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JAMAICA, LONG ISLAND 1656-1776:

A STUDY OF THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN URBANISM

by

JEAN PEYER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in History in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York

1974

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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INTRODUCTION

The study of colonial towns has increasingly attracted the interest of historians in recent years. Most notable are works by Sumner Powell, Charles Grant, Darrett Rutman, Kenneth Lockridge, John Demos, Philip Greven, and Michael Zuckerman.¹ There have been numerous articles in academic journals, dealing with town government, class structure, economic change, and demographic development. For the most part such studies have been confined to New England communities, and to date no comparable work in social history has been undertaken for the middle colonies. An examination of the early history of Jamaica, New York, therefore, provides an opportunity not only for a case study of a single town in colonial New York, but it also offers material for comparing local community development on Long Island with that of New England.

The Dutch image of Jamaica was that of a tranquil oasis not far from the bustling port of New Amsterdam. Daniel Denton, one of the original settlers of Jamaica, published the first description of colonial New York in 1670, when he was in London on business. In A Brief Description of New-York, a pamphlet partly written to

attract settlers to the province, he described a paradise with "a very good soyle, and very natural for all sorts of English Grain; which they sowe and have a very good increase of, besides all other Fruits and Herbs common in England, as also Tobacco, Hemp, Flax, Pumpkins, Melons, &c." He went on to state that "the Island is plentifully stored with all sorts of English Cattel, Horses, Hogs, Sheep, Goats, &c. no place in the North of America better, which they can both raise and maintain, by reason of the large and spacious Meadows or Marches wherewith it is furnished, the Island likewise producing excellent English grass...." Abundant seafood could be secured in nearby rivers and bays, while wild beasts and timber were plentiful in the forests. The Indians were not only friendly and fascinating creatures, but excellent trading partners as well. In addition to these assests, Long Island had a pleasant climate which helped to make sickness a forgotten problem. Denton depicted a "terrestrial Canaan ... , where the Land floweth with milk and honey. The inhabitants are blest with Peace and plenty, blessed in their Countrey, blessed in their Fields, blessed in the Fruit of their bodies, in the fruit of their grounds, in the increase of their Cattle, Horses and Sheep, blessed in their Basket, and in their store; In a word, blessed in whatsoever they take in hand, or go about, the Earth yielding plentiful increase to all their painful labours."²

Jamaica was no doubt a comfortable place to live during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it should not be viewed as a small, isolated, and homogeneous community. A study of its history supports Denton's portrait at first glance; a deeper analysis, however, indicates that community life in Jamaica could be contentious and disruptive as well as serene.

The central fact about Jamaica was its location and consequent contacts with New Amsterdam and later New York City. Extensive trade with Manhattan island and neighboring towns fostered economic growth and diversification, which, in turn, created a town with distinct urban attributes. Commercial agriculture, several artisan trades, a distinct social ranking system, different ethnic and religious groups, and sectarian feuding characterized Jamaica by the early eighteenth century. In contrast to many communities of comparable size, there was a cosmopolitan air about the town and a spirit of self aggrandizement. Another reason for this urbanity was Jamaica's position as a county town, starting in 1664 when the English reorganized the province's governmental system. As such it was the administrative, judicial and religious center for the towns of Newtown, Flushing, Jamaica, and Hempstead. The board of supervisors, loan, and militia officers held their meetings in Jamaica; the Court of Sessions and

Common Pleas was held there; the county jail was built in the town; and the Episcopal and Dutch Reformed Churches, which were organized on the county level, established their home churches at Jamaica.

Like recent monographs on New England colonial towns, this study represents a comparatively new approach to local history, for it is an attempt to analyze both changes and continuity in social structure and organization over a protracted period of time. As a consequence, the emphasis is not on what particular people said and did, but on the interrelationship of occupational groupings, social stratification and mobility, population growth, family size, marriage patterns, and religious affiliations. New approaches have necessitated new techniques. Much of the evidence used in this study of colonial Jamaica readily lends itself to statistical analysis, and, therefore, quantification has been used to demonstrate the significance of data obtained from town and church records, wills, inventories, conveyances, and rate lists. In addition, methods employed in such other disciplines as historical demography, sociology, anthropology, and social psychology have occasionally proved particularly helpful.

In one sense this study is a detailed social history of a complex community which developed into a city in the nineteenth century. But hopefully it is more than

that, for an effort has been made to provide the reader with a broader perspective and with answers to questions concerning land ownership, marriage patterns, leadership, religion, and social stratification. How did Jamaica's development and problems compare to those of Boston, Hingham, Dedham, Andover, and Sudbury, Massachusetts? Did it remain static by retaining old-world values and institutions as did Hingham? Did it have a large degree of democracy and a uniform religion as most New England towns? Was the atmosphere characterized by "concord and consensus," a quality Zuckerman found in Massachusetts towns? Was Jamaica an isolated, small, and stable agricultural community which gradually changed to an open and heterogeneous town, as did Dedham? Did increased commercial activity lead to a greater degree of social stratification as in Boston?³ The answers to these questions are at least a partial indication of the success or failure of this study.

FOOTNOTES

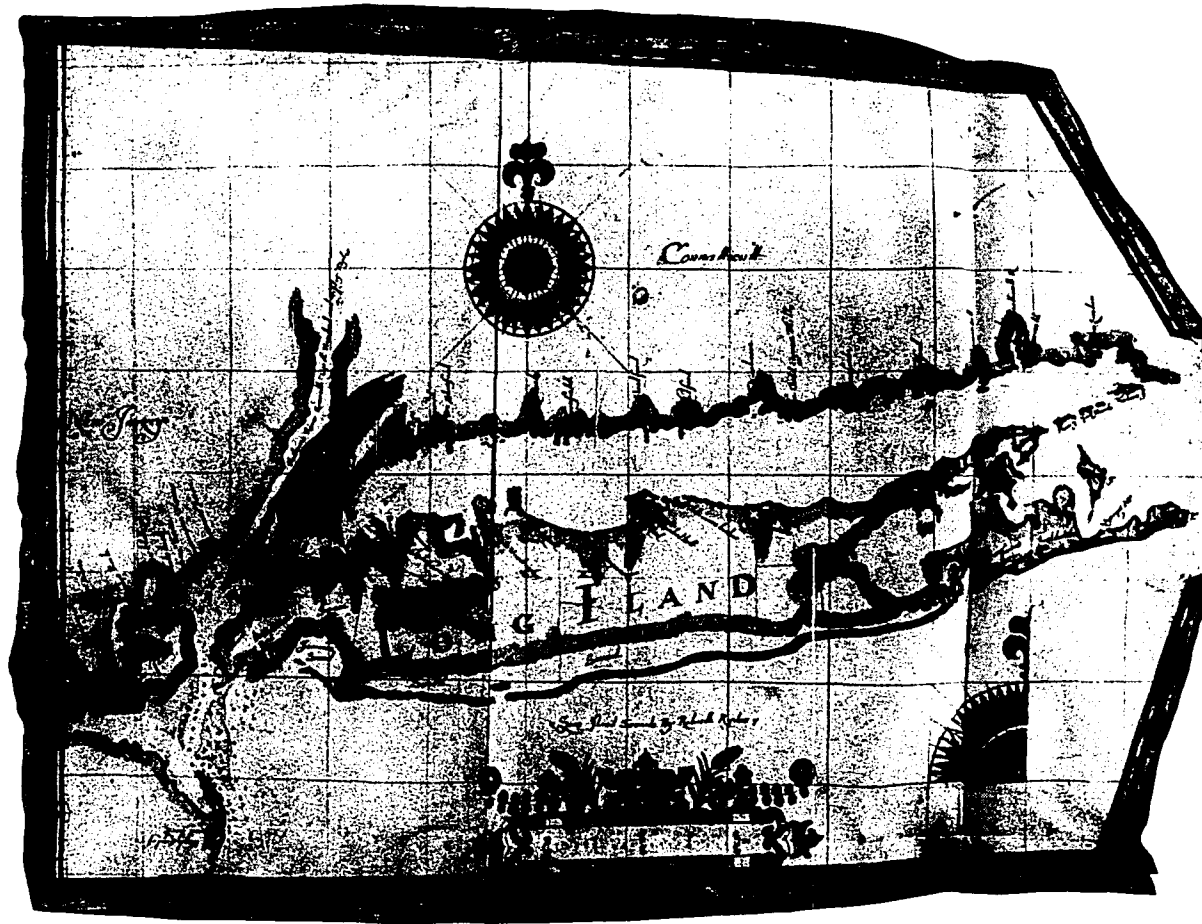
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²Daniel Denton, A Brief Description of New York Formerly Called New Netherlands With the Places Thereunto Adjoining (New York: William Gowans, 1845), pp. 3, 5, 6-12, 19, 20. [Originally published in London in 1670.] Later residents and visitors to Long Island supported Denton's claims. See: "New York in 1692. Letter from Charles Lodwick, to Mr. Francis Lodwick and Mr. Hooker,"

May 20, 1692. Collections of the New-York Historical Society, vol. 2, (1849), 241-250; Wayne Andrews, ed., "A Glance at New York in 1697. The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant," New-York Historical Society Quarterly, XL (January, 1956), 55-73; Andrew Burnaby, Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North-America. In the Years 1759 and 1760. With Observations Upon the State of the Colonies (London: T. Payne), second edition, 1775, pp. 109-110, 115; J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur, Letters From An American Farmer (New York: Fox, Duffield & Company, 1904), pp. 22-47, 91-118; Peter Kalm, Travels into North America, II (3 vols., New York: William Evers, 1770), pp. 226-227. Also see Gerald F. Rooney, "Daniel Denton, Publicist of Colonial New York," The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, LV (July, 1971), 272-276.

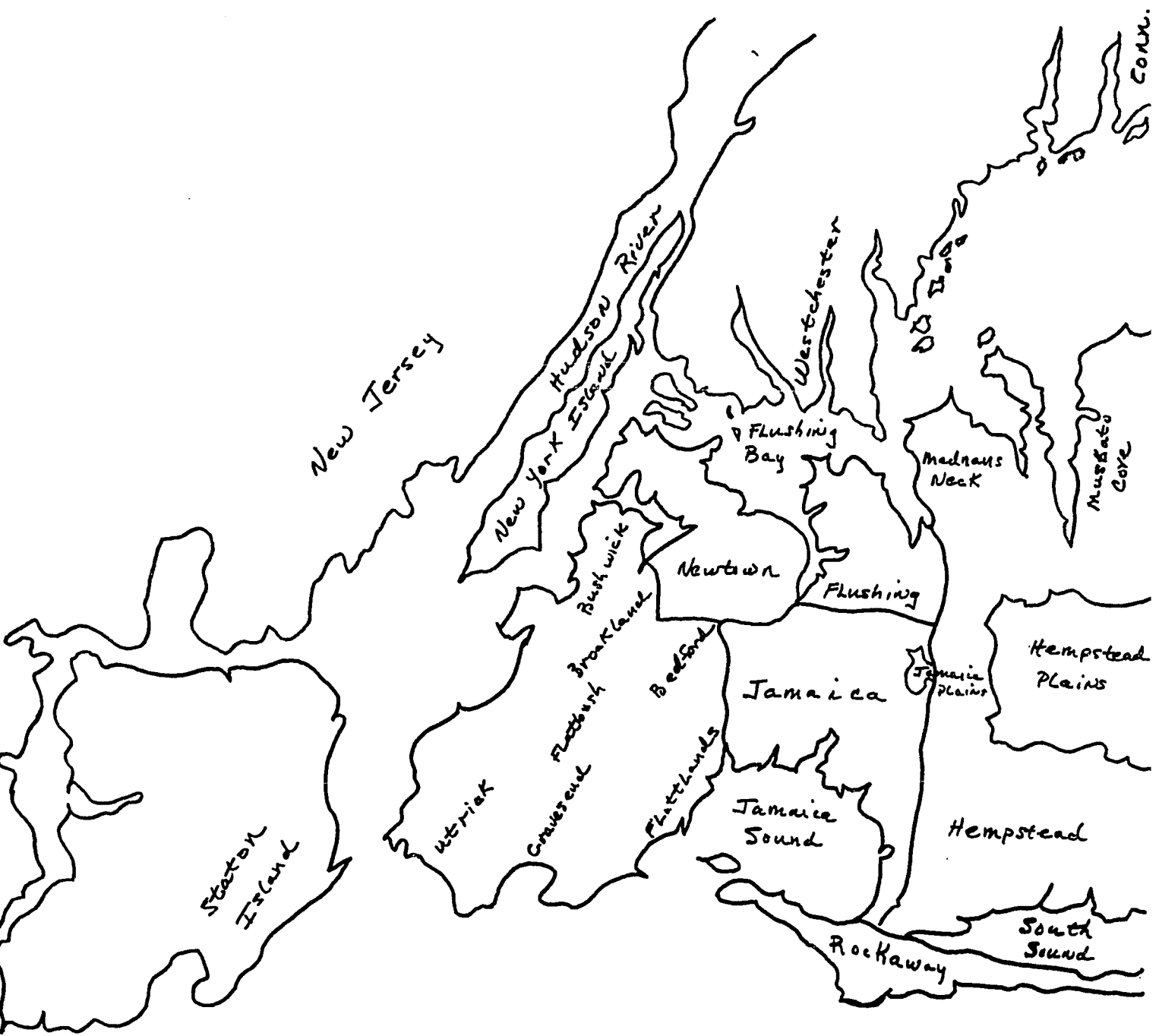
³John J. Water, "Hingham, Massachusetts, 1631-1661: An East Anglican Oligarchy in the New World," Journal of Social History, I (Summer, 1968), 351-370; B. Katherine Brown, "Puritan Democracy: A Case Study," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, L (December, 1963), 377-396; Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms, pp. 4-8, 34-35; Lockridge, Dedham, pp. 63, 80-87, 171, 178; Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, pp. 243-257.

MAP 1



Manuscript map of Long Island by Robert Ryder, ca. 1675. JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY.

MAP 2
LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK
1675



CHAPTER I

THE FORMATION OF ONE MIDDLE-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Dissatisfied New Englanders founded Long Island's original towns for a variety of reasons. Jamaica, like neighboring towns, was a product of New England's dispersal, and its settlement was in varying degrees a reflection of the Puritans' sense of community, their quest for religious and political autonomy, and their search for more and better land. Students of New England's expansion have traditionally emphasized the importance of religion in the process of town planting.¹ In recent years, however, a new generation of scholars has concluded that land hunger was an equally significant, and perhaps more important, reason for some inhabitants in the established settlements to break away from their old communities and found new towns.²

Although it is generally agreed that religion was the principal factor in the founding of the Long Island towns of Mespat (Newtown), Vlissigen (Flushing), and Hempstead, a variety of reasons have been advanced for the settlement of Jamaica in 1656 by twenty-four men from Hempstead.³ In 1878 the Reverend P.D. Oakey stated

that Daniel and Nathaniel Denton, the two sons of the Reverend Richard Denton, the founder of Hempstead, left that town to settle in Jamaica with other Presbyterians.⁴ Bernice Schultz, rejecting any religious reasons for the migration, attributed the move from Hempstead to Jamaica to overpopulation or to the need of younger sons and others for more land.⁵ Margaret Kennedy, on the other hand, has stressed economic strife and religious disputes.⁶

Jamaica's original inhabitants migrated first from Watertown, Massachusetts, to Wethersfield and then Stamford, Connecticut, and finally to Hempstead, Long Island. Many New England settlers who preferred Presbyterianism to Independency drifted southward from Massachusetts, to Connecticut, to Long Island, and eventually into New Jersey.⁷ One such movement of people began with the founders of Watertown, Massachusetts. The pastor of the Watertown Church was the Reverend George Phillips, a man who strongly favored the congregational principle. Several in the town, however, did not accept his views on either church organization or baptism; one was Richard Denton, a Presbyterian minister from Yorkshire, England, who came to America with John Winthrop. Denton settled in Watertown in 1630 and then moved to Wethersfield in 1635.⁸ The religious situation at Watertown was further aggravated by Boston's strict control over civil

and ecclesiastical affairs, especially over the church's admission policy. Because of Boston's tyranny, many inhabitants of Watertown, Newtown, and Dorchester, petitioned the General Court to move to the Connecticut River, an area still under the control of the Massachusetts government. Land was, no doubt, a factor for disrupting a settled pattern of existence, but an unlikely one after only four years. A stronger motive centers on the personal rivalry between the religious leaders in Boston and those of the outlying communities, whose inhabitants opposed the religious test.⁹

The people who left Watertown settled Wethersfield in the fall of 1634, and in the spring of 1635 the largest group moved to the new community. Far from Massachusetts' direct control, the newcomers could put into practice their views of religion and government. Unlike Hartford and Windsor, Wethersfield did not form a church immediately, still being a fragment of the church in Watertown. The town took seven years to organize a church, during which time there were three ministers.¹⁰ Since no one held the position of pastor, differences shortly arose among the ministers and their respective defenders. A bitter religious controversy developed which attracted the interference of the ministers and elders of Hartford, Windsor, Davenport, and New Haven to restore order. Even the church committee from Watertown tried to achieve

harmony. The only solution offered was for the dissatisfied elements to leave the church. In 1640 the Reverend Richard Denton, one of the dissenting clergymen, led the first and largest secession from the Wethersfield church to form a settlement at Stamford. A few years later, another group left to settle at Milford.¹¹

In September, 1640, the General Court of New Haven gave land to Denton's company of dissatisfied men, an area which later became Stamford. Denton arrived in 1641 with thirty-two men along with wives and children. The church at Stamford had already been organized in Wethersfield with Richard Denton as pastor. Although this group of Presbyterians agreed before moving, troubles arose shortly after settlement. Religious disputes, however, were not the reason for still another emigration in 1644. Since Stamford was under the jurisdiction of the New Haven Colony, it was subject to the Fundamental Laws of 1639. Most irritating were the regulations concerning the franchise which limited officeholding and the choice of magistrates to church members.¹²

Under Dutch rule the English settlers had considerably more freedom to carry on their own civil and ecclesiastical affairs. They were obliged to obey Dutch laws and to participate in their government by sending representatives to the Governor and Council in New Amsterdam. Otherwise, they managed their courts, religion, and politics with little interference.

Although there is some evidence of religious strife in Hempstead, this does not necessarily indicate that Jamaica was founded by religious dissidents from the neighboring town.¹³ It is, perhaps, significant that neither Jamaica's town records nor any other surviving documents indicate that its first settlers drew up a covenant to unite the new community. Moreover, the original settlers expressed a desire for material rather than religious rewards in their petition to Governor Peter Stuyvesant on March 10, 1656. The fourteen petitioners asked for a "place to improve our Labours upon; for some of us are destitute of Ither habitation or posession others Though inhabited yet finde that in the place where they are they can not comfortably subsist by their Labours and indeavours By which means they are necessitated to Looke out for a place where they may hope with gods Blessing upon theyr Labours more comfortably to subsist."¹⁴ Stuyvesant granted the petition, based on their "stated intentions" on March 21, 1656.¹⁵ In addition, the group of settlers who moved to Jamaica in the spring of 1656 did not include a minister as did those who moved from Watertown, to Wethersfield, to Samford, and finally to Hempstead. Rather, this group consisted of five Quakers, Richard Denton's two Presbyterian sons along with others of that sect, and probably some Independents. Finally, the town church was not established until 1662, or six years after

the original settlement. Although it cannot be stated with certainty, it seems highly likely that Jamaica, like Marlborough, Massachusetts, and Kent, Connecticut was settled because of the land hunger of its first inhabitants.¹⁶ The founders of Jamaica did not share the religious zeal displayed by many New Englanders.

Although town planting on Long Island was less likely to take place with the same religious zeal as in many Massachusetts and Connecticut towns settled in the 1630's and 1640's, the method of organizing Long Island's towns followed the New England pattern.¹⁷ A number of families from an established settlement first joined together and secured land from the Indians. This group of associates then petitioned the General Court or Governor for a grant or patent for the said land. After procuring a patent, the proprietors proceeded to divide and grant land and to form a government. Similarly, Long Island towns were not only granted to a community of families, but they were the product of the central government, and not the creator of that authority.¹⁸

On September 13, 1655 Richard Odell, Nicholas Tanner, Richard Ogden, and Nathaniel Denton on behalf of their associates and heirs purchased a tract of land from the Canarsee and Rockaway tribes at the cost of two guns, a coat, and a certain quantity of powder and lead. The deed described the land conveyed by the Indians to a group of

fourteen patentees as "a tract of land beginning at a great swamp lying on ye West Side off Rockeway Neck And so running Westward to a River lying on ye East Side off a neck off land which Mr. Coe hath hired off ye indeans wch River is Called by ye indeans Wauweebheag ye North line Running Next unto or about ye path ye goes ffrom Hemsted to Midlburroug wt all ye plands & Meadowing within ye affore sd bounds Withall priveledges & appurtenances thereunto belonging."¹⁹ Eight Indians signed their names to the deed, which was witnessed by Daniel Denton and Roger Linas, and recorded by Benjamin Coe.

After two earlier petitions had been ignored by the Director-General, the founders of Jamaica petitioned Peter Stuyvesant to be recognized as owners of the land purchased from the Indians.²⁰ On March 21, 1656, he and Council granted the right to establish a new village, with the same privileges and exemptions which the inhabitants of New Netherland enjoyed. The possession of land and election of magistrates was to be in the same manner as for Middleburgh, Breucklen, Midwout, and Amesfoort.²¹

Stuyvesant's original patent in the spring of 1656 was renewed several times during the colonial period. In 1660 when the town had forty additional inhabitants, the governor conferred on it the name of Rustdorp.²² On

March 7, 1663 Waumitompack, Sachem of the Rockaway tribe, ratified and confirmed the sale made to the inhabitants of "Crafford, alias, Jemaica" in 1655. At this time, the description of Jamaica's boundaries as witnessed by Daniel Denton and Thomas Benedick was "A Tract of land bounded eastward by a great swamp or River which is the west bounds of Rockaway neck, -- I say which makes Rockaway a neck -- On ye west side & soe to run betwixt ye great playns & the little playns to ye hills as appeares by ye markt trees."²³ On March 19, 1663, the town added to these boundaries by purchasing "the Hills," an area on the north side of town, from the Indians.²⁴

With the English capture of New York, land purchased from the Indians was subject to a new code -- the Duke's Laws. For good title to all lands purchased from the Indians after March 1, 1664, it was necessary to obtain a pardon from the governor before buying the property. After purchase, the sachem and rightful owners were to be brought before the governor to acknowledge satisfaction and payment. Only then was the transfer recorded and a grant issued.²⁵ Richard Nicolls, the first English governor, issued another patent on February 15, 1666 which recognized the town and its boundaries. This deed confirmed "Jamaica" as the town's official name to be used in "all bargains, sales, deeds, records and writings."²⁶ On April 12, 1681 seven Indians, with Samuel Smith, Thomas

Okley, Samuel Denton, and John Everit confirmed all land given in previous deeds, and acquitted the inhabitants of Jamaica of any further demands for additional payments. The only stipulation added to this agreement was that "no person is to Cut down any trees wherein eagles doe make their nests."²⁷ Governor Thomas Dongan issued the town charter on March 17, 1686. On May 12, 1685 he petitioned the town of Jamaica to show proof of its title to the land before the Governor and Council on June 3, 1685.²⁸ After the deeds were acknowledged as valid, Dongan issued a patent which "ratified," "confirmed," and "granted" to twenty-four patentees and their associates all lands, buildings, fences, gardens, woods, pastures, commons, ponds, and marshes. It was further stipulated that a yearly quit rent of forty shillings current money was to be paid to New York City.²⁹

The original settlers who distributed the town's lands and established the town's government consisted of twenty-four men from Hempstead. Of this number seventeen were directly involved with either the Indian purchase or the petition to the governor.³⁰ Six of this group, however, did not move to Jamaica, but remained at Hempstead, where they held a substantial amount of land and in some cases held office in that town's government.³¹ Their absence was quickly filled by thirteen other men who moved to Jamaica from Hempstead and received original land grants.³² Out

Out of thirty men who were involved in the founding and settlement of Jamaica, twenty-four actually moved to the new town. Of these twenty-four information has been found concerning thirteen individuals, and brief biographies of each may help to provide a composite picture of the town's first settlers.

Robert Coe, of Norfolk, England, the progenitor of the Coes in America, was educated at Boxford Grammar School and knew the clothmaking trade. When he was thirty-eight, he left with his wife and three sons for America and settled at Watertown, Massachusetts. In 1635 he moved to Wethersfield, Connecticut where he remained until the settlement of Stamford. Due to New Haven's regulation of town affairs and to factions in the church, Coe relocated with Richard Denton to Hempstead in 1644. Eight years later he was on the move again as leader in the second settlement of Mespat, where he became one of the most prominent men in the town. In 1656 he gave his property in that town to his eldest son John, and he and his youngest son Benjamin transferred residence to Jamaica. There he served on several committees and was given the distinctive title of "Mr." In 1678 he moved to Foster's Meadow in Hempstead, where he lived with his third wife until his death in 1689, at the age of 93.³³

Robert's son Benjamin was born in England, came to America when he was five years old, and traveled with his

parents to Watertown, Wethersfield, Stamford, and Hempstead. Like his father, he was one of the original settlers at Jamaica, where he was given twenty-six acres of land. In 1664 he was one of the town's selectmen, and from 1684 to 1686 he was town clerk. He was granted land by the town to become a miller and his wealth increased accordingly. At his death in 1709 he owned more than two hundred acres in Jamaica.³⁴

Daniel and Nathaniel Denton, sons of Richard Denton, were born in Yorkshire, England, and traveled with their father from Watertown to Hempstead. Daniel was active in town affairs as a magistrate (1662-64), town clerk (1656-64), surveyor, overseer of the poor, and assessor. Also, he became the first historian of the Province of New York when he wrote A Brief Description of New-York in 1670. Upon his return to America from England in 1672 he accused his wife of adultery. Since the Court of Sessions at Jamaica could not grant divorces, Denton petitioned the Governor and Council on June 10, 1672. After an absolute divorce was achieved on June 26, Denton moved to Piscataway, New Jersey in 1673 and to Springfield, Massachusetts in 1674. By 1681 he was again in Jamaica, for he was noted as an assessor in that year. When he relocated to Goshen, Orange County, New York in 1648, he owned two houses and more than 150 acres in Jamaica.³⁵

Nathaniel Denton remained in Jamaica, where he

achieved the title of gentleman in 1710. At various times he served as the town's assessor, supervisor, selectman, clerk, fenceviewer, and surveyor. At his death in 1720 he owned two houses and more than 250 acres in Jamaica and New Jersey.³⁶ Both brothers left children in Jamaica who carried on the family name into the late eighteenth century.

Andrew Messenger, who was born in Lincolnshire, England, migrated first to Boston, and then to Greenwich, Connecticut, Hempstead, Long Island, and finally Jamaica.³⁷ As town proprietor, he was able to increase his land holdings from 36 acres in 1656 to 100 acres in 1681.³⁸

The Smith family on Long Island was composed of six distinct branches, of which the Rock Smiths came from Stamford, Connecticut to Hempstead, and finally to Jamaica.³⁹ Abraham, Morace, and Samuel Smith each held relatively small amounts of land in Hempstead, and moved to Jamaica to increase their property holdings. In Jamaica each was a middle-class farmer and participated in town affairs: Abraham was a selectman in 1663, and by 1684 he owned seventy acres; Morace was a fenceviewer in 1671 and held fifty acres; and Samuel was a constable, selectman, assessor, surveyor, and tax collector for a total of twenty-nine years of service. At the time of his death in 1715, he owned over 170 acres of land in Jamaica, two houses, and land in New Jersey.⁴⁰

Three brothers Henry, John, and Richard Townsend came from Norwick, England to Massachusetts Bay in 1630. In 1645 they were on Long Island, but shortly thereafter moved to Warwick, Rhode Island. By 1655 they were living at Hempstead and then moved to Jamaica. Their stay there, however, was short-lived, because of their active Quaker beliefs. By 1661 all three brothers had moved to Oyster Bay.⁴¹ Before leaving Jamaica, Henry accumulated seventy acres, John fifty acres, and Richard thirty acres.⁴² Many years later the Townsends were still represented in the town, for Henry retained his house, home lot, orchard, one-half of his meadow, and common rights. In 1679 he transferred these holdings to his son Henry Townsend, Jr.⁴³ In 1713 Rose Townsend, John's widow, bought for £90 Thomas Howell's house and lot, fronting Main Street.⁴⁴

Other Quakers who moved from Hempstead to Jamaica were Samuel Dein (Dean) and Samuel Andrews. Dein was granted twenty-six acres in 1656, to which he added more than one hundred acres in Jamaica and Flushing.⁴⁵ Andrews objected to the treatment he received in Jamaica as a Quaker, and in 1661 he sold his house and lands to Luke Watson.⁴⁶

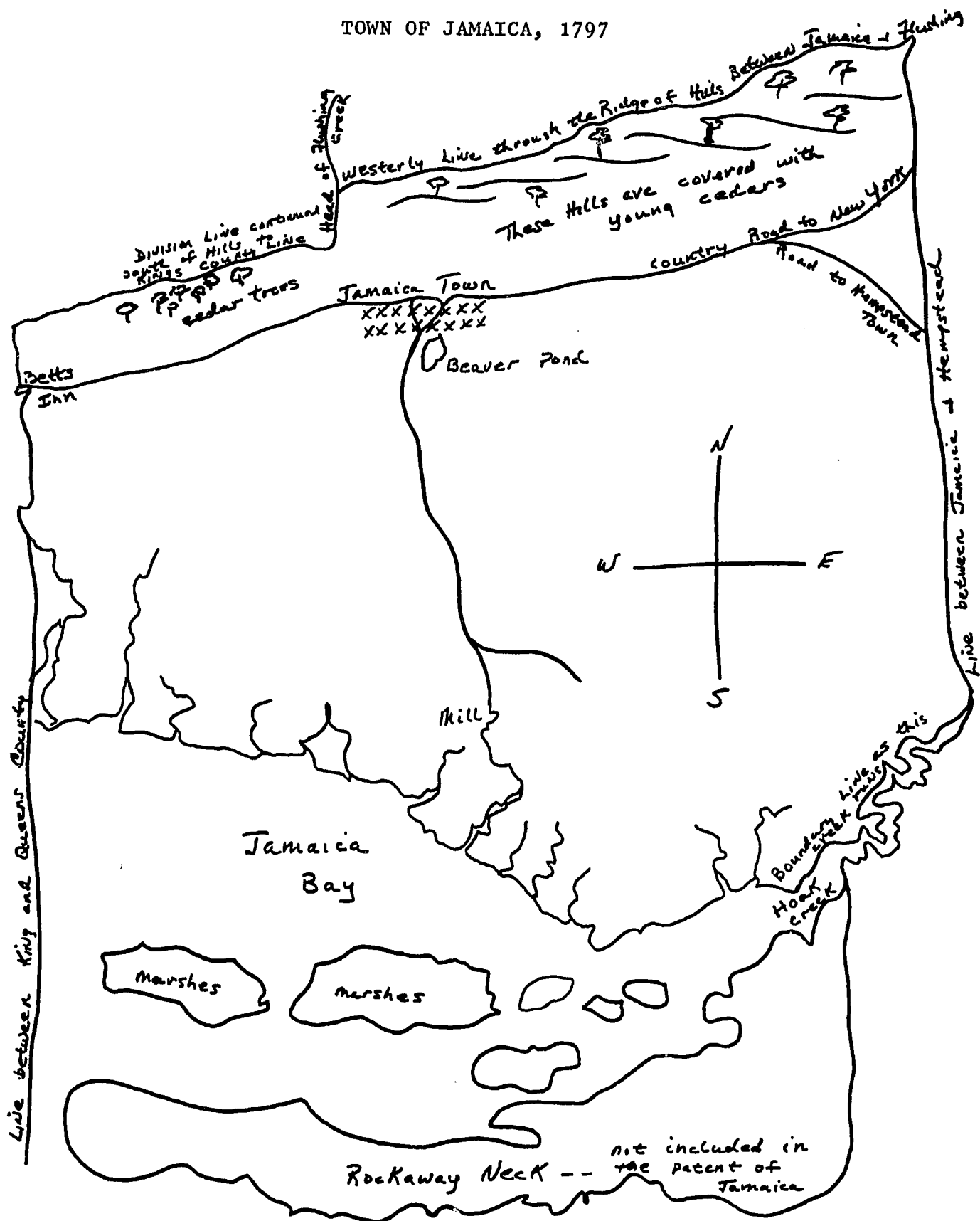
On February 18, 1656⁴⁷ the twenty-four proprietors divided the town into quarters and assigned each person a home lot of six acres in a specific area.⁴⁸ Each lot was situated at the town's center, just north of Beaver Pond (see Maps 3 and 4). All home lots were equal in size,

unlike the initial land allotments at Boston, Dedham, Sudbury, and Andover, Massachusetts. The size of an individual family, his social status, and wealth were not factors in Jamaica's land division as they had been in New England towns.

A second division of land occurred on November 25, 1656, when seventeen men out of the original twenty-four granted all the proprietors additional land. In explaining their motives, they stated: "wee in consideration off our charge & trouble in getting & settling off ye plase have reserved for our selves ye ffull & just som off ten acres off Planting Land a man besides ye home Lotts in ye nearest & most convenientst place yt can be found & soe likewise twentie acres off medowing a man in ye convenientst place they can ffind & yt shall remain as theirs their heirs executors or assigns for their proper right every man taking his Lot according to their ffirst right to ye Land."⁵⁰ The ten acres of planting land, which were to the east and west of the town's center, were ordered to be laid out on February 27, 1658. The meadows were probably distributed between November 1656 and January 1656/7. Like the division of home lots, each inhabitant was assigned to a squadron to the east, west, north, or south of the town center.⁵¹ As a result of these divisions, each person's estate consisted of a number of small tracts located in different areas of the town.

MAP 3

TOWN OF JAMAICA, 1797



19-25

18 Quarter

17

The North Quarter

King's Mansion

6

Road to the Ferry

Episcopal Church

7

Church of the Holy Trinity

15

Harry Townsend House

14

16 Present Windmill

Road to Hempstead

The East Quarter

1

Bear Pond

2

Parsonage Lot

3

4

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On November 22, 1658, the town set aside seventeen lots of twenty acres apiece, or a total of 340 acres, for purchase.⁵² This land was available to several newcomers who were either granted home lots by the town or purchased them from original settlers. The town records do not contain any evidence that the original inhabitants wished to limit the number of immigrants. Similarly, there was not a clearly drawn distinction between proprietors and non-proprietors, except, that the grants to the proprietors were larger than those to those who followed them. Newcomers as well as old settlers were granted property and participated equally in town affairs.

Jamaica, then, was the last home for a group of New Englanders who sought, at first, religious and political autonomy, and, later, more and better land. At Jamaica they instituted the policy of equal land division, and, by doing so, were able to better their economic and social status. Little did they know in 1656 that their proximity to New Amsterdam, along with excellent natural resources, would prove to be the cause of a vigorous, diversified economy. In addition, their town's location in the center of Queens County would enable Jamaica to become the administrative, judicial, and religious center for western Long Island.

FOOTNOTES

¹Lois K. Mathews, The Expansion of New England: The Spread of New England Settlement and Institutions to the Mississippi River 1620-1865 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), p. 36; Robert East, "Puritanism and New Settlement," The New England Quarterly, XVII (1944), 255-262; Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, vol. I (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1957), chap. XI; Richard L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee, Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 221; William Haller, Jr., The Puritan Frontier, Town-Planting in New England Colonial Development 1630-1660 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 17; Henry R. Stiles, The History of Ancient Wethersfield Connecticut, vol. I (New York: The Grafton Press, 1904), p. 19; Carl Bridenbaugh, "The New England Town: A Way of Life," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, LVI (April, 1964), 19; Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, pp. vii, 10, 40; and Lockridge, Dedham, pp. 4-7.

²The formation of Marlborough, Massachusetts was the result of land hunger. Sumner C. Powell, Puritan Village, p. 53; also see Grant, Kent, pp. 2-5.

³James Riker, Jr., The Annals of Newtown, in Queens County, New-York (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1852), p. 17; Henry D. Waller, History of the Town of Flushing Long Island, New York (Flushing, J.H. Ridenour, 1899), pp. 15-16; and Bernice Marshall, Colonial Hempstead, Long Island Life Under the Dutch and English (second edition, Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1962), p. 23.

⁴P.D. Oakey, "The Oldest Presbyterian Church," New York Observer, February, 1878, pp. 1-4.

⁵Schultz, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 23-26.

⁶Margaret Kennedy, "Jamaica, Long Island, During the Colonial and Revolutionary Eras, 1655-1789" (unpublished Master's Essay, Columbia University, 1934), p. 2.

⁷Hugh Hasting, ed., Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, 5 vols (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1901-16), I, 187; Mathews, Expansion of New England, p. 36.

⁸Martha Flint, Long Island Before the Revolution, A Colonial Study (second ed., Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1967), pp. 126-127; Frank M. Kerr, "The Reverend Richard Denton and the Coming of the Presbyterians," New York History, XXI (April, 1940), 182; Bernice Schultz, Colonial Hempstead (Lynbrook, N.Y.: The Review-Star Press, 1937), pp. 2-3.

⁹Herbert F. Sherwood, The Story of Stamford (New York: The States History Company, 1930), pp. 13-17; and Osgood, American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, vol. I, pp. 302-303.

¹⁰Sherwood, Stamford, pp. 23-27; and Aaron C. Adams, Historic Sketch of the First Church of Christ in Wethersfield (Hartford, Conn.: The Allen & Sherwood Co., 1877), pp. 3-6. One history of Wethersfield reported the formation of a church in 1636 by seven men who were divided among themselves and with the rest of the town. Stiles, Wethersfield, I, pp. 135-136.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 137-142; and Adams, Wethersfield, pp. 6-8.

¹²Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, vol. II (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 162; E.B. Huntington, History of Stamford, Connecticut, From Its Settlement in 1641, to the Present Time (Stamford, Conn., n.p., 1868), pp. 14, 18, 60-61, 73, 77; Edward R. Lambert, History of the Colony of New Haven, Before and After the Union with Connecticut (New Haven: Hitchcock & Stafford, 1838), pp. 175-176; Stiles, Wethersfield, I, p. 143; Alfred Walton, Stamford Historical Sketches (Stamford, Conn.: Cunningham Press, 1922), pp. 5-6; and Flint, Long Island, p. 127.

¹³Ecclesiastical Records, I, p. 187; Schultz, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 180-181; and George Combes, Genealogy of the Descendants of Rev. Richard Denton of Hempstead, Long Island For The First Five Generations (New York, 1936), pp. 3-6 (typescript, prepared from manuscript notes of William Eardeley).

¹⁴E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Dutch Manuscripts 1630-1664. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1865), p. 168. The original is in the State Library at Albany, Colonial Manuscripts, vol. VI, pp. 336-337. It is printed in E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. XIV (Albany:

Weed, Parsons and Company, 1865), pp. 339-340.

¹⁵O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, p. 340.

¹⁶See Powell, Puritan Village, p. 31; and Grant, Kent, pp. 3-5.

¹⁷Haller, Puritan Frontier, p. 17.

¹⁸John W. Pirsson, The Dutch Grants, Harlem Patents and Tidal Creeks (New York: L.K. Strouse & Co., 1889), p. 17; Bushman, Puritan to Yankee, p. 221; Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States 1620-1860 (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), pp. 50-51, 65; Charles M. Andrews, "The Theory of the Village Community," Papers of the American Historical Association, V (1891), p. 53. For general comments on town planting and land division see: Stiles, Wethersfield; Melville Egleston, The Land System of the New England Colonies (New York: n.p., 1880); and Clarence W. Rife, "Land Tenure in New Netherland," Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles M. Andrews by his Students (New York: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1966), pp. 41-73.

¹⁹New York Public Library, Manuscript Division, Jamaica, Long Island Box, Original Indian Deed of Jamaica, September 13, 1655.

²⁰New York State Library at Albany, English Colonial Manuscripts, Original Petition of March 10, 1656, vol. VI, pp. 336-337.

²¹O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, p. 340.

²²Jerrold Seymann, compl., Colonial Charters Patents and Grants to the Communities Comprising the City of New York (New York: The Board of Statutory Consolidation, 1939), p. 66; and Ross, History of Long Island, I, pp. 548-549. In colonial days the town of Jamaica had several names. The territory north of the bay was called Conarasset because it was the planting land of the Conarsee and Rockaway tribes. It was also referred to as Jemeco, Gemeco, or Yemacah, a word derived from the name of the original Indian village Cha-makou, near Beaver Pond. The town assigned a third designation Crawford during the troubles between the Dutch and English in the 1660's. Throughout the Dutch period (1656-1664), the town was called Rustdorp, which means "Place of Rest," or "Quiet Village." John Miller, New York

Considered and Improved, 1695 (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1903), p. 30; History of Queens County New York with Illustrations, Portraits and Sketches of Prominent Families and Individuals (New York: W.W. Munsell & Co., 1882), p. 195; Mrs. Schuyler Van Ransselear, History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century, vol. I (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909), p. 418; Victor H. Paltsits, The Dongan Charter to Jamaica of 1686 Its Antecedents and Implications (Jamaica New York: n.p., 1940), p. 2; John Romeyn Brodhead, History of the State of New York, vol. I (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853), p. 619; and E.B. O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland; or New York Under the Dutch, vol. I (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1845), p. 323.

²³New York Public Library, Manuscript Division, Jamaica, Long Island Box, Indian Deed, dated March 7, 1663.

²⁴Josephine C. Frost, ed., Records of the Town of Jamaica Long Island, New York 1656-1751 (3 vols., New York: Long Island Historical Society, 1914), I, p. 79; and Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, Administration of Francis Lovelace 1668-1673 (2 vols; Albany: by the State, 1910), II, pp. 478-479.

²⁵Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 40-41.

²⁶Seymann, Colonial Charters, pp. 543-545. This original deed is in the Manuscript Division of the New York State Library at Albany.

²⁷New York Public Library, Manuscript Division, Manuscript dated April 12, 1681. Mention of this agreement was also made in the town records on the same date; Frost Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 207-208.

²⁸Only the wrapper of this petition is still in existence in the New York Public Library, Manuscript Division, Jamaica Box.

²⁹The original Dongan Patent is in the Queens Borough Public Library. A photostat copy is in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library. It is also printed in Seymann, Colonial Charters, pp. 545-551.

³⁰These men were: Richard Odell, Richard Ogden, Thomas Carle, Edward Spraag, Robert Jackson, Thomas Iceland,

Nathaniel Denton, Nicholas Tanner, John Rodgers, Andrew Messenger, Samuel Matthews, Richard Everit, Rodger Linas, Daniel Denton, John Eazar, Abraham Smith, Benjamin Coe. See footnotes 19 and 20.

³¹Thomas Carle was a townsman in 1658. Town Board of North Hempstead, Records of the Towns of North and South Hempstead (8 vols.; Jamaica, New York: Long Island Farmer Print, 1896), I, p. 54. Thomas Iceland held over 100 acres of land. Ibid., I, pp. 223, 281, 318. Robert Jackson was a magistrate from Hempstead in 1662. Ibid., I, p. 120. He held over 50 acres of land. Ibid., I, pp. 187-88, 213, 241-43, 286. Richard Ogden owned Ogden's Neck and was a magistrate in 1656. Ibid., I, pp. 114, 280. Edward Spragg owned over 30 acres. Ibid., I, pp. 74, 115, 321.

³²Robert Coe, Samuel Smith, Morace Smith, William Thorne, Thomas Wiggins, Richard Chasmore, Henry Townsend, Richard Townsend, John Townsend, Samuel Dein, George Mills, Samuel Andrews, and Richard Harkert. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 1-2. Of these thirteen men five were Quakers, namely John, Henry and Richard Townsend, Samuel Dean, and Samuel Andrews.

³³Jan Gardner Bartlett, Robert Coe, Puritan, His Ancestors and Descendants 1340-1940 with Notices of Other Coe Families (Boston: By the author, 1911), pp. 71-76; Huntington, Stamford, pp. 29-30; Charles B. Moore, The Early History of Hempstead (New York: Trow's Printing and Bookbinding Company, 1879), pp. 7-8; Records of Hempstead, I, pp. 33-34, 107, 441-442; and Coe Family, Manuscript File, New-York Genealogical and Biographical Society.

³⁴Bartlett, Coe, pp. 81-90; Records of Hempstead, I, pp. 106, 116, 321; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 1, 4, 11, 12, 19, 44, 46, 166, 209; Queens County Conveyances, Queens College Historical Documents Collection (microfilm, 3 reels), I, B, pp. 87, 88, 148, 171.

³⁵Combes, Denton, pp. 11-15; Records of Hempstead, I, pp. 53, 57; Denton, A Brief Description; Paltsits, Executive Council, I, pp. 131-132; Edythe Whitley, Some of the Descendants of Richard Denton (McMinnville, Tenn.: Womack Printing Company, 1959), p. 10; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 2, 120, 141, 155, 160, 209, 276-77, 283-85, 288, 291-93; II, pp. 351-52, 358; and Queens County Conveyances, reel III, E, pp. 72-73.

³⁶Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 2, 5, 12, 209,

248, 272-73, 311-12, 317-18, 340-41; II, pp. 117-18, 210-15, 217-18, 224, 267, 288, 391-95, 398-400, 409-410; Whitley, Denton, p. 9; and William S. Pelletreau, ed., Collections of the New-York Historical Society. Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York, II (New York: By the Society, 1893), pp. 219-220.

³⁷Estelle M. Harrington, compl., A History of the Messenger Family (St. Louis, Mo.: Mound City Press, n.d.), I, pp. 11-12; and C.B. Curtis, "Daniel Whitehead and Some of His Descendants," New-York Genealogical and Biographical Record, XXXIII (April, 1902), 1-4.

³⁸Records of Hempstead, I, pp. 20, 53, 116, 192; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 1, 2, 120; II, p. 288.

³⁹For good histories of the Smith family in America, see Charles J. Werner, Genealogies of Long Island Families (New York: By the Author, 1919); and Leslie B. Carpenter, "The Descendants of William Smith of Jamaica, New York 1598-1668" (Typescript in the New York Public Library, Local History Division).

⁴⁰See landholdings in the Records of Hempstead, vol. I; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 1, 2, 123, 253, 257-58, 288-89, 356-66; II, pp. 153, 255, 289, 353-54, 360-61, 374-75, 409; and Queens County Conveyances, reel I, A, pp. 94, 190; I, B, pp. 352, 429; II, D, 139.

⁴¹Margaret Townsend, Townsend--Townsend 1066-1909, The History, Genealogy and Alliances of the English and American House of Townsend (New York: Bloodway Publishing Company, 1909), pp. 68, 104; and Records of Hempstead, I, pp. 22, 209, 301, 323.

⁴²Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 1, 2, 7, 20, 104-05, 185-87, 209, 281-82; II, p. 288.

⁴³Ibid., I, pp. 281-82. The original conveyance is in Townsend Book, pp. 8-9, New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division.

⁴⁴Queens County Conveyances, Reel II, B, pp. 713-14; and the Townsend Book, p. 50.

⁴⁵Mary P. Bunker, Long Island Genealogies (Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1895), p. 196; Society of Friends, Haviland Records Room, First Register - Marriages, Births,

and Deaths 1661-1796; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 2, 11, 120, 209, 289; II, pp. 256, 267, 280-81, 283-85, 289; and Queens County Conveyances, Reel I, A, pp. 149; I, B, pp. 100, 164, 247-48, 376, 430; II, B, 642; II, C, 265-66, 371-72; II, D, 303-06.

⁴⁶Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 2, 15; and John Cox, Jr., Oyster Bay Town Records (8 vols., New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1916), I, pp. 4, 19, 150, 212, 687. For a discussion of the treatment that the Quakers had to contend with from Stuyvesant, see Chapter VI.

⁴⁷Note that the settlers divided the land and assigned home lots before their third petition to Governor Stuyvesant on March 10, 1656. They were, no doubt, anxious and fairly positive that their new town would be incorporated. Jamaica was surrounded on three sides by land: Hempstead to the east, Flushing to the northeast, Newtown to the northwest, and Flatlands and Newlots in Kings County to the west. On the south was the town's coast line facing Jamaica Bay.

Jamaica was approximately seven and three-fourths miles long and seven miles wide, an area comprising fifty-seven square miles or more than 30,000 acres. Except for filled-in land jutting into Jamaica Bay, Jamaica today includes the same area as colonial Jamaica. Colonial sections of the town are also still in existence but under new names: East Jamaica is now Hollis; the Little Plains in Queens Village; Springfield is Springfield Gardens; South Jamaica is South Ozone Park; and Foster's Meadow is Rosedale. In 1814 Jamaica was incorporated as a village, and eighty years later the town voted to become part of New York City. Nathaniel S. Prime, A History of Long Island From Its First Settlement by Europeans, to the Year 1845 (New York: Robert Carter, 1845), p. 72; E.A. Werner, ed., Civil List and Forms of Government of the Colony and State of New York (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1858), p. 25; and Peter Ross, A History of Long Island From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present, vol. I (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1902), p. 521.

⁴⁸Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁹The only determining factor in the initial land allotments at Jamaica was the status of original settler. All twenty-four proprietors received six acre home lots, ten acres of planting land, and twenty acres of meadow land. Such equality, however, was not characteristic of earlier New England settlements. In Boston those of lower social rank received land based on family size, and

those of the better sort received land in proportion to their ability to improve it. The average number of acres for the generality was thirty acres and for the gentry two hundred acres. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, pp. 76-80. The rank system of land allotment was also used in Sudbury, where the proprietors received from 25 to 50 acres apiece. Powell, Puritan Village, pp. 43-51. In Dedham land was distributed according to the size of the household, service to the community or church, and rank in the social hierarchy. House lots were from 2 to 12 acres. Lockridge, Dedham, p. 12. The Assignment of home lots in Andover was based on initial economic and social standing. Lots ranged from 4 to 20 acres, a significant difference which helped shape a man's prospects for prosperity and social standing. Philip J. Greven, Jr. Four Generations, p. 45; and Philip J. Greven, Jr., "Old Patterns in the New World: The Distribution of Land in 17th Century Andover," Essex Institute Historical Collections, CI (April, 1965), 137.

⁵⁰Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 2.

⁵¹Ibid., I, pp. 4-5.

⁵²Ibid., I, p. 4.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT: JAMAICA UNDER DUTCH AND ENGLISH RULE

Western Long Island towns received their charters from the West India Company, and developed first under Dutch and then English rule. Because Dutch law, religion, government organization, and economic institutions affected each town's history, Jamaica was subject to a kind of outside control that did not permit it to develop in isolation. Dutch regulations, however, were hardly burdensome when compared to those subsequently imposed by the English. In 1664 Jamaica became the administrative and judicial center for Queens County, and, as such, it became actively involved in provincial organization. Also, the fact that it was a county center contributed to its distinct cosmopolitan atmosphere, its diversified economy, and its stratified social system.

The Dutch established a civil government in 1621, which consisted of a Director-General or Governor appointed in Amsterdam by the West India Company, and a Council chosen by the Governor. This small group of officials exercised executive, legislative, and judicial powers. Peter

Stuyvesant incorporated Jamaica ten years after he took the oath of office as Director-General in July, 1646.¹ Although New Netherland restricted citizenship to native-born subjects of Holland, the inhabitants of Jamaica and other English towns under Dutch control received special charters from the chamber of the West India Company at Amsterdam, which granted to English settlers "all and singular the immunities and privileges granted to the Inhabitants of the Province, as if they were natives of the United Belgic Provinces."² In return for an Oath of Allegiance to the States General in Amsterdam and to the West India Company, the residents of the English towns were granted the free exercise of religion; the privilege of sending representatives to the Governor and Council in New Netherland; the right to occupy and cultivate land for ten years without rent or tithe; the enjoyment of hunting and fishing; freedom of trade; and the use of Dutch weights and measures. The only restriction placed on the English was a rule against erecting any forts without permission.³

Dutch laws as enumerated in the Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, regulated a wide range of activities and often dealt with the minutiae of day-to-day living. According to a 1629 statute, the Director-General could not issue a patent before the Indians received compensation for their territory. By 1652 numerous abuses led Stuyvesant to forbid

persons from buying Indian property without first obtaining the consent of the company or its deputy. Each village had to keep a register of deeds and mortgages, with copies sent annually to the Office of the Secretary of the Director-General and Council. By a law of 1654 every man had to be available for military service in case of trouble with pirates and robbers. An ordinance of January 3, 1664, ordered that three people in each village be appointed to examine fences every fourteen days. Another statute required a pound to hold cattle found in the cornfields. Each village had to provide for its poor by collections made every Sunday by two men nominated by the town's magistrates.⁴ Still another regulation placed an excise on wine, beer, and distilled water.⁵

Both Dutch and English towns in New Netherland had two magistrates whose duties included the maintenance of the Reformed Christian religion, the determination of civil suits to the amount of sixty florins, and of such minor offenses as quarrels, abusive words, and threats.⁶ For eight years after its founding Jamaica followed the Dutch custom of appointing local magistrates from a list of town nominees twice as long as the number needed. But in December, 1663, when Jamaica had fallen under the control of the English, the town unanimously chose two men to be magistrates and one to be constable. That is although Jamaica retained the Dutch custom of magistrates, it refused

to allow the governor to appoint them.⁷

Some institutions in the English towns under Dutch control more closely resembled those of New England than New Netherland. Unlike Dutch communities, the town meeting determined local concerns. As in New England, the voters of Rustdorp were allowed to choose town officers, enact local laws, distribute land, and determine policies concerning new inhabitants. Because the magistrates had little actual power, the town meeting had a virtual monopoly over local administration.⁸

For six years Rustdorp had little contact with the Dutch, except indirectly through their statutory regulations and system of magistrates.⁹ In 1662, however, it became involved in the Anglo-Dutch controversy for control of Western Long Island. English claims to Dutch territory were an early and constant problem for the Dutch West India Company. In 1640 a Scotchman confronted Director William Kieft with an English claim to Long Island. In 1674 Andrew Forester of Dundee presented Stuyvesant with a similar title for Mary Dowager of Sterling. Shortly afterwards in 1648, the English protested against the Dutch possession of all lands, rivers, and streams from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod. Holland's hold on land as far east as Oyster Bay became precarious, for the Dutch never exercised effective control in this overwhelmingly English area. The situation became serious enough to cause

Stuyvesant to negotiate the Hartford Treaty of 1650 which established the boundary between the two nations on a north-south line at the western most part of Oyster Bay. To the east was English territory and to the west the area consisted of five Dutch and five English towns.¹⁰

New England also poised a threat to Dutch rule on Long Island. In 1651 Stuyvesant imprisoned men from New Haven who wanted to settle in Delaware. Another incident occurred in April, 1653 when the English in Connecticut accused the Dutch government of concerting with the Indians to destroy the English colonies. That same year Captain John Underhill organized revolutionary activities on Long Island. After his banishment from New Netherland, he went to Rhode Island and from there sailed against the Dutch.¹¹ The disputes quieted down somewhat until 1662, when Connecticut received a new charter on April 23, 1662. Her new boundaries included all of New Haven and most of New Netherland, including Long Island.

In October, 1662, John Young delivered a letter to Flushing and the other English towns, informing them that they were a part of Connecticut. It stipulated that the inhabitants must "forbear taking an oath of fidelity to any other state."¹² Connecticut then appointed two men in each English town to help administer the Freeman's Oath and to act as magistrates. Jamaica elected Robert Coe

and Thomas Benedict to undertake these duties. In July, 1663 Connecticut laid claim to Westchester and the Narraganset country. Stuyvesant responded by conferring with the New England commissioners at Boston in September and demanding recognition of the Hartford Treaty. At the same time he sent a letter to the towns of Flushing, Middleburgh, Rustdorp, Gravesend, and Hempstead warning them against the agents of Connecticut and ordering them to arrest any such person.¹³ In early October he sent Cornelis Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Roeloff Stevens Van Cortlandt, and John Lawrence to the Connecticut General Assembly to attempt to re-establish the arrangement of 1650. According to a journal kept by the agents, a temporary agreement provided for Westchester to be under Connecticut's jurisdiction and the Long Island towns to be under Dutch control.¹⁴

In the fall of 1663 Connecticut sent Captain John Scott to investigate His Majesty's title to Long Island, and to incorporate English and Dutch towns on the island. When he told them that the King had given Long Island to the Duke of York, the towns of Jamaica, Flushing, Newtown, Hempstead, and Oyster Bay combined to manage their own affairs without Connecticut. They commissioned Scott as their president until the King established a government. In November the Dutch settlements changed their names; Jamaica became Crafford or Crawford.¹⁵

Stuyvesant on March 3, 1664, sent Roeloff Van Cortlandt,

Jacobus Backer, and John Lawrence to meet with John Scott and the deputies of the English towns at Hempstead with Daniel Denton representing Jamaica. At this meeting it was agreed that neither Connecticut nor New Netherland was to control the disputed territories of Long Island and Westchester for twelve months so that the King and the States-General could have an opportunity to resolve the dispute. Charles II singlehandedly settled the matter on March 22, 1664, when he gave the Duke of York a patent for the territory of New Netherland. Colonel Richard Nicolls arrived at New Amsterdam on August 20, and the Dutch surrendered on August 27, 1664.¹⁶ The English were to remain in control until the American Revolution except for a brief interlude when the Dutch recaptured their former territory.¹⁷

Following their acquisition of New York, the English abolished Dutch forms, designations, and administrative structures. In 1665 they divided the southern portion of the province into the shires of Long Island, Staten Island, and Yorkshire, consisting of Westchester. This entire area was subdivided into three ridings. The East Riding consisted of Suffolk County; the West Riding consisted of Staten Island, Kings County, Newtown and part of Westchester; and the North Riding was the area between the East and West Ridings, consisting of all of Queens County, except Newtown. Each riding had a high sheriff, deputy sheriff, and several

justices of the peace.¹⁸

In February, 1665, Governor Richard Nicolls called a convention at Hempstead to draw up a code of laws for the province. Each town on Long Island and the area called Westchester sent two delegates, with Daniel Denton and Thomas Benedict representing Jamaica. The convention adopted the so-called Duke's Laws, a code which the governor had compiled from statutes of other English colonies in America. The first edition was published on March 1, 1665, but it was amended and added to by the Court of Assizes in 1666, 1667, 1670, 1671, 1672, and 1675.¹⁹

The Duke's Laws contained specific provisions concerning local government. Towns had direct authority over planting, building, laying out lands, granting lots, electing officers, and assessing rates. Each had eight overseers chosen by a plurality of freeholders, and one constable selected from the previous years overseers. The constable and at least five selectmen were empowered to settle minor disputes involving more than twenty shillings and less than five pounds. The Court of Sessions in each riding had jurisdiction over all civil suits involving from five to twenty pounds and criminal cases. Two elected officials assessed tax rates for all residents. Every town had to erect stocks for offenders and a pound for stray cattle, to build a church capable of seating two-hundred people, and to provide for a Protestant minister.

Other laws included regulations concerning cattle, fences, wolf-killing, weights and measures, and the administration of estates. There is no doubt that the English system of control was far more stringent and comprehensive than that of the Dutch, for English civil authority not only regulated county functions, but provided in detail for the management of town life.²⁰

On the provincial level the government consisted of a governor and his council until 1683, when the colony established its first legislature. The governor's control extended to county and town administration through his power to appoint justices of the peace and the High Sheriff of Yorkshire. Also, he chose the Provincial Council, a unit of government which performed executive, legislative, and judicial tasks. Although several Long Islanders, including Thomas Willett, John Lawrence, and John Youngs were members of the Provincial Council, no inhabitant of Jamaica ever held this position.²¹

Dissatisfaction with the form of government organized by Governor Richard Nicolls arose as early as 1669 and centered on Long Island.²² The governor had promised New Yorkers rights enjoyed by New Englanders. To settlers from New England this meant a representative assembly which could enact laws and levy taxes. On October 8, 1670 when the Court of Assizes ordered the repair of Fort James, several towns on Long Island refused to

contribute to Governor Francis Lovelace's tax levy because they did not have the privileges enjoyed by the King's subjects in England. They accepted the yearly payment of a penny per pound to defray public expenses and the duke's custom duties, but considered an arbitrary tax a dangerous precedent.

Jamaica's residents refused to pay the tax for Fort James, and on December 9, 1670, they issued a statement that such taxes were "contrary to the Kings comands who Requires that noe Laws shall be inforced upon the cuntry contrary to the Laws of the Nation." The town agreed to accept the burden if it was the King's will, but promised to address the "king for Releiffe." Flushing and Hempstead supported Jamaica's position. The governor ordered the town's written statements burned as seditious material before the Town House in New York City.²³ After a short interlude of Dutch control from August, 1673 to October, 1674, the town of Jamaica petitioned Governor Edmund Andros on December 1, 1674 for a representative form of government:

we humbly conceive that very few if any of his Majtes Subjits are debared of the liberty to have there deputys which are the Represenatiffs of there townes to sett in there High Courts at the Lest once A years with the gouevner and his Councill and have there vois in the making and Repealling Such lawes and Orders as they conceive may conduce to the publicke good which thing we humbly desier your honor will grant us.²⁴

New Yorkers received equal status to subjects in other

colonies when Governor Thomas Dongan arrived in August, 1683, with instructions to convene as assembly. On September 13, 1683, he ordered elections to be held in each county. The freeholders of the towns on Long Island selected a committee of four to meet at the Sessions House in each riding. This convention, in turn, chose two representatives to the General Assembly. At its first session in 1683 the assembly enacted a Charter of Liberties and Privileges and passes laws providing for the division of the province into counties, the establishment of courts of justice, the maintenance of the poor, and the prevention of frauds in the transfer of land. In 1684 and 1685 it adopted legislation concerning the courts, Indian lands, the militia, and the sabbath. Although the governor abolished the legislature on June 16, 1686, following James II's ascension to the throne, he revived it from September 14, 1686 to January 20, 1686. Once again the Governor and Council enjoyed the power to enact laws and levy taxes. This arbitrary form of government lasted until Jacob Leisler seized control and held sessions of the assembly in April and October, 1690. Governor Henry Sloughter permanently established the assembly in the Province of New York in 1691.²⁵

From 1691 to 1777 several Jamaica inhabitants represented the North Riding in the assembly.²⁶ All were well-to-do, and all had held other offices before becoming

members of the assembly. John Jackson, Esq. was a representative from 1693 to 1701, 1702, to 1709, and 1710 to 1716. He was also a Judge of Queens County from 1711 to 1720, and a Justice of the Peace in 1697. The Reverend Thomas Poyer's church records identified him as an Anglican, and his will indicated that he was a wealthy man by the items and money he left to his wife, four daughters, and three sons.²⁷

Daniel Whitehead and his son Jonathan were two of the wealthiest individuals in Jamaica. Daniel served in the assembly from 1691 to 1703, after a distinguished career in town and county politics. On the town level he started out as a fence viewer in 1671 and 1679, and finished as a selectman in 1678 and 1679. On the county level he served as a Justice of the Peace during the years 1686-88, 1691, 1693, and 1695-1702. The Jamaica Town Records, Queens County Conveyances, and his will, dated November 13, 1703, indicate his extensive wealth, totalling over 950 acres of land in Jamaica, Oysterbay, Flushing, Newtown, Hempstead and Flatbush, plus five houses and two mills. Throughout his life Daniel Whitehead speculated in land, as can be seen by his fifty-five deeds of purchase and thirty-four deeds of sale.²⁸

Jonathan also held town offices before moving up to the county level; he was a tax collector in 1699 and an overseer of highways in 1724-25; he served as a Justice of

the Peace for the years 1703-06, 1708, 1719, and 1722, as a County Supervisor in 1711, and as the County Treasurer from 1709 to 1721. He followed his father as representative to the General Assembly from 1704 to 1721. Like his father he was well-off financially, owning more than 600 acres in Jamaica, Hempstead, and Flushing, plus three houses. He, too, became involved in speculation, transacting thirty-two purchases and twenty-seven sales. Both were Anglicans.²⁹

The right to vote for assemblymen was widespread in New York.³⁰ Until 1699 the ownership of a forty shilling freehold was the qualification for suffrage. In that year, all white males who were twenty-one years or older and possessed lands or tenements to the value of forty pounds received the franchise. This was not an unreasonable requirement, when it is realized that soon after 1700 the average estate in Jamaica was worth more than forty-five pounds. An act of 1701 excluded Catholics from voting, but granted the franchise to tenants who held leases for a lifetime.³¹

The impact of the provincial government on the residents of Jamaica was both more direct and extensive under the English than it had been under the Dutch. In this respect, at least, the situation in Jamaica was far different than that described by Zuckerman in his study of towns in colonial Massachusetts.³² One such contact between the inhabitants of Jamaica and the colony's government was the right of petition. At various times petitioners asked the

governor for the right to divorce and to marry,³³ to keep a tavern, to be appointed surveyor of customs, to settle the question of accidental murder, to obtain a pardon for intemperate language against the government, and to cancel the bill of a widow to surgeons who had failed to save the life of her husband.³⁴ At the same time the provincial government made its presence known by more obvious means. For example, in April, 1678, Governor Richard Nicolls visited Jamaica as the county seat. In the fall of 1702 and spring of 1753 a yellow fever and a smallpox epidemic respectively caused the governor to move the seat of government from New York City to Jamaica. As the temporary capital, the Council and General Assembly held their sessions in the town.³⁵

The authority of the provincial government can also be seen in those laws pertaining directly to Queens County. The Assembly passed several ordinances dealing specifically with the town's treatment of animals. Acts were passed to prevent the digging of pits for the taking of deer,³⁶ to encourage the destroying of foxes and wild cats,³⁷ to tax stray dogs,³⁸ to prevent damages by swine,³⁹ and to return neat cattle and sheep to their owners.⁴⁰ The churchwardens or the overseers of the poor of each town received the money collected from fines.

The excise tax provides another illustration of control by the central authority. In 1687 the excise on rum collected on Long Island equalled £52.⁴¹ By 1697 the

total for Queens County equalled £126.13.06, of which Jamaica paid £16.00.00. The following year the total was £126.07.06, with Jamaica's share being £20, the highest quantity paid by any town in the county.⁴² This form of revenue continued.⁴³

The quit rent was another important indicator of central control over local areas. Its payment was a feudal legacy, retained to assert the supremacy of the crown. During the proprietary period it suffered from neglect, and no person was appointed to collect it until 1685. As a royal colony, the governor determined the amount of the rent with the consent of his council, and the receiver -general began to collect it from designated persons in each county. The first act was passed on May 22, 1742, fixing March 25 of each year (or up to six months thereafter) as the collection date. It remained in force until 1755 when the legislature enacted a similar bill. Other statutes regulated its collection until 1780.⁴⁴ But the quit rent in New York was a failure. Little money was collected, and often several counties were years behind in payment. For the town of Jamaica scattered references survive concerning its assessment on each male inhabitant and to its payment to the provincial treasurer. In 1687, for example, Daniel Whitehead paid two bushels of wheat on his land in Jamaica;⁴⁵ in 1703 the justices of Queens County were to inspect the lands and meadows of all inhabitants so as to apportion every man's rent.⁴⁶ In 1701 the province brought a suit

against the town, dealing with non-payment on two hundred acres of land on the east side of Quarrelsome Neck, with Jonathan Whitehead and Nathaniel Denton, Jr. representing the town's cause in the Court of Chancery. Benjamin Hinchman paid Queens County's share from 1738 until the revolution. Before that time each town delivered its share to the colony's treasurer.⁴⁸

Taxes on the real and personal estate of the province's inhabitants began in April, 1690 under Leisler. These rates helped to defray public charges with most of the money going for the protection of the frontier.⁴⁹ In each act, every county was given a quota to be assessed on each town by the county Board of Supervisors. One such rate levied on Jamaica appeared in the town records of February 3, 1708. The amount equalled £34.04.04, one farthing and one wampon, of which £33 went to the county treasurer.⁵⁰ Provincial levies were essentially taxes pertaining to the functions of county administration.

Finally, a few Jamaica residents had contact with the provincial administration through the courts of Assizes, Chancery, and the Supreme Court. The highest court instituted by the Duke's Laws was the Court of Assizes, comprising the governor, his council, and the justices of the peace in New York City. Meeting once a year on the last Thursday of September and by special warrant of the governor, it heard criminal cases, civil

suits over £20, and causes appealed from inferior jurisdictions. Under the Judicial Act of 1691, it was abolished, and its functions were taken over by the circuit sessions of the Supreme Court.⁵¹ Few Jamaica inhabitants had recourse to the Court of Assizes during its nineteen years of existence. On November 5, 1669 the constable and overseers of Jamaica petitioned against William Hallett for a breach of contract to build the sessions house. The court ordered him to finish construction or pay a penalty of £10 to the town. It also heard three marriage cases involving a Jamaica resident. The final suit which involved Jamaica dealt with land in Huntington contended by Richard Smith and Joseph Smith. In 1676 two years after the suit was filed, the court awarded the land to the plaintiff.⁵²

In 1683 the assembly abolished the Court of Assizes and established the Court of Chancery as the highest court in the province. Composed of the governor and his council, it exercised broad jurisdiction in equity. Cases concerned the appointment of guardians for infants and incompetents, the foreclosure of equities of redemption in real property, the prevention of breaches of trust and confidence, and the granting of injunctive relief. Appeal to the King and Council was possible in cases involving £100 or more. The governor and council, however, reviewed all cases of appeal to the crown and sent only those involving £300 or more.⁵³

As with the Court of Assizes, few cases in Chancery involved people from Jamaica; during an eighty-seven year period, there were only seven suits including debt, guardianship, the town's quit rent, land ownership, and payment of a salary to the Anglican minister.⁵⁴

In 1691 the assembly made final changes to New York's judiciary system by instituting the Supreme Court of Judicature, a court held in New York City and composed of five justices and a chief justice. It had jurisdiction in all pleas civil, criminal, and mixed as well as appeals involving £20 or more. An act passed in 1692 provided for this court to "goe the circuit" once a year for a period of two days in each county. On circuit it heard civil matters valued at £20 or greater, and major crimes not handled by the Sessions of the Peace.⁵⁵ The Supreme Court in New York City and on circuit heard 170 cases which involved one or more inhabitants of Jamaica. Of these the minutes noted the cause of only twenty suits or 17.6 percent of these cases. Those identified involved questions of defamation, land ownership, trespass, lease, entry and ouster, debt, theft, and murder. Debt suits accounted for over one-half of these actions; ⁵⁶ causes of trespass and land ownership were second in frequency, followed by slander, theft and murder.⁵⁷

The county government impinged even more directly on the inhabitants of Jamaica than did the

provincial authorities. County government in New York was primarily an administrative unit established to maintain the militia, collect revenue, and register land. In addition, the county provided an essential judicial unit in the provincial court system. Queens County, organized by the act of November 1, 1683, included the towns of Jamaica, Newtown, Flushing, Hempstead, and Oysterbay.⁵⁸ As early as 1664, Jamaica became the "shire-town" or county seat for the North Riding, and there the county built a sessions house and goal in 1667. An act of the assembly of October 6, 1708 permitted county supervisors to collect not more than £400 or less than £150 to repair or rebuild the County Hall and Common Goal. Another act of July, 27, 1721 allowed the justices of the peace to sell these buildings and construct others, which the county completed in 1725.⁵⁹ As the center of administrative and judicial government, Jamaica became the most active town in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

The governor had direct control over some county officials, for he appointed the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, three justices of the peace for each riding, and the military officers. County residents elected the Board of Supervisors, who in turn chose the clerks and treasurers.⁶⁰

Sheriffs from Jamaica included Robert Coe (1669-72), John Jackson (1691-92), Zachariah Mills (1700-02), William Creed (1709), and John Everet (1710). All were men of

substantial wealth who had held previous town or county positions.⁶¹ Justices of the peace, who occupied offices of prestige in their local communities, conducted much of county government. They participated as justices in the Court of Sessions, enforced regulations affecting towns and town officials, and gave the oaths of office to county administrators.⁶² Principal justices and judges from Jamaica included Robert Coe, John Jackson, Daniel and Jonathan Whitehead, John Smith, Joseph Smith, Nicholas Everit, Samuel Bayles, John Messenger, Abraham Polhemius, Samuel Smith, Jr., Samuel Clowes, Jr., and Thomas Braine.⁶³ A resident of Jamaica often held the post of county treasurer. Jonathan Whitehead occupied it from 1709 to 1721; Joseph Smith, Jr. from 1729 to 1731; and Daniel Whitehead, the son of Benjamin Whitehead, from 1732 to 1742.⁶⁴ The county clerk's primary function was to record deeds and to take the minutes of the Board of Supervisor meetings. Benjamin Hinchman from Jamaica held the position from 1738 to 1761. Besides running an inn, he was a loan officer for Queens County in 1737-1759 and 1761-1771.⁶⁵

The militia was another branch under the county administration. The Duke's Laws required each town to provide for a company of foot and to elect three men for the positions of captain, lieutenant, and ensign. The governor, then, issued the commissions. In addition, every town had to have a sufficient warehouse to keep ammunition and to furnish

every male aged sixteen to sixty with arms. In 1670 the troops in the militia of horse were volunteers, entrusted with the job to "tend to ye preservation of ye Country in safety & quiett not onely against intestine troubles but likewise of ye Insolence of ye Indians."⁶⁶ The governor activitated all divisions of Long Island when the Dutch recaptured New York in the summer of 1673.⁶⁷

On October 27, 1684, the General Assembly under Governor Thomas Dongan passed an act entitled, "A Bill for settlement of the Militia." It provided for the appointment by the governor of a major in each county as the head of the militia in that area. By an act of 1702 to "better settle the Militia of the Province" the captains of companies of foot and of horse in each town were to list all youths one month after attaining the age of sixteen years. The county military establishment also stored provisions of guns and horses. The assembly renewed these acts throughout the colonial period.⁶⁸

During Leisler's control of the government from 1689 to 1691, the militia companies on Long Island were again active units. Leisler commissioned John Bayley as Captain of Foot, Jonah Wood as Lieutenant of Foot, and Hope Carpenter as Ensign of Foot.⁶⁹ In 1700 Queens County had 601 regiments, with John Jackson of Jamaica as Lieutenant Colonel of the Queens County militia. At that time Jamaica had two foot companies composed of middle-class

yeomen.⁷⁰ By 1715 John Carpenter commanded a Queens County company totalling sixty-eight men.⁷¹ The horse unit commanded by Timothy Bayley included several residents of Jamaica.⁷² In 1738, the final year for which there is information, prominent and wealthy men commanded Jamaica's two foot companies.⁷³ During the French and Indian War several inhabitants formed part of the quota from Queens County in a company of provincials commanded by Petrus Stuyvesant.⁷⁴

Another important aspect of county government was the administration of county finances. The Board of Supervisors for Queens County consisted of five men, one of whom was elected from each town to supervise, levy, and assess local county taxes. They assigned the Queens County quota of provincial taxes (country rate), and established the rates to carry on county business (county rate). They were responsible for computing the "Publick necessary & Contingent Charges," and for apportioning the money among the towns. They also controlled the yearly payment of the quit rent to the provincial treasurer. The Seven Years War added still another burden, for an act of the assembly on December 16, 1758, required the supervisors to raise a tax on all personal and real estates to the amount necessary to relieve parts burdened with the quartering of regular troops.⁷⁵

The town records and Board of Supervisor minutes

list Jamaica's representatives to the Board from 1691 to 1775. Before 1691 usually two delegates from each town met to consider the welfare of the county. These early deputies included John Bayles, Thomas Benedict, Daniel and Nathaniel Denton, Robert Coe, John Carpenter, Joseph Smith, and Joseph Thurston. The average term of later supervisors from Jamaica was seven years. All those who served were well-to-do members of the community, and active in other aspects of town and county government.⁷⁶

Full recordings of Queens County and provincial taxes exist after 1709, when the Board of Supervisor minutes begin. Before that date there are only few references to rates collected for county purposes. On September 8, 1675 Benjamin Coe sent a letter to Governor Richard Nicolls enclosing the return of property values in the town. This valuation of the whole estate of Jamaica equalled £5,700,⁷⁷ and the rate of taxation was £23.15.00. At the same time Newtown paid £26.06.08; Flushing paid £18.03.10; and Hempstead paid £48.01.01.⁷⁸ In 1680 Captain John Young, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, wrote an account of the county rates in which Jamaica paid £27.13.11½.⁷⁹ The town also made a record of the value of each estate in 1683, when there were eighty-four male inhabitants whose property collectively totalled £6,727.⁸⁰

The Queens County Board of Supervisor minutes from 1709 to 1787 contain the provincial quotas for Queens County, the amount of money needed to carry on its

administration, the proportion of taxes to each town, and the uses for the county rates.⁸¹ The men who issued warrants, attended the assembly, repaired the county hall and jail, killed vermin, collected taxes, transported vagabonds out of the county, built barracks, and warned of town meetings received most of the tax money. Out of a total of sixty-seven years from 1709 to 1775, 46.2 percent were years of surplus and 47.7 percent were years of equality of intake to expenses. Only 6.1 percent were deficit years, and such deficits were mostly a matter of only a few pounds. Excess funds were used to repair public buildings, and to support the poor in Jamaica, Newtown, Flushing, Hempstead, and Oysterbay. For thirty-seven out of sixty-seven years, the apportionment among Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing was equal. For twenty-nine years these three towns paid unequal taxes, but never a differential of greater than £2 per year. (see Appendix A)

County supervisors also had to review yearly the loan officer's books for Queens County. On December 16, 1737 the assembly passed a bill entitled, "An Act for Emitting Bills of Credit for the Payment of the Debts and for the Better Support of the Government of this Colony, and other Purposes therein mentioned." The province printed bills of credit to the value of £48,350, of which Queens County received £6,000. Appointed officials loaned sums not smaller than £25 or greater than £100, for a period of

twelve years, and at five percent interest per year. Inhabitants had to put up land, a dwelling house, or a mortgage as collateral.⁸² Loan officers from Jamaica included Samuel Clowes from 1737 to 1759, and Benjamin Hinchman from 1737 to 1771. Those Jamaica residents who took advantage of loans were substantial yeomen who needed ready cash. All repaid the borrowed money within the time allotted for repayment.⁸³ (see Appendix B)

The final aspect of county government dealt with the administration of justice. The Court of Sessions, established by the Duke's Laws in each riding, determined the major portion of litigations involving Jamaica inhabitants. Jamaica housed this court for the North Riding in June, December, and March of each year. The Court of Sessions of the Peace sat first and had jurisdiction in non-capital, criminal causes, initiated by private complaint such as assaults, batteries, and breaches of the peace. Church wardens and constables reported actions of swearing, drunkenness, unlawful games, sabbath breaking, profaneness, fornication, and adultery. Other suits determined by this court concerned matters of poor relief, vagrancy, bastardy, servants, slaves, fraud, slander, theft, treason, and murder. The Sessions also reviewed reports of road supervisors, tax assessors and collectors, overseers of the poor, poundkeepers, and fenceviewers.⁸⁴ From 1722 to 1787 there were only

twenty-three criminal cases involving one or more inhabitants of Jamaica. An even distribution of these suits throughout this period would result in only 2.8 cases per year, suggesting that deviant behavior was not a significant problem in the town's history during the eighteenth century.⁸⁵

The day after the Sessions ended the Court of Common Pleas began to try civil matters involving more than £5 and less than £20. It also acted as a court of probate. From 1722 to 1787 it handled 565 civil cases involving one or more inhabitants of Jamaica. Most cases in this court were suits initiated by middle and upper-class farmers. The few artisans and small farmers, noted in these records corresponded with their small number in the town. The large amount of civil actions compared to criminal matters emphasizes the fact that Jamaica residents, like their New England counterparts, were contentious and litigious.

Of the 565 civil suits tried at Jamaica only sixteen cases or 2.8 percent of the total were identified as to the cause of the action. Four cases involved disputed land.⁸⁶ Suits of lease, entry, and ouster were most common numbering a total of seven.⁸⁷ The minutes also noted five actions of debt.⁸⁸ Although the records did not mention the cause for the remaining 549 cases, it seems likely that in Jamaica and in other colonial towns in the

Northeast a majority of these cases dealt with some form of problem concerning the ownership of land. The minutes, however, do provide some insight into the frequency of civil suits. The bulk of 434 of them or 76.8 percent of the total were initiated and tried from 1700 to 1730, when land shortage was first becoming a problem.⁸⁹ Many second and third generation inhabitants initiated litigation from 1710 to 1720 when the average acreage was at the lowest point since 1660. Most of these cases were heard and determined from 1720 to 1730. A similar situation occurred when acreage held per individual dropped after 1740. The Common Pleas decided most of these suits in the decade from 1760 to 1770. (see Table 1 in Appendix C).

During the period covered by this study, 448 Jamaica inhabitants were involved in 819 law suits. As we have seen, almost eighty percent of these cases were under the jurisdiction of the Court of Sessions and Common Pleas, with one-fifth of the total handled by the Supreme Court. The minutes identified the cause of the action in nineteen percent of the cases, and the final decision in eighteen percent of the suits. Six hundred and twenty-one court actions or 80.2 percent of all cases involved a Jamaica resident as plaintiff and defendant, while the remaining 153 or 19.8 percent involved outsiders. Eighty-five percent of those engaged in suits were middle-class farmers and artisans, who were in court because of their debts or

land-connected problems. If the cases were evenly distributed, there were only 7.44 suits tried per year, with a little more than one-half of the male population involved during this time. In actuality, the bulk of litigation fell during two twenty year periods from 1720 to 1730 and from 1760 to 1770, a time when second and third generation sons were emigrating because of the scarcity of land. (See Appendix C for the distribution of court cases into decades, type of court involved, division by plaintiff and defendant, and categories of residence.)

Under the Dutch Jamaica was relatively free to carry on its own affairs. The English, however, established a well-structured, administrative system on the provincial and county levels. Inhabitants who owned more than the average amount of wealth participated as representatives in the assembly, and as sheriffs, justices of the peace, military officers, supervisors, treasurers, and clerks. Town residents were also obliged to pay the quit rent, excise, country and county rates. As a result, Jamaica became increasingly involved with the provincial government, and to an even greater degree with neighboring towns of the county, for the proximity and necessity of county administration touched the lives of all Jamaica's people.

FOOTNOTES

¹Werner, Civil List (1868), p. 1; Alexander C. Flick, ed. History of the State of New York, vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), pp. 277-278. For a study of provincial British government, see George Lee Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts, A Study in Tradition and Design (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), pp. 26-28.

²E.B. O'Callaghan, compl., Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-1674 (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1868), p. vii.

³Ibid., pp. 27-28.

⁴Ibid., pp. 9, 131-132, 159-160, 409, 411-412, 453-454, 460.

⁵O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, p. 500.

⁶Flick, New York, I, p. 284; Albert E. McKinley, "The English and Dutch Towns of New Netherland," American Historical Review, VI (October, 1900), 3-5; Marshall, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 54, 67, 69-70; Schultz, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 62-63; Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, pp. 476-479. For a discussion of Dutch government in New Netherland, see Osgood, American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, vol. II, chap. V.

⁷Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 7, 13, 25; The original document of Rustdorp's nominations to the governor for 1662 is still in existence in the New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial Dutch Manuscripts, January 30, 1662, vol. XIV, p. 55. On March 4, 1662 Stuyvesant chose two men; Ibid., vol. X, p. 65.

⁸McKinley, "The English and Dutch Towns," pp. 9-14; Schultz, Colonial Hempstead, p. 66; Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, p. 478; and Riker, Annals of Newtown, pp. 68-69.

⁹Religious problems having to do with the Quakers did involve another area of contact with the Dutch government. See Chapter VI.

¹⁰Pirsson, Dutch Grants, pp. 130-136; J. Franklin Jameson, ed., Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664 (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1959), pp. 410-411, 307-308; Benjamin Trumbull, A Complete History of Connecticut, Civil and Ecclesiastical, vol. I (New Haven: Maltby, Goldsmith and Co., 1818), pp. 155-156, 175, 189-190; Flick, New York, I, pp. 315-317; and Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, p. 215; Ronald D. Cohen, "The Hartford Treaty of 1650: Anglo-Dutch Cooperation in the Seventeenth Century," The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, LIII (October, 1969), 311-332.

¹¹Trumbull, History of Connecticut, I, pp. 196-97, 202, 217, 254; and Flint, Long Island, pp. 264-272.

¹²Broadhead, New York, I, p. 703; Schultz, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 73-74; O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland, p. 455. New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Dutch Manuscripts, vol. X, p. 253, 257. On November 10, 1662 Governor Stuyvesant sent a letter to Gravesend, Middleburgh, and Rustdorp requiring them to send him seditious letters send them by John Young. A council minute of November 11th noted the transmission of these letters. Ibid., vol. X, pp. 251-252.

¹³Flint, Long Island, p. 282; Trumbull, History of Connecticut, I, p. 257; Flick, New York, I, pp. 709, 719; Jameson, Narratives, p. 412. New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Letter dated September 26, 1663, Dutch Manuscripts, vol. X, Part II, 319, 321.

¹⁴Brodhead, New York, I, p. 721; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, II, pp. 388-392.

¹⁵Flint, Long Island, pp. 282-287; Schultz, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 74-77; O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland, II, pp. 495, 499-500; and O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, II, pp. 396, 399-400.

¹⁶O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland, II, p. 504; Flint, Long Island, pp. 290-299; Trumbull, History of Connecticut, I, p. 268; and O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, II, pp. 407-408.

¹⁷O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, II, pp. 572-573, 580-581, 591; Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, pp. 474-475. New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division,

Appointment of Francis Bloodgood as chief officer of the Dutch inhabitants of Flushing, Hempstead, Rustdorp, and Middleburgh, March 24, 1674, Dutch Manuscripts, vol. XXIII, p. 230. Also see Ronald J. Cohen, "The New England Colonies and the Dutch Recapture of New York, 1673-1674," The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, LVI (January, 1972), 54-78.

¹⁸Werner, Civil List (1868), pp. 56-57; Schultz, Colonial Hempstead, p. 87. In 1683 the province was divided into counties.

¹⁹Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 6, 107; and Brodhead, New York, I, pp. 67-68, 74.

²⁰Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 8, 14, 17, 27, 29-30, 55, 63-64, 71.

²¹Werner, Civil List (1868), pp. 12-13; Flick, New York, III, pp. 93-112; George Joseph Ruppel, "The Council and its Activities in Business, Politics, and Law, in New York, 1664-1760" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1955), pp. 1-2; and E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., The Documentary History of the State of New York, vol. I (Albany: By the State, 1849), p. 313.

²²Petitions to the Court of Assizes dated November 2, 5, 1669 from Hempstead, Oysterbay, Flushing, Jamaica, Westchester, Eastchester, Newtown, and Gravesend asked for representation in legislation and redress of grievances relating to land titles, custom duties, ferry rates, weights and measures, and Indian problems. Calendar of the Proceedings of the Court of Assizes, September 28, 1665 to December 7, 1672, Typescript, New York Public Library, Manuscript Division, p. 31; and O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, pp. 631-632.

²³David S. Lovejoy, "Equality and Empire: The New York Charter of Liberties, 1683," William and Mary Quarterly, XXI (October, 1964), 495-497; Brodhead, New York, II, pp. 171-172; E.B. O'Callaghan, Origin of Legislative Assemblies in the State of New York Including Titles of the Laws Passed Previous to 1691 (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1861), pp. 8-11; Werner, Civil List (1868), p. 27; Henry Onderdonk, Jr., Queens County in Olden Times: Being A Supplement to the Several Histories Thereof (Jamaica, N.Y.: Charles Welling, 1865), p. 7; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 47-48.

²⁴New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript

Division, English Manuscripts, Document dated December 1, 1674, vol. XXIV, p. 25. This petition is briefly discussed in Second Annual Report of the State Historian of the State of New York, vol. II (Albany: By the State, 1897), pp. 240-242.

²⁵Werner, Civil List (1868), pp. 28-30; O'Callaghan, Legislative Assemblies, pp. 14-19; Lovejoy, "The New York Charter of Liberties, 1683," pp. 503-514; and Schultz, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 95-100.

²⁶For a listing of members to the New York Provincial Assembly, see Werner, Civil List (1868), pp. 32-37; for recent studies of politics on the town, county, and provincial levels, see Ronald K. Snell, "The County Magistracy in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts: 1692-1750" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1970); Robert M. Zensky, "Power, Influence and Status: Leadership Patterns in the Massachusetts Assembly, 1740-1755," William and Mary Quarterly, XXVI (October, 1969), 502-520; Edward M. Cook, Jr., "Local Leadership and the Typology of New England Towns, 1700-1785" Political Science Quarterly, LXXXVI (December, 1971), 586-608; Rhys Issac, "Order and Growth, Authority and Meaning in Colonial New York, A Review Article," American Historical Review, LXXVI (June, 1971), 728-737; and Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, XXVIII (July, 1971), 375-412.

²⁷Collections of the New-York Historical Society, Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogates Office, City of New York, vol. V (New York: Printed for the Society, 1896), pp. 322-323. This will is also in the Hall of Records, Liber 21, p. 355; and Josephine C. Frost, "Records Kept by Rev. Thomas Poyer, Rector of Episcopal Churches at Jamaica, Newtown & Flushing, Long Island" (typescript in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Manuscript Collection, 1913).

²⁸Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 65, 71, 131, 138, 195-96, 198-99, 215-216, 240-241, 253, 292-93, 308-09, 354-55, 369-70, 382-85, 403-05, 436-37; II, pp. 5-6, 60-61, 67-68, 135-36, 157-61, 176-77, 230-31, 251-53, 267, 279-80, 285, 323, 334-35, 241-42, 358; III, pp. 45-46, 66-68, 137. Queens County Conveyances, I, A, pp. 24, 27, 30-36, 42, 88, 90-94, 164; I, B, pp. 1-6, 13, 45-47, 135, 139-40, 144, 147, 171, 173, 204, 207, 243, 298, 348-49, 396, 440-41; II, B, pp. 531-53, 641; II, C, pp. 19-20, 110-11; and Abstracts of Wills, I, pp. 396-399. The original will is in the New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Queens County Box.

²⁹Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 424; II, pp. 93-94, 111, 115-118, 359-62, 400-01, 409, 436-37; III, pp. 75, 112-114, 148-50; Queens County Conveyances, I, B, pp. 4-7, 14-20, 118-19, 124, 138-39, 154-55, 165-178, 218-19, 230-31, 236, 271, 281-82; II, B, pp. 395-96, 404, 414-15, 436-37, 445-46, 457-60, 470-73, 481-82, 495, 520-22, 526-28, 568-70, 590-91; II, C, pp. 339-40; II, C, 16-18; Colony of New York, Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York, 1691-1775, I (Albany: Weed, Parson & Company, 1861), p. 222; Museum of the City of New York, Queens County Supervisors Book, December 1, 1709 - October 25, 1787; Frost, "Poyer," pp. 6, 19, 22.

³⁰Carl Becker, The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776 (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1909), p. 11.

³¹Milton M. Klein, "Democracy and Politics in Colonial New York," New York History, XL (July, 1959), 232-238; Nicholas Varga, "Election Procedures and Practices in Colonial New York," New York History, XLI (July, 1960), 250-252. For controversial discussions of voting procedure in other provinces see, Haskins, Law and Authority; Michael Zuckerman, "The Social Context of Democracy in Massachusetts," William and Mary Quarterly, XXV (October, 1968) 523-544; B. Katherine Brown, "Puritan Democracy: A Case Study," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, L (December, 1963), 377-396; Beverly McAnear, "Politics in Provincial New York, 1689-1761" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1936); Stephen Foster, "The Massachusetts Franchise in the Seventeenth Century," William and Mary Quarterly, XXIV (October, 1967), 613-623; J.M. Bumsted, "Religion, Finance, and Democracy in Massachusetts: The Town of Norton as a Case Study," The Journal of American History, LVII (March, 1971), 817-831; Robert and Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1964); and Robert T. Wall, Jr., "The Decline of the Massachusetts Franchise, 1647-1666," The Journal of American History, LIX (September, 1972), 303-310.

³²Zuckerman asserted that Massachusetts towns were locally supreme and not tightly under central control. He stressed decentralization as the characteristic pattern in eighteenth century government. Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms, pp. 8, 24, 42-43, 34, 35, 154, 116, 254, 274-76; Also see David Grayson Allen, "The Zuckerman Thesis and the Process of Legal Rationalization in Provincial Massachusetts," William and Mary Quarterly, XXIX (July, 1972), 444-450.

³³Brodhead, New York, II, p. 195; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Petition of 1677, English Manuscripts, vol. XXVI, pp. 29-30; XXXI, pp. 7-8.

³⁴O'Callaghan, Calendar of English Manuscripts, pp. 111, 123, 127, 267. The originals are in the New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, vols. XXXI, p. 167 (gone); XXXIII, pp. 39, 92 (gone); XLII, p. 158; and XXVI, p. 74.

³⁵New York State Library, Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, Secretary Nicoll's Visit to Jamaica, vol. XXVII, p. 58; XLVII, p. 17; XLVIII, pp. 99, 110; LXXVII, p. 81; LXXXV, p. 4; Colony of New York, Calender of Council Minutes 1668-1783, New York State Library Bulletin, LVIII (March, 1902), History 6 (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1902), pp. 174, 178. The original manuscript is in the New York State Library at Albany, Council Minutes, Proclamation to Issue the Convoking of the Assembly to meet at Jamaica, vol. IX, pp. 83; Journal of the Legislative Council, I, p. 176.

³⁶Colonial Laws of New York, IV, chap. 1208, December 11, 1762, pp. 688-89.

³⁷Ibid., II, chap. 491, November 11, 1726, pp. 337-38.

³⁸Ibid., V, chap. 1663, April 30, 1777, pp. 659-661.

³⁹Ibid., I, chap. 170, September 18, 1708, pp. 616-17; chap. 277, June 21, 1714, pp. 811-12; vol. II, chap. 432, July, 7, 1722, p. 95; chap. 547, October 17, 1730, pp. 641-43; chap. 673, April 14, 1739, p. 1.

⁴⁰Ibid., III, chap. 726, November 27, 1741, pp. 199-203; vol. V, chap. 1527, February 26, 1772, pp. 299-300.

⁴¹O'Callaghan, Documentary History, I, p. 166.

⁴²Microfilm at Queens College Historical Documents Collection, Bodeian Library, Oxford, Ms Rawl D.916, Oxford University Press, pp. 223-224.

⁴³Colonial Laws of New York, I, chap. 346, pp. 931-38; II, chap. 387, pp. 2-5.

⁴⁴Beverly W. Bond, Jr., The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), pp. 15, 25, 32, 110-13, 255-78; and Colonial Laws of New York, III, chap. 728, pp. 209-222; chap. 982, pp. 1107-1121; IV, chap. 1171, pp. 584-601; chap. 1360, pp. 1036-38.

⁴⁵Henry Onderdonk, Jr., "Farming in Olden Times in Queens County," Journal of Long Island History, V (Winter, 1965), 1-17.

⁴⁶Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, p. 35. Other references to the quit rent in the Jamaica Town Records are: I, pp. 309-10; II, pp. 36, 247, 268-69; III, pp. 43, 208, 231, 400-01, 415, 433, 434, 438.

⁴⁷Queens College Historical Documents Collection, Chancery Decree, January 1701, Document Number C32; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 433-434.

⁴⁸Queens County Supervisors Book. A rate list for the quit rent of 1708/9 is printed in the town records. The amount paid was £50.03 and one penny to Abraham Depyster, the provincial treasurer. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 440-43.

⁴⁹There were 49 acts to raise revenue cited in the New York Colonial Laws. These acts were passed from 1690 to 1759.

⁵⁰Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 438-440.

⁵¹Goebel, "Law in Colonial New York," pp. 13, 19; Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 16-17; Goebel, Law Enforcement, pp. 20, 64; Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1945. Paul M. Hamlin and Charles E. Baker, eds., Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York 1691-1704, LXXVIII (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1959), pp. 4, 18, 54; and Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1912. Proceedings of the General Court of Assizes October 6, 1680 to October 6, 1682 and Minutes of the Supreme Court of Judicature April 4, 1693 to April 1, 1701 (New York: Printed for the Society, 1913), p. 1.

⁵²Calendar of the Proceedings of the Court of Assizes, September 28, 1665 to December 7, 1672 (Typescript in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library), pp. 5, 9, 25-26, 31, 37-38, 45; O'Callaghan, Documents

Relative, II, pp. 688, 712; XIV, pp. 187, 630;
O'Callaghan, Documentary History, IV, p. 133; and
Proceedings of the General Court of Assizes, p. 35.

⁵³Goebel, "Law in Colonial New York," p. 20;
Herbert Alan Johnson, "John Jay: Colonial Lawyer" (unpublished
Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1965), p. 136.

⁵⁴Queens College Historical Documents Collection, Orders in Chancery, vol. I, pp. 7, 9-10, 17, 24, 38-40, 44, 50; vol. III, p. 147; IV, pp. 13-14, 263; and Chancery Decrees, Numbers C32, C43, C44, W23. New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Historical Manuscripts, Statement of a Plea of Debt of Hicks against Smith, vol. LKII, p. 5; Hall of Records, New York City, Chancery Court Minutes, vol. IV, pp. 46, 64, 69, 151-53, 155-57; and Chancery Court Decree, 1774, BM 1425B, New York City County Clerk's Office, Hall of Records. This case was also discussed in the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, April 16, 1774.

⁵⁵Hamlin and Baker, Supreme Court of Judicature, LXXVIII, pp. 4-5, 53-56, 69-71, 278, 309; Goebel, "Law in Colonial New York," pp. 21-23, 25; Goebel, Law Enforcement, pp. 27-29, 74, 82; Johnson, "John Jay," pp. 121-22, 129.

⁵⁶Debt cases involving Jamaica inhabitants:
1675, William Foster vs. John Hunt, for £7.05;
1724/5 Jacob Willetts vs. Adam Smith;
1756, George Rapelyea vs. Jacob Ogden
(County Clerk's Office, Hall of Records, New York City,
Minute Book of the Supreme Court of Judicature (16 vols.) I, p. 9; III, p. 128, 212-13; VI, p. 280.)
1727, Thomas Hicks vs. John Everit, for £432;
1727 Thomas Hicks vs. Joseph Smith, for £432;
1727 William Lawrence vs. Benjamin Hicks, for £63.12.05
1727, Francis Nicoll vs. Richard Comes for £135;
1728, Samuel Clowes vs. Lucas Eldert and John Anthony;
1736, Samuel Clowes vs. Joseph Smith, for £50;
1736, Stephen Delancy vs. Daniel Whitehead, for £435;
1738, Samuel Clowes vs. William Wiggins, £30;
1745, Abraham Remsen vs. John Amberman, for £110.10;
1743, Mathew Van Alstyne vs. John Dorlant, for £115.09.06;
1753, Jeronimus Rapelyea vs. Abraham Probasco, for £40
(Hall of Records, New York City, Supreme Court Parchment
Rolls, Judgements, numbered P-17-G-7, P-178-K-1, P-52-C-2,
P-72-K-8, P-73-K-5, P-209-A-6, P-78-D-3, P-209-F-2, P-133-G-9,
P-3-H-6, P-15-H-10);
1774, Benjamin Carpenter vs. John Leake, for £286 (Queens County Conveyances, III, E, pp. 178-79.)

⁵⁷Land cases dealing with the questions of ownership, trespass, ejectment, and tenantry were: 1698, James Fullerton vs. William Creed, ownership of Jamaica town lands, for plaintiff (Proceedings of the General Court of Assizes and Minutes of the Supreme Court of Judicature, pp. 139-140); 1750, William Smith, Jr. vs. James Emmot, ownership of 650 acres (New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Queens County Box, James Alexander Papers); 1701, Gerardus Beekman vs. John Lambertson, trespass, for the plaintiff (Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1946. Paul M. Hamlin and Charles E. Baker, eds. Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York 1691-1704, The Minutes Annotated (New York: The Society, 1959), pp. 40, 328-29; Ibid., New-York Historical Society Collections for the Year 1945. Supreme Court Minutes, pp. 337-38; Ibid., Collections for the Year 1912. Supreme Court Minutes, pp. 196-97); 1767, Isaac Balding vs. Teunis Polhemius, trespass (Supreme Court Parchment, # P-106-F-7); 1727, Stephen Theobalds vs. Thomas Poyer, trespass, for the plaintiff (Supreme Court Parchment, # P-232-C-2; and New York Association of the Bar. New York Circuit Court of Oyer and Terminer - Supreme Court, Minutes of Sittings 1721-49, (2 vols.), I, p. 252; 1724, John Chambers vs. Robert D'Enton, lease, entry, and ouster, for the defendant (Circuit Court of Oyer and Terminer, pp. 244-45); 1729, William Smith vs. Thomas Whitehead, lease, entry and ouster, for the defendant, and 1702, John Lawrence vs. Teunis Titus, ejectment, for deft. (Collections of the New-York Historical Society for 1946, Supreme Court, p. 108); 1752, William Smith vs. Whitehead Hicks, tenantry, for the plt. (New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Queens County Box, Alexander Papers); 1696, Willett vs. Smith and Denton, defamation, (Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1912, Supreme Court, p. 93); 1772, Smith vs. Mills, slander, for the deft. (Hall of Records, Supreme Court Parchment, #223C-1); 1739, Benjamin Hinchman vs. Richard Comes, theft, for the plt. (Circuit Court of Oyer and Terminer, vol. I, p. 101); 1737, King vs. Jonathan Dean, theft, for the deft. (Ibid., I, pp. 25, 27; and Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, p. 18).

⁵⁸Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 121-23, 267-68.

⁵⁹Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, pp. 575, 591-92, 630-31; and Colonial Laws of New York, I, p. 175; "An Act to enable Supervisors of Queens County to repair or to rebuild a County Hall and Common Goal for Queens County," pp. 621-22; vol. II, chap. 407; "An Act to Impower

Justices of the Peace in Queens County to Sell the County House and Jail and Build Another, p. 50; and chap. 458; "An Act to enable Justices to Finish Goal and County House, July 24, 1724, pp. 231-34. Samuel Clowes, Gentleman of Jamaica, was the chairman of the committee to build the Court House, The proportion of taxes assessed on the towns in Queens County for this purpose was as follows:

Hempstead	L157.03.04
Oysterbay	85.06.08
Newtown	83.06.08
Jamaica	83.06.08
Flushing	83.06.08
Queens Village	07.10.00

Printed in Queens County Conveyances, Reel II, C, pp. 359-60, 372.

⁶⁰Werner, Civil List (1868), p. 46.

⁶¹For a list of High Sheriffs in Queens County see: Flint, Long Island, p. 303; Werner, Civil List (1868), p. 59; and Paul M. Hamlin and Charles E. Baker, Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1945, Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691-1704, vol. LXXVIII (New York: By the Society, 1959), p. 134; Mills held over 125 acres of land in Jamaica and was the town clerk from 1704 to 1710, and a county supervisor from 1705 to 1709; Creed held over 600 acres of land in Jamaica, Newtown, and East and West Jersey. He was a town assessor (1684), tax collector (1697), fenceviewer (1671), and county supervisor (1694-1703). Everet held over 120 acres of land in Jamaica and land in Orange and Ulster counties, New York. He was a town selectman in 1706-07, county supervisor, 1722-27, and a county treasurer in 1728. Abstracts of Wills, II, p. 71; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I-III; and Queens County Conveyances, reels I-II.

⁶²Zemsky, "Power, Influence and Status," p. 511; William Smith, The History of the Late Province of New-York From Its Discovery, to the Appointment of Governor Coldin in 1762, vol. I (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1830), p. 369; Snell, "County Magistracy," pp. iii-iv, 25, 54, 73-75, 85-90, 128-137; for lists of Justices of the Peace in Queens County see: Queens County, Minutes of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and also of Common Pleas, 1722-1787, County Clerk's Office, Jamaica, New York; Paltsits, Minutes of the Executive Council, II, p. 441; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, I, p. 316; Hamlin and Baker, Supreme Court, LXXIX, p. 107; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I-IV; New York, Association of the Bar, Manuscript

Division, New York Circuit Court of Oyer and Terminer, vols. I and II; and Queens County Supervisors Book.

⁶³John Smith held over 80 acres of land in Jamaica and was a Justice of the Peace during the years 1693 to 1705, 1712, and 1716 to 1720. Joseph Smith, Sr. held several town positions as overseer of the poor, highway overseer, assessor, tax collector, and selectman. He was a Justice of the Peace from 1702 to 1703 and from 1705 to 1707. Everit held over 120 acres of land in Jamaica and was a town clerk (1682, 1688-89) and selectman (1678-9, 1684-5, 1689, 1694, 1700, 1705) before becoming a Justice of the Peace from 1710 to 1712. Bayles owned over 250 acres of land in Jamaica and was a Justice of the Peace during the years 1709-10 and 1715. Messenger held over 50 acres of land in Jamaica and was a Justice of the Peace in 1734, 1735, and a Judge from 1736 to 1738. Polhemius owned over 200 acres in Jamaica and Newtown. He was the town's highway overseer in 1747 and assessor in 1752. His service as a Justice of the Peace included the years 1739, 1744, 1746, 1751-52, and 1756. Samuel Smith, Jr. owned over 330 acres in Jamaica, and was quite active in town affairs as a highway overseer (1721, 1725, 1737, 1747, 1752, 1755), fenceviewer (1728), assessor (1747-50, 1753-72), town clerk (1731-72), marshall and tax collector (1715-36), and selectman (1712-14, 1719, 1738). He was a Judge in Queens County in 1760. Clowes, sons of Samuel Clowes, a gentleman of Jamaica, held over 120 acres of land in Jamaica. He was a Justice of the Peace from 1749 to 1760. Braine was a medical doctor from New York City who owned 30 acres in the town and 130 acres in Flushing. He was Judge in Queens County from 1760 to 1769. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, vols. I-IV; and Queens County Conveyances, reels, I-III.

⁶⁴Queens County Supervisors Book. Joseph Smith, Jr. owned over 100 acres of land in Jamaica and served as town selectman in 1695-96, 1715, 1718, and County Supervisor in 1728. Whitehead was a county supervisor in 1710-11, and a Justice of the Peace in 1734, 1743-44.

⁶⁵Werner, Civil List (1868), p. 60; Snell, "County Magistracy," p. 140; Queens County Supervisors Book; Queens Borough Public Library, Manuscript Division, Loan Office Records, 1754-1760, Liber B, pp. 624-747; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II-IV.

⁶⁶Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 49, 51; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, p. 609; Paltsits, Minutes of the Executive Council, II, pp. 553, 555-56, 747.

⁶⁷The original orders are in the New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, vol. XXIV, pp. 46, 47; and printed in O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 98-100; Henry Onderdonk, Jr., "Notes on the History of Queens County," Journal of Long Island History, VII (Winter-Spring, 1967), 59.

⁶⁸Colonial Laws of New York, I, chap. 20, pp. 161-62; and chap. 114, pp. 500-507. These acts were revived in similar form throughout the colonial period; I, chap. 357, July 3, 1718, p. 1001; II, chap. 385, November 19, 1720, p. 1; chap. 448, July 24, 1724, pp. 187-197; chap. 647, December 16, 1737, p. 947; III, chap. 674, October 3, 1739, pp. 3-14; chap. 694, November 3, 1740, pp. 69-70; IV, chap. 996, February 19, 1756, pp. 16-18. The last act was to remain in effect until 1769.

⁶⁹New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, vol. XXXVI, p. 142. Lists of other members of militia are printed in: O'Callaghan, Documentary History, II, pp. 347-354; and Second Annual Report of the State Historian, I, p. 408. Bayles held over 100 acres of land in Jamaica and served as town magistrate, assessor, fenceviewer, surveyor and selectman. Carpenter held 100 acres of land in Jamaica and served as town marshall and selectman. Wood owned 120 acres of land in Jamaica and East Jersey. He was a tanner by trade and served as a selectman in 1670, 1697-98, and 1700. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I and II; and Queens County Conveyances, reels I and II.

⁷⁰Second Annual Report of the State Historian, I, pp. 419, 421; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, I, pp. 357, 359. The company officers were: Company I -- Captain Hope Carpenter, Lieutenant Benjamin Thurston, and Ensign Richard Oldfield; Company II -- Captain Samuel Carpenter, Lieutenant Joseph Smith, and Ensign Daniel Smith. Carpenter, see note 69. Thurston started out as a blacksmith but ended up a yeoman with 370 acres in Jamaica. In town government he served as a tax collector and as a selectman in 1693, 1698, and 1705. Oldfield was a Justice of the Peace in 1711-12 and before that a town selectman in 1700 and 1708. He owned over 50 acres in Jamaica and often served as a fenceviewer (1716-27). Samuel Carpenter owned over 160 acres of land and served as a surveyor in 1692-93, and a selectman in 1707 and 1711. Joseph Smith, see note 63. Daniel Smith owned over 25 acres in Jamaica and served as the town's tax collector in 1698 and 1700, and as selectman in 1705 and 1712. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, vols. I, II; and Queens County Conveyances, reels I, II.

⁷¹Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, vol. LX, p. 60. The same listing is printed in the Second Annual Report of the State Historian, I, pp. 492-93. John Carpenter originally came from Hempstead to Jamaica in 1675. He accumulated 100 acres of land in Jamaica and held land in West Jersey. In town government he served as assessor, overseer of the poor, and selectman. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, II.

⁷²Second Annual Report of the State Historian, I, pp. 488-89.

⁷³Ibid., II, p. 497. The officers of these companies were: Company I -- Captain Increase Carpenter, Lieutenant Nehemiah Carpenter, and Ensign Thomas Wiggins; Company II -- Captain Benjamin Whitehead, Lieutenant John Foster, and Ensign Amos Smith. Increase Carpenter, the son of John Carpenter, gentleman of Jamaica, owned 50 acres in the town and served as a county Loan Officer in 1738. N. Carpenter was a brother to Increase. He owned over 30 acres of land in Jamaica and served as overseer of highways in 1742 and 1749, and as town clerk from 1773 to 1776. Wiggins owned 200 acres of land in Jamaica, 150 acres of which he inherited from his father. He served as selectman in 1712. Benjamin Whitehead owned 200 acres in Jamaica and was the son of Jonathan, gentleman of Jamaica. In town government he served as as highway overseer in 1742 and 1749, and as a selectman in 1738. John Foster was a yeoman who owned 160 acres in Jamaica. He served as the town's fenceviewer in 1735-36, and as highway overseer in 1748. Amos Smith was a mason who owned over 60 acres of land in Jamaica. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, vols. I-III; and Queens County Conveyances, reels I-III.

⁷⁴Second Annual Report of the State Historian, I, pp. 847-49.

⁷⁵Queens County Supervisors Book; McAnear, "Politics in Provincial New York," P. 23; Colonial Laws of New York, I, chap. 133, "An Act to explain and better execute an Act to defray the public and necessary charge and for maintaining the poor," June 19, 1703, pp. 539-542. The original act was passed on May 31, 1691, I, pp. 237-38; and IV, chap. 1080, pp. 314-15.

⁷⁶Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 25, 29, 111, 131, 142-43, 161, 166. The exact terms of later Jamaica supervisors were as follows: Samuel Smith, 1691-93; William Creed, 1694-1703; Nathaniel Denton, 1704; Zachariah Mills,

1705-10; Jonathan Whitehead, 1710-11; Joseph Smith, 1712-18; Daniel Bull, 1719-21; John Everitt, 1721-27; Joseph Smith, Jr., 1728-29; Samuel Hibbie, 1730-38; Benjamin Whitehead, 1739-75. Samuel Smith, Sr. was an original settler who accumulated over 170 acres in Jamaica and served as town marshall, assessor, surveyor, tax collector, and selectman. Daniel Bull was a cooper by trade who owned 30 acres in Jamaica and was the town selectman in 1716. Samuel Hibbie by the time of his death in 1752 owned 150 acres in Jamaica.

⁷⁷New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, XXIV, p. 147. Also printed in O'Callaghan, Documentary History, II, p. 463.

⁷⁸O'Callaghan, Documentary History, II, p. 463-4. For the rates paid in 1674 which were very similar to those paid in 1675, see New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, XXIV, p. 189; and O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, p. 705; and Second Annual Report of the State Historian, II, p. 432.

⁷⁹The other towns in Queens County paid as follows:

Newtown	£35.12.10
Flushing	33.16.09
Hempstead	60.14.10
Oysterbay	23.10.08

O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, pp. 758-59.

⁸⁰The original listing is in the New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, XXXI, p. 60; it is printed in O'Callaghan, Documentary History, II, pp. 519-22.

⁸¹Queens County Supervisors Book. The remaining discussion of county finances will refer to this account book unless otherwise noted.

⁸²Colonial Laws of New York, II, chap. 666, pp. 1015-40. The duties of loan officers were described in an act passed on the same date, chap. 667, pp. 1040-47. Subsequent acts to continue that of 1737 were passed every year from 1756 to 1763 and from 1770-71.

⁸³Queens County, Loan Office Records.

⁸⁴Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 7-8, 11, 27; Goebel, "Law in Colonial New York," p. 14; Fox, "Minutes of the Court of Sessions," pp. xxvii, xxx, xxi-xxxiv; Werner,

Civil List (1888), p. 350; Ibid., (1868), p. 45; Goebel, Law Enforcement, pp. 64, 70-71, 101, 107, 109; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 190, 282; and New York State Library at Albany, Colonial English Manuscripts, Proceedings of the Court of Sessions, vol. XXV, pp. 128-31, 259; XXVI, pp. 8-9; XXVII, p. 159; XXVIII, pp. 41, 109-10; XXX, pp. 134, 136; XXXII, p. 50; L, p. 141; LI, pp. 131-32.

⁸⁵Fox, "Minutes of the Court of Sessions," pp. xxxiii-xxxviii; William E. Nelson, "Emerging Notions of Modern Criminal Law in the Revolutionary Era: An Historical Perspective," New York University Law Review, XLII (May, 1967), 451; Hall of Records, New York City, Minutes of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and of Common Pleas, 1722-1787, pp. 7, 379, 382, 385, 369, 394-95, 423-24, 429, 430, 433, 418, 455, 462, 466-67; Henry Onderdonk, Jr., History of the First Dutch Reformed Church of Jamaica, Long Island (New York: The Consistory, 1884), p. 56; Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, pp. 8-9, 20; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, p. 1; Queens County Conveyances, II, D, p. 19; and New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, XXIV, p. 129; XXVI, p. 74.

⁸⁶Minutes of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and of Common Pleas, 1722-1787, pp. 216-218. For examples of other land cases, see William Cornell vs. John Foster, 1723 (Ibid., pp. 8, 15); Samuel Griffin vs. William Barnet, 1725 (Ibid., pp. 24, 30); Aaron Furman vs. Wright Frost, Jr., 1737 (Ibid., p. 28); Daniel Whitehead vs. John Oldfield and Samuel Smith, 1678 (New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, XXVII, p. 127); John Laurence vs. John Hinchman, 1678 (Ibid.); and Captain Bryan Newton vs. William Creed, 1679 (Ibid., XXVIII, p. 110).

⁸⁷Minutes of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Common Pleas, 1722-1787, pp. 290-292. For other cases, see Thomas Willet vs. John Willet, 1724 (Ibid., pp. 8, 20); Jacamiah and Helena Denton vs. Thomas Short, 1727 (Ibid., p. 44); Ephraim Smith vs. Samuel Messenger, 1751 (Ibid., p. 238); Thomas Hinchman vs. John Stiles, 1753 (Ibid., p. 255); and John Woolsey vs. Robert Miller, 1684 (New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, XXXIII, p. 33).

⁸⁸Benjamin Kissam vs. Teunis Polhemius, 1770 (Minutes of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and of Common Pleas, 1722-1787, p. 340); Thomas Hinchman, vs.

Rem Vanderbilt, 1772 (Queens County Conveyances, III, E, pp. 175-77); Michall Spicer vs. Robert Coe, 1675 (Colonial English Manuscripts, vol. XXIV, p. 110); John Sharpe vs. Robert Coe, 1676 (Ibid., XXVII, p. 21); and William Creed vs. Peter Smith, 1675 (Second Annual Report of the State Historian, I, p. 1897; II, p. 323).

⁸⁹These totals were derived from the Minutes of the Court of Common Pleas, 1722-1787, pp. 21-324.

CHAPTER III

TOWN GOVERNMENT: ACTIVE TO PASSIVE ATTITUDE

Throughout the colonial period Jamaica adhered to the New England form of town government. Although originally under Dutch control, Jamaica enjoyed the right to handle its internal problems and affairs. Under the circumstances it was not surprising that people from Hempstead instituted the civil structure that they had known and practiced in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The town meeting was the means by which the members of the community discussed and decided such matters affecting the welfare of the town as dividing lands, admitting inhabitants, hiring a minister, and building roads. The town meeting was the instrument of authority most familiar to the people of Jamaica and at the same time the last element in the province's elaborate administrative network as outlined in the Duke's Laws.¹

During the late nineteenth century historians such as Edward Channing, Charles M. Andrews, Charles F. Adams, and Herbert B. Adams disputed the origins of the town and of the town meeting.² They questioned whether towns and their institutions were indigenous to the American

scene; whether the Massachusetts town descended from Germanic prototypes; or whether the town as a social and governmental unit was an adaptation of English institutions to a new environment. The last argument seems most defensible, especially in light of Sumner C. Powell's demonstration that Sudbury had borrowed local institutions from several boroughs, parishes, and towns in England.³

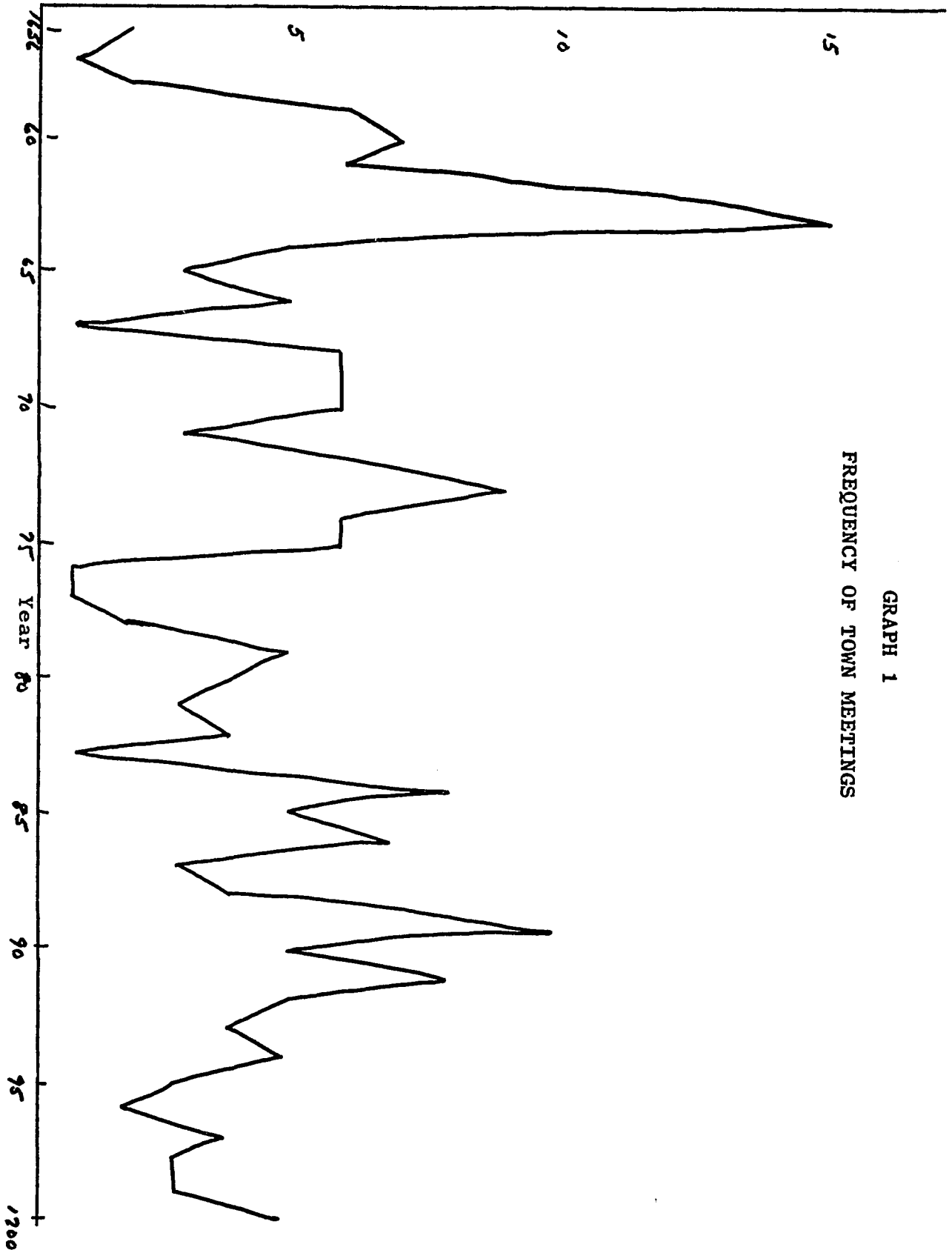
Recently, however, historians have emphasized a different approach to the nature of New England town meeting government. Kenneth Lockridge, Charles Grant, Darret Rutman, Sumner Powell, and most notably, Anne Bush Maclear stress the proactical purpose of this institution.⁴ It was the job of the townspeople to dispose of community lands, to grant lots, to lay fines and penalties, to choose officials, to hire a minister, to admit new inhabitants, and to assess taxes. Michael Zuckerman reduces this functional interpretation to a minor position in his article and book on Massachusetts towns. Placing the town meeting in a social context, as an "institutional expression of the imperatives of peace," he sees its primary function and achievement as a device for securing consensus in order to fulfill the ideal of a "homogeneous communal unit."⁵ In his view the purely administrative aspects of conducting routine business and settling specific problems are relatively unimportant.

Without doubt, Jamaica's inhabitants viewed their

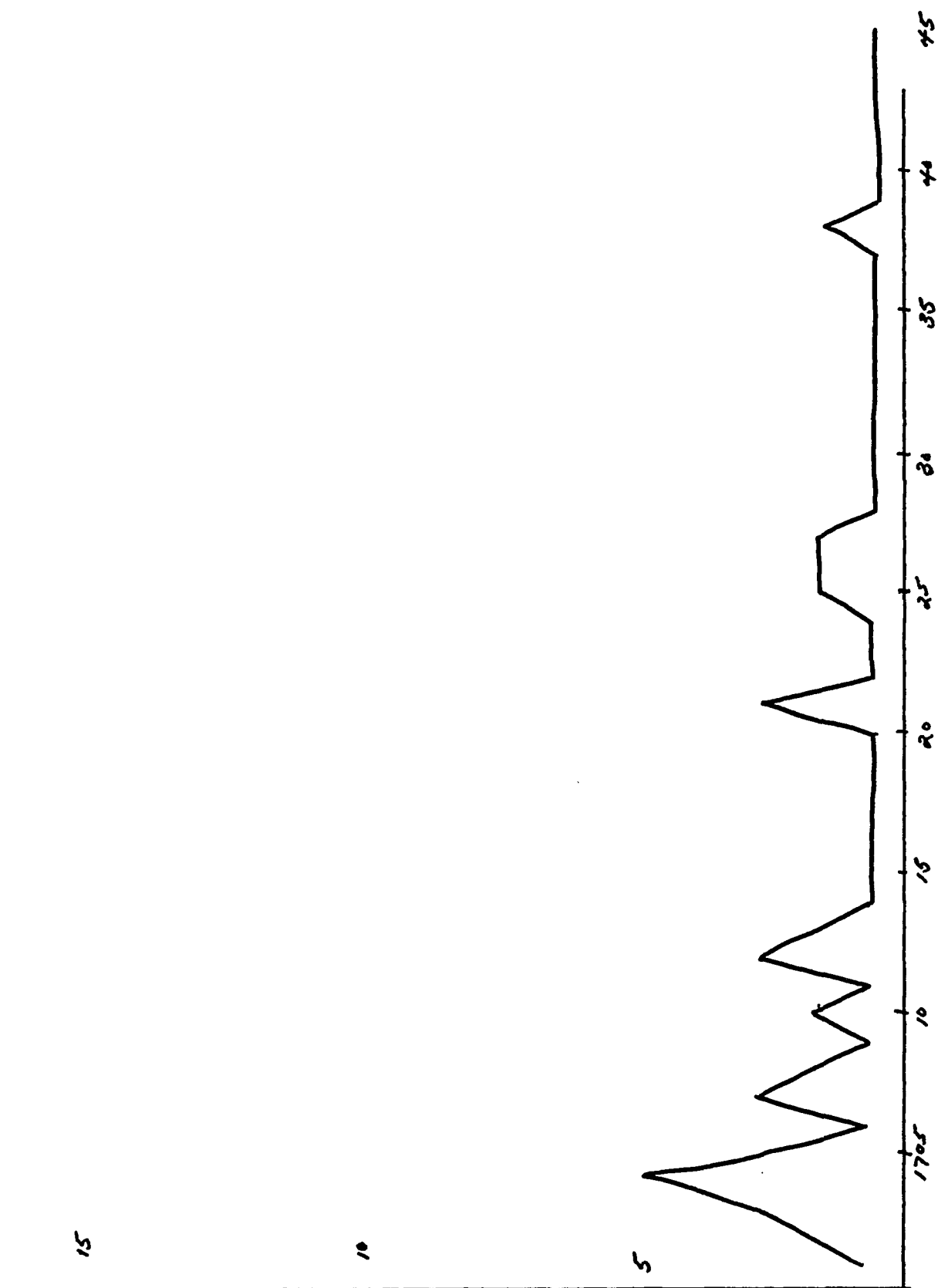
government as an essential device for carrying out the tasks needed to create and preserve order, and by so doing to provide a degree of stability in public affairs. The town needed only a form of minimum control to collect taxes, lay out roads, view fences, maintain peace, and deal with special problems within the community and with neighboring towns. An effective government enabled residents to get on with other aspects of life as providing for a livelihood, buying and selling land, and quarreling over religious questions. Jamaica's town government was continuing more-or-less routine operations designed to create an ordered community life.

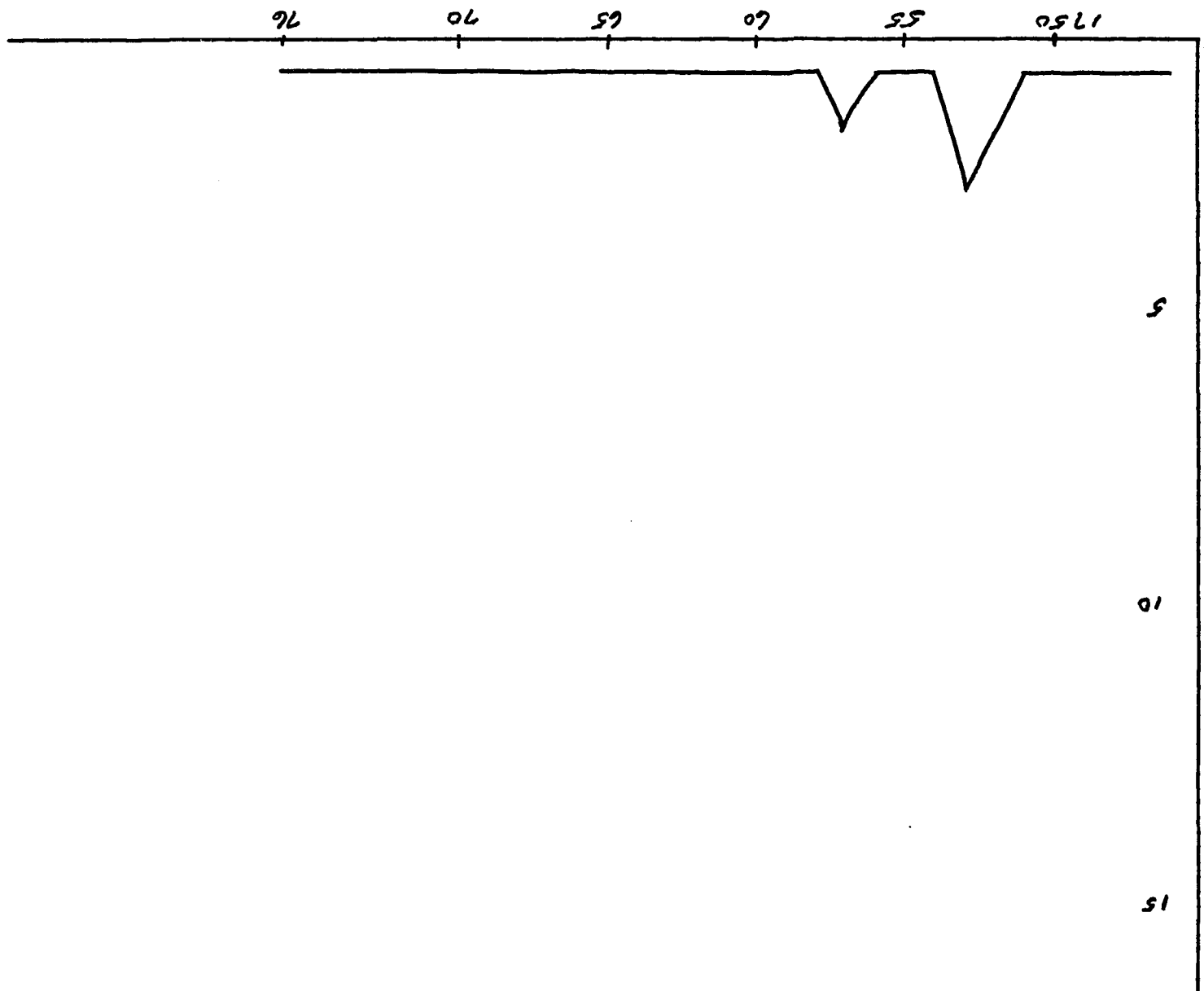
During the early years of the town's existence, meetings were very frequent, ranging from one to as many as fifteen per year (see Graph 1 on pages 82-84). Although they were not evenly distributed before 1700, the average for this forty-five year period was 4.84 per year. The following seventy-six years had an average of only 1.34 per year. Numerous town meetings were essential during the early decades because of the necessity of erecting a well-functioning administration. Residents had to decide on land distribution, the admission of new settlers, rules and orders, problems with other communities, education, and revenue. The number of meetings varied due to the purely functional basis on which they were called, for a specific problem often required a special meeting. Between 1700 and

Number of Meetings Per Year



GRAPH 1
FREQUENCY OF TOWN MEETINGS





1710 the frequency decreased considerably compared to previous years, and between 1715 and 1776 there were only five instances of more than one meeting per year.⁶ Undoubtedly, the change in frequency was the result of an efficient administrative unit, based on rules set down in the early decades. Only the annual election of officers and an occasional special problem required a meeting.

In contrast to New England towns, suffrage restrictions were not a major issue in Jamaica. Early records do not mention any restrictions on the right to vote, and the phrase "voted and agreed upon by ye Town" followed all election lists and decrees. On December 11, 1753, however, the statement became: "By the majority of the freeholders of the said Town." All available evidence indicates that throughout Jamaica's history all men could vote if they owned land and lived in the town. Moreover, because of the five different denominations (not one of which was dominant) in the town, religious diversity meant that church membership could not be a restricting factor in determining the suffrage or freemanship. If anything, Jamaica's town meeting was more directly democratic than its New England counterparts.⁷

During the first three decades of the town's existence, the problems, necessities, and issues involved all townsmen in town meetings. With the increase in population Jamaica, like New England towns, chose a group of

men known as selectmen to make decisions between meetings and to carry out the orders of the electorate. Other elected officials such as constables, surveyors, highway overseers, ministers, rate assessors and collectors, and poundkeepers assisted them in their duties.

One of the important functions of town government was the admission of newcomers, for not everyone was allowed to become an inhabitant of a seventeenth and eighteenth century community. Jamaica required a man to be "such a one as the Town shall approve off" before he could buy or be granted a home lot.⁸ On January 31, 1664 the town meeting stipulated that "no inhabitant wt in ys Town off Jemaico shall sell or let his lands or accomodiations to any person whatsoever till ye Town bee acquainted wt ye persons they shall sell or let unto."⁹ Newcomers had to give a satisfactory reason for coming and prove that they would not be a burden to the community. In those instances when men settled in the town without permission or contrary to an order, the selectmen forced them to give security to the town, to pay a fine, or to leave, and on April 3, 1688, Jamaica residents decided that "no inhabitant in ys Town off Jemaica shall Receive any stranger or fforeinor into his house That may bee any wayes bee Chargeable to ye Town wt out acquainting ye Commissioners and obtaining there Consent ffor there Continuance in the place; Not above ye term & time off a Month from there

ffirst arivall."¹⁰

Once admitted a man faced several orders governing his conduct. On January 21, 1659, for example, the town decreed that all inhabitants must fence off one half or all of their property within one year so that their neighbors would receive no damage. Also, the newcomer was to cut down trees prejudicial to his neighbors, and to avoid "unlawful or bad courses." Failure to follow these instructions, led to the return of his home lot to the town.¹¹

In contrast to Massachusetts, immigration was a major factor in the increase in the town's population in the early decades. The town not only encouraged new settlers by setting aside seventeen lots of planting land to be sold, but was generally liberal in granting home lots; in March, 1659, to take one instance, seven new inhabitants were granted land.¹² Jamaica also permitted inhabitants to sell their home lots or part of them to outsiders. If a man gave evidence of being financially responsible, he was usually admitted to the town and given a home lot, meadow, and planting land. The bulk of the new settlers arrived during the first forty years of the town's existence. By 1670 sixty-two families had joined the community, coming mostly from Hempstead, Flushing, Oysterbay, and Kings County. It was also during this period that nineteen families left Jamaica to settle in East and West Jersey or in Orange

and Ulster counties in the Province of New York.¹³ (see tables on page 89)

The residents of Jamaica also profited from the town's relatively generous land policy, which provided for periodic divisions of its meadows, planting lands, and woods during the first three decades. Inhabitants received property according to need or for services rendered. Finally in 1712 the town distributed all of its remaining land with the exception of the common meadows which were retained for the use of land holders.¹⁴ At the same time it formulated rules for the division, sale, purchase, laying-out, and fencing of this land.

The town meeting was responsible for drafting rules and orders for the regulation of a wide variety of activity. Numerous acts dealt with the killing of wolves, selling of "Strong drink" to the Indians, cutting down trees, hiring a bull for the town, mowing the meadows, burning the woods, digging wells, building a meeting house, fencing in cornfields, building roads and highways, sweeping chimneys, mending fences, cutting brush, removing swine and cattle from the fields and roads, trespassing of strangers in the bay, and the impounding of cattle.¹⁵ Ninety-nine percent of these regulations were put into effect before 1700. After that date the town records mention only five new orders. The decrease in number of decisions parallels the reduction in the frequency of meetings held per year.

TABLE 1

WHERE JAMAICA'S POPULATION CAME FROM

Suffolk County	3
Newtown	4
East Jersey	3
Hempstead	13
Flushing	8
Oysterbay	4
Kings County	19
West Jersey	1
Goshen, Ulster County	1
New York City	5
Hartford Ct., Conn.	3
Not Known	1129

TABLE 2

WHERE JAMAICA RESIDENTS WENT TO

Maidenhead, N.J.	1
Pennsylvania	2
Hempstead	3
Oysterbay	3
West Jersey	7
New York City	3
Hartford Ct., Conn.	1
West Indies	1
Not Known	67

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF RESIDENTS WHO LEFT PER DECADE

1660-1670	19
1670-1680	5
1680-1690	10
1690-1700	11
1700-1710	7
1710-1720	11
1720-1730	1
1730-1740	3
1740-1750	4
1750-1760	6
1760-1770	5
1770-1780	5
1780-1790	1

Several times throughout the town's history the meeting appointed committees to deal with specific problems. Between 1670 and 1707, selectmen appointed fifty such committees, but from 1707 to 1772 not a single committee was appointed by the town. The matters referred to these committees included the building of dams and mills, the settlement of boundary disputes among inhabitants and between Jamaica and neighboring towns, reviewing fences, hiring men to keep sheep, finding a minister, regulating the rate for the quit rent, building a meeting house and parsonage, inspecting the accounts of rate collectors, dealing with the minister about arrearages, defending the privilege of fowling in the bay, ejecting people who fences in common land and meadow, collecting rates for the minister, and considering rules and orders beneficial for the town.¹⁶

Moderate to wealthy residents comprised earlier committees, which ranged from two to ten men. Also, those chosen or volunteering generally included men active in town and county government such as Robert Coe, Nathaniel Denton, Thomas, Samuel, Joseph, and Nehemiah Smith, Joseph Thurston, Anthony Waters, William Creed, Daniel Whitehead, Samuel Ruscoe, George Woolsey, Nicholas Everet, Theodorus Polhemius, and Samuel Clowes. Unlike the others, Joseph Smith owned less than fifty acres of land, a figure well below the average for the group of 196 acres per man. Smith,

however, did not lack social status, for he was a lawyer who served as a justice of the peace, county supervisor, and treasurer. The remaining men were generally well-to-do, for only five owned less than one hundred acres.¹⁷

The town meeting also was responsible for keeping proper records concerning deeds and contracts. Ninety percent of its archives pertain to some form of land transaction. Agreements having to do with land exchange were common between 1675 and 1720, with few transfers after 1715. During this forty-five year period fifty exchanges were entered by the clerk. Agreements not dealing with land also received legal sanction by being recorded in the town book. On June 1, 1702, for example, John Hanson allowed Benjamin Smith to have a full wagon path through the west side of the ten acre lot he bought from Smith.¹⁸ Similarly, on June 4, 1737 Jonathan and Daniel Whitehead granted William Higbee the liberty to make a dam for his mill and released him from all damages made on their boggy land.¹⁹ On June 28, 1679, Robert Coe and his wife contracted with their son-in-law to provide for their maintenance until death in exchange for the use of their house and lands. Such contracts were common in Europe at this time.²⁰ Another agreement made on September 28, 1686 between Richard and John Rodes concerned the property inherited from their father.²¹ The recording of all land transfers between Jamaica inhabitants

or between one Jamaica resident and an outsider was also the full responsibility of the town clerk,²²

During the period of Dutch control and into the 1670's, the English settlements on Long Island had town courts which settled minor criminal and civil infractions. The two representatives or magistrates to the Director-General and Council in New Netherland decided civil suits to the amount of sixty florins as well as such minor matters as quarrels, abusive words, and threats. At least five selectmen and the constable decided civil cases up to £5 and petty criminal offenses. A justice of the peace presided at each court which met every two or three weeks or at the request of an individual. Arbitration by two impartial persons of the town, nominated by the constable, resolved suits of debt or trespass. If their settlement was refused, a panel of three other unconcerned persons was empowered to render a final decision. For each offense the town collected penalties no greater than twenty shillings. Town courts began on the first Wednesday of each month, and proceeded without a jury unless the persons involved demanded and paid for it. The Judiciary Act of 1691 abolished this lowest judicial tribunal, and gave its inferior jurisdiction to the justices of the peace who determined cases of debt and trespass to the value of forty shillings.²³

The town court of Jamaica heard thirty cases from

1661 to 1683, not to mention others not recorded by the clerk. During this period, there were seven debt cases as well as suits dealing with damage to fences and cornfields, disagreement over the ownership of land given by the town, trespass on meadow land, stealing of cattle, refusal to pay laborers, and breach of contract.²⁴ On the whole, however, the town court was not very active because most suits were beyond its jurisdiction.

To a minor extent the town involved itself in the education of its young people. The conflict between the Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, Dutch Reformed, and Anglicans impeded the development of public schools. The few records that remain indicate that only the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel carried on any formal education after 1700. Before the turn of the century, the town minutes occasionally referred to some form of education.

Daniel Denton before his voyage to England in 1670 probably taught, for when he lived in Springfield, Massachusetts he was the instructor from 1678 to 1681.²⁵ Shortly after Denton left, the town hired Richard Jones to teach school in the meeting house. He probably tutored through the 1680's, for his name appeared on the rate list of 1683.²⁶ In 1685 Goody Davis kept school in a little house, which John Rodes, Sr. left to his son John, Jr. to be used as a shop.²⁷ Public education probably stopped before the

turn of the century because Daniel Whitehead left £20 in his will dated 1704 for the maintenance of a grammar school, if one were erected.²⁸ On April 18, 1705 Lord Cornbury licensed Henry Lindley to instruct the children in English, Latin, Writing, and Arithmetic, but in December of that year Thomas Huddleston succeeded him.²⁹ There was no further reference to a schoolmaster, except from the inventory of James Loquart who died in 1722. Noted as a teacher, he was worth less than £50 and in debt to the Reverend George McNish.³⁰ On May 4, 1726 the town appointed a committee of six "to see that people are willing to agree to dower or subscribe toward ye incorrigment of a free scoule."³¹ Only during the 1760's is it definitely known that the two had a teacher. Education in the colonial period, therefore, was mostly a private matter, the responsibility of the family.³²

During certain periods the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel provided for the formal education of children of all denominations. A full time instructor was present in the town for only eighteen years. Rowland Jones taught from 1722 to 1730, Edward Willett from 1733 to 1741, and John Moore from 1741 to 1743. Only during Willett's tenure are there any detailed accounts of education in Jamaica. His reports to the SPG indicated that he had sixty-three scholars in 1734 and forty-five in 1738, all taught free by the Society. One year later he accounted for only thirty-eight pupils, five of whom were dissenters

and one a black child. He added that school hours extended from eight to twelve in the morning and from two to six in the afternoon. After 1743 Jamaica had no other SPG teachers, probably due to lack of funds.³³ The limited and irregular school program resulted in a high degree of illiteracy, a condition most apparent in deeds because few men or women were able to sign their names.

One of the most important functions of the town meeting was to provide the funds needed for the operation of government. Rates, levied for specific purposes, defrayed the costs of the minister's salary, land purchased from the Indians, the county rate, quit rent, and patent.³⁴ In addition, schoolmasters and surveyors received salaries from tax funds. As early as 1660 the town chose assessors or "makers of rates" to determine the valuation of each man's estate. Each year the town selected two men as raters and two as collectors. After 1710 the constable acted as one of the rate collectors in addition to his other duties. From 1660 to 1709, when the town records indicated the purpose of each assessment, Jamaica residents paid rates in wheat or corn, based on their ownership of meadow land. Often, as on April 21, 1702, the town appointed men to check money paid in taxes by having all inhabitants appear before them and make accounts of the money they contributed. There was only one reference made to dissatisfaction with the assessors, and one instance

where the tax collector caused a debt to the town of £52.06.³⁵

An act passed by the Provincial Assembly on December 12, 1753 provided that each town in Queens County should elect annually one to four assessors to determine the real and personal estates of all inhabitants. The rate, collected at £4 for every £100 of value, discharged county expenses and provincial quotas.³⁶

By 1662 the town meeting had become too cumbersome to conduct Jamaica's government on a day-to-day basis, and it chose selectmen to implement and enforce its acts and decrees. The board of selectmen, numbering from three to five men, was always available to consider any problem that might arise and to call a meeting to deal with it. The people of Jamaica limited their selectmen to "act & order all matters off publik concernment ffor ye Town unlesse disposing off Lands & taking in off inhabitants during ye tearm of one year."³⁷ Usually, the constable and overseers collaborated with the selectmen in such tasks as choosing certain townsmen to undertake specific assignments. Selectmen with the aid of the constable were "impowred to call forth any man or men to imploy about Town Servis." Those who refused paid two shillings and six pence per day for their neglect.³⁸

Short terms for selectmen permitted a large percentage of freeholders to serve as leaders. During the one hundred and twenty year period of this study, the town

records refer to seventy selectmen who cumulatively served 131 years or an average of 1.87 years apiece. Complete records extend from 1662 through 1730, after which date only one or two names appear for each year. In general, original settlers occupied the office of selectman from 1662 to 1672. Even, then, however, several newcomers served on the board. In colonial Jamaica, the number of years served by any one individual ranged from one to a maximum of seven years. Samuel Smith, Sr. held the post for seven years from 1672 to 1678, and in 1689, and Joseph Smith, Sr. for six years in 1663, 1682, 1684, 1685, 1694, and 1697; George Woolsey, Sr. occupied it for seven years from 1672 to 1678 and in 1684. The remaining sixty-seven men were selectmen for only one or two years. All of them, however, served in other offices in town government, averaging 2.95 jobs during their careers. The number of other positions ranged from one to eight, with the highest number held by twelve wealthy members of the community.³⁹ Usually, selectmen served in two or three offices before or after their term(s). Most selectmen were drawn from the town's upper-classes, and their wealth in land can be categorized as follows:

TABLE 4
SELECTMEN RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Selectmen</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
0-50	22	598
51-100	13	1118

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Selectmen</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
101-150	12	1609
151-200	9	1640
201-300	10	2374
301-400	3	1020
401-500	0	0
501-600	0	0
601-800	0	0
801-1000	1	950
over 1000	0	0
	70	9309

The average acreage per man was 132.9 acres, a sizeable amount of property compared to the remaining population. Dividing this group by occupation, there were forty-nine middle-class farmers, one small-farmer, twelve planters, and eight artisans. Those artisans and middle-class yeomen who served as selectmen were not necessarily poor; among selectmen were a tanner John Oldfield who owned 100 acres; a carpenter Samuel Denton, Sr. who owned 150 acres; a weaver Jonathan Waters who owned 144 acres; and a blacksmith Thomas Thurston who owned 320 acres.

No single religious denomination dominated Jamaica's government. During its early years Presbyterians and Congregationalists shared power in the town's government. After 1701 with the formation of the Anglican and Dutch Reformed churches representatives from these sects often became selectmen. The town's residents made sure that each religion had its exponent to protect its interests. At

the same time an individual's personal habits were definitely important factors in the selection process. Only five selectmen during one hundred and twenty years were debtors, and only twelve were either plaintiffs or defendants in court cases.⁴⁰

In contrast to many New England towns, public office was not monopolized by a few families. Only three sons -- George Woolsey, Jr., Joseph Smith, Jr., and Samuel Smith, Jr. became town leaders as their fathers had been before them. Before 1700 there were five families -- Denton, Foster, Smith, Woolsey, and Waters -- whose members frequently served as selectmen. But after the turn of the century, few families dominated town politics. The Smith family, however, was still prominent, and such old names as Thurston, Everitt, Woolsey, Whitehead, and Waters occasionally appeared in the public records. Essentially, family connections were only marginally advantageous, not making the office of selectman the exclusive preserve of one family or group of families. In short, access to the highest office was relatively open.

In addition to selectman, other town offices appointed by the town meeting included those of town clerk, constable, assessor, tax collector, fenceviewer, highway overseer, poundkeeper, and surveyor. In 1656 at the town's founding, the first office to be filled was that of town clerk. His function was to enter all acts and orders

of public concern, and to record all land transactions. During Jamaica's history there were twelve clerks who served an average of five years apiece, with the range of service extending from one to forty-one years. Samuel Smith, Jr., who had already served as selectman, constable, and tax collector, was the town's clerk from 1731 to 1772. During part of his tenure as clerk, he was also a justice of the peace, a judge, and a fenceviewer. Smith, moreover, was one of the town's wealthiest residents, for he owned three houses in Jamaica and more than 330 acres. Samuel Roscoe held the position for sixteen years (1665, 1673, 1676-77, 1690-1703). In economic and social status, Roscoe rivaled Samuel Smith, Jr., for he was a cordwainer by trade, owning 150 acres of land, fifty of which he inherited from his father in 1680. The only other office he held was that of fenceviewer in 1671. During the town's first nine years, Daniel Denton, Sr. was clerk. His brother Nathaniel held the same office intermittently for seven years during the 1670's and 1680's. Both held at least four other town offices. Nehemiah Smith, town clerk from 1711 to 1730, served in five other offices and was a planter who owned more than 170 acres. After his death in 1731 Samuel Smith, Jr. started his long tenure. Zachariah Mills, a wealthy yeoman owning more than 125 acres, served six years. The remaining clerks, who held office for only from one to three years were drawn from different religious

denominations and families. They were not involved in court cases and were never in debt. They owned an average of 136.1 acres of land and fell into the following land categories:

TABLE 5
CLERKS RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Clerks</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
0-50	3	100
51-100	1	65
101-150	5	689
151-200	1	200
201-300	1	250
301-400	1	330
401-500	0	0
501-600	0	0
601-800	0	0
801-1000	0	0
over 1000	0	0
	12	1614

The constable, the second most important official next to the selectman, was responsible for apprehending all criminals, vagrants, and drunkards, "warning" the time of town meetings, and enforcing town ordinances. After 1710 he also acted as tax collector. From 1662 to 1710 there were twenty-one constables, most of whom served a term of only one year, and only four who served for as much as three years. During the same period twenty-two tax collectors served a term of one year, and only Daniel Smith lasted two years in 1698 and 1700. The

position appeared available to anyone who wanted it, and those who held it included farmers like Richard Brutnell who owned sixteen acres, gentleman-planters like Wait Smith, Sr. who owned 250 acres, and a blacksmith like Thomas Thurston who held 320 acres. Similarly, tax collectors represented all stations in life: small-farmers such as Luke Watson and Daniel Smith who both owned twenty-five acres each; middle-class farmers who owned 150 and 400 acres as did John Rhodes, Sr. and Hendrick Lott; and gentleman-planters such as William Creed, John Oakley, and Jonathan Whitehead who owned 600, 400, and 600 acres, respectively.

When the offices of constable and tax collector were combined the number of years served increased measurably. Samuel Smith, Jr., the gentleman-planter who was the town clerk for forty-one years, served from 1715 to 1736. Nicholas Smith who operated a water grist mill and owned fifty acres of land held the same position from 1751 to 1770. Nehemiah Denton, Sr., a shopkeeper who was frequently in debt, served the town as constable and tax collector from 1737 to 1749. The following chart indicates that the wealth in land owned by men in these posts was substantially lower than that of town clerks and selectmen.

TABLE 6

CONSTABLES AND TAX COLLECTORS RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Constables</u>			<u>Tax Collectors</u>	
<u>Acres</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
0-50	11	247	14	426
51-100	8	742	5	375

<u>Acres</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>	
101-150	3	400	1	150	
151-200	2	360	2	370	
201-300	2	490	0	0	
301-400	2	650	5	1820	
401-500	0	0	0	0	
501-600	0	0	2	1200	
601-800	0	0	0	0	
801-1000	0	0	0	0	
over 1000	0	0	0	0	
28		2889	29	4341	

The total average acreage held by the constables and tax collectors was 103.1 and 149.3 acres, respectively. No family or religious group held a monopoly over these duties.

The last major town position was that of tax assessor. Each year Jamaica selected two men to determine the value of every inhabitant's estate. In the early years incumbents held the post for only one year, except for Joseph Smith, Sr. who served intermittently for six years, and at the same time acted as justice of the peace and county supervisor. Elias Bayles, Sr., "Gent.," held it from 1720 to 1727, before becoming a loan officer and justice of the peace. Hendrick Elderts and Nathan Smith, Sr. were in office from 1728 to 1746. Elderts, a gentleman of Dutch descent, owned more than one hundred acres in Jamaica, Newtown, and Flatbush, and also acted as justice of the peace from 1742 to 1762. Smith, a middle-class farmer, owned fifty-five acres in Jamaica. Hendrick Elderts was

elected again from 1754 to 1768, along with Samuel Smith, Jr. who served during 1747-50 and 1753-72. Smith was also the town clerk and justice of the peace at this time. Nehemiah Smith, Jr. was the last one who served a large number of years. A wheelwright who owned forty acres, he served in 1709, 1711-13, 1715-26, 1747. During the entire period under discussion, there were forty-five assessors, with only the above four holding the position for any substantial length of time. Only five were in debt, four were creditors, and thirteen were involved in some form of court action. In addition, all religious denominations were represented. The average amount of land held by this group was 135.7 acres, and was distributed as follows:

TABLE 7
ASSESSORS RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Assessors</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
0-50	13	278
51-100	11	957
101-150	5	680
151-200	5	920
201-300	8	2025
301-400	2	650
401-500	0	0
501-600	1	600
601-800	0	0
801-1000	0	0
over 1000	0	0
	45	6110

Unlike other town positions, one family dominated that of assessor. Joseph Smith, Sr., Samuel Smith, Sr.,

William Smith, Nathan Smith Sr., Samuel Smith, Jr., Nehemiah Smith, Sr., Thomas Smith, Sr., Amos Smith, Sr., Joseph Smith, Jr., Nicholas Smith, and Nehemiah Smith, Jr. served for seventy-two years out of a total of one hundred and twenty years, or sixty percent of the time. These figures take on added significance when it is recalled that the Smiths also served a total of thirty-one years in the position of selectman, forty-one years as the town's clerk, fifty-one years as constable, and forty-six years as tax collector. The Smiths, however, were far from controlling administrative affairs during the colonial period.

Town government had several minor offices such as fenceviewer, surveyor, overseer of highways, and poundkeeper. Because any freeholder could be called upon to serve in the first three posts, nearly all the inhabitants occupied at least one of these positions. Some men specialized in one area. During the period covered by this study, there were a total of thirty-six fenceviewers, thirty of whom served from one to five years, and the remaining six men from ten to nineteen years. Before 1715 four men inspected all of the town's fences each year; after 1715 two were assigned to this task. Generally, fenceviewers held at least one other town office, and were not of one religious group. Out of a total of thirty-six men, seven were debtors, two were creditors, and sixteen were involved in legal matters. More than in the major town offices, these men belonged mostly to the artisan and small-farmer

class, accounting for almost half of those who served. Consequently, the wealth in land was considerably less than the average of 124.7 acres might indicate.

TABLE 8
FENCEVIEWERS RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Fenceviewers</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
0-50	19	441
51-100	4	305
101-150	4	544
151-200	4	730
201-300	2	600
301-400	1	320
401-500	0	0
501-600	1	600
601-800	0	0
801-1000	1	950
over 1000	0	0
	36	4590

Surveyors were skilled technicians who laid out the town's property into home lots, meadows, planting areas, and wooded lands. Until 1670 two or occasionally three men regularly apportioned lots, but between 1670 and 1719 surveyors were only called on intermittently. Thereafter, the town records no longer referred to this office. Since most of the land was distributed early in the town's existence, surveyors were by necessity, original settlers.⁴¹ As in other offices only a few men, out of a total of twenty-two surveyors, served more than the usual time of one to three years. Samuel Smith, Sr., a very active man in town government, assisted for eleven years. Because of the

Skills involved in this office those who gave their time usually belonged to the upper strata of Jamaica's society and included such gentlemen as Nathaniel Denton, Sr., John Oakley, Samuel Carpenter, Thomas Cardale, and Samuel Clowes. Others were either original settlers or wealthy farmers. The average wealth in land was 151.2 acres and distributed as follows:

TABLE 9
SURVEYORS RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Surveyors</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
0-51	5	157
51-100	6	490
101-150	5	700
151-200	2	330
201-300	2	500
301-400	1	400
401-500	0	0
501-600	0	0
601-800	1	750
801-1000	0	0
over 1000	0	0
	22	3327

Although highway overseers were mentioned in 1673 for the first time in the town records, it was not until 1720, when there were sufficient roads within the town, that they served on a continuing basis.⁴² Each year the selectmen and constable appointed three men to review, repair, and lay out roads. During Jamaica's first one hundred and twenty years. 145 men served at most two years apiece. Four men served for a range of five to nine years. All groups had

representation in this office, including gentleman-planters, poor to wealthy farmers, artisans, and professionals. All religious denominations were also represented. In general, however, this position was held by those who did not serve as selectmen, constables, and assessors, or in county government. The landed wealth was, therefore, the lowest of all town jobs, averaging 72.9 acres.

TABLE 10
OVERSEERS RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Overseers</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
0-50	91	1137
51-100	15	1187
101-150	13	1812
151-200	12	2180
201-300	10	2518
301-400	2	730
401-500	1	420
501-600	1	600
601-800	0	0
801-1000	0	0
over 1000	0	0
	145	10584

Moreover, twenty-five men in this group were in debt from three to five times. There were nine creditors among them, and thirty-eight involved in court cases either as plaintiff or defendant. Sixty-three road overseers bought or sold land at least once, while the wealthier of this group were involved in a minimum of forty transactions.

The final office townsmen had to fill was cowkeeper, a position which turned into poundkeeper in later years. During

the first decade when there were few animals, the town meeting hired a man to keep all the town's cows, in return for which he received board and room. Henry Powell, John Tosh, and Humphery Underhill undertook this task for one year apiece. Underhill remained in the town and became its first poundkeeper in 1673. Samuel Denton, Jr., a blacksmith who owned 100 acres in Jamaica and Flushing, kept a pound for stray cattle, sheep, and hogs from 1705 to 1712. He was followed by Joseph Barton, a carpenter with thirty acres, who ran it in 1713, and from 1720 to 1727. Edward Jones, a poor sadler owning five acres, operated the town pound from 1726 to 1733. George Reynolds, a poor farmer with five acres, continued his work from 1734 to 1741. At this point the job was monopolized by one family -- the Hinchmans. Obadiah Hinchman, Sr. owned twenty acres in Jamaica and kept a pound from 1741 to 1748, and from 1750 to 1753. His son Thomas took over at the time of his death in 1753 and ran it probably until 1771. In 1771 Obadiah, Jr., a cooper by trade owning ten acres, operated the pound until 1774. On the whole, poundkeepers belonged to the lowest stratum of society, averaging only 65.3 acres. A more detailed distribution can be seen by the following chart:

TABLE 11
POUNDKEEPERS RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Poundkeepers</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
0-50	10	112
51-100	2	200
101-150	0	0

<u>Acres</u>	<u># of Poundkeepers</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
151-200	0	0
201-300	1	203
301-400	1	400
401-500	0	0
501-600	0	0
601-800	0	0
801-1000	0	0
over 1000	0	0
	14	915

The town records referred to three offices which were discontinued after a few years. Overseers of the Poor, chosen by the selectmen and constable, were mentioned for the first time on February 27, 1663. In March of the same year William Foster and Daniel Denton were to "order & dispose yt which is given to ye poor," a reference to Henry Townsend's gift to the town.⁴³ Men who held this position either distributed money collected for the poor, or provided personally for poor individuals. To be able to do so they had to have substantial wealth as did William Foster who took charge of Daniel Sexton, and Daniel Whitehead who supported Elizabeth Ford.⁴⁴ The town transferred this function to the Anglican and Dutch Reformed churches in 1702.

The town records referred to the positions of Beater of the Drum, Whipper, and Prisonkeeper a total of eight times. Abraham Smith and Nicholas Everit acted as the town's first drummers to call the Sabbath meeting.⁴⁵ George Reynolds, the poundkeeper, was the whipper in 1731, and

Joseph Prue, a small-farmer, did the same in 1771-72, and 1774. Lastly, Thomas Thurston was referred to as the prisonkeeper in 1719. He was a blacksmith and a wealthy farmer who owned 320 acres in Jamaica and Pennsylvania, and who served the town as assessor, constable, tax collector, fenceviewer, and selectman.

Unlike New England communities, Jamaica's local leadership was accessible to most townsmen. Those who held political power did not belong to an exclusive group as in Dedham, Massachusetts and Kent and Windham, Connecticut.⁴⁶ The major offices of selectman, clerk, assessor, constable, and tax collector did not become the domain of the wealthiest townsmen or of one person or family. A total of 184 men served in these five important town positions. Not all were wealthy; in fact, ninety percent belonged to the middle-income groups. No one religious denomination took political control into its hands. Also, these positions did not pass down from fathers to sons. Only the Smith family was represented in all five offices for any length of time, but even they did not dominate the town. Access to the most prestigious posts was open throughout Jamaica's early history. Factors such as industry, sufficient time, ambition, ability, and moderate land ownership generally determined success in town affairs. Minor offices as fenceviewer, highway overseer, surveyor, and poundkeeper were also classless with all groups participating in a wide range of jobs.

Between 1700 and 1720 an atmosphere of indifference to politics developed and lasted until the revolution. Energy was transferred from town government to other areas of endeavor. For other activity one need only look at the town records and Queens County conveyances to see the enormous number of land transfers; to the court records to witness the large volume of litigation; and to church records to find the bitter conflict between and within the three leading religious denominations.

FOOTNOTES

¹Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 8, 14, 17, 27, 29-30, 55, 59, 63-64, 71.

²See Edward Channing, "Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America," John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: John Hopkins University), October, 1884; Charles M. Andrews, "The River Towns of Connecticut, A Study of Wetherfield, Hartford, and Windson," John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, VII (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1889), pp. 1-26; Charles Frances Adams, The Genesis of the Massachusetts Town and the Development of Town-Meeting Government (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1892), pp. 6-8, 27; and Herbert B. Adams, "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns," John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, I (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1882),

³For a detailed discussion of these three possibilities, see Joseph F. Zimmerman, The Massachusetts Town Meeting, A Tenacious Institution (Albany: State University of New York at Albany, 1967), pp. 6-9, 12-14. John Fairfield Sly, Town Government in Massachusetts (1620-1930) (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1967), pp. 38-41, 63-64; and Powell, Puritan Village.

⁴Lockridge, Dedham; Grant, Kent; Rutman, Winthrop's Boston; Powell, Puritan Village; and Anne Bush Maclear, "Early New England Towns: A Comparative Study of Their Development," Publications in Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 29 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908).

⁵Michael Zuckerman, "The Social Context of Democracy in Massachusetts," William and Mary Quarterly, XXV (October, 1968), 527; and Michael Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms, pp. 93-94, 101, 105, 118, 154, 169-70.

⁶Town meetings were warned twenty-four hours in advance by the constable and held in the meeting house or

the town church. The data on town meeting dates was taken from the four volumes of the town records. It is interesting to note that on July 25, 1712 Samuel Clowes protested against the diminishing number of meetings per year. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, p. 433.

Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick put the decrease in the number of town meetings into a theoretical framework in their article on Turner's frontier thesis. Their hypothesis states: "Political democracy evolves most quickly during the initial stages of setting up a new community; it is seen most dramatically while the process of organization and the solving of basic problems are still crucial; it is observed to best advantage when this flow of basic problems is met by a homogeneous population." Democracy became a "brutal necessity" because of the many problems to be solved in a vacuum of no structure of natural leadership. After the "time of troubles" was over interest in officeholding diminished substantially. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier: Part I: Democracy in the Old Northwest," Political Science Quarterly, LXIX (September, 1954), 323, 325-28, 334; and "Part II: The Southwest Frontier and New England," Ibid., (December, 1954), 585-92.

⁷Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, p. 398; B. Katherine Brown, "Freemanship in Puritan Massachusetts," American Historical Review, LIX (July, 1954), pp. 865-83. Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms, pp. 187-93; and Zuckerman, "The Social Context of Democracy in Massachusetts," p. 527; Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, pp. 163-64; Richard C. Simmons, "Freemanship in Early Massachusetts: Some Suggestions and a Case Study," William and Mary Quarterly, XIX (July, 1962), 422-27; Stephen Foster, "The Massachusetts Franchise," pp. 613-17; Timothy H. Breen, "Who Governs: The Town Franchise in Seventeenth Century Massachusetts," William and Mary Quarterly, XXVII (July, 1970), 460-74; Powell, Puritan Village, p. 100; Robert Emmet Wall, Jr. "The Decline of the Massachusetts Franchise," pp. 305-10. Other supporters of this thesis in the town franchise controversy are: Zimmerman, The Massachusetts Town Meeting; Adams, Genesis of the Massachusetts Town; and Kenneth A. Lockridge and Alan Kreider, "The Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government, 1640 to 1740," William and Mary Quarterly, XXIII (October, 1966), 549-74; Andrews, "The River Towns of Connecticut," p. 85.

⁸Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 11.

⁹Ibid., I, p. 30.

¹⁰Ibid., I, p. 83, 134, 135. For the policy of New

England towns on the admittance of new settlers, see Powell, Puritan Village, p. 119; Zimmerman, The Massachusetts Town Meeting, p. 8; and Maclear, "Early New England Towns," p. 134.

¹¹Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 5.

¹²Ibid., I, p. 4, 6, 9.

¹³Those who bought land and those who sold out are reported in volume I of the town records. In some instances the place where they came from or went to is also noted. Reel I of Queens County Conveyances adds a few names not mentioned in the town records.

¹⁴Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, p. 36; III, p. 432.

¹⁵Ibid., I, pp. 5, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 18, 24, 26-27, 30, 145, 190; III, pp. 399-400, 423; IV, p. 8.

¹⁶Ibid., I, pp. 66, 111, 117, 136, 140, 147, 162, 153, 160-61; II, pp. 35-36, 320, 268, 76, 336, 374; III, p. 427.

¹⁷Ibid., I, pp. 43, 49, 66, 86, 181, 206-07, 267-68, 135, 116, 270; IV, p. 184. Committee members were noted in the town records, vol. I. Data on land holdings and official positions are dispersed throughout Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, and II, and Queens County Conveyances, reels I and II.

¹⁸Ibid., III, 377-79.

¹⁹Ibid., III, p. 380.

²⁰Ibid., I, pp. 218-19. Lutz K. Berkner, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth-Century Austrian Example," American Historical Review, LV (April, 1972), 398-418.

²¹Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 298-299.

²²The three volumes of the Jamaica town records printed by the Long Island Historical Society and two volumes copied by Leland Fielder as a Work Progress Administration project are mostly filled with deeds. Some conveyances were not recorded for some reason, but can be

located in the land records kept by the county and in family and historical society collections.

²³Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, pp. x, 476-9; and Julius Goebel, Jr., "The Courts and the Law in Colonial New York," pp. 5, 11, 14, 19; Goebel, Law Enforcement, pp. 11, 16-17, 21, 26; Richard B. Morris, Studies in the History of American Law With Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963), p. 61; Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 7-8, 71; E.A. Werner, ed., Civil List (1868), pp. 45-46; and Dixon Ryan Fox, ed., "The Minutes of the Court of Sessions (1657-1696) Westchester County, New York," Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society, II, (1924), xxvi.

²⁴Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 37, 95, 56-60, 108-09, 54, 138, 185, 223-24, 245-46. For other court cases see: I, pp. 13, 35, 36, 38, 106-08, 109-116, 70, 76-77, 121, 143, 185, 211. The Newtown Court records were kept in a bok, separate from the town meeting minutes. This book entitled the Newtown Court Records, 1656-1690 is still in existence in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library. As the Jamaica court, this court dealt with cases of trespass, stolen goods, land disputes, assault, debt, defamation of character. Ibid., pp. 25, 44.

²⁵Rev. Charles A. Vertanes, "Daniel Denton, School Teacher," Long Island Forum, XIX (April, 1956), 65, 73-75.

²⁶Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 45, 69; and O'Callaghan, Documentary History, II, p. 520. Jones acquired 160 acres of land in Jamaica.

²⁷Henry Onderdonk, Jr., "Notes on the History of Queens County," p. 59; Abstracts of Wills, I, pp. 473-74.

²⁸Ibid., I, pp. 396-99.

²⁹Henry Onderdonk, Jr., Antiquities of the Parish Church, Jamaica (Jamaica, N.Y.: Charles Welling, 1880), p. 21.

³⁰Queens County Conveyances, Reel II, C, p. 116; and Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, p. 18.

³¹Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, p. 425.

³²Will of John Frederick, dated July 10, 1770,

Abstracts of Wills, I, p. 19; II, p. 71; VII, p. 451.

³³Henry Onderdonk, Jr., "Farming in Olden Times in Queens County," p. 11; Onderdonk, Antiquities, pp. 37, 50-51; Certificate of Several Inhabitants at Jamaica in behalf of Mr. Joel Burroughs, Enclosed in Mr. Poyer's Letter of March 2, 1729. SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. 22, pp. 69-70, 389-90. For a general discussion of the Society's educational policies, see Horation Oliver Ladd, The Origin and History of Grace Church Jamaica New York (New York: The Shakespeare Press, 1914), p. 86; and William Webb Kemp, The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913), pp. 188-91;

Willett was recommended in the letter of Messrs. Vesey, Jenney and Colgan to the Sect., May 30, 1733. SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. 24, p. 455. Colgan's certification of Willett was given in his letter to the Society on June 12, 1734. SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. 25, p. 58. His reports are noted in Edward Willett to Sect., Jamaica, Long Island, November 18, 1734. SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. 25, p. 45; Series B, vol. 7, Part I, Document 20; and Series B, Part I, Document 123. Letters dealing with Willett's financial problems, see Edward Willett to Sect., May 8, 1736, Series A, vol. 26, pp. 265-66; and October 25, 1741, Series B, Document 67.

Moore was recommended in the following letters to the Society: Petition of Revds. Vesey and Colgan to SPG, December 19, 1741. SPG Letter Books, Series B, vol. 10, p. 64; and Samuel Johnson to Rev. Vesey, September 26, 1741, Series B, vol. 9, Document 56. Moore petitioned the Society on September 29, 1743 to leave Jamaica to be ordained in England, SPG Letter Books, Series B, vol. 11, Document 136, vol. 10, Document 194a.

³⁴On January 30, 1662 taxes were levied to pay the minister and the Indians for land. In 1663 and 1664 more land was bought from the Indians, and a tax levied to defray the costs. The town's size was enlarged for the last time in 1681 with the West Purchase acquired from the Indians for £40.08.06. Those owning 30, 20, 15, and 10 acres of meadow paid accordingly, with rates ranging from 9s.05d. to £1.10.09. More complete listings of the town's estates were made in 1683 and 1708/9 for provincial and county tax purposes. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 13, 26, 28, 91-93; II, pp. 288-89; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, II, pp. 519-22. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 438-443. Both lists are printed in James M. MacDonald, Two Centuries in the History of the Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, Long Island (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1862), pp. 239-40, 243-45.

³⁵ Another method of collecting money for a specific purpose was utilized late in Jamaica. In October, 1740 the town announced a lottery to raise £520 to purchase a bell for the church, probably the Presbyterian Church. This lottery was technically against the New York law of 1721 which was directed against lotteries for private profit rather than community benefit. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 100; II, p. 262; III, p. 398. Samuel K. Anderson, "Public Lotteries in Colonial New York," New-York Historical Society Quarterly, LVI (April, 1972), 137.

³⁶ Colonial Laws of New York, chap. 946, vol. III, pp. 959-962; chap. 1138, November 8, 1760, vol. IV, pp. 500-503. For a general discussion of town finances as practiced in New England towns, see Maclear, "Early New England Towns," pp. 55-76; and Osgood, American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, I, pp. 470-71.

³⁷ Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 13. For a discussion of the duties of selectmen and of other town officers see Samuel Freeman, Esq., The Town Officer (Boston, I. Thomas & E.T. Andrews, 1793); Zimmerman, The Massachusetts Town Meeting, pp. 9-12, 20; and Maclear, "Early New England Towns," pp. 110-31.

³⁸ Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 32, 69, 70-71, 137. All statistics if not otherwise cited were derived from the town records.

³⁹ NUMBER OF OTHER POSITIONS HELD BY SELECTMEN

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of Town Officers</u>
Joseph Smith, Sr.	8
Samuel Smith, Jr.	8
Daniel Denton, Sr.	7
John Oldfield, Sr.	7
Samuel Smith, Sr.	6
Nehemiah Smith, Sr.	6
Thomas Smith, Sr.	6
Nathaniel Denton, Sr.	5
Joseph Thurston	5
John Bayles, Sr.	5
William Foster	5
Joseph Smith, Jr.	5

⁴⁰ DEBTORS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Luke Watson	1	
Henry Whitney	1	£10

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Capt. Hope Carpenter	1	
Samuel Smith, Jr.	4	£306
Jacob Banks	2	£724

COURT CASES:

<u>Name</u>	<u># Times Deft.</u>	<u># Times Plt.</u>
Abraham Smith	1	
Joseph Thurston		2
Nicholas Everet	1	1
Daniel Whitehead	3	3
Daniel Smith		2
Thomas Burrowes	1	
Hezekiah Denton	2	1
Dowe Ditmas		1
John Foster	1	
Joseph Smith, Jr.	3	
Thomas Thurston	1	1
Andrew Gale	1	1
John Everit	1	
Samuel Smith, Jr.		1
Paul Amberman		1
Richard Oldfield	1	3

⁴¹Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 3, 5, 9.

⁴²Ibid., I, pp. 31, 34, 88-89, 134; III, p. 427.

⁴³Ibid., I, pp. 22, 28.

⁴⁴Ibid., I, pp. 133, 136.

⁴⁵Ibid., I, pp. 13, 36, 61.

⁴⁶Lockridge and Kreider, "Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government," pp. 551-570; Lockridge, Dedham, p. 45; Grant, Kent, pp. 151-55; and William F. Willingham, "Deference Democracy and Town Government in Windham, Connecticut, 1735 to 1786," William and Mary Quarterly (July, 1973), XXX, 401-422.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC CLASSES

Proximity to Manhattan Island was a principal factor in the development and diversification of Jamaica's economy. Trade with an urban center not only stimulated townsmen to develop commercial agriculture early in the town's history, but made flour milling, barrel making, and stock raising important industries. These activities, in turn, required an artisan class. Before the end of the seventeenth century, Jamaica's exports to New York City became an important component of that city's trade with the West Indies and other North American provinces. As an agricultural hinterland, Jamaica developed many attributes of an urban environment. Its position as county seat added other dimensions to the town's already complex economic and social structure. As the county's administrative and religious center, Jamaica became the focus of activity and control in the western portion of Long Island.

Abundant land and good soil were important factors in the town's constant economic growth. Inhabitants of Jamaica and visitors to the island indicated in their

writings the natural advantages peculiar to Long Island. In a pamphlet entitled A Brief Description of New-York, Daniel Denton praised the excellent agricultural advantages of this "Terrestrial Canaan," stating that "Here any one may furnish himself with land, and live rent-free, yea, with such a quantity of land, that he may weary himself with walking over his fields of Corn, and all sorts of Grain; and let his stock of Cattel amount to some hundreds, he needs not fear their want of pasture in the Summer, or Fodder in the Winter, the Woods affording sufficient supply." In addition, he wrote: "Towards the middle of Long-Island lyeth a plain sixteen miles long and four broad, upon which plain grows very fine grass, that makes exceeding good Hay, and is very good pasture for sheep or other Cattel; where you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder the Horse heels, or endanger them in their Races.... There are two or three other small plains of about a mile square, which are no small benefit to those Towns which enjoy them." An abundant supply of good land prompted Denton to depict the entire province as an area, "where you may travel by Land upon the same Continent hundreds of miles, and passe through Towns and Villages, and never hear the least complaint for want, nor hear any ask you for a farthing."¹

Andrew Burnaby had only favorable comments in his description of New York and Long Island in 1759-60. He

found the climate exhilarating, the air pure, and the soil of most of it "extremely good, particularly of Long Island." Further, the province was endowed with the "advantages of a fine harbour, and fine rivers." At the time of his visit he declared the state of the province as "flourishing," because of the "extensive" trade with the West Indies and many other parts of the world. According to Burnaby, Long Island was "the richest spot, in the opinion of New Yorkers, of all America; and where they generally have their villas, or country houses."² Peter Kalm's description of Long Island in 1770, while repeating the points made by others, placed particular stress on the availability of such products of the sea as oysters, lobsters, crabs, clams, fish, and waterfowl. The excellent natural environment made the people "very fertile there, and commonly tall and strong."³ During the American Revolution a Tory writer, who advised a British minister to land forces at Cow Bay in Hempstead, depicted the island as "abounding in wheat and every other kind of grain.... [It] has innumerable black cattle, sheep, hogs, &c., so that in this fertile island the army can subsist without any succor from England."⁴

Throughout the colonial period the basic economic activity on Long Island was agriculture. In Jamaica husbandmen were composed of small farmers, moderate to wealthy farmers, and planters. From the town's founding

until the American Revolution, there were 1154 men who lived in the town of Jamaica, and a total population of 5,875 people.⁵ These men owned and shared as common land a total of 53,825 acres. Of the total male inhabitants, 906 participated exclusively in agriculture, equalling 78.50 percent of the population. The remaining 21.50 percent or approximately one-fifth of the adult males either made a living in a craft or profession or were both artisans and part-time farmers. Throughout Jamaica's colonial history there were only fifteen tenant farmers. (see Tables 13 and 14 on pages 125 and 125) The agricultural class included the following groups:

TABLE 12

CATEGORIES OF THE POPULATION INVOLVED IN AGRICULTURE

<u>Category</u>	<u>Total #</u>	<u>Total Acreage</u>	<u>Aver. Acres/Man</u>
Small Farmer	260	4,629	17.80
Middle-Class Farmer	611	28,972	47.41
Planter	35	7,531	215.10 ⁶

The middle-class farmer comprised 67.43 percent of all those engaged exclusively in agriculture, with poor farmers accounting for 28.69 percent, and planters 3.88 percent of this group. For the most part middle-class farmers and planters produced cash crops, while small farmers engaged in subsistence agriculture. Regardless of wealth or class, every farmer had to spend a substantial

TABLE 13

DECADE TENANT TALLIES

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1660-1670	2
1670-1680	1
1680-1690	1
1690-1700	1
1700-1710	3
1710-1720	0
1720-1730	1
1730-1740	0
1740-1750	3
1750-1760	0
1760-1770	3
1770-1780	0
1780-1790	0

TABLE 14

NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN AGRICULTURE BY DECADE

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Total Male Pop.</u>	<u># of Small Farmers</u>	<u># of Middle- Class Farmers</u>	<u># of Planters</u>	<u># of Art. & Prof.</u>
1660-70	102	25	61	3	13
1670-80	57	18	29	3	7
1680-90	118	33	66	4	15
1690-00	113	25	60	5	23
1700-10	104	23	48	5	28
1710-20	108	23	52	3	30
1720-30	91	19	46	7	19
1730-40	51	12	28	2	9
1740-50	90	25	41	1	23
1750-60	127	22	72	0	33
1760-70	118	23	57	1	37
1770-80	76	12	51	1	12
	1154	260	611	35	249

amount of time in clearing, manuring, fencing, plowing, harrowing, sowing, haying, and harvesting. In addition, caring for livestock and maintaining land, fences, buildings and tools were never-ending tasks.

Agricultural workers, indentured servants, and slave labor comprised only a small proportion of Jamaica's population. The town records refer only three times to laborers, a number which is indicative rather than definitive. In November, 1663, John Depray, while working for Richard Brutnell, brought his employer before the town court because he was not paid; John Wascot received £4 from the town in November, 1668 for fencing in land; in September, 1693, the records noted that Thomas Galle worked for Richard Wright.⁷ References to indentured servants in the town minutes are also few in number. The will of William Merritt dated October 11, 1671, indicated that he had a white servant called Margaret Wilham who took care of John Hadden, for which she received the sum of thirty shillings.⁸ On December 29, 1677 the constable of Jamaica issued a warrant summoning Samuel Davis to appear on a charge of detaining Edward Burleigh in service beyond the time of his indenture.⁹ Lastly, Thomas Poyer, the Anglican minister at the Parish of Jamaica, had a poor widow, Angel Spreet, indentured to him for a term of years starting in 1717. The following year he acquired Nicholas Tedry a Palatine as an indentured servant.¹⁰ Indian and

Negro slavery was not a profitable form of labor in Queens County. Those who owned slaves used them as servants rather than as farm hands. Surviving wills mention fewer than fifty black slaves and only two Indian slaves.¹¹

All types of land including planted fields, wooded areas, boggs, salt and fresh meadows, and common lands were abundant in Jamaica. Every adult male inhabitant, except for younger sons, servants, slaves, and tenants, owned a home lot which he either received as a grant or he purchased. In addition, each head of a family had some meadow lands and rights to commanage in proportion to the ownership of meadow acres. This property was located in all sections of Jamiaca, including the town center, Long Neck, Little Seller Neck, Quarrelsome Neck, Chasmore's Island, Hawtree Pond, New Jamaica, Beaver Pond, Old Town Neck, the Hills, Springfield, Oldfield's Island, and the Little Plains. Generally, a man's home lot was near or at the center of town, while planting and meadow lands were scattered in many areas. Small farmers owned on the average of eighteen acres apiece, middle-class farmers forty-seven acres, and planters 215 acres (see Table 12). Table 15 on page 128 shows the total acreage owned by the entire population, and the average number of acres held if the town's lands were equally distributed. (also see Table 16 on page 129)

The data in Tables 15 and 16 demonstrate that the

TABLE 15

ACREAG HELD BY DECADE

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Total Male Pop.</u>	<u>Total # Acres Owned</u>	<u># Acres Held/Man</u>
1660-70	102	5701	55.89
1670-80	57	3686	64.66
1680-90	118	7330	62.11
1690-00	113	6705	59.33
1700-10	104	4651	44.72
1710-20	108	3278	30.35
1720-30	91	6977	76.67
1730-40	51	2150	62.15
1740-50	90	3099	34.43
1750-60	127	4352	34.26
1760-70	118	4053	34.33
1770-80	76	1843	24.25

TABLE 16
ACRES HELD PER THIRTY YEAR PERIOD

<u>Years</u>	<u>Number of People</u>	<u>Total No. of Acres</u>
1656-1690	234	11461
1690-1720	326	17912
1720-1750	275	14197
1750-1780	307	10210

TABLE 17
LAND HOLDINGS RELATED TO AGRICULTURAL STATUS

<u>Acres</u>	<u>No. of Small Farmers</u>	<u>No. of Middle- Class Farmers</u>	<u>No. of Planters</u>
0-50	260	445	6
51-100		82	6
101-150		34	5
151-200		25	6
201-300		18	6
301-400		5	2
401-500		2	0
501-600		0	2
601-800		0	1
801-1000		0	1
over 1000		0	0

total acreage per man during the early decades was substantially above the average of forty-seven acres owned by a typical yeoman. By the time the second generation had matured between 1700 and 1720 property ownership per male adult decreased radically because of the policy of partible inheritance. Most sons held fewer acres than did their fathers. Between 1720 and 1740 the migration of sons to East and West Jersey and to counties in upper and western New York caused the average acreage to increase to an all-time high. After 1740 with a reduction in emigration and an increase in the number of sons inheriting small farms, the average number of acres held began to fall again. (see Table 17 on page 129)

Despite differences in acreage among residents, families generally grew the same crops. Jamaica's rich soil and varied climate was conducive to the raising of numerous grains, fruits, and vegetables. Wills and inventories provide one source of knowledge of the crops grown, animals raised, and tools used in colonial Jamaica.¹² Food items mentioned included bushels of wheat, Indian corn, rye, barley, peas, oats, and buckwheat; pounds of flax; hives of bees; and head of hogs, cattle, swine, goats, sheep, and horses. (see Appendix D)

On July 5, 1711, Richard Oldfield inspected the houses of Jamaica residents and drew up a list entitled "A True Account of the Provisions in Jamaica," which

enumerated individual holdings of bacon, pork, beef, wheat, and flour.¹³ In that year Jamaica's population of 540 owned a total of 13,615 pounds of wheat flour, 622 bushels of wheat, and 5,583 pounds of salted meat. (see Appendix E) Another indication of the crops grown and animals raised in the town is the account book of the general store owned by George, Melancthon Taylor, and Rebecca Lloyd Woolsey from 1693 to 1770.¹⁴ Food items sold or received for payment of goods included beef, pork, rice, flour, cattle, rye, Indian corn, wheat, salt, course bread, peas, rum, molasses, sugar, spices, wine, cheese, and eggs. This varied and plentiful diet of natural foods was a contributing factor to the extended life span and good health of a majority of Jamaica's people.

Most husbandmen did not consume all that they produced. Approximately sixty-five percent of the farming population sold part of it to townsmen, to neighboring communities, or to New York City buyers, for unlike many New England towns, Jamaica was not economically isolated.¹⁵ Instead, its location and natural resources provided opportunity for the ambitious farmer to go beyond a subsistence economy. In this respect Jamaica was similar to Kent, Connecticut, where sixty-one percent of the population produced cash crops.¹⁶ As early as the sixteenth-seventies farmers grew surplus wheat, corn, and rye which was either traded locally or transported to New York City.

Townsmen milled little excess grain in the early years, for New York City merchants had a monopoly of this industry. Subsequently, however, milling became more prominent in Jamaica for there was a marked increase in milling and bolting houses. Because such products as flour, beef, pork, and fish were shipped to the West Indies and other North American provinces in barrels, the manufacture of barrel staves became one of the town's more important industries.¹⁷

Stock raising constituted an important part of Jamaica's economy. As early as 1625 Long Islanders imported cattle for breeding, and by 1675 nearly all Long Island farms maintained herds of cattle (beef, dairy, and oxen), sheep, and swine. In 1675 the English towns on Long Island had an average of 9.8 neat cattle (bulls, cows, heifers, and steers), 6.7 swine, 3.1 oxen, 2.4 horses, and 12.7 sheep per farm. Each townsman had his own earmark to enable him to determine his animals on the commons. Long Island towns, particularly Jamaica and Hempstead, sold their cattle to butchers in New York, who, in turn, sold them to be exported alive to the West Indies. In 1678 New York City consumed 400 beeves; by 1694 the number was ten times that amount.¹⁸

In 1670 Daniel Denton wrote: "Upon the South-side of Long Island in the Winter, lie store of Whales and Crampasses, which the inhabitants begin with small boats to make a trade Catching to their no small benefit. Also an

innumerable multitude of Seals, which make an excellent oyle."¹⁹ Most of the fish and shellfish were sold to New York City markets. Jamaica Bay was accordingly one of the town's most valuable resources, for its use was restricted to the town's residents. On June 3, 1701 and on August 20, 1703 the town established committees to defend its right and privilege of fishing and fowling in the bay. Another committee appointed in 1707 not only protected the town's property in the marsh, but its right to fishing and fowling.²⁰ In later years this source of income was overshadowed by trade in grains and livestock.

As far as can be determined, Long Islanders did not transport fruits and vegetables to New York City, but reserved them for home consumption and local trade. It was not until the nineteenth century that truck farming became an important industry. In return for items sent to the city the people of Jamaica received such specialties as indigo, loaf sugar, chocolate, tea, tobacco, rum, and molasses.²¹ There is no doubt that without Long Island as a major source of foods to be exported, the Port of New York would never have become an entrepot equal to the ports of Boston and Philadelphia. Gabriel Furman stated Long Island's contribution most clearly when he wrote that the island "produced more of the means of human sustenance than all the rest of the province put together."²²

Local trade in and around Jamaica was a common

activity, and one which added to the urban atmosphere of the town since it brought neighboring farmers into its market place. In the earliest years farmers sold or exchanged their produce for items they could not make, such as muskets, pots, salt, linen, and pewter. As soon as the family stopped consuming all of its produce, marketing became a necessity. In 1692 the provincial government encouraged local trade by instituting a public and open market at Jamaica to be held every Thursday for the sale of cattle, grain, victuals, provisions, and other necessities. Held from eight in the morning until sunset, it continued without the payment of nine pence tax for every animal sold. Jamaica was the site of larger fairs on the first Tuesday in May and third Tuesday in October, each of which lasted for four days.²³ In August, 1704, Governor Cornbury issued a license to build a permanent market house in Jamaica.²⁴ Two years later he commissioned Henry Swift to regulate the growing number of fairs.²⁵ Jamaica, was, then, the center of barter and sale for Queens County; it was there that the farmers from Newtown, Flushing, and Hempstead and possibly from the eastern towns in Kings County congregated every week to acquire necessary goods, transfer land, and exchange gossip.²⁶

As in medieval towns the central government controlled many aspects of the economy. A standard set of weights and measures instituted by the Dutch in the Laws of New

Netherland and by the English in the Duke's Laws served to regulate.²⁷ Also, the province supervised the activities of hawkers and pedlars. As early as 1714 the assembly passed an act requiring pedlars to acquire a license to sell fish, fruit, victuals, and wares. These travelling salesmen were allowed to remain no longer than thirty days in one town, and while there they were not permitted to hinder townspeople from disposing of goods or merchandise. Similar statutes were enacted on twelve different occasions from 1714 to 1770.²⁸ Occasionally, specific individuals received special privileges as in the act of 1732 when Margaret Westervelt of Kings County was granted permission to sell in that county as well as in New Jamaica (the western part of the town of Jamaica) without paying a duty or tax.²⁹

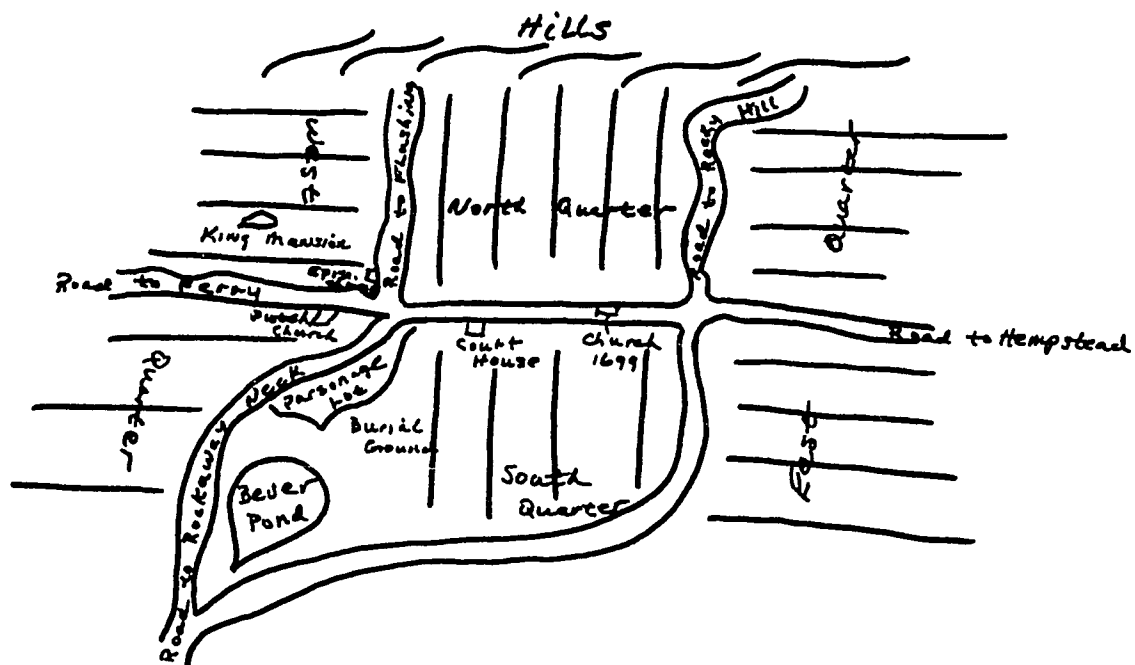
The success of Jamaica's commercial agriculture depended in large part on the availability of good roads to both the neighboring towns and New York City. In the seventeenth century the building and maintenance of Jamaica's roads fell within the jurisdiction of the town and the county. On June 19, 1703, however, the General Assembly passed an act providing several general highways throughout the province. The most important result of this measure was the construction of a highway from the ferry in Kings County to Queens County and through Queens County to East Hampton in Suffolk County. In addition, the

county and province built and maintained several new roads in and adjacent to Jamaica. Many of these new roads provided links to Brooklyn, Newtown, Flushing, and Hempstead.³⁰

Commercial agriculture in Queens County was the product of rich soil, the availability of land, and good transportation facilities. Moreover, Jamaica's success in commercial, as contrasted to subsistence agriculture, was because of the closeness of an urban center which needed foodstuffs for consumption and export.³¹ Jamaica was only twelve miles from New York City along an Indian trail which became the Ferry Road. For a man to walk to the ferry in Brooklyn would take from three to four hours. Using a horse, farm cart, or wagon to transport produce to market would naturally take less time, depending on ~~weather~~ and road conditions. In 1703 Governor Cornbury commissioned the construction of the King's Highway along two lines of the Ferry Road, one leading to Jamaica and the other to Flatbush and Flatlands. Many branches such as the Little Lane or Lott's Lane and Old Bushwick Road connected to the Kings's Highway, and were popularly known as the Jamaica Turnpike. During the seventeen-forties this main road became the Jamaica and Brooklyn Plank Road, and beyond the town limits it was named South Country Road.³² (see Maps on 137)

Long Island's link to Manhattan Island was the ferry

MAP 4
THE FERRY ROAD



at Brooklyn which was in existence during Peter Stuyvesant's governorship. As early as 1654 the Director-General and Council passed an ordinance instituting ferry licenses and fixed rates. A year later, private ferrymen erected a ferry house on the Brooklyn shore. Until Governor Thomas Dongan's arrival in 1684, the ferry was a provincial monopoly with its revenue paid to the governor. In that year it was transferred to the city, which in turn issued monopoly grants to ferrymen. During the sixteen-eighties there were two municipal ferrymen who kept two boats for cattle and horses and two for passengers. By the sixteen-nineties John Arientsen had trouble with private competitors who brought corn over from Long Island to New York City. In 1699 the ferry had to provide two freight and two passenger boats; one freighter was kept on each side of the river, while the passenger boats were constantly passing. In addition, the ferryman had to furnish a storage facility for grains and a pound where animals for transfer could be kept.

On November 2, 1717 the assembly passed an "Act for regulating the Ferry between New York City and Nassau Island." By this ordinance the ferry continued as a monopoly of the city corporation, and the city magistrates and not individual ferrymen determined rates to transport passengers and foodstuffs. Enumerated items included calves, hogs, sheep, horses, fowl, corn, lumber, bread, bacon, eggs, butter,

soap, cotton, salt, rum, sugar, and molasses. The legislature continued the bill's provisions in 1726, but amended it in 1727 by adding a new price list. A subsequent act in 1732 listed new rates and set a fine for refusal to pay at three times the stated rate. In 1774 the city established three ferries with three landings on the Long Island shore.³³ As early as 1679 Jaspas Dankers referred to the ferry from New York City to Long Island as a "considerable throughfare," by which whites and Indians carried their produce to market. He went on to note that many people transported goods by way of their own boats, a practice which was not prohibited.³⁴

Jamaica's diversified and expanding economy resulted from its direct link to New Amsterdam and later New York City. From the beginning New Netherland was a commercial entrepot founded by a trading company to promote commerce.³⁵ New Netherland's emphasis on commerce continued and was greatly expanded under the English. To cite just one example of such assistance, in 1678 when Governor Edmund Andros gave the inhabitants of the city a monopoly in bolting flour and exporting flour and bread. When the assembly passed the Bolting Act in 1678, there were 343 milling and bolting houses, and by 1696 the number had risen to 594. In 1694 this monopoly was abolished because of objections from commercial farmers on Long Island and along the Hudson River.³⁶

During the last years of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century Long Island towns were primary suppliers to New York City of provisions and building materials which were exported to the West Indies and to other North American provinces. From fifty to eighty percent of New York's exports went to the British West Indies and the foreign sugar islands. The city's major exports included wheat, flour, bread, biscuit, beef, pork, bacon, peas, oats, and cheese. Of the total amount of whole grains and flour shipped, seventy-five percent went to the West Indies. Other leading items included horses, cattle, sheep, and lumber products such as boards, staves, and shingles. Incoming vessels were filled with molasses, rum, sugar, limestone, salt, coconuts, cotton wool, indigo, and dying woods. New York also used grain, biscuit, flour, and other provisions as a medium of exchange in the intercolonial traffic with Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maryland, and South Carolina. There is no doubt that New York City's intraprovincial trade with Long Island and the upper counties was essential to its success in exchanges with the West Indies, other North American provinces, and Great Britain. In fact, throughout the colonial period the first two components of trade enabled New York to balance accounts with England.³⁷

In addition to regular exchange of goods with the city, there were specific occasions for trade between Long

Islanders and Manhattan merchants. As early as 1641 the Laws of New Netherland established two fairs held at the Fort in New Amsterdam. One was a cattle fair which opened annually on October 15, and the other a hog fair which began on November 1. On November 28, 1658 an ordinance replaced these fairs with one for lean cattle to begin on May 1 and to continue to the end of the month, and the other for fat cattle to begin before October 20 and to end on November 30 of each year. During these times no strangers were arrested, and unsold cattle, transported at twenty-five stivers a head to Manhattan, were carried back to Long Island free.

The Common Council of New York City strictly regulated the exchange of commodities in the city and in Brooklyn. In 1675 it ordered the establishment of a yearly fair and market at Brooklyn near the ferry for the sale of grain, cattle, and other produce from the country. It was held on the first Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in November. New York City sponsored a similar market on the first Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of November. Subsequent city ordinances in 1691, 1711, 1731, 1763, and 1771 assigned certain days and places for people in the outer counties to sell provisions.³⁸

Although no record remains of the extent of the trade between Long Island and New York City, the misunderstandings which arose between trading partners

throw some light on this commerce. On September 30, 1677, John Mann, yeoman of Jamaica, petitioned Governor Edmund Andros for an appeal from a judgment obtained against him by Nicholas Bayard, merchant of New York City. On or near March 5, 1674, Mann bought several wares from Bayard for 105 guilders and 7 stivers, a debt he repaid with one firkin of butter and sixteen cattle. Thomas Smith, yeoman of Jamaica, drove the cattle to the city and delivered them to Bayard. On February 22, 1675 the Mayor's court arrested Mann and determined the case for the plaintiff. On August 15, 1676 Mann sued Bayard, and a month later addressed the governor to grant him an appeal to the General Court of Assizes, a request which was awarded and heard in 1677.³⁸

Another Jamaica inhabitant Peter Smith also traded with merchants in New York City. On September 21, 1680 he wrote Captain Nicolls of Manhattan stating that he had written three weeks before for an anker of rum and twelve hogshead of good muscavado sugar, but had not received an answer. He asked Nicolls to notify him if he could furnish these items; if not, Smith said he planned to go elsewhere, for he had not a pint of rum nor a grain of sugar in the house.⁴⁰ A specific reference to trade involving residents of Jamaica was the petition of Peter Chock, a London merchant, to Governor Thomas Dongan on June 27, 1685, which complained of ill treatment by Christopher Deane and others

of Jamaica. He requested that all parties be brought to New York City for a hearing.⁴¹

Additional sources of contact between Jamaica and New York City inhabitants can be found in merchant's letter and account books. In Christopher Bancker's journal during the seventeen-forties, for example, there were numerous references of sales to several Jamaica residents. The receipt books of John Cortlandt, the owner of a sugar house in New York City, noted accounts with sixteen people from Jamaica. Other merchants who sold goods to townsmen included John and Henry Cruger, Cornelius Clopper, John Keteltas, Nicholas Bayard, Sr. and Jr., Henry Van Vleck, Jacobus and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Everet Bancker, and Charles Nicoll.⁴²

A study of Jamaica families indicates that exchange with Manhattan Island and other areas of the empire was a constant and lucrative activity. Edward Higbie, for instance, came to America in 1646 and settled first in Pequot Harbor and then in 1649 moved to Stratford, Connecticut. With his father-in-law, Thomas Skidmore, he participated in the coastal and West India trade. In 1655 he moved again to Cow Harbor in Huntington where he was in business with Jonah Wood, shipping barrel staves to the West Indies. In 1670 Wood moved to Jamaica and seven years later Higbie followed him. It is likely that they continued this trade, for both accumulated substantial wealth; Wood owned 120 acres

in Jamaica and East Jersey, while Higbie owned 270 acres in Jamaica. Perhaps his sons Nathaniel and Samuel carried on his commercial business, for both owned more than 150 acres and speculated in land.⁴³

George Woolsey, another early trader, was born in Yarmouth, England in 1610, and lived in Holland for several years before moving in 1623 to New Amsterdam, where he became a merchant. In the sixteen-fifties he shifted his home and his business to Jamaica. Before his death in 1698 at the age of eighty-eight his son George, Jr. started a general store at Jamaica in 1693. His grandson Melancthon Taylor Woolsey operated the store from 1740 to 1758, and was followed by his wife Rebecca from 1766 to 1770. Many of the store's accounts were with New York City merchants, and several items were imported goods purchased in the city.⁴⁴ Other shopkeepers who traded with the city merchants were Edward Willett and Isabel Wiggins.

During the Revolutionary War trade between Long Island, New York City, and the West Indies continued. The letters of Christopher Smith of Jamaica to John Alsop, a prominent merchant and attorney in Manhattan, illustrate this trade. According to their correspondence from May 12, 1775 to October 19, 1775, Smith and Alsop were associated in the exchange of wheat and flour in the West Indies and Western Europe.⁴⁵

Part of Jamaica's inhabitants, comprising 21.50 percent of the total male population, made a living primarily by non-agricultural activities. For one hundred and twenty years there were 249 professionals and artisans, fifty-eight before 1700 and 191 after the turn of the century. Professionals consisted of doctors, merchants, ministers, and schoolmasters, and were the smallest economic segment, totalling forty-three men, or 3.72 percent of the male population, with nine before 1700 and thirty-four after that date. Representatives of these professions were not equally distributed throughout the colonial period, and no professional belonged to the community's wealthiest class. (see Tables 18 and 19 on page 146)

The major portion of those involved in non-agricultural pursuits participated in one of twenty-two trades, including that of mariner, brewer, turner, shipcarpenter, tanner, baker, mason, cooper, sadler, miller, joiner, tailor, cordwainer, carpenter, glasier, wheelwright, feltmaker, blacksmith, currier, innholder, weaver, and shopkeeper. During the period under review, there were 184 artisans (17.78 percent of the male population), most of whom were coopers, millers, cordwainers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and weavers. (see Tables 20 and 21 on pages 147 and 148) On the whole, the artisan class was part of the poorest segment of society. Their income put them at the same economic level as small farmers but placed them

TABLE 18
NUMBER OF PROFESSIONALS BY DECADE

<u>Year</u>	<u># of Doct.</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>	<u># of Merch.</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>	<u># of Minist.</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>	<u># of Teach.</u>	<u>Total Acres</u>
1660-70					2	215	1	260
1670-80					1	0		
1680-90	1	10			2	45		
1690-00	1	70			1			
1700-10					4	0	1	
1710-20					2	15		
1720-30	2	46						
1730-40					1	5		
1740-50	4	430			2			
1750-60			1	20	5	141	1	7
1760-70	1	5			6	230		
1770-80			1	20	2		1	
	9	561	2	40	28	630	4	267

TABLE 19
LAND HOLDINGS RELATED TO PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS

<u>Acres</u>	<u>Doctor</u>	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Minister</u>	<u>Teacher</u>
0-50	6	2	24	3
51-100	1	0	2	0
101-150	0	0	0	0
151-200	1	0	2	0
201-300	1	0	0	1
301-400	0	0	0	0
401-500	0	0	0	0
501-600	0	0	0	0
over 600	0	0	0	0

TABLE 20

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTISANS BY DECADE

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Artisans</u>
1660-1670	10
1670-1680	3
1680-1690	10
1690-1700	20
1700-1710	21
1710-1720	26
1720-1730	16
1730-1740	8
1740-1750	14
1750-1760	24
1760-1770	25
1770-1780	7

TABLE 21

NUMBER OF ARTISANS BY TRADE

<u>Trade</u>	<u>Total Number</u>
Mariner	5
Brewer	1
Turner	2
Shipcarpenter	1
Tanner	2
Baker	1
Mason	2
Cooper	17
Sadler	6
Miller	14
Joyner	7
Tailor	9
Cordwainer	25
Carpenter	15
Glasier	2
Wheelwright	6
Feltmaker	4
Blacksmith	17
Currier	1
Innholder	10
Weaver	20
Shopkeeper	11

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Note: There were six laborers in Jamaica.

above laborers, apprentices, and indentured servants.

A few artisans, however, were able to acquire more land than the average yeoman, making the percentage of property held by this class disproportionately higher at some points, compared to the rest of the population. Table 22 on page 150 is, therefore, not an exact reflection of the landed wealth of the entire artisan group.

The craft of shoemaking had the largest number of artisans, numbering twenty-five. Cordwainers had an even distribution throughout the decades, with the most represented from 1700 to 1720. On the whole, shoemakers remained poor all of their lives. One exception was Thomas Smith, Jr. who started out as a shoemaker in the sixteen-eighties, but by 1709 he had moved up the economic scale to become a middle-class farmer, and by 1729 he held the titles of gentleman and esquire.⁴⁶ This success was also possible for many of Jamaica's first blacksmiths and carpenters.⁴⁷ As early as June 12, 1674 a town committee of six men agreed with Henry Lynarde to establish iron works in Jamaica in exchange for 130 acres of upland and twenty acres of meadow.⁴⁸ Subsequent blacksmiths held less than fifty acres as did most carpenters, joiners and turners.⁴⁹ The cooper's craft, which was complementary to the milling industry, was particularly important to the town, for flour and bread were shipped to New York City in casks and barrels. As

TABLE 22

ACRES HELD BY ARTISANS BY DECADE

<u>Years</u>	<u>Total # of Acres Held</u>	<u># of Acres Held by Art.</u>	<u>% of Acres Held By Artisans</u>
1660-1670	5701	412	7.2
1670-1680	3686	172	4.6
1680-1690	7330	1126	15.3
1690-1700	6705	2281	34.1
1700-1710	4651	1353	29.0
1710-1720	3278	452	13.7
1720-1730	6977	270	3.8
1730-1740	2150	437	20.3
1740-1750	3099	538	17.3
1750-1760	4352	1311	30.1
1760-1770	4053	1208	29.5
1770-1780	1843	252	13.6

Note: The percentage of land owned by the artisan class is proportionate to the artisan population per decade. (see Table 19)

early as 1670 and for every year thereafter Jamaica had one and at times two or three coopers.⁵⁰

Millers and shopkeepers are classed as artisans in this study for statistical reasons and because of their economic status. In reality, they were closer to businessmen. Milling was one of the major trades in Jamaica, and essential to the needs of the townspeople as well as to the economy. On January 20, 1669, the town agreed that Benjamin Coe should build a mill to grind the town's corn. For doing so he received ten acres of salt meadow on East Neck and five acres of boggy meadow. Payment was in the form of one-twelfth part of each customer's portion of grain. On September 22, 1680, Coe received permission to set up a grist mill on Silver Neck and Plunder Neck, and shortly thereafter in 1684 he joined with John Hanson in building a corn and fulling mill on Foster's River.⁵¹ In return for milling the town gave Coe 147 acres which enabled him to accumulate over 200 acres in Jamaica at the time of his death.⁵² John Hanson also profited as a miller, for by 1727 he owned over 200 acres in Jamaica.⁵³ The next miller was John Gale who received in 1704 the liberty of building a tide grist mill to grind the town's corn before that of strangers for the cost of one-twelfth part. In 1706 the town gave him five acres, for his efforts, and by 1721 he owned two houses, one mill, and 120 acres of land.⁵⁴ Other millers included Samuel Skidmore and his son Samuel,

Joost Duerje, John Duerje, Jr., Abraham Polhemius, and Joost Van Brunt, all of whom accumulated landed wealth from this lucrative trade. The town had two other types of mills. A fulling mill cleansed, thickened, and pressed cloth for three pence a yard, and a wind saw mill sawed timber at twelve pence for the hundred cheaper for townsmen than for people from other communities.⁵⁵ A portion of the output from the grist, bolting, and saw mills was used by the population, and some of it was transported to New York City for sale and shipment to the West Indies.

Jamaica had eight shopkeepers during the colonial period. Most notable were Edward Willett, Isabel and Josias Wiggins, Nehemiah Denton, Sr., and George Woolsey. Willett, the schoolmaster, opened a shop in 1738 to sell European goods which were imported from England and purchased in New York City, and included such items as textiles, furniture, glass, shoes, tools, and implements.⁵⁶ Josias and Isabel Wiggins operated a store possibly as early as 1690 which they attended until 1732. The inventory of their estate indicates that they sold a variety of items, including lumber, leather, kitchen utensils, molasses, sugar, butter, wheat, tubs and casks, cloths of all kinds, gloves, pins, buckels, paper, thread, thimbels, and fish hooks.⁵⁷ Nehemiah Denton, Sr. owned two shops, one in Jamaica and the other in Newburgh in Ulster County, New York.⁵⁸ Lastly, the Woolsey family opened a general

store in 1693 which continued operations until 1770. In addition to selling meat, grains, beverages, kitchen and farm utensils, and sewing and building materials, the Woolseys loaned small amounts of money and repaired and made items for several townspeople. In January 1703, for example, George Woolsey lent £2.09.06 to John Hubbard and £12.15 to Lewis Morris. Items made for specific individuals included such merchandise as a bonnet and handkerchief for Nicklas Stillwell, two shirts for Robert Jones, and twenty-five yards of diaper, twenty yards of blanket, a plow, a pair of shoes, and a molasses cask for several other townsmen.⁵⁹

In contrast to many New England towns, Jamaica had an expanding and diversified economy through most of its history before the revolution. Nor was it an isolated agricultural community; but, rather, one in constant contact with neighboring towns as well as with New York City. Good soil, varied markets, and sufficient roads and ferries made commercial agriculture possible and profitable to a majority of Jamaica's farming population. Also, New York's excellent export trade made stock raising, milling, and barrel making important secondary industries. Essentially, Jamaica, unlike such New England towns as Dedham, Sudbury, and Andover had an open, vigorous economy because of its location. As a suburb of New York City, it absorbed and developed many attributes of its adjacent

urban center. Unlike a city, it was characterized by few laborers and public charges. Moreover, there were several residents who grew rich in commercial agriculture and who had excess money to invest in land speculation.

FOOTNOTES

¹Daniel Denton, A Brief Description, pp. 6, 18, 19. Also see J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur, Letters From an American Farmer (New York: Fox, Fuffield & Company, 1904), pp. 22-47, 91-118.

²Andrew Burnaby, Travels Through the Middle Settlements of North America, 1759-60 (New York, A. Wessels Company, 1904) [Reprinted from the third edition of 1798], pp. 114, 118-119.

³Peter Kalm, Travels into North America. vol. II (3 vols., New York: William Eyres, 1770), pp. 226-27.

⁴Henry Onderdonk, "An Historical Sketch of Ancient Agriculture, Stock Breeding and Manufactures in Hempstead," The Journal of Long Island History, III (Spring, 1963), p. 35.

⁵A factor of five was used as the multiple. Some demographers use a factor of six if the birth rate per family is greater than three children. Since the number of children per family was relatively small in Jamaica, five seemed the more suitable figure.

⁶This table was derived from information from deeds, wills, and inventories. For a chart on the size and number of Dutch and English towns on Long Island in 1675, see Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States 1620-1860 (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), p. 37.

⁷Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 39-40, 95, 278.

⁸Abstracts of Wills, I, pp. 20-21.

⁹New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, vol. XXVII, p. 158.

¹⁰Henry Onderdonk, Jr., Antiquities of the Parish Church, Jamaica (Jamaica, New York: Charles Welling, 1880), p. 37.

¹¹For examples of Indian slavery see the wills of Amos Smith, 1712, Queens County Conveyances, I, pp. 214-15; John Everitt, 1729, Abstracts of Wills, Unrecorded, p. 160. For examples of Negro slavery see the will of William Creed, Jr., 1710, Abstracts of Wills, II, p. 71; Joseph Smith, 1730, Ibid., III, p. 53; the Rev. Walter Wilmot, 1744, Ibid., pp. 17-18; William Johnson, 1746, Ibid., IV, p. 224; Thomas Welling, 1757, Ibid., VIII, p. 330; and Barnaby Byrn, gent., 1771, Ibid., VII, pp. 397-98.

¹²James T. Lemon analyzed 159 wills to find out the food eaten and clothes worn by inhabitants of Lancaster and Chester counties in Pennsylvania from 1740 to 1790. James T. Lemon, "Household Consumption in Eighteenth-Century America and Its Relationship to Production and Trade: The Situation Among Farmers in Southwestern Pennsylvania," Agricultural History, XLI (January, 1967), 59-70. For examples of Jamaica inventories see: Hope Willett, November 12, 1703, original inventory in the Queens College Historical Documents Collection, Will Liber, 6, pp. 68-71; John Sddimore, July 7, 1680, Ibid., box labled "S" and "A"; Richard Betts, January 24, 1748, original in the Surrogates Office, Hall of Records, New York City, and on microfilm at Queens College Documents Collection, SAD, 3, Bk. II, p. 95; William Creed, Jr., April 24, 1711, Ibid., boxes labled "C" and "H".

¹³New York State Library at Albany. Colonial English Manuscripts, vol. LV, p. 126.

¹⁴Woolsey Account Book of a General Store in Jamaica Long Island, 1693-1770 (Hillhouse Family Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut).

¹⁵Lockridge, Dedham, pp. 141-42.

¹⁶Grant, Kent, p. 34.

¹⁷Paul Bailey, Long Island A History of Two Great Counties Nassau and Suffolk, vol. II (3 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1949), p. 24; Gabriel Furman, Antiquities of Long Island (New York, Port Washington, 1968), p. 91; Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States, I, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929), p. 76; and Marshall, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 150, 167-68.

¹⁸Bailey, Long Island, II, p. 22; Onderdonk, "Ancient Agriculture," pp. 36-38; Gerhard E. Lenski, Power, and Privilege, A Theory of Social Stratification (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1966), pp. 205-06. For a comparison of the average number of swine, oxen, horses, sheep, and neat cattle per farm in Dutch and English towns on Long Island see Bidwell and Falconer, Agriculture, pp. 26, 28, 30, 32. Earmarks are noted throughout the Jamaica Town Records, vols. I-IV.

¹⁹Denton, A Brief Description of New York, p. 6.

²⁰Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, pp. 35-36, 268; III, 427. Also see Onderdonk, "Ancient Agriculture," p. 50. For a discussion of the fishing industry and its importance to the economic growth of Massachusetts, see William I. Davisson and Dennis J. Dungan, "Commerce in Seventeenth Century Essex County, Massachusetts," Essex Institute Historical Collections, 107 (April, 1971), 113-42.

²¹These items were common to many inventories in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For examples see the inventories of Daniel Whitehead, 1685; Richard Betts, 1748; William Creed, Jr., 1711; Dow Ditmard, 1754; John Dysart, 1710/11; James Hadlock, 1707; Sarah Lawrence, 1697; and Peter Nostrand, 1785.. Microfilm at Queens College Historical Documents Collection, SAD, 3, Bk. II, p. 95; and loose inventories in this collection.

²²Furman, Long Island, p. 91.

²³Henry Onderdonk, Jr., "Farming in Olden Times in Queens County," The Journal of Long Island History, V (Winter, 1965), 13; and Marshall, Colonial Hempstead, p. 172.

²⁴A fragment of this document is still in existence in the New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division. Colonial English Manuscripts, vol. XLVIII, p. 144.

²⁵Ibid., LI, p. 124.

²⁶Specific instances of the trade between Jamaica and Flushing inhabitants was found in John Bowne's Account Book of the 1660's. There it was noted that John Bowne sold $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of cotton wool to Edward Rouse of Jamaica for butter at two for one. The account book of Woolsey's General Store in Jamaica refers to several accounts with men from

Gravesend, Hellgate, Newtown, Staten Island, Hempstead, and as far away as Albany, and Norwalk, and New Haven, Connecticut. Onderdonk, "Farming in Olden Times," p. 5; and Woolsey Account Book.

²⁷Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, p. 28; and Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 63-64.

²⁸Ibid., I, chap. 274, June 21, 1714, pp. 805-08; chap. 355, July 3, 1718, pp. 999; II, chap. 543, July 12, 1729, pp. 571-74; chap. 587, October 14, 1732, pp. 758-59; chap. 663, December 16, 1737, pp. 989-92; III, chap. 691, November 17, 1739, pp. 60-63; chap. 779, September 21, 1744, pp. 417-18; chap. 919, November, 1751, p. 873; IV, chap. 1103, December 24, 1759, pp. 388-91; chap. 1244, October 20, 1764, p. 778; chap. 1278, December 23, 1765; p. 1860; chap. 1307, December 19, 1766, pp. 925-26; and V, chap. 1433, p. 1770.

²⁹Colonial Laws of New York, II, Chap. 587, October 14, 1732, pp. 758-59.

³⁰Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. I, p. 31. For other references to local roads see Ibid., pp. 34, 88-89, 134; III, p. 427. New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Council Orders, of April 16, 1687 and April 16, 1688, vol. V, p. 224; vol. VI, p. 31; Colonial Laws of New York, I, chap. 3, May 6, 1791, pp. 225-26; chap. 131, pp. 532-538; Queens County Conveyances, II, Liber C, pp. 1-2, 8-10. Road acts were passed in 1705, 1713, 1720, 1721, 1723, 1730, 1732, 1739, 1745, 1760, and 1773. Colonial Laws of New York, I, chap. 154, pp. 587-88; chap. 270, pp. 795-800; II, chap. 386, pp. 1-2; chap. 415, pp. 68-78; chap. 440, pp. 153-55; chap. 555, pp. 659-65; chap. 582, pp. 749-50; III, chap. 688, pp. 55-57; chap. 805, pp. 482-87; IV, chap. 1139, pp. 503-04; V, chap. 1617, pp. 562-67. For descriptions of the roads laid out in Jamaica, see Queens County Conveyances, II, Liber C, pp. 13, 31-32, 47; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 208, 244-46, 256, 270-72, 322-33, 380-81; III, pp. 400-03, 424, 429; IV, 66, 75-76, 79-80.

³¹For a discussion of the necessary factors for commercial agriculture, see Jackson T. Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 8, 28-29, 34. The growth of Wilton and Windsor, Connecticut from subsistence to commercial agriculture was due to their

nearness to major urban centers, Hartford and New York City. Nathan L. Whetten, "Wilton: A Rural Town Near Metropolitan New York," Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, #230, February, 1939, pp. 5-132, and Nathan L. Whetten and E.C. Devereux, Jr., "Windsor: A Highly Developed Agricultural Area," Ibid., #212, October, 1939, pp. 7-144.

³²Eugene L. Armbruster, The Ferry Road on Long Island (New York; 1919), pp. 9-13; and Henry Onderdonk, Jr., "Notes on the History of Queens County," The Journal of Long Island History, VII (Winter-Spring, 1967), 63. For a discussion of travel conditions in colonial America, see Seymour Dunbar, A History of Travel in America (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915), pp. 1-83, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Stagecoach and Mail From Colonial Days to 1820," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1956), pp. 13, 15-16, 33.

³³George William Edwards, New York as an Eighteenth Century Municipality, Part I, prior to 1731 (New York: Ames Press, 1968), p. 129; Armbruster, The Ferry Road, pp. 8-9, 14-15, 17; Colonial Laws of New York, I chap. 343, pp. 925-29; II, chap. 475, June 17, 1726, pp. 298-99; chap. 503, November 25, 1727, pp. 407-10; chap. 593, October 14, 1732, pp. 807-13; and Henry R. Stiles, The Civil, Political Professional and Ecclesiastical History and Commercial and Industrial Record of the County of Kings and City of Brooklyn, New York from 1683 to 1884, II (5 vols., New York: W.W. Munsell & Co., 1884), pp. 425-430. Also see Ferry Vouchers dated June 27 and August 29, 1723, March 25 and July 4, 1728 at Queens College Historical Documents Collection.

³⁴Jaspar Dankers and Peter Sluyter, Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-1680, ed. by Henry C. Murphy (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Long Island Historical Society, 1867), pp. 118-20.

³⁵Edwards, New York, Part I, pp. 3, 43; Thomas J. Condon, New York Beginnings, The Commercial Origin of New Netherland (New York: New York University Press, 1968), pp. 4, 23, 33-37, 102-03, 117-18, 120, 147, 172-74; and J. Leander Bishop, A History of American Manufactures From 1608 to 1860, vol. I (3 vols., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967) (first published in Philadelphia, in 1868), p. 59.

³⁶Bishop, American Manufactures, I, pp. 60-62, 133-34.

³⁷Jean Peyer, "A Statistical Study of the Trade of the Port of New York, 1720-1723" (Master's Essay, Queens College of the City University of New York, 1969). All statistics were derived from the New York Shipping Lists for the Port of New York, 3 reels, Public Record Office, CO/5/1222-3, pp. 1-56, 221-280. For a recent article on the extent of commerce with different areas of the empire, see William I. Davisson and Lawrence J. Bradley, "New-York Maritime Trade: Ship Voyage Patterns, 1715-1765," The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, LV (October, 1971), pp. 309-317. For reports of New York governors to the Lords of Trade, see O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, III, pp. 159, 264; IV, pp. 185-86, 317-18, 587-95, 1133-35, 1150-1156, 1591; V, pp. 55-61, 393, 685-90; VII, p. 127; VIII, pp. 434-459.

³⁸Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, pp. 29, 364-65. For a discussion of the West India Company's strict control over New Amsterdam's economy, see Harold C. Syrett, "Private Enterprise in New Amsterdam," William and Mary Quarterly, XI (October, 1954), 536-550. Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1776. 8 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1905), I, pp. 4, 110-111, 215, 217-18; II, p. 453; IV, pp. 108-10, 291-94; V, pp. 13, 39, 41-42, 71-72; VI, pp. 260, 337-42; VII, pp. 264, 266.

³⁹New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, English Manuscripts, Petition of John Mann, September 30, 1677, vol. XXVI, p. 91.

⁴⁰Ibid., Letter of Peter Smith to Captain Nicolls, September 21, 1680, vol. XXIX, p. 223. Correspondence between buyer and seller was not sent by public conveyance because the postal system was not developed on the local level. A postal system was established in the seventeenth century, but it was interprovincial and with the mother country. Merchants, therefore, exchanged invoices by private carrier. William Smith, The History of the Post Office in British North America 1639-1870 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 1, 4-5, 19, 60.

⁴¹New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, English Colonial Manuscripts, vol. XXXII, p. 80. This document was burned in the fire of 1911. Its existence was noted in O'Callaghan, Calendar of English Manuscripts, p. 117.

⁴²The following merchant papers, all located in the

Manuscript Division of the New-York Historical Society, nated accounts with Jamaica residents. Christopher Bancker, Journal, 1740-1750; Nicholas Bayard, Receipt Books, 1742-1754, 1762-1772; Cornelius Clopper, Account Book, 1754; John Cortlandt, Receipt Books, 1757-1763, 1766-1771; John and Henry Cruger, Account Books; Business Papers of John Keteltas, 1761-1769; Charles Nicoll, Daybook, August, 1768-October, 1776; Jacobus Van Cortlandt, Letter Book, 1698-1700; John Van Cortlandt, Sugar House Accounts, 1758-1777; and Henry Van Vleck, Receipt Book, 1754-1760.

⁴³Clinton David Higby, Edward Higby and His Descendants (Boston: T.R. Marvin & Son, 1927), pp. 29, 33, 36, 40, 44; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 34, 46, 71-72, 120, 200, 205, 209, 243-44, 282-84, 288-89, 290-91, 294, 298, 314, 321-22, 363-64, 377-78, 421-22, 430-32; II, 180-82, 264-67, 433-34; III, 25-26; and Queens County Conveyances, I, B, pp. 72, 129, 169, 279; II, C, 213-16, 299-300.

⁴⁴Benjamin F. Thompson, History of Long Island From Its Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time, IV (4 vols. New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1918), pp. 349-51; Clarence Ashton Wood, "Rev. Benjamin Woolsey of Dosoris," Long Island Forum, XX (February, 1957), 25-26; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 30, 123, 152-53, 291, 384-85; II, 70-71, 267, 308-12, 318-19, 357-58; III, 54-55, 92-93, 204-05, 228-30; and Queens County Conveyances, I, B, pp. 87, 242, 362; II, C, 323-25; III, D, 180. Woolsey, Account Book. John Bowne and his son Samuel of Flushing kept a country store and had direct contact with New York City merchants. They cultivated wheat, buckwheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, peas, turnips, and tobacco, and raised horses, oxen, cows, sheep, bees, and swine. In addition to shipping these commodities to New York City, they sent cider to Manhattan which was in turn exported to Philadelphia. Brewers in Newtown and New York City received their barley. Onderdonk, "Farming in Olden Times," p. 1.

⁴⁵John Alsop, Letter Books, 1775-1776, Manuscript Division, New-York Historical Society.

⁴⁶Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 51-52, 109-110, 114, 121, 190-91, 202-03, 213, 247, 257, 262-66, 286-87, 398-99; II, 153-55, 257-58; III, 329, 388-90; IV, 40-45, 72-183; Queens County Conveyances, I, A, pp. 173, 177; B, 81, 153, 264, 426; II, B, 536-37; II, C, 367-68; D, 30-31; and Abstracts of Wills, V, p. 103.

⁴⁷Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 121, 278-80; II, 120-21, 167-68, 267; III, pp. 109-111, 167-69; 216-18, 377-79; Queens County Conveyances, I, C, pp. 32-33; II, C, 111-12, 310-11; and Abstracts of Wills, V, II, pp. 449-51.

⁴⁸Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 61.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 272-73, 316-19; II, pp. 227-28, 254, 358, 388, 409-12, 427-28; III, 48, 52-53, 81, 85, 109-10, 154-57, 184-86, 231-34; Abstracts of Wills, II, pp. 219-20, VI, p. 310; VIII, p. 364; Queens County Conveyances, I, B, pp. 251, 272-73, 350, 425; II, B, pp. 536-37; C, 189-92, 343-47; III, D, 144, 276-77, 392-93; Josephine C. Frost, Baptismal Record of the First Reformed Dutch Church at Jamaica, Long Island, New York, vol. II (Brooklyn, New York: copy from the original record, 1912), p. 8; A Register for the Use of the Presbyterian Society in Jamaica, 1690-1770 (Jamaica, New York: Presbyterian Church), p. 3; the original inventory of John Brass, a house carpenter, March 5, 1722 is at the Queens Collect Documents Collection, box labeled "B". This inventory is also printed in the Abstracts of Wills, II, p. 256; and Queens College Historical Documents Collection, Mortgage Reel I, pp. 128-29, mortgage dated May 3, 1765.

⁵⁰Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 45, 56; II, pp. 82-83, 103, 117-19, 300, 329; IV, pp. 11-12, 67-68, 88-90, 91-93; and Queens County Conveyances, III, D, pp. 294-96.

⁵¹Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 40, 44-45, 53, 55, 166, 179.

⁵²Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 1, 4, 11-12, 19, 44, 46, 119, 166, 209, 242, 280-81, 293-94, 322-23; II, 267, 288, 307-10, 316; III, 207; and Queens County Conveyances, B, pp. 87-88, 148, 171.

⁵³Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 71, 118, 166, 209, 323; II, 341-42; III, 377-79; and Queens County Conveyances, I, B, 148, 228-29; II, B, 362; C, 187-88; D, 30-31.

⁵⁴Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 310, 408; II, pp. 104-06, 333, 414-19, 431-34; III, 39-40, 54-57, 429; and Queens County Conveyances, II, C, pp. 72-73; C, 300-01.

⁵⁵Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 66-67, 181-82, 384-87, 431; II, 74; III, pp. 363, 367-71, 384-87; Queens County Conveyances, I, B, pp. 365-66; III, E, 130-32, 202-05; and Abstracts of Wills, III, p. 101; VIII, pp. 260-61.

⁵⁶William Webb Kemp, The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913), p. 189.

⁵⁷Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 144, 326; Queens County Conveyances, I, A, pp. 208, 212, B, 106-07, 166; II, B, 380-84, 448; D, 2-4; E, 170-71; and Inventory of the Estate of Isabel Wiggins, June 6, 1732, in the Surrogates Office, Hall of Records, New York City, and on microfilm at Queens College Historical Documents Collection, SAD, 3, Bk, II, pp. 77-81.

⁵⁸Abstracts of Wills, VII, p. 315, dated October, 19, 1764 and proved in 1770.

⁵⁹Woolsey, General Store, Account Book, 1693-1770.

CHAPTER V

LAND: DISTRIBUTION, OWNERSHIP, SPECULATION, AND CONTROVERSY

Although Jamaica had a diversified economy, land was the principal form of wealth for the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants. Property was not only a measure of affluence, but a symbol of social standing. Consequently, its acquisition from town grants and purchase was of utmost importance to the colonial townsman. Many residents, who made profits in commercial agriculture, were able to speculate in land within Jamaica and often beyond the town limits. Nearly all inhabitants had problems related to property at least once during their lifetimes; improper fencing led to minor quarrels, and inaccurate surveying often resulted in major disputes which had to be settled in court. The large amount of time spent in land distribution, speculation and controversy indicates the immense significance of property ownership to the people in this middle-Atlantic community.

For land to bestow the "badge of success and fortune," it had to be held in fee simple, or free from any burdens or requirements. In addition, the power of gift, inheritance, and sale had to be absolute. In contrast

to England and the continent, most areas in the middle-Atlantic provinces met these conditions. In Jamaica residents secured property rights first by purchasing land from the Indians; then, by receiving legal title from the Dutch and English by way of grants; and lastly, by recording land transfers. Personal ownership was not only a rejection of feudalism with its dependent social structure; it was also an affirmation of individual independence which enabled the owner to take part in the governance of society and in its economic opportunities.¹

Jamaica had an abundant land supply, totalling 53,825 acres for a total population of 5,875 people from 1656 to 1776. The available acreage was greater than in most New England towns and approximately nine times the size of an English village.² This land included home lots, planting fields, pasture, wooded, and meadow lands. The initial size of a home lot was a standard six acres. After settlement the town granted lots to newcomers ranging from two to six acres. Fresh, salt, and boggy meadows, which were divided into four "squadrons" to correspond with the four necks in the southern portion of the town, were awarded to individuals in several land divisions. Residents acquired upland or planting fields either by town grants or by purchase. The town apportioned common or pasture land according to a man's total meadow acreage. Commonage formed

a major component of a resident's land holdings. But in contrast to other studies of colonial communities, the acreage figures noted in this and other chapters do not include land shared in common.³

Jamaica had no systematic plan or general rule for distributing land; instead, the town laid out and divided different areas such as the South Meadows, Little Plains, and Boggy Meadows when townsmen needed more property. The initial land division included the granting of six acre home lots, twenty acres of meadow, and ten acres of planting land to each proprietor. Then, the town proceeded to distribute property to the original settlers and newcomers in numerous individual grants and several major divisions. On July 1, 1657 it sectioned the meadows into squadrons and then assigned each man to a particular quarter. Within each area residents received their share of land by lot. A townsman could increase his meadow land by purchasing one or more of seventeen lots, which were surveyed at twenty acres apiece on November 22, 1658. A little more than a year later freeholders chose property in the South Meadows by lot. The town meeting also decided on February 18, 1660, that the squadrons of meadow divided by lot were to "continue for perpetuity without any ffurther devision till ye bee layd out in particular & yen every man to take his share in ye neck where they now are...." New inhabitants received land in each neck

until the squadrons were completely laid out.

The town allowed individuals assigned to these necks to distribute their own meadows.⁴ On November 18, 1660, for example, the meeting granted home lots to five new settlers, plus a portion of undivided meadow lying eastward of east neck.⁵ On March 11, 1661 the proprietors on Old Town Neck agreed that they were to have twenty acres of meadow, while nonproprietors assigned to that neck were to have fifteen acres apiece.⁶ One month later settlers belonging to Long Neck cast lots for their meadows.⁷ Similarly, the men on Hither East Neck received meadow land in twenty, fifteen, or ten acre parcels.⁸

The town enlarged its available land on two occasions. In 1662 it purchased territory on the west side of the trees known as "ye hill," which the town planned to keep in reserve.⁹ After years of controversy Hempstead on May 1, 1665 transferred to Jamaica the Little Plains and all the meadow below these plains and west of the river. The town meeting of February 21, 1680 agreed that this land was to be surveyed, proportioned, and distributed to every male adult according to his meadow acreage. It also divided the Little Plains into four parts with ten men in the southwest quarter, sixteen in the southeast quarter, twelve in the northwest quarter, and thirteen in the northeast quarter. Each freeholder received his acreage and lot location by lot.¹⁰

In 1668 and 1669 Jamaica's townsmen received more acreage. The meeting of January 5, 1668 concluded that every man "shall take up Two akers of Land to plant upon for one acres of meadowe,"¹¹ while the meeting on December 30, 1668 reminded the original settlers who had received ten acres of planting land to claim them before anyone else accepted a ten acre lot.¹² Again, on June 8, 1669 the town agreed that each adult male resident could take up another two acres of planting land for one acre of meadow. This meeting also divided and distributed the boggy meadow from Beaver Pond to the west side of Little Neck and on the east side of Boggy Meadow Neck to every inhabitant, "his proportion according to his meadow that he does injoy."

In December, 1676, the freeholders of Jamaica allotted additional common meadow. Several years before they permitted every male inhabitant to keep a "beast and a half" for each acre of meadow owned.¹³ On March 1, 1679, the town divided the land reserved for "paster land," according to the meadow acreage granted or purchased by an inhabitant and on which he paid taxes. It retained additional commonage for the use of the entire town on May 29, 1682. On the same day, the meeting voted to keep as common land all the territory not laid out in any quarter and such specifically designated areas as property on the east side of Rocky Hallow, on the hills, and on the southwest side of Yorke Path.¹⁴

Because Jamaica still had several acres of undivided land, on June 13, 1682, the town agreed on a "generall order" rather than the "perticular agreements" which had been used in the past. The new rule stated that subsequent divisions "shall be proportioned to every one of the Inhabitants of the Towne that are the true owners of the Land acordeing to the quantety or some of money that they payde to the purchasing of the Land from the Indeans...." If a person bought meadow from another townsman, he would have a right to divisions of town land only if he also purchased the right to planting and pasture land with his meadow. The town established four ranks or degrees of sale which enabled the purchaser of meadow land to have a whole, three-quarter, one-half, or one-quarter share in the town's undivided land.¹⁵ Although the twenty-four patentees received priority and full rights to planting and common land, when and if it was handed out, the minutes did not state the rights of later arrivals to meadow land. Undoubtedly, by 1682 these men were considered proprietors since they received full rights to town lands with the bestowal of meadow property. New purchasers, however, had to be careful to buy a portion or an entire share of the remaining town lands.

As we have seen, an ordered pattern of distribution came many years after the town's settlement. Perhaps with fewer acres left to be divided, the original and early

inhabitants were afraid of loosing their rights to new settlers and to sons coming of age. By making the division of planting and common land contingent on meadow acreage with its accompanying degrees of shares to the remaining town lands, Jamaica residents in 1682 could protect and assure their right to future land acquisitions. The new ordinance limited the land newcomers and younger sons could acquire; only inheritance or purchase brought full rights to undivided land.

The town utilized the provisions of the "generall order" in its last two major land distributions. On March 17, 1685, it laid out an area of upland in the ratio of two to one. If a man were granted a twenty acre lot of meadow, he was entitled to a forty acre parcel of upland; fifteen acres of meadow provided thirty acres of upland, and so on.¹⁶ On May 11, 1686, two months after the Dongan Charter confirmed the town's boundaries as established in previous patents, Jamaica's town meeting decided that undivided lands on the north side of town from Newtown to Rocky Hollow and eastward were to "Remain in Common to ye Town." Furthermore, all undivided lands, except for the commons already laid out, were divided among the inhabitants, according to their "Just Rights."¹⁷

On three subsequent occasions (in 1705, 1708, and 1712) the town retained common meadow for general use but allocated undivided land according to everyman's right.¹⁸ Consequently,

early in the eighteenth century there was no land left to be distributed. Except for additional purchases, each family had its acreage which had to serve for generations to come. The policy of partible inheritance forced younger sons either to subsist on very few acres or to migrate to a town where land was more plentiful. The downward shift in male population from 540 people in 1710-20 to 455, 255, and 450 respectively in the following three decades indicates that many of Jamaica's younger men took the second option.¹⁹

Before 1712 the town not only granted land in major divisions, but in many specific allotments as well. It bestowed numerous acres to individuals usually in the form of home lots and meadow land in parcels ranging from one to thirty acres. On March 12, 1659, for instance, the town reassigned John Cole's home lot to William Foster of Hempstead. The following year five new settlers received house lots with a portion of meadow property. On several occasions Jamaica granted a home lot and meadow land to particular individuals on the condition that they would follow their trade in the town.²⁰ Other acreage grants were in response to specific needs or as payment for services rendered. On March 13, 1662, the meeting allotted ten meadow acres apiece to six settlers who had been in the town for less than two years. In 1664 Anthony Waters received the great hollow at the southwest corner of the plains

because of his difficulties over the boundary dispute with Hempstead. Similarly, Daniel Whitehead was granted land on the east side of Foster's River in return for his assistance to the town; and in 1674 the Reverend John Prudden accepted a piece of property in payment for his services as minister and as an encouragement for him to remain in the town.²¹ Altogether, the town meeting bestowed a total of 156 individual grants between 1656 and 1712, not to mention thousands of acres distributed in several general land divisions.

In addition to full-time residents who owned property, Jamaica had tenants and absentee owners who did not live in the town. (see Table 13, Chapter IV, page 124) From Jamaica's founding until the American Revolution, there were only fifteen people in the town who rented a house, home lot, meadow, and upland for a short period or as long as a lifetime. A feltmaker who owned 370 acres in Jamaica and Flushing, leased a twenty-acre tract of upland to William Sallier, a yeoman of Jamaica, for twenty years (1691 to 1711), under the condition that he improve the land by planting an orchard of four acres, clearing one acre of trees per year, and fencing all of the land.²² In 1764 John Hylton, a middle-class farmer, rented a house on North Street from Thomas Braine.²³ Three leaseholders came from New York City: Robert Read, a surgeon and gentleman came to Jamaica early in the eighteenth century; Isaac Lenoir, a

merchant-innkeeper let a house and lot for five years at £17 per year; and Walter Thong, a merchant rented a house and one-half of a home lot which he eventually bought from John Foster.²⁴ Anne Thurston, the widow of Joseph who died in July, 1668, leased a house from Jonathan Whitehead in 1705 because her husband's will ordered their home to be sold after the children were grown.²⁵ Most of those who rented were inhabitants of the town; a few were transients, and the remaining were newcomers. None of them could vote in the town meeting, for they were not property holders.

From 1660 to 1770 seventy outsiders owned land in Jamaica, ranging in size from as little as one acre to as much as 200 acres. Those who held the largest acreage (that is, from 120 to 200 acres) included five wealthy men -- Thomas Barker of Kings County; John Harrison, residence unknown; John Berrien of Newtown; Jacobus Van Courtlandt, of New York City; and Thomas Truxton, Jr., of New York City. There were five property holders owning from forty to seventy-five acres; five holding from thirty to forty acres; and fifty-five owning less than twenty acres. As a group these seventy men owned a total of 1,917 acres or 2.5 percent of the town's divided acreage. They were most prominent from 1680 to 1710, with fourteen absentee owners present in the decade from 1680 to 1690, fifteen from 1690 to 1700, and another fifteen from 1700 to 1710. From one to seven absentees owned property in Jamaica during the remaining

decades.

Almost all of these non-inhabitants resided in nearby communities; in order of most to least frequency these areas were Newtown, Kings County, Hempstead, Flushing, New York City, and Oysterbay.²⁶ Because absentee owners were relatively few in number the townsmen of Jamaica controlled their own affairs and owned ninety-eight percent of the available acreage.

As a result of the several distributions of undivided town land and of numerous land grants, every adult male except tenants owned some property. Initially, each male resident received or purchased a whole home lot of six acres or part of one. The town then granted its inhabitants a portion of meadow, equalling in size from a few rods to thirty acres. The twenty-four original settlers each received twenty acres of meadow, a portion which permitted them to share fully in later land divisions. These men also obtained ten acres of planting land, a grant which was not necessarily made to later settlers. On two occasions the town apportioned two acres of planting land to each adult male for every acre of meadow he owned. Those with little meadow property did not benefit greatly from these divisions. Thus, only the first wave of settlers had enough meadow acreage to insure future stakes in later land distributions. Those who arrived after 1690 were not granted much meadow land and often no home lot; they were, therefore,

only entitled to a small share of subsequent town allotments unless they acquired a full share of meadow land by purchase. Most of these latecomers were small farmers and artisans. On the other hand, a few of the later arrivals had sufficient money to buy a home lot and meadow with full rights to undivided land.

The first generation of Jamaica inhabitants had the opportunity to become, and often, indeed, did become the town's largest land owners. They passed their rights on to their sons, who were able, in turn, to add to their acreage. But by the time the third generation matured in the seventeen-forties, a family's original property was so subdivided through partible inheritance that the sons of this generation not only held fewer acres than did their fathers, but they had less chance of adding to their holdings. Many of them left town to join or form newer communities in the upper New York counties and in New Jersey. Only those in the second generation who were successful farmers could add to their total acreage by purchasing more land, and by so doing their sons and grandsons could remain in Jamaica and prosper.

Land owners in Jamaica belonged to three classes -- the small farmer and artisan with a range of from one to thirty acres, the middle-class farmer from thirty to one hundred acres, and the gentleman-planter from one hundred to one thousand acres. Within each group

there were variations of wealth because every man owned a different number of acres of planting, meadow, and wooded land. Since each type of acreage was not worth the same amount, a group of yeomen often belonged to several economic categories. During the colonial period tillable land was the most expensive, followed by house lots, wooded land, and meadow acreage. Although total acreage is an indication of economic level, a man's wealth cannot be predicated solely on the number of acres owned, for the type of land and its location were two important factors in the determination of landed wealth. In addition, house size and land improvements were usually contributing causes to economic status in the community. Essentially, both moveable and immoveable property determined total wealth and class.

The typical middle-class yeoman comprised seventy percent of the population and owned slightly less than fifty acres of land, excluding commonage. The small farmer and artisan included nearly thirty percent of the population and owned on the average of seventeen acres. The remaining four percent held mostly from fifty-one to three hundred acres, with no more than two men per decade owning more than five hundred acres. An analysis of the acreage held by each segment indicated that the town had a vast number of yeomen who could participate in commercial agriculture and a few very rich residents who

held a large portion of the land.

During the town's colonial history the number who were very wealthy increased slightly while the number of those in the middle and lower classes tended to vary from decade to decade. From 1660 to 1670 those with less than fifty acres equalled 68.6 percent of the population of 102 adult men. When the number of male inhabitants equalled 113 from 1690 to 1700, the number of those with less than fifty acres increased slightly to 70.7 percent. After 1700 those owning less than fifty acres jumped from 80.5 percent of the adult male population during 1710 to 1720, to 80.0 percent from 1740 to 1750, to 81.3 percent from 1760 to 1770. The overall average for the period covered by this study indicates that 78.5 percent of the people owned approximately one-fifth of the town's lands -- a statistic that should be balanced by the fact that fifty acres of land plus commonage was sufficient to allow a man to practice commercial agriculture. Although the few who owned less than fifteen acres apparently belonged to the lowest economic group, half of them were artisans who did not need large amounts of land. The twenty percent of the population with the most land held mostly from fifty-one to one hundred acres, with a small number owning from 101 to 400 acres, and a few owning 600, 800, and more than 1000 acres. The periods of greatest inequality in land holding were during the years

of the highest population (from 1710 to 1720 and from 1750 to 1770). (see Tables 23 and 24 and Graphs 2-6 on pages 179-186)

Most second and third generation male residents had fewer acres than did their fathers because of the decrease in available town land by 1715, the division into smaller lots by sale, and the inheritance patterns practiced in Jamaica. A very few had no means of support other than town welfare. By 1770 81.3 percent of Jamaica's adult men owned small farms, indicating a more stratified social heirarchy. Unlike many New England towns, a substantial number of public charges did not appear in Jamaica.²⁷

Small holdings and the development of a relatively poor class resulted, in part, from the inheritance patterns followed in Jamaica. In 1683 the legislature attempted to forestall these problems by formally establishing primogeniture, or the inheritance of the entire estate by the eldest son. In contrast, in New England the rule was for partible descent with a double share to the eldest son and an equal portion to the remaining children.²⁸

An analysis of 164 will of Jamaica inhabitants indicates that no single type of inheritance was pervasive; instead, several forms existed during the one hundred and twenty years covered by this study. Thirty-seven wills

TABLE 23

POPULATION LAND HOLDINGS BY DECADE

<u>Acres</u>	<u>1660-70</u>	<u>1670-80</u>	<u>1680-90</u>	<u>1690-00</u>	<u>1700-10</u>	<u>1710-20</u>
0-50	70 1075	40 592	80 980	80 938	88 1262	87 906
51-100	15 1260	7 552	19 1662	14 979	4 335	15 1162
101-150	8 1066	4 522	4 590	5 674	4 540	2 240
151-200	4 730	2 350	4 770	9 1616	2 374	2 370
201-300	4 970	3 720	7 1788	2 490	3 730	1 220
301-400			4 1540	1 350	2 660	1 380
401-500						
501-600	1 600			1 600		
601-800					1 750	
801-1000		1 950				
over 1000				1 1058		

TABLE 23

POPULATION LAND HOLDINGS BY DECADE

<u>Acres</u>	<u>1720-30</u>	<u>1730-40</u>	<u>1740-50</u>	<u>1750-60</u>	<u>1760-70</u>	<u>1770-80</u>	<u>1780-90</u>
0-50	74 870	43 598	72 564	102 905	96 889	68 492	37 56
51-100	5 422		3 237	14 1095	10 814	3 270	1 100
101-150	5 645	3 416	9 1154	2 260	4 525	3 406	
151-200	3 575	2 370	4 688	3 527	6 1060		
201-300		3 766	2 456	6 1565	1 240	1 255	
301-400	2 680						
401-500	1 450					1 420	
501-600					1 525		
601-800							
801-1000							
over 1000	1 3335						

TABLE 24

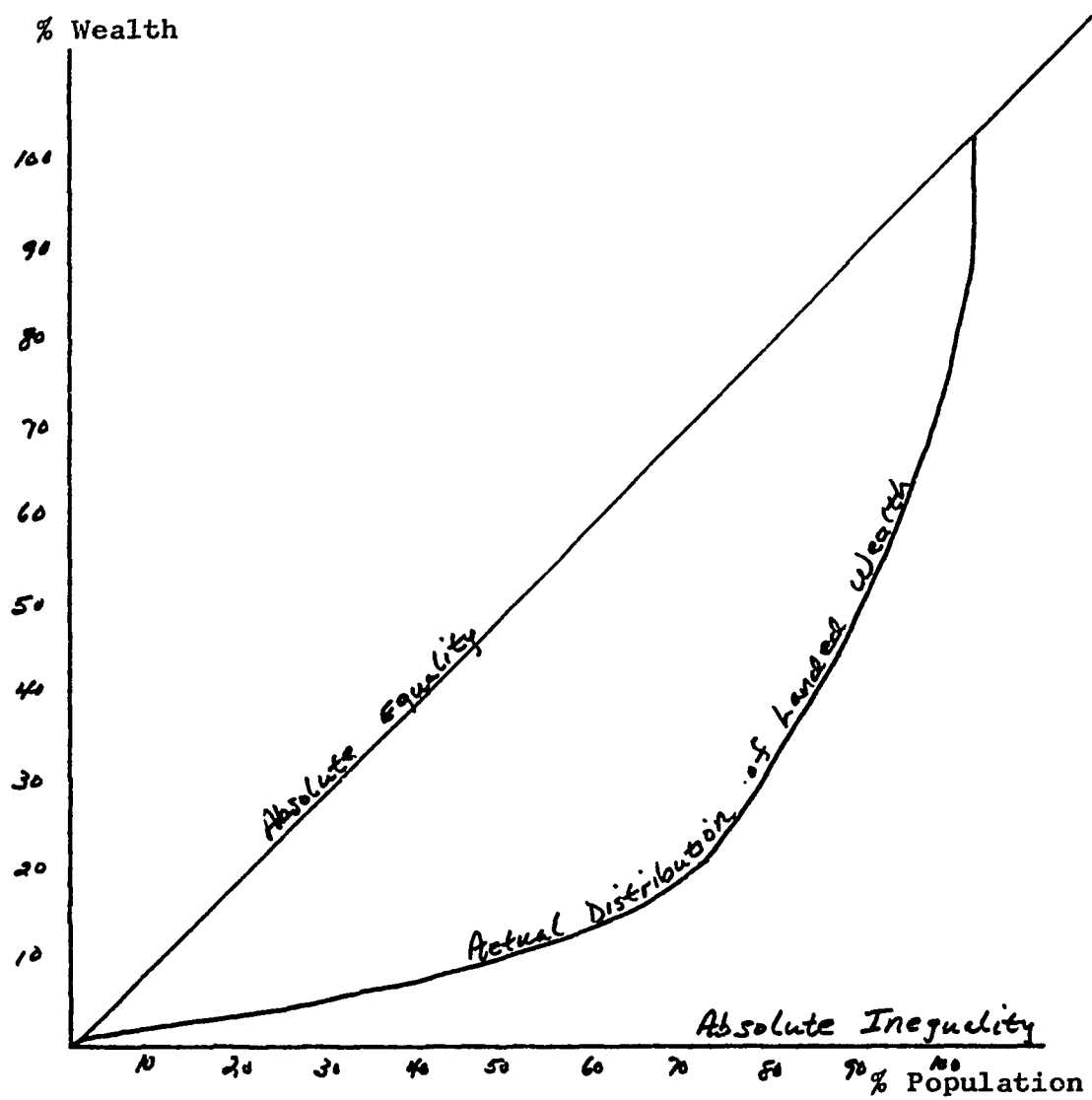
DATA FOR LORENZ CURVES

<u>1660-1670</u>		<u>1710-1720</u>		<u>1740-1750</u>		<u>1760-1770</u>		<u>1660-1790</u>	
<u>% P</u>	<u>% W</u>	<u>% P</u>	<u>% W</u>	<u>% P</u>	<u>% W</u>	<u>% P</u>	<u>% W</u>	<u>% P</u>	<u>% W</u>
68.6	18.9	80.5	27.8	80.0	18.1	81.3	21.9	78.5	18.8
83.3	41.0	94.3	63.2	83.3	25.7	89.7	41.9	87.7	35.3
91.1	59.7	96.1	70.5	93.3	62.9	93.0	54.8	92.1	48.3
95.0	72.5	97.9	81.7	97.7	85.1	98.0	80.9	95.5	62.1
98.9	89.5	98.8	88.4	100.0	99.8	98.8	86.8	98.3	77.3
100.0	100.0	99.7	99.9			99.6	99.7	99.1	84.0
								99.3	85.7
								99.6	88.9
								99.7	90.3
								99.8	92.1
								100.0	100.0

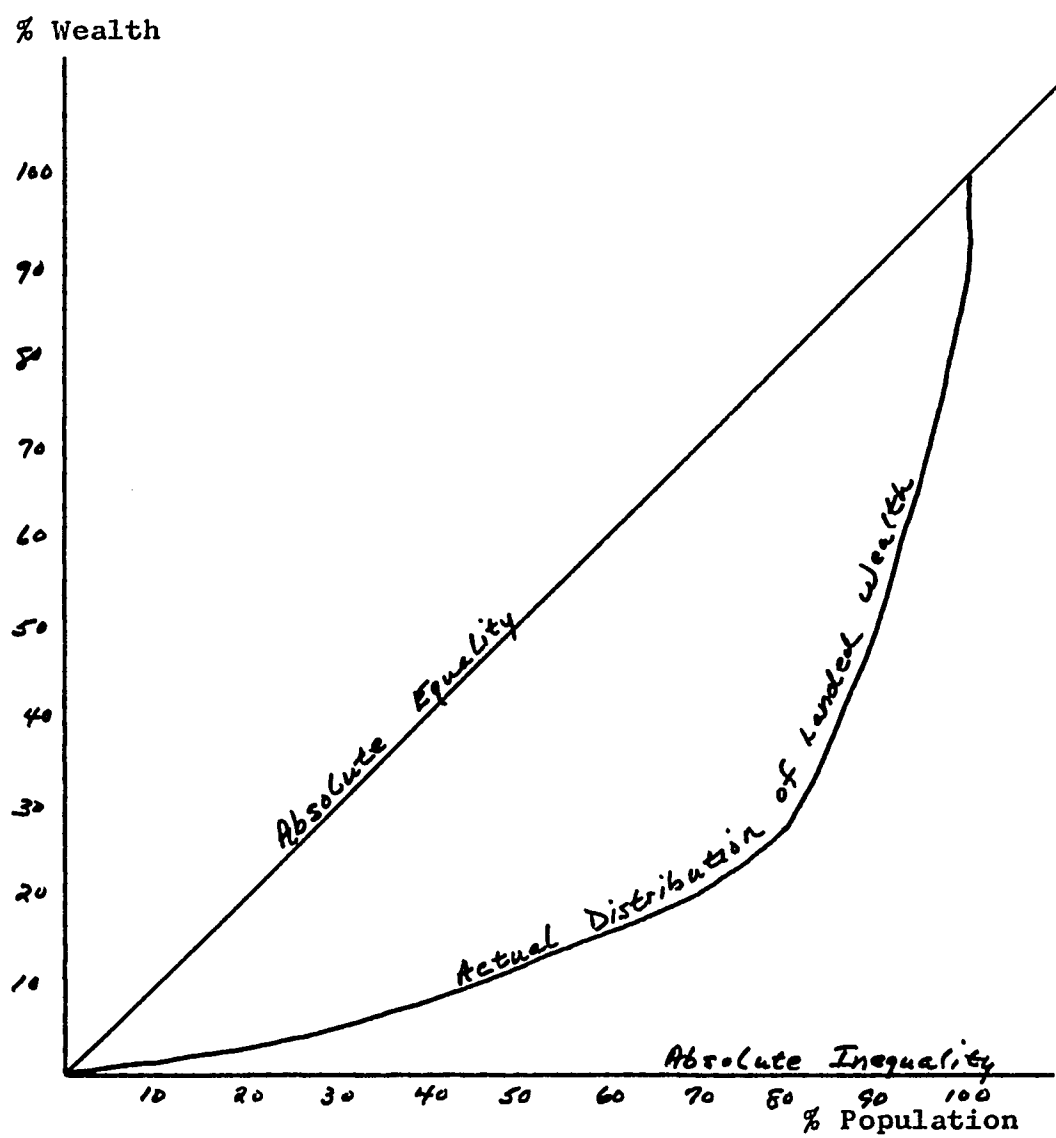
% P -- percentage population

% W -- percentage wealth

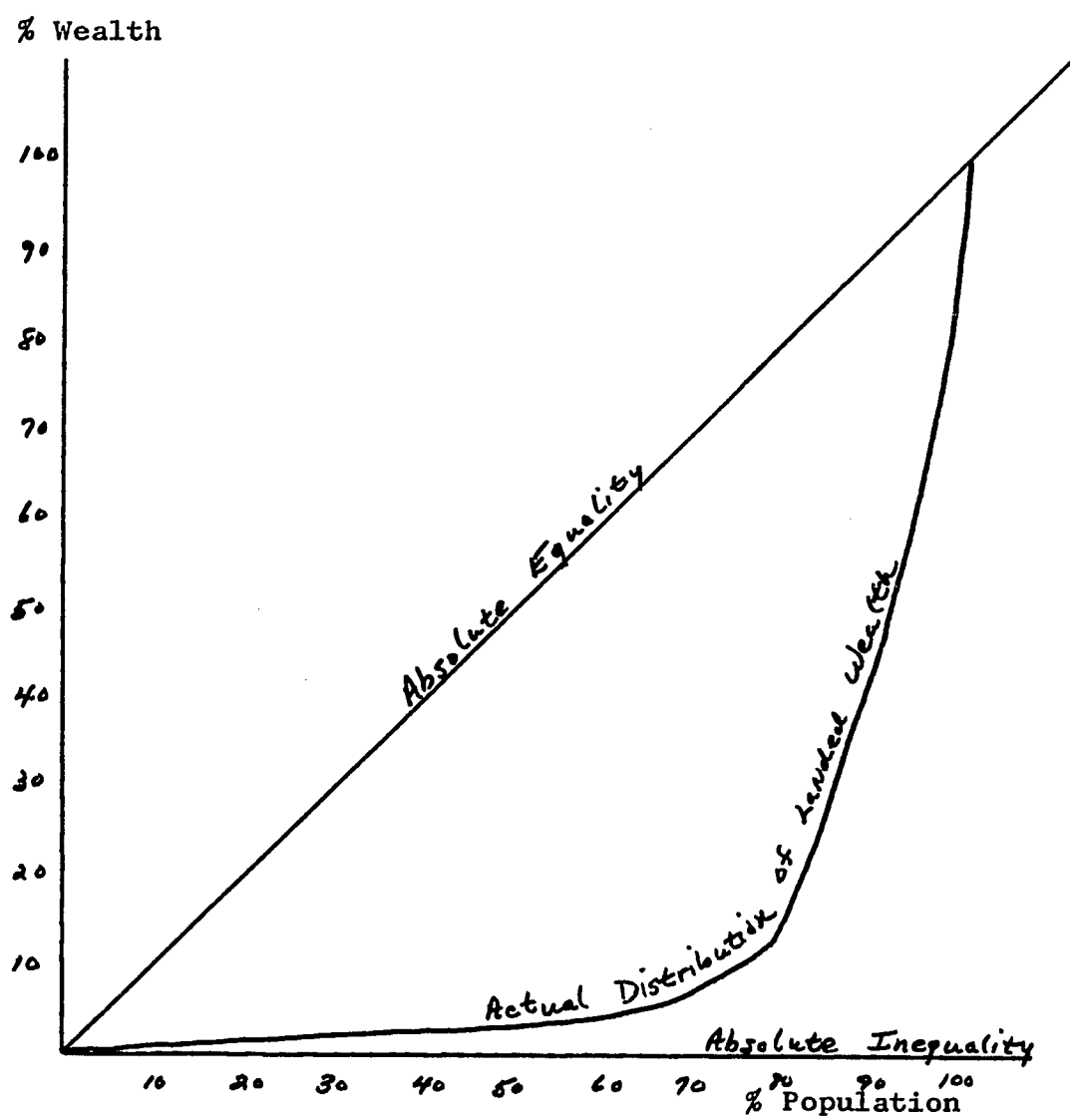
GRAPH 2
LORENZ CURVE 1660-1670



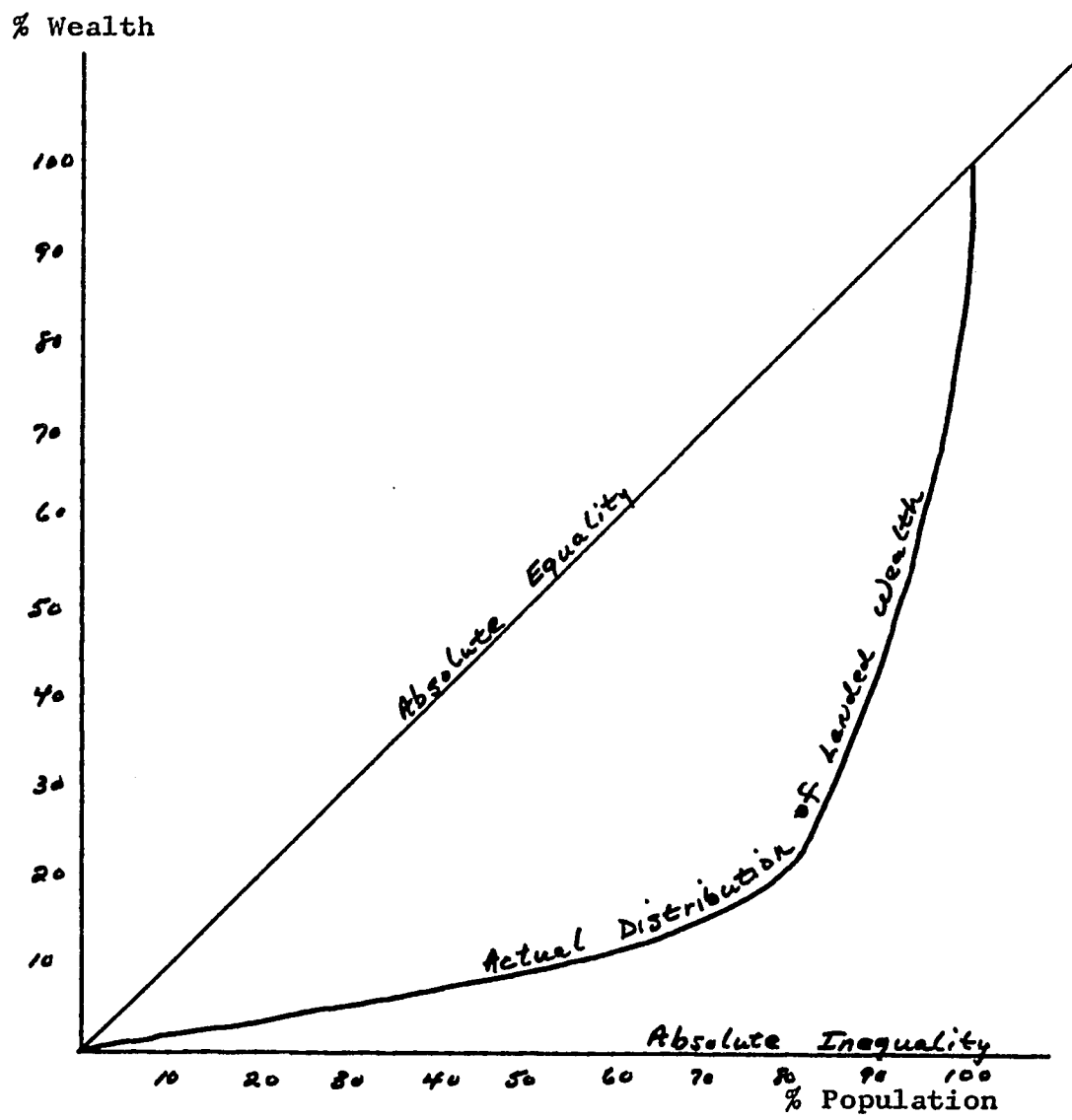
GRAPH 3
LORENZ CURVE 1710-1720



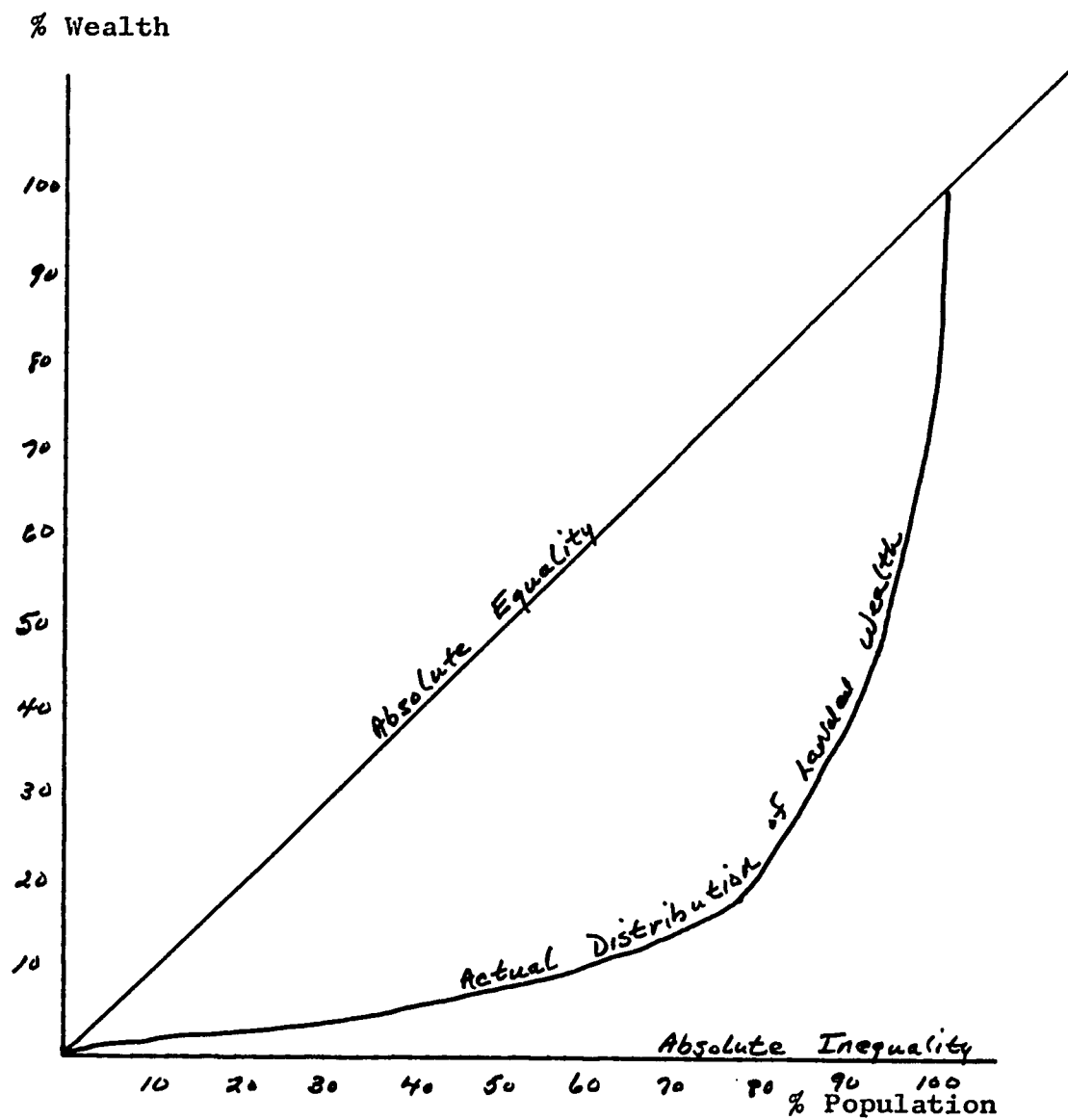
GRAPH 4
LORENZ CURVE 1740-1750



GRAPH 5
LORENZ CURVE 1760-1770



GRAPH 6
LORENZ CURVE 1660-1790



or 22.5 percent followed a pattern of primogeniture, a form of inheritance which became especially popular. Its use was definitely a factor in causing younger sons to leave Jamaica, and, therefore, in decreasing the potential number of public charges.²⁹ In thirty wills or 18.2 percent of the total, the deceased divided the estate equally among all sons.³⁰ In twenty-seven instances or 16.4 percent of the cases the sons received unequal shares of the estate.³¹ The children inherited an equal share of the estate in twenty-four cases or 14.6 percent of the total wills studied. In thirteen additional instances, when the estate was sold and the money divided, the wife and children received equal amounts.³² In six percent of the cases, in which no close relatives survived, estates were bequeathed to strangers or distant family members.³³ In twenty-three or 14.0 percent of the wills the wife received the entire estate, a practice quite rare in colonial times.³⁴ In 60 wills out of 164, the wife only received use of the entire estate until death or remarriage, and in another 23 cases she could use only part of her husband's property. Inheritance by daughters was negligible, for in 54 wills they only received a small amount of money or some household items.³⁵

Many young men with little or no land were the victims of partible inheritance. They either remained in town and formed a group of poor farmers and artisans or

migrated to another community where land was available. An analysis of the land holdings of fathers and sons from 1656 to 1776 indicates that the rate of upward social mobility decreased slightly from 1690 to 1720 and most notably from 1750 to 1770. Only the younger son's movement away from Jamaica from 1720 to 1750 reduced the pressure of an increased population on a limited land supply. As far as can be determined from wills, deeds, and town records, fifty-two male residents left the town during these years.³⁶ Many young men who remained in Jamaica sank to the lowest class in society; they collectively owned only a small amount of land and most of them fell into debt.

Every man's acreage was scattered throughout the town. One inhabitant, for instance, could have lots of meadow in Further East Neck and on Chasmore's Island, wooded land in the Hills, planting fields on the Little Plains, and commonage at Rocky Hollow and the West Purchase. The several locations resulted not only from the varied topography of Jamaica, but also from the policy of distributing land by lot. Before the revolution no individual ever owned one large lot in one area of town; instead, all men no matter where they lived, had to travel some distance to reach certain sections of their property.

At the time of settlement and throughout Jamaica's history, most people resided in the center of town, which

was in the north central section of the town. Initially, the proprietors divided this area into four parts with four to six home lots in each squadron. Each section was extended as the population increased. Not all families, however, lived in this centrally located area. Early deeds and wills noted the sale or placement of a few home lots at Beaver Pond, an area southwest of the town center. As new areas were developed or purchased, home lots appeared in such sections as Springfield to the east of center, the Little Plains to the southeast, and New Jamaica to the west. By 1720 many Dutch Reformed families from Kings County moved into the west side of town, an area which became "New Jamaica." By the seventeen-thirties a few inhabitants such as members of the Higbie and Mill families resided in the "Village of Springfield" in east Jamaica.³⁷

Townpeople did not oppose the dispersal of Jamaica's population. The town minutes did not even record the movement away from the town center. Jamaica was not like Newtown to the northwest, which ordered its inhabitants in 1668 to build their homes only at the center of town. The settlers of Jamaica followed the pattern which they were familiar with in Hempstead. There settlers, from the time of settlement in 1644, lived in a scattered arrangement with people residing in Cow Neck, Manhasset, Far Rockaway, and the Great Plains.³⁸ Perhaps, since town government in Jamaica was mostly functional, it was not involved in forcing

people to live in one area. Residents spent little time in administrative matters, but much time in procuring economic success and quarreling over religious problems. Furthermore, Jamaica accepted the dispersal of its residents because there was no danger from Indian raids, and, most importantly, because there were several fixed occasions when townsmen got together. Every Thursday most men came to the fair held at the town center; other days were county court days which drew a large portion of the inhabitants; and lastly, all three denominations had their churches located within the town center. Unlike many New England towns, Jamaica had no group isolated in a separate area within a larger community.³⁹

Land speculation was a major form of economic activity in Jamaica, for many residents and a few absentee owners bought and sold property.⁴⁰ A study of the deeds among Jamaica inhabitants and with outsiders indicates that many lots were bought and sold several times, with a slight profit to each grantor.⁴¹ For land transactions to be valid, all conveyances had to be recorded properly and registered.⁴²

Omissions in the existing land records for Jamaica and the surrounding towns make it difficult to delineate trends in land prices throughout the colonial period. Deeds recorded before 1683 seldom refer to cost, while those after that date sporadically note the price. Clerks preferred phrases such as "for a valuable consideration" or "good and

lawful money to him in hand paid," instead of an exact sale price. In many cases even if the total cost were recorded, the price per acre could not be calculated because the exact acreage was not noted. Often if cost and acreage were given, the price included the transfer of several types of land, such as meadow, upland, commons, and planting fields. The cost of one land type, therefore, could not be determined. Another difficulty in any analysis of land prices is the frequent completion of deeds by the transfer of only five or ten shillings. In such cases the grantee paid the remaining sum at a later date, usually by borrowing money and giving the lender a mortgage on the premises for which he had not paid. There were no laws or rules to protect the seller's interest in the unpaid amount.

From the conveyances that are complete, however, a few generalizations concerning colonial land prices can be made. During the one hundred and twenty years of this study, planting land was always the most expensive, followed by home lots, uplands, and meadow acreage. There was a consistent increase in the price of planting fields, the cost per acre being predicated on the quality of the soil and its location. Other important factors determining price included the amount of clearance, the number of improvements, and the degree of accompanying rights to common land. Tillable land prices in Flushing and Newtown were

comparable to those in Jamaica, while the price per acre in Hempstead was lower for similar quality and location.

The cost of houses and home lots rose throughout the colonial period, but not consistently. In this category, location was more significant than the quality of land. Houses and home lots near the town center, for example, were more expensive than those further removed. In an analysis of homestead sales the hidden factors of house structure and degree of improvements are of utmost importance. Clerks never described the dwelling, and frequently they did not note improvements such as out buildings, gardens, or orchards.

During the colonial period the cost of wooded land or upland increased markedly in Jamaica. Prices began at £2 per acre in the seventeenth century and reached £20 per acre in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. This rise also occurred in Flushing, and Newtown. Like planting fields, the cost of wooded land was dependent on its location as well as on the quality of the timber and soil. In contrast to wooded land, the cost per acre of fresh and salt meadow was relatively stable throughout the colonial period. In Jamaica and the neighboring towns, the price ranged from £3 to £10 per acre, with the average being about £5 per acre.⁴³

An analysis of Queens County conveyances involving at least one Jamaica inhabitant indicates that land transfer

was a major economic activity during the years from 1656 to 1776. Out of a total male population of 1193 men, 661 or 55.4 percent were involved in the conveyance of land, at the rate of 3.06 transfers per person. (see Table 25 on page 194) The county or town clerk recorded 2,024 deeds, of which 312 or 15.4 percent involved a grantor or grantee who was not a resident of Jamaica. Fifty conveyances or 2.4 percent were gifts, most of which went from father to son.⁴⁴ In 1685, for example, Nathaniel Denton, Sr. gave his son Samuel part of his home lot, five acres of wood land on Little Neck, five acres of land at Little Plain Run, five acres eastward, and four acres of meadow on Further East Neck. John Mills gave to his son Daniel one-third of his farm at Springfield in 1751. In 1761 Johannes Polhemius granted to his sons John and Eldert his house and home lot in the west end of town, fifteen acres of meadow in Hawtree Neck, ten acres of meadow on Oldfield's Neck, and twenty-two acres in Newtown.⁴⁵

Most of the people in Jamaica who transferred property were middle-class yeomen who owned less than fifty acres. (see Table 26 on page 195) The most active time for the transfer of land was from 1691 to 1720, a period which corresponded with the highest population level. Wealthy individuals owning large amounts of land participated in far more transfers than did those owning small tracts. Two men, for example, who owned between six hundred and eight

TABLE 25

NUMBER OF TRANSACTIONS BY THIRTY YEAR PERIOD

<u>Buys</u>		
<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of People Involved</u>	<u>Number of Transactions</u>
1656-1690	75	275
1691-1720	141	530
1721-1750	64	160
1751-1780	50	77
	330	1042
 <u>Sells</u>		
1656-1690	81	352
1691-1720	130	430
1721-1750	73	128
1751-1780	47	72
	331	982
Totals:	661	2024

Average Number of Transactions Per Person -- 3.06

Percentage of Population Involved -- 55.4

TABLE 26

LAND TRANSACTIONS RELATED TO LAND HOLDINGS

<u>Acres</u>	<u>1656-1690</u>		<u>1691-1720</u>		<u>1721-1750</u>		<u>1751-1780</u>	
	<u># P</u>	<u># T</u>	<u># P</u>	<u># T</u>	<u># P</u>	<u># T</u>	<u># P</u>	<u># T</u>
0-50	68	118	138	266	83	118	57	78
51-100	46	135	50	154	12	30	13	22
101-150	14	87	23	113	16	50	8	8
151-200	12	56	23	82	11	41	9	21
201-300	12	81	17	128	11	41	9	18
301-400	0	0	14	128	3	7	0	0
401-500	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2
501-600	2	64	2	59	0	0	0	0
601-800	0	0	2	13	0	0	0	0
801-1000	2	89	0	0	0	0	0	0
Over 1000	0	0	2	17	0	0	0	0

P -- Number of People

T -- Number of Transactions

hundred acres bought and sold sixty-four times from 1656 to 1690. Also during this period, two other inhabitants who owned from 801 to 1000 acres transacted a total of eighty-nine land transfers, figures much higher than the average of 3.06 transfers per individual during a one hundred and twenty year period. After 1720 there was a decrease in both sizeable land holdings and the number of land sales. Those involved in land speculation on a large scale included Daniel Whitehead and his son Jonathan, Samuel Clowes, William Creed, Nathaniel Denton, Sr. and Jr., and George Woolsey, Jr.

Most sales totalling 84.6 percent of all transactions involved property in the town of Jamaica. One hundred and two transfers or 15.4 percent involved land outside of the town, in 139 different places. Generally, Jamaica inhabitants owned property in such nearby towns as Newtown, Hempstead, and Flushing. Other areas in which they held land were West Jersey, and Dutchess and Orange counties in New York (see Tables 27 and 28 on page 197).

Land hunger led six settlers of Jamaica to seek additional property in New Jersey. On September 26, 1664 John Bayles, Daniel and Nathaniel Denton, Thomas Benedict, John Foster, and Luke Watson petitioned Governor Richard Nicolls for permission to buy land in New Jersey from the Indians. They had previously attempted to acquire land on the

TABLE 27

LAND HELD OUTSIDE JAMAICA BY DECADE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Transfer Count</u>	<u>Holdings Count</u>
1660-70	4	6
1670-80	6	11
1680-90	12	15
1690-00	11	15
1700-10	15	21
1710-20	15	23
1720-30	9	10
1730-40	3	5
1740-50	11	14
1750-60	5	5
1760-70	5	6
1770-80	6	8
	102	139

TABLE 28

NUMBER OF HOLDINGS BY DECADE

<u>Place</u>	<u>Total Number of Holdings</u>
Dutchess County	8
Great Britaine	1
Newtown	29
Raritan, New Jersey	3
Maidenhead, New Jersey	1
Pilgrims Harbor	0
Orange County, New York	8
Pennsylvania	3
East Jersey	5
Hopewell, New York	1
Wawayanda, New York	2
Hempstead	26
Flushing	26
Oyster Bay	6
Kings County	4
England	1
West Jersey	11
Goshen, Ulster Ct., New York	2
Minissink, New York	1
Hartford, Connecticut	1

Achter Cul River, but the Dutch Director-General refused their application. With Nicoll's consent they bought property equalling 370,000 acres between the Raritan and Passaic Rivers. On December 1, 1664 the governor ratified the Indian deed of October 28, 1664, but Governor Philip Carteret of New Jersey repudiated these transactions in August, 1665.⁴⁶

Petitions to the governor reveal the desire of some of Jamaica's inhabitants for land within the Province of New York. On June 25, 1684 Caleb Carman, Peter Smith's widow Elizabeth, William Creed, and William White, all of Jamaica, asked Governor Thomas Dongan and his Council for a patent for a tract of land in Flushing which they had bought on June 16, 1684 from the Indians. Before the Dutch government decided the matter, John Bowne and Matthias Harvey of Flushing entered a caveat against this request.⁴⁷ Similarly, Daniel Whitehead petitioned the governor on December 17, 1685 for two or three hundred acres of unappropriated land, "convenient for speedy improvement." Governor Dongan granted Whitehead's petition on the condition that the land was east of Hempstead and not already held by others. Several inhabitants of Jamaica criticized Whitehead for the "advancement of his own private interest" and for the neglect of his duty as the town's agent to the governor.⁴⁸ Finally, on February 12, 1722 Dr. Thomas Braine addressed

Governor William Burnet for two thousand acres of "lands within the Province vested in the Crown which are unsettled and uncultivated and bringing no rent or other benefit to the Crown or this Province." His willingness to pay a quit rent and to settle and improve the land led the governor and council to grant his petition.⁴⁹

One of the largest land grants was the Wawayanda Patent, dated April 29, 1703, and transferred by an Indian deed of March 5, 1703 to twelve proprietors, none of whom were from Jamaica. Ten years later John Everet and Samuel Clowes of Jamaica served as agents to settle the towns of Goshen, Warwick, and Chester, all in Orange County and within the patent.⁵⁰ Both Everet and Clowes were wealthy gentlemen involved in county government. At his death in 1750 Samuel Clowes owned more than one thousand acres of land, much of it in Wawayanda and Minisink. Everet also held several acres in Orange and Ulster counties.⁵¹ Both men sold land in Orange County for £90 to James Sands of Oyster Bay. Solomon Carpenter of Jamaica bought lot number thirty-one in the township of Goshen on July 21, 1714.⁵² A fellow townsman Michael Dunning, who had obtained land in Orange County on January 8, 1714, became a resident owner in 1721 and in 1722 a proprietor in the township of Goshen.⁵³ Everet and Clowes also conveyed land on October 7, 1715 to John Yalverton who at the time of his death in 1760 was a merchant in New

Windsor, Ulster County, with another estate in the township of Goshen.⁵⁴

Numerous wills of Jamaica inhabitants indicate that they owned land in Orange and Ulster counties. Nehemiah Denton ordered his property and shops in Newburgh, Ulster County, to be sold after his death. Hope Rodes bequeathed to his son Isaac all of his land in Goshen in 1750. In 1737 Thomas Watson, a tailor, left his two nephews Zachariah Watson and Elijah Flowers all his lands in Goshen and Wawayanda, Orange County,⁵⁵ and George McNish, Thomas and Abraham Gale, and David Curwin owned nine hundred acres in lot number seventeen in Minisink, Orange, and Ulster counties.⁵⁶

Eight inhabitants of Jamaica owned land at the Patent of Nine Partners in Dutchess County. Thomas Welling, for example, left three hundred acres there to his three nephews.⁵⁷ Other townsmen invested in property even further from home. Thus, Federick Hendricksen Van Leaw owned an estate in Holland which he left to his five daughters and three sons in 1712, and Thomas Truxton, "gentleman," a former seaman, left one-half of his land on the Island of Jamaica in the West Indies and in England to his son Thomas.⁵⁸ This brief sketch of land owned outside of Jamaica makes it clear that land speculation was a major form of economic activity for many of the town's well-to-do residents.

On occasion Jamaica's freeholders exchanged as well as purchased land. Instead of going through the often difficult procedure of buying and selling property, many residents exchanged one piece of land for another more accessible or more suitable to their purposes. Most of these agreements took place between 1675 and 1720, and during this forty-five year period, the town minutes recorded fifty exchanges. Usually exchanges were of equal acreage. On February 28, 1678, for example, John Oldfield and Thomas Welling each exchanged ten acres of meadow on Long Neck. Nathaniel Denton, Jr. gave up his ten acres of land on Little Neck for his brother's ten acres on Boggy Meadow Neck in 1689. On still another occasion Daniel Whitehead in 1692 transferred a ten acre piece of land, twenty acres of upland, and a thirteen acre lot to John Hanson for sixty acres of upland and one Negro man named Dicke.⁵⁹ Often agreements were made to exchange different types of land. For instance, in 1696 George Woolsey, Jr. exchanged his plain land for John Ludlum's wooded acreage. More common was the transfer of the same type of land only in different parts of the town. In 1687 Wait Smith gave his meadow in Hither East Neck for William Sallier's meadow on Further East Neck, and John Hanson and Wait Smith exchanged five acres in the hill division.⁶⁰ During the early years of settlement, exchanges were popular and legal if they were recorded in the town book and recognized by other townsmen.

The distribution, ownership, and transfer of land created problems for Jamaica and for many of its inhabitants. Boundary disputes between towns and between individuals produced numerous conflicts. Because land was the most obvious symbol of a community's wealth, towns repeatedly attempted to extend their holdings beyond the limits set down in their patents. The Duke's Laws ordered that every three years between February 20 and 29 three overseers from each town were to renew boundary marks with neighboring towns.⁶¹ Despite this attempt to regulate procedures the towns surrounding Jamaica were at constant odds with each other. As early as December 12, 1662, Jamaica's residents decreed "yt ye Town will stand one by another in maintaining their Rights against any yt shall goe about to abridge it."⁶²

The first boundary dispute was with Flushing over the hills separating the two towns. The governor settled it on March 2, 1664. Other problems arose between the two towns in 1670, 1678, and 1684.⁶³ On March 3, 1664, Jamaica laid claim to the Little Plains which Hampstead insisted was within its patent. Governor Richard Nicolls and his Council settled the controversy in Jamaica's favor in 1665. In 1673, 1685, 1691, and 1725 Jamaica had other boundary disputes with Hampstead.⁶⁴ In 1664 Jamaica became involved in a controversy over meadow grounds with Newtown, Flatlands, Flatbush, and Brooklyn. The five towns appointed James Hubbard and Jaques

Coutilleau to survey the meadows in question, and each community was then given the opportunity to specify its choice of lots. Further conflict developed with Newtown in February 1667 over Seller's Neck, and with Flatbush in October, 1702 over adjacent territory. In addition, minor disputes among neighbors arose over the impounding of cattle on unfenced lands between towns and non-townsmen fishing in Jamaica Bay.⁶⁶

Individual land disputes took two forms -- those between a Jamaica inhabitant and an outsider and those among residents. A higher court usually settled the former type of controversy, while the latter seldom reached beyond the town's jurisdiction. In January, 1665 Andrew Messenger of Jamaica petitioned Governor Richard Nicolls concerning the validity of his purchase of a town lot and estate from Francis Finch, a poor man in parish. The attorney for the overseers of the poor decided that the sale was not valid because the parties involved failed to record it according to custom. Thomas Lawrence of Newtown and William Hallett of Jamaica addressed another plea to the governor in 1667 concerning Hallett's claim to Round Island near Hellgate.⁶⁷ The town minutes of April 3, 1747 recorded an agreement between Richard Betts of Jamaica and William Furman of Newtown about boundary lines between their lands on the hills near Butter-Milk Hallow.⁶⁸

Disputes over land were far more common within

Jamaica than those between residents and non-residents. The constable and selectmen settled numerous land problems such as the one between the town and William Creed about common meadow on Little Neck. In 1678 Daniel Whitehead sued John Oldfield and Samuel Smith, the town surveyors, for a parcel of meadow on East Neck.⁶⁹ Occasionally land disputes were settled out of court. For example, in 1733 Richard Betts and Joseph Smith were able to decide on a line dividing their hill land.⁷⁰ The Queens County Court of Sessions and the Supreme Court determined more complicated cases involving large amounts of property. The exact number of actions pertaining to such conflicts can never be ascertained because court clerks did not describe the nature of every suit in their minutes. It seems reasonable to suggest, however, that a majority of cases did involve property problems of some sort.

Land, regardless of how it was obtained, played a central role in Jamaica's growth and the individual fortunes of its citizens. Original settlers and those who arrived in the town soon after them enjoyed the opportunity at no cost both to acquire land and to increase their overall holdings. After 1700 both newcomers and the younger sons of earlier settlers not only had to purchase land, but they were usually denied rights to meadow land. By 1720 there was a shortage of land, and because of partible inheritance the land available for sale was generally in small lots.

The pressure of a relatively large population on a finite supply of land did not, however, lead to the emergence of a landless proletariat, for most third generation sons migrated to areas where land was more plentiful. At the other end of the economic scale, many residents speculated in town lands as well as those in different parts of the province of New York and neighboring colonies. At the same time absentee ownership was never a significant factor in the town's economy or government. Nevertheless the seemingly insatiable desire for land did create an uneasy atmosphere which often resulted in quarrels between residents or with neighboring towns. It is probably not an exaggeration to state that the intensity of disputes over land was only rivaled, if not exceeded, by Jamaica's religious controversies.

FOOTNOTES

¹Joseph Paige, "Early Land Dealings on Long Island," The Journal of Long Island History, VII (Winter-Spring, 1967), 25-27.

²Andover had 38,000 acres compared to 6,000 acres of English villages. Philip J. Greven, Jr., "Old Patterns in the New World: The Distribution of Land in 17th Century Andover," Essex Institute Historical Collections, CI (April, 1965), 134.

³The acreage held by the average yeoman in the town of Jamaica ranged from 45 to 100 acres. A yeoman in Sudbury, Massachusetts held approximately 150 acres. Sumner, Puritan Village, pp. 118, 122, 191. Land holdings in Dedham averaged 210 acres per man. Lockridge, Dedham, pp. 64-65. In Andover the inhabitants held land according to the size of their home lots. Consequently, those owning four and five acre lots held between 122 and 152.5 acres; owners of six, seven, and eight acres had from 183 to 244 acres; and those with lots from ten to twenty acres acquired between 305 and 610 acres of land. Greven, Andover, p. 58. In Hempstead, Long Island the proprietors were initially given a twenty-two acre, fifty acre and one hundred acre lots, while nonproprietors had to settle with only fifty acres. Much land in Hempstead as in Jamaica was held in common. Marshall, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 20-21.

⁴The four squadrons were headed by townsmen. Mr. Coe's squadron was at the [Haw] trees; Goodman Everet's at Long Neck; John Townsend's at East Neck; and Luke Watson's at West Neck. Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 3-4, 7-8.

⁵Ibid., I, p. 9.

⁶Ibid., I, p. 10.

⁷Ibid., I, p. 11.

⁸Ibid., I, p. 21.

⁹Ibid., I, pp. 17, 27.

¹⁰Ibid., I, pp. 183-84.

¹¹Ibid., I, p. 179.

¹²Ibid., I, pp. 42, 181.

¹³Ibid., I, pp. 41, 179.

¹⁴Ibid., I, pp. 80, 184-85, 216-17.

¹⁵Ibid., I, pp. 217-18.

¹⁶Ibid., I, pp. 158-59.

¹⁷Ibid., I, pp. 139-41.

¹⁸Ibid., II, p. 75; III, pp. 429, 432.

¹⁹In Dedham, Massachusetts and Kent, Connecticut younger sons remained intown and formed a small poverty-stricken class. Lockridge, Dedham, p. 151; and Grant, Kent, pp. 97-98.

²⁰Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 6, 9, 26, 43, 61, 66-67.

²¹Ibid., I, pp. 14, 31, 64.

²²Ibid., I, pp. 342-43.

²³Queens County Conveyances, III, E, p. 6.

²⁴Ibid., I, A, p. 212; B, pp. 125-26, 294.

²⁵Ibid., I, p. 59; I, B, pp. 118-19. For references to the remaining tenants, see Ibid., I, pp. 94, 193; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 214, 280-81, 393-94; II, pp. 98-100, 413.

²⁶These figures were derived from notations made in the Jamaica Town Records, Queens County Conveyances, individual deeds, wills, inventories, and mortgages. It is important to note that many absentee owners eventually became residents. Several prominent men from New York City, for example moved to Jamaica after owning property there for several years. Important merchants included Thomas Troup, Samuel Bayard, Walter Thong, Lawrence Reade, and Jacobus Van Courtlandt; famous lawyers were Daniel Horsmanden and William Beekman. Thomas Braine and John Ogden were important physicians in New York City. Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 374-75; IV, 6-8, 19-20; Queens County Conveyances, I, B, 292-93, 354, 447; II, D, 2-4; III, D, 294-96.

²⁷For a discussion of the problem of an increased population on a limited land supply, see Kenneth Lockridge, "Land, Population and the Evolution of New England Society 1630-1790," Past and Present, XXXIX (April, 1968), 67-71. A good discussion of geographic mobility can be found in Bissell, Linda A. "From One Generation to Another: Mobility in Seventeenth-Century Windsor, Connecticut," William and Mary Quarterly (January, 1974), XXXI, 79-110.

²⁸Bidwell and Falconer, Agriculture, p. 66; Richard B. Morris, Studies in the History of American Law With Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963), pp. 75-80, 111. In Andover, Massachusetts partible inheritance was the general rule. Out of 85 sons, 82 or 96.5 percent received land from their father's estates. By the fourth generation, however, there was a trend toward impartible inheritances. Greven, Andover, pp. 83, 257.

²⁹For examples of this form of inheritance see the following wills: Derick Amberman, December 10, 1757, Abstracts of Wills, V, pp. 232-33; John Bayles, February 19, 1749/50, Ibid., IV, pp. 260-61; Joseph Smith, Sr., February 25, 1730, Ibid., III, pp. 52-53; and Samuel Denton, March 13, 1698/9 Queens County Conveyances, I, pp. 140-41.

³⁰Abraham Ditmas, August 2, 1743, Abstracts of Wills, IV, p. 308; and Hendrick Lott, October 1, 1760, Ibid., VI, pp. 288-89.

³¹James Denton, March 14, 1757, Abstracts of Wills, V, pp. 183-84; Nicholas Everit, June 5, 1723, Ibid., II, 354-55.

³²Simon Bloom, January 11, 1721, Abstracts of Wills,

II, pp. 260-61; John Innes, November 19, 1772, Ibid., Unrecorded, p. 194.

³³William Johnson, January 19, 1746, Abstracts of Wills, IV, p. 224.

³⁴Robert Ashman, July 26, 1683, Abstracts of Wills, I, p. 125; Eldert Lucasen, February 23, 1714/15, Ibid., II, pp. 245-46.

³⁵See the wills of Samuel Clowes, July 24, 1750, Jonathan Deane, and Benjamin Hinchman, Abstracts of Wills, V, pp. 423-24, VII, pp. 436-38, and Queens County Conveyances, II, pp. 99-101.

³⁶For examples of those who moved from Jamaica see: Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1934-35. The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden, VII (9 vols., New York: New-York Historical Society, 1934-35), Letter from C. Colden to William Brown, Esq. September 3, 1745, p. 313; Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, p. 20; and Queens County Conveyances, III, D, pp. 285-87, 408-09. For a discussion of the problems resulting from an increased population on a limited land supply, see Greven, Andover, pp. 126-139, 142-153, 165-190; Powell, Sudbury, pp. 58, 63-67; Lockridge, Dedham, pp. 151-52, 157, 161; and Grant, Kent, pp. 97-99, 1-2, 103.

³⁷Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 196, 267.

³⁸Riker, Annals of Newtown, pp. 78-79; and Marshall, Colonial Hempstead, pp. ix, 18.

³⁹For a discussion of the dispersal of the population in Connecticut towns, see Richard L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee, Character and the Social Order in Connecticut 1690-1765 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 55, 61, 252. In Massachusetts movement away from the town's center was looked upon as a problem, see Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, pp. 93-94; Greven, "Old Patterns in the New World," pp. 142-43; Greven, Andover, pp. 55-56; Lockridge, Dedham, pp. 102-03, 117-18.

⁴⁰Land speculation was also an important economic activity in Kent, Connecticut. See Grant, Kent, pp. 56-57.

⁴¹Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 72-75.

⁴²The Province of New York had a land registration system that provided a secure title to land in a reasonably short period of time. Under the Dutch, the town clerk drew up deeds which were witnessed by him and two magistrates. Then, each town recorded these instruments in the provincial secretary's office. With the institution of the Duke's Laws in 1665 a more specific procedure began. No sale of houses or lands was legal except if done by deed, and sealed, and recorded. This law did not extend to houses and lands given by will or granted by the town. Under these laws all conveyances and mortgages had to be recorded with the clerk of the Court of Sessions within one month to be valid, and acknowledged before a Justice of the Peace. Once a month the court sent recorded deeds to the Secretary's Office at New York City. In 1683 when the English introduced the county system, the assembly established new recording statutes. On October 22, 1683 the legislature passed a bill making twenty-one the age at which a person could will or convey land. On November 3, 1683 it enacted a bill entitled an "Act to prevent frauds in conveyancing of lands" which set up a new system for the registering and recording of deeds. Each county established a registry office where every deed and mortgage had to be recorded within six months after the date of transfer in order to be legally valid. Before a deed could be recorded it had to be acknowledged before one Justice of the Peace, or be proved by a Justice of the Peace with witnesses. The county clerk's register was sent yearly to the Secretary's Office in New York City. Another act dealing with the purchase of land from the Indians stated that such purchases were only valid if signed and sealed by the governor, and if satisfaction was acknowledged by the Indians before being entered on record at the Secretary's Office. By an act of 1754 the county clerk was to register all mortgages after January 1, 1754 in a "Blank Book." S.G. Nissenson, "The Development of a Land Registration System in New York," New York History, XX (January, 1939), 28-29, 31, 33-34; Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 30, 31, 44, 141-42, 145, 149; and Robert Ludlow Fowler, History of the Law of Real Property in New York (N.Y.: Baker, Voorhis and Company, 1895), pp. 18-19, 21. For a general discussion of land transfers on Long Island, see Paige, "Early Land Dealings on Long Island," pp. 28-38.

⁴³For the price of different types of land in several locations, see Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, pp. 290-91, 370-71, 381-83; III, pp. 7-10, 272-73, 374-75, 388-90; IV, 6-8; and Queens County Conveyances, III, D, pp. 406-07; E, pp. 137-40, 222-23.

⁴⁴These figures were derived by totalling and

categorizing deeds found in the Jamaica Town Records, Queens County Conveyances, located at the Register's Office in Jamaica (and on microfilm at Queens College Historical Documents Collection), and loose deeds found in collections of the Queens Borough Public Library, the New York Public Library, the New-York Historical Society, and the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. Transfers noted in wills were compared with actual recorded transfers to see if the transfer was on an oral basis, and therefore, not recognized before the law.

⁴⁵Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, pp. 409-10; IV, pp. 15-16; and Queens County Conveyances, III, D, pp. 437-39. For examples of other such transfers, see Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, pp. 283-85; and Queens County Conveyances, I, B, p. 25; III, D, pp. 16-18, 206-09; III, E, p. 137.

⁴⁶Howard G. Bayles and Frederick P. Bayles, comps., The Bayles Families of Long Island and New Jersey and Their Descendants (Houston, Texas: by Howard G. Bayles, 1944), pp. vii-viii; Brodhead, New York, II, p. 49; Mathews, Expansion of New England, pp. 55, 67, 95; and O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, p. 456.

⁴⁷New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial Manuscripts, Indorsed Land Papers, 1643-1803, Petitions, vol. II, pp. 48, 92.

⁴⁸Ibid., Petition of Daniel Whitehead, II, p. 146; Petition of William White, William Creed, Samuel Ruscoe, and Edward Higby and others, June 15, 1686, II, p. 190.

⁴⁹Ibid., Petition of Thomas Braine, II, p. 118.

⁵⁰E.M. Ruttenber and L.H. Clark, History of Orange County, New York (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1881), p. 19.

⁵¹Abstracts of Wills, V, pp. 423-24; Unrecorded, p. 160; and Queens County Conveyances, II, C, pp. 89-90.

⁵²Herbert F. Seversmith, Colonial Families of Long Island, New York and Connecticut (4 vols., Washington, D.C., 1948), p. 19; and Abstracts of Wills, VI, p. 214.

⁵³Ruttenber and Clark, Orange County, pp. 19, 521.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 19; and Abstracts of Wills, VIII, p. 85.

⁵⁵Will of N. Denton, dated October 19, 1764 and proved in 1770, Abstracts of Wills, VII, p. 315; H. Rodes, dated June 6, 1750, Ibid., IV, pp. 330-31; T. Watson, March 22, 1736/7, Ibid., III, p. 219.

⁵⁶New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial Manuscripts, Indorsed Land Papers, Petition dated September 25, 1765, vol. XIX, p. 161.

⁵⁷Will of Thomas Welling, yeoman, dated July 30, 1757 and proved 1770, Abstracts of Wills, VII, pp. 330-31.

⁵⁸Will of Frederick Van Leaw dated November 19, 1712, Abstracts of Wills, II, pp. 369-70; Will of Thomas Truxton, November 18, 1761, proved in 1765, Ibid., VI, pp. 421-22.

⁵⁹Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 84, 315-16, 387-88.

⁶⁰Ibid., II, pp. 276, 336-37; III, pp. 81-82.

⁶¹Colonial Laws of New York, I, p. 18.

⁶²Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 18.

⁶³Ibid., I, pp. 3, 45, 86, 178, 206-07; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, Letter from Governor Richard Nicolls to magistrates at Jamaica, vol. XIV, pp. 562-566, 735; Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, Administration of Francis Lovelace 1668-1673, II (2vols., Albany: by the State, 1910), p. 480; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division. Colonial English Manuscripts, Boundary Dispute of 1678 between Flushing and Jamaica, vol. XXVII, p. 89; and Calendar of Council Minutes 1668-1783. New York State Library, Bulletin 58, March, 1902, History 6 (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1902), V, pp. 62, 79.

⁶⁴Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 1, 33, 60, 116, 267-68, 270; III, 422-23; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial Manuscripts, Indorsed Land Papers, General Meeting of Deputies of Long Island before the government, March 4, 1665, vol. I, p. 8; Paltsits, Minutes of the Executive Council, II, p. 481;

New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, Petition of the Inhabitants of Jamaica, Long Island, November 10, 1684, vol. XXXII, p. 25 (gone); Petition of the Inhabitants of Jamaica, April 30, 1685, vol. XXXII, p. 65, (gone); Calendar of Council Minutes, March 31, 1684, and November 15, 1684, pp. 5, 62, 100.

⁶⁵Paltsits, Minutes of the Executive Council, II, pp. 482-84; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, vol. XIV, p. 593; and Queens County Conveyances, I, p. 199.

⁶⁶Morris, American Law, pp. 208-10, 212, 219; Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 21-23; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, vol. XIV, pp. 395-96. The original documents dealing with impounded cattle are in the New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, dated July 20, 23, 25, 29, 1657, and May 31, 1704, and September 17, 1718, vols. XII, pp. 62-65, XLIX, p. 93, and LXI, p. 56; and Queens County Conveyances, I, B, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁷O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, vol. XIV, pp. 563-64, 603-04. For other cases involving a Jamaica inhabitant and a person from another town, see Ibid., II, p. 712. The original court case is in the New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, October 1675, vol. XXIV, p. 187. Many cases reached the Supreme Court as did the case between James Fullerton and William Creed in 1698, and Stephen Theobalds vs. Thomas Poyer in 1729; Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1912. Proceedings of the General Court of Assizes October 6, 1680 to October 6, 1682 and Minutes of the Supreme Court of Judicature, April 4, 1693 to April 1, 1701 (New York: printed for the Society, 1913), p. 140; and Hall of Records Parchment, #P-232-C-2. Other land cases were decided in the Court of Sessions for Queens County.

⁶⁸Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 371-73.

⁶⁹Ibid., I, pp. 63, 70, 76-77, 138, 185, 223-24, 245-46.

⁷⁰Queens County Conveyances, II, D, p. 63.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION: DENOMINATIONS AND CONFLICT

Although New Englanders founded Jamaica, its religious history had little in common with that of towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The fact that the residents of Jamaica belonged to four distinct religious denominations not only contributed to the town's diversity but added to the cosmopolitan atmosphere which arose from Jamaica's commercial ties with New York City and its position as the county seat. As early as the first decades of the eighteenth century the center of the town was filled with several churches, numerous houses, a few shops, a market house, jail, and court building. Four different denominations, moreover, contributed to the complexity of social relationships and produced numerous opportunities for those who wished to fight with their neighbors.

Jamaica was founded for material rather than religious reasons, and it was not until six years after its settlement in 1656 that the proprietors established a town church. Among the town's earliest settlers were Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed freeholders and Quakers.

With the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in 1662, however, all but the Quakers were permitted to attend the new church. By 1701 there were enough Anglicans in Jamaica to found their own church, and in the following year a Dutch Reformed Church was built. Religious diversity, however, had little, or no, effect on Jamaica's politics and economy, for members of all denominations participated in town government, and residents carried on business with one another regardless of religious affiliation.¹

It is virtually impossible to compile an accurate religious census of colonial Jamaica. Ministers did not always keep complete records, and fire destroyed many baptismal, marriage, and death registers. Moreover, the evidence tends to indicate that numerous residents never joined any church. Of the 1,193 male inhabitants from 1656 to 1776, only 38.4 percent belonged to an organized church, with 735 men or 61.6 percent not categorized. With this as a statistical base, the largest group of landholders were members of the Dutch Reformed congregation (see Tables 29 and 30 on pages 216 and 217). These statistics are off-set, however, by the fact that the richest families -- those most successful in commercial agriculture and land speculation -- belonged to the Church of England.² They included Daniel, Benjamin and Jonathan Whitehead, Samuel Smith, Sr. and Jr., William Creed,

TABLE 29

RELIGIOUS POPULATIONS

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Presby.</u>	<u>Quaker</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>D. Reformed</u>	<u>Unknown</u>
1660-70	32	3	6	3	58
1670-80	5		4	0	48
1680-90	10		10	7	91
1690-00	5		11	12	85
1700-10	5		14	16	69
1710-20	3		33	10	62
1720-30	5		30	12	44
1730-40	12		6	10	23
1740-50	10		4	16	60
1750-60	26		6	14	81
1760-70	30		3	25	60
1770-80	19		0	8	49
1780-90	33		0	0	5
	195	3	127	133	735
Percentage of Total	16.5	.25	10.6	11.1	61.6

TABLE 30

LANDHOLDINGS RELATED TO RELIGION

<u>Acres</u>	<u>Presby.</u>	<u>Quaker</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>D. Reformed</u>	<u>Unknown</u>
# of People	-	-	-	-	-
0-50	163	3	95	89	587
51-100	13		6	15	76
101-150	3		6	12	32
151-200	8		6	9	18
201-300	6		8	5	14
301-400			2	1	5
401-500				1	1
501-600			2		1
601-800			1		
801-1000			1		
over 1000				1	1
Total Population	195	3	127	133	735
Total Acreage	6,681	120	8,731	11,170	27,356

Thomas Cardale, John Jackson, and Samuel Clowes. But not all Anglicans were affluent, for most of the congregation was composed of middle-class farmers such as Thomas Woolsey with fifty acres; many were poor men such as Edward Jones, sadler; George Reynolds, poundkeeper; and John Smith, Jr., weaver. Members of the other two denominations had their wealthy representatives as well; among the Presbyterians were Nathaniel Denton, Benjamin Coe, Elias Bayles, Sr. and Samuel Carpenter, and the Dutch Reformed included Dowe Ditmas, John Probasco, Hendrick Elderts, Abraham Polhemius, and Joost Duryee. Although there were four denominations after the turn of the century, no one sect dominated town affairs. The Presbyterians ceased to hold most town and county offices as soon as the Dutch Reformed and Anglicans opened their churches.

Before Rustdorp founded a town church, it had to contend with its first religious problem -- the Quakers. In 1656 the Society of Friends sent representatives to Boston where the authorities immediately imprisoned them because of their belief in an inner light. Also, their rejection of all sacraments, clergy, the Sabbath, scripture, and formal prayer was directly opposed to Puritan religious practices. As early as October, 1656 the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act making it illegal for ship masters knowingly to land Quakers in the colony and committing Quakers who came into the province to the house

of correction. Ordinances enacted in 1658 and 1661 forbade meetings and established the death penalty for banished Quakers who returned. Connecticut passed similar acts in 1656 and 1658.³

Even in New Netherland, where the Dutch were known for their toleration of religious sects, the Director-General prohibited Quakers from practicing their religion. Governor Peter Stuyvesant, a strict Calvinist who viewed the worship of God in any other way than the ritual of the Dutch Reformed Church to be sinful, characterized the Quakers as a "heretical and abominable sect."⁴ When Dutch ministers pointed out the increase of different denominations in New Netherland, the Director-General and Council passed an act on February 1, 1656, to stop dangerous heresies and schisms. It prohibited public or private religious meetings other than those of the Reformed Dutch Church as well as those performed by unqualified persons. The law did not apply to freedom of religion already granted in charters or to private family worship.⁵

The law of 1656 was in effect when the first three Quakers arrived from England in the ship Woodhouse in August, 1657. Of these, Robert Hodgson preached in the towns of Gravesend, Flushing, Jamaica, Hempstead, and Oysterbay where he found many who were receptive to the idea of an inner light. He was not, however, as well

received in Jamaica and Hempstead. Richard Gildersleeve the sheriff of Hempstead imprisoned Hodgson and reported the heresy to the Dutch government. Stuyvesant immediately sent twelve soldiers to take the prisoner to New Amsterdam, where he was fined six hundred guilders and sentenced to two years of hard labor. Hodgson died in prison as a result of cruel treatment.

In September, 1657 the Director-General and Council found the Quaker Henry Townsend of Jamaica guilty of violating the conventicle act, fined him £8 Flemish, and ordered him to leave the province within six weeks. As a result, on December 27, 1657, twenty-eight freeholders of Flushing and two of Jamaica signed a remonstrance which they sent to the governor, and the people of Flushing refused to punish or report Quakers. John Bowne carried the Flushing petition to the Chamber in Amsterdam which declared on April 16, 1663, that Stuyvesant could no longer "force people's consciences, but allow everyone to have his own belief, as long as he behaves quietly and legally, gives no offense to his neighbors and does not oppose the government."⁶

Even though ordinances prevented conventicles, Henry Townsend of Jamaica continued to hold them in his house. Stuyvesant learned of his activities by a letter dated December 29, 1658, and signed by twelve inhabitants of Rustdorp. On January 8, 1658, the Dutch government fined

him three hundred guilders for harboring Quakers.⁷ Despite this treatment, Quakers continued to attend private conventicles at his house. Richard Everitt and Nathaniel Denton reported to the authorities that those attending these meetings were Samuel Spicer and Goodie Tildon of Gravesend, and Richard Härker, Samuel Andrews, Samuel Dean and wife, John Townsend and wife, Richard Britnell, and Richard Chasmore of Jamaica. Stuyvesant then sent the Reverend Samuel Driesius, a Dutch Reformed minister, to preach and administer to the people. for there was no other cleric in the town. He also sent Resolveert Waldron, Provost, and Nicholas Bayard, Clerk, to inquire into the holding of conventicles by Quakers. As a result of their investigation, eighteen townsmen promised on January 11, 1661 to tell the authorities of any Quaker meetings. Six men who did not subscribe to this agreement had twelve soldiers quartered in their houses on January 24, 1661, an action which forced four of them to sell their homes and move to Oysterbay. In addition, on January 13, 1661, Stuyvesant's agents in Jamaica indicted Henry Townsend and Samuel Spicer for attending Quaker meetings. Nicasuis de Sille a councillor at New Netherland prosecuted the case which sentenced Townsend to pay £25 Flemish and Spicer to £12 Flemish. The governor later banished John Tilton of Gravesend and John Townsend of Jamaica from the colony.

On February 1, 1661, Richard Everitt, Nathaniel

Denton, and Andrew Messenger, magistrates of Jamaica, pledged to denounce Quakers; ten days later they petitioned the governor to recall his soldiers. They, however, remained quartered on the six who did not sign the second plea of February 11, 1661, four of whom addressed the governor on March 3, 1661 requesting relief. The Dutch authorities refused it unless they signed the pledge to report Quakers. On September 9, 1662, after being informed in August of large meetings of Quakers, Stuyvesant sent Resolved Waldron to imprison all those found in unlawful meetings. On September 21, 1662, another more detailed act provided that those attending meetings other than for Reformed worship would be fined fifty guilders, and those who taught and provided the meeting place would be fined one hundred guilders. This act prohibited the importation and distribution of seditious books and ordered newcomers to take an oath of fidelity and to register at the Office of the Secretary of the Governor-General and Council. The last anti-Quaker ordinance enacted on May 17, 1663, fined ship captains £20 Flemish for every Quaker brought into the province.⁸

After the English captured the province in 1664, the Quakers no longer suffered because of their religious beliefs. The number of Friends increased on Long Island with the principal concentration of Quakers in Flushing, Hempstead, and Oysterbay. The growth of this religious

community was reinforced by several tours of such prominent Quakers as John Burnyeat in 1666 and 1671, George Fox, William Edmundson, and Christopher Holder in 1672, Thomas Story in 1699 and 1702, Samuel Bownas in 1702, and Thomas Chalkley in 1704 and 1724.⁹ At Jamaica there were only three Quaker families after the Townsends moved to Oysterbay, and they usually went to Flushing for weekly meetings. In 1686, however, the Quarterly Meeting took place at the house of Samuel Dean, a Jamaica Quaker. In 1706 he, John Rodman, and Hugh Coperthwait bought a plot eighty by fifty feet for a meeting house. There Jamaica and Flushing Friends held meetings until 1796, when they sold the "Quaker Lot" for £200.¹⁰ All marriage intentions, and marriage, birth, and death notices, however, were registered in the Friends Monthly Meeting Minutes at Flushing.¹¹ The Quakers of Queens County petitioned Governor John Nafan for the right and privilege of voting, which they were deprived of by the justices of the county. In 1734 they received the suffrage plus all the privileges, benefits, and indulgences in force in England.¹²

In 1662 the Presbyterians, who founded Jamaica, formed a church. Although they were Puritans from Massachusetts Bay, they were Presbyterians rather than Congregationalists, who had migrated first to Connecticut and then to Long Island seeking religious freedom. In 1644 the Reverend Richard Denton led them from Stamford to

Hempstead, where Governor William Kieft gave them power "to build churches and exercise the Reformed religion which they profess, with the ecclesiastical discipline thereunto belonging." Shortly after they had established a church in Hempstead, the Presbyterians had trouble with the Congregationalists over the baptizing of the children of non-communicants. The original twenty-four migrants from Hempstead to Jamaica did not organize a church until six years after the town's settlement.¹³ As in New England, the church at Jamaica was a town church or the child of civil government. The town meeting determined all ecclesiastical affairs, including calling a clergyman, erecting church buildings, and levying rates to pay the minister. The first mention of religion in the minutes was on January 30, 1662 when the freeholders levied a tax on meadows for the minister's salary. On April 3, 1662 the town decreed that a house be built for a minister. Eight days later it decided the building ought to be twenty-six feet long and seventeen feet wide, and should be constructed by Andrew Messenger and Richard Darling before August 15, 1662.

Zachariah Walker, Jamaica's first minister, served from February, 1663 to August, 1668 at a salary of £30 per year paid in corn and wheat.¹⁴ (see Appendix G) After two years of searching for an ordained minister, John Prudden arrived in Jamaica in March, 1670, receiving a salary of

£40 per year and the use of the minister's house and lot. On May 27, 1672, the town made an agreement with him as to his pay and accommodations: if he desired to leave and the town failed to pay him his yearly salary, he would be compensated for improvements he made to parsonage land; if on the other hand, he received his salary and decided to move to another community, his improvements would be left to the town free of charge. In January, 1674 Prudden left to serve another congregation, though retaining a small lot which he had fenced in near Ben Coe's piece of land.¹⁵

Before the end of 1674 the town secured the Reverend William Woodruff, a Scot expelled from his church in England because of the Act of Uniformity. The town paid him £60 per year and gave him the use of the parsonage house, orchard and meadows. When asked to become the "settled" pastor, however, he declined the offer for a call in Pennsylvania. On April 4, 1676 the freeholders leased the minister's house and lot to James Hinds for one year or until another minister could be secured.¹⁶

Without a pastor the town sought out John Prudden who had moved to Rye, New York. On June 19, 1676, townsmen agreed that he was to receive £40 per year plus free firewood. In addition, if he remained minister for ten years, he was to have the minister's house and lot forever. In 1686 the town conveyed the parsonage to him and his heirs. On September 29, 1693 he exchanged the parsonage for a

considerable tract of land in another part of town. During his tenure as minister several inhabitants refused to pay their yearly rates, resulting in the nonpayment of his salary. Again, in 1686, certain parishioners did not pay their share of Prudden's salary. After the delinquents appeared before Governor Thomas Dongan, there was an Order-in-Council on November 18, 1686 which directed the inhabitants of Jamaica to pay what was owed. Prudden petitioned Governor Thomas Dongan again in 1688 for relief and redress, for he noted he should not be "defrauded and deprived of considerable part of his reward." Consequently, the Court of Assizes declared that, "Although divers persons may be of different judgements, yet all shall contribute to a minister established and allowed, which is no way judged to be an infringement of the liberty of conscience to which they may pretend."

In large part because of the salary disputes between Prudden and Jamaica, the town on April 3, 1688, agreed to ask the minister at Woodbridge, Connecticut to visit and settle in Jamaica. In August the town established a committee of eight to procure a clergyman. But they could not find a replacement, for on August 25, 1691, a committee of six considered the subject of Prudden remaining as minister and of his arreages of pay. In September, 1691 he received £60 and free firewood as the town's pastor, and in February, 1692 he again petitioned the

governor about nonpayment of his salary. On August 23, 1692 he left for Newark, New Jersey.¹⁷

John Prudden was not the only minister on Long Island who had problems collecting his salary; the Reverend Jeremiah Hobart of Hempstead petitioned Governor Henry Sloughter in July, 1691 on the same matter. He left Hempstead in 1692 because the town had not paid him in eight years. Jamaica offered him £60 per year plus free firewood in October, 1692, but he refused the offer.¹⁸ The town waited until January, 1694, before it agreed on George Phillips, a licentiate from Roxbury, Massachusetts. His salary of £60 per year was raised by voluntary subscriptions rather than by a tax levied on all inhabitants. In addition, the town chose two vestrymen pursuant to the Act for Settling the Ministry passed on September 22, 1693. The varying interpretations of this law proved to be the underlying cause of Jamaica's religious problems after 1701.

Soon after Phillips left in April, 1697 to go to Brookhaven, Long Island, Jeremiah Hobart came to Jamaica in April, 1698. Five months later he left because the governor did not approve of him. Between September, 1698, and November, 1700, when a seventh minister was ordained, the town erected a new place of worship with the money collected under the Building Act of 1699. Trouble arose because all freeholders were taxed to build the structure. By 1701 several members of the Dutch Reformed faith had

failed to pay their rates for the construction of the new meeting house. On April 15, 1701, the Judge and Justices of Queens County decided that Fredrick Hendrickson, John Oakey, Hendrik Lott, Theodorus Polhelmas, and Eldert Lucas had to pay their rate of £100 within three weeks. Shortly thereafter, those of the Dutch Reformed religion proceeded to organize their own church and discontinued participation in the town church.¹⁹

Many adherents of the Dutch Reformed religion emigrated from Kings County into western Queens County early in the town's existence. By 1695 their numbers had increased enough to enable them to form their own church; for this reason several Dutch inhabitants refused to support the building of a new Presbyterian meeting house in Jamaica. After they had paid their share of the tax, they started their own church either in 1701 or 1702. From the outset it comprised residents of Jamaica, Hempstead, Newtown, and Oysterbay. These four united congregations attended worship in Kings County until 1715. Consequently, Queens County inhabitants were drawn into the dispute over the successor of Wilhelmus Lupardus, which lasted for thirteen years. Residents of Jamaica and others in New Utrecht, Flatbush, Brooklyn, and Bushwick supported Bernardus Freeman whom Lord Cornbury licensed on December 26, 1705. The opposing group chose Vincentius Antonides from Holland who arrived in Flatbush early in 1706. The two ministers struggled for

control over church property for nine years until on December 27, 1714 the churches of Kings and Queens counties agreed to end the conflict by providing two parsonages at Flatbush and by paying both ministers. Twenty-seven Dutchmen in "New Jamaica" contributed £40 yearly to the maintenance of the ministers. This arrangement did not last for long because the Dutch Reformed of Jamaica decided to have a church closer to home.²⁰

Members of the four united congregations drew up articles for the new church on April 29, 1715, which included the allotment of seats according to the amount of money subscribed and the rules for election of four church masters. They built the church in 1715 near the center of town at a cost of nine hundred dollars. The Deacons attempted to call a clergyman from Holland between 1728 and 1730. It was not until 1741, however, that a minister arrived at Jamaica to serve the congregations of Newtown, Jamaica, Hempstead, and Oysterbay. In October, 1740 the elders of the four united congregations met and agreed to call Hendericus Goetieus (John Henry Goetschius) from Pennsylvania to preach, catechise, and comfort the sick. He was paid £100 per year and given a house and enough land for two horses, two cows, and a garden. In September, 1741, Thomas Smith conveyed to the trustees of the Dutch Church the house and ten-acre lot for the parsonage for £185 and the Reverend Bernardus Freeman installed Goetschius

on April 19, 1741.²¹

John Henry Goetschius was born in Zurick, Switzerland in 1717 and came to America in 1735 with his father who was a minister. After four years of preaching and performing ministerial duties in Philadelphia, Goetschius went to Bucks County to finish his theological studies under the Reverend Peter Henry Dorsius. Before his ordination by Dorsius and Theodorus Frelinghuysen on April 7, 1741, he visited Long Island where the Dutch Reformed Church of Queens County gave him a call. Ten days after his installation at Jamaica questions arose concerning the validity of his ordination. In a letter to Midwout on September 9, 1741, the Classis of Amsterdam denied Dorsius' authority to provide the churches of New York and Pennsylvania with clergymen. Following an interval of relative quiet, Domine Goetschius preached in August, 1742 on "The Unknown God," a text which questioned the piety of his older listeners. He referred to them as "ignorant persons, living under a rich or abundant administration of the means of Grace and at the same time... more stupid than an ox or an ass, for one knoweth his owner and the other his master's crib." The congregations replied by bring charges of slander and by questioning his ordination.

On November 8, 1742 the consistories of Queens County requested advice from those of New York and Kings County, which on December 6, 1742, decided that Goetschius' ordination was not valid and that he could neither preach nor administer

the sacraments. The consistory of Jamaica and Newtown met on April 25, 1743, and charged him with having no authority from the Classis or Synod of Holland, with allowing his brother to preach without being a member of the church, and with continuing to preach without being a member of the church, and with continuing to preach and administer sacraments. In October the Classis of Amsterdam asked him to secure a regular ordination in Holland and to refrain from administering baptisms and the Lord's Supper. Because Goetschius had not replied to the Classis, a letter was sent to him in November, 1744 asking him to "submit for the sake of charity and peace." On January 9, 1747, the committee of the Classis decided that he could only be considered a candidate. Before being called to a church outside of Queens County, he had to undergo a final examination before the Coetus in New York. The Classis asked the churches in Queens County to seek a properly confirmed pastor. In August the Coetus acknowledged the Classis' "wise and prudent judgment."²²

In 1748 the dispute over Goetschius ended when he was ordained and installed in Hackensack, New Jersey. But peace was shattered for a new conflict began between the consistories of Jamaica and Hempstead over the preaching of Johannes Arondeus in Queens County. These troubles paralleled the strife in Kings County between the friends of Ulpianus Van Sinderen and Johannes Arondeus. On

November 14, 1749 the Coetus in New York ordered that Arondeus stop preaching in Queens County so that the two consistories could unite. On September 19, 1752, Oysterbay and Jamaica presented a paper to the Coetus asking for a decision against Androneus. The problem was partially solved when the congregation of Oysterbay and part of that of Jamaica called Thomas Romeyn, a divinity student, on November 27, 1752. Many Dutch Reformed residents accepted him under the condition that he go to Europe to receive his final examination at the Classis in Amsterdam. He received £60 per year, a house, barn, garden, and ten acres of land.²³

With the arrival of Romeyn, the split between the congregations in Jamaica and Hempstead ended, and another one began within the Dutch Reformed Church in Jamaica because part of that congregation did not accept Romeyn's call. In April, 1753, when he left for Holland, there were two consistories in Jamaica, one chosen by Johannes Arondeus and the other by Johannes Ritzema. The latter called Romeyn and was favorable to Goetschius and Frelinghuysen, while the former consistory declared Romeyn's call void. On April 12, 1753 the consistory against Romeyn, which included Simeon Van Noortwick, Abraham Schenk, Paul Amberman, and Daniel Duryee, appealed against Romeyn's call to the Classis, which on September 3, 1753, ordained and qualified Romeyn as a minister at Oysterbay,

but decreed that he was to perform no religious functions at Jamaica until the differences there were settled by the Coetus of New York or the Classis of Amsterdam. The Classis had established a church within the church and, therefore, precluded the prospect of harmony.²⁴

The Reverend Thomas Romeyn returned in April, 1754, and Domine Samuel Verbryck inducted him at Jamaica on October 10, 1754. Immediately, the opposing consistory confronted him and never ceased to cause trouble even though the Classis recognized him on May 6, 1754, and the Coetus did the same on September 17-19, 1754. The disaffected group in Jamaica, Newtown, and Hempstead heard the Reverend Lambertus DeRonde as their minister. Even with a letter from the Classis on July 21, 1755, ordering the illegal consistory to subordinate itself to the Classis, this body remained in existence. The struggle within the Dutch Reformed congregations of Queens County, especially in Jamaica, ended on November 30, 1760 when Romeyn escaped the turmoil by going to Minisink, New York.²⁵

All four Dutch congregations agreed in 1762 on the appointment of the Reverend Abraham Keteltas, a Presbyterian minister who had left his congregation in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. On May 1, 1761, he bought a farm in Jamaica so that he could preach to the Presbyterian congregation at Hempstead which had been without a pastor for twenty years. The four consistories of Queens County agreed to ask

Keteltas to be their minister, and on June 7, 1762, they wrote to the Classis in Amsterdam seeking approval. He preached until November, 1764, when the Dutch congregations decided, after correspondence with the Classis, to secure a more qualified man who corresponded to the doctrine of the Dutch Church as outlined by the National Synod held at Dordrecht in 1618-19. Less than a year later the Classis notified the Coetus in New York that it had extended the call of the United Churches of Queens County to Hermanus L. Boelen, a minister at Schoonebeek, Holland. His induction at Jamaica took place on February 16, 1766, and he remained there until 1772. His successor Solomon Froeligh arrived in September, 1775 soon after he received his degree from Princeton.²⁶

After sixty years of strife among the Dutch Reformed congregations in Queens County and with Kings County, peace and harmony finally became a reality. In order to put Jamaica's religious history in proper perspective, it must be remembered that their internal disputes paralleled those between the Presbyterians of Jamaica and the Anglican Parish of Queens County. With the formation of the Church of England, the Presbyterians stopped bickering among themselves and turned to the problem of survival among the Anglicans.

The Church of England did not become active in the Province of New York until after 1700. Before that date the

Anglicans held only a single weekly service at the Fort on Manhattan Island. The Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches were the controlling ecclesiastical elements in the province. Under Governor Thomas Dongan, a Catholic, the legislature passed the "Charter of Liberties" which provided liberty of worship and discipline to all churches existing in New York. Under his successor Governor Benjamin Fletcher the assembly passed in September, 1693 the Act for Settling a Ministry for the counties of New York, Richmond, Westchester, and Queens. This ordinance gave the governor the right to approve and induct ministers and provided a tax on freeholders to pay a Protestant clergyman. In addition, inhabitants of each town had to elect annually ten vestrymen and two church wardens. Although this act was passed by an assembly composed almost totally of Dissenters and was intended to be non-sectarian, Governor Fletcher interpreted it as having established the Church of England. It was not, however, until 1701, when Lord Cornbury became governor, that the Anglican Church began to advance in an otherwise dissenting environment. He not only interpreted the act of 1693 as making the Church of England a state religion, but his zeal for establishing episcopacy manifested itself most clearly by his issuance of licenses only to Anglican ministers and by the illegal seizure of the Presbyterian Church at Jamaica.²⁷

Missionaries from the Society for Propagating the

Gospel in Foreign Parts assisted Lord Cornbury in his mission. William III chartered the Society on June 16, 1701, to provide the maintenance of an orthodox clergy in the plantations and to instruct the King's subjects in the Christian religion. The Society expected its missionaries to instruct parishioners in the sacraments, teach the Indians and Negroes, distribute tracts, lend books, and establish schools -- all at a salary of £50 a year. School teachers employed by the Society received from £10 to £30 yearly.

Before sending missionaries to New York, the SPG sent the Reverend George Keith as a travelling preacher to awaken the people to the duties of religion. The Reverends John Bartow and Patrick Gordon followed him, one going to Westchester and the other to Jamaica. The inhabitants of both places petitioned the Church of England for missionaries. The written request of Jamaica, Flushing, Newtown, and Hempstead was by ten prominent families and endorsed by others in New York City. Gordon, who did not leave England until March, 1702, when the Society was assured that there were adequate means for his support, died of smallpox on July 28, 1702. It was under his successor that bitter religious conflict began in Jamaica.²⁸

Before 1702 this middle-Atlantic community encountered little religious strife; problems with Quakers ended in 1662 and the Presbyterian or town church had the typical eighteenth century problems of finding and, then, paying a minister.

Even the formation of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1702 did not prove to be troublesome because it remained a separate element, involved in its own internal disputes. With the establishment of the Anglican Church, however, this relatively peaceful scene changed drastically. From 1702 to 1776 there was constant religious turmoil between the Presbyterians and Anglicans. During the period of conflict, the Presbyterian Church tried to maintain both its standing and property, while the Episcopal Church, proclaiming itself the established church, for several years took over the building and lands of the town church and the tax money collected for a Presbyterian minister.

The threat to the town church started several years before the beginning of actual conflict in Jamaica. Differing interpretations of "An Act for Settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintenance for Them in the City of New York, Richmond, Westchester, and Queens County"²⁹ was the basis for constant discord. This law, which constituted Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing a parish, ordered each town to secure a Protestant minister with a salary of £60 per year. In January of each year the freeholders of the parish were to choose ten vestrymen who were to lay a tax for the maintenance of the minister and the poor, and two church wardens who were to pay this money in four equal installments to the minister. The vestrymen and church wardens chose the minister directly until 1705, when the governor assumed the

power to approve as well as induct all clergymen.³⁰

In 1693 the implications of the act were not readily apparent because a dissenting assembly passed it and there were no Episcopal churches in the province. Governor Benjamin Fletcher, however, construed the intent of the bill as instituting the Church of England in New York. Clearly, the use of words such as parish, church warden, and vestryman indicated that it did not pertain to dissenting sects. The town church, parsonage, and minister's tax, therefore, belonged to the Anglican minister. On the other hand, the Presbyterians interpreted the vague wording of the ministry act to conclude that they fell within the jurisdiction of the law. In addition, they pointed out that every legislator except one in 1693 was a dissenter. Both Anglicans and Presbyterians carried on a running dispute in Jamaica, not over doctrine, but rather the title to the town church, the minister's house, lands, and salary, and the right of the government to tax all of the inhabitants of the town for the support of the Anglican minister.³¹

The conflict in Jamaica began under the Reverend John Hubbard, a Presbyterian minister who was ordained by the parish vestry and church wardens on November 28, 1700. Because of the yellow fever epidemic in New York City during the summer of 1702, Lord Cornbury resided in Jamaica and held the General Assembly there. Living in the parsonage

which was the finest residence in town, he first assessed the religious situation and then arbitrarily moved against the Presbyterians. When he became governor in May, 1702, the King's instructions ordered him to "take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your government." The Book of Common Prayer was to be read each Sunday and Holiday, and the Sacrament was to be administered according to the rites of the Church of England. He could assign only a minister with a certificate from the Bishop of London to a benefice and he was to make sure that each minister of the Anglican Church be given a house and land at public charge. Every Church of England clergyman was to be a member of the vestry in his parish and no meetings were to be held without him. Unfortunately, for the Presbyterians, Cornbury eagerly carried out these instructions.³²

In July, 1703, Hubbard returned from a visit to Boston to find the Reverend John Bartow,³³ an Episcopal minister, preaching in Jamaica. On Sunday morning July 28, 1703, Hubbard lectured in the stone church which the town had built in 1699. But in the afternoon of the same day Hubbard had to preach in an orchard, for Bartow was conducting an Anglican service in the church. During the service the Presbyterians entered the church and removed several benches, and later in the same day they broke into the locked church and removed the pew cushions. A

few days later Governor Cornbury summoned the dissenters before him, forbade Hubbard to preach, fined the leaders for disturbing divine service, and informed them that the stone church belonged to the Church of England on the ground that it was paid for by a public tax. When they promised not to disturb the peace in the future, he pardoned them and remitted the fines.³⁴

Shortly after this incident the Venerable Society sent to the Parish of Jamaica the Reverend James Honeyman whom Lord Cornbury licensed in April, 1704. On his arrival in Jamaica he characterized the town as "a Place abounding with Dissenters" and stated that the church did not have "the necessaries that are requisite to the daily discharge of Our Office namely neither Bible nor Prayer Book, no cloath's neither for pulpit nor Altar." Honeyman served for only four months, when the Bishop of London transferred him to Rhode Island.³⁵ He was succeeded by the Reverend William Urquhart who arrived in early July and was inducted on July 27, 1704.

Jamaica's religious turmoil, however, continued. On July 4, 1704, the governor ordered John Hubbard, the Presbyterian minister, to vacate the parsonage house and lands to the High Sheriff of Queens County, who was, in turn, ordered to deliver the premises to William Urquhart. The same day he commanded the church wardens and sheriff of Jamaica to sell the corn collected for the maintenance of

the minister. According to Cornbury's interpretation public taxes paid for church property and, therefore, it belonged to the state church. Furthermore, the minister's salary was for the maintenance of the Anglican minister. On August 24, 1704, he decreed that a tax be levied for the minister's salary, and four days later he ordered the justices of Queens County and the church wardens of Jamaica to pay to Urquhart the money made from the sale of corn. The Presbyterian church wardens, however, refused to give the salary to Urquhart whom they had not called to be their minister. Following the passage of another ministry act on August 4, 1705, which clearly favored the Established Church, Urquhart received his salary until his death in 1709.³⁶

Even though Urquhart lived in the parsonage and received a salary, his five years of service to the church were not without problems. In his letter to the Secretary of the Society on November 1, 1704, he stated that the Parish of Jamaica was the most difficult post in America because the people were "naturally factious" and "averse to the discipline of our holy mother the Church of England & enraged to see her Ministry established among them." He characterized Governor Cornbury as a "true nursing father to our infancy here." Urquhart had to contend with one hundred families in the town, only seven of which declared themselves Anglicans. In 1709 the dissenters sent a memorial to Governor John Lord Lovelace complaining

of arbitrary actions of Governor Cornbury. On April 4, 1709, Urquhart answered the memorial by citing the acts of 1693 and 1705 and concluding that Cornbury's actions as legal and honorable. Urquhart had a difficult task converting people and incurred many expenses with a wife and seven children to support.³⁷

During the second decade of the eighteenth century the dispute between the Anglicans and Presbyterians swung in favor of the Presbyterians, who in the spring of 1710 had chosen the Reverend George McNish as their minister. During his pastorate he did not have the use of the church, but he did take possession of the parsonage and collect the minister's salary. After Urquhart's death his widow surrendered the minister's house and lands to the town but was readmitted as a tenant with her daughter, who married Benjamin Woolsey, a dissenting student of theology. A majority of the freholders in the town meeting allowed McNish to reside in the parsonage, and the church wardens gave him the minister's salary. Thomas Poyer, the Church of England minister, inducted on July 18, 1710, accordingly turned to the authorities for help. For a short time he lived with Samuel Clowes before renting a house for £15 per year from widow Elizabeth Waters on the west side of the road to Flushing.³⁸

Poyer's religious zeal diminished on April 11, 1710 when the dissenters forceably occupied and held the church,

an action which Samuel Clowes reported to the Lieutenant-Governor Gerardus Beekman. On April 13, 1710 an Order-in-Council demanded the High Sheriff of Queens County to take the offenders Hugh Carpenter, George Woolsey, Jonas Wood, Richard Oldfield, Samuel Mills, and Jeremiah Smith into custody. They were fined for their actions, but following their petition the governor remitted the penalty in May, 1710. Soon after this episode the Presbyterian inhabitants of Jamaica sent a memorial to Governor Robert Hunter asking for relief from past inequities and injustice. In addition, the church wardens Samuel Coe and Daniel Smith refused to pay Poyer his salary for the last quarter.

In an effort to secure the money owed him, Poyer instituted a suit against the church wardens at a Special Court held at Jamaica on October 27, 1710. The court found for the defendants with costs of the suit.³⁹ Governor Robert Hunter then offered to pay Poyer for the costs of a suit in a higher court of law because he felt that dispossessing the dissenters by force was a high crime. Poyer, however, put off his suit until he received instruction from the Bishop of London. In addition, he feared that he would not get a fair trial from Queens County justices who were dissenters. Before he could institute proceedings, Her Majesty and Council in London at the instigation of the SPG decided to allow the clergy to appeal from inferior courts to the Governor and Council and

to the Privy Council without limitation of any sum. This Order-in-Council was passed on January 8, 1712 and sent to Governor Hunter in a letter from Queen Anne dated February 6, 1713.⁴⁰ Since the Jamaica church was the first to experience such problems, the English government's solution established the course of procedure for all colonial churches.

After conferring with Governor Hunter and the New York clergy and while waiting for his instructions from England, Poyer finally commenced his suit in 1716. Meanwhile from 1710 to 1716, George McNish collected the minister's salary from the church wardens, and the vestry held their meetings without the presence of Poyer. Poyer, nevertheless, carried on his duties; in November, 1714 he reported sixty communicants, four hundred hearers, and the conversion of some Independents and Quakers. The situation did not improve after he initiated the suit for the recovery of his salary of £60 per year. In a letter to the Secretary of the Society on January 15, 1717, he noted that his case was delayed by the death of one of his lawyers and the slowness of the courts. In February, 1719, the Supreme Court decided in Poyer's favor, a ruling which caused the dissenters to petition the governor against the justices of the county.

After Chief Justice Lewis Morris' verdict, Poyer expected to have no trouble collecting his salary, which the church wardens gave to the Reverend Robert Cross, who had

succeeded McNish in 1723.⁴¹ A year later he had still not received his salary and was in financial trouble with eleven dependents to support. On January 21, 1724, he brought an ejectment suit against the Presbyterians who held the parsonage and church lands. The case presented on October 29, 1724, before Chief Justice Lewis Morris was decided in favor of the tenants. The stone church, however, still remained in the hands of the Church of England until 1728 when the courts returned it to the Presbyterians, following still another suit.⁴²

After twenty-one years of devoted service, much trouble with the dissenters, and economic hardship, Poyer asked on June 16, 1731, to be relieved of his duties and to be allowed to return to England. But before any arrangement could be made he died on January 15, 1732, leaving his wife Sarah with four young children, little land, and thirty-two books on religion. On August 23, 1732 Mrs. Poyer wrote the Society for "such bounty as they shall be pleased to afford us." She sold sixteen acres west of Beaver Pond to her husband's successor, the Reverend Thomas Colgan, and used the money to pay her debts. There were subscriptions made for her relief by Andrew Clarke, Benjamin Wiggins, Richard Everett, Samuel Clowes, and John Betts.⁴³

Governor William Cosby inducted the Anglican Thomas Colgan on January 31, 1733. The church wardens responded by refusing to pay him his salary, causing him to sue for it. The Court of Sessions decided in his favor, and he received

his salary to the end of his pastorate in December, 1755.⁴⁴ Colgan's conciliatory nature helped him to survive in Jamaica. After winning the suit for his salary, he did not proceed to fight for the parsonage and church which were held by three Presbyterian ministers Robert Cross, Walter Wilmot,⁴⁵ and David Bostwick.⁴⁶ His marriage to Mary, the daughter of John Reade of New York City, enabled him to use his wife's money to buy a sixteen-acre farm on the west side of Beaver Pond from Poyer's widow to add acreage until his property totalled sixty-six acres with fences, barns, and an orchard of one hundred trees. His house, consisting of eight rooms on the ground floor and two rooms upstairs, became the King Mansion when his daughter Mary sold it to Rufus King.⁴⁷

When Colgan came to Jamaica he found Anglicanism in a "declining condition" because of the strength of the Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers. He held services in the town meeting house until the congregation built a church, which was called Grace Church and which opened on April 5, 1734 with the aid of Governor William Cosby and Caleb Heathcote's widow. From 1734 until the end of his rectorship in 1755 he wrote the Society more than twenty letters using such terms as "flourishing state," "growing condition," and "peaceable and growing state." He noted numerous conversions of Independents, Quakers, and Presbyterians, and the baptism of several Negro and Indian

children. On April 26, 1739 his Notitia Parochialis, or account of his parish to the Secretary of the SPG in London, stated that the church had three hundred people who professed to be Anglicans, fifty communicants, and eight hundred people outside of the faith. The previous year he baptized twenty-five children, four adults, and two converts. The number of communicants and hearers, remained the same despite the fact that they lived in the "midst of Quakerism and Independency." Colgan's success was even more significant, for it endured the Great Awakening during the late 1730's and 1740's and the presence of the "notorious" Mr. George Whitefield with his "clouds of Error and Enthusiasm."

Colgan's twenty-two years of service were particularly noteworthy because of his interest in educating and baptizing Negroes. During this period he baptized forty Negro children and adults in the parish. At his death in 1755 the Church of England had been definitely strengthened, and the three churches in the parish were united. There is no doubt that his "prudent bearing did much to soften the asperities of the sects among themselves, to allay prejudice against the Church, and to gain the good will of all."⁴⁸

Soon after Colgan's death religious turmoil returned because most of the church wardens and vestrymen were dissenters. At this time the Presbyterian Church was

without a minister, for David Bostwick had left the town for New York City in April, 1756. Consequently, the vestry submitted the name of the Reverend Simon Horton to the governor to succeed Thomas Colgan. Because he did not have a certificate under the Episcopal Seal of the Bishop of London, Governor Charles Hardy rejected him and chose the Reverend Samuel Seabury, Jr., whom he inducted on January 12, 1757, and who received his salary from the church wardens.⁴⁹

The Presbyterians secured as their minister the Reverend Elihu Spencer from Elizabethtown, New Jersey, whom the church wardens inducted on May 22, 1758. He remained until May, 1760. Benoni Bradner followed him and stayed until June, 1761. In April, 1762 the town secured William Mills who was pastor during the religious revival of the 1760's. During his tenure from 1762 to 1774, the Presbyterian congregation increased in size, and the church wardens again refused to pay the Anglican minister. The Reverend Matthias Burnet, a Presbyterian, who was installed by the town in April, 1775, carried on the dispute with the Church of England over the question of which minister was to receive maintenance from tax money.⁵⁰

When Seabury first arrived in Jamaica in 1757, he informed the Society of a "general indifference towards all religion" which he attributed to the "effect of Deism & infidelity." After the assembly had granted the Charter to

the Parish of Jamaica on May 19, 1761, however, he reported that the people were more receptive to Anglicanism. He also noted that it was impossible to ascertain the exact number in the parish because many people attended any religious service they found convenient. According to Seabury's Notitia Parochiales, dated October 8, 1762, to the Society the number of families attached to the Church of England decreased from three hundred in Colgan's time to one hundred and twenty, and the number of communicants went down from fifty to twenty-nine. He attributed the decline to the presence of George Whitefield, who was the cause of much "mischief" by designating the Church of England as "Popish." Shortly before his removal to Westchester in 1766 he reported a closer unity among the three towns in the parish, a constant attendance at divine service, and a more serious and devout behavior on the part of his parishioners.⁵¹

After Seabury's departure, the Parish of Jamaica was without a rector for three years before the Society appointed the Reverend Joshua Bloomer. During this time the Society refused to continue its annual grant of £40 to the minister because the three towns did not fulfill their financial obligation to Seabury. Only after much consideration and a petition from the church wardens of the Episcopal congregations at Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing did the Society appoint a minister and provide him with

£20 per year. Each congregation in the parish was to pay him £30 per year. The governor inducted Bloomer on May 23, 1769. The church wardens, as they had his six predecessors, refused to pay his salary. This situation caused him to institute a suit in the Court of Chancery in 1770 against the parish. In May, 1772, Governor William Tryon, deciding in Bloomer's favor, ruled that he was to be paid his salary since the day of his induction, while the costs of the suit were to be sustained by both parties. Because of the upheaval attendant in the revolution, Bloomer did not receive his money until 1780. He remained as pastor until his death in 1790.⁵²

Seventeenth and eighteenth century Jamaica was beset with constant interdenominational squabbles, which stand in marked contrast to the experience of those New England towns which had only one church. At the outset the Dutch hostility to Quakers disturbed the tranquility in the town. At the same time the Presbyterians, who had founded a town church in 1662, found it impossible to agree on who should be the minister. Shortly after the turn of the century, Jamaica's religious history focused on two separate developments. The various Dutch Reformed congregations could not achieve even a measure of unity, while the Presbyterians and Anglicans contended for supremacy in the town. Only the Quakers remained relatively free from these bitter struggles.

Despite the fact that the Church of England was the established church in the province, throughout the eighteenth century the Presbyterians never gave up their struggle against the Anglicans. They held the parsonage, church lands, and minister's salary during most of the century. The town's church wardens gave the tax money collected for the maintenance of the minister to the Presbyterian Church unless the Anglican minister sued for it. The Episcopal Church lost the town's stone church to the Presbyterians in 1728, forcing them to build their own in 1734. The Presbyterians continuously occupied the parsonage after Urquhart's death in 1709. They never weakened in their determination to interpret the intent of the Ministry Act of 1693 in their favor. In fact, Presbyterianism expanded during the years of conflict. Enterprises to educate and evangelize the Indians increased; because of the Great Awakening the size of the congregation grew; the Presbyterian Society was active in loaning money to townsmen; and constant growth enabled the Presbyterian Society to build a new church in 1813.⁵³

The Church of England, on the other hand, was not pushed aside by the Presbyterian vestry. Anglican missionaries fought for their salary in the courts and managed to build three churches in the Parish of Jamaica. Fortunately, the energy expended in religious antagonism did not destroy the town's very existence or economic prosperity. The conflict

only served to make Jamaica a more complex, urban-like, colonial community.

FOOTNOTES

¹New England towns were different in that they did not have a diverse religious experience. If religious disputes arose they were several years after the town's formation and dealt with doctrine and not practical matters. In essence, a town church provided one form of uniformity, and led to a certain degree of peace and harmony. Many New England towns were formed out of an utopian religious zeal, while Jamaica was settled primarily out of the desire for more land. New England communities of saints had one minister to whom they looked up to as representing a high moral standard and a prominent position in society. For a discussion of New England towns' religious experience, see Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, pp. 130, 135-38, 141-48, 154; Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms, pp. 48-53, 151-53; Lockridge, Dedham, pp. 23-26; Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee, pp. 164, 184; Haller, The Puritan Frontier, pp. 22, 84-85; and Maclear, Early New England Towns, p. 137.

²Bruce E. Steiner, "New England Anglicanism: A Genteel Faith?" William and Mary Quarterly, XXVII (January, 1970), 122, 129, 135.

³Rufus M. Jones, The Faith and Practice of the Quakers in The Faiths Varieties of Christian Expression, ed. by L.P. Jacks (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1927), pp 28-29, 34-36, 103; Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, vol. I (3 vols., Gloucester, Mass." Peter Smith, 1957), pp. 269-70, 275-79, 286; and Allen C. Thomas and Richard Thomas, A History of the Friends in America (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1905), pp. 64, 71.

⁴Thomas and Thomas, History of the Friends, p. 72; E.T. Corwin, J.H. Dubbs, and J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Reformed Church, Dutch and the Reformed Church, German and the Moravian Church in The United States in the American Church History Series, vol. VII (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1895), pp. 45-48; Henry H. Kessler and Eugene Rachlis, Peter Stuyvesant and His New York (New York: Random House, 1959), pp. 169-70; Rufus M. Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1911), p. 215; and Jacqueline Overton, "The Quakers on Long Island," New York History, 21 (April, 1940), 151.

⁵Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, pp. 211-12; and Hugh Hastings, ed., Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, vol. I (5vols. Albany: James B. Lyon, 1901-1916), pp. 343-44.

⁶Jones, Quakers in America, pp. 51, 219-20, 222-25; Overton, "Quakers on Long Island," p. 154; Kessler and Rachles, Peter Stuyvesant, pp. 188-91, 196; Ecclesiastical Records, I, pp. 412-13, 432-34; Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century, vol. I (2 vols., New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909), p. 446; Henry D. Waller, History of the Town of Flushing Long Island, New York (Flushing: J.H. Ridenour, 1899), pp. 39-40; Brodhead, History, I, p. 637; and Solomon Townsend, Copies of Deeds and Records, Mainly of Jamaica, New York and O. Bay (Leather bound book at the New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, 1874), pp. 143-182.

⁷Brodhead, History, I, p. 638; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, XIV, pp. 405-06; and New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Dutch Manuscripts, VIII, pp. 633, 636, 642.

⁸Brodhead, History, I, p. 689; E.B. O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland; or New York Under the Dutch, II (2 vols., New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1848), pp. 450-51; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, XIV, pp. 93, 490, 515-16; Ecclesiastical Records, I, pp. 496-99; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Dutch Manuscripts, Council Minutes of January 8, 1661, vol. IX, p. 486; Minutes of January 13, 20, 24, 1661, IX, pp. 496, 503, 505, 509, 513; Minutes of February 1, 10, 11, 15, 1661, IX, pp. 524-27; Minutes of March 3, 1661, IX, p. 537; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 105-06; and Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, pp. 429-30, 439-40.

⁹Kenneth L. Carroll, "Some Thoughts on George Fox's Visit to America in 1672," Quaker History 61 (Autum, 1972), 82-90; Jones, Quakers in the American Colonies, p. 239; Thomas and Thomas, History of the Friends, pp. 74-75; John L. Nickolls, ed., The Journal of George Fox (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 629; Henry Onderdonk, Jr., The Annals of Hempstead; 1643 to 1832; Also, The Rise and Growth of the Society of Friends on Long Island and in New York 1657 to 1826 (Hempstead, New York: 1878), pp. 10-11, 93.

¹⁰John Cox, Jr., Quakerism in the City of New York

1657-1930 (New York: Quinn & Boden Company, Inc., 1930), p. 38; Onderdonk, Friends on Long Island, p. 93; Townsend Family Book, pp. 3, 5, 7-8, 50.

¹¹Society of Friends, Haviland Records Room, New York City, First Register, Marriages, Births and Deaths 1640-1796 (copied by Isaac Horner), pp. 3-4, 16a, 17, 136-37, 158-59; Quaker Monthly, Quarterly and Year Meeting Minutes (copied from original by John Cox, Jr., and George Cocks), pp. 42, 98; Marriage Intentions and Dealings Relating to Marriage, from Men's and Women's Minutes of Flushing Monthly Meetings, 1676 to 1800, vol. I, # 52, p. 2; vol. II, #10, p. 5; Fluhsing (later called New York) Monthly Meeting. Marriage Certificated, 1663-1908 (copied by John Cox, Jr., 1904-08), vol. I or A, #31, p. 11; and Queens County Conveyances, II, D, p. 4.

¹²Ecclesiastical Records, III, pp. 1481-82; IV, p. 2642; and Colonial Laws of New York, chapter 603, vol. II, pp. 828-830.

¹³Edward T. Corwin, A Manual of the Reformed Church in America, 1628-1902 (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1902), pp. 14-15, 21, 29, 33; Charles A. Briggs, American Presbyterianism Its Origin and Early History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), pp. 100, 102; Furman, Antiquities of Long Island, pp. 100, 102; Robert E. Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States in The American Church History Series, vol. VI (New York: The Christian Literature, Co., 1895), pp. 14-15; Marshall, Colonial Hempstead, pp. 178-182; Corwin, Dubbs, and Hamilton, History of the Reformed Church, p. 44; James Riker, Jr., The Annals of Newtown, in Queens County, New-York (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1852), 1852), pp. 150, 225-28; Ecclesiastical Records, III, p. 1463.

¹⁴George Woodruff Winans, First Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, New York 1662-1942, A Narrative History of its Two Hundred and Eighty Years of Continuous Service (Jamaica: Published by the Church, 1943), pp. 1-2, 5, 9, 11-13; James M. MacDonald, Two Centuries in the History of the Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, Long Island (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1862), pp. 32-41; Robert Hastings Nichols, Presbyterianism in New York State, A History of the Synod and Its Predecessors (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), pp. 11-13; Martha Bockee Flint, Long Island Before the Revolution, A Colonial Study (Port Washington, New York: Ira J. Freedman, Inc., 1967), p. 203; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, II, p. 399; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 13, 14, 18, 20-22, 25, 28, 34-35, 38-39; Thompson, History of Long Island, II, p. 101. Zachariah Walker was born

in Boston in 1637 and studied at Harvard for two years. When he came to Jamaica in 1663 he was only a licentiate, a fact causing him to leave the town after five years. Walker went to the Second Congregational Church in Stratford, Connecticut where he was ordained. In 1678 he settled at Woodbury, Connecticut.

¹⁵The Reverend John Prudden was the son of the Reverend Peter Prudden who came to New Haven, Connecticut with John Davenport. He was born in 1645 at Milford, Conn. and graduated from Harvard in 1668. MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, p. 54; Winans, First Presbyterian Church, p. 19; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 49, 60-61, 63-64.

¹⁶Winans, First Presbyterian Church, pp. 19-20; MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, p. 58; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 64-65, 67-68.

¹⁷Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 81-82, 116, 131-32, 136, 143, 161, 406-07; MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, pp. 70-71, 74, 80; Winans, First Presbyterian Church, p. 20; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 193-97; 216; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Council Minutes, vol. V, p. 190; VI, p. 88; Colonial English Manuscripts, XXIII, p. 335; XXVII, p. 137; XXXIII, pp. 55, 69; Ecclesiastical Records, II, pp. 921-22, 927, 960; and Henry Onderdonk, Jr., Antiquities of the Parish Church, Jamaica (Jamaica, New York: Charles Welling, 1880), p. 6.

¹⁸O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, p. 198; Onderdonk, Annals of Hempstead, p. 7; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, p. 142.

¹⁹Winans, First Presbyterian Church, pp. 24-27; MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, pp. 88, 94; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, pp. 146, 314, 344, 360, 374; Colonial Laws of New York, I, chap. 36, pp. 328-31; and Ecclesiastical Records, III, pp. 1463-64.

²⁰The exact date of the formation of the Dutch Reformed Church is not known, but baptismal records of the Jamaica congregation started to be recorded in 1702. Corwin, Dubbs, and Hamilton, Reformed Church, pp. 1, 16, 24-25, 35-36; Henry Onderdonk, Jr., History of the Reformed Dutch Church of Jamaica, Long Island (New York: Published by the Consistory, 1884), pp. 5, 7, 8, 9; Riker, Annals of Newtown, p. 236; Ecclesiastical Records, II, pp. 1392-93; III, pp. 1798-99.

²¹Onderdonk, First Reformed Dutch Church, pp. 17-18, 24-30, 35-36; Ecclesiastical Records, IV, pp. 2743-45, 2755-56; Baptismal Record of the First Reformed Dutch Church at Jamaica, Long Island, New York (copied from the original by Josephine C. Frost, 1912), vol. I, p. 1; Reformed Dutch Church, Miscellaneous Records, (old brown book); Meeting of the Consistory at Jamaica to call a minister, August 20, 1730. It was decided to pay him £80 or 640 guilders per year and to provide a house, firewood, and a horse. Original Conveyance, September, 1741, on parchment. New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Queens County Box, Call of Hendericus Goetieus by the Elders of the four United Congregations, October, 1740; Corwin, Dubbs, and Hamilton, Reformed Church, pp. 137, 140-42, 166-68; and Queens County Conveyances, II, D, pp. 80-81.

²²Corwin, Manual of the Reformed Church, pp. 489-91; Ecclesiastical Records, IV, pp. 2766, 2779-80, 2782, 2783, 2787-89, 2826-28, 2860-61, 2882-83, 2939-40, 2947-48, 3023-24; and Charles H. Maxson, The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1920), pp. 119-20; and Onderdonk, First Reformed Dutch Church, pp. 37-41, 43.

²³Ecclesiastical Records, IV, pp. 3031-33, 3072-73, 3088; V, pp. 3305-06; Onderdonk, First Reformed Dutch Church, 44, 46-47, 68; and Corwin, Manual of the Reformed Church, pp. 299, 677-78.

²⁴Ecclesiastical Records, V, pp. 3357-59, 3386-89, 3397-99, 3410-11, 3419, 3441-42, 3456.

²⁵Ecclesiastical Records, V, pp. 3474-75, 3492, 3538-39, 3546-49, 3572, 3578, 3726; Onderdonk, First Reformed Church, pp. 49-50, 53, 55, 57-60, 68, 69; and Corwin, Manual of the Reformed Church, p. 689.

²⁶Ecclesiastical Records, VI, pp. 3823-25, 3845-46, 3857, 3902-03, 3929, 3989; Onderdonk, First Reformed Dutch Church, pp. 53-54; Corwin, Manual of the Reformed Church, pp. 329, 478-81, 549.

²⁷Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Septre, Transatlantic Faith, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics 1689-1775 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 117-20; Edward T. Corwin, "The Ecclesiastical Condition of New York at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century," Church History of the United States. Reprinted from the Papers of the American

Society of Church History, Second Series, vol. III, 1912, pp. 81-82, 85, 89, 90-93, 102-05; Charles C. Tiffany, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in The American Church History Series, vol. VII (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1895), pp. 162, 165-66; Osgood, American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, II, pp. 15-17; Silas Wood, A Sketch of the First Settlement of the Several Towns on Long-Island with Their Political Condition to the End of the American Revolution (Brooklyn, New York: Aldens Spooner, 1828), p. 53; William Dunlap, History of the New Netherlands, Province of New York, and State of New York, to the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, vol. I (2 vols., New York: Carter & Thorp, 1839), p. 255; and Briggs, American Presbyterianism, p. 48.

²⁸Ecclesiastical Records, III, p. 1468; Ernest Hawkins, Historical Notes of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, Previous to the Independence of the United States (London: B. Fellows, 1845), pp. 18, 24, 276; John Calam, Parsons and Pedagogues, the S.P.G. Adventure in American Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), pp. 28, 32, 37, 40, 44-47; David Humphreys, An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (London: Joseph Downing, 1730), p. 28; Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Scepter, p. 102.

²⁹Colonial Laws of New York, Chap. 36, September 22, 1693, I, pp. 328-331.

³⁰Ibid., Chap. 146, "An Act to Explain and put into execution the Act for Settling a Ministry of 1693," August, 1705, confirmed by Queen Anne on April 11, 1706, I, pp. 576-79.

³¹Richard Webster, A History of the Presbyterian Church in America, From Its Origin Until the Year 1760, with Biographical Sketches of its Early Ministers (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1857), p. 83; George Woodruff Winans, First Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, New York, pp. 22-23, 28-29; Horatio Oliver Ladd, The Origin and History of Grace Church Jamaica, New York (New York: The Shakespeare Press, 1914), pp. 68-72, 77; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 106-07, 114-15; Osgood, American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, II, pp. 16-17.

³²MacDonald, Two Centuries in the History of the Presbyterian Church, p. 100; Ecclesiastical Records, III, pp. 1518, 1592; Mr. John Bartow to Mr. Whitfield, New York, October 7, 1702, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. I, p. 36;

Bartow to Secretary, Westchester, May 26, 1703, Ibid., pp. 100, 105; Winans, Presbyterian Church, p. 31; Henry Onderdonk, Jr., Antiquities of the Parish Church, Jamaica, pp. 13-14; and Instructions to Earl Clarendon, when Lord Cornbury and Governor of New York, January 1703, Ernest Hawkins, Historical Notes of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, Previous to the Independence of the United States (London: B. FELLOWES, 1845), pp. 423-24.

³³John Bartwo was appointed a missionary by the Society on April 2, 1702 and arrived in New York in September, 1702. He had been Vicar of Pamperford, Cambridge and assistant in the Parishes of Lynton and Hadstock, England. In America he was assigned to Eastchester and Westchester, but also preached at Jamaica due to the Reverend Gordon's death in July, 1702. Ladd, Grace Church, p. 50; and Charles Augustus Briggs, American Presbyterianism Its Origin and Early History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), pp. 149-51.

³⁴Winans, Presbyterian Church, pp. 30, 34-35; Webster, History of the Presbyterian Church in America, pp. 83-84; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, p. 264; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, Minutes of Council, July 27, 1703, vol. XLVIII, p. 4; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 202, 211-12; and Ecclesiastical Records, III, p. 1690.

³⁵Carpenter Smith, History of Saint George's Parish Flushing, Long Island (Flushing, St. George's Sword and Shield, 1897), p. 21; Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 51-52. Mr. Honeyman to Dr. Beveridge, Long Island, April 15, 1704, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. I, Doc. No. CLXXXV; Honeyman to Secretary, April 15, 1704, Ibid., No. CLXXXVI; Honeyman to Secretary, June 7, 1704, Ibid., No. CLXX; Honeyman to Secretary, June 26, 1704, Ibid., NO. IX; Col. Lewis Morris to the Secretary, n.d., Ibid., No. CLXXI; and Lord Cornbury to Church Wardens of Rhode Island, July 13, 1704, Ibid., I, No. XXX; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 202-04; and New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, JamaicaBox, Official Documents Relating to Operations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Jamaica, Long Island, New York from 1703 to 1779, pp. 1, 2-5.

³⁶Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 52-56, 58; Onderdonk, Antiquities, pp. 17, 20, 23-25; Testimonial of William Urquhart, London, February, 14, 1703/4, The Journals of the SPG, Appendix A-13, #33; Urquhart to Mr. Stubbs, Jamaica, July 4, 1704, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. I, #LIV;

New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, Orders of Lord Cornbury, July 4, 1704, August 24, 1704, vol. XLIX, pp. 128, 129, 166, 168; Winans, Presbyterian Church, pp. 36-39; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 205-08; and Ecclesiastical Records, III, pp. 1570-71, 1576-77, 1585, 1589. Cornbury's treatment of the Presbyterians at Jamaica was critically depicted in the "Watch Tower" essay no. XXVIII, one of series of essays relating to the dangers of the Episcopalian control of the proposed college in New York City. The original draft of this essay is in the New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, "A Draft of a Narrative of the Oppression of the Presbyterians at Jamaica Under the Administration of Lord Cornbury (1702)." It was printed in the New York Mercury, June 2, 1755, no. 147. Also see, Ecclesiastical Records, III, p. 1711.

³⁷Mr. Urquhart to the Secretary, November 1, 1704, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. I, no. XXVII; Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Thomas to the Society, July 4, 1705, Ibid., no. CV; Mr. Vesey to the Secretary, New York City, February 23, 1707, Ibid., vol. III, pp. 475-77; Lord Cornbury to Secretary, New York City, November 29, 1707, Ibid., vol. I, pp. 404-14; Messrs. Urquhart and Thomas to Secretary, Long Island, 1707, Ibid., vol. III, pp. 457-59; The Dissenter's Memorial to John Lord Lovelace, 1709, Ibid., vol. VII, no. 319; and Urquhart's Answer to the above Memorial, April 4, 1709, Ibid., pp. 320-22; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 118, 209-10, 213, 223-24; Ecclesiastical Records, III, pp. 1609-15, 1672, 1809, 1883; and New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, "Official Documents," pp. 5-7.

³⁸MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, pp. 145-46; Winans, Presbyterian Church, pp. 40-41; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 430, 433; Webster, Presbyterian Church in America, pp. 318-22; Smith, Saint George's Parish, pp. 28-29.

³⁹O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 214-220. Ecclesiastical Records, III, pp. 1845-46, 1850-51, 1868; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, LIII, p. 174; Minutes of the Special Court held at Jamaica, LIV, pp. 86-89; Winans, Presbyterian Church, p. 43; Onderdonk, Antiquities, p. 31; Rev. Poyer to Secretary, October 5, 1710, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. VI, no. 20-21; Suit of Thomas Poyer against the church wardens of Jamaica, October 27, 1710, Ibid., vol. VII, no. 241, 333-34.

⁴⁰Col. Lewis Morris to the Secretary, Morrisania, November 15, 1710, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. VI,

pp. 3-4; Same to Same, January 1, 1711, Ibid., VII, pp. 159-161; Caleb Heathcote to Sec., January 5, 1711, Ibid., pp. 177-180; Same to Same, January 30, 1711, Ibid., pp. 180-83; The Certificate of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Parish of Jamaica, February 4, 1711, Ibid., pp. 339-41; Lewis Morris to Sec., February 20, 1711, Ibid., pp. 166-73; Governor Hunter to Sec., February 27, 1711, Ibid., pp. 149-58; Poyer's Affidavit, February 29, 1711, Ibid., pp. 325-26; Poyer to Sec., May 3, 1711, Ibid., vol. VI, no. LXXII; Memorial of Clergy relating to Mr. Poyer, November 13, 1711, Ibid., vol. VII, pp. 295-304; Robert Hunter to the Sec., December 17, 1711, Ibid., vol. VI, no. CXXXII; Col. Heathcote to the Sec., December 12, 1711, Ibid., VII, pp. 173-76; Order of Council Relating to Appeals, January 8, 1712, Ibid., pp. 95-96; Queen Anne to Robert Hunter, February 6, 1712/3, Ibid., Series C, vol. I, no. 28, and Series A, vol. VII, pp. 287-88; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 220-23, 224-33, 233-36, 241, 244-49, 250-56, 259-60, 268-69; and Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 74-75; Ecclesiastical Records, III, pp. 1874-75, 1879, 1892-96, 1899-1900, 1902-03, 1909-15, 1920-21, 1990-91.

⁴¹Robert Cross was born near Ballykelly, Ireland, in 1689 and educated at the University of Glasgow in Scotland. He came to America in 1717 and preached in Newcastle, Delaware before coming to Jamaica. Soon after his induction at Jamaica on September 18, 1723, Cross became involved in two of Poyer's law suits in 1724 for the parsonage and 1725 for the stone church; the courts decided both cases in the Presbyterian's favor. On November 10, 1737 he was installed as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, pp. 148, 156; Webster, History of the Presbyterian Church in America, pp. 367-69; Winans, Presbyterian Church, pp. 43-45, 56; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 231, 425.

⁴²Winans, Presbyterian Church, p. 43; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 421, 423-24; Onderdonk, Antiquities, p. 35; Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 29-30, 36, 63-65; Beverly McAnear, "Politics in Provincial New York, 1689-1761" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1936), pp. 294-95, 298; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, Letter of Governor Hunter to Rev. Poyer, January 26, 1712, vol. LVII, pp. 62-65; Letter, Rev. Thomas Poyer to Gov. Hunter, January 30, 1712, Ibid., pp. 68-71; Statement and Opinion respecting the right of the Church at Jamaica, L.I., February 14, 1712, Ibid., pp. 88-90; Sec. Clarke to Rev. Poyer, April 2, 1712, LVII, pp. 130-31; Hunter to Poyer, February 14, 1713; LVIII, p. 93; Resistance of Daniel Bull, October 8, 13, and December 13, 1718,

LXI, pp. 69, 288-89; May 23, June 9, 1719, LXI, pp. 92-93, 96; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 236-38, 242-43, 263-64, 267-68, 270, 271, 273-74, 277-79, 280-82, 283-84, 285-86, 287-88, 289-93, 297-303, 304-09; Governor Hunter to Rev. Poyer, January 26, 1711/12, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. VII, no. 243; Poyer's Answer, Ibid., p. 244; Gov. Hunter to John Chamberlayne, Esq, February 25, 1711/12, Ibid., no. 233-35; Poyer, to Sec., March 7, 1712, Ibid., vol. VIII, pp. 100-01; Gov. Hunter to Sec., October 31, 1712, Ibid., vol. VII, pp. 220-21; Poyer to Hunter, Ibid., vol. IX, p. 238; Poyer to Governor Hunter, May 8, 1714, Ibid., pp. 237-241; Poyer to Sec., November 2, 1714, Ibid., pp. 170-71; Sec. to Poyer, December 17, 1714, Ibid., IX, p. 247; Poyer to Sec., October 1, 1715, Ibid., vol. XI, pp. 277-78; Sec. to Poyer, December 17, 1716, Ibid., p. 378; Poyer to Sec., January 15, 1716/17, Ibid., vol. XII, pp. 264-65; Members of the Church of England in Jamaica, to the Sec., February 6, 1716, Ibid., pp. 166-69; Poyer to Sec., October 24, 1717, Ibid., pp. 359-61; Sec. to Poyer, November 23, 1717, Ibid., p. 428; Sec. to Poyer, March 27, 1721, Ibid., vol. XV, p. 118; Rev. Vesey to Sec., September 20, 1721, Ibid., pp. 104-05; Sec. to Poyer, June 15, 1722, Ibid., XVI, pp. 262-63; Poyer to Sec., May 23, 1723, Ibid., XVII, pp. 257-59; Poyer to Lord Bishop of London, October 8, 1724, XVIII, pp. 188-89, 194-96; Poyer to Sec., March 2, 1729, vol. XXII, pp. 389-90, and Series B, no. 66. Ecclesiastical Records, III, pp. 1900-01, 1905-06, 1907-09, 1917-19, 1922-24, 1950-52, 1970-71, 2012, 2019, 2043-44, 2072-74, 2113-15, 2119, 2120, 2126-27, 2128, 2129, 2129-31, 2133-35, 2136-39; IV, p. 2392; and O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, V, pp. 311, 313-15, 322-23.

⁴³Poyer to Sec., June 16, 1731, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. XXIII, pp. 328-29; Rev. Alex Campbell to Sec., January 25, 1731, Ibid., p. 358; Mrs. Sarah Poyer to Sec., August 23, 1732, Ibid., vol. XXIV, p. 251; A Catalogue of the Honorable Society's Books Delivered by Rev. Poyer to Rev. Colgan, Ibid., p. 261; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 310-11, 311-12; Ecclesiastical Records, IV, pp. 2547, 2565; Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, p. 20; Onderdonk, Antiquities, pp. 35, 38-39, 47.

⁴⁴Thomas Colgan was born in 1701 and started work for the Society in 1725. His first mission was as assistant at Trinity Church where he worked educating Negroes and Indians. He remained at Jamaica until his death in December, 1755. Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 78-79, 83, 87; Onderdonk, Antiquities, pp. 48-49; Smith, Saint George's Parish, p. 30; Mr. Richard Charlton to the Sec., June 16, 1731, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. XXIII, pp. 330-33; Rev. Campbell to SPG, November 3, 1731, Ibid., pp. 346-47;

Ecclesiastical Records, IV, pp. 2548, 2562, 2623-24, 2635-36, 2643-45; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, V, pp. 942-43; VI, pp. 1-4; and Colonial Laws of New York, chap. 602, vol. II, p. 827.

⁴⁵The Reverend Wilmot was born at Southampton, Long Island in 1709, and graduated from Yale in 1735. He was ordained the pastor at Jamaica on April 12, 1738, and remained there until his death on August 6, 1744. MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, p. 159; Webster, History of the Presbyterian Church in America, p. 453; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, p. 411.

⁴⁶The Reverend Bostwick was born in 1721 at New Milford, Connecticut and entered Yale in 1736, but did not complete his schooling. He studied theology with the Reverend John Graham of Southbury, Connecticut, and was ordained by the New York Presbytery as pastor at Jamaica on October 9, 1745. During his stay, the Presbyterian Church lands, given by the town and equalling forty acres of meadow in East Neck, were given to the Elders and Deacons of the Presbyterian Church on April 23, 1753 to hold in trust forever. Also during his pastorate the General Assembly was held in the town from May 30, to July 4, 1753 due to a smallpox epidemic in New York City. On April 14, 1756 he went to the First Presbyterian Church in New York City where he remained until his death on November 12, 1763. MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, pp. 165-168; Webster, History of the Presbyterian Church in America, p. 502; Winans, Presbyterian Church, pp. 59-60; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, IV, pp. 5D-5E.

⁴⁷Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 80, 83, 87; and Onderdonk, Antiquities, p. 49.

⁴⁸Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 81-86, 180; Frank J. Klingberg, Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York (Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1940), pp. 172-73; Onderdonk, Antiquities, pp. 53-54; Smith, Saint George's Parish, pp. 30-35; Thomas Colgan to Sec., June 14, 1734, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. XXV, pp. 15-18; Same to Same, 1735, Ibid., XXVI, pp. 96-98; Same to Same, April 26, 1739, Ibid., Series B, vol. VII, Part I, no. 119; Same to Same, December 15, 1741, Ibid., vol. IX, no. 66; Same to Same, March 25, 1742, Ibid., vol. X, no. 92; Same to Same, March 25, 1742, Ibid., vol. X, no. 92; Same to Same, March 25, 1743, Ibid., vol. XI, no. 134; Same to Same, September 29, 1743, no. 135; Same to Same, March 26, 1744, Ibid., vol. XIII, no. 227; Sec. Bearcroft to Rev. Colgan, May 21, 1744, Ibid., no. 46; Colgan to Sec., September 29, 1744, Ibid., no. 229; Same to

Same, March 25, 1745, Ibid., no. 231; Same to Same, September 30, 1745, Ibid., no. 233; Same to Same, March 26, 1746, Ibid. no. 235; and vol. XIV, no. 129; Same to Same, March 25, 1748, Ibid., vol. XVI, no. 41; Same to Same, March 28, 1749, Ibid., vol. XVII, no. 97; Same to Same, March 25, 1751, Ibid., vol. IXX, no. 88; Same to Same, March 25, 1752, Ibid., vol. XX, no. 74; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 312-14, 316, 318, 319-20; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, VI, p. 8; Ecclesiastical Records, IV, pp. 2645-46, 2745, 2820, 2923-24; and New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Council Minutes 1668-1783. "Charter of Incorporation of the Parish Church at Jamaica, Rev. Thomas Colgan, Rector," vol. XXI, p. 328.

⁴⁹Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 86, 88; Smith, Saint George's Parish, p. 40; Onderdonk, Antiquities, p. 56; Winans, Presbyterian Church, p. 48; and New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Folder for Samuel Seabury, Jr., Original Manuscript of Induction, January 12, 1757.

⁵⁰The Reverend Spencer was born in East Haddam, Connecticut on February 12, 1721; he graduated from Yale in 1746 and was ordained on September 14, 1748 in Boston. He was at first a missionary to the Oneida Indians before becoming pastor at the Church in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. In the Spring of 1760 he left Jamaica to become the Chaplain of the New York troops in the French and Indian War. He died in 1784 as pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Trenton, New Jersey.

The Reverend Bradner was born in 1733 in Goshen, New York; he graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1755. While at Jamaica he married Rebecca Bridges. He left in 1761 for a church in Orange County, where he remained until his death in 1804.

The Reverend Mills was a native of Smithtown, Long Island where he was born in 1739. He graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1756 and was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in March, 1760. He remained at Jamaica until his death on March 18, 1774, where he owned three improved farms in the town. Of his six children several migrated to Ohio.

The Reverend Burnet was born in Battle Hill, New Jersey on January 24, 1749 and graduated from Princeton in 1769. He married Ann Combs, an Episcopalian of Jamaica. MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, pp. 177, 190; Winans, Presbyterian Church, pp. 61, 63-64; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, Petition of Matthias Burnet and Deacons of Presbyterian Church for a Charter, September 29, 1775, vol. CI, p. 107; and New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Council Minutes, 1668-1783. "Petition for a Charter,

September 29, 1775," vol. XXI, p. 442.

⁵¹The Reverend Seabury, Jr. was born in Groton, Connecticut on November 30, 1729. When he was fourteen the family moved to Hempstead, Long Island, where his father was pastor of the Episcopal Church. After graduation from Yale in 1748 he served as catechist in Huntington from 1748 to 1752. He went to England in 1753 and received Holy Orders there on December 12, 1753. Upon returning to America in 1754, he was sent to New Brunswick, New Jersey, where he remained until 1757 when he was transferred to Jamaica. At Jamaica he purchased a twenty-eight acre farm one-half mile east of the town's center. In addition, he bought fourteen acres of wood land, and eight acres of salt meadow. After ten years he asked for a transfer because his salary was not faithfully paid and he had to pay several debts and support seven children. Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 88-89, 92-93, 187-90, 257-64; Onderdonk, Antiquities, pp. 54, 61-64; Smith, Saint George's Parish, p. 40; William Stevens Perry, The Bishops of the American Church Past and Present (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897), pp. 1-2; William Jones Seabury, Memoir of Bishop Seabury (New York: Edwin S. Gorham, 1908), pp. 2-4, 9, 23-25, 31, 39-40, 43-44, 48-50, 53-55, 74; New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Jamaica Box, Kempe Papers, Original Manuscripts of a "Petition of Minister of the Parish of Jamaica and Sundry Inhabitants of the Town of Jamaica, April 8, 1761," and "Warrant to Prepare the Draft of a Charter to Incorporate the Rector and Inhabitants of Grace Church, 1761," by the Hon. C. Colden to John T. Kempe, Esq., Attorney General of New York; Rev. Seabury, Jr., to Sec. October 10, 1759, SPG Letter Books, Series B, vol. II, no. 154; Same to Same, October 6, 1760, Ibid., no. 156; Same to Same, September 30, 1761, Ibid., no. 158; Same to Same, October 8, 1762, Ibid., no. 160; Same to Same, March 23, 1763, Ibid., no. 161; Same to Same, October 4, 1763, Ibid., no. 162; Same to Same, March 26, 1763, Ibid., no. 161; Same to Same, March 26, 1764, Ibid., no. 163; Same to Same, April 8, 1765, Ibid., no. 165; Same to Same, June 28, 1765, Ibid., no. 166; Same to Same, Ibid., no. 167; Same to Same, December 17, 1765, Ibid., no. 168; Same to Same, April 17, 1766, Ibid., no. 169; Same to Same, October 7, 1766, Ibid., no. 170; Same to Same, June 25, 1767, Ibid., no. 171; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 321, 324, 325-26, 328; Ecclesiastical Records, V, pp. 3749-50, 3799, 3805-06, 3863, 3952; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Council Minutes 1668-1783, Charter to Parish of Jamaica, May 19, 1761, vol. XXIII, pp. 344-49; and Colonial English Manuscripts, Charter to Parish of Jamaica, May 19, 1761, vol. LXXXIX, p. 128.

⁵²The Reverend Bloomer was born in Westchester County,

New York in 1735 and graduated from Kings College with a Masters degree in 1758. After a career in the military and as a merchant, he decided to go into the ministry. He went to England to study theology and was ordained by the Bishop of London on February 28, 1769. His only assignment was to the Parish of Jamaica from 1769 to 1790. Smith Saint George's Parish, pp. 52-55; Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 95-97; Onderdonk, Antiquities, pp. 67-69; Winans, Presbyterian Church, p. 48; Churchwardens of the Episcopal Congregations of Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing, Long Island to Sec., Nov. 14, 1768, SPG Letter Books, Series B, vol. II, no. 173; Rev. Bloomer to Sec., February 15, 1770, Ibid., vol. III, no. 122; Same to Same, February 18, 1771, Ibid., no. 123; Same to Same, March 21, 1772, Ibid., no. 124; Same to Same, May 7, 1772, Ibid., no. 125; Same to Same, May 23, 1772, Ibid., no. 126; Same to Same, February 7, 1776, Ibid., no. 127; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, III, pp. 330-36; Ecclesiastical Records, VI, pp. 4180-81, 4231-32, 4233-34; County Clerk's Office, Hall of Records, New York City, Chancery Minutes, Joshua Bloomer vs. Robert Hinchman and Philip Edsal, IV, pp. 46, 64, 155-57. Chancery Decree, dated April 5, 1774, #BM-1425B; and Herbert Alan Johnson, "John Jay: Colonial Lawyer" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1965), pp. 192-95, 197-98. Rivington's New York Gazette, Tuesday, April 14, 1774.

⁵³Winans, Presbyterian Church, pp. 55-58; MacDonald, Presbyterian Church, p. 249; Prime, History of Long Island, p. 127; J.M. Bumsted, "Religion, Finance, and Democracy in Massachusetts: The Town of Norton as a Case Study," The Journal of American History, LVII (March, 1971), 829-831; First Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, Presbyterian Register, p. 86; and Briggs, American Presbyterianism, pp. 317, 343.

CHAPTER VII

CLASS STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

The inhabitants of Jamaica were part of a relatively complex social organization in which they interacted through marriage, kinship, friendship, class, and associations of cooperation and conflict. These relationships can be measured in part by shifts in population, marriage patterns, and fertility and mortality rates. Throughout its history, however, Jamaica had a stratified social structure which became more pronounced with the passage of time. Moreover, as the population expanded and the supply of available land remained constant, upward social mobility declined proportionately. But despite changes, the town remained a suburb of New York City, and as such it developed social attributes not unlike its larger neighbor.

Growth in population was neither constant nor consistent. (see Tables 31-34 and Graphs 7 and 8 on pages 268-273). Until the early eighteenth century the general trend in population was upward due to natural increase and immigration. From 1710 to 1720, however, this direction started to reverse itself, until the number of residents

TABLE 31
POPULATION PER DECADE¹

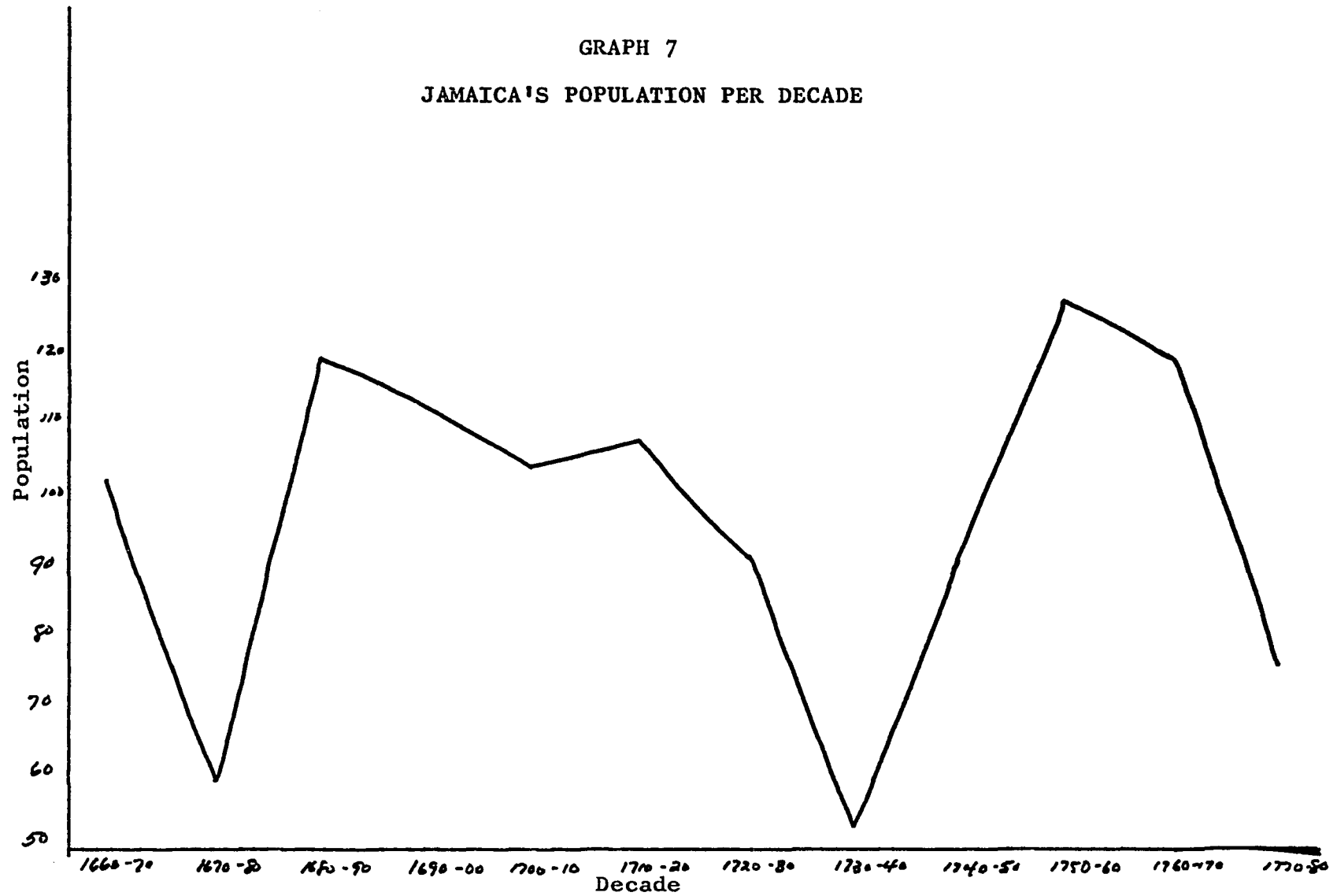
<u>Decade</u>	<u>Number of Male Inhabitants</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1660-1670	102	610
1670-1680	57	285
1680-1690	118	590
1690-1700	113	565
1700-1710	104	520
1710-1720	108	540
1720-1730	91	455
1730-1740	51	255
1740-1750	90	450
1750-1760	127	635
1760-1770	118	590
1770-1780	76	380
	1154	5875

TABLE 32

POPULATION PER THIRTY YEAR PERIOD¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Male Inhabitants</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1656-1690	234	1170
1690-1720	326	1630
1720-1750	275	1375
1750-1780	307	1535

GRAPH 7
JAMAICA'S POPULATION PER DECADE



GRAPH 8

JAMAICA'S POPULATION BY
THIRTY YEAR PERIOD

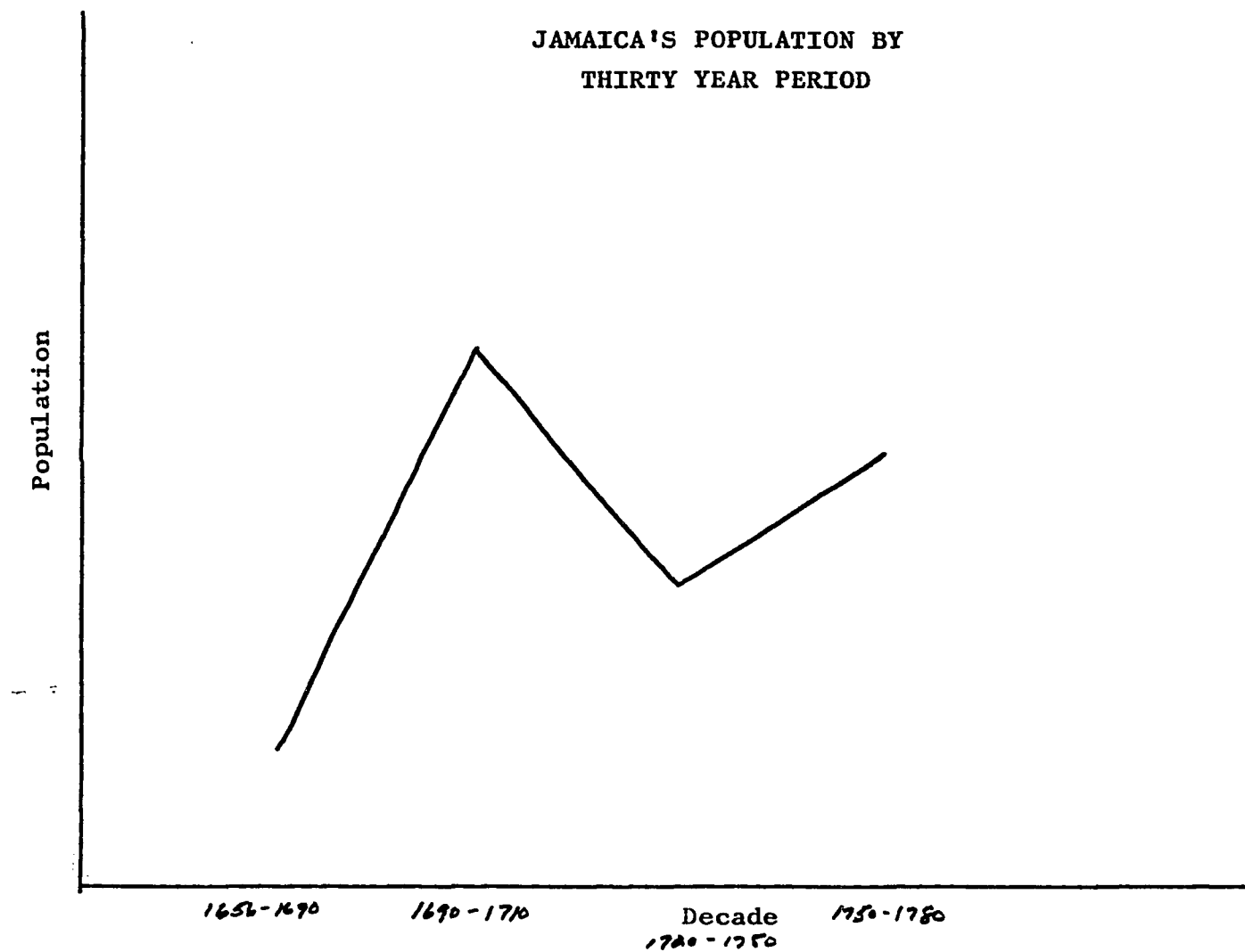


TABLE 33
POPULATION OF QUEENS COUNTY²

<u>Year</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Total</u>
1698			3565
1703			4392
1723	6068	1123	7191
1731	6731	1264	7995
1737	7748	1311	9059
1746	7996	1644	9640
1749	6617	1423	8040
1756	8617	2169	10786
1771	8744	2236	10980

TABLE 34
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF NEW YORK³

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Number of People</u>
1630	350
1640	1,930
1650	4,116
1660	4,936
1670	5,754
1680	9,830
1690	13,909
1700	19,107
1710	21,625
1720	36,919
1730	48,594
1740	63,665
1750	76,696
1760	117,138
1770	162,920
1780	210,541

reached its lowest point from 1730 to 1740. In 1712 all town lands, except commonage, were divided among the townsmen. Consequently, when the third generation matured by 1720, land could only be obtained by purchase. A few younger sons inherited part of their fathers' estates and were able to add to their holdings by purchase. Others who did not inherit land and could not afford to buy it migrated to New Jersey and upstate New York. Their departure and the lack of new settlers caused the population to decrease drastically between 1720 and 1740. The natural increase of third generation sons who remained in the town and the small number of immigrants accounted for the upward trend in population from 1740 to 1750, and between 1750 and 1760 the number of people reached its highest point, with 127 male residents or an approximate population of 635 people. In the seventeenth-sixties the population again started to decrease, but this time at a much slower rate than during the seventeenth-thirties and seventeenth-forties.

In contrast to most New England towns, Jamaica had both fewer people and more available land. For example, the total residents of Andover, Massachusetts in 1680 was 435, while that of Jamaica was 285. The difference in population by the seventeenth-sixties became even larger, for Andover had 2,356 people and Jamaica had only 635. Again by 1786 Dedham, Concord, and Sudbury each had a population

of more than two thousand inhabitants; Jamaica's population, on the other hand, was 1,836 in 1800.⁴ Jamaica's relatively small number of people cannot be attributed to either a shortage of land or poor soil. The production of grains and livestock was beyond the level of self-sufficiency, for excesses were sold locally or transported to New York City for sale. Other foods such as vegetables, fruits, and seafood were also plentiful. Commercial rather than subsistence agriculture, the emigration of younger sons, a decreasing number of immigrants, and a small birth rate all help to explain Jamaica's relatively low population.⁵

An analysis of the family in Jamaica is helpful in understanding the nature of the town's population. Contrary to popular belief, the colonial family was not extended to include parents or numerous servants, and the number of children per family was relatively small. Women did not marry early, did not have a high mortality rate in childbirth, and did not have a high frequency of remarriage. Lastly, life expectancy was long; many people lived into their sixties and several into their eighties.⁶

The minister, not the town clerk, kept the vital records of birth, death, and marriage.⁷ Because Jamaica had four denominations, there were four separate registers, some better kept and more complete than others. Quaker

manuscripts, although preserved by the Flushing Monthly Meeting from 1676 to 1800, are of little value because Jamaica had only three Quaker families after Governor Peter Stuyvesant's anti-Quaker policies forced them to move to Flushing or Hempstead before 1664.⁸

From a statistical sample of one hundred nuclear families listed in the Presbyterian Church records, the average number of children per family from 1690 to 1790 was 5.15, and the median figure was five children per family.⁹ The mean number of years between births was 2.86 years, a high figure, but one which includes those who had twelve children, and those who had two children spaced from five to seven years apart. The highest birth interval was 7.5 years and the smallest one year. These figures, however, do not include the number of incomplete pregnancies or stillbirths.

The number of children per family calculated from one hundred Presbyterian families was as follows:

TABLE 35
PRESBYTERIAN FAMILY POPULATION

<u>Number of Children Per Family</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>
1	10
2	9
3	18
4	12
5	5
6	11
7	16
8	7
9	5
10	4
11	2
12	1

Out of five hundred births only twenty-four infants (before first birthday) and six children (under the age of ten years) died. As far as can be determined, only two women expired in childbirth. Consequently, the popular notion that the mortality rate for infants, children, and mothers was high in colonial America is substantiated by the records for Jamaica.

The population of the Dutch Reformed congregation of Jamaica, Newtown, Flushing, and Hempstead from 1702 to 1770 included 531 families, with 134 of them living in Jamaica.¹⁰ The average number of children per family for the entire congregation was 2.51. Excluding those couples who were newly married with one child, a more realistic figure of 3.89 children per family was obtained. Correspondingly, the birth rate for the Dutch Reformed congregation living in Jamaica was 2,85 children per family, a number similar to the entire congregation in Queens County. The median number for both groups was two. With fewer children than families in the Presbyterian congregation, the time interval between each birth was accordingly greater. The average number of years between births for the Dutch Reformed in Queens County from 1702 to 1770 was 3.36 years, while that for the Dutch Reformed families in Jamaica alone was 3.31 years. The frequency distribution of children to families was as follows:

TABLE 36

DUTCH REFORMED FAMILY POPULATION IN QUEENS COUNTY

<u>Number of Children Per Family</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>
1	245
2	103
3	51
4	39
5	26
6	15
7	13
8	4
10	4
11	0
12	1
13	1
14	0
15	1

TABLE 37

DUTCH REFORMED FAMILY POPULATION IN JAMAICA

<u>Number of Children Per Family</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>
1	48
2	29
3	20
4	15
5	6
6	5
7	4
8	2
9	2
10	2
11	0
12	0
13	0
14	0
15	1

The baptismal and marriage records of the Church of England in the Parish of Jamaica are scanty and incomplete.¹¹ Only those kept by the Reverend Thomas Poyer from 1710 to 1732 still exist while those for the remaining years were destroyed in several church fires during the nineteenth century. From a small statistical base of seventy-nine families in the parish from 1710 to 1732, the average number of children baptized per family was 2.25. Since Poyer did not indicate the date of baptism, the time interval between each birth cannot be calculated. Interestingly, there were several instances of remarriage noted after the death of the first wife. Also, Poyer baptized fifteen Negroes in the parish.

The differences in the number of children per family in each denomination can perhaps be explained by unequal statistical populations and incomplete data for each group. Furthermore, some inhabitants were starting families in their mid or late-twenties, while others were completing theirs in the age group from thirty-five to fifty. Also, it must be remembered that not all families reached their potential size, for sometimes one spouse died before forty-five years of age, causing a smaller than usual family size.

By averaging the vital statistics derived from the three church congregations in Jamaica a close approximation for the entire population can be determined. The average

number of children per family on the basis of church records was 3.41, with a time interval of 3.08 years between each birth.(see Table 38 on page 281). Compared to New England towns, Jamaica statistics were very close to the figures for Bristol, Rhode Island, but in marked contrast to those of Andover, Massachusetts.¹² If one uses data from wills, however, the number of children per family is closer to Andover families. Out of 130 wills studied,¹³ there were 670 children noted, averaging 5.15 children per family.

Marriage records for Jamaica inhabitants are scanty and only the Presbyterian Church register provides enough data to determine age at marriage. From a sample of thirty-seven men, the mean age at marriage was 26.83 years, a figure close to that of colonial Quakers and inhabitants of Plymouth and Andover, Massachusetts. Out of thirty women studied, the average age at marriage was 22.53 years, a figure similar to colonial Quakers and wives at Plymouth and Andover. In England from 1619 to 1660 the "commonest" marriage age for women was twenty-two years and for men twenty-four years. More specifically, the mean age for brides was twenty-four and for grooms twenty-eight.¹⁴ Incomplete data for Jamaica, however, make it impossible to ascertain an accurate marriage age or any change over time. The low birth rate, however, may indicate that the age at first marriage tended to increase after 1700.¹⁵

Most marriages were between either Jamaica inhabitants

TABLE 38

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY

DURING TWENTY YEAR INTERVALS

<u>Years</u>	<u>D. Reformed</u>	<u>Presby.</u>	<u>Ch. of England</u>	<u>Combined Aver. Total</u>
1700-1720	3.23	7	1.62	2.42
1720-1740	3.38	8	1.32	2.35
1740-1760	1.80	6.57		4.18
1760-1780	1.37	6.00		3.67

or with persons within Queens County. Out of 142 wills studied, 119 noted marriage with a woman or man from Jamaica, and only twenty-three indicated marriage with a person from outside of the town. Consequently, kinship connections were most likely a prominent aspect of the social life. Usually families of the same economic level, religious affiliation, and ethnic background married. Only the records from the Church of England, taken from 1710 to 1732, indicate that marriage among Jamaica families was not as frequent as for the town population as a whole. Out of fifty-one marriages performed by the Reverend Thomas Poyer, twenty-six or 50.9 percent were between one Jamaica inhabitant and an outsider, and the remaining 49.1 percent occurred between residents of Jamaica. Of those who married a person from another town, most partners were from Queens County, totalling eight from Flushing, five from Newtown, and six from Hempstead. Six marriages were with people from New York City (2), Westchester (1), and New Jersey (3). Fifteen men found partners outside while eleven women did likewise.

Bachelors and spinsters were scarce. Jamaica wills noted only two single men, one of whom got married sometime after his first will in 1766. On the other hand, single women were more numerous, numbering ten in the town's history.¹⁶ Widowers often remarried, but widows usually did not do so because they would lose the use of or inheritance of their

husband's estate. Of one hundred and twenty wills studied only nine noted the widow's remarriage. Poyer recorded six remarriages within twenty-two years by women whose husband's had died. The Presbyterian Church register indicated two men who had remarried. Remarriage for the entire Dutch Reformed congregation in Queens County occurred only forty-eight times in 531 families.

Married women in colonial New York had more rights than those in Europe. Marriage was a civil contract providing an equal legal position for both partners. New York women had the right to make contracts, to sue, and to hold property. Several Jamaica women inherited and managed their dead husband's estate, and others such as Isabel Wiggins and Rebecca Woolsey operated general stores. Many were plaintiffs and defendants in court cases. Politically, however, New York women were not able to participate in town meetings or to vote for church and civil officials on the town, county, or provincial level.¹⁷

Death records are also scarce for Jamaica. The Presbyterian register noted fourteen men with an average life span of 61.4 years and ten women who lived an average of 58.0 years. From twenty-six cemetery inscriptions in Jamaica, the average age at death was 74.3 years, with the youngest death at 21 and the oldest at 88 years. Similarly, several wills indicated the extreme old age of their authors. Generally, life spans were impressively high in Jamaica, for

relatively few died in infancy or childhood, and a majority lived into their sixties and seventies. In twenty-two years Poyer recorded only seventeen adult and twenty-four child deaths for the towns of Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing.¹⁸

Longevity can be attributed to a good diet, a healthy outdoor environment, and few epidemics. Numerous inventories indicated a level of living far above the subsistence stage. Especially noteworthy were such nutritious foods as stone-ground, whole cereal grains, raw sugar, honey, fresh meat and fish, nuts, seeds, and berries. Essentially, colonial Americans in the middle colonies had an excellent diet of abundant unprocessed foods which were undoubtedly an important factor in a longer and healthier existence.¹⁹

A low incidence of disease contributed to the high correlation between long life and good health. Long Island's temperate climate did not foster malaria and dysentery or much suffering from colds, influenza, pleurisy, and pneumonia. Even epidemics of yellow fever, which were caused by mosquitoes brought in on ships from the West Indies, did not extend twelve miles from New York City to Jamaica. Outbreaks of smallpox were not frequent in the colonies, and they did not occur in a regular pattern. Lord Cornbury wrote to the Lords of Trade in the summer of 1702 that the "small pox is very much here, but except that the Province is very healthy." Strong attacks occurred in 1715 and 1730-31,

causing the depletion of New York City markets because the country people could not supply the city with provisions. In 1731 the Reverend Thomas Poyer died of smallpox which was general in the Parish of Jamaica. During this outbreak 160 people were inoculated, and not one of them died. The last major epidemic came in 1752, causing the Governor and General Assembly to escape to Jamaica as in 1703.

Between major epidemics the inhabitants of Jamaica and Queens County were basically healthy. Herbal remedies derived from roots, plants, barks, and seeds cured and relieved minor medical problems and common diseases. Fox glove tea, for example, was brewed from a garden plant and used in the treatment of dropsy; today, it is used in the treatment of heart disease and is called digitalis. Other medical remedies included mustered plasters for bronchial congestion, syrup from onions for colds, juniper bush teas for vaporizers, honey for relaxation, and parsley for a stimulant to the digestive glands. The medical knowledge that the colonists brought with them from Europe and learned through contact with the Indians was sufficient when added to a nutritional and plentiful diet to produce a healthy, long life for a majority of Jamaica's population.²⁰

A definite ranking system influenced the interrelationships among individuals in Jamaica. There were two stratification hierarchies, one of possession or economic

class and the other of status or social class. Income, occupation, prestige, power, and education determined both scales of value. Early in the town's development rank differences were not very apparent because of the system of equal land division to the original settlers and freedom from Europe's rigid classification system. With the increase of new settlers and a shortage of land, however, this situation gradually changed. By the end of the eighteenth century Jamaica could no longer be depicted in Danial Denton's words as "how free are those parts of the world from that pride and oppression, with their miserable effects, which many, nay almost all parts of the world are troubled, with being ignorant of that pomp and bravery which aspiring Humours are servants to, and striving after almost every where." As time passed, each economic group could be distinguished by a specific way of life, according to its manners, dress, education, consumption patterns, residence, and personal associations. A man's wealth in land, political role, professional qualifications, military service, and religious affiliation determined his position on the social scale, which did not necessarily correspond exactly with his wealth.²¹

Economic classes²² can be distinguished by the distribution of wealth, which in Jamaica can be measured most accurately by the extent of property ownership. The town had four economic groups consisting of planters, middle-class yeomen

and wealthier artisans and professionals, small farmers, poorer artisans, and professionals, and, lastly, laborers, apprentices, and slaves.²³

The lowest economic group -- excluding servants, slaves, and the poorest artisans, most of whom owned little or no property -- consisted of small farmers who equalled 28.69 percent of the total agricultural population, which, in turn, equalled 78.50 percent of the total male population. Their assets included a dwelling house, a barn, and an orchard, located on a home lot from two to six acres. Land holdings totalled no more than twenty acres of meadow and upland. Around the homestead could be seen fewer than twenty oxen, cows, steers, horses, hogs, and sheep. Farm tools and domestic utensils, which were the bare minimum needed to carry on subsistence agriculture, included one axe, hoe, spade, pitch fork, hammer, rake, chain, and wagon. Household goods were not numerous, for the typical farmer owned one feather bed with two pillows, a few blankets, curtains, tables, and chairs. Inventories and wills contain references to only a small number of pewter plates, earthenware utensils, pots, jugs, kettles, skillets, fireplace equipment, and tubs. The small farmer's total moveable and landed estate came to less than £50.²⁴

Middle-class to wealthy farmers, the most numerous segment of society, comprised 67.43 percent of the agricultural population. Their land ownership ranged from

forty to one hundred acres, with forty-five acres as the average. Compared to the small farmer, they had more detailed inventories simply because they owned more. A few yeomen owned one or two objects of silver, fancy wearing apparel, and one or two Negroes. Pewter and brass utensils were far more numerous than earthen and wooden ware. Often inventories recorded books, glassware, and china as well as a list of small credits to neighboring farmers. Estates ranged in value from £100 to £700.²⁵

The richest but smallest component of society belonged to the planter class, which was only 3.88 percent of the population. The men in this group usually held the title of gentleman and/or esquire. They not only owned on the average of 215 acres of land, but possessed such material indications of wealth as silver goblets and platters, fine china dishes, Irish linen napkins, large libraries, indentured servants, and Negro slaves. Their houses were of two or three stories and well supplied with furniture and many cooking conveniences. Grains, butter, salted meat, cider, and often rum and molasses filled their storage bins. There is no doubt that men such as Daniel Whitehead, George McNish, Thomas Truxton, William Creed, Thomas Cardale, and Samuel Clowes lived as well as wealthy merchants in New York City. In addition, they enjoyed enormous prestige in the town because of their relatively great wealth. Many men in this category held important town and county

offices, but no single man or family in Jamaica controlled any administrative or church position.²⁶

Many of the non-agricultural inhabitants, consisting of 21.50 percent of the entire male population, belonged along side the lower-class farmers in economic rank. Some, however, because of their landed and moveable wealth or profession had a better economic standing as well as a higher social status. The majority of artisans, who numbered 17.78 percent of the population, owned the same assets as did a small farmer, usually with less land. Their estates were worth less than £50. A few who accumulated wealth from their occupation were able to move up the economic and social heirarchies. Samuel Denton, Sr., for example, was a carpenter with 150 acres of land, who served as a selectman for one year. Jonathan Waters a weaver and Thomas Thurston a blacksmith owned over 100 acres each and, likewise, served as selectmen. Lastly, Frederick Hendrickson, a cordwainer, ranked in the wealthier yeoman class in wealth and social position.²⁷

Professionals -- doctors, ministers, and schoolmasters -- equalled only 3.72 percent of the male population and were among the town's poorer residents. Because of interdenominational disputes, Anglican ministers often received no salaries, while their Presbyterian counterparts enjoyed both the minister's salary and use of the parsonage. Teachers were at the bottom of the economic scale -- James Loquart, for

example, died intestate with an estate worth less than £50 -- and all but one of the town's doctors were equally poor. One doctor, Thomas Sackett, died intestate, while the town's richest physician, Thomas Braine, died with an estate worth more than £2000. His inventory, dated January 8, 1739, was in three parts which corresponded to his offices in Jamaica and New York City, and his farm at Donscomer, New York. In addition to numerous domestic items, he owned cases of medical instruments, forty-nine books on anatomy, physick, and surgery, and twenty-one books on various other subjects. Debts owed him amounted to £1204.16.09.²⁸ But Braine was an exception, for professionals were generally in the lower economic brackets. On the other hand, because of their intellectual pursuits, they held a higher social position than did the artisan or farmer.²⁹

At the bottom of the economic scale was a small group of indentured servants and Indian and Negro slaves. Extant records mention only four indentured servants.³⁰ Indian slavery was also rare in Jamaica, only three being mentioned in wills. Perhaps, a few free Indians resided in Jamaica, for the Reverend Thomas Colgan instructed several living in the parish.³¹ Negro slaves, on the other hand, were more numerous. As early as 1626 traders introduced them into the Dutch colony. By 1698 there were 2,170 black slaves in the province, with 200 in Queens County.

In 1737 their number in the county had grown to 1,311, an increase of twenty-one percent from 1698. By 1771 there were 2,236 black slaves, or 20.3 percent of the entire population of the county. (see Table 33 on page 272). Most of them lived in the towns of Hempstead and Oysterbay rather than the three western communities. The largest slave owner in the county, however, was widow Lawrence of Flushing with thirty-three slaves. In 1755 Newtown had only 163 slaves above the age of fourteen years. For the entire province of New York the ownership of slaves was mostly a sign of social distinction and not an economic necessity. In fact, slavery was basically unprofitable because costs of food and clothing exceeded the value of their labor.³²

Wills of Jamaica inhabitants are the only source which mentions Negroes. During the one hundred and twenty year period of this study, only thirty-five people owned fifty-nine black slaves. William Creed and Daniel Whitehead, for example, each owned two; Richard Betts left four black servants to members of his family, and William Johnson owned eight Negroes. Even ministers such as the Reverends Walter Wilmot and Thomas Poyer held several Negroes, a fact which illustrates that their ownership was not considered immoral by whites. Most churchmen felt it their duty to have their slaves become church members.³³

On the whole, black servants were not a problem to

the town. Some fear of them did arise, however, after William Hallett, Jr., his wife, and five children were killed on January 28, 1708 by one Indian and one Negro slave. The court ordered the Indian man hanged and the Negro woman burned on February 2, 1708/9. This murder plus the imagined or actual Negro conspiracies in New York City in 1712 and 1741 caused the passage of severe legislation against blacks in the province.

There were only two reported cases of runaways; in 1749 John Bett's mulatto named Isaac escaped from his master as did Dow Ditmar's black servant named Tony in 1766. Several Jamaica owners freed their slaves: William Creed released his Negro girl Maria in 1718. Between 1741 and 1746 William Johnson manumitted all of his eight black slaves, after educating each in a trade. To his only female slave Betty he left his house and land in Jamaica for use during her lifetime. Also in 1775, Joshua Carpenter freed his slave Mary, whom he had bought from Isaac Rhodes for ten shillings.³⁴

Regardless of economic status many lower and middle-class farmers and artisans were in debt for short periods of time in order to increase their acreage or to buy necessary farm and household items. Thirty-five percent of the wills for Jamaica inhabitants indicate that this group had a few small debts in the form of mortgages on their land and buildings, individual, loan office, and Presbyterian

Church loans. Often, property was sold by the executors of an estate to pay all debts before the property was divided.

The Jamaica town records referred to twenty-seven instances of debt. On June 3, 1701, for example, Fredrick Hendrickson acknowledged that Peter White paid him all debts and demands. Peter Stringham in 1696 accepted land as payment of Samuel Barker's debt to him. In 1716 Richard Betts owed William Creed £2000 for land he purchased in Jamaica and Newtown. Queens County conveyances note several instances of debt. George McNish was a creditor to the schoolmaster James Loquart in 1722. Fifty years later Thomas Hinchman owed Rem Vanderbilt £38.10. Because he failed to pay the money, the sheriff Thomas Willett, Esq. seized his house and lands and sold them for £430 to James Hughston. Seizure of land for debt was not a common practice in the town of Jamaica, having occurred only twice in one hundred and twenty years.³⁵

Additional sources indicating individual debts were court records and inventories. The inventories of William Creed, Jr. and Dr. Thomas Braine, for example, enumerated money owed them which showed that both men were principal creditors in Jamaica.³⁶ During the colonial period there were thirty-nine debt cases, thirty-three after 1700 and six before that date. The Court of Sessions heard five debt suits, not to mention those that were not identified

in the court minutes. In 1675, for instance, Michael Spicer brought action against Robert Coe for £51.01.00,³⁷ and in 1770 Benjamin Kissam was the plaintiff in a case against Teunis Polhemius.³⁸

Other debts took the form of loans made by the Presbyterian Society from 1752 to 1771. During these nineteen years the church advanced money at six percent interest to fifty-one small and middle-class farmers who needed ready cash and who were not all members of the Presbyterian Church. The money loaned ranged from £8 to £115, with the usual amount being from £20 to £50. Although most loanees repaid within two to four years, a few men took from nine to twenty years to make full payment.³⁹ (see Table 39 on page 295)

The mortgaging of land, houses, and tenements was another way to acquire cash or to pay for newly purchased land. Not until the Act of 1753 was there an established method for properly registering all mortgages. Subsequent laws passed in 1760, 1767, and 1774 protected the mortgager from mortgagees who had left the province without paying their debts.⁴⁰ From 1754 to 1771, fifty-three Jamaica inhabitants received cash on all or part of their lands and buildings from a fellow townsman or an outsider, usually for more than £100. Not all were poor, for Dr. Thomas Braine, Daniel Horsmanden, Esq., Dr. Jacob Ogden, Abraham Polhemius, and Aaron Van Nostrandt belonged to the upper

TABLE 39

NUMBER OF DEBTORS PER DECADE

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Loan Office</u>	<u>Mortgages</u>	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Presbyterian Church</u>
1660-70	0	0	4	0
1670-80	0	1	2	0
1680-90	0	0	6	0
1690-00	0	1	8	0
1700-10	0	1	5	0
1710-20	0	3	11	0
1720-30	0	0	3	0
1730-40	0	0	4	0
1740-50	0	0	2	0
1750-60	23	18	0	21
1760-70	1	75	4	28
1770-80	0	15	1	2
	24	114	50	51

segment of middle-class farmers. Furthermore, in order to secure a mortgage, a man had to have sufficient lands and/or buildings as collateral.⁴¹ (see Appendix F)

For those who could not find individual creditors, there was money available at the Queens County Loan Office, which the assembly established in 1737. From 1756 to 1760, twenty-three Jamaica inhabitants took advantage of loans which ranged from £25 to £100 at five percent interest per year. Most loanees were yeomen with sufficient acreage to be used as collateral.⁴² (see Appendix B)

Those with no property had to rely on the generosity of the town. In Jamaica the destitute were very few and numbered only widows and single women. Unlike Kent, Connecticut, Jamaica had no permanent group on welfare and no problem with transient laborers.⁴³ Provincial and town ordinances provided for those in need. Under the Duke's Laws all estates were rated and every male adult had to pay to the constable his share for maintenance of the poor. By the act of 1683 to maintain the poor and to prevent vagabonds, each city, town, and county was to assess rates to maintain their impoverished inhabitants. By the statute of 1691 communities chose two freeholders to levy these rates and to supervise the public charges. In 1703 the legislature enacted a bill which added a collector to be chosen by each town and ordered the annual meeting of the County Supervisors to compute the "Publick necessary &

Contingent Charges." In order to prevent vagrants or visitors from being an expense to a town, the assembly passed acts for their punishment in 1721 and 1756. Finally, in 1774 the legislature passed a law to relieve parishes for charges arising from bastard children.⁴⁴

Throughout its colonial history, Jamaica was saved from the burden of a poor tax because of Richard Chasmore's legacy in 1663 of all his housing and lands to be used for those who were unable to make a living.⁴⁵ Money from his estate, that collected by the town, and that given by the County Supervisors was used to maintain Elizabeth Semisse, a widow in 1725, and the wife and five children of the Reverend Thomas Poyer after his death in 1732.⁴⁶

Perhaps of greater significance than the mere description of different economic levels and corresponding social hierarchies is the movement up and down these scales or social mobility, though each distinct, both can be measured by changes in levels of portable and landed wealth. This study can be carried out on two levels, an analysis of the variation in acreage, moveable property assets, and social status during one man's lifetime or between generations of fathers and sons (intra and intergenerational case studies). Although incomplete data on many inhabitants makes it impossible to determine the exact rate of vertical mobility, existing records provide a reliable index of

economic, political, and social fluidity.⁴⁷

An analysis of the available evidence on Jamaica's residents indicates that more than twenty-five percent of the population was able to better its economic status from 1656 to 1720. This high rate of upward mobility was the direct result of the availability of land through town grants or purchase. In 1712, however, the town had distributed all of its meadow, planting, and wooded land, leaving only enough for commonage. As a result, sons who were maturing from 1720 to 1750 could no longer obtain free acreage from the town, but had to rely solely on inheritance or purchase. Some young men remained and lived on a portion of their father's estate which they inherited after his death. A few of the third generation fell into the small farmer class, while their fathers had been substantial yeomen. Others migrated, and a select few bettered the condition into which they were born by inheriting their father's entire estate and even by adding to it by purchase.

The trend after 1720 was for a smaller percentage of the population to rise in economic and social status. From 1720 to 1750 only fourteen percent were able to increase their wealth and social position, and by 1750 to 1780 this rate decreased to only eight percent of the population. The increase in inequality, which sharpened class divisions, was the result of an increasing population on a limited land supply. Because of partible inheritance

and to the movement of younger sons out of the town from 1730 to 1750, no landless proletariat developed in Jamaica. Instead, a greater number than in 1700 were living on the subsistence level with less than ten acres of land, and a slightly larger number was moving into the gentleman/planter class. Those belonging to the middle-class farmer category decreased in number.⁴⁸

Some case histories illustrate the trends in both upward and downward mobility in Jamaica. John Bayles, for example, was a humble farmer in the Parish of St. Peters in Norwich, Norfolk, England and came to America in 1638 as an indentured servant. Sometime before 1654 he moved from New Haven, Connecticut to Southold, Long Island, and by 1661 he had relocated to Jamaica. In 1662 he was a candidate for magistrate and licensed to keep an ordinary in the town. Six years later after accumulating one hundred acres of land, he moved to Setauket in the township of Brookhaven. In his will of 1682, he left land to two of his sons, John Jr. and Elias, who resided in Jamaica. Both men prospered, for John owned more than 150 acres and two mills in the town. Elias accumulated 245 acres, four houses, and received the titles of gentleman and esquire. Their sons and grandsons, however, did not add to the family fortune. Elias Bayles, Jr. was a wheelwright; Benjamin was a glasier, and Thomas was a small farmer.⁴⁹

John Carpenter and William Creed were early settlers

in Jamaica who established a high standard of living for themselves that their descendants failed to maintain.

Carpenter arrived in the town in 1663 from Hempstead and quickly became a prominent citizen. He served as a selectman, an overseer of the poor, and tax assessor. In 1683 his estate was worth £78 and in 1704 he was referred to as a gentleman. He owned one hundred acres of land in Jamaica and in West Jersey. His son John Jr. held fewer acres, but was highly regarded in the town, for he was a selectman and a captain of the militia. Samuel, one of John, Jr.'s sons, did well financially, while the other three Increase, Nehemiah, and Joseph dropped to the level of small farmer. There is a similar pattern in the Creed family. In 1669 William Creed bought twenty-four acres and by 1710 he owned more than six hundred acres in Jamaica, Newtown, and East and West Jersey. His son William, Jr. kept the family wealth and title, but by the third generation the Creed fortune was decreasing. William, the third, was a wealthy yeoman, but his son was a mariner.⁵⁰

The descendants of the original settlers also declined in economic and social status. Benjamin Coe, for example, owned more than two hundred acres in Jamaica; his son, however, held less than fifty acres after his father had sold most of his land. The sons of Daniel and Nathaniel Denton held fewer acres than their father and did not serve in prestigious town offices as did their fathers. Their sons,

in turn, fell into the farmer and artisan class. In similar fashion, each descendant of Andrew Messenger owned less than his one hundred acres which he had accumulated during his life time.

While older families were falling further down on the economic and social scale, some wealthy newcomers were able to enhance their position. Hendrick Lott moved from Brooklyn to Jamaica in 1683; through commercial farming and land speculation, he accumulated four hundred acres in Jamaica, Newtown, Flushing, and New Jersey. Theodorus Polhelmius was another Dutchman who bettered his rank. In 1683 he left Flatbush for Jamaica, became a brewer, and used the money from his trade to increase his land holdings. In 1720 he owned more than three hundred acres. His son Abraham bought 169 acres from his father for £700 and was able to augment his holdings to more than 250 acres by 1772. Theodorus' other son, Johannes, owned 160 acres and two houses in Jamaica. Before his death in 1761 he divided his land between his two sons Johannes, Jr. and Eldert, starting the family's descent toward a lower economic ranking.

Still other families were able to retain and occasionally add to family fortunes over three generations. Samuel, John, Joseph, and Wait Smith each acquired a substantial amount of land before their deaths. All their sons were able to enhance their inheritance because the town still had land available for purchase in the sixteen-ninetys

and early seventeen-hundreds. Although their sons and grandsons carried on the tradition of public service, their wealth decreased toward the end of the century.

Perhaps, the best example of sustained wealth over several generations was the Whitehead family. Daniel Whitehead came from Newtown to Jamaica in 1679 and quickly accumulated land through town grants and purchase. He was of service to the community on the town, county, and provincial levels, as selectman, justice of the peace, major in the militia, and representative to the General Assembly. At his death in 1704 he owned more than one thousand acres and five houses in Jamaica, Flushing, Newtown, Hempstead, Flatbush, and Oysterbay. He accumulated much of his money by the purchase and sale of land. His two sons Jonathan and Thomas retained his wealth, and his seven daughters married among the well-to-do in the town and county. Jonathan Whitehead not only owned more than six hundred acres of land and three houses, but also served as a justice of the peace, county treasurer and supervisor, and his father's successor in the General Assembly. His son Benjamin, in turn, inherited enough wealth to keep him in the upper level of society. He was a selectman in 1738 and county supervisor from 1739 to 1775. During the revolution he was a loyalist. With him the family fortune began to decline and his son Benjamin, Jr. was no more than a middle-class farmer. Daniel's other son Thomas inherited

less than Jonathan, but was able to accumulate more than two hundred acres, attain the title of gentleman, and serve as justice of the peace and captain of the militia. His only son died in 1710.⁵¹

Although Jamaica had a relatively small number of inhabitants compared to New England communities, family size, marriage age, infant mortality rates, and life expectancy were similar to other colonial and European towns. Although Jamaica had a stratified society from its earliest years, class divisions sharpened and upward mobility within and between economic and social heirarchies became increasingly difficult as the seventeenth century closed and the eighteenth century progressed. Furthermore, there was no unifying factor at work in the community, for Jamaica had no single educational system, several religious institutions, two ethnic groups, and a competitive economic structure. Like urban centers, the process of growth produced social cleavages which, in turn, contributed to a more complex community life.

FOOTNOTES

¹These population figures were derived from conveyances, town records, wills, inventories, church and court records.

²Eugene L. Ambruster, History of Long Island (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Daily Eagle, 1914), p. 18; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, I, pp. 694-96.

³United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1960), p. 756; Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 88-93; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, I, pp. 689-91; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative, II, p. 596; Lockridge, Dedham, p. 40; and Ecclesiastical Records, II, p. 1264.

⁴Greven, Andover, pp. 1-3-04; Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 54-56; Kenneth Lockridge, "Land, Population and the Evolution of New England Society 1630-1790," Past and Present, XXXIX (April, 1968), 67. The population of neighboring towns in 1800 was as follows:

<u>Town</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
Flushing	1,749
Newtown	2,119
Oysterbay	4,558
N & S Hempstead	6, 551

"Federal Census of 1800," New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, vol. 54, pp. 120-21, 210-13, 218, 349; vol. 55, p. 22.

⁵For a general discussion of demography, see David V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley, eds., Population in History, Essays in Historical Demography (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 4, 24-25, 27, 631-40; Edward A. Wrigley, Population and History (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp. 32-33, 47-49; and Julian Cornwall, "Evidence of Population Mobility in the Seventeenth Century," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XL (November, 1967), 143-52.

⁶John Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography," William and Mary Quarterly, XXV (January, 1968), 40; Wrigley, Population and History, pp. 28-29; Lutz K. Berkner, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth-Century Austrian Example," American Historical Review, LXXVII (April, 1972), 400-08, 418.

⁷The Duke's Laws provided that births, marriages and deaths were to be recorded by the minister or town clerk in a book provided by the church wardens. People were to supply the information at a fine of five shillings for each neglect. Colonial Laws of New York, I, p. 19.

⁸Quaker records kept at Flushing have only two references to Quakers residing at Jamaica. The announcement that Sarah Deane, the daughter of Samuel of Jamaica, was to marry John Way of Newtown was made at a meeting at Samuel Deane's house on September 22, 1687. In 1704 it was noted that Thomas Gail, the son of Abel and Dinah of Jamaica, was to marry Abigail Smith of Jamaica. Society of Friends, Marriage Intentions, Flushing Monthly Meeting 1676 to 1800, p. 2; Society of Friends, First Register, Marriages, Births and Deaths 1661-1796, p. 16a; and Marriage Certificates, Flushing Monthly Meeting, 1704.

⁹All statistics for the Presbyterian Church congregation were derived from A Register for the Use of the Presbyterian Society in Jamaica (original manuscript located in the First Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, New York).

¹⁰All statistics for the Dutch Reformed congregation in Queens County and Jamaica were derived from Josephine C. Frost, copier, Baptismal Record of the First Reformed Dutch Church at Jamaica, Long Island, vol. I: 1702-1733, vol. II: 1733 to 1800. The original manuscript entitled The Book of the Netherlands Reformed Congregation, Jamaica 1702-1851 is in the Dutch Reformed Church, Jamaica, New York.

¹¹All data for the Church of England in Jamaica was derived from Josephine C. Frost, copier, Records Kept by Rev. Thomas Poyer, Rector of Episcopal Churches at Jamaica, Newtown & Flushing, Long Island, 1913 (typescript, Long Island Historical Society and New York Genealogical and Biographical Society). The same list of baptisms were printed in Ladd, Grace Church, pp. 268-87.

¹²In Bristol, Rhode Island in the eighteenth century,

the average number of children per family was 3.27, with the interval between each birth equal to two years. Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island," 45-46. The number of births per family at Andover, Massachusetts was higher than at Jamaica, Long Island. The highest fertility rate was from 1680 to 1709 with 6.0 children per marriage. During the 1690's there were 7.6 births, and 7.5 during the first decade of the eighteenth century. After 1710 the fertility rate fell to 5.7 births per family. In spite of the decline in births in Andover during the eighteenth century, the lowest average number of children born was higher than the highest average for Jamaica. Greven, Andover, pp. 31, 104-05, 112, 179-83). Lockridge found evidence of a smaller colonial family (average size of four) in his study of Dedham, Massachusetts in Economic History Review, XIX (1966), 329-43. For an excellent study of Quaker family size and marriage patterns, see Robert V. Wells, "Quaker Marriage Patterns in Colonial Perspective," William and Mary Quarterly, XXIX (July, 1972), pp. 415-42.

¹³Wills of Jamaica inhabitants are located in one hundred volumes of original wills at Queens College Historical Documents Collection (copies of these wills are at the Hall of Records, New York City), Abstracts of Wills (part of the New-York Historical Society Collections), and Queens County Conveyances on microfilm at Queens College and at the Register's Office, Jamaica, New York.

¹⁴Laslett, The World We Have Lost, pp. 82, 101; and Wrigley, Population and History, p. 86.

¹⁵Age at first marriage increased for Plymouth, Bristol, and Andover women from the first to the fourth generations, see Demos, "Plymouth Colony," William and Mary Quarterly, XXII (1965), 275; Demos, "Families in Bristol," 55; Greven, Andover, pp. 33, 35, 118, 120, 206, 208; and Wells, "Quaker Marriage," 429.

¹⁶Single men were Samuel Green and Thomas Welling. Single women included Ann Carle, Phebe Higbie, Mary Crosbie, Abigail Darling, Deborah Dean, Judith Ludlum, Rachel Smith, and Ann, Elizabeth and Sarah Hinchman. The instances of unmarried people was much higher among the Quakers in colonial America, being 15.9 percent of the women and 12.1 percent of the men. Wells, "Quaker Marriage," 427. In Andover, Massachusetts, out of 152 men who married once 98 or 64.5 percent lived their lives with the first partner, 34 or 22.4 percent married twice, and 4 or 2.6 percent married three times. Greven, Andover, p. 111.

¹⁷Richard B. Morris, Studies in the History of American Law (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963), pp. 126-40, 166-67, 173-77. For an example of a marriage contract or agreement see Frost, Jamaica Town Records, II, pp. 285-87. One instance of a divorce among Jamaica settlers was between Daniel Denton and his wife Abigail in 1672. Matteo Spalletta, "Divorce in Colonial New York," New-York Historical Society Quarterly, XXXIX (October, 1955), 430-31.

¹⁸See the Presbyterian Church Register and Rev. Thomas Poyer's recordings of burials in his Records. Frost, Long Island Cemetery Inscriptions, pp. 1-20; Rev. Beverley R. Betts, copier, "Inscriptions from Tombstones in the Parish Churchyard at Jamaica, Long Island," New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, VII (1876), p. 18. Greven also found a low death rate in Andover. Of 246 men 37.3 percent lived to be at least 70. Of 141 women 55.3 percent lived to be 50 and 29.8 percent lived to be at least seventy. Greven, Andover, pp. 26, 109; and Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 8-9.

¹⁹Daniel Denton, A Brief Description of New York, p. 19; Elizabeth Broadston, "A New Look at Whole Grains," Let's Live, November 1972, pp. 42-43; Adelle Davis, Let's Eat Right to Keep Fit (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1970), pp. 247-48. Also see Adelle Davis, Let's Get Well (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965); and Linda Clark, Get Well Naturally, Nature's Way to Health (New York: Arc Books, Inc., 1970).

²⁰John Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), pp. 238, 145-56, 22-23, 78-81, 86; Mr. Jenny to Secretary, Hempstead, January 31, 1731, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. XXIII, p. 360; Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, pp. 19, 24-25, 27-28; Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Years 1917-1923, The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden (10 vols, New York: By the Society, 1919-35), Letter from James Alexander to Cadwallader Colden, December 23, 1731, vol. II, p. 42; Elizabeth Broadston, "Botanical Renaissance - Folk Medicine Revival," Let's Live, January, 1973, pp. 60-63. Also see: John P. Ische, "Annotated Bibliography for the History of Medicine of New York State," New York State Journal of Medicine, LVII, February, 1957, 624-36; John B. Beck, An Historical Sketch of the State of American Medicine Before the Revolution. Annual Address delivered before the Medical Society of the State of New York on February 1, 1842; James J. Walsh, History of Medicine in New York, vol. I (New

York: National Americana Society, Inc., 1919); Jerome P. Webster, "European Influence on Medicine in Colonial New York," New York State Journal of Medicine, LV (April, 1955), 1208-1210; Jean A. Curran, "Medical Correspondence and Other Writings in Seventeenth Century New York," New York State Journal of Medicine, LIV (December, 1954), 3264-72; Richard H. Amerman, "Medical Practices in New Netherland," de Halve Maen, XXI, no. 4 (January, 1957), 7-9; Thomas J. Harris, "Colonial Medicine, or the Doctor of Our Forefathers," Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, III, no. 12 (December, 1927), 707-720; and Isidore Snapper, "Midwifery, Past and Present," Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, XXXIX, no. 8, (1963), 503-32.

²¹Denton, A Brief Description of New York, p. 21; Kurt, B. Mayer, Class and Society (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 1, 4-8, 23, 26-29; Bernard Barber, Social Stratification, A Comparative Analysis of Structure, and Process (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1957), pp. 2-3, 5-8, 12, 20, 24-26, 33, 37-45, 50-51, 73, 93-97, 122, 237-39, 246, 249; Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (New York: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 11-13; and Laslett, The World We Have Lost, pp. 4, 44-45.

²²The system of economic stratification in colonial America has not been fully studied by historians. There is agreement that colonial society was class structured, but there is conjecture as to the rigidity of the system. Some historians such as J.R. Pole, Richard Buel, Jr., James A. Henretta, and Charles Sydnor saw society as sharply divided, with few opportunities to rise. Others such as Robert E. Brown, Jackson T. Main, Daniel Boorstin, and Curtis P. Nettels saw society as an open class system, with a high degree of fluidity. Little detailed work, however, has been done on the class system, and what has been written is in the familiar pattern of lower, middle, and upper class, or some variation of this theme. For works done on American class structure, see J.R. Pole, "Historians and the Problem of Early American Democracy," American Historical Review, LXVII (April, 1962), 626-46; James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, XXII (January, 1965), 75-92; Charles Sydnor, American Revolutionaries in the Making (New York: The Free Press, 1965); Robert E. Brown, "Economic Democracy Before the Constitution," American Quarterly, VII (Fall, 1955), 257-74; Jackson T. Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965); Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York: Random House, 1958); Leonard W. Labaree, Conservatism in Early American History (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957); Norman H. Dawes, "Titles as Symbols of Prestige in Seventeenth-Century New England,"

William and Mary Quarterly (January, 1949), 69-83; Samuel E. Morison, "Precedence at Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century," Proc. of the American Antiquarian Society, 42 (October, 1932), 371-431; James T. Adams, Provincial Society 1690-1763 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936); Curtis P. Nettels, The Roots of American Civilization (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1939); Michael Kraus, The Atlantic Civilization (New York: Cornell University Press, 1949); Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1904); Harry J. Carmen, Social and Economic History of the United States, vol. I (New York: D.C. Heath & Co., 1930); Paul Goodman, ed., Essays in American Colonial History (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967); Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia (New York: Russell & Russell, 1959); and James M. Smith, ed., Seventeenth Century America (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University Press, 1959).

²³For sources and documents on economic classes see: O'Callaghan, Documentary History, pp. 519-22; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 438-433; Gary B. Nash, Class and Society in Early America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 51-52, 63; Queens County Conveyances, reels I-III; Manfred Jones, "The Wills of the Early Settlers of Essex County, Massachusetts," Essex Institute Historical Collections, 96 (July, 1960), 228-35; Alice Hanson Jones, "Wealth Estimates for the American Middle Colonies, 1774," in Economic Development and Cultural Change, 18, no. 4, Part 2, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, July, 1970), pp. 1-11, 36-41, 59, 65, 74, 81-82, 88, 96, 102, 118-19; "Abstracts of Early Wills of Queens County," New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, LXV (April, 1934), 114; and Werner, Civil List (1868), pp. 48-49, 53-55.

²⁴The existing fifty-two original inventories of estates for Jamaica inhabitants are located at the Surrogate's Office in New York City and on microfilm at Queens College, SAD-3, in one hundred volumes of will libers at Queens College Historical Documents Collection, the New-York Historical Society, and Queens Borough Public Library (Long Island Collection). Several inventories can be found among conveyances at the Register's Office in Jamaica, New York and on microfilm at Queens College. A few are interspersed among the town records. Representative inventories of farmer's estates are those of Robert Ashman, March 15, 1682/3, original at Queens College; John Dysart, February 14, 1710/11, original at Queens College; Jeeves Losee, January 9, 1737, original at Surrogate's Office, New York City, and on microfilm at Queens College, SAD-3, Book II, p. 121; John Carpenter, April 22, 1736, Queens County Conveyances, II, C, p. 144; Daniel Denton, March 10, 1760,

Queens County Conveyances, II, C, p. 171; Thomas Feasis, December 4, 1680, Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 57-58; Richard Green, February 23, 1764, Queens County Conveyances, II, C, pp. 193-95; and Daniel Mills, May 20, 1773, Ibid., II, C, pp. 235-36.

²⁵Representative inventories of yeomen or middle-class farmers are those of Richard Betts, January 24, 1748, microfilm, Queens College, SAD-3, Book II, p. 95; James Hadlocke, November 5, 1707, original at Queens College; John Skidmore, July 7, 1680, original at Queens College; Hope Willitts, November 12, 1703, original at Queens College, Will Liber 6, pp. 68-71; Edward Burroughs, March 2, 1705/6, original at Queens College; Richard Chasmore, March 2, 1663, Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 97-98; Dow Ditmars, December 24, 1754, New-York Historical Society, Inventory reel I; John Everett, May 30, 1690, Queens County Conveyances, I, p. 56; Denis Haldron, April 27, 1703, original Will Liber 6, pp. 18-19; William Ludlum, November 1, 1732, microfilm at Queens College, SAD-3, pp. 76-78; Peter Nostrand, April 30, 1785, New-York Historical Society, Inventory Reel I; Joseph Thurston, May 31, 1689, Queens County Conveyances, I, pp. 60-61.

²⁶More wills than inventories exist for the planter class in Jamaica. A representative few are those of George McNish, March 26, 1723, original at Queens College; Daniel Whitehead, 1685, original at Queens College; and Thomas Truxton, died intestate, April 11, 1776, Kenneth Scott, abstractor, Genealogical Data From New York Administration Bonds 1753-1799 (Collection of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New York, 1969), vol. X, p. 137.

²⁷Representative artisan inventories include those of William White, 1705, Queens County Conveyances, I, B, pp. 106-07; Ebenezer Smith, 1717, died intestate, Ibid., II, C, p. 83; Jacob Gail, 1720, died intestate, Ibid., II, C, p. 108; Jacob Deane, December 12, 1718, Ibid., II, C, p. 103; Isabel Wiggen, the wife of Josiah, represented a wealthy member of this group. The inventory of her estate totalled £298.02.10, not counting debts due her, dated June 6, 1732, original at Surrogates Office, New York City and on microfilm at Queens College, reel SAD-3, Book II, pp. 77-81.

²⁸Existing inventories of professionals include those of James Loquart, November 12, 1722, Queens County Conveyances, II, C, p. 116; Thomas Sackett, July 24, 1769, Scott, Administration Bonds, p. 119; Thomas Braine, January 8, 1739, original at New-York Historical Society, Inventory Reel I.

²⁹For studies of the distribution of wealth in other colonial towns, see Marshall, Colonial Hempstead, p. 216; Grant, Kent, p. 96; Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, p. 73; Donald W. Koch, "Income Distribution and Political Structure in Seventeenth-Century Salem, Massachusetts," Essex Institute Historical Collections, CV (January, 1969), pp. 55, 63-69.

³⁰Abstracts of Wills, I, pp. 20-21; New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, XXVII, pp. 55, 158; Onderdonk, Antiquities, p. 37; Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, p. 30; and New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Alexander Papers, Queens County Box, "Depositions with respect to the indentured servant of Stephen Higbie, Jonathan Tuttle.

³¹Queens County Conveyances, I, pp. 214-15; Abstracts of Wills, Unrecorded, p. 160; and Klingberg, Anglican Humanitarianism, p. 79.

³²A. Judd Northrup, "Slavery in New York, A Historical Sketch," State Library Bulletin History, no. 4 (May, 1900), 244-59, 265; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, I, p. 707; III, pp. 861-64; Ecclesiastical Records, II, p. 1064; Carol Meyers, Early New York State Census Records 1663-1772 (Gardena, Calif.: RAM Publishers, 1965), pp. 103-10; Henry Onderdonk, Jr., "Farming in Olden Times in Queens County," The Journal of Long Island History, V (Winter, 1965), 1-2; Riker, Annals of Newtown, p. 162; and Henry Onderdonk, Jr., "An Historical Sketch of Ancient Agriculture, Stockbreeding and Manufactures in Hempstead," The Journal of Long Island History, III (Spring, 1963), 41-42.

³³Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 269-70; Abstracts of Wills, II, pp. 71, 243-44; III, pp. 53, 319, 374-76, 380-81; IV, pp. 17-18, 130, 223, 235, 290-91, 344, 460; V, pp. 36, 110, 217, 322-23; VI, pp. 151, 216-17, 312; VII, pp. 217, 330, 397-98, 443-44; VIII, p. 260; Goebel, Law Enforcement, p. 441; and Onderdonk, Antiquities, p. 37.

³⁴William Urquhart to the Sec., Jamaica, February 4, 1707/8, SPG Letter Books, Series A, vol. III, pp. 490-93; Riker, Annals of Newtown, pp. 142-43; Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, pp. 17, 24; Onderdonk, First Reformed Dutch Church, p. 55; Frost, Jamaica Town Records, III, pp. 269-70, 342-56; IV, pp. 99-100; and Abstracts of Wills, IV, p. 224.

³⁵Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 235-36;

II, p. 304. For other references in the town records, see I, pp. 88, 89, 121, 243, 278-79, 292, 356, 393, 436; II, pp. 138-40, 156, 218, 324-25; III, pp. 87-88, 95-96; and Queens County Conveyances, II, C, pp. 116, 278; III, E, pp. 175-77; for other references to debt, see Ibid., I, B, pp. 149, 112-13; II, C, pp. 83, 115-16; III, E, pp. 178-79.

³⁶Inventory of William Creed, Jr., dated April 24, 1711, original at Queens College Historical Documents Collection; and Inventory of Dr. Thomas Braine, dated January 8, 1739, is on the microfilm of inventories at the New-York Historical Society, reel I.

³⁷New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division, Colonial English Manuscripts, Case dated June 8, 1675, vol. XXIV, p. 110; and Second Annual Report of the State Historian of the State of New York, II (2 vols., Albany: by the State, 1897), pp. 317-26.

³⁸Minutes of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and of Common Pleas, 1722-1787 (1 vol., Jamaica, New York: Queens County Clerk's Office), p. 340.

³⁹Book of Accounts of the Presbyterian Society (Jamaica, New York: First Presbyterian Church).

⁴⁰Colonial Laws of New York, III, chap. 945, pp. 957-59; IV, chap. 1134, pp. 494-97, 957; V, pp. 687-89.

⁴¹Queens County Mortgages, reel I, QMG1, 1754 to 1767 and reel II, QMG2, 1767 to 1781, located at Queens College Historical Documents Collection.

⁴²Colonial Laws of New York, II, chap. 666, pp. 1015-1040; and Queens County Loan Office Records.

⁴³Grant, Kent, pp. 98-99; For an interesting article on the poor in Boston, see Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, XXVIII (July, 1971), 375-412.

⁴⁴Colonial Laws of New York, I, pp. 59-62, chap. 9, pp. 131-133, chap. 6, pp. 237-38, chap. 133, pp. 539-42; II, chap. 410, pp. 56-61; IV, chap. 1021, pp. 95-96; V, chap. 1679, pp. 689-92.

⁴⁵Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I, pp. 185-87; and

New-York Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Copies of of Deeds and Records, Mainly of Jamaica, New York, and O.Bay, recorded by Solomon Townsend, p. 7.

⁴⁶New York State Library at Albany, Manuscript Division. Colonial English Manuscripts, vol. LXVI, p. 90 (gone); and Onderdonk, Queens County in Olden Times, p. 20.

⁴⁷Stuart Blumin, "The Historical Study of Vertical Mobility," Historical Methods Newsletter, I (September, 1968), 2-4; Natalie Rogoff, Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 19, 30; Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, eds., Nineteenth-Century Cities, Essay in the New Urban History (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 166-71; Barber, Social Stratification, pp. 335, 356, 376-78, 419; Lawrence Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700," Past and Present, 33 (April, 1966), pp. 22-23, 29, 32-33; and Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 132-156. The study of social mobility is not only a new problem for American colonial historians, but a complicated one simply because any general description is virtually impossible. Nebulous statements about an uncrowded society where there was room for talent and industry and enough land to supply everybody's wants are no longer acceptable. Recently, there has been an attempt to question the phrases upholding unlimited opportunity for all, and to demonstrate the myth or reality of the American dream. Up to date, studies on social mobility can be divided into two categories -- individual and group studies, and town studies. For examples of such works, see Jackson T. Main, "The One Hundred," William and Mary Quarterly, XI (July, 1954), 354-84; Emory G. Evans, "The Rise and Decline of the Virginia Aristocracy in the Eighteenth Century: The Nelsons" in The Old Dominion, Darrett B. Rutman, ed. (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia, 1964), pp. 62-78; William A. Reavis, "The Maryland Gentry and Social Mibiliy, 1637-1676," William and Mary Quarterly, XIV (July, 1957), 418-28; Aubrey C. Land, "Genesis of a Colonial Fortune: Daniel Dulany of Maryland," William and Mary Quarterly, VII (April, 1950), 225-69; Catherine S. Crary, "The American Dream: John Tabor Kempe's Rise From Poverty to Riches," William and Mary Quarterly, XIV (April, 1957), 195; Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Chesapeake Colonies in the Eighteenth Century," Journal of Economic History, XXV (December, 1965), 639-59; Catherine S. Crary, "The Humble Immigrant and the American Dream: Some Case Histories, 1746-1776," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLVI (June, 1959), 46-66; and Robert and Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy

or Aristocracy (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1964).

From the work done on class structure and mobility in colonial America, historians can no longer pass off the American dream as reality for all thirteen colonies. Class lines and economic and social opportunity varied from county to county as well as from province to province. Keeping this in mind, some broad generalizations can be made, however. During the seventeenth century the mobility rate was much greater than in the eighteenth century. Public office was an immense help in the climb from commoner to gentry. For the immigrant a little bit of money to begin with made the process of rising quicker and easier. And lastly, a sure way to find new economic and social opportunities was to move westward.

⁴⁸The decreased rate of verticle mobility in the eighteenth century has been demonstrated by several historians in their studies of American society in general or of a specific colonial town. See: Richard Hofstadter, America at 1750: A Social Portrait (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971); Rowland Berthoff, "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," American Historical Review, LXV (April, 1960), 500-06; Lockridge, "Land, Population and the Evolution of New England Society," 72-75; Lockridge, Dedham, pp. 67-76; James T. Lemon and Gary B. Nash, "The Distribution of wealth in Eighteenth-Century America, A Century of Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1693-1802," Journal of Social History, II (Fall, 1968), 1-6; and Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, pp. 7-8, 247-49, 277-79.

⁴⁹Howard G. Bayles and Frederick P. Bayles, compl., The Bayles Families of Long Island and New Jersey and Their Descendants (Houston, by Howard G. Bayles, 1944), pp. 3-14; Queens County Conveyances, I-III; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I-III.

⁵⁰Herbert Furman Seversmith, Colonial Families of Long Island, New York, and Connecticut (4 vols., Washington, D.C., 1948), II, pp. 536-49; Queens County Conveyances, III; and Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I-IV.

⁵¹Riker, Annals of Newtown, pp. 374-75; C.B. Curtis, "Daniel Whitehead and Some of His Descendants," New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, XXXIII (April, 1902), 101-105; Abstracts of Wills, I, pp. 396-99. This original will is in the New-York Historical Society, Queens County Box. Also see references in Frost, Jamaica Town Records, I-IV; and Queens County Conveyances, reels I-III.

JAMAICA IN PERSPECTIVE

From the outset Jamaica was different from its New England counterparts. Individual opportunism rather than religious idealism was the reason for the founding of this middle-Atlantic community. The twenty-four proprietors from Hempstead had experienced the results of covenants created to produce communal perfection in four previous locations. Learning from experience, they established Jamaica unhampered by the ideals of unity, peace, and order. Instead of looking to the past, they focused on a future of individual freedom and opportunity. The seeds of Jamaica's economic and social growth, therefore, were sowed at the time of settlement by a group of men hungry for an independent and competitive existence.

Jamaica did not experience overt change as did Dedham, Massachusetts and Kent, Connecticut. Its transformation was a gradual intensification of elements present soon after its formation. Religious differences, for example, did not develop in the town, but were there from the very beginning. Unlike New England towns with one church, Jamaica had four denominations which did not foster an atmosphere of harmony. The initial conflict began with the Quakers and proceeded with problems within the

Presbyterian Church. With the formation of the Dutch Reformed and Episcopal churches in 1702 another phase of religious controversy began. Internal disputes characterized the Dutch Reformed congregations of Jamaica, Newtown, Flushing, and Hempstead. Paralleling this turmoil was the constant and bitter quarrels between the Presbyterian and Anglican churches throughout the eighteenth century. Several court settlements were unsuccessful in ending these disputes. Fortunately, the energy expended in religious antagonism did not weaken the town's economic prosperity or threaten its very existence.

Economic ambitions did not arise slowly, but were the cause of Jamaica's formation. The original settlers moved a few miles westward to attain more land which they found in abundance in addition to plenty of timber and fresh water. The most significant feature for the town's development was its proximity to New York City. Since sixty percent of the farmers provided for subsistence needs and produced a salable surplus, closeness to a metropolitan center permitted constant trade contact which not only stimulated economic growth but transformed the town into a prosperous, complex community. Twenty-two tradesmen who supplied essential items and performed necessary services balanced the economy.

Similarly, Jamaica experienced the effect of land speculators soon after the proprietors distributed the first acreage grants. Since property ownership was both an

indication of wealth and a means to achieve a higher economic and social status in the community, it is understandable that town lots had a succession of owners. Land hunger, however, resulted in numerous disputes among residents and with other communities and their inhabitants. Often, these disagreements could not be settled by the town court, but had to be heard before the Sessions, Supreme, and Chancery courts. The large number of civil suits indicates that a harmonious atmosphere did not pervade the town.

Clearly, Jamaica began as an open, pluralistic community. It was future oriented and grounded in the secular world as early as the sixteen-sixties. During the one hundred and twenty years of this study, religious groups, commercial farmers, and land speculators intensified their activities, and by so doing, they created an economically successful and socially complex community.

Jamaica underwent gradual change in two areas of town life. Initially, the town meeting was strong and active. By 1720 after the governing apparatus had become well established, town lands had been distributed, and new settlers were no longer a problem, the town held only one meeting a year for the election of local officials. Politics was not a major concern of the populace, and there is no evidence that deference was a key to the town's social and political organization.

Another major change was the increase in social differentiation. During the eighteenth century an increasing number of yeomen did not have enough money to speculate in land or to purchase more property to cultivate. These men with small farms were the victims of a scarcity of land and of a widespread tradition of partible inheritance. From 1720 to 1740 numerous younger sons either entered into the small farmer class or left town to make their fortunes further west. Those who remained lived on a subsistence level, were in debt, and often mortgaged their land for ready cash. None became beggars. By the time of the revolution, social heirarchies were definitely more rigid, and upward economic and social mobility became increasingly more difficult. This development was similar to what happened in New England towns and, especially, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

Jamaica, then, did not reflect its Dutch name of Rustdorp or quiet village. Early in its history it had a diverse society characterized by different ethnic and religious groups, as well as agricultural, artisan, and professional elements. As the county seat, it was the center for the transfer of goods, the court system, and the Dutch Reformed and Episcopal congregations of Queens County. Its bustling economic activity and constant sectarian feuds did not provide a peaceful, cooperative atmosphere, but one of vigor and strife. Constant contact

between Jamaica and New York City inhabitants through trade, religious committees and correspondence, government business, and part-time residence added a cosmopolitan atmosphere to town life. As an extension of New York City, Jamaica had many attributes of this urban center to which its strength and prosperity was connected, as well as aspects of life belonging to eighteenth century town existence. In broader perspective, pre-revolutionary days in Jamaica provided the roots for the growth of a city in the nineteenth century.

APPENDIX A

QUEENS COUNTY FINANCES, 1709-1775

<u>Year</u>	<u>Supervisors</u>	<u>Treasurer</u>	<u>Clerk</u>	<u>Charges</u>	<u>Intake</u>	<u>Prov. Taxes</u>	<u>Surplus</u>
1709	James Clement Peter Berien Zachariah Mills John Townsend William Willis	Jonathan Whitehead		£387.06.06	£388.06.00		
1710	Peter Berien Samuel Haight Thomas Jones William Willis	"		£150	£153.16.00		
1711	James Clement Thomas Jones Joseph Sackett Jonathan Whitehead William Willis	"		£172.00.06	£172.00.06		
1712	James Clement Thomas Jones Joseph Sackett Joseph Smith John Tredwell	"		£231 (approx.)	£246.17.35		
1713	"	"		£203 (approx.)	£167.00.00		
1714	James Clement Samuel Dickerson Joseph Sackett Joseph Smith John Tredwell	"		£138	£90		

1715	Not Noted	Jonathan Whitehead	£81.00.00	£81.00.00
1716	John Coe Samuel Dickerson Joseph Smith John Tredwell Thomas Willett	"	£93 (approx.)	£126.04.01
1717	Not Noted	"	£100.00.00	£100.00.00
1718	John Coe Samuel Dickerson James Clement Joseph Smith William Willis	"	£207.08.05	£207.08.06
1719	Daniel Bull John Coe James Clement Samuel Dickerson John Tredwell	"	£104 (approx.)	£114.05.04
1720	Daniel Bull Samuel Dickerson Charles Doughty Thomas Hazard John Tredwell	"	£124	£125.17.03
1721	Daniel Bull James Clement Samuel Dickerson John Everett Thomas Hazard John Tredwell	"	£157.00.09	£157.00.09

1722	Thomas Clement Samuel Dickerson John Everit Thomas Hazard John Tredwell	Nicholas Berrien	£185.17.00	£185.17.00
1723	"	"	£106.00.00	£115.00.00
1724	"	"	£244 (approx.)	£232.07.00
1725	"	Joseph Smith	£116.05.00	£116.05.00
1726	Benjamin Carpenter Thomas Clement Thomas Hazard John Everit Theodorus Van Wyck	"	£62.02.03	£79.04.03
1727	Benjamin Carpenter Thomas Clement John Everitt Thomas Hazard John Tredwell	"	£185.03.06	£185.03.06
1728	Benjamin Carpenter Thomas Clement John Cornell Thomas Hazard Joseph Smith	John Everit	£194.11.01	£194.11.00
1729	Thomas Clement Benjamin Carpenter Samuel Higbie Thomas Hazard	Joseph Smith, Jr.	£130 (approx.)	£143.17.00

1730	Thomas Clement John Cornell Samuel Higbie David Jones Thomas Hazard	Joseph Smith, Jr.	£119.14.00	£119.14.00
1731	"	"	£45.00.00	£45.00.00
1732	Thomas Clement Thomas Hazard Samuel Higbie Jacob Smith	Daniel Whitehead	£71.18.06	£71.18.06
1733	Thomas Clement Samuel Fish Samuel Higbie David Jones Jacob Smith	"	£53.00.10	£53.00.10
1734	Thomas Clement Samuel Fish Samuel Higbie David Jones Jacob Smith	"	£138.11.01	£138.11.01
1735	Samuel Lawrence Samuel Fish Samuel Higbie David Jones Jacob Smith	"	£24.08.07	£124.08.07
1736	Samuel Higbie Thomas Jones Samuel Lawrence Samuel Fish	"	£35.16.06	£35.17.00

1737	Samuel Higbie Thomas Jones Jacob Smith Samuel Fish John Willett	Daniel Whitehead		£44.14.05	£44.14.05	
1738	"	"	Benjamin Hinchman	£101.08.04	£101.08.05	
1739	Benjamin Whitehead Samuel Fish Jacob Smith Thomas Jones John Embre	"	"	£126.14.04	£126.14.04	
1740	Benjamin Hinchman Samuel Fish Samuel Lawrence Jacob Smith	"	"	£60.10.02	£60.10.02	
1741	"	"	"	£101.16.10	£101.16.10	
1742	Benjamin Whitehead Samuel Fish David Seaman Samuel Lawrence Jacob Smith	Benjamin Whitehead	"	£46.11.09	£46.11.09	
1743	"	John Willet	"	£51.08	£51.08	£185.02.07 Queens County
1744	"	"	"	£118.06.00	£118.06.00	
1745	Benjamin Whitehead Samuel Lawrence Jacob Smith Samuel Smith David Seaman	"	"	£60.08	£60.08	

1746	"	John Willet	Benjamin Hinchman	£145.00.10	£145.00.10	£511.17.01 Queens County
1747	Benjamin Woolsey Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Smith Samuel Fish Samuel Lawrence	"	"	£97.03.04	£97.03.04	
1748	"	"	"	£77.09.06	£77.09.06	£944.02.00 Queens County
1749	"	"	"	£65.01.02	£65.01.02	£1021.13.04
1750	Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Smith Macajah Townsend Samuel Lawrence Samuel Fish	"	"	£15.13.08	£15.13.08	£973.00.04 Queens County
1751	"	"	"	£68.02.07	£68.02.07	"
1752	"	"	"	£31.06	£31.06	"
1753	Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Smith Macajah Townsend Samuel Lawrence Samuel Fish	"	"	£85.14.05	£85.14.05	
1754	"	"	"	£26.15.00	£26.14.00	£1021.13.05 Queens County
						£13.07.10 Public Charges

1755	Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Smith Macajah Townsend Samuel Fish William Talman	John Willet	Benjamin Hinchman	£82.04.07	£21.16.03 Overplus	£1021.13.05 Queens County	£18.14.11 Public Charges
1756	Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Smith Macajah Townsend Jacob Rappalje William Talman	"	"	£87.04.05	£102.05.07	£973.00.04	
1757	Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Rappalje Macajah Townsend William Talman Isaac Smith	"	"	£268.10.02	£301.15.00	£664.16.04	
1758	"	Valentine H. Peters	"	£1334.05.06	£1343.19.10		£9.04.07 For Repairs
1759	"	"	"	£131.18.05	£151.06.04	£3327.17.06	£39.14.06 Public Charges
1760	"	"	"	£77.07.03	£98.18.00	£699.10	
1761	"	"	"	£60.05.02	£35.13 Excess		
1762	"	"	"	£16.04.04	£25.01.08		£19.04.10
1763	Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Rappalje Macajah Townsend William Talman Isaac Smith	"	"	£51.13.07	£75.13.11	£3687.09.07	

1764	"	Valentine H. Peters	Benjamin Hinchman	£17.16.00	£24.19.01	£1.16.10
1765	"	"	"	£26.05.02	£50.01.11	
1766	"	"	"	£38.14.00	£76.15.00	
1767	Barnardus Ryder Benjamin Townsend Isaac Smith Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Rappalje	"	"	£69.15.10	£74.00.10	
1768	"	"	"	£60.01.03	£71.16.08	
1769	"	"	"	£63.01.01	£71.03.10	
1770	"	"	"	£67.02.08	£88.02.05	£20.19.09
1771	Barnardus Ryder Benjamin Whitehead William Townsend Hendrick Onderdonk	"	"	£71.04.02	£91.05.02	
1772	Benjamin Whitehead Jacob Rappalje Talman Waters William Townsend Hendrick Onderdonk	"	"	£16.14.03	£67.04.05	
1773	"	"	"	£42.04.10	Not Noted	
1774	Benjamin Whitehead Jeromus Remsen William Townsend Hendrick Onderdonk	"	"	£61.18.04	£42.11.06 Excess - divided among the towns to support the poor (the church wardens of Jamaica received £18.15.08).	
1775	"	"	"	£66.18.04	£87.19.00 Excess distributed to towns	

APPENDIX B

LOAN OFFICE ACCOUNTS, 1756-1760

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occup.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Amt.</u>	<u>Collateral</u>	<u>Paid</u>
Derick Bergen	yeoman	1758	£174	farm and premises	1764
Augustine Betts	feltmaker	1757	£50	14 acres	1758
Increase Carpenter	yeoman	1755	£24	32 acres	1768
Nehemiah Carpenter	joyner	1755	£25	24 acres	1758
William Creed	yeoman	1756	£90	30 acres	1768
Daniel Denton	yeoman	1755	£20	1 acre and 1 house	1760
Daniel Denton	yeoman	1756	£20	"	1760
Daniel Denton	yeoman	1758	£10	"	1761
John Denton	tailor	1758	£100	28 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres	1767
Nehemiah Denton	shopkeeper	1755	£107	buildings & parcels of land	1760
John Foster	yeoman	1756	£70	27 acres	1763
John Higbie	yeoman	1754	£107	3 lots & 2 messuages	1755
John Higbie	yeoman	1756	£45	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres & 1 house	1757
Johannes Polhemius	yeoman	1757	£75	tract of land	1762
Hope Roads	yeoman	1755	£50	30 acres	1768
Cornelius Smith	cordwainer	1758	£86	lot of land	1767
John Smith & Henry Smith	yeomen	1759	£165	36 acres & 1 house	1763
Obadiah Smith	weaver	1757	£70	7 acres, house & barn	1764
Samuel Smith	justice	1756	£100	36 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres	1768
Samuel Smith, Jr.	justice	1759	£120	70 acres	1760
Samuel Smith, Jr.	justice	1760	£70	46 acres	1762
Thomas Smith, Jr.	cordwainer	1754	£60	land and house	1759
Wait Smith	yeoman	1756	£50	62 acres & 1 house	1757
John Thurston	yeoman	1756	£50	35 acres	1757

APPENDIX C
LEGAL STATISTICS

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF CASES BY DECADE

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Case Count</u>
Before 1660	0
1660-1670	0
1670-1680	35
1680-1690	5
1690-1700	17
1700-1710	19
1710-1720	16
1720-1730	308
1730-1740	0
1740-1750	0
1750-1760	0
1760-1770	355
1770-1780	19*
	774
Town Court Cases	38
Court of Assized	7
Total No. of Cases	819
Total No. of People Involved in Court Cases	448

* The number of suits in this decade is not accurate because it is the end of the statistical period.

TABLE 2

TYPE OF COURT BY DECADE

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Chancery</u>	<u>Supreme</u>	<u>Sess. of Peace</u>	<u>Sess. of C. Pleas</u>
1660-1670	0	0	0	0
1670-1680	0	2	3	30
1680-1690	0	0	0	5
1690-1700	0	17	0	0
1700-1710	2	15	2	0
1710-1720	0	14	2	0
1720-1730	2	57	7	242
1730-1740	0	37	5	120
1740-1750	0	4	0	72
1750-1760	0	0	0	0
1760-1770	0	0	0	0
1770-1780	6	24	10	96
	10	170	29	565

Total Number of Cases -- 774

Town Court Cases -- 38

Court of Assizes -- 7

Total Number of Cases -- 819

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF CASES BY TYPE

<u>Type of Case</u>	<u>Entire Period</u>	<u>Before 1700</u>	<u>After 1700</u>	<u>Time Unknown</u>
Debt	39	6	33	
Guardianship	6	0	6	
Quit Rent	2	0	0	2
Land Cases	18	2	16	
Trespass	15	2	13	
Ejectment	6	0	6	
Unlawful Games	5	0	5	
Theft	6	3	3	
Lease, Entry, and Ouster	16	0	16	
Murder	3	2	1	
Treason	1	1	0	
Slander	10	3	7	
Fraud	1	0	1	
Bastardy	5	0	5	
Assault	12	6	6	
Apprenticeship	3	0	3	
	148	25	121	2
Not Known	626	32	594	0

Percentage of Cases Identified -- 19.1

TABLE 4

RESULT OF CASES

Plaintiff Won	93
Defendant Won	47
Guardian	4
Discharged	4
Unknown	634

 782

Outcome known in 18.1 percent of the Court Cases

TABLE 5

RESIDENCE OF PLAINTIFF AND DEFENDANT

<u>Resident</u>		<u>Non-Resident</u>	
Plaintiff	298	Plaintiff	78
Defendant	323	Defendant	75
621		153	

Residents involved in 80.2 percent of all cases

Non-Residents involved in 19.8 percent of all cases

TABLE 6

OCCUPATION RELATED TO TYPE OF COURT

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Chancery</u>	<u>Supreme</u>	<u>Sess. of Peace</u>	<u>Sess. of C. Pleas</u>
Professional	0	3	1	3
Small Farmer	0	3	2	25
Middle-Class Farmer	0	48	5	151
Planter	1	23	1	52
Artisan	2	16	7	61
Widow	0	1	0	0
	3	94	16	292

Total -- 405

TABLE 7

COURT CASES RELATED TO TITLES

Instances of Court Cases for Gentlemen	50
Instances of Court Cases for Esquires	19
Instances of Court Cases for Gentlemen- Esquire	9
Total	78

TABLE 8

LAND HOLDINGS RELATED TO TYPE OF COURT CASE

<u>Acres</u>	<u>Chancery</u>	<u>Supreme</u>	<u>Sess. of Peace</u>	<u>Sess. of C. Pleas</u>
0-50	0	45	8	169
51-100	0	5	5	17
101-150	0	9	0	15
151-200	0	10	0	27
201-300	2	5	1	5
301-400	0	3	0	2
401-500	0	8	1	19
501-600	0	0	0	15
601-800	0	0	0	0
801-1000	1	1	1	3
over 1000	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX D

INVENTORIES OF ESTATES

Robert Ashman, 1683

Richard Betts, 1748

William Creed, Jr., 1711

James Hadlocke, 1707

John Skidmore, 1680

Hope Willitts, 1703

INVENTORY OF ROBERT ASHMAN

Taken on March 16, 1682/3 by Nicholas Everit, constable,
with Thomas Smith and Samuel Smith, and Nathaniel Denton,
overseers.

Dwelling house, small barn with home lot and orchard, and
ten acres of meadow

6 oxen, 4 cows, one 3 year old steare, two 2 year old stears,
one 1 year old beaste, 1 horse, 1 young mare of 2 years,
2 hogs, 2 chains and 3 yokes

1 plow and share, 2 broade howes, 1 stubbing howe, 4 hoofes
and 4 boxes for a cart wheel, 2 bull rings, 1 axe, 1 wedge,
1 spade, 2 pitch forkes, 1 cart rake, 1 hammer and 1 gimlet,
and 1 small chain for a horse to be drawn by

1 feather bed, 2 fether pillows, 1 rug, 2 blankets, 3 curtens,
2 other small beds with curtains, 2 coverlets, and 2 blankets,
3 paire sheets, 2 pair pillow cases, 1 table clothe, 4 napkins,
1 clothe coat lined, 2 cutes of clothes, 1 cloth, 1 serge suit,
1 hat, 3 shirts, 2 caps, 3 necklashes, 1 small remnant of
heyre samlet, 1 small remnant of red parregan, and 1 small
remnant of broade clothe, 1 chest, 1 cubbard, 3 pewter plates,
2 plates, 3 parrengers, 1 flask, 1 quart pot, 1 chamber pot,
6 spoons, 2 stone jugs, 1 glass kettle, 2 brass kettles,
1 iron pot, 1 iron kettle, 1 brass skillet, 1 frying pan,
1 trammel, 1 paire of tongs and gridiron, 1 pair of pothookes,
1 smoothing iron

1 gun, 1 sword, 1 meshing tub, 1 powdering tub, 1 auger

(Original Inventory at Queens College Historical Documents Collection)

INVENTORY OF RICHARD BETTS

Taken on January 24, 1748 by Samuel Dean and Stephen Dean, both of Jamaica, at the request of the widow Ann Betts. (This inventory is on microfilm at Queens College Historical Documents Collection, SAD-3, Bk. II, p. 95; the original inventory is in the Surrogates Office, Hall of Records, New York City)

Cash due upon bonds from Isaac Bloom, Samuel Smith and Freadrick VanLeaw -- £85
 Bank debts due John Thurston, Males Lewis, John Denton and John Willet -- £35.16
 Cash, wrote plate, chest and drawers -- £50.02

1 looking glass, 2 tables, 17 chairs - £6.02, earthenware, hand iron, and 1 pair tongs - £1.16, 1 pair stillards, 1 cradle, 1 pair sheep sheares - £1.07, 1 warming pan, 1 mortar and grid iron, and candlesticks - £1.07, 4 beds, 1 rug, 3 covers, 6 pair sheets - £2.06, pewter, 17 plates, 3 dishes, and 3 basons - £3.12, 1 smoothing iron, 2 flax hachels - 07s. 06d., bottles, trunk, table linen, 12 napkins - £4.04, woolen cloth, striped cloth, linen yarn, yarn whitening pot, and 3 spinning wheels - £3.03.09, copper kettle, iron, tram, and iron spit - £3.13, parcel of milk vessels, churn, pails, and cheese press - £18.06, wash tub, old cask, and lumber, 1 whicker basket, behives, tallow, rye, and Indian corn - £8.10, 2 sides leather, old glass, flax seed, 2 sythes, tackel, tea kettle, fowls, geese, ducks, and turkies - £3.03

1 Negro girl named Priscilla and one named Hero - £90
 1 Negro boy named Toen and 1 woman named Bess - £60
 1 Negro man named Cato and 1 named Ned - £110

Total Worth -- £189.09

INVENTORY OF WILLIAM CREED, JR.

Taken on April 24, 1711 by Thomas Smith and John Wright and exhibited by Thomas Cornell and Thomas Whitehead, executors of the estate. (This inventory is at the Queens College Historical Documents Collection.)

1 large bed and bedsted and 1 bolster, 2 pillows and 1 quilt,
1 more bed and bedsted, 1 small bed and bolster, 2 pillows,
6 pair of sheets, 5 pair of pillow cases and 11 napkins
£21.06

2 tables, 3 table clothes, 15 plates, 7 platters, 4 small,
3 great and 2 large basons and 1 small bason, 3 porringers,
1 tankerd and 1 pott - £4.01.09, 1 large pewter candlestick,
1 small brass one, 1 large pair of brass handirons, 1 pair
of brass tongs, 1 brass firehood - £2.00.00, 2 iron potts,
1 iron kettle, 1 brass kettle, 1 looking glass, 1 brass
charring dish, 6 chairs, 1 tramble, 1 frying pan - £4.15.06

1 mare, six 3 year old cows, two 2 year old coves, 1 yearling -
£22.05, 1 young horse, 1 boy horse, 1 black horse, 1 brown
horse - £16.00, 6 cows at £2.10 per cow, 1 wagon, 1 harrow,
1 plowes - £21.10

1 Negro man called Joe, 1 Negro woman called Isbell - £87.00
1 Negro boy called Robin, and 2 coves at £3.3 per cow - £43.06

1 pipe, 1 hogshead, 5 barrels, 1 puncheon, 1 buckett chain,
1 rope, 2 barrels, 1 saddle and 1 sled, 2 potts, 3 cotters,
3 axes, 1 spade, - £6.08.09, 2 ceader tubs, 90 bushells of
wheat at £4 per bushel - £18.10, 3 sickles, 1 hammer,
1 Bible, 1 simyter and belt - £3.03.03, 1 pocket book,
4 bottles, 4 hogs, 1 pipe, 1 barrel, 1 old trunk, 2 bee
hives - £8.07.11, 1 stubing hoe, 1 shovel, 1 table, 1 tramel
iron - 9s.3d.

1 carpet, 3 table clothes, 1 dozen napkins, 1 pair sheets,
2 carpets, 1 sheet, 1 bolster case, 1 dozen pillow cases,
2 cushions, old curtains, 1 pair billows - £10.06.06

Total Worth -- £272.17.10½

INVENTORY OF JAMES HADLOCKE

Taken on November 5, 1707 by John Salman and Richard Oldfield, and exhibited by Elizabeth Hadlocke, widow, and executor of estate. (The original inventory is at the Queens College Historical Documents Collection.)

1 fether bed and bolster, and furniture, 2 tables, and 2 benches - £7.08, 1 bed and bedsted and furniture to it - £12, 1 fether bed and furniture, 1 table, bench and 6 chairs - £14, 5 small pewter plates and 1 large one - £5.04, 35 pewter plates - £2.08, 1 stock fork, 6 pewter basons, 6 old pewter posengeres and old copper - £1.17

1 silver tankard, 13 silver spoons and 1 silver fork, 1 silver poringer, 1 silver cup, 1 silver salt seller, 3 silver tumblers - £36.17

1 caske, 1 fether bed and furniture, 1 old table - £54.10, 9 cheeses, 1 small table, 3 pair andirons, 3 pieces of fire tonges and 2 other fire tonges, 2 spites, 2 brass skilets, 1 suspender, 1 cooper pot, 4 iron potts, 2 frying pans, 8 firer panes, 19 frey panes, - £25.06.06, 6 pewter tankards, and potes, 3 pint potes, 2 forkes, 1 skimer, and 2 ladles - £3.06, pans trameses, morters - £3.02.06

1 Negro boy - £40
1 Negro woman - £30

1 horse, 2 coves, 2 hogs - £13

candlestickes, 1 candle box, 1 case pees, 6 tubs, 1 firing forke, 2 pitch forkes, 1 iron racke and fender, 2 narrow axes, 2 knives, 18 forkes, 3 salt bushels of flower, and 1 box mustard, 2 small bushels - £8.12.06

Also noted: wearing apparel, sheets, looking glass, 44 napkins, 9 tableclothes, 12 towels, 4 chamber pots, 1 fether bed and furniture, 1 grimstone and wenche, 8 chairs, 1 saddle and bridle, and 1 side saddle

Total Worth -- £355.10.09

INVENTORY OF JOHN SKIDMORE

Taken on July 7, 1680 by Joseph Smith, Daniel Whitehead, and John Hindes and presented before the Court of Sessions at Jamaica on December 8, 1680. (The original is at the Queens College Historical Documents Collection.)

2 tin pans, 4 old basons, 5 old porringers, 2 old platers, 1 old chamber pot, 2 quart potts, 4 new platters, 3 small potts, 2 small new platters, 1 new porringer, 1 new candlestick, 1 white iron chair, dishes, 1 glass bottle, 1 old plate and salt celer, 1 grid iron, 1 looking glass, 1 chest locke, 1 old fether bed

1 gun, 1 sword
smithy towles

1 parcel old linen, wastecoate, apron, 1 old chest and cups, 1 bedstead, and barrels, 1 axe

2 dry coves, 1 hefer and calves, 3 year old stear, 1 year stear

the howesing and land at home, land meadow at haytrees, the 10 acre lot and other lands

Total Worth -- £127.14.00

INVENTORY OF HOPE WILLITTS

Taken on November 12, 1703 by William Willis and Benjamin Burdsall and given before the Justice of the Peace for Queens County. (The original inventory is at the Queens College Historical Documents Collection, Will Liber 6, pp. 68-71.)

1 great coat, 2 strait bodied coats, 1 vest, 2 spotts and 1 pair leather breeches, 2 old saddles and 2 old bridles - £4.03, 3 draft chains, 1 old cart and wheels, 4 old cart wheels, hoops, 2 old boxes, 3 pair of old yolk irons, 1 shear and colter, 1 small old shear and colter, some old iron things, 1 old broad axe, an edge, 2 mattorks (to farm with), 3 old augers, 1 lath hamer, 1 square and 1 compass, 1 old pair sheep shears, 1 spade and old bull, 1 bolt and 4 wedges, 1 whip saw and 1 old sickle - £4.05

20 bushels of wheat - £3.03, pitch forkes and cart ropes- 13s.

1 old feather bed and feather bolster and 4 pillows, 1 set curtains, 2 old curtains, 1 pair old sheets, and 4 pillow drawes, 2 coverlids, 8 blanketts, 2 old overlids, 4 old chairs - £13.05

Pewter and Brass: 5 small old pewter platters, 2 plates and saucers, saltseller, and chamber pot, 1 drinking pot, and funnel, 1 small old bason - 11s. 09d.

Fire Vessels: 1 brass kettle, 1 old warming pan, 1 iron pott, 1 broken oron kettle, 2 small iron pots, 1 little pot, 1 old frying pan, 1 pair of hand irons and 1 pair of small pot hooks, 1 smoothing iron and one gridiron.

Woodenware: 1 old churn and 1 old butter tub, 2 tubs, 4 old barrels, 1 small bear cask, 6 milk trayes, 1 old cubboard, 3 old chairs, and old arm chair, 2 small spinning wheels, 2 great ones, 1 small table, 2 chests, 1 old bedstead and old box

Leather: some leather, 1 grindstone

Cattle: 3 young oxen (6 years old at £4.10 apiece) - £13.10
6 young oxen (5 years old at £4.03 apiece) - £24.18, 5 steares (4 years old at £4 apiece) - £23.16, 1 stear (3 years old at £3), 11 cows (at £2.13 apiece) - £29.03, 1 cow damaged (at £2.03), 1 sagott (at £3.08), 1 bull (at £2.12), five 3 year old heafers (at £2.10 apiece), nine 2 year old cattle (at £1.16 apiece) - £16.04, 8 cattle (1 year at £1.04 apiece) - £9.12

Horses and Mares: 1 bay horse - £5, 1 black horse at £4.10, 2 old mares at £1, 2 young mares at £1.05, 3 mares and 1 year old at 15s. 43 sheep at 6s., 2 cow bells at 3s. 1 smelting iron and gridiron

Total Worth -- £225

APPENDIX E

A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE PROVISIONS IN JAMAICA, JULY 9, 1711

Taken by Richard Oldfield

The Names	Grand of Baron of Port	of West Florida
M. Key	0070-0000	-0000-0000-0000
Rum Darling	0030-0000	-0000-0000-0000
R. G. G. G.	0024-0000	-0000-0000-0000
W. R. R. R.	0040-0000	-0000-0000-0000
W. W. W. W.	0050-0000	-0000-0000-0000
W. W. W. W.	0040-0000	-0000-0000-0000
W. W. W. W.	0033-0000	-0000-0000-0000
W. W. W. W.	0040-0000	-0000-0000-0000
W. W. W. W.	0052 0020	-0000-0040-2400
W. W. W. W.	0016-0000	-0000-0000-0000
W. W. W. W.	0090-0000	0020-0030-0000
W. W. W. W.	0020-0000	-0000-0000-0000
W. W. W. W.	0040-0000	-0000-0012-0000
W. W. W. W.	0072-0000	-0000-0030-0000
W. W. W. W.	0070-0000	-0000-0030-0000
W. W. W. W.	0112 0000	-0000-0040-0000
W. W. W. W.	0070-0000	-0000-0000-0000

Wm. Elbertson	0020-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0040-0000-0000-0012	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0072-0000-0000-0030	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0070-0000-0000-0030	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0112-0000-0000-0040	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0070-0000-0000-0040	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0120-0000-0000-0007	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0024-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0000-0100-0000-0020	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0020-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0030-0020-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0090-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0170-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0100-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0050-0000-0000-0020	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0014-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0020-0000-0000-0000	1200
Wm. Elbertson	0044-0000-0000-0000	1800
Wm. Elbertson	0084-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0129-0000-0000-0000	0000
Wm. Elbertson	0080-0000-0012-0000	0000

Post	No	Name	Quadrangle	Block	Wholesale	Export
00-0000		Port-Hugons	0000-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Robert Carpenter	0011-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Robert Carpenter	0040-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		William Carpenter	0040-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Simon Bloom	0030-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		John Homer	0032-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Nicolaus Engelhorn	0030-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Hans Berge	0034-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		John Homer	0100-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Nicolaus Engelhorn	0030-0000-0000-0000	0025-0000-0000-0000		
00-2400		Hope Reed	0015-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Malcolm Hyde	0020-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		1290
00-0000		Sam M. Hyde	0022-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Wm. Smith	0022-0040-0022-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Wm. Smith	0000-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		John Hyde	0020-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		John Hyde	0025-0018-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		John Hyde	0012-0000-0018-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		John Smith	0044-0008-0020-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		Thomas Hyde	0044-0000-0000-0000	0000-0000-0000-0000		
00-0000		John Hyde				0000

0—0000	Wm. Smith Jr. 0127-0040-0022-0000-0000
2—0000	Charles Smith Jr. 0100-0017-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Dr. Taylor 0100-0020-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Robert Smith 0000-0024-0018-0000-0000
0—0000	David Bull 0012-0000-0018-0000-0000
0—0000	Thomas Smith 0044-0008-0020-0000-0000
7—0000	Thomas Gales 0044-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Jonathan Waterman 0070-0040-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Sam. Denton 0020-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	John Smith 0030-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Mathew Denton 0000-0030-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Joseph Smith 0020-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	John Denton 0030-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Joseph Denton 0030-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Dr. Mackay 0030-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Mrs. Mackay 0013-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Joseph Smith Jr. 0020-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—1200	Robert Smith 0028-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—1800	Doctor Mackay 0032-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	Robert Gales 0030-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	John Gales 0010-0000-0000-0000-0000
0—0000	John Gales 0010-0000-0000-0000-0000

27 Henry

Funds, Decan: of Park

UNSAT

of Park of Park of Park

Polonich mthg	0000	0040	0050	30
Janell Co	0040	0000	0000	0004
de Everest	0050	0000	0000	0000
Andrew Gude	0012	0000	0008	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0020	0000	0000	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0030	0000	0000	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0040	0000	0000	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0030	0000	0000	0008
W. H. H. H. H.	0036	0000	0000	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0020	0000	0000	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0060	0000	0005	0030
W. H. H. H. H.	0050	0000	0000	0020
W. H. H. H. H.	0024	0000	0000	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0025	0000	0006	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0000	0044	0006	0000
W. H. H. H. H.	0040	0000	0000	0000

Sam Seidmore	0060	—	000	—	005	—	030
Peter Ambergano	040	—	000	—	000	—	020
John Van Gorder	0024	—	000	—	000	—	000
Charles Bayles	0025	—	000	—	006	—	000
Frank Miller	—	0000	044	—	006	—	000
Henry Donlon	0040	—	000	—	000	—	000
George Smith plain	0044	—	140	—	020	—	000
David Whithead	040	—	000	—	000	—	000
A.R. Smith	Soni: 064	—	000	—	000	—	040
Wm R Smith	—	080	—	000	—	000	—
John B. Reid	—	048	—	008	—	000	—
Wm Garver	046	—	000	—	000	—	050
James Ham	Dons 016	—	000	—	000	—	000
William Ludlum	024	—	000	—	000	—	010
Ed. Koper	—	106	—	000	—	000	—
George Smith	024	—	000	—	000	—	000
McGehee	on: 010	—	000	—	000	—	004
Geo Grace	—	080	—	000	—	000	—
Wm H. King	—	060	—	000	—	000	—

[illegible]

0	—	000	Hope Canyon	0016	—	0000	0000	—	0000
0	—	000	William Jones	0030	—	0000	0000	—	0000
0	—	000	Samuel Fitch	0040	—	0000	0000	—	0000
			Edward Hens	0055	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Thomas Williams	0066	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	John Smith	0077	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	William Dill	0088	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	George Woods	0030	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Charles Smith	0034	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Edgar Brown	0020	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Thomas Smith						
1	—	000	Thomas Williams	0044	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Peter White	0010	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Ed White	0024	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Ed White	0014	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Ed White	0030	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Ed White	0074	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Thomas Wilson	0020	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Edwards Brinkley	0012	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	John Jackson	0030	—	0000	0000	—	0000
1	—	000	Ed White	0044	—	0000	0000	—	0000
4	—	000							
0		3744							
0		0000							

APPENDIX F

MORTGAGES 1754 TO 1771*

<u>Mortgagee</u>	<u>Mortgager</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Property Mortgaged</u>
Banks, Jacob	John Leake	1767	£200	House and small lot in North Street
Banks, Jacob	John Franks	1768	£524.19.06	18 acres on the Hills
Betts, Augustine	Thomas Wiggins	1760	£400	11 acres of land and boggs
Betts, Sarah	Jacobus Rosevelt	1769	£300	252 acre farm at Millers Neck and 15 acres of wood land
Betts, Sarah	Thomas White & Peter Middleton	1769	£500	Farm, land, and meadow
Betts, Sarah	Mary Cebra, James, & John Cebra	1770	£446.03.00	252 acre farm and 15 acres of wood land
Betts, William	William Tallman	1758	£100	70 acres of land with house
Bradner, Benoni	Deborah Dean	1761	£200	House and 8 acre lot bounded by Main Street
Braine, Thomas	Daniel Horsmanden	1758	£700	87 acres of land
Braine, Thomas	William Talman	1762	£200	Two houses and 6 acres at the town's center

* Queens County Mortgages, on microfilm at Queens College Historical Documents Collection, 2 reels, 1754 to 1781, QMG1 and QMG2.

Braine, Thomas	Thomas Lawrence	1762	£200	Three houses and 14 acres of land at the town's center
Braine, Thomas	Thomas Lawrence	1763	£400	Three houses and 14 acres
Braine, Thomas	Waters Smith	1763	£200	40 acres land and 5 acres of salt meadow on Long Neck
Brener, Hendrick	William Carpenter		£130	8 acres of meadow in Hempstead
Carpenter, Benjamin	John Leake	1768	£250	House and land on High Street and a piece of land on Main Street with a barn
Carpenter, Benj.	John Coombs	1768	£450	House, land, one Negro called Jim, one wagon, one horse, and household goods
Carpenter Increase	Derick Bergen	1759	£240	50 acres of meadow, and wooded land
Carpenter, Increase	Abraham Keateltas	1768	£100	House, barn, and 20 acres of land
Carpenter, Nehemiah	Richard Roads	1769	£446.04.08	14 acres, house, lot, barn and orchard
Denton, Nehemiah	Samuel Denton	1763	£140	House and one acre lot
Denton, Nehemiah	James Jancey	1770	£400	House and land on east end of Double Street.
Dorland, Garret	John Renne	1760	£500	

Evans, Michael	Elias Bayles & Increase Carpenter	1759	L110	30 acres and house on southeast corner of Little Plains
Everit, Clear	Robert Livingston	1767	L81	16 acre farm and 10 acres of commonage
Everitt, John	Nicholas Everitt Samuel Doughty John J. Troup Joseph Robinson	1770	L55.02.10	30 acres of land and one house
Foster, John, Jr.	Henry Smith	1768	L88	House and 20 acres of land on south side of Beaver Pond
Foster, John, Jr.	Thomas Lawrence	1769	L200	79 acres of land and house near Beaver Pond
Greene, John	Daniel Bayles	1759	L150	26 acres of land near the Village of Springfield
Hendrickson, Aaron	Abraham Hendrickson	1767	L77	80 acre farm near Foster's Meadow
Herriman, Stephen	William Mills	1768	L63.11.06	House and land of one acre
Higbie, Samuel	Joseph Skidmore and four others	1769	L143.19	112 acres of wooded land near Springfield and 12 acre lots of land
Higbie, Stephen	Joseph Howard	1769	L40	2 acres of land
Higbie, Stephen, Jr.	Samuel Higbie	1768	L700	100 acres of land and a parcel of salt meadow

Hinchman, Obadiah	John Wiggins	1770	£130	Small lot on the North Side of Main Street
Hinchman, Thomas	William Talman	1755	£195	House and 9 acres at the town's center
Horsmanden, Daniel	Daniel Lawrence	1765	£300	House and land bounded south by Main Street
Leslie, George W.	Abraham Ditmas	1765	£2000	Salt and fresh meadow and upland
Letting, Claus	Nicholas Schench	1767	£540	House and 140 acres on north side of Main Road and 6 acres on Oldfield's Neck
Lewis, Benjamin	Waters Smith	1763	£100	House and land of 100 acres
Lewis, Males	Waters Smith	1762	£50	5 acres near Fresh Meadows
Moss, William	Amos Smith	1712	-	
Ogden, Jacob	Whithead Hicks	1758	£700	House, tenement and 15 acres
Ogden, Jacob	William Talman	1761	£400	House and 40 acre lot near town center, and 7 acres of wood land
Ogden, Jacob	William Talman	1761	£100	50 acres called Cow Kill Pond Lot
Ogden, Jacob	William Talman	1762	£450	House and 40 acres and 7 acres of wood land
Polhemius, Abraham	Abraham Beekman	1770	£200	200 acres of land
Polhemius, Abraham	Johannes Lott	1769	£750	House and 159 acres and 8 acres in Newtown and 36 acres of salt meadow

Polhemius, Abraham	Johannes Lott	1770	£250	House, and land and meadow of 50 acres
Polhemius, Abraham	Leffert Lefferts	1770	£336.09.05	House, barn, orchard, and meadow
Polhemius, Teunis	Abraham Polhemius	1768	£100	Grist mill, fulling mill, and 90 acres of upland and wooded land
Poyer, Thomas	James Cebra	1762	£380	House and 55 acres of land, wood land, and salt meadow
Probasco, Ryneer	Sarah Betts	1761	£300	House and 200 acres of land
Rapalye, John	Joshua Levi	1767	£230	House and 2 acres at the town's center
Rapelye, John	Abraham Brinckerhoff & Richard Rapelye	1768	£130	A farm of 3 acres
Renne, John	Garret Dorland	1760	£500	190 Acres of upland, salt and fresh meadow and a house
Smith, Nathan	Joseph Robinson	1759	£200	
Robinson, Joseph	Thomas Bayles	1763	£300	Homestead of 13 acres
Robinson, Joseph	Waters Smith	1764	£200	House and 13 acres plus 30 acres in the North Hills
Smith Cornelius	Mary Bowne	1767	£280	House and lot on Main Street
Smith, Henry	Thomas Hicks	1773	£100	
Smith, John	Hannah Hicks	1757	£100	15 acre and house, barn, and orchard

Stead, William	John Rodman	1769		House and 6 acres of land
Street, Samuel	Joseph Morrell	1762	£242.15	30 acres of land on the Hills
Tratford, William	Waters Smith	1768	£70	House and 10 acres of land and 4 acres of wood land
Thurston, Jonathan	Thomas Lawrence	1771	£400	House and land on North Side of Main Street
VanCortland, Philip	James Jancey	1771	£1000	House and 72 acres of salt meadow, wood land and upland
VanLeaw, John	Thomas Smith	1764	£80	House and 65 acres of land
VanNoostrandt, Aaron	Waters Smith	1765	£200	40 acres of land and 5 acres of salt meadow
VanWicklen, Fredrick	Increase Carpenter & Elias Baylis	1759	£50	House and 16 acres of land
VanWicklin, Fredrick	Increase Carpenter & Elias Bayles	1760	£50	40 acres of wooded land and cleared land
VanWicklin, Fredrick	Increase Carpenter	1764	£145	House, barn, orchard and 44 acres of land
VanWicklin, Fredrick	Benjamin Hinchman	1766	£145	House, barn, and orchard and 44 acres of land
Woodruff, Nathaniel	John Smith	1759	£400	House and home lot of 6 acres on south side of Main Street and $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wooded land

APPENDIX G

MINISTERS AT JAMAICA

Presbyterian Ministers

Zachariah Walker, 1662-68
John Prudden, 1670-74
William Woodruff, 1674-76
John Prudden, 1676-91
George Phillips, 1693-97
John Hubbard, 1700-05
Frances Goodhue, 1705-07
George McNish, 1711-23
Robert Cross, 1723-37
Walter Wilmot, 1738-44
David Bostwick, 1745-56
Elihu Spencer, 1758-60
Benoni Bradner, 1761-62
William Mills, 1762-74
Matthias Burnett, 1774-85

Dutch Reformed Ministers

Vincentius Antonides and Bernardus Freeman, Kings County, 1705-41
Johannes Hendricus Goetschius, 1741-48
Thomas Romeyn, 1754-60
Abraham Keteltas, 1760-62
Hermanus Lancelot Boelen, 1766-72
Solomon Froeligh, 1775-76

Church of England Ministers

Patrick Gordon, 1702
James Honeyman, 1703-04
William Urquhart, 1704-09
Thomas Poyer, 1710-32
Thomas Colgan, 1735-55
Samuel Seabury, Jr., 1756-66
Joshua Bloomer, 1766-90

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Bayard, Receipt Books, 1742-1754, 1762-1772;

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 John Keteltas, Business Papers, 1761-1769;
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