select their own successors, submitting nominations for burgomasters and schepens of twice the number of places to be filled from which the director and his council selected those who would serve. See Gehring, *Council Minutes, 1655–56*, 13–14, 212–15. For discussions of



ment, Stuyvesant retained considerable authority and a right of approval over ordinances introduced by the merchant magistrates. But by the late 1650s, the residents had realized their ambition of a burgher government and, within this framework, a civil political discourse among burghers, municipal officials, the provincial director, and the council developed.

The Dutch authorities would reach no such accommodation with the outlying English settlements. Tempers flared when the English endeavored to settle on territories claimed by the Dutch such as Mattinnekonck Bay, Long Island, and the village of Vreedland (Westchester). Facing a more populous Dutch colony and a better-supported provincial authority, the interlopers had to agree to terms if they were to remain in New Netherland. Thereafter English grumblings about boundary disputes, Indian relationships, taxes, and local political arrangements became a routine feature of provincial politics. In December 1657 Flushing reprised its long-established role as a haven for the heterodox in a remonstrance protesting Stuyvesant's order forbidding support for Quakers. Some on Long Island continued to plot the downfall of the Dutch: Baxter was arrested and then flitted in and out of the colony before traveling to London and participating in the machinations that culminated with the 1664 conquest. Rallying to the English forces commanded by Richard Nicolls, Long Islanders anticipated local autonomy under a new English administration. They were disappointed. In 1665 Long Island, Staten Island, and Westchester were incorporated under a civil and criminal code known as the Duke's Laws. Nicolls made no provision for local government and placed the English towns under the direct supervision of the governor and his council. Setting out to establish "the foundations of Kingly Government," the newly arrived Nicolls found that "Democracy hath taken so deepe a Roote in these parts, that ye very name of a Justice of the Peace is an Abomination" and

the municipal government's broadening administrative remit, see D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, for the Year 1848* (New York, 1848), 385–86; John E. O'Connor, "The Rattle Watch of New Amsterdam," *De Halve Maen* 43, nos. 1–2 (April–July 1968): 9–12; Kenneth Scott, "New Amsterdam's Taverns and Tavern Keepers: I," *De Halve Maen* 39, no. 1 (April 1964): 9–10, 15; Elva Kathy Lyon, "The New Amsterdam Weighhouse," *De Halve Maen* 69, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 1–10; Adriana E. van Zweiten, "The Orphan Chamber of New Amsterdam," *WMQ* 53, no. 2 (April 1996): 319–40.



his reform of the provincial government “truely is grievous to some Republicans.”⁶²

⁶² Richard Nicolls to the Earl of Clarendon, Apr. 7, 1666, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1869* (New York, 1870), 113–20 (quotations, 119). See also Robert C. Ritchie, *The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664–1691* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977), 34–37, 52. The Duke's Laws are reproduced in *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution, Including the Charters to the Duke of York, the Commissions and Instructions to Colonial Governors, the Duke's Laws, the Laws of the Dongan and Leisler Assemblies, the Charters of Albany and New York and the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures from 1691 to 1775 Inclusive* (Albany, N.Y., 1894), 1: 6–71. For Anglo-Dutch tensions on Long Island, see O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 313–14; Gehring, *Council Minutes, 1655–56*, 27–28, 34–35, 65, 258–59, 262–63, 269–71, 274–75, 277, 281–83; Charles T. Gehring, ed. and trans., *Correspondence, 1654–1658* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2003), 98, 120–21. For Flushing, see O'Callaghan et al., *Documents Relative to History of New-York*, 14: 402–3, 409; George L. Smith, *Religion and Trade in New Netherland: Dutch Origins and American Development* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 224–31. George Baxter's activities and arrest are discussed in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2: 280, 342; Brodhead, *History of State of New York*, 1: 725–26; Gehring, *Council Minutes, 1655–56*, 8–9, 68.

