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A History Of The German Immigration To New York In 1710.

A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION
TO NEW YORK IN 1710

BY

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A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO
NEW YORK IN 1710.

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A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION
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During the first decade of the 18th century Europe was engaged in the war of the Spanish succession. With the death of Charles II of Spain and the accession of the grandson of Louis XIV of France to the Spanish throne, the danger of an ultimate union of Spain with France under a Bourbon king began to alarm the European powers. When in 1701 the exiled James II of England died and Louis recognized the deposed king's son as sovereign of England, the English and the Dutch were thoroughly aroused. William III formed a Grand Alliance with Louis' enemies which included Holland, Austria and Prussia. With the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne and most of the Italian princes as partisans, Louis XIV presented a formidable front to his opponents. In 1702 William III died and England had a woman as ruler. Under the Duke of Marlborough, however, the Allies gained the brilliant victories of Blenheim, Ramillies and Oudenarde and in 1709 Louis offered terms of peace so humiliating to the French that it was evident that he was willing to buy peace at any price. Owing to the policy of the Whig ministers, however, his terms were rejected, the most exorbitant demands of the allies were supported and the war was continued. The Whigs prolonged the war because it kept them in office. Cabinet government in England at this time had not as yet developed the principle that the ministers were respon-

sible to Parliament rather than to their sovereign. Queen Anne's ideal, of a government was of one in which neither Whig nor Tory possessed complete ascendancy but of these parties she preferred the Tory. The Whigs, who represented the interests of Parliament rather than the crown, had adopted a liberal attitude toward dissenters and toward foreigners. Their party~~s~~ stood for the encouragement of trade and so had with it the commercial class of England. The Tories or Conservatives who were for the most part the country gentry and the lower clergy, stood firmly for the Anglican Church, supported the Vest Act and the Occasional Conformity Bill, and the rights of the Crown as against those of Parliament. They were from the land owning and farming population of England.¹

After the English victory of Blenheim in 1705 and the complete victory of the Whigs at the election of that year it became evident that the Duke of Marlborough, commander in chief of the English army and the national favorite at this time, was filling the ministry with Whigs because it was from this party that the war received support. When peace was proposed the Whigs realized that it was his leadership in war which made Marlborough indispensable to the nation and that it was only by continuing the war that they could hope to remain in power. Thus was the war dragged out until, in 1710, the combined opposition of the Queen and Church brought about the fall of the Whig ministry and the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

1. Lecky: England in the 18th Century. I, 1 ff.
Trevelyan: England under the Stuarts. 482, ff.

The many conflicts of the seventeenth century, beginning with the thirty years' war and ending with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1797, had destroyed the peace and prosperity of the small German states lying along the Rhine. Much of the activity connected with the War of the Spanish succession affected, seriously, though perhaps not as violently, the welfare of these states. It is with this in mind that we are to consider a series of events which followed close on the fighting about Landau in 1707.

During the month of April in the year 1709 there passed down the Rhine to Holland several hundred German families bound for England, with the expectation of being transported to "the Islands" of Pennsylvania and Carolina. On April 22nd the Burgomasters of Rotterdam distributed money among them that they might continue their journey to England. Soon after, the English Government relieved Rotterdam of the task of transporting them by providing ships and transports.¹ On May 6th there ^{were} 852 German immigrants in London and from that time on the number increased so rapidly that on June 10th there were 6520.² A last large influx of Germans arrived in October, making a total of about 14,000 persons.

1. Proceedings of the Burgomasters of Rotterdam, reprint by Diefenderfer, Pa. Ger. Soc. Pro. VII, 351; Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 597.
2. Board of Trade Papers, May 12, 1709, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. 111, 1737; Records of the Board of Trade, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1747 ff.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The history of the United States of America is a story of growth and expansion. From a small collection of colonies on the eastern coast, it grew into a vast nation spanning two continents. The early years were marked by struggle and the search for a common identity.



The American Revolution was a pivotal moment in the nation's history. It was a fight for independence from British rule, driven by a desire for self-governance and the protection of individual liberties. The Declaration of Independence in 1776 was a bold statement of the new nation's principles.

The years following the Revolution were a period of consolidation and growth. The nation expanded westward, and the economy began to diversify. The Constitution of 1787 provided a framework for the new government, balancing the powers of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

The American Civil War, fought from 1861 to 1865, was a defining moment in the nation's history. It was a struggle over the issue of slavery, which ultimately led to the abolition of the practice and the preservation of the Union.

After that time the parties grew smaller and finally stopped coming in December.¹

An attempt to check the emigration began with an order from the Elector Palatine which made it "death and confiscation of goods" for any of his subjects to quit his native country. This threat was echoed with more or less vehemence by the smaller princes in the Rhine Country.² England's attitude was entirely hospitable. On May 3d the Earl of Sunderland announced to the Board of Trade that several hundred Germans had come and he desired that they be comfortably settled in order that others might be encouraged to follow.³ On June 24th, however, Secretary Boyle sent orders to Mr. Dayrolle, minister at the Hague, that he should send no more Germans to England until those who had arrived should be provided for. An advertisement was accordingly published to that effect.⁴ In August, notice from England to the officials at Rotterdam caused the burgomasters of that city to send agents up the Rhine to discourage the emigrants, and the States General of the United Netherlands in pursuance of an order from Dayrolle,

1. Boehme to Höen, May 1710, Heuser, Pa. Im. 17. J., 66; Kurze Relation, Heuser, Pa. Im. 17. J., 74 ff; Journals of the House of Commons XVI, 597.
2. Luttrell's Brief Relation, VI, 434; Briefe Deutscher Auswanderer, Deutsch-Am. Geschichtsblätter, ~~XII~~, 145 ff, 181ff; XIII, 195 ff.
3. Earl of Sunderland to the Board of Trade, May 3, 1709, Eccles. Rec. III, 1733. N.Y.
4. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 597.

notified the ministers at Cologne and Frankfurt that any Germans on the way to Rotterdam should be told that they would not be transported to England.¹

Because the greater part of these emigrants were from the Palatinate, it became the custom in England to speak of the whole emigration as from the Palatinate and the term German became synonymous with the term Palatine. As a matter of fact the inhabitants of the many small principalities of the Rhine adjoining the Palatinate were affected by the same conditions as were those of the Palatinate and were moved to resort to the same methods of relief.² In a letter from the Elector Palatine the statement was made that many who were emigrating called themselves Palatines but were not, that there had lately arrived in Mannheim 127 families from the upper Rhine, not one of whom was from the Palatinate.³ Some idea of the territories from which these people came may be obtained from a list made by a German official who visited Holland and England during the summer of 1709.⁴

1. Resolutions of the States General of the United Netherlands, Reprint Diffenderfer, Pa. Ger. Soc. Pro. VII, 355 ff.; Resolutions of the Burgomasters at Rotterdam, Reprint Diffenderfer, Pa. Ger. Soc. Pro. VII, 352 ff.
2. Briefe deutscher Auswanderer, Deutsch-Am. Geschichtsblätter, xII, 124 ff. XIII, 181 ff.; ~~H.~~ Kapp; Die Deutschen im Staate, N. Y. 1867 p. 60, ff.
3. Häberle: Auswanderung der Pfälzer im 18. J., 41.
4. Heuser: Pa. im 17 J. 72.

"Liste der nach der Insel Pensylvanien abgereisten Leute."

Aus der Pfalz	8, 589
Aus dem Darmstattichen	2, 334
Aus dem Hanauischen	1, 113
Aus dem Francken-Land	653
Aus dem Mahntzischen (Mainz)	63
Aus dem Trierischen	58
Aus dem Speyrischen, Wormsischen, und Graffschafftlichen	490
Aus dem Hessenland	81
Aus dem Zweybrückischen	125
Aus dem Nassauischen	203
Aus dem Elsass	413
Aus dem Badischen	320
Aus Allerhaud Laudschaften Ledige Hand-wercks Leute	<u>871</u>
Summa	15, 313

The Reports of the two Lutheran ministers Andrew Rupertⁱ and John Trebecco, who were commissioned by the English Board of Trade to give information about the immigrants, show that they were for the most part farmers, vine dressers and craftsmen. In a list of May 27th there were 460 husbandmen and vine dressers, 95, craftsmen and five school masters.¹

¹ Board of Trade Papers, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1747, ff.

From the letters of some of the inhabitants of Nassau-Billenburg and Nassau-Weilburg, it is evident that in these principalities at least the emigrants were permitted to go only on condition that no accusation could be brought against them for debt or crime.¹ The salient characteristic, then of the emigration was its poverty.

Indeed poverty was widespread in the Rhine country at this time. The wars of Louis XIV had laid waste the land and the winter of 1708-9 had ruined the crops. The rulers of the small principalities exacted heavy taxes in their efforts to emulate the luxury of the court of Louis XIV. The game in the hunting parks was allowed to feed unchecked on the sowed fields of the farmer. In petitioning their princes for leave to set out for the Islands of Carolina the peasants of Nassau-Billenburg rehearsed these grievances and the village officials confirmed them. The Prince recognized them when, in trying to check the emigration by a general decree, July 17th, 1709, he promised to dismiss unjust and lazy officials, to remind those retained of their duty and to lighten the taxes.²

In view of the intensity of religious feeling at this time it is impossible to overlook the consideration of religious

1. Briefe deutscher Auswanderer, Deutsch-Am. Geschichtsblätter XII, 124 ff; XIII.
2. Briefe deutscher Auswanderer, Deutsch-Am. Geschichtsblätter XII, 145. Häusser, Geschichte der Rhenischen Pfalz, Vol. II, 840 ff.

influences on this emigration. The government in the Palatinate was Catholic and the population was largely Protestant. However, not all the emigrants were Protestants. The Protestant Consistory at Heidelberg had published a declaration stating that the Elector Palatine was unwilling that the exodus be ascribed to religious persecution. The officers of the Consistory stated that they knew of no persecutions or lack of liberty of conscience in the Palatinate. Nevertheless it is worthy of note that only in 1707 the Elector, John William, had found it necessary to declare Liberty of Conscience and to define the rights of the Protestants as against Catholic usurpation. This Declaration had been forced from him by Prussia. The persecution had taken the form of infringement on Protestant Church property and interference with Protestant Church services. Even after the Declaration, many unjust distinctions were made in favor of Catholicism. Discontent arising from these irritating circumstances undoubtedly contributed toward the desire of Protestant families to emigrate.¹ ~~Another~~

Another and very potent influence on the German peasant at this time was the news of the success of the party of colonists led by Josua von Kocherthal. This party had gone to England, had received the assistance of the Queen and had been sent to New York.

1. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI; Letter of Elector Palatine, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1792 ff; An Account of the Present Condition of the Protestants in the Palatinate, London, 1699, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1457 ff; Declaration of John William, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1600 ff. Bernhard Erdmannsdörfer Deutsche Geschichte in Oncken's Allgemeine Geschichte, III, No. 7. vol. II, 379 ff., Häusser, Geschichte des Rheinischen Pfalz II, 824 ff., 840 ff.

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Kocherthal was a Lutheran minister who had been actively interested in the plan for some years. Impelled by the devastation of the wars of Louis XIV and by the desire of his countrymen, he resolved to make definite inquiries about the American colonies. In 1704 he went to England to get information about them and about the encouragement extended to those wishing to go there.¹ In April of the year 1706 he published a book containing information about the "Island of Carolina" entitled, "Kochertals Bericht von der berühmten Landschafft Carolina." This book represented the results of his conversations with the Secretary of the Carolinas and with ship captains, merchants and others who had been in America. It gave a detailed explanation of the conditions in the Carolinas and drew comparisons with Pennsylvania to the disadvantage of that colony. It held out the encouragement that means might be found to influence the Queen to give help in case enough people wished to go to Carolina.²

Kocherthal had led his party to England in the spring of 1708. He had intended going to the Carolinas but he was sent to New York under the patronage of the Queen. His people were naturalized by special provision before leaving England and he, although a Lutheran minister, was given the salary usually paid

1. Josus von Kocherthal, Bericht von Carolina 1709. Vorrede, 2 ff.
2. Ibid. 28 ff.; Professor Vincent Todd in an article entitled: Christoph von Graffenried and the Founding of New Bern, N. C. Deutsche-Am. Geschichteblätter, XII, 10, considers this as coming directly from the English government. It is necessary here to distinguish between governmental officials who have interests in the colonies and action of the Government of England.

to Anglican ministers.¹ Tools were provided them and land was promised them.

A letter, written by a member of Kocherthal's party in London, July 13th, 1708, and directed to one "Joh. H.," told in glowing terms of the assistance which had been given the party as it passed down the Rhine and through Holland. It described the Germans as they waited in England for the fleet which was to take them to New York. They were being well cared for by the Queen. The letter had the value of unconscious testimony and of being a record of personal experience and when published in the fourth edition of Kocherthal's book in 1709, doubtless appealed strongly to those at home. It was a guarantee that the journey was a safe and a desirable one. The Book had held out the hope that if enough people came the Queen would pay the expenses of emigration, the letter proved that she was doing so.² The influence of Kocherthal's expedition and of his publication was apparent in 1709 when the English Board of Trade found that many of the Germans were eager to go to New York.³

1. Doc. Hist., III, 541; N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 62 ff. Acts of the Privy Council, II, 552
2. Kocherthal's Bericht, (1709) page 77 ff. page 28 ff.
3. Journals of the Board of Trade, May 18, 1709, reprint Diffenderffer Pa. Ger. Soc. Pro. VII, 363; A Parliamentary inquiry into the causes of this emigration April 1711, revealed the existence of another book which described Carolina. This was called the Golden Book because the title page was in letters of gold. It contained a picture of Queen Anne. It is possible that this was an elaborate edition of the Kocherthal Bericht. see Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 597.

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In addition to Kocherthal's Bericht there were other books from which these German peasants may have obtained information about the American colonies. Penn's publication of 1683, "Ein Brief von Wm. Penn," described the natural resources of the country.¹ In 1700 Pastorius' description of Pennsylvania appeared. It was a description of Pennsylvania, an account of Pastorius' journey to Pennsylvania, information about the Germans there and letters from Pastorius to his father and friends in Germany.² In 1702 there appeared a continuation of Pastorius' description with additional description and information by Gabriel Thomas and Daniel Falckner.³ It is probable however that none of these were as widely read at this time as Kocherthal's Bericht.

More specific evidence of the influence exerted by these books appeared in an examination of the people wishing to emigrate from the principality of Nassau-Weilburg, May 1709. The petitioners were required to say where they had first come upon the idea of emigrating, whether anyone had persuaded them to go, what they knew of the so-called "Islands," where they had obtained the information and when and how they expected to get the necessary

1. "Ein Brief von William Penn," London 1683, reprint, Heuser, Pa. im 17. J., 5 ff.
2. Pastorius' Beschreibung der Provintz Pensylvanicae" Frankfurt w. Leipzig 1700. transl. Jameson, Original Narratives of early American History, Narratives of early Penna. 360 ff.
3. "Continuatio der Beschreibung der Laudschafft Pensylvanicae," Frankfurt w. Leipzig, 1702, Outline in Heuser, Pa. im 17 J. 55 ff. English edition of 1698, Jameson, Narratives of early Penna, 313 ff.

money for the journey. Out of nineteen persons questioned twelve had based their plans on a book describing "the Island." Some had seen it, some had only heard of it. One of these had gotten the book from the English ambassador at Frankfurt, and another had bought the book at Frankfurt.¹ They appeared to be setting out with but very little money. The examination showed that four out of the nineteen expected help from the Queen of England. With all of them the idea of going was but a few weeks old. The movement was in the air and the books were being loaned and discussed.

It was inevitable that the English minister Davenant, at Frankfurt should have been in close touch with colonial interests. Knowing the policies of the Whig ministers it was doubtless easy for him to encourage emigration by the distribution of printed matter. Further than this he was not empowered to act. On February 16th, 1708, Davenant having refused to grant passes to the Kocherthat party for fear of antagonizing the Elector Palatine had written to his government for advice. The reply from Secretary Boyle forbade his giving public encouragement either in money or passes to any of the Elector's subjects without the Elector's consent. The Secretary added that her majesty's desire to have these people settle in the plantations made her regret the necessity of this course of action. Whether Davenant proceeded to encourage the emigration in other than public ways has not been determined.²

1. Briefe deutscher Auswanderer, Deutsch Am. Geschichtsblätter XIII, 84 ff.

2. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 597; I have not found the evidence sufficient to subscribe to Professor Julius Goebel's view that Davenant was actively engaged in furthering this emigration. Julius Goebel, Briefe deutscher Auswanderer aus dem Jalore 1709, Deut-Am. Geschichtsblätter, XII, 182

The spread of literature and ideas was undoubtedly furthered largely by the activity of agents of land companies or colonial proprietors. One of the peasants of Nassau-Weilburg told in the examination mentioned above of a native of Darmstadt who was organizing a party. Another told of a man from Asslar who after having lived 1-1/2 years in the colonies, had come back to take six families with him from Asslar. A letter from one Ezechiel de Hailenberg in London August 29th, announced that the Queen had not invited them to come to England and that those people of the Island of Carlolina had had the books printed and had desired to have wealthy families go to the Island at their own expense.¹ The Lutheran minister, John Trebecco, said in a sermon to the German immigrants in London 1710, that they had not left their country at the command of God, as had the people of Israel, but on the instigation of men who deceived them with vain hopes of obtaining great things.² A German official who had visited England during the summer of 1709 spoke of two "Widertäufer" whom William Penn had sent to the Palatinate. These had books printed at Frankfurt and distributed in the Palatinate and made promises in the name of

1. Briefe deutscher Auswanderer, Deutsch-Am. Geschichtsblätter XIII, 189, 192; ibid, XII, 180
2. Henry Eyster Jacobs, The German Emigration to America, Pa. Ger. Soc. Pro. VIII, 75 ff.

the Queen of England.¹

After the English government had repeatedly declared that it did not wish any more immigrants, a certain man from England distributed money and passes at Rotterdam among families who would otherwise have returned to their homes. The English secretary at the Hague, Mr. Dayrolle, disclaimed any official responsibility for the actions of this Englishman.² It is evident that someone was expecting profit from the importation of the Germans and was employing money and influence to further it. Who it was it is difficult to say.

Public sentiment in England tended from the first to fix the responsibility on the government or on men of influence in the Whig party. Signs of this began with the pamphlets printed in London in the years 1709-1710. These jêred at the Whig

1. "Das verlangte nicht erlangte Kanaan, (Frankfurt to Leipzig 1711,) Heuser, "Pa. im 17. J. 59 ff." This booklet was compiled by Moritz Wilhelm Höen with the help of Boehme in 1711. It decries Kocherthal's book as unfounded and one sided and discourages the emigration of people without money.
2. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 597. The Committee of Investigation found that a certain Henry ~~Torn~~ acting under Dayrolle's orders, had been doing this. Does this mean that Dayrolle was himself interested in colonization or that he was acting under double orders?



principle that people were the strength and riches of a nation and disparaged the doctrine of religious toleration. Pamphlets were published also which defended the government for having received the immigrants, by pointing out the misery which the Germans had suffered and showing how they would benefit the kingdom.¹ The current ideas of the man on the street found expression in a pamphlet called: "A Pleasant Dialogue between a High Dutchman and an English Tradesman." The High Dutchman remarked: "Her Majesty of Great Britain, out of her christian clemency and tenderness, invited some thousands of Germans into England . . ."

The English Tradesman asked why their own princes and nobility took no better care of them. Said the High Dutchman: "The wars have been so burthensome to them, that they are not able to support their own grandeur . . ., I suppose the Emperor and his German Princes will make you some satisfaction, in the meantime necessity has no law." "This" replied the English Tradesman, "is High German doctrine with a vengeance."²

The government was censured particularly for having passed an act for naturalizing foreign Protestants, March 15th, 1708/9.³ It was hinted that this act had been passed for the express purpose

1. A Brief History, July 18, 1709, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1774 ff; State of the Palatines, 1710. N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1820 ff. A Letter to a Friend in the Country, 1711, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1752 ff.
2. A Pleasant Dialogue, London 1709, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1817ff
3. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 108.

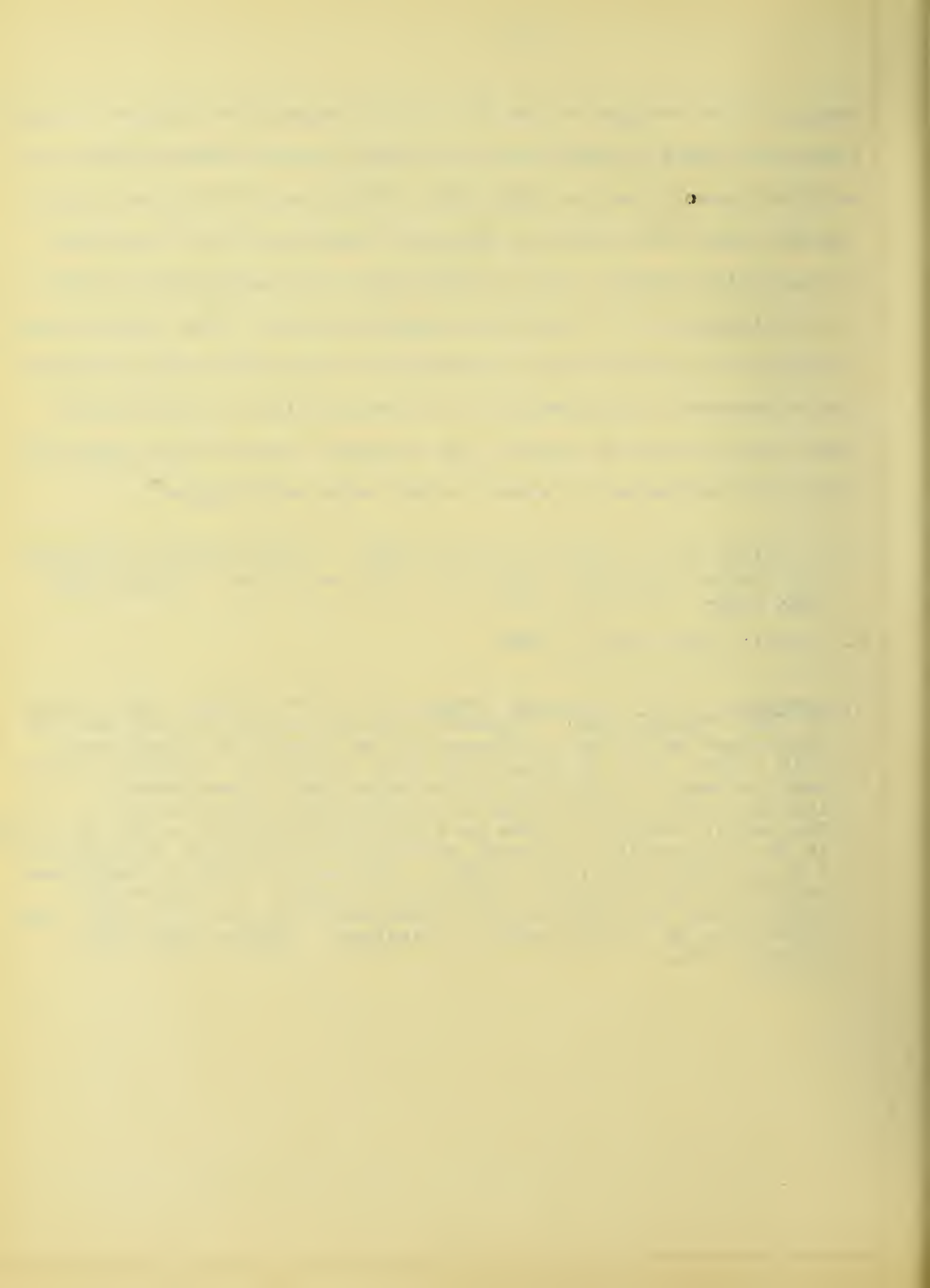
of bringing the Germans into England. That the act was passed with the idea of making up for the loss of men in the wars on the continent, is evident from the discussion which it aroused while before the House. Penn was eager to have it passed and it is probable that it was pushed by other colonial proprietors. Undoubtedly also the fact that the French Huguenots in England had some two million pounds sterling invested in the government and might be moved to withdraw it at the close of the war, had weight in justifying the passing of the Bill.¹ The whole tenor of the Bill was entirely in accord with the Whig principles of government and it was probably intended to produce on a smaller scale some such result as came about.

As early as August 1709, public disapproval had become so strong that there was a possibility that Parliament would be forced to act.² There was however no action on the part of Parliament until after the change of government in 1710. On January 15th, 1710/11 a committee was ordered to inquire "upon what Invitation or Encouragement, the Palatines came over." In an effort to condemn the Whig administration as far as possible, an attempt was made to interpret the governmental encouragement as exhibited in passing the Naturalization Bill, transportation from Holland and sympathetic reception of the Germans, as a design against the Anglican Church and as aiming toward the increase of the strength of the Dissenters.³ An effort was made to lay the responsibility for the

1. Parliamentary History VI, 780 ff., 1080 ff. Wm. Penn to James Logan, Jan. 3, 1708/9 Memoirs of the Historical Soc. of Pa. vol X, Penn & Logan Correspondence II, 323. Kapp: Die deutschen in Staate N. Y. (1884), 21.

coming of the Germans on the Earl of Sunderland but this was dropped, perhaps for want of sufficient evidence, and the investigation ended with a resolution Apr. 14th 1711, : "That the inviting and bringing over into the kingdom of the poor Palatines of all religions, at the public expense, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor of this kingdom and of dangerous consequences to the Constitution in Church and state, and that whoever advised the bringing over the poor Palatines into this kingdom was an enemy to the Queen and kingdom."¹

2. R. Palmer to R. Verney, Aug 17, 1709. " 'tis thought Parliament will enquire into the invitation they had hither" Brit. Hist. Mss. Comm. 7th Report, 507.
3. Tindal: Parl. Hist. VI, 999.
1. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 598. Tindal: Parl. Hist. VI, 999. Tindal says: "Because a letter, written by the Earl of Sunderland in the Queen's name, to the council of trade, was laid before them, by which they were ordered to consider of the best methods of disposing of the Palatines, it was moved to lay the load of that matter on him in some severe votes . . ." The letter referred to was in all probability that of May 3d, 1709 in which Sunderland proposed settling the Palatines in England. (N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1733.) Parliament would probably have accused him of wishing to increase the number of Whig votes (by settling and naturalizing foreigners) in order to subdue the opposition to the war party. Trevelyan: England under the Stuarts, 476.



Certainly the eagerness with which England received these Germans was proof that they were considered a desirable addition to the kingdom. Mr. Dayrolle, Secretary at the Hague had received instructions from Secretary Boyle, "pursuant to the desire of the Duke of Marlborough," to transport the Palatines at her Majesty's charge and Mr. Bridges, the Paymaster, had been instructed by the Lord High Treasurer, to demand such sums of money from Mr. Sweet at Amsterdam, as should be required.¹ On May 4th, the Board of Trade ordered the two Lutheran ministers Andrew Ruperti and John Trebecco to inquire into the number and condition of those Palatines who had arrived. By May 15th, the Earl of Sunderland had secured money for them from the Queen. The work of housing and feeding the newcomers was, until the first of July, undertaken by a volunteer committee which met daily at Temple Exchange Coffee House and which collected from seven to eight hundred pounds from private benefactors.² On the 11th of June however, the problem of the maintenance of these people had become so important that the Queen issued a Brief in which she appointed Commissioners to collect and dispose of moneys for the Palatines and to receive plans for their settlement. This Commission was made up of about one hundred persons including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor the Lord High Treasurer and most of the high officials of the realm. Those men who up to that time had had the care of the Palatines still formed the nucleus of the

1. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 597

2. N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1785, 1741 ff.

commission.¹

From the first the plan of the government had been to settle the Germans in the kingdom. Sunderland wrote to the Board of Trade on May 3d, 1709, that "Her Majesty was convinced that it would be much more to the advantage of her kingdom, if a Method should be found to settle them here . . . instead of sending them to the West Indies."² There followed an inquiry of the Board to the Attorney General: "whether her Majesty has a Right and Power by law to grant Lands in her Forests and Wastes to any of her Subjects, with License to build Cottages and inclose the said Lands, in order to convert the same into Tillage." The decision was that Her Majesty had the right.³ Upon the arrival of so many more immigrants than had been expected the question of the disposal of them became so difficult that Secretary Boyle notified Dayrolle that he was to hinder the coming of more Palatines lest "the Success of the whole matter might happen thereby to be disappointed."⁴

Great efforts were made to settle the Palatines in towns and parishes of England. The Corporation of Liverpool took 130. The Commission allowed five pounds per head to those persons and parishes who would receive them. Lord Chamberlain and Lord Carbury offered to colonize families on tracts of land which they

1. Pa. Ger. Soc. Pro. VII, 369 reprint by Diffenderffer. N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1787, 1753.
2. Sunderland to Board of Trade, May 3, 1709, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1733.
3. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 598.
4. Ibid, 597

owned but their terms were rejected as exorbitant. It was proposed that the Germans be employed in mines but where anything came of the proposition the Germans grew dissatisfied and found their way back to London. In general the only result of the attempt to settle them in England was a suspicion on the part of the public that the Whig leaders were manipulating for votes.¹

On the invitation of the Lord Lieutenant and Council for Ireland there were sent over to that kingdom over 821 families, amounting to 3,073 persons. The first party went in August 1709 and the second in February 1710. 24,000£ were appropriated for their settlement, but in 1712 only 263 families or 979 persons had remained.² Three thousand were enlisted in the army.³ Many died of sickness in crossing from Holland and while encamped at Black Heath and Camberwell. Roman Catholics who were unwilling to become Protestant, and others whom the government could not dispose of, were sent back to Germany.⁴ In January 1710, 650 were sent with Christoph von Graffenreid to North Carolina.⁵

1. Brit. Hist. Mss. Comm. 8th Report, 395; Ibid. I, 47. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 598. Heuser, Pa. im 17. J. 77 ff.
2. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 596. Leadam: Political History of England, 142.
3. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 221, Leadam: Political History of England, 142.
4. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 597. Das verlangte Kanaan, Heuser, Pa. im 17. J. 71 ff. 81 ff.
5. Journals of the House of Commons, XVI, 596. Leadam: Political History of England, 142.

More than three thousand were sent to New York. As was seen from the reports of the Lutheran ministers to the Board of Trade, the influence of Kocherthal's party led many to express a desire to go there. The news of the death of Lord Lovelace, governor of New York, reached England during the summer of 1709 and with it came Josua von Kocherthal to ask for further assistance for his colony at Newburg on the Hudson which, up to that time, had been supported by money advanced by Lord Lovelace.

It had long been planned to relieve England from dependence for its naval supplies on Norway, Sweden and Russia by producing these in the American colonies. This production was first encouraged in 1698 when the Earl of Bellemont went to New York as Governor and took with him John Bridges, who was commissioned to inquire into the capacity of the American colonies for producing naval stores.¹ By an Act of Parliament in 1705 a premium had been allowed to all persons who imported stores to England from the colonies.² When Kocherthal left for New York in 1708 it was suggested that his party produce naval stores but no plans were made for carrying out the suggestion.³ In the early spring of 1709 Lord Lovelace was requested to inquire into the possibilities for making pitch and tar in New York and New Jersey.⁴ The idea of producing naval stores had become by this time a favorite one with those who were interested in developing the resources of the colonies and New York seemed to offer special advantages in forests and rivers.

1. N. Y. Col. Doc., V, 175

2. N. Y. Col. Doc., IV, 169

The only difficulty had been that the lands of that colony were in the possession of a few influential men with so great exemptions from quit rents and taxes as to render the government poor. The encouragement to settlers had been very meagre.¹ A remedy of this evil was begun in an act passed at New York March 2, 1798/9^{which} annulled several "large and extravagant grants" of land. This act was confirmed by an Order in Council in England, June 26th, 1708, with the argument that the crown would obtain there-² by great quantities of timber for the production of naval stores.

That the production of naval stores was being considered as a condition of settlement by the Germans was mentioned in a London pamphlet as early as July 18, 1709 under the title: "A Brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees Lately Arrived in England." The writer said it had been proposed to the Board that the Palatines be sent to New England to make Pitch and Tar and was under consideration with the commissioners of the Navy.³ On August 30th the Board wrote to the Lord Treasurer that in case the plan they had proposed for the settlement of the Palatines ~~and~~ Jamaica should not be approved, they wished to suggest that a number be settled on the Hudson River, that settled there they might form

3. Acts of the Privy Council, II, 552

4. N. Y. Col. Doc., V, 72

1. Turner, The Old West, Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Coll. 1908, 195 ff.

2. N. Y. Col. Doc., V, 24 ff. B. of T. to Queen, July 29, 1707

3. N. Y. Eccles. Rec., III, 1774, ff.

a barrier against the Indians, promote the fur trade and increase the production of naval stores. In general the conditions of settlement were to be the same as those of the Kocherthal party with the additional stipulation that this party be directed and instructed in the work of production by Mr. Bridge^r.¹

In the course of the next three months it was decided that three thousand Germans should be sent to New York for the expressed purpose of producing naval stores. A fund for setting them to work had been assured and Robert Hunter, newly appointed Governor of New York, had been asked to make suggestions regarding the settlement. At this point appeared indications of a policy which was the cause of the failure of the enterprise. In a letter to the Board of Trade, Dec. 1st, 1709, Hunter suggested "that they be servants of the Crown for a certain Term, or at least 'till they have repaid the Expenses the Crown is at in setting them to work, and subsisting them whilst they cannot subsist themselves."² The idea implied that a governmental enterprise was to be started and that these 3000 Germans were to be compelled to engage in it as investors and as laborers.

1. N. Y. Eccles. Rec., III, 1796 ff.

2. Hunter to B. of T. Nov. 30, 1709; Dec. 1, 1709, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 112 ff.

The direction had been taken and on Dec. 5th, 1709, the Board of Trade recommended to the Queen a plan which, in its execution, would admit of little independent effort for the individual. The Germans were to be settled in a body but in different settlements. They were to receive instruction in the manufacture of stores. Supervisors were to live among them to keep them at work. The produce of each group was to be sent to a common store house to be shipped to an agent in England. The returns were to go to paying the English government for its current outlay as well as for its initial expenditure. After this had been paid out of the net receipts the residue was to be paid over to the Storekeeper for the use of "such Palatines respectively to whom it doth of right belong"¹. This last phrase would indicate a reward of the industrious and a certain amount of encouragement of individual effort but the general scheme was too wholesale to let it be effective.

In the covenant which was drawn up to meet these suggestions the emphasis was laid on the fact that the Palatines were employees of the Crown who were repaying a debt and who were to receive lands and profit only after that had been discharged. They were to subject themselves to those conditions which should be necessary for the manufacture of naval supplies and be obedient to all officers legally appointed and set over them. There was to be common responsibility in paying their debt and common gain in that after the debt was paid each individual was to receive forty acres of land.² Whether all the proceeds were to be divided among the workers

1. N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 120

2. N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 121 ff.

where there was no longer a debt to the Queen, remained unsettled. The plan was obviously an experiment.

On January 20th, 1710, Hunter received his instructions. He sailed with his party in April arriving in New York on June 14th,¹ Soon after landing he reported the loss of 470 persons. It is evident from the fact that there were in October 1710, only 2,227 of the party still surviving, that about two hundred more had died either before leaving Portsmouth or during the summer.² One of the first important questions on Hunter's arrival in his new office was that of a place of settlement for the immigrants. In spite of the fact that Hunter had objected to the Mohawk or the Hudson, suggesting that there were better locations in Rhode Island, Connecticut or New Hampshire, the Board had designated these rivers as the most favorable with the observation that the Germans would serve in that neighborhood as a buffer to the Indians. By the confirmation June 1708, of the Act for vacating "extravagant grants," there had been returned to the crown a tract of land lying on the Mohawk river about fifty miles in length and several tracts on the Hudson. Soon after his arrival in New York Hunter had a survey made of the land on the Mohawk, but decided that the pines were not suitable for the purpose, shipping facilities poor and the place too remote and too exposed. He chose rather to purchase 6,000 acres of land on the Hudson from Robert Livingston a member of the Assembly at Albany and owner of a large manorial estate on the east bank of

1. Boehme to Hoen, May 26, 1710, Heuser, Pa. im 17. J. 66
2. Hunter to Sec. Popple, June 16th, 1710, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 165.
Hunter to Board of Trade, July 24, 1710, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 167.
Board of Trade to the Queen N. Y. Col. Doc., V, 188. Petition of Romers, Sept. 5, 1711, Doc. Hist. III, 568. Hunter to Board

the Hudson. Livingston made the governor a good offer with the provision that he be allowed the contract for furnishing food supplies to the settlers.¹

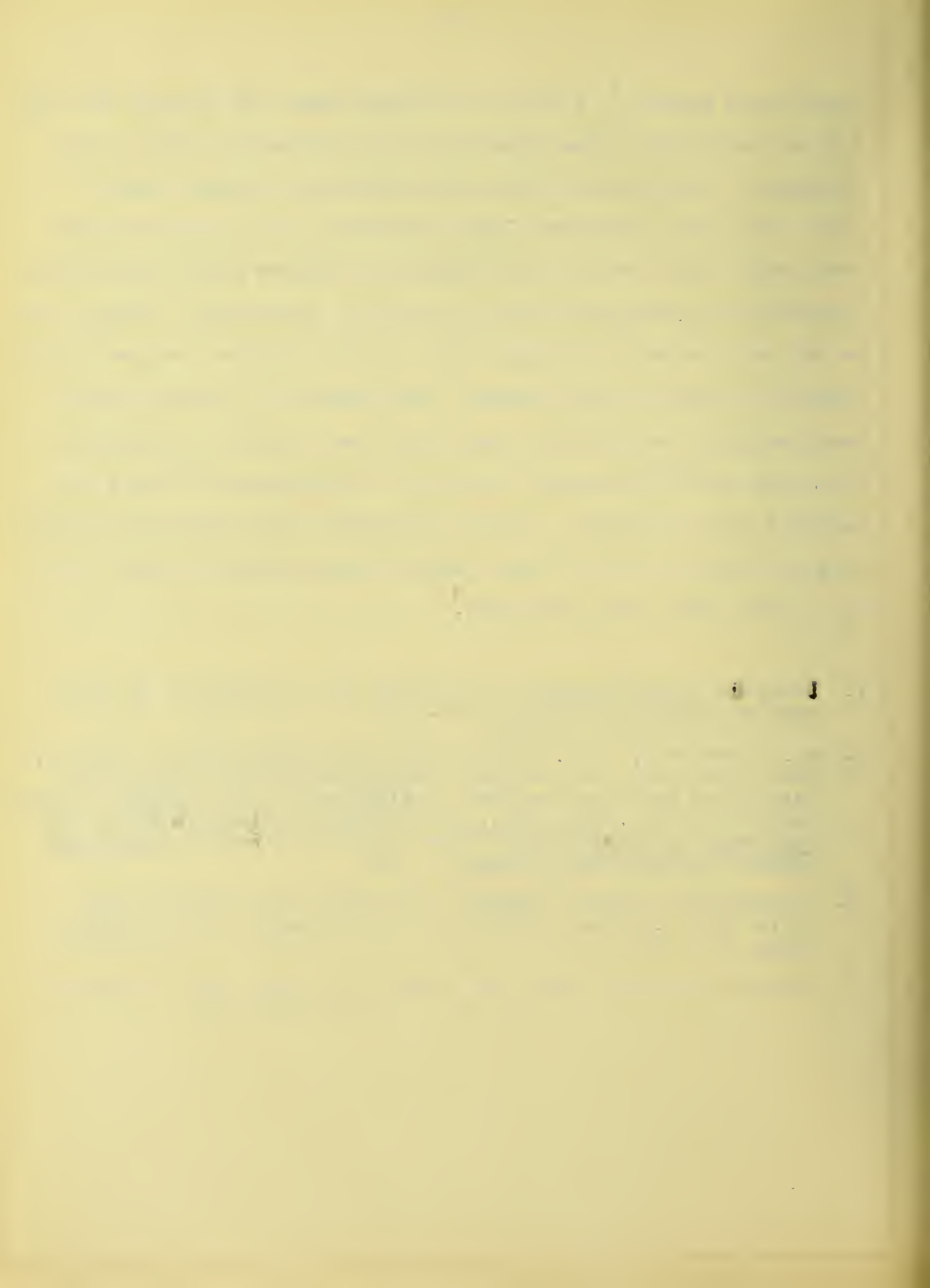
Here the Germans were settled in five villages. There were about 1800 persons, the widows and orphans to the number of about 400 having been bound out as servants in New York City.² The work was put under the management of Richard Sackett. James du Pré was made commissary of stores and John Cast was appointed overseer. To each family was given a lot 40' x 50' for gardening.³ John Hager who had been studying for the ministry in the Reformed Church and who had been ordained in the Anglican Church before leaving England was the spiritual advisor to the Germans. Kocherthal who had returned with them acted as minister to the Lutherans.⁴

The Germans had expected that they were to be settled on the Schoharre river. As they were leaving England about the middle of April, Peter Schuyler arrived there with four Indians who were given an audience with the Queen, were shown about town and were of Trade Nov. 3, 1709, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 112 ff.

1. Hunter to Board of Trade, Oct. 3, 1710, B. Y. Col. Doc. V, 171
2. Du Pré to B. of T. N. Y. Col. Doc., V, 289. Cast to Hunter, Doc. Hist. III, 660, 667.
3. Journals of Board of Trade, Jan. 16, 1710, Eccles. Rec. III, 1692. Hunter to B. of T. Nov. 14, 1710, N. Y. Col. Doc., V, 180
4. Eccles. Rec. III, 1817, Haeger to S. P. G. July 25, 1710; Eccles. Rec. III, 1861 ff.

conspicuous guests.¹ A story was common among the Germans that the Indians had at that time presented to the Queen the lands on the Schoharie in order that she might settle the Germans there.² Altho' the four Indians were not chiefs and had no power to give away lands, the idea took root among the Germans that their future prosperity and happiness was to be only in Schoharie.³ Hunter went as far as to survey the lands there but they offered the same objection as did those on the Mohawk. Furthermore the Indians there were unwilling to admit his claim that the lands had reverted to the Crown with the passing of the Act of Annulment and they interfered with the survey. Hunter discovered later that the Indians were justified in their claim, having been restored to their right to the land after the annulment.⁴

1. Luttrells Brief Relation, VI, 571 ff; N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 165. Acts of the Privy Council 1680-1720, vol. II, 621.
2. Sec. Clark to B. of T. May 30, 1711, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 238 ff. "They would have the lands at Schohary which the Queen had ordered them by their contract" Grievances of the Germans, London, August 20, 1722. Doc. Hist. III, 708 ff. Friedrich Kapp: Die Deutschen im State N. Y. Albert Bernhardt Faust: The German Element in the United States, I, 78.
3. Cadwallader Colden, Letters, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, 200. Rev. Thos. Barclay to Sec. of S. P. G. Sept. 26, 1710, Doc. Hist. III, 896.
4. Hunter to B. of T. Oct. 3d, 1710, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 170 ff.



After so long a period of wandering the enforced idleness of the first winter on the Hudson was disastrous to the pioneer spirit of the new settlers. They were given too much time to reflect on their condition. The covenant had provided that they be settled on lands which were to be granted them after they had repaid the Queen. There was to be 40 acres to each person. The Germans were now confronted with the prospect of an indefinite term of service and a similarly indefinite postponement of the allotment of lands. This was not only contrary to what they had read in the books about Carolina and Pennsylvania but it was to most of them contrary to their interpretation of the covenant. Furthermore they ~~were~~ complained that the land on the Hudson was barren. On being questioned by Cast as to the temper of his people, Kocherthal said in March, 1711, that they worked with repugnance and temporarily, looking forward to the time when they could go to the promised land of Schoharie.¹ They were an agricultural people and wished to establish their families on extensive lands.

This discontent manifested itself in a rebellion against working at the manufactures in May, 1711. Hunter was forced to send to Albany for a detachment of soldiers to subdue and disarm the Germans. He then appointed a Council to govern them which should have the power to judge and punish offenders. This was composed of Robert Livingston, Richard Sackett, John Cast, Gottfried Wulfen, Andrew Buigge and Hermann Schünemann.

1. Cast to B. of T. Mch 27th 1711, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 212 ff.

With Livingston or Sackett present any three might act. After this first outbreak their discontent found expression in less definite form but continued nevertheless.¹

Any explanation of this discontent must take into account the character of the management of this enterprise, for although it is true that these German peasants were stubborn and difficult to handle,² it is also true that an inspired leadership might have saved even so difficult a situation as the terms of their contract had created. Instead of an inspired leadership however there was a divided one. Cast and Sackett were united in opposition to Livingston. Cast complained that the provisions supplied by Livingston were bad, that Livingston and other "interested persons" incited the people to discontent and rebellion. He believed that they wished to break up the enterprise for the manufacture of naval stores in order to turn the labor of the Palatines into channels more favorable to himself. The Germans, on the other hand, complained that Cast wished to make them his slaves and that Livingston used their labor to improve his estate.³ Livingston antagonized Hunter by attempting to send complaint to England, that

1. Clarke to B. of T. May 30, 1711, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 238 ff; Ibid, May 31, 1711, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 249 ff.
2. Trebecco Sermon to the Palatines, London 1710. Pa.Ger. Soc. Pro. VIII, 77.
3. Clark to B. of T. May 30, 1711, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 238 ff; Cast to Hunter, July 13, 1711, Doc. Hist. III, 672, ff; Hunter to B. of T. Sept. 12, 1711, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 263.

Sackett's direction of the work was bad. In this Livingston was probably justified. The Board of Trade made inquiries into the method used in manufacturing supplies in Russia and reported the results to Hunter, June 12th, 1712, with the observation that that method differed from Sackett's. A few years later Hunter himself expressed the opinion that a continuance of the manufactures would be useless unless skilled directors were secured.¹

What seemed to the Germans an opportunity of release came in August of 1711 when three hundred of them were enlisted to go with an expedition under Colonel Nicholson to Canada.² The Reverend John Frederick Haeger, who accompanied them on the expedition wrote of it: "Yet all that (hardship) had been nothing to us if the expedition had but proved successful for our Palatines were all joyful in hopes of their liberty and settlement."³ Resentment was aroused when on returning home, the soldiers were again deprived of the use of fire arms. In the following winter a number of them were assigned to strengthen the garrison at Albany. Again a taste of independence made them resent their bondage when on their return they received no pay for the service.⁴

1. B. of T. to Hunter, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 333
Hunter to B. of T. Oct. 2, 1716, N. Y. Col. Doc, V, 479.
2. Doc. Hist. III, 571 ff.
3. Haeger to S. P. G., July 12, 1712, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1960 ff
4. Grievances of the Germans, London, Aug. 30, 1722
Doc. Hist. III, 709; Nicholson to B. of T. Sept. 6, 1720, Doc.
Hist. III, 706.

Meanwhile Governor Hunter was forwarding money for the enterprise in the expectation of receiving reimbursement from England. Sunderland had assured the President of the Council of New York in a letter of November 10th, 1709, that the expenses of the project for the manufacture of naval stores would be assured from England and that it was not her Majesty's intention that the Germans become a burden to the colony.¹ Nevertheless before the fall of 1710 the English ministry had changed and Hunter had become anxious about his financial support. As early as October 1710 he had learned from the Treasurer that there were difficulties regarding the funds. He demanded \$15,000 a year for two years and sent Du Pré to England to further the payments of it. The Earl of Clarendon, Exgovernor of New York, on being asked whether he considered Hunter's demands reasonable, gave the skeptical and perhaps well founded reply, that Livingston and others would probably reap the most benefit from the scheme. He further observed with some acrimony that the plan was not a new one that "some years ago an Act of Parliament was passed for the Encouraging the Exportation of Naval Stores from the Plantations in that act there was a Reward promised for the importing such Stores, the payment of that Reward else that Act would have had a better effect than ten times the number of Palatines."² Nevertheless the Board encouraged Hunter to believe that he would receive assistance. Meanwhile Hunter

1. Sunderland to the Council of New York, Nov. 10th, 1709, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1808.
2. Earl of Clarendon to Lord Dartmouth, Mch 8, 1710/11, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 195 ff. In estimating the value of these opinions it is of interest to note that the Earl of Clarendon was Governor of New York from 1702-1708, and was removed from office by Queen Anne because of misuse of funds. Channing: Hist. of U.S. II, 309 ff.

exhausted his credit until Sept. 1712 when he received "certain advice" that none of his bills would be paid¹ and notified Cast that the work was to be discontinued. He commanded that the Germans remain in their settlements or secure work from farmers in the province but that they might be ready to return to the work at any time. He still had confidence that the stores might be produced successfully and ordered that the coopers be kept at work.

This removal of all support at the beginning of winter caused a feeling of helplessness and gloom throughout the settlements which is reflected especially in a letter from Haeger in which he speaks of the miserable condition of the people and of their being still unsettled.² It was not long however, before the more enterprising of them took advantage of the opportunity to establish themselves as independent settlers. A party of fifty families under the leadership of John Conrad Weiser led the way to Schoharie in the winter of 1712, and were followed by about one hundred more in March 1713.³ Here they bought lands of the Indians and made settlements. It was not long however until Hunter's resentment of their action had pursued them. In November 1714 their lands were granted to seven prominent men of the colony, Meyndert Schuyler, Peter von Brugh, Robert Livingston, Jr., Johann Schuyler, George Clark, Dr. Staats and Rips van Dam. The Germans were ordered to

1. Hunter to Popple, Oct. 10, 1715, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 448; C. Col-
den; Letters, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, 197.

2. Haeger to S. P. G. Nov. 1, 1712, N. Y. Eccles. Rec. III, 1967 ff.

3. Grievances of the Germans, London, Aug. 20, 1722, Doc. Hist.
III, 707 ff; Hunter to B. of T. Oct. 31, 1712, N. Y. Col. Doc.
V, 347; Kapp, Die Deutschen in Staate N. Y. (1884) 55 ff. Hunter
to B. of T. Aug. 7, 1718, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 515.

lease from these or vacate.¹ These seven partners, as they were called, sent a sheriff to force the Germans to lease the lands from them. When this proved fruitless Governor Hunter himself tried in 1717 to compel the Germans to recognize the ownership of the seven partners, but he too was unsuccessful.²

The matter was still unsettled when Hunter went to England in July, 1719. There he explained to the Board that he had been unable to settle the Germans permanently because of the scarcity of lands in New York and because they had not been naturalized.³ The latter reason had a certain technical justification. The Germans had not been naturalized in England. There was no law for the naturalization of foreigners in New York. Since the Bill for Naturalization of foreign Protestants had been repealed in England 1712, Hunter had opposed the passing of such a Bill in New York. It was not until the summer of 1720 that the New York Assembly forced him to sign a bill for naturalizing foreign Protestants. This had not been confirmed by the English government in 1726 when the discussion about the settlement of the Germans was going on.

1. Kapp (1867) 127
(Die Deutschen im Staat N.Y.)
2. Grievances of the Germans, Doc. Hist. III, 707 ff.
Kapp: Die Deutschen in Staate, N.Y. (1884) 66 ff.
3. Hunter accused the Germans of having settled on lands which had already been granted to other persons. The Germans insisted that the lands had not been granted to the seven partners when they settled on them. Kapp gives Nov. 14th, 1714 as the date on which the patent to the 7 partners was issued. It is possible that Hunter had promised the lands some years before the patent was issued as was often the case at that time. Kapp, Die deutschēn im Staate (1867) 127; N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 416; Ibid, 552 ff.

Meanwhile the Germans had sent John Conrad Weiser and John William Scheffs to England to plead their case. After many difficulties on the journey and a disagreement, they presented separate petitions and complaints to the Board of Trade. They asked for a patent of the lands in Schoharie for the original 150 families and for an allotment of lands on the Mohawk for the others should it be necessary to transplant them. They desired also some recompense to the latter for the improvement they had made on the lands in Schoharie.¹ In spite of the help which the ministers Boehme and Robert gave the envoys, nothing was gained with regard to Schoharie. The new governor, William Burnet, appointed on Apr. 19th 1720, was instructed to assign lands on the Mohawk to those who would take them and to compel the settlers in Schoharie to make terms with the seven partners.² The acceptance of these terms resulted in the final distribution of this group of German immigrants. The younger element had become reconciled to compromise and anxious for a settlement of the disputes.³ Accordingly those who wished to remain at Schoharie made terms with the seven partners and those who were satisfied with the lands which Burnet offered them on the Mohawk moved there. Many however were still imbued with a sense of wrong and refused to move to the exposed position on the frontier to which Burnet had assigned them. At this time they were confronted with another difficulty. Hunter had requested the signatures of the Germans to a receipt which he wished to present to the English government in order to hasten the

1. Petition of Scheffs, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 574 ff; Petition of the N. Y. Palatines, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 553 ff; Grievances of the Germans, Doc. Hist. III, 707 ff.

2. Popple to Burnet, Nov. 29th, 1720, N.Y.Col. Doc. V., 581 ff.

payment of what the government still owed him. By giving their signatures the Germans would have acknowledged the receipt of subsistence from Hunter, from the time of their departure from England to the discontinuance of the manufacture of stores in September 1712. Burnet presented the document to them with the threat that if they refused to sign, they would receive no lands. Without understanding the circumstances and fearing to commit themselves in writing, they chose rather to leave the province. Under the leadership of John Conrad Weiser a number of families set out for Pennsylvania and settled at Tulpehocken.¹

The Germans who remained on the Hudson endured fewer hardships than did their more venturesome countrymen. The manufacture of naval stores was not resumed. According to a census taken by Joshua von Kocherthal and John Friedrich Haeger, there were in August 1718, 126 families or 499 persons on the east side of the river and on the west side 98 families or 422 persons with no account given of widows and orphans. Kocherthal died in 1719. Haeger remained active among the settlers, building churches and school houses, until his death in 1721. In 1724 patents for lands were issued to 63 families living on the east side of the Hudson.²

3. Burnet to B. of T. Oct. 16th, 1721. N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 634. Ibid. Nov. 21, 1722. N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 656.

1. See Clarke to Mr. Walpole, Nov. 27, 1722. Doc. Hist. III, 717 ff. Col. Rec. of Pa. III, 322 ff. Kapp: Die Deutschen im Staate N. Y., (1884), 71.

2. Hunter to B. of T. Aug. 7, 1718, N. Y. Col. Doc. V, 515, Doc. Hist. III, 725 ff.

It may be said in general of the emigration of the Germans from the Rhine Country that although economic and religious conditions combined to influence them to leave their homeland for America, these would not have been effective alone in bringing about so general an exodus. Kocherthal's book and the other literature were in themselves effective instruments but without the activity of special agents and the willingness of men of influence in England, the books would hardly have become so vital a force. To what extent this pressure was brought to bear I have not been able to determine. It seems reasonable to believe however, that the plan for getting colonists was too zealously pushed by men who shared little ⁱⁿ public responsibility and much in the gain to be derived from the colonists.

The settlement of the Germans on the Hudson was a wasteful experiment. The English government expended large sums of money without profit. Governor Hunter had the care of the Germans added to his other administrative difficulties in New York, and the Germans lost time and energy in a profitless settlement. At no time ~~did~~ New York attract~~ed~~ settlers as did Pennsylvania but it is probable that the discontent of these colonists with conditions in New York and their reports to Germany assisted in turning the tide of later German immigration to Pennsylvania.

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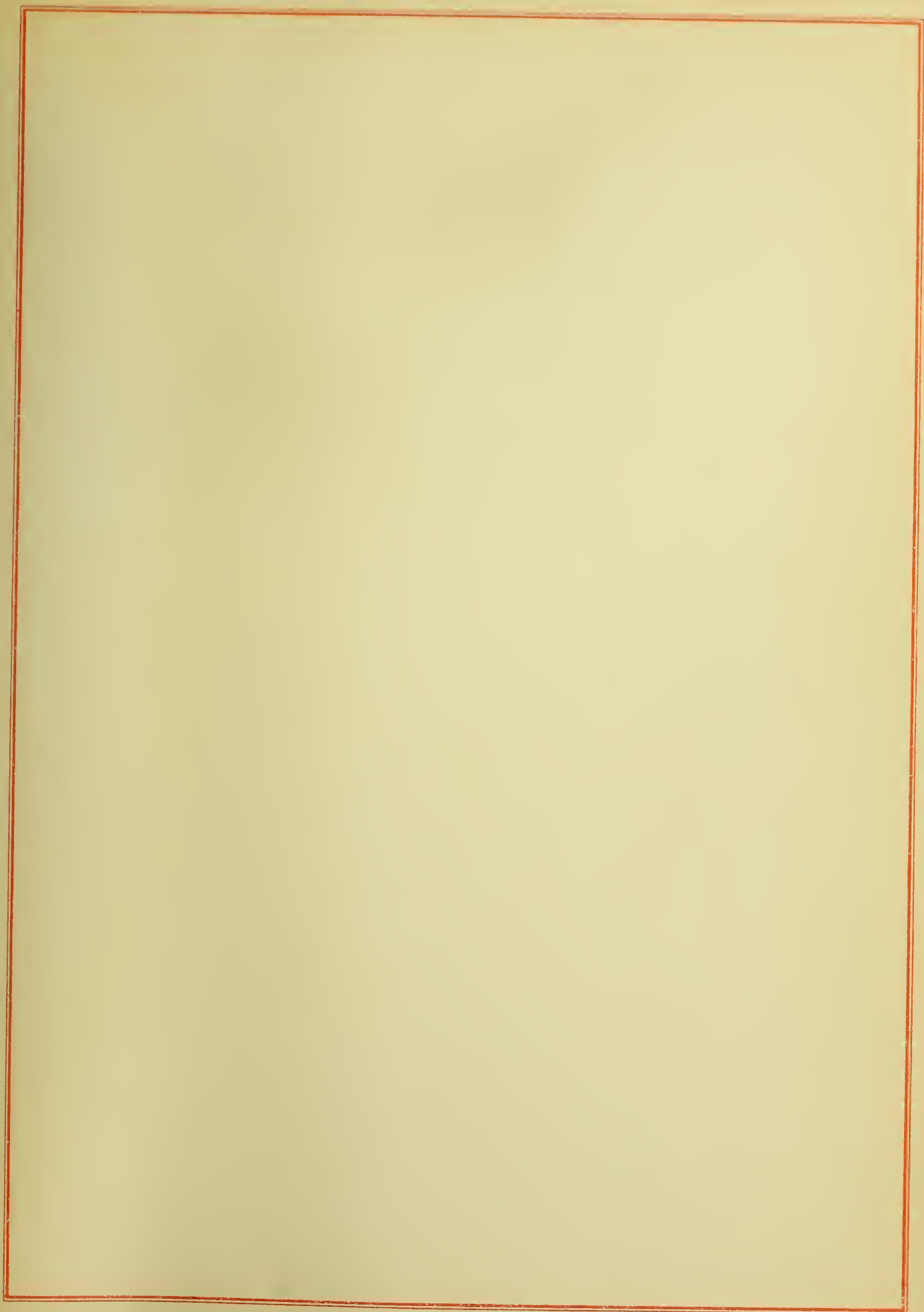
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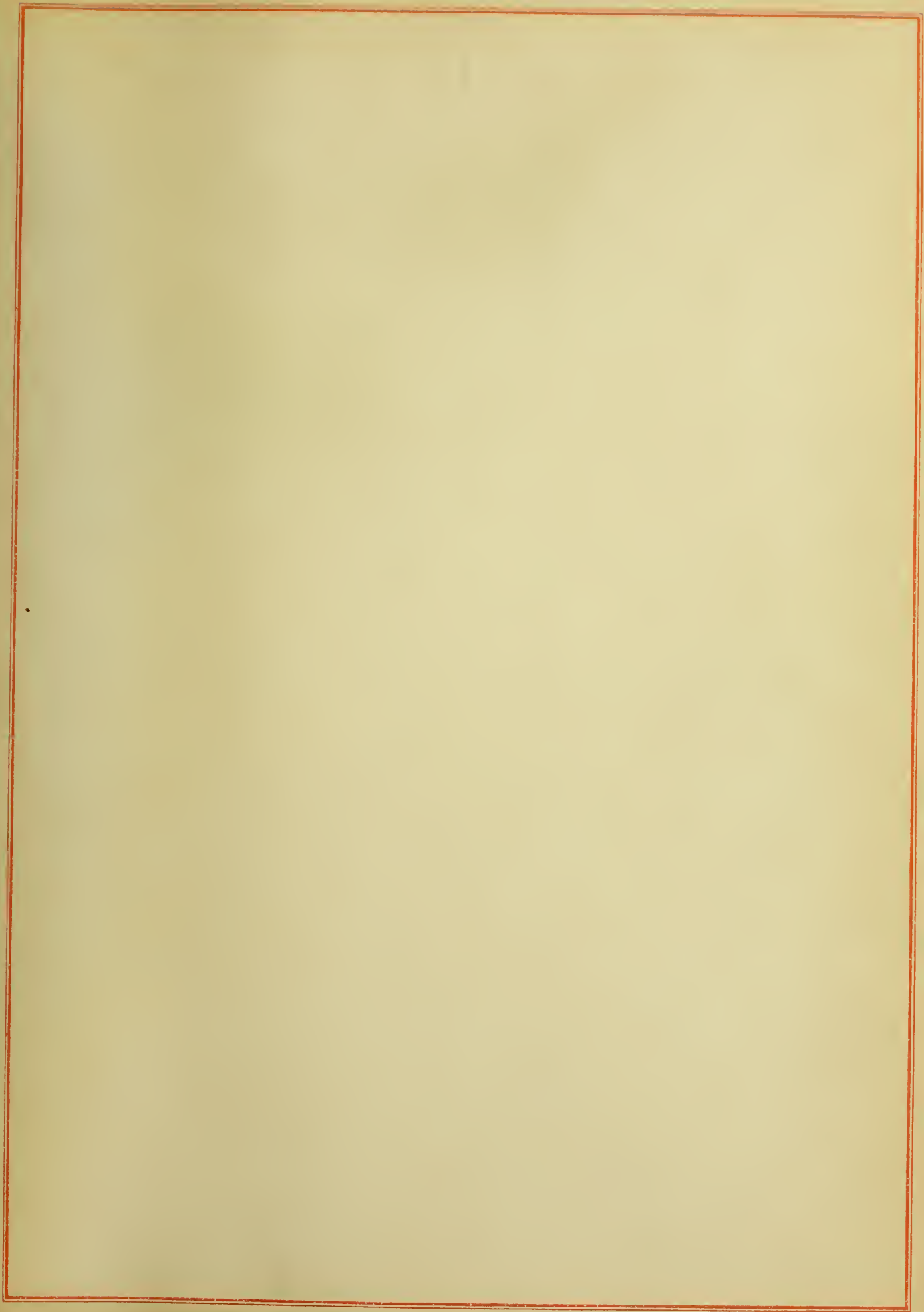
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