‘Lookeing Very Prettily ...*with* Dutch Tyles *on* Each Side’

EVIDENCE OF THE FORMER NEW NETHERLANDS IN THE 1697 TRAVEL JOURNAL OF DR. BENJAMIN BULLIVANT

INTRODUCED, EDITED and ANNOTATED
by Suzanne Natalicchio

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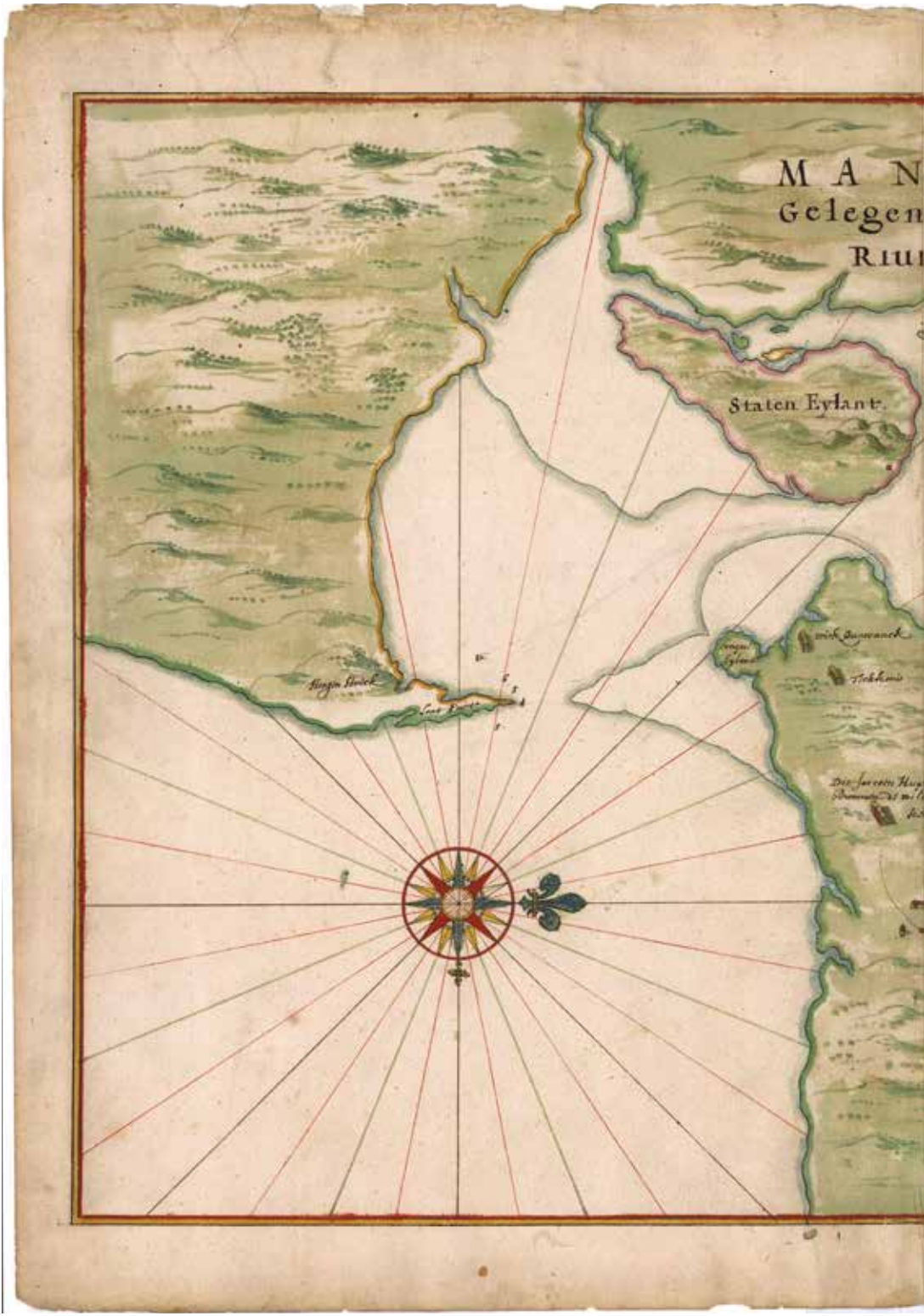
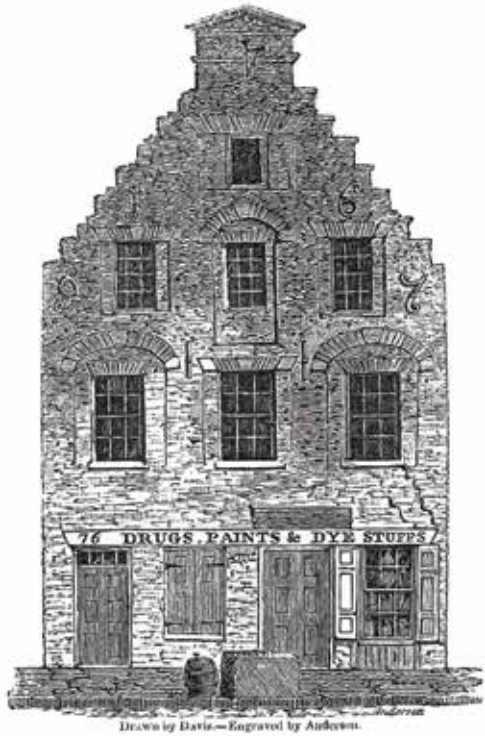
For all my history-buff friends,
both in 'Old' and 'New' Netherlands


M A N
Gelegen
Riu
Staten Eylant.

1639 Map of New Netherland. "Manatvs gelegen op de Noot [sic] Riuier".



Drawn by Davis.—Engraved by Anderson.

OLD DUTCH HOUSE IN PEARL-STREET.

Built 1686.—Rebuilt 1697.—Demolished 1828

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ON THE COVER: *Details from Benjamin Bullivant' journal, and seventeeth century Dutch Delft blue tiles.*

ON THE EDGE: *New Amsterdam circa 1660, in 'The World of Peter Stuyvesant', from New Amsterdam History Center < http://www.localarchives.org/nahc/links.aspx>, published by the Museum of the City of New York, in Co-operation with the New York State Council of the Arts, original printed in Holland by Job. Enschede en Zomen, Haarlem. All rights reserved.*

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I would like to express my gratitude to those who have supported and encouraged me throughout my thesis project. First, I am grateful to my thesis supervisor, Professor Paul G. Hoftijzer, for his enthusiasm, guidance and encouragement. I would also like to thank my second reader, Peter A. W. Verhaar MA, for standing in at the last minute. Next, I owe a colossal debt of gratitude to my dear friends, Lori and Mark Petrozino, who answered a late night Facebook post and took an early morning train from Philadelphia to New York City on their day off, and enthusiastically photographed the manuscript for me. Within twenty-four hours of my post asking for help, they had uploaded images of the entire manuscript to my Dropbox. This thesis would not be possible without the two of you. I am indebted as well to Susan McKinley and Greg Beaubien for their editorial eyes and advice. I also value my friends and family who have cheered me on with endless support and encouragement.

Finally, I thank my husband, Bert, for all the bookshelves he has built for us over the years, for his infinite patience while I rummage through old bookshops and antique book fairs, his tireless support, and of course, for having a career that brought us to this amazing 'Old World'.

VRYHEDEN

By de Vergaderinghe van de Negenthiene vande Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie vergunt aen allen den ghenen / die eenighe Colonien in Nieu-Nederlandt sullen planten.

In het licht gegheven,

Om bekent te maken wat Profijten ende Voordeelen aldaer in Nieu-Nederlandt, voor de Coloniers ende der selver Patroonen ende Meesters, midtsgaders de Participanten, die de Colonien aldaer planten, zijn becomen.

Westindien Kan sijn Nederlands groot gewin,
Verkleynt sijnds Macht brengt silver-platen in.

T'AMSTELREDAM,

Voor Marten Iansz Brandt Boeckverkooper/ woonende bij de nieuwe Kercke/ in de Gereformeerde Catechismus, Anno 1630.

Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB), Atlantic World Archive, inv. no. pflt 4000. *Vryheden By de Vergaderinghe van de Negenthiene vande Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie vergunt aen allen den ghenen die eenighe Colonien in Nieu-Nederlandt sullen planten*, title page, 14pp. (Amsterdam: Marten Jansz Brandt, 1630).

Engraving. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief Amsterdam (01009701145?)

Above, a rare pamphlet from West India Company giving permission and encouraging people to emigrate to the New Netherland colony. Right, an engraving depicting 'het West-Indisch Huys' (the West India House) in Amsterdam, in 1655.

PREFACE

This thesis is written for the *Book and Digital Media Studies* at Leiden University Master's program in The Netherlands, which studies all forms of transmitting knowledge through text, from historical to digital. It focuses on making a new and relevant edition of an historical manuscript, a travel journal of a tour in the middle English colonies in the New World, written by Dr. Benjamin Bullivant in 1697. The document, BV Bullivant, Benjamin MS 1023, is held by the New-York Historical Society Library, and permission for use of the manuscript in this thesis is courtesy the New-York Historical Society.

As an American expat living in The Hague, I was struck by an underlying sense of the familiar when I first moved to The Netherlands. This thesis was born out of my studies and time in Leiden, which revealed the causes behind that sense of the familiar. I spent my youth residing in what was once the Dutch colony of New Netherland, now known as the Mid-Atlantic States in the United States. Ironically, I've come to a faraway land, the birthplace of my birthplace, and learned things about my homeland that I had never been taught there. I came to appreciate how the Dutch colonists left for New Netherland, leaving behind sophisticated towns and culture, and carved the wilderness into a resemblance of their homeland. I learned why towns developed where they did, what the people were like who settled there, what elements of culture they brought with them, and what remained of that culture. American history has roots in that Dutch colony. If we travel through those lands today, have traces of the colony been erased by the passing centuries, covered by the passage of time and progress? Or are the traces still there, but just made invisible by

their familiarity?

I chose to create an edition of Benjamin Bullivant's travel journal, *A Journall, with Observations on My Travail from Boston in N.E. to N.Y., New Jersies, & Philadelphia in Pensilvania, A.D. 1697*, because it is one of the few surviving descriptions of the pre-Federal, middle colony that was once the Dutch colony of New Netherland. That area today comprises the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and portions of Connecticut. Throughout his journal, Bullivant took note of English aspects in what he saw, as well as the Dutch. He observed how buildings were similar to the 'English style' in some parts, but also described the shapes of buildings in New York as made of the yellow 'Flanders' brick, such as are still found in The Netherlands (and occasionally dug up New York City excavations). In his observations, Bullivant's travel journal gives us a glimpse of what New Netherland looked like in the seventeenth century and what traces of the colony existed after the English takeover when he traveled through it.

To facilitate the understanding of the journal and its context, I have included a short history of the New Netherland colony and a brief biography of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant. While transcribing Bullivant's journal, I made various editorial decisions regarding the text, and I have included an explanation of those choices for the reader.

INTRODUCTION

When the Boston apothecary Dr. Benjamin Bullivant dipped his pen in ink and commenced writing on the first page of his small pocket journal, the words he composed included 'N.Y. New-Jersies, & Philadelphia in Pensilvania'. A few decades earlier the lands of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware were once collectively known as New Netherland, the Dutch colony that existed for but a brief time in history, a little more than forty years.

Bullivant's observations shed some light on the shadowed history of the North American middle colonies. New Netherland was founded as a corporate trading post in the early seventeenth century, not long after the Pilgrims set foot on the mythical Plymouth Rock and years before the Puritans arrived to build their shining 'city upon a hill' in Boston. Although the Dutch had been exploring and mapping the waterways of North America since they had directed Henry Hudson to find a passage to the Orient in 1609, they had not sent colonists until 1624. In May of that year, thirty families arrived on *Noten Eylant* (now known as Governor's Island) to settle a multi-cultural colony that would one day grow up to be New York City.

Many famous and ordinary Americans today can trace their lineage to Dutch ancestral roots. An extensive list of famous families who have genetic ties to the early colonists from the Netherlands includes the Roosevelts, Astors, Rensselaers, and Vanderbilts. We also find authors Herman Melville and Walt Whitman, the actors Jane Fonda, Chevy Chase, and Shirley Temple, and the reporters Walter Cronkite and Tom Brokaw.[1]

1 For more details, see <http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/dutch_americans/?showall=1>.

Less known is the fact that much of the American spirit of democracy and attitude of tolerance is rooted in that obscured colony of New Netherland.

The New Netherland Society

For centuries, most of the story in the colonial records of New Netherland has been unknown, inaccessible to English-speaking America. Fortunately for historians and scholars of America's colonial history, the translation work done by one man has opened a treasure of documents for research. Working at The New Netherland Institute[2] in the New York State Library archives in Albany, Dr. Charles Gehring has been translating the surviving Old Dutch records of the New Netherland colony since 1974. The collection represents the largest extant record of the Dutch West India Company in the New World, and provides an invaluable resource in researching America's Dutch legacy.[3] Gehring's incredible, still ongoing efforts illuminate long-forgotten moments in the lives of the earliest settlers of the middle colony and help increase the knowledge of America's Dutch colonial roots.

Few personal journals exist with contemporary descriptions of the colony, the people and land, particularly before the English takeover of the colony in 1664, although several books about the New World were published during that early colonial time. Explorer Adriaen van der Donck, who lived in the colony, wrote an enthusiastic promotional book *Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant*[4] (Description of New Netherland) describing the wonders of the colony in 1656. An even earlier work by

2 See <http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org>.

3 The New York State Archives hold the official New Netherland records, which is the world's largest collection of the West India Company's documents related to the New World colonies. See <http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/research/new-netherland-research-center-on-site-resources/>. For more information on the international archives of the West India Company, see <http://en.nationaalarchief.nl/newsroom/news/dutch-west-india-company-archives-become-memory-of-the-world-unesco> (6 August, 2014).

4 A. van der Donck, *Beschrijvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant (gelijck het tegenwoordigh in staet is) ....* Den Ilen dr. (Amsterdam: Evert Nieuwenhof, 1656).

Johannes de Laet, *Nieuwe wereldt*[5] (New World), was partly based on Henry Hudson's reports that are now lost as de Laet never actually saw the colony.[6] Bullivant is a witness to the colony, albeit some thirty years after Governor Stuyvesant turned the Fort at New Amsterdam over to the British. In his mind, the countryside was all New England, but his mission, when he first put ink on the page of his journal, was to record observations of what was the former colony of New Netherland. In these lines, he reveals pieces of the veiled past of places including more than just New York City. His journey cuts a swath across the breadth of the former colony that has received little attention, and his details offer a wonderful peek into that past.

About The Travel Journal

For centuries, travelers have been known to keep a record of their journey, tracking their experiences in usually small booklets, and sometimes using them for later publication. Journal writers can take distinct approaches, writing either objectively or subjectively. The objective style is more often a written observation, primarily expository, used to observe and explain things, collect data or research a subject. Often it will be used to develop an expanded form for publication. Subjective journals are more writer-oriented and include reactions or responses to observations made on the journey; the writer takes the time to write the observations, and to process a response to them.

In his travel journal, Bullivant takes the approach of faithful observation and reporting, without going on a mental journey of imagination found in later types of 'romantic' travel journals.[7] He makes sharp observations of his surroundings on a wide variety of subjects, from architecture,

5 J. de Laet, *Nieuvve wereldt, ofte, Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien wt veelderhande schriften ende aen-teeckeninghen van verscheyden natien* (Leiden: Isaac Elzevier, 1625).

6 J. Jacobs, *New Netherland a Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

7 R. Jarvis, 'William Beckford: Travel Writer, Travel Reader', *Review of English Studies*, 65 (2014), pp. 99-117 <http://res.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/content/65/268/99.ful> (23 July, 2014).

construction, insects, weapons and furnishings, streets, waterways, entertainments, lodging and food, to the people he met on his travels. He impartially reports about the culture, with disciplined observations and limited commentary on politics or religion, but makes plenty of observations of churches, including his own attendance. Considering he was a founding warden of the Episcopal church in Boston, his journal is remarkably devoid of a preachy attitude. At the beginning of his diary he enthusiastically records his journey, but towards the end for several days in a row he makes only simplified entries with 'at [place name]'. What he had done on those particular days and whom he had seen are lost to us now. He apparently had been occupying his time with endeavors that either did not warrant reporting, or were deliberately left out.

Excerpts from Bullivant's journal have been quoted in articles on a broad range of subjects. Most references from the journal are related to the city of New York, or simply chosen as tidbits relating to one or another particular subject.

The journal itself was transcribed and edited by Wayne Andrews in 1956 for the *New York Historical Society Quarterly* as 'A Glance at New York in 1697: The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant'.[8] In that edition, Andrews takes a New York-centric viewpoint as his purpose. As a whole, however, the journal gives a unique insight into the breadth of what was once the original Dutch colony of New Netherland, which was recent history at the time of Bullivant's observations. Indeed, Bullivant remarked on the Dutch people, indicating that they were in great enough numbers and different enough from New Englanders to attract his attention.

The purpose of Bullivant's journey is perhaps revealed in his entry regarding delivering letters. It was at the time common to send letters with someone traveling to other cities, as a formal postal service had not been reliably established. While he would have had many transactions with peo-

8 B. Bullivant and W. Andrews (ed.), *A Glance at New York in 1697: The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant* (New York: NYHS, 1956).

ple who had hailed from these areas when he was attorney general of the Massachusetts colony in 1686, the impression is that this was Bullivant's first journey into New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. An experienced traveler, Bullivant nevertheless made observations as one would do on a first journey through an unfamiliar place, so it is safe to assume that he had not previously visited the middle colonies.

However, it is not clear why he felt the need to keep a diary and report his observations on this particular trip. His errands to deliver letters to people, including the governor of New York City, could have been sufficient reason to keep a prudent diary of his actions, simply for recollection purposes. Considering his connections with government figures, perhaps he was gathering intelligence for government officials in Boston. Alternatively, he might have had in mind to write a longer composition on the events as he counted publishers amongst his friends. Possibly he was merely curious about new things and endeavored to observe life in a scientific manner.

As a clerk of the courts, Bullivant had been in the habit of keeping journals, and another one of them survives today. However, that diary predominantly pertains to the running of the Massachusetts colony and was recorded while fulfilling that duty. In 1878, H.W. Foote presented that journal at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where it is still preserved.[9] Bullivant had expanded the brief journal from notes he had made in his 'pocket book' on 13 February through 19 May 1690.[10] This illustrates his habit of carrying a pocket-sized diary with him in which to write notes, and might be a clue as to why Bullivant wrote his travel journal.

9 H. W. Foote, E. Ames, E. R. Hoar, and G. S. Hillard, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 1878* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1879).

10 *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 16, 1878 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1879), pp. 101-108.

Provenance of Bullivant's travel journal

Bullivant's small pocket journal, handwritten on rag paper, numbers sixty-one pages. It is presently held by Manuscripts Special Collections of the New-York Historical Society Library in New York City and is shelf marked 'BV Bullivant, Benjamin MS 1023'. After hundreds of years, the journal traveled back to the city into which it was first carried tucked away in Bullivant's pocket. The journal had been passed down through the family of a London attorney, Richard Rudd. In the nineteenth century it came into Eustace G. Edwards' possession, who then presented it to Barbara Simonds of New York.[11] The New-York Historical Society purchased it in 1954, with aid from the Foster-Jarvis Fund.[12]

Source: New-York Historical Society Library, Maps Collection, by J.W. Adams and I.N.P. Stokes (1916).

Redraft of the Castello Plan New Amsterdam in 1660, how the city appeared a few years before the English takeover of the colony. The wall to the right is present-day Wall Street.

11 Andrews, *A Glance at New York in 1697: The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant*, p. 5.

12 Ibid.

A NOTE ON EDITORIAL DECISIONS

While transcribing Bullivant's travel journal, I have incorporated several editing choices in order to convey the information while maintaining some of the 'flavor' of the age in which it was written.

When transcribing a manuscript, it is important to give attention to all compositional clues as they are an integral part of the composition. These clues include marks such as underlining and case changes that could indicate emphasis; deletions and insertions that show compositional process; and changes in ink color or density, or paper changes, that show phases of the composition. The decision for the editor, then, is to determine to what extent these marks are shown in the final edition of the text. Since the nineteenth century, editorial form for private texts took the approach of including all marks, insertions and deletions made by the author as a form of record of the author's process. Some editors of private manuscripts have gone so far as to try to reproduce the text exactly as written, with all markings, abbreviations and misspellings—a typographical representation of the manuscript to convey the author's process. However, this can interfere with readability; in some cases the text edition would be better served by presenting a facsimile or photograph of the text.[13]

Another consideration while editing is making the distinction of the text being meant for public or private consumption. A travel journal can certainly be kept as a private diary, but what were Bullivant's ideas about what he would do with his? Was it his intention that the work would become part of the public sphere, or to remain private or confidential? Did he keep it as a personal record to ponder over later, or use it as a reference for later compositions? Considering the evidence in later correspondence of Bullivant imparting some of what he learned on this journey, it is safe

13 M. Hunter, *Editing Early Modern Texts, An Introduction to Principles and Practice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 73-75.

to assume he kept the journal for later reference.[14] The tone of the journal is one that is, as his first word declared, observational. He wrote about so many subjects, without interjecting strong opinions or convictions, such that the journal comes across as a record of description and notations for future reference.

Editorial decisions are made, taking the author's intention into account, i.e. how much editing and correcting to make in the text.. In Andrews' 1956 edition for the New-York Historical Society,[15] he preserves all contractions and abbreviations and chooses to add very few paragraph breaks, which maintains a strict transcription of the text, but in my opinion compromises the readability. My choice in presenting this edition is to not completely modernize the text, but to preserve some of the flavor of this seventeenth-century manuscript while clarifying the text for readability purposes. The following describes the editorial decisions I have applied to Bullivant's text.

Spelling was not standardized at the time that Benjamin Bullivant kept this journal, so although he was an educated man and his spelling is contemporary, it is not the usage we have today. For instance, in many words with a suffix of 'ing' he does not drop the 'e' before adding the 'ing', as in 'make' to 'makeing'. I have maintained his spelling style as the words are clear enough for us to understand.

In the places where Bullivant indicated a double letter by placing a line above the letter, I have spelled out the words as he clearly knew the correct spelling and used this shorthand version of the word either to save space or for speed of writing. For instance, the word 'command' was writ-

14 Bullivant mentions his observation of fire flies in a letter to a friend in London. See B. Bullivant, 'Part of a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Bullivant, at Boston, in New England; to Mr James Petiver, Apothecary, and Fellow of the Royal Society, in London. Concerning Some Natural Observations He Had Made in Those Parts', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,* 20, no. 236-247 (1698), pp. 167-168.

15 Andrews, *A Glance at New York in 1697: The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant*.

ten 'comand' with a line above the 'm' to show it was meant to be 'mm'.

Bullivant also wrote superscript letters to shorten words. In such cases I have converted the word to the full spelling (such as 'wh^{ch}' to which, and 'wth' to with) for the convenience of the reader, as these abbreviations were common shorthand in those days. One exception is that I have kept the thorn 'Y^{e}', pronounced 'the', which was still used extensively in Bullivant's time. Some scholars may take issue with keeping the spelling as 'Y^{e}' as the 'Y' was originally a printing typesetter's replacement for the letterform, which they did not have, the thorn 'þ', which is now the modern digraph 'th'. However, since Bullivant used both spellings of 'the' and 'y^{e}' in his writing (and sometimes within the same sentence) I chose to maintain his usage to distinguish the places he applied them. If he intended to read aloud from his journal, Bullivant certainly would have pronounced all the words 'y^{e}' fully as 'the'.

Another difference between the written words in the manuscript and the transcription is Bullivant's use of 'uu' for a 'v'. In these instances, I have replaced the 'uu' with a 'v', viz: governor, government, etc., for the convenience of the reader. I have kept contractions and abbreviations of titles as written, such as 'Coll.' for Colonel, 'Mr' for Mister, and 'Exc.' for Excellency. I have maintained all punctuation and capitalization as Bullivant wrote it, with two exceptions. For the purpose of presenting the text in a form that will not distract the reader, I begin all sentences with a capital letter, as he was inconsistent in this, and end sentences with a period where he left no mark except an extra space before the next sentence.

Additionally, Bullivant wrote using brackets throughout the journal, using alternately square brackets or curved parentheses with no apparent purpose for one or the other. I have converted these to parentheses, and used square brackets for editorial notations.

Bullivant's journal is a palm-sized, vertical notebook, and was almost completely written as one long paragraph with few breaks, from edge to edge and to fill the available space. However, I have chosen to place paragraph breaks where there are none in his journal. There are clear

breaks in his thoughts throughout his writing, but at the time he was keeping the journal, paper was precious and space was limited in such a small travel journal. If his intention was to take notes for later transcription, I am certain he would have formed paragraphs and spelled out his words when transcribing as some of his correspondence exists that shows his ability to compose fully in longhand.[16] When Andrews transcribed the journal he chose to put in paragraph breaks where Bullivant generally indicated them with drawn lines. However, I also chose to insert paragraph breaks where he indicated a change in a physical location and where I believe Bullivant would have ended his journal entry for the day, as well as when he changed thoughts to describe different subjects.

Also, in the text transcription I have indicated page breaks by notating the foliation of the manuscript pages in the form of [f.. #r] for recto pages and [f.. #v] for verso pages. This is important for finding and comparing text when collating the transcription with the original manuscript.

Finally, I have found in my transcription a few places of disagreement with Andrews' 1956 transcription. These I have footnoted.

16 Examples of his letters are referred to later in this document.

Part One

A BRIEF HISTORY OF *NIEUW NEDERLANDT*


Matouowesarini
R Æ C Æ S E P T E N
Tadoussac
O V A B E L G I C A sive N I E U W
Quebecq
N A
Canomakers
Mackwaas
Mahikans
Horikans
Nawaas
N E D E R L A N D T nu
Minnessinck ofte
t'Landt van Bacham
Sequins
P E N N
N I E W Y O R C K
Matanacs
Waranawankongh
Waoranecks
Makimanos
Quicrepys
Wecke
Morcans
Pequatoos
Wapanoos
Minquaas
t'Lange Eylandt
Matouwacs
Sauwanoos
Ermomex
Zuyck Rivier
M A R
NOVI BELGII
NOVÆQUE ANGLIÆ NEC NON
PARTIS
VIRGINIÆ TABULA
multis in locis emendata
per Nicolaum Visscher
NIEUW AMSTERDAM

A BRIEF HISTORY of Nieuw Nederlandt

When, in September 1609, Henry Hudson sailed up the river that bears his name in his ship the *Halve Maen* (Half Moon), he did so under the direction and flag of the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC), or the Dutch East India Company. He was searching for a quicker north*west* passage for merchant vessels traveling to the Orient (despite his orders to search for a north*east* passage). Instead, Hudson found a land rich with natural resources and natives who could supply a seemingly endless quantity of beaver peltries and 'martins, foxes, and many other commodities' for trade.[17] The first recorded name of the island that Hudson sailed past on that river came from one of his shipmates, Robert Juet, who described it as 'the side of the river called *Manna-hata*.'[18]

After news of Hudson's discovery hit the docks of Amsterdam, it was not long before the Dutch staked their claim to the land from the Fresh River (Connecticut River) to the South River (Delaware River), and explorer Adriaen Block set sail to chart and map the coast and waterways. The area lay between the northern and southern lands claimed by England: New England and Virginia. Adventurers and merchant traders

17 R. Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Forgotten Colony that Shaped America* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), p. 31.

18 Ibid., p. 33.

Opposite: This circa 1684 map of New Netherland was published by Nicolaas Visscher II. Visscher copied from a 1651 map by Johannes Janssonius for this first edition. The map depicts all the European settlements present at the time.

struck deals almost immediately to explore and trade in this territory in what was known then as the 'West Indies'. Within a few months, merchant ships from Amsterdam began their trading efforts, sweeping out with the Trade Winds, circling down to the Bahamas, then up the North American coast to this island in Hudson's river, which the Dutch now named the River Mauritius.[19] In October 1623, after the end of a temporary truce with Spain, some wealthy merchants and the States General, the governing body of the United Provinces, formed the West India Company to exploit the riches in the new world with a company-run colony. It was meant to become a hub for ships traveling between Europe and the Caribbean, South America, New Netherland and the Dutch Republic. With promises of six years of service in exchange for land, the West India Company recruited Flemish refugees, or Walloons. The company looked in particular for youthful couples, who could take on this new world wilderness adventure, often hastily marrying them before departure. One such couple, Catalina Trico and Joris Rapalje, would become parents of the first European child born in New York; their daughter Sarah was born in 1625.[20]

The West India Company scattered settlers across the colony as a way of claiming the land, and spread them out along the principal waterways, namely the North, the South and the Fresh Rivers. These small groups on each river consisted of a couple of families and a set of six to eight men each, with a larger company of over a hundred being sent up the North River to settle close to what is now Albany, New York. Initially planning to make the capital of the province on the South River, the colonizers soon realized the island of Manhattan was better situated for commerce. They began trading with the Native Americans, clearing land and planting the land.

New Netherland became the destination colony for merchants, farm-

19 It was named after Maurits of Nassau (1567-1625), the leader of the Dutch rebellion against Spain, and son of the slain Dutch hero William the Silent.

20 Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World*, p. 41.

ers, and laborers. These contract employees of the West India Company arrived to earn a living, but many remained long after their duties were dispatched. Moreover, people seeking religious freedom from New England sought to immigrate to New Netherland, although their numbers were negligible in the diverse population of the colony.[21] Many others made the journey to the colony, fulfilled their duties and returned home to Europe. Before 1640 the West India Company limited immigration; they ran the colony as a corporation and desired to keep costs low. They didn't encourage permanent settlement in the colony until much later.

At that time, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, under its new stadtholder Frederik Hendrik, had joined in a treaty with Charles II in England. Their common enemy was Spain, so they opened their trading ports to each other, including those in their overseas colonies. Ironically, this brought together again two groups who had been refugees in Leiden before departing to the new world: the Brownists (the Pilgrims) in the New England colony to the north, and the Walloons in the Dutch colony.[22]

In 1624, the West India Company sent a director, Cornelius May, to oversee the Dutch colony. He brought with him the first colonists and established his bases at *Noten Eylant* (Nut Island, later Governor's Island) on the North River and Fort Nassau on the South River. A year later, May was replaced by Willem Verhulst, who initiated the construction of Fort Amsterdam at the tip of Manhattan Island, and Fort Wilhelmus on the South River. Verhulst infuriated the colonists with his harsh punishments and soon he was replaced, by Peter Minuit, in 1626.

Minuit famously purchased the island from the Native Americans on 24 May, 1626 for goods valued at 60 Dutch guilders. The colonial headquarters settled onto the island, and more colonists came to Fort Amsterdam, forming an internationally diverse population comparable to its

21 J. Jacobs, *New Netherland a Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 91.

22 Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World*, p. 45.

namesake in the Netherlands. Minuit also bought Staten Island and other large tracts along both the North and South Rivers and kept good relations with the natives. While the settlement grew as a center for free trade it was still a company town, not governed by a legal system. Minuit and a council of five men heard disputes and issued orders and decrees. The multicultural town struggled with this lack of firmly established government, and Minuit was unable to control the compounding chaos. Complaints from colonists to the West India Company's directors mounted, but times were good back in Amsterdam and concern about affairs in the colony was low. It was not until 1631 that Minuit was called back to Amsterdam and dismissed on the absurd charge that not enough colonists had been added to the colony.[23]

In defiance, Minuit used his knowledge of the New Netherland's lack of military power and his understanding of the natives to entice the king of Sweden to fund a new colony. Having obtained that support, Minuit established a colony at Fort Christina on the South River in 1638, which he called New Sweden (now present-day Wilmington, Delaware). He remained long enough to see the building commence of Fort Christina, and returned to Stockholm to gather more colonists. However, he died on the way there when caught in a hurricane in the Caribbean.[24]

Following Minuit's dismissal in 1631, Bastiaen Krol became interim director until the young Wouter van Twiller, aged 27, arrived in 1633. Previously he had been a warehouse clerk for the West India Company, and was inexperienced for the position. He was the nephew of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, who was 'patroon', a class of wealthy landowners, of the colonial estate Rensselaerswyck near Albany and a founding director of the West India Company. Van Twiller enriched his landholdings and those of

23 Minuit had repeatedly asked the West India Company to send more colonists. For a fascinating account of Verhulst and Minuit's purchase and tenure of Manhattan, see: Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World,* pp. 49-60.

24 See 'New Sweden', *Wikipedia*. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Sweden> (25 April, 2014).

the colony, purchasing *Noten Eylant* from the Canarsee tribe. He served as director for five years, but was a drunk and incompetent leader.[25] Although his administration made improvements, which included adding ramparts to the fort, building a church and the first houses with chimneys, during van Twiller's tenure the town filled with unruly citizens. Pirates and privateers were numerous, as Dutch attacks on Spanish ships continued as an acceptable, even encouraged, activity. Taverns comprised nearly one quarter of the growing town, prostitution flourished, and public hangings were common entertainment. The colony had become a melting pot of a diverse liberal culture with the Dutch characteristic of tolerance; yet a level of mayhem ruled.

Willem Kieft was sent to replace van Twiller in 1637. Kieft was unpopular with the colonists and the Native Americans; he attempted to drive out the Lenape tribe and instigated a murderous attack on the tribes in Pavonia (New Jersey). These provocations caused outrage and a remonstrance by the colonists, who sent numerous letters back to the States General in Holland asking for his removal for their protection and safety.[26] The West India Company at long last fired Kieft in 1647; during his return voyage he was lost at sea in a storm off the coast of Wales.[27]

Following Kieft's removal, Pieter Stuyvesant was the last to hold the title Director-General of New Netherland beginning in 1647. Stuyvesant established boundaries between the English colony and New Netherland with the Treaty of Hartford in 1650. In The Netherlands, the island municipality was officially named New Amsterdam in 1653. Stuyvesant sailed to the South River and attacked the New Sweden colony in 1655, repossessing it and renaming it New Amstel (today New Castle, Delaware). In his absence, Native Americans from the South River attacked New

25 Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World*, p. 81.

26 J. R. Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York: Procured in Holland, England, and France* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1856), pp. 209-213.

27 Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World*, pp. 129-180.

Amsterdam and Staten Island in what became known as the Peach War.[28]

Stuyvesant sought to firmly establish the Dutch Reformed Church as the only religion in the colony, and in his orthodoxy was intolerant of other religious groups, especially the Quakers with their frenzied sermonizing. Despite the colony's legal code of tolerance, Stuyvesant tried to ban the Quakers from holding their own services in the Long Island town of Vlissingen (Flushing). This resulted in a remonstrance, the Dutch form of a signed complaint, called the Flushing Remonstrance in 1657, which is considered to be the foundation of the Bill of Rights, the first amendments to the United States Constitution.[29]

The end of New Netherland came under Stuyvesant, through events beyond his control. In early 1664, England decided to take the middle colony and unite its holdings into one king's dominion. Captain Richard Nicolls sailed into the harbor at New Amsterdam and aimed his broadside guns at Fort Amsterdam, and sent a letter from King Charles demanding the keys to the colony. But Stuyvesant was not at home; he was up the North River at Fort Orange handling other matters. Hearing the news, he returned to Manhattan and there began a volley of letters between himself, Nicolls, and the colonists. In the end, he acquiesced to the 1,500 local residents and the nearly 10,000 New Netherland colonists, who had long felt unprotected by the West India Company and desired the surrender of New Amsterdam and the colony. At eight o'clock in the morning of 9 September 1664, peace was negotiated and Nicolls declared the city would be henceforth known as New York.[30]

New Netherland existed for some forty years before the English took it over in 1664, with a brief return of the city to Dutch rule in 1673. Its loss was due predominantly to Anglo-Dutch maritime competition; the English desired to take control of sea trade in the mid to late seventeenth

28 Ibid., pp. 279-281.
29 Ibid., pp. 272-277.
30 Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World*, pp. 284-300.

century and squeezed out the Dutch shipping competition. Simultaneously, over-hunting had significantly altered the beaver peltry trade. The colony did not grow to any significant size during those forty years as the Dutch generally did not arrive to establish permanent residence, but to enact commerce. In the earlier days of the colony, the West India Company had used inducements of advanced payment of passage, free land and tax exemptions to attract settlers and increase their colony's population. After 1650, however, the Dutch Republic provided little incentive for emigration due to a prosperous political and economic climate at home. Before the English takeover in 1664, the Dutch population in New Netherland was estimated to be between 7,000 and 8,000. After the takeover, Dutch immigration to the colony dropped sharply.[31] Despite this, the Dutch maintained influence on the colony, particularly on the North River at the Rensselaerwyck plantation, well into the late seventeenth century.[32]

Dusting off Dutch Records

Today it is worthwhile to study America's Dutch colonial history, as its settlers came from a world where the middle class had thrived, had shaken off the shackles of feudalism, divested itself of monarchy and was turning to self-rule to form a more democratic society in the United Province of the Netherlands. Even as Bullivant traveled through the former New Netherland Dutch colony, and met with Governor Fletcher of New York, the Dutch around him were yet known to be more democratic in spirit than their English counterparts. Within the year after Bullivant met with Fletcher, the governor was replaced by the Earl of Bellamont. Desiring to reform provincial politics, Governor Bellamont sought dependable and honest people to work for him. He found them amongst the Dutch, because

31 J. Jacobs, *New Netherland a Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America*, p. 93.

32 N. A. Rothschild, *Colonial Encounters in a Native American Landscape: the Spanish and Dutch in North America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003), pp. 85-93.

they were 'sober and virtuous people', regardless that they were unable to speak or write English;[33] twenty-odd years after becoming part of the New England Colony, they were still speaking their native Dutch tongue. Nearly a century later, General Washington found evidence of the Dutch democratic attitude of equality while billeted amongst them.[34] There in the middle colony, surrounded by the English colonies to the north and south, and the French colony to the northwest, the seeds of tolerance and equality had been planted.

The Dutch Colony was handed over to the British in 1664, and with a brief stint of restoration to the Dutch in 1673, it was finally folded into the dominion of New England colony with the Treaty of Westminster in 1674. The Dutch language of the settlers of the first provincial colony disappeared deep into the recesses of the land, as the Hudson does, into the valleys of the Catskills. The records of that colony, written in Old Dutch, became unintelligible to the authorities and so were shelved and ignored, suffering damage by fire and mold, and only a few attempts were made to transcribe them. It wasn't until the late 1970s that Gehring arrived at the archive in Albany, armed with a degree in the Old Dutch language, that light was shed once again on this long-forgotten history.

Returning to the days when those books had only begun to gather centuries of dust, Bullivant decided to travel from Boston to Philadelphia and down to New Castle Delaware for unclear reasons, with a booklet of blank rag paper, some ink and a quill, and probably a knife to sharpen it, in his pocket. Desiring to make a record of his journey—whether for his own private recollection, or as reference to recall events and places, or for proof that he had met the objectives of his journey—he clearly and boldly, wrote across the top of that page "A Journall with observations of my travail…"

33 E. L. Raesly, *Portrait of New Netherland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 2.

34 Ibid., p. 2.

PART TWO

BENJAMIN BULLIVANT

Blaeu, W. J., 'Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova', from *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Amsterdam: Blaeu 1635).

The dotted line indicates the path Benjamin Bullivant took on his journey, beginning in Boston, Massachusetts to New Castle, Delaware and back. The orientation of this map is North to the left. Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova (New Netherland and New England), printed in Amsterdam in 1636. This map was engraved by Willem Janszoon Blaeu in 1635, copied from a version of a 1614 map engraved by Adraen Block, with some alterations.

BENJAMIN BULLIVANT

THE PUBLIC MAN:
'his great services for his ungratefull country'

Benjamin Bullivant, the author of this travel journal, is perhaps more shadowed in history than the colony of New Netherland itself. As an historic figure, he has not had much recognition, for the pieces of his life and his contributions have been fragmented and scattered in various archives. Yet he was a man of his times; he was shaped by events and helped to shape events. What we do know of Bullivant is that he was an apothecary and sometime physician, as well as the first attorney general of the Massachusetts colony in 1686. There are scant vital records of him, but a search of UK genealogical records reveals he was born in England, possibly London, on 9 October 1646, and he most likely died there about 1714.[35] He was married to Hannah Prettye on 18 April 1671 at St. James Clerkenwell in London,[36] and baptized their daughter Sarah at St. Mary Colechurch in February 1674.[37]

Bullivant lives in relative obscurity until we find references to him arriving in Boston in 1685 during the colonial transition to the Dominion

35 From Bullivant's letter to his friend John Dunton in 1711 he states he is 65 years of age. Also from the following genealogical source, Godfrey Memorial Library, comp., *American Genealogical-Biographical Index (AGBI)* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 1999. Original data: Godfrey Memorial Library. *American Genealogical-Biographical Index*. Middletown, CT, USA: Godfrey Memorial Library.

36 London Metropolitan Archives, St James, Clerkenwell, Composite register: baptisms Aug 1673 – Mar 1711, marriages Aug 1670 – Mar 1692, burials Apr 1670 – Mar 1711, P76/JS1/006.

37 London Metropolitan Archives, St Mary Colechurch, Register of baptisms and burials, 1671 – 1812, P69/MRY8/A/002/MS04439.

of New England,[38] soon after James II had taken the throne.[39] Secretary Edward Randolph[40] had appointed him clerk of the Superior Court in November of that year.[41] Bullivant's name appears in one document where he fulfils Randolph's order to forbid a printer in Boston to publish a book:

> Mr. Green. I am commanded by Mr. Secretary Randolph to give you notice that you doe not proceed to print any Almanack whatever without having his approbation for the sam. Yo'rs Ben: Bullivant.[42]

His role in the government did not endear him to the protestant citizens of Boston; although Bullivant himself was a man of the Episcopal church, he participated in the autocratic behavior of the Massachusetts government administration that was aligned with monarchy. King James had revoked provincial charters and deprived the colonists of their privileges, and invested his colonial governors with absolute powers.

Sir Edmund Andros had been the governor of the provinces of New York, the Jersies, Pennsylvania and Maryland from 1674 to 1681. He was then appointed Governor of the Dominion of New England from 1686

38 The King's Dominion was formed by Charles II to unite all of England's colonies in North America under one administration. The colonies were founded individually for different purposes and were governed by different laws, so this union was not popular amongst the colonists. Changes in the laws under the union also affected trade in the colonies. See 'Dominion of New England', in Bibliography.

39 At this time, all municipal officials were required to be Anglican and use the Book of Common Prayer (enacted under Charles II), therefore James' Catholicism raised tensions amongst the political and religious elite. See 'James of England', in Bibliography.

40 Edward Randolph (1632-1703) was appointed collector and surveyor of the customs for New England and after the revocation of the Massachusetts charter in 1684, he was appointed secretary under the royal government, headquartered in Boston. He served in the position until it was overthrown in April of 1689, when he was imprisoned and eventually returned to England. See 'Edward Randolph (British colonial officer)', in Bibliography.

41 E. Washburn, *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630 to the Revolution in 1775* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1840), p. 89.

42 A. Holmes, *American Annals: or, a Chronological History of America, from its Discovery in MCCCCXCII to MDCCCVI* (Cambridge: W. Hilliard, 1805), p. 420.

until the government was overthrown in 1689.[43] When Andros arrived to take control of his commission as provincial governor in December of 1686, his council included some thirty-nine men. Some from the previous administration continued in their positions, including Benjamin Bullivant as attorney general.[44]

Bullivant was known to be a confidant and advisor of governor Edmund Andros.[45] This association would eventually lead Bullivant into trouble and imprisonment. From the beginning of Andros' tenure, controversy surrounded him. Upon arrival, Andros asked for the use of the Old South church for his prayer services to be read, and when denied, he used the power of his office to take it, fomenting anger in the community.

Another issue that created resentments in the colony concerned the colony's charter. The Massachusetts government had carefully kept records of the province from 1651, copying all foreign letters in duplicate in order to preserve them.[46] Bullivant, with other committee members under Randolph, had been empowered to obtain and sort through the province's records and held the key to one of two locks on their storage place in the Library Chamber at the Town House at Boston. When Andros expanded the mandate to the surrounding areas of the province, it was seen as one of many arbitrary and intolerant actions of the government that enraged the colonists.[47]

43 During the Boston Revolt and Leisler's Rebellion from 1689 to 1692: See ' Boston Revolt/Leisler Rebellion 1689-92', *Historical Cycles of American Social Change,* 3 March 2013 <http://historicalcyclesofamericansocialchange.wordpress.com/2013/03/03/boston-revolt-leisler-rebelion-1689-92/> (31 July, 2014).

44 The official heraldic seal that Bullivant used as attorney general in Massachussets, a portucllis with chains, was found to still exist in the 1880s, and presented to the Massachussets Historical Society by A. C. Goodell, Jr., *An Account of the Seals of the Judicial Courts of the Colony and Province of the Massachusetts Bay: 1680-1780* (Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, University Press, 1883), pp. 5-6.

45 Washburn, *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630*, pp. 50-51.

46 R. Bartlett, *Remarks and Documents Relating to the Preservation and Keeping of Public Archives* (Concord, New Hampshire: A. M'Farland, 1837), pp. 25-26.

47 J.H. Benton, *The Story of the Old Boston Town House, 1658-1711* (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1908), pp. 112-115.

Andros then proceeded to dissolve the provincial governments and to revoke the charters of several other colonies, including Connecticut, where the colonists tried to prevent the confiscation of their charter and hid it in the hollow of an oak tree.[48]

The Glorious Revolution had taken place in England in 1688-89, depositing William III, Prince of Orange of the Dutch Provinces, and his English wife Mary onto the English throne. Revolutionary tides had risen in the colony as well in response to the unified control of the colonies imposed by James II. The Jacobites, James' supporters, clashed with the colonists who supported the Protestants William and Mary. A riot broke out in Boston on 18 April 1689 and the revolutionaries seized all whom they believed were not for their side, and locked them up at the Town House.[49] As news of events in Britain took time to arrive on the shores of the New England colony, Andros and his council were vigilant of any information reaching the colony which could further increase tensions.

During April 1689, when news of the Glorious Revolution in England reached Boston, Governor Andros was seized during an uprising of William and Mary supporters in what became known as the 1689 Boston Revolt. Andros and the members of his council, including Bullivant, were imprisoned.

Farther south, New York was also divided into two factions over the unification of the colonies; tensions had risen between aristocratic classes and the lower classes. When the Protestant citizens in New York heard of the actions in Boston, they too rebelled and seized the Fort in May 1689. Jacob Leisler, although a wealthy merchant himself, led the lower classes of small farmers and shopkeepers against the wealthier class of landowners, patroons, and crown officers who still desired to maintain their posi-

48 At the house of the magistrate, Andros famously demanded the colony's charter. When the candles suddenly extinguished and under darkness, the charter was taken and hidden in the hollow of an oak outside, to be known from then as Charter Oak. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society – 1878* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1879), p. 34.

49 M.C. Crawford, *Old Boston in Colonial Days; or, St. Botolph's Town from the Time of Blackstone, the First Settler, to the Outbreak of the American Revolution* (Boston: Page, 1922), pp. 188-189.

tions of power under William and Mary. They set up a provisional government led by Jacob Leisler, strengthened the fort, and placed six cannons outside its walls in what is now known as Battery Park. Leisler assumed the title of lieutenant governor of the entire province at the end of 1689, and formed a council to govern the colony until the Crown sent a replacement.[50] In 1691, royal authority was restored when Governor Sloughter arrived. After proving to Leisler that he had been sent by the Crown to replace him, Leisler resigned his command. Sloughter then had him arrested, along with his nine councilmen, and tried for treason. He had Leisler executed by hanging and dismemberment.[51] These events would echo through the colonial government for years to come; Bullivant makes reference to Leisler in his journal.

Incarcerated for several months during the Boston revolution of 1689, Bullivant was released in June upon payment of a £3,000 bond.[52] It is not clear why or how he was able to post this bond and obtain his release, while other Andros supporters remained imprisoned and were sent back to England the following winter. It is also unclear whether Bullivant continued working in the courts after those events, however this journal indicates that he was still engaged in governmental relationships. He delivered letters to the governor of New York, met with many officials and counted them amongst his friends and acquaintances.

The year before Bullivant journeyed south to New York, Philadelphia and New Castle with the journal in his pocket, Samuel Sewall,

50 See 'Boston Revolt/Leisler Rebellion 1689-92', *Historical Cycles of American Social Change*, 3 March 2013 <http://historicalcyclesofamericansocialchange.word press.com/2013/03/03/boston-revolt-leisler-rebelion-1689-92/> (31 July, 2014).

51 Within five years, the British parliament passed an act that cleared Leisler's name and restored his lands to his heirs. The Earl of Bellamont, Richard Coote, supported this act, and was subsequently appointed governor of New York. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacob_Leisler> (11 April, 2014).

52 L. Jordan, 'Chronological Listing of Documents and Events Relating to the Massachusetts Mint.' *Coins Produced in the Colonies to 1750* <http://www. coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/MAMintDocs.chron.html> (24 April, 2014).

the official printer of the colony,[53] noted in his diary on 26 July 1696, that Bullivant had arrived in Boston, 'We hear that Mr. Bullivant and Mr. Myles are come,' and have 'come to Town.'[54] Whether Bullivant had remained in Boston, or had returned to London with his wife Hannah, before her death in June of 1698, is unclear. But Sewall writes in his diary of that year: 'Fourth day, October 19. 1698, Mr. Bullivant was with me to take leave, and desired my favour on behalf of Dr. Chip, that he might dwell in part of Mr. Yonges house at Cotton Hill…'. This places Bullivant in Boston after his wife's murder and burial, but perhaps he was taking leave of Boston to return to London.[55] There is evidence that Bullivant was engaged in an apothecary business at least through 1699.[56] His name appears on a list of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries who regularly treated patients in New England, paid or unpaid, for providing these services between 1686 and 1696. However, by the date of his travel journal, he was still in Boston in 1697, yet it is not clear if he still had his apothecary shop in the city.[57]

We know he eventually returned to England.[58] Towards the end of his life Bullivant is listed in the England 1702 poll book as having voted in Northampton, and is shown to be living in Nobottle Grove, Whilton,

53 Samuel Sewall was a judge, chief justice, and a printer in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He graduated with his Master's from Harvard in 1674, and kept a journal from that time throughout his life, which is now an important historical document. He was appointed official printer for the colony in 1681, and later became a magistrate most known for his involvement in the Salem witch trials, much of which he recounts in his diary. He later regretted his role and publicly apologized.

54 S. Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall: 1674-1729,* vol. 1 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1878-82), p. 430.

55 Ibid., p. 486.

56 J. Willard, *An Address to the Members of the Bar of Worcester County, Massachusetts* (Lancaster: Carter, Andrews & Co., 1830), p. 29.

57 N. Gevitz, '"The Devil Hath Laughed At The Physicians": Witchcraft and Medical Practice in Seventeenth-Century New England', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* 55, no. 1 (2000), p. 7.

58 *The Poll of the Livery-Men of the City of London at the Election for Members of Parliament: Begun Munday, October 9th, 1710, and Ended the Saturday Following, Shewing Who Each Person Poll'd For. The Names of Those That Did Not Poll. And the Objections Made at the Scrutiny* (London: Printed for John Morphew near Stationers-Hall, 1710), p. 171.

Northamptonshire, England. He is again listed in the 1710 London poll books as an apothecary who had not cast a vote.[59]

THE PRIVATE MAN

'a rusty Bumpkin, hanging his head over a smoaky fire as unregarded, as unmolested, ... yet more happy then Caesar who often wished for, but never obtained a Quietus from the fatigues of the publick'

When Benjamin Bullivant arrived in Boston from London in 1685, his pregnant wife Hannah and at least one child, a daughter Sarah, accompanied him.[60] He and his wife are found in the records of the Old South Church as baptizing their new-born daughter, named Hannah, on 3 January 1686. Bullivant and his family were devout members of the Church of England, and he became the first senior warden of Boston's King's Chapel from 1686 to 1687.[61] Little else is known of his family until the year following the journey recorded in his journal. In 1698, as his wife left church in London, she was stalked and murdered by one Edmund Audley, who believed she was plotting to kill the deposed James II.[62] It is unclear if Bullivant was in London or still in Boston at the time.

Traces of Bullivant's achievements are found in records, yet little is known of his character. Although he was an educated man with experience in disciplines from law to medicine, it is not known where or if he formally studied the law or medicine. The London bookseller John

59 Ancestry.com. UK, Poll Books and Electoral Registers, 1538-1893 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012. Original data: *London, England, UK and London Poll Books*. London, England: London Metropolitan Archives and Guildhall Library.

60 Baptism record, source: London Metropolitan Archives, St Mary Colechurch, Register of baptisms and burials, 1671-1812, P69/MRY8/A/002/MS04439.

61 *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society–1878*, p. 102.

62 *A True and Impartial Account of the Birth, Parentage, Education, Life, and Conversation of Edmund Audley Who was Executed at Tyburn on Wednesday the 22d of June, 1698, for the Barbarous Murther of Mrs. Hannah Bullevant in St. Martins Le Grand, Near Alders* (London: Printed by J.B. in Little Britain, 1698).

Dunton[63] mentions him as being involved in the court and describes Bullivant as knowledgeable enough about laws to be fit for the office of attorney general 'conferred upon him in the revolution in Boston'. In an address to the bar of Massachusetts in 1829, Joseph Willard described the physician Bullivant as 'possessing popular talents and address to have sustained himself in the focus of puritanism, with his views of episcopacy, and as one of the founders and wardens of the earliest church of that denomination in the colony.'[64] Bullivant was known for his sarcastic wit, with a personality that was described as having 'a good deal of a character'. As one story goes,

> Lord Bellamont, going from the lecture to his house, with a great crowd around him, passed by Bullivant standing at his shop door loitering. 'Doctor,' says his lordship with an audible voice, 'you have lost a precious sermon today.' Bullivant whispered to one of his companions who stood by him, 'If I could have got as much by being there as his lordship will, I would have been there too.' Bullivant was a Church of England man and his lordship ought to have been one [as well].[65]

Aside from his sarcasm and wit while performing governmental duties, Bullivant was known to be 'curious' about natural history, although not a naturalist. A letter he wrote survives in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* mentioning his observations of 'hum-birds'.[66] Another known letter, sent to his friend and fellow apothecary James Petiver in London, in which he discusses 'fire flies', was clearly composed from refer-

63 An English bookseller who was in Boston in 1686. He published *Life and Errors of John Dunton, Late Citizen of London* in 1705, which became a book often referred to in those days for its description of New England as he described the colony through many letters written during the trip that he published in that volume.

64 Willard, *An Address to the Members of the Bar of Worcester County*, Massachusetts, pp. 28-30.

65 Crawford, *Old Boston in Colonial Days,* pp. 152-153.

66 G. B. Goode, *The Beginnings of Natural History in America: An Address Delivered at the Sixth Anniversary Meeting of the Biological Society of Washington* (Washington: Printed for the Society, 1886), pp. 61-62.

ences of his observations in this travel journal.[67]

Samuel Sewall writes about Bullivant in his diary, sometimes giving clues to his feelings on certain matters. In one entry, Sewall mentions Bullivant visiting him accompanied by Secretary Randolph who sought support and contributions for building a Church (King's Chapel), which Sewall did not give.[68] Sewall also records certain events that included Bullivant, such as on 5 March 1686/7, 'Massachusetts Books and Papers are fetcht away from Mr. Rawson's Town-House by Mr. Lynde and Bullivant.' Sewall also mentions a warrant given to the Constables by Bullivant to close the shops for the Martyrdom of Charles I in January 1687. Another entry states that Justice Bullivant 'protested against voting by Papers, and opposed it much, at last voted in the old way' at a town meeting held 21 May 1688. Sewall also sees Bullivant attending the hanging of Widow Glover, who had been condemned for witchcraft, the following November.[69]

Bullivant furthermore appears in records as officiating weddings, witnessing wills, attending funerals as pallbearer, and representing people in lawsuits. One such suit included giving legal counsel to Thomas Maule, a Quaker who was critical of the Salem witch trials and was indicted for publishing a 'scandalous Book'.[70] At this trial, Bullivant was characterized as speaking modestly and with respect towards Maule.

67 B. Bullivant, 'Part of a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Bullivant, at Boston, in New England; to Mr James Petiver, Apothecary, and Fellow of the Royal Society, in London. Concerning Some Natural Observations He Had Made in Those Parts', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,* 20, no. 236-247 (1698), pp. 167-168.

68 S. Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall: 1674-1729,* vol. 1 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1878-82), p. 147.

69 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 201. Sewall's description refers to the Ann Glover, the last woman in Boston to be tried and sentenced to death for being a witch.

70 'Whereas there is lately printed and published a Pamphlet in Quarto, containing Two hundred and Sixty pages, entitled, *Truth held forth and maintained &c. by Thomas Maule. Printed in the year 1695.* Which is stuff'd with many notorious and pernicious Lies and Scandals, not only against particular privat persons, but also against the Government, Churches, and Ministry…' Thomas Maule protested in this book against the severe treatment given to the Quakers. The book was published in 1694, and printed in New York, for which Maule was indicted and arraigned before the Superior Court in Salem in November 1696. Curiously, both Maule and Bullivant become subjects of Nathaniel Hawthorne's writings in separate stories. Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall,* pp. 414-415, 435-437.

Cotton Mather[71] bitterly mentions Bullivant in *Remarkables of Increase Mather* as being a party to the attempted arrest of Increase Mather[72] for defamation:

> Hereupon Randolph again, assisted by one 'Pothecary Bullivant, a memorable Justice (and something else!) privately sent an officer to arrest him once more, (such was the Equity of those times!), upon the former Action of Defamation. But it fell out, that he was just then under the operation of a more wholesome physic than what that 'pothecary had sent him; and so the officer was ignorantly denied admittance. The 'pothecary, as ignorantly, reported that Mather was arrested, and the report flying like lightning about the solicitous town, it soon reached Mr. Mather's ears, who then kept upon his guard.[73]

The most complete sketch we have of Bullivant's character comes from his friend John Dunton, a publisher from London. It is primarily from him that we can glean a bit of Bullivant's personality, ethical and moral qualities. Dunton first published his book *Life and Errors of John Dunton, late Citizen of London* in 1705. In it, through letters he wrote on that short visit, he describes his visit to New England in 1686. In a later edition editor John Bowyer Nichols added a list of manuscripts formerly owned by Dunton then contained in two volumes at the Bodleian

71 Cotton Mather (1663-1728), son of Increase Mather, was a Congregational minister in Boston. He was also a journalist and helped to fuel the hysteria in Salem that led to the witch trials, and also was instrumental in the removal of Andros and his council from office during the Boston Revolt of 1689. 'Cotton Mather', *Bio*. A&E Television Network, 2014. Web <http://www.biography.com/people/cotton-mather-9402361>.

72 Increase Mather (1639-1723), father to Cotton Mather, was a Boston Puritan minister and a president of Harvard, where he promoted the study of science. He negotiated a new charter for New England with James II and with William III that secured most of the colony's previous privileges. He was involved in the Salem witch trials and supported small pox inoculation, some of the events that led to his gradual unpopularity. 'Increase Mather', *The Mather Project* <http://matherproject.org/node/36>.

73 Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, vol. 1, p. 209.

Library, Oxford. Amongst these are two letters dated from Boston, one of which was from Dr. Bullivant.[74]

Dunton's sketch has been previously paraphrased or partially rewritten in other works, referencing Bullivant, but here I give the complete description offered by his friend, to illustrate the fullest measure of the man:

> From him, I pass to my good Friend Dr. Bullivant, formerly my fellow-citizen in London.
>
> His Skill in Pharmacy was such, as rendered him the most compleat Pharmacopean, not only in all Boston, but in all New-England; and is beside, as much a Gentleman as any one in all the Countrey. And to do him right, I must consider him both as a Gentleman and a Physician. As a Gentleman, his Birth was generous, but his Qualities exceeded his Birth: He cou'd not indeed boast of a large Genealogy of Lords and Barons descended from his Ancestors; but this he cou'd boast, (which was far greater,) That he had Ennobled himself by his own Merits: His Valour makes him Son to Cæsar, and his Learning and Oratory gives him a Title to claim Kindred to Tully. His knowledge of the Laws fitted him for the Office of Attorny-General in this country, which was conferr'd upon him, on the Revolution here. 'Tis true, he fought it not, tho' he accepted of it when 'twas offer'd: The Countrey knew his worth, and knew how to prize it, altho' himself seem'd ignorant of it: And while he held it, he was so far from pushing things to that Extremity, that some hot spirits wou'd have had him, that he was for accommodating things, and making Peace.
>
> His Eloquence is admirable: He never speaks but

74 J. Dunton, *John Dunton's Letters from New England*, ed. H. Whitmore (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1867), pp. iii-iv.

> 'tis a Sentence; and no man ever cloath'd his words in finer or more proper Epithets; and all flow from him with that natural simplicity, that there is nothing looks like Bombast in it.
>
> But thus much as a Gentleman; I now must represent him to you as a Physician. He is as intimate with Gallen and Hypocrates, (at least ways with their works,) as ever I have been with you, Even in our most Familiar Converse. And is so conversant with all the great variety of Nature, that not a Drug or Simple can Escape him; whose Power and Vertues are known so well to him, he needs not Practice new Experiments upon his Patients, except it be in desperate Cases, when Death must be expell'd by Death. This also is Praise-worthy in him, That to the Poor he always prescribes cheap, but wholesome Medicines, not curing them of a Consumption in their Bodies, and sending it into their Purses ; nor yet directing them to the East-Indies to look for Drugs, when they may have far better out of their Gardens.
>
> This Gentleman was my particular Friend; and both himself and Wife have often treated me. (I am very much troubled at his Wives misfortune, who was lately kill'd in St. Martins le Grand in London.)[75]

Dunton's last sentence in his description of Bullivant gives a fuller picture of the apothecary's personal life, which is illuminated further in a final fragment of Bullivant's writing, a letter to Dunton that he sends from his home in London.[76] Bullivant wrote to his friend on 18 February 1711:

> For Mr. John Dunton,
> at Mrs. Tomkins, the last house

75 *John Dunton's Letters from New England,* pp. 94-96.

76 Copied from the original in the Bodleian Library (Rawlinfon MS. Misc. 72, f. 74) and first reprinted in *John Dunton's Letters from New-England,* pp. 94-95.

next the feilds in Grayes-Inn Lane,
In London.

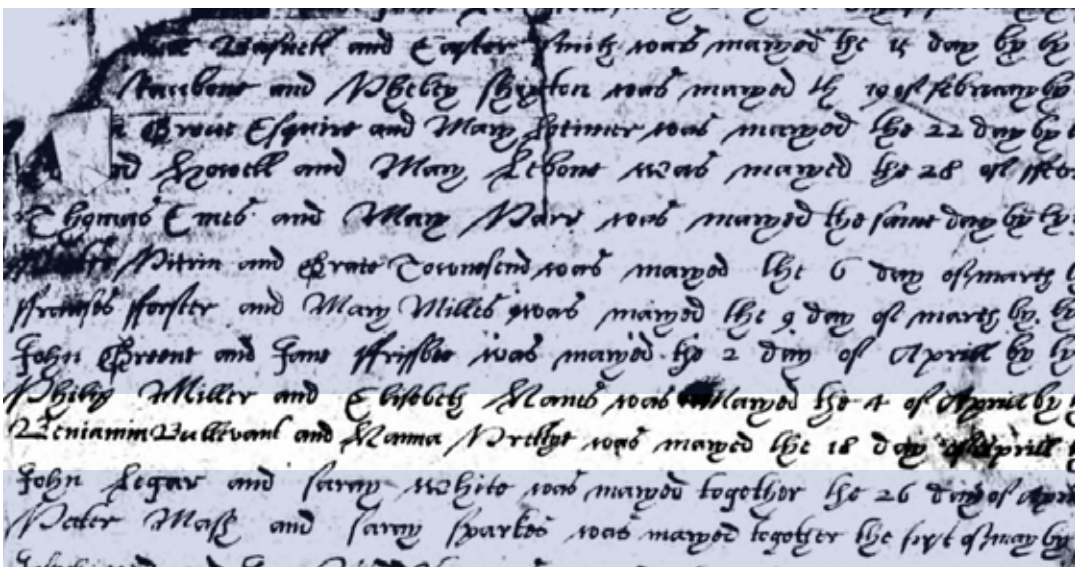
My most worthy Ultra-diluvian friend![77]

The great paynes you have taken in your very large and patheticall epistle of the 15th present, give me a full assurance of your continued, and very loving respects to your fellow wanderer, and I wish I could perswade my selfe to be a partner with you in this your so much applauded new-adventure, but so it is (my kind friend) that haveing 10 Tickets in the last yeares Lottery, and all turned up blanc, I am reduced to the estate of *Æ*sops shepheard, (who had been a Merchant and loft by his adventures,) when attending his flock upon the shore, viewing a calm sea, and the stately ships ploughing the back of the surly ocean, cried out, Ne'r flatter, I have no more dates and almonds for you. And though this is excuse enough to a reasonable mind that my spare crums are gone, and *Ne Sutor ultra*, &c. yet I will tell you a very truth, that my indisposition of the Stone in the Bladder, doth so frequently and fiercely assault me, that I have my grave in View, and am ready to cry out with the Trojan, *Post varios casus, post tot discrimina rerum, tendimus in -- sepulchrum* -- and have little courage at 65 to entertain a project not like to Issue in Lesse than 32 yeares. I own the hook is well guilt, but *ictus piscator sapit*, so much for Lotteries: yet I will not part till I tell you I thinke you do well to joyn forces in good company; it is a likely way to

77 In this example of his sarcastic wit, Bullivant is making a play on the word 'antediluvian', to mean a very old, old-fashioned or antiquated person who had been around since before the Biblical flood. The word 'antediluvian' was coined by Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), an English physician, possibly someone Bullivant was aquainted with. *Online Etymology Dictionary*. Douglas Harper, Historian <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/antediluvian>(accessed: August 07, 2014).

advantage; and I heartily wish it you.

And now to shew you, I am not weary of a correspondence with you, I must pray you give me your opinion of Mr. Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* in folio, printed for Parkhurst, and what censure it hath from the Learned world. I have read it Over and over, and some things are very takeing in itt, (Epigrams, Punns, Gingles, &c., excepted,) especially Sir Wm. Phips and Eliots life. I fancie myselfe amongst them when I have it in my hand. I must also, my friend, take upon me so farr as to request you will seriously Let me know if you are really the author of such Compositions as carry your name, or whither you are (according to the custom of your faculty) only the publisher. I have seen severall, as the Bull-baiteing, &c. and wonder at your paynes, and where you have Leasure; it would please me also if I



Record of the marriage of Benjamin Bullivant and Hanna Prettye, 18 April 1680.

Source: London Metropolitan Archives, St James, Clerkenwell, Composite register: baptisms Aug 1673 - Mar 1711, marriages Aug 1670 - Mar 1692, burials Apr 1670 - Mar 1711, P76/JS1/006.

did know, how the warr issued betwixt you and your mother-in-Law's ghost; that other of her flattering Doctor and you; if your late spowse be on this side eternity: and what elce you thinke fitt to empart to a rusty Bumpkin, hanging his head over a smoaky fire as unregarded, as unmolested, (though not so obscure as your Cripplegate friend,) yet more happy then Cæsar who often wished for, but never obtained a Quietus from the fatigues of the publick, till a Brutus signed his passport with a dagger; much happier was Scipio, that retired to his Neapolitan villa after his great services for his ungratefull country, a part of whose monument (faith a Late Voyadger to the Mediterranean) is yet to be Seen, and known by the only legible words on the inscription, *ingrata patria*.

I have now and then A Letter from Boston from such surviveing friends as I have there, and more particularly from Collonell Dudley theyr present gouvernour, they were lately In peace at home, and full of conquest abroad. Nova Scotia, and the Eastern (and the best) part of N. England being rescued from French and Indian tyranny. And now my friend I thinke I have matched your 2 sided letter; come againe and welcom, and be pleased to believe I shall be glad to know your health and prosperity, and will be proud if you shall thinke fitt to allow me the Character of

> Sir, Your assured friend and
> most humble Serv't,
> BEN: BULLIVANT.
> Northampton, February 18, 1710-11.'[78]

78 *John Dunton's Letters from New England,* pp. 94-95.

THE FICTIONALIZED MAN

'a gray old man with a stoop in his gait'

— Nathaniel Hawthorne

Benjamin Bullivant appears in literature in several places. More than a century after Bullivant departed the earthly realm, Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), who was from the Boston area, immortalized him in his short story 'Dr. Bullivant' (see Appendix B). What Hawthorne actually knew of Benjamin Bullivant and how he knew of him is a curiosity, considering the elapsed time of nearly a century between Bullivant's life and Hawthorne's writing. He placed Bullivant in Boston on 'Cornhill' at his apothecary shop in 1670, long before any record of Bullivant's actual arrival. He characterized Bullivant as 'gifted with a smart and ready intellect, busy and bold'. The character sketch touched on the events surrounding Bullivant's arrest, and his later years in his apothecary up to his death, so it may have been drawn from records in Boston, oral stories Hawthorne had heard, and embellished by Hawthorne's imagination.[79]

'the learned Doctor Bullivant'

— Mary Denison

A fictionalized account of the Boston revolution of 1689 was written by Mary Denison in *The Days and Ways of the Crooked Hats*, published in 1860.[80] This historic-fictional account tells of Bullivant's participation in the events and his service under Andros, portraying him as 'the learned Doctor Bullivant, who hath attended the governor's wife'. Denison characterizes him as pompous and portly from his fondness of 'good living'. She described his evil, bushy-eyebrows and called him a steadfast friend of the tyrannical and bigoted governor Andros or 'of any who have either

79 N. Hawthorne, 'Dr. Bullivant', *The Doliver Romance and Other Pieces: Tales and Sketches* (Fairbanks, Alaska: Project Gutenberg EBook, 2005).

80 Mary Denison (1826-1911) was a prolific nineteenth-century writer, editor, novelist and playwright. See 'Mrs. Mary A. Denison", Northern Illinois University Libraries <http://www.ulib.niu.edu/badndp/denison_mary.html>.

rank or money'. The story follows the rising tide of defiance and wrath of the people of Boston against the papist Jacobites who were in power. Bullivant's character at times plays the voice of reason when the townspeople, including former governor Bradstreet, rise up and demand that the governor step down and surrender the government into their keeping, until the Crown, William and Mary, established a replacement.[81]

'YOUR ASSURED FRIEND AND MOST HUMBLE SERV'T'

In his time, Benjamin Bullivant took a stand and made a mark on society. He rubbed elbows with the highest in the land, and suffered some consequences as a result, but had the perseverance and quality of character to have risen above adversity. As his life began to fade in Old England, he still corresponded with his friends 'such surviving as [he] had there' in New England. Bullivant's life story and accomplishments may have slipped into obscurity over the centuries, but for those willing to research it his words illuminate a largely forgotten part of America's colonial history.

81 M. Denison, *The Days and Ways of the Cocked Hats, or The Dawn of the Revolution* (New York: S.A. Rollo, 1860).

PART THREE

A TRANSCRIPTION
OF THE
TRAVEL JOURNAL
OF
DR. BENJAMIN BULLIVANT,
1697

PHOTO: http://stagge-parker.blogspot.nl/2009/05/benjamin-child-1658-1724.html

Benjamin Childs' house, with a horse stables to right.

PHOTO: John Phelan (CC-BY-3.0)

Mr. Woodcock's, now known as the Woodcock-Garrison House.

Hendrick Doncker, *Pascaert van Nieu Nederland, Virginia en Nieu Engelant Nieu Engelant. . . 1660* Amsterdam, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, JCB Map Collection, call no. Z D678 1660/ 3-SIZE (1660) < http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~2116~109040003:Pascaert-van-Nieu-Nederland--Virgin>

Hendrick Doncker's 1660 map detail showing Massachusets, Rhode Island and the tip of Long Island, to the left, with overlay of Bullivant's path.

[f. 1r]

A Journall, with observations on my travail from Boston in N.E. to N.Y. New-Jersies, & Philadelphia in Pensilvania. Ao.D. 1697

On **monday June the 7th** 1697, about 3 afternoon, tooke horse at Boston and came that night to Mr. Billingley's farm 22.myles from Boston.

Tuesday. June 8th. Breakfasted att Mr. Woodcocks 12.myles farther, dined this day at Mr Childs[82] at Seaconc[83] alias Rehoboth, about 5 in the evening came to Bristoll, thence y^e^ ferrÿs where findeing nothing but a sloope without oares, we were be calmed, & gott not on Road-Island[84] before 8 at night, we rode from the landing place about 4 myles *to a Quaker's farme, where I was [f. 1v] exceedingly well accomodated gratis with meate, drinke, Lodgeing and horsemeate.

82 This was probably Benjamin Childs (1658-1724). See Appendix A.

83 'Old Rehoboth' in Massachusetts included a large area, including what is now Seekonk, Attleboro and Somerset Mass., East Providence, Bristol, Pawtucket RI and other areas. Bullivant probably went through the western part of Old Rehoboth known as Seekonk, the land having been granted by deed in 1653 by the chief of the Wampanoag tribe Massasoit to Thomas Willitt, Myles Standish and Josiah Winslow. These Englishmen paid 35 pounds sterling for the land. The area became the site of King Philips' War in 1675, when Massasoit's son Metacomet, also known as King Philip, tried to claim back the land. He was ultimately beheaded, and his head remained on a pole in Plymouth for twenty-five years, so would have been still on display in Bullivant's time.

84 Rhode Island.

* *Denotes the beginning of the folio, as notated in the margin.*

Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House, 1697.

The next morning after 7 myles rideing came to the chiefe town of y^e^ Island named Newport, to which you enter by a Curious playne or Common, on which you see feedding good store of Neate cattle, & sheepe.

Newport is seated partly on the sea side on harbour, & partly by a Long streete shooteing forth into the Land, being of late much enlarged in good wood on buildings, and many more now in Building,[85] here are some Merchants, and shopkeepers, who live plentifully, and easily, the Island affording most excellent
[f. 2r] provisions of all kind, the people courteous *& obligeing to strangers. Y^e^ farmers for Largenesse, & goodness of pasturadge, excelling anything I ever saw in N. E.,[86] & they preserve each farme wood enough to shelter theyr cattle in the sumer heates, & warme theyr chimnies in the winter cold. Theyr dairies may equall if not exceed, the best yeomen's farmes in England some have made 90^li^ [87] per annum from theyr dairie alone, and on one farme have shorne upwards of 1000 sheepe, & sold every pound of wool for 10^d^ per li ready money, it being much desired by all people, as excelling any that is showne on y^e^ Continent.

85 The Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House, still in existence, was built in 1697. It is the oldest house in Rhode Island.See photo this page.

86 New England.

87 The 'li' was shorthand for 'libra' or pound weight, abbreviated now as £; 'd' is the abbreviation for penny or pence; 's' or '/-' is shorthand for shilling; and 'bitt' means 12 ¼ cents.

The present Governor is Walter Clarke Esquire[88] a Quaker in profession *and practice as so his Religion, but a comely, & courteous gentleman; he is chosen[89] annually, and some times holds 3 or 4 yeares successively. [f. 2v]

There is a small Battery of 10 gunns at Newport,[90] which command the harboure, & entrance but somewhat too much decayed for this time of warr.

Religion is tollerated here, the Island from the beginneing being a Sanctuary for persecuted persons of all sorts.[91]

The Quakers, & Antisabbatarian anabaptists[92] are the more numerous. There is of Late a New meeting house for the Orthodox of all Kinds, where a young man is the preacher, but no full church government for want of ordination. The preacher is a good man and pious, & supposed to be no *enemy to the Church of England but bredd up in Cambridge N. E.. Could the Inhabitants obtaine a church of England minister duly qualified, they would soone grow into a good orderd church.[93] [f. 3r]

The ground of the meeting house was given by Capt. Cod-

88 Walter Clarke (1640-1714), an early Governor of the Rhode Island. See Appendix A.

89 Elected.

90 Apparently an earlier fort. Work began on a new fort, Fort Anne, in the 'Vaubanian' style on Goat Island a few years later, in 1700. See 'Fort Adams History', FortAdams.org <www.fortadams.org/bDiscoverbThe-Fortress/FortAdamsHistory/FullHistory.aspx>.

91 Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams in 1636, who declared it a place for religious freedom, after he himself was banished from Massachusetts Bay Colony for his religious views.

92 Anabaptists were a religious group that followed the teachings of Ulrich Zwingli and Martin Luther. They believed in adult baptism, and were considered too radical as some of their beliefs, such as polygamy, were unacceptable and rejected by Protestants and Catholics alike. The religion appears to have developed in Zurich after 1523. They had no centralized figure or doctrine to follow, and were not associated with one particular geographic location, as the Calvinists and Lutherans were. 'The Anabaptists', *HistoryLearningSite.co.uk* <http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/anabaptists.htm>.

93 Trinity Church in Newport, Rhode Island.

dinton[94], & is used in the weeke days for a grammar Schoole. The Inhabitants of this Island (which is about 13 myles Long, & 4 broad) are neare one 3rd quakers, who live in greate plenty, theyr Annual meeteing was at this time, where I heard both men & women teach in theyr publique meeting house for 5 or 6 days successively, & neare 6 howres each day, having many speakers to carry on the worke, & sometimes one person speakes twice or thrice in the same meeting time.

Residence of William Coddington, the first governor of Rhode Island, 1640-1647.

[f. 3v] *They come 2 or 300 myles to this annuall meeting,[95] & meete with some disturbance from An ancient Sort of Quakers called singing quakers, whome they keep out of theyr meeting house, for by the sudden raptures of singing they fall into, & by theyr contradictive humors they give publique disturbance to y^e^ speaker & howbeit they are kept of the house, by persons who sitt at the doore for that purpose yet they faile not to crowd to the doore & under the windows, & every now & then with and elevated Voice contradict the speaker, who not withstanding holds on his discourse without replyeing.[96]

94 Or Coddington. William Coddington, had a large home on Marlborough Street and held meetings there until 1689, as was the custom for Quakers to hold their meetings in private homes. See Appendix A.

95 The New England Yearly Meeting was established in 1661 and held at the Newport Meeting House from 1699 until 1905.

96 Quaker (Friends) communities were troubled by overly enthusiastic members of their community, who were referred to as 'young Quakers', 'Ranting Quakers', 'Singing Quakers', or 'Half Quakers'. See 'Ranting Quakers', *Secondat* <http://secondat.blogspot.nl/2010/12/

I saw one of these singing quakers a french man, and Discoursed him in y^e^ *French toung, all that he could say, was that they were [f. 4r] fallen from the Light, and he was moved to come a Long journey that he might reprove theyr apostasy and indeed the quaker themselves did acknowledge to me, these singing quakers were of an older standing amongst them, but had fallen into Licentious practices which being against truth, they found in themselves a witnesse against them.

I observed y^e^ Sabath day but slightly regarded at Newport the Antisabbatarian anabaptists or 7th day men, derideing it, yet though they own it not as a Sabath yet hold a Lecture of Religious worship on the same. But on other parts of the day, Scruple not Servile Labour of any Kind.

*I observed however 3 Indians set in the stocks many howres [f. 4v] on the Lords day for being drunke, for by Law they are to sit there untill they be sober, and are sure to keep a strict Lent y^e^ while. I tooke notice of sundry Sober Indians both men & women cleanly cloathed, quaker fashion, very observant at y^e^ Meeting.

The magistrates No: 12[97] are chosen annually and are partly quakers, partly 7th day men & partly Orthodox[98] (if I can truly

ranting-quakers.html> (16 July, 2014), and 'Rev John Harriman', *Find A Grave - Millions of Cemetery Records and Online Memorials* <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=7383557> (17 July, 2014). Also see, 'Light and Silence', *Quakers, Ranters, and the Present* <http://lightandsilence.org/2006/07/quakers_ranters_and_the_presen.html> (7 August, 2014).

97 Number is 12, meaning twelve magistrates are chosen annually.

98 Quakers, Seventh Day Men and Orthodox refer to the different reli-

apply it to any party here) and agree but indifferently in theyr state matters. They have a Regimentall Militia, all foote, & are able
[f. 5r] to call the Island togeather upon an alarum in a few howres *and can make about 700 fighting men.

We bought choyce Veale by the quarter for 2d the pound. Theyr mutton was pure good, theyre butter & cheese excellent, & theyr wine, beere & cyder, very commendable. Exceeding much fish.

I continued June the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th & 13th at Newport aforesaid waiteing for a wind.

And on **munday June the 14th** in the Mary Sloope of N.Y. John Trevet master, wind at N. an easy gale about 4 in the Morneing weighed & sayled out of Newport harbor.

We had a small gale untill we gott about Poynt Judith,[99] then our wind quickned, and we espyed A ship at about 3 Leagues distance and as we imagined standing after us, or for block Island[100] (which now we saw fair on our Larbord side) but we

gions of these men. The Quakers began as a religious group in the 1650s, as the Religious Society of Friends. The name Quaker is derived from a quote by the founder, George Fox, who told a magistrate to 'quake' at the name of God. Seventh Day Men and their congregations were seventeeth century Englishmen who were observant of the 'Saturday Sabbath' based on the Jewish observation of the day, as the Bible does not state Sunday is the Sabbath. Orthodox refers to the generally approved and customary religion of the time, which was the Episcopal Church. See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/christianity/subdivisions/quakers_1.shtml>, <http://www.biblesabbath.org/tss/484/seventhdayMen.html>.

99 Point Judith, at the southwestern tip of Narragansett Bay. It named after Judith Thatcher, a passenger on a ship stranded on the point.

100 On a Dutch colonial map of 1660 by Hendrick Doncker the island is labeled 'Adriaen Blocks Eylant' (see p. 39). Part of Rhode Island, Block Island is about 21 km south of the coast of that state and 23 km from the eastern tip of Long Island, NY. Inhabited by the native Narragansett people since 1300 B.C., their population was estimated at about 1500 in 1662, but reduced to 51 by 1774, especially after a massacre led by Capt. John Endicott in 1636, an event that led to the Pequot War. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Block_Island>.

PHOTO: Heather Katsoulis, 2009.

Block Island, North lighthouse.

Doncker, 'Pascaert van Nieu Nederland . . .' (1660).

Doncker, *'Pascaert van Nieu Nederland . . .'* (1660).

Top, Gezicht op Nieuw Amsterdam *(View of New Amsterdam) by Johannes Vingboons was created in 1664, in the year when it was conquered by the English. Bottom, Long Island on Doncker's 1660 map. Opposite page, sunset over Long Island sound.*

haveing good way *soone Lost her, & about 4 in y^e^ afternoon came abreast with Fisher Island[101] on our Larbord side which passing with a pleasant gale and easy Sea, by Sunset we entred the sound, haveing Connecticut Colony on our Starboard and Long Island on our Larboard. [f. 5v]

Lands very pleasant & delectable to the Eye at this Season. Long Island is about 35 Leagues in Length, & in this sound we find manÿ fine Islands, well settled some belonging to N.Y. government others to Connecticut. The Wind favouring us all night, we made ashift to stemm the Ebb (when it came) and gott some small way and so standing on, at Breake of day.

Tuesday June 15th

*Found ourselves on breast of cow neck harbour[102] in Long Island (for we keep nearer the Island then the Maÿn[103] for feare of Southerly winds) and here our wind slackening we hardly stemmed the tide. But the tide serveing us against in about six howres of time, [f. 6r]

101 The native American Pequot nation called this island *Munnawtawkit*. The Dutchman Adriaen Block was the first recorded European visitor. He named it Visher's Island in 1614 after one of his friends. It remained a wilderness for several decades and was at times visited by Dutch traders. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fishers_Island,_New_York>.

102 Named Cow Neck by its early settlers, partly because on a map the peninsula's shape resembles a cow's head and also because in the middle 1600s it had a fenced enclosure across the peninsula's neck, for cattle to graze the land. There were initially about 60 farmers who grazed their cattle on the land. See <http://www.cowneck.org/dodge-homestead.html>.

103 Mainland.

we made indifferent good way, & about sunset came in sight of frogmorton poynt[104], but before we gott up, the wind came southerly and the tide against us that we could not weather y^e^ point so came to an anchor with in itt and rode as smooth as in a milke payle, encircled with most beautifull verdant Islands, which we saw besprinkled with feilds of wheate, & very neate houses.

So on Wednesday June 16th at breake of daÿ, had a Briske
[f. 6v] tide *with an easy gale at South East which soone brought us on breast of Harlem (Coll. Morrisons Farmes shewing themselves, & Buildings very beautifully) and imediately came up with Hell-gate (so called by the Marriners from y^e^ Noÿse, and turbulencie of y^e^ waters, at currants amongst certain Rocks, & Little Islands) which we passed however (at that season being almost still water) without much terrour, & haveing fayr daylight, & our boate on head, to keepe our sloope from falling off to the Rocks we soone passed this small Scilla & Charybdis,[105] and came up with the Richmond frigat Captain Evans commander whome we feared would impress our marriners, but gave us no disturbanse. She lyes about 2 myles
[f. 7r] below N.Y. in the sound, so standing on our way. *With an easÿ gale, and a whiskeing tide, we came to an Anchor be fore N.Y. about 8 of y^e^ clock in the morneing. Vizt. **wednesd. June. 16. 1697**.

104 Currently known as Throgmorton. Situated within twenty miles of the city, this peninsula was originally called by New Netherland colonists 'Vriedelandt' or 'Land of Peace'. The current name is derived from John Throckmorton, a friend of governor Roger William of Rhode Island. Throckmorton was allowed by the Dutch of New Amsterdam to settle in 1642 with a small group in this outlying area known at that time as Maxson's Point after a family that lived there. Here occurred the Native American uprising and the murder of Anne Hutchinson and her family in 1643. In 1668 Throckmorton returned to Rhode Island. The area began to be referred to on maps as 'Frockes Neck', and in 1776 was referred to by George Washington as 'Frogs Neck' in military letters. See <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Throggs_Neck>.

105 Scylla and Charybdis, in reference to the mythical sea nymph who turned into a monster and drowned sailors, and identified with a rock off the coast of Italy.

Gentlemens names of N.Y. from whome I rec'd singular Courtesies:

His Exc: Benj: Fletcher Governor &ca[106]

Collonell De peister[107] . . . Coll. Smith[108]

Collonell Lodivick[109] . . . Judge Pinhorn[110]

Mr: Myles Foster[111] . . . Mr. Wenham[112]

Mr: Philip French[113] . . . Mr. Lawrense[114]

Mr. Ed: Ampthill att[115] . . . Coll. Heathcott[116]

106 Benjamin Fletcher (1640-1703) was governor of New York from 1692 until later in this year of Bullivant's visit. See Appendix A..

107 Colonel Abraham De Peyster (1657-1728) was mayor of New York from 1691 to 1694, and responsible for the start of public improvements in the city. See Appendix A.

108 Colonel William Smith (1665-1705) arrived in New York in 1686 and was appointed chief justice in 1692, but was removed in 1698 because of his involvement with Leisler's Rebellion. See Appendix A.

109 Colonel Charles Lodivick (1657-1724) was the 21st mayor of New York City 1694-1695. In a 1692 letter he wrote, 'our chiefest unhappiness here is too great a mixture of nations, and English the least part....The Dutch are generally the most frugal and laborious, and consequently the richest, whereas the English are the contrary'. See Appendix A.

110 William Pinhorn (d.1720) was Judge of the New York Supreme Court of Judicature, 1691-1698. See Appendix A..

111 Myles Foster, a merchant from Perth Amboy, sometimes spelled Myles Forster; possibly involved in bribery in the Jersies. See Appendix A.

112 Thomas Wenham, a New York Merchant. Accused of high misdemeanor and offence against the Crown (see note on Philip French). See Appendix A.

113 Philip French (d. 1707) was a merchant in New York and resided on Broadway south of Wall Street. In 1697 he was an assistant to the mayor and an Alderman serving with Johannes De Peyster II. He was mayor of New York in 1702, although he and Wenham were in April of that year indicted for a high misdemeanor against the crown. See Appendix A.

114 John Lawrence (d. 1699) was a landowner and early trader in New Amsterdam, and a judge of the supreme court in 1693. See Appendix A.

115 Edward Anthill (1639-1711) a New York attorney from 1686. See Appendix A.

116 Caleb Heathcott (c. 1665-1721) helped found Trinity Church in NYC. See Appendix A.

Mr: Emmet attorn[117] . . . Capt. Levinston[118]

Capt: Tudor..attorney[119]…

Lieut: Lawrense of y^e^ Richmond.

Mr: Janeway. Purser of y^e^ Richmond.[120]

Captaine Tuthill.[121]

Doctor: Gaudineau.[122]

Mr: Secretary Clarkson ……..[123]

Mr: Jameson Clerke of y^e^ Councill.[124]

[f. 7v] *So soone as I came on Shoare I delivered my Letters as directed, and being charged with one to his Excellencie went so wayte upon him at y^e^ fort being introduced by Mr: Myles Forster where I was received by his Exc. with the wonted generosity he uses to all gentlemen & strangers, and after having paid him my devoirs, and been treated with a glass of wine, his Exc. was pleased to aske me if I cared to see the fort[125] & platforms, & the magazines, with favour

117 Mr. Emmet (Emmot), an attorney. See Appendix A.

118 Robert Livingston (1654-1728), was a New York colonial official. See Appendix A.

119 John Tudor (c.1649-1708) came to New York in 1674, from Boston. See Appendix A.

120 William Janeway (1659-1708) was a purser on His Majesty's ship, the Richmond, with Captain John Evans as master. See Appendix A.

121 Jeremiah Tuthill (sometimes spelled Tothill), a Captain and later an Alderman, helped to build Trinity Church. See Appendix A.

122 Giles Gaudenoa was listed as head of a family in the city on the 'List of Inhabitants of the City in 1703', D.T. Valentine, *History of the City of New York* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1853), p. 351.

123 Matthew Clarkson was secretary of the Province in 1690.

124 David Jameson was the clerk of the governor's council and served as a first vestryman of Trinity Church of NYC.

125 Fort Amsterdam under Dutch rule (1624-1664 and 1673-74), was renamed it Fort James under British rule (1664-1673) and (1691-1775); again renamed it Fort William Henry after prince William III of Orange, leader of the Dutch Republic and king of England after the Glorious Revolution.

I thankefully accepted, and in goeing out of his Exc. House, (which is in the fort) he was pleased to shew me his dineing roome, a Large & goodly hall, wainscoated and Cornished throughout, and upon the wainscoat round the Roome were handsomely placed about 300 Choice fire arms, & the mantle piece over the chimney, 8 or 10 Large and well cleaned Blunderbusses, all *of Brasse. His Exc. [f. 8r]
Was pleased also to shew me his study, which was a goodly parlour, Lined on one part with pistolls sett in Rondelles after the manner of y^e^ guard chamber at Whitehall, or Windsor (but not so numerous) also sundry Indian weapons, an Indian Stone hatchette, or ax, a Buckler, a poleax, some Scimatars very pretty to behold & sett in good order.

The other part of the Roome was furnished with a considerable number of books of sundry Sizes on regular Shelves guilded and Lettered on the backs.

His Exc. then was pleased to accompany me round the workes, from gunn to gunn, the platformes, & Carriadges being in excellent order, & the guns well disposed to make a gallant defence, if an enemy should come before itt. It hath about 44 good pieces mounted on the workes, a good well, sutable Lodgeings *for the officers & souldiers, a New and Very handsome chappel [f. 8v]
of stone and brick, with a handsome Lantern or Cupulo, and Large Bell lately hanged in itt.

Y^e^ chappell was raised by his Exc. From the old foundation not yet fitted for divine Service. I saw in the wall of y^e^ Chappell, an inscription on a fayre stone to the memory of the Late governor Slauter who dyed there.[126] His Exc. Then did me the honour to shew me the magazine, fully furnished; and well kept by an armourer, it hath about 1500. Excellent fire armes, cartouch boxes,

126 Henry Sloughter was governor of New York and Massachusetts in 1691, after putting down Leisler's Rebellion. See Appendix A.

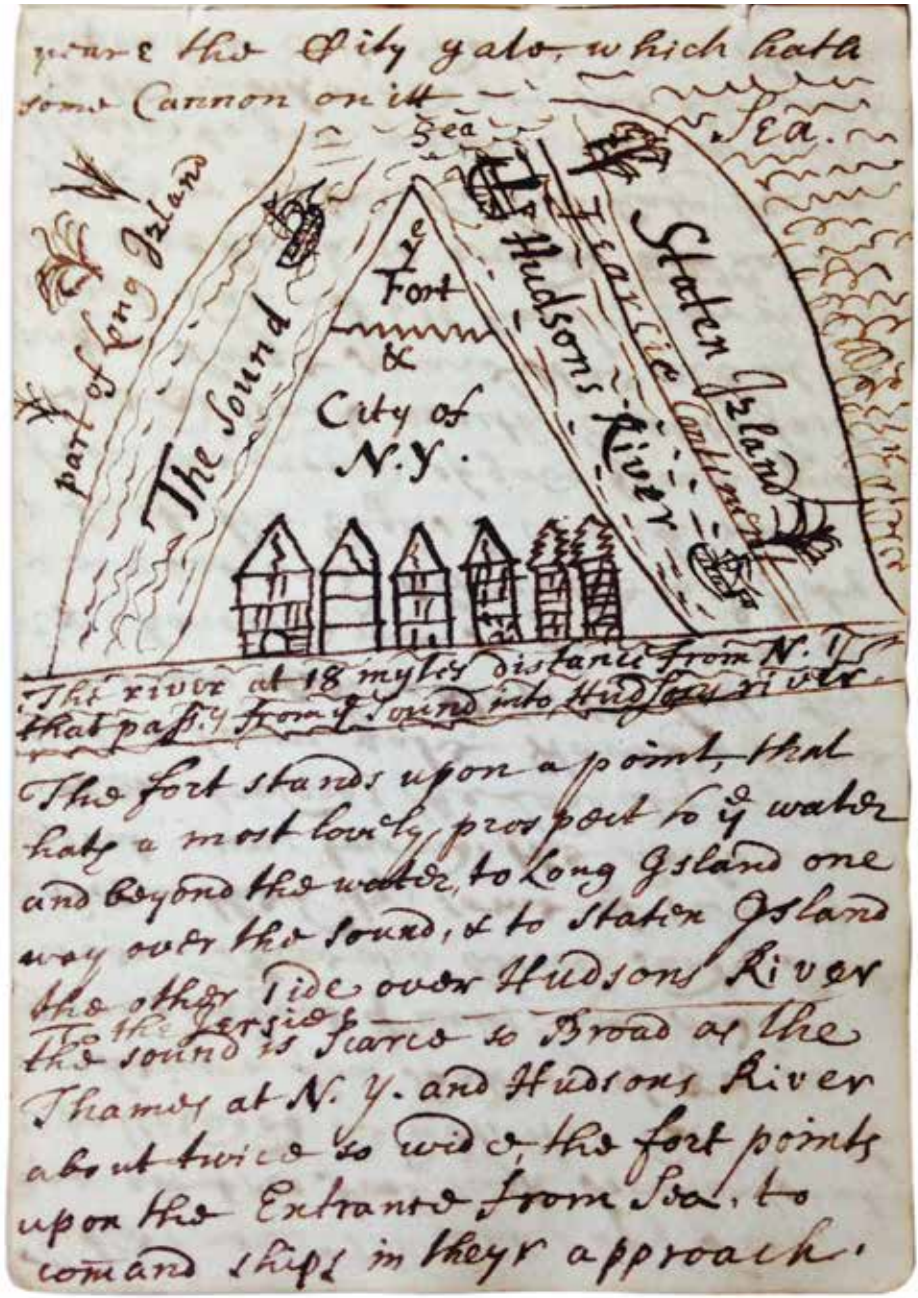


Illustration of New York as Bullivant viewed it. He approached the city from the north, so the southern tip of Manahattan he shows as pointing up, as if it is ahead of him. He labels the illustration with: 'part of Long Island; Sea; The Sound; Hudsons River; Staten Island; Sea; ye Fort & City of N.Y.; The river at 18 myles distance from N.J. that passes from ye Sound into Hudson river.'

Baggonets, swords, drums, hatchets, and other furniture for the warr. The powder house is a good distance from y^e^ fort, at an out part of the City, and well enclosed with a palisade & fence and can be protected by an outworke *neare the City gate, which hath some Cannon on itt. [f. 9r]

[Illustration of N.Y., left] The fort stands upon a point, that hath a most lovely prospect to y^e^ water and beyond the water, to Long Island one way over the sound, & to Staten Island the other side over Hudsons River to the Jersies. The sound is Scarce so Broad as the Thames at N. Y. and Hudsons River about twice so wide. The fort points up on the Entrance from Sea, to command ships in theyr approach.

*To the town. The walls of y^e^ fort are about 20 feet high from without & palisaded besides. His Exc. is also makeing a Low Battery of 8 or 10. gunns without y^e^ walls, next Hudsons river. There are besides sundry Batteries in the City, some of 12 or 14 great guns towards the harbour, others towards the Land at y^e^ passadge to the town gate. [f. 9v]

Haveing seene what was observable in the fort, his Exc. honoured me so farr as to shew me what was observable in y^e^ City. & first the English church, new from the ground, of good brown squarestone[127] & Brick, exactly English fashion with a Large square steeple at the west end, not yet halfe carried up but the church is covered, though not yet glazed or Seated.[128]

127 Trinity Church was built with stone that was cut and shaped, rather than whole stones. 'Cornelius Quick and Isaac Anderson agree with the vestry of Trinity Church to cut and bring "Stones from Monnius Island," for the period of one month, beginning next week, at one shilling and three halt-pence a load. They will continue as long as necessary "for ye building of ye Church." Mayor Merrett and Capt. Tothill are to go "to Monnius Island & Discourse Mr. Blackwell Relating to the Quarry of Stones on ye Said Island." Mr. Blackwell has granted the stone without charge. — From the original loose Trinity Minutes (MS.). The island was probably Blackwell's. Blackwell's Island, a rocky island in the East River between Manahattan and Queens, was originally was called Minnehanonck by the Native Americans, and later Varkens Eylandt (Pigs Island) by New Netherlanders, and presently is known as Roosevelt Island. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, p. 393.

128 Referring to the construction of Trinity Church, in May 1697, 'Capt Kidd has lent a Runner & Tackle for the hoiseing up Stones as long as he Stays here and Resolv'd that Capt Clarke doe take Care to gett the Same'; and 'Order'd

His Exc. hath beene pleased to give greate encouragement to this worke, and you see his armes upon the East end Carved in stone
[f. 10r] *and Coloured[129], at present y^e^ English use the New Dutch Church once a Sabath.[130] There is besides in the City a small Lutheran church, and a French church, & here I cannot omitt a remarquable story, that is an undoubted truth.

The English Quakers being desired to contribute towards the Building of y^e^ Church in y^e^ fort, excused themselves, by saying itt was against theyr Conscience so to do, But was content, & voluntarily offered themselves to pull down y^e^ old one at theyr own expense, which they performed, and at a greater cost than what might have been expected from them on a Contribution or Subscription.

His Exc. was farther pleased to walke the town with me and shew me the multitudes of greate & Costly buildings erected Since his arrivall about 4 years since to be theyr Governour. Amongst
[f. 10v] which *none appeared more Considerable then that of Coll. Abr. Depeisters, a noble building of the newest English fashion, and richly furnished with hangings and pictures. The staire case Large & Noble, y^e^ whole built out of the Sea or Sound within this 2 yeares past, as are abundance of Lofty brick & stone buildings on the same range, theyr back doores & wharfes, warehouses & gardens Lookeing into the sound, & Harbour.

that Coll Heathcote doe Provide A Kill of Slow Lime with all Expedition in order for ye Carrying up of ye Steple'. Governor Fletcher approved the land purchase for Trinity Church in 1696, and William III chartered it on 6 May, 1697. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, pp. 394, 400.

129 On June 28, 1697 'Ordered, That a place be cut in the wall of the Church to place his Excellencys [Gov. Fletcher's] Arms in, behind the place where they now stand, & that Capt. Clarke, Capt. Morris & the Mayor [William Merrett] do take care to see the same Effected.' Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, p. 402.

130 The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church was the first church chartered in the city, signed by Fletcher. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, p. 402.

Parting from Coll. Depeisters whose entertainment is generous & like a Nobleman though a merchant by his profession, his Exc. was pleased to enjoyne me to dine with him at the fort, which was in y^e^ forementioned hall furnished with armes, where we had a plentifull & well ordered table both of flesh & fish, with plenty of wine, & other good Liquours. (it should have been Remembered, y^e^ *Mr. Smith his Exc: chaplaine had read the publique prayers of [f. 11r] the church in the greate Hall to such as came.)[131]

Dinner ended, I tooke my leave of his Exc. as did the other gentlemen, Mr. Jameson, Capt. Tudor Mr Secretary Clarkson &c who were so kind to give me a Lemonado[132] at the Kings armes tavern, where whilst we were sitting, I was told his Exc. with his coach & 4 white horses, was at the doore below, & desired my company to take the ayre with him. There was with him the 2 Judges.

We went 3 or 4 myles on the Road, & in our return called at mr Clapps a kind of pleasure garden, [133] and dranke good Cyder & Mead, thence returned to Coll. Depeisters about sunsett, where I was earnestly urged by the Coll. to take part of an evening treate *to which he had invited his Excellency but because I had under- [f. 11v] stood itt would scarce breake up before 2, or 3, next morneing, I pretended earnest busynesse in the City, and so got my selfe excused, Bidding his Exc. and the Company good night, and retired to my Lodgeings at Madam Smith's, a dutch gentlwoman, but an English mans widow,[134] where I lay in a well furnished parloure, an excellent bed, with pure fine sheets and Pillow Beeres…[135]

131 Reverend Simon Smith. See Appendix A.

132 An obsolete term for 'lemonade'.

133 John Clapp, a tavern owner whose establishment was in the Bowery. See Appendix A.

134 Widow Smith, as the head of a family with three children. See Appendix A.

135 Pillow cases, from Middle English 'pilwe' and 'bere' or covering, similar to Middle Dutch 'buur' or covering.

Thursday June y^e^ 17. dined with Mr Edward Ampthill an attourney.

Friday. June 18. dined with Mr. Emmet an attourney, an ingenious and well esteemed gentleman.

Saturday June ye 19th, 1697. I attended his excellencies on ringing
[f. 12r] the fort Bell about 11 of y^e^ Clock *to morneing prayers, & prayers being ended his Exc. was pleased to give me the honour of accompanying him in his coach to Clapps, where with other company we dined on an excellent Soupe — a dish of Beanes and bacon — a dish of rosted Lamb and sallad — a dish of young pig — a dish of rosted chickens, a dish of tarts — a Dish of curd & Creame — a dish of Cherries, a dish of mulberries & Currants.

Dinner ended, after the Kings health, we dranke y^e^ Governors y^e^ Neighbouring governors healths & and returned to town at Sunsett.

Haveing been now 4 days at N.Y I have Learned to say something of its Constitutione & fashions. it was made a city by Charter
[f. 12v] in governor Dungans time. *Hath a mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, and a town clerck, nominated by y^e^ Governor Councill. Six Aldermen and Six common Councell men elected by the freemen, vizt, one Alderman & one Councill man for each of the 6 wards in the City. The Mayors court is kept every Tuesday,[136] he hath no ensigns of honour but the beareing a white staffe in his hand, Like y^e^ Sheriff of London.

The City is well seated for A trade, the ships bound out being quickly at Sea, hath a good and safe harbour. Capable to entertaine whatsoever number of ships may happen to come in, and in Case of being pressed by an enemie may Runn up Hudson river a hundred myles if they thinke fitting into this Country.

136 Andrews' edition has 'Friday' but it is clearly 'Tuesday'.

*To Secure them from Ice & Stormes, they have also an out wharfe, made of a greate length like that at Boston, & contrived & forwarded by Sir Edmond Andros![137] — within which theyr small craft and Lesser ships lye safe, and secure all weather whatsoever. It now appeares yet theyr auncient building were very meane, amongst whom theyr town house makes but a meane figure though sufficient to keep court above and a Goale underneath. But I have learnt they have layd out a good piece of Riseing ground, and design a new one with all speed.[138] [f. 13r]

Most of theyr new buildings are magnificent enough. Y^e^ fronte of red, and yellow (or flanders) brick Lookeing very prettily, some of them are 6 stories high, & built with a Gable end to y^e^ front, & so by *Consequence make very narrow garrettes. The 3^rd^ story is usually a warehouse, and over it a Crane for hawleing up goods. The Lower part is commonly very Substantiall, & neate. The Sealeing[139] usually of well smoothed boards, betwixt Joyces[140] as large as our Brest summers,[141] & kept so cleane by fequent washing with soape & sand, that indeed makes the Roome very pleasant. [f. 13v]

137 Sir Edmund Andros (1637-1714) served as colonial administrator, and governor of the provinces, negotiated the handover of the Dutch territories in 1674. See Appendix A.

138 'On Oct, 4, 1697 the mayor produced a letter from William Smith and William Pinhorne, the supreme court judges, who staled that they were "Informed that your present Town house Is Run soe much to Decay that No Considerable Number of People Can their Appear with safety of their lives," and they asked that "Some Other place" might be prepared "wherein his Majesties Said Courte may be more Conveniently held." It was ordered that this letter be answered by explaining to the judges "that before the Receipt of their letter ibis board had taken Care...to put Studds and Planke for ye Making of the Citty Hall Secure from falling"; the court met on the 5th, but "for the insulfisciency of the City hall was immediately adjourned to the Dutch Church."' Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, p. 402.

139 Ceiling.

140 Joists, or parallel beams supporting floors or ceilings.

141 A breast-summer is a long horizontal beam, usually spanning a lintel, or opening on an exterior wall, such as over a shop window. A summer, also summer tree, is a principal long horizontal beam or girder that supports joists.

The windows are high, & large, as are the stories, ten or 12 foot y^e^ first the casements of wood at Bottom of the windowes, and without — strong and thick shutters.

The chimney without Jawmes,[142] hanging like the Topp of a pulpitt, but usually a good rich fringed callico, or other stuffe halfe a yard deep at y^e^ edges, with Dutch tyles on each side the fire place, carried up very high.

[f. 14r] *They also tyle theyr sides of y^e^ stair case, and bottom of windows.

They have excellent pictures, and good down bedds, yet after all theyr streetes are Nasty & unregarded, y^e^ which they excuse at this time, sayeing the Multitudes of buildings now going forward are y^e^ Occasion, but being over, the City government will rectifie all those matters.

They have many publique wells enclosed & Covered in y^e^ Streetes. I do not know I ever saw above one pump.

Most bricked houses have y^e^ dates of the yeare on them, contrived as Iron cramps to hold in y^e^ timber to the walls. Theyr shops very irregular, & few or none open, & to most you go up with 5 or 6 steps some of stone, Most of wood.

[f. 14v] N.Y. hath severall wide Large *and orderly streetes, & athwart them sundry narrower, in which notwithstanding are many Verÿ good buildings, & tradesmen of note, it being not regarded where a man lives in N.Y. as to his trade, for all are known, sundry trees[143] are fequently sett at the doores. The signs are usually well done here.

The children of rich parents are usually without shooes or

142 Jambs, the sidepieces that frame an opening, either made of wood or stone.

143 Signage or placard posts. Signs were usually either depicted or carved objects that were symbols of the product being sold, and placed on the outside of the merchant's house or building.

stockens, and young mayds (especially Dutch) weare morneing gowns all day Long and bare footed, indeed I cannot say I saw any of y^e^ dutch that were tollerably well drest, though rich enough to weare what they pleased. They are a parcimonious *people, & [f. 15r] expend Little on theyr livelyhood, which makes them usually well moneyed & good paymasters.

Sunday June the 20th. heard y^e^ french minister in the morneing in theyr own church which is wooden building, with A gallery, a handsome pulpit, & a seate for the governor… .

I attended his Exc. from y^e^ Fort about 11 of the clock to the Dutch church, he hath most of the gentlemen in comission attending him on foot, & is followed by 1/2 a company of Musquetiers with the drum beateing to the church doore, he is mett by the Mayor & Sheriffe with theyr white staffes, and so accompanied to Church, In which his Excellency hath a stall on purpose, distinct & elevated, with a cloath of State & Cushion before him. On each side are stalls for the mayor, Sheriffe, & Aldermen, & principall gentry. The Mayor & *Sheriffe, have a Carpet of Turkie worke [f. 15v] before them.

Sermon ended we returned as we came, & in the afternoone had prayors only.

The Dutch seeme not very strict — in keepeing the Sabath. You should see some shelling peas[144] at theyr doors, children playing at theyr usual games in the streetes, & y^e^ tavern filled.

Munday. June 21. wrote to W: R. E.G. and B.W. at Boston, and this day his Exc. sent his gentleman to invite me to Dinner, but I prayed his Excuse being before invited by Capt. Tudor.

144 Removing the peas from their pod in preparation for cooking.

Tuesday June 22. at N.Y. dined with his Exc. at the fort and there met with Mr Ben: Woodbridge[145] of N.E. returneing to Boston from Philadelphia.

Wednesday June 23. rode in company with Mr Ed: Ampthill from N.Y to Harlem about 10 myles from N.Y. to visit Mr James Grayham
[f. 16r] attourney general[146] *my old friend who lives on a very stately farme, we were nobly entertained.

Saw many Acres of most excellent wheate, & of a sort of french barley shaped almost like our English white wheate. An orchard of 40 acres or more of well grown apple trees. This day I saw the Virginia red bird wild in y^e^ feild,[147] not to be seen in N.E.

We returned the same night to N.Y.

Here are some Most excellent Cherries, fully ripe 6 or 7^li^ for a Bitt, (or Riall Spanish) worth Six pence England money 8^d^ N.E. 9^d^ N.Y... 10^d^ pensylvania[148]

The houses of N.Y. stand closer than in Boston, & so Contiguous generally that theyr yards, and Backsides are very small and rarely any gardens in the best streetes theyr fronts are mostly narrow, seldom above 25 foote excepting some few principall Buildings. Poore sandy Land about N.Y. being a neck much encompassed with Rivers, the East River Running into y^e^ Sound, North into Hudsons River.

[f. 16v] *The Carts of N.Y. are very small and do no carry above a Sixth

145 Benjamin Woodbridge (1645-1709). See Appendix A.

146 James Graham was an attorney general since 1691, witnessed the formal handing over of New Castle, Delaware from the New Netherlands colony to William Penn. See Appendix A.

147 Cardinal, a native bird of the Americas that has a pointed feather on his head that is reminiscent of a Cardinal's hat, thus named. The male cardinals are bright red.

148 The superscript 'd' is shorthand for penny or pence; Bullivant is referring to the cost equivalent in each colony's money.

part of a coard of wood[149] at one Load, for which they have 3^{d}, they commonly goe into y^{e} sea to unloade at the sloopes side. The Brewers carry theyr Barrells on a truck with 4 wheeles, just so wide as a barrell may lye long wayes, & carrieth 4 at a time, the wheeles are equall with the body of the truck, & not above 2 foot in height.

The signs are generally well drawn and theyr taverns sweets, & neate.

The Dutchwomen (of y^{e} younger sort) troop the streetes in morneing gowns very long, theyr hoods[150] cleane, & well enough set off (for theyr faces) but with out shoos & stockings, unless of a Sabath day.

Thursday June 24. at N.Y.

Tooke my Leave of his Exc. & this evening we had news from Albany that 2 English had been killed, & 2 made Captives, by the Indians enemy and that much shooteing was heard *at Albany, as [f. 17r] if it had been An alarum, so I put off my designed passadge at this time thither.[151] And on

Friday June the 25th. 1697.

About 3 afternoone parted from N.Y. in an empty wood boate of 6 or 7 tunn, the Master a french man belonged to Woodbrige in East-Jersey, he had no hands but himselfe & his wife bigg with child, who manadged the sayles.

149 Cord of wood, a unit of well stacked wood, commonly measured in North America as four feet high by eight feet long by four feet deep.

150 Wayne transcribes it as 'heads', however, the fashion of Dutch women included caps of linen on their heads, set back on their crown, or tied beneath their chins. See H. Amphlett, *Hats: A History of Fashion in Headwear* (New York: Dover, 2003), pp. 101-103.

151 Probably a raid as part of King William's War (1688-1697), also known as the Second Indian War, which would conclude later that year with the treaty of Rijswijk in the Dutch Republic.

We passed the Baÿ about 3 Leagues wide, and saw the narrows by which betwixt 2 head Lands about 2 myles distance is made the entrance for ships into N.Y. Baÿ, and had Staten Island on
[f. 17v] our Larbord, & East Jersie on *our Starboard side all the way. So entering the River we came too against Capt: Cornelius[152] his house on Staten Island, and went on shoare for cherries and Long black mulberries now Very ripe & good.

This river is called by the English or Dutch Stam Cull[153] and runns not above 20 myles up into the Land, gives a prospect of many fayre & Large salt meadows, and in Some places whole Islands of the same without any wood.

About Sunset we Lost the tide, and were obliged to come for about a myle below Carter's poÿnt,[154] so the Skipper rowed me up
[f. 18r] *in his Canoo, and Landed me at Mr Warrens ordinary, (which is a house of Colonell Townleys[155]) on Carters poynt, in East Jarsey,[156] where lay that night almost killed with mosquettos, & disturbed by some privateers who brought theyr girles thither to make

152 Possibly Cornelius Melyn, born in Antwerp, who was an early Dutch settler and Patroon of Staten Island. See Appendix A.

153 Kill Van Kull, a tidal strait between Staten Island and Bayonne, connecting Newark Bay with Upper New York Bay. It was an important channel for marine traffic, especially for travelers between the northern and southern colonies. The name derives from the Dutch colonial days of New Netherlands, from the Middle Dutch words '*kille*' meaning riverbed or water channel, and '*col*' meaning passage. See 'Kill Van Kull', *Wikipedia*. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kill_Van_Kull> (7 August, 2014).

154 Carteret's Point in Carteret, NJ, named for Sir George Carteret who received the grant for the land now called New Jersey from the Duke of York in 1664. Known as Smokey Point by the native Lenni-Lenape. The much-traveled route through Carteret to Philadelphia was known as the Blazing Star Trail. See 'History of Carteret', *Borough of Carteret New Jersey* <http://www.ci.carteret.nj.us/content/2861/3639/default.aspx> (14 July, 2014).

155 Richard Townley (d. 1711) was a member of the New York Provincial Council in 1692 and 1697, but was accused by the governor of never attending. See Appendix A.

156 Jersey. Andrews transcribes it as *Jarsy*.

merry, and were so till 2 in the morneing in the same roome where I was in bed.

At this place begins a small creeke[157] but deep enough to carry up sloopes to Elizabeth town, but understanding this town was not above 2 myles by Land, and a pleasant walke I sent up my Luggadge, and the next morneing walked it *on foote. [f. 18v]

Viz[t] on friday y[e] 25th of June 97. and came to mr Jervells ordinary in Elizabeth[158] town in East Jarsey. Here I visited the courteous & obligeing Coll. Townley.

This place was formerly the seate of y[e] Governor of east Jarsey. It is a large Country like villadge, seated on either side the said Creeke, y[e] Neighbours passing to one another in Canoos where it is a stones cast over, but where Narrower and upwards into the Land, it is passed by a Bridge. It is reddish Land like some parts of England and where cleare is English honeysuckle grass, it is here a smoothe champagne land, & few stones *looked much like [f. 19r] an English villadge. This settlement is not of above 30 yeares standing, and in y[e] manadgement of proprietours who send the governors and patents out y[e] Lands.

Satudray June 26: at Elizab. town.

Sunday June 27. at Eliz.town, y[e] minister is Mr Herringman (an old man)[159] & here is a pretty meeteing house of wood with armes

157 Arthur Kill, from the Dutch *'achter col'*.

158 Named for Elizabeth Carteret, wife of the 1st Baronet of the colony of New Jersey. The town was became the first permanent English settlement in New Jersey in 1664, shortly after the Dutch lost the colony to the English. See Appendix A.

159 Reverend John Harriman (1647-1705), became the first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown. When Bullivant speaks of him as 'an old man', Rev. Harriman was fifty years old, approximately the same age as Bullivant. See Appendix A.

in it as in New England: to which they assemble by Drum.

At this town, & in some other places, I observed the oven was often a broad, Single, and alone, & uncovered from the weather.[160]

The creeke admitts sloops of 40 tunns to theyr back doores, Laden with timber, or bricks, shingles, or pipe staffs, with which they trade to York for provisions of flower[161] there, and also for money.

It may be a town of Noate in time.

[f. 19v] *In this provice I saw the fire flies in great abundance (the most knowing of the inhabitants assured me it was from theyr eyes that the scintilla or sparke issues, or shewes itselfe).

It was Moonshine, & I saw a Bird called an West-India batt,[162] who continually preys on these flies all y^e^ night Long, & yet makes a Continuall whistleing in her pursuite of them.

It is a gray flye and without beauty by day Light, But catching some of them, it appeared to me the seate of the shineing was under theyr tayle (as in an English glow-worme) and when I had rubbed the part into pieces it continued yet its Luster, appearing in the Light a kind of Jellÿ, & I am of opinion it is no other then y^e^ glowworme envigorated by the heat of the Climate to become winged.[163]

160 It is unclear here if Bullivant is referring to cooking ovens inside homes, which before 1760 were usually built at the back of a big cooking fireplace, or if he is referring to communal baking ovens.

161 Flour.

162 There are nine known species of bats in New Jersey, tiny insect predators, and the most endangered is the Indiana bat, which is less than two inches long. Bats use echolocation for finding prey and navigating.

163 Fireflies. Bullivant described these insects in a later letter to his friend apothecary James Petiver in London. Bullivant, 'Part of a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Bullivant, at Boston, in New England; to Mr James Petiver, Apothecary, and Fellow of the Royal Society, in London. Concerning Some Natural Observations He Had Made in Those Parts'. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,* 20, no. 236-247 (1698), pp. 167-168.

***Munday. June 28th. 97.** [f. 20r]

Tooke horse at Jewells in Eliza: town, came to Woodbridge a handsome Country villadge 8 myles distant. Thence to Perth Amboy[164] 4 myles farther where I went to deliver Letters to Coll. Hamilton[165] governor of the Jersies. & to his secretary but found them from home.

This town hath an excellent port, & is encircled with 2 Navigable rivers,[166] but is a very uneven piece of Land & almost deserted, and the houses dropping down.

Here we dined, & then to Piscatawaÿ at Mr Hulls[167] on a Plaine, & in 2 myles rideing more to the greate navigable river called Rariton River against Mr Inians.[168]

We forded the River at Low water by the asistance of a Pilot who waded *before us, & came to Mr Inians his ordinary on the [f. 20v] other side of the banks, here we were well Lodged, & entertained.

164 Perth Amboy was the provincial capital of the Province of New Jersey from 1686 to 1776.

165 Andrew Hamilton (d. 1703) was governor of East and West Jersies from 1692 to 1697 and then reappointed from 1699 to 1703 when he died in office. When Bullivant was there he states Hamilton was 'from home', which was common terminology to mean not receiving visitors. However, records show on 9 June 1697, nineteen days before Bullivant's visit, Basse had been appointed governor. See Appendix A.

166 The Raritan River and Spa Spring Creek.

167 Benjamin Hull (1639-1713), along with his brother, was an original Carteret grantee in Piscataway in 1688, and was given a license to 'keep an Ordinary at New Piscataway, Sept. 2, 1678'. His Inn is shown to have been a famous, continuous ordinary, or inn that provides meals, as well as a noted tavern for several generations. The property was put up for sale in 1751, and was described as a large stone house being situated two and a half miles from New Brunswick on the High road to Woodbridge, with an orchard adjoining, and a hundred acres of woodlands. See Appendix A.

168 John Inian had purchased 10,000 acres of land in 1681 on both sides of the Raritan River from the Lenape Indians, and established an important ferry service in 1686. Inian's Ferry, which he had exclusive rights to in 1697, operated between what is now New Brunswick and Highland Park. Inian improved the Lenape Indian trails into roads that led to his ferry and towards Delaware Falls (Trenton) and Philadelphia. This encouraged great growth in travel and commerce in the region. W.A. Angelo, *History Buff's Guide to Middlesex County* (New Jersey: Middlesex County Board of Chosen Freeholders, 2007), pp. 20-23.

And on **Tuesday morneing June 29. 1697** set out for Burlinton, we had the finest road imaginable, but haveing no entertainment or bateing place[169] untill we were obliged to ride 35 myles in the woods, we were with our hourses, & the hott weather much fatigued, resting once in 8 or 10 myles by a fresh stream to refresh our selfes with water & our hourses with grasse, which was then in greate plenty, so this day we fall 15. myles short of Burlinton, & reposed at a Quakers plaine ordinary with what Content we could, haveing Hobson's choyce,[170] that or Nothing.

[f. 21r] ***Hence on Wednesday June 30th: 97** in the forenoone came to Burlington in West Jarsey,[171] seated on the west side of Delaware River on an even playne, it hath a town house and market house in the Center, & stone prison under all. An hexangular Brick Meeting house and a Buryall place adjoyneing.

The streetes are directly straite and fine, 2 acre Lotts to most dwellings, some of the houses are bricke with theyr balconies. I here saw & ate most excellent cherries, Rasp'ries, gooseberries & codlines[172]. They have a publick wharfe or Landing place, where

169 Baiting place is term used in Colonial America to mean a place to stop and rest for food. 'Glossary of Words & Terms', *Rootsweb*. <http://freepages.family.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~emty/Glossary_of_Words_and%20Terms.html> (3 August, 2014).

170 'Hobson's Choice' is a phrase, originating with Thomas Hobson (1544-1631), used to mean a free choice where only one option is available. Hobson, a stable owner in Cambridge, England, offered his customers the choice of taking the horse in the stall nearest to the door in his stable, or none at all. Although he had dozens of horses, the appearance of choice for his customers was an illusion.

171 Burlington, in West Jersey, was settled in 1677 by a group of 230 of William Penn's Quakers when he obtained shares in the province. The province was hence divided between Carteret in East Jersey and the Quakers in the West, which produced completely separate governments. The New England Puritans in the East had enacted laws with strict punishments and death penalties, while the Quakers favored legislation by the people and had no capital punishment.

172 Codling apples, an English apple often used for cooking or making cider, as water was considered unsafe. Colonial farms often had one to six acres of apple orchards. Van der Donck observed in 1655, 'The Netherlands settlers, who are lovers of fruit, on observing that the

sloops are secured from this weather, & where tide Booates from Philadelphia Land, & go off with passengers in wherries[173] *as they [f. 21v] do from London to Gravesend, it being about 20 myles by water from hence[174] & is about 3 howres & 1/2 passadge.

The Delaware is here about one myle 1/2 over, & may bring up a ship of 500 tunn against the town, but here is but a small trade for want of Merchants, and by the much Better accomodations of Philadelphia, which is 20 myles Nearer the Sea, & on the other side of Delaware River in Pensylvania.

Early engraving of seventeeth century meeting house

Thursday. July: 1. 1697. I continued at Burlinton, in the pleasant Society of Esquire Tatam[175] an old England gentleman, and

climate was suitable to the production of fruit trees, have brought over and planted various kinds of apples and pear trees which thrive well...The English have brought over the first quinces, and we have also brought over stocks and seed which thrive well and produce large orchards.' 'Early American Gardens: Orchards in Colonial America & the Early Republic', *American Garden history*, 3 March 2013 (31 July, 2014).

173 A small passenger boat commonly used on rivers and canals in England, particularly the River Thames.

174 Andrews transcribes this word as 'home'. Bullivant is referring to the distance to Philadelphia from Burlington, southward down the Delaware River. The actual distance is closer.

175 John Tatham (d. 1700), nominated to deputy governor of West Jersey in 1687 but was rejected a by the assembly, as his Jacobite views disqualified him. However, he was appointed governor of the province in 1691, and justice of Burlington from at least 1693. See Appendix A.

a chiefe merchant at his place here also I saw Mr Hunloke[176] and Tom: Peachees[177] wife & Son.

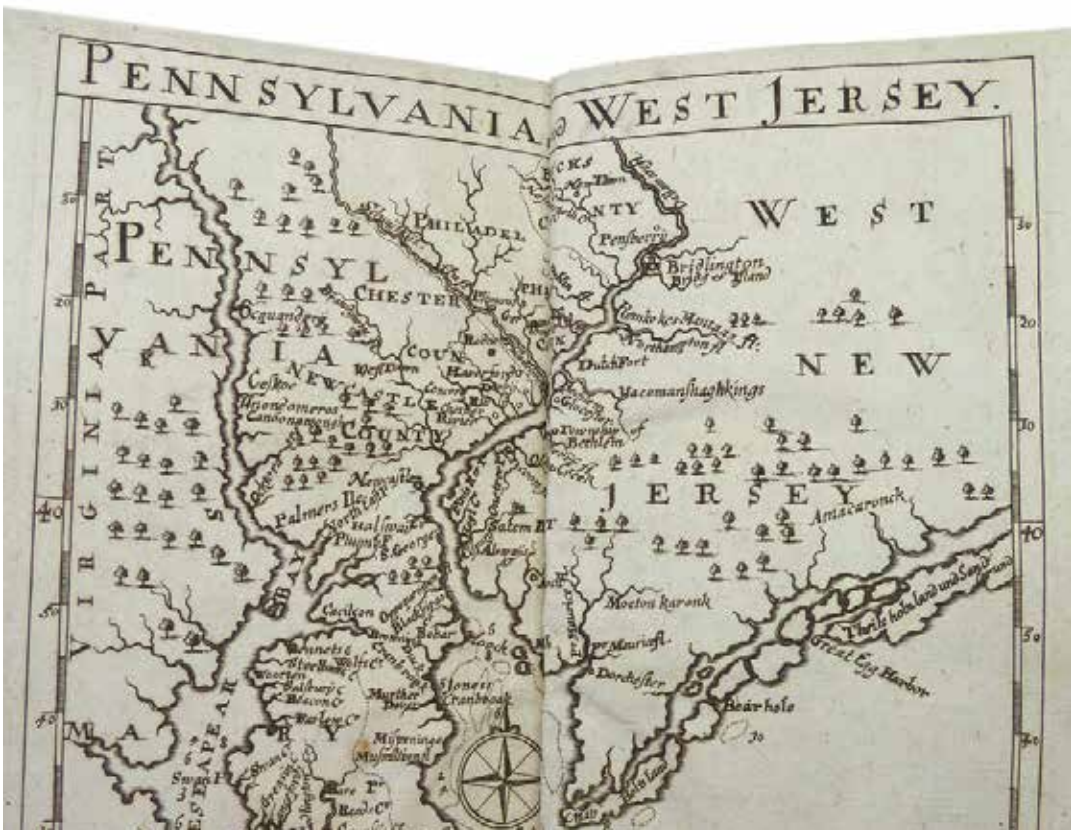
[f. 22r] *Here it was excessive hott, and I saw Many (to coole theyr houses) boyleing theyr potts in y^e^ open ayr.

Friday. July 2d came from Burlinton in to philadelphia in Pensylvania, by water in a payre of Oares or London wherry, the Delaware was exceeding pleasant to passe.

The tide soone shooteing us down with very easy rowing, we had the Diversion of the Sturgeons playing & jumpeing entirely cleare of y^e^ water, & the Land of W. Jersey on our Larboard, & Pensylvania on our Starboard side. The Delaware being hitherto no wider then it is against Burlington, & on each

176 Edward Hunloke (d. 1702) was a merchant, a member of the proprietor's council, and justice of the Jersies. See Appendix A.

177 Thomas Peachee died in 1696. See Appendix A.



side you behold the fayre plantations of Swedes,[178] and English, Covered with feilds of Wheate and Barley.

*Philadelphia in Pensylvania is seated on Delaware River 150 myles from the Sea. it is now but 15 yeares time since they begann to Build, and yet do all ready shew a very magnificient City. [f. 22v]

The streetes are regularly layd out along the Delaware & thwarting into the Land, Broad, & even, Leading forth into Smoothe roades. That carry you into the Country, & at about 2 myles direct out from the City distanced from y^e^ River Delaware, is another Large River called Schuilkill beyond which some are building & this is the extent of y^e^ City bounds.[179]

To the Land from Delaware, and it is probable enough the Vacancy betwixt the 2 Rivers may in time be made nigh fayr

178 The former colony of New Sweden, founded by Peter Minuit for the New Sweden Company, a small group of colonists arrived in March 1638. The settlement struggled, as many colonists were convicts sent by Sweden as punishment, who then fled to the Dutch city of New Amsterdam, or to Maryland. At the height of the colony, it had 500 residents and occupied lands on both sides of the Delaware River in Pennsylvania, southern Jersey and all of what is now Delaware. The Dutch had a previous claim to the region, and in August, 1655, Dutch troops led by Stuyvesant captured Fort Christina, resulting in the demise of the New Sweden colony. In Bullivant's time, the area was formed into counties that roughly approximated the old colony. Today, traces of the colony can be found in Swedesboro, New Jersey. 'The Early Swedes in New Jersey', *NJPineBarrens*. <http://www.njpinebarrens.com/the-early-swedes-in-new-jersey/> (4 August, 2014).

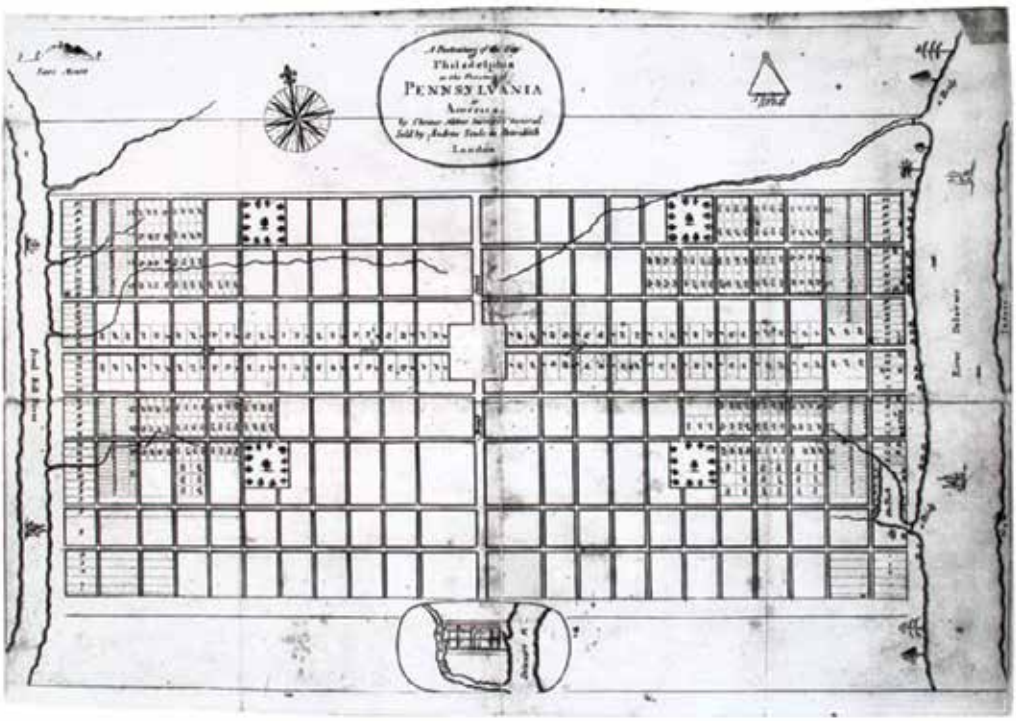
179 Schuylkill River, the river that joins the Delaware River at Philadelphia, named by merchant Arendt Corssen of the Dutch West India Company, roughly translated means 'hidden river'. 'A River runs through Penn's Woods: Tracing the Mighty Schuylkill', *PHMC* <http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/spring/21356/schuylkill_river/1463965> (5 August, 2014).

LEFT, a 1698 engraving of Pennsylvania and West Jersey, by Philip Lea, printed in An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania and of West-New-Jersey in America *by Gabriel Thomas, published by A. Baldwin, London 1698. Shown here is a 1700 reprinted by Lea, in* Hydrographia Universalis or The Sea Coasts of the Known Parts of the World, *(London, 1700).*

streetes, & Joyned into one City as is designed & Layed out by
[f. 23r] the Proprietor & Surveyor Mr Penn in his printed *draught of y^e^ City of Philadelphia which when finished, will be almost a square in forme.[180]

The Delaware is fresh & good water so are theyr pumps & wells, here is also sundry sorte of fish and Sturgeon, & flesh of all sorts plenty enough.

180 William Penn was granted land for a new colony which he established as Pennsylvania, a safe haven for religion, gender and racial equality. His plan for the city of Philadelphia was drawn out in 1682, with a grid concept on a 1200-acre plot between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, with evenly spaced lots and a public square in each quadrant. The plan set a precedent for plans of many American cities. See Appendix A.



Library Company of Philadelphia

William Penn's plan for the city is shown in 'Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia', created as the first map of the city by Thomas Holme in 1683.

There are some few large and stately dwellings of some eminent Merchants. But ordinarily theyr houses exceed not our second rate buildings in London, and many Lower. But generally very prettey with posts in the streets as in London and shops after the English mode.

They have a market twice a weeke with butchers stalls, & Blocks, and a market Bell, Rung also att certain howres of the day by a woman to give the time of the day. Here is a very large, tall, Brick meeting house for the quakers neare y^e^ market place & not farr distant,*a Neate little church for y^e^ Church of England, [f. 23v] English fashion, handsomely pailed in, and a sufficient decent buryall place annexed to itt.

Philadelphia hath somewhat upwards of 500 families dwelling now in itt, & Very many Buildings goeing forward it seemes allready to excell most shire towns in England. It hath no fortifications, though very capable of it, (on y^e^ River side) being so farr distant from y^e^ sea, & mostly quakers they saÿ it is not theyr practice to trust in carnall weapons & find by good usadge of the Indians they are a safeguard *to them, & rather seeke shelter amongst the [f. 24r] English then annoÿ them with a warr being at a greate distance from all European enemies.

I was presented at Philadelphia with sundry Nosegayes of as large & beautifull flowers as are ordinarily in the London gardens. The governor of this province is the Honorable Collonel Markham,[181] who lives in a small, but very Neate dwelling, and is a person of much Courtesie and Honour,[182] he hath his Lady with him, and some children.

Here is gathered the Black stone in which is found the

181 William Markham (1635-1704) was the deputy governor of the province of Pennsylvania (1681-82) and acting governor of Pennsylvania (1693-99). See Appendix A.

182 Wayne transcribes as 'Hounor'.

Salamanders wool, so called because it will not burn, though it may be spunn into thread for service.[183]

[f. 24v] *Philadelphia hath the purest bread and strongest beere in America.

The Beefe, Veale, & pork tollerable but short of England mutton & Lamb indifferent, but Scarce at some times of y^e^ yeare. Butter and cheese very good. They have two markets a weeke, wednesdaÿs and Saturdays, and the most like an old England market of any in this part of the world.

It is at this Instant very hott weather, which obliges people to go very thinly habited of the Negros, & Indians I saw many quite naked, except what Covered the Serets of nature.

Vessells of 500 tunns. lay theyr sides to the wharfes, & unlode by theyr own takle.

[f. 25r] The Quakers are very *generous in theyr Entertainments and furnish theyr houses very Neatly and stick not to give theyr daughters to men of the world, and indeed they are many of them very prettey women.

Here are apples, peares, peaches apricots, mulberies, & cherries in abundance.

They pay little or no taxes of any Sort whatsoever nor any Customes or Excise have no militia, only a Night watch in Philadelphia. Justices & Constables County Courts, Provinciall Courts and assemblies.

The best noble town in this Province on the delaware is

183 Asbestos, a naturally occurring fibrous mineral found in serpentine rock formations in southwestern Pennsylvania. The primary type found in the area is amphibole, with the subtype crocidolite, which is the most dangerous type as the fibers are breathed in and remain in the lungs for long periods of time, causing incurable mesothelioma cancer. The descriptive 'salamander's wool' comes from the ancient belief that the salamander, with its very cold skin, would not burn. 'Asbestos in Pennsylvania', *Asbestos.com* <http://www.asbestos.com/states/pennsylvania/> (4 August, 2014).

Newcastle 40 myles below philadelphia towards y^e^ Sea is a prettey town, builds ships and hath merchants resideing in itt. Here live many Swedes formerly Banished theyr own Country *for [f. 25v] mis-demeanors. Here live well, & have good farmes, and under English government.[184]

The Streetes of Philadelphia are unpaved at present, So being on a Levell are Subject to be dirty in any wett,[185] but continue not Long so, being under y^e^ turfe a sand that drinkes up all moistyre.

Here are good wells & handsom pumps.

They afect balconies very much & few houses want them, especially such as looke into the River,[186] the houses are most brick though the Country yeilds a good square stone for Building.[187]

I saw many good Staires of itt to ascend from the water streete next the River up into the *first streete in the Citty. The ascent [f. 26r] from the River brinke into the town in some places being very steep, they have cutt passages for carts, & arched them over very strong and handsome.

They publish all theyr marriadges and bargaines by affixing a paper on the meeteing house door. I tooke notice of one that was to give notice where Gilliflowers[188] were to be sold.

And so much of the City of Philadelphia in Pensylvania I continued here **Saturday. July 3.**

184 Bullivant here makes a side note about New Castle now in Delaware, not Philadelphia. See note 178 on the New Sweden colony.

185 Bullivant is observing the flatness of the town, resulting in poor run-off drainage, however, the soil is sandy so water does not sit long on the surface.

186 Delaware River, also known as the South River, the Dutch name for it in the New Netherland colony.

187 The stone in the area, Wissahickson schist, did not require mining, as it was easily mined by hand. L. Fleeson, 'Philadelphia's Stone Age', *Philly.com*, 16 June, 1995 <http://articles.philly.com/1995-06-16/living/25692223_1_stone-downtown-philadelphia-buildings> (2 August, 2014).

188 Carnations.

Sabath day July: 4th

Munday. July. 5th

Tuesday. July. 6th

Wednesday. July 7th

Continued at Philadelphia

Library Company of Philadelphia

'The Dutch House' in New Castle is the oldest house in Delaware. This one-story structure was built about 1690 as a single room house with a large open fireplace along the north wall. Bricks were added in the eighteeth century.

[f. 26v] *__Thursday July. 8th.__ went down y^e^ delaware in y^e^ ordinary passadge boate for Newcastle 40 myles from Philad.

About 1/2 way is Chester an old settlement, that hath a good creeke for Security of sloopes, as town house, & a quaker meeteing house, a prison under y^e^ town house & Containes about 50 families.

Thence to Newcastle is 20 myles, & this is also an auncient settlement, here is the Custom house, a small ruinated Church, a prettey town house, on which they hoÿst the Kings flag at approach of any 3 masted vessell which may be espyed coming in (at a good distance) out of delawar Baÿ, they have six Iron guns
[f. 27r] mounted on y^e^ Bank, but hardly large enough to *command the River. Vessells also stopp here goeing down for Sea.

Friday July 9th at New castle, that evening returned to philadelphia.

Called on board the Charles, Captain Trent[189] commander lying

189 William Trent, a wealthy shipping merchant of Philadelphia, traded in goods and slaves. He also served in the provincial government. He would later be the founder of Trenton New Jersey, the State's capital in 1714, where he had purchased a large tract of land. See Appendix A.

in the River with Servants from Scotland, She is a goodly vessell of 250 tunns, belongs to London, hath a Letter of Mark[190] & 48 men, with 30 guns mounted.

The Commander entertained me with much generosity, & obliged me to lye on board him, whilst the tide made for us, for they usually spend 1 tide & 1/2 betwixt Philadelphia & N. Castle untill a good wind presents.

Hence writt for W.R. by Cox his sloope bound that night away for Boston.

*About 8 myles below N.Castle is a Creeke,[191] by which you may come to a neck of Land 12 myles over & Crosse which are drawn goods to & from Mary Land, & Sloopes also of 30 tunns are carryed over land in this place on certain sleds drawn by Oxen, & launched again into the water on y^e^ other side. [f. 27v]

Saturday. July: 10. at Philadelphia.

Sunday. July: 11. Ditto

The minister is Mr Arrowsmith setts the Psalm himselfe, & concludes it with the *gloria patri* in y^e^ forenoon & afternoon. His pulpit, and sound board is of wallnutt wood, his church hath 2 porches N. &. S. seates Locked, Bricked at the Bottom, a distinct seate for the governor & Lady, to which he enters at a particular door.

It cost 400^li^ building, and 150^li^ for y^e^ ground, it hath a ch-yard.

***Monday July.** 12. at Philadelphia. [f. 28r]

Tuesday July. 13. at Philadelphia.

190 Letter of Marque, given by a government to its citizen, it is a license to capture and confiscate merchant ships from another nation.

191 Presently, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. See <http://www.bayjournal.com/article/cd_canal_charting_the_course_that_began_with_mapmakers_dream>.

Wednesday July 14. at Philadelphia.

Thursdaÿ July 15. at 3 in the morneing tooke water at Philadelphia to return to Burlinton and arrived here about 7 y^e^ same day.

Friday July. 16. at Burlinton.

Saturday July. 17 Ditto, stayeing for the post, & 2 gentlemen of Yorke who might have been up that afternoon flood, but so horrible a thunder and Lightenings with much Rayn & tempeste begann about 3 this afternoon, that the post, nor passadge boat could stirr out, & it continued in a very Extraordinary manner untill 4 this morning.

Being Sabath day July 18th at Burlinton in y^e^ Province of West New Jersey.

[f. 28v] *__Munday July 19.__ 7. in y^e^ morneing. In company with the post, a Coole misty rainy day, tooke horse at Burlinton, & that might come to Mr Inians at Rareton River 50 myles from Burlinton.

Tuesday July 20 (all alone) came from Mr Inians to Piscataqua 2 myles, to Woodbridge 8 more, thence to y^e^ poynt at Elizabeth town 12 more.

No boate passing lay at Mr Warrens at y^e^ poynt that night.

Wednesday July. 21.

About 5 in the morneing a sloope tooke me in at the poynt, & leaving the wind fayr came to y^e^ Bridge at New-York. by 10 of the Clock the same day.

Thursday. July 22. at N.Y.

Friday. July 23. at N.Y

Saturday. July. 24. at N.Y.

Sunday July 25. at N.Y.

***Munday 26. July.** went with Mr. Minnars to Hempsted plaines.[192] [f. 29r]

Tuesday 26. [27][193] **July** returned from Jamaica at Dr James his plantation on Long Island to N. yorke.[194]

Wednesday 27. [28] **July** at N. Y.

Thursday. 28. [29] **July.** Ditto.

Friday. 29 [30] **July** About 12 at Noone tooke my passadge from N.Y. on David the Jews[195] sloope bound for Newport on Road Island, came down the river with an easy gale and a tide, & passed hell gate, & so down to the white rock, and the 2 Islands called the 2 brothers when the wind vered, & came just a head of us, with much rayne thunder and Lightening, so that with turneing it to get

192 Hempstead Plains, Long Island, was originally a large grassy prairie, first settled around 1644 by English colonists from Connecticut who were granted a patent by New Amsterdam, originally named after Heemstede in North Holland.

193 Bullivant numbers the dates incorrectly from July 27 (when he repeated the 26th) through August 7 when he realizes his mistake and uses the correct date.

194 Jamaica, on Long Island, was originally settled in 1656 and called Rusdorpe by the Dutch. N.S. Prime, *A History of Long Island, from the First Settlement by Europeans, to the Year 1845* (New York: Robert Carter, 1845), p. 397.

195 Perhaps the name of the sloop, which would reference the First Testament story of David vs. Goliath.

[f. 29v] a harbour *we strained our Mast, & had liked to have[196] brought it by the Board. The vessell lying along, & takeing in water at the Scoopers, so at Last we were obliged to Let the mayn halliards runn at once, & under a short sayle, gott into Musketoo Cove on Long Island side.[197]

Saturday we put out againe (**Vizt: July 30th [31st]**) but it rained & blew so hard, we could go no farther then into Oyster bay harbour on Long Island, which is indeed a very secure & safe port, but Little frequented, haveing about 20 scattered houses on the sea side, here we were refreshed & Lodged on shoare.

On Sabath day it looked well. & we sayled againe into the Sound, But the wind soone vered and came up against us with much rayne, & greate gusts. So we were obliged to stand athwart
[f. 30r] the Sound *to the main shoare of Connecticot and about 8 at night got into Fairfeild ship harbour, where we found Stephen Codman[198] just gott to an anchor before us, it proved a great storme, with much Rayne from this time to wednesday morneing, when it cleared up, & the Master being offered some Corn spent that day in takeing it aboard, & some part of the next day in the forenoon, Vizt.

Thursday the 4th. [5th] day of August till about Noon when the wind comeing to WSW & a fayre gale, we put to Sea out of

196 Andrews transcribes as 'hard'.

197 Mosquito Cove, name derives from Musketa which was the Indian word for 'the cove of the grassy flats'. It is now Glencove, New York. 'Glen Cove, the boroughs of Brooklyn, and Queens, counties of Nassau and Suffolk, Long Island, New York', *Rootsweb*. <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nynassa2/glencove.htm> (4 August, 2014).

198 **Stephen Codman** (c. 1651-1706) was a successful saddler in Charlestown, Massachusetts. See Appendix A.

Doncker, 'Pascaert van Nieu Nederland . . .' (1660).

Fairfeild Creeke, & stood on with a happy gale under the main of Connecticott, & by night were on Breast of Connecticot River, & the wind continueing we determined so stand our Course *on [f. 30v] the outside of Fishers Island hopeing to pass by Block Island undiscried of the French privateer, which we heard was Cruiseing there a few days, before & around. Accordingly by breake of day, Left Block Island a Sterne of us, & soone raised Road Island & point Judith which we passed about the Sun rising, & with a Lively gale gott safe into Newport harbour on Road Island about 7 in y^e^ morneing **friday Aug: 5th [6th]1697**.

Saturday. Aug: 7th at Newport.

Sunday Aug. 8th. at Ditto place.
Then & there Buryed. Walker Newbury.[199]

Monday. August. 9th. left Newport, lay that night at Mr. Childs at Seaconck, the Sign of the Boare or as some call it y^e^ 2 Brutes.

[f. 31r] ***Tuesday Aug: 10 1697.** from Childs at Seaconck that night to Boston, in good health and praise, haveing been 9 weekes & 2 dayes on this Journey or Voyadge for which Gods name be praysed.

By me Benja. Bullivant
Boston in New-England
August. 10. 1697:
1697

199 Walter Newberry (1640-1697) was a London merchant residing in Newport, RI. He was appointed a member of the Governor Andros' Council in 1686. Bullivant undoubtedly knew him from this past association through Andros. See Appendix A.

APPENDIX A

About the People Mentioned in Bullivant's Journal

Sir Edmund Andros (1637-1714) served as colonial administrator, at various times governor of the provinces of New York, East and West Jersey, Virginia and Maryland. He negotiated the handover of the Dutch territories with local Dutch Governor Colve and representatives in 1674, and he agreed to allow the Dutch inhabitants to maintain their property holdings and their religion.

See J. R. Brodhead, *The Government of Sir Edmund Andros over New England, in 1688 and 1689, Read Before the New York Historical Society* (Morrisania, New York: Bradstreet Press, 1867), pp. 2-14.

Edward Anthill [Antill] (1639-1711) was a New York merchant and attorney, also a member of Leisler's council in 1688, and an East Jersey proprietor who signed the surrender of that colony's government to Queen Ann, in 1702. He is listed as an inhabitant of New York in 1703, with a wife and family of four children, two negresses and two negro children. As an attorney, he represented Giles Shelly, master of the ship Nassau, a pirate prosecuted by Governor Bellamont. He also engaged in slave trade.

See W. Nelson, 'Edward Antill and Some of His Descendants', *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society–1846*, vol. 1, ser. 3, no. 1 (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Society, 1896) pp. 263-273.

Elizabeth Carteret (c.1615) was a Baroness, the wife of the first Baronet, George Carteret, Lord Proprietor of the province and later first governor of the colony of New Jersey. The town of Elizabeth, New Jersey, was named for her, and was the first permanent English settlement in that colony in 1664, shortly after the Dutch lost the

colony to the English. She later married Captain Richard Townley.

See E.F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey, Including the Early History of Union County* (Carlisle, Mass.: Applewood Books, 2010).

John Clapp, a tavern owner whose establishment was in the Bowery, in a place originally owned by Adriaen Cornelissen. Clapp published an Almanac in 1697 as advertisement of his establishment.

See Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, pp. 399, 402.

Benjamin Childs (c.1656-1724) was born in Massachusetts, son of Benjamin (I) and Mary. He served the General Court and as a colonial auditor and surveyor of highways in 1703 and 1720 to 1722. The Childs family arrived in Massachusetts in 1630 from Suffolk England, and first settled in Watertown but removed to Woodstock, Connecticut. Captain Benjamin Childs married Grace Morris, daughter of Lt. Edward Morris, a proprietor of Woodstock, in 1683. They had twelve children.

See *'Stagge-Parker Histories', Blogspot.nl, 22 May, 2009 <http://stagge-parker.blogspot.nl/2009/05/benjamin-child-1658-1724.html> (3 August, 2014).*

Walter Clarke (1640-1714), a Quaker and governor of the Rhode Island colony, he served three terms, non-consecutive, the first of which was in 1686, and suspended when Andros arrived and revoked colony charters to form the Dominion of New England.

See S. G. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1636-1700*, vol. 1, (New York: Appleton & Company, 1859), pp. 483, 500, 532, 555.

Matthew Clarkson (d. 1702) was born in England, and visited New England in 1685. He immigrated to New York in 1690, having applied and been granted the position of secretary of the Province of New York in that year. He married Catherina van Schaick, daughter of Hon. G. Gerritse van Schaick of Albany, in 1692. Through her he was then connected to many prominent families of the province including the Van Cortlandts, Van Rensselaers, Livingstons and Verplancks. He served as a vestryman of Trinity Church. His son, also Matthew, married Cornelia De Peyster.

See S. Clarkson, Memoirs of Matthew Clarkson of Philadelphia, 1735-1800 by His Great-Grandson John Hall', (Philadelphia: Thomson Printing Company, 1890), pp. 14-15.

William Coddington, (1600-1678) a merchant and attorney in Boston, he arrived in 1630 and acted as a magistrate of the Massachusetts Colony for many years. He had negotiated a peace on the colony's behalf with the Narragansettt Indians before the Pequot War. He then removed to Rhode Island and was one of the founders of Newport, and elected judge. He had a large home on Marlborough Street, the first brick house of the town, and held meetings there until 1689, as it was the custom for Quakers to hold their meetings in private homes.

See Mrs. (C.A.) Buffum, 'Quakers in Newport County Rhode Island', *Newport, RI, Friends Meeting House*. <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~rinewpor/quaker.html> (15 July, 2014) and *Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society*, vol. 4 (Providence: Knnowles, Vose & Co., 1838), pp. 50-52.

Stephen Codman (c. 1651-1706) was a successful saddler in Charlestown, Massachusetts. He had eight children, only one of whom survived him. He was born in Hartford, Conn., the son of Robert Codman, a mariner who held land in Connecticut, then removed to Martha's Vineyard in Massachusetts, where a natural spring on his land still bears the name Codman's Spring.

See P.D. Hall, *The Organization of American Culture, 1700-1900: Private Institutions, Elites and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York: NYU, 1984) pp. 125-151 ('Genealogy and representative citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts', *Internet Archive*. <http://archive.org/stream/genealogyhistory-00hurd/genealogyhistory00hurd_djvu.txt> (4 August, 2014).

Colonel Abraham De Peyster (1657-1728) was mayor of New York from 1691 to 1694, and responsible for the start of public improvements in the city. He was the son of early Dutch colonist Johannes De Peyster I, who served as 'sheppen' (Dutch *schepen*, Alderman) and burgomaster in New Amsterdam, and was progenitor of the family in New York. Being one of the wealthiest citizens of New Amsterdam, Johannes was the first to own a family carriage in that city. Abraham built the first stately house in New York on Pearl Street. Abraham served on the governor's council in 1698, the same year his brother Johannes De Peyster II, was appointed mayor of New York.

See A. Chester, and E.M. Williams, *Courts and Lawyers of New York: A History, 1609-1925*, vol. 1 (New York: American Historical Society, 1925), pp 263-264; Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, p. 410.

Mr. Emmet (Emmot), a colonial attorney. After Governor Bellamont replaced Fletcher to clean up piracy in the colonies, Emmot went to Bellamont and spoke to him about privateer Captain William Kidd's arrest. Emmot proposed that the governor grant Kidd a pardon, as he had protested his innocence to Emmot. Although Bellamont had previously helped fund Kidd's ship when King William granted him a commission to combat piracy, Bellamont nevertheless sent him to England for prosecution, resulting in Kidd's execution.

See I.N.P. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909: Compiled from Original Sources and Illustrated by Photo-Intaglio Reproductions of Important Maps, Plans, Views, and Documents in Public and Private Collections* (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1922), p. 391, 401, 415, 421-429, 968.

Governor Benjamin Fletcher (1640-1703) was governor of New York from 1692 until just after Bullivant visited him. Fletcher enacted the Ministry Act of 1693, establishing Anglicanism as the official religion in New York, and commissioned the building of the first Trinity Church in 1698. However, Fletcher was known to be lenient to pirates and New York became a safe haven for them. He had used piracy as an economic tool for the city, by granting licenses to privateers and pirates, particularly Captain William Kidd, to use the port for smuggling in exchange for small bribes. This activity led to the Crown replacing Fletcher and appointing Earl of Bellamont as the new governor of the colonies on 1 June, 1697. Thus, some two weeks before Bullivant visited him, the governor's replacement was on his way to oust Fletcher.

See W. Robertson, *A General History of North and South America, Including the Celebrated Work, by Robertson; Continued by a complete History of the United States, to the Present Time* (London: Mayhew, Isaac, and Co., 1834), p. 829.

Myles Foster [or Forster], a merchant from Perth Amboy, sometimes spelled Myles Forster; possibly the Miles Foster found in records on 28 July, 1705 as being recommended to serve on the Eastern Division of the Provincial Council of New Jersey by the governor Lord Cornbury. Affidavits from a John Hamilton, dated 16 July 1706, state that Miles Foster and several others had told him that they had given Lord Cornbury £200 to 'befriend them in some particular matters' essentially purchasing their appointment to the council, and stating the governor was guilty of bribery.

See W. Nelson (ed.), *Patents and Deeds and Other Early Records of New Jersey 1664-1703*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2000), pp. 79, 101.

Philip French (d. 1707) was a merchant in New York and resided on Broadway south of Wall Street. In 1697 he was an assistant to the mayor representing the Dock Ward serving with Jeremiah Tothill of the East Ward, and in 1702 he was an Alderman serving with Johannes De Peyster II. He was mayor of New York in 1702, although in April of that year he and Wenham were subjects of 'An Act for outlawing Phillip French and Thomas Wenham Merchants and enforceing Process of Outlawry', and indicted for a high misdemeanor and 'offence against his Ma'ty, and the Administration of the Government here, and being Conscious of their Crimes and hopeing to avoid all punishment of the Same, before Such s'd Indictments were found withdrew, & have Continued out of this Province, so that Processe could not be Served upon them'. The act was repealed by Queen Mary in December of the same year. Born in England, he died aboard ship in 1707.

See *Laws of the Colony of New York*, p. 476. See also 'Mayors of the City of New York, Appointed by the Colonial', *The History Box* <http://thehistorybox.com/ny_city/nycity_mayors_colonial_article1105.htm> (18 July, 2014) and 'Philip and John French of NYC, FFA Chart #131', *French Family Association* <http://www.frenchfamilyassoc.com/FFA/CHARTS/Chart131/> (7 August, 2014).

Giles Gaudineau [also Gaudenoa] (c.1643) was a French immigrant from Sigournais, described as a surgeon, and was paid by the New York council for nursing a french prisoner at the fort. Listed as head of a family in the city on the 'List of Inhabitants of the City in 1703', and as a vestryman of Trinity Church in 1696 through 1698.

See D.T. Valentine, *History of the City of New York* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1853), p. 351, and B. Fernow, *Calendar of [New York Colonial] Council Minutes, 1668-1783,* (New York: University of the State of New York, 1903), p.126.

James Graham was a recorder for New York City and attorney general since 1691 and Speaker in the General Assembly, witnessed the formal handing over of New Castle, Delaware from the New Netherlands colony to William Penn. His daughter married the colonial governor of New Jersey.

See Chester and Williams, *Courts and Lawyers of New York: A History, 1609-1925*, Vol. 1, pp. 414, 896.

Reverend John Harriman (1647-1705), born in New Haven, Connecticut colony and formerly an innkeeper there, became the

first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1667, and came to Elizabethtown in 1687. When Bullivant speaks of him as 'an old man', Rev. Harriman was fifty years old, approximately the same age as Bullivant.

See 'Ranting Quakers'. *Secondat*. <http://secondat.blogspot.nl/2010/12/ranting-quakers.html> (16 July, 2014) and 'Rev John Harriman', *Find A Grave – Millions of Cemetery Records and Online Memorials.* <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=7383557> (17 July, 2014).

Andrew Hamilton (d. 1703) was governor of East and West Jerseys from 1692 to 1697 and then reappointed from 1699 to 1703, when he died in office. Although he was Scottish, he was deposed by the Board of Trade for not being a natural-born (English) subject so unqualified for the position. The Board of Trade was convinced of this by Jeremiah Basse who then became governor. When Bullivant was there he states Hamilton was 'from home', which was common terminology to mean not receiving visitors. However, records show on 9 June, 1697, nineteen days before Bullivant's visit, Basse had been appointed governor. He also served as deputy governor in Pennsylvania. Hamilton patented the first colonial post office.

See S. Smith, *The Colonial History of New Jersey, History of Nova Caesarea* (Trenton: William S. Sharp, 1890), pp. 153-169. Also see <http://www.westjersey.org/wj_chron.htm> (4 August, 2014).

Caleb Heathcott [Heathcote] (c. 1665-1721) was a merchant, miller and politician, the 31st mayor of New York City. He helped found Trinity Church. He purchased large tracts of land, and using his influence with Governor Fletcher, he received a charter for his land to be made into the borough town of Westchester, becoming its mayor. He had more than a hundred slaves, indentured servants and tenant farmers to work the land and mills. He was married to Colonel William Smith's daughter, Martha. They had six children.

See R. J. Caliendo, *New York City Mayors*, vol.1 (U.S.A.: Xlibris Corp.,2010), pp. 71-76.

Benjamin Hull (1639-1713), along with his brother, was an original Carteret grantee in Piscataway in 1688, and was given a license to 'keep an Ordinary at New Piscataway, Sept. 2, 1678'. He was a yeoman, tavern-keeper, military officer, Justice and prominent colonist. His Inn is shown to have been a famous, continuous

ordinary, or inn that provides meals, as well as a noted tavern for several generations. The property was put up for sale in 1751, and was described as a large stone house being situated two and a half miles from New Brunswick on the High road to Woodbridge, with an orchard adjoining, and a hundred acres of woodlands. Although a Judge, he himself was presented by a grand jury for 'keeping and allowing gaming at Cards, and Bowle and pins at his house.'

See 'Benjamin Hull', Rootsweb <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~coddingtons/9036.htm> (30 July 2014) and 'Benjamin Hull, Capt.', *Familytreemaker* <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/c/a/m/Craig-Campbell-pennsylvania/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0203.html> (30 July, 2014).

Edward Hunloke (d. 1702) was a merchant in Burlington, a member of the proprietor's council, and justice of the Jersies. Governor Coxe, proprietor of West Jersey, appointed him Deputy Governor between 1690 and 1692.

See Smith, *The Colonial History of New Jersey, History of Nova Caesarea*, pp. 152.

John Inian had purchased 10,000 acres of land in 1681 on both sides of the Raritan River from the Lenape Indians, and established an important ferry service in 1686. Inian's Ferry, which he had exclusive rights to in 1697, operated between what is now New Brunswick and Highland Park. Inian improved the Lenape Indian trails into roads that led to his ferry and towards Delaware Falls (Trenton) and Philadelphia. This encouraged great growth in travel and commerce in the region.

See W.A. Angelo, *History Buff's Guide to Middlesex County* (New Jersey: Middlesex County Board of Chosen Freeholders, 2007), pp. 20-23.

David Jamison (1660-1739) was the clerk of the governor's council and an attorney general. As a royal colonial lawyer, he was a defender of religious freedom and served as a first vestryman of Trinity Church of New York. He had been expelled from England and indentured in America because of his religious beliefs. In a landmark case, he argued a case for toleration in the New York colony, and religious tolerance was enacted into the charter in 1707. He had a Dutch wife, Mary Hardenbroeck.

See J. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 58-96.

William Janeway (1659-1708) was a purser on His Majesty's ship, the Richmond, with Captain John Evans as master. After three years of service in New York, where he met and married, he resigned his commission in England to return to his wife. He helped to build Trinity Church, and was a vestryman there, and is buried on the grounds also showing in deed records as conveying land in New York.

See 'Janeway-L Archives', *Rootsweb* <http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/JANEWAY/2002-12/1039463883>.

John Lawrence (d. 1699) was a landowner and early trader in New Amsterdam, although he did not speak Dutch. This hampered him, and led to some misunderstandings with the Notary Solomon La Chair. Lawrence was involved in government affairs, remonstrating against Connecticut for their aggressive measures towards New Netherlands. He was Flushing (Vlissingen) town clerk in 1648, member of the first board of Aldermen, mayor in 1672-3 and in 1691, deputy mayor under Andros in 1674, and councillor to the province except during the Dutch period. He was judge of the supreme court in 1693, and also sheriff of Queens County in 1699 until his death that year.

See T. Lawrence, *Historical Genealogy of the Lawrence Family, From Their First Landing in this Colony, 1635 to the Present Date 1835*, (New York: E. O. Jenkins, 1858), pp. 21-25.

Robert Livingston (1654-1728), was a New York colonial official, born in Scotland. A descendant of the Lord Livingston, Earl of Linlithgow of Scotland, he was the son of a minister of the Church of Scotland. Exiled with his family in 1663 because his father resisted the conversion of the national Presbyterian Church to Episcopalian, he settled in Rotterdam in the Dutch Republic. He was fluent in the Dutch language, and went to Albany in 1664, becoming secretary to Van Rensselaer. In 1679 he married Rev. Nicolas Van Rensselaer's widow, Alida Schuyler. In 1683 he became a vast landowner along the Hudson River, and in 1686 was named clerk of the city of Albany. In 1696 he backed Captain Kidd's privateer voyage. He became a Lord of the Manor of Livingston with a royal grant of a baronial lordship in 1715, which he held until the American Revolution. His daughter would marry into the De Peyster family, and his granddaughter into

the Stuyvesant family. Descendents include the Presidents Bush, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, actors Montgomery Clift and Michael Douglas, and the New York Astor family.

See S. Bielinski, 'Robert Livingston, The People of Colonial Albany', *New York State Museum,* 16 April, 2009 <http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/albany/bios/l/rlivingston94.html> (3 August, 2014).

Colonel Charles Lodivick (1657-1724) was the 21st mayor of New York City from 1694 to 1695. Born in Hackney St. John, London, of Dutch parents, he appears in records as a N.Y. merchant in 1697 having leased 838 acres of land in East Jersey to a Mr. John White. In 1692 he wrote a letter to his uncle, a member of the Royal Society in London saying, 'our chiefest unhappiness here is too great a mixture of nations, and English the least part….The Dutch are generally the most frugal and laborious, and consequently the richest, whereas the English are the contrary'.

See <http://jeffpaine.blogspot.nl/2012/11/charles-lodwick-describes-new-york-city.html>.

William Markham (1635-1704) was the deputy governor of the province of Pennsylvania (1681-82) and acting governor of Pennsylvania (1693-99).

Cornelius Melyn (1600-c.1662), born in Antwerp, was an early Dutch settler and Patroon of Staten Island, and chairman of the council of eight men in the Dutch colony of New Netherlands.

Thomas Peachee, was a doctor. He died in 1696; John Tatham executed his estate, the bulk of which was left to the Tatham family, leaving five shillings apeice to 'my reputed son John Peche and his mother Mary Peche'.

See M. Nicholson, *'"Where There's a Will..." Some Curious Mid-Atlantic Probate Records', American Ancestors,* November, 1991 (2 August, 2014).

William Pinhorn (d.1720) was Judge of the New York Supreme Court of Judicature, 1691-1698. He became a freeman of NYC in 1680, alderman in 1683, and speaker of the Assembly in 1685. Appointed by Governor Slaughter in 1691 to serve on the committee to prosecute Jacob Leisler. When Governor Bellamont replaced Slaughter,

he stripped Judge Pinhorn of his office for harboring a Jesuit in his home, and revoked his land patent in New York. Pinhorn moved to his estate in New Jersey, and in 1709 became President of the Council and Commander-in-Chief of New Jersey.

See P.M. Hamlin and C. E. Baker (ed.), *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691-1704* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1959).

William Penn (1644-1718) was granted land for a new colony by English King Charles II, which Penn established as Pennsylvania, a safe haven for religion, gender and racial equality. His plan for the city of Philadelphia was drawn out in 1682, as a grid concept on a 1,200-acre plot between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, with evenly spaced lots and a public square in each quadrant. The plan set a precedent for plans of many American cities.

See 'William Penn's Philadelphia Plan', *tclf.org* <http://tclf.org/landscapes/william-penn%E2%80%99s-philadelphia-plan> (5 August, 2014).

John Tatham (d.1700), was named deputy governor by West Jersey absentee governor Daniel Cox in 1687. However, the appointment was rejected by the assembly, as Tatham's Jacobite views disqualified him from service. He continued to act as an agent for the governor, and was later appointed governor by the proprietors of the province in 1691. He acted as a Justice of Burlington from at least 1693. Upon his death, the library in his estate was valued at £50.

See Smith, *The Colonial History of New Jersey, History of Nova Caesarea*, pp. 455-463.

William Trent (c.1653-1724), was a wealthy shipping merchant in Philadelphia; he traded in goods and slaves. He also served in the provincial government. He became the founder of Trenton New Jersey, the State's capital, in 1714, where he had purchased a large tract of land. The house he built on that land was used by the Hessians in the Revolution and attacked by George Washington and the Continental Army. Later it would be used as the Governor's mansion.

See 'Meet William Trent', *William Trent House Museum* <http://www.williamtrenthouse.org/content/meet-william-trent> (2 August, 2014).

Henry Sloughter was governor of New York and Massachusetts in 1691, after putting down Leisler's Rebellion, a de facto government led by Jacob Leisler in 1689. He oversaw Leisler's trial for treason

and his execution. Lt. Gov. Richard Ingoldesby served as interim governor until the arrival of Benjamin Fletcher.

See A. Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America,* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 285.

Simon Smith, an Anglican minister, was chaplain of the forces in the fort from 1696 to 1700, under governor Fletcher and later was personal chaplain to Bellamont who succeeded Fletcher as governor.

See L.D. Eldridge, *A Distant Heritage: The Growth of Free Speech in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), p. 13.

Widow Smith appears on the 'List of Inhabitants of the City in 1703' as the head of a family with three children and one negro servant. An insurance office later 'opened in the house of Widow Smith.'

See Valentine and William, *History of the City of New York* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1853), p. 211, 368.

Colonel William Smith (1665-1705) arrived in New York in 1686 and purchased land at Little Neck in Brookhaven. He erected St. George's manor, and acquired much land by patents granted to him by Colonel Fletcher, who was extravagant with his grants to individuals (that were later annulled). Smith served as a member of the governor's council and later president of the council, and was appointed as a judge on the first supreme court of New York, and then chief justice in 1692. He was removed as chief in 1698 by Governor Bellamont because of his involvement with Jacob Leisler during Leisler's Rebellion, yet he remained a judge.

See B. F. Thompson, *History of Long Island: Containing an Account of the Discovery and Settlement* (New York: E. French, 1839).

Richard Townley (d. 1711) was a member of the New York Provincial Council in 1692 and 1697, but was accused by the governor of never attending. He also served as a judge. He first emigrated to Virginia, then to the East Jersey colony. He married governor Carteret's widow, Elizabeth, in 1685 and donated land for St. John's Episcopal Church in Eliabethtown, the town named after his wife.

See *New Jersey Colonial Documents, Archives of the State of New Jersey, First Series*, Vol. III (Newark: Daily Advertiser Publishing House, 1881), p. 115.

John Tudor (c.1649-1708) came to New York in 1674, after he was ordered to leave Boston having been convicted and whipped for

fornicating with Elizabeth Holland, whom he then married. He served as one of the first vestrymen of Trinity Church in New York, charged with its construction and fund raising for the church.

See H. B. Hoff, and H. S. Ullmann, 'American Ancestors Journal First Annual Supplement', The New England Historical & Genealogical Register, 163 (2009) and W. Berrian, *An historical sketch of Trinity Church, New-York* (New-York: Stanford and Swords, 1847), p. 15.

Jeremiah Tuthill (sometimes spelled Tothill), a Captain and later an Alderman, helped to build Trinity Church. He was ordered to 'take care to get a Kill of Stone Lime & thirty Carte Loade of Oyster shell Lime' to be used for raising Trinity Church's steeple. He was accused of concealing Captain Kidd's treasure in 1699 and ordered to appear before the governor's council to answer for the crime.

See Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, p. 393, 402.

Thomas Wenham, a New York merchant. He was accused of high misdemeanor and offence against the Crown along with Philip French; yet in 1703 he was appointed as a commissioner to examine the accounts of the colony.

See C. Z. Lincoln (ed.), *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany: J.B. Lyon, 1894), pp. 476 and 548-549.

Benjamin Woodbridge (1645-1709), was a minister in Connecticut and in Massachusetts, and was the son of the Reverend John Woodbridge, and grandson of Governor Thomas Dudley. He married Mary Ward, the daughter of Rev. John Ward. Sewall mentions visiting him in 1702.

See C. H. Abbott, *Early Records of the Woodbridge Family of Andover* <http://www.mhl.org/andover/Abbott/Woodbridge%20Family.pdf> (2 August,2014).

Appendix B

Dr. Bullivant

by Nathaniel Hawthorne

from
THE DOLIVER ROMANCE AND OTHER PIECES TALES AND SKETCHES

His person was not eminent enough, either by nature or circumstance, to deserve a public memorial simply for his own sake, after the lapse of a century and a half from the era in which he flourished. His character, in the view which we propose to take of it, may give a species of distinctness and point to some remarks on the tone and composition of New England society, modified as it became by new ingredients from the eastern world, and by the attrition of sixty or seventy years over the rugged peculiarities of the original settlers. We are perhaps accustomed to employ too sombre a pencil in picturing the earlier times among the Puritans, because at our cold distance, we form our ideas almost wholly from their severest features. It is like gazing on some scenes in the land which we inherit from them; we see the mountains, rising sternly and with frozen summits tip to heaven, and the forests, waving in massy depths where sunshine seems a profanation, and we see the gray mist, like the duskiness of years, shedding a chill obscurity over the whole; but the green and pleasant spots in the hollow of the hills, the warm places in the heart of what looks desolate, are hidden from our eyes. Still, however, a prevailing characteristic of the age was gloom, or something which cannot be more accurately expressed than by that term, and its long shadow, falling over all the intervening years, is visible, though not too distinctly,

upon ourselves. Without material detriment to a deep and solid happiness, the frolic of the mind was so habitually chastened, that persons have gained a nook in history by the mere possession of animal spirits, too exuberant to be confined within the established bounds. Every vain jest and unprofitable word was deemed an item in the account of criminality, and whatever wit, or semblance thereof, came into existence, its birthplace was generally the pulpit, and its parent some sour old Genevan divine. The specimens of humor and satire, preserved in the sermons and controversial tracts of those days, are occasionally the apt expressions of pungent thoughts; but oftener they are cruel torturings and twistings of trite ideas, disgusting by the wearisome ingenuity which constitutes their only merit. Among a people where so few possessed, or were allowed to exercise, the art of extracting the mirth which lies hidden like latent caloric in almost everything, a gay apothecary, such as Dr. Bullivant, must have been a phenomenon.

We will suppose ourselves standing in Cornhill, on a pleasant morning of the year 1670, about the hour when the shutters are unclosed, and the dust swept from the doorsteps, and when Business rubs its eyes, and begins to plod sleepily through the town. The street, instead of running between lofty and continuous piles of brick, is but partially lined with wooden buildings of various heights and architecture, in each of which the mercantile department is connected with the domicile, like the gingerbread and candy shops of an after-date. The signs have a singular appearance to a stranger's eye. These are not a barren record of names and occupations yellow letters on black boards, but images and hieroglyphics, sometimes typifying the principal commodity offered for sale, though generally intended to give an arbitrary designation to the establishment. Overlooking the bearded Saracens, the Indian Queens, and the wooden Bibles, let its direct our attention to the white post newly erected at the corner of the street, and surmounted by a gilded countenance which flashes in the early sunbeams like veritable gold. It is a bust of AEsculapius, evidently of the latest

London manufacture; and from the door behind it steams forth a mingled smell of musk and assafaetida and other drugs of potent perfume, as if an appropriate sacrifice were just laid upon the altar of the medical deity. Five or six idle people are already collected, peeping curiously in at the glittering array of gallipots and phials, and deciphering the labels which tell their contents in the mysterious and imposing nomenclature of ancient physic. They are next attracted by the printed advertisement of a Panacea, promising life but one day short of eternity, and youth and health commensurate. An old man, his head as white as snow, totters in with a hasty clattering of his staff, and becomes the earliest purchaser, hoping that his wrinkles will disappear more swiftly than they gathered. The Doctor (so styled by courtesy) shows the upper half of his person behind the counter, and appears to be a slender and rather tall man; his features are difficult to describe, possessing nothing peculiar, except a flexibility to assume all characters it, turn, while his eye, shrewd, quick, and saucy, remains the same throughout. Whenever a customer enters the shop, if he desire a box of pills, he receives with them an equal number of hard, round, dry jokes,—or if a dose of salts, it is mingled with a portion of the salt of Attica,—or if some hot, Oriental drug, it is accompanied by a racy word or two that tingle on the mental palate,—all without the least additional cost. Then there are twistings of mouths which never lost their gravity before. As each purchaser retires, the spectators see a resemblance of his visage pass over that of the apothecary, in which all the ludicrous points are made most prominent, as if a magic lookingglass had caught the reflection, and were making sport with it. Unwonted titterings arise and strengthen into bashful laughter, but are suddenly hushed as some minister, heavy-eyed from his last night's vigil, or magistrate, armed with the terror of the whipping-post and pillory, or perhaps the governor himself, goes by like a dark cloud intercepting the sunshine.

About this period, many causes began to produce an important change on and beneath the surface of colonial society. The early

settlers were able to keep within the narrowest limits of their rigid principles, because they had adopted them in mature life, and from their own deep conviction, and were strengthened in them by that species of enthusiasm, which is as sober and as enduring as reason itself. But if their immediate successors followed the same line of conduct, they were confined to it, in a great degree, by habits forced upon them, and by the severe rule under which they were educated, and in short more by restraint than by the free exercise of the imagination and understanding. When therefore the old original stock, the men who looked heavenward without a wandering glance to earth, had lost a part of their domestic and public influence, yielding to infirmity or death, a relaxation naturally ensued in their theory and practice of morals and religion, and became more evident with the daily decay of its most strenuous opponents. This gradual but sure operation was assisted by the increasing commercial importance of the colonies, whither a new set of emigrants followed unworthily in the track of the pure-hearted Pilgrims. Gain being now the allurement, and almost the only one, since dissenters no longer dreaded persecution at home, the people of New England could not remain entirely uncontaminated by an extensive intermixture with worldly men. The trade carried on by the colonists (in the face of several inefficient acts of Parliament) with the whole maritime world, must have had a similar tendency; nor are the desperate and dissolute visitants of the country to be forgotten among the agents of a moral revolution. Freebooters from the West Indies and the Spanish Main,—state criminals, implicated in the numerous plots and conspiracies of the period,—felons, loaded with private guilt,—numbers of these took refuge in the provinces, where the authority of the English king was obstructed by a zealous spirit of independence, and where a boundless wilderness enabled them to defy pursuit. Thus the new population, temporary and permanent, was exceedingly unlike the old, and far more apt to disseminate their own principles than to imbibe those of the Puritans. All circumstances unfavorable to virtue acquired

double strength by the licentious reign of Charles II; though perhaps the example of the monarch and nobility was less likely to recommend vice to the people of New England than to those of any other part of the British Empire.

The clergy and the elder magistrates manifested a quick sensibility to the decline of godliness, their apprehensions being sharpened in this particular no less by a holy zeal than because their credit and influence were intimately connected with the primitive character of the country. A Synod, convened in the year 1679, gave its opinion that the iniquity of the times had drawn down judgments from Heaven, and proposed methods to assuage the Divine wrath by a renewal of former sanctity. But neither the increased numbers nor the altered spirit of the people, nor the just sense of a freedom to do wrong, within certain limits, would now have permitted the exercise of that inquisitorial strictness, which had been wont to penetrate to men's firesides and watch their domestic life, recognizing no distinction between private ill conduct and crimes that endanger the community. Accordingly, the tide of worldly principles encroached more and more upon the ancient landmarks, hitherto esteemed the outer boundaries of virtue. Society arranged itself into two classes, marked by strong shades of difference, though separated by an uncertain line: in one were included the small and feeble remnant of the first settlers, many of their immediate descendants, the whole body of the clergy, and all whom a gloomy temperament, or tenderness of conscience, or timidity of thought, kept up to the strictness of their fathers; the other comprehended the new emigrants, the gay and thoughtless natives, the favorers of Episcopacy, and a various mixture of liberal and enlightened men with most of the evil-doers and unprincipled adventurers in the country. A vivid and rather a pleasant idea of New England manners, when this change had become decided, is given in the journal of John Dunton, a cockney bookseller, who visited Boston and other towns of Massachusetts with a cargo of pious publications, suited to the Puritan market. Making due allowance for

the flippancy of the writer, which may have given a livelier tone to his descriptions than truth precisely warrants, and also for his character, which led him chiefly among the gayer inhabitants, there still seems to have been many who loved the winecup and the song, and all sorts of delightful naughtiness. But the degeneracy of the times had made far less progress in the interior of the country than in the seaports, and until the people lost the elective privilege, they continued the government in the hands of those upright old men who had so long possessed their confidence. Uncontrollable events, alone, gave a temporary ascendency to persons of another stamp. James II., during the four years of his despotic reign, revoked the charters of the American colonies, arrogated the appointment of their magistrates, and annulled all those legal and proscriptive rights which had hitherto constituted them nearly independent states.

Among the foremost advocates of the royal usurpations was Dr. Bullivant. Gifted with a smart and ready intellect, busy and bold, he acquired great influence in the new government, and assisted Sir Edmund Andros, Edward Randolph, and five or six others, to browbeat the council, and misrule the Northern provinces according to their pleasure. The strength of the popular hatred against this administration, the actual tyranny that was exercised, and the innumerable fears and jealousies, well grounded and fantastic, which harassed the country, may be best learned from a work of Increase Mather, the "Remarkable Providences of the Earlier Days of American Colonization." The good divine (though writing when a lapse of nearly forty years should have tamed the fierceness of party animosity) speaks with the most bitter and angry scorn of "'Pothecary Bullivant," who probably indulged his satirical propensities, from the seat of power, in a manner which rendered him an especial object of public dislike. But the people were about to play off a piece of practical full on the Doctor and the whole of his coadjutors, and have the laugh all to themselves. By the first faint rumor of the attempt of the Prince of Orange on the throne, the

power of James was annihilated in the colonies, and long before the abduction of the latter became known, Sir Edmund Andros, Governor-General of New England and New York, and fifty of the most obnoxious leaders of the court party, were tenants of a prison. We will visit our old acquaintance in his adversity.

The scene now represents a room of ten feet square, the floor of which is sunk a yard or two below the level of the ground; the walls are covered with a dirty and crumbling plaster, on which appear a crowd of ill-favored and lugubrious faces done in charcoal, and the autographs and poetical attempts of a long succession of debtors and petty criminals. Other features of the apartment are a deep fireplace (superfluous in the sultriness of the summer's day), a door of hard-hearted oak, and a narrow window high in the wall,—where the glass has long been broken, while the iron bars retain all their original strength. Through this opening come the sound of passing footsteps in the public street, and the voices of children at play. The furniture consists of a bed, or rather an old sack of barley straw, thrown down in the corner farthest from the door, and a chair and table, both aged and infirm, and leaning against the side of the room, besides lending a friendly support to each other. The atmosphere is stifled and of an ill smell, as if it had been kept close prisoner for half a century, and had lost all its pure and elastic nature by feeding the tainted breath of the vicious and the sighs of the unfortunate. Such is the present abode of the man of medicine and politics, and his own appearance forms no contrast to the accompaniments. His wig is unpowdered, out of curl, and put on awry; the dust of many weeks has worked its way into the web of his coat and small-clothes, and his knees and elbows peep forth to ask why they are so ill clad; his stockings are ungartered, his shoes down at the heel, his waistcoat is without a button, and discloses a shirt as dingy as the remnant of snow in a showery April day. His shoulders have become rounder, and his whole person is more bent and drawn together, since we last saw him, and his face has exchanged the glory of wit and humor for

a sheepish dulness. At intervals, the Doctor walks the room, with an irregular and shuffling pace; anon, he throws himself flat on the sack of barley straw, muttering very reprehensible expressions between his teeth; then again he starts to his feet, and journeying from corner to corner, finally sinks into the chair, forgetful of its three-legged infirmity till it lets him down upon the floor. The grated window, his only medium of intercourse with the world, serves but to admit additional vexations. Every few moments the steps of the passengers are heard to pause, and some well-known face appears in the free sunshine behind the iron bars, brimful of mirth and drollery, the owner whereof stands on tiptoe to tickle poor Dr. Bullivant with a stinging sarcasm. Then laugh the little boys around the prison door, and the wag goes chuckling away. The apothecary would fain retaliate, but all his quips and repartees, and sharp and facetious fancies, once so abundant, seem to have been transferred from himself to the sluggish brains of his enemies. While endeavoring to condense his whole intellect into one venomous point, in readiness for the next assailant, he is interrupted by the entrance of the turnkey with the prison fare of Indian bread and water. With these dainties we leave him.

When the turmoil of the Revolution had subsided, and the authority of William and Mary was fixed on a quiet basis throughout the colonies, the deposed governor and some of his partisans were sent home to the new court, and the others released from imprisonment. The New Englanders, as a people, are not apt to retain a revengeful sense of injury, and nowhere, perhaps, could a politician, however odious in his power, live more peacefully in his nakedness and disgrace. Dr. Bullivant returned to his former occupation, and spent rather a desirable old age. Though he sometimes hit hard with a jest, yet few thought of taking offence; for whenever a man habitually indulges his tongue at the expense of all his associates, they provide against the common annoyance by tacitly agreeing to consider his sarcasms as null and void. Thus for many years, a gray old man with a stoop in his gait, he continued

to sweep out his shop at eight o'clock in summer mornings, and nine in the winter, and to waste whole hours in idle talk and irreverent merriment, making it his glory to raise the laughter of silly people, and his delight to sneer at them in his sleeve. At length, one pleasant day, the door and shutters of his establishment kept closed from sunrise till sunset, and his cronies marvelled a moment, and passed on; a week after, the rector of King's Chapel said the death-rite over Dr. Bullivant; and within the month a new apothecary, and a new stock of drugs and medicines, made their appearance at the gilded Head of Aesculapius.

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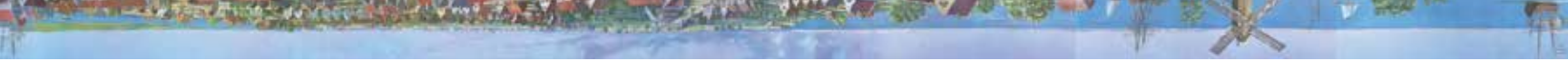
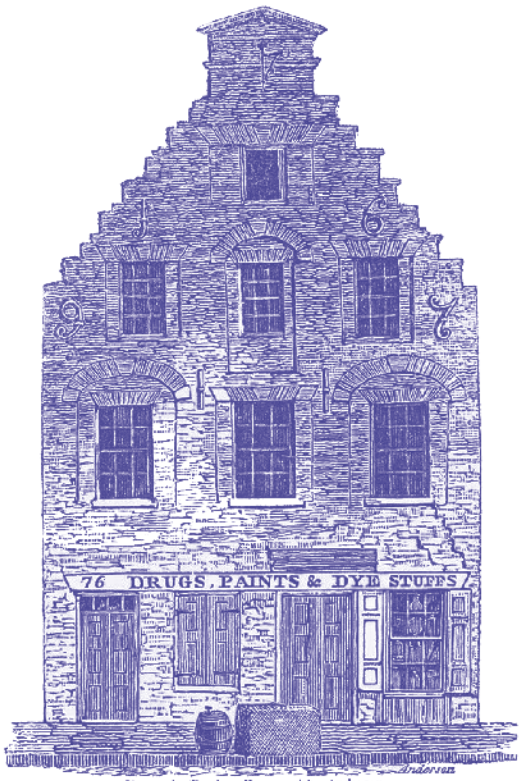
About the Type

The fonts chosen for this book are digitized versions of Dutch typefaces, from the seventeeth century and from the twenty-first century. The body text of this book was set in *Kis*, a version of Linotype Janson digitized by Bitstream. *Janson* was created by Chaunsey H. Griffith in 1937, who based the design on the original face cut around 1690 by Nicolas Kis, a Hungarian punchcutter who worked in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. His types are some of the best Dutch old face style and were used as a basis for designing many later fonts.The typeface Janson was named for Dutchman Anton Janson, however he has no connection to the development of the face.

The sans serif font used in this book is the typeface *Museo* designed by Dutchman Jos Buivenga, who rose to prominence on the type scene in the early twenty-first century. An art director and a self-taught type designer and owner of a one-man foundry *exljbris*, he offered the first several weights of his commercial typeface *Museo* for free. *Museo* became a meteoric bestseller, used in both print and web design. It was listed as one of the top 10 fonts of 2008. Jos Buivenga is based in Arnhem, the Netherlands.





Drawn by Davis.—Engraved by Anderson.

OLD DUTCH HOUSE IN PEARL-STREET.

Built 1626.—*Rebuilt* 1697.—*Demolished* 1828