IN THE DAYS OF OUR ANCESTORS

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THE STORY OF CORNELIS MELYN AND HIS FAMILY

When Cornelis Melyn was born in 1600, his parents were residents of Antwerp. Perhaps generations of Melyns had lived and died in that city, but it is thought that the family came originally from Malines and that the family name was derived from that of the town.

The name of the family appears in a bewildering variety of forms. Some of these forms are strongly suggestive of Malines. We find the name spelled Moullains, Murline, Mellyns, Melines, Meljin, Melyen, and Melyn. The latter form has been adopted by historians of the present time.(1)

Though we know very little of Cornelis Melyn's parents, we do know that from 1567 to 1600 they and all other residents of Antwerp had lived through a period of great tribulation. King Philip II of Spain was determined to rule the Netherlands according to his own will and also to stamp out Protestantism. The people protested. That was treason. Persecution and warfare brought death to many and misery to all.

Antwerp endured a siege of fourteen months. The city was sacked; property was confiscated; thousands of skilled artisans sought refuge in England, and one hundred thousand rich burghers fled to Amsterdam. Spain dealt a lasting blow to Antwerp by building a fortified bridge across the River Scheldt, in order to keep out her enemies. It was the Scheldt that had given commercial supremacy to Antwerp, for in its broad estuary two thousand ships could find anchorage at one time. Thus the bridge destroyed Antwerp's commercial prosperity. In short, Spanish despotism had brought desolation and gloom to that city.

On his death bed King Philip II resigned himself to the idea that Holland was unconquerable. The struggle ended. Holland had achieved independence and had become a republic, but Flanders or Belgium was still a Spanish province.

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(1) Melyn or Melijn: pron. CorNAYlis MeLYN, short e, long y as in VanDyke. Accent last syl. of Melyn.

In 1600 Philip II turned over the government of Flanders to his daughter Isabella and her husband, Duke Albert of Austria. This was the dawn of a better day for Antwerp. Huge taxes were still exacted. The river was still closed to the commerce of the world. Yet the new rulers were trying, to some extent, to heal the wounds of the stricken city. The burghers of Antwerp were a plucky people. If their city could not be a great commercial center, they resolved to make it a center of industries. And they succeeded in their resolve.

We do not know what was the occupation of Cornelis Melyn's father, but we do know that he left property. To have acquired or to have retained any possession in those troublous days must have been an achievement. However, at the time of Cornelis's birth prosperity must have been just around the corner.

As in later years Cornelis Melyn speaks of his nephews, he could not have been an only child. But that Antwerp home was broken up in 1606, for in that year both parents died. With truth Cornelis's father might have said, "Few and evil have been the days of the years of my life."

Guardians were appointed for Cornelis after the death of his parents, and his schooldays began. If Cornelis was as persevering in boyhood as he was in later life, he went to school prepared to cope with all the difficulties that letters or figures might present. Although his years at school in Antwerp were limited to seven, he could not have been a dull pupil, for in later years he was regarded as a well educated man. The ability that he showed in expressing his thoughts in writing clearly, forcibly, and cleverly would indicate that he must have had good teachers.

Learning and art, as well as industries flourished in Antwerp in Cornelis's youth. Scholars were attracted to the city by a noted firm of printers, the Plantins. Rubens, "that greatest Fleming of them all", was then in Antwerp producing some of his masterpieces, and Van Dyck was his pupil. The courtly figure of Rubens as well as the faces of other distinguished artists, scientists and scholars must have been familiar to Cornelis in his boyhood.

At the age of thirteen Cornelis was apprenticed to learn the trade of leather-dressing, an industry which had enabled many Flemish burghers to accumulate much wealth. He worked at this trade for five years. Then, having announced his intention of starting out to see the world, he received a certificate of good character and set forth.

Perhaps from childhood, the Scheldt, "the greyest of grey rivers", had been beckoning to Cornelis, and he had longed to follow its course to the sea and far away. Many of his countrymen, perhaps some of his own kinsfolk, had gone to England and had found places in the industries of that country. Distant journeyings were coming to be the fashion in those days. Voyages to the East Indies, Africa, Brazil, and North America in the seventeenth century were as thrilling as around-the-world flights or ascents to the stratosphere are in the twentieth century.

The Dutch East India Company had been formed in 1602. Their fleets were sailing Oriental seas, bringing in tea and coffee and those spices so prized by our forefathers that a seat near the spice box was more coveted than a seat above the salt. The Dutch also monopolized the grain trade of the Baltic. Moreover, there were the whale fisheries of the Arctic to attract the most venturesome. In short, there were plenty of adventures for all who wanted them.

Where Cornelis Melyn went when he left Antwerp in 1618 we do not know, but wherever he went or whatever he did we may be sure that he was observing intelligently, and probably he was dreaming of a great future. When he returned to his native city he was twenty-six years of age. The time had come for the settlement of the estate, and Cornelis wished to marry and settle himself in business. We do not know the amount of his inheritance, but it was evidently sufficient for his purposes at the moment.

Conditions had greatly changed in Antwerp since the days of Cornelis's childhood. Doubtless the young man could have found a business opening in that city. But Amsterdam, the largest commercial center of Holland and the most important financial center in Europe at that time, offered greater opportunities for a successful career to an ambitious young man who wanted to make his fortune. As the Van Rensselaer Bouer MSS. allude to Melyn as a leather-dresser, he probably established himself in that business in Amsterdam.

In 1627, Cornelis Melyn married Jannetje Adriaens of Myert. We may picture Jannetje as a rosy-cheeked, sweet-faced maiden with flaxen hair. That she was arrayed in a myriad of skirts we may be sure. Perhaps on her wedding day she was dressed like Gari Melcher's Dutch Bride, in a gown of pinkish lavender with a white veil. On ordinary occasions, however, she would have worn black or brown dresses, since only the peasants wore the colorful garb of red or blue. Little did Jannetje know on her wedding

day of the adventures that were in store for her, but had she known she would probably have thought that all would be well with her at the side of the enthusiastic young Fleming, Cornelis Melyn.

Jannetje had probably received at least an elementary education, since the primary schools of Holland were open to both girls and boys. There were also French schools for girls who desired a more advanced education than the primary schools offered.

The first twelve years of Jannetje's married life were spent in a well-ordered Dutch home. The typical Dutch house such as we would have seen in Amsterdam in Jannetje's day was of red brick. Its narrow gable end faced the street. The tiny panes of glass of the arched windows assumed a violet tint when seen from the outside. The doors and ironwork were of dark green, and other colors might appear in the brick patterns.

If we could have entered the Melyn house we would have found ourselves in a long narrow hallway, with rooms on one side and the staircase in the rear. Perhaps we would have thought the kitchen the most attractive room. Its large fireplace with brass cranes, its heavy mantel, its blue-figured wall tiles, the casement windows, the great ceiling beams, the wall cupboard with its ponderous lock, and the Delft plates in long rows around the walls gave an impression of warmth and comfort. The bedrooms would have seemed rather cold, for the tiled floors were unrelieved by rugs, the alcove bed was hidden behind heavy curtains, and the furniture was stiff. But the tiled floors as well as all other parts of the house were immaculate, for the Dutch housewives of three centuries ago had a passion for cleanliness. Indeed, they forestalled the modern scientists in that respect. In those days Holland was a paradise because of the independence accorded to them.

Narrow streets, and thus a lack of natural lighting, would have made the rooms seem somewhat gloomy, but the walls of a Dutch home were brightened by pictures. Frequently a map of the world was to be seen on the wall so that the family could trace the course of mariners or traders as they sailed to distant shores. There must have been such a map in the Melyn home, where Cornelis could trace voyages of past years and plan new voyages for the future. Jannetje must have marked the course across the Atlantic many times before she embarked upon the momentous voyage which brought her to a strange land that was full of disorder, disasters, and horrors.

Life was to make great demands upon Jannetje's strength and courage, but her old age was peaceful and tranquil. During the twelve years that she and Cornelis spent in Holland a daughter, Cornelia, was born in 1628, a son, Cornelis, in 1633, Jacob, in 1640, and probably another son was born whose name is not known. It seems probable that these years in Amsterdam must have been fairly prosperous for the Melyn family. Otherwise the great enterprise which Cornelis later undertook would have been impossible.

Although details of the Amsterdam period of Melyn's life are lacking, history furnishes us with background and atmosphere. Holland was intensely alive. It was an era of thrilling adventures, great activity, and notable achievements. Melyn's future must have been greatly influenced both by the atmosphere of Amsterdam and by the range of activities of Dutch life in this period, even though the direction of his ultimate endeavor was probably determined in his youth, when he heard tales of adventures in faraway lands. As a boy, Cornelis must have been thrilled by the story of Henry Hudson's attempt to find a northerly route to China, his discovery of Manhattan and the Hudson River, and his tragic fate.

During the twelve years that the Melyns lived in Amsterdam and after, the business of Europe was transacted on the Amsterdam Exchange. At this time the tulip craze reached its height. Speculators traded in tulips as they would deal with stocks and bonds. Single bulbs sometimes brought from four thousand to five thousand guilders on the Stock Exchange. Fortunes were made and lost in tulips. Possibly Cornelis Melyn may have dabbled in tulip stock. We do not know.

In agriculture as well as in floriculture the Hollanders developed great improvements. They brought to perfection the culture of the other winter vegetables. This was a great boon to Europe, because the use of these vegetables prevented famine and the scourges of disease. Hay was so improved in quality that the Dutch had the finest cattle and dairies in Europe. It is said that the population of England more than doubled through the adoption of the agricultural improvements of the Dutch.

Dutch factories were sending out fabrics of a quality formerly found only in Italy and Flanders. Their warehouses were filled with the products of the world.

The Dutch of the seventeenth century were not less distinguished in literature, science, and art than in trade, manufactures and agriculture. At that time Holland was giving to the world the most accomplished jurists, the most painstaking historians, the most skillful physicians, and the most original thinkers in science. Students from all countries flocked to Leyden. More books were issued by Dutch publishers in the seventeenth century than by all the rest of Europe combined. As her contribution to art, Holland gave Rembrandt to the world. Such was the stimulating atmosphere in which Cornelis Melyn lived and worked for twelve years. As he was a man possessing knowledge, imagination, energy, ambition, and dauntless courage, it was natural that he should have dreams of some great endeavor which he would have sought to realize. The trend of affairs determined the direction which Melyn's endeavor should follow.

As early as 1592, Flemish refugees in Holland had advocated the organization of a Dutch West India Company, but the charter was not issued until June, 1621. From time to time Amsterdam merchants had sent out ships to get furs from the Indians of Manhattan, but no permanent colony was established there until 1623. The Manhattan hamlet of bark huts and its bales of beaver skins offered little attraction to dwellers in Amsterdam.

The States-General gave to the West India Company exclusive jurisdiction over Dutch trade not only in New Netherland and the West Indies but in Brazil and parts of West Africa. As early as 1623, this company had a fleet of seventy-three vessels in operation on the Atlantic. Mrs. Van Rensselaer says: "Wealth poured into Holland from South America, the West Indies and West African shores and also from capture of rich Spanish galleons. Ivory tusks by the thousand, gold by the hundred weight, silver by the ton, silk, cotton, dyewoods, perfumes and precious stones came to Amsterdam, but from New Netherland Europe had gotten nothing but furs and tobacco." Therefore the West India Company used only two or three of its ships in trade with New Netherland.

Two parties were represented in the West India Company. One party wished to maintain New Amsterdam as a trading post; the other party advocated the colonization of the province.

In 1629 the States-General ratified a colonization scheme, and pamphlets describing this plan were widely distributed in Holland. Doubtless these pamphlets were read with interest by Cornelis Melyn. According to the colonization scheme, colonists might take up as much land

as they could properly cultivate outside of New Amsterdam itself.

Had the Dutch not been a free, active, prosperous people, it is probable that many would have availed themselves of this opportunity to emigrate to New Netherland. But colonization was slow. In order to stimulate emigration to this new colony, the company offered special privileges to any man approved by them who would agree to take to New Netherland fifty adult settlers at his own expense and risk.

In Holland the great estates shared with cities and chartered towns rights of self-government. Similar rights were to be accorded to those who assumed the duties and responsibilities of patroons, who, in fact, would be feudal lords, almost independent of governors. Patroons as well as colonists were to pay the Indians for their lands. Each patroon was entitled to a grant of land sixteen miles in length. The width of the grant was to be determined by future development. Fishing and gaming privileges were included with the grant as well as the right to build mills, to receive a tenth of the harvests grown on the grant and to sell the land, if desired. For fifteen years the patroon was to be exempt from payment of import duties, and the company was expected to transport cattle and implements free of charge.

Patroons were expected to govern their communities in accordance with the laws of Holland. They had no military authority but were to have civil and criminal jurisdiction within their own domain, though tenants had the right of appeal to the governor in certain cases. The tenants brought out by the patroon were not serfs, though they agreed to be subjects of the patroon for a term of years.

The patroon might trade along the coast, but he must first bring his commodities to New Amsterdam and pay a duty of five per cent. He was expected to establish churches and schools in his domain and send in annual reports in regard to his colony. When desirable he was to send a delegate to New Amsterdam to consult with Governor and Council about affairs of common interest. Theoretically, few restrictions were imposed upon the right of the patroon to administer the affairs of his community with fairness and justice to all concerned.

In response to the offers of the West India Company, several patroons established themselves in the neighborhood of New Amsterdam, but close proximity to the autocratic governors proved to be undesirable. In 1630 Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a rich pearl merchant of Amsterdam, received a large grant, which included the present site

of Albany and much of the surrounding territory. That was the only patroonship that survived the Dutch rule.

As early as 1623 the English Ambassador to Holland warned the Dutch that they were trespassing on English territory at Manhattan. The Dutch made no reply but continued their trading. In 1632 the question was brought up again. In fact, the ship carrying Governor Minuit back to Holland was forced into Plymouth Harbor and seized for trading unlawfully in countries belonging to England.

Then Holland was obliged to speak. The Dutch claimed that they were entitled to territory between thirty-nine and forty-one degrees north latitude, since the English had never established any plantation within those boundaries. Furthermore, the Dutch explained that they had purchased the territory that they were occupying from the Indians. In reply the English said that, as the Indians held the land in common and had no settled abodes, they did not own the land. The English claim to New Netherland was based upon discovery, occupation, possession, and charters. However, they said that if New Netherlanders would acknowledge their subjection to the King of England they might remain where they were, at their own risk. Thus the matter rested for the time.

But the West India Company had no security. The States-General had permitted the company to acquire New Netherland and were tacitly claiming it as Dutch territory, though they had given no charter for it, had not defined its boundaries, nor guaranteed its safe possession. This lack of national support as well as their own extravagance and poor management in choice of governors brought about a decline of the West India Company within a few years.

In 1633 Wouter Van Twiller was sent out as governor of New Netherland. He brought with him Dominie Bogardus, Adam Roelantsen, Van Tienhoven as bookkeeper, and one hundred forty soldiers. The school established by Roelantsen and supported by the West India Company under the supervision of the church, survives to this day. It is the school of the Collegiate Reformed Church in New York, the oldest school in the United States, founded two years before the Boston Latin School.

The West India Company was not satisfied with the growth of the colony under Van Twiller's management. He was recalled in 1637. He had always treated the Indians well and kept his agreements with them. Perhaps Cornelis Melyn's story would have had a different ending if Van Twiller had been retained as governor until 1650.

Cornelis Melyn was ambitious and energetic. To a man of that sort the idea of acquiring a large estate in the New World might make a strong appeal. Why should he not make application for a patroonship? The firsthand information he had received from Van Rensselaer in regard to New Netherland doubtless strengthened Melyn in his purpose to see this land about which there was so much talk. Melyn was a practical man. He must have realized that intelligence, energy, hard work, great risks and sacrifices, as well as adequate equipment, would be essential to the establishment of a prosperous community, where all might reap the benefits that the future held for the successful patroon. Then, too, the lives and happiness of his family were involved in this proposition. But having weighed the matter carefully, Cornelis Melyn sailed for New Netherland as supercargo of the Het Wapen Van Norwegen on May 12, 1638. He was engaged by Van Rensselaer to attend to the transportation of goods to New Amsterdam. Melyn's main object in going, however, was to see for himself what the New World had to offer.

On the eve of Melyn's departure for New Amsterdam the following letter was addressed to him by Van Rensselaer.

May 12, 1638

> Monsieur Melijn. Enclosed is a letter to be delivered to Jacob Planck, as I had forgotten to write something. Advise me at your convenience of the receipt of this letter, as it is of great importance.
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> Herewith also a package of eight very useful books, No. X, also to be handed to Jacob Planck. Enter them also at the end of your bill of lading so as not to forget them and keep them in your chest or somewhere else where they do not get wet. It would not be bad either to read them on the ship. You might take them all out and then wrap them up again when you get on land.
>
> Further, do your best to sail in the name of the Lord as soon as possible, to deliver our people, goods and horses as safely as possible and to treat them well, keeping the fear of the Lord before your eyes. He will undoubtedly through His divine grace grant you a happy and speedy voyage, wherewith, commending you to His faithful protection I remain, with hearty greetings...

The voyage did not begin very propitiously, for officers and crew refused to sail unless six of Van Rensselaer's horses were taken out to make room for their chests and casks. However, after a voyage of three months the vessel was approaching Staten Island. Cornelis Melyn saw the forest-clad hills in their summer glory. That, he

thought, was the site for him. In his imagination he saw grain fields ready for harvesting, green pastures, where fine cattle were grazing, orchards, gardens, barns, storehouses, cottages, and a manor house, and, at some future day, he saw a town that would welcome the incoming vessels.

The reality and the transformation which he saw in imagination convinced Melyn that he was destined to become the Patroon of Staten Island. He saw only a bright picture of success. None of the dark shadows later to be cast by the folly and tyranny of ruling autocrats and Indian atrocities entered into the picture. His enthusiasm did not abate when he found that Peterse DeVries already had a plantation on Staten Island. A large tract could be spared from an area of 44,000 acres. Besides, DeVries was a just and good man, trusted alike by white men and Indians. Melyn would like to have such a neighbor.

Melyn, anxious to take the first step toward the realization of his desire, wished to get back to Holland as soon as possible. He remained but a short time in New Netherland. Since he was expected to load the ship with codfish for the return voyage, he sailed directly to Tierra Nuova.

A letter of May 12, 1639, written by Van Rensselaer to the Governor of New Netherland, speaks of Melyn as follows: "Cornelis Melyn is still in France. He sold our ship there with profit, but through lack of knowledge of the matter has had a poor catch and caught not much over 12,000 codfish. In course of time this will have to be looked after better. At present we must pay for our experience." Melyn had proved that he was a good business man, but in the management of fishing expeditions he was evidently not a success.

On July 2, 1640, after his return to Holland, Melyn obtained permission from the West India Company to found a colony in New Netherland wherever he was inclined to settle. It must have taken strong pressure to gain consent for the establishment of another patroonship, for by this time the company was having trouble in connection with the patroons, and they were not seeking others. Nevertheless, Melyn got the desired permission. His selection of Staten Island was approved by their Honors, and the transaction was duly entered in the Colonial Register.

Among the Melyn Papers is the following deed:

> Willem Kieft, Director-General of Councillors, in behalf of the High Mighty Lords, States-General of the United Netherlands, His Highness of Orange, and Honorable Manager of the General Privileged West India Company residing in New Netherland, deeded to Cornelis Melyn, July 1640, the entire Staten Island, except so much land as appertained to a farm, which before had been granted to De Vries, on condition that Melyn should acknowledge the Managers as his Lords and obey their Director and Councillors, and should acknowledge sovereignty of the States-General, and should submit to payment of such requisitions as may be levied by the Managers.

Melyn, on his part, was to have power and authority to cultivate, inhabit, and use Staten Island. The grantors retained no share of claim or authority over it.

Melyn must have been much occupied from the time of his return to Amsterdam to July, 1640. In addition to closing up his business affairs in the city, he had to persuade fifty capable colonists to go with him as tenants. He also had to purchase livestock, agricultural implements, seeds, tools, goods of all kinds necessary in starting this enterprise in the wilderness. But in August, 1640, Cornelis Melyn was ready to sail with his family and colonists to make an earthly paradise of Staten Island.

It must have been a sad moment for Jannetje as the old familiar scenes were fading from her view, and she with her children were facing the dangers of the sea in quest of an unknown land. Whatever fears she may have had in regard to the voyage were justified more speedily than she had anticipated, for their ship was attacked at sea. Stripped of cattle, goods, and all their belongings, the Melyn party was obliged to return to Holland.

One might think that Cornelis Melyn would have hesitated about embarking upon another venture, having spent so much capital in the purchase of equipment, but we shall see that nothing short of complete ruin daunted the courage of this man. On February 18, 1641 Melyn received a renewal of the grant of land made to him in July, 1640.

However, additional capital was necessary to finance this second venture. Various important persons in Amsterdam had become interested in Cornelis Melyn and in his colonization project. Among this number was Lord Nederhorst, who made the following contract with Melyn on May 6, 1641.

Very noble Jongheer Godert Van Reede, Lord Nederhorst, entered into contract with Melyn, whereby he agreed to furnish one-half of the capital required to equip the second expedition, on condition that he should have one-half of the colony of Staten Island. Lord Nederhorst was to regulate his property as he should deem proper, though Melyn was to act as superintendent of his colonists and hold them to their duty.

In the summer of 1641 the Melyn family with forty-one persons again embarked for New Netherland, aboard Den Eyckenboom. They arrived at their destination on August 20, 1641. Melyn said in one of his letters to the West India Company, "We immediately began to build houses, to plough land, and to do everything conducive to establishing a good colony, begrudging neither time nor labor."

Willem Kieft was then Governor of New Netherland. Notwithstanding the independence accorded to patroons, we shall see that there was a direct relation between the character of Willem Kieft and the fate of the Melyn colony. It is necessary, therefore, to understand something of Kieft and the methods which he employed during his administration. The predecessors of Kieft, who became governor in 1637, were more or less shadowy figures. Kieft was by no means shadowy, though his previous record of dishonesty in handling trust funds might be called shady.

The selection of Kieft for governor was most unwise. His paternalistic management was irksome, for he prescribed hours for rising and retiring, for beginning and quitting work, and he made strict regulations for the taverns and tried to banish immoralities by proclamation. He did, however, check illicit trade with foreigners and endeavored to stop the sale of guns and intoxicants to Indians.

Kieft's predecessors had preserved friendly relations with the Indians. He had orders from the company to follow the same policy. Friendly relations with the Indians continued until 1639. But Kieft, who was restless, energetic, and erratic as well as vain, obstinate, and domineering, wanted to be regarded as a hero by the company and by the colonists. In fact, this idea became an obsession with him, and he thought that if he could exterminate the Indians of that region he would achieve his desire. Thus the peace and prosperity of the colony were sacrificed to Kieft's desire for self-aggrandizement.

Among civilized peoples wars are often traced to trade or to economic conditions. Although one would not expect to find similar causes for warfare among the savages of New Netherland, such was the case, and troubles came in this way.

The Indian prized wampum as the white man prizes gold. The shells from which wampum was made were found only in certain districts. They abounded on the Long Island shores. Oyster Bay, in fact, was an Indian mint. The presence of this treasure at the doors of the Dutch was a great advantage in one way, for the Indians were glad to exchange furs for wampum. In early Colonial days wampum and beaver skins furnished a more or less stabilized currency, but when enemies of the Long Island Indians crossed the Sound in swarms of canoes and made raids upon the wampum mint, these disturbances were a menace to the Dutch.

The Dutch had made a treaty of peace with the powerful Iroquois, the enemies of the Algonquins. The Iroquois had quantities of fine furs to sell. However, highly as they valued wampum, they preferred to exchange furs for guns. The sale of firearms to the Indians was against the law, but white men succumbed to the temptation to trade guns for furs, because an Indian would give twenty beaver skins for one musket.

In this way some of the Iroquois got guns, although such traffic in guns was prevented in or near New Amsterdam. The Iroquois were irresistible when they got guns, and the Algonquins became alarmed. They were also much offended, because the Dutch had sold firearms to their enemies and not to them. Thus the white man's greed and the Indian fear and jealousy of the hostile Iroquois conspired to create unfriendly relations between the Dutch and their neighbors, the Algonquins. Then, too, the Indians lost their awe of the white man. Since settlements were widely scattered, the way was paved for outbreaks.

Governor Kieft's stupid policy was the most potent factor in arousing Indian resentment against the white man and in producing the resulting tragedies. In the first place, Kieft demanded tribute from the neighboring tribes, since the Dutch had protected them against the Mohawks.

Then, in 1640, a party of Raritans was charged with stealing pigs from the De Vries plantation on Staten Island. In punishment for this theft, Kieft sent soldiers, who took the Indians by surprise, killed several of them, and destroyed their crops. As a result of Kieft's action, the Raritans returned to desolate the De Vries plantation, killing four of his tenants. These Indians were still further enraged by Kieft's offer to other tribes of a bounty for the heads of Raritans.

For the cause of still more serious trouble we must go back to 1626, when an Indian of the Weckquaesgeck tribe came to Manhattan with furs to sell. A white man murdered the Indian to get possession of his furs. The Indian's relatives did not forget this murder, and, in 1641, a

nephew of the murdered man avenged his uncle's death by killing Claes Smit at Manhatten. Since this was the Indian idea of the fulfillment of duty, the sachem refused to give the murderer up when Kieft demanded him. Kieft had always refused to look at things from the Indian point of view. Now he saw his opportunity for a wholesale slaughter of the Indians.

In case he did not succeed in his plan to exterminate the Indians of that region, Kieft did not want to shoulder the blame. Therefore, he tried to implicate representatives of the whole body of colonists in promoting warfare. In case of success he would be the hero; in case of failure he would be able to relieve himself of liability. On August 29, 1641, a few days after the arrival of the Melyn colonists at Staten Island, heads of families were startled to have certain propositions publicly submitted for their discussion by the Director and his Council. The three questions propounded were as follows: Should the murder of Claes Smit be avenged? When and in what manner? By whom can this be effected?

At Kieft's command, twelve men were to be chosen to assist in the direction of this affair. The heads of families met at the fort and chose twelve men to decide whether they should avenge the murder of Claes Smit by going to war. It is said that Cornelis Melyn, even though he had arrived so recently, was one of this committee.

This was a difficult situation. If the twelve men advised against chastising the Indians they would be charged with weakness, lack of patriotism, and disloyalty to the government, since Kieft regarded criticism of his policy as treason. Furthermore, if the Indians found out that the committee had refused to punish them, they might become bolder and more hostile. After careful consideration the committee assented to the use of force against the Indians, if necessary, but recommended peaceable demands. The men also suggested that an expedition should be sent when the warriors were away on their hunting trips. The sting of their reply lay in the following words: "As the people recognize no other head than the Director-General, therefore they prefer that an expedition should be sent and that he should head the van, while they on their part offer their persons to follow his steps and obey his commands."

Governor Kieft had been outwitted by the twelve men. The responsibility for warfare was laid on his shoulders after all. The clever answer of the committee was coldly received, and no measures were taken against the Indians for some time.

But the committee of twelve did not stop when they had replied to the Director's questions, for they saw an opportunity to establish a popular voice in the affairs

of the colony. Therefore, on January 21, 1642, they sent a petition to the Director on behalf of the people of New Netherland, asking for redress of certain grievances. In order that taxes might not be imposed on the country without the knowledge and consent of the twelve man committee, they requested that the people should be represented in the meetings of the Council. The committee consented to an expedition against the Weckquaesgecks in return for redress of grievances.

Their Director was furious when he received this petition. The body which he had created to further his own crooked designs had thwarted him and was now attempting to interfere in his absolute control of the affairs of government. Thus he forbade the twelve men to hold any more meetings.

The governor had not given up his original intention of exterminating the Indians. He still wanted some kind of authorization, however, and so he resorted to trickery to attain his ends. In February, 1643, Jan Damen gave a dinner. When all except the governor and his secretary had become more or less intoxicated, a petition inspired by Kieft, which authorized an attack upon the Indians, was signed by the guests. On February 24, 1643, with this fraudulent justification for his course, Kieft issued orders to drive away and destroy the savages encamped across the river. The Indians were taken by surprise. More than one hundred men, women, and children were killed by the two attacking parties.

The enraged Indians avenged this attack by devastating the farms in the vicinity of New Amsterdam and by slaying the settlers or taking them captive. The number of Dutch farmhouses on Manhattan was reduced from forty to four or five, and most of the survivors huddled around Fort Amsterdam, living in straw huts. Anarchy prevailed. All of the settlers were angry with Kieft. Dominie Bogardus, who severely denounced this cruel and foolhardy policy of Kieft, was prosecuted by the governor.

Eleven tribes of Indians were on the warpath. The chief of the Haverstraws thought that they could exterminate the whites. Through the efforts of Captain De Vries, whom the Indians trusted, treaties of peace were signed with the Long Island Indians, but war broke out in Connecticut and spread to the Hudson River Valley. There was deadly fear in New Amsterdam by the following September.

A second disaster occurred during the summer of 1643, just as Melyn was getting his settlement well started. In a later communication to the West India Company, Melyn says, "My houses and farms and every thing were burnt,

my cattle besides some people were shot dead. So that I was obliged to flee for the sake of saving my life and to sojourn with wife and children at the Menatans till 1647." Melyn had bought a house for the use of his family in troublous times. It was on the east half of Broad Street between Pearl and Stone Streets.

In the midst of the colony's confusion and distress, Kieft called upon the people to choose eight men to decide what course of action should be pursued. This board of eight men included Kuyter, Isaac Allerton, one of the Mayflower pilgrims, Thomas Hall of Virginia, and Cornelis Melyn. Melyn was chosen to be President of the Board.

This new committee decided that peace should be kept with the Indians of Long Island but that war should be declared against the Hudson River tribes. At Isaac Allerton's request, Captain John Underhill, formerly of Boston, came to the rescue of New Netherland. He sailed to Greenwich with one hundred fifty Dutch soldiers, destroyed the Indian fort and killed its defenders. Eight hundred Indians perished, thus breaking up the league of tribes which had threatened the existence of New Netherland.

The famous Anne Hutchinson and her family of sixteen had been massacred by the Indians within a few miles of New Amsterdam. It is an interesting fact that Captain Underhill had been one of Mrs. Hutchinson's adherents in the unhappy days of the Antinomian Controversy. Fortunately for New Netherland, this Captain proved to be far more effectual in warfare than in theological controversy. Had it not been for his services, the New Netherland colony would have been ruined at this time, since New Amsterdam itself had been devastated above Chalk Pond.

The development of Melyn's Staten Island grant was brought to a standstill. However, as we have said, he owned a house on Broad Street. In order to control more land in this vicinity, he made the following purchases. In August, 1644 he purchased a house and lot in New Amsterdam from the widow of Eben Reddenhaus for two hundred fifty guilders. He purchased house and ground from Burger Jorisen for nine hundred fifty guilders (or $380.00) in December of the same year. Then Melyn owned all the land along the river from the Ditch to the City Tavern. During his residence in New Amsterdam, Melyn saw the forlorn conditions of the colonists, and he was stimulated to more active exertions on their behalf.

The new eight man committee had counseled Kieft in regard to the Indian warfare, but they went even farther than that. When Kieft wanted to place taxes on beer and beaver skins, the group protested, saying that the West India Company had never authorized the governor to impose

taxes and had guaranteed military protection. But Kieft was without monetary resources, and so they finally consented to taxes on beaver skins and wines.

Kieft now had an army of four hundred fifty men, since Stuyvesant had sent up soldiers to New Netherland. However, the farmers were still afraid to go back to their farms. The governor did nothing but quarrel and prosecute those who criticized his policies. Disorder, dissension, and destitution reigned in New Amsterdam.

The committee of eight wrangled with the governor for six months and then could bear it no longer. In the fall of 1643, Melyn and his associates addressed a memorial to the States-General and to the West India Company. They told how men, women, and children had been murdered in their homes by the Indians; houses and grain barracks had been burned with the produce; cattle had been slain; almost every place had been abandoned. "We wretched people must skulk with wives and little ones in poverty, in and around the fort at Manhattan, where we are not safe even for an hour." The memorial continued, "Should suitable assistance not arrive we shall, through necessity, in order to save the lives of those who remain, be obliged to betake ourselves to the English in the East, who would like nothing better than to possess this place." This last statement was the pin used to prick the home authorities into consciousness.

The memorial also blamed not only Kieft but the company for retaining him as director and for doing nothing to help the colonists. The eight men asked that Kieft be deposed because of these deplorable conditions, and that New Netherland be allowed to have some kind of representative government. This clear, frank presentation of the subject shows the democratic spirit of the writer of the memorial, Cornelis Melyn.

The committee's suggestions to the West India Company were not welcome. Indeed, they seemed to create a prejudice against the memorialists. Meanwhile, Kieft had sent a pamphlet to the West India Company, trying to make it appear that he had been opposed to the course of action that had brought on the Indian warfare. Melyn and his associates, in return, sent a private communication to the West India Company, directing their attention to the falsehoods that Kieft had told. This document roundly denounced Kieft, and, as we shall soon see, it proved to be the source of much trouble to Cornelis Melyn, its author. Before any answer could come to this appeal, Kieft was reproved by his superiors in Holland. He finally bestirred himself in an effort to pacify the province. A treaty of peace was signed by seventy-three sachems in 1643.

Governor Kieft knew nothing for some time about the eight man committee's 1644 communication to the West India Company. Even without this knowledge, however, he showed hostility to Melyn in various petty annoyances. In 1645 Melyn was charged with having sold wine to the Indians, but nothing came of that accusation. He had planted grain on the three acres of land that he had leased from the West India Company, and was suddenly, without any reason given, ordered to cut the grain before it had ripened and to give up his lease. This land, by the way, is now occupied by Trinity Church.

The Melyn family acquired a new neighbor while they were living on Broad Street. He was Jochem Kuyter, who proved to be a congenial friend and a faithful ally. Like Melyn, Kuyter was an educated man of some means. He had come to New Netherland in 1639, well equipped to establish a plantation on the Harlem River, where he had a grant of 499 acres. Kuyter had been a member of the Committee of Twelve Men and had been opposed to the violent measures taken by Kieft against the Indians. His farm buildings had been destroyed by the Indians in March, 1644, and it was for this reason that he purchased a small house at the corner of Broad and Pearl Street. Henceforth he and Melyn were closely associated in their relations with Kieft and his successor.

Two daughters, Susannah and Magdalen, and the youngest son, Isaac, were born during the troublous years that Jannetje and Cornelis Melyn spent in New Amsterdam. Cornelia, the eldest, was eighteen years of age when Isaac was born in 1646.

The West India Company was directed by the States-General in 1644 to take prompt action on the complaints of the colonist's eight man committee. The company's reply to this directive was that they could no longer defend a distant place which had cost far more than they had received from it, unless the government would aid them. The company was almost bankrupt from declaring large dividends in an era of reckless speculation, but they were obliged to consider the complaints of the committee and their suggested reforms. The company's response to the criticisms of Kieft's arbitrary and disastrous methods was Kieft's recall to Holland and the appointment of Peter Stuyvesant as Governor of New Netherland.

When Kieft discovered that he was to be recalled, he was more anxious than ever to assert himself and to enrich himself. The people were all the more eager to oppose and disparage him. Had the people known the character of Kieft's successor, they would have realized that their situation would not be improved in the new regime as far as popular representation in government was concerned.

Peter Stuyvesant was an educated, sturdy soldier of fifty-five years when he came to New Netherland. He had his good points; he was energetic, upright, and conscientious, according to his standards. However, he was also impulsive, passionate, opinionated, and stubborn, an autocrat from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. That means, of course, that he was an enemy to popular rights. When Stuyvesant reached New Amsterdam in May, 1647, Van der Donck says that he carried himself like a peacock as he passed from the ship to the fort.

Most of the residents of Manhattan had assembled at the fort for the inauguration ceremonies. Kieft was prepared to surrender the government to Stuyvesant. He paused for reply after having thanked the people for their attachment and fidelity, for he expected obsequious approval of his administration, though he well knew that he was the most hated man in the community. However, instead of shouts of approval, shouts of dissent went up from the crowd on all sides. Both Melyn and Kuyter declared that they had nothing to thank Kieft for. This was a severe blow to Kieft's vanity, but he had brought it upon himself.

Until Stuyvesant's arrival Kieft knew nothing about the complaints concerning him that had been sent to the West India Company in October, 1644. Stuyvesant had been present at the company meeting in Amsterdam when this communication had been read. No action was taken by the company concerning the complaints, but Stuyvesant secured a copy of this private letter at that time. He had brought the letter with him, and at this juncture he showed the letter to Kieft.

Kieft, furious about the letter of complaint, was even more enraged when, a few days later, Melyn and Kuyter made formal request as representatives of the old board of eight men for an inquiry into the abuses of Kieft's administration. The abuses they wished studied dated from the time of his imposition of Indian tribute in 1639 until 1647. They proposed to use the evidence thus acquired with effect in Holland.

But Stuyvesant immediately took alarm. If Kieft's administration was to be judged at the demand of the people, his own administration also might be subjected to the same investigation. Thus he chose to side with Kieft and to consider Melyn and Kuyter private persons rather than as members of the former committee of eight. Without waiting to discuss the matter with his associates, Stuyvesant expressed the opinion that it was treason to petition against one's magistrates whether there was cause or not. The petition of the two "malignant suspects" was therefore rejected, and, instead of examining Kieft and his Council, the order was given that Kuyter and Melyn should be examined about the origin of the Indian War.

Kieft then brought criminal charges against Kuyter and Melyn for inducing other members of the committee to join with them in making false statements to the West India Company. He demanded that these two men should be sent back to Holland as pests and seditious persons.

Melyn and Kuyter were given twenty-four hours to file their reply. They made a good defence, and offered to bring forward the four survivors of the board of eight men to testify that they had signed the document of their own free will. But Stuyvesant had already given judgment before the case was tried, and, on July 25, 1647, these two good patriots were sentenced. Kuyter was banished for three years and was fined one hundred fifty guilders. Melyn was found guilty of treason, false witness, libel, and defamation. He was banished for seven years, fined three hundred guilders, and was to forfeit all benefits received from the company.

Governor Stuyvesant had pleaded with the Council to sentence Melyn to death and to confiscate his property, but they could not be persuaded to give the verdict that he desired. Both Melyn and Kuyter were very popular in New Amsterdam, and most of their fellow citizens knew that the two men had spoken nothing but the truth.

Even the right of appeal to the fatherland was denied by Stuyvesant, who said, addressing Melyn, "If I were persuaded you would divulge our sentence or bring it before their High Mightinesses, I would have you hanged at once to the highest tree in New Netherland." In Melyn's own words, addressed to the company, he said:

> Director Petrus Stuyvesant proceeded very severely against the Eight Men, one of whom was myself, elected by the community, on account of two letters written to your Honors, in the name of the poor, ruined community, treating of the cause of the war, disasters and consequences of the same, which letters had been read by your Honors, and returned to him, Stuyvesant. As a consequence hereof I besides one Jochem Cuyter were by said Stuyvesant banished from New Netherland for a number of years, according to the sentence pronounced regarding the same, and departed for Fatherland from New Netherland with the ship The Princess Amelia, in company with Director Willem Kieft.

The Princess Amelia was to sail three weeks after Kuyter and Melyn received their sentence of banishment. The two exiles were obliged to arrange their affairs

before leaving for the Netherlands, since they would probably be away for a long time. Melyn deeded his home on Broad Street to his daughter, Cornelia, who had married Jacob Loper in April, 1647.

A picture hangs in the office of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company of New York that portrays the departure of The Princess Amelia from New Amsterdam, August 17, 1647. Out on the river is seen the waiting ship, flying the flag of the Dutch West India Company. On the shore are assembled two notable groups. Governor Stuyvesant and members of his Council, together with the ex-governor, Willem Kieft, are in the group on the left, Kieft taking home with him a fortune of 400,000 guilders. On the right are the skipper, the banished citizens, Kuyter and Melyn, and Melyn's young son, Cornelis. The artist, John Ward Dunsmore, has drawn freely upon his imagination and has given a graphic picture of a stirring historic event, the commencement of a voyage which was to have a disastrous ending.

The two exiles bore themselves proudly at this leave-taking, saying that they went as good patriots and as Proprietors of New Netherland. Among their fellow passengers were merchants and traders returning to buy goods in Amsterdam. There were also colonists anxious to get back to the old country because of their losses and misfortunes in the New World. Many of the passengers were entrusted with legal communications by their friends.

Porters transferred goods, bales of furs, and tobacco to the little dock near the foot of Whitehall Street and thence by lighter to the Princess. Among the articles placed on the ship was a wonderful white beaver skin tipped with yellow, brought in by an Indian and sent to Holland as an unheard-of rarity. There was also Kieft's collection of minerals, including pyrites, which he believed to be gold. Besides all these things, there were maps and descriptions of New Netherland which would now be priceless.

Finally, amidst ringing of bells and firing of cannon, The Princess Amelia sailed down the harbor on August 17, 1647. Cornelis Melyn wrote a description of the end of that fateful voyage, saying, "Owing to the mistakes and wrong calculations we entered the 'Verkeerde Canal', where during the night the ship went to pieces; many people were drowned, and after having floated hither and thither at sea for about eighteen hours, the Lord be praised, I at last reached land, where I found Jochem Cuyter and some other people." The captain of The Princess Amelia had lost his reckoning in a gale and ran into Bristol Channel on September 27, 1647. The ship struck a rock and was wrecked on the rugged coast of Wales, near Swansea.

Kieft's conscience smote him as he saw death so near. He turned to Kuyter and Melyn and said, "Friends, I have been unjust to you. Can you forgive me?" Kieft, Bogardus, and eighty others, including young Cornelis Melyn, were lost. The older Melyn, after being tossed "hither and thither" by the waves, was driven onto a sand bank from which he reached the mainland in safety. Kuyter had lashed himself to a portion of the deck of the vessel. When the first dim light of dawn appeared after that night of horror, he found himself floating on a fragment, alone except for another figure lashed fast like himself. Kuyter called out, but, receiving no reply, he believed his companion to be dead. The supposed companion later proved to be a cannon which, with Kuyter, had been thrown upon the beach by the violent surf. A search of three days recovered only one item of the ship's cargo, a small box of important papers, which Kuyter carried with him to Holland.

"Subsequently," wrote Melyn, "after much trouble, I arrived in the Fatherland, where I advised with Jochem Cuyter about complaining to their High Mightinesses of the sentence pronounced, the violence and trouble caused us by the Director in New Netherland, with request of Mandamus on account of appeal, which was granted us."

The West India Company, angered by the loss of their ship, greatly regretted that while so many fine men were lost two rebellious bandits should survive to trouble them with their complaints. The company agreed with Stuyvesant that no appeals should be made to the home government. Thus, recognizing the futility of appealing to the West India Company, Kuyter and Melyn ignored it and took their case directly to the States-General.

The story of the misfortunes of the two exiles had attracted much attention in Holland. Members of the States-General were inclined, therefore, to listen to Kuyter and Melyn with interest. So successfully did the two men plead their cause and so much influence did they bring to bear on William, Prince of Orange, that the latter sent a letter to Stuyvesant on April 28, 1648. The letter informed him that Kuyter and Melyn had received permission to return to New Netherland and that he was not to molest them. Full enjoyment of all the rights of colonists was granted to them, and Stuyvesant was cited to appear at The Hague to justify his acts. These orders were to be served on Stuyvesant by any person appointed by Melyn and Kuyter.

It was arranged that Kuyter should remain in Amsterdam, prepared to withstand any treachery or arbitrary act on the part of Stuyvesant. Melyn was to return to New Amsterdam with the letter of safety that he had received from William of Orange. Armed with these documents, Melyn sailed for Manhattan in the winter of 1648-49.

What had occurred in New Amsterdam during Melyn's absence? Let us consider this while he crosses the Atlantic, again enroute to the New World. The West India Company believed that the appointment of a Vice-Director and a fiscal, who would constitute a Supreme Council along with Governor Stuyvesant, would be a check on the governor's powers, but Stuyvesant's personal force nullified this check. The colonists were in serious financial straits because of all their past suffering, and their money troubles were not eased when Stuyvesant placed taxes on wine and other beverages in order to pay for various public works. The governor also made harbor regulations to prevent smuggling, and he forbade the sale of liquor after nine in the evening.

Some regulations were certainly necessary and desirable, since one-fourth of the community's buildings was devoted to the sale of liquor, and drunkenness was the besetting sin of the people of New Netherland. But the citizens resented the new rules, the taxes imposed, and Stuyvesant's dictatorial policy. The exile of the two mutineers did not improve matters, because the people had been in sympathy with their criticisms and in their demands.

Stuyvesant's autocratic methods were forced to yield to the need for money, money to repair the fort, money to finish the church, money for countless other purposes. The Councillors told the governor that if he wanted to raise money he must allow the people a voice in the matter. Stuyvesant, in accordance with this advice, directed the community to choose eighteen of their best men. Out of this number the governor chose nine men, who represented the merchants, the farmers, and other citizens of New Amsterdam. This body of nine men could meet only when convened by the governor, could discuss only such matters as he saw fit to lay before them, and could exist only as long as he felt necessary.

The new group of nine men met in the schoolroom of David Provoost. Because of illness, Stuyvesant could not superintend the deliberations of these men at their first meeting. One of their first acts was to refuse the governor's request for money to repair the fort, on the ground that it was the duty of the West India Company to provide for the defence of the colonists. However, they consented to raise part of the amount necessary to complete the church and to improve the school.

The colonists were in distress because they owed the West India Company thirty thousand guilders. Thus the nine men proposed that a delegation should be sent to Holland from New Netherland to state the condition of the colony and to ask for reforms. Stuyvesant demanded that such a delegation was to be sent in his own name,

and that difference of opinion brought about a deadlock between the governor's autocratic methods and the people's democratic ideas. Van der Donck, one of the nine men, went from house to house, asking questions and making a note of the sentiments of the people in order to ascertain the will of the majority. But, since it was Stuyvesant's practice to disregard the will of the people, he charged Van der Donck with trying to overthrow the government. At this trying moment the exiled Melyn reappeared on the scene. His arrival seemed to give a new aspect to affairs, and even Stuyvesant thought it best to cease annoying Van der Donck.

Apparently Melyn had landed in Boston. Triumphant over his victory, it is said that he showed his papers in several places and that he boasted of the bright turn in his affairs when he met one of his fellow townsmen in New Haven. How natural that was! Having been unjustly sentenced and publicly denounced as a traitor, he would wish to have it known at once that he was vindicated.

Melyn reached Manhattan on January 1, 1649. Twice Stuyvesant sent to demand all of his papers, but Melyn gave up only his passport, saying that he would produce the other papers in due time, in the presence of the Council. The governor would have thrown Melyn into jail then and there if Van Dincklagen had not protested. The next morning, when summoned again, Melyn appeared before the Council and delivered all the orders and dispatches that he had brought with him from Holland. Governor Stuyvesant promised to obey these orders, but he refused to exonerate Melyn as publicly as he had condemned him. Melyn wished to have the acts of their High Mightinesses read and explained to the commonalty by the nine men.

On March 8 the governor summoned the citizens to assemble at the church. His intent was to have his commission read to the people in order to vindicate his own plans and practices and thus kill or suspend the orders of the States-General. But he still had Melyn to reckon with.

Melyn had in his possession the mandamus issued by the States-General, which recited the grievances of the appellants, the causes and results of the war that Governor Kieft had commenced against the Indians, and the danger that the province might be mastered by the English, who already knew its attractions. The document also summoned Stuyvesant and the members of his government to defend the aforesaid complaints at The Hague. It was Melyn's privilege to have the mandamus read by anyone whom he might select. This was his opportunity. Three

hundred people were assembled in the church. He handed the document to Van Hardenburgh, who was invited to read it in the presence of the assembled people.

Governor Stuyvesant asked Melyn whether he intended to have the mandamus executed at this time. When Melyn said that he did, Stuyvesant snatched the document from Van Hardenburgh's hands so that the seal hung to the parchment in halves. A hubbub arose. Melyn placed a copy of the mandamus in Stuyvesant's hands after the governor was advised to show more respect for their High Mightinesses by those standing next to him. Van Hardenburgh was again given the original manuscript. He read it aloud and then asked for Stuyvesant's answer. The governor replied, "I honor the States-General and shall obey their commands. I shall send an attorney to sustain sentence."

This was the only reply that Stuyvesant would give. Both he and his Secretary refused to give the written answer that Melyn demanded. The other members of the Council explained their conduct as they thought best. Only one acknowledged that he had erred. The others would give no satisfactory reply. The mandamus is now in the library of the New York Historical Society. The large sheet of vellum bears witness to Stuyvesant's irreverent grabbing.

On August 10, 1649, Stuyvesant sent Secretary Van Tienhoven to represent him before their High Mightinesses. The governor sent a letter to the States-General ostensibly in acknowledgment of the mandamus, but, in reality, the letter was filled with insinuations against Melyn. Stuyvesant reported in this letter that Melyn had returned through New England parading the writ of mandamus before the English, to the discredit of the Dutch West India Company. Fortunately Melyn had friends in New Netherland as well as in Holland, and they wrote letters in his defense.

Melyn himself reported that Stuyvesant had treated the writ of mandamus with disrespect. And furthermore Melyn wrote:

> Herewith, in the year 1648, we returned to New Netherland, in the hope, in the future to be permitted with wife and children peacefully to live on our own lands.
>
> But whereas said Director used every means to sustain his unjust sentence, and the Secretary Van Tienhoven (whom most believe to be the cause of all disasters and calamities fallen during this time upon

> New Netherland) was by him sent to the Fatherland to appear in his stead before their High Mightinesses. I resolved also to go thither, besides some delegates of the community, in order to be present in cases which might concern me.

Public opinion was now thoroughly aroused. Encouraged, therefore, by the results of the application of Kuyter and Melyn to the home government, the nine men prepared a petition to the States-General along with additional "Observations" and a "Remonstrance of New Netherland". These documents were signed by the nine men and by two who had previously served on the committee (presumably Melyn and Kuyter).

Van der Donck and two others, one of whom was Melyn, were chosen to go to Holland to present these historic documents to the States-General. Melyn went also to plead his own cause, being weary of suffering without fault of his own. These delegates sailed for Holland on August 24, 1649 and presented the Petition and Remonstrance to the States-General in January, 1650.

The Petition enumerated the following causes for the poor condition of New Netherland: unsuitable government; scanty privileges; burdensome duties; long-continued war; loss of The Princess Amelia; superabundance of petty traders; great dearth in general; the insufferable arrogance of the Indians because of the small number of Dutch colonists. The petitioners suggested the following remedies: exemption from taxes; freedom to trade anywhere; encouragement to fisheries; free transportation of agricultural immigrants; and settlement of boundaries. The main demand was that the States-General should assume ownership and control of New Netherland and grant it a form of government resembling that of Holland. They also said that the Indians had never been troublesome until Kieft's war had enraged them. The only way to defend the province was to increase the population and to give suitable local government. New Netherland pled not for independence but for local self-government.

The Remonstrance, written by the jurist Adriaen Van der Donck, covered forty quarto pages. It was a vigorous paper attacking the whole policy of the West India Company in relation to the colony and giving the best picture of public affairs in the colony at that time. It embraced a description of the country, its products, the aborigines, the misfortunes of the colonists, a statement of the Dutch title to the soil, and a review of the sad and senseless extravagances of the administrations of Kieft and of Stuyvesant. "A crying evil," said the Remonstrance, "is the despotic attitude of the governors, who act like sovereigns and declare that there is no appeal to the courts of Holland."

Stuyvesant had been as tyrannical as Kieft in taxing the people without their consent, and he was even more active in finding reasons for prosecution. The faults of the governor and of other officers of the colony were set forth in these documents, and the crafty, intelligent Van Tienhoven was especially denounced. Unless matters affecting the province were righted, said the nine men, the English would soon take possession of New Netherland.

This period of 1648 to 1650 seems to have been devoted to an airing of grievances in one form or another. In 1649 a satire was published which attacked the West India Company and urged the States-General to assume control of New Netherland. The satire, "Breeden Raedt" ("Broad Advice"), is presented in the form of a conversation between a Dutch skipper and a Dutch boatswain, a Portuguese sailor from Brazil, a Swedish barber, a Spaniard, a French merchant, a Neapolitan, a Pole, a High-Dutch gentleman, and a poor English nobleman. The skipper and the Portuguese sailor take the lead in abusing the West India Company. The satire did not carry the same weight as the simple and direct complaints of the New Netherlanders themselves, but a brief description of it helps to illuminate the colonists' words and records with some incidents not related in other writings.

The first part of the dialogue shows how the company was conducting its affairs in Brazil. The instances cited of atrocities and corrupt practices are such as we might expect to hear from one familiar with that region. Though the illustrations are horrible, they are not more horrible nor more coarsely described than those of present day historical works. The main motif of the dialogue is the cruel and disastrous management of the company's representatives in distant lands.

The greater portion of the dialogue is devoted to New Netherland and its problems. The skipper says that he has just returned from New Netherland and has brought back a number of people who will complain of the present directors. He describes the country as one of the finest under the sun and enumerates its various products. The details of Kieft's unsavory reputation and the evils of his administration are presented. Kieft's cruelty, they say, equals that of the Duke of Alva. Stuyvesant's earlier career, his first appearance in New Netherland, the sentence of Melyn and Kuyter, the wreck of the Princess, Melyn's return to New Netherland, and the reading of the mandate are vividly portrayed. The dialogue ends with the speaker stating that the inhabitants of New Netherland are awaiting the outcome of the appeal of their deputies with great anxiety. The colony will surely be ruined if no redress is given.

Many commentators have regarded Cornelis Melyn as the author of "Breeden Raedt," and it is published under his name. However, Asher, an expert commentator, does not accept Melyn as the author of "Broad Advice" for the following reasons. It is entirely different in style from the papers which Melyn is known to have written because of its exaggerated accusations and rude and violent modes of expression as well as the dramatic form used. The defence of Kuyter and himself which Melyn laid before Governor Stuyvesant's court, highly rhetorical in style and sprinkled with quotations from Classical writers and the Apostolic fathers might have been written by a Leyden professor, says Mrs. Van Rensselaer. It would require literary genius, she thinks, to pass from such a style to the bold, roughly effective style of "Broad Advice". Since Holland abounded with professional pamphleteers in the middle of the seventeenth century, those who do not believe that Melyn was the author of "Broad Advice" credit it to the pen of such a pamphleteer.

The above theory may be correct, but, during the period devoted to seeing foreign lands and in the many long voyages that we know Melyn took, he could doubtless have encountered the very men who take part in the dialogue. He would also have learned how they would express themselves. Furthermore, Melyn's own grievances and misfortunes are presented in such detail and with such a personal note that I am convinced that if he did not write the satire he must have given the material to the actual writer. The pamphleteer himself must have been a man of unusual intelligence and ability.

The fact remains that "Breeden Raedt" is published under the name of Melyn. He must have been restless during those weary months of waiting in Amsterdam. He was anxious that the public should be acquainted with the facts. Why might he not have occupied himself with the presentation of his case in popular form? Naturally he would have adopted a different form in addressing communications to the West India Company or to the States-General. He was the kind of man who left no stone unturned in order to effect his purposes, which were just and right.

The delegates from New Amsterdam presented the Petition and Remonstrance to the States-General in January, 1650. The West India Company was furious with these envoys for bringing their case before the people of Holland, and their sentiments are expressed in a letter to Governor Stuyvesant, written in February, 1650. This communication contained the following sentences:

> Formerly New Netherland was never spoken of; and now heaven and earth seem to be stirred up by it.....If we were to relate all the intrigues set to work by the said deputies, Cornelis Melyn and Wouter Van Twiller.....we should either not have time or our memory would shrink from the task.....A few seditious persons like Cornelis Melyn, Adraen Van der Donck and some others leave nothing untried to upset every form of government, pretending that they suffered under too heavy a yoke.

The management and even the future existence of the West India Company was now in question before the States-General. The company made a vigorous fight on its own behalf. It sent a reply to the charges made by the New Amsterdam delegates to the States-General. Then all matters relating to the company were referred to a Standing Committee. Meanwhile, the envoys pressed for a decision concerning their appeals, saying that Governor Stuyvesant was acting in direct opposition to the nine man committee, who did not dare to express themselves in the face of his enmity.

After consultation with directors of the West India Company, the States-General issued the following directives: no hostilities against the Indians should be undertaken without the knowledge of the home government; militia of the province should be enrolled and armed; good schoolmasters and three competent clergymen should be provided; agriculture should be fostered; trade with Brazil should be encouraged; the company should spend fifteen thousand guilders annually in transporting poor immigrants to New Netherland. The States-General also ordered that New Amsterdam should have a city government consisting of a schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens. The nine men were to continue in office for three years. Two of the governor's council were to be elected from among the residents of the country, and consent of the people was to be requested before imposition of taxes. Governor Stuyvesant was ordered to return to The Hague to report to the States-General. This arrangement did not grant all that New Netherland asked, but if it had been carried out the colonists would have been satisfied for the time being.

In June, 1650 two of the envoys returned to New Amsterdam with the Provisional Order cited above, and the colony rejoiced. But Stuyvesant refused to publish the order because it was not approved by the West India Company, which was fighting against its adoption. Trading rights were expanded, but the autocratic powers of the

governor were confirmed. Stuyvesant's arrogance increased. He refused to return to Amsterdam unless he was released from his oath of office by the West India Company, and he well knew that the company had informed the States-General that his return was unnecessary.

The committee of nine men wrote the Committee of the States-General that the people lived in dread and fear. Men could not associate with their neighbors nor friend with friend without being suspected of plotting against the governor. Stuyvesant, knowing that the company sneered at the nine men and upheld him in his arbitrary ways, persisted in insulting them and indulged in petty persecution. Even his Council found fault with the heavy duties he imposed which resulted in greater scarcity of money as well as disorder and discontent.

Its multiple problems notwithstanding, New Amsterdam was incorporated in 1653. The committee of men who had gone to The Hague, headed by Van der Donck, gave such an impetus to colonization that men of many creeds and tongues were soon drawn to New Netherland. By 1655 one might have heard fifteen languages spoken in New Amsterdam.

As has been previously stated, Melyn had gone to Holland in 1649 in order to be present to defend himself in his own case and also to act as one of the delegates who presented New Netherland's Remonstrance to the States-General. There was a third motive to the journey in addition to these reasons. Melyn wrote:

> I resolved to go thither to look for means to restock my ruined colony, and again, if possible, to restore the same, as my power and capital, owing to the said causes, had been very much diminished.
>
> Consequently I received some money from good friends, some of whom I have yet to pay, and further, for the said purpose I agreed on certain conditions with the Honorable Lord Hendrick Van der Capellan to resell about one-third share of my colony on Staten Island, (in case my partner, Lord Nederhorst agreed) which upon contract he agrees, at his expense to people with settlers, and to bring his share up to the condition, which he has demonstrated.

During his long sojourn at The Hague, Melyn had come into contact with Baron Van der Capellan, a deputy in the States-General. He took a lively interest in Melyn's affairs, and for that reason he purchased a share in the patroonship.

Melyn continues his account. "Consequently, about seventy strong and with fresh necessaries for agriculture I again set sail for New Netherland with the ship named the New Netherland Fortune." (Lord Van der Capellan had purchased this ship. Evidently they were not disposed to negotiate with the Company for means of transportation.)

Melyn says, "Whereas we encountered very bad weather and unfavorable conditions, after much trouble, many dangers, and out of provisions and water, we at last arrived at the Red Island, where we were obliged to provide ourselves with some victuals and water, and therefore to exchange some merchandise. We therewith arrived in New Netherland in front of the Staten Island, where owing to contrary winds and tides, we cast anchor. The people belonging there joyfully went on land, thanking God for having been freed from the water and the ship.

"Meanwhile Fiscal Van Dyck arrived on board with the Sergeant and a few soldiers to guard the ship, so that no merchandise should be discharged from the same. Thereafter we arrived at the Menatans, and expecting to be welcomed by the Director as well as by the community and all lovers of New Netherland and the Company, owing to the arrival of the ship and such a splendid multitude of country people, consisting of farmers, farm laborers, the like of whom, it was averred, had never yet been seen (to arrive) in New Netherland. But on the contrary, the Director began by manifesting his old hatred and partisanship, asserting first that at the Staten Island some thing should have been discharged which looked like contraband; second, that I should have sold goods at Red Island; third, that one Casper Verlet, who, said to be part owner of the ship, should have been deprived of his claimed share of merchandise and ship; fourth that I had too much encouraged the skipper in his evil intent, and further several allegations not worth while enumerating here, but which can be seen from the documents regarding the same.

"Owing to these before enumerated causes, he begins, through the fiscal to proceed very rigorously against the ship and goods, attached everything, arrested my person, guarding me well with soldiers.

"As a consequence, my newly arrived country people began to grumble; the desire for work, because I could not be there, they began to lose, to my great damage and expense; the crew was arrested, and thus were forced to make such declarations as pleased the authorities; (which arrest) caused me great expense to the crew, and for the ship's repairs, up to the time when it pleased him to confiscate ship and goods, and to appropriate the same to his own use."

Because the Fortune had been obliged to stop at Rhode Island, it was said that the ship had infringed upon customs regulations. The Company told Stuyvesant that he need not respect safe-conducts given by the government, so he felt free to arrest Melyn, who was obliged to put into a Rhode Island port, on a charge of illegal trading. This was Stuyvesant's opportunity to avenge himself upon Melyn, and he proceeded in the most arbitrary manner, arresting and imprisoning the crew of the Fortune and condemning and selling the vessel.

But this time Stuyvesant had to reckon with a party who was in a position to enforce his rights. Baron Van der Capellan immediately instituted proceedings before the States-General against the West India Company for the illegal seizure of his vessel. He was awarded heavy damages, and the Company had to pay for maintaining such a despotic governor.

And now let us continue with Melyn's own account of this affair. He says, "Not stopping at this, but for the purpose of absolutely ruining me, also my real estate being at the Menatans, consisting of some houses and lots, was attached and sold to my great damage, under appearance of "rugrant" of the shipper and owners; so that owing to these before related acts, I have clearly perceived that for me there is no security at the Menatans, owing to these many arrests, citations, summonses and molestations, and I have resolved to quit the Menatans and thus wronged and plundered to join with my wife and children, my people in my colony on Staten Island.

"And I left the Director at the Menatans with all his proceedings, to continue as he pleased, without defending my just cause as it would not have done any good anyway."

It was Melyn's policy to maintain friendly relations with the Indians. As they had killed or driven off Melyn's colonists and burned their houses in 1643, the Indians thought that Staten Island had become theirs again. In order to promote friendship, Melyn gave coats, Wampum, kettles and needles to the Indians in payment for what they regarded as theirs by right of conquest. It is said that Melyn fortified his house on Staten Island and guarded it with Raritan Indians.

Continuing Melyn's own account, "And further intending to repair my above mentioned losses and attend to the support of my wife and children, which had again been assidulously undertaken by myself and my people, and commenced

to cultivate the land, which had been laying so long fallow, clear, plow, sow, mow, thresh, make a harbor, build houses, racks, barns, for the purpose of lodging the people and the cattle we were using, as an ornament of New Netherland and an honor and credit to the Honorable Company, and further as an incentive and spur to all the other country people, as well as villagers and detached farmers, and even to those arriving from Menatan itself, who were surprised at the large crop of grain which had this year been produced through our diligence.

"There had been commenced sixteen handsome farms as well by myself as by my children, as also by the people taken along by me for the Lord Van der Capellan, and sent over by His Honor, which farms were covered with twenty-seven buildings; houses, racks and barns, each well provided with cattle, as well as beautiful plough oxen, milch cows, as calves for increase, so that everything began to be abundant on Staten Island, and through God's blessing I began to recover my losses.

"But Director Stuyvesant again became active, as if it appeared that my prosperity began to trouble him. For when, in the year 1655, in August, he had received some soldiers from Fatherland by the ship, Captain Fred. De Coominck, to sail with them to the South River (the Delaware), he despatched said Coominck with the Fiscal Van Tienhoven and some soldiers to the Staten Island for the purpose of fetching me; but being ignorant of the same, about two or three hours before, I had gone in my boat to Menatans, in order to attend to some business concerning my colony.

"The Director Stuyvesant met me with some soldiers, and he immediately exclaimed, 'Take hold of Melyn, conduct him to the guard house and secure him well.' There I was incarcerated till the return from Staten Island of the boat with the said Captain Coominck and Fiscal Van Tienhoven.

"He thereupon convened his Council and the said Captain, had me brought before him, asked me, 'Where are the letters you have received from the Swedes?' which sounded to me as strange as if I had been asked for letters from the great Turck, and gave for answer not to know of any letters from the Swedes, nor that I was expecting any.

"To this said Stuyvesant replied, 'You will soon be taught to speak differently,' and ordered the fiscal to have me conducted to prison and to secure me well. I was then conducted and thrown into a dark hole, and I was not to see nor to converse with anyone."

This lasted for twenty-five days without further hearing until the sixteenth of September. Stuyvesant said, "Upon the Island they have established a government according to their own will, (notions), also a judicial court."

Such a course of action was the privilege and duty of a patroon. But Stuyvesant wanted to direct everything himself. Patroons who refused to surrender their rights and make obeisance to him were regarded as enemies. And this, doubtless, was the spirit that actuated Stuyvesant in his treatment of Melyn on this occasion.

But at this moment Stuyvesant was preparing to start on an expedition against the Swedish colonies near the Delaware River. When Melyn went back to his Staten Island estate in 1659, he said that he had decided not to try to obtain justice from Stuyvesant. Melyn left the Governor to his own "proceedings". Therefore we must briefly outline those "proceedings," for we shall see that the culmination vitally concerned Melyn.

In the first place Stuyvesant went to Hartford in the autumn of 1659 for a conference with New Englanders about boundary lines. According to a tentative agreement, the English were to have all of Long Island east of Oyster Bay. This arrangement deprived the Dutch of their wampum factory. On the mainland the dividing line ran north from Greenwich Bay and nowhere came within ten miles of the Hudson River.

Then, too, Stuyvesant went on an expedition with one hundred twenty men to get from the Swedish governor a recognition of Dutch title and to arrange with the latter about the exclusion of the English from that territory. He pulled down the old Dutch fort and built a new one below the Swedish Fort Christina. But the cost of this expedition was great, and the Company reproved Stuyvesant.

The commercial antagonism between England and Holland, disputes about fisheries, and the dominion of the seas led to war between the two countries, although Cromwell wanted no war with a Protestant power. The first effect of the war was to establish Stuyvesant more securely in his place, for at the urgent plea of the Company the States-General rescinded their order that Stuyvesant should give an account of his administration at the Hague. The Company sent out some soldiers for the defense of the colony, and Stuyvesant was told to cultivate trade with the English but to watch them carefully.

In 1653 New Amsterdam was incorpporated. The magistrates were sworn in, but Stuyvesant insisted that he had the right to preside at the meetings of the magistrates and that he and the Council could make whatever laws they chose.

The creation of the municipal board was due mainly to the efforts of Adriaen Van der Donck, who, while he was detained in Holland by the enmity of the Company, had tried to obtain justice and liberty for his fellow colonists. When Van der Donck was permitted to return to New Amsterdam, the Company made him promise not to meddle again in public affairs and warned Stuyvesant to keep an eye on him. Meanwhile the patroonship of this public-spirited man was going to ruin.

When Kuyter returned he must have made peace with Stuyvesant, for he began to cultivate his farm with money obtained from three persons, one of whom was Stuyvesant.

The danger of war was the pressing concern of New Amsterdam when it became a city in 1653. Stuyvesant mustered and drilled a burgher guard of one hundred fourteen men. A high stockade and a small breastwork were built outside Fort Amsterdam so that all might be protected from attack. This wall, built of thick planks, gave its name to Wall Street. The expense of building this wall was met by forty-three of the richest citizens. Hendrick Kip was one of this number.

Rumors were circulated that Stuyvesant was inciting the Eastern Indians to kill all the English. Though these reports were denied by Stuyvesant and Indian sachems, New Haven, Connecticut, and Plymouth colonies wanted to attack the Dutch. But Massachusetts blocked that plan, saying that there was not sufficient evidence of such a plot to justify war. Nevertheless, the story of Stuyvesant's plot was believed in England, and Cromwell sent four ships with four hundred soldiers on an expedition against New Netherland. Six hundred soldiers were ready to sail from Boston on the very day that word was received from England that peace had been concluded between England and Holland.

In 1654 a ship was sent from Sweden with three hundred fifty colonists to join their countrymen in America. Stuyvesant seized the Swedish ship near Staten Island and wrote for orders about this outrage. On Christmas Eve, 1654, Stuyvesant sailed for the Barbadoes and did not return until July, 1655. When he got back he found orders from the Company to drive the Swedes out of their Delaware River settlements.

With three hundred fifty soldiers Stuyvesant set out on the expedition against the Swedes, but, before a blow had been struck, the Swedes submitted. Some swore allegiance to New Netherland; some returned to Europe. But this bloodless war had taken Stuyvesant away at a critical moment. It was only a few days before his departure on the expedition against the Swedes that he had summoned Melyn to New Amsterdam, had accused him of plotting with the Swedes, and had thrown him into prison.

Couriers were sent to recall Stuyvesant from this expedition, for Manhattan was in a state of wild alarm because of the uprising of the River Indians. Nineteen hundred savages had gathered along the Hudson, and seven hundred or eight hundred Indians had landed on Manhattan. To avenge the death of a squaw whom Van Dyck had shot when she was stealing peaches, the Indians killed Van Dyck. Van Tienhoven urged the burghers on until they got into conflict with the Indians. And it was then that Melyn was in prison, where Stuyvesant had put him before starting on his expedition against the Swedes.

And now we will resume Melyn's own account: "On September 16, 1655, when the savages had set fire to all buildings around the Menatans and killed and murdered a large number of our people and the whole country (words obliterated) interceding and running to and fro of my wife and children as well as others, permitted me, under certain conditions, to leave the hole.

"I then immediately departed for Staten Island to see whether I could save my people, houses and goods from the savages: but in vain."

The Indians had retreated to Pavonia, killing, burning and destroying as they went. Then they crossed to Staten Island.

Melyn says, "For a few days later the savages arrived there in great numbers and commenced to attack our people, to set fire to our houses, stacks, barns, mostly full of grain, so that the people were obliged to seek refuge in my house, which they (the savages) also succeeded in setting afire. And when the cinders began to fall down on us we were forced to leave it and obliged to break through the savages to enable us to retire to another small house standing close to the shore. Here we held out for sometime longer, hoping meanwhile to receive some assistance from Menatans. But all in vain. At last the savages called out to us that if we desired quarter they would grant the same to us; whereupon we resolved, as we saw no other refuge, because from our number already fifteen or sixteen persons, among whom my son, son-in-law and two nephews had been shot dead, besides some wounded and thus

fifty-one in number went into captivity among the savages, where we remained thirty-one days, until I had raised a ransom of about 1400 guilders for myself, wife, son, and son-in-law, which was to be paid if we did not want to be burnt alive in a fire, which for this purpose had been already prepared and was burning.

"Subsequently arriving at the Menatans, as miserable as we well could be, we hoped to enjoy some quiet after our sad imprisonment. But the day after there arrived at my lodgings Secretary Van Kenven with a sergeant in command of soldiers, armed with firearms and sword, saying, 'Melyn, the Director sends us hither and lets you know that you must try to find more ransom, for the savages are not yet satisfied', and forced me immediately to go in search of sixty or seventy guilders additional payment, if I did not want to be put in jail again. It appeared to me somewhat suspicious that the savages were so bold, and at the Menatans, through the servants of the Company, dared to vex me still further; (it occurred to me) that the same might have been trumped up in order to at once ruin me. I submit to your Honors' judgment, after all that had befallen me, and I being in such a sorrowful, miserable condition, my children and people murdered by the savages, the houses, racks, barns, to the number of twenty-five, burnt, the people, cattle and farms destroyed, my goods stolen, and in place thereof debts incurred for my ransom, and retaining the bitter hatred of the Director, I have resolved to quit the Menatans, in order not to perish absolutely, with wife and children, and for the time being, to put myself under the protection of the English; and consequently departed with my family for New Haven, until I shall have found opportunity and means for the trip hither. Meanwhile making your Honors acquainted with my distress as related heretofore, with humble request to sustain me in my just cause against the aforesaid Petrus Stuyvesant, regarding the evil acts and great damage unjustly inflicted upon me, and to assist me in regaining my own, in order with the same means and your Honors' assistance to refound my ruined colony for the third time, and to restore the same to its former condition.

"The Remonstrance and Petition of Cornelis Melyn to ye West India Company in Amsterdam. Ano. 1659."

And how had others fared as a result of the Indian uprising? Other plantations were sacked, though their people escaped. Within three days fifty to one hundred colonists had been killed, and one hundred fifty had been captured.

Perhaps the results might have been less tragic had Stuyvesant been at his post when the Indian uprising took place. But now that the damage had been done

Stuyvesant and his Councillors had to decide whether it would be wise for them to attack the offending tribes. They decided not to attack the River Indians but to be more cautious in future about admitting Indians to the settlement. From that time no Indian was allowed to spend the night in New Amsterdam. But this restriction did not help outlying settlements.

Stuyvesant treated with the Indians in regard to the return of the white captives. Not all of the captives were rescued, but seventy of these were exchanged for ammunition, and that only gave the Indians greater advantage in other raids.

This Indian attack of September 15, 1655, was a great blow to the colony. Years would be required to bring the province back to where it was before the Indian foray of 1655. Nevertheless, in spite of disasters, distress, and the menace of Indian attacks, New Netherland prospered during the latter part of Stuyvesant's administration. Struggles for a measure of self-government continued, but courage and energy revived with the granting of municipal privileges, the relaxing of monopolies, and the impulse to emigration given in Holland by the efforts of Van der Donck. The printing press did active service in promoting emigration. In 1660 the population of New Netherland was between six and seven thousand.

Stuyvesant had bought the tract bounded by East River and Fourth Avenue reaching from Fifth Street, and had built a chapel for the people where St. Marks-in-the-Bowery now stands.

After the destruction of his colony on Staten Island and his escape from his Indian captors in 1655, Cornelis Melyn and his family moved to New Haven, where he and his son Jacob took the oath of allegiance, April, 1657. In 1659 Melyn was in Holland again, and at that time he agreed to make over to the Company the rights in government, the privileges, prerogatives and exemptions which he had held as patroon since he had received his patent from Governor Kieft. In consideration of this surrender, the Company agreed to pay to Melyn 1500 guilders and to restore the money received for certain houses in New Amsterdam which Stuyvesant had sold to satisfy a judgment against Melyn.

After stating that Cornelis Melyn surrendered all privileges, exemptions, and jurisdictions which he had enjoyed as Patroon and the sum paid for this surrender, the contract continues:

> He for the future as a free coloneer and inhabitant for himself and his successors shall hold and possess as free and legal

> estate ye lands, houses and lotts, which he hath there in ye sd. Colony and hath hitherto made use of and which he yet shall be able to improve (and by others not possessed) they shall enjoy ye succession thereof or by will,...agreement or otherwise, may dispose thereof as according to articles...granted to Patroons and Coloneers...

From that time Melyn was to hold his lands, houses, and lots as a free colonist, but he was no longer to be regarded as a patroon. The Company also ordered that Stuyvesant should in future refrain from all strife, and that all differences, both public and private, between the Government and Melyn should be forgotten. A copy of this agreement is owned by the New York Historical Society. Stuyvesant was informed of the surrender of Melyn's patroonship, October 9, 1659.

From Stuyvesant's correspondence with the Company we find that Melyn understood this agreement to mean that he surrendered his special rights and privileges as a patroon, not the original grant of land on Staten Island or any portion of it. Because of the devastating misfortunes of recent years and the death of his partner, Baron Van der Capellan, Melyn had decided to surrender the rights and privileges of a patroon. But he intended to resume the cultivation of the land as a colonist when circumstances should permit.

But the Company claimed that Melyn had relinquished all lands lying fallow and uncultivated. As no part of the Melyn estate had been cultivated since 1655, that would have meant that Melyn had sold this vast estate on which so much money and labor had been spent for the paltry sum of 1500 guilders and the restoration of certain houses in New Amsterdam. In 1637 the Company purchased the estate of Michael Pauw, which included Staten Island and the present sites of Hoboken and Jersey City for 26,000 guilders. Does it appear likely that Cornelis Melyn, twenty years later, would have accepted 1500 guilders for his Staten Island estate?

It has been suggested that if the details of Melyn's life in New Haven were known they might form an important chapter in the history of the conquest of New Netherland. In the Remonstrance that Melyn wrote as Chairman of the Committee of Eight Men in 1647 he had inserted the warning that the English would take possession of New Netherland unless the Company provided able and honest Directors, and gave to the people a voice in public affairs and adequate protection. His subsequent observations and personal experiences might have led Melyn to the conclusion that

New Netherland could never prosper under the rule of a Company whose motive was money-making and who granted any popular demands grudgingly and under compulsion. But there is no evidence that he ever conspired to further the designs of the English or that he was in the least vindictive, though his strong sense of justice had led him in 1649 to insist upon public vindication when he had been publicly condemned.

Melyn went to Holland again in 1660 and visited New Amsterdam in May, 1661, though he continued to make his home in New Haven until his death, which probably occurred in 1663.

Cornelis Melyn's traits stand out in high relief. One of these traits was a hatred of despotism. His parents had experienced the horrors of Spanish despotism. It is no wonder, therefore, that the son should have inherited an abhorrence of tyranny.

Melyn had not come to America to escape persecution nor to work out any political design of his own. He came to develop a big enterprise in which were involved not only his own success but the happiness and prosperity of a goodly number of people. He possessed the ability and the financial backing required for success. Perhaps his patroonship like Van Rensselaerwyck might have survived had it not been so near to New Amsterdam, for in his personal relations with the Indians Melyn seems to have shown good judgment. But after Kieft's mismanagement, which stirred up the savages to avenge their wrongs, their loss of awe of the white man, and the acquisition of the white man's firearms and firewater nothing but military force could keep the Indians within bounds.

After or even before the destruction of his plantation in 1643 Melyn had become a popular and trusted figure in New Amsterdam. We know that he was highly intelligent and public-spirited. He must also have been a friendly and genial man who inspired confidence. He had found staunch friends and supporters in Holland among the nobles and shrewd capitalists who trusted to his ability and integrity in spite of the misfortunes which eventually brought losses to them and ruin to him. From the manner in which Cornelis Melyn met his misfortunes we know what manner of man he was. To be sure, our picture of him is incomplete, but so far as it goes, it is indisputably correct.

In New Amsterdam Melyn was the central figure of his day and became involved at the outset in the struggle of the people against the petty despots set over them by the Company. "This struggle," says Inness, "lends an

air of historic dignity to the man, and he is marked as one of the first in a long line of champions in the colony of individual rights against arbitrary and irresponsible power."

The despots of New Amsterdam feared Melyn to the end. After having been harassed and persecuted by Stuyvesant with a persistency that seems almost diabolical, Melyn was jealously watched by the Governor and representatives of the Company during the years of his residence in New Haven.

Perhaps during those years as he sat in the meeting house where the Rev. John Davenport still instructed his people, Melyn may have forgotten for the moment, the disappointments and calamities of twenty years. Theological disquisitions may not have appealed to him particularly, but his own words indicate that he was a reverent and good man. The story of Melyn's adventures reminds us of St. Paul's summary of his experiences.

> Thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have spent in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen; in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea.

Is there not a close parallel in this list of perils experienced by the Apostle and the trials of the Patroon? And both men were undismayed in the face of dire disaster.

Cornelis Melyn, like his descendants, must have had his faults. But if intelligence, energy, industry, perserverance, a keen sense of justice, loyalty, integrity, and dauntless courage go to making of a fine character, we may honor Cornelis Melyn. He had failed to realize his dream, but it was better to have had the dream and failed than never to have dreamed at all.

As has been said, Melyn had no intention of surrendering the vast Staten Island estate together with his patroonship for the paltry sum of 1500 guilders. Therefore, after his death in 1663, his widow and children tried to regain possession of his property. But after Melyn's retirement to New Haven, the provincial government had made grants to settlers, from time to time, of the Melyn property. Furthermore, the English conquest of New Netherland and the new titles that had been issued greatly complicated the question of the Melyn claims; but the petitions of the family continued, with the coming of each new governor, until 1698. These petitions will be cited in connection with Jacob Melyn and his children.

One writer states that Jacob Melyn and his children received land equivalent in amount to that actually cultivated by his father. If that statement is correct, the Melyn family would have received a considerable amount of land, for at the time of the Indian foray twenty-five farms were under cultivation on the Melyn estate. In case that amount of land had been restored to them, the Melyn family would not have continued to petition the government for a recognition of their claims during a period of thirty years.

Nothing was ever done by England about the tentative settlement of the boundaries between English and Dutch colonies in 1650. But when Charles II came to the throne he resolved to take New Netherland by surprise. He granted it to the Duke of York, and then sent four ships, with five hundred men under the command of Colonel Nicolls to take New Amsterdam. The English ships arrived at Manhattan on August 29, 1664. Colonel Nicolls promised safety and good treatment to all if they would quietly submit.

But Stuyvesant was determined not to surrender. Gunners awaited his orders to fire upon the English ships. He sent representatives to ask why a hostile fleet lay in his harbor. Colonel Nicolls civilly explained, demanding instant surrender of fort and town. For two days Stuyvesant stood firm, sending to Nicolls a letter setting forth the right of the Dutch to New Netherland and demanding that the English officers should await further advice from Europe, for he felt sure that an agreement had been made about boundaries between English and Dutch possessions. Nicolls refused to parley with Stuyvesant and gave him forty-eight hours to accept his terms.

The people besought Stuyvesant to yield to this generous foe. Then Dominie told the Governor that it was wrong to allow innocent people to be killed to no purpose. Stuyvesant listened, though it must have been hard for him to yield to the inevitable. On September 8, 1664, the fort and town surrendered. Without a blow. New Amsterdam became New York.

Colonel Nicolls was Governor of New York for four years. He won the hearts of the people, for he was honest, courteous, and tactful in his settlement of all difficulties. Though he did not believe in popular government, his rule was limited by a Council and by an assembly elected by the people. Governor Nicolls was succeeded by Governor Lovelace, who started the first mail service between New York and Boston, January 1, 1673.

By the peace of Breda in 1667 New Netherland was formally ceded to England. But the difficulties between the

English and the Dutch, which had their repercussions in America, did not end here. King Charles II and Louis XIV had joined forces to destroy the Dutch Republic. Consequently, on August 1, 1673, a Dutch fleet appeared in the bay, prepared to take New York. As resistance on the part of New York was hopeless, the town again passed into the hands of the Dutch. Anthony Colve was appointed to be governor of New Netherland. Then the Dutch fleet sailed back to Holland.

Colve saw that steps should be taken for the protection of New Amsterdam, in case of an attack by the English. Therefore, by his order, houses that were too near the fort were pulled down or moved. Funds to carry into effect the Governor's policy were raised by special taxes, and the property of French and English residents was confiscated. One hundred and ninety guns made it dangerous for hostile ships to enter the bay.

But by the terms of the treaty of Westminster, signed in February, 1674, New Netherland again became an English province. Unfortunately, the news of this transfer reached New Amsterdam through Isaac Melyn, the youngest son of Cornelis Melyn. When his father and brother, Jacob, had sworn allegiance to the New Haven Colony, Isaac was only eleven years old. But in 1674 he was a man in his twenties and for some years had been engaged in shipping ventures. He owned the ship Expectation and also a cottage on Broad Street, south of his father's house.

A man named Sharpe, evidently a New Englander, who had resided in New Amsterdam under English rule, was barred out by a Dutch edict of December, 1673. Sharpe's wife and children were still in New Amsterdam. In May, 1674, Sharpe sent a message to Governor Colve by Isaac Melyn, asking permission to enter New Amsterdam to see his family. Governor Colve received the news from Isaac Melyn that peace had been made between England and Holland the preceeding February. But Melyn did not tell the Governor of the promised surrender of Manhattan to the English.

Apparently permission was granted to Sharpe to visit New Amsterdam. He arrived with many letters and despatches for the citizens. Colve read all of these communications and after questioning Sharpe he found out about the transfer of Manhattan to the English, but he ordered Sharpe to say nothing but that peace had been made between England and Holland.

Sharpe said that he obeyed this injunction; but when a crowd of Dutchmen went to Melyn's house, hungry for news, he told them that they had "slaved and wrought too

hard for the King of England" in the fortifications that they had built, for the States-General had agreed to return New Netherland to the English. Colve had sealed Sharpe's lips, but he had not forbidden Isaac Melyn to speak of the transfer.

This information raised a great hubbub. The enraged Dutchmen threatened to set fire to the town, pull down the fortifications, and tear out the throat of the Governor who had compelled them to do all this work for nothing.

When Colve heard of what was going on, he sent for Melyn and questioned him about what he had said. As Isaac Melyn did not deny having given the information that Manhattan was to pass into the hands of the English again, he was put into a dungeon in the fort and told to prepare for death. Within two days he should swing beside the Frenchman who hanged in chains on the gallows. A gruesome prospect for the young Dutchman who had done nothing reprehensible.

On the following day, as Mrs. Van Rensselaer quotes, "This unfaithful, Judasly, and treacherous traveller" affirmed his innocence and said that Sharpe must have spread the unwelcome news. This shifting of the blame upon Sharpe gives an unpleasant shock, even though Isaac Melyn was facing such a terrible end without a shadow of wrongdoing. But we must remind ourselves that Sharpe was an Englishman and owed allegiance to Connecticut. He had been permitted to enter New Amsterdam for a limited time. Isaac Melyn knew that though Colve might make it unpleasant for Sharpe he would not dare to take the life of an English subject for such a reason. The worst that would come to Sharpe was exile. Perhaps, too, friends had told Melyn that others had heard the news from Sharpe. Unless we know all the facts, we cannot condemn Isaac Melyn for implicating Sharpe when confronted with such a fate. In fact, it is quite possible that Sharpe may have told the news notwithstanding his promise.

At all events, Sharpe was summoned to appear before the Governor and was twice examined but without being permitted to plead in his own defense. For three days Sharpe was kept in the "inner and nethermost dungeon, cousin-german to the Stygian Lake," and then was banished from the province for ten years, under pain of death if he attempted to return. As soon as this sentence was published, which was done with great solemnity, the town-house bell ringing three times so that the major part of the town congregated to hear it, Sharpe was put in a canoe and sent away without being permitted to say good-by to his family or even to get his boots and a shirt.

Stuyvesant had longed to hang Cornelis Melyn, and Colve would have hanged Isaac, had he not feared the wrath of the people. Though Isaac escaped hanging, he was sentenced to "come every day when the burgher company are employed on the city works, and work with them until the fortifications are completed."

Colve was determined to keep the people busy and kept inventing new kinds of work. Meanwhile, the people cursed the States-General, the Prince of Orange, the Dutch commander who had captured New Amsterdam, and the Governor. They said that they would not surrender the town, but would fight for it as long as they could stand with one leg and fight with one hand.

It is said that Colve did not credit the report brought by Sharpe and Melyn, who could give no proof that the papers which they brought were not fictitious and designed to pave the way for an invasion of New England.

The actual sentence pronounced against the two offenders states that Sharpe had entered the city without permission, although previously banished, and that he was condemned for fomenting mutiny and disturbance in New Orange and elsewhere. If that is true, why did not Colve send Sharpe away when he first arrived with letters instead of pumping him for information and then permitting him to see his wife?

Isaac Melyn, they say, was sentenced for using very "seditious and mutinous language." Probably Melyn did taunt his acquaintances with having worked too hard for the King of England. He had no idea that the people would be so stirred up by his words, and no idea that he might be committing a criminal offence. Though he resented being forced to slave on those fortifications for months, he knew that relief would come and his statement would be verified. He had escaped an ignominious death and therefore could be happy in spite of his unjust punishment.

In October, 1674, two English frigates sailed into New York Bay. The surrender of the city was an affair of bows and smiles and exchange of courtesies. Major Andros entertained the Dutch officials on shipboard and Colve presented his carriage and horses to the English Governor.

Once more the laws of the Duke of York were proclaimed, and Isaac Melyn was free to load the Expectation with freight for Easthampton and sail eastward to see his sister, Cornelia. Cornelia Melyn, born in Amsterdam, was the eldest child of Cornelis and Jannetje. She was thirteen years of age when the family came to Staten Island

in 1641, and therefore had vivid memories of Holland as well as of the wilderness that was Staten Island. The horrors of Indian raids and the ruin of their home, her father's strenuous existence and overwhelming misfortunes as well as the persecution that he had endured in New Amsterdam, and the annoyances experienced by the family - all of these things must have left their impress on Cornelia. Twenty-five troublous years had been spent in New Netherland. Therefore she would not have been sorry to leave New Amsterdam in 1666.

Cornelia Melyn first married Captain Jacobus Loper. Left a widow with two children in 1653, she afterward married Jacob Schellinger, a merchant of New Amsterdam. The reasons for leaving New Amsterdam in 1666 are not known. Inness intimates that the reasons for their departure and the acceptance of these newcomers by the English colonists would throw light upon the relations of Cornelis Melyn, Govert Lockermans, Isaac Allerton, and Jacob Steendam with each other and with the New Haven and Connecticut colonies.

Isaac and Jacob Melyn wanted to take possession of their small inheritances in New York. Until the removal of the Schellingers to Easthampton, both Isaac Melyn and his mother had spent much time with Cornelia Schellinger.

Jacobus Schellinger purchased a home lot of twenty acres in Easthampton, on the north side of Main Street. The settlement was composed of forty thatched cottages and a church, the same church, perhaps, that had been established by Rev. Abraham Pierson more than twenty years before. There were fields of wheat, rye, maize, and tobacco, and here and there an orchard.

The Schellingers evidently met with a friendly reception at Easthampton. Jacob Schellinger was one of the well-to-do men of the town, and there he lived and prospered for twenty-five years. Cornelia Schellinger attained the age of ninety years. In contrast to her earlier years, life at Easthampton was quiet and peaceful. Her descendants in large numbers are to be found in the vicinity of her Long Island home. In 1690, her son, Abraham, got a large grant of land and was a pioneer settler of the village of Amagansett.

Though the members of the Melyn family did not aim to play important parts in public affairs, Cornelis was forced to take an important part in public affairs, and the fortunes of the family were marred or ruined by public events. Isaac Melyn's experience with Colve would naturally lead him to wariness in future crises, for under English rule there existed the same causes for discontent in regard to taxes and autocratic rule, without popular representation.

Isaac Melyn married Temperance, daughter of William Loveredge of Albany, and lived in his Broad Street home until his death in 1722. Then that property was sold to William Verplanck by Isaac's only surviving child, Joanna Dickinson. Isaac's wife must have died before 1722, as there is no mention of her in connection with the sale of this property.

It is said that two other children of Cornelis and Jannetje Melyn, Susannah and Magdalen, were born at Manhattan and baptized in 1646. These daughters are said to have married Manhattan merchants, but nothing more definite is known about them.

More is known of the older son, Jacob, than is known of the other children. Jacob was born in Amsterdam in 1640. When Cornelis Melyn decided to live in New Haven, his son Jacob accompanied him and took the oath of allegiance to the New Haven Colony, though he would have been only seventeen years old at that time. In 1659, when Cornelis Melyn went to Holland for a settlement of his difficulties and a surrender of the patroonship, Jacob accompanied his father. He must have understood that it was his father's intention to give up the privileges of the patroonship but not the land which had been included in the grant.

In connection with the "Blue Laws" of Connecticut, it is related that during the early years of his residence in New Haven Jacob Melyn was reprimanded by Governor Newman for kissing Miss Sarah Tuttle. Such an indiscretion on Jacob's part was not unnatural, for the Dutch of New Netherland were called "the kissing Dutchmen." Therefore, Jacob's standards of propriety did not accord with the Puritan standards of New Haven. But after that episode Jacob probably behaved himself in an exemplary manner, for in 1662 he married Hannah, daughter of George Hubbard, of Guilford. Hannah's sister had married Humphrey Spinning. (1)

In 1665, Jacob Melyn and his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Spinning joined the band of pioneers who emigrated from New Haven Colony and settled at Elizabeth, New Jersey. Jacob Melyn's knowledge of Dutch and also of the Indian dialects of that region made him a valuable member of the new community.

With New York again under Dutch rule in 1673-1674, Jacob Melyn was in high favor and was appointed to be one of the schepens of the town and captain of the militia. He owned a four-acre lot with house, barn and orchard, a tract of one hundred acres on the South Neck and eight hundred ten acres besides.

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(1) v. Tuttle, Geo. F: Descendants of Wm. & Eliz. Tuttle; Rutland 1883, p. 603. Each fined 20 shillings.

In 1669 Jacob Melyn was partner in a whaling company. Evidently he was a property owner, a man of affairs and a respected citizen of Elizabeth until 1674, when he removed to New York. For several years he resided on South William Street. Two of his children, Susanna and Jacob, were baptized in the Dutch Church, New York in October, 1674; three other children, Daniel, Samuel, and Abigail, were baptized in August, 1677.

In 1668, 1674, and 1698 petitions were presented by Jacob Melyn to the governors of New York, asking for restoration of the Staten Island estate of Cornelis Melyn of which his heirs had been fraudulently deprived.

In response to the petition of 1668, Governor Nicholls said that a convenient proportion of land should be allotted to Jacob Melyn. But evidently the Melyns did not get back any of their land at that time, for in a petition to Governor Colve, April 14, 1674, Jacob Melyn refers to the consent of Governor Nicholls that a considerable tract should be surveyed for the heirs of Cornelis Melyn.

Governor Lovelace also agreed to confirm Governor Nicholl's promise, though by that time the island had been almost entirely apportioned to various individuals. On October 12, 1674, the petitioners were granted a farm of sixty acres each for the children of Cornelis Melyn, provided none of such lands had been already granted to others, if the petitioners would agree to live on the land and cultivate it. Another petition of Jacob Melyn of May 22, 1684 was rejected because the land had already been given to others.

The last petition of Jacob Melyn is given in full because it seems to be such a good presentation of the case. Jacob Melyn had evidently inherited one of his father's characteristics - perseverance in a good cause. This last petition of November 3, 1698, is addressed to the Earl of Bellemont, Governor-in-chief of Massachusetts Bay Colonies and New York.

"The humble petition of Jacob Melyn most humbly showeth That your Petitioner's Father Cornelis Melyn by vertue of a Grant from the West India Company of Holland bearing date of the Third of July, 1640, was Governor and Proprietor of Staten Island and was confirmed in the Government and propriety thereof by Governor Kieft by a Patent bearing date the nineteenth of June, 1642, and was in the quiet Possession and Enjoyment of the Government and Soyle of the sd. Island as his rightfull inheritance until he with his people (were) driven from thence by the Indians in the year 1643; and he was after that resettled thereon with diverse families, his servants,

until another quarrel was made at New Amsterdam with the Indians, Anno 1655 and were then cutt off upon Staten Island, having about twenty persons slain, who were of sd. Melyen's children, Nephews, Servants and Tenants. The town consisting of about forty houses, which were burnt; and the goods made plunder off, and yo' petitioner's sd. father and mother and two sons with all that survived were taken into a barbarous captivity by the Heathen; Yor Excellcy's Petitir' was one of the sons who was much wounded but recovered not without great difficulty. That his sd. Father...upon some considerations did afterwards, vzt. June 13, 1659, Resign his Right of Governor back to sd. West India Company of Holland upon sundry conditions, which were not all by them observed; But he never sold his Right to the Lands of the sd. Island or any part of his Estate there, but expressly reserved the same to himself and His heirs forever as may appear by the sd. Agreement between the sd. West India Company and his sd. Father, bearing the date of June 13, 1659, and that upon the delivery of New York to the English.

"One of the Articles of Agreement between the English and Dutch Commissioners expressly confirms unto all the Dutch Inhabitants, that continued there their freedome as Denizens and the Enjoyment of their estates as before, Yet he the sd. Jacob Melyen hath been ever since by Fraud and Injustice denyed from the Enjoyment of his sd. Father's Inheritance, he being the rightfull heir, and this notwithstanding he hath made application to every Governor that hath been sent thither by the Kings of England; by which means he hath suffered much Damage; all which will appear to be true by the Records of New York, Copies of which have hitherto been denyed the Supplicant.

"Yor Petitior, therefore, being well assured of yor Excelly's great regard to Impartial Justice, most humbly Prayeth that Yor Excelly will take his case into Yor serious consideration and permit him to take out of the Records copies of such Instruments and Papers as are necessary to prove ye Truth of what he hath before sett forth in order to Yor Lordship's more full satisfaction. That Yor Petitir hath a Right to the soyle of the sd. Island and that he may be better enabled to possess himself of the same."

Jacob Melyn.

From these various petitions it appears that the Melyn children never received any part of their father's Staten Island estate. But nevertheless they seem to have been moderately prosperous.

It was Jacob Melyn's intention that his son Samuel should be educated at Harvard College. In order

that Samuel might receive adequate preparatory training, the family moved to Boston in Samuel's youth. From the following circumstance we know that this change of residence took place before 1689.

In 1689 the Leisler Rebellion broke out in New York. At that time the Jacob Melyn family were no longer residents of New York, for Leisler addressed two letters to Jacob Melyn at Boston. These letters indicate that Jacob Melyn must have given Leisler sympathy or financial support in this rebellion. Leisler posed as a champion of popular rights. For this reason, probably, Melyn was interested in his rebellion. Like his father, Jacob Melyn was always interested in democratic ideas. There was always discontent about taxes and duties, and that gave Leisler a following. But it seems strange that such a man could have held his power for nearly two years, meanwhile imprisoning former officials, plundering homes, shops, and vessels belonging to his opponents.

But Jacob Melyn was in Boston and did not see what was going on in New York. Possibly he may have thought that the home government would eventually recognize Leisler and that through him the Melyn heirs might have their estate restored to them. But that is only a surmise. Without some special motive it is difficult to see why Jacob Melyn's name should have been connected with the rebellion. But it is said that his name was on the list of those to whom amnesty was not granted when the final reckoning came and Leisler and Milborne were condemned to death as traitors for having fired upon the King's troops and having refused to give up the city of New York.

But Jacob Melyn was not haled to judgment. His life in Boston went on peacefully for many years after the Leisler rebellion was ended. He desired his son Samuel to have the best educational advantages that the country afforded at that time. But evidently Jacob had overestimated his son's ability.

Samuel Melyn graduated at Harvard in 1696. In a class of nine Samuel had the lowest rank. Among the manuscripts of Cotton Mather is a letter from Samuel Melyn begging Mather's aid in gaining for him higher standing. But Samuel's plea was unsuccessful. Jacob Melyn had spent three hundred pounds on his son's education and evidently had expected Samuel to be an honor to his family. Perhaps Samuel was lacking in ability or was lazy and dissipated. He was, at all events, a great disappointment, and later he proved to be an utter failure.

From 1700 to 1701 Samuel taught the grammar school at Hadley, Mass. Possibly through the influence of his

cousins, the Spinnings of Elizabeth, Samuel was asked to assist Mr. Harriman as pastor of the Elizabeth church. He may have studied Theology under Mr. Harriman.

One of Samuel's books, "The Cambridge Concordance", contains the following lines:

> Vita sine literis est mortis imago; at
> Vita sine Christus est Morte pejor.
> Si Christum discis, nihil est si caetera nescis.
> Si Christum nescis, nihil est si caetera discis.
>
> Samuelis Melyn
> Liber
> Martii, 1,
> Anno Domini, 1702.

After reading these lines one pities the brief and inglorious career of the young man.

Samuel Melyn had charge of the Elizabeth church. But evidently Samuel was even more intemperate than the standards of the times permitted. He lost the confidence of his people, and at their desire, his ministry ended in 1708. After retiring from the ministry he was appointed Overseer of the Highways, but even in that he did not succeed, for a bill was brought against him in 1709.

Samuel died in 1711. His will, dated May 10, 1711, expresses his faith in the Gospel. Apparently he was by nature religious, but evil was present with him, and in his weakness he succumbed to his besetting sin of intemperance. He left bequests to several friends and the remainder of his possessions to his sister, Abigail Tilley of Boston.

Abigail Tilley's story introduces us to Samuel Sewall, one of the most interesting personages in Massachusetts at that time. Samuel Sewall's Diary gives not only a valuable picture of the political and social history of his day but also portrays his own everyday experiences. Furthermore, he frankly shows his own ruling motives and the inner workings of his mind.

In this famous Diary we come into contact with Jacob Melyn. After Samuel had graduated at Harvard his father continued to live in Boston, where he was engaged in the leather trade. For several years he was Constable and in 1700 he was elected Surveyor of the Highways. These details are of interest because they show that Jacob Melyn, of alien race and devoid of Puritan training, nevertheless had good standing in the Boston community. We are further convinced of this fact when we read in

Sewall's diary that Mr. Melyn had dined with him that day. That was in 1689. As a citizen of Boston for more than twenty years, Melyn would naturally have come in contact with Samuel Sewall, who held numerous offices, becoming Judge of the Superior Court in 1692 and Chief Justice in 1718.

Judge Sewall had been involved with other judges in the Salem witchcraft tragedy. In condemning the so-called witches, the Judge had evidently acted according to his light, but afterward he bitterly regretted his part in this affair. He wrote and published a recantation of his judgment, standing in church while this was being read to the congregation.

To the practical and fair-minded Jacob Melyn such condemnation of witches doubtless seemed inexplicable, and he did not hesitate to express his opinion to the Judge. The entry of August 12, 1696, in Sewall's Diary contains this remark: "Mr. Melyn, upon a slight occasion spoke to me very smartingly about the Salem witchcraft; in the discourse he said, 'If a man should take Beacon hill on's back, carry it away and bring it to its place again, he should not make anything of that.'"

Jacob Melyn was doubtless referring to the case of the Rev. George Burroughs whose "preternatural strength" was regarded as evidence against him in his trial for witchcraft. This same George Burroughs, by the way, was assistant to the Rev. John Wheelwright, exiled from the Bay Colony in 1639 because of his theological views. And this brings us back to Judge Sewall, for his wife's ancestor, Edmund Quincy, had purchased the site for the church where Wheelwright was pastor when condemned to exile. Today we may see in the Quincy church the brass memorial tablet to the exiled pastor.

Though Judge Sewall was an important figure in public affairs, it is with his matrimonial projects that we are chiefly concerned. His first wife, Hannah Hull, granddaughter of Edmund Quincy, was the daughter of John Hull of pine tree shilling fame. Hannah was his only daughter, and we all know how she was placed on one scale and silver shillings and sixpences on the other until she went up and the coins went down. With this dowry Hannah Hull became the highly valued wife of Samuel Sewall, though she did not live to see her husband reach the zenith of his honors.

After the death of Hannah, the Judge called several times upon Mrs. Dennison, who had recently become a widow. Evidently he was received with favor, but when the question of her property was considered, he wanted Mrs. Dennison to yield certain points to which she held. The

Judge says of her, "My bowels yern towards Mrs. Dennison; but I think God directs me to desist."

Probably it was legal acumen and shrewd business sense that stood in the way of this union. Apparently Mrs. Dennison was loath to have the match broken off, for one very cold Sunday night she went to Judge Sewall's house to ask pardon if she had displeased him by not consenting to his proposal. But nothing came of this visit, which she wanted to be kept secret. The Judge says, "She went away in the bitter cold, no moon being up, to my great pain. I saluted her in parting."

And now, for the moment, we interrupt the Judge's account of his proposals to relate the experiences of Jacob Melyn's daughter Abigail. About 1696, Abigail Melyn married James Woodmancy, who lived for several years after this marriage. Her second husband, William Tilley, was a rope-maker. But in 1717, Abigail was again a widow. She was then forty years of age, comely and amiable.

Not long after Judge Sewall gave up courting Mrs. Dennison, he turned his attention to the attractive widow, Mrs. Abigail Tilley. In September, 1719, the Judge called upon her for the second time. He says of her, "It seems she was born in the Jerseys. In her twentieth year she married Mr. Woodmancy."

After three or four visits the Judge proposed marriage, and in this instance he was a successful suitor. His Diary records, "She expresses her unworthiness of such a thing with much Respect." Evidently Abigail stood somewhat in awe of the Judge, though she doubtless admired him and was flattered by the offer of marriage from a man who stood so high in public esteem.

At a subsequent visit the Judge gave Mrs. Tilley a little book, entitled "Ornaments for the Daughters of Sion", by Cotton Mather, a book which the Judge had given to his first wife in 1702. That was indeed a tribute to Abigail, for the Judge had been a devoted husband to Hannah Hull. A few days later he again visited Mrs. Tilley. His diary records, "Eat Almonds and Reasons with Mrs. Tilley and Mrs. Armitage." The Judge continues, "Discoursed with Mrs. Armitage, who spoke very agreeably, and said Mrs. Tilley had been a great Blessing to them and hoped God would make her so to me and my family." On September twenty-fifth, Judge Sewall visited Madame Pemberton. "She applauded my courting Mrs. Tilley," he says. "I thanked her for her favor in maintaining what I did."

On October 15, 1719, Judge Sewall's marriage was published. As Dr. Increase Mather could not go out in the evening, the Judge invited Mr. Thomas Prince to be

at the wedding and to make the second prayer. The diary record continues,

> October 29, 1719, Thanksgiving Day, between six and seven, Brother Moody and I went to Mrs. Tilley's. We were married by Joseph Sewall in the best room below stairs. Mr. Adams, Minister of Newington was there, Mr. Oliver and Mr. Timothy Clark, Justices, and many more. Sang 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 verses of the ninetieth Psal. Cousin S. Sewall set Low Dutch tune in a very good key, which made the singing with a good number of Voices very agreeable. Distributed cake.

The very night of the wedding the bride became very ill. The Judge says, "My Bride grew so very bad she was fain to sit up in her bed: I rose to get her Petticoats about her. I was exceedingly amazed, fearing lest she should have dy'd. Through the favor of God she recovered in some considerable time of her fit of coughing."

"And then on the very next day, October 16, Governor Shute, Governor Dudley and his Lady, Councillors and Ministers in Town with their wives dined with us. Had a very good dinner, at Four Tables, two in the best room. In the evening Mr. Oliver invited me and my Bride to Mr. Prince's wedding. We went half way up the Hill and my Bride could go no further; but was fain to return back by reason of her great cold and shortness of breath.

"Then I went and saw Rev. Thomas Prince married to Mrs. Deborah Denny. Had a good supper and cake. Sung about two staves in fourth part of Ps. 73. I set the tune.

"Mr. Oliver in the name of the Overseers of the Meeting House invites my Wife to sit in the Foreseat. I thought to bring her into my pue, but Mr. Oliver insisted. I thanked him and the Overseers."

Probably Abigail Sewall recovered from the acute attack of illness that she had at the time of her marriage, but from that time her health must have been declining. Between October 20, 1719, and May 26, 1720, the Judge alludes several times to visits made by his wife and himself at the houses of friends. As late as May 22, 1720, they dined together at Mr. Stoddard's. But he says, "On the night of May 26, my dear Wife was oppressed with a rising of Flegm that obstructed her breathing...About midnight my dear Wife expired, to our great astonishment, especially mine. May the Sovereign Lord pardon my Sin, and sanctify to me this very awful Dispensation."

Abigail Sewall's experience as wife of the eminent Judge covered only seven months, but it may have brought greater happiness than her previous marriages. We do not know. But the picture that Whittier has given of Samuel Sewall promises much.

> Samuel Sewall, the good and wise.
> His face with lines of firmness wrought,
> He wears the look of a man unbought,
> Who swears to his hurt and changes not.
> Yet touched and softened nevertheless
> With the grace of Christian gentleness;
> The face that a child would climb to kiss;
> True and tender and brave and just,
> That man might honor and woman trust.

Though Jacob Melyn showed his disapproval of the Judge's part in the Salem Witchcraft sentence, he would doubtless have approved the marriage of his daughter Abigail to Judge Sewall, By reason of wealth, high offices, learning, sense, wit, fearlessness and magnanimity, the man was, in his day, a potentate among the men of Massachusetts.

But Jacob Melyn had died in 1708. He had several children, but Samuel and Abigail are the only descendants of Jacob Melyn of whose fortunes or misfortunes we have any record.

Isaac Melyn died in 1722, leaving one child, Joanna. Through this daughter, who had married the young minister, Jonathan Dickinson, destined to become a distinguished figure in New Jersey, Isaac had many descendants. But that is another story.

So far as can be ascertained, Cornelis Melyn's children made good, but no one of them could compare with the pioneer father whose life of adventure and high endeavor should never be forgotten by those who number him among their forefathers.

Cornelis Melyn, Patroon of Staten Island, b. Antwerp 1600 or 1602: his parents both d. 1606; he d. 1663; m. 1627 Jannetje Adriaens of Myert. They had 7 children:

1. Cornelia, b. Amsterdam 1628; d. 1718; m (1) April 1647 Jacobus Loper who d. 1653; m. (2) Jacobus Schellinger and moved to Easthampton, L.I. Son Abraham Schellinger was a pioneer settler of Amagansett.
2. Cornelis, b. Amsterdam 1633; d. shipwreck Sept. 27, 1647.
3. Jacob, b. Amsterdam 1640; d. Boston 1708; went with his father 1657 to New Haven; reprimanded by Governor and fined 20 Shillings for kissing Sarah Tuttle; m. 1662 Hannah, dau. George Hubbard of Guilford, Conn. Hannah's sister m. Humphrey Spinning. In 1665 these Melyns and Spinnings moved to Elizabeth Town, N.J., where Jacob was appointed one of the schepens and was captain of militia. He was partner in a whaling business. Moved 1674 to N.Y. Moved 1689 to Boston so his son Samuel could go to Harvard. Jacob and Hannah Melyn had:

    1. Susanna, Bapt. Oct. 16, 1674, in Dutch Church, N.Y.
    2. Jacob, " " " " " " " "
    3. Daniel, Bapt. Aug. 1677.
    4. Samuel, " " " ; d. 1711; grad. Harvard 1696, minister of Presb. Ch. Elizabeth Town, N.J. until 1708.
    5. Abigail, Bapt. Aug. 1677; d. May 26, 1720; m. (1) 1696 James Woodmancy; m. (2) before May 10, 1711, William Tilley who d. 1717; m. (3) Oct. 29, 1719, Judge Samuel Sewall.

4. Another son b. Amsterdam, killed by Indians on Staten Island, Sept. 1655.
5. Susannah, b. America, Bapt. 1646 N.Y., m. a N.Y. merchant.
6. Magdalen, " " " " " " " "
7. Isaac, b. 1646 in America; d. 1722 in his house on Broad St., N.Y.C.; m. Temperance Loveredge, dau William Loveredge of Albany. In 1722 the only surviving child of Isaac and Temperance Melyn was

    Joanna Melyn, b. 1683; d. 1745; m. late 1708 or early 1709 the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, b. Apr. 22, 1688; d. Oct. 7, 1747. Their sixth child

    Temperance Dickinson m. John Odell, b. 1710(?)(Pool). d. June 25, 1750. Children (in probable order of age):

    1. Jonathan Odell, b. Sept. 25, 1737; d. Nov. 25, 1818; m. May 6, 1772 Anne de Cou.
    2. Eunice Odell b. June 4, 1742; d. July 24, 1830; m. March 1, 1766 Jonathan Ford b. Nov. 9, 1733: d. July 12, 1817.
    3. Joanna Odell m. an Odell; settled in Bridgeport, Conn.
    4. Elizabeth Odell, b. May 18, 1749; d. Jan. 20, 1819; m. May 9, 1779 James Ford, b. Nov. 21, 1747; d. Mar. 1, 1827; bro. of Jonathan Ford.