

**JOHN BOWNE'S FLUSHING:
MATERIAL LIFE ON A DUTCH FRONTIER,
1645-1700**

by

Lauren Holly Brincat

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in American Material Culture

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ABSTRACT

Seeking greater opportunity and religious toleration, a group of New Englanders migrated to Dutch western Long Island. In 1645 they were granted a patent for the town of Flushing. Located on the periphery of New Netherland, Flushing was one of five English communities buffering eastern Long Island settlements controlled by English authorities. Cultures converged in this frontier region. English settlers mixed with Dutch inhabitants, Quakers, French Huguenots, Native Americans, and enslaved Africans. Flushing's diverse residents benefited from the town's strategic location on the Long Island Sound and the area's productive marshes and meadows which supported trade and the acquisition of international goods.

Using a collection of probate inventories spanning the years 1669 to 1689 and the account book of John and Samuel Bowne (1649-1703), this thesis investigates local production and consumption and the influence of pluralism upon Flushing's material landscape. Explorations of agricultural methods, trade, fashion, and domestic interiors reveal that seventeenth-century Flushing was an identifiably English and Quaker enclave that boasted a rich and complex material life shaped by the selective appropriation and exchange of objects and ideas from various Native and European sources.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

*Lose those cares and furrows
Come where the five boroughs
Join to fulfill a dream,
Where all creeds and races
Meet with smiling faces....¹*

Flushing, Queens is a thriving multi-ethnic community set in the heart of Queens County, an outer-borough of New York City. For hundreds of years it has been a place where people from all corners of the globe have come to forge new lives. New York is and always has been a metropolitan, economically robust city with an eye towards the future. New York City's international dynamism is especially manifest in Flushing. In 1939 and 1964 Flushing Meadows Park hosted two of New York's World's Fairs. With George and Ira Gershwin's *Dawn of a New Day* as its anthem, the 1939 World's Fair promised a sneak peek at the "world of tomorrow."² However, just a short walk from one the busiest intersections outside of Manhattan, a vestige of New York's earliest history is preserved at Flushing's ca. 1661 John Bowne

¹ "Dawn of a New Day," 1938. George and Ira Gershwin, anthem for the 1939 World's Fair in New York.

² "World Fair March is Gershwin Tune," *New York Times* (1923-Current File), April 24, 1938.

House (Figure 1.1).³ The modest timber-frame structure harkens back to a time when New York City was still New Amsterdam, the Dutch language was prevalent, payments in “Indian corn” were commonplace, and religious diversity meant Quakerism.

To many New Yorkers, the name John Bowne should be a familiar one. Every fourth-grader in the New York City public school system learns about the Quaker’s courageous defense of his religious liberties against the autocratic Dutch Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant (1647-1664). Despite Flushing’s rapid transformation and influx of newcomers, memory of the heroic John Bowne has endured at the Bowne House. In 1662 Bowne was arrested and taken from his home for unlawfully holding Quaker meetings there. Refusing to “put of [*sic*] his hat” and pay a fine, he was imprisoned in Fort Amsterdam and banished to the Netherlands. To descendants of Flushing’s earliest residents, the site became a shrine – a memorial to a past and a way of life quickly disappearing in the wake of progress and immigration. On the tercentenary of Flushing’s founding in 1645, the Bowne House was officially dedicated as a national shrine to religious tolerance. A year later it was conveyed to the Bowne House Historical Society (Figure 1.2). This thesis seeks to complicate our

³ The John Bowne House is located a few blocks from the Flushing-Main Street subway stop. According to the Metropolitan Transit Authority’s annual subway ridership, over 19 million people passed through the station in 2012. See Metropolitan Transit Authority, “Annual Subway Ridership,” http://www.mta.info/nyct/facts/ridership/ridership_sub_annual.htm (Accessed January 5, 2014).

understanding of the world Bowne lived in and to extract from the mythology a portrait of a vibrant and complex Long Island frontier that although overwhelmingly agricultural, enjoyed the products of the Atlantic World and contributed to early New York's economic and material life.

A Brave and Sturdy Past

For many reasons, Flushing's colonial past is overshadowed by a rhetoric of religious freedom. The narrative persists in part because Bowne's residence and the Quaker Meeting House he commissioned in 1694 are the only extant reminders of Flushing's earliest history upon the urban landscape. The two structures survive because a profound sense of place, history, and family ran deep among descendants who resided in the Bowne House for almost three centuries.⁴ Even during his lifetime, Bowne was lauded among his peers for his selflessness, and his home acknowledged for its importance to the community's religious devotion. In his 1695 obituary Bowne was remembered for his sacrifice:

John Bowne dyed the 20 da of the 10 mo. In the year 1695 and was buried y^e 23 day of the same being about 68 years of age. He did freely expose himself his house and estate to service of truth and had a constant meeting in his house neare about 40 years he also suffered very much for y^e truths seak.⁵

⁴ Dean Failey, "Bowne House Legacy," unpublished article for proposed exhibition, n.d.

⁵ Obituary quoted in Walter Richard Wheeler, *The Bowne House, Flushing, Queens County, New York: A Historic Structure Report*. (Rensselaer, NY: Hartgen Archaeological Associates Inc., 2007), 1.1

Successive generations of the Bowne Family treasured the things associated with their celebrated ancestor: furniture, letters, deeds, a journal, and an account book. Over the years, the Bowne House transformed from an emblem of Quaker piety into a shrine of religious freedom. Ultimately, the furnishings inside assumed a dual existence as both artifacts and relics. As early as 1887 the house was open for tours. An article in the September 10, 1887 issue of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* entitled "Flushing's Antique Buildings" explains that the Bowne House has "...many a relic and document of long-ago to keep it company...." and that "Family pride has turned the Bowne House into as much a well-cared for museum as a dwelling... [a] noble [link] reaching back to a brave and sturdy past."⁶

"A brave and sturdy past" is a fitting characterization of Flushing's early history during a period when the Colonial Revival movement gripped the country. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Colonial Revival espoused democratic, patriotic, and moralistic ideals rooted in the nation's founding. John Bowne, a conscientious and honorable Quaker who dedicated his life to the pursuit of liberty was the perfect embodiment of the movement's values. The miraculous survival of his journal written between 1650 and 1694 documents his arrest, imprisonment, banishment, and successful appeal to the Dutch West India

⁶ "Flushing's Antique Houses," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 10, 1877.

Company.⁷ The remarkable manuscript has contributed to the popularization of a romantic story about a heroic victim leaving behind a sick wife and child, resisting authority, and refusing to relinquish his rights.⁸

John Bowne's journal and a charred remonstrance drafted in 1657 by disgruntled Flushing Quaker sympathizers protesting Stuyvesant's anti-Quaker law portray authentic dramas.⁹ The document, which today is referred to as the Flushing Remonstrance, has acquired iconic status. It is often touted as an antecedent to the United States' Bill of Rights despite hardly having an impact during the period.¹⁰ For

⁷ Bowne recounts in his journal: "...on the first day of the 7th month Resolved the scout Came to my house att vlishing with a company of meen with sords and gonns (where I was tending my wife being sike in bed and soe Ill that we watched too or three with them) hee tould me I must goe with him to the general..." The original manuscript now resides in the collection of the New-York Historical Society (Mss Collection, BV Bowne, John). An annotated transcription of the journal by Herbert F. Ricard of the Queens Borough Public Library was published in 1975 by the Friends of the Queensborough College Library and Polyanthos Inc.

⁸ Per Flushing's 1645 charter granted by director Willem Kieft, residents were to "...Enjoy the Liberty of Conscience, according to the Custome and manner of Holland, without molestacon [*sic*] or disturbance, from any Magistrate or Magistrates, or any other Ecclesiasticall Minister, that may extend Jurisdiccon over them..." Quoted in Henry D. Waller, *History of the Town of Flushing, Long Island, New York*. (Flushing, NY: J.H. Ridenour, 1899), 232. Unfortunately, the original charter no longer survives.

⁹ In accordance to Stuyvesant's ordinance, anyone found harboring a Quaker would be fined "fifty pounds sterling for every transgression," and those acting as informants would be rewarded monetarily and with anonymity. In effect, the law encouraged neighbors to turn against each other. See Evan Haefeli, *New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 167-8.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 170. According to New Netherland historian Jaap Jacobs, the "Flushing

Flushing, the Bowne House, its period furnishings, the Flushing Remonstrance, and John Bowne's journal tell a gripping tale about a town otherwise perceived as a modest farm community located in the hinterlands.

The Bowne Family papers and the Flushing Remonstrance are captivating documents. They are also among the few surviving materials pertaining to early colonial Flushing. This lack of documentation further hinders the de-mystification of Flushing's history. New York's, especially western Long Island's, multifarious population, progress, and rapid growth have undoubtedly contributed to this loss. During the late nineteenth century, *Harper's Weekly* bemoaned the toll progress took upon the city's historic landscape. An 1871 print depicts women, children, and businessmen going about their days as a new structure is built and a Revolutionary-era building is unceremoniously torn down (Figure 1.3). New York City has always been a town preoccupied with the future, not with the past.

New York's public archives have similarly endured considerable damage. During the so-called slave conspiracy of 1741, fire was set to the Governor's residence at Fort George which quickly spread to the records storage area. Other documents

Remonstrance was not endowed with the honor of being a precursor of the Bill of Rights until after World War II. Its current fame reflects a twenty-first century rather than early-modern ideas." See Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University press, 2009), 282 note 71. See also Dennis J. Maika, "Commemoration and Context: The Flushing Remonstrance Then and Now." *New York History*, 89, 1 (Winter, 2008): 28-42.

were likely destroyed during the American Revolution when New York City served as the headquarters of the British Army. For the duration of the war, the city's records were stored aboard two English warships: the *Duchess* and *Warwick*.¹¹

The worst destruction of Flushing's archives purportedly occurred in 1789. According to legend, the home of town clerk Jeremiah Vanderbilt was set ablaze by an enslaved girl named Nellie. Angered by Vanderbilt's refusal to allow her to marry a man of Native American descent, she supposedly poured hot coals inside the home's walls. Consequently, the town records were destroyed and Nellie was hanged the following year.¹² A more recent tragedy struck New York's colonial records in 1911 when a devastating fire engulfed the New York State Capitol Building in Albany, home of the State Library. Many of the New Netherland records survived with varying degrees of damage; however, most of the English records were destroyed. The Flushing Remonstrance escaped the blaze singed around the edges.

¹¹ Charles Gehring, "A Survey of Manuscripts Relating to the History of New Netherland," in *Revisiting New Netherland: Perspectives on Early Dutch America*, ed. Joyce D. Goodfriend (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 302-204.

¹² Haynes Trébor, *Colonial Flushing: A Brief History of the Town of Flushing, Called by the Dutch Vlissingen, Founded in 1645, on Long Island in the Province of New Netherland, Afterward the Province and State of New York* (Flushing: Flushing Federal Savings and Loan Association, 1945), 43.

Methodology and Historiography

With little surviving documentary evidence and no single repository of Queens County material, probing the socio-cultural history of Flushing is a difficult task. This thesis interrogates Flushing's cultural history through the analysis of a collection of seventeenth-century probate inventories. Probate inventories are official documents that itemize and value an individual's possessions upon death. Not conducive to the same kind of dramatic storytelling that diaries and personal letters offer, inventories are often overlooked. For this reason a collection of five inventories culled from the New-York Historical Society, the New York State Archives, and the Bowne House Historical Society have never been scrutinized. If we are to truly understand daily life in early colonial Flushing, our focus must turn to the study of things, both surviving and documented.

The analysis of inventories is not a new approach. Incredibly rich with material information about domestic furnishings, consumer habits, land use, and household structures, inventories have been the darlings of antiquarians, cultural historians, and decorative arts scholars. They can, however, be challenging documents. The earliest examples are riddled with idiosyncratic and phonetic spellings. Lack of detail or the grouping of a single type of item hinder object identification. Additionally, an inventory is a snapshot of a single moment, a depiction of one's possessions at the time of death. For various reasons, objects could have been removed from the household or transferred from the estate before an inventory was taken. As a result, the portrait of Flushing's material life that emerges from this study is not an

entirely complete one. We know very little about the individuals whose records have come down to us, physical incarnations of their personal possessions are no longer extant, and the Flushing residents represented here are only a small fraction of the larger community.¹³ Nevertheless, the materials recorded in the inventories offer communication with a society and a way of life removed from historical memory. We can never fully recapture what it was like to have lived in Flushing during the early colonial period, but the things people used and owned provide a window into the community's values, organization, and activity.¹⁴

On the quadricentennial of Henry Hudson's 1609 voyage to Manhattan, the Bard Graduate Center, in cooperation with the New-York Historical Society, mounted the exhibition and published the companion catalogue *Dutch New York Between East and West: The World of Margrieta van Varick*. The exhibition was a major addition to the study of Dutch-American material culture and an important contribution to the historiography of early Long Island. To reconstruct the trans-Atlantic worlds of Flatbush resident Margrieta van Varick, the curators relied upon an estate inventory taken at her death in 1696. With no surviving letters, diaries, or papers, Margrieta's

¹³ For a discussion about inventory biases and their challenges and uses see Peter Benes, ed., *Early American Probate Inventories*, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings (Boston: Boston University, 1987).

¹⁴ Jules David Prown, "In Pursuit of Culture: The Formal Language of Objects," *American Art*, 9, 204 (Summer, 1995): 2-3.

possessions were scrutinized to help bring to light the remarkable life of a woman who travelled to the far reaches of the Dutch colonial world. Fragmentary resources necessitated that the curators perform what Michel de Certeau terms “historical operation” to “tease out meaning and wrestle evidence from a recalcitrant past.”¹⁵ This same strategy is necessary for investigating Flushing’s earliest history.

The Bard Graduate Center’s study of van Varick’s Flatbush inventory makes a useful comparison to the material culture represented in Flushing’s inventories. Located to the west of Flushing, the two towns were connected by roadway during the seventeenth century. Flatbush (1653) was considered one of the five culturally Dutch towns on Long Island, along with Brooklyn (1646), Flatlands (1657), Bushwick (1661), and New Utrecht (1661). Meanwhile, Flushing was among the Dutch Long Island towns patented by English settlers. The others were Gravesend (1645), Hempstead (1644), Newtown (1652), and Jamaica (1656) (Figure 1.4). A sense of Dutch/English cultural demarcation existed on western Long Island during the second half of the seventeenth century. In Daniel Denton’s *A Brief Description of New-York:*

¹⁵ Marybeth De Filippis, Deborah Krohn and Peter N. Miller, *Dutch New York between East and West: The World of Margrieta van Varick* (New York: Bard Graduate Center, Decorative Arts, Design History, Material Culture, 2009), 1.

Formerly Called the Netherlands (1670), he notes that “On the West end [of Long Island] is four or five Dutch Towns, the rest being all English...”¹⁶

Scholarship on the visual and material culture of the region encompassed within the former New Netherland colony has primarily focused on its “Dutchness”. The reinstallation of the Long Island Dutch colonial Jan Martense Schenck farmhouse at the Brooklyn Museum in 1984 and the landmark exhibition *Remembrance of Patria: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776* at the Albany Institute of Art in 1988 were responses to the fact that the cultural contributions of the Dutch in colonial America had been largely ignored. A 1985 article by Alice P. Kenney in the *Winterthur Portfolio* addresses the “neglected heritage” of Dutch culture in the Hudson River Valley. She incorporates a map New Netherland, highlighting the distribution of Dutch material throughout the region. On it, all of western Long Island (including Flushing) is marked as having “much Dutch material culture.”¹⁷ In reality, cultural influences in the colony were incredibly complex. From the outset, New Netherland society was remarkably heterogeneous. Visiting the colony during 1643 and 1644, French Jesuit priest Father Isaac Jogues commented that

¹⁶ Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New-York: Formerly Called New Netherlands*, 1670, ed. Felix Neumann (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1902), 41.

¹⁷ Alice P. Kenney, “Neglected Heritage: Hudson River Valley Dutch Material Culture,” *Winterthur Portfolio*, 20, 1 (Spring, 1985): 49-70.

“On the Island of Manhate, and its environs, there may well be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations: the Director General told me that there were men of eighteen different languages...”¹⁸

Like the rest of the New Netherland, western Long Island was extraordinarily diverse, but also markedly segmented. Few studies address the region’s early colonial material life, and those that do, look chiefly at the traditionally “Dutch” areas of the Island. The rare investigations of “English” western Long Island’s material culture focus on furniture from the early eighteenth century. This is largely because a modest and sometimes mystifying collection has come down to us, including a signed high chest made *en suite* with a dressing table in the Winterthur collection, a pseudo line and berry inlaid secretary desk (a very rare form in America) at the Museum of the City of New York, and a small collection of Bowne Family furnishings. These pieces survive in addition to a sizeable collection of Long Island Dutch cupboards or kasten. Through the research of numerous furniture scholars, intriguing revelations have come to light about cultural dynamics and everyday life on western Long Island.

¹⁸ Father Isaac Jogues, “Novum Belgium,” 1646 in *Original Narratives of Early American History: Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*, ed. Franklin Jameson (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 259. Folklorist David S. Cohen studied the exact origins of over 900 immigrants to New Netherland during the seventeenth century. He discovered that half the population originated from locales outside the Netherlands. See David S. Cohen, “How Dutch were the Dutch of New Netherland?” *New York History*, 62, 1 (January 1981): 43-60.

Dean Failey was among the first to explore the material and decorative arts heritage of early Long Island with the exhibition and catalogue *Long Island is My Nation: The Decorative Arts and Craftsmen, 1640-1830* (1976). Failey suggests that Long Island was comprised of three identifiable cultural regions: a decidedly Dutch western end at present day Kings County, a predominantly English eastern end in Suffolk County, and a culturally distinct central section located in Queens County¹⁹, where a significant English population was culturally affected by the presence of Dutch and Quaker settlers.²⁰ Documenting over one thousand craftsmen, Failey debunked a pervasive myth that few Long Islanders were capable of producing furniture during the colonial period. The catalogue remains the only published source for many of the Bowne Family furnishings, recognizing them not for their association with great men like John Bowne, William Penn, and George Fox, but for their cultural significance.²¹ Failey concludes that it is impossible to attribute a single unifying

¹⁹ Queens County originally included what is today part of Nassau County. According to the “Charter of Liberties and Privileges granted by his Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of New York and its Dependencies, confirmed by Act of Assembly” proclaimed at City Hall in 1683, the Province of New York was divided into twelve counties. Queens County was to “...conteyne the severall towns of Newtown, Jamaica, Flushing, Hempstead and Oyster Bay with severall out-farms, settlements and plantacons adjoining.” Quoted in Martha Bockée Flint, *Early Long Island a Colonial Study* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1896), 319-20.

²⁰ Dean Failey, *Long is My Nation: The Decorative Arts and Craftsmen, 1640 -1830* (Cold Spring Harbor: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1976), 11.

²¹ Legend has it that George Fox slept on the couch in the Bowne House collection during his visit to Flushing in 1672. Purportedly the House’s high chest was given to

decorative arts tradition to all of the Island. He argues that “noticeably different types of furnishings were found in Dutch and English homes at the western and eastern ends of Long Island.”²² As an introductory study, the catalogue does not attempt to make conclusive statements about the contributions of Dutch and English craftsmen to the island’s decorative arts heritage, admitting that further clarification would require additional examination.

In 1991 the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met) mounted the exhibition and produced the catalogue *American Kasten: The Dutch-Style Cupboards of New York and New Jersey, 1650-1800*. The study filled an important gap in American furniture scholarship and offered a more nuanced understanding of a type of joined case furniture strongly associated with the region that encompassed New Netherland. Authors Peter M. Kenny, Frances Gruber Safford, and Gilbert T. Vincent adopted Failey’s cultural model to investigate schools of Long Island kasten production. Failey and the Met curators assert that in Queens County, a region where Dutch and English families closely intermingled and intermarried, the kas lost attributes of its pure “Dutchness” as it entered English households. Kenny et al. propose that English joiners played a major role in the proliferation of the Queens County kas during the eighteenth century, suggesting that examples were likely made by English craftsmen

John Bowne’s daughter by the daughter of William Penn upon her marriage to Benjamin Field.

²² Ibid, 14.

and purchased by English families.²³ For Kenny, Safford, and Vincent, the kas was a “...tangible manifestation of the Anglo-Dutch cultural blending that was taking place in New York....”²⁴ This type of cultural convergence was especially pronounced in predominantly English Queens County.

Failey suggests that different schools of kasten were present even within Queens households. Accordingly, examples discovered in the eastern section of the County were more heavily Anglicized, while those found in the western part contained features strikingly similar to those from the Dutch towns in Kings County.²⁵ Flushing occupied a middle-ground. Unfortunately, there are no extant kasten with Flushing provenances. However, their existence can be inferred from period documents. Art historian Neil Kamil criticizes the Met’s identification of “purely Dutch” kasten, citing that New Amsterdam did not possess an ethnically Dutch majority. He takes issue

²³ According to Kenny, Safford, and Vincent, kasten in the Queens County school, though visually diverse, share several distinct features including one-part construction, separate feet, and a framed front. See Peter M. Kenny, Francis Gruber Safford, and Gilbert T. Vincent, *The American Kasten: The Dutch-Style Cupboards of New York and New Jersey, 1650-1800* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 21-2.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ According to Failey, the Kings County kas was generally larger and contained more complicated cornices, panels, and moldings. Following Dutch precedent, the panels were often made of contrasting wood, and the feet and moldings were occasionally painted black to imitate ebony. See Failey, *Long Island is my Nation*, 118.

with the catalogue's perpetuation of the "mystification about the 'Dutchness' of New York 'Dutch-Style' furniture...."²⁶

In his comprehensive 2005 publication *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenot's New World, 1517-1751*, Neil Kamil ultimately restructures thinking about iconic pieces of early New York furniture and imbues Flushing's history with a needed socio-cultural element. Extensively probing genealogical records and extant manuscripts, Kamil brings to the fore a long-neglected Huguenot artisan population that was active in Lower Manhattan and in Flushing during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He sheds light on the mysterious Samuel Clement, a French Quaker and son of James Clement who was a town clerk, scribe, joiner, and a member of the Bowne Household. Clement arrived in Flushing upon Bowne's triumphal return from the Netherlands. According to Kamil, the Clement workshop was "...essential to the process of cultural convergence and

²⁶ Kamil specifically points to the catalogue's neglect of two benchmark pieces of early New York furniture: the dressing table and high chest made *en suite* by Flushing Huguenot craftsmen Samuel Clement signed and dated 1726 (See figure 5.11). Like many Kings County kasten, the frames of the high chest and dressing table share a similar dovetailed cabinetwork. The structural similarity between two culturally distinct furniture forms (one Anglo-French and the other Anglo-Dutch) suggests more diverse expressions in Flushing's domestic interiors during the early colonial period. See Neil Kamil, "Of American Kastens and the Mythology of 'Pure Dutchness,'" in *American Furniture 1993*, ed. Luke Beckerdite, (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1993): 275- 83.

hybridization in Flushing.”²⁷ Effectively, Kamil recasts John Bowne’s legacy. Bowne was not only a significant religious and political figure, but in a way, also a broker of Flushing’s hybrid material life, serving as a central node in a Quaker-Huguenot craft network.²⁸

Neil Kamil coaxes from manuscripts and extant furnishings a portrait of Flushing as an influential and prosperous Quaker enclave home to dynasties of Quaker woodworkers and to a significant Huguenot craft population who served as an “...artisanal bridge to Manhattan’s rich material life.”²⁹ *Fortress of the Soul* remains the only in-depth study of Flushing’s unique cultural dynamics and its contribution to the town’s decorative arts heritage. Kamil concludes that “an improvisational cultural style circled back and forth between Manhattan and Long Island as Flushing’s Quaker artisans converged with their Huguenot allies in the city.”³⁰

The scholarship of Dean Failey, Peter Kenny, and Neil Kamil provide rare glimpses at a slice of early colonial material culture frequently overlooked. Too often, discussions about life in the part of Long Island once under Dutch jurisdiction get lost

²⁷ Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517-1751* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 816.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 780-84, 826-33.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 838.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 815.

in narratives about the larger New Netherland colony. Flushing was a culturally dynamic town and one of the largest on western Long Island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Settled by English men in a Dutch colony, difference was perceivable in Flushing. History remembers the town's Quaker hero and the gumption of its residents who lodged a formal complaint against an oppressive Director-General. But the survival of distinctive pieces of furniture has attracted the attention of decorative arts scholars whose research has opened the door to an incredibly complex cultural community on the fringe of the Dutch and English New Worlds.

Relying upon probate inventories, most notably those of Quaker merchant William Lawrence, in addition to John Bowne's account book, this thesis endeavors to holistically consider the seventeenth-century material landscape of a town whose historical record is frustratingly silent. At the same time, this study strives to investigate identity and cultural convergence in Flushing and illuminate a dynamic and enterprising town enveloped in the greater Atlantic World.



Figure 1.1 John Bowne House, Flushing, NY. May, 2013. Photo by author.

Open free — Sun-
days, Tuesdays and
Saturdays, from 3
to 5 P.M.

THE BOWNE HOUSE - 1661
BOWNE STREET AND FOX LANE
FLUSHING, N. Y.
A SHRINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

GEORGE FOX
VISITED FLUSHING IN 1672 AND
PREACHED OPPOSITE
THE BOWNE HOUSE

FLUSHING'S HOUSE OF TRUTH

In choosing a theme for celebration of its tercentenary the people of Flushing, L. I. wisely decided to pay high tribute to the memory of John Bowne. On next Wednesday Bowne House will be formally dedicated as a national shrine of religious tolerance. There in the 1660s Quakers met despite the ban imposed on their assembly for worship. British born John Bowne, who had come to Flushing from Boston, was imprisoned by authorities in New Amsterdam and then banished. But he was not to be driven from his belief, whatever the course of his exile. In Amsterdam, Holland, he was tried, and finally permitted to return vindicated to Long Island. The Quaker record as quoted by the dictionary of American Biography provides a perfect memorial: "He did Freely Expose him selfe his house and Estate to ye service of Truth And had a constant Meeting In his house neare About forty years. Hee Also suffered very much for ye truths seak." Bowne House now becomes an inspiring shrine that may symbolize Milton's line, "Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk."

Editorial N. Y. Sun, Oct. 6-1945

Figure 1.2 “The Bowne House – 1661, Bowne Street and Fox Lane, Flushing, N.Y. A Shrine to Religious Freedom,”1947. Albertype Company. From the collections of the Museum of the City of New York, New York, NY (F2011.33.1463).

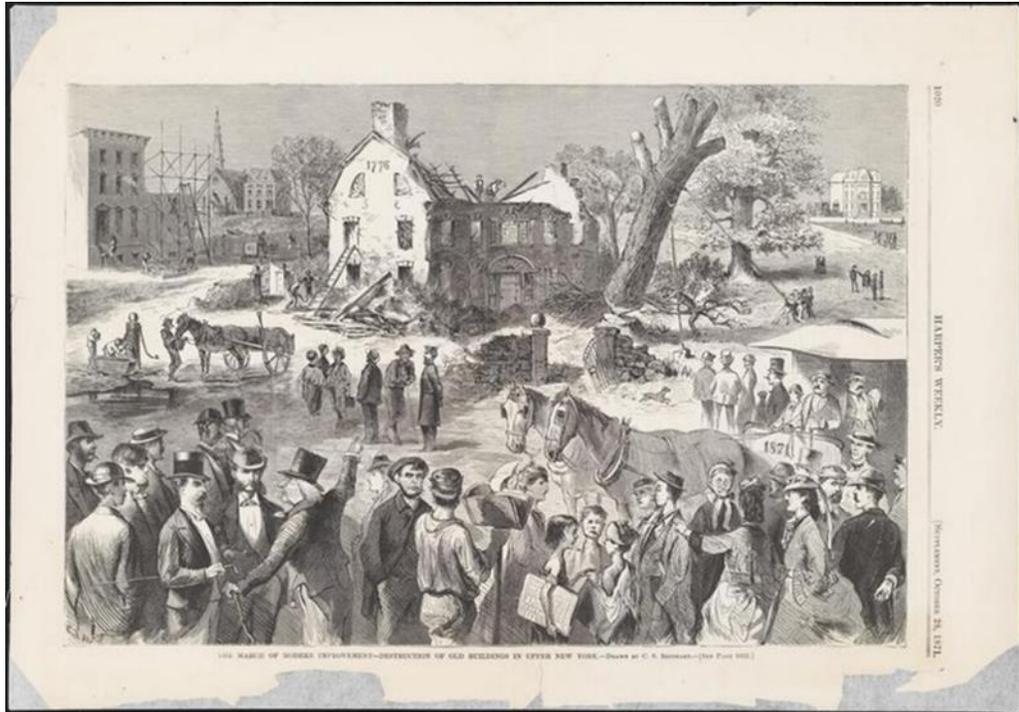


Figure 1.3 *The March of Modern Improvement – Destruction of Old Buildings in Upper New York, 1871, Harper’s Weekly, Charles Stanley Reinhart. From the collections of the Museum of the City of New York, New York, NY (55.53.2).*

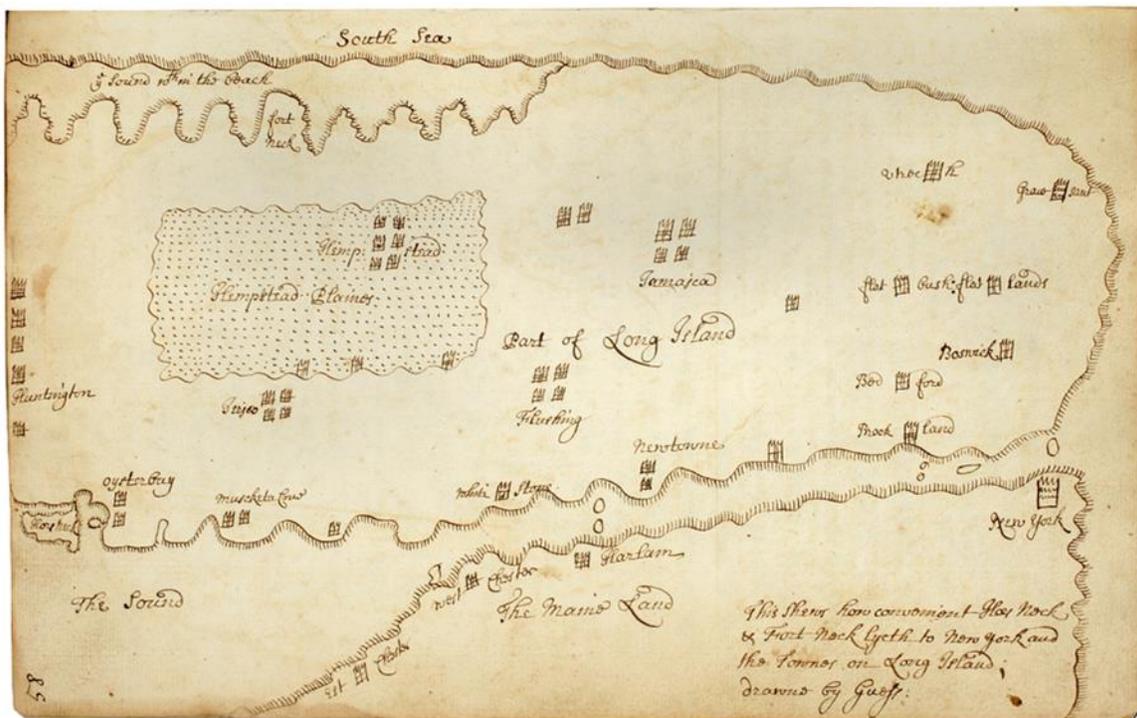


Figure 1.4 Map of Long Island, ca. 1658. James Lloyd after Robert Ryder and Phillip Wells. Ink on paper. Lloyd Family Papers, New-York Historical Society Manuscripts Collection.

Chapter 2

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FLUSHING IN CONTEXT

*Long Island, which is the crown of the province by reason of its great advantage of excellent bays and harbors as well as clean and fertile lands*³¹

Spearheaded by lawyer, political activist, and ethnographer Adriaen van der Donck, along with New Amsterdam's advisory committee, the *Remonstrance of New Netherland* was an attempt to reinvigorate the colony. Outlining settlers' grievances, the *Remonstrance* criticized the colony's string of directors for years of mismanagement and autocratic rule. In the hopes of securing Dutch governmental investment in New Netherland and interest among would-be settlers, van der Donck detailed the wealth of the American outpost whose territory included areas along the Hudson, Connecticut, and Delaware Rivers and the Long Island Sound.³² Describing the richness of Long Island, van der Donck confesses that "...the English greatly

³¹ Adriaen van der Donck, *Remonstrance of New Netherland, and the occurrences there address to the High and Mighty States Generals of the United Netherlands, on the 28th July, 1649. With Secretary Van Tienhoven's answer*, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1856), 17.

³² See Russell Shorto, *Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Forgotten Colony that Shaped America* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 191-208.

hanker after it” (Figure 2.1).³³ The Dutch and English desired Long Island for its navigability, agricultural productivity, and highly-valued purple clamshells used for the manufacture of wampum – an appropriated currency of Native American trade.³⁴

The settlement of English towns on western Long Island arose from a need by the Dutch to assert their claim to the land. An influx of settlers was necessary in order to solidify their hegemony.³⁵ In Connecticut, New Englanders were already encroaching upon Dutch-claimed territories and would attempt to stake their claim on western Long Island.³⁶ By 1639 the council of New Netherland purchased all of the land west of Oyster Bay, suspended its trading monopoly, and offered “one hundred morgens of land” to anyone who would settle five colonists over the age of fifteen.³⁷

³³ Van der Donck, *Remonstrance of New Netherland*, 17.

³⁴ For a discussion about the European appropriation of wampum see Shorto, *Island at the Center of the World*, 118.

³⁵ Relatively good living conditions in the Netherlands during the mid-seventeenth century resulted in a lack of prospective immigrants to New Netherland. Ultimately, the Dutch West India Company had to accept colonists from other European countries in order to populate the territory. See Joyce D Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

³⁶ In 1639 an agent of the Earl of Sterling, who claimed possession of the whole of Long Island, began enticing New Englanders to relocate there. In the spring of 1640 a group of settlers from Lynn, Massachusetts arrived on Long Island in present-day Hempstead. They were promptly expelled from the colony by Dutch troops. See Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 243.

³⁷ See “Proposed Freedoms and Exemptions for New Netherland. 1640.” in E. B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-*

Drawn to Long Island for reasons of greater freedom, land available, and religious toleration, the island quickly became home to a sizeable population of farmers and dissenters from New England.³⁸ Expelled from Massachusetts for offensive ideas about baptism, Reverend Francis Doughty, future father-in-law of Adriaen van der Donck, settled at “Mespit” on Long Island, later Newtown. In 1640 he “...betook himself...under the protection of the Netherlanders, in order that he may...enjoy the freedom of conscience, which he unexpectedly missed in New England.”³⁹

By the spring of 1644, the bloody Indian wars waged by New Netherland director Willem Kieft (1638-1647) that ravaged Connecticut and parts of Long Island came to an end.⁴⁰ That same year a wave of settlers from the Stamford area migrated across the Sound to Hempstead in an effort to put distance between themselves and the

York, Vol. I (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1856), 119-123 and Martha Dickinson Shattuck, “An Uneasy Alliance: The Dutch and English on Long Island,” in *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place: Selected Rensselaerwijck Papers, Volume 2*, ed. Elizabeth Paling Funk and Martha Dickinson Shattuck (Albany: State University of New York, New Netherland Institute, 2011), 169.

³⁸ John Bowne, along with his sister and father, settled in Flushing from Lynn, Massachusetts in 1656. The family was originally from Matlock, Derbyshire.

³⁹ Van der Donck, *Remonstrance of New Netherland*, 37.

⁴⁰ Kieft’s iron-fist approach to Native American subjugation resulted in escalated regional violence. Kieft did not succeed in annihilating the Native Americans or scaring them into complete subservience. However, their numbers were greatly diminished. See Missy Wolf, *Insubordinate Spirit: A True Story of Life and Loss in Earliest America, 1610-1665* (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 2012), 120-31.

surviving Indians.⁴¹ It is unknown how Flushing's (Vlissingen) eighteen patentees assembled, but in 1645 they were granted a charter by Kieft for "a certaine quantity or parcel of Land, with all the Havens, Harbors, Rivers, Creekes, woodland, Marshes, there unto belonging and, being upon the Northside of Long Island...." The heart of Flushing was located along Flushing Creek, an inlet of Flushing Bay. The town's first residents were afforded "free Land of Inheritance" and the liberty to hawk, hunt, and fish and participate in all manners of trade and commerce.⁴²

The terms of the 1645 Flushing Patent stipulated that inhabitants were to swear allegiance to the States-General of the West India Company. However, settlers were granted liberal governmental rights, which included the ability to "Nominate, Elect & Choose, a certaine Officer over them" who would possess "large and Ample Power and Authority."⁴³ One-man magistracy was customary in New England, but highly uncommon in the Dutch Republic. Thus, Flushing's early jurisdiction was in fact

⁴¹ Simon Middleton, "Order and Authority in New Netherland: The 1653 Remonstrance and Early Settlement Politics," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 67 (January 2010): 39.

⁴² Flushing's patentees were Thomas Farrington, John Townsend, Thomas Stiles, Thomas Saull, John Marston, Robert Field, Thomas Applegate, Thomas Beddard, Laurence Dutch, John Lawrence, William Lawrence, William Thorne, Henry Sautell, William Pigeon, Michael Milliard, Robert Firman, John Hicks, and Edward Hart. For a transcription of the Kieft Patent for Flushing see Jerrold Seyman, *Colonial Charters, Patents, and Grants to the Communities Comprising the City of New York* (New York: The Board of Statutory Consolidation of the City of New York, 1939), 517-520.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

based more on English than Dutch precedent.⁴⁴ By 1648 Flushing received a civil court with a schout (local official) and three schepens (magistrates). The privileges granted to English Long Islanders were far greater than those exercised by Dutch settlers. Many of the Dutch communities were not given courts of justice until 1661 and their local ordinances and schout were subject to council approval.⁴⁵ The West India Company made major concessions to the English in order to populate its territory.⁴⁶

A Quaker Enclave

In an August 5, 1657 report to the Classis of Amsterdam, Reverend John Megapolensis and Samuel Drisius described that the people in Flushing had become “endowed with divers opinions and it was with them *quot homines tot sententia*” (as many opinions as there are men).⁴⁷ That same month the Quaker ship *Woodhouse*

⁴⁴ Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 88.

⁴⁵ See “Ordinances Erecting Courts of Justice in Bushwick and in Flatbush and Flatlands, L.I. Passed March 31st, 1661,” in Bernard Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. XIV (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1883), 498 and Shattuck, “An Uneasy Alliance,” 170-71.

⁴⁶ Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 88.

⁴⁷ See “Report from John Megapolensis and Samuel Drisius to the Classis in Amsterdam, 1657” in E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New York Volume III*, (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1850), 106-8.

arrived in New Amsterdam. Months later, Robert Hodgson began holding conventicles in Hempstead. Megapolensis noted Quakers' strange and offensive behavior:

these began to quake, putting their fury at work, preaching and calling out in the streets that the last day was near. The people got excited and assembled, not knowing what to do; the one called fire, the other something else.⁴⁸

Quakerism was a radical religious movement that arose during the English Civil War (1642-1651). The religion coalesced around George Fox, first taking root in northern England by 1650. Quakers, or the Society of Friends, pushed the limits of New Netherland's religious tolerance, engendering disdain from colonial leaders with their impassioned public proselytizing. Ultimately, Friends were met with fierce and sometimes violent opposition.⁴⁹ Quakers were especially dangerous to colonial jurisdiction. Their belief in the rebirth of God's truth and an Inward Light often led to their renouncement of all authority that did not derive directly from God.⁵⁰ John Bowne was one of many Long Islanders punished for holding conventicles and harboring Quakers in his home, albeit the only one banished to the Netherlands.

In Petrus Stuyvesant's eyes, Flushing was the most threatening Quaker enclave. Members of the Society of Friends were more or less tolerated on the frontier.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 167.

⁴⁹ For a discussion about the persecution of Robert Hodgson and other Quakers in New Netherland see Haefeli, *Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty*, 156-85.

⁵⁰ Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 167.

After John Bowne's return from the Netherlands, the Company directors wrote to Stuyvesant confessing that "...although we heartily desire, that these and other sectarians remained away...we doubt very much, whether we can proceed against them...you may therefore shut your eyes..."⁵¹ Distance from New Amsterdam ensured privacy and independence for Flushing's Quakers, but close enough proximity afforded the opportunity to participate in the city's commerce.⁵²

As a Quaker stronghold, religious ties in Flushing guided business transactions, patterns of patronage, and the development of a tight-knit kinship network that spanned the Atlantic World.⁵³ Group life in early New York depended more upon religious identity than on ethnic origins.⁵⁴ In America, Flushing was not only connected to New Netherland, but also to Quakers in Pennsylvania and throughout the Long Island Sound basin.⁵⁵

⁵¹ "Extract from a Letter of the Directors to Stuyvesant: Proceedings of Connecticut on Long Island; Fortifications; Huguenots; Quakers (April 16th, 1663)" in Bernard Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. XIV, 526.

⁵² Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, 777.

⁵³ John Bowne maintained regular correspondence with Quakers in the Barbados. His letters are in the collection of the Bowne House Historical Society, Flushing, NY. Bowne's journal indicates frequent travel and correspondence with Friends in Europe: he revisits his ancestral home in Matlock, Derbyshire, meets with Quakers in Dublin, Ireland, writes letters to a Quaker in the Netherlands, and travels to London with his wife. See Herbert F. Richard, trans., ed., *Journal of John Bowne, 1650-1694*.

⁵⁴ Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 6.

⁵⁵ In addition to his Flushing holdings, John Bowne owned land in Chester County

Sandwiched between Dutch and English-settled Long Island, Flushing was a bridge between the two cultural and political domains.⁵⁶ Although the town was identifiably Quaker by the 1650s, it was also ethnically diverse. The 1698 census taken by Johnathan Wright and James Clement provides a portrait of this cultural meeting-ground, totaling enslaved Africans and subdividing its residents into ethnic subcategories: English, Dutch, and French.⁵⁷ After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which effectively outlawed Protestantism in France, an unprecedented number of Huguenots fled to the shores of northern Europe and America. Many found their way to New York. A highly artisanal community, Huguenot refugees brought with them the latest styles and techniques of Europe, contributing the transformation

and Philadelphia. See Account Book of John and Samuel Bowne, 1649-1703, New York Public Library, Division of Manuscripts and Archives, MssCol 457,105, 2. The Long Island Sound was not the barrier it is perceived as today. In his diary, itinerant Quaker preacher Thomas Story recounts visiting Westchester by canoe and then returning back to Flushing the next day. See Thomas Story, *JOURNAL OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS STORY: CONTAINING an ACCOUNT of his REMARKABLE CONVINCEMENT OF, and EMBRACING the PRINCIPLES called QUAKERS; and also, of his TRAVELS and LABOURS in the SERVICE of the GOSPEL: With many other OCCURRENCES and OBSERVATIONS* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by Isaac Thompson and Company, 1747), 802.

⁵⁶ Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, 777.

⁵⁷ The original manuscript is no longer extant. The accuracy of the transcription and the categorization of inhabitants is debatable. See Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, *Lists of Inhabitants of Colonial New York: Excerpted from The Documentary History of the State of New York*, indexed by Rosanne Conway (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2007), 39-43.

of early New York's material culture.⁵⁸ On Long Island, Huguenots were attracted to the sympathetic tenants of Quakerism. Both separatist groups were traditionally marginalized, anti-authoritarian, boasted significant craftsmen populations, and shared similar ideas about materialism and personal religious enthusiasm.⁵⁹

From Vlissingen to Flushing

Under the jurisdiction of the Dutch West India Company, Long Islanders were constantly threatened by Indian attacks, war, and privateering. Residents charged that the New Netherland council did little to protect them. Tensions heightened with the outbreak of the first Anglo-Dutch war in 1652. In Flushing, town schout and soldier of fortune John Underhill ran up the English flag, renouncing the government of Petrus Stuyvesant.⁶⁰ In response, the Amsterdam directors urged Stuyvesant to “act

⁵⁸ See Neil Kamil, “Hidden in Plain Sight: Disappearance and Material Life in Colonial New York” in *American Furniture 1995*, ed. Luke Beckerdite and William N. Hosley (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1995), 191-243.

⁵⁹ For a discussion about Quaker and Huguenot craft convergence on Long Island see Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, 767-905. For a discussion about the influence of Huguenot craft tradition on Britain's material and visual culture see Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).

⁶⁰ Among his complaints, John Underhill charged Stuyvesant for unlawful taxation that suppressed local export, conspiring to murder all the Englishmen, and imposing magistrates upon freemen without election. See “Vindication of Captain John Onderhill [*sic*]...” in E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. II (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1858), 151-2 and Shattuck, “An Uneasy Alliance,” 171.

accordingly” so that they “may not nourish serpents in our bosom who might finally devour our hearts.”⁶¹ Antagonism on Long Island was between the English towns and the colonial government, not with the Dutch next door. Underhill lambasted Stuyvesant on behalf of both groups, and in 1653 delegates from the English and Dutch towns met in Flushing to collaborate on a remonstrance.⁶²

The West India Company’s greatest fears inevitably came true. In 1663 the English towns began to look across the Sound for protection. Residents from Jamaica, Hempstead, and Newtown (but not Flushing) sent a petition to Hartford requesting Connecticut to intervene.⁶³ That same year, Captain John Scott, commissioned by the New England colony, arrived on Long Island and claimed the territory for James, Duke of York. In reality, most Englishmen, especially those in Flushing, preferred independence. In defiance, English Long Islanders elected to manage themselves and appoint Scott as president.

Once again, tensions came to a boiling point in Flushing. The New Netherland and Connecticut leaders were not pleased with Scott’s actions. Both Stuyvesant and

⁶¹ See “Letter from the Directors at Amsterdam to Petrus Stuyvesant and the Council of New Netherland” in Charles T. Gehring, ed., trans., *Correspondence, 1647-1653, New Netherland Document Series Volume XVI* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 229.

⁶² For a discussion about Anglo-Dutch alliance on Long Island and the Remonstrance of 1653 see Middleton, “Order and Authority in New Netherland,” 31-68.

⁶³ Waller, *History of the Town of Flushing Long Island*, 49.

John Winthrop Jr. travelled to Flushing to resolve the situation. Though Flushing stood by Scott, he was arrested by the Connecticut authorities. Per a February 1664 agreement, the English towns on Long Island were to fall under the jurisdiction of the Duke of York, while the Dutch ones were to remain under the purview of the States-General of the Netherlands.⁶⁴ The compromise was short-lived. Six months later, English forces conquered all of New Netherland without firing a single shot.

The years following English conquest were similarly turbulent. The newly imposed Duke's Laws severely restricted autonomy, making no provision for a representative form of government. Embittered by reduced political voice in local affairs and unfair taxes, many in Flushing were arrested or fined for sedition including William Lawrence (the subject of chapter three).⁶⁵ Flushing did not possess loyalty for either the Dutch or English, preferring self-government above all else. When the Netherlands briefly retook New York in 1673, the town ambivalently submitted to Dutch authority.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ See Trébor, *Colonial Flushing*, 28-33.

⁶⁵ John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, Vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1871), 108.

⁶⁶ Flint, *Early Long Island*, 307-8.

With the appointment of English governor Thomas Dongan a decade later, it appeared that Flushing would finally gain the representation it clamored for.⁶⁷ However, the accession of James II (the Duke of York) to the English throne eventually stymied the liberties granted by Dongan.⁶⁸ Ousted by William of Orange during the Glorious Revolution, James II's reign was brief. Ultimately, the events in Europe reverberated in New York as the colony was left with little news or instruction.

In 1689 German insurrectionist Jacob Leisler led a revolt against officials installed by the Catholic King James II. As it played out in New York, tensions festered over economic issues more than religious ones.⁶⁹ Freeholders in Flushing and the other English towns denounced Leisler's "tyrannical usurpation," perceiving his proponents as a "rabble of the worst men" led by "exorbitant [*sic*] wills and devilish lusts."⁷⁰ Leisler found his greatest supporters among Dutch and Huguenot farmers

⁶⁷ For the first time, Dongan's 1683 "Charter of Liberties and Privileges" gave New York political equality with Massachusetts and Virginia. For a discussion about the liberties granted under the "Charter of Liberties" see *ibid*, 317-21.

⁶⁸ Consolidating all the American colonies into the Dominion of New England, James II revoked the charters of New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. See Trébor, *Colonial Flushing*, 37.

⁶⁹ For a discussion about the Leisler Rebellion and its supporters see Firth Haring Fabend, "The-Leislerian Farmer: 'A Mad Rabble' or a 'Gentlemen Standing up for their Rights'" in *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place*, ed. Funk and Shattuck, 29-35.

⁷⁰ In a letter to William III's Secretary of State from Captain John Clapp, freeholders from the Towns of Hempstead, Jamaica, Flushing, and Newtown accused Leislerians of plundering houses and estates, "stripping wives and daughters of their weareing aparill" and "shooting at and wounding divers poore Englishmen". See "John Clapp to

and artisans. Subsequently, Long Island's diverse residents likely found each other on opposite sides of the rebellion-induced tumult.

As seventeenth century came to close and Leisler's tenure as Lieutenant-Governor ended with his arrest and execution in 1691, Dutch settlers began to accept the reality of English rule. At the same time, numbers started to move slowly and sporadically further east on Long Island and embed themselves within the interstices of English Quaker communities.⁷¹ Meanwhile, Quakerism flourished in Flushing with the erection of its first meeting house in 1694 and the institution of the annual meeting a year later.⁷²

Upon arriving on Long Island, Flushing's immigrants entered a heterodox society. Even after the Dutch surrendered New Netherland, Englishmen remained the minority for many years. Nonetheless, Flushing's residents were defiantly independent, guarding their political, economic, and religious liberties. As the town

the Secretary of State" in ed. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, Vol. III, 754.

⁷¹ See Jay Gitlin, "Cultural Geography of the Dutch in the Long Island Basin," in *The Impact of New Netherlands upon the Colonial Long Island Basin*, Report of a Yale-Smithsonian Seminar held at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut May 3-5, 1990, ed. Joshua W. Lane, 7 and David E. Narrett, "From Mutual Will to Male Prerogative," in *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place*, ed. Funk and Shattuck, 87.

⁷² The Dutch Reformed Church was established earlier in town with the Dutch recapture of New York in 1673.

became increasingly diverse during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, interactions between Flushing's multicultural populace were marked by conflict and cooperation as English Quakers, Huguenots, and Dutchmen, interacted within an intimate space on a shifting political landscape.



Figure 2.1 “Long Illand Siruaide,” ca. 1675. Robert Ryder. Ink on vellum. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence, RI.

Chapter 3

CULTIVATING COMMERCE: INSIGHTS FROM THE INVENTORIES OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM LAWRENCE

The historical record is sparingly punctuated by references to William Lawrence (or Laurence), a Flushing patentee and merchant variously referred to as “Mr.” and “Capt.” Such titles indicate a man of elevated status who, like John Bowne, was a Quaker and a respected member of the community. Lawrence also held a position of political authority, serving as a magistrate for both the Dutch and English governments. The two of William Lawrence’s inventories taken at his death in 1680—one for his warehouse in Manhattan and the other for his shop and dwelling in Flushing—provide rare insights into consumption, trade, and everyday life in seventeenth-century Flushing (Appendix A).⁷³

William Lawrence was born in St. Alban’s in Hertfordshire, just outside London. In 1635 William, his brother John (also a Flushing patentee), their younger sister Marie, along with their remarried mother Joan and her husband John Tuttell

⁷³ William Lawrence’s Manhattan warehouse inventory currently resides in the manuscripts collection: “Inventories, New York State, 1680-1844”, MS 450.2 at the New-York Historical Society Museum & Library. A copy of the inventory of Lawrence’s Flushing estate is in the collection of the Bowne House Historical Society, Flushing, NY.

immigrated to Plymouth Colony aboard the ship *Planter*. William was just twelve years old.⁷⁴ Few pieces of information are available about his life in New England. Lawrence married the daughter of innkeeper Francis Sprague, possibly Anna. In 1644 Sprague deeded to his son-in-law fifty acres of land on the South River in Duxbury.⁷⁵ Just three years later, Lawrence sold the property to John Phillips.⁷⁶ It is unknown what motivated William Lawrence to relocate to Long Island or if his wife travelled with him (we know that he was eventually remarried to Elizabeth Smith, daughter of Smithtown patentee Richard Smith). William was twenty-two when he arrived in Flushing. His brother John was twenty-seven. A year prior, John Lawrence was also one of the patentees for Hempstead. It is possible that William's older brother encouraged him to leave New England behind and forge a new life with him in New Netherland.

Though John and William Lawrence went on to lead very separate lives, they both easily navigated the Dutch and English worlds of colonial New Amsterdam/New York. John removed to New Amsterdam in 1658, but remained closely linked to

⁷⁴ Charles H. Browning, *Americans of Royal Descent* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1883), 283.

⁷⁵ David Pulsifer, ed, *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England Deed, &c. Volume I, 1620-1651* (Boston: William White Press, 1861), 138.

⁷⁶ The Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, *The Mayflower Descendant*, 34 (1997): 80.

Flushing. When the town's charter was renewed in 1666 by English colonial governor Richard Nicholls, John was once again among the patentees, however identified as an alderman of New York City. Before English conquest, John served as a commissioner on behalf of Petrus Stuyvesant to mediate the boundary between New England and New Netherland and to negotiate with John Scott his usurpation of Long Island. John Lawrence would serve as the Mayor of New York City from 1672 to 1674 and again in 1691, as well as a justice of the Supreme Court for the Province of New York.⁷⁷ Boundary-crossing men like the Lawrence brothers played vital roles in establishing commercial, political, and cultural connections between diverse peoples.⁷⁸

The Effects and Estate of Mr. William Lawrence

William Lawrence died intestate on March 14, 1680. The Duke's Laws of 1665 mandated that an inventory was to be taken within forty-eight hours after

⁷⁷ See John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York: First Period, 1609-1664* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853), 720. See also Thomas Lawrence, *Historical Genealogy of the Lawrence Family From their First Landing in this Country, A.D. 1635 to the Present Day, July 4th 1858* (New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1858), 136.

⁷⁸ Cynthia Van Zandt, "Did Boundaries Really Matter in Seventeenth-Century North America?" in *A Beautiful and Fruitful Place*, ed. Funk and Shattuck, 178.

appropriate official inquiry of the death had begun.⁷⁹ Due to the extent of Lawrence's Flushing holdings, the constable and overseers: Richard Cornell, John Bowne, John Lawrence, and Abraham Whearly recorded and appraised his inventory over a series of days. Elizabeth, Lawrence's second wife, and his eldest son William were appointed administrators and given "full power and lawful authority to enter into or keep possession of the premises and make a division and dispose thereof..."⁸⁰

William Lawrence's inventories portray a sober man of considerable wealth. His personal wearing apparel was sturdy, useful, and appropriate for a man who at once was a Quaker, merchant, trader, magistrate, planter, and slaveholder.⁸¹ Benefitting from Flushing's abundance and quasi-independence from the colonial government centered at New Amsterdam/New York, William Lawrence flourished in the New World. The value of his land, chattels, and effects at £4432:01:10 ½ was substantial for 1680. However, without a list of debts and credits we do not possess a

⁷⁹ Ruth Piwonka, "New York Colonial Inventories: Dutch Interiors as a Measure of Cultural Change," in *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776* (Albany: Albany Institute of Art, 1987), 63-8.

⁸⁰ See "Letter of Administration Granted Elizabeth the Widow of William Lawrence the Son of Captain William Lawrence deceased," in Thomas Lawrence, ed., *Historical Genealogy of the Lawrence Family*, 135-6.

⁸¹ The personal clothing of William Lawrence listed in the inventory include one worsted and one haire camlet cloak, a broadcloth (textile made of carded wool in plain weave that is fulled after weaving) suit, a drugget (a lighter woolen) suit, an old norwester, and a castor (beaver fur hat).

complete picture of his economic status. Nevertheless, Lawrence was likely among the richest men in the colony. His material wealth is comparable to that of Cornelis Steenwyck, one of New Netherland's principal merchants who also served as magistrate, burgomaster, and alderman. The total value of Steenwyck's land and moveable estate in 1686 was £4,382, just a few pounds less than Lawrence's.⁸²

For cultural historians, probate inventories provide a glimpse of the texture of daily life. The Lawrence inventories are especially rich because they convey a fair amount of information regarding the type, color, quality, and material of objects. They also subdivide goods into spaces including the "warehouse", "seller", "chamber", and "shop". However, Lawrence's Flushing estate was not inventoried until a month after his death, and his Manhattan warehouse many months later. During that period, items were probably moved in or out of spaces. For a variety of reasons, the appraisers did not record everything. On the first page of the New York inventory, they admit that "some...small & frivolys things of little vallue left out by ye consent of partyes....washing tubs syder troughs and some other small matters." Other household items are probably absent because they did not belong to William, but to his widow

⁸² *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1893* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1893), 466.

who received certain goods upon her marriage.⁸³ As a result, speculation is inevitable as we begin to reconstruct William Lawrence's world.

The Business of Agribusiness

Lawrence was among the largest landowners in Flushing. The main dwelling house, along with orchards and meadows, were located at Tew's Neck, an extensive swath of land jutting into the Long Island Sound (today College Point, Queens). Other Flushing property included land at Whitestone and lots in the center of town where his retail shop probably stood. In addition to property in lower Manhattan, Lawrence owned acres in Newtown to the west, meadows across the Long Island Sound in Westchester, and land at various places further east near Smithtown.⁸⁴

Lawrence's expansive property included numerous shares of "salt" or salt meadow, a grassy marsh prone to flooding by salt water. Nineteenth-century historian Benjamin Thomson remarked that Queens County was covered by forty square miles

⁸³ For a discussion about omission in inventories see Anna L. Hawley, "The Meaning of Absence," Peter Benes, ed., *Early American Probate Inventories*, 23-31.

⁸⁴ Seventeenth-century Quakers voraciously acquired property. The Bowne House Historical Society, Flushing, NY retains a significant collection of deeds documenting John Bowne's extensive land acquisitions including the purchase of five acres from William Lawrence.

of marshes.⁸⁵ In colonial America salt meadow was an important resource for sustaining animal herds, especially cattle. Adriaen van der Donck notes in *A Description of New Netherland* (1656) that cattle were suffering from disease due to the consumption of “sweet hay.” The issue was not resolved until animals started consuming hay grown on salt wetlands.⁸⁶ A 1765 watercolor of by Thomas Davis (Figure 3.1) is the earliest known image of Flushing. Prominently depicted along the creek is a flooded salt marsh and a bundle of salt hay. With such a rich supply of local hay, it is not surprising that in 1649 van der Donck found Flushing “tolerably stocked with cattle.”⁸⁷

At his death, Lawrence had £324 invested in 173 cattle and £46 in seventy-two swine.⁸⁸ Like Newport merchant Peleg Sanford (1639-1701)⁸⁹, William Lawrence

⁸⁵ Benjamin F. Thomson, *History of Long Island; Containing an Account of the Discovery and Settlement with other Important and Interesting Matters to the Present Time* (New York: E. French, 1839), 34.

⁸⁶ Adriaen van der Donck, *A Description of New Netherland*, eds. Charles T. Gehring, William A. Starna, Diederik, trans. Willem Goodhueys (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 45.

⁸⁷ Van der Donck, *Remonstrance of New Netherland*, 17.

⁸⁸ John Bowne records in his account book a remedy for cattle who have “taken in limbs and fall down” which involves boiling chamber-lye (urine) with tobacco, elder, eggs, soot, and oil. See Bowne Account Book, 30.

⁸⁹ See Peleg Sanford, *The Letter Book of Peleg Sanford of Newport Merchant (later Governour of Rhode Island), 1666-1668*, trans. Howard W. Preston (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1928).

probably shipped the products of animal husbandry: beef, pork, and hog's fat, to provision sugar plantations in the West Indies or to sell at market in Manhattan where "the people from the country bring various wares...and other products of the farm to [the] City for sale."⁹⁰ In fact, barrels of pork and beef are listed in his Manhattan warehouse. An essential difference between Flushing and Newport, which allowed Lawrence to deal in a greater range of agricultural products, was that Flushing was not settled on rocky terrain.

"Very good soyle", as described by Daniel Denton, afforded Flushing's residents the ability to grow various English grains, corn, melons, turnips, peas, pumpkins, and tobacco for subsistence and export.⁹¹ By far, Flushing's most valuable crop was wheat. New York City relied heavily on grain surpluses from Long Island to support West Indian trade. During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, New York exported about 60,000 bushels of wheat a year.⁹² The frequent listing of scythes,

⁹⁰ Bernow Fernow, trans. *Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1897), 23.

⁹¹ Bowne's account book references the cultivation of grains including wheat, flax, rye, and barley. In 1670, Daniel Denton noted that "[Long] Island is most of very good soyle, and very natural for all sorts of English Grain; which they sowe and have very good increase of, besides all there Fruits and Herbs common in England, as also Tobacco, Hemp, Flax, Pumpkies, Melons, &c." See Denton, *A Description of New-York*, 41-2.

⁹² "Questions Submitted to Sir Edmund Andros by the Committee for Trade and Plantations, and His Responses" in Peter Christoph and Florence Christoph, eds., Charles Gehring, trans., *The Andros Papers, 1677-1678* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 493. For an in-depth discussion about trade in New York see

sickles, pitchforks, reaping hooks, chains, plows, and harrows in Flushing inventories supports the fact that substantial amounts of grain were harvested in town. Although a blacksmith by the name of John Emorie is listed in Bowne's accounts for the year 1671, the tools required for grain cultivation were European imports purchased by the profits of agricultural surplus.⁹³

The Dutch and English towns on western Long Island benefited from similar diversified economies, however, cultivation methods varied across cultures. For the reaping of grains, Dutch-American farmers often employed a type of scythe particular to the Low Countries called the Flemish or Hainaut scythe. The Flemish scythe was used in conjunction with a mathook (a tool with a wooden handle and a small iron hook at the end). With these implements, one stood nearly upright, held the mathook in one hand, and cut the grain with the scythe in the other.⁹⁴ Despite greater efficiency, it appears that Flushing farmers did not adopt the methods of their Dutch counterparts.

Flushing planters utilized a combination of sickles and common scythes (Figure 3.2). Dating back to antiquity, the sickle consisted of a crescent-shaped blade and a short straight handle. With it, a farmer crouched low, grabbed a handful of grain

Cathy Matson, *Merchants & Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

⁹³ See Bowne Account Book, 46. Hooks, sickles, scythes, and a pitchfork are among the goods listed in Lawrence's Manhattan warehouse goods.

⁹⁴ See David S. Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm*, (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 127.

in one hand, and sliced the stems with the other. Using a sickle was taxing on the wrist and back, but resulted in a uniformly cut field.⁹⁵

The common scythe was similar to the Flemish scythe whose use also required one to stand upright. The tool consisted of a long wooden shaft (sned) and curved blade mounted at the lower end perpendicular to the sned. Mowing with a scythe was much faster than reaping with a sickle. The advantages of the Flemish version, which was shorter than the common scythe, was better balance and its ability cut crop into neat bundles.⁹⁶

Scholars of pre-industrial agriculture speculate that the Flemish scythe was never adopted by non-Germanic colonists because of the strength and skill needed to wield it efficiently. However, swinging a common scythe also required muscle and expertise. Scythes were heavy. Extensive reaping (or mowing) demanded stamina. John Bowne records in his account book mowing for others in exchange for goods and services. Mowing was a marketable skill and one of great value in Flushing.

In an agricultural economy where time to mow and move grain was limited, delay could result in an overripe crop prone to shattering, and a downpour could cause wet grains to sprout in storage, farmers turned to tools that for them were the most

⁹⁵ Peter D. McClelland, *Sowing Modernity: America's First Agricultural Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 132-34.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 145.

efficient and productive. Sickles were quick and easy to use, but did not harvest as much grain. The Flemish scythe was unfamiliar and would have required time to master. Flushing's economy hinged upon grains for export, grazing, and sustenance. A major loss at harvest would have serious economic repercussions.⁹⁷

Essential to Flushing's exportation of agricultural products and its economic success were the hogsheads, barrels, and pipes (a large cask equal in size to four barrels or two hogsheads) used to store and ship pork, beef, tobacco, cider, and other goods. Not surprisingly, a substantial proportion of the metal implements imported by William Lawrence were cooperage tools used for shaping barrel staves and making the grooves in them to accommodate the heads (bottom) of casks. Lawrence supplied cooper's broad axes, adzes, vices, heading knives, a drawing knife, crozes, and howels. The last two were tools used to cut grooves in staves and designed especially for cooperage. The eighteenth-century *Encyclopédia* by Denis Diderot provides useful illustrations of the sort of pre-industrial barrel making prevalent in Flushing (Figure 3.3).⁹⁸

Equally vital to Flushing's productivity were the bounded men who tilled the fields and the hauled hogsheads. After livestock and land, Lawrence's enslaved

⁹⁷ For a discussions about reaping tools and grain harvest during the pre-industrial era see *ibid.*

⁹⁸ John Bowne identifies in his account book a least one cooper working in Flushing as early as 1658 by the name Tobyas Knight. See Bowne Account Book, 31.

Africans were his most valuable assets. In total, Lawrence owned ten slaves valued at £285: John, Tommy, Harry, Mingo, Peter, Jane, Sue, Ned, and a “mallato boye” named Harry who probably arrived in Flushing from the West Indies. Ten was an extraordinary number for early colonial New York. According to the 1698 Flushing census, there were 113 enslaved Africans in a town of 530 European inhabitants—an additional one-fifth of the population! The average number of slaves owned by farmers in Flushing was typically less than five.⁹⁹ John, Andreas, Tommy, Harry, Mingo, and Peter probably carried out the most arduous tasks on the farm. In an agreement between Bowne and his son, Samuel, with “negroes James and Symon”, was to “work equally” cultivating the meadows. This account does not point to a degree of equality between the Bowne Family and its enslaved Africans, but rather the importance of an expedient harvest.¹⁰⁰ Historian Ned Landsman points out that Quaker farmers found freedom and opportunity that was ironically underwritten by the profits of slavery.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ See O’Callaghan, ed., *List of Inhabitants of Colonial New York, Excerpted from the Documentary History of the State of New-York* (Baltimore: Reprinted for Clearfield Company by Genealogical Publishing Company, 2007), 39-42. For a more detailed discussion about the draft animals used in Long Island’s Dutch and English towns see Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (New York: P. Smith, 1941), 29-30.

¹⁰⁰ Bowne Account Book, 104.

¹⁰¹ Ned C. Landsman, *Crossroads of Empire: The Middle Colonies in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 92.

In addition to slaves, William Lawrence retained one indentured servant: an English boy named Bishop valued at £5 “for a yeare & some months of service.” Unlike many New England planters, Lawrence did not (and probably could not) rely on indentured labor. New Netherland struggled to attract both settlers and indentured servants, a problem the New England colonies never contended with.¹⁰² Exacerbating the issue, the Duke’s Laws restricted indentures to stipulated terms. Thus, Lawrence’s inventory specifically notes the length of Bishop’s indenture. Ultimately, it became both difficult and expensive to retain white servants.¹⁰³ The result was a high demand for forced labor in New York.

Colonists in New York and New England may have relied upon different forms of bound human labor, but Flushing farmers and their counterparts across the Sound depended on the same draft animals for plowing and carting. Both favored oxen instead of horses. The opposite was true for the Dutch families a few miles to the west in Flatbush (the home of Margrieta van Varick).¹⁰⁴ A more interesting livestock

¹⁰² Katherine Howlett Hayes, *Slavery Before Race: Europeans, Africans, and Indians at Long Island’s Sylvester Manor Plantation, 1651-1884* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 50-1.

¹⁰³ Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 21.

¹⁰⁴ In Flatbush there were seven oxen on forty-eight farms compared to the 130 oxen on fifty-eight farms in Flushing. Conversely, there were 140 horses in Flatbush while there were only ninety-seven in Flushing. See O’Callaghan ed., *List of Inhabitants of Colonial New York*, 124-6.

disparity between the two Long Island groups concerns the raising of sheep. The 1683 tax evaluations for Flushing lists a total of 390 sheep in town. Meanwhile, the same evaluations for Flatbush does not provide the figure, suggesting that very few sheep were raised by the town's residents.¹⁰⁵

In his *Description of New Netherland*, Adriaen van der Donck describes why sheep were “in limited demand” in New Netherland. He explains, “...they are more plentiful in New England, where the weaver's trade is more actively promoted....”¹⁰⁶ It appears that the Dutch New Netherlanders did not practice weaving to the same degree as New Englanders, many of whom resettled in Flushing. Spinning of both wool and flax thrived in Flushing households. John Bowne records delivering and selling wool and linen yarn as well as purchasing a spinning wheel from a turner. In 1689 he also documents providing linen warp to his brother-in-law Edward Farrington.¹⁰⁷ Homespun is among the many textiles listed in Lawrence's Flushing shop. Although a loom is not recorded in his inventory, the fabric may have been woven by a Lawrence family member. However, it is more likely Lawrence acquired the cloth as payment for debts and then offered it for sale.

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Van der Donck, *A Description of New Netherland*, 46.

¹⁰⁷ Other spinning wheels are listed in the 1669 inventory of Elizabeth Partridge and the 1714 inventory of William Fowler. Interestingly, one of Fowler's wheels is described as an “old Dutch spinning wheel”. See Bowne Account Book, 28, 30, 91.

Merchant of Flushing

In addition to being a land-based merchant, Lawrence probably served as a ship captain at one point in his career. However, there is no record that he owned shares of a trading vessel like Cornelis Steenwyck who, according to his 1686 inventory, owned a “one quarter part of the Ship called the Beaver.”¹⁰⁸ In 1678 Governor Edmund Andros reported that New York boasted only “small shippes and a ketch.”¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, documentation of Lawrence paying £0:18:9 in 1676 for the “defrayinge of the Charges of the New docke...” indicates he dealt directly with the importation and exportation of international trade goods.¹¹⁰

Tax rates reveal that William Lawrence kept his Manhattan warehouse on Marketfield and Broadway.¹¹¹ At his death, the building and associated lands were purchased by Margaret Howling of Newport for £110. The transaction describes the property as a “dwelling-house and Lott of ground sytuat lying and being in the syttie

¹⁰⁸ Inventory of Cornelis Steenwyck, 1686, New York probate records, Surrogate Courts of New York. "New York, Probate Records, 1629-1971," Images, FamilySearch, <http://FamilySearch.org>.

¹⁰⁹ “Answers of Governor Andros to Enquires about New Yorke,” April 1678, quoted in Matson, *Merchants & Empire*, 50.

¹¹⁰ *Proceedings of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1674-1690* (New York: The New York Printing Company, 1871), 84.

¹¹¹ Lawrence paid eight schilling in taxes for his warehouse in 1677. See *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1776*, Volume I (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1905), 54.

in a street there called ye Broad Street lying in ye west end ye Lott belonging to ye late Gov. Stivensant on ye north....”¹¹² The Manhattan warehouse contained European imports: iron tools and cooking implements, as well as pork and beef for export and shipping containers (hogsheads and “dale cases”—simple pine chests for holding grain). Lawrence’s Flushing warehouse was located within his home and largely consisted of goods for export: agricultural products and animal pelts, but also imported hogsheads of rum and molasses.

Travel between Lawrence’s warehouse in Manhattan and his shop and warehouse in Flushing necessitated navigating the “Hell Gate” or *Hellegat*, a narrow tidal strait where the Long Island Sound converged with the East River (Figure 3.4). In 1670 Daniel Denton described it as such:

For about 10 miles from New York is a place called Hell-Gate, which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some Islands of Rocks, which the Current sets so violently upon, that it threatens present ship wreck; and upon the flood is a large Whirlpool which continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any stranger from passing further... yet to those that are well acquainted little or no danger...¹¹³

For a skilled sailor like William Lawrence, this treacherous confluence was easily and frequently traversed. Lawrence made quick crossings in the two canoes listed in his

¹¹² The description and sale of the warehouse is quoted in Thomas Lawrence, ed., *Historical Genealogy of the Lawrence Family*, 138-9.

¹¹³ Denton, *A Brief Description of New-York*, 40.

Manhattan warehouse, probably wearing his “old Norwester—a strong waterproof coat. The transport of trade commodities would have required the use of a larger sailing vessel, such as a sloop (possibly rented), which Flushing Creek was spacious enough to accommodate.¹¹⁴ It is probable that Lawrence’s Indian man named Phillip (who is listed in the Manhattan warehouse) bore the burden of transferring goods to and from the New York dock and warehouse for shipment to Long Island.¹¹⁵

215 pounds of white sugar in Lawrence’s shop and the three barrels of sugar, 140 gallons of rum, and three hogsheads of molasses in his Flushing warehouse suggest that he was involved in West Indian trade, possibly with the Barbados, home to a significant Quaker population. Lawrence’s business activities probably paralleled those of well-documented Newport merchant Peleg Sanford who engaged in extensive international trade with England and the Barbados. From the West Indies Sanford imported sugar, molasses, and cotton, and exported agricultural commodities. The ultimate goal of such exchange was to accumulate capital to purchase manufactured goods from England (tools, textiles, hardware, and luxury items) to resell in North

¹¹⁴ An eighteenth-century watercolor of Flushing depicts the mast of a sloop docked in Flushing Creek poking out from behind a building (See figure 3.1).

¹¹⁵ Valued at £40, Phillip was probably a slave. In December of 1679, a few months before Lawrence’s death, a law was passed banning and absolving the enslavement of Indians except for those imported from the Yucatán in Mexico or other foreign places. It is interesting that Phillip is still considered a part of Lawrence’s property in 1680. This leaves us to question Phillip’s origin or how quickly and effectively this law was enforced. See Bernard Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. XIII. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1881), 68.

America.¹¹⁶ In Flushing, William Lawrence offered a wide variety of English goods from bibles, yards of broadcloth, and ivory combs, to cooper's tools, and silk stockings.¹¹⁷

Lawrence faced competition from other Quaker merchants in town. John Bowne records in his account book extensive dealings with Hyannis (Plymouth Colony) merchant Nicholas Davis who also owned land in the Flushing area. In 1669 he purchased from Davis a felt hat, silk hoods, scythes, a sickle, wool, frying pans, a set of curtains, cotton, holland linen, and other items. Bowne also served as an agent for Davis, selling sugar for the merchant to a long list of Flushing residents.¹¹⁸ It is evident that the market in Flushing was profitable and its consumers eager. Others also engaged in the transportation of goods. For example, John Bowne shipped cider out of the port of New York to Quakers in New Jersey and Philadelphia.¹¹⁹ A wide range of products and commodities moved through Flushing to and from various locales in the northeast and mid-Atlantic.

¹¹⁶ See Margaretta M. Lovell, "'Such Furniture as Will Be Most Profitable': The Business of Cabinetmaking in Eighteenth-Century Newport," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 26, 1 (Spring, 1991): 28-9.

¹¹⁷ A copy of William Lawrence's Flushing inventory is in the collection of the Bowne House Historical Society, Flushing, NY.

¹¹⁸ See Bowne Account Book, 4, 34, 39, 44. For a discussion about Nicholas Davis see Carl Bridenbaugh, *Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience: Society in Rhode Island, 1636-1690*. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1974), 66-7.

¹¹⁹ Bowne Account Book, 79.

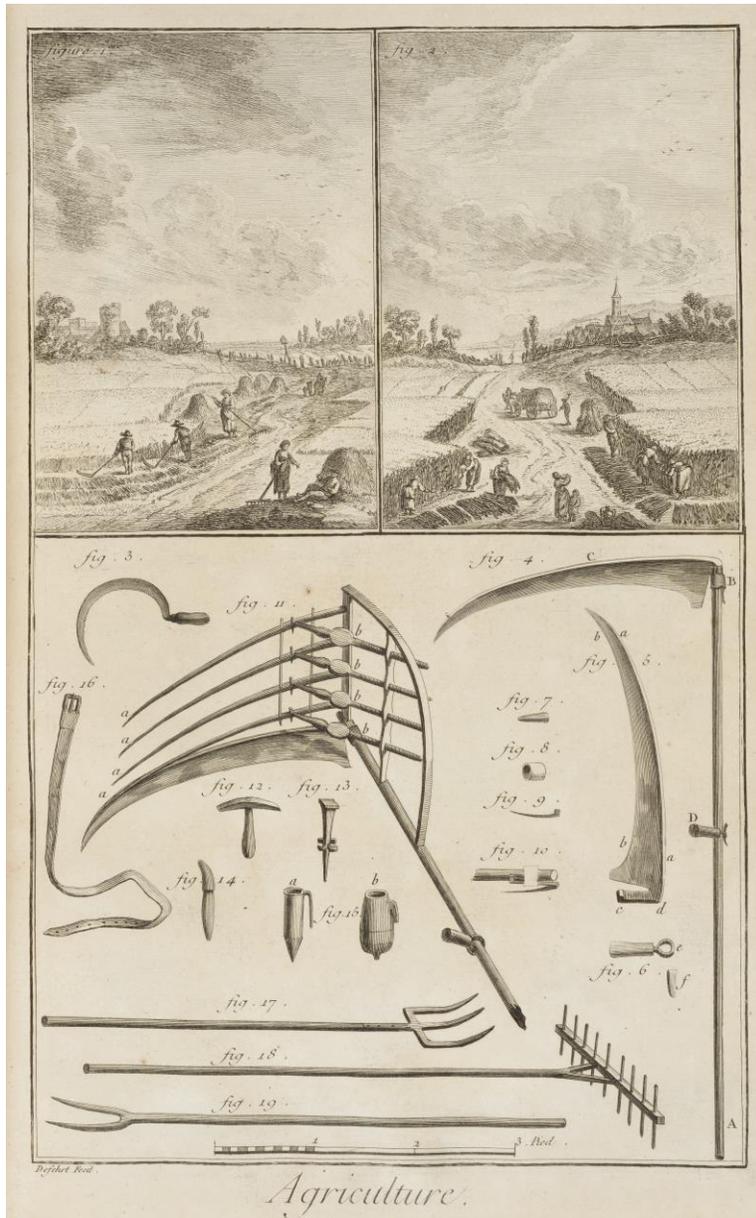
Flushing benefitted from its strategic location on a bay. A 1666 map of western Long Island by William Hubbard depicts a centralized community with outlying properties dotting the shore of the Sound (Figure 3.5). Flushing was well connected and easily accessible not only by water, but also by road. In 1666 there were direct routes to Hempstead and Jamaica. Already a meeting ground for numerous travels by 1649, Flushing had the unique distinction of being home to one of only two taverns on western Long Island (the other was at the Brooklyn ferry).¹²⁰ Geographically dispersed Quakers were brought together in Flushing not only for monthly and annual meetings¹²¹, but also for trade. Though situated on the outskirts of New Amsterdam/New York, Flushing was a vibrant commercial center.

¹²⁰ See van der Donck, *Remonstrance of New Netherland*, 58.

¹²¹ The yearly meeting was instituted in Flushing until the construction of the town's first meeting house in 1694.



Figure 3.1 *A View Near Flushing on Long Island in the Province of New York North America. Taken on Spot by Tho's Davies Cap't Lt Roy'l Artillery, 1765.* Thomas Davies, Flushing, New York. Watercolor Drawing. H: 12 in. W: 19 ¹/₁₀. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, gift of Charles K. Davis, 1953.189.3



Sickle
(fig.3)

Common
scythe
(fig.4)

Figure 3.2 “Agriculture,” *Recueil de planches sur les sciences, les artes liberaux, et les arts mechaniques: avec leur explication*, vol. 1. Paris : Chez Briasson : David : Le Breton : Durand, 1762-1772. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur, DE.



Figure 3.3 “Tonnellerie,” Plate 1. *Recueil de planches sur les sciences, les arts liberaux, et les arts mechaniques : avec leur explication*. Paris: Chez Briasson : David : Le Breton : Durand, 1762- 1772. Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur, DE.



Figure 3.4 *View of Hell Gate – the Entrance from the Long Island Sound to New York, ca. 1807, M. Merigot. From the collections of the Museum of the City of New York, New York, NY. 29.100.2420.*

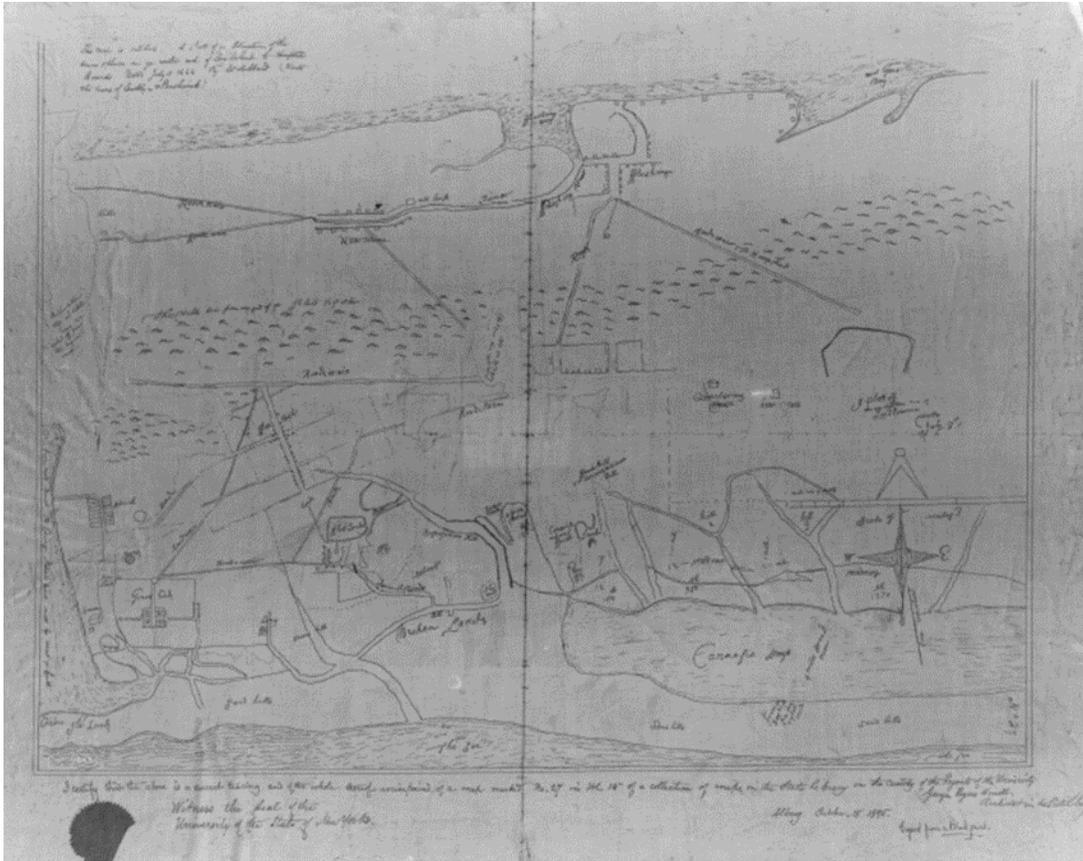


Figure 3.5 *A Plott of ye Situation of the towns & places on ye wester end of Long Island to Hempstead Rounds, 1666.* W. Hubbard. Facsimile after the original (destroyed in New York State Capitol fire of 1911). Courtesy, New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

Chapter 4

QUAKER AND NATIVE CONSUMERS: FABRIC, FASHION, AND FIREARMS

Thousands of yards of fabric in William Lawrence's retail store and chamber provide a rare look at Flushing's consumption of Atlantic World commodities and the town's participation in the international textile trade. Over 2000 yards of cloth are listed in the shop and an excess of 4570 yards in his chamber. Numbers marked on the inventory next to lists of textiles in the chamber suggests that items were still bundled in canvas bales. These numbers probably corresponded with a list of the bales' contents. Analysis of the type and quantity of textiles reveals that Lawrence not only supplied discerning Quaker inhabitants, but Native American ones as well.

A comparison of the textiles in Lawrence's shop inventory to those in Margrieta van Varick's raises questions about differences in taste and access in English Quaker Flushing and Dutch Flatbush. Lawrence and van Varick both stocked finished textiles, articles of ready-made clothing, and decorative trimmings. However, disparities in the amount and type of textiles carried by the two Long Island merchants suggest that van Varick and Lawrence catered to different markets and operated within different trading networks.

The majority of textiles in William Lawrence's shop (at over sixty percent) consisted of twenty different varieties of woolens and worsteds.¹²² Prized for their warmth and durability, wool was highly valued. The price-per-yard of Lawrence's fabrics reflects a range in quality. The most abundant types he stocked were serge, a twilled cloth with a worsted warp and woolen weft, kersey, a cheap woolen cloth of twill weave, and Norwich stuff, a general term used to describe worsteds manufactured in Norwich, England. Following wool, the most prevalent textiles were linen at about twenty percent and cotton at fifteen. Silk represents less than five percent of Lawrence's inventory.¹²³

Lawrence was deeply involved in trade with England's and Ireland's textile manufacturing centers.¹²⁴ During the seventeenth century, wool was Britain's greatest export. William Penn's Free Society of Traders had extensive contacts in London, Bristol, and Cork among other areas throughout the Atlantic World. Because of distinct rules for trading, Quaker merchants were well-respected and trusted as long-

¹²² Among the varieties of wool available in Lawrence's shop were kersey, stroudwater, swan skin, serge, frieze, flannel, camlet, broadcloth, Kendall cotton, perpetuana, saye, Norwich stuff, tammy, baize, tauton, drugget, shalloon, dozens, and rash. For a dictionary of period textile terms see Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984).

¹²³ At about 65 yards, the most abundant silk in Lawrence's inventory is taffeta, most likely of Chinese or Indian origin.

¹²⁴ Many of the serges are described as "Irish".

distance traders.¹²⁵ Though Lawrence's agents are unknown, he probably dealt with other Quaker merchants in these cities. Historian Michael J. Jarvis argues that an emphasis on honesty and fair dealings led Quakers to extensively trade with each other.¹²⁶

Margrieta van Varick also sold significant amounts of woolens and worsteds in her Flatbush shop, but carried far more silks, exotic textiles, and dress fabrics. This is partly due to her familial relations and unique connection to East Indian trade. Margrieta's grandfather and uncle were textile merchants. Another uncle was a draper and her sister married a silk dyer. Margrieta's first husband, Egbert van Duins, was an assistant merchant to the Dutch East India Company and was involved in the Bengal-Malacca trade. For a time, Margrieta resided in Dutch Malacca (present-day Malaysia) where she moved within the highest circle of merchant elites.¹²⁷ Through these connections she gained access to calico, an Indian cotton, and such rarities as Bengal, a fine Indian silk. Nevertheless, one the most abundant silks listed in her inventory is English Canterbury silk, a textile likely available to Lawrence as well.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ See Landsman, *Crossroads of Empire*, 91.

¹²⁶ Michael J. Jarvis, *In the Eye of all Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 320.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 41-9.

¹²⁸ In fact, some of the earliest records of textiles shipped to America from London and other English towns include evidence of East Indian trade goods such as "Corse Callicoës", gingham, dimity, and taffeta. Dimity and taffeta both appear in Lawrence's

Each merchant's decision to carry certain textiles also reflected the markets they catered to. Lawrence stocked over 300 yards of serge wool in his shop, by far the greatest quantity of a single type of cloth. The fabric was known to be middleweight and hardwearing. A serge was also one of the most expensive textiles in the store. Four pieces of "Irish sarge" were priced at £13:14:04 ½. Holland, a fine Dutch cloth, was the most prevalent of the linens. Lawrence had for sale over 110 yards of the fabric. The items in the Flushing shop inventory suggests that the town's residents favored practical textiles of good quality—textiles well-suited for their agrarian lives.

On the other end of the spectrum, van Varick's inventory intimates that Flatbush residents had a greater predilection for fancier, less practical garments. Many of the dress fabrics that Margrieta sold Lawrence did not, including grazet, toy, damask, russel, and crape.¹²⁹ Of them, crapes were most plentiful. Samples of the textile, along with grazet, survive on a 1736 order of New York merchant James Alexander (Figure 4.1). Crape was a relatively light fabric made of silk or worsted wool or a combination of the two. It was woven with a firm warp and a soft weft, and

inventory along with Barratine, an inferior silk fabric made in Persia. See Amelia Peck, "'India Chints' and 'China Taffety': East India Company Textiles for the North American Market," in *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, ed. Amelia Peck (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed by Yale University Press, 2013), 105-19.

¹²⁹ Grazet was a worsted dress material, often with warp of one color and weft of another. Toys were fancy worsted dress goods made in Norwich. Damasks were reversible patterned fabrics made from several fibers or combinations of fibers, and russels were worsted damasks woven in solid colors, two colors, or brocaded.

treated with a heated finish that created a puckered surface. For embellishment, van Varick also offered a greater amount and variety of trimmings, such as ferret, galloon, fringe, gimp, lace, and ribbons.¹³⁰

There is no record of sumptuary laws restricting dress or prohibiting excess finery in New Netherland as there were in New England. Neither are there court records documenting the disapprobation of one for dressing too extravagantly or beyond one's station. In general, the Dutch in New Netherland were known to be less sartorially restrained than their English neighbors.¹³¹ Travelling to New York in 1704, Bostonian Sarah Kemble Knight commented on the dress of the city's Dutch inhabitants:

... the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women, in their habitt go loose, were [*sic*] French muches wch are like a Capp and a head band in one, leaving their ears bare, which are sett out Wth Jewells of a large size and many in number. And their fingers hoop't with Rings, some with large stones in them of many Coullers as were their pendants in their ears, which You should see very old women wear as well as Young.¹³²

¹³⁰ The greatest quantity of trimmings listed in Lawrence's shop are 146 yards of ferret, a type of tape or ribbon. The only quantities of galloon (also a kind of ribbon) and lace in the shop are described as "statute", possibly in reference to sumptuary laws in New England that regulated the lavishness of dress for those of a lower class.

¹³¹ For a discussion about the Dutch and the use of lace see De Filippis et al., 271-2.

¹³² [Sarah Kemble Knight], *The Journal of Madame Knight* (Chester, CT: Applewood Books, distributed by the Globe Pequot Press, 1992), 47.

Such a description places in perspective Margrieta's personal jewelry collection which consisted of an impressive array of gold and diamonds including gold rings, crystal pendants, gold necklaces, chains, and a locket with seven diamonds.

Fashion in Flushing

Through clothing, one of the most visible and public aspects of material culture, difference was perceivable between the Dutch and English Quakers on western Long Island. People often employ objects of personal adornment to create and negotiate self-identity and group affiliation.¹³³ It is tempting to attribute the overall plainness of Lawrence's textiles to a Quaker sensibility. Indeed, it was likely a contributing factor. After all, Lawrence was a Quaker merchant catering to a largely Quaker populace. Nevertheless, Quaker aesthetics were not so clear cut in the seventeenth century.

During the early years of Quakerism, Friends dressed similarly to others of their station. It was not until the late seventeenth century that an emphasis on plain dress entered religious doctrine. By the time of Lawrence's death in 1680, these ideas were beginning to take hold.¹³⁴ This may explain why in 1669 Flushing resident

¹³³ See Carolyn L. White, "Personal Adornment and Interlaced Identities at the Sherburne Site, New Hampshire," *Historical Archaeology*, 42, 2, (2008): 17-37.

¹³⁴ For a discussion of Quaker plainness and material culture during the seventeenth century see J. William Frost, "Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture" in *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and*

Elizabeth Partridge owned an impressive array of fashionable garments. Her inventory lists a blue silk petticoat valued at six pounds, a black silk gown (five pounds), a cloak doublet and breeches (ten pounds), gold rings, and a parcel of lace (Appendix B).¹³⁵ Unfortunately, Partridge's Quaker affiliation is uncertain.¹³⁶ Regardless, a plain Quaker style was not yet prevalent at such an early date.

1669 was also the year that William Penn published *No Cross, No Crown*. Subsequently, ideas about the maleficence of extravagant dress began to develop. In the publication Penn condemned a list of goods including gold and silver embroideries, pearls, precious stones, laces, ribbons, unnecessary change of clothes, and rich furniture. He denounced frivolities and stressed that the purpose of dress was to cover shame, keep out the cold, and distinguish the sexes.¹³⁷ Friends believed that plainness made one more conducive to experiencing Inward Light. Sober dress,

Consumption, ed. Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 16-40.

¹³⁵ Inventory of Elizabeth Partridge, Flushing, 1669. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

¹³⁶ Flushing's Thomas Partridge who died in 1696 is identified as a Quaker. His relation to Elizabeth is uncertain, but it is possible he was one of her children. See *Collections of the New-York Historical Society: Abstracts of Wills, 1665-1707*, Vol. 1, 272.

¹³⁷ William Penn, *No cross, no crown. Part the first. Containing a discourse, shewing the nature and discipline of the holy cross of Christ, and that the denyal of self, and daily bearing of Christ's cross, is alone way to the rest and kingdom of God*. By William Penn, the eighth edition, corrected (Leeds, 1742-43). British Library, Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale, University of Delaware Library.

speech, and furniture were visible signs of godliness.¹³⁸ From 1686 to 1691 John Bowne served as a book agent for Philadelphia printer William Bradford, selling volumes for him in Flushing. Listed among his accounts is *No Cross, No Crown*.¹³⁹ From Bowne's account book we know that copies of the publication were available in Flushing and that Penn's beliefs were probably well known.

This context is important to consider when unpacking everyday dress and fashion in Flushing. The preponderance of practical woolens and a dearth of lace and other embellishments in Lawrence's inventory suggest that a Quaker-informed taste built on the ideologies of William Penn existed in Flushing. However, Lawrence's shop provides a limited perspective. His enormous supply of wool and linens may also be the result of specialization. The fact that he did not sell crape does not mean the textile was not available in town or worn by Quakers.

A 1688 to 1691 list of fabrics and garments purchased for Mary Becket, the wife of Samuel Bowne, son of John Bowne, provides another conduit for probing Quaker fashion during the late seventeenth century.¹⁴⁰ In anticipation of the wedding,

¹³⁸ Frost, "Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture," 21-5.

¹³⁹ Bowne Account Book, 86.

¹⁴⁰ See "ROGER HAYDOCK DEBT^R TO PHINEHAS PEMBERTON FOR DISBURSEMENTS ON ACCTT OF MARY BECKET" in Allen C. Thomas, "Samuel and Mary Bowne of Flushing and their Friends", *Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 2, 1 (Nov, 1917): 19-24.

a tailor made for her a new outfit which consisted of a gown, petticoat, hood, mantle, waistcoat, and stays. Other garments Becket owned included a riding frock of dyed calico, a white apron, a serge riding gown (adorned with silk, buttons, and ribbon), serge hood and mantle, a crape petticoat, a silk scarf, a wool gown and petticoat, a sarcenet (a thin, transparent silk of plain weave) hood, and two coifes (white undercaps worn with the French hood or hat, or alone).

Mary Becket's account documents a market for crapes among the area's Quakers. Altogether, the disbursements identify twenty-seven yards of the gauze-like fabric. Silk also appears in her inventory, but only in the form of hoods, a scarf, and ribboning. Using Becket's wardrobe as a representation of Quaker fashion, the use of silk in only smaller garments may explain why Lawrence minimally stocked the textile. Comparing the Quaker style portrayed by Becket's account to the portrait of seventeenth-century Bostonian Elizabeth Clarke Freake (Figure 4.2) reveals relative ornamental restraint.

Elizabeth Freake is lavishing styled in her portrait. She wears a silk gown, perhaps of taffeta, stays, a red underskirt trimmed with gold gimp lace, a silk hood, and a decorative lace collar accented with a pearl necklace, gold ring, and beaded bracelet. Mary owned comparable articles of clothing. However, her gowns were made of crape and wool instead of silk, and no amount lace or gold thread was

purchased to embellish her wardrobe.¹⁴¹ It is possible that these disparities also reflect differences in socio-economic status. The value of the estate of Freake's husband was nearly £2,400 in 1675.¹⁴² Although Mary married into the prominent Bowne family, a snapshot of her wealth is difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, a generous sum of £1:04:09 was spent on just 2 ½ yards of silk for a scarf.¹⁴³

Comparing the personal clothing made and purchased for Becket to those that belonged to Margrieta van Varick is also insightful. The latter willed to her daughters a fashionably adorned petticoat with silver lace and one of satin with gold flowers. Van Varick also owned two black farrandine¹⁴⁴ mantuas. In *Academy of Armory* (1688), Randle Holme describes the mantua as “a kind of loose Garment without, and stiffe Bodies under them, and was a great fashion for women about the Year 1676.

¹⁴¹ For descriptions seventeenth-century garments and an investigation of fashion in New England see Patricia Trautman, “Dress in Seventeenth-Century Cambridge, Massachusetts: An Inventory-Based Reconstruction” in *Early American Probate Inventories*, 51-73.

¹⁴²“John Freake, unidentified artist, about 1671 and 1674,” Worcester Art Museum, http://www.worcesterart.org/Collection/Early_American/Artists/unidentified_17th/john_f/discussion.html (Accessed April 3, 2014).

¹⁴³ Before marrying Samuel Bowne and moving to Flushing, Becket lived with the Pemberton family of Pennsylvania. The total amount spent on clothing and other items for her and charged to her adoptive father Roger Haydock in England was £46:19:06 ½.

¹⁴⁴ Ferrandine consisted of a silk weft with a wool, hair, linen, or cotton warp.

Some call them Mantuas.”¹⁴⁵ Mary Becket’s account does not list the fashionable garment. Further scrutiny reveals that van Varick did not own items Becket acquired, such as hoods, mantles, and riding gowns. Considered together, the Lawrence inventory and Mary Becket’s account reveal that apparel in Flushing tended to be sturdy, practical, and conservative. Access to distinct trading centers and cultural and religious divergence resulted in western Long Island fashions that differed stylistically and in degree of flamboyancy.

William Lawrence and the Indian Trade

Lawrence’s involvement in the textile trade not only fulfilled the needs of Flushing’s European inhabitants, but also those of local Native Americans who were equally important consumers. The Algonquian-speaking Matinecock resided in the Flushing area and were an integral part of the town’s cultural *mélange*. Despite land disagreements¹⁴⁶ and bloody wars that ravaged New Netherland’s Native American tribes through the first half of the seventeenth century, Daniel Denton noted in 1670 that the Indians upon Long Island were “...no ways hurtful, but rather serviceable to

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Norah Waugh and Margaret Woodward, *The Cut of Women’s Clothes, 1600-1930* (New York: Theater Art Books, 1968).

¹⁴⁶ In a correspondence dated April 12, 1662, William Lawrence was sent to Stuyvesant to discuss troubles in town regarding Indians demanding payment for land. See Bernard Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. XIV, 512.

the English.”¹⁴⁷ By English conquest in 1664, the Indian population on Long Island was probably less than 1,000. At the time, the total population of the colony was approximately 10,000.¹⁴⁸

Trade provided Long Island’s Native Americans with the majority of their clothing, household utensils, arms, and tools. In return, they sold to colonists surplus agricultural products and animal pelts. The kidnapping of Stephen Necker, along with five other New Netherland colonists, reveals the type of goods the region’s Indians desired. The ransom list contains twenty coats of cloth, twenty handfults of powder, ten bars of lead, ten kettles, two muskets, three swords, twenty strings of wampum, forty knives, ten pairs of shoes, ten pairs of socks, ten adzes, ten hatches, and twenty tobacco pipes.¹⁴⁹

A variety of goods listed in Lawrence’s shop and household strongly suggest that the merchant was probably heavily involved in trade with the local native peoples. Of the over 4,500 yards of textiles in his chamber, the most abundant and most highly valued were duffels (a heavy napped woolen cloth) and osnaburg (a coarse unbleached

¹⁴⁷ Denton, *A Brief Description of New-York*, 44-5.

¹⁴⁸ Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960), 179.

¹⁴⁹ “Minute of the Appearance Before the Council of Stephen Necker, who had Been Taken Prisoner with 5 Others, By Indians and is Sent to Demand a Ransom” in B. Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. XIII, 44.

linen). The respective 219 yards and 1786 yards of each indicate that William Lawrence dealt extensively with the local Indians; from whom he acquired the twenty deer skins, six beaver furs, one wildcat, one wolf, and fourteen raccoons in his Flushing warehouse.¹⁵⁰

Robert Plot's 1677 description of the Oxfordshire town of Whitney and its production of duffel cloth sheds light upon the currency and consumption of the textile in America: "Red or blue, which are the colours that best please the Indians of Virginia and New England, with whom Merchants truck them for Bever, and other Furrs..."¹⁵¹ Indians carefully considered material and color. The same way that a prevailing Quaker aesthetic based on utility, simplicity, and quality influenced the textiles Lawrence retailed in Flushing, the preferences of the Indians also dictated the fabrics he imported. For Native Americans, these European goods replaced items long used in everyday life and in ritualistic contexts. The same metaphorical and symbolic associations originally attached to traditional objects were ultimately transferred to the European ones.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Under the Duke's Laws of 1655, one was not permitted to "Directly or Indirectly Trade with the Indians for any sort of furrs without Licence first from the Governoure which Licence is to be renewed every year...." See *The Colonial Laws of New York: Year 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany: James B. Lyon, State Printer, 1894), 41.

¹⁵¹ Quoted in Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 228.

¹⁵² For a discussion about Indian self-fashioning see Laura Elaine Johnson, "'Goods to Clothe Themselves': Native Consumers, Native Images on the Pennsylvania Trading Frontier, 1712-1730" (MA thesis, Winterthur Program in American Material Culture, University of Delaware, 2004), 4-7. Also see Christopher L. Miller and George R.

In his *Brief Description of New-York*, Daniel Denton notes the manner in which woolens, particularly broadcloth (a fulled plain woven woolen), were appropriated by New York's native peoples. He describes, "Their Cloathing is a yard and a half of broad Cloth...which they hang upon their shoulders; and a half a yard of the same cloth, which being put betwixt their legs..."¹⁵³ The garments Denton is likely referring to are a match coat and breechclout. Although Lawrence's personal textiles only include twenty-four yards of broadcloth, other woolens, such as duffels, were also used to construct these articles.

James Logan, William Penn's provincial secretary, was a major force in Pennsylvania's Native American trade. His accounts provide detailed information about the specific textiles acquired by Indians during the early colonial period. Strowdwaters (strowds) dominate his records. Named after the River Strowd in Gloucestershire, strowds were finely woven and dyed woolens. This soft and comfortable fabric would have been ideal for garments like the breechclout which was worn close to the body.¹⁵⁴ Owing almost fifty yards of blue and red strowds, it is likely that Lawrence furnished western Long Island's Indian population with the desirable fabric.

Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade", *The Journal of American History*, 73, 2 (Sept, 1896): 311-28.

¹⁵³ Denton, *A Brief Description of New-York*, 52.

¹⁵⁴ Johnson, "'Goods to Clothe Themselves'," 8-10.

Far exceeding Lawrence's stock of wools were a variety of linens including 1786 yards of osnaburg, 272.5 yards of shirting holland, 219.5 yards of dowlas, and 156.75 yards of Flemish linen. James Logan imported similar textiles to Philadelphia. Europeans often used coarse linens to create shirts for Native American trade. Logan's accounts include forty-two references to "Indian" shirts. Seen on the portrait of *Etow Oh Koam* (Figure 4.3), one of the Four Indian Kings painted by John Vereslt in ca. 1710, these shirts consisted of wide sleeves gathered at each shoulder, a band collar with a double button clasp, a deeply yoked neckline, and long tails.¹⁵⁵

Textiles were probably not the only European commodities William Lawrence traded. Firearms were another prevalent and problematic component of the Indian trade. Throughout the seventeenth century, attempts to regulate and restrict the arms trade throughout the American colonies were many. However, ordinances were largely unsuccessful and rarely enforced.¹⁵⁶ William Lawrence stored thirteen guns in his cellar. Valued at a little over nine schillings each, they were likely for the native market. In fact, there is record of English settlers in Gravesend giving Canarsee Indians guns in payment for land.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 10-5.

¹⁵⁶ For a discussion about the arms trade in New Netherland see Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York*, 85-105.

¹⁵⁷ Referenced in *ibid*, 100-1.

In 1651 the magistrates of Gravesend and Hempstead issued a complaint to the directors of the West India Company in Amsterdam about native acquisition of firearms:

Although we doubt not your Honors have...labored to prevent the importation...of muskets, powder, and lead to be sold to the Indians; yet...so great a quantity of every imported and sold to the Indians that...they have become obstinate and daring enemies, highly dangerous to our lives and properties....¹⁵⁸

Despite the obvious perils of the trade, it appears Lawrence continued to engage in it. According to historian Allen Trelease, all agreed that the firearms trade was pernicious, but no one wanted to be the first to stop it. The demand was high and the profits too great to refuse. It was typical for remonstrants to also supply Indians with weapons.¹⁵⁹

On the Long Island frontier, European colonists and Native Americans closely intermingled. A 1687 drawing of property near Oyster Bay by James Lloyd depicts “Indian Houses” straddling his upland property and meadows (Figure 4.4). In various ways, native traditions penetrated European culture. For example, six “Indyan hoes” are listed among Lawrence’s merchant’s goods. 200 bushels of Indian corn in his Flushing warehouse, in addition to the prevalence of the crop in John Bowne’s

¹⁵⁸ “The Magistrates of Gravesend to the Directors at Amsterdam” in Bernard Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. II, 154-5.

¹⁵⁹ Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York*, 101.

account book, provide abundant evidence that Flushing's farmers adopted the native multicrop method of planting corn with peas, beans, and pumpkins. This sort of cultivation was not only labor saving, but also accomplishable with a single hoe.¹⁶⁰

Documented in William Lawrence's shop and chamber is an assortment of garments described as "Indian". These articles include Indian coats of various sizes, Indian stockings, breeches, and Indian shirts for men and boys. Unfortunately, the term "Indian" is a nebulous one, especially when describing textiles. "Indian" could refer to clothing of a cut and style traditionally marketed to Native Americans, or to garments comprised of East Indian cottons. Although Lawrence probably did not have direct access to East Indian trade, he did have access to Dutch merchants in lower Manhattan from whom he could acquire the exotic fabrics.¹⁶¹ Amsterdam's immense warehouses contained goods derived from all over the world including Southeast Asia. Even after English conquest, New York's colonial governors continued to cooperate with Dutch merchants who maintained political, social, and financial power in the city.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Bridenbaugh, *Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience*, 28-9. In describing the farming, planting, and gardening of the Indians, Adriaen van der Donck notes that "The labor they devote to farming is all manual, using small adzes that are sold to them for the purpose." See van der Donck, *A Description of New Netherland*, 71.

¹⁶¹ In the 1686 inventory of prominent Dutch merchant Cornelis Steenwyck, "Jn^o Lawrence Williams Son" is listed among his debtors.

¹⁶² For an in-depth discussion about Dutch trade and culture during the seventeenth century see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987). For a discussion about

Despite their far-flung origins, Indians cottons, especially calicos, were relatively inexpensive during the seventeenth century. Thus, an analysis of prices may not offer clues for differentiation. In her study of East India Company textiles for the American market, Amelia Peck suggests that “5 Indian coates” in the 1676 inventory of Thomas Hawley of Roxbury, Massachusetts are men’s dressing gowns or banyans.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, the term “Indian” was certainly used to also specify garments for native consumption. The forty-two shirts described as “Indian” in Logan’s accounts were definitely for the native market. Additionally, Indians demanded coats in the ransom for Stephen Necker and associates.¹⁶⁴ According to the Duke’s Laws, an “Indian Coat” was to be rewarded to any person, Christian or native, for killing a wolf and bringing its head to a constable. A similar ordinance enacted in 1683 awarded a “Match Coate” to any Indian on Long Island for killing a wolf.¹⁶⁵

Dutch trade in New York after 1664 see Charlotte Wilcoxon, *Dutch Trade and Ceramics in America in the Seventeenth Century* (Albany: Albany Institute of Art, 1987), 45-8.

¹⁶³ Peck, “‘India Chints’ and ‘China Taffety’,” 105-6.

¹⁶⁴ English-style coats have also been found archeologically in burials at the 1690s-1763 Conestoga site in the Susquehanna Valley. For discussion about European objects found at Native American sites in the Susquehanna Valley see Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1984). See also Johnson, “‘Goods to Clothe Themselves’,” 26-50.

¹⁶⁵ *The Colonial Laws of New York: Year 1664 to the Revolution*, 65, 133.

It is evident that clothing made for the Native American market were prized by Europeans and Indians alike, functioning both as useful garments and as forms of currency. If the “Indian” clothing listed in Lawrence’s shop (seven coats, one pair of breeches and stockings, and two shirts) were native trade goods, questions arise about who was consuming these items and why.¹⁶⁶ Were the local Matinencock patronizing Lawrence’s shop? Were European residents purchasing these items to engage in native trade, or were they consuming these garments for their own purposes? Laura Elaine Johnson’s discussion about European appropriation of Indian stockings helps shed some light. Made from duffels, strowds, or leather, Johnson explains that the stockings benefitted both Indians and colonists by protecting their legs from undergrowth and other rough conditions. It appears that the fifteen “Indian” stockings in Lawrence’s chamber and shop were probably modeled off of native garments.¹⁶⁷

Situated on the frontier of a major commercial hub, culture and consumption in Flushing was extraordinarily complex. Though dress and identity were more likely to reflect ethnicity and faith-based values, Flushing’s material life cannot be solely defined by its “non-Dutchness”, “Englishness”, or “Quakerness”. Native Americans were active participants in the community. They shaped the material world and were

¹⁶⁶ Scott Stephenson, Founding Director of Collections and Interpretation at the Museum of the American Revolution, and Jason Melius, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, both agree that the “Indian” clothing listed in Lawrence’s inventory was probably for the native market. Email correspondence, April 7, 2013.

¹⁶⁷ Johnson, ““Goods to Clothe Themselves’,” 16.

an essential cog in William Lawrence's and Flushing's commercial endeavors. At the same time, they were the ultimate "other" on an ethnically diverse landscape.

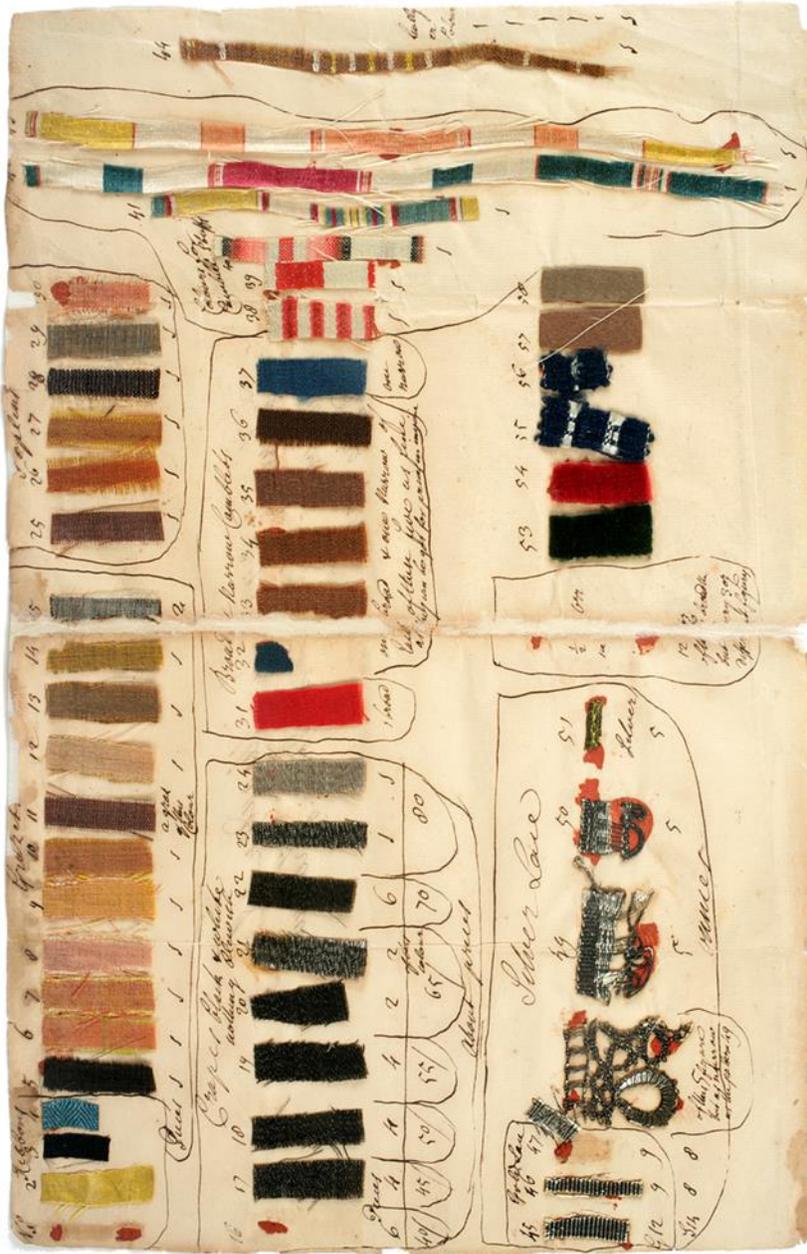


Figure 4.1 Swatches of ribbons, grazets, poplins, crapes, broad and narrow camlets, camlet stuffs, gold and silver lace, and various unidentified textiles, 18th century. Alexander Papers. New-York Historical Society Manuscripts Collection, New York, NY.



Figure 4.2 Mrs. Elizabeth Freake and Baby Mary, 1674. Artist unknown. American. Oil on canvas. H: 42 in. W: 36 ³/₄ in. Worcester Museum of Art. 1963.134. Rights provided by ARTstor, Art History Survey Collection.



Figure 4.3 *Etow Oh Koam King of the River Nation*, 1710. John Simon after John Verelst. Mezzotint. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, museum purchase with funds provided by Charles K. Davis, 1956.82.2

Chapter 5

FURNISHING THE FRONTIER

The over 350-year-survival of the Bowne House and its collection offer a valuable but limited perspective of Flushing domestic spaces. Five extant seventeenth-century inventories, in addition to recordings in John Bowne's account book, provide glimpses inside Flushing homes and reveal how the town's unique cultural dynamics influenced the furnishing of its interiors. As a collection, the detail and readability of each varies greatly. Deterioration from age has rendered paleography challenging and, in some situations, impossible. Probate inventories were compulsory legal documents. However, due to the loss of records from fire and the relocation of archives, only a handful survive.

The material record of the people whose inventories remain reflect a range of affluences: yeomen, a merchant and public official, a widow, and a craftsman. All but one were affiliated with the Society of Friends. Unfortunately, very little is known about these individuals who occasionally appear in governmental documents, Quaker Meeting records, and John Bowne's account book. For some, the contents of their households and the value of their moveable estates are the only pieces of information available about their lives.

Most inventories provide little information about how objects functioned within spaces. Only William Lawrence's 1680 inventory lists specific rooms. However, in some instances, the sequence in which items were recorded illuminates household structure. Regrettably, none of the furnishings listed survive. Nevertheless, through connoisseurship and the use of contextual knowledge about the community and the people who lived there, the inventories can be studied and interpreted.

Discovering Domestic Space

Dating to Flushing's earliest decades, the individuals represented by the inventories came from elsewhere, bringing with them unique cultural and regional traditions and practices. The earliest probate belongs to the widow Elizabeth Partridge (d.1669) (Appendix B). Members of the Partridge family settled in Plymouth, but no link has been found between Elizabeth and the colony's settlers.¹⁶⁸ The items listed in her inventory largely consist of fashionable clothing and accessories (gowns, silver bodkin cabinet, gold ring). In accordance with the Duke's Laws, Elizabeth was to receive a third of her husband's property.¹⁶⁹ Her portion, valued at £228, is substantial

¹⁶⁸ See Pulsifier ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*.

¹⁶⁹ *The Colonial Laws of New York: Year 1664 to the Revolution*, 10.

compared to the other estates discussed (with the exception of William Lawrence).¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, what is presented to us is an incomplete snapshot of Elizabeth's domestic material world.

One of the more interesting furnishings listed in Partridge's inventory is a chest of drawers. Together with a round table, the total value of the two items was one pound.¹⁷¹ The form was rare during the seventeenth century. Only six chests of drawers are recorded in Abbott Lowell Cummings's investigation of almost forty rural New England households between 1675 and 1699.¹⁷² One of the earliest references to the form in America comes from the 1643/1644 Plymouth inventory of John Atwood. Furniture scholar Benno Forman suggests that Atwood's chest of drawers, priced at £3:01:00, was an appropriate sum for a fine London example.¹⁷³ Perhaps a New

¹⁷⁰ For a discussion about women's property rights in New England see Barbara McLean Ward, "Women's Property and Family Continuity" in Benes, ed., *Early American Probate Inventories*, 74-5.

¹⁷¹ There is not a lot of furniture listed in Elizabeth's inventory. Two chests and two bibles are valued at £1:10:00 and a bedstead with two curtain rods are priced at £4:00:00.

¹⁷² Abbott Lowell Cummings, ed. *Rural Household Inventories: Establishing the Names, Uses and Furnishings of Rooms in the Colonial New England Home, 1675-1775* (Boston: The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964).

¹⁷³ See Benno Forman, "The Chest of Drawers in America, 1635-1730: The Origins of the Joined Chest of Drawers," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 20, 1 (Spring, 1985): 9.

England craftsman made Elizabeth Partridge's chest of drawers; she may well have brought the item with her upon moving to Flushing.¹⁷⁴

The earliest documentation of a Flushing-made chest of drawers comes from an entry in John Bowne's account book dated 1685. According to Neil Kamil, the record is also the earliest reference of the form made in New York.¹⁷⁵ The chest of drawers transformed how textiles were stored. It allowed one to separate items in a way that was not possible in a simple chest or trunk, providing easy access to fashionable clothing—of which Partridge owned an impressive amount.¹⁷⁶ As a part of Elizabeth's dowry, the chest may have come to her at the time of marriage. The Dutch in New York practiced a similar custom with kasten.¹⁷⁷

The inventories of William Pidgeon (Appendix D) and Samuel de Ruine (Appendix C), both dating to the 1670s, contrast with the Partridge's. They represent

¹⁷⁴ A Boston attributed chest of drawers dating to before 1680 is currently in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (32.219). It is attributed to the Ralph Mason/Henry Messenger and Thomas Edsall shops.

¹⁷⁵ Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, 844.

¹⁷⁶ For a discussion about the origins of the chest of drawers see Beno Forman, "The Chest of Drawers in America, 1635-1730: The Origins of the Joined Chest of Drawers," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 20, 1 (Spring, 1985): 1-30.

¹⁷⁷ The original manuscript of Elizabeth's Partridge's inventory is in parts indecipherable. For the original see Inventory of Elizabeth Partridge, Flushing, 1669. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. New York State Archives, Albany, NY. The author relied upon a digitized transcription from the Surrogate Court of New York. See "New York, Probate Records, 1629-1971," Images, FamilySearch, <http://FamilySearch.org>.

two yeomen from different cultural contexts. William Pidgeon (d. 1676) was a Flushing patentee and signer of the Flushing Remonstrance. Appearing in John Bowne's account book purchasing land from another Friend, it can be inferred that Pidgeon was also a Quaker.¹⁷⁸ Simon de Ruine (Drovin or de Ruÿne, d. 1678) was a Walloon refugee originally from Landrecy in Hainault. He arrived in America via Holland, settling first in Harlem (Haerlem), of New Amsterdam, and later in Flushing. Here he purchased land next to Jean Genung, a French Huguenot refugee from Saintonge. From his will, we know that Ruine's widow was Magdalen Ledowychs and that French was his primary language.¹⁷⁹ Ruine probably found comfort living in close proximity to another of a similar cultural background.

No appraisal values are given for the goods and estates of either Pidgeon or Ruine. However, it is evident that Ruine was of fairly modest means. His inventory depicts a household sparingly furnished with a chair (for the head of household), one small cupboard, and two old chests which probably also functioned as seating furniture. He likely stored in the case pieces his five pewter spoons, five pewter porringers, and one salt seller. It appears that Ruine did not own a table. However,

¹⁷⁸ Bowne Account Book, 56.

¹⁷⁹ For Ruine's will and information about his life in Harlem see James Riker, *Harlem: Its History and Early Annals* (Harlem: Ardent Media, 1970), 65, 100, 183, 186 and *Collections of the New-York Historical Society: Abstracts of Wills, 1665-1707*, Vol. 1, 48.

eating from a porringer, which could be held with one hand by the handle, did not require one.¹⁸⁰

William Pidgeon's inventory, though difficult to decipher, features a greater number of furnishings. He possessed pewter dishes and probably a table, in addition to chairs and a couple of old and new chests. Pidgeon also owned a form (Figure 5.1), an elongated bench common in seventeenth-century interiors.¹⁸¹ Described as old and broken, he stored it among other outdated furnishings. At some point, it appears that Pidgeon upgraded his furniture and acquired a set of chairs which became the household's primary seating furniture. Nevertheless, the old bench was still useful and remained in the home.¹⁸²

William Lawrence's household possessions far exceed those represented in the other inventories. His Flushing inventory documents a home with four separate spaces: a parlor, chamber, "sellar", and warehouse room. In the parlor, Lawrence retained the majority of his material wealth. It was space for living, eating, and display. In the room were two bedsteads (one cedar, one new) with requisite feather

¹⁸⁰ See Inventory of Simon de Ruine, Flushing, 1678. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

¹⁸¹ See Cummings, ed., *Rural Household Inventories*.

¹⁸² Inventory of William Pidgeon, Flushing, 1676. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

beds, pillows, bolsters, blankets, and coverings—one valued at £16:15:00 and the other £11:10:00. The beds were functional and ornamental centerpieces of the parlor. Other furnishings in the space included a round table, eighteen leather chairs, an iron chest, an iron trunk, a “dale chest markt WL”, a looking glass, a case marked “WL”, a broken case, and a case marked “L”.¹⁸³

It is likely that Lawrence stored his silver “plaite” and £135 in silver money in the iron chest and trunk. The “dale chest markt WL” was where the family kept five old blankets. Priced at twelve schillings and made of “Dale” or deal, inexpensive pine, the chest was probably a simple six-board type (Figure 5.2).¹⁸⁴ It is curious that a

¹⁸³ Despite Lawrence’s immense wealth, the lavishness of his furnishings are easily outshined by those of seventeenth-century Long Island Quaker merchant Nathaniel Sylvester who operated a provisioning plantation on Shelter Island. The value of Sylvester’s entire estate according to his 1680 inventory was £1559:13:0, which was less than half of William Lawrence’s. Sylvester’s manor on the east end of Long Island was furnished with twelve fancy “turkey wrought” chairs, a “turkey wrought” couch, and a “turkey wrought” carpet in addition to ten leather chairs, four tables, a clock, two cupboard drawers, two great chests, and two great trunks. During the seventeenth century, turkey-work, a needlework of woven woolen pile made in imitation of Turkey carpets, were popular. See Inventory of Nathaniel Sylvester, Shelter Island, 1680, Shelter Island Historical Society. For a discussion about Turkey-work chairs see Adam Bowett, *English Furniture 1660-1714: From Charles II to Queen Anne* (Woodbridge, England: Antique Collector’s Club, 2002), 76-8.

¹⁸⁴ It is curious that such a pedestrian piece of furniture is located in the best room of the house. An initialed yellow pine board chest made in the Connecticut River Valley dating to 1670-1720, which probably bears close resemblance to Lawrence’s example, is in the collection of the Porter Phelps Huntington Historic House Museum in Hadley, Massachusetts. The object is illustrated in Gerald W.R. Ward and William Hosely, eds., *The Great River: Art & Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635-1820* (Hartford: Wadsworth Athenaeum, 1985), 196.

large and elaborate case piece for storing textiles and displaying silver, pewter, and other prized objects is absent from the parlor. The record of two “cubbard clothes” in the “seller” indicates that such a form may have been present in the household. It is possible that the piece was a court cupboard (Figure 5.3) or even a kas, both of which were frequently adorned with textiles on their tops and shelves. The appraisers probably did not record the cupboard because it remained in the possession of Lawrence’s widow.¹⁸⁵

As the most richly appointed room, the Lawrence parlor featured a fireplace that was not intended for heavy cooking. Outfitted solely with a fireback, an elegant pair of andirons (probably brass to match the brass tongs, shovel, and bellows), and a trammel for hanging pots, the parlor fireplace was probably used for warming food and light cooking. The relegation of spits, frying pans, iron pots, skillets, dripping pans, and other cooking utensils to the “seller” demonstrates that most of the food preparation occurred there. This area functioned like a hall—a multipurpose space for living, cooking, working, and storage. The Lawrence’s kept various items described as “old” in the “seller” such as a wicker cradle, a two-edge sword, and an oak chest. Two

¹⁸⁵ The presence of kasten in Flushing will be discussed later in this section. For a discussion about court cupboards see Francis Gruber Safford, *American Furniture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Early Colonial Period: The Seventeenth-Century and William and Mary Styles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 279-94.

lesser bedsteads equipped with furniture (one valued at eight pounds, the other at six pounds) reveals that the family also used the “seller” for sleeping. The presence of a “straw bed with some old cloth” suggests that enslaved Africans Jane and Sue may have resided there as well.

Congruent with the other inventories, the household of Richard Tindall (d.1689) was modestly furnished and generously stocked with tools and agricultural implements (Appendix E). The total value of his estate was £93:09:09. Documented as purchasing two books from John Bowne, Tindall was likely a Quaker.¹⁸⁶ Divisions in the inventory reveal that Tindall’s household was probably a multi-room structure. One of these spaces was dedicated to cooking and storage, another for display, work, and dining. Located in the first room was his cooking equipment and tableware: pewter dishes, a basin, and tankard. Tindall furnished the other with the ubiquitous table and form in addition to linen and wool wheels, two chests, and a feather bed and bedding.¹⁸⁷

The group of Flushing inventories depict typical seventeenth-century rural interiors. They document items one would expect: forms, leather chairs, pewter,

¹⁸⁶ Bowne Account Book, 75.

¹⁸⁷ See Inventory of Richard Tindall, Flushing, 1689. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

chests, bedsteads and bedding. In reality, these spaces reflect a group of people who descended upon Dutch Long Island from various places. They all came to Flushing during the earliest years of its settlement with aspirations of greater freedom and economic success.

The world these new Long Islanders transplanted to was an untamed wilderness filled with untapped resources. The dwellings Flushing's settlers erected were impressions of the familiar, of the homes they left behind beyond the Sound, along the East River, and across the Atlantic. The things they furnished their interiors with became indexes of wealth. Overall economic stability allowed many of Flushing's residents to acquire vehicles of show and to construct spaces that divided work from leisure.¹⁸⁸ Even Simon de Ruine, whose household was sparsely furnished, owned a salt seller and pewter porringers instead of less expensive treen or wooden wares. Ruine and others acquired physical embodiments of their prosperity. At the same time, this snapshot of Flushing domestic material wealth suggests that group life and prosperity partly hinged upon religious affiliation. Entrenching oneself within Flushing's Quaker economic network certainly provided a leg-up.

¹⁸⁸ See Robert Blair St. George, “‘Set Thine House in Order’: *The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth-Century New England*” in *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century, Volume II*, ed. Johnathan L. Fairbanks and Robert Trent (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1982), 159-60.

Finding Flushing in Furniture

The scholarship of Neil Kamil probes the beneficial relationships Huguenot craftsmen forged with Flushing Quakers during the early eighteenth century.¹⁸⁹ It was through the woodworking trades that the community's diverse residents left their marks upon the material landscape. Flushing artisans were responsible for many of the furnishings listed in the town probate inventories. As products of the community commissioned by and used by local residents, furniture provides an invaluable avenue for exploring cultural convergence and its impact on everyday life.

An assortment of cabinetry hardware including cupboard, box, and chest locks along with a variety of woodworking tools (gimlets, chisels, rasps, and gouges) listed in William Lawrence's shop inventory indicate that the woodworking trades flourished in Flushing prior to 1680. John Bowne's account book illuminates economic relationships, craftspeople, and the larger Flushing community. The majority of Bowne's clientele were Quakers, but in 1669 he employed the Dutch immigrant Francis Bloodgood (Bloetgoet):

An agreement betwex frances blodgood and John bowne of a parsel of worke frances is to doe for John in payment for a chare of fresh medoe that is to say to make one [ye?] cubert one standing louse bedsted one Cabein bedstead two dores to bee verie close smouthing and ledging a Table to put up a shelve and dreser and and a few Clabords and to clos up the ould trap hole and make a new one and to new hang a dore and to

¹⁸⁹ Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, 767-905.

make a slade and a wheelbarow this agreed upon betwext us this 21 of the tenth month cald desember 1669.¹⁹⁰

Bloetgoet was born in Amsterdam, arriving in Flushing in 1659 after first settling in New Amstel along the Delaware River. In 1674, during Dutch reoccupation of New York, Bloetgoet was appointed chief officer of the Dutch militia of Flushing, Hempstead, Jamaica, and Newtown.¹⁹¹

The craft tradition that Bloetgoet brought to English Flushing was a distinctly Dutch one. The “Cabein bedstead” he constructed for John Bowne was probably a bed box, a type of bed enclosed within a cabinet or cupboard. This form was common in European Dutch households and is frequently depicted in baroque Netherlandish paintings (Figure 5.4). The transaction between Bowne and Bloetgoet is one of the few pieces of evidence that settlers used such a bed in the colonies. Their presence has been largely inferred by curators reconstructing Dutch New World interiors.¹⁹² Bloetgoet’s work for Bowne not only provides further proof that the form was present in American homes, but that it was adopted by English colonists who lived in close cultural contact with Dutch settlers.

¹⁹⁰ Bowne Account Book, 125.

¹⁹¹ See Riker, *Harlem*, 698.

¹⁹² When reconstructing the seventeenth-century Jan Martense Schenck from Flatlands at the Brooklyn Museum, the curators admitted that the installation of bed boxes was based on supposition. See Kevin L. Stayton, *Dutch by Design: Tradition and Change in Two Historic Brooklyn Houses* (New York: Phaidon Universe, Brooklyn Museum, 1990), 33-5.

Another notable piece of furniture Bowne commissioned from Francis Bloetgoet was a “cubert”. The term could refer to a variety of forms, but given the overall “Dutchness” of furnishings Bloetgoet created for the Quaker, it is probable that the cupboard was a type of kas. There is evidence that Continental wardrobes transcended cultures on Long Island during the seventeenth century and furnished English households.¹⁹³ An impressive inlaid oak cupboard in the collection of the Winterthur Museum descended through the English Hewlett Family of Merrick near Hempstead, Long Island (Figure 5.5).¹⁹⁴ Kamil argues that the cupboard’s construction more closely mirrors German freestanding wardrobes or schranken.¹⁹⁵ Meanwhile, its floral inlay motif appears to be derivative of Welsh marquetry.¹⁹⁶ Kamil offers Flushing as a potential origin for the Hewlett cupboard, which according to him, had greater Dutch influence than Puritan Merrick.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ There is a preponderance of eighteenth-century kasten with provenances in Long Island English towns. The form was readily adopted by English communities with the movement of Dutch settlers further east by the end of the seventeenth century. Many pieces are attributed to the Oyster Bay area. For illustrations see Failey, 109-19.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 36-7.

¹⁹⁵ Neil Kamil, “Of American Kasten and the Mythology of ‘Pure Dutchness’.”

¹⁹⁶ See Richard Bebb, *Welsh Furniture, 1250-1950: A Cultural History of Craftsmanship and Design* (Carmarthenshire, UK: Saer books, 2007).

¹⁹⁷ Neil Kamil, Kamil, Catalogue entry for Schrank, western Long Island, ca. 1660-1690, acc. 52.49. Winterthur Collection Records, no date.

The “shelve and dresser” that Bloetgoet made for Bowne is more puzzling. It possibly refers to a pottebank, a dresser or open cupboard used for the display of pewter and earthenwares. Several pottebanks, albeit all eighteenth century in date, have been found in the Hudson River Valley. One dating to the first half of the century furnishes the upper kitchen at Phillipsburg Manor in Sleepy Hollow, the farming, trading, and milling center of the Anglo-Dutch Philipse Family (Figure 5.6). Collection records at Historic Hudson Valley suggest that this example was originally owned by the Couwenhoven family of Brooklyn, not too far from Flushing.

All surviving pottebanks are over six feet high. Due to their large size, Dutch-American material culture scholars posit that craftsmen constructed these pieces within the rooms they were intended to be used.¹⁹⁸ By explaining that the piece was to be “put up”, Bowne suggests that the “shelve and dresser” was made *in situ*. The Bowne family would have adorned their pottebanke with pewter tablewares and ceramics, perhaps English earthenwares.¹⁹⁹

Archaeological excavations of the Bowne property carried out between 1997 and 2003 unearthed a tremendous amount of trailed, dotted, and combed English slipware (Figures 5.7, 5.8). The demand for slipware was great in the American

¹⁹⁸ Roderic H. Blackburn and Ruth Piwonka, *Remembrance of Patria: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America 1609-1776* (Albany: Publishing Center for Cultural Resources, Albany Institute of Art, 1988), 166.

¹⁹⁹ Bowne documents a collection of pewter in his household consisting of platters, plates, porringers, salts, tankards, and a flagon. See Bowne Account Book, 45.

colonies. The pieces the Bowne family owned likely came from Staffordshire, or perhaps Derbyshire, the region the Bownes originally emigrated from. Slipwares were utilitarian, relatively inexpensive, and popular in middling households. They were often used in kitchens and for dining.²⁰⁰ Despite the fact that the Netherlands was a prominent producer and exporter of tin-glazed and other types of earthenwares, English ceramics appear to greatly outnumber those of Dutch origin in the Bowne archaeological assemblages.²⁰¹

The profusion of imported English slipware platters, cups, plates, and jugs speaks further to the trading network Flushing was embedded in. However, Bowne's pairing of Old World ceramics with a New World furniture form made by a local cultural "other" presents an intriguing dialogue. Despite being a part of a largely independent and cohesive Quaker community, John Bowne selectively brought the heterogeneous world inside his home. Cultural blending was evident at the Bowne House, itself an Anglo-Dutch architectural hybrid constructed by English joiner John Feke.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Leslie B. Grigsby, *Slip-Decorated Earthenware at Williamsburg* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1993).

²⁰¹ Judgment based on personal analysis of the archaeological collection and conversations with Dr. James Moore, archaeology professor at Queens College who conducted the archaeological field work. June 2013. A final report is still forthcoming and further analysis is required to identify possible Dutch material. Archaeological investigations of the site are still ongoing.

²⁰² See Wheeler, *A Historic Structure Report*, 2.1-2.23.

John Feke was one of a retinue of English Quaker craftsmen working in the Flushing area during the seventeenth century. Bowne hired Feke, along with Samuel Andrews and John Clay, to build his house and the Quaker Meeting House.²⁰³ Richard Tindall's inventory reveals that he too was probably among Flushing's English Quaker woodworking tradesmen. The document lists an assortment of chisels, drawing knives, hammers, gimlets, and a handsaw.

Samuel Haight (Hoyt or Hoit) was another active Flushing carpenter whose inventory lists a collection of "carpenters tools" valued at £00:16:03.²⁰⁴ He first appears in the Flushing Quaker meeting records in 1677.²⁰⁵ Genealogists suggest that Haight was born in Windsor, Connecticut in 1647 and arrived in Flushing after first moving to Eastchester, New York in 1668.²⁰⁶ Settling in New York at the age of twenty-one, he completed his training in Connecticut. Someone like Haight may have been responsible for the extant Bowne family joined square table stylistically

²⁰³ For a discussion about these craftsmen and their work for Bowne see Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, 776-87.

²⁰⁴ Inventory of Samuel Haight, Flushing, 1712. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

²⁰⁵ See Natalie A. Naylor, ed, "*The People Called Quakers*": *Records of the Long Island Friends, 1671-1703* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books 2001), 37

²⁰⁶ David Webster Hoyt, *A Genealogical History of the Hoyt, Haight, and Hight Families: With Some Account of the Earlier Hyatt Families, A List of the First Settlers of Salisbury and Amesbury, Mass., etc.* (Providence: Providence Press Co., 1871), 312-14.

reminiscent of New England examples (Figure 5.9)?²⁰⁷ He certainly knew John Bowne. Haight is recorded in his account book supplying boards and carting timber for the Society of Friends.²⁰⁸

Despite a preponderance of craftsmen, Flushing artisans did not produce every piece of furniture acquired within the colony. The ownership of imported furniture was a marker of wealth and status. It comes as no surprise that William Lawrence owned furnishings made outside Flushing. The eighteen leather upholstered chairs (one set of twelve, one set of six) in his parlor were the products of urban craftsmen. Requiring specialized labor, upholstery added extra comfort and cost. In total, they were worth £7:16:00. It is possible Lawrence imported the chairs from England, however, it is likely American artisans created them.

During the late seventeenth century, leather chairs were synonymous with Boston and were made primarily for export (Figure 5.10). Manhattan and western Long Island were the city's most important markets. According to Neil Kamil, Boston was England's unofficial cultural broker. However, with an influx of French Huguenot

²⁰⁷ For illustrations of similar tables from southeastern New England see Robert Blair St. George, *The Wrought Covenant: Source Material for the Study of Craftsmen and Community in Southeastern New England, 1620-1700* (Brockton, MA: Brockton Art Center / Fuller Memorial, 1979).

²⁰⁸ Bowne Account Book, 93. Another square table appears in the 1714 Flushing inventory of blacksmith William Fowler. See Inventory of William Fowler, Flushing, 1714. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

refugees after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, New York artisans began to seriously compete with Boston makers of leather chairs.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, foundations for the industry were laid earlier. According to Kamil, several shops of various cultural traditions were active in the city prior to 1685. It is possible that Lawrence's chairs, especially considering his connection to New York, originated in lower Manhattan.²¹⁰

By the opening of the eighteenth century, Huguenot craftsmen were integral components of Flushing's thriving woodworking tradition. These skilled refugees brought to Flushing an international Anglo-French style and further connected the frontier town to metropolitan craftsmen in New York City. This was the *milieu* in which Winterthur's famed Samuel Clement high chest was produced in 1726 (Figure 5.11). The high chest was innovative while also harkening back to the craftsmanship of Flushing's earlier Dutch artisans with its pronounced cornice and imposing size reminiscent of kasten.²¹¹

The Clement high chest is the perfect amalgam of the diverse craft traditions active in Flushing during the seventeenth century. The same can be said for the Museum of the City of New York's fall-front secretary desk (ca. 1720) that descended

²⁰⁹ Neil Kamil, "Hidden in Plain Sight," 191-249.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 199-201.

²¹¹ Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, 841-4.

through the Dutch Brinckerhoff family with kas-like proportions and pseudo line and berry inlay (a decoration strongly associated with Welsh craftsmen in Chester County, Pennsylvania) (Figure 5.12).²¹² The influence of Dutch artisans, English Quakers, French Huguenots, and perhaps Welsh and German craftsmen was perceivable in Flushing interiors. Though all other aspects of Flushing material life portray an identifiably English Quaker enclave, the town's domestic spaces tell a different story: one of cultural convergence and hybridity. Flushing was a place where an English cupboard could comfortably hold court with a Dutch kas.

²¹² For a discussion about English Chester County cabinetmakers see Wendy Cooper and Lisa Minardi, *Paint, Pattern, People: Furniture of Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1725-1850* (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 2011). For an analysis of line and berry inlay see Lee Ellen Griffith, "Line and Berry Inlaid Furniture: A Regional Craft Tradition in Pennsylvania, 1682-1790" (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1988).



Figure 5.1 Joined form, 1650-1700. Scituate or Marshfield, Plymouth, Massachusetts. Soft maple, black ash, white pine. H: $20 \frac{1}{6}$ in. W: $80 \frac{1}{4}$ in. D: $12 \frac{1}{8}$ in. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, museum purchase, 1956.94.6.



Figure 5.2 Blanket chest, 1680-1700. New England. White pine, white oak, hard pine. H: $\frac{7}{8}$ in. W: $50\frac{3}{4}$ in. D: $18\frac{1}{4}$ in. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, museum purchase, 1960.46.



Figure 5.3 Court cupboard, 1650-1700. Duxbury, Plymouth, Massachusetts. Red oak, white pine, maple, white cedar. H: 59 in. W: 49 ½ in. D: 22 ½ in. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont, 1956.10.1



Figure 5.4 *Die Mutter* (The Mother), ca. 1670. Pieter de Hooch. Netherlands. Oil on canvas. H: 92 cm. W: 100 cm. Berlin State Museums. Rights provided by ARTstor. Image and original data provided by Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbestiz.



Figure 5.5 Kas, 1650-1700. Merrick, Long Island, New York. Red oak, white oak chestnut; walnut, conifer. H: 70 ⁵/₈ in. W: ¹/₄ in. D: ³/₈ in. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont, 1952.49.



Figure 5.6 Pottebank, 1725-1750. Possibly Kings County, Long Island, New York. Wood not identified. H: 82 in. W: 59 ½ in. D: 17. Courtesy, Historic Hudson Valley, Pocantico Hills, NY (PM.65.922).



Figure 5.7 Slip-decorated earthenware sherds excavated from the Bowne House. Department of Anthropology, Queens College, City University of New York, Flushing, NY. June 2013. Photo by the author.



Figure 5.8 Mug, 1680-1720. England. Earthenware, lead glaze. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, bequest of Henry Francis du Pont, 1958.1078.



Figure 5.9 Table, 1640-1690. Probably New England or Queens County, Long Island, New York. Oak. Courtesy, Bowne House Historical Society, Flushing, New York.



Figure 5.10 Side chair, 1665-1695. Boston, Massachusetts. Red maple, red oak H: $34 \frac{4}{5}$ in. W: 18 in. D: 15 in. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Pont, 1954.524.



Figure 5.11 High chest of drawers, 1726. Samuel Clement. Flushing, Queens County, Long Island, New York. Red gum, red cedar, tulip poplar. H: 73 in. W: 43 ³/₈ in. D: 24 ¹/₂ in. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum, museum purchase, 1957.512.



Figure 5.12 Fall-front secretary, 1700-1720. Flushing, Queens County, Long Island, New York. Cedar, beech, walnut, tulip poplar. H: 67 in. W: 41 ³/₄ in. D: 22 in. From the collections of the Museum of the City of New York, New York, NY (45.112A-C).

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

*They are stories from, and parables for, our times. They are tales of conquest, tragedy, sorrow, courage, artistry, family, and memory...when you walk the city, remember the millions of others who have walked those streets every day, each with their own stories in the perpetual recounting of New York.*²¹³

As of 2011 immigrants to the greater Flushing area came from seventy countries. Today, Flushing is one of the most religiously and culturally diverse neighborhoods in the world.²¹⁴ More than anywhere else in the greater New York metropolitan area, people of various backgrounds and affiliations have flocked to this swath of land nestled on the northern coast of Long Island in search of greater freedom and opportunity. Pluralistic interaction and internationalism are the threads of continuity that link twenty-first century Flushing to the farm community of almost 360 years ago.

²¹³ Lu Ann De Cunzo, "Afterword," in *Tales from Gotham: Historical Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Microhistory of New York City*, ed. Meta F. Janowitz and Diane Dallal (New York: Springer, 2013), 360.

²¹⁴ "An Economic Snapshot of Flushing, Queens," Office of the State Comptroller, New York City, Public Information Office, September 2011 and Richard Scott Hanson, "City of Gods: Religious Freedom, Immigration, and Pluralism in Flushing, Queens-New York City, 1945-2000" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2002).

Growth and mobility, two characteristics quintessentially Flushing, have ultimately contributed to the obscuring of the internal and external forces that propelled the seventeenth-century community to prosperity. Popular history remembers the plight of John Bowne and the Quakers against autocratic Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant. But it is Flushing's material culture that illuminates the character of everyday, the contributions of its diverse residents, and how the community functioned within a larger colonial Atlantic World context.

Flushing's establishment was mutually beneficial for the Dutch and its English patentees. This slice of western Long Island was extremely productive. The land was so valuable that the Dutch West India Company was eager to settle anyone upon it, even dissenters from New England. The heart of seventeenth-century Flushing then does not solely reside at the John Bowne House or at the Quaker Meeting House, but also in the salt meadows still found beneath the Van Wyck Expressway. Even after Stuyvesant's infamous clash with Flushing's Quakers, the Dutch West India Company urged him to shut his eyes. New Amsterdam needed Flushing. The city relied upon the town's agricultural surpluses to support international trade. Flushing was ultimately left to prosper on the near frontier. In this context, William Lawrence amassed tremendous wealth as a merchant and planter.

Members of the Society of Friends found Flushing to be fertile territory not only for grain and animal husbandry, but also for the proliferation of the Quaker religion. Flushing quickly became an independent and incredibly tight-knit community that operated along lines of business and religion. Flushing did not possess loyalty for

Dutch or English colonial authority, but reaped the benefits of proximity to commercial Manhattan. The Quaker enclave functioned within a network that stretched beyond New Netherland /New York. Stronger relationships were forged beyond the bounds of the colony in Plymouth, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, than within it.

Flushing's strategic location on a navigable bay supported the community's acquisition and consumption of metropolitan and international manufactures. Despite its rural setting, various commodities and people moved through Flushing. The town's access to imported goods was predicated upon its integration within a Quaker Atlantic World. William Lawrence's inventories suggest that different international products found their way to Dutch and English Long Island. In the garments residents donned and the tools farmers used, Flushing was identifiably English and Quaker. Nevertheless, pluralism was a fact of everyday life. As a result, the English enclave boasted a complex material life shaped by the selective appropriation and exchange of objects and ideas from different Native and European peoples.

Cultural diffusion operated under the auspices of Flushing's vigorous Quaker business network. Those outsiders most successful at integrating themselves within it had valuable goods and services to offer. For the Native Americans it was animal peltries. For other Europeans, it was artisanal skill. The town's commercial vibrancy, prosperity, and values supported a cohort of Dutch, Huguenot, and Quaker woodworking craftsmen who contributed to the creation of furnishings and interiors reflective of Flushing's heterogeneity.

Reframing Flushing as a thriving commercial community of eager producers and consumers, we begin to reconsider what it was about the locality that so threatened Petrus Stuyvesant. It was not exclusively a desire for religious uniformity or the Quakers' zealous public proselyting that incited the Director-General to trudge out to Long Island. Flushing was a cultural and economic competitor. At the same time, New Amsterdam's economy relied upon Long Island's agricultural surpluses. Suppression of Quakerism would mean the breakdown of the Friends' commercial engine and greater control over Flushing's productivity.

In the liminal space between the Dutch and English New World, Flushing developed into an extraordinarily complex settlement where peoples of diverse cultural and religious backgrounds converged. Extra-regionally, Flushing's dominant Quaker populace interacted with a global Friends' community. But on the local level, cultures mixed and sometimes blended. The processes of segmentation and hybridization were simultaneously active within the prosperous and heterodox ethnic mosaic that was seventeenth-century Flushing.

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Appendix A

INVENTORY OF WILLIAM LAWRENCE, 1680*

What John Lawrence hath rerevied

One green Rugg at	00/16/00
One blankett at	00/09/00
One frying pan	00/05/00
One small brass kettle	00/06/00
One Iron pott 21 at 00/04/00	00/07/00
Six hogs of pigeon	03/00/00

Errors Excepted y^e 27th aprill 1680
All errors being corrected

4432// 1 // 10 ½

Appraised by us Underwritten

Richard Cornell
John Bowne
John Lawrence
Abraham Whearly

Some [unclear] small frivolous/ thing of little value left of by consent of partyes
conserved as washing tubs syder troughs and some other small matters

Att A Counsell held in New Yorke this 18th day of November 1680
[unclear] the Command of [unclear] Cousell

*All idiosyncrasies and phonetic spellings were kept intact in this transcription. Prices are written out in 00/00/00 format for ease of reading. Inventory of William Lawrence, New York City, 1680. Quoted with permission. New York State – Inventories, MS. 450.2. Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.

Elizabeth Lawrence and William Lawrence Administrators to ye Estate of William Lawrence deceased made oath upon the holy Evangelist of Almighty God that this is a full true and perfect Inventory of the whole Estate of the Deceased as they know of or is Come to their hands. The Debts Due to the Deceased Expected. By order in Councill

[Signature unclear]

One Crosrut Saw at 00/10/00 2 paire bett [unclear] coverings & wedges	01/00/00
Ten hoes Narrow & broad at	00/15/00
Foure pitch forkes at	00/10/00
Six Sickells at 00/02/00 One Cart rope at 00/15/00	01/07/00
One frow at	00/03/00
One barrel of porke at	02/10/00
One barrel of beafe at	01/15/00
Three Dale Cases at 00/03/00	00/09/00
Ten hogsheads at 00/05/00	02/10/00
Foure hogsheads at	00/16/00
One great Case	00/06/00
Two tin drepan at	00/05/00
One great tin Sugar pan	00/03/00
Two Cases Cont 11 knifes at	00/07/00
Nine wooden chaires six at 00/02/00 three at 00/00/12 in all	00/15/00
Two pease hookes at 00/00/06 2 Syths upon Sneds 00/05/00	00/12/06
Foure Iron bound pailles at 00/03/00	00/12/00
One old tables & frame	00/05/00
Two Cannoes at 00/25/00 pp	02/10/00
Two Chese preses at 00/05/00 y ^e p	00/10/00
Tow grind stones one old one new at	00/16/00
One Iron Crow at	00/09/00
Twenty foure empty Cask pipes hodheads at	03/12/00
Two Churns at	00/06/00
One Iron Candlestick & one Iron pott and brass Kettles at [unclear]	01/01/00
Two notases [unclear] at 00/ 03 ½ /00 dozen baggs at 00/02/00	00/15/00
One Indian Mann by name Phillip	40/00/00

Flushing on Long Island*

An Inventory of the Moneys, Housing, Lands, Meadows, Chattells & these Effects & Estate of M^r William Laurence who departed this life the 14th day of March 1679/80.

In Silver Money	124:03:00
Item, In money more	17:01:11
Item, Ten pieces of eight more	3:00:00
Wearing Apparell	
One worsted Camlett Cloake	
Item, one haire camlett Cloake	
It., One broad cloath suite	
It., One suite of Druggett	
It., One old Norwester more	
It., One castor	
Merch^{ts} Goods	
Five spring locks for doores	
It., five paire of hinges for windowes	
It., Fifteen plaine Irons of two sizes	
It., One jointer	
It., Three rasps	
It., Three paire of Duftsayles at ½	
It., Two paire of Casement Hinges	
It., Six files	
It., Five ditto smaller	
It., Three coopers vices	
It., Twelve chissells	
It., six great Gimletts	
It., Three douzen & nine of peircer bitts	
It., Two paire of shoemakers Pincers	
It., Seven douzen & four Awle blades	
It., five thousand small nayles	
It., Three hookes & a sickle	

*All idiosyncrasies and phonetic spellings have been kept intact in this transcription. Prices are written out in 00/00/00 format for ease of reading. Inventory of William Laurence, Flushing, 1680. Courtesy, Bowne House Historical Society, Flushing, New York.

It., Three Coopers broad Axes	
It., Foure Coopers Adzes	
It., Three Coopers Howels	
It., Five Cooper round shaffes	
It., Foure Lathing Hammers	
It., Two croses & one paire of small compasses	
It., Five Coopers heading knives, one drawing knife	
It., sixteen paire of cross garnetts	
It., fourteen narrow axe, one adze	
It., Two hand saws	
It., six Indyan Hoes	
It., Ten thousand of small Nayles of sundry sizes	
It., Nine thousand of Lath Nayles	
It., eight thousand of twelve penny Nayles	
It., Nine thousand of six penny Nayles	
It., One barrell of Sugar Cont 250 [unclear]	
It., Foure paire of small Duftayles	
It., One Coopers Adze	
It., A latch for a doore	
It., Two dozen of steels	
It., two box locks	
It., Three Indyan coates, & three small coates	
It., One sword & one hanger	
It., Nine nibs for sythes, 7 heelsrings w th wedges	
It., One caske of white sugar cont 200	
It., One firkin of shots	
It., six small looking glasses	
It., One cane [unclear]	
It., Three pistolls, two reaping hookes	
It., Two thousand of foure penny Nayles	
It., Ten small barrs & 4 pounds of Lead	
It., A Hammer & 2 old Sythes	
It., Five case Knives, bonehafts	
It., Eleven paire of great Sissers	
It., Fourteene penknifes in cases	
It., Eighty three paire of small woman's Sissers	
It., Fifteen paire of great sissers	
It., Eight dozen & 5 of womens bone hafts	
It., Fifteen douzen & 3 of mens bone ditto	
It., One trowell & a stockclock	
It., Five remnants of Kersey. Cont. 4 ½ yards	

It., One remnant ditto more cont. 4 ½ yards	
It., One remnant of ditto cont. 2 ¼ yards	
It., One remnant of ditto cont. 3 yds	
It., One remnant of blue ditto cont. 4 yds	
It., One remnant of couler'd ditto cont. 4 ¼ yds	
It., One remnant of broad cloath cont. 4 yds ¼	
It., One remnant of ditto cont. 5 yard ¼	
It., Nine yards more of broad cloath	
It., Foure yds ¼ more of ¼ more of broad cloath	
It., Five yds ¼ of stroudwater red	
It., fifteen yds ½ of swan skin	
It., Twelve yds of red Kersey	
It., sixteen yds of Kersey	
It., fourteen yds ¾ of cloath searge	
It., sixteen yds ¾ of searge	
It., two remnants of serge cont. 5 yds ¼	
It., Eight yds of white freese	
It., Nineteen yards & ½ of Linsey flannell	
It., seven yds & ¼ of haire camlett	
It., Five yds ½ of red Kersey	
It., one yd ¾ of blue broad Cloath	
It., six yds of Linsey wolsey	
It., thirteen yds of homespun	
It., Forty foure yds of white Irish serge	
It., ten yds of Kendall cotton	
It., nine yds of yellow Kersey	
It., Two remnants of couler'd perpet cont. 23 yds	
It., seven yards ¾ of black perpets	
It., thirteen yards of greene satinisco	
It., ten yds of & ½ of of coarse serge	
It., thirteen yds & ½ of Irish serge	
It., sixty foure yds ¾ of white Irish serge	
It., fourteen yds & ½ of Kendall cotton	
It., Eleven yds & ½ of white Irish freese	
It., forty foure yards of red cotton	
It., Twelve yards ¼ of of gray worsted camlett	
It., Nine yds ¾ of of worsted Camett	
It., sixteen yds & ½ of of dark couler'd worsted camlett	
It., seven yds & ¼ of fine black freese	
It., Nine yds & ½ of petticoatng Linsey wolsey	
It., Two pieces of gray course Serge	

It. Three yds & ¼ of darke grey serge	
It., Two yds of pennyston	
It., six yds of couler'd haire Camlett	
It., Two yds & ½ of greene Saye	
It., one yd of worsted Camlett	
It., Eighteen yds & ¾ of Norwich stuffe	
It., Twenty two yds of Norwich stuffe	
It., Thirteen yds of Norwich ditto	
It., Thirteene yds & ¼ of striped ditto	
It., six yds of red and white jecker stuffe	
It., Three yds of & ¾ of of red Tammy	
It., two & ¼ of black flowered silke	
It., One yd & ½ of blew bayes	
It., Three striped linnen cupboard cloaths	
Item Twelve yds of narrow blue Linnen	
Item ten yds of broad blue Linnen	
Item Eighteen and a half yds of Ditto	
Item Sixteen yds and a half of shirting Holland	
Item Eighteen yds ¾ of Linnen Ditto	
Item Thirteen yds of corse narrow Ditto	
Item seven yards of ¾ Dowlas	

April 9th, 1680

An appraisment of ye housings Orchards, Lands, Chattels and other Estate of Mr. William Lawrence Deceased.

[illegible] The Neck of Land Commonly called by the name of Tew's neck with all the housing orchards, Meadows and other appertuances belong	1250/00/00
The two forty acre lotts lying at Whitestone	1060/00/00
The forty acre Lott Lying N ^o 13 prized at	20/00/00
The forty acre Lott Lying in Newtons Neck at	15/00/00
Ten foure acres Lotts Lying at Town with all housing & Orchards belonging prized at	60/00/00
Six hundrd and fourty acres of Land Lying Ore .adjoining to the Sunken Meadow Eastward and soo Running Westwards to the fresh pond & northward to the Sound & southward to the path that goes to John Goldin House with all the meadowe belonging	150/00/00
Half a share of Salt at towne and two shares of fresh meadow one in Grayes and y ^e other in Middlemead	10/00/00
One Share of saltmead lying at Terrys pointe	30/00/00

Six shares of meadow Lying at Westchester 3 shares in the Newfound pass? 3 in hunt's Cove	16/00/00
One share of Saltmead Lying at Head of the fly	16/00/00
One Negro man Called by the Name of John	50/00/00
One Ditto Called by the name of Andreas	40/00/00
Two Ditto Called by the name of Tonny & one Harry	70/00/00
Two Ditto Called by the name of Mingo? & Peter	60/00/00
Two Ditto Women Called by the name of Jane and Sue	40/00/00
One Mallato boye aboute nine yeers called by the name of Harry	20/00/00
One Negro child Child of about two or 3 yeers Called by the name Ned prized	05/00/00
One English boye Called by the name of Bishop for a yeare & some months of service	05/00/00
Thirty two Oxen from five yeers & upwards at 5 [illegible] Ox	160/00/00
Eight foure year old prized at 3/15/0	30/00/00
Forty six coves with Calves by their side at 3/5/0	149/10/00
Twenty One 3 yeers old horses & Steers at	57/15/00
One cow & one three old beas at	06/00/00
Twenty five two yeers old prized at	50/00/00
Twenty Six yearlings prized at 1/5/0	32/10/00
Swine	
Twenty Swine prized at 01/00/00 p Swine	20/00/00
Fifty two ditto more ditto more prized at 00/10/00	26/00/00
One bald horse w ^{ch} came from South ^{ton}	06/00/00
Foure horses to mares prized at 03/05/00	45/10/00
Two 2 yeere old horss prized at 00/02/00	04/00/00
Sheep in the whole prized at	04/00/00

April 13th

In Silver Money to y ^e vallue of	135/00/00
In plaite by weight to y ^e vallue of	07/00/00
Twelve Leather Chiars at 86 ^{ye} paire Six Ditto Rusha at 00/10/00	07/16/00
One great Iron bound trunck at	02/10/00
One great Iron bound Chest prized at	01/05/00
One great Looking Glass prized at at	01/00/00
One great hanger prized at	01/00/00
One Iron Back prized at	02/10/00
One paire of andirons at	01/15/00
One round table at	00/15/00
One paire of brass tonges shovell & bellows	01/00/00

One fine feather bed 1 bolster 2 pillows all [illegible] 1 bedstead Sedar 1 Rugg & 1 paire of blanketts prized at	16/15/00
One baskett for child bed Lining 1 Barmados?	00/06/00
One warming pan 1 barbor bason 2 looking glass	00/09/06
One case markt WL at 12 one ditto markt L? at	01/04/00
One case broken at	00/06/00
Fifty seven paving tiles at	00/14/00
Two earthen basons prized at	00/04/00
Twelve Earthen dishes of severall sizes at	00/18/00
Twenty Deere Skins at [illegible] Ditto at 00/02/06	05/17/00
One feather bed 1 bolster & 2 pillows 3 blankets one quilt one new bedstead	11/10/00
Five old blanketts at 00/08/00 2 ditto at 00/04/00	02/08/00
One Dale Chest markt WL prized at	00/12/00
Warehouse goods	
Six beavers 1 wolfe 1 wilde cate prized	03/17/00
Fourteen Rackownes at	00/07/00
Thirty two barreles of porke at 00/50/00 barrell	80/00/00
Three hogsheads of mollasse at	10/10/00
One hundred & forty gallons of Rum at 00/03/00	21/00/00
Three barreles of Sugar cont 1000 ^{wt} at 00/30/00	15/00/00
One barrell of hoggs fatt cont 200 ^{wt} at 00/03/00	02/10/00
Two hundred & fifty busshells of winter wheat	50/00/00
Two hundred bushells Indian Corne at 00/02/00	20/00/00
Thirty five bushells of oates at 00/18/00	02/08/00
One hundred & eighty pound tand leather	11/05/00
Seller Goods	
One hundred forty gallons Rum at 00/03/00	21/00/00
One hogshead mallasse at 03/10/00	03/10/00
Two pipes of Sider at	06/00/00
Three fine holland Sheets at 00/20/00 p sheet	03/00/00
One paire of fine holland pillo beers at	00/16/00
One paire of fine holland Ditto	00/12/00
Seaven paire of courser holland sheets	09/02/00
Foure ditto at 00/25/00 p sheet at	02/10/00
Three paire of courser ditto at	02/00/00
Five paire of holland pillobears	01/10/00
Two bolster cases prized at	00/07/00
One Large diaper table cloth & ½ doz on napkins	01/10/00

One smaller table cloth & eight napkins	01/06/00
One old diaper table cloth & ½ doz on nap	00/12/00
Two Diaper towells at	00/04/00
One dozen ½ of New osen napkins at 00/14/00	01/01/00
Two towells at 00/02/00 six old napkins at 00/06/00	00/05/00
Twp Ells of flower Satin at 00/02/06	00/05/00
Two Cubbard Cloths prized at 00/03/00	00/06/00
Two basons eight square 1 plaine	01/14/00
Three tanketts? At 00/05/00 ye p	00/15/00
One dozen of small salts	00/04/00
Two great Salts prized at 008/08/00 1 tin watered Caudle?	00/13/00
Two wine jugs at 00/02/06 2 Basons at 00/12/00	00/03/06
One barber bason at 00/02/06 caddle cupps at 00/18/00	00/07/00
One bed pan at 00/16/00 two wine pinte 2 gills	01/07/06
One chamber pott at 00/05/00 One coverlid at 01/10/00	01/15/00
One small frather bed bolster 2 blanketts one Rugg	05/10/00
One tin candle box 1 tin drepin pan	00/03/00
One paire of small stillyards at	00/12//00
One hammer one press vallued at Chaire all	00/13/06
Two box irons one old one new one old oak chest	00/10/00
One Little pott & plaite	00/02/00
Ten old caske in the old house sellar	01/10/00
One bedstead & Cord 1 feather bed bolster one rugg 2 blankets 1 pillowber	06/00/00
One straw bed w th some old cloth	01/10/00
Three old blankets	02/03/00
Twenty pound of sheeps wool	01/00/00
One lott of old Linsey Woolsey Curtains	00/10/00
One old two edged sword	00/05/00
One old wicker cradle at	00/05/00
One feather bed bolster 2 pillows 5 old blankets one coverlid & one new Sad Coullared Rugg at	08/00/00
One chamber pott at	00/04/00
Eleven pewter plaite at 00/02/06	01/07/06
Nineteen small ditto at 00/02/00	01/18/00
Seven ditto at 00/01/09	00/12/03
One wine quart at 00/05/00	00/05/00
Two wine halfe pints at 00/02/06	00/05/00
One earthen salt and peper box	00/02/00
Two old tanketts at 00/05/00	00/05/00
Halfe a dozen of small old porringers	00/05/00

One old pewter Candle stick at 00/03/00	00/03/00
Two old saucers at 00/00/12 16 old household spoons	00/05/00
One wattering pan & ginger box at	00/04/08
Three tin sauce pans at	00/01/08
One cullinder & cover	00/01/06
One cutting knife 00/02/00 One Earthen plaite	00/03/00
Two pasty pans at 00/04/00 One Skimmer & chaffing	00/07/00
One Iron drepan pan at	00/08/00
One bell mettle skillet	00/10/00
One frying pan at	00/01/06
One great copper at 09/00/00 2 frying pans at 00/16/00	09/16/00
One tin milk pan at	00/02/00
Two Iron potts cont 53 at 00/00/04	00/17/08
Two Iron potts more cont 50 at 00/00/04	00/16/08
Two Iron Spitts at 00/07/00 Three old brass kettles cont 48 00/00/10	02/07/00
Four ditto more at 40 good at 00/02/03 four ditto cont 29 twelve milk pans C 41	12/09/09
One small Iron pott & mortar	00/16/00
One Iron pott more Cont 34 at 00/00/04	00/11/04
Two chamber potts at	00/08/00
Three paire of tonges & fire shovell at	00/12/00
One trevett Cont 18	00/09/00
Five Tramells at 00/06/00 y ^e	01/10/00
One paire of Racks prized at 6	00/06/00
One paire of Irons 1 broke	00/10/00
Twelve guns one w th another prized at	06/00/00
Nine rawhide at 00/12/00 a hide	05/08/00
One Butt Boar four earthen plaite	00/03/00
One paire of bellows at	00/01/00
Forty four pound of pewter at 00/01/06	03/06/00
One Large bason 00/10/00 Two tin drepin pans 5	00/15/00
One tankett at 00/05/00 1 chamber pot at 00/05/00 1 wine quart	00/15/00
Chamber Goods	
Thirteen peces of fine Sarge at 03/10/00	45/10/00
Eleven peces of Course Sarge at 02/10/00	27/10/00
Fourteen hundred seventy two yards of browne Ozenb at 00/00/14 p yd	85/17/04
Three hundred & fourteen yds of blew ditto at 00/00/14	18/06/04
280 of new pewter at 00/00/20 [unclear]	23/06/08

46 old ditto at 00/00/18 [unclear]	03/09/00
Six peces of No:1 Cont 272 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds of shirting holland at 00/03/00 p yd	40/17/06
Five peces No2 Cont. 179 $\frac{3}{4}$ yds at 00/04/00 p yd	35/19/00
Seven peces No3 Cont 268 $\frac{1}{2}$ at 00/03/00 p yard	40/05/06
Two peces of No4 Cont 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ at 00/02/00 p yd	04/13/00
Foure peces No5 Cont 84 yd at 00/03/00 p yard	12/12/00
Twenty one peces of English Blanket at 00/18/00	18/18/00
Three Ruggs at 00/16/00 y ^c paire	02/08/00
One Rugg at 00/12/00	00/12/00
One boyes Hatt No1 00/01/10 5 Ditto No2 at 00/02/04	00/13/06
Five Ditto No3 at 00/02/10	00/14/02
Five Ditto No4 at 00/03/04 two Ditto No5 at 00/04/00	00/14/08
Two Ditto No7 at 00/06/00 One ditto No6 at 00/05/00	00/17/00
Eight Ditto No8 at 00/07/00	02/16/00
Seven ditto No9 at 00/08/00 pp	02/16/00
Eleven ditto No10 at 00/09/00 pp	04/19/00
Foure ditto No11 at 00/10/00 pp	02/00/00
Two Ditto No12 at 00/12/00 pp	01/04/00
Five Ditto No13 at 00/16/00 p	04/00/00
Three Ditto No14 at 00/20/00 p	03/00/00
Thirteen paire of Irish Stockins at 00/12/00 pp	00/13/00
Fourteen yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of whte linen No1 at 00/03/00 p yd	02/06/06
Thirty four yds Ditto No2 at 00/04/00 p yd	06/16/00
Thirty two yds Ditto No3 at 3 p yd	04/16/00
Fourteen yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Ditto No4 at 00/02/00 p yd	01/09/00
Fourteen yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of Broad lin No5 at 00/03/00 [unclear]	02/04/03
Eighteen yds of fine blew holland at 00/03/06	03/03/00
112 yds of Dowlas at 00/02/00 p yd	11/02/00
Twenty seven yds of fine blew linnen No1 00/02/06	03/07/06
Sixty two yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of blew ditto No.2 at 00/02/00 p yd	06/05/00
Thirty one yds of blew Ditto No4 at 00/16/00 p yd	02/05/05
Two paires Cont. 60 yards No3 at 00/01/09	05/05/00
Six yards of broad slasey holland at 00/03/06	00/15/00
Thirteen broad Diaper at 00/03/06 p yd	02/07/03
One end of fustian Cont. 15 yds at 00/00/16 p yd	01/00/00
One end of striped Dimetee at	05/05/00
Three yards of of tickin at 00/02/06 p yd	00/07/06
Fourteen paire of Indian Stockings at 00/02/00 pp	01/08/00
Five yds of green curtan Stuf at 00/02/06 p yd	00/12/06
Twenty yds of Coullard linsey wolsey at 00/03/00	03/00/00

Twenty 3 yds of white striped linsey woolsey for pett at 00/02/06	02/17/06
One whole Ditto Cont 25 yds at 00/02/06 p yd	03/03/06
219 yards ½ of Duffels at 00/03/08 p yd	40/04/10
6 7 ½ yards of vistry canvas at 00/00/20 p yd	05/12/06
One pece of blew pennystone Cont. 42 yds ½	06/07/06
One pece Ditto Cont 21 yds at 00/03/00 p yd	03/03/00
One pece Ditto Cont 20 yds at 00/03/00 p yd	03/00/00
One pece Ditto Cont 44 yds ½ at 00/03/00 p yd	06/13/10
One pece Ditto Cont 20 yds at 00/03/00 p yd	03/00/00
One pece Ditto Cont 20 yds at 00/03/00 p yd	03/00/00
One pece Ditto Cont 20 yds ½ at 00/03/00 p yd	03/01/06
One pece of have thick Kersey Cont 23 ½ at 00/03/06	04/02/03
One pece Ditto Contain 32 yds at 00/03/06 p yd	05/12/0
One pece Ditto Contain 27 yds at	04/14/06
One pece Ditto Cont 13yds ½	02/07/03
One pece Ditto more Cont 13 yds ½ at 00/03/06	02/07/03
One pece of Single purple base Cont 23 yds ¼ at 00/03/06	04/01/04
One pece of blew stroudwater Cont 19 yds at 00/08/00	07/16/00
One pece of Read Ditto contain 20 yds ½ at 00/08/00	08/04/00
One pece of Reed finer contain 20 yds at 00/10/00	10/00/00
One pece white of white pennyston contain 17 yds	02/11/00
One pece reed ditto contain 21 ¾ at 00/03/00	03/05/03
One pece of ditto more contain 6 yards at 00/03/00	00/18/00
Twenty foure yds of purple twaisy at 00/02/00 p yd	02/08/00
Ten yards of mouse Coullard broad cloth No1 at 00/10/00 p yd	05/00/00
One pece of Ditto gray Contin 14 yards at 00/10/00 No.2	07/00/00
No3 One pece of fine Ditto Contain 17 yards at 00/15/00	12/15/00
Four peces of blanketting cont 25 [illegible] at 00/14/00	17/10/00
One pece of ditto reed reed Kersey cont 32 yards at 00/07/00 No1	11/04/00
One pece of ditto Reed contain 36 yds No2 at 00/07/00	12/12/00
One pece of ditto reed cont. 1/8 yd ½ No3 at 00/07/00	06/09/06
156 yards ¾ of Flemish Linen at 00/02/00 p yd	15/13/06
No1 ten yds of Yorkshire kersey at 00/06/00 p yd	03/00/00
Eleven yards ditto No2 at 00/05/00 p yd	02/15/00
Fourteen ¼ yds Ditto No3 at 00/05/00 p yd	03/11/03
One pece Ditto Cont 18 yds ¼ No4 at 00/06/00 p yd	05/09/06
One pece Ditto Cont 17 yards No5 at 00/05/00 p yd	04/05/00
One pece Ditto Cont 18 yards No6 at 00/05/00 p yd	04/10/00
One pece Ditto Cont 17 yards No7 at 00/07/00 p yd	05/19/00
One pece Ditto Cont 18 yds No8 at 00/05/00 p yd	04/12/06
One pece Ditto Cont 25 yds No9 at 00/05/00 p yd	06/05/00

Four pees of redd cot [cotton?] Cont 179 ½ yds at 00/02/00 p yd	17/19/00
Eleven yds ¾ of broad reed Kersey No10 at 00/07/00	06/00/05
17 yards ½ of reed dozens course at 00/06/00 p yd	05/05/00
21 ½ yards of white cotton at 00/20/00 p yd	01/15/10
34 yards of Linsey Wolsey striped at 00/02/06 p yd	04/05/00
23 yards of broad ditto at 00/05/00 p yd	02/17/06
Forty eight yards of narrow Ditto at 00/02/00 p yard	04/16/00
One Curry comb tines at 00/02/00 Three black ditto at 00/12/00	00/05/00
Three plastering trowells at 00/02/00 one brick ditto at 00/03/00	00/09/00
Six horse Locked at 00/02/00 y ^e peire	00/12/00
Pewter	
One dozen ½ of beare quarts at 00/05/00 paire	04/10/00
Two dozen & 7 of wine quarts at 00/05/00 paire	07/15/00
Thirty three chamber potts at 00/05/00 paire	08/05/00
Three large hammerd wrought tanletts at 00/10/00	01/10/00
Two Ditto smaller at 00/08/00 pp	00/16/00
Six ditto smaller at 00/06/00 y ^e p	01/16/00
Six plaine Ditto quarts at 00/05/00 pp	01/10/00
Five three pintes ditto at 00/06/00	01/10/00
Three dozen & 10 of Small porringes at 00/16/00 pp	03/01/04
Eight dozen large ditto at 00/20/00 pp	08/00/00
Four dozen ½ saucers at 00/12/00 pp	02/14/00
Two dozen at 00/08/00	00/16/00
Thirty dozen pewter spoons at 00/04/00	07/04/00
Eight dozen of aukumb at 00/06/00	02/08/00
Seventeen wine pints at 00/04/00 paire	03/08/00
Ten ½ pints at 00/02/06 p pe	01/05/00
Ninteen Gills at 00/01/09 pp	01/13/03
Three bed pans at 00/16/00 y ^e p	02/08/00
One salt seller at 00/03/06 one ditto greater at 00/06/00	00/09/06
Two candlesticks at 00/08/00 pp	00/16/00
Two Ditto lesser at 00/04/00 pp	00/08/00
Cham^b	
Six paires of large esses at 00/06/00 p peire	00/12/00
Six paires of Ditto lesser at	00/10/00
Six paires ditto lesser at	00/08/00
Six paires Ditto at 00/06/00 foure paire at 00/02/08	00/08/08
Six paires of Large H esses	00/12/00
Six paires of lesser ditto	00/10/00

One dozen of dovetailers at 00/08/00	00/08/00
One dozen ditto at 00/06/00 one dozen ditto at 00/05/00	00/11/00
Five paires of white showaker pinchers at	00/12/06
Twelve paire of white spurs at 00/12/00	00/12/00
Five stock lockes at 00/02/00	00/10/00
One double springe lock at 00/04/00	00/04/00
Six Single spring lockes at 00/02/00	00/12/00
Six large chest lockes at 00/02/00	00/12/00
Six cubbard lockes at 00/02/00 pp	00/12/00
Five box lockes at 00/18/00 five at 00/12/00	00/12/06
Two paireing chisselss at 00/20/00	00/03/04
Two broad Ditto at 00/18/00 pp	00/03/00
Three gouges at 00/12/00 3 mortising chisells at 00/12/00	00/06/00
Seven heading chisells at 00/12/00	00/07/00
Ten Gimletts at 00/04/00	00/03/04
One tin cover at 00/02/00 One at 00/18/00 one at 00/12/00 mall?	00/04/06
One butter baster 00/04/00 one fish Cullinder at 00/18/00	00/05/10
One pinte pott & porringer at 00/12/00	00/01/00
One large pewter candlestick at 00/06/00	00/06/00
One reed rugg very old at	01/05/00
Eleven yards of canvass at 00/02/00	01/02/00
Twenty two yards of Dowlas at 00/03/00 p yd	03/06/00
One hammer at	00/01/06

April 19th, 1680

Shop Goods	
Thirty two yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of Sky Coullard tammy at 00/02/00 p yd	03/05/06
One pece of yellow Ditto Cont 25 yds at 00/02/00 p yd	02/10/00
One pece of blew ditto cont 25 yards at 00/02/00 p yd	02/10/00
One pece green ditto Cont 19 yards at 00/02/00 p yd	01/18/00
One pece of Silk Norwich Stuff Cont 29 yards at	04/00/00
One pece worsted Camlett Cont 24 yards at	03/00/00
One pece of fine reed prest? Large cont 22 yds	05/00/00
One pece of worsted Camlett Cont 24 yards	03/00/00
One piece of Gray Sarge at	04/00/00
Two pieces of fine ditto at 05/00/00 pp	10/00/00
One piece of worsted prenella Cont 26 yards	04/10/00
One piece of broad cloth Sarge at	08/00/00
Twenty five $\frac{1}{4}$ yards of modest Coullared Sarg	05/00/00
Ten yards of mixt collard tanton Sarge at 00/04/00	02/00/00
Five yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of fine broad Mixt ditto	01/03/00

Twelve yards $\frac{3}{4}$ of Light Coullard tanton at	02/11/00
Ten yards $\frac{3}{4}$ of fine prest Mixt Sarge	02/13/09
Thirteen yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of fine worsted Camlet [unclear]	02/07/03
Fourteen yds of fine cloth sarge	04/18/00
Sixteen yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of turkey haire Camlett at 00/06/06	05/08/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thirty Nine yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Linsey flannel at [unclear]	06/18/03
Two Remnants of Cont 7 yds of reed cloth rush 00/08/06	02/19/06
Twelves yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of green Say at 00/05/00 p yd	03/02/06
Twenty yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of striped norridge stuff at 00/02/06	02/11/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sixteene yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of dark coullard worsted	02/09/06
Nine yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of gray worsted Camlett at 00/02/06 p yd	01/06/00
Six yds of haire Camlett at 00/04/00	01/04/00
Seven yds $\frac{1}{4}$ of black haire Camlett at 00/07/00 p yd	02/10/09
Two yards $\frac{1}{4}$ of black flowered Satin at 00/06/00 p yd	00/13/06
Twelve yards of gray druggat at 00/02/06 p yd	01/10/00
Fifteen yds $\frac{1}{2}$ Swanskin at 00/05/00	03/07/06
Twelve yds of Reed Kersey at 00/03/06 p yd	02/02/00
Five yards 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$ of fin reed Kersey at 00/07/06 p yd	02/01/03
Foure yds $\frac{1}{4}$ of gray have thick at 00/03/06 p yd	00/14/10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Two yards 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ of black $\frac{1}{2}$ thick	00/09/07 $\frac{1}{2}$
Two yards 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ of gray Kersey at 00/05/00	00/18/09
Five yards of blew $\frac{1}{2}$ thick	00/15/00
Five yds $\frac{1}{4}$ of Light Coullard broad cloth at 00/11/00	02/06/09
Five yards of gray broad cloth at 00/06/00 p yd	01/10/00
Nine yards of gray ditto 00/10/00 p yd	04/10/00
Five yards 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ gray dark coullard broad cloth at 00/11/00	02/06/00
Three yds $\frac{1}{4}$ of fine broad cloth at 00/17/00 p yard	02/15/03
Two yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Ditto at 00/15/00 p yard	01/13/09
Three yds $\frac{1}{2}$ if rash at 00/10/00 p yard	01/15/00
Twenty nine yds of ash coullard Shallone at 00/06/00 p yard	08/14/00
48 yds of fine Holland in sundry pieces at 00/08/00	19/04/00
One piece of tufted Holland Cont 15 yards	02/05/00
Ten yards of slight dimity at 00/02/06	01/05/00
4 dozen $\frac{1}{2}$ of mens worsted Stockins at 00/07/00 p paire	18/18/00
8 paires of yarn womens ditto at 00/04/00	01/12/00
One paire of womans fine ditto at 00/05/00 p	00/05/00
Three paires of fine mens worsted ditto at 00/07/00	01/01/00
Two yd $\frac{1}{4}$ of purple Rash	01/02/06
Six yards $\frac{3}{4}$ of stripped silk at 00/05/06	01/17/01 $\frac{1}{2}$
One dozen of womans reed stocking at 00/03/00 p	01/16/00
Six paires of womans ditto at 00/02/00 pp	00/12/00

Ten paires of mens gray yarn ditto 00/03/06	01/15/00
Two paire of boyes worsted ditto at 00/04/00 p	00/08/00
One dozen larg childrens ditto at	00/06/00
Five paires of smaller ditto at 00/00/20	00/01/08
Seven paire of stockins at 00/12/00 p	00/07/00
Five bibles at 00/06/00 ye p	01/10/0
Two carts in ye shop at 00/25/00 p cart	02/10/00
One dozen & two of nutmeg grate	00/05/00
Six remnants of kersey and sarg cont 5 yards ½	00/16/03
Three Indian cotes at 00/05/00 two boys Ditto 00/04/00	01/12/00
Fourty six yards of reed cotton at 00/02/00 p yd	04/12/00
Two jars of sweet oyle at	01/00/00
One paire of Skye coullard Silke stockins	01/00/00
Twenty paires of mens gloves at 00/18/00 p	01/10/00
Eleven paires of womens ditto	00/16/00
Three paires of Statute lace at	00/06/00
Thirteen yards of white Irish fryse at 00/12/00	00/13/00
Sixteen yds of white kendall Cotton at 01/04/00 p	01/01/04
Two yards ½ of green Say at 00/03/06 p yd	00/08/09
Nine yards of fine branch tufted holland	01/07/00
Thirteen yds ¾ of fine tufted ditto	02/02/00
Foure yds ½ of whie Jecker? Dimety 00/02/06	00/11/03
Twenty two yards of striped fustian at 00/02/00 p	02/05/06
Twenty nineyds...of plane fustian at	02/13/07 ½
Eleven yds ¼ fustian at	01/02/06
Seven yards of dowlas at 00/02/06 p yd	00/17/06
Six yds ½ of roufe shirting holland at 00/03/00 p	00/19/06
Eighteen & ¾ of finer ditto at 00/03/06	03/06/01 ½
Thirteen of courser narrower ditto at 00/02/06	01/12/06
Twelve yds of narrow blewing at 00/00/14 p yd	00/14/00
Eighteen & ½ of broad ditto at 00/04/00 p yd	03/14/00
Ten yards of broad ditto more at 00/04/00 p	02/00/00
Fourteen yards of narrow holland ticken at 00/03/00 p	02/05/00
Ninety yards of narrow English canvas	00/12/08
Three Striped Cubbard Cloths at 00/09/00 pp	01/07/00
Sixty five yds ½ of Scoth clothe at 00/02/00 p yd	06/11/00
Three paires & one remnant Cont 30 yds at 00/16/00	02/00/00
Three yds ½ of brwne holland at 00/04/00 p yd	00/14/00
Foure yds of reed tammy at 00/02/00 p yd	00/08/00
Six yds of white striped Jecker at 00/02/00 p yd	00/12/00
Thirteen yds of white norridge striped stuff 00/02/06	01/12/06

Twenty two yds of norridge ditto at 00/03/00 p yd	03/06/00
Eighteen yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of norridge ditto	02/16/03
One small remnant of Silke Con $\frac{3}{4}$	00/02/00
Thirteen yds of barrateen at 00/03/00 p	01/19/00
Two white Indian Shirts at 00/04/06 p shirt	00/09/00
Three yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Camlett	00/03/00
Two yds of pennystone at 00/03/00 p yd	00/06/00
Three yds $\frac{1}{4}$ of tanton Sarge	00/13/00
One yard of blew purple base at 00/04/06	00/04/06
Seven yards $\frac{1}{4}$ of black fryse at 00/02/06 p yd	00/17/07 $\frac{1}{2}$
One yard $\frac{3}{4}$ of blew dofens at 00/07/00	00/11/09
Nineteen yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of white flannel	02/18/06
Four pieces Cont yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of Irish Sarge	13/14/04 $\frac{1}{2}$
Six yards of home spune at 00/02/00 p yd	00/12/00
Five yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of have thicke at 00/03/06 p yd	00/19/03
Fourteen yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of dark coullard sarge cloth at 00/06/00	04/08/06
Thirteen yds sarge tanton darke coullard at 00/04/00	00/12/00
Sixteen yds of gray narrow Exeter sarge at 00/03/00 p	02/08/06
Fourteen yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of mixt kersey yorkshire at 00/06/00 p	04/11/06
Thirteen yds of greene Sarge at 00/04/00 p yard	02/18/06
Ten yards of ash coullard Irish Sarge at 00/03/00 p	01/10/00
Thirteen yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Irish ditto at 00/02/06 p yd	01/13/09
Nine yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of ash coullard perpet at 00/03/06	01/13/03
Thirteen yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of Ditto at 00/03/00 p yd	02/01/03
Thirteen yds of homespun at 00/03/00 p yd	01/19/00
Nine yds of yellow kersey at 00/04/00 p yd	01/16/00
Ten yds of kendall cotton at 00/00/16 p yd	00/13/04
Nine yds of Linsey wolsey for petticoteing at 00/02/06 p yd	01/02/06
One Indian Cote & boye one at 00/08/00 one 00/05/00	00/13/00
One piece of Irish fryse Cont 8 yds	00/10/00
One piece ditto cont 12 yards	00/16/00
Two blue shirts at	00/06/00
Fourteen dozen and 3 of mens bone hafts (or hasts?) at 00/06/00 pd	04/11/06
Eight dozen of womans Ivory hafts & 8 at 00/03/00 pd	01/06/00
Three dozen & 3 of mens Ivory ditto at 00/09/00 pd	01/09/03
Eight pin knives at 00/00/09	00/06/00
Six dozen & 11 of womans sisers at 00/04/00 pd	01/07/09
Fourteen paire of mens great ditto at 00/00/06	00/07/06
Four sets of silver cloke buttons at 00/10/00 p Sett	02/00/00
Two dozen & $\frac{1}{2}$ pins at 00/16/00 pd	02/00/00
Four sets of cloke silk ditto at 00/06/00 9d	01/10/00

Six gross of gimp Ditto at 00/03/00 p gro	00/18/00
Foure pound of silk hank & skane	06/00/00
Foure dozen ½ of thread lase at 00/00/01 pp	00/04/06
Foure [unclear] of gallone at	00/10/00
12 yds ¼ of Duftals	02/04/11
Foure Dozen of camell's haire buttons at 00/08/00 pg	00/02/08
Two gross ½ of sike cote Ditto at 00/06/00 pg	00/15/00
Two dozen of horse haire cote ditto	00/00/08
Three dozen of gold cote Ditto at 00/02/06 p do	00/07/06
Two dozen of men's brest Silver at 00/00/16	00/02/08
Three dozen of cote gimp at 00/00/03 p do	00/00/09
Seven gross & 8 dozen of gimp silke cote at 00/06/00 p gro	02/06/00
Eleven dozen & 4 of pewter plane ditto at [unclear]	00/05/07
Fourteen dozen ½ od silke brest ditto at 00/00/06	00/07/03
One gross of silke gimp brest at 00/04/00	00/04/00
Seven whole pieces of cotton ribon at 00/06/00 p	02/02/00
One hund [unclear] 70 yds of cotton Ribon at 00/00/02 p yd	01/08/04
Seven Children's Capps at 00/00/8 p cap	00/10/16
2 [unclear] of browne & coullard threed at 00/04/00 [unclear]	00/08/00
One ¼...of Coventry blew at	00/02/00
2 ell? Of hollan blew at 00/06/00 p	00/12/00
2 ell of browne ditto at 00/04/00	00/08/00
2 ell of white browne at 00/06/06 p	00/13//00
Eleven pieces of striped manchester	01/07/06
Nineteen pieces of reed & blew tape	00/09/06
Foure paires of white narrow ditto at 2	00/08/00
Six pairs of white Narrow ditto Course at	00/07/06
Five yds ½ & [unclear] of watered tabbie at 00/12/00 p yd	03/07/06
Foure ivory combs at 00/00/10	00/03/04
Three ivory ditto at 00/00/12	00/03/00
Five ivory combs at 00/00/08 pp	00/03/04
One pound of shew threed twine	00/02/00
Twenty three yds of white Filliting 00/00/03 p yd	00/05/03
One hundred fourty six yds of ferretting at 00/00/06 p yd	03/13/00
Sixty five yards of taffety at 00/00/06	01/12/06
Five pieces of Statue gallone at 00/06/00	01/10/00
Five Spring Lockes for doors at 00/01/06 p	00/07/06
Five paire of hinges for windowe at 00/00/15	00/06/03
Five [illegible] plane Irons of two sizes 3 at 00/00/12 & 12 at 00/00/10	00/13/00
One Joynter at 00/03/00 three rasps at 00/02/00 p	00/09/00

Three Dufftailes & ½ at	00/02/04
Two paire of Casement hinges at 00/02/00	00/04/00
Eleven files six at 00/00/12 5 at 00/10/00 in all	00/10/02
Three Coppers vices at 00/00/20 six great Gimletts at 00/00/06	00/08/00
One dozen chesill of several all sizes 8 at 00/00/12 4 at 00/00/08	00/10/08
Two paire of showmakers pinchers at 00/02/06	00/05/00
Three dozen & nine pearcer Bitts at	00/11/03
Seven dozen & 4 of ail blaides at	00/07/04
Five roap hookes & 1 sickell at 00/00/08 one at 00/02/00	00/05/04
Five Coopers adzes at 00/02/06	00/12/06
Five Coopers broad axes at 00/08/00 p ax	01/04/00
Three Coopers howells at 00/03/00	00/09/00
Five Coopers round shavoe? At 00/02/06 p	00/12/06
Foure Lathing hammers at 00/02/06	00/10/00
Two crosses 1 paire small compasses	00/05/00
Five coopers heading knives 00/05/00	01/05/00
Sixteen paire of cross garnetts at 00/01/06	01/04/00
Fourteene narrow axes, 1 adze at 00/03/06	02/12/00
Foure paire of small duftailes at 00/00/04	00/01/04
One latch for a door six median hoes at 00/01/06	00/10/00
Two dozen of steels at 00/00/03 pp	00/06/00
Two box Lockes at 00/00/09 four lotte for [unclear] at 00/01/06	00/07/06
214 of white Sugar at 00/00/08	07/02/08
100 of shott at 00/00/04	01/13/04
Fine small looking glass at	00/03/09
One cane tuck at	00/06/00
Two pistolls one at 00/10/00 other at 00/05/00	00/15/00
28 of lead at 00/00/04	00/09/04
One hammer at 00/02/00	00/02/00
Four Syths 2 at 00/05/00 2 at 00/02/00	00/14/00
Ten penny nails 160 at 00/09/00 pe	06/00/00
Six penny nailes at 00/00/10 : 80 [unclear]	03/06/08
Tackes & severall other sizes of small nails at 00/03/00 p le 13 [unclear]	01/19/00
Laithes Nailes 4 penny at 00/00/8 100 ^{wt}	07/10/00
One butter baster & one Indian Line at	00/01/08
One trunke at 00/10/00	00/10/00
On paire of plaine Shews	00/06/00
One paire of brass Skales and weights	00/08/00
One paire of brass ditto old at	00/05/00
One old Chaire at	00/03/00

One Instrument for boyling fish 00/00/10 2 bailes for pailles at 00/06/00	00/01/10
Sixteen hogshead of tobacco Cont 5437 reat at one penny ½	33/19/7 ½
One paire of Indian Stock & breechs at	00/03/06
One paire of great Stillyards at	01/05/00
One paire of new upper Leather	00/03/00
Foure draught chianes at 00/10/00	02/00/00
Carts plow Iron yoakes & Irone boxes at	05/00/00
Six narrow axes at 00/04/00 pp	01/04/00

Appendix B

INVENTORY OF ELIZABETH PARTRIDGE, 1669*

An Account of the Apprisement of the Goods and Chatles of the widow Elizabeth Partridge Deceased By Mr. William Lawrence and Erike Jacobs Overseers chosen by the Constable October 18 1669

[illegible] for ye house & Land Ordered by ye Council of Session in Merchants pay	45/00/00
Item 2 Cows prized at	10/00/00
Item 2 yeare old Heifers prized at	06/00/00
Item 1 4 yeare old Steere	06/00/00
Item 2 yearlings	04/00/00
Item 1 Calfe	01/00/00
Item One mare & foal	11/00/00
Item One yearling mare	06/00/00
Item 1 foure year old horse	10/00/00
Item 6 yds & ½ of Serge	02/10/00
Item 13 Ells of Course Holland	03/00/00
Item 1 Ell of fyne Holland	00/08/00
Item One laced hand Kercheife	02/00/00
Item Six plattes & 6 saucers	01/06/00
Item 1 Taffety hood	00/08/00
Item 1 Guilded bible	01/05/00
Item 1 black Cloath wastcoate	00/10/00
Item 1 Red Cloath Petticoate	02/00/00
Item 1 Wrought White petticoate	02/10/00
Item 1 bleu silke Petticoate	06/00/00
Item 1 Red Camlett Petticoate	10/00/00

*All idiosyncrasies and phonetic spellings have been kept intact in this transcription. Prices are written out in 00/00/00 format for ease of reading. Inventory of Elizabeth Partridge, Flushing, 1669. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. Courtesy, New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

Item 1 black Grograin Petticoate	01/10/00
Item 1 black silk gown	05/00/00
Item 1 Cloak Doublet & breeches	10/00/00
Item 1 Gray Serge wastcote	01/05/00
Item 1 paire of worsted stockings	00/06/00
Item 1 dozen of Diap napkins	03/05/00
Item 1 doz & ½ of bleu straked?	03/00/00
1 doz of plaine napkins	02/00/00
Item 1 Diaper Table Cloath	02/10/00

Item Two paire of sheets prized at	05/10/00
Item 1 Round Diap Tablecloth	01/00/00
Item 1 pr of Holland Pillowbeers	00/16/00
Item 2 Aprons	01/05/00
Item 3 woolen Aprons	00/12/00
Item 1 pr of Diaper pillowbeers	00/08/00
Item 1 Shift? Prized at	00/12/00
Item 2 handkerchiefs prized at	00/10/00
Item a pcell of old Lynen prized at	00/05/00
Item a pcell of head cloaths	02/00/00
Item a pcell of Lace & a laced band	01/10/00
Item For a pr of bodyes & a pcell of [unclear]	00/05/00
Item 1 Silver bodkin Cabinett & sheath	00/05/00
Item 2 copper Kettles & a flagon pew	04/00/00
Item 1 featherbed, 1 bolster, 2 pillows, 1 Rug, 2 blanketts & 1 sheet	08/00/00
Item 1 Red Coate, & 1 [unclear] Gown prized	02/00/00
Item 3 Candlesticks	01/00/00
Item 1 new Chamber pott	00/12/00
Item I Salt Seller old porringer & brass	00/07/00
Item 1 flaggon pott prized at	00/09/00
Item 5 pewter dishes prized at	05/00/00
Item 1 bason 1 pye? Plate, 2 saucers, 2 fruiterers	01/05/00
Item 1 Washing tub & 1 barrell prized	00/04/00
Item 1 Spinning wheele & 1 dripping pan	00/15/00
Item 1 little iron pott	00/12/00
Item 1 frying pan	00/06/0
Item 2 old iron potts	01/06/00
Item 1 pr of tongs & trammel	00/18/00
Item 1 warming pan	00/05/00
Item 1 Skimer, smooth iron, pan of brass, 1 old pint pott & 1 glass case	01/00/00

Item for a pcell of old brass & old iron	01/10/00
Item 2 chests & 2 old bibles	01/10/00
Item A pcell of old tubs & barrels	01/00/00
Item bedstead with 2 curtain rods	04/00/00
Item Chest of drawers & 1 Round table	01/00/00
Item 5 Swyne	08/00/00

Item A blew linen Apron	00/07/00
Item 3 pewter dishes	00/15/00
Item A [unclear]	01/00/00
Item An old fflockbed & bolster	00/10/00
Item A Tenant saw	00/10/00
Item A Cowhide & 1 pr new shoes	00/12/000
Item 1 Gold Ring prized at	01/00/00
Item 4 Sylver Claspes halfe a Gold Ring & a Silver button	04/16/00

The fore recited articles were Apprized by John Bowne, William Noble & John Hinchman Chosen by the Constable

By me James Clement, Clerk

Appendix C

INVENTORY OF SIMON DE RUINE, 1678*

Flushing.

May the 6 1678

An inventory of Simon de Ruïne deceased.

A house and barn and orchard.	
Eight acres of Upland	
Halfe a share of Meadow	
Foure Cowes	
Two Oxen	
One three yeare old Steere	
One two year old heyfer	
One yearling heyfer	
One horse	
Two mares	
Fourteen shepe	
Seven Lambs	
Five growne swine	
Six hogsheads of Tobacco	
Two bushels of Indyan Corne	
Three blankets	
One Coate	
One paire of breeches	
One Iron pott	
Five pewter porrengers	

*All idiosyncrasies and phonetic spellings have been kept intact in this transcription. Inventory of Simon de Ruine, Flushing, 1678. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. Courtesy, New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

Two old chests	
One chaire	
Two payles	
Five spoons	
One Looking Glass	
One paire of Tongs	
A small parcel of woolen yarn	
One pewter salt seller	
One small Cupboard	
One Churne [illegible]	
One Plough Chaine	
One Linne [illegible]	
Three Gamons of Bacon	
Three earthen Juggs	
Five old Tubbs	
One horse Plough	
One Axe	
Foure Hooes	
One spade	
Two wedges	
One coulter & Cleves	
Two pick Axes	
One New hatt	
One paire of shooes	
One Frying Pan	

Edward Griffin [unclear]
Overseers
Elyas Doughty
Johnathan Wright

Appendix D

INVENTORY OF WILLIAM PIDGEON, 1676*

An Inventory of the Goods & Estates of William Pidgeon who departed this life 23rd February 1676/1677.

1 fifty acre lott, halfe fifty acre lot lying by the bay side
Fourteene acres Lying of land Lying at Flush
Twenty two bushels of Indian Corne
Fifteen bushels of winter wheat
Fifteen bushels oates
Two heifers
Two heffers cow three years old 1 heffer cow two old
1 yearling 1 cart 1 horse w th paire of [unclear] Heifers
2 old [unclear] 1 chest w th Locke & Key
Asortment of Manchester [unclear] 1 Sarge [unclear]
1 Cloath Cote 1 old agar 2 pewter dishes
1 old paire stockings 1 paire pott hookes w th small hooks
1 Brass Kettle 1 plow coller all put in [illegible] [illegible]
1 Pott oisn? Pott 1 frying pan 1 small butter tub [unclear]
Chests two [unclear] baggs
1 old barrel w th [illegible] [illegible] porke met
1 [illegible] [illegible] [unclear] hooke two old Chaires 1 feather bed
1 [unclear] [unclear] 2 feather pillows two blankets & rug
1 paire old [illegible] 1 old wastecote 1 old paire stockins
1 Small bag [rest illegible]
1 broad ax & 1 narrow ax 1 old broken fforme 2 [illegible] [rings]
3 [illegible] 3 old spoons 1 old knife 1 old [unclear] Saw

*All idiosyncrasies and phonetic spellings have been kept intact in this transcription. Inventory of William Pidgeon, Flushing, 1676. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. Courtesy, New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

1 hammer 1 drawing Knife 1 old [unclear] 1 old barrel [unclear]
1 [illegible] 1 Cask [rest illegible]
[all illegible]
1 [illegible] & 1 [illegible] Cloathes 1 handkerchiefe 1 old [unclear]
1 old saddle 1 old Chest [illegible] 1 pound leather
[unclear]

An account of debts

- 1 Debt of five pounds done at [unclear]
- 1 Debt of three pounds six schillings & eight pence
- 1 Debt of eight schillings from y^e showmaker
- 1 Debt from [unclear] y^e of [unclear] schillings

[unclear]
 John Hinchman
 Edward Grifen

Appendix E

INVENTORY OF RICHARD TINDALL, 1689*

Flushing

An inventory of the Estate of Richard Tindall who departed this life 21 September 1689. Prized by John Farrington, David Rouand? Samuel Hoyt by order of Justice of Peace.

To Seven cows	17/10/00
to 2 three years old	04/00/00
to 4 two years old	05/00/00
to One 5 year old	03/06/00
to 2 four years olds	05/00/00
2 three year olds	05/00/00
to 11 sheep and five lambs	04/10/00
to 10 swine	04/00/00
to One old horse	02/15/00
to One young horse	03/05/00
to One paire of bellows?	01/05/00
to One [unclear]	09/00/00
to One [unclear]	01/05/00
to 3 paires of tongues	00/03/06
to 5 hammers great & small	00/12/00
to one paire of pinchers	00/01/06
to One paire of Sheirs	00/01/06
to 3 [unclear] chissells	00/01/06
to One hand saw	00/01/06

*All idiosyncrasies and phonetic spellings have been kept intact in this transcription. Prices are written out in 00/00/00 format for ease of reading. Inventory of Richard Tindall, Flushing, 1689. Court of Probates Inventories and Accounts, 1662-1822, record series J0301. Courtesy, New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

to One hand axe? and five [unclear]	00/05/00
to Two gimblets	00/00/06
to [unclear] chisel and seven plate [unclear]	00/01/06
to Two pairing knives	00/00/03
to One plaine	00/01/00
to One agar	00/01/06
to One Drawing knife [unclear] chisel	00/02/06
to One skimmer?	00/02/00

64/19/00

to One fire shovel	00/05/00
to 3 [unclear] shovel	00/09/00
to 4 [unclear]	00/03/00
to One matluck	00/10/00
to 3 narrow axes	00/05/00
to One broad axe	00/14/00
to One iron [unclear]	00/01/06
to One skimmer	00/00/09
to One pitch fork	00/00/03
to One paire of bellows	00/01/06
to One grid iron	00/01/06
to One frying pan	00/07/00
to One smoking iron	00/01/06
to One branding iron	00/03/00
to One plow [unclear] & coulter	00/08/00
to One beak Iron	00/05/00
to One firelock gun	00/16/00
to 3 jugs	00/01/06
to Six glass bottles	00/01/06
to One candlestick	00/01/06
to One iron kettle	00/04/00
to Two iron potts	01/08/00
to One pewter tankard	00/01/06
to One copper pot	00/03/00
to [unclear] pewter porringers	00/04/00
to [unclear] brass kettle	00/03/00
to 2 pewter dishes	00/06/00
to One pewter bason	00/03/00
to 5 pails	00/06/00
to Two milk trays and [unclear]	00/04/06
to [illegible] [illegible] bushel & peck	00/02/00

06/12/06

to One brass kettle	01/00/00
to 3 seals?	00/03/00
One churne 2 [unclear]	00/06/00
One barrel 2 [unclear]	00/04/00
3 hogheads	00/06/00
One paire seales	00/02/00
One lanthorn 1 paire candles	00/02/00
Two linning wheels	01/00/00
One woolen wheel	00/04/00
One table and forme	01/06/00
One chest	00/13/00
One chest	00/01/00
3 [illegible]	00/03/00
One salt seller	00/00/06
One feather bed and bolster	01/10/00
[unclear]	00/06/06
One blanket	00/01/00
2 [unclear] beds 2 [illegible]	01/04/00
2 paires of sheets	01/00/00
2 old blankets	00/02/00
One paire of [unclear] lining yarn	00/03/00
to 5 pounds woolen yarn	00/08/00
[unclear]	01/11/06
One grind stone	00/07/06
3 paires of [unclear]	00/00/06
One iron tooth harrow	00/16/00
to [unclear] flax	01/01/00
To foure [unclear]	00/05/00
One looking glass	00/01/06
12 pounds of wool	00/12/00
One riding saddle 2 bridles	
[One half a sett of curtains	
[unclear] pitch fork	
2 table clothes 2 napkins	
Two small boltes and clevis	
One plow and plow bolts	
One [unclear] and waggon	
[all unclear]	
Two pillows	

This inventory and appraisement was taken and
[unclear]

Recorded by Daniel Denton
Clerk

What was not put into Inventory for [illegible] reasons as follows

One 3 year olde heifer
23 Gees?
[illegible]
[illegible] crucible
An old dish pot
Ol chees fatt?
3 sickles
100 bushells of [illegible]

Appendix F

PERMISSION LETTERS

4/19/2014

Gmail - Image use for MA thesis



Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

Image use for MA thesis

Tobias-Olsen, Leslie <leslie_tobias-olsen@brown.edu>
To: Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

Mon, Mar 10, 2014 at 11:54 AM

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MA Thesis: *John Bowne's Flushing: Material Life on Dutch Frontier, 1669 -1738*

Publisher: MA in American Material Culture in the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture at the University of Delaware

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Leslie

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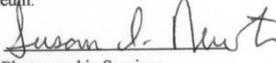
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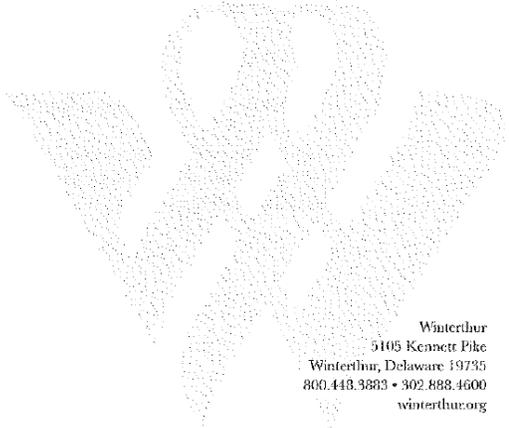
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Gmail - Use of Image I took of Bowne Object in Thesis



Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

Use of Image I took of Bowne Object in Thesis

2 messages

Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

Mon, Apr 14, 2014 at 3:39 PM

To: "RRvietor@aol.com" <rrvietor@aol.com>

Hi Rosemary,

I hope all is well and that things are in full swing at the Bowne House now that spring has finally arrived! I am finishing up my thesis and I wanted to check-in to make sure that it is ok for me to include a photo I took of the square table. I will attach it here for your reference.



All the best,
Lauren

—

Lauren Brincat
Lois F. McNeil Fellow
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture
[631-275-6216](tel:631-275-6216)



IMG_1151.JPG
1105K

RRvietor@aol.com <RRvietor@aol.com>

Mon, Apr 14, 2014 at 3:42 PM

To: lhbrin@gmail.com

Lauren - Nice to hear from you. Yes, certainly you may use the image. The table is also in Dean's book. If you need another one, maybe we can locate one on pastperfect.

We will look forward to seeing the thesis. Congratulations!



Best,
Rosemary

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Invoice Date 3/11/2014

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To: Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

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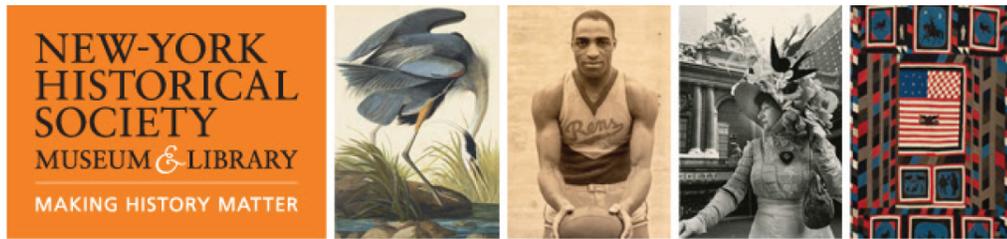
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Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

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NYHS Manuscripts <mssdept@nyhistory.org>
To: Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

Tue, Apr 8, 2014 at 9:56 AM

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Sincerely,

Tammy Kiter

Manuscript Department, Library, New-York Historical Society
170 Central Park West, New York, NY 10024

Voice: 212-873-3400, ext. 265, TTY: 212-873-7849

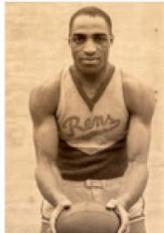
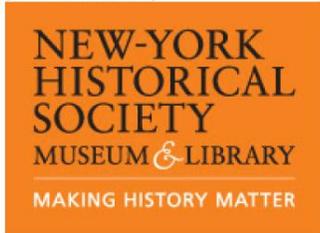
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Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

Images for use in MA thesis

Nilda Rivera <nrivera@mcny.org>
To: Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

Tue, Apr 8, 2014 at 11:35 AM

Hi Luaren,

I see...then you can go ahead and grab the low-res files available through the portal. You just need to include the title, caption and credit the artist. The photo credit should read _____(name of artist) / From the collections of the Museum of the City of New York.

Best of luck,

Nilda

From: Lauren Brincat [lhbrin@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 08, 2014 11:21 AM
To: Nilda Rivera
Subject: Re: Images for use in MA thesis

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Lauren Brincat <lhbrin@gmail.com>

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ARCHREF <ARCHREF@mail.nysed.gov>
To: lhbrin@gmail.com

Mon, Mar 10, 2014 at 9:34 AM

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To: <archinfo@mail.nysed.gov>
Date: 3/7/2014 11:21 AM
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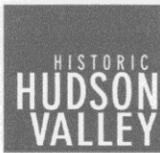
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Best,
Lauren

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Lauren Brincat
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