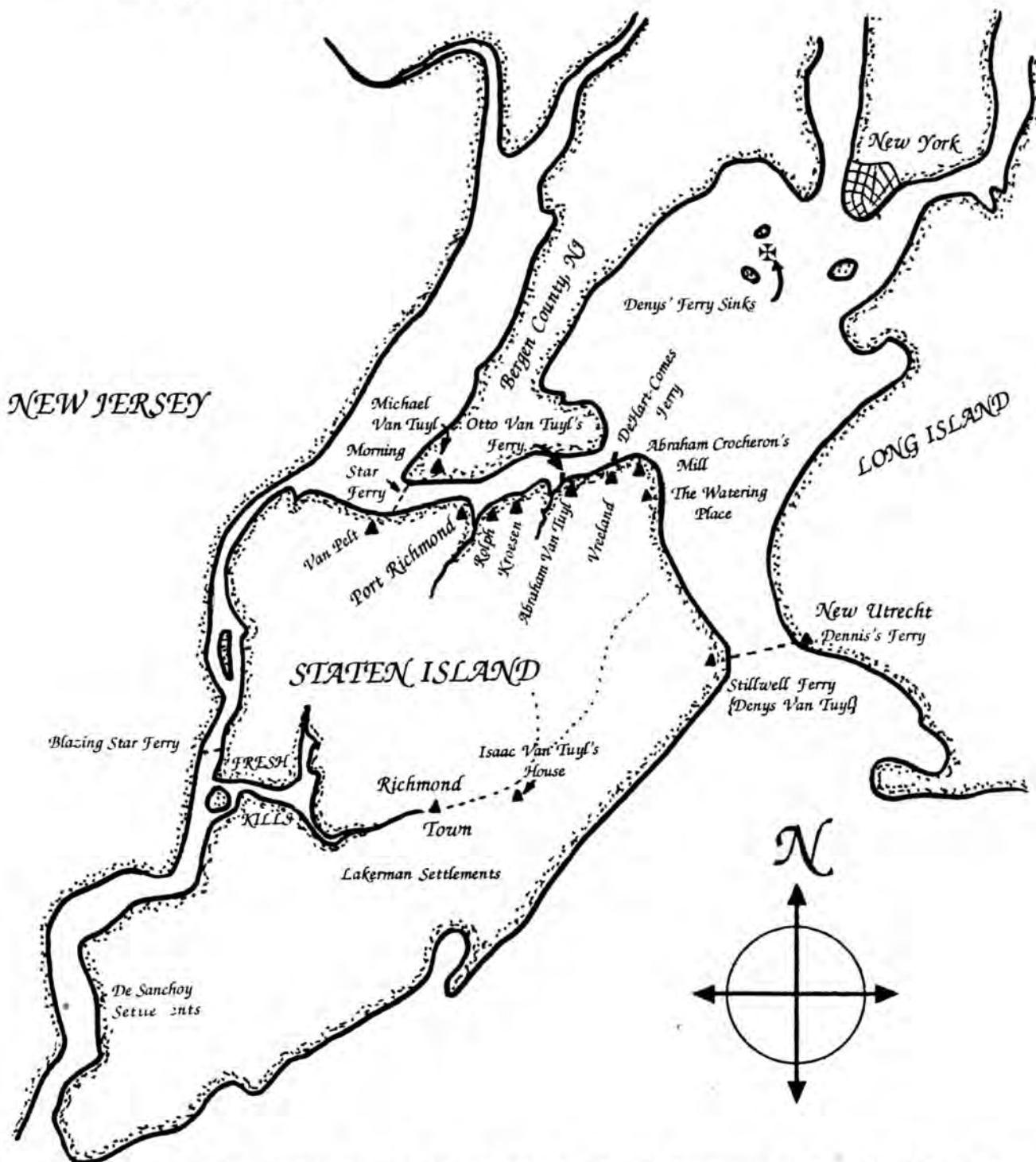


THE STATEN ISLAND VAN TUYLS



Early 18th century Staten Island became home to the families of Abraham and Isaac Van Tuyl - the twin sons of immigrants Jan Otten and Geertruyd Van Tuyl. A prominent north shore resident, Otto Van Tuyl, established a New York-to-Staten Island ferry, and his nephew Denys Van Tuyl capsized one of these boats in 1756, killing himself, 10 other men, and 3 horses. Today, part of the north shore Van Tuyl farm is the site of the *Sailor's Snug Harbor Cultural Center*.

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Farmers, Soldiers, and Boatmen 1700~1770

The End of an Era

On the 10th of October, 1774, at the eve of the American Revolution, the New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury carried what seemed to be a simple real estate advertisement, but was in fact an obituary of sorts - an obituary marking the end of the Van Tuyl family's presence on Staten Island:¹

To be Sold. A pleasant situated farm on the north side of Staten island, whereon Mr. John Wandell now lives, formerly the property of Otto Van Tuyl deceased. The situation is delightful and remarkably healthful, bounding upon the Bay, and commands a fine prospect of New York with plenty of fishing, gunning and oystering in the season; and contains 160 acres of land, with plenty of good woods, and a fine growing young woods, all in good fence. Said farm is well improved, and equal in quality to any on the island; there is a fine running brook through the same, intirely [sic] supplied by springs that [are] never dry in the dryest season.

Also a fourteen acres lot of salt meadow, which yields a very considerable quantity of hay yearly. On the premises are two very good houses, two good barns, chair-house, etc. The house wherein Mr. Wandell lives is large, well-built with brick and stone with four large rooms, entry, linter, and kitchen on the first floor and two rooms and a large garret on the upper floor, with a fine cellar under the whole. The other is a fram'd house, pleasantly situated at a small distance, with two large rooms and a kitchen on the first floor, the second unfinished a cellar under whole.

Also two good wells of very good water, two gardens, two orchards, with many other conveniences. There has long been a ferry established from this farm to New York. The goodness and situation of this farm renders it extremely eligible for a gentleman as well as a farmer. Any person inclining to purchase may hear the terms by applying to Peter Barberie in Perth-Amboy, or to Van Tuyl and Varick near the Royal Exchange, New-York.

At the time of this announcement, Van Tuyls had lived on Staten Island for nearly 70 years, through up to four generations. It was a critical time in the family's - and the colony's - history.

¹ NJ Archives first series, vol. XX, Newspaper Abstracts, vol. X, 1773-1774, pg. 492. Cites: the New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury, No. 1200, Oct. 10, 1774.

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This was the time when the Van Tuyls turned - for the first time in America - to cultivating the soil. It was also a time when they plied the waters of New York Bay as never before. And it was a time when they turned to arms - as soldiers for the King of England. From Staten Island, some Van Tuyls returned to city life in New York, but it was also from Staten Island that this family's third American generation turned west, beginning a relentless migration that would propel them and their descendants westward over the next hundred years, well into the 20th century.

Staaten Eylandt

When English explorer Henry Hudson visited this place in 1609, suspecting it to be an island (though he never proved it), he named it *Staaten Eylandt* after his employers, the *Staaten-General* of The Netherlands. What greeted him was a sparsely-inhabited island with rocky hills and dense forests, with 100 or so natives living along its shores. They called it *Aquehonga Manacknong*.² They were Algonkin people who referred to themselves as the *Lenni-Lenape*, "Original People". They clothed themselves in animal skins and lived in domed-shaped dwellings made of boughs and thatched with salt hay from the meadows around the various *Kills*.³ They were mainly gatherers of shellfish, which they used for food and for making *wampum*.⁴

Over the years, Dutch colonists seeking to settle there bought Staten Island from the Indians some five times before British Governor Lovelace was at last able to effect the final purchase in 1670.⁵ In 1640, some passing natives stole a few hogs from the Staten Island *bouwery* of David Pietersen De Vries, thus precipitating a bloody revenge by a posse of Dutchmen from New York. One of the vigilantes - Govert Loockermans - killed a chief's brother whom he had captured. The Indians retaliated, killing a number of settlers, and further white reprisals followed from Governor Kieft.⁶

Settlers were always sparse on the island in the early days, so they were terrified of the Indians. In 1655, one Hendrick Van Dyck discovered a squaw in his orchard stealing peaches and shot her dead on the spot. Out of revenge, some 1900 natives overran Manhattan while Director-General Stuyvesant and his soldiers were out on campaign. They killed Van Dyck and a few others there, before returning to Staten Island to continue this "Peach War". Natives destroyed all of the eleven farms on the island, killed 22 of the 90 inhabitants, and took the remaining settlers for ransom.⁷

² Clute, J., "The Annals of Staten Island," New York, 1877, pg. 8.

³ *Kill* meant "channel", or "inlet". The term is still in common use on Staten Island, where the inlets called *Fresh Kills* were so known long before they became the New York City garbage dump (though the name *Fresh Kills* is strangely appropriate, considering the smells produced there).

⁴ Hampton, V., "Staten Island...Its Story," Staten Island Tercentennial Commission, 1961, pg. 8. *Wampum* - sometimes called *Seawant* - was a form of monetary exchange used by the natives and, later, by the European settlers.

⁵ Clute, pg. 26. 1630 to Pauw and De Vries; 1641 to Melyn; 1651 to Heermans; 1657 to Van Cappelan.

⁶ Clute, pp. 19-22.

⁷ Clute, pp. 37-38.

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The West India Company bought out private interests in 1661, and by 1663 had enticed some French religious refugees - Waldenses and Huguenots - to take up land grants there. About a dozen families settled south of the narrows where they built a small block-house and garrisoned it with 10 men. They persuaded the bilingual *Domine* Samuel Drisius to come over from Manhattan every other month to preach to them in French.⁸ Their's was the first permanent settlement by whites, and they were the first of many French (mainly Protestant Huguenots) to settle there.⁹

Under the British, there was some dispute as to who owned the island - the Duke of York, proprietor of New York, or Sir George Carteret, who had bought New Jersey from him? If Staten Island were indeed proved to be an island separate from the mainland, it would belong to the Duke, not Carteret. In 1668, Captain Christopher Billop circumnavigated the island in 24 hours to prove, once and for all, that it was indeed insular. The grateful Duke of York granted him 1163 acres of land in the south of Staten Island for his initiative.¹⁰

Governor Lovelace had been able, in 1670, to purchase Staten Island from the Indians at the bargain price of about 10 acres for one cent's worth of trade goods. He apparently liked the island so much that he established his own plantation there.¹¹ On 7 August, 1673, a Dutch fleet anchored off Staten Island and plundered enough cattle and pigs from Lovelace's farm to feed the 1600 men aboard their ships. They then proceeded to retake New York - which surrendered 2 days later without a fight.¹² But the British were back in control a year and a half later, and Staten Island, now pacified, came under British administrative control. In 1675, the Court of Assizes in New York ruled that:¹³

..by reason of the separation by water, Staten Island shall have jurisdiction by itself, and have no further dependence on the courts of Long island nor on its militia.

Thus, the island was ensconced as part of the New York Colony, eventually becoming part of New York City (which status it maintains to this day), despite its geographic affinity for New Jersey.

Settlers now started to move to Staten Island in greater numbers, so that by the turn of the 17th to 18th century, there were 727 people living on its farms (ten percent of them slaves). The westward movement of the American farm family had begun!

⁸ Clute, pg. 39. A *Domine* was a Protestant clergyman.

⁹ These were Dutch-oriented Huguenots - French Protestant refugees who had lived in Dutch territory before coming to America. Mostly farmers, they are distinct from the merchant-class English-oriented Huguenots of New York City, who came later after temporary settlement in England [see chapters 5 & 6].

¹⁰ Clute, pp. 47-48.

¹¹ Clute, pg. 26.

¹² Clute, pp. 53-54.

¹³ Clute, pp. 56-57.

The Van Tuyls Come to Staten Island

Shortly after the turn of the 18th century, the twin brothers Abraham and Isaac Van Tuyl married, then joined the rush of settlers taking up land on Staten Island.¹⁴ With marriage and property came the end of city life and the accompanying temptations to go to sea - as their brothers Otto and Aert had done. Privateering was, in fact, a realistic possibility for these young men in 1702. Then, with his brother Otto Van Tuyl at the peak of his career, young Abraham Van Tuyl left the Van Pelt farm at New Utrecht to take up the shipwright's trade in New York City.¹⁵ But, by about 1704 - and we imagine at the instigation of the twin boys' mother, Geertruyd Van Tuyl Van Pelt - advantageous marriages were arranged for the young men, who soon thereafter moved to Staten Island.

In about 1704, Abraham Van Tuyl married - probably in New Utrecht - Femmitje Denys, who was a granddaughter of Denys Teunissen and a granddaughter of Jacques Cortelyou, the Huguenot surveyor who was a founder of New Utrecht.^{16, 17} After their marriage, the young couple moved to North Staten Island by 1705, taking up land inherited from her family.¹⁸ Either Abraham or Femmitje wrote in their AD 1614 Dutch bible:¹⁹

In the year of our Lord 1705 a daughter was born to me on the 9th of October, on a Wednesday evening between 6 and 7 o'clock, and was named Geertruy Van Tuyl. On Staten Island.

They produced 7 children in all over the next 14 years, the last being Otto [born 1719], namesake of his pirate uncle.

Abraham's twin brother Isaac was also married and living in Staten Island by 1706.²⁰ Isaac's wife, Sarah, is believed to have been the daughter of Abraham Lakerman, one of the island's leading citizens and a member of the New York Assembly.^{21, 22, 23} Sarah's mother would thus have been Catherine Crocheron, daughter of pioneer Staten Island Huguenot emigrant Jean

¹⁴ The population increased from 727 in 1698 to 1279 in 1712. [Clute, pg. 70].

¹⁵ Collections of the New York Historical Society, vol. 18, pg. 76, *Freemen of NY, 1701-2*, Feb. 4th "Abraham Vantyle Shipwright....".

¹⁶ See *American Van Tuyl Genealogy*.

¹⁷ Bailey, R., "Pre-Revolutionary Dutch Houses and Families...", New York, 1936, pg. 144.

¹⁸ *Richmond County Deeds*, Liber B, pp. 600-603.

¹⁹ "Bible Records in Rutgers University Library," in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Apr 1940, vol. 71, pp. 141-142.

²⁰ Stillwell, J.E., "Historical and Genealogical Miscellany," New York, 1903, vol. 1, pg. 152. [Census]

²¹ Colonial Office Records, CO5 1048, pg. 7.

²² Bailey, pg. 144.

²³ Donaldson, F., "The Lockman and Flacke Families of Early New York," 1965 [FHL Film], *passim*. The author refutes previous claims that the Lakermans were descended from Govert Loockermans. He also gives *Anne du Sanchoy* [Seçoy] as Abraham's mother, but James Riker, in his *Revised History of Harlem*, NY, 1904, pg. 204, states that "Anna du Sanchoy" was the *second* wife of Louis Lakerman, and that his son Abraham's mother was "Maria Walters" [Wouters?].

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Crocheron.²⁴ Sarah Van Tuyl bore five children who survived infancy, including three sons: Abraham, Isaac, and John.²⁵ They lived in a stone house built by Abraham Lakerman on 40 acres of land he had inherited from his father Louis' estate in 1684. The house still stands today - highly altered - on Richmond Road, New Dorp.²⁶



The house occupied by Isaac Van Tuyl near New Dorp, Staten Island. Presumably built in the early 1700s by Abraham Lakerman, father of Isaac Van Tuyl's wife Sarah, this house underwent substantial modification before this 1920s picture was taken [from "Pre-Revolutionary Dutch Houses and Families..." by Rosalie F. Bailey]. Originally, the stones were set without mortar, according to the present owner. His family further modified the structure, adding - among other appurtenances - a commercial floral greenhouse.

²⁴ Hix, C., "The Crocheron Family of Staten Island New York," 1979 [FHL microfilm], pp. 6-8.

²⁵ Cramer, A., "Notes on the Van Tuyl Family," 1959, pg. 13.

²⁶ Bailey, pp. 143-4., plate 35. Isaac Van Tuyl was in possession of the house in 1719. By 1751, Van Tuyls were no longer associated with the house. See Genealogy Section [1.8] for further discussion of this house, which stands today - much for the worse for alterations performed since the 1920s.



The Lakerman House on Staten Island in 2017. Through the efforts of local preservationist David Carnivale, the house was saved from demolition and restored. It now serves as a business office.

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Completing the trio of first-generation American Van Tuyls living on Staten Island in this period was the twin boys' older sister, Antje - widow of Cornelius Vandeventer. Like her mother before her, the widowed Antje Van Tuyl had fallen back on the social security net of the times - family connections - to provide for her and her children: she married the widowed Abraham Lakerman, her brother's father-in-law.²⁷

The twin brothers set about the business of farming and raising their families in the wide-open spaces of Staten Island, which at the time they arrived was home to only some 1000 people, including 142 slaves, in an area roughly the size of the Van Tuyl's ancestral homeland, the Bommelerwaard.²⁸ Although they lived far apart, with Isaac near Richmond Town and Abraham along the north shore, they kept contact as twins are apt to do, each acting as baptismal witness or godfather for the other on occasion.²⁹ Staten Island was rocky and wooded, but afforded ample pastureage, where their cattle could run free, identified only by coded cropping of the ears.³⁰ The farming and orchard-keeping was a pleasant business as well, as the diary of a contemporary traveller informs us:³¹

As soon as we had got over the river, we were upon Staten Island... Most of the people settled here were Dutchmen, or such as came hither whilst the Dutch were yet in possession of the place.... The prospect of the country here is extremely pleasing, as it is not so much intercepted by woods, but offers more cultivated fields to view. Hills and Vallies still continued, as usual, to change alternately... The farms were near each other. Most of the houses were wooden; however, some were built of stone. Near every farm house was an orchard with apple trees... All travelers are allowed to pluck ripe fruit in any garden which they pass by, and not even the most covetous farmer can hinder them from so doing... The corn fields were excellently situated, and either sown with wheat or rye...

These were good times for the Staten Island farmers. They were starting to prosper on land they *owned*, which had not always been the case in their European homelands. They enjoyed religious autonomy - very important for these Protestant refugees - and were farming virgin soil with good results. And, after pacification of the Indians, they were, for a time, free from war. The Dutch among them were recreating some of the finer aspects of the agrarian life they had known along watercourses such as the Waal, *but without the threat of flood*. It is no wonder they prospered.

The heart of a New York Dutch farmhouse of the 18th century was elegantly described 100 years ago by historian Alice Morse Earl:³²

The cellar of these old farmhouses was a carefully built apartment, for it played a most important part in the orderly round... Within this darkened cellar were the vast

²⁷ See *American Van Tuyl Genealogy*.

²⁸ Stillwell, pp. 150-156. [1706 census]

²⁹ Stillwell, pg. 65, pg. 114.

³⁰ Stillwell, pp. 29-30. Isaac: A crop in right ear, hole in the left. Abraham: crop, slit and hole right ear.

³¹ Kalm, Peter, in *Staten Island 1524 - 1898*, by H.G. Steinmeyer, Staten Island Historical Society, 1987.

³² Earl, A., "Colonial Days in Old New York," Scribner's, New York, 1896, pp. 117-118.

food-stores which put to shame our modern petty purchases of weekly supplies. There were always apples, potatoes, turnips, and parsnips. These vegetables always rotted a little toward spring and sprouted, and though carefully sorted out and picked over sent up to the kamer above a semi-musty, damp-earthy, rotten-appley, mouldy-potatoey smell which, all who have encountered it will agree, is unique and indescribable. Strongly bound barrels of vinegar and cider and often rum lay in firm racks in this cellar; and sometimes they leaked a little at the spigot, and added their sharply alcoholic fumes to the other cellar-smells. Great hogsheads of corned beef, barrels of salt-pork, hams seething in brine ere being smoked, tonnekins of salted shad and mackerel, firkins of butter, kilderkins of home-made lard, jars of pickles, kegs of pig's feet, or souse, tumblers of spiced fruit, graced this noble cellar. On a swing-shelf were rolliches and head-cheese and festoons of sausages. On such a solid foundation, over such a storage-room of plenty, thrift, and prudence, stood that sturdy edifice, - the home-comfort of the New York farmer.

And the life of a well-fed New York Dutch farm family was remembered with equal nostalgia:³³

Through the summer months the family gathered [on the stoop] at the end of the day. The neighbors talked politics as they smoked their evening pipes, and the young folks did some visiting and courting. As the evening pipes waned, little negro slaves brought comforters, or open metal dishes of living coals, to start the smouldering tobacco afresh in the long Dutch pipes.

The Farmers of Staten Island

Twin Isaac: Isaac Van Tuyl, fully integrated into his wife's Huguenot family of Richmond Town, led an unremarkable life about which little appears in available records, except for the baptisms of his children.³⁴ When Isaac died in 1728, he was only 47 years old, but he left a moderate estate for the times. His property was willed to his wife Sarah, and the sons got cash settlements (£50 for Isaac, the eldest, and £30 each for Abraham and John).^{35, 36} Though these amounts don't sound like much today, they were probably equivalent to one or two years' earnings for a working man of the time.³⁷ Isaac's sons were teenagers at the time of their father's death, so

³³ Earl, pp. 116-117.

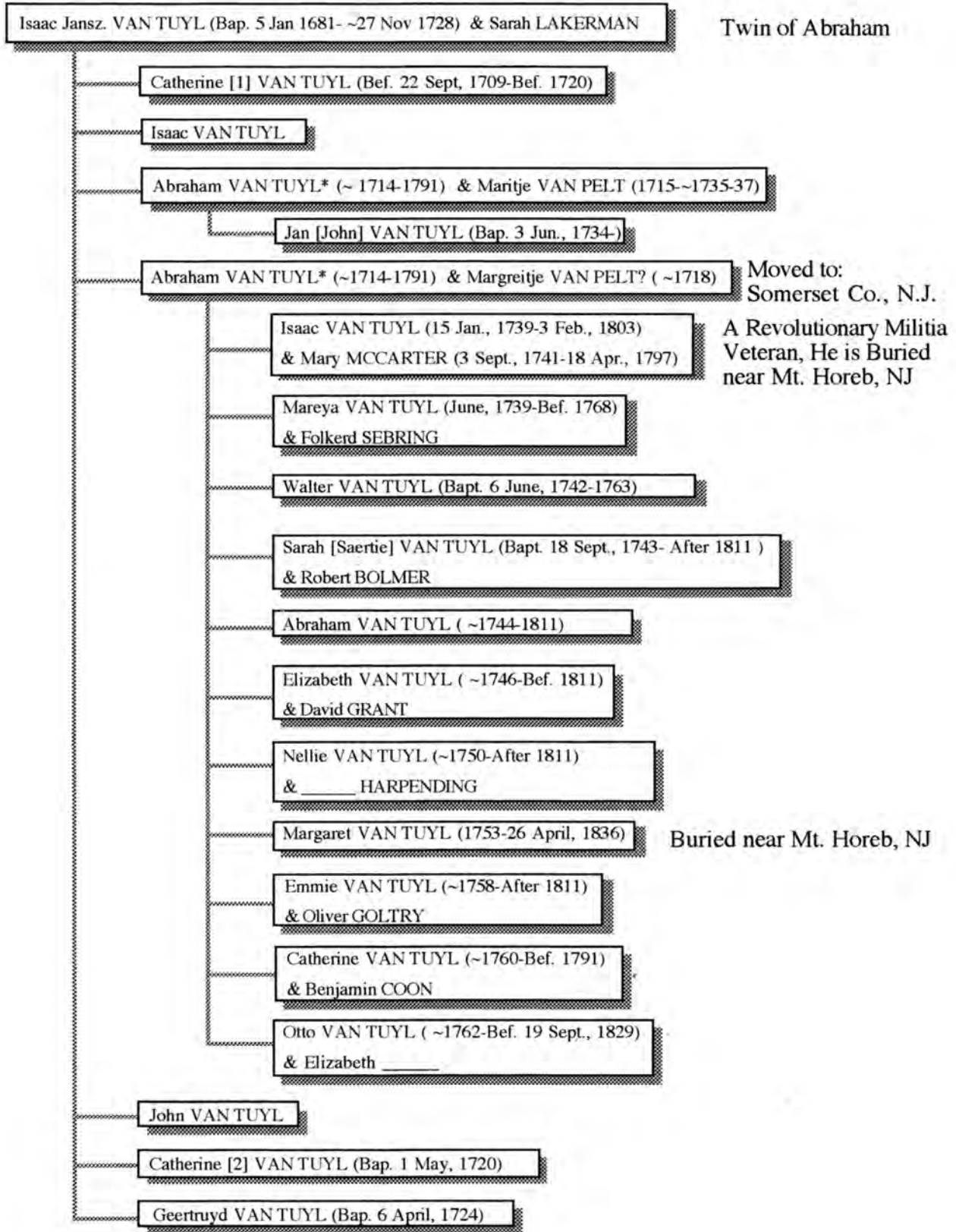
³⁴ See *American Van Tuyl Genealogy*.

³⁵ Collections of the New York Historical Society, vol. XI, Abstracts of wills, pg. 70. [See *American Van Tuyl Genealogy* for text].

³⁶ In fact, it isn't clear at all from the records that Isaac ever *owned* the property. He is mentioned as being "in possession" of the home in 1719, but it may still have been owned by his father-in-law, Abraham Lakerman. [See: Cortelyou, J., "The Cortelyou Genealogy," Lincoln, Nebraska, 1942, pg. 116]. The story of the old house's ownership is attributed to Edward C. Delevan, who contributed to a pamphlet "History - Story - Legend of the Old King's Highway, now in the Richmond Road, Staten Island, N.Y.," 1916, Staten Island Antiquarian Society. This source claims the house was deeded in 1684 to "George Cummins and Abraham Lockerman", in 1714 to Rem Van der Beeck, and in 1719 was "in possession of Isaac Van Tuyl". [In 1760, Rem Van der Beek was an executor of Dennis Van Tuyl's estate, as he had been for Abraham Lakerman's in 1734, and he witnessed Isaac Van Tuyl's will in 1724].

³⁷ Ships' carpenters, the highest paid skill, earned £2 per month, and schoolteachers £12 per year [Clute, pg. 57].

Isaac Van Tuyl of Staten Island



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probably continued to live and work on the family's land until they divided the estate and moved west, before the 1750s.³⁸ Daughters Catherine and Gertruyd - both young children at the time their father died - probably married local boys sometime in the 1740s.³⁹ For the three sons in the family - with limited inheritance to share - the future course was set: they would migrate westward in search of land, along with growing numbers of American colonists.

The story of Abraham Van Tuyl, second son of Isaac and Sarah Van Tuyl, illustrates the ongoing relationship between the Van Tuyls and Van Pelts. He married Maritje Van Pelt, apparently the daughter of Jan Van Pelt of north Staten Island.⁴⁰ She evidently died after giving birth to her only son, John Van Tuyl [1734].⁴¹ This left young Abraham Van Tuyl, the father of baby Jan, in need of a wife. By 1738, he had found Margaret [Margrietje] - possibly a Van Pelt from New Utrecht.⁴² This union of Abraham and Margaret produced a major, successful branch of westward-moving Van Tuyls, whose story will be detailed in later chapters.

Twin Abraham: Abraham Van Tuyl's family story is quite complex: the fate of his descendants was an odd mixture of success and tragedy. Luckily, we have a very accurate record of Abraham's family, in the form of entries to his family bible.⁴³ Also - and fortunately for the records - both Abraham and his son Otto had minor scrapes with the law, and these were duly recorded.

³⁸ Stillwell, pg. 123: "*Abraham van Tuyl, Isaks zoon*", age 21, witnessed his cousin's baptism 4 May, 1735, on Staten Island. He married for the 2nd time *circa* 1738, probably also on Staten Island. The house passed out of the family by 1751 [Bailey, pg. 144], probably after Sarah Lakerman Van Tuyl's death.

³⁹ Cortelyou, J., "The Cortelyou Genealogy," Lincoln, Nebraska, 1942, pg. 116. The story of the old house's ownership is attributed to Edward C. Delevan, who contributed to a pamphlet "History - Story - Legend of the Old King's Highway, now in the Richmond Road, Staten Island, N.Y.," 1916, Staten Island Antiquarian Society. This source claims the house was deeded in 1684 to "George Cummins and Abraham Lockerman", in 1714 to Rem Van der Beeck, and in 1719 was "in possession of Isaac Van Tuyl". [In 1760, Rem Van der Beek was an executor of Dennis Van Tuyl's estate, as he had been for Abraham Lakerman's in 1734, and he witnessed Isaac Van Tuyl's will in 1724].

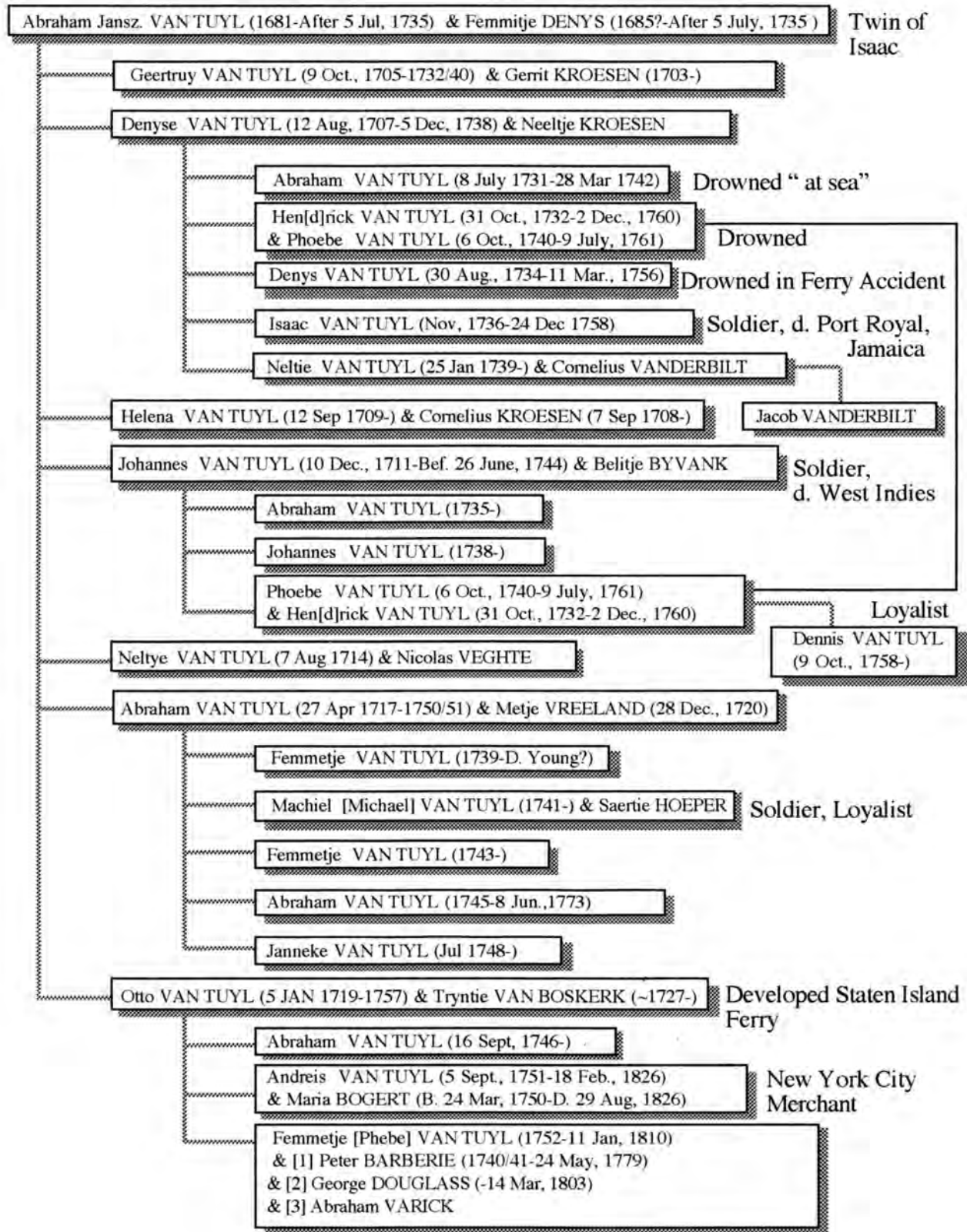
⁴⁰ Stillwell, pg. 80.

⁴¹ Obituary of John Van Pelt, in the *New York Mercury*, 1762. See: New York Historical Society Abstract of Wills, vol. VI, pg. 142. The fact that the only Van Tuyl mentioned in the will was John, and he is identified as the son of John Van Pelt's daughter Mary, evidences the early death of Mary [Maritje].

⁴² Bowman, M., "The Descendants of Isaac Van Tuyl and Mary McCarter," Gateway Press, 1970, pg. xix. Mary Bowman makes a very convincing argument, based on circumstantial name evidence, that Margaret Van Tuyl was the daughter of Wouter Van Pelt of Long Island.

⁴³ "Bible Records in Rutgers University Library." [see earlier note]. These records written by Abraham, or by his wife Femmitje, in the Dutch language, either because the writer was not literate in English, or because he preferred to keep family records in the traditional language. The last Bible entry was that of the birth of their last son, Otto, in 1719. After that the "Great Dutch Bible" passed to his son Dennis, whose wife, Neeltje Croesen, continued to record family births in the Dutch language up until Dennis' death in 1738. When she remarried in 1743, her English-literate second husband (Joseph Rolph) apparently took up the record keeping, and the language switched to English.

Abraham Van Tuyl of Staten Island



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Abraham settled along the north shore of Staten Island fronting the *Kill van Kull*, on a 360-acre farm - a large property for the time and place. At the time Abraham and Femmitje settled there, the farm was owned by her father, Denys Teunissen, who probably allowed the young couple to farm it up until his death in 1715, at which time Abraham and Femmitje got title to the land.⁴⁴ As did other farmers in the "wide open spaces" of Staten Island, Abraham raised cattle, and he probably took live animals to New York City for slaughter in a boat he could load at the little inlet on his farm, where his creek entered the *Kill*.⁴⁵ Animals were fed hay made from wild grass growing in *salt meadows* along the shore. Abraham bought 40 acres of this valuable meadow land in 1721, and a portion of his main farm also fronted a creek which flowed through fertile salt marsh.⁴⁶ His was a truly remarkable property - rural, unfenced and wooded, with easy access by boat to the City of New York and its ever-growing market for farm produce.

By 1709, he had become a solid, respected citizen, being chosen [tax] Collector of the North Ward by the freeholders and inhabitants, apparently by vote in a public meeting.⁴⁷ But our solid citizen bent the rules on at least one occasion we know of, when, in 1712, he "...allow[ed] his negroe to Cary Irons to the Smiths on the Sabbath day...".⁴⁸ This incident reveals two important facts of life on Staten Island: Calvinistic constraints, and farm slavery. For a man without grown sons to help on a huge, 360-acre farm, some sort of labor assistance was needed, and slaves apparently provided the most reliable and cost-effective form of such labor. Slaves were valuable property, and were inherited as such. The will of Abraham Van Tuyl gave one of his sons "...the choice of my negro slaves or £50.⁴⁹ The slave-owning tradition was not new to the Staten Island Van Tuyls. Their Van Pelt relatives on Long Island had apparently owned slaves for some time, and still did as of 1698.⁵⁰ The Van Tuyl family slaves apparently stayed with the farm through the next generation, so that by 1755, Abraham's son Otto owned four slaves: Harry and John, men; Jame and Jude, women.^{51, 52} In his 1757 will, Otto bequeathed to his widow "...the choice of any of

⁴⁴ *Richmond County Deeds*, Liber D, pg. 316. This 1751 transaction tells us that the land was originally granted in 1685 by Gov. Thomas Dongan to Phillip Wells. Liber B, pp. 600-603 show that the property was bought from Wells in 1792 by Denys Teunissen - Abraham's father-in-law - and then transferred to Abraham and his wife Femmitje in 1715 after Teunissen's death.

⁴⁵ Stillwell, pp. 29-30. Abraham's cattle-mark: a crop, slit and hole right ear.

⁴⁶ *Richmond County Deeds*, Liber D, pg. 316.

⁴⁷ Stillwell, pg. 56.

⁴⁸ Clute, pp. 165-166.

⁴⁹ Collections of the New York Historical Society, Abstract of Wills, vol. III, pg. 181. This sets the market value of one slave at the equivalent of several years' wages for a white man. Schoolteachers earned £12 per year, for comparison [Clute, pg. 57].

⁵⁰ Parsons, G. J., "Peter Van Pelt," in *The American Genealogist*, v. 50, pp. 210-211. Cites 1698 census.

⁵¹ Corsen, J., "A list of the Neagroes of my division in the North Compenu of Staten Island 1755...", in Meyers, C., *Early NY State Census Records 1663-1772*, Pg. 118: "Vantuyl, Otto [owner] 1 Negor N harry 2 Dto N John 1 W Na Jame 2 W Na Jude"

⁵² Clute, pg. 71.

the Negro Wenches belonging to [my] estate".⁵³ As J.J. Clute described the slave situation in his 1877 book:⁵⁴

...the males [were] the assistants of the master in the fields, the females of the mistress in the kitchen. They were invariably treated with kindness by the Dutch, but the French, and especially the English settlers, were disposed to draw the line of social equality more rigidly. Slaves, however, were generally well taken care of... [i]t was not unusual to see master and slave working together in the fields apparently on terms of perfect equality...[i]n the kitchen...the whites and blacks indiscriminately surrounded the same huge fire, ate apples from the same dish, poured cider from the same pitcher, and cracked nuts and jokes with perfect freedom... The Dutch were never addicted to the observance of holidays;...Paas, or Easter, was surrendered to the children, and Pingster or Whitsunday to the negroes.

This New World way of celebrating the important Dutch holiday of Pinkster - turning it over to the slaves exclusively - spread throughout New York. Nowhere was it more of a gala than in Albany:⁵⁵

Pinkster was a great day, a gala day, or rather week... The dances were the original Congo dances as danced in their native Africa... the music consisted of a sort of drum, or instrument constructed out of a box with sheepskin heads, upon which old Charley did most of the beating, accompanied by singing some queer African air...

One wonders if the Calvinist settlers didn't derive some sort of vicarious pleasure from these Pinkster revels, living as they did in a world where Sunday activity was so proscribed! But slavery, of course, wasn't all singing and dancing. Slaves were, after all, property to be bought, sold, or otherwise disposed of. Old Abraham Lakerman put it pretty clearly in his 1734 will:⁵⁶

...I am bound that my wife Anje [Van Tuyl] shall have £100, and a negro girl "Beth". If any of my slaves prove stubborn, or obstinate, or disobedient, they are to be sold by my executors.

When the colony felt itself under threat of invasion in 1755, during the French and Indian War, it banned "...unlawful public meeting of negro slaves,"⁵⁷ and required registration of all slaves, with the idea that, should an invasion come, for any slave caught out without permission:⁵⁸

...it shall be adjudged a Felony without Benefit of Clergy in such Slave or Slaves, and it shall and may be lawfull for the person or Persons finding such Slave or Slaves, at or beyond the said distance or Limits, to shoot or otherwise destroy such slave or Slaves, without being impeached censured or prosecuted for the same.

The invasion never came, and the much-feared slave insurrection didn't occur, but it seems that despite the presumably good relations between individual slaves and their masters, a racial fear had

⁵³ The Will of Otto Van Tuyl, in *New York Wills*, Liber 20, pg. 433, 3 Dec., 1757 .

⁵⁴ Clute, pp. 76, 79.

⁵⁵ Earl, pp. 196-197. She is quoting an earlier description of Pinkster by Munsell.

⁵⁶ NY Surrogate's Court Wills, Liber 22, pg. 79.

⁵⁷ Stokes, pg. 664.

⁵⁸ Stokes , pg. 665. Not all slaves were black. White indentured servants were often treated as slaves, and Indians were also owned as property [Stokes, pg. 603].

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implanted itself in the white population, a fear which would affect the political and social development of the nation in the centuries to come.

We know that Abraham Van Tuyl's farm was directly west of today's Staten Island Ferry Terminal. His neighbors to the east were the Vreelands, and to the west were the Croesens. Further to the west were the Staten Island Van Pelts.⁵⁹ Abraham's first three children married Croesens, his sixth child married a Vreeland, and when oldest son Denys died, his widow (Neeltje Croesen) married the Croesen's neighbor to the west, Joseph Rolph.⁶⁰ They were obviously a close-knit community whose lives revolved around their farms, their families, and their church in nearby Port Richmond.⁶¹ But close-knit communities are not always completely harmonious, and this little community along the *Kill van Kull* was apparently no exception. In 1738, brothers Denyse and Abraham Van Tuyl took the side of their neighbor Henry Croesen [who was, by the way, the father-in-law of Denyse and two of his sisters] in a dispute with neighbor Nicholas Veghte [who was their brother-in-law] over some boats Croesen had owned in partnership with their deceased father. In the heat of debate, old Henry Croesen dredged up an allegation of Veghte's being "...a person of ill fame, as a Tattler, Mischief maker & an Instigator of Disturbance in the family of Abraham Van Tuyl...".⁶² True or not, it is easy to imagine the possibilities for discord - even serious feuds - among these people who lived, worked, competed, and married with each other, just as their forbears had done for centuries along the Waal. Perhaps this "small town" atmosphere was what eventually drove Andreis Van Tuyl - Abraham's youngest son - to a life in New York City.

Abraham and Femmitje had seven children, including four sons: Denys [1707], Johannes [1711], Abraham [1717], and Otto [1719]. Unlike his brother Isaac and uncle Otto, when Abraham died sometime after 5 July, 1735, he left all his lands to his three oldest sons, Dennis, Johannes and Abraham, rather than to his wife.⁶³ Probably as a result of this inheritance, the sons of Abraham Van Tuyl did not migrate west, but remained on Staten Island as landed farmers.⁶⁴ Abraham Van Tuyl's farm was split into three equal parts at the time of his death, with the westernmost section having survived as today's *Sailor's Snug Harbor Cultural Center*, where residents of today's

⁵⁹ "Plan (No 31) du Camp Anglo-Hessois dans Staten Island...", French Field Map of the Revolution, 1780-83, based on an earlier colonial map, Library of Congress Map Collection.

⁶⁰ Cramer, pp. 5-9. Also: family bible record [see above].

⁶¹ Clute, pp. 452-453.

⁶² Depositions of Denyse and Abraham [Jr.] Van Tuyl, 9-10 June, 1738, in New York Historical Society Manuscript Collection, Hendrick Croesen folder.

⁶³ *New York Will Libers*, Liber 12, pp. 366-8. He provided for his widow's support during her lifetime, provided that she did not remarry.

⁶⁴ Abraham Van Tuyl, Jr., age 22, was listed as a "weaver" in a 1738 document [Deposition of Abraham Van Tuyl, 10 June 1738, New-York Historical Society Manuscript Collection, Hendrick Croesen folder].

highly-urbanized Staten Island can enjoy, among other activities, a game of baseball on the meadow fronting Abraham's creek.⁶⁵

Otto Van Tuyl, Abraham's youngest son, was left only a monetary grant of £140 (equal to that of his sisters) in old Abraham's will.⁶⁶ But the 22-year-old Otto's fortunes took a turn for the better when his brother John [born *Johannes*] joined His Majesty's Forces and was shipped off to the West Indies in 1741. John left behind a pregnant wife and two young sons: so, naturally, he made a will.⁶⁷ Also, like his uncle Otto had done before embarking on his privateering cruises, John executed a power-of-attorney. But unlike the canny old pirate, who left his wife in charge, John trusted his brother Abraham and brother-in-law Nicholas Veghte to do right by his interests.⁶⁸ When he had been gone no more than seven months, they sold his farm!

Actually, this was probably not the nefarious deed it might at first appear to be. Old Abraham had divided his 360 acres into three equal, but undefined, parts for his three oldest sons. However, the eldest son, Denyse, had died in 1738, and with John off to the wars this left the burden of operating the entire 360 acres on the shoulders of 24-year-old Abraham junior. His brother Otto, only 1 1/2 years younger than young Abraham, was available, but he quite naturally would have demanded some sort of share in the farm he was expected to work. Denyse's widow, Neeltje Croesen (from a neighboring farm family), apparently defended her children's inheritance, so that left John's share - controlled by the family through power-of-attorney - as the only possibility. So, on 23 April, 1741, the family sold John's 1/3 interest to young Otto for £500.⁶⁹ The fact that Otto could not have possibly put up the £500 himself suggests that the family must have extended him credit, for the sake of preserving the farm.

As it turned out, John was killed in the West Indies sometime before 26 June, 1744, so the family's decision turned out to be the prudent one, even though it left John's sons without a share of the family farm. Thus, fate had intervened to give the disinherited youngest son, Otto, the opportunity to succeed on the family's property. As we will see, he did quite well.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Abraham's son Otto owned the western portion [see note 1] from 1740 until his death in 1757 [*Deeds*, D 135-140]. The land passed to relative John Veghte, who owned it before 1782, by which time it had been sold to Daniel Mercereau [*Deeds*, E 307-8]. By 1786, it had been sold by Mercereau's executors to Richard Houseman [*Deeds*, D 171]. Houseman died on 29 July, 1807, and his son Isaac received the property in a division of the estate [*Deeds*, D 171-4]. Isaac sold it in 1831 [*Deeds*, T 144-147] to the trustees of *Sailor's Snug Harbor*, an old seaman's retirement home which had been created pursuant to the 1801 bequest of Robert R. Randall, a New York philanthropist. In the 1960s, the City of New York acquired the property for use as a cultural center, rescuing it from development.

⁶⁶ *New York Will Libers*, Liber 12, pp. 366-8.

⁶⁷ *New York Historical Society Abstracts of Wills*, vol. IV, pg. 11, ref. recopied wills Liber 15, pg. 241.

⁶⁸ *Richmond County Deeds*, Liber D, pp. 606-608.

⁶⁹ *Richmond County Deeds*, Liber D, pp. 135-140.

The Staten Island Ferry

Otto Van Tuyl set his sights on more than just running the farm. He was ambitious and aggressive, and it seems he had a businessman's outlook. He knew his farm was in a good location, and he knew just how to exploit it: he would build a ferry terminal and set up a passenger service to Manhattan. To accomplish this, he needed political help that would ensure his exclusive rights to the route from his property, since his neighbor Jacob de Hart was trying to get official sanction for his own ferry service, and was apparently using Otto's waterfront to load passengers.⁷¹ So Otto Van Tuyl appealed to the authorities, petitioning them on 15 May, 1747 to prevent de Hart from horning in. On 30 Sept., 1748, Otto was granted a *caveat*, effectively denying de Hart's ferry access to not only Otto's waterfront, but to *all* property "...between high- and low-water mark" along the north shore.⁷² Otto then swung into high gear with the local politicians on Staten Island, getting them to do him a big favor. This they did, announcing on 28 October, 1748:⁷³

Whereas We the Commifsioners for laying out publick Highways in the North Precinct or Division of ye County of Richmond...do think it Necefsary & Convenient, that there be a Publick Landing Place at the Wharf or Dock of Otto Van Tuyl ... therefore it feemeth alfo Necefsary & convenient unto us that a publick High Road be layd out, leading thereunto...

So Otto had arranged, at public expense, a Staten Island Ferry Terminal on his property!

He must have had quite a good thing going until New York politics got in his way. A competitor, one Solomon Comes, petitioned to get his own service declared a *public* ferry. Otto and others opposed him at a public hearing on 12 Jan., 1748, claiming that this would exclude them from operating their own ferry businesses. Finally, on 17 March, 1749, Comes was granted his ferry rights.⁷⁴ Otto was apparently outraged. In a heated dispute with Comes (before the Governor and his Council, it seems), Otto lost his temper, apparently letting it be known exactly what he

⁷⁰ Otto now had a 1/3 share of his father's estate, but the remainder of the property stayed with his brothers' estates after their deaths. The share of his brother Denyse, who died in 1738, passed on to his surviving children, Hendrick and Neltie Van Tuyl. Their sons, Dennis Van Tuyl and Jacob Vanderbilt, who inherited the land in 1760 [*Deeds*, Liber D, pp. 450-52], sold their inheritance in 1782, near the end of the American Revolution for £1,190 [*Deeds*, Liber E, pg. 307]. Brother Abraham's share was sold by his executors for £966 to his wife's relative, Willem Vreeland, on 10 Dec., 1751 [*Deeds*, Liber D, pp. 312-320]. Otto's land became *Sailor's Snug Harbor*, as previously mentioned.

⁷¹ Morris, I.K., "Morris's Memorial History of Staten Island," vol. I, New York, 1898, pg. 391. States: "Comes' Ferry (formerly deHart's Ferry). Located 500 to 600 ft. E. of the New Brighton Landing at the foot of Jersey St. In 1747, De Hart had petitioned Gov. Geo. Clinton for letters patent for a public ferry. He had operated the ferry for some time previous to this petition." But Stokes, v. IV, pg. 603, presents a chronology making it seem that deHart and Comes were competitors.

⁷² Stokes, I.N.P., "The Iconography of Manhattan Island," New York, 1915-22, vol. IV, pg. 603.

⁷³ Stillwell, pg. 48.

⁷⁴ Stokes, pg. 603.

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thought of politicians who, as he probably saw it, had gone back on their word. These politicians did not take kindly to Otto's opinions. They issued the following order:

*1749, Sept. 30. Order, Richard Bradley atty. general to prosecute Otto Van Tuyl for disrespectful words spoken to the Gov. and council in a conversation with Solomon Comes of Richmond Co. relative to their respective claims to the Staten Island Ferry.*⁷⁵

The record does not show what penalty, if any, Otto paid for his intemperance. But interestingly, he did pay Comes £75 in June, 1750 - though it's not clear why.⁷⁶

Although Comes had won the first round with officialdom, Otto probably continued to operate - legally or otherwise - some sort of ferry service from his property. On 16 Jan., 1755, the Common Council, apparently unsatisfied with the ferry service (which may have lapsed by then), formed a committee to re-establish an official ferry service for New York City. On 7 March, 1755, they reported that "...the best and properest method to Let and establish said ffery...[is] to treat with those persons Living on Staten Island, who have a Grant from the Crown to Ferry from S^d Island to this City...". The committee was authorized to contract out this official ferry service for a term of five years, and by 22 Sept. of 1755, they had awarded the contract to... Otto Van Tuyl!⁷⁷

This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen Travellers, and others, that may have occasion of having themselves, Horses, Chaises, or any other Goods, transported to or from New York, to Staten-Island that the Ferry is now Continued to be kept by Otho Van Tyle, at Staten-Island, and Abraham Bockee, at the Whitehall Slip, in New York, in Company they having three Boats well fitted for the purpose, for the Dispatch of Business: Any Gentlemen in the City of New-York having Occasion, may (by giving notice to Abraham Bockee) have boats at the times appointed to attend. - *N.Y. Post-Boy, Sept. 23, 1755*

But ferry boats were not without their risks, and New York Bay - as pirate captain Otto Van Tuyl found out to his cost in 1705 - could be a watery grave. Abraham Van Tuyl's grandson Denys, a nephew 15 years younger than Otto Van Tuyl the ferry operator, was probably encouraged by his uncle's success: he established his own ferry business in 1755. In those days, there were several main ferry routes. In addition to the route from the island's north shore to Manhattan, there were the *Blazing Star* and *Morning Star* routes, the former from New Jersey terminating north of *Fresh Kills*, and the latter connecting the north shore across the *Kill van Kull* to Bergen County, New Jersey. (The colorful names of these ferries also happened to be the names of two popular taverns located at the landings of their respective ferries). In addition, there were two other major lines, one from Perth Amboy New Jersey to the island's southern tip, and another - called Stillwell's Ferry - across The Narrows to New Utrecht, Long Island.⁷⁸ It was this latter ferry that Otto's

⁷⁵ "Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, In the Office of the Secretary of State," Albany, NY (Part II, English Manuscripts 1664-1776) ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, pg. 590. Cited in Stokes, pg. 616.

⁷⁶ *Richmond County Deeds*, Liber D, pg. 74.

⁷⁷ Stokes, vol. IV, pg. 663. The very first ferry from Staten Island was established in 1713 [*ibid*].

⁷⁸ French Field Map , 1780.

nephew Denys took over on 3 March, 1755, when it was announced:⁷⁹

The ferry to the narrows, commonly called the Stillwell Ferry, together with the Dwelling House, Barn, Out Houses, Orchard and Land belonging thereto is to be let for five years to Denyse Denyse [Van Tuyl] at the lower Ferry.

Denys was but 20 years of age when he took over this ferry business. For about one year, things apparently went well enough, but on Thursday, 14 March, 1756, disaster struck:⁸⁰

New York, March 15.

Thursday last about 12 o'clock, happen'd a very melancholy Accident in our Bay, when one of the Ferry Boats from Staten Island, being coming over, in a pretty high Wind, with 13 men and 3 Horses on board, a rough Sea, near Oyster-Island, overwhelmed the Boat, and she sunk down directly; by which Means 11 of the Men, and the 3 Horses were drowned.

Persons saved were Capt. Williams, designed a Battoe-Mann, and one of his Men: Those drowned were Thomas Harrison, Israel Rose, David Fling and James Jones, designed Battoe-Men under Capt. Williams; Mr. Thomas Alston of Raway; ---Moore of Piscataway; Denyse Van Tyle, the Boatman; William Smallpiece, a soldier belonging to Shirley's Regiment; and three Gentlemen Strangers.

That these travellers did not save themselves by swimming to nearby Oyster Island is further evidence of how few 18th century people knew *how* to swim. The two men who *were* saved:⁸¹

... were taken up by a Boat that went to their Assistance, having held by the Top of the Mast which remained above the Water, for a considerable Time.

So it was that for the second time that century, barely 50 years after the sinking of the *Castle del Rey*, that a Van Tuyl skipper was killed in New York Bay. Probably as a memorial to young Denys Van Tuyl, the New Utrecht ferry landing was thereafter called *Dennis's Ferry*.⁸² This tragedy, it seems, was the beginning of the end for Otto Van Tuyl. A year and a half later, in the winter of 1757, he apparently fell ill, made his will, and died... at age 38.⁸³

In His Majesty's Service...

Like many of its counterpart rural areas of 20th century America, Staten Island of the mid-to-late 18th century took on an isolated, conservative, political point of view:⁸⁴

There is no evidence that the political questions of the day [i.e. Independence], which even at this early period began to agitate the minds of the people throughout the several provinces, produced much excitement on Staten Island; the people were

⁷⁹ Stokes, pg. 665. Cites: *NY Post-Boy*, March 3, 1755.

⁸⁰ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 1421, March 18, 1756, in *New Jersey Archives, First Series*, vol. xx [vol. x of the Newspaper Abstracts] pp. 10-11 .

⁸¹ *The New York Mercury*, March 15, 1756, *ibid*.

⁸² Library of Congress Map G1106.PSES. Also, *New York Times*, 17 Nov., 1952. Dennis may actually have been working out of Otto's wharf at the time of the accident [Stokes, vol. IV, pg. 679].

⁸³ *New York Wills*, Liber 20, pg. 433, 3 Dec., 1757. Also, Cramer, pg. 9.

⁸⁴ Clute, pg. 82.

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an isolated community, holding little intercourse with the world around them, and taking comparatively little interest in matters not of a strictly local character.

In fact, the sons and grandsons of Abraham Van Tuyl living along the north shore of Staten Island had, by the 1750s, become minor members of the colonial government - not unlike their forebears in the feudal and post-feudal society of Gelderland. Otto, for example had, by 1754, become a Highway Commissioner for the north of Staten Island. This must have been a job with great practical influence and some political clout, perhaps equivalent to that of the *heemraaden* [dike officials] of Gelderland.⁸⁵ These Staten Island Van Tuyls also entered into the lower ranks of the military - not unlike their 15th century forebears in the *Tielerwaard*. The first to join His Majesty's Colonial Service was John [born *Johannes*] Van Tuyl, the second son of twin Abraham. In 1740, he set out on an "...*Expedition against the Spaniards in Coll. Gooches Regiment.*"⁸⁶ John died before 26 June, 1744, while serving in the West Indies.⁸⁷ The second to join His Majesty's Ranks was Isaac Van Tuyl, younger brother of the ill-fated boatman, Denys. This Isaac died at age 22, on Christmas eve, in Port Royal, Jamaica.⁸⁸ And finally, just before his cousin Isaac's death in 1758, 17-year-old Michael [born *Machiel*] Van Tuyl enlisted in Col. Brewster's New York Regiment.⁸⁹ Michael survived his military tour, but later paid for his Loyalist sympathies.

An Ill-fated Family

The descendants of Abraham Van Tuyl were remarkably short-lived, as it turned out. Denyse died of disease in 1738, at age 31, within 3 weeks of making his will.^{90, 91} John died at war, age 33 or less. Abraham was but 33 years old when he declared himself "...*very sick and Weak in Body*" in his last will and testament.⁹² He died soon afterward. Otto lived to the ripe old age of 38, and though he didn't mention it in his will, must also have been sick, since he died within the month.⁹³ One wonders whether the farm's marshes may have been unhealthy? Drowning was another leading cause of death for the descendants of Abraham Van Tuyl. In addition to the ferry accident which claimed the life of 21-year-old Dennis in 1756, there was a previous accident, in 1742. This claimed the life of his older brother, Abraham, who was "...*Drowned march the 28the 1742 at*

⁸⁵ Stillwell, pg. 38.

⁸⁶ *Richmond County Deeds*, Liber D, pg. 606. "...*at present very sick of body, but of perfect mind...*"

⁸⁷ *New York Historical Society Abstracts of Wills*, vol. IV, pg. 11, ref. recopied wills Liber 15, pg. 241.

⁸⁸ Cramer, pg. 6

⁸⁹ Cramer, pg. 8. His birthplace was erroneously listed as "Ireland" - apparently instead of "Island".

⁹⁰ "Bible Records in Rutgers University Library," in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Apr 1940, vol. 71, pp. 141-142. "In the year 1738 the 5th of December, on a Tuesday, Denice Van Tuyl died about two o'clock."

⁹¹ *New York Wills*, Liber 13, pg. 401, 13 Nov., 1738.

⁹² *New York Wills*, Liber 17, pg. 304, 8 Nov., 1750. Also, Cramer, pg. 8.

⁹³ *New York Wills*, Liber 20, pg. 433, 3 Dec., 1757. Also, Cramer, pg. 9.

Sea."⁹⁴ The biggest tragedy of all may have been the drowning - in 1761 - of young widow Phoebe Van Tuyl, whose husband (he was also her cousin) Hendrick had died the year before. This left their 2 1/2 year old son Dennis to be raised by surviving members of the family.⁹⁵

Thus, Abraham Van Tuyl, son of the immigrants Jan Otten and Gertruyd, who might possibly have founded a dynasty along the *Kill Van Kull*, instead left a family dissipated by disease, accident, and war. His 360-acre farm was sold outside the Van Tuyl family by the end of the American Revolution. That War also brought ill fortune to some of Abraham's clan. The most prominent of the Van Tuyls, Otto, had married into the Van Buskirk family - several members of which later became Loyalist soldiers of some repute. Otto's son Andrew [born *Andreis*] married into the Bogert family of New York City, and his daughter Phebe [born *Femmetje*] married Peter Barberie, great-grandson of merchant-politician John Barberie of pirate Otto's time.⁹⁶ The Barberie family had evidently stayed connected to the Delancey political faction through the years. This faction was the political counterpart of the British Tory party and was the anti-Dutch party which had been opposed in 1701 by Captain Otto Van Tuyl.⁹⁷ These Tory family connections, along with their general Staten Island political background and probable political attitudes, seem to have predestined several of old Abraham's grandchildren to come out on the "wrong" side of the political dispute of the century: the American Revolution.

A Family Divided

By the 1760s, as the American Colonies drifted into revolution, the twin brothers Abraham and Isaac Van Tuyl were long dead, and their descendants, as we will see, were headed down two separate paths: the sons of Abraham to become burghers of New York in support of the King; the sons of Isaac to farm in Somerset County, New Jersey, where the only acceptable politics was to take up arms against the King's men.

⁹⁴ "Bible Records in Rutgers University Library," in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Apr., 1940, vol. 71, pp. 141-142.

⁹⁵ "Bible Records in Rutgers University Library," in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Apr., 1940, vol. 71, pp. 141-142.

⁹⁶ "Family Record: Barberie," in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, oct., 1992, pg. 207.

⁹⁷ "Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1776," New York, 1905, vol. II, pp. 175, 178.