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# The “fervent Zeale” of Jacob Leisler

David William Voorhees

ON Saturday morning, May 16, 1691, the largest crowd ever gathered in New York City stood, rain soaked and weeping, all eyes fixed as a limp body was cut from the gallows and placed on the block. With a clean blow, the executioner’s ax cut off the head of the “halfe dead” Jacob Leisler—loyal lieutenant governor or rebel tyrant, depending on one’s point of view. Amid the “shrieks of the people,” fainting women (some “taken in labour”), and tumultuous jostling for “pieces of his garments” and strands of his hair, as “for a martyr,” the newly arrived and unfortunately named royal governor, Henry Sloughter, worried that his decision to execute Leisler might not, after all, end the “diseases and troubles of this Government.”<sup>1</sup> Indeed, for years afterward New Yorkers bitterly divided over Leisler and the 1689 uprising that, in the wake of England’s Glorious Revolution, had led to his assumption of power in the provincial government.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Voorhees is editor of the Papers of Jacob Leisler at New York University. He thanks Patricia U. Bonomi, Dennis J. Maika, and Eric Nooter for thoughtful criticisms. Research for this article was partially funded by the American Philosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Netherland-America Foundation, and the Huguenot Society of America.

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda of the Rev. Samuel Miller, in William Dunlap, *History of the New Netherlands, Province of New York, and State of New York*, 2 vols. (New York, 1839–1840), I, 208–209, 209n; Sloughter to Col. Codrington, May 1691, in Edmund B. O’Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, 4 vols. (Albany, N. Y., 1848–1851), II, 380.

The court sentenced Leisler, with 7 others, to be “hanged by the Neck and being Alive their Bodys be Cutt Downe to the Earth that their Bowells be taken out and they being Alive burnt before their faces that their heads shall be struck off and their Bodys Cutt in four parts”; Lawrence H. Leder, ed., “Records of the Trials of Jacob Leisler and His Associates,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI (1952), 454. Only Leisler and his son-in-law Jacob Milborne were executed, Sloughter having “respected all the sentence saving the hanging & Seperateing their heads from their bodys”; draft of a letter to Mr. Blaithwayt, May 1691, in O’Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 382. Eyewitnesses recorded that Leisler was “brought to the gallows on a sledge,” hanged until he was “halfe dead,” and then beheaded. See N. N. to a Friend in Amsterdam, Aug. 6, 1691, Myers Collection, 26, New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.; Deposition of Magdalena Claes, Aug. 30, 1691, David Stafmaker Varlet Nots. 4752, Amsterdam Notarial Archives (hereafter cited as Amst. Nots.); Deposition of Thomas Jeffers, Feb. 19, 1691/2, New-York Historical Society, *Collections*, I (1868), 321. Swiss naturalist Pierre Eugene du Simitière conducted interviews in the 1760s with witnesses who suggested that Leisler was unconscious when the ax fell; *ibid.*, 406–407.

<sup>2</sup> As late as 1892 the Rev. Ashbel Vermilye wrote, “nor has the story yet become a mere fossil, an unknown something raked out of the rubbish of History,” in James Grant Wilson, ed., *Memorial History of the City of New York*, 4 vols. (New York, 1892–1893), I, 456. For a discussion

Jacob Leisler remains controversial. Eighteenth-century royalists early transformed him into a symbol of colonial rebelliousness as an example of what happened to those who flouted English authority.<sup>3</sup> Jacksonian-era democrats inverted the royalist imagery and stimulated interest in Leisler as a "hero of the common man." Charles Fenno Hoffman picked up this theme in a semifictional 1844 account of Leisler in Jared Sparks's mass-marketed *American Biography* series. Hoffman's book became the seminal biography. Although recent accounts note that Leisler's origins were more elevated than the common man portrayal suggests, the debate over his swift rise to power in New York endures.<sup>4</sup>

Conventional interpretations present Leisler as an aberration in the English colonial world. He appears a contentious man, suspected by the English and bitter toward New York's anglicizing Dutch elite. Current studies draw on this portrayal to stress ethnic factors behind Leisler's actions. They see the German-born Leisler as an outsider unable to integrate into the new order of postconquest New York. Resentful over his political and economic exclusion and ignorant of English political culture, Leisler used the confusion created by England's revolution to seize control in an attempt to elevate his status.<sup>5</sup>

of the impact of Leisler's administration on colonial politics see Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> The royalist interpretation was most forcefully articulated by William Smith, Jr., *The History of the Province of New-York: From the First Discovery to the Year 1732* (London, 1757), who saw Leisler as "inebriated with his new-gotten power" (p. 96), and culminates with George Chalmers's portrayal of Leisler in *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763* (London, 1780; New York, 1868), as "a ruined merchant of the lowest education" attacking the bastion of English liberties, Parliament (p. 213). Chalmers's view dominated English historiography throughout the 19th century. See, for example, Jonathan A. Doyle, *English Colonies in America*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1889-1907), IV, 187-223.

<sup>4</sup> Popular Jacksonian literature includes the novel *Leisler: or the Rebel and King's Man* (Boston, 1848) by Joseph Holt Ingraham, the play *Old New York: or, Democracy in 1689* (New York, 1853) by Elizabeth Oakes Smith, and the print of "The Trainbands Signing Leisler's Declaration" (New York, ca. 1850). Hoffman, "Jacob Leisler," in Sparks, ed., *The Library of American Biography*, vol. 3 (Boston, 1844), 181-238. Following Hoffman's portrayal, John Romeyn Brodhead, in *History of the State of New York, 1664-1691* (New York, 1871), ignored contradictory evidence, and Edwin R. Purple, in his misleadingly titled *Genealogical Notes Relating to Lieut.-Gov. Jacob Leisler, and His Family Connections in New York* (New York, 1877), omitted Leisler's family background altogether. See also Stanley M. Pargellis, "Leisler, Jacob," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI (New York, 1933), 156-157, and Jerome R. Reich, *Leisler's Rebellion: A Study of Democracy in New York, 1664-1720* (Chicago, 1953), 59. Critics of the stereotype include Charles W. Baird, "Birth Place and Parentage of Jacob Leisler," *Magazine of American History*, II (1878), 493-495; Vermilye, *The Period of the Leisler Troubles, 1688-1692* (New York, 1891); Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, *History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1909), II, 369-568; and Leder, "The Unorthodox Domine: Nicholas Van Rensselaer," *New York History*, XXXV (1954), 168-174.

<sup>5</sup> David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (New York, 1972); Thomas J. Archdeacon, *New York City, 1664-1710: Conquest and Change* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1976); Robert C. Ritchie, *The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1977); Charles Howard McCormick, *Leisler's Rebellion* (New York, 1989); Donna Merwick, *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences* (Cambridge, 1990).

There is no modern biography of Jacob Leisler. This neglect is in large part due to the reluctance of historians to use non-English-language documents, even when dealing with the predominantly non-English population of early New York.<sup>6</sup> The recent discovery of Leisler family papers in German and Swiss archives, as well as several hundred Leisler manuscripts in Dutch, British, and American archives, now calls for a reassessment of the man and his so-called rebellion.

Most modern accounts have Leisler arriving in New Amsterdam a penniless soldier. He marries a wealthy widow and prospers through her connections, but his lowly origins consign him to the periphery of power. Non-English documents tell a different story. In order truly to understand Leisler's political role in New York, we must set his socioeconomic position in the perspective of the European society from which he sprang.

The newly discovered materials disclose Leisler as a wealthy, anglicizing member of a distinguished family well known for active adherence to ultraorthodox Calvinist doctrine that shaped his character. Leisler's family background and connections, as well as his ideological beliefs, made him a natural leader for rigid Calvinists when political crisis swept the Protestant world after King Louis XIV's 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes and doctrinal factions vied for political influence. This essay suggests that, in contrast to views that stress economic and ethnic factors, international religious-political considerations propelled Leisler to a leadership role in New York.

On May 24, 1702, the New York City Dutch Reformed consistory noted that "the 'Arms' of the late Jacob Lyslaer . . . are now placed in our church" and "shall be and remain in our church so long as the friends of the deceased shall think proper."<sup>7</sup> The New York government had banned the display of the Leisler coat of arms from the time of his execution until 1698, when King William III's new governor, the Whig politician Richard Coote, earl of Bellomont, rescinded the ruling. Clues to Leisler's origins are yielded by this politically significant heraldic device—a symbol of family status rigorously regulated on the Continent.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Historians largely rely on the transcriptions and translations of European documents made by Brodhead between 1841 and 1844 and subsequently published in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, vol. 2, and O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, N. Y., 1853–1887), vols. 3, 4, hereafter cited as O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs*. Ironically, many of the anti-Leisler documents that Brodhead transcribed were from letter copies Leisler had sent to London as proof of a conspiracy against him.

<sup>7</sup> Letters of certain members of the Dutch Church of New York (of the Leisler party) to the Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 21, 1698, in Edward T. Corwin et al., eds., *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York*, 7 vols. (Albany, N. Y., 1901–1916), II, 1261, hereafter cited as *Ecclesiastical Records*, and on the "Arms" of Leisler, May 24, 1702, *ibid.*, III, 1490.

<sup>8</sup> L. G. Pine, *The Genealogist's Encyclopedia* (New York, 1969), 124. In 1766 du Simitière made a drawing of Leisler's arms, then hanging in New York City's Garden Street Reformed Dutch Church; Pierre du Simitière Collection (Library Company of Philadelphia),

The Leisler coat of arms tells us that this was an ancient family of jurists. Though the surname (variously Leisner, Leissler, Leyseler, Leusseler, or Loyseleur) originated in the German state of Hesse, Leisler defies easy ethnic classification. Dutch Horns, German Stahls, French Auberts, and an assortment of Slovak and other ethnic groups appear among his ancestors, and Leislars are found from the Balkans to the North Sea.<sup>9</sup> This diverse family tree reflects the fluid state of European national identities in the early modern era. What unites Leisler's heritage is that both paternal and maternal lines had belonged to the *herrschaft*, *regenten*, or *magistri*—that is, the magistrate class—since the late middle ages. This class, largely drawn from the urban patriciate, interpreted and enforced the laws of the temporal state. The Leislars were thus by Roman and German law members of the governing order of nobles, magistrates, and clergy.<sup>10</sup>

This heritage shaped Leisler's behavior. Not only did he use the family coat of arms, but he exhibited aristocratic traits in his dress. Contemporary accounts disclose that he wore a wig and carried a walking stick, accoutrements of elevated status.<sup>11</sup> His speech reflected his rank. English ship captain George McKenzie observed that the German-born Leisler spoke English "with as much smoothness and civility as I think I have heard."<sup>12</sup> That the Leisler family was respected is evidenced by the deferential address of "Mijnheer," "Monsieur," and "Sieur" accorded Jacob from a young age in Dutch, French, and English documents.<sup>13</sup>

The Reformation gave the *magistri*—often called the lesser magistrates—the central role in maintaining civil authority. John Calvin called on magis-

Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia. Among armorials containing the arms are J.-B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général* . . . , 6 vols. (Paris, 1912), IV, 43; W. R. Staehelin, *Wappenbuch der Stadt Basel*, 3 vols. (Basel, 1917–1929), I/5: 21, and Eduard Zimmermann, *Augsburger Zeichen und Wappen* (Augsburg, 1970), 219, plate no. 6244. A description of the arms is in Rietstap, *Armorial Général*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1888), II, 45–46. An illustration of Leisler's seal bearing the arms is in Wilson, *Memorial History*, I, 462. Documents containing the seal used by Leisler's grandfather Dr. Jacob Leisler are in the Oettingen-Oettingensche Archiv, Schloss Harburg, Harburg, Ger. A comparison of wax impressions suggests that Leisler's seal may have been the same one his grandfather used.

<sup>9</sup> "Stammbaume Leisler" and Privatarchiv 733, Staatsarchiv des Kantons Basel-Stadt, Basel, Switz., and David William Voorhees, "European Ancestry of Jacob Leisler," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, CXX (1989), 193–202, hereafter cited as *NYGBRecord*.

<sup>10</sup> Rudolf Vierhaus, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism*, trans. Jonathan B. Knudsen (Cambridge, 1988), 41–42, 55–57.

<sup>11</sup> Deposition of Gustavus Kingsland, June 8, 1689, in B. V. New Neth. I, 38, New-York Historical Society, New York City; Leder, "Like Madmen Through the Streets: The New York City Riot of June 1690," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIX (1952), 412; Letters from Members of the Dutch Church in New York to the Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 21, 1698, N.-Y. Hist. Soc., *Colls.*, I (New York, 1868), 405.

<sup>12</sup> Capt. McKenzie to Capt. Nicholson, Aug. 15, 1689, in O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 614.

<sup>13</sup> Fernow, ed., *Records of New Amsterdam from 1653–1674*, 7 vols. (New York, 1897), V, 282, VI, 79, 162, 401, 409, VII, 2, hereafter cited as *New Amsterdam Records*. Contemporary printed German sources accord members of the family the honorific *Edlen* (noble). Friedrich Grimm, *Schrifti-makige Klag* . . . *Herr Johann Adam Leissler* (Hanau, 1704), *passim*, and M. Theodorum Gernerlurum, *Der Wahre Reichthumm* . . . *Herr Frantz Leissler* (Basel, 1712), *passim*.

trates to "prevent freedom (whose guardians they have been appointed) from being in any respect diminished, far less violated," by a ruler who "exalts himself to the point where he diminishes the honor and right of God."<sup>14</sup> As members of the magisterial class, the Leislars were early converts to Calvinism.<sup>15</sup> As heir to this tradition, Jacob viewed his 1689 appointment by a committee to administer New York as a calling in which "the obligations of my duty & endeavours are subservient [to God's] requirement and governance."<sup>16</sup>

Of immediate influence on Leisler's political character were the careers of his grandfather and father. Doctor Jacob Leisler (1569–1618), Jacob's grandfather, was at the forefront of Calvinist leadership at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. The son of a Palatinate Lutheran minister, he enrolled in 1589 at the University of Tübingen during a period of strident Calvinist agitation at that Lutheran school. Upon receiving a doctorate in law from Basel University in 1593, he became a member of a circle of Reformed jurists who sought to legitimate resistance to a monarch while holding that God ordains all powers. In 1595 the Lutheran Count Gottfried von Oettingen, a cornerstone of the Protestant Union, appointed Doctor Leisler as his legal counsel and a member of his council of state. Inspired by Oettingen's second wife, Countess Barbara, Leisler became a Calvinist zealot. In 1614, "primarily because of my loving children . . . whom I wish brought up under a Reformed prince," he removed to Amberg to serve as legal counsel and civil prosecutor for Prince Christian of Anhalt and an advocate for the cause of the ill-fated Frederick V, elector Palatine, son-in-law of King James I of England.<sup>17</sup>

With Doctor Leisler's youngest son, Jacob Victorian (1606–1653), the Leisler name became synonymous among Calvinists with compassion for persecuted co-religionists. The younger Leisler enrolled in 1623 at the University of Altdorf, where he became a disciple of the views of Reformed theologian and Geneva University president Theodore Beza, author of the

<sup>14</sup> William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (Oxford, 1988), 209; John Calvin, *Commentaries [on the New Testament]*, ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963–1974), Act. 5: 29; Ford Lewis Battles, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. John T. McNeill, 2 vols. (London, 1967), II, bk. 4, chap. xx, sec. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Else Toennies-Volhard, *Die Familie Leissler in Ihrer Beziehung zu den Familien Volhard und Waechter* (Frankfurt am Main, 1930), 2–4.

<sup>16</sup> Leisler to Gov. Treat, Jan. 1, 1690/1, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 319.

<sup>17</sup> Toennies-Volhard, *Familie Leissler*, 4–7; Hans Georg Wackernagel, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, 5 vols. (Basel, 1951–1963), II, 411; Staehelin, *Wappenbuch*, I/5: 21; Oettingen-Oettingensche Archiv I, 2766, 2790, 2853/54, II, 1606, 1643a, 1664. Quotation is from Dr. Leisler to Amberg Council, Nov. 23, 1614, Amberg-Stadt Nr. 510a, Staatsarchiv Amberg, Ger. Dr. Leisler's father, the Rev. Caspar Leisler, was Lutheran pastor for the county of Waldeck (1558–1568), for Wolfstein (1568–1582), and for Kleinfischlingen (1582–1698). His tomb is under the pulpit of the Evangelical-Lutheran church in Kleinfischlingen. See Georg Biundo, *Die evangelischen Geistlichen der Pfalz seit der Reformation* (Neustadt, 1968), 266, and *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Rheinland—Pfalz, Band Stadt und Bezirksamt Landau* (München, 1974), 224.

influential *Right of Magistrates* (1574). Two years later, he entered Geneva as a divinity student. After his 1626 ordination in the Geneva German Reformed church (he became minister of that church in 1632), the Reverend Leisler's pastoral care for Huguenot refugees earned him widespread recognition.<sup>18</sup> In 1634 he married Susanne Adelheid Wissenbach, a daughter of Geneva University regent Hendrich Wissenbach and a relation to the noted theologian Simon Goulart, Beza's successor at Geneva. The following year Leisler was called to minister to the French community in the Spanish-occupied Palatinate city of Frankenthal.<sup>19</sup> Into this background of Calvinist activism his son Jacob was born in 1640.

An even more profound influence on Jacob was the violence of the Thirty Years' War. In 1637 the Spanish punished Frankenthal's resistance by banishing the city's three Protestant ministers. The Reverend Leisler fled with family and servants to Kreuznach in the Rhineland Palatinate, where, "living in exile" and cut off by the war from his independent income, he "completely used up his means of support."<sup>20</sup> Jacob acquired a lasting fear of Roman Catholics from tales of his father's confrontation with the Inquisition and of his parents' subsequent flight amid "this desolation of Germany."<sup>21</sup> He later frequently decried the "Implacable malice & Violence" of Catholics.<sup>22</sup>

To aid the Leislars, the Reformed consistory of the imperial free city Frankfurt am Main offered the "honorable and learned" thirty-two-year-old pastor the pulpit of its French congregation. Calvinism had been established in Frankfurt under the auspices of Franciscus Gomarus, the leading

<sup>18</sup> Toennies-Volhard, *Familie Leissler*, 7–26; Emil Elias von Steinmeyer, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1912), I, 131. For the Altdorf historical context see Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (London, 1984), 45. Leisler was a protégé of Jean Diodati, Geneva representative to the 1618 Synod of Dordrecht. For Leisler's Geneva years see Sven Stelling-Michaud, ed., *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève (1559–1878)*, 6 vols. (Genève, 1959–1979), I, 170, IV, 310, and Geneva Consistory Minutes, Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs, VIII, 38, 164, 206, 215, 233, Archives d'État de Genève, Geneva.

<sup>19</sup> "Stammbaume Leisler" and Privatarchiv 733; Alfred L. Covelle, *Le Livre des Bourgeois de l'Ancienne République de Genève* (Genève, 1897), 349. Susanne's mother, Catharine Aubert, was a member of the Geneva syndic family. See Leonard Chester, *Simon Goulart, 1543–1628* (Genève, 1917), 279n. For Leisler's call to Frankenthal see P. Cuno, "Geschichte der Wallonisch-reformierten Gemeinde zu Frankenthal," in *Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins*, III (1894), 3, 19. Leisler briefly attended the University of Basel before to moving to Frankenthal; *Matrikel der Universität Basel*, III, 361.

<sup>20</sup> Alfred Hans Kuby, "Kurfürzliche Pfarrer und Schulmeister und Hinterblieben von Solchen im Jahre 1636," *Blätter für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und Religiöse Volkskunde*, LI (1984), 16; Petition of the French and Dutch Church Elders to the Frankfurt a.M. Council, Aug. 23, 1638, CVIII, 180, Stadtarchiv Frankfurt am Main, hereafter cited as FRG.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Egler, *Die Spanier in der linksrheinischen Pfalz, 1620–1632: Invasion, Verwaltung, Rekatholisierung* (Mainz, 1971), and Alfred Hans Kuby (Edenkoben, Ger.) to author, July 9, 1992. Frankfurt documents indicate that Leisler's health was broken by this event; Französisch reformierte gemeinden, CVIII, 180, FRG. Quotation is from the Rev. Leisler to the Church of Rouen, June 16, 1641, *ibid.*, CLVII, 1.

<sup>22</sup> Declaration of Leisler and His Party Against Major Ingoldsby and His Council, Mar. 16, 1691, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 344.

opponent of the liberal theology of Jacobus Arminius.<sup>23</sup> Although Frankfurt's Lutheran government forbade Reformed practice within the city walls (indeed, the city council's 1638 grant of citizenship to Leisler stipulated that he refrain from proselytizing native-born citizens), the city's commercial importance attracted many Calvinist merchants. A popular saying went "The Catholics have the churches, the Lutherans have the power, and the Calvinists have the money."<sup>24</sup> So that the Reformed could conduct organized services, Count Philipp of Hanau-Münzenberg permitted the Dutch- and German-speaking congregations to use the ancient St. Jakobs-Kirche in suburban Bockenheim—one hour's walking distance from the city walls—while the larger French-speaking congregation converted a barn in that village for its use.<sup>25</sup>

As minister to Frankfurt's French community, Leisler became noted for his advocacy of orthodox theology and his ability to attract patrons to the church as well as for his fund-raising activities on behalf of needy Reformed congregations throughout Europe and in England.<sup>26</sup> Because of his family's connections, the regional consistories appointed him to present Reformed interests before the elector of Brandenburg and the imperial diet.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, he was a thorn to the Frankfurt council. Lutherans bitterly complained that every Sunday and Thursday Leisler, in his carriage at the head of a procession, disrupted their services "by leading in the loud chanting of psalms."<sup>28</sup>

It was in this prosperous yet precarious milieu that Jacob spent his early years. His growth, like that of five brothers and two sisters, was shaped by his family's social position, their Huguenot connections, his father's rigid orthodoxy, and the religious fanaticism rife in the war-torn German states.

<sup>23</sup> *Troisième Jubilé Séculaire de la Fondation de l'Église Réformée Française de Francfort-sur-Mein* (Frankfurt am Main, 1854), 21–22, 54; Appointment of the Rev. Jacob Victorian Leisler, May 10, 1638, FRG, XXX, 1–3; Petition of the French and Dutch Church Elders to the Frankfurt a.M. Council, July 19, 1638, *ibid.*, CVIII, 179. For Gomarus and the Frankfurt church see Gerrit Pieter van Itterzon, *Franciscus Gomarus* ('s Gravenhage, 1930), 33–46.

<sup>24</sup> Akten, Frankfurt a.M. Council, Nov. 20, 1638, Toennies-Volhard, *Familie Leissler*, 19–22. Quotation in Gerald Lyman Soliday, *A Community in Conflict: Frankfurt Society in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Hanover, N. H., 1974), 5.

<sup>25</sup> Wilhelm Wenzel, *St. Jakobs-Kirche zu Frankfurt a.M.-Bockenheim: 600-Jahr-Feier* (Frankfurt am Main, 1965), 21; Ernst Herrenbruck Ehrenprases, *Die Französisch-Reformierte Gemeinde Frankfurt (Main) ihr Bild in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main, 1961), 9, 34.

<sup>26</sup> *Troisième Jubilé Séculaire*, 50–54; Hermann Dechent, *Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt am Main seit der Reformation* (Frankfurt am Main, 1921), 52–53; *Livre à Copier Lettres Commencent Le ii à 1640*, FRG, LX, 1–10; Kopiaibuch über ein- und ausgegangene Brief, *ibid.*, CLVII, 11–16; *Diverse Projets, 1638–1660*, *ibid.*, XIV, 1–28. A number of letters relating to Leisler's fund-raising activities are in the archives of the Evangelical-Reformierte Gemeinde St. Martha, Nürnberg, Ger.

<sup>27</sup> Consistory Minute, Feb. 13, 1646, FRG, XXX, 19v–20; Leisler's Protocol Book, *ibid.*, XXXVIII, 173r–174. This was the 1645–1648 diet that met in Osnabrück and Münster. For historical background see Parker, *Thirty Years' War, 173–174, 177–188*. Copies of Leisler's correspondence with Frederick Wilhelm, elector of Brandenburg, are in FRG, CVII.

<sup>28</sup> Toennies-Volhard, *Familie Leissler*, 24–25, and Dechent, *Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt*, 53.



The sponsors at his baptism on March 31, 1640, were influential members of the Reformed community, including the jurist Jakob Grosshans as godparent.<sup>29</sup> Family letters indicate that Jacob's childhood was spent in a bilingual French- and German-speaking household. He later learned to read and write Dutch and English. The sound primary education he received is evidenced by his knowledge of Latin, his abilities in scriptural analysis and mathematical computation, and his competence in Aristotelian logic.<sup>30</sup> His political writings exhibit the influences of Beza and Goulart.<sup>31</sup>

In 1651 the Reverend Leisler, aged forty-four, suffered a stroke. Despite trips to the thermal baths at Wiesbaden, which "eased his pains," he remained partially paralyzed and endured "the gout, stones, and other great afflictions." The "long illness of the good Pastor Leisler," the French church elders wrote in 1653, caused "a cooling of the Charity" that had flowed into the congregation through his appeals.<sup>32</sup> On February 4, 1653, Leisler died. The funeral included "a grand procession" from Frankfurt to Bockenheim attended by "many good and decent people from Frankfurt, Hanau, and other places."<sup>33</sup> He left his widow financially well off, and she removed to Hanau, from where she oversaw her children's continuing education.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The Rev. Leisler and Susanne had 8 children—6 boys and 2 girls—6 of whom were born in Frankfurt; Toennies-Volhard, *Familie Leissler*, 25. Baptismal Record, Mar. 31, 1640, Bockenheimer Kirchenbuch (1640), S21435, Stadtarchiv, Frankfurt am Main.

<sup>30</sup> Georg Appel was the Frankfurt Reformed community schoolmaster after 1638, though it is unclear if Jacob studied under him or with private tutors; Wenzel, *St. Jakobs-Kirche*, 34. For Reformed primary education see William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1906), 159–160.

Jacob's letters show that he was well read; they cite authors as diverse as Calvin, the prince de Condé, and Cervantes. See, for example, Leisler to Treat, Jan. 1, 1690/1. His father's library served as the basis for the collections of the Frankfurt Reformed community into the 18th century; La Bibliothèque en Mains de Monsieur Leysler, FRG, XLIX, 18–19.

<sup>31</sup> Leisler's (postdated) May 31, 1689, "Declaration" (Boston, 1689), follows in its construction the prince de Condé's *Declaration* of 1562. See O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 10–11, and Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1978), II, chap. 9. Leisler probably possessed a copy of Goulart's 3-volume *Memoirs of the State of France under Charles IX* (Gènevè, 1576–1577), which contains many Huguenot political tracts. For Leisler's composing and postdating of the 1689 declaration see Colonel Bayard's Narrative of Occurrences in New-York, from April to December, 1689, in O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 639.

<sup>32</sup> "Le Mort du Leisler," Feb. 9, 1653, FRG, XXXI, 8v; Frankfurt church elders to the Rev. Christopher Cisner, minister to the London French Reformed church, June 14/24, 1651, *ibid.*, LX, 6v–7; Frankfurt church elders to Madame Anne Goulart, Oct. 22, 1653, *ibid.*, CLVII, 16.

<sup>33</sup> "Le Mort du Leisler," 8v.

<sup>34</sup> Rolle des Père ou Famille, FRG, CLI, 32; Gerhard Bott, *Goethe und Hanau: Eine Stadt und ihre Menschen im Leben des Dichters* (Hanau, 1949), 49–50. In addition to her independent income, the widow Leisler received a substantial pension of "300 gulden, 60 thalers" until her death in 1694; French Reformed Community contract with the Rev. Leisler, Feb. 7, 1645, FRG, XXX, 3, and payments to Madame Leisler, 1653–1694, *ibid.*, XLII, 86–189. Son Johann Heinrich, for example, attended the universities of Heidelberg and Geneva; Gustav Toepke, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386*, 3 vols. (1884–1916), II, 330, and *Livre du Recteur Gènevè*, I, 211.

Shortly after his father's death, twelve-year-old Jacob was sent to a military academy to be "bred to Arms."<sup>35</sup> With the virtual collapse of military discipline during the Thirty Years' War, the House of Orange-Nassau had established *Scholas Militari* to ensure a reliable officer corps. These schools, emphasizing drill procedures, political geography, and modern languages, rapidly became popular with well-born Calvinist youths in the German states. At such a school Leisler gained a thorough knowledge of contemporary military tactics and the complexities of Roman, German, and English law.<sup>36</sup> His military training eventually brought him to the Dutch colony of New Netherland.

In the winter of 1658–1659 Leisler moved to Amsterdam. His family had extensive contacts in that city, and the move was perhaps due to these connections.<sup>37</sup> In June 1659 he appears in the Dutch West India Company records as a verifier of Dutch-English translations for company shareholder Cornelis Melyen. It is probable that Melyen, with large landholdings in America, influenced Leisler's decision to seek adventure in the New World.<sup>38</sup> In March 1660 the West India Company placed him second in command of the troops being sent to New Netherland, and on April 27, at the age of twenty, he sailed from Amsterdam aboard the *Gilded Otter*.<sup>39</sup>

As a West India Company officer, Leisler received burgher rights to New Amsterdam at his arrival. Within two years he was an independently established merchant in the lucrative fur and tobacco trades. By 1663 he had formed commercial contacts in Amsterdam, Leiden, The Hague, and Boston. A January 1663 shipment of "22 rolls of Spanish tobacco and 244 heavy deer skins" reveals substantial investments.<sup>40</sup> He claimed that he entered mercantile pursuits because the company did not pay "all such

<sup>35</sup> All early Dutch sources accord Leisler *Adelborst* ("Cader"), graduate of a military school. See Agreement with Hendrick Hendricksz Loen, Apr. 21, 1660, Henrick Schaeff Nots. 1330, Amst. Nots. Unverified indications are that he attended the academy at Nürnberg. Quotation in William Atwood, *The Case of William Atwood, Esq.* (London, 1703), reprinted in N-YHS, *Colls.*, XIII (1880), 242.

<sup>36</sup> For historical background see Ernst van den Boogaart, ed., *Johan Maurits v. Nassau-Siegen, 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil* (The Hague, 1979), 17–38, and Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 206, 278n. For the influence of formal military training on Leisler's writings see Merwick, *Possessing Albany*, 224.

<sup>37</sup> On Apr. 10, 1650, for example, the Rev. Leisler married "Margrita Lodowick & Johannes" from Amsterdam; Hofst Schmal Folio, IV, 22, Stadtarchiv Frankfurt am Main.

<sup>38</sup> Agreement of Cornelis Melyen with the West India Company, June 13, 1659, Melyen Papers, N.-Y. Hist. Soc. Melyen was in Amsterdam to clear his debts; Paul Gibson Burton, "Cornelis Melyn, Patroon of Staten Island and Some of His Descendants," *NYGBRecord*, LXVIII (1937), 3–17.

<sup>39</sup> Roll of Soldiers to Sail to New Netherland, Apr. 24, 1660, New York Colonial Manuscripts XIII, 106, New York State Archives, Albany, hereafter cited as NY Col. Mss.; passenger list, *Otter*, Apr. 27, 1660, in O'Callaghan, *Papers Relating to the First Settlement of New York by the Dutch*, 3 vols. (Albany, N. Y., 1850), II, 37. For the West India Company's use of German officers see C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (London, 1965), 89.

<sup>40</sup> *Joannes de Witt v. Jacob Leisler*, Jan. 16, 1663, *New Amsterdam Records*, IV, 180–181; Declaration of Guy Jacobsen, May 11, 1663, Declaration of Claes van Elslant, May 12, 1663, and Power of Attorney to Cornelis Allertsen Van Der Veef[n], May 12, 1663, in Fernow, ed. and

moneys as are due him for his military service."<sup>41</sup> How he obtained his initial capital is unclear, but it is likely that he used family funds. The fact that several families named him as godfather to their children in 1662, an unusual honor for a bachelor, indicates that he was considered a young man of substance.<sup>42</sup> Using family connections, he created a commercial network focused on the Rhine trade to Basel, where his younger brother Frantz was becoming established as a merchant.<sup>43</sup>

Leisler's commercial connections increased when on April 11, 1663, he wed Elsie Tymens, widow of Pieter Cornelisse Van der Veen.<sup>44</sup> Contrary to later accounts, at the time of the marriage Elsie did not possess a large estate. Her late husband had invested heavily in mercantile ventures but did not live to realize a return and had left his widow encumbered with debts.<sup>45</sup> Elsie's mother, Marritje Jans, had accumulated a number of properties through marriage, however. In 1663, Jans, a daughter of New Amsterdam's first midwife, was married to her third husband, Govert Loockermans, a former cook's mate who had become one of Manhattan's leading merchants. In the 1660s Elsie's family was climbing by a series of marital alliances toward prominence.<sup>46</sup>

trans., *The Minutes of the Orphanmasters of New Amsterdam, 1655-1663*, 2 vols. (New York, 1902-1907), II, 48-49.

<sup>41</sup> Declaration of Guy Jacobsen, May 11, 1663, in Fernow, ed., *Orphanmasters Minutes*, II, 48. Leisler's West India Company salary of fl.10 per month was barely enough to subsist on, let alone engage in large-scale trade. Hence the funds had to have come from an outside source. For West India Company wages see Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 340.

<sup>42</sup> *NYGBRecord*, VI (1875), 150, 151.

<sup>43</sup> Gernlerum, *Der Wahre Reichthum . . . Frantz Leissler*, 37; Toennies-Volhard, *Familie Leissler*, 54-55; and Paul Koelner, *Die Zunft zum Schlüssel in Basel* (Basel, 1953), 421. Leisler directed his trade through the Amsterdam firm of Cornelis Jacobsz Mooij. Leisler's brothers imported tobacco into France and Italy, in addition to their trade in linens, silk stockings, luxury ribbons, and leather gloves. For the family's European trade see Traugott Geering, *Handel und Industrie der Stadt Basel* (Basel, 1886), 617, 622-625, 636, 640; Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1925), IV, 31, 84, 131, 145; and Niklaus Röthlin, *Die Basler Handelspolitik und deren Träger in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert* (Basel and Frankfurt am Main, 1986), passim.

<sup>44</sup> Samuel S. Purple, *Index to the Marriage Records from 1639 to 1801 of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New York*, Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society (New York, 1890), I, 28. Elsie was 8 years older than Jacob. By her first husband, who died in 1661, she had 4 children. She bore her second husband 2 sons and 5 daughters: Susannah (1664), Catharina (1665), Jacob, Jr. (1667), Mary (1669), Johannes (1671, died young), Hester (1673), and Francina (1676); Edwin Purple, *Genealogical Notes Relating to Lieut.-Gov. Jacob Leisler*, 10-15.

<sup>45</sup> Van der Veen's estate "owe[d] more, than is due to it" and included "some trifles of property, not worth describing"; Declaration of Aldert Coninck and Joannes de Peister, Mar. 14, 1663, Fernow, ed., *Orphanmasters Minutes*, I, 235. Leisler later paid off his wife's debts; *ibid.*, II, 49.

<sup>46</sup> David M. Riker, "Govert Loockermans, Free Merchant of New Amsterdam," *De Halve Maen*, LXII (1989), 4-10. Elsie's marriage to Leisler was the first to unite her family to a member of a family of elevated social standing in Europe. The marriages of stepsisters Marritje to Balthazar Bayard and Jannetje to Dr. Hans Kierstede, men of good standing in New York though obscure in Europe, occurred in 1664 and 1667 respectively; Purple, *Genealogical Notes*

Leisler's marriage into the Loockermans family gave him further access to New Amsterdam's booming economy, and he rapidly expanded activities in the coastal, West Indian, and transatlantic trades.<sup>47</sup> After the 1664 English conquest, and taking advantage of English governor Richard Nicolls's liberal trade policies, Leisler became the dominant New Yorker in the Chesapeake tobacco trade.<sup>48</sup> In 1664 he added wine and beer to his fur and tobacco business.<sup>49</sup> Later he exported salt, grain products, fish, whale oil, and horses and began to import sugar, spices, human cargoes (indentured and slave), finished cloth, and trade goods.<sup>50</sup> Within a decade he owned or had shares in a number of vessels registered in New York, New England, and the Chesapeake.<sup>51</sup> A decade after his arrival in New Amsterdam the thirty-year-old Leisler was among the richest merchants in the duke of York's province. He was the seventh richest man in New York City, according to 1674 tax records. Two years later, his wealth put him in a virtual four-way tie for third place, with only Frederick Philipse and Cornelis Steenwyck appreciably ahead of him.<sup>52</sup>

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*Relating to Lieut.-Gov. Jacob Leisler*, 19–20. At the time Elsie's stepaunt (Loockermans's sister) Anneken wed the Norwegian émigré Oloff Van Cortlandt in 1642, which initiated another marital alliance to a family rapidly rising from humble origins, Van Cortlandt was Company commissary of cargoes and was beginning his rise in New Netherland society; *ibid.*, 16–17.

<sup>47</sup> Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1986), 171.

<sup>48</sup> Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1896), II, 315. See also, for example, *New Amsterdam Records*, VII, 18. Leisler appears to have gone into the Chesapeake trade through the support of Augustine Heermans, a New Netherlander who moved to Maryland. See Power of Attorney to Thomas Hawkins, Nov. 12, 1666, Rappahannock County Records, 114–115, Virginia State Library, Richmond. Leisler's Maryland factor was Mark Cordea; *New Amsterdam Records*, VII, 32, 74–77, and William Hand Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore, 1890–1972), V, 61, LXIX, 19–22. In Chesapeake records Leisler frequently appears as "Jacob Lisler" or "Jacob Lesley." His Maryland dealings can partially be followed *ibid.*, V, VII, XV, LXVI, LXIX.

<sup>49</sup> *New Amsterdam Records*, V, 30.

<sup>50</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State*, Albany, N. Y., 2 vols. (Albany, N. Y., 1866), II, 103, hereafter cited as *Cal. Hist. Mss.*; Adrian van Santen Nots. A, 3808, fols. 557–558, and Gerrit Steeman Nots. 2629, Amst. Nots.; *Archives of Maryland*, V, 61, LXIX, 19; Account of Goods Imported here [at Nevis] from July 16, 1680, to July 18, 1681, CO 1/47, 67–71, Public Record Office; London; *Records of the Town of East Hampton, Long Island, Suffolk Co., N. Y.*, 5 vols. (Sag Harbor, N. Y., 1887–1905), II, 224–225.

<sup>51</sup> Leisler's vessels included the *Hoop*, the *Neptune*, the *Susannah*, the *Hopewell*, the *Happy Returne*, the *Jacob* (later infamous as Capt. Kidd's "pirate" ship), and the *Catharine and Anne*. N-YHS, *Colls.*, XXVI (1893), 457; Secretary of State Deeds, 1659–1841, I, 124, 125, New York State Library, Albany; H. Outgers Nots. 3222, fol. 387, 48, Amst. Nots.; Peter R. and Florence A. Christoph, eds., *Books of General Entries of the Colony of New York, 1664–1688*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1982), II, 152; Dover Port Books, 1663–1709, 462, MF. E. 190/666, p. 8, and Falmouth Port Books, 1682–1688, 585, MF. E. 190/1047, pp. 4, 12, 190/1051, pp. 10, 15, 190/1052, pp. 3, 15, PRO; [Herbert S. Osgood et al., eds.], *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776*, 8 vols. (New York, 1905), I, 128, hereafter cited as *MCC*; CO 5/1338, p. 15, PRO.

<sup>52</sup> Leisler ranked 7th in the valuation of Feb. 19, 1674; *NY Col. Docs.*, II, 699–700. In Nov. 1676 he tied with Stephen Van Cortlandt, William Darvall (misprinted "Dersall"), and Capt. Thomas Delaval for 3d place at £18.15.0 (misprinted for Leisler at £18.5.0) assessment for £3,000 sterling "att one Penny halfe Penny per Pounce"; *MCC*, I, 29–37. Reliance on New York City tax lists to determine wealth can be misleading; they provide assessments only of city holdings,

With marriage, Leisler began to invest capital in land; by 1689 he would be one of New York's largest property holders. In 1669 he erected a large three-story brick and stone single-gabled Renaissance-style town house adjacent to the "House and lots of the Heer Petrus Stuyvesant." Between his new home and Stuyvesant's town house—popularly known as "Whitehall" and serving in the 1680s as the official residence of Governor Thomas Dongan—Leisler left a space, presumably for a garden.<sup>53</sup> In addition to numerous rental properties throughout the city, one of the city's bolting mills, and a farm encompassing present-day City Hall Park, Leisler purchased outright or held partnership shares in extensive parcels on Long Island, in Westchester County, and in East Jersey. Among these was an unidentified Suffolk County estate that provided a "Maenes for the Support" of his family.<sup>54</sup> Through purchase or inheritance he also acquired holdings in England and on the Continent.<sup>55</sup>

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not total wealth. Moreover, because Leisler was a tax assessor, he may have intentionally underestimated the value of his own holdings. That same year, 1676, he deposed "that his person and capital are worth" at least "£5,000 sterling"; A.J.F. Van Laer, ed. and trans., *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerwyck, and Schenectady, 1668–1673*, 3 vols. (Albany, N. Y., 1926), II, 146.

<sup>53</sup> I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York, 1928), II, 226, 246, 278, 284.

<sup>54</sup> N-YHS, *Colls.*, XLVI (1913), 25; MCC, IV, 207. The will of Leisler's daughter Francina Staats mentions a map of Leisler's city holdings, enumerating 16 separate lots (Nos. 140, 86, 87, 113, 114, 128, 92, 93, 118, 191, 122, 41, 42, 98, 99, and 127); N-YHS, *Colls.*, XXXV (1902), 186–188. Leisler's Long Island holdings included properties at Jamaica and in Suffolk County. Quotation from Widow Leisler's Petition to Ingoldsby, [1691], in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 394–395. For his East Jersey holdings see Bond of Mary Milborne and Elsie Leisler, Oct. 25, 1697, Misc. Mss. Leisler, N.-Y. Hist. Soc. For some idea of Leisler's extensive holdings in Westchester County see Westchester County Record of Deeds, Books A-D, passim, N. Y. St. Arch.; Indenture made by Elsie Leisler, Widow to Barent Rynders, Apr. 26, 1700, OF 4–3, Westchester County Historical Society, Elmsford, N. Y.; and Morgan H. Seacord and William S. Hadaway, *Historical Landmarks of New Rochelle* (New Rochelle, N. Y., 1938), 8–11.

After the death of Elsie's mother in 1677, Leisler also acquired Govert Loockermans's vast holdings in New York. For an idea of the extent of Loockermans's estate see N-YHS, *Colls.*, XLVI (1913), 18–27, and J. H. Innes, *New Amsterdam and Its People* (New York, 1902), 241–248, 255–266. For Loockermans's holdings on Long Island see Frederick Van Wyck, *Long Island Colonial Patents* (Boston, 1935), 30–31, 131–134.

Beginning in 1674, Elsie's stepsisters and their husbands sued unsuccessfully to obtain control of the estate; N-YHS, *Colls.*, XLVI (1913), 18–27; *New Amsterdam Records*, VII, 103–104; Court Minute, June 5, 1683, Mayor's Court Minutes, V, 59, New York City Municipal Archives. They, renewed their claims to the estate with Leisler's execution; Letters of Administration on Govert Loockermans Estate granted to Balthazar Bayard, Sept. 2, 1691, N-YHS, *Colls.*, XXV (1892), 190–191. Contrary to ethnic interpretations of Leisler, throughout his successful countersuit he relied solely on English law; Firth Haring Fabend, "According to Holland Custome": Jacob Leisler and the Loockermans' Estate Feud" (Paper presented at conference on "Jacob Leisler and the Atlantic World," New York University, May 4, 1991).

<sup>55</sup> In Nov. 1671 the prince of Bavaria introduced Leisler's brother Johann Adam to the court at Amberg to claim the estate of Dr. Leisler on behalf of his brothers as heirs; Oberpfälzer Administrativakten 3915, Amberg. Though this particular case involved banking investments, Dr. Leisler's estate consisted of properties in Esslingen, Württemberg, Oettingen, Amberg, and other cities; Amberg-Stadt Nr. 510c, Amberg, and Stadtarchiv Esslingen, Bestand Katharinenhospital, Urkunde 3029, fol., 51, Esslingen am Neckar, Ger. Leisler's English hold-

Leisler's commercial standing was enhanced when in the 1670s his brother Frantz became a partner in the Basel banking house of Mitz, Sarasin, und Leissler and married a daughter of Achilles Werthemann, Basel's wealthiest citizen. In 1685 their youngest brother, Johann Adam, joined Frantz, and the family firm Leissler, Sarasin, und Leissler rapidly rose to prominence among the financiers of such European states as the duchy of Württemberg.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, his sister Susanne wed Heidelberg *Stiftschaffer* Abraham Siess, later the "highly placed cameral secretary to his royal Majesty of Prussia," and brother Johann Heinrich, the family's black sheep, abandoned the Reformed ministry to pursue a distinguished military career as colonel of the French Catholic King Louis XIV's German forces.<sup>57</sup>

The value the international community placed on the Leisler name may be seen in an event that occurred in 1677. While traveling to Europe on one of his ships, Jacob, his two stepsons, the ship's eight-man crew, and a passenger were captured by Algerians. The captors demanded £1,050 sterling for the redemption of the stepsons, crew, and passenger; for Leisler alone they demanded £1,230 sterling (2,050 pieces of eight).<sup>58</sup> On August 16, 1678, New York governor Sir Edmund Andros initiated a collection "for the deliverance of these prisoners." In the meantime, the Algerians had received Leisler's ransom from European sources. The others had to remain in captivity for more than a year before Andros could forward their redemption.<sup>59</sup>

Leisler's social and economic position made him a natural candidate for public office. Though he appears to have held no civil office during the brief

ings are unidentified; Royal Warrant to Solicitor General releasing Leisler's properties in England to his son, Feb. 25, 1693, King's Warrant Book, T 52/17, 94-97, PRO.

<sup>56</sup> For biographical sketches of Leisler's brothers see Hans Jacob Leu, *Supplement zu dem allgemeinen helvetisch-eidgenössischen oder Schweizerischen Lexicon* (Zurich, 1788), 506-507; Victor Attinger, ed., *Dictionnaire Historique & biographique de la Suisse* (Neuchâtel, 1934), 104; and Daniel Burckhardt-Werthemann, *Bilder und Stimmen aus dem verschwundenen Basel* (Basel, 1946). For family banking activities see Röhlin, *Basler Handelspolitik*, 27, 39, 365-366, and Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, 388-389.

<sup>57</sup> Toennies-Volhard, *Familie Leissler*, 30, 53, 63. Seiss became treasury secretary to Frederick III in 1696; Rep 9 C4 Fasi. VI, 62-71, Zentrales Staatsarchiv Merseburg. Quotation in Grimm, *Schriift-makige Klag . . . Johann Adam Leissler*, 1. Susanne lived briefly in New York City in the 1660s; Thomas G. Evans, *Baptisms from 1639 to 1730 in the Dutch Reformed Church, New York*, 2 vols. (Saddle River, N. J., 1968; orig. pub. 1901), II, 72.

After training for the Reformed ministry, Johann Heinrich joined in 1675 the Stuppa Regiment of the Swiss Guards in the service of Louis XIV. His military career is recounted in Leu, *Supplement zu dem allgemeinen helvetisch-eidgenössischen*, 507. In the 1760s, New Yorkers still recalled Leisler speaking about this brother; N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 424.

<sup>58</sup> Council Minute, Aug. 17, 1678, NY Col. Mss., XXVII, fol. 179, N. Y. St. Lib.; David T. Valentine, *History of the City of New York* (New York, 1853), 93; James G. Lydon, "Barbary Pirates and Colonial New Yorkers," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (1961), 281-284.

<sup>59</sup> Proclamation of Gov. Sir Edmond Andros and Council, Aug. 16, 1678, in Van Laer, ed., *Minutes of the Court of Albany*, II, 349; Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, eds., *Andros Papers, 1679-1680* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1990), 28; Andros to the Magistrates of Albany and Schenectady, Oct. 31, 1678, in O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 533. Leisler's release may have been arranged by Cornelis Darvall, Amsterdam brother of William Darvall; H. Outgers Nots. 3236, 921, Amst. Nots.

period when the Dutch West India Company administered New Netherland after his arrival, under English rule he received appointments to posts of civil, military, and especially judicial authority. Recognizing the weakness of the Dutch in 1664, on September 5 he was a signatory of a remonstrance to the West India Company urging a "capitulation" to the English; a month later, he was among of the first to swear allegiance to the new regime.<sup>60</sup> Thereafter he frequently served as a juror or court-designated arbitrator in civil and criminal cases.<sup>61</sup> He thus early made accommodations to English rule, and the English government seems to have trusted him. Indeed, he often noted that he admired "the wholesome Lawes of England."<sup>62</sup>

At the same time, Leisler was loath to serve in political offices. His reluctance, surprising in view of his actions in 1689, is most noticeable during the 1673–1674 regime of Dutch governor Anthony Colve. Leisler was Colve's principal financial backer, and Colve appointed him to arbitrate important disputes, review the accounts of the previous English government, report on the condition of the forts, and serve as a city tax assessor, as well as in numerous advisory capacities.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, Leisler held no administrative positions.

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The break between Leisler and his Kierstede relations occurs at this time. Among those taken, in addition to stepsons Timothy and Cornelis van der Veen, was Lucas Kierstede, who was learning the mercantile trade from Leisler; Cornelis Jacobse Mooij and Cornelis Darvall to Adrians van Goor, June 16, 1679, *Adriaen Lock Nots*, 2256, 554, *Amst. Nots.*, and Elsie Wijntes to Adrians van Goor, June 17, 1679, *ibid.*, 2256, 563. They were still in captivity in Oct. 1679; Leisler's Petition to Lord Baltimore, Oct. 1679, *Archives of Maryland*, XV, 262–263.

Approximately 50 documents relating to the ransom efforts are wrapped in brown paper, marked "Old Papers," in the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church offices, 45 John St., New York City. They reveal that New York's Dutch and English communities both contributed funds and that, though the funds were forwarded to Amsterdam, ransom efforts were conducted through London with an agent in Livorno, Italy, because New Yorkers were English subjects.

<sup>60</sup> Remonstrance of the People of New Netherland to the Director-General and Council, Sept. 4, 1664, in O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, II, 248–250; Names of the Dutch who swore Allegiance after the surrender of New-York, Oct. 21–26, 1664, *ibid.*, III, 76.

<sup>61</sup> The earliest known English appointment of Leisler as a court arbitrator is July 1665; *New Amsterdam Records*, V, 282. Subsequent appointments can partially be followed in the 7 volumes of *New Amsterdam Records* and the volumes of Christoph and Christoph, eds., *English Historical Manuscripts* (Baltimore, 1982–). One of the more interesting cases on which Leisler served as a juror was the 1665 witchcraft trial of Ralph and Mary Hall of Seatallcott (Setauket), Long Island, though his role in the jury deliberations, which despite "some suspicions by the Evidence" acquitted the Halls, remains unknown; Trial for Witchcraft, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, IV, 133–136.

<sup>62</sup> Leisler's Proclamation, Dec. 20, 1689, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 50–51. Contrary to interpretations that stress ethnic motives, Leisler was specific in his pro-English stance. In a telling June 30, 1690, letter to Treat, for example, Leisler wrote, "I had the French Knight [Chevalier D'Eau] by me, who told me in discourse, that he admired that the French & wee were of one opinion, that this wholl [New York] most belong either English or French" (emphasis added); O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 269.

<sup>63</sup> Colve Papers, 1674, *NY Col. Mss.*, XXIII, 4; *New Amsterdam Records*, VII, 46, 49, 56–57, 59, 65–66, 79; *Cal. Hist. Mss.*, II, 22; O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, II, 685, 700; *Third Annual Report of the State Historian* (Albany, 1897), 177–178; Christoph and Christoph, eds., *New York Historical Manuscripts: English. Records of the Court of Assizes for the Colony of New York, 1665–1682* (Baltimore, 1983), 148.

Leisler's attitude toward political office explains his reluctance. In 1690 he noted of his administration "how far it hath pleased God to prosper us against the Combinations of the Forces of hell it selfe, and no doubt by the blessing of heaven to defend ourselves against . . . those hidden Agents of the dark Regions."<sup>64</sup> Governance, for Leisler, was a spiritual as well as a civic duty. The role of those "in office both Civill and Military," he asserted in 1689, is "to defend to the utmost" the "true Protestant Religion." Officeholders who "abett, allow, uphold & Support the illegall and Arbitrary Commissions" of a government not of "just and Pious cause" are "publick enemies to God."<sup>65</sup> In a telling 1691 letter he wrote, "To what excesse do men run themselves into, neither regarding morality or the legible proceedings of the Creator, when his judgements are abroad . . . warning us not to trust to our owne crafty inventions or formidable powers, unlesse our intentions are pure."<sup>66</sup>

Leisler's public career reflected deep religious conviction and contemporary doctrinal trends. Seventeenth-century Europe was rent by disputes between Protestants favoring more expansive theology and Protestants advocating doctrinal purity, in addition to conflicts between Catholics and Protestants. Reformed conflicts came to a head when in 1618 the Synod of Dordrecht was called to settle the theological and political struggles in Holland between the followers of Arminius, the so-called Remonstrants, who held that human activity played a role in salvation, and those of Gomarus, the Contra-Remonstrants, who strictly interpreted Calvin's theory of predestination. Though the Remonstrants, outnumbered at the synod, were condemned as heretics, expelled from the church, and barred from Dutch politics, doctrinal conflicts continued to roil Reformed churches and shape political alignments.<sup>67</sup> As part of a larger movement that historians term the Second Reformation, Dutch Calvinists who felt that the established church had abandoned spiritual principles and compromised "with the secular world on important matters of theology, morality, religious life, and political involvement" undertook the *Nadere Reformatie* (Further Reformation).<sup>68</sup>

As has been noted, Leisler grew up in a family well known for Calvinist activism and, with a father who was a firm proponent of dogma as established at Dordrecht, rigid orthodoxy. He joined the New Amsterdam Dutch Reformed congregation on October 2, 1661; by 1670, he was elected a deacon

<sup>64</sup> Leisler to Maj. John Wildman, Oct. 20, 1690, Blathwayt Papers, VIII, folder 1, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, Williamsburg, Va.

<sup>65</sup> Leisler's Form of an Association proposed to the Inhabitants, [June 3?] 1689, CO 5/1081, 70-71, PRO.

<sup>66</sup> Leisler to Treat, Jan. 1, 1690/1.

<sup>67</sup> Douglas Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration: A Study of the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600 to 1650* (Cambridge, 1938); Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971); George L. Smith, *Religion and Trade in New Netherland: Dutch Origins and American Development* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1973), 40-53.

<sup>68</sup> Andrew C. Fix, *Prophecy and Reason: The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton, N. J., 1991), 48-50.



and a member of the New York consistory.<sup>69</sup> Like his father, he adhered to the view espoused by Gomarus "that the confessions of the Church could never be changed."<sup>70</sup> In the consistory he pressed for doctrinal purity within the church. He joined in demands "for the Supply of this place with an able Orthodox Minister," led in bringing charges against those who did not conform to Gomarian tenets, and was a Sabbatarian.<sup>71</sup>

Leisler's discomfort with the Catholicizing tendencies of the Stuart monarchy led him to support the theologically conservative Colve, at the same time maintaining the then-current view of Dutch Reformed pietists that actively seeking political office was "ungodly."<sup>72</sup> When the Treaty of Westminster restored New York to the English in 1674, Leisler accompanied Colve back to Holland. He did not return to New York until the following year.<sup>73</sup>

It was perhaps due to his support of Colve that the subsequent Andros administration awarded Leisler no commissions, though he served Sir Edmund in advisory capacities.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, it was under Andros that the Catholic duke of York instituted a policy of promoting such "upstarts and newcomers" as Petrus Stuyvesant's carpenter, Frederick Philipse, and former New Netherland commissary of cargoes, the Scandinavian soldier Oloff Van Cortlandt, placemen whose limited Old World connections made them less likely to ally with foreign princes and more amenable to the duke's policy of religious toleration.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *NYGBRecord*, IX (1878), 74; "Register der Predicanten, Onderlingen, en diaconen, 1668–1700," 201–217, Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church offices. Deacons were elected for two-year terms and could not succeed themselves. Leisler was elected in 1670, 1674, and 1680.

<sup>70</sup> For ultraorthodox theory see Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, 7. For the Frankfurt Reformed dispute over the "French" (Belgic) Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism as set forth at Dordrecht see Consistory Minutes, 1646–1647, FRG, XXX, 21–27. For the Rev. Leisler's orthodox position see "Discours de Leisler pour relever l'ordre de l'église," Mar. 3, 1641, *Troisième Jubilé Séculaire*, 72–73. Quotation in Joseph Henry Dubbs, *Historical Manual of the Reformed Church in the United States* (Lancaster, Pa., 1885), 131.

<sup>71</sup> Extract of Court Minutes of New Amsterdam, June 28, 1670, in Corwin et al., eds., *Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 611; Agreement between the Pastor and Consistory of New York concerning his salary, July 13, 1672, *ibid.*, 625–626; Van Laer, ed., *Minutes of the Court of Albany*, II, 146. Judging from deacons' documents in Leisler's hand, he was prominent in their activities. See, for example, Verclaringe van diaconen, Mar. 23, 1683, Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church offices, and Contract Between the Commissioners of the Dutch church at New York and Henry Selyns, Dec. 10, 1682, in Corwin et al., eds., *Ecclesiastical Records*, II, 797–800. Sabbatarianism appears in Leisler's 1664 suit against servant girl Agnytie Hendricks, who he claimed allowed young men to enjoy her favors while he and his family were in church on Sundays; *New Amsterdam Records*, V, 77–78. Among laws passed during his administration were those regulating the Sabbath; *MCC*, I, 212, 224. See also Instructions for Fitz-John Winthrop, July 31, 1690, *Mass. Arch.*, XXXVI, 171, 172.

<sup>72</sup> Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, 11; Martin A. Prozesky, "The Emergence of Dutch Pietism," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XXVIII (1977), 33.

<sup>73</sup> "Register der Predicanten, Onderlingen, and Diaconen," 206; H. Outgers Nots. 3222, 287, no. 48, and Leender Fruijt Nots. 3897/72, *Amst. Nots.*

<sup>74</sup> Council Minutes, 1680, *NY Col. Mss.*, XXIX, 230.

<sup>75</sup> For revisions in the family backgrounds of the duke's New York councilors see Field Horne, "The Friesland Ancestry of Frederick Philipse," *NYGBRecord*, CIX (1978), 201–204, and

Leisler's opposition to the duke's religious policies became increasingly open during the Andros administration and reflected Dutch political currents. After Louis XIV's 1672 invasion of Holland, the Reformed debates, now polarized between the strong scholasticism of Utrecht University professor Gybertus Voetius and the tolerant theology of Leiden University professor Johannes Cocceius, acquired a political urgency for Dutch Calvinists. Voetians blamed Cocceian ecumenicism for forcing a truce to end the war (despite the military success of Prince William of Orange), thereby giving the French Catholic king "the leisure he needed to complete the ruin of Calvinism in his dominions."<sup>76</sup> Thereafter, as Louis's persecutions in France intensified, Voetians made a concerted effort to gain governmental control.<sup>77</sup>

Leisler's increased opposition to the duke of York's policies was most evident in his public criticism of the Reverend Nicholas Van Rensselaer for being "not orthodox but heterodox in his preaching." When Leisler circulated a critique of a sermon on original sin given by Van Rensselaer, Van Rensselaer responded with a lawsuit for defamation in August 1676. Though only fragments of Leisler's critique have been found, they reveal that more was at issue than the minister's claim that God created Eve out of "pearls and diamonds."<sup>78</sup> As with European theological disputes, the controversy involved questions closely entangled with issues of civil government.

Leisler's public criticism was but one of numerous Reformed attempts to remove Van Rensselaer from the pulpit. The duke of York had appointed Van Rensselaer, an erratic Reformed clergyman ordained as an Anglican, to Albany's church—an act repugnant to Calvinists, who believed that a minister must be called by the congregation. At issue was whether the Reformed community should submit passively to the will of the Catholic duke (the

William J. Hoffman, "An Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent," *ibid.*, LXV (1934), 343–349. Quotation in Mary Lou Lustig, *Robert Hunter 1666–1734: New York's Augustan Statesman* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1983), 13.

<sup>76</sup> Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, 130–273; Charles Sherwood McCoy, "The Covenant Theology of Johannes Cocceius" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1956), 28–40; Herbert H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672* (Princeton, N. J., 1978), 409–410. For the Voetian/Cocceian division in America see Henry C. Murphy, ed., *Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679–80, by Jasper Danckers and Peter Sluyter* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966; orig. pub. 1867), ix–xii, 111, and James Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies: A Study in the Life and Theology of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen* (The Hague, 1967), 39, 44–45. Quotation in Stephen B. Baxter, *William III and the Defense of European Liberty 1650–1702* (New York, 1966), 210.

<sup>77</sup> Though Calvinism was a minority religion in the United Provinces, its doctrinal disputes gained a greater political significance after the passage of a 1654 law in the province of Holland requiring all officeholders to be members of, or "well affected to," the Reformed church; R. B. Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1971), III, 115–143; J. Melles, *Ministers aan de Maas: Geschiedenis van de Rotterdamse pensionarissen met een inleiding over het stedelijk pensionariaat 1508–1795* (Rotterdam, 1962), 141–143. In New York, where the duke's laws provided religious toleration, the situation was reversed, with "90 percent" of the population being Dutch, French, or English Calvinists; Winton U. Solberg, *Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 213.

<sup>78</sup> Robert Livingston-Redmond Mss. 75–541, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N. Y.

Cocceian argument) or assert its right of ecclesiastical self-determination (the Voetian and Leisler argument). Van Rensselaer's suit, which also involved Leisler's future son-in-law Jacob Milborne, went through the provincial courts until Andros, fearing a widening of the breach between liberal and ultraorthodox religionists in the province, stepped in to end it.<sup>79</sup> Leisler's refusal to capitulate to government pressure in 1676 and withdraw his countersuit of Van Rensselaer, even when Andros threatened him with jail, elevated his status among Calvinist hardliners as a defender against "Popish Trumpets" who "Preach up the damn'd Doctrins of Passive Obedience and Non Resistance."<sup>80</sup>

Andros's successor, Catholic governor Thomas Dongan, may have had a better appreciation of Leisler's usefulness in bridging religious tensions, for he attempted to make much official use of him. On September 15, 1683, Dongan, by a ducal commission dated October 3, 1682, appointed Leisler a commissioner to the Court of Admiralty, and Leisler continued to receive these lucrative commissions when the duke of York became king. In 1684 Dongan appointed Leisler to prepare the king's prosecution for the Municipal Court of Sessions in cases concerning the Acts of Trade and in October 1685 named him a New York County justice of the peace. On September 10, 1684, Dongan recommissioned Leisler captain of the militia and, as such, a member of the Court of Lieutenantcy. In this capacity Leisler was recognized as the senior militia captain second in command to militia colonel Nicholas Bayard.<sup>81</sup>

Despite Dongan's attempts to draw Leisler into his inner circle, Leisler was reluctant to fill the commissions. Dongan's being "a profest Papist," he later wrote, made him fear that the appointments were "arbitrary and illegal."<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, his sense of providence caused him to remain within the legitimate framework of government and "to Expect with great patience our Redemption" from "popery." He expressed his opposition to the Catholic governor by serving in his judicial offices to the minimum required and appears never to have performed in his capacity as county justice.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, III, 872-880; Corwin et al., eds., *Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 677-682, 684-686, 689-690, 691; Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Albany*, II, 144-155; Leder, "Unorthodox Domine," 168-174. For Voetian theory see Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, 133-135, 157, 209. For Cocceian theory see McCoy, "Covenant Theology," 303-305.

<sup>80</sup> "Loyalty Vindicated, 1698," Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690* (New York, 1915), 387.

<sup>81</sup> Commission to Inquire into crimes of ship *Camelon* by the Commission of James, Duke of York, dated Oct. 3, 1682, Sept. 15, 1683, N-YHS, *Colls.*, XXV (1892), 83-84; *Cal. Hist. Mss.*, II, 153, 159; *Philipse v. Selijns*, 1687, Emmet Collection 10578, New York Public Library, New York City; PL 1754-1837 K 458, New York County Clerk's office, New York City; *New York State Library Bulletin*, LVIII (Mar. 1902), 45; Military Commissions, Sept. 10, 1684; Christoph and Christoph, eds., *Books of General Entries*, 315; *Cal. Hist. Mss.*, II, 131; Minutes of the Court of Lieutenantcy, N-YHS, *Colls.*, XIII (1880), 394-402.

<sup>82</sup> Leisler and Council to Bishop of Salisbury [Gilbert Burnet], Jan. 7, 1690, in O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 654.

<sup>83</sup> A Declaration of the Inhabitants Soldiers . . . , May 31, 1689, in O'Callaghan, ed.,

Appointments from outside James II's official circles reveal that Leisler continued actively to engage in public affairs. In 1677 Maryland governor Thomas Notely named him the Maryland agent in New York.<sup>84</sup> By 1686 he was serving as Suffolk County, New York, agent, representing East End (Long Island) interests in "trade and commerce."<sup>85</sup> Most important, when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, Leisler became the agent for settling Huguenots in the province.<sup>86</sup>

The revocation of the edict radicalized Leisler. Like many New Yorkers who had fled Catholic persecution in France and the German states, he feared that James II had similar intentions for New York's Reformed community. As the New York City Reformed church elders later wrote, "hearing . . . what greater success the Dragonades in France had had, and seeing how in these distant regions the foundation was being laid to introduce the same here in every manner, we could well imagine what was in store for us."<sup>87</sup>

Leisler's identification with the plight of French Protestants is understandable in light of his father's position in the French Reformed church and sufferings at the hands of the Spanish. New Yorkers so closely identified Leisler with the Huguenots that it was widely believed that he "had retired from France for the persecution."<sup>88</sup> When one refugee family landed on Manhattan so destitute that a city court ordered them sold into servitude to pay their ship charges, Leisler purchased their freedom.<sup>89</sup> In 1687 he began negotiations with John and Rachel Pell to purchase 6,100 acres of Pelham Manor in Westchester County for Huguenot settlement. On September 20, 1689, he donated a third of this land to Huguenot refugees for the site of New Rochelle.<sup>90</sup>

*Documentary History of New York*, II, 10.

<sup>84</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, VII, 162, 163, 166, 241, 242, 243, 255.

<sup>85</sup> Petition. Jacob Leisler, in behalf of the inhabitants of the county of Suffolk, respecting their trade and Commerce, Sept. 1686, *Cal. Hist. Mss.*, 124; Council Minutes, Apr. 7, 1687, NY Col. Mss., XXXV, 54a.

<sup>86</sup> Caryl Coleman, "Introduction," in Jeanne A. Forbes, ed., *Records of the Town of New Rochelle 1699-1828* (New Rochelle, N. Y., 1916), ix-x.

<sup>87</sup> Letter from Members of the Dutch Church at New York to the Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 21, 1698, N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 398. According to David Steven Cohen, 37.5% of identifiable immigrants to New Netherland had fled from the German states during the Thirty Years' War, and 17% had fled from France and the Spanish Netherlands. Though Cohen does not break down denominational affiliations, he does note that most (54.5%) were Protestants fleeing religious persecution; Cohen, "How Dutch Were the Dutch of New Netherland?" *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (1981), 43-60.

<sup>88</sup> Memoranda made by du Simitière, 1769, N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 424. The Leislars were among the families specifically forbidden to trade with France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

<sup>89</sup> Dunlap, *History of the New Netherlands*, 153; Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 2 vols., (Boston and New York, 1909), I, 14; John William Leonard, *History of the City of New York 1609-1909 from the Earliest Discoveries to the Hudson-Fulton Celebration* (New York, 1910), 138. The event inspired Emily C. Judson's popular short story, "The French Emigrants," in *Alderbrook: A Collection of Fanny Forester's Village Sketches, Poems, etc.* (Boston, 1847), 198-205.

<sup>90</sup> Seacord and Hadaway, *Historical Landmarks of New Rochelle*, 8-11; Herbert B. Nichols,

Like his European counterparts, Leisler blamed Cocceian and Anglican doctrines of passive obedience for the Catholic ascendancy. His doctrinal stance is clearly seen in 1689, when, following the orthodox view that a ruler's "duty was to enforce the true faith of the Scriptures," he forced Anglican minister Alexander Innis to flee and unmercifully harassed Cocceius's "friend and student," the New York City Reformed minister Henricus Selijns. In 1690 Leisler wrote that Albany minister Godfrey Dellius, whose ecumenical correspondence with Jesuit priests revealed him to be "what we have had long reason to suspect," opposed "this happy Revolution" because he was a "cockaeen."<sup>91</sup>

Leisler's doctrinal dispute with Selijns was long-standing.<sup>92</sup> Selijns had removed Leisler from the 1684 slate of church officers, and shortly thereafter Leisler withdrew from the church to become an elder in the French congregation of the Reverend Pierre Daillé. After 1689, the more pietistic clergy endorsed him. In that year, the Reverend Pierre Reverdy petitioned the bishop of London "to procure the Kings letter" for Leisler as interim governor.<sup>93</sup> Dutch Voetian dominies Petrus Tesschenmaker and Gideon Schaets also supported him.<sup>94</sup> In April 1691, Slougher imprisoned Daillé for gathering "more than eighteen hundred" signatures on a petition on Leisler's behalf.<sup>95</sup>

The appeal of Leisler's militancy was not limited to rigid Dutch Calvinists or Huguenot refugees. Many Englishmen also rejected the doctrine of passive obedience preached by the Anglican clergy. In October 1688 imperial official Edward Randolph sent to London "Copys of two of [Increase] Mathers letters to Amsterdam" to "prove" the existence of an "antimonarchical" correspondence between New England and Holland.<sup>96</sup> Although it is questionable

*Historic New Rochelle* (New Rochelle, N. Y., 1938), 16–18; Coleman, *Records of New Rochelle*, ix-x. The original deed is in the Thomas Paine-Huguenot Society, New Rochelle. A survey is in *New York Land Papers*, IV, 14, N. Y. St. Arch.

<sup>91</sup> Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, 3; Leisler to the earl of Shrewsbury, June 23, Oct. 20, 1690, in O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 732, 753. In the published Oct. letter, Cocceian is misprinted "Cockaran." For the original see CO 5/1081, 397–398, PRO. For Selijn's connection with Cocceius see A.P.G. Jos van der Linde, "Henricus Selijns (1636–1701), Dominee, dichter en historicus in Nieuw-Nederland en de Republiek," in J. F. Heijbroek et al., eds., *Geen Schepsel Wordt Vergeten* (Amsterdam, 1985), 37–60.

<sup>92</sup> On Nov. 15, 1682, Leisler was a signatory to the contract that called Selijns to the New York City pulpit; Corwin et al., eds., *Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 797–800. His break with Selijns occurred shortly after the minister's arrival; *Collections of the Huguenot Society of America* (1886), I, xx-xxviii, and Memoranda made by du Simitière.

<sup>93</sup> Petition of Pierre Reverdy to the Bishop of London, Dec. 30, 1689, CO 5/1081, 218–219, PRO.

<sup>94</sup> Schaets's position is garnered from his earlier relationship with Leisler in the Van Rensselaer dispute and from his sons' active support of Leisler; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 52, 250, and John T. Palmer and J. Michael Skaates, *The Schaets (Skaats, Skaates, Skates) Family in the Netherlands (1400–1652) and in America (1652–1983)* (Hancock, Mich., 1983), 19. For Tesschenmaker see Corwin et al., eds., *Ecclesiastical Records*, II, 1021, and O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 207.

<sup>95</sup> Journal of the Assembly of New York, May 1, 1691, in Corwin et al., eds., *Ecclesiastical Records*, II, 1015; quotation in Memorial of William Van Breen and others, Oct. 15, 1691, *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 812.

<sup>96</sup> Edward Randolph to John Povey, Oct. 19, 1688, in Robert Noxan Toppan, ed., *Edward*

whether this correspondence was in fact antimonarchical, numerous sources reveal that a pro-Orange network existed among Dutch Voetians, English Presbyterian-Whigs, New England Congregationalists, and Leisler and his admirers in New York.<sup>97</sup> During his administration, Leisler received strong support from the more radical New England clergy. Bostonian John Borl put the New England attitude toward Leisler in contemporary political terms: "most sober persons [in Boston] have a good opinion of Captain Leisler's proceedings, but the torry party have an exceeding bad Carracter of him."<sup>98</sup>

Leisler's militant doctrinal stance made him popular among strict Calvinists, while his adherence to the ultraorthodox position that change in the separate "dominions both Church & State" could occur only through the "Will of God" caused him to reject political activism.<sup>99</sup> Even after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he "resolved to Expect with great patience, our Redemption" certain to be "Procured under God."<sup>100</sup> The events leading to the crisis of June 1689 reveal that Leisler's political transformation occurred only when he believed that the hand of God compelled him to assume an active role.

The religious policies of James II and the Erastian tendencies of the Dutch Reformed clergy caused understandable apprehension among New Yorkers who had fled Catholic persecution. For over a century, hardline Calvinists, when pressed, had turned to the House of Orange as their champion. The hopes raised by the marriage of James II's daughter and heir apparent, Mary, to William, prince of Orange, seemed dashed by the 1688 birth of a male Catholic heir to the throne. Joyous celebrations by James's New York place-men and thanksgiving homilies by New York's Cocceian clergy over the prince's birth alienated many of the Reformed, who looked to Europe for "that Blessed and glorious Deliverance . . . by his Royall heighness Wm HENRY Prince of Orange."<sup>101</sup>

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*Randolph: including His Letters and Official Papers*, 7 vols. (New York, 1909; 1967), IV, 3–46. For the impact of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes on England see Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (London, 1883), 424. For New England's anti-Catholicism see Sec'y Allyn to Leisler, June 13, 1689, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 15.

<sup>97</sup> Ritchie notes "shared religious ties" between Leisler and his English connections; *Duke's Province*, 115. The letterbook of Bostonian Jacob Melyen bears out this network. Melyen's Reformed correspondents included Peter Delanoy and Dr. Johannis Kerfbijl in New York, Jacob Schellinger in East Hampton, the Huguenot Pierre Le Grand, and Garret Dow and others in England; Melyen Letterbook, *passim*. For a brief discussion of Leisler's connection with the Whigs in English politics see McCormick, *Leisler's Rebellion*, 6.

<sup>98</sup> Borl to the Rev. Robert Ferguson, Apr. 1, 1690, CO 5/1081, 271, PRO. Among the correspondence confiscated at the time of Leisler's imprisonment are letters from Cotton Mather, claimed as being "not becoming his coat"; New England to the Lords of Trade, May 4, 1691, CO 5/1448, PRO. See also Increase Mather to Joseph Dudley, Jan. 20, [1698?], in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 437.

<sup>99</sup> Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, 178–180; Leisler's declaration or protest against Ingoldsby, Mar. 10, 1690/1, N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 306.

<sup>100</sup> Declaration of the Inhabitants Soldiers, May 31, 1689.

<sup>101</sup> Dutch Church of New York to the Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 21, 1698. The zeal with

When in 1688 the prince of Orange began preparations to raise an army, it is likely that Leisler received some intelligence of his intentions. The duchy of Württemberg, to which Leisler's brothers were financiers, was instrumental in William's military plans.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, throughout the winter of 1688–1689, Leisler was New York's primary source for European news outside official circles. When Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson attempted to suppress word of the success of William's invasion of England, "about 6 or 7 days afterwards the news came by way of Maryland to Capn Leisler," who made it public.<sup>103</sup> It appears that he was the first New Yorker to receive copies of the prince of Orange's "Memoriall, and [3] declarations" justifying the invasion.<sup>104</sup>

Despite his early knowledge of European events, during the turbulent fall of 1688, while New Yorkers were protesting their annexation to the Dominion of New England and rumors were circulating of an impending Dutch invasion of England, Leisler's relations with newly arrived Lieutenant Governor Nicholson and with Nicholson's council were good. The previous year he had successfully arbitrated a suit on behalf of Councilor Philipse, and in November 1688 Councilor Stephen Van Cortlandt made special arrangements for Leisler to "lett" a confiscated ship "to fetch wines" from Fayal in the Azores.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, when Boston's April 1689 uprising overthrew Dominion governor Andros, Nicholson appointed Leisler to an expanded

which James's New York councilors celebrated the Prince of Wales's birth received wide comment. See Randolph to William Blathwayt, Oct. 2, 1688, in Toppan, ed., *Edward Randolph*, VI, 263–265, and Leisler to Bishop of Salisbury, Jan. 7, 1690, 655. For Selijns's thanksgiving proclamation on the queen's pregnancy see "danck en Bode-dag," Apr. 2, 1688, in Reformed Dutch Church of New York Ecclesiastical Records, 170–171, Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church offices. Quotation in Declaration of Inhabitants Soldiers, May 31, 1689.

<sup>102</sup> Röthlin, *Basler Handelspolitik*, 27, 39, 365–266. Of the 14,000 troops hired by William from the German princes in 1688, 1,000 were provided by Württemberg. See Jonathan I. Israel, ed., *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact* (Cambridge, 1991), 107. Leisler's familial and commercial connections had long made him a source of information within the Atlantic community. In Sept. 1682, for example, Jamaica governor Sir Thomas Lynch wrote the Lords of Trade that Leisler brought him news of Florida and Cuba; CO 1/49, 226–227, PRO. His frequent trips to the Continent kept merchants on both sides of the Atlantic informed of events, while such connections as brother-in-law Jacob Loockermans in Maryland and good friend Jacob Melyen in Boston kept him well informed of events in the Chesapeake and New England; Purple, *Genealogical Notes Relating to Lieut.-Gov. Jacob Leisler*, 20; Burton, "Cornelis Melyn," 137–138.

<sup>103</sup> Deposition of Andries Greveraet and George Brewerton, Dec. 31, 1689, CO 5/1081, 223, PRO.

<sup>104</sup> The declarations were smuggled into Boston on Apr. 4, 1689, and from there disseminated in New England and New York. See "An Account of the Late Revolutions," in W. H. Whitmore, ed., *The Andros Tracts*, 3 vols. (New York, 1971; orig. pub. 1868), II, 194. Leisler appears to have received the declarations from other sources, and they may have been among the papers delivered to him in March. Leisler to Edwin Stede, governor of Barbados, Nov. 23, 1689, *Doc. Hist. of NY*, II, 40, Leisler's declaration or protest against Ingoldsby, Mar. 10, 1690/1.

<sup>105</sup> *Philipse v. Selijns*, Admiralty Court Minute, Sept. 21, 1687, Emmet Collection 10578, N. Y. Public Lib.; Van Cortlandt to Randolph, Nov. 17, Dec. 22, 1688, in Toppan, *Edward Randolph*, IV, 254–255, 258–259.

council whose major business was to control the spreading rebellion in New York.<sup>106</sup> On May 22 Nicholson and the council, fearing they could no longer contain the mob, turned to Leisler to present the government's case "to the people and answer them verbally."<sup>107</sup> It was his last act on behalf of Nicholson's government.

On the very day Leisler went before the people on behalf of the government, he learned that George Wedderborne had arrived from Boston with secret instructions from the imprisoned Andros for Nicholson. Convinced of "some ill designe . . . to the destructione of their Ma[jes]ties loyall protestant subjects here," Leisler withdrew his support from Nicholson the following day.<sup>108</sup>

Councilor Bayard later asserted that Leisler organized the opposition to royal government.<sup>109</sup> This seems unlikely. Leisler initially participated as a member of Nicholson's council and on May 10 signed a declaration "to defend this City and fort againste . . . any Forraigne Ennemye from abrode or meutanous and rebellious persons neare unto us." This document, which appears to be in Leisler's hand and was also signed by Nicholson and twenty-five other prominent citizens, was intended to allay alarms raised by "Som maliteous and moste wiked persons" that the "cheefe members of the Government now in being" are "Popish affected." Such malicious and wicked persons, the declaration continues, shall upon discovery receive "the pennallty of incurring all the Leveritges the Law of Government in such case does provide."<sup>110</sup>

Leisler's former reluctance to serve in civil offices, his militant Calvinism, and his familial connection to William's invasion raise the question of why he participated in Nicholson's attempt to suppress the uprising. One explanation may be Leisler's success in the English mercantile world. After 1675, he entered England's triangular trade, shifting his attention to the West Indies, the west coast of Africa, and especially England, directing his business to such merchants as Edward and Sir Thomas Griffith, Mathew Chitty, and Nicholas Cullen.<sup>111</sup> He cemented his ties with this community through the marriages

<sup>106</sup> Minutes of the General Meeting, Apr. 27, 1689, N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 272-273.

<sup>107</sup> Minutes of the General Meeting, May 22, 1689, *ibid.*, 283-285. Leisler was instructed to answer the people along with Charles Lodowick. According to McCormick, *Leisler's Rebellion*, 176, this followed Dutch precedents "for militia captains to function as popular representatives and as spokesmen for the people against ruling oligarchs."

<sup>108</sup> Wedderborne arrived in New York on May 18, but knowledge of his mission did not become public until several days later. Minutes of the Council att New Yorke, May 18, 1689, N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 263-264; Stephen Van Cortlandt to Andros, July 9, 1689, *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 593; Leisler to Stede, Nov. 23, 1689; Leisler to Bishop of Salisbury, Jan. 7, 1690.

<sup>109</sup> Colonel Bayard's Narrative, Dec. 13, 1689, 637.

<sup>110</sup> Minutes of the General Meeting, May 10, 1689, N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 279; Declaration of the Lieutenant Governor and Council, May 10, 1689, CO 5/1081, 9, PRO. Additional documents with Leisler as signatory on behalf of Nicholson's government are *ibid.*, 5-7.

<sup>111</sup> Dover Port Books, 1681-1682, 462 MF. E. 190/666, 8, and Falmouth Port Books, 1682-1688, 585, MF. E. 190/1047, 4, 17, 190/1051, 10, 15, 190/1052, 3, 15, PRO; N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 424; Court Minute, May 1, 1683, Mayor's Court Minutes, V, 45; Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Probate 11/438, 113; Secretary of State Deeds, 1659-1841, VII, 19-20, N. Y. St. Lib. Leisler early



of his children. In 1685 his daughter Catharina married Robert Walters, a successful merchant of Plymouth and brother of Jamaica councilor John Walters; in 1687 his eldest daughter Susannah married Michael Vaughton, a protégé of Dongan; and in 1691, shortly before Leisler's execution, his daughter Mary wed the widower Jacob Milborne, a member of a family prominent in radical Presbyterian-Whig politics and instrumental in the development of Bermuda.<sup>112</sup> Leisler was thus fully integrated into the English system and would have suffered from its disruption.

A more compelling explanation for Leisler's support of the government is his adherence, as a member of the magisterial class and a devout Calvinist, to legal structures. Like many Englishmen in 1688–1689, he faced the moral question of when allegiance to legitimate authority should be severed. When he received the prince of Orange's November 1688 order for all civil and military officers to "immediately disarm and secure . . . all Papists whatsoever," Leisler believed that Nicholson, as a Protestant and the constituted authority, would take the appropriate steps. His initial support of Nicholson is made clear by a deposition he swore in September 1689. "We were delivered from a Papist's Govoner Thomas Dongan & had now we thought another Deputy Govonor in the fort . . . who would defend and Establish the true [Reformed] Religion."<sup>113</sup>

Leisler soon found his hopes dashed. Nicholson, a defender of the Church of England, rested his allegiance to James on the Anglican canon that the person of the king was inviolate.<sup>114</sup> Leisler found this doctrine untenable, and he

directed his European trade through Boston. See, for example, Agreement with Nicholas Skimer, July 15, 1675, H. Outgers Nots. 3222, fol. 387, Amst. Nots., and Debt to Capt. Nathaniel Davenport, Dec. 7, 1675, Massachusetts Archives, XVI, 136, Boston. One indication of Leisler's wealth in 1689 is that he spent over £3,000 sterling out of pocket during the rebellion, though his heirs could later produce only £2,700 sterling in receipts; N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 335, 422–423.

<sup>112</sup> New York Secretary of State, *New York Marriages Previous to 1784* (Baltimore, 1968), 506, 230. For biographical sketches of Walters and Vaughton see Purple, *Genealogical Notes Relating to Lieut.-Gov. Jacob Leisler*, 10–12; William P. McDermott, "Susannah Vaughton: Caught in the Web of 17th Century Politics;" Dutchess County Historical Society, *Yearbook*, LXVI (1981), 77–90; and Paul M. Hamlin and Charles E. Baker, *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York 1691–1704*, 3 vols. (New York, 1959), III, 196–199. For Walters's connection to Jamaica councilor John Walters see Philip Wright, comp., *Monumental Inscriptions of Jamaica* (London, 1966), 109, and Robert Walters's will, June 17, 1719, Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York, 1730–1744, III (correspondence from Ann F. Andersen, Jan. 29, 1993). Milborne married Mary Leisler on Feb. 3, 1691. His first wife, Joanna Edsall, daughter of Samuel Edsall, died in fall 1688. Thomas Henry Edsall, "Notes on the Life of Samuel Edsall and some of His Descendants," *NYGBRecord*, XIII (1882), 193. For the Milborne family see Henry C. Wilkinson, *Bermuda in the Old Empire* (London, 1950), 7n.

<sup>113</sup> By his Highness William Henry, Prince of Orange, a Declaration, Nov. 28, 1688, *State Tracts: Being a Farther Collection of Several Choice Treaties Relating to the Government from the Year 1660, to 1689* (Wilmington, Del., 1973; orig. pub. 1692), 427–428; Leisler to King William and Queen Mary, Aug. 20, 1689, in O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 615. Quotation in Deposition of Andries & Jan Meyer, Sept. 26, 1689, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 28. This is one of the few depositions that Leisler took himself.

<sup>114</sup> Stephen Saunders Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," *William and Mary*

complained that Nicholson, "together with Mr Innis the pretended protestant minister," continued to pray for the Catholic king while "disdaining in the most contemptuous manner" the Prince of Orange's *Third Declaration*, which condemned the principle.<sup>115</sup> Nicholson's threat on May 30 to "fire the town" in the wake of spreading rebellion convinced Leisler, as he wrote the new king, that despite the lieutenant governor's "severall propositions which had but a show for the best of your Majesties Colony," his "violent caridge has discovered his malicious designe."<sup>116</sup> Nonetheless, Leisler believed that no actions could be taken "untill certain notice of their Majesties Coronation arrived."<sup>117</sup> When on May 31 his militia company came to his house and begged him to lead them in capturing the fort, he declined, preferring to defer to his senior in command, militia colonel and councilor Bayard.<sup>118</sup>

It was only after the rebellious militia had seized the fort on May 31 and Bayard and the other councilors continued to refuse to declare for William—which suggested to Leisler that "under the aparance of the functions of the Protestant Religion, [they] remain still affected to the Papist"—that Leisler, following Calvin's injunction that the magistrate's function is "to withstand the fierce licentiousness of kings in accordance with their duty," decided to act.<sup>119</sup> On June 2, as second in command, and it "being my watch in the fort," he wrote, "I came with 49 men & entered in the fort, without the word, nor to be questioned whereupon I resolved not to leave till I had brought all the traine bound [band] fully to joine with me."<sup>120</sup> He thereafter consistently maintained that he took action for "the preservation of the Protestant religion" and "the present Protestant power that now Raigns in England."<sup>121</sup>

By his action Leisler became the highest ranking New York civil and military official in the Orangist cause. "Certain news" of William and Mary's coronation arrived on June 3. With this official confirmation, a hastily con-

*Quarterly*, XXIII, 3d Ser. (1966), 520–521. The theory that the king was inviolate became Church of England canon law in 1662. For a brief discussion of Anglican theory see William A. Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford, 1989), 72–73.

<sup>115</sup> Lieutenant Governor and council to Bishop of Salisbury, Jan. 7, 1689/90, *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 655. William later repudiated the Nov. 28, 1688, declaration as a forgery, but Leisler appears to have been unaware of that. For a discussion of the *Third Declaration* see Robert Beddard, *A Kingdom without a King* (Oxford, 1988), 29–31.

<sup>116</sup> Leisler to King William and Queen Mary, Aug. 20, 1689, 614.

<sup>117</sup> Leisler's declaration or protest against Ingoldsby, Mar. 10, 1690/1.

<sup>118</sup> Minutes of the Council at New Yorke, May 31, 1689, N-YHS, *Colls.*, I (1868), 263; Van Cortlandt to Andros, July 9, 1689, 594; Account of Ensign Stol's Proceedings, Nov. 16, 1689, *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 632–633. Sworn affidavits suggest that Charles Lodowick and Abraham De Peyster led in taking the fort; O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 324–325, 398.

<sup>119</sup> Leisler to King William and Queen Mary, Aug. 20, 1689, 615–616; Calvin, *Commentaries*, Act. 5: 29, and *Institutes*, 4: xx–8.

<sup>120</sup> Leisler to the Governor and Committee of Safety at Boston, June 4, 1689, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 3.

<sup>121</sup> Leisler's Declaration in favour of King William and Queen Mary, *ibid.*, 4, and Leisler to Major Gold, June 2 [12?], 1689, *ibid.*, 14. (The original letter to Gold, dated June 7, 1689, is in Connecticut State Archives, Colonial Wars, Series II, 8, Connecticut State Library, Hartford.)

vened committee sent circular letters for "two out of every County to be Committees of Safety" to meet on June 26 to "consult . . . in the affairs." On June 28 the provincial committee rewarded Leisler by appointing him commander of the fort and, on August 16, provincial commander in chief "for the Interest of their Most Exelett Majesties King William & Queen Mary."<sup>122</sup> As Samuel Edsall and Peter Delanoy wrote to the new king, New Yorkers elevated Leisler because he was "a true Protestant Germanian, an old Stander [formally trained soldier] & Merchant," and, most important, "a man of fervent Zeale for the protestant Religion."<sup>123</sup>

Jacob Leisler's rise to power in New York was not a provincial aberration but in the mainstream of seventeenth-century European religious and political disputes. His social and economic position and his military training made him a natural leader in a society that deferred to birth, wealth, and military expertise. What set Leisler apart was his deep and rigid religious conviction. Because Europe's religious violence shaped many New Yorkers' perceptions of the world, his long-standing opposition to Erastian tendencies made him popular with Calvinists resisting James II's Catholic policies and frightened by Louis XIV's oppressive actions. With the accession of a Calvinist prince to the English throne, Leisler, emboldened by his appointment to govern and by his familial connection to William's rise, aggressively sought a "Further Reformation" of church and state in New York.<sup>124</sup> His attempt to force doctrinal conformity on New York would later alienate much of his early support and doom his administration. Viewed through this religious-political lens, Leisler's actions in 1689 can be seen to reflect the struggle by ultraorthodox European Calvinists to obstruct what they saw as a threat by James II and Louis XIV to romanize the Atlantic world.

<sup>122</sup> Deposition of John Dischington, June 5, 1689, in O'Callaghan and Fernow, eds., *NY Col. Docs.*, III, 586; To the Towns of Long Island, June 12, 1689, Huntington (N. Y.) Town Records; Andrews, *Narratives of the Insurrection*, 382; Commission from the Committee of Safety Appointing Jacob Leisler Captain of the Fort, June 28, 1689 (incorrectly dated June 8), in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 11, and Commission to Capt. Leisler to be Commander in Chief, Aug. 16, 1689, *ibid.*, 23-24; Abstract of the Proceedings of the Committee of Safety, June 27 to Aug. 15, 1689, CO 5/1081, 105-137, PRO.

<sup>123</sup> Edsall and Delanoy to William III, Aug. 17, 1689, CO 5/1081, 138-141, PRO.

<sup>124</sup> A Memoriall, 1689, and Edsall et al. to Committee of Safety, Albany, Oct. 28, 1689, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, II, 57, 115.