PLOCKHOY AND HIS WRITINGS:
THE STUDY OF A SOCIAL REFORMER

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
II.	RATIONALISTIC-MYSTICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS	9
	The Mennonites	12
	The Collegiants	15
	The Reformateurs	18
III.	REFORM IN ENGLAND DURING THE INTERREGNUM	22
IV.	SETTLEMENT IN NEW NETHERLAND IN AMERICA	40
V.	PLOCKHOY'S REFORM SCHEMES AND IDEAS	61
	Concerning Man and Society	61
	Concerning Teachers and Preachers	68
	Concerning Governors and Government	74
	For the Establishment of a Universal Christendom	78
	For the Establishment of the Ideal Community	83
	Division of Labor	83
	Principles and Techniques	86
VI.	CIRCULATION OF THE IDEAS	101
VII.	RETROSPECT AND CONCLUSION	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY		130
APPENDIX A:	AUTHORSHIP OF THE KORT VERHAEL	134
APPENDIX B:	CONTRACT BETWEEN PLOCKHOY AND THE AMSTERDAM BURGOMASTERS	140
APPENDIX C:	SONNET BY KAREL VERLOOVE	142
APPENDIX D:	"SPURRING VERSES" BY JACOB STEENDAM	143

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1.	Title-page of the Later Edition of Plockhoy's, *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations*	26
2.	Title-page of the Later Edition of Plockhoy's, *A Way Propounded*, and the Title-page of the "Invitation" appended thereto	29
3.	Title-page of the *Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants*	51
4.	Title-page of Plockhoy's, *Kort en Klaer Ontwerp*	53
5.	Bronze Memorial Tablet Placed in the Town Hall of Zierikzee by William Elliot Griffis in the Name of the Netherlands Society of Philadelphia	106

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The account of the life, ideas, and writings of Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy (1620?-1700?) has never been told in its entirety. Many of the facts here assembled have heretofore been unknown. His life encompasses activities in three countries of the 17th century--the Netherlands, England, and America. In the Netherlands he was in several ways a typical product of the "Golden Age" in which he lived. In other ways he was so distinct that scholars have doubted the authenticity of his Dutch background. In Puritan England his ideas found the greatest fruition and expression. He was compelled, however, to leave England after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. His untiring hope to realize the best possible community culminated in the establishment of a small Dutch settlement on the Delaware in New Netherland in 1663. The colony, which he dreamed would grow and develop into the ideal commonwealth of love and equality, was destroyed scarcely a year later in the war for supremacy in the New World between Holland and England. An active career of reform--political, social, and religious--seemingly came to an abrupt end in the sparsely populated Dutch province, autocratically administered and interested chiefly in the profit motive. Such a society had little interest in utopians who sought the extinction of dictatorial rule, slavery, and the ills of an ultra-capitalistic system.

Thirty years later Plockhoy, with his wife, appealed to the early settlers at Germantown, Pennsylvania, for aid. The reformer was old, penniless, and blind. "A painful reflection," wrote Edward Bernstein, German socialist, "that so gifted a man should fare so poorly."[1]

It is largely to European scholars that we owe the historical account of Plockhoy's endeavors in Holland and England. They established his authorship of two English writings published in London in 1659 and signed simply Peter Cornelius. Several possible authors were considered including one Hugh Peters, who had written in a similar vein,[2] and another Abraham Van Akkeren, who had falsely claimed the distinction.[3] But when the colonization prospectus which Plockhoy published in Amsterdam under the title, Kort en klaer ontwerp (Brief and concise plan), was discovered, the project described was found to be identical with that embodied in the second English writing, A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations Happy.... Plockhoy, it was further

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1 Eduard Bernstein, Sozialismus und Demokratie in der Grossen Englischen Revolution. (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 290. Bernstein was father of the Revisionist movement in Germany at the turn of the century. His work contains a chapter on Plockhoy (Chapter V).

2 Ibid., p. 274n. Peters' authorship of A Way Propounded was suggested by George Thomason, 17th century book collector, who wrote: "I believe this pamphlet was made by Mr. Hugh Peeters, who hath a man named Cornelius Glover." See, Catalogue of the Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661, II. (London: The British Museum, 1908), pp. 235-6.

3 H. P. G. Quack, Beelden en Grosgen. (Amsterdam: Van Kampen & Zoon, 1892, pp. 240-2. Quack, the principal authority on Plockhoy in Holland, states that a Dutch publication of 1688 under the name of Akkeren was "from the beginning to the end" a plagiarized translation of Plockhoy's, A Way Propounded. See Chapter VI.

discovered, had petitioned Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England during the Interregnum, to sponsor another of his reform schemes, which sought to establish Christendom as a universal state under a single magistracy. It was published under the title, The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations fully discovered.... Plockhoy had signed the English writings, "Peter Cornelius" since the Dutch were accustomed to use the patronymic after the Christian name with entire ommission of the surname.[4]

The presence of Plockhoy in colonial America has been treated by few American historians.[5] This is especially unfortunate since his writings include a fourth, comprising 117 articles of association and government for his settlement, which were anonymously published as part of the Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants... (Brief Account of New Netherlands). The articles, which John Romeyn Brodhead placed "among the most extraordinary of the early memorials of American colonization,"[6] define a system of popular government. Brodhead had, in fact, discovered the document in Holland as he was searching for all extant materials relative to the history of colonial New York. He and Edmund Burke O'Callaghan,

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4 J. Franklin Jameson, ed., Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664. (New York, 1909), pref. Plockhoy had, incidentally, changed his name on a later edition to "Peter Cornelis-son."

5 Edward Channing included a brief statement of Plockhoy's utopian ideas in his work, A History of the United States, II. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908), p. 412.

6 J. Romeyn Brodhead, History of the State of New York. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874), p. 698. For identification of the authorship, see Appendix A.

who translated most of these records, were the first to ascribe authorship of the articles to Plockhoy.

Interest in the reformer has been revived in several recent studies. In England Wilhelm Schenk attempted to place Plockhoy in his proper perspective in the history of England during the Interregnum. His work, The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1948) contains a sympathetic account. In America the most recent historical work to include an account of Plockhoy's American settlement, however cursory, is Ellis Lawrence Raesly's, Portrait of New Netherland (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945). Monographs by Irvin Horst[7] and Leland Harder[8] have published more recently discovered materials.

Bernstein points out that Plockhoy's reform was primarily social, that his religious arguments were secondary.[9] Plockhoy wrote, in fact, that religion in practice was an activity "with which the society in general is not concerned."[10] Several sociological writers have been interested in the sociological nature of Plockhoy's ideas.[11] None knew, however, from whence the ideas

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7 Irvin Horst, "Pieter Corneliss Plockhoy: An Apostle of the Collegiants," Mennonite Quarterly Review XXIII. (July 1949) pp. 161-86.

8 Leland Harder, "Plockhoy and his Settlement at Zwaanendael, 1663," Delaware History III. (March 1949) pp. 138-55. Reprinted in Mennonite Quarterly Review XXIII. (July 1949) pp. 186-99.

9 Eduard Bernstein, op. cit., p. 215.

10 Kort en klaer ontwerp (no pagination).

11 Notably, Ernest Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Church. (London, 1931), II, p. 712, pp. 975-6; and Harry W. Laidler, Social-Economic Movements. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1945), p. 42n.

came.

This study embodies two related although distinct types of sociological endeavour. It is a study in the field of social thought and attempts to give an historical interpretation of the ideas of a representative social thinker. It is also a study of social idealism, of the relation between ideals and social progress. Behind the utopian dream is the belief that society is capable of improvement and can be reformed in accordance with a rational ideal. Plockhoy was first and foremost a social reformer. A social reformer is an individual who has a conception of social improvement embodied in definite agencies of social change and who attempts to subject those agencies to immediate practical utility.

The materials concerning Plockhoy pertain in most part either to his socialistic writings or to local history in Delaware. Part of the merit that can be hoped from this study lies in the fact that it is the first, to the writer's knowledge, which attempts to give a definitive treatment of an integrated nature which considers not only his writings and ideas but also his colonization work in English and American history. The materials for this study were gathered in several ways. Practically none of the secondary sources used were available in local libraries. Some were found in the historical libraries of Goshen College (Goshen, Indiana) and Bethel College (North Newton, Kansas)--Mennonite institutions. Others were borrowed from larger libraries on an

inter-library loan. In several cases microfilm of the pertinent pages of a work was obtained. Numerous letters requesting information pertaining to sources of material were sent to libraries, historical societies, and individuals, in five different countries.[12] In this way only was it possible to gather specific data and locate original editions of the writings, which were obtained on photostat or microfilm.

This study is arranged in two parts. Chapters II-IV contain a biographical prevue and reveal the historical origin of most of the ideas of Plockhoy. Chapter II defines the rationalistic-pietistic movements with which he was connected in his native Netherlands. Chapter III concerns him in England where he published his schemes for the establishment of a universal Christendom and the little communities designed for the relief of the economically oppressed peoples. Attemptis made to relate the ideas inherent in his social reform program to similar notions among the Puritan reformers. Chapter IV describes the organization, negotiations, and planting of Plockhoy's settlement on the Delaware in New Netherland. Although the plan was similar in the primary respects to the previous scheme, there are several innovations, the origin of which are easily discernible as protests to the political character of the Dutch nation or as changes necessitated by a New World environment. Emphasized are the ideas of popular government and the exclusion of slavery in the settlement.

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12 United States, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany.

Chapters V-VII are concerned with the ideas. Chapter V contains an examination of the basic notions in Plockhoy's social schemes--his ideas concerning man and society, teachers and preachers, governors and government, the establishment of a universal Christendom, and the organization of the ideal community. The ideas as set down in the writings have been paraphrased in some instances and quoted verbatim in others. Chapter VI discusses the circulation of the ideas among two contemporaries who were influenced by Plockhoy, and several recent writers, primarily socialists, who have admired the reformer. In retrospect and conclusion, Chapter VII is interpretive. The ideas are examined in the light of the social and religious developments of the age in an attempt to reveal those which stem from these developments and those which are distinctly original, and in the light of social advancements which have been made since that age.

This Chapter must conclude with a statement concerning the editions of the writings which have been used for the study. The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations is the edition "printed for Daniel White," which included, as other editions did not, a letter to Richard Cromwell.[13] A Way Propounded is taken from the edition signed "Peter Cornelis-son," and "printed for

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13 The Daniel White edition is in the British Museum. Original copies of the edition without the letter to Richard Cromwell and the printer's name are found in the libraries of the University of Gent and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is reprinted in The Somers Collection of Tracts, VI, edited by Walter Scott. (London, 1811), pp. 487-97.

the Author."[14] This was a later edition since it contains seven subscribers at the end of the writing, while other editions, which were "printed for G. C.," (Giles Calvert) have only two or four subscribers. The Dutch prospectus, which appeared in only one edition,[15] and the seven letters submitted for Plockhoy to the Amsterdam magistrates[16] have been used in translated form.

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14 This edition is in the Library of the University of Amsterdam. The Giles Calvert edition, having four subscribers to Plockhoy's project, is in the British Museum. It is reprinted with several omissions in a monograph by John Downie, Peter Cornelius Plockboy: His Life and Work. (Manchester: Cooperative Printing Society, 1933). Downie, quoting from Bernstein, uses the name "Plockboy" instead of "Plockhoy." The several editions, minus the "Invitation," are found in the New York Public Library.

15 It is found in the Royal Library at the Hague, the library of the University of Gent, the Royal Library at Gravenhage, and the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, Calif. A translation of the writing was made by S. W. Pennypacker, The Settlement of Germantown. (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 198-206.

16 Translation was made from the original copy of the Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants in the library of the New York Historical Society, perhaps the only copy still extant.

Chapter II

RATIONALISTIC-MYSTICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

The few existent contemporary references to the activities of Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy in the Netherlands reveal (1) that he came from Zierikzee, commercial center in Zeeland, (2) that he associated with Galenus Abrahams de Haan, physician and the leading minister among the Mennonites at Amsterdam, (3) that his most important connection was with the Collegiant movement, the essence of which was freedom in religion, speech, and thought, and (4) that he had friends among a group of poets who gathered in the "Sweet Rest," an inn in Amsterdam, and who came to be known as the Reformateurs. This chapter will attempt to reconstruct these activities and place them in the perspective of the age in which Plockhoy lived and of which he was a product.

After a precarious forty-year period of revolution in the latter half of the 16th century the people of the Low Countries at last succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Spanish tyranny. Albert, the archduke of Austria, into whose hands the Netherlands had passed, hastened to conclude a truce with the rebellious northern states. He agreed to deal with them as he "would deal with a free independent state."[1] The provinces of Holland and Zeeland soon became the principal centers of commerce and industry in Europe.

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1 Bernard Vlekke, Evolution of the Dutch Nation. (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945), p. 162. For reference to Plockhoy, see p. 187

And although the revolution had failed to substitute complete religious tolerance for a state-church, or democracy for oligarchy, the new period in the evolution of the Dutch nation, correctly called the "Golden Age of Holland," brought a greater degree of individual freedom than had ever been known before. The period was characterized in part by its cultural cosmopolitanism. During the brief six years of Plockhoy's energetic reform activities (1658-1664), "Rembrandt and Vermeer were painting their canvases; Vondel was writing his dramas; Spinoza had joined the Collegiants; and Descartes had come to Amsterdam."[2] These leading lights of culture were, like Plockhoy, dissenters of a conventional mode and the established Reformed Church of Holland.

Plockhoy's original home is known from records which contain his name, to which usually was appended "van Zurik-Zee."[3] His writings were signed in this manner, and the colonization contract which he obtained from the Amsterdam burgomasters included the same inscription. The facts that his American settlement was composed, in large part at least, of Mennonites, that he was affiliated with the Mennonite Church of Amsterdam, and that he sought aid in his final days in a Mennonite village in colonial Pennsylvania, has led scholars to surmise that his family and early training were likewise Mennonite. On the basis of this conclusion one can see

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2 Irvin Horst, "Pieter Corneliss Plockhoy: An Apostle of the Collegiants," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XXIII (July 1949), p. 178.

3 The date of his birth is unknown. It might be estimated between 1620 and 1625.

that his anti-sectarian ideas might have developed in an early association with the small group of Mennonites in Zierikzee, who had previously refused to become partisan to any one of the several factions among the Dutch Mennonites--the Frisians, Flemish, and Waterlanders. The Mennonites of Zierikzee had been banned as "still-standers" for their stubborn policy of neutrality. It was doubtless here that Plockhoy first knew Galenus Abrahams de Haan, for Galenus was born here in 1622 and his father was the minister of the Mennonite Church of Zierikzee. Plockhoy and the young de Haan were of about the same age, both became imbued with the Collegiant philosophy, and were at Amsterdam together. It is thus not unlikely that they were friends in their youth and derived mutual ideas in a common Mennonite environment. The probability of Plockhoy's Mennonite background is further substantiated by the Dutch Mennonite historian, de Hoop Scheffer, who investigated the early church records and found that the name, Plockhoy, was common among the Mennonites of that day.[4]

When Galenus became a minister in the Flemish Mennonite church in Amsterdam in 1648, Plockhoy also was there. The period, 1650-1664, was a critical one in the history of that church and of the

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4 H. P. G. Quack, Beelden en Groepen. (Amsterdam, Van Kampen & Zoon, 1892), p. 215n. In his letter to Quack, de Hoop Scheffer writes: "If you wish to make your friend Plockhoy a Mennonite you can do that. It appears to me from official records that his ancestors all belonged to that denomination. Jacquemijntje Pieters, widow of M. N. Plockhoy, became a member in our church here on 5 November 1662, with a church letter from Middelburg; her son Cornelis P. was baptized here on confession of faith on 23 February 1670....With the carelessness existing in the 17th century the name is written in the Registers one time 'Pluckhoy,' then again 'Plockhoy,' and sometimes 'Ploquoy' or 'Pluquoy.'"

whole Mennonite movement in the Netherlands. The period was one of internal conflict, and ended in 1664 with the division of the church into two bodies. Among the charges that had been hurled against the liberal Galenus was that his church had differing factions, one of which was the Flockhoyisten. These factions, the account asserted, "fight like in a Midianite battle." The accusation continued that "Pieter Flockhoy, Galenus' countryman," went so far with his radical ideas as to advocate the practise of polygamy, "proclaiming with Scriptural authority that a man may have as many wives as he can support."[5] The parties within the Amsterdam church were Collegiant groups. Galenus had introduced Collegianism and became one of its principal leaders. The conflict which Collegianism brought to a crisis was between the conservatives who believed that the Christian life should be regulated by rules of conduct and prescribed confessions of faith, and the progressives who minimized the importance of creeds or a strict application of disciplinary rules and who emphasized instead a spiritual life guided by an enlightened conscience. Galenus and Flockhoy were included among the latter group.

I. THE MENNONITES

The Mennonite movement originated as the Anabaptist wing of

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5 Lammerenkrijgh: Anders Mennonisten Kercken-Twist, 1663. An original copy of this tract is in the Bethel College Historical Library. The Collegiant parties listed were Halmaelisten, Kuyperisten, Comanisten, Boreelisten, and Flockhoyisten. The pamphlet was anonymously written and was one of several of its kind in the Lammerenkrijgh (war among the lambs). The charge against Flockhoy will be discussed below.

the Zwinglian reformation in Switzerland in 1525. The movement was an attempt to restore Christianity once more to a basis of individual responsibility and to reproduce as literally as possible the primitive Apostolic church in its original purity and simplicity. The Bible was their sole source of spiritual authority and the Sermon on the Mount interpreted their social and religious program. Adult baptism alone was accepted as binding. Belief in non-resistance was basic in accordance with Christ's injunction to "Love thine enemies," and "Resist not evil." War they refused to sanction and military service they rejected as unChristian. Members were to obey the government, but to have no active part in the government. Oaths were not to be taken. The simple life was prescribed and members were to dress plainly. This was prompted by the Scriptural injunction to be "in the world, but not of the world."

The movement developed rapidly in the Netherlands inspite of a half-century of extreme persecution under the Spanish overlords.[6] William of Grange, revolutionist leader, opposed the persecution of the Anabaptist-Mennonites; but the policy of religious tolerance which he attempted to inaugurate failed when the Calvinists won a privileged place in the New Republic and demanded the suppression of all non-Calvinist public worship. Fortunately the temporal authorities often disregarded this demand. Many of the

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6 It is estimated that 1,500 Dutch Mennonites met a martyrs death during the Spanish regime. See, C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites. (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941, p. 171.

Mennonites were people of wealth during a time when capitalistic enterprise was looked upon with favor. This and the fact that persons of prestige had joined the Mennonites assured them a more secure place in the cities as well as in rural districts. By 1660 the validity of a Mennonite baptism as a Christian sacrament was accepted by the Classis of the Dutch Reformed Church. The ruling came in answer to a controvery which had arisen in New Amsterdam as to whether a certain Mennonite, baptized in the Mennonite church of Amsterdam, could be admitted to the Lord's Supper in the Reformed Church without rebaptism. The Classis ruled that "since he has been baptized once, he need not again be baptized. Such is indeed the practice of the churches in this country. Holy Baptism is not administered anew to such as have been previously baptized by Papists or Mennonites. Such are admitted to the Lord's Supper on confession of their faith."[7]

Granted some degree of liberty in religious matters the several groups of Mennonites attempted to compromise their differences in doctrines and practises and to unite. The Waterlanders, coming from the southern end of Holland, were the most liberal in their views. They had discarded most forms of external discipline and rigid regulations of behavior. The Flemish, who had moved into the northerly province of Friesland, were different in language and cultural traits than the Frisians among whom they settled; and the Frisians did not fellowship with them. Both, however, were somewhat

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7 Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, I. Compiled by E. T. Corwin. (Albany, 1901-1916), pp. 513-4.

more conservative than the Waterlanders. The attempt at unification succeeded in part but was ultimately thwarted when some of the liberal minded groups joined the Collegiant movement, which was sweeping through the Netherlands at this time.

II. THE COLLEGIANTS

The Collegiants were not an organized religious sect, but as members of various denominations simply met together to discuss the common faith. They believed these meetings were superior to other forms of worship. They were anti-Calvinist, advocated the separation of church and state, and accepted no set creed. Historically the movement has been traced back to 1619 and the Remonstrant movement.[8] The Remonstrants, or Arminians, opposed the imposition of the Reformed religion upon the people; and in 1619 their ministers were driven from their pulpits. Certain leaders, however, devised a way of holding the members of the preacher-less churches together. They simply met without a preacher, read the Scriptures to each other, and spoke and communed as the "Spirit" moved. They soon found they could do very well without preachers. They turned away from church organization, a professional ministry, and the idea of imperative doctrinal beliefs. People of all religious groups were invited to attend the meetings provided they accepted the Bible as divine authority for all behavior, which was the only requirement of the members. When the Remonstrants were

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8 Earl M. Wilbur, A History of Unitarianism: Socinianism and its Antecedents. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 563.

allowed to resume their religious services they new groups remained apart. They rented a building at Rynsburg for their gatherings, which they called collegia. They became known both as Rynsburgers and Collegiants. Wilbur summarizes their activities and beliefs:

> The procedure at the meetings was simple. Some passages of Scripture were read, a prayer was offered, and one or more made an edifying address. An invitation was then given for anyone that felt so moved to speak. Such addresses sometimes lasted an hour, and in case of several in succession the meeting would run far into the night. In this way they aimed to revive the practice of the first Christian churches....The membership of the Collegiants was composed of some from the Remonstrants, a few from the Reformed and many that were not committed to any confession; but by far the largest number came from the Mennonites. It was never thought necessary for one to leave another church to join them, and even some of the ministers of churches attended their gatherings. Their meetings were usually held on Sunday, but there were often week-day meetings as well. Baptism (by immersion) was practiced as a valued sign of adherence to Christianity, but was not insisted on; and the Lord's Supper was observed as a token of Christian fellowship, to which any were admitted who acknowledged in any sense that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God. The Scriptures were their only rule of faith; no creed or confession was set up as a test of membership in their company or of participation in their meetings. The controlling principles of the collegia were that the utmost freedom of speech was allowed to all participants (though women, on Scriptural grounds, were not permitted to take part), and that in the free fraternal discussion that followed the largest mutual tolerance of divergent views was practiced.[9]

The Collegiants believed that divine truth is to be confirmed by special signs and miracles, as was the case of the New Testament. Galenus emphasized this point as did Plockhoy. In addition to their insistence on religious freedom the Collegiants had a concern for

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9 Ibid., pp. 564-5.

social justice as well. The "Oranje-Appel" home in Amsterdam was a joint Collegiant-Mennonite home for orphans, a community center, and a house of mercy.

As stated above, Galenus Abrahams de Haan became one of the main advocates of Collegianism in Amsterdam. When he became a minister of the Mennonite church in that city the elders were suspicious of him from the beginning and accused him of being a Socinian.[10] They questioned him on several occasions concerning his advocacy of freedom in religious matters, and he defended his views by referring to original Anabaptism, which had for one of its primary tenets the right of the individual to interpret the Bible for himself and to obey his own conscience in matters of religious faith. Galenus regarded himself as somewhat of a prophet, a herald of a new light in the spiritualizing of the times. The conflict, however, continued, and in 1664 resulted in the division of the church, mentioned above. Those who remained with Galenus were the Lammists, who continued to uphold Collegiant views. Their adversaries, numbering about 700, withdrew and set up meetings in a building with the sign of the sun, and were thus known as the Zonists. The War among the Lambs affected most of the Mennonites in the Netherlands. Everywhere the "battle-cry" of the progressives was "freedom of speech, absolute tolerance, and a universal Christendom."[11] It is with this philosophy and background that Plockhoy can

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10 The primary tenet of Socinianism was anti-trinitarianism, which was the only doctrine it held consistently during the entire history of the movement. See, Wilbur, op.cit., p. 4.

11 Mennonitisches Lexikon, II. Edited by Christian Hege and Christian Neff. (Frankfurt am Main, 1913), p. 27.

be observed as a reformer in England and colonizer in America, endeavoring to establish the universal church along Collegiant lines, and the ideal Christian commonwealth of love, equality, and freedom.

III. THE REFORMATEURS

Practically all the information about Plockhoy as a Collegiant concerns charges brought against him for advocating the practice of polygamy. The charge is repeated by Lambertus Bidloo, the Collegiants' most bitter antagonist.[12] Plockhoy's interest in the implications of polygamy as practised in Old Testament days found further expression among a group of poets, who gathered in the inn of one Jan Zoet (pronounced "Sweet").[13] Here a group of "lovers of the noble art of poetry" assembled in meeting, similar to a collegia.[14] They called their society the Parnassus on the Y. In his inn, the "Sweet Rest," Zoet established an "Art-school for the promotion of virtue."[15] The participants included a Mennonite, Pieter Rixtel, Hendrik Bruno, Bartholomeus Abba, Karel Verloove, and Jacob Steendam. The last two named wrote poems for Plockhoy's colonization prospectus in 1662, which expressed a great deal of

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12 Lambertus Bidloo, Onbevaalde Verdraagsaamheid de verwoesting der Doopsgezinden. (Amsterdam, 1701).

13 Plockhoy's connection with these poets was first discovered and studied by G. B. Hylkema, a Dutch Mennonite historian. See, Reformateurs, Geschiedkundige Studiën over de Godsdienstige Bewegingen uit de Nadagen onzer Gouden Eeuw. (Haarlem: Willink & Zoon, 1902), pp. 100-6.

14 Gerritt Kalff, Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, IV. (Groningen: J. B. Walters, 1909), p. 462. The "Y" refers to the bay on which Amsterdam is situated.

15 Loc. cit.

sympathy toward Flockhoy and his reform program.[16] All of these poets, in fact, hoped to improve the morals of Amsterdam by "the abolition and reform of various customs, here as elsewhere all too deeply rooted."[17] And thus they became known as the Reformateurs. Zoet, the "head-poet," introduced "meaningful and soul-searching questions,"[18] to which the others wrote answers in verse. The question whether "the Bible or Christianity allows or forbids polygamy,"[19] came up for discussion more than once, and the affirmative position was taken by Zoet, who it was hinted did not get along too well with his wife. (An epitaph described him as "crying by the fire over the grumbling of his wife.")[20] When the question was phrased, "When a man by marriage is bound to a woman, may he sleep with his maid-servant without transgression?",[21] the ensuing discussion reverted to a bitter exchange of words, Steendam

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16 Verloove was one of the youngest and perhaps the most religious of the poets. His main work was a collection of stories from the Bible which he set to rhythm and rhyme: Uytbreiding over de Heijlige Lofsangen in 200 gesangen op psalmwijzen gestelt (Enlargement of the Holy Hymns in 200 songs set to psalm melodies), (Amsterdam, 1686). His poetic motto was "Elk speelt zijn rol" (each plays his role). Steendam has come to be known as the "first poet of New Netherland." He had spent some time in the Dutch Province in America and was exceedingly interested in its development. His poetic motto was "noch vaster" (still firmer). Steendam means literally "stone dam," and the noch vaster was a play upon his own name. See, Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek, IV. Edited by P. C. Molhuysen and Fr. K. H. Kossmann. (Leiden, 1911), col. 1380.

17 Kalff, op.cit., p. 462.

18 Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek, I. col. 1477-8.

19 Kalff, op.cit., p. 463.

20 Loc.cit.

21 Jan Klaasz, d'Uytstekenste Digt-Kunstige werkken door Jan Zoet, Amsterdammer. (Hoorn, 1675), p. 378.

leading in the attack against Zoet. Zoet attempted to clear himself by agreeing with Verloove that "He who lives in indecency is sinner in freedom,"[22] and by stating that the question originated with Flockhoy. In a play on Flockhoy's name, Zoet wrote a laurel poem in which he stated: "Although I have printed this question on paper above, it is not plucked from my hay stack; but it was written with a Zeelander's pen with a lewd desire to serve the world as if blind."[23] To this Steendam answered: "You have pressed this question before quite differently, plucked it with a fast hand from Beukels' hay in defense of his quick-tempered passion, though by a bastard-Zeelander you say it was blindly written."[24] Zoet, incited to anger, wrote a defense of the "honor and glory of the forefathers" who had in Old Testament days paid homage to polygamy. This time Steendam answered by including Pieter Flockhoy with David Joris, Jan van Leyden, Knipperdolling, Krechting, and Jan Mathys, among the patriarchs of polygamy and imbued with the "spirit of error."[25]

Such was the nature of the discussions of polygamy in the "Sweet Rest" and the relation of Flockhoy thereto. The fact that his writings contain no hint that he wished to incorporate the practise of polygamy in his own colony (the tendency was on the con-

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22 Loc.cit. 23 Loc.cit. 24 Ibid., p. 379.

25 Ibid., p. 381. Those listed with Flockhoy as the patriarchs of polygamy were fanatical Anabaptists who held loose social views and brought the movement into ill repute. Three of them had been involved in the Münster uprising in Westphalia in the early history of Anabaptism.

trary toward an ascetic way of life) indicates, as Horst states, that "likely such ideas were only raised for discussion and later seized upon by the enemies of the [Collegiant] movement."[26]

Other ideas of Jan Zoet and the Parnassians, however, are found in Flockhoy's writings and are worthy of mention. On a different level of thought was the question which Zoet introduced on another occasion: "In what way can Christianity best be brought back again peacefully into a single sheeps fold?"[27] Among the ways suggested were the abolition of sectarianism, which was believed to breed intolerance; elimination of all sacraments in the church save baptism; the guarantee of freedom of thought and speech to everyone; and the avoidance with every means possible of all evil influences. According to Zoet one had to "push himself slowly through the narrow gate."[28] "In the ideas and goals of the Reformateurs," states Kalff, "were many good and beautiful things, not in the least their fight against narrow-mindedness and intolerance, and their concern for the independent development of the religious inner-life."[29] When Flockhoy put his ideas into writing in England in several letters to Cromwell and in his scheme for an ideal community, the extent to which he was influenced by his Dutch background becomes more apparent.

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26 Horst, op.cit., p. 181.

27 Kalff, op.cit., p. 463.

28 Ibid., p. 464.

29 Ibid., p. 465.

Chapter III

REFORM IN ENGLAND DURING THE INTERREGNUM

The outbreak of the Puritan Revolution in England (1642-1649) promised to end once for all the absolute power of the king and place in his stead a rule of justice and liberty. But when the War was over Oliver Cromwell, although little disposed to so much power, emerged as a virtual military dictator. He and his party of Independents excluded from the House of Commons the Presbyterian members who would have restored the king and imposed their religion on the people of England in the form of a state-church. Cromwell soon discovered, however, that the remnant of the House of Commons, known as the Rump Parliament, was "horridly arbitrary," and he soon had done with them. The succeeding Parliament, equally incapable, surrendered its authority to Cromwell, who then became Lord Protector. He governed as a benevolent despot from 1653 to 1658. The people who had hoped for much better realized that many of their major grievances had not been removed. Attempts were made to effect reform within the new regime. Among those who hoped to institute political democracy were the Levellers, notably John Lilburne and William Walwyn. Others, like Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers, labored for the improvement of the social and economic position of the masses. Religion played a large part in these reform movements. A continued separation of church and state and the abolition of the tithe were two demands

which were constantly made.

Plockhoy arrived in England in the last years of the Interregnum, and just a few months before the death of Cromwell. His first desire was to see Christendom established as a universal state in the form reminiscent of the collegia in Holland. "Having seen," he later wrote, "that Policy and Religion which (as God is) ought to be universal was divided and severed into many Sects, my spirit was much troubled; and looking round-about me, where to make a beginning to rectify those evils, I found no better object in Christendom than his late Highness the Lord Protector; whereupon I resolved for a while to leave my family and native Country, fearing if I should not manifest to the Magistrates in England what was upon my spirit that they, having much to do with other affairs, might through the subtilty of the Clergy, as in other nations, easily be deceived."[1] Plockhoy was perturbed at the domineering state-churches in "these and other nations," and called them the "little Antichrists." (The "great Antichrist" was the Popish church). He was especially concerned because the non-privileged Christian groups, for their diverseness and disunity, could do little to alleviate the situation. The scheme which he devised "together with some other lovers of the common good" was to unite all Christian sects in a sort of federation as "the only way to abolish all lording over consciences."

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1 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations. p. 1. The ensuing quotations on this page are loc.cit.

Cromwell was assisted in his government by a council and a parliament. The first overture made by Plockhoy concerning his plan was to members of the council, through which he was granted an appointment with the Lord Protector himself. "I was heard several times with patience," he wrote, "doing my endeavour to preserve England from that great dishonour which hath befallen other Nations."[2] His principal ideas were embodied in two letters to Cromwell, the first dated June 24, 1658, and the second necessarily following in short order since the Protector died in September of the same year. The project came to naught in the months following the dictator's death. On January 24 of the following year Plockhoy submitted a letter to Parliament, re-stating his purpose and enclosing the letters which he had previously submitted to Cromwell. He wrote: "...being obstructed in my proceeding through the unexpected death of his Highness, I was put to some stop, waiting for a better opportunity, and hearing that your Honours were to assemble together upon the 27. of January, my spirit was revived, hoping that my design for the peace and welfare of these Nations by that means, better than heretofore, might be accomplished."[3] But Parliament gave him no encouragement. Thwarted in these first two attempts to gain support for his ideas Plockhoy hoped to "awaken the public spirits in England," by publishing the letters to the magistrates. The pamphlet was

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2 Loc. cit.

3 Ibid., p. 2.

entitled, The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations..., and was printed early in the year, 1659. The name of the printer was not indicated on the title page.

Oliver Cromwell was succeeded by his son, Richard, who for the few months he was Lord Protector attempted unsuccessfully to forestall the growing interest in the restoration of the monarchy. The fourth letter which Plockhoy wrote was addressed to him, "to the end that he [Richard] may as a true Moderator so hold the balance in the Government that one Sect may not domineer over the other."[4] He told Richard that he had come into England in love for the common good, and "after much longing several times had opportunity to speak with your Father about divers matters, to whom also I delivered two Letters, which he promised to consider of, and was willing I should have liberty further to declare my mind and sense unto him."[5] This he said had been prevented by Oliver's unexpected death; and he was transferring the petitions, which his father had "not despised" to Richard, who should "order all things in such a way that the light of liberty kindled in England may enlighten all Kingdoms and Governments in the world."[6]

A second edition of the letters, including the one to Richard, was published about the 4th of March, 1659.[7] This edition

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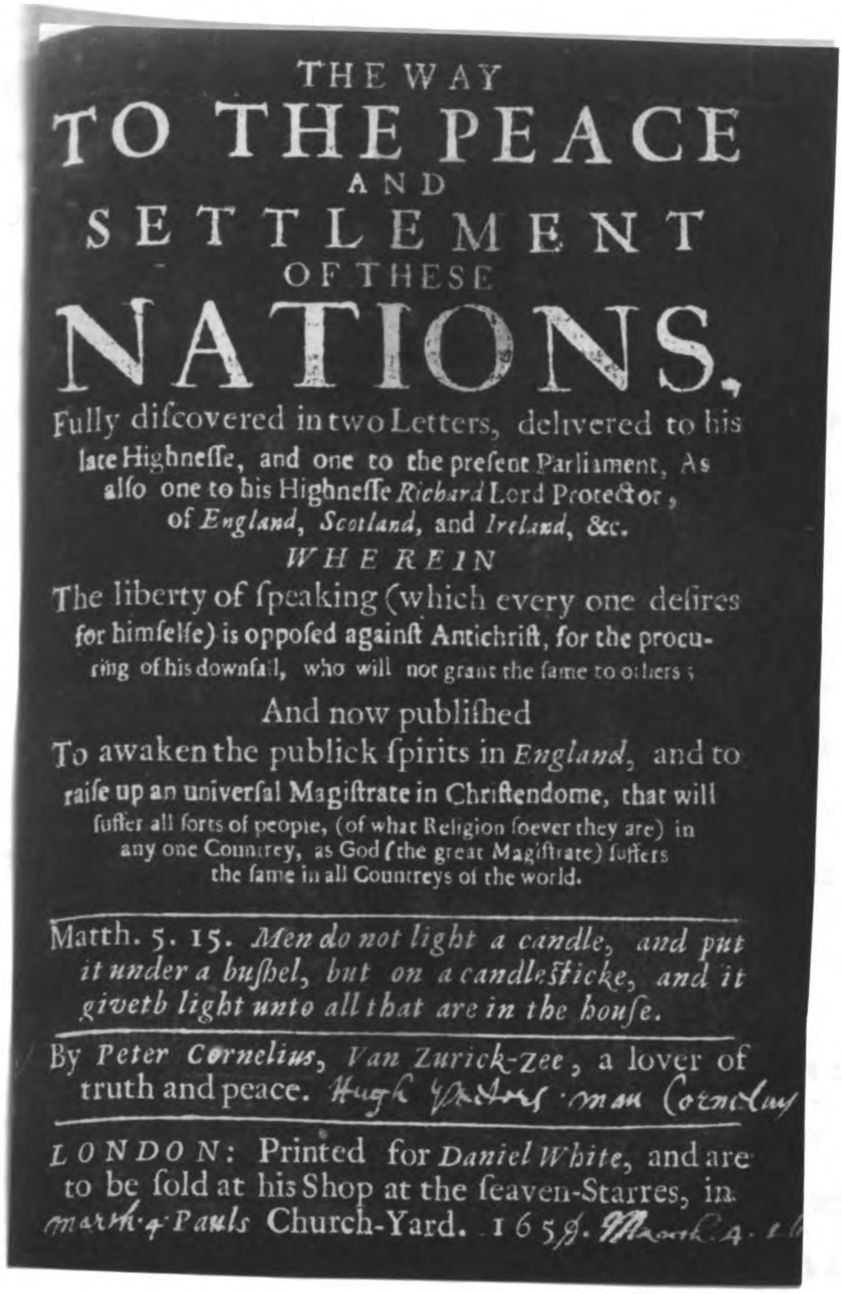
4 Ibid., p. 27. 5 Ibid., p. 28. 6 Loc.cit.

7 This date was assigned by the well-known contemporary book collector, George Thomason. Although his dates are not infallible they represent a good approximation, probably within a week of the date of publication. See, Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661, II. p. 225.



THE WAY
TO THE PEACE
AND
SETTLEMENT
OF THESE
NATIONS.

Fully discovered in two Letters, delivered to his late Highnesse, and one to the present Parliament, As also one to his Highnesse *Richard* Lord Protector, of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.

WHEREIN

The liberty of speaking (which every one desires for himselfe) is opposed against Antichrist, for the procuring of his downfall, who will not grant the same to others;

And now published

To awaken the publick spirits in *England*, and to raise up an universal Magistrate in Christendome, that will suffer all sorts of people, (of what Religion soever they are) in any one Countrey, as God (the great Magistrate) suffers the same in all Countreys of the world.

Matth. 5. 15. *Men do not light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.*

By *Peter Cornelius, Van Zurick-Zee*, a lover of truth and peace. *Hugh Peters man Cornelius*

LONDON: Printed for *Daniel White*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the seaven-Starres, in *mark. Pauls* Church-Yard. 1659. *March 4.*

Figure 1

TITLE-PAGE OF THE LATER EDITION OF

PLOCKHOY'S, THE WAY TO THE PEACE

AND SETTLEMENT OF THESE NATIONS

was printed by Daniel White and gave notice of "another Treatise, which is to be published, propounding a way to make the poor distressed people in these and other Nations happy."[8]

Historians who have dealt with the social conditions in England during the seventeenth century agree that the situation of the poorer classes, more especially that of the industrial and agricultural laborers, was invariably bad. Three-fourths of the population (an estimated five million) lived by agriculture, and most of these were peasants or day laborers with very low levels of subsistence. English industry, in comparison to the Continent, lagged behind, and was also characterized by class distinctions. The most serious social problem was presented by the great mass of paupers, without education, occupation, or security.[9] These were the conditions which Plockhoy observed in England and with which his new reform program was concerned.

The title of his new writing, comprising a scheme with greater immediate significance although smaller in scope than the first, was A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations happy by bringing together a fit, suitable, and well-qualified People into one Household-Government or little Commonwealth, wherein every one may keep his propriety and be employed

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8 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations. p. 30.

9 A thorough study of the position of the poor masses in the early history of England was made by Sir Frederick Eden, The State of the Poor, or an history of the labouring classes in England. (London, 1797). Appendix XVIII of Vol. 3 contains a list of writings of the period which sought in some manner or other the relief of the poor. Plockhoy's writing is listed.

in some work or other as he shall be fit without being oppressed. It was the initial plan for his ideal commonwealth, a semi-communistic settlement comprising four classes of people and based on equality and association.

The first edition of the writing was "printed for G. C." and issued approximately May 28, 1659.[10] G. C. were the initials of Giles Calvert, agent for the Levellers. Like the previous writing it was written in conjunction with others "born for the common welfare." This and a reference in the correspondence of Samuel Hartlib, quoted below, indicates that Plockhoy was participant, perhaps leader of, a group of closely-knit sympathizers. Readers who were interested in the association were to contact Plockhoy through Giles Calvert. As Horst states, this indicates that Plockhoy had connections with the leftist-reformers among the Puritans and, since the publication was not listed on the Stationers' Register, that he and his friends "found it expedient to proceed covertly."[11] A note at the end of the writing indicates that the first "little Common-wealth" was already in operation, "settled in order as a Nursery about London," and that similar projects were envisioned for Bristol and Ireland, "where we can have a great deal of Land for little money and plenty of wood for building of Houses, Ships, and many other things."[12]

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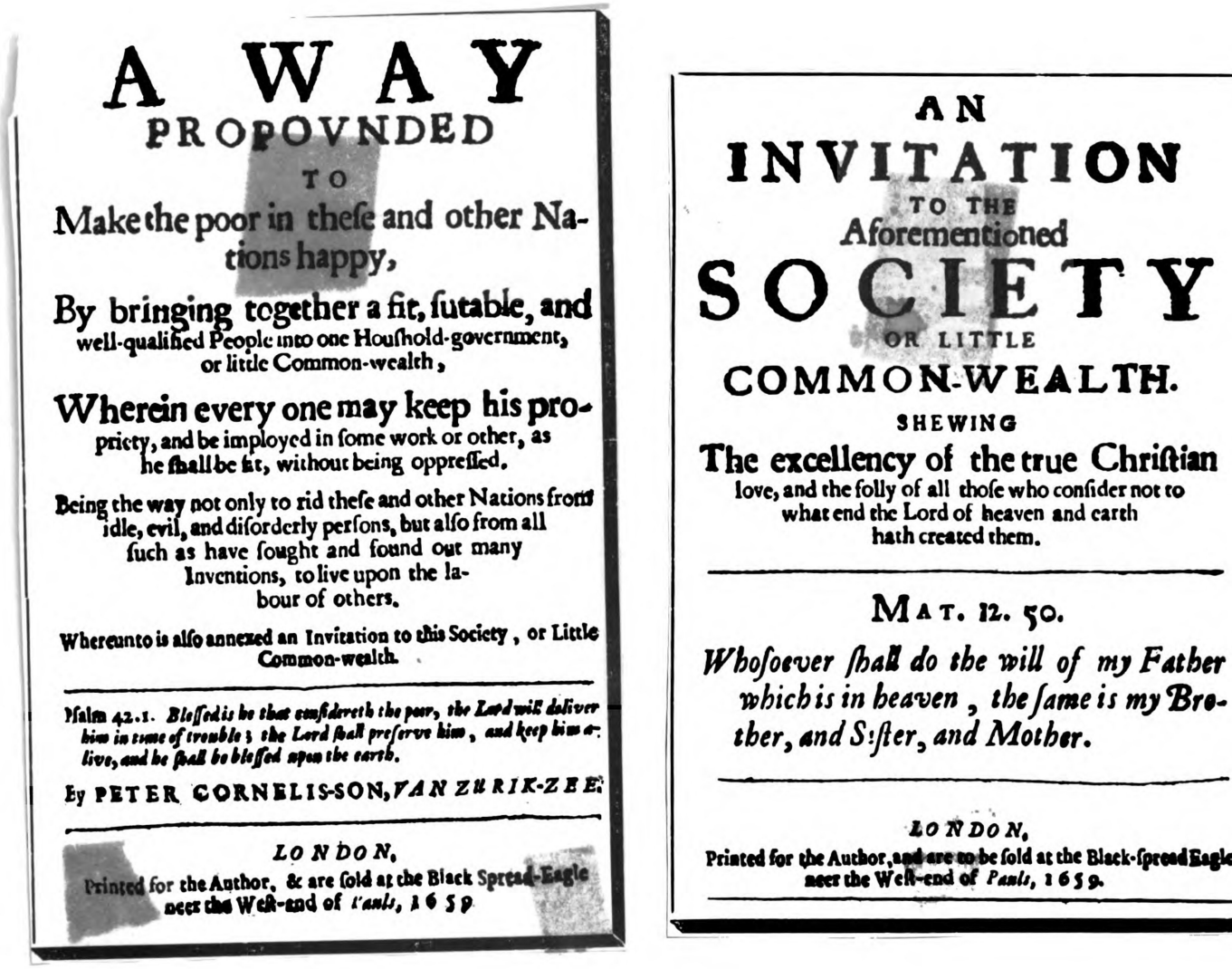
10 Thomason's date. See, Catalogue of the Pamphlets...Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661, II. pp. 235-6.

11 Irvin Horst, "Pieter Corneliss Plockhoy: An Apostle of the Collegiants," Mennonite Quarterly Review, XXIII. (July 1949), p. 167.

12 A Way Propounded. p. 14.



A WAY
PROPOVNDED
TO
Make the poor in theſe and other Nations happy,

By bringing together a fit, ſutable, and well-qualified People into one Houſhold-government, or little Common-wealth,

Wherein every one may keep his propriety, and be imployed in ſome work or other, as he ſhall be fit, without being oppreſſed.

Being the way not only to rid theſe and other Nations from idle, evil, and diſorderly perſons, but alſo from all ſuch as have ſought and found out many Inventions, to live upon the labour of others.

Whereunto is alſo annexed an Invitation to this Society, or Little Common-wealth.

Pſalm 42.1. *Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble; the Lord ſhall preſerve him, and keep him alive, and he ſhall be bleſſed upon the earth.*

By PETER CORNELIS-SON, *VAN ZURIK-ZEE.*

LONDON,
Printed for the Author, & are ſold at the Black Spread-Eagle neer the Weſt-end of *Pauls*, 1659.

AN
INVITATION
TO THE
Aforementioned
SOCIETY
OR LITTLE
COMMON-WEALTH.
SHEWING
The excellency of the true Chriſtian love, and the folly of all thoſe who conſider not to what end the Lord of heaven and earth hath created them.

MAT. 12. 50.

Whoſoever ſhall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the ſame is my Brother, and Siſter, and Mother.

LONDON,
Printed for the Author, and are to be ſold at the Black-ſpread Eagle neer the Weſt-end of *Pauls*, 1659.

Figure 2

TITLE-PAGE OF THE LATER EDITION OF PLOCKHOY'S, A WAY PROPOUNDED AND THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE "INVITATION" APPENDED THERETO

A second edition of the writing was printed directly for the author and listed the places Plockhoy could be contacted on different days of the week and at certain times of the day:

> If any Husbandman, Seaman, Handicraftsman, or Artist, (being of an universal impartial spirit) have a desire to speak with him who is instrumental in the promotion of so good a work, may find him at these following places:
>
> On Mondays at four of the clock in the afternoon, at the Bridgefoot, the sign of the Bell.
> On Tuesdays at four of the clock in the afternoon, in Spittlefields near Bishopsgate-street, at the Red Lion.
> On Wednesdays at ten of the clock in the morning, in Kingstreet at the sign of the Antilope.
> On the same day at four of the clock in the afternoon, upon great Tower-Hill at the Red Cow.
> On Thursdays in the afternoon at two of the clock, at Stanhop-street between New Market and Drury Lane, at the sign of the White Horse.
> On Fridays at two of the clock in the afternoon, at West-Smithfield at the George Inn.[13]

Both editions contain an appendix, with separate pagination, entitled, An Invitation to the Aforementioned Society or little Commonwealth, which set forth the "excellency of the true Christian love, and the folly of all those who consider not to what end the Lord of heaven and earth hath created them."[14] It attempted to advance moral and Christian reasons why such a society should be created. At the end of the writing was a letter by Plockhoy's sympathizers and financial backers, which appealed for followers:

> Having not only considered the poverty, afflictions, and straits of many well minded people, together with the evil consequences that arise from the corrupt customs and ways of most employments, and the general disorder proceeding from riches and poverty: but also the way propounded by our friend, Peter Cornelissen, to rectify all such

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13 An Invitation to the Aforementioned Society, p. 14.

14 Ibid., titlepage.

and many other inconveniences by bringing together a fit, suitable, and well qualified people into one Household-Government or little Common-wealth, wherein every one may keep his propriety and be employed in some work or other as he shall be fit, without being oppressed, as is more at large expressed in a Platform to that purpose.

Whereupon we are resolved, judging it to be necessary, and our duty to promote so good and pious a work, with the assistance of other merciful and rational men, to lay such a foundation as may tend to the relief of the oppressed, the preserving of such as are in danger of falling into snares, and the increase of understanding and mutual love, as also the exemplary ordering of such acts as may be accomplished by prudential charity.

And hereunto we do earnestly invite all Persons that have a willing mind to do good according to their abilities, some by their Wisdom and Counsel, others by money and credit, or by both, as they shall be able and free, that so a stock may be raised for the carrying on of this good and beneficial work.

To which end we have subscribed our names, and the sums of money which we are willing to give. Hoping that all such as are for so general a work will upon due consideration likewise subscribe for such a sum of money as they are willing to give towards the accomplishment of the Premises, and meet together to confer and order the said sums of monies into the hands of some trusty Persons, for the use and benefit of the Society only, and what else shall be found conducing to the perfecting of this work, till the Society can subsist of itself in order, which we believe may soon be from the credible information of divers persons, relating that many hundreds in Transylvania, Hungary, and the Paltsgrave Country, from a small beginning have attained, not only to a very comfortable life among themselves, but also ability of doing much good to others, not of their Society.

Subscribed towards the raising of a stock, as follows:

I. S.	100.	1.
W. R.	100.	1.
C. O.	10.	1.
W. W.	20.	1.
R. S.	10.	1.
P. C.	10.	1.
H. D.	50.	1.[15]

Unlike the first this project was not presented to the government, but was to be inaugurated by individual grants from qualified

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15 Ibid., pp. 13-4.

persons who would then act as "fathers" of the enterprise. The undertaking seemingly did not prosper after the Restoration of Charles II in England, although it had received some support. Among others active support came from Samuel Hartlib, who solicited for Plockhoy in several letters. Hartlib was a utopian, extremely interested in the relief of the poor and other social problems. His most important work was A Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria, shewing its excellent government, in a Dialogue (London, 1641). His belief in science was the basis of his views on social reform. In his ideal state there were five executive councils: for husbandry, fishing, trade by sea, trade by land, and new plantations. The goal of life at Macaria was "to achieve the highest possible productive capacity in agriculture by scientific farming."[16] He seems to have borrowed heavily from Francis Bacon. For relief of the unemployed he devised an elaborate machinery concerning the exchange of labor. His relation to Plockhoy doubtless came about by their common interest in the relief of poverty in accordance with Christian precepts and the stimulation of agriculture and industry. John Beal, scientist and fellow of the Royal Society, described Hartlib as "the zealous solicitor of Christian peace peace amongst all nations, the constant friend of distressed strangers, the true hearted lover of our native country, the sedulous advancer of ingenious arts and profitable sciences."[17] Hartlib states in a letter

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16 Wilhelm Schenk, The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948), p. 148.

17 See dedication to Hartlib of John Beal's, Herefordshire Orchards a Pattern for all England. (London, 1657). Italics inserted.

to Dr. John Worthington, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, dated July 20, 1659, that he had forwarded Plockhoy's, A Way Propounded, to Beal, who had previously written: "I do extremely indulge the design of beginning the Buildings of Christian Societies in small Models. And in this point our Reformers may learn many parts of wisdom from our sorest adversaries. O si essent noster! 'Tis strange to me, that the Model of Christian Society, and that curious offer of the right hand of Christian love hath taken no deeper footing in England."[18] And in still more enthusiastic terms in another letter, Beal had written: "O that all the religious houses of the Christian world were reformed into true societies, or that our English monasteries could be thus restored! But it seems we men are prompt and skilful enough to pull down, and then leave it to God to plant, build, and reform, whilst we talk big of reforming laws and making whole nations churches and of erecting the Kingdom of Christ all over the world. I would I could see a good beginning (He means of a Christian society)* with a little, & upon that covenant, I should not be unwilling that 200 acres of mine own land were devoted to the foundation of the first such college."[19] In the same letter to Worthington Hartlib included a description of a similar model of a

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18 James Crossley, editor, The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, I. (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1847), p. 157. This work is Vol. XIII of the series under the title, Remains Historical & Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester.

* Hartlib's note.

19 James Crossley, op.cit., p. 158.

community of the Moravian Brethren who were located in Hungary and Transylvania. (Hartlib was a personal friend and apostle of Comenius, leader of the Moravian Brethren). The description came from the pen of Comenius' son-in-law and contains an interesting comparison of the Moravian Brethren with the Mennonites, described in Chapter II:

> They Moravian Brethren are an honest, simple-hearted people, humble, godly, laborious, well trained up, and lovers of discipline, agreeing for the most part in substantialibus of y^r Doctrine with the Reformed Churches, save only in the Infant Baptism. Yet they shew themselves more careful in this point, then those people w^ch are called the Mennonists in the Low Countries, who permit their children to live w^thout baptism as long as they list. But these men leave it to their childrens pleasure no longer, but when they are of ten or 12 years of age, and have learned their catechism, and can make a confession of y^r faith openly before the congregation, they do their utmost by information & perswasions to make them desirous to be joined as members of Christ to the rest of the congregation.[20]

The letter appended to Plockhoy's, A Way Propounded (see above) made mention of this religious, communistic group.[21] The description which Hartlib quotes is similar in many respects to Plockhoy's scheme, and is perhaps its prototype. It is likely, at any rate, that Plockhoy was acquainted with the details of this religious society, whose influence on him is apparent from part of the description which follows:

> There be so many families (suppose 100, 200, or more) w^ch join together & be of all kind of trade (useful and comfortable for man's life, for no guns, swords, or other war-like weapons are made amongst them). These being received into the magistrates' protection, & having privileges and permission to build, out of the common stock, a certain court as it were, or a little common-wealth, with 2, 3, or more yards, according as the number of

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20 Ibid., p. 157. 21 Horst thinks the reference in the letter applied to the Moravian Anabaptists, or Hutterites, who were also living in communistic societies in Moravia. In view of Comenius' connection, however, this seems unlikely. See Horst, op. cit., p. 182.

> inhabitants & artificers doth increase, with so many dwellings & public conveniences for horses, cattle, and the like. As for their co-habitation, every family hath a convenient dwelling-place, & every trade together, tailers, shoemakers, &c., and each a separate yard. Their labour is common, all work for all, for what every one gaineth, it is given to the common stock. As for their government, they have a preacher or two, according as need requires, wth an Oeconomus, whom they choose by common consent, & 3, 4, or more elders or overseers. They have for their religious & pious exercises, public meetings on the Lord's day, as well as every day for public prayers in the morning & evening; all things being performed in good order and decency. The men sit asunder from the women, and so children likewise, of both sexes, apart. They have schools for boys separate also from those of the girls. And the training up of their children, as soon as they begin to have the use of their tongue, till they come to their full age, is committed of the boys to grave men, of the girls to godly women. The parents have no trouble with them at all. The steward and elders provide all things. They have their own bakers, brewers, &c., every one hath his office in w^{ch} he serves himself & others. There is a common kitchen for them all. The Oeconomus, preacher, and elders eat together, the rest in like manner, save that men have their own tables, and women also their own. And every one knoweth his own place. The discipline is either private correction according to the fault, or public excommunication.[22]

Just when Plockhoy returned to the Netherlands is not known. A reference as late as October 15, 1660, four and one-half months after the Restoration of the second Charles to the English throne, reveals that he was thinking in terms of settlement near Cologne. Hartlib writes in a letter to Worthington of that date: "I am told that Count de Worth (whose territories are not far from Collen [Cologne] hath published a Letter of Invitations to all Nations of what Religion soever, offering cheapness of lands and protection, & that 2 thousand of the Transylvanian Society or Brotherhood, are come thither already. Peter Cornelius, of

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22 James Grossley, op.cit., pp. 153-5.

Zuricksea, is likewise going thither with many others."[23] It is easy to understand why Plockhoy would have wished to leave England at this time. The Restoration doubtless put an end to the few leftist reform movements still existing after almost twenty years of Puritan rule. Whether he reached Germany is not known. In the latter part of 1661 he was back in Holland promoting the colony on the Delaware in America.

The above references established Plockhoy's connection with Hartlib and other noted personalities of the Puritan period. Schenk suggests that Plockhoy may have known William Walwyn as well. "His English style is, indeed," writes Schenk, "quite close to Walwyn's, and it is not impossible that he was helped by Walwyn or a man of a similar outlook; it is unlikely that his command of English would have been sufficiently great to enable him to write these pamphlets without aid from a native Englishman."[24] Although there is little way to substantiate a connection, it seems highly probable that the initials "W.W." among the seven financial contributors to Plockhoy's project (see above) belonged to William Walwyn. Walwyn quit the Levellers in 1649 and was henceforth engaged in behind-the-scene reform activities. Little is known about him during the following decade. Schenk knows that in 1659, the same year Plockhoy wrote his pamphlets, Walwyn was a member of a committee which was to discuss James Harrington's proposition for a "Commonwealth or Democracie."[25] There is much that is simi-

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23 Ibid., p. 211.

24 Wilhelm Schenk, op. cit., p. 144.

25 Ibid., p. 43.

lar in the ideas of Walwyn and Plockhoy. The former set forth his ideas concerning man and society in his major work, The Power of Love (London, 1643). In the preface he answered the question, "Would you have all things common?" by referring to the communism of the early Apostles: "And you may remember the multitude of believers had all things common."[26] He envisioned the ideal society as a small voluntary association of Christians with "universal assent thereunto from all and every one of the People,"[27] which ideas were inherent in Plockhoy's plans.

In addition to Walwyn it is possible Plockhoy was familiar with the communistic utopia of Gerrard Winstanley, leader of the Digger movement of the same period. In his New law of Righteousness, Winstanley wrote that in his community, "there shall be no buying and selling of the earth, nor of the fruits thereof....If they want a horse to ride, they may go into the fields in summer or to the common stables in winter, and receive one from the keepers, and when the journey is performed, bring him back....As every one works to advance the common stock, so every one shall have free use of any commodity in the storehouse for his pleasure and comfortable livelihood, without buying or selling or restraint from anybody."[28] Winstanley anticipated Plockhoy by his advocacy of a community with private family life and furniture, but he went further in his devotion to the common ownership of property.

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26 William Walwyn , The Power of Love. (London, 1643), pref.

27 Walwyn, Lilburne, Prince and Overton, A Manifestation of those unjustly styled Levellers. (London, 1649).

28 Gerrard Winstanley, New law of Righteousness. (London, 1654).

Like Schenk, George Peabody Gooch believes that English influence upon Plockhoy was evident. "Though these remarkable pamphlets emanated from a Dutchman," Gooch writes, "they were written in English and with a full knowledge of English affairs. And from the fact that such speculation was unknown in the Low Countries at this time, it is hardly fanciful to attribute them to English influence."[29] Gooch errs somewhat in his assertion of the non-existence of radical social ideas in the Netherlands. As was seen in the last chapter the influence of Plockhoy's Dutch background was not minor. This suggests an interesting notion that there was much in common in the socio-religious movements in Holland and England and that radical ideas reciprocated between the two countries. The Collegiant principles as well as those of the Lammist Mennonites and *Reformateurs* are easily discernible in Plockhoy's letters, which outline his religious program. But it is probably correct to say with Gooch that they are insufficient to explain his interest in economic and social betterment. The fact that his interest in the poor came after he had been in England for awhile further indicates that he was influenced by his contact with the leftist reform movements in England.

It is evident also, as shall be pointed out in Chapter VII, that Plockhoy knew the works of such men as Sir Thomas More and William Shakespeare. He writes himself, however, that his greatest stimulation came from the Scriptures. Will man ever reach the place, he asks, when he will "esteem one only Sentence of the holy

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29 George P. Gooch, *The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*. (Cambridge: University Press, 1898), p. 210.

Scriptures more than the highest accuteness of all the World's Philosophy?" It is somewhat ironic to note his answer to the question in the paraphrase of William Shakespeare, one of the great world philosophers. "We shall be able to do it," he concludes, "if we did well weigh that the World's turn is but a short Comedy, and that we are but Actors who appear no more than once upon the Stage."[30]

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30 An Invitation to the Aforementioned Society, p. 6.

Chapter IV

SETTLEMENT IN NEW NETHERLAND IN AMERICA

The rule of the Dutch in America of the territory called New Netherland dates from 1621, with the organization of the Dutch West India Company, to 1664, when the English invaded the Province and won control. The first colonists in the Province were under authority of Patroons, who were stockholders in the Company. The majority of these settlers were day laborers or indentured servants. The new Freedoms and Exemptions adopted by the Company in 1640, however, provided for smaller, more liberal grants to free individuals. The population of New Netherland grew between 1640 and 1660 although never sufficiently to guarantee a great prosperity. The Dutch were primarily traders, not farmers; and the agricultural development of the colony lagged behind that of the English colonies which surrounded it. The Company's mercenary policy was the chief criticism of individuals at home and abroad who were sincerely interested in the development and welfare of the Dutch colony in America. One of the most vocal among the reformers was Jacob Steendam, noted in Chapter II as friend of Plockhoy and poet-member of Jan Zeet's, "Sweet Rest." Steendam wrote his Klacht van Nieuw-Amsterdam (Complaint of New Amsterdam) after having lived some time in the Province and observed first hand the conditions there. The Complaint was followed by the 'T Lof van Nuw-Nederland (Praise of New Netherland) in which Steendam portrayed the excellent qualities of New Netherland, "the purity

of the air, the fertility of the soil, production of the cattle, [and the] abundance of game and fish...."[1] His real object was to encourage the emigration of a class of people interested in husbandry as well as commerce.

The part of the Province which was least profitable to the Dutch West India Company was the region of the South (Delaware) River, removed from New Amsterdam far enough to make communication difficult. In April, 1657, the Company signed the region over to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam; and the capitol of this southern area was henceforth known as New Amstel. In an attempt to populate this region the Burgomasters promised prospective farmers "in free, fast and durable property" as many "morgans [2.1 acres], both of ploughland and of meadow, as they could properly improve, with freedom from tenths for twenty years."[2]

Plockhoy was one of the few who sought to derive advantage from this belated attempt to people the Dutch colony. It is immediately apparent after repeated failures in England that his zeal as a reformer was not a bit deterred. Holland was at that time no less in need of social reform than England, inspite of the capitalistic advances of the "Golden Age." "It is only too true," writes Vlekke, "that the masses of the townspeople received a very small share in the marvelous profit realized by the economic expan-

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1 Ellis L. Raesly, Portrait of New Netherland. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 286-7.

2 Clarence W. Rife, "Land Tenure in New Netherland," Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), p. 61.

sion of the country....In the busiest center of Holland's industry, twenty thousand people--not necessarily unemployed--had to be kept from starvation by charity, and it was truly said that in Amsterdam contagious diseases which took the lives of thousands of poor people, never afflicted 'burgomasters, aristocrats, ministers of the Church, or town officials.'"[3] It was again the poor masses with whom Plockhoy was concerned.

He had from the beginning of his negotiations with the Amsterdam Burgomasters twenty-four Mennonites (families) who wished to participate in his project and who formed the basis for the negotiations. The identity of these Mennonites has never been established but it is likely they came from the Lammist Mennonites of Galenus Abrahams de Haan's church in Amsterdam, who would have been most inclined to subscribe to the intellectual freedom and the liberal philosophy of the proposed settlement.[4] After making several overtures to the Burgomasters (see below), this group petitioned the City of Amsterdam for a tract of land on the South River and 200 guilders in loan to each family. The Amsterdam Council record follows:

> Resolution of the Common Council of the City of Amsterdam, 20th April, 1662:
>
> The Burgomasters have also reported that about 25 Mennonist families had declared their inclination to remove to and reside in the city's colony in New Netherland, if this city would resolve to assist each family

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3 Bernard Vlekke, Evolution of the Dutch Nation. (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945), p. 178.

4 Mennonites had already taken part in the settlement of New Netherland. See, Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New Netherland, Compiled by E. T. Corwin. (Albany, 1901-1916) I, pp. 320, 335-6, 348, 387-8, 396, 486-7, 505, 513-4, 555, 667; II, p. 1053.

> to that end with 200 guilders for each, in addition to the passage money, on conditions that such families would jointly and severally bind themselves to repay the same. Which being considered it is resolved to lend each family 100 gl. on such conditions, the passage money therein included.[5]

Plockhoy made some additional requests after the Resolution was passed, and on June 6, 1662, completed a contract with the Burgomasters. It stated "That he, Pieter Corneliss Plockhoy, undertakes to present to us, as soon as possible, the names of twenty-five persons, who will agree to depart by the first ship or ships to the aforesaid colony of this city, to reside there and to work at farming, fishing, handicrafts, etc., and to be as diligent as possible not only to live comfortably themselves, but also that provision may thereby be made for others to come."[6] The contract granted each member as much land as he could use at the "Horekil" or another part of the colony, the right to enact their own laws with right of appeal to the higher magistrates, exemption from taxes for twenty years, and a loan of 100 guilders to each family as previously granted.

It took Plockhoy almost a year to get underway. The factors responsible for the delay were several. In the first place the group was still engaged in the construction of an adequate framework of government, the privilege of which was granted them by the contract. Plockhoy's ideas for the administration and government of his colony had previously been submitted to the Burgo-

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5 New York Colonial Documents, II, p. 176.

6 Ibid., pp. 176-7. The original contract was also reprinted as part of Plockhoy's, Kort en klaer ontwerp. For its full text, see Appendix B.

masters by an individual who signed his name, "H.V.Z.M." The latter was seemingly an attorney or notary who served as an agent for Plockhoy in the negotiations with the Burgomasters. The program was outlined in seven letters submitted through "H.V.Z.M." to the magistrates between November 22, 1661, and May 25, 1662. The fourth of these letters was the most significant, containing 117 articles of association, which were "open for correction."[7]

The first letter was written November 22, 1661, and was presented to the Burgomasters on December 13. It was submitted by "H.V.Z.M." with "proper homage as agent for his clients, consisting of several decent-minded families who desire to remove to New Netherland under the auspices of this laudable City and Government of Amsterdam, and with the E.E. Sirs Directors of the West India Company under approval of the States General of the United Netherland."[8] The agent wanted it known that he was servant to his "Masters and Principals," and wished to remain anonymous. "It may please your Honors," he continued, "to grant a charter to these people, with so many families as they have already or will furthermore enlist, to transport them to the South River in New Netherland, and there to select according to their choice a suitable piece of

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7 Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants. p. 62.

8 Ibid., p. 43. Sets of initials like "E.E." or "A.A." are frequently used in addressing the Burgomasters and high officials. "A" stands for noble, "E" for honourable, "H" for high, and "M" for mighty. When they are used double, they refer to more than one person, such as the A.A. Patrons.

land near the Horekil [Gloss: also called Sinkenesse or Swanendael] or wherever else they might deem more favorable."[9] One of the primary purposes of the project, in addition to reviving the colonial Province, was "also the relief of many aggrieved and languishing families."[10] An aspect of Plockhoy's philosophy, descending from the Collegiants and included in his previous plan for a universal church without clergymen, was included in this first letter to the Amsterdam magistrates. "Concerning the divine worship," it was stated, "these people wish to save the costs of a minister, and for the maintenance of good order, peace, and least offense to the different humors of the people, to substitute the Holy Scriptures, to be read on Sundays and holidays by individuals in rotation, it being the purest minister, and to sing psalms."[11]

The second letter, dated December 20, 1661, brought up two legal points in question. The first was the matter of government, which they desired to be in all points in harmony with the interests of the society and still with the laws of the country. The second question was the matter of freedom from tenths, which was desired for a period of thirty years. In relation to the first, distinction was made between civil and criminal laws; and it was to be known that the society wished jurisdiction in civil cases only, and that criminal cases would be left to the juris-

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9 Ibid., p. 43. Swanendael meant literally, "valley of swans."

10 Loc.cit.

11 Loc.cit.

diction of the high magistrates. "About everything which is confined to the civil, they would draft a brief and concise agreement, with the approval of the A.A. Sirs Burgomasters of this City."[12] In regard to the question of tenths, reasons were given why a period of thirty years exemption should be granted.

> No sensible people who can look further than the length of their noses have tried or will try to move to New Amstel under existing conditions. For those over there who have thus far seemed to be of some ability have mostly been attracted by ambition for power, or expected profit, but since neither living conditions or trade turned out to be very favorable those people have, along with others, been undeceived, and New Amstel, which for so many years was supposed to develop into a city, could in number of people, not speaking of the poverty there, not compare with even the least countryside in Holland....Considering this my Masters instruct me to petition the A.A. Sirs Burgomasters that they increase, rather than reduce, the requested number of years of freedom from tenths.[13]

The matter of tenths, states Clarence Rife, was of considerable importance to prospective emigrants.[14] It had proved to be a burdensome charge, and "had the reluctant acceptance of the populace."[15] Probably Plockhoy was aware of those hardships, perhaps through his friend Jacob Steendam, and insisted upon an immunity in this respect.

The third letter, dated December 3, 1661, sought to further clarify the matter of civil and criminal jurisdiction. "They do not in the least desire criminal jurisdiction, but on the contrary they free themselves from the same and clearly reject it as too

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12 Ibid., p. 45. Italics inserted.

13 Ibid., p. 46.

14 Clarence Rife, op.cit., p. 62.

15 Ibid., p. 63.

difficult a task for them."[16] It was requested, however, that during the first five years they would be given the privilege of disposing of all civil matters themselves. After that time the Sheriff of New Amstel would have the right of inspection, to cite witnesses, etc. He should have no right, though, to begin legal proceedings against anyone without notifying the principal public servants of the society beforehand, or to execute domiciliary search or arrest without previous consent of the principal servants. Matters of dispute between the society and sheriff should be submitted to the A.A. Patrons and highest Directors. Concerning the matter of taxation, thirty-years exemption was still requested for reasons previously stated. In closing, it was asserted:

> My Masters and Clients wish it known that this and all previous and forthcoming statements, written or oral, concerning the proposed settlement, are tentative outlines, intending the best for the society, with no intent to judge, much less criticise any existing form of government, since they wish not to be judged or considered so naive in the ways of the world that they would not know how different conditions, natures of people, as well as differences between large and small societies, require different methods of government.[17]

The fourth letter, dated January 10, 1662, contained the 117 articles of association, mentioned above. Equality was the first and foremost basis of the commonwealth. Popular government was to be inaugurated, the powers therein separated into branches suggesting the executive, judicial, and legislative functions. New laws were to be enacted by majority vote and there was to be

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16 Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants. p. 47.

17 Ibid., p. 48.

a single executive, elected by the people, who should approve all new laws. Military servants were to be included in the society for protection, although Mennonites, who believed in non-resistance, were to be exempt from military service by paying a tax. Mennonites also were to be exempt from voting on defense matters and fortification, and from orders from officers in this relation or concerning military service. The Mennonites were further to have two representatives among the principal public servants. The people were to disembark upon arrival overseas "as straight Batavians and promoters of the common good, putting their shoulders to the wheel."[18]

The fifth letter, dated March 3, contained revisions and amendments to the articles in the fourth. The Commissioners seem to have raised some objections to minor items and details of judicial jurisdiction. The letter was an "Answer to certain marginal notes made by or in the name of the E.E. Sirs Commissioners on the 'Still Further Remonstrance' which was handed in before."[19]

New Netherland was originally managed by a board of nineteen directors of the Dutch West India Company (the Nineteen), who were representatives from five chambers located in different parts of the Netherlands. The delegates from the city of Amsterdam held preferred positions, and after 1645 assumed exclusive management of the colony. The Amsterdam chamber, with twenty di-

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18 Ibid., p. 56.

19 Ibid., p. 65.

recters, organized itself into committees, one of which was the Committee for New Netherland. This committee had charge of all matters relating to the colony. Its members were referred to as the commissioners for New Netherland. If a group of settlers desired to emigrate to the colony the matter might be presented to the chamber, but would normally be referred to the commissioners to deal with. When the Company sold the region of the South River to the city of Amsterdam, the transaction complicated matters of jurisdiction. The government of Amsterdam consisted of the council (vroedschap), having 36 members, and the burgomasters, who were elected by the council. Some of the council members were also directors in the chamber, and the latter were, at any rate, chosen from nominees by the burgomasters. Thus, New Amstel remained subordinated to New Amsterdam in judicial matters. In applying for a charter Plockhoy had to deal with three bodies--the commissioners, the councillors, and the burgomasters. The first five letters were, in fact, addressed to all three: "To the Honourable Sirs Commissioners and Directors, chosen by the A.A. Sirs Burgomasters, under authority of the A.A. Council of this City of Amsterdam."[20] In general the commissioners would have to approve any framework of government for a settlement in the colony, the council would have to authorize a loan of money, and the burgomasters would complete the contract.

The last two letters, dated May 5 and May 25 respectively, were addressed directly to the burgomasters. The first begins by

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20 Ibid., pp. 43, 45, 47, 50, and 62.

making mention of the foregoing addresses, both written and oral. It reveals that on April 22, the prospective emigrants were advised to apply to the burgomasters for a charter "with assurance that our proposals and requests have been well considered by their A.A."[21] It reiterates Plockhoy's desire for free exercise of all handicrafts, trades, and commerce, freedom from tenths, and liberty of religion. In short, "the suppliants persist unwaveringly in all their requests, presentations, deductions, and debates as previously submitted and under correction." In conclusion it asked for a speedy decision "in order to despatch some hundred male persons still this summer, who during the winter might begin burning off the forest, preparing the soil, cutting the timber for building, and providing for the ones, including the women and children, that would follow next spring."

The final letter refers to negotiations with the burgomasters, chiefly with Cornelis de Graef, baron of South Polsbroek, which were soon to lead to an agreement. On June 6, 1662, the contract between Plockhoy and the burgomasters was completed. In October the letters were published as part of an 84-page work entitled, Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants.... (Brief Account of New Netherlands Situation, Advantages, Natural Qualities, and Peculiar Suitability for Colonisation; together with some Requests, Representations, Deductions, etc., presented for that purpose by some interested persons at different times about the end of the year 1661 to the Burgomasters of this city and their Deputies, etc.).

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21 Ibid., 65. The ensuing quotations on this page are loc. cit.

KORT VERHAEL

Van NIEUW.

NEDERLANTS

Gelegentheit, Deughden, Natuerlijke Voorrechten, en by-zondere bequaemheidt ter bevolkingh: Mitsgaders eenige *Requeſten*, *Vertoogen*, *Deductien*, *enz.* ten dien einden door eenige Lieſhebbers ten verſcheide tijden omtrent 't laetſt van 't Jaer 1661. gepreſenteert aen de A. A. Heeren BURGERMEESTEREN dezer Stede, of der zelver E. E. Heeren Gecommitteerde, enz.

Met breeder achter de Voor-Reden den Korten Inhout, mitsgaders de Waerſchouwingh aen de Boek-verkoopers, ſtaende hier herbolgens op d'ander- of tegen-zijde.

[illegible] 1662.

Figure 3

TITLE-PAGE OF THE

KORT VERHAEL VAN NIEUW NEDERLANTS

In addition to the matter of government another factor delayed the project. The original London plan was designed for more than twenty-five members, and Plockhoy desired to enlist at least 100 before embarking. There were several allusions in the letters to the magistrates to the hope of establishing a colony which would grow to be a city or province. "Their thoughts, in spite of the small progress already made, have changed from a weak household or neighborhood which they first had in mind to the idea of founding a laudable province of city or state."[22] This called forth the prospectus, entitled, Kort En Klaer Ontwerp (Brief and Concise Plan),[23] the need for which was suggested in the second letter above, and the specific purpose of which was the enlistment of prospective settlers who were in sympathy with the ideas underlying the project. The prospectus was a sixteen-page quarto pamphlet including (1) a copy of the contract between Plockhoy and the burgomasters, (2) a sonnet by the Dutch poet, Karel Verloove, upon the maxim, "Union Makes Strength," (3) Plockhoy's scheme for the establishment of an ideal commonwealth, similar in most respects to his London plan, (4) a poem by the Dutch poet, Jacob Steendam, en-

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22 Ibid., p. 66.

23 Brief and concise plan intended to be a mutual agreement to lighten the labor, anxiety, and difficulty of all kinds of handicraftsmen by the establishment of a community or common company (under the protection of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, and especially under the favorable authority of the worshipful Magistracy of the City of Amsterdam) on the South River in New Netherland; comprising agricultural people, mariners, men of all necessary trades, and masters of good arts and sciences; and depending upon the privileges granted by the said Right Worshipful to that end, as hereinafter set forth. (Amsterdam, 1662).

Kort en klaer ontwerp,

dienende tot

Een onderling Accoort,

O M

Den arbeyd / onrust en moeye-
lijckheyt/van Alderley-hand-werck-
luyden te verlichten

D O O R

Een onderlinge Compagnie ofte
Volck-planting(onder de protectie vande H: Mo:
Heeren Staten Generael der vereenigde Neder-lan-
den;en byſonder onder het gunſtig geſag van de
Achtbare Magiſtraten der Stad Amſtelre-
dam) aen de Zuyt-revier in Nieu-ne-
der-land op te rechten; Beſtaende in

Land-bouwers,
Zee-varende Perſonen,
Alderhande noodige Ambachts-luyden, en Meeſters
van goede konſten en wetenſchappen.

Steunende op de voor-rechten van hare Acht-
baerheden (als hier na volgt) tot dien eynde verleent.

t'Samen geſtelt

Door Pieter Corneliſz. Plockhoy van Zierck-zee, voor hem ſelven en andere
Lief-hebbers van Nieu-neder-land.

t'Amſterdam gedruckt by Otto Barentſz. Smient, Anno 1662.

Figure 4

TITLE-PAGE OF PLOCKHOY'S

KORT EN KLAER ONTWERP

titled "Spurring Verses," indicating the intention of spurring on friends of the undertaking, and (5) a final statement that those desiring to join the society should be prepared to depart by the middle of September. From the latter statement it is evident the prospectus was published and circulated between the 9th of June, 1662 (the completion of the contract) and the middle of September of the same year (the tentative date of departure).

Plockhoy's essay begins as follows:

> Since individuals who go with their particular families to some uninhabited or wild country often die or have little success or become ill for their inability, poverty, or isolation, we (as lovers of the common interest to advance our own and neighbor's welfare) intend to establish--with the protection of the High and Mighty States General of the United Netherlands and especially with that of the Honorable Magistrates of the City of Amsterdam--a company or society at the South River in New Netherland, consisting of a peaceful, harmonious, and selected people who will help one another in farming, fishing, and handicrafts, in an attempt to improve the lot of many who are oppressed.[24]

Verloove's poem appealed to unity and concord as the supreme goal for the settlement.[25] Steendam's poem paints an exaggerated picture of New Netherland. He indicates the dream of establishing, in time, a commonwealth of great size: "Communities the groundwork are of every state; they first the hamlet, village, and the city make; from whence proceeds the commonwealth; whose members great become, an interest in the common welfare take."[26] Many of the eleven stanzas sought to quell objections which had

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24 Loc. cit.

25 See Appendix C.

26 Kort en klaer ontwerp. See Appendix D.

been advanced against the project. "Some persons seem to have had a religious fear of living in a state so democratic as the one planned by Plockhoy. Steendam assured these conservative folks that God would not withhold his blessings from this New World community merely because it was to be governed by neither kings nor dukes."[27] Following is the concluding statement of the pamphlet:

> These who wish to join our company should be ready to begin the voyage not later than the middle of September of this year, 1662, and may inquire about the departure in Amsterdam in the Brouerstraet, in the "Orchard of New Netherland" [Boomgaert] from 8-9 a.m. and on the Sea Dike [Zee-dijck] in the "Golden Boat" [Gilt Boot] from 6-7 p.m., but they must announce themselves as soon as possible at the aforesaid places (so as to lose no time) as that we, knowing the number of persons, may obtain provisions for one year and also with the necessary tools and other things to use over there.
>
> If someone would like to send along with us some goods or merchandise to be sold over there, he will receive half of the profit besides his capital.
>
> If someone who resides here would like to be a partner for himself, his descendants or heirs, in our common plantation to be established in the time of 4 or 5 years, and in the cattle and other profits forthcoming for the community, he may make himself known in order to make a contract with us.[28]

The number of people that finally agreed to emigrate is not certain,[29] but the number must have been far short of Plockhoy's dreams. The group, at any rate, sailed in the ship, St. Jacob, shortly after the 5th of May, 1663. (It is possible an

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27 Ellis L. Raesly, Portrait of New Netherland. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 291.

28 Kort en klaer ontwerp. (no pagination).

29 Francis Vincent states the number was thirty-five men. See, A History of the State of Delaware. (Philadelphia: John Campbell, 1870), p. 393. The source for this is not given.

advance group embarked in the previous Fall as planned). A part of the invoice of goods of the St. Jacob follows:

> 5th of May, 1663, at Amsterdam
> Invoice of goods shipped in the ship, "St. Jacob," skipper, Peter Lucas van der Goes, destined to go to New Amstel on the South River of New Netherland....
> . . . . . .
> Peter Cornelissen Plockhooy takes along for himself and his family--all kinds of necessaries and small articles for his own use, as for agricultural purposes and clothing, etc., also 2 half bags of hops, guns for his people....[30]

The St. Jacob arrived at New Amstel on July 28th, 1663, having left "41 souls with their baggage and farm utensils at the Horekil,"[31] commonly called Swaanendael (valley of swans). Since Plockhoy was to have settled at the Horekil, his people were undoubtedly the forty-one "souls".

A year later, on August 27, 1664, the Dutch were forced to surrender New Netherland to the English naval forces. The fort at New Amstel resisted, and during the following month Sir Robert Carr proceded to reduce and destroy the forts and settlements along the Delaware. "Under him the only blood was shed which accompanied the change from Dutch to English authority."[32] A later account of the campaign contained the statement that Carr "destroyed the Quaking society of Plockhoy to a naile."[33]

One scant piece of information remains concerning the brief

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30 New York Colonial Documents, XII, pp. 428-9.

31 Ibid., pp. 436-7.

32 Albert E. McKinley, "The Transition from Dutch to English Rule in New York," American Historical Review, VI. (April 1901) p. 718.

33 New York Colonial Documents, II, p. 342.

existence of the settlement. One of its members had written to the city of Amsterdam stating that the Indians at the Horekil "had declared they never sold the Dutch any land to inhabit."[34] It seems apparent that Plockhoy encountered nothing but difficulty and heartache at the very outset. Carr's procedure was entirely at odds with the Duke of York's instructions that the people were to be treated with "humanity and gentleness."[35] Had Carr been less destructive it is probable the settlement at Zwaanendael would have left a greater imprint in the colonial history of America, for the English government proceeded to pursue a liberal policy in relation to the conquered Dutch peoples. As it is, there remains no record of the fate of the members of the colony, save Plockhoy himself. "History throws no light on the subject, and of contemporary documents there are none."[36] Some believe they were sold as slaves in the southern colonies.[37] Perhaps they returned to Holland. It is most likely they became lost in the shuffle and confusion of the change in administration.

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34 Ibid., p. 346.

35 Quoted in Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, III. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), p. 98.

36 Samuel W. Pennypacker, Historical and Biographical Sketches. (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 50.

37 This is corroborated by Stuyvesant's statement concerning the English invasion of the Delaware: "At New Amstel on the South River, notwithstanding they offered no resistance, but demanded good treatment, which however they did not obtain, they were invaded, stript bare, plundered, and many of them sold as slaves in Virginia." See, New York Colonial Documents, XI, pp. 230-1. Possibly the English navy still sought retaliation for the massacre of English traders at Amboina in the Dutch East Indies in 1623.

If we knew the names of any of them, which we do not, we could doubtless find traces of their continued existence in the neighborhood of the Delaware, as we have of Plockhoy himself.

Plockhoy seemingly claimed a plot of ground in the new English town of Lewes (now Lewes, Delaware), near the original cite of his settlement, and built a temporary cabin for himself and his wife.[38] Later he petitioned for legal ownership of the lot. The court acted on January 9th, 1682:

> Upon the peticon of Cornelis Plockhoy the Court Grant unto him the Towne Lott that he live upon in Lewis and the Lott next Adjoyning to that; on Condition that he build a dwelling house on Eche of the said Lotts according to the demencons that the Governor shall order, within one yeare after this Grant; or Else to pay five pounds to the use of the publick for Eache Lott; and Lose his Lotts also.[39]

On the 28th of May, Plockhoy declared allegiance to England and became a citizen thereof:

> This day John Kiphaven, Alexander Moulston, Halmanias Wiltbanck, Cornelis Verhoofe, Cornelis Johnson, Francis Henry, Cornelis Plockhoy, Anthony Hamen (Hancen?) Alias Haverla, haveing publiquely in opin Court solmonly promised and declared in the presence of God Alleaigance to the King of England, his heires and successors; and fidelity to William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the provience of Pensylvania & Territories thereunto belonging and to his heires & successors; After which the Governor declared all of them to be Naterallized and as free men of this Government as any English men.[40]

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38 The Federal Writers' Project, Delaware, (New York: Viking Press, 1938), p. 196, contains the statement: "Cornelis Plockhoy later swore allegiance to the English, and in 1680 a lot was granted to him in this town where 'he already has a house.'" The latter clause is seemingly a direct quotation from an original source, which the writer has been unable to locate.

39 C. H. B. Turner, ed., Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware. (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 87. English documents of the period used the Old Style calendar, while the Dutch employed the New.

40 Ibid., p. 97. Punctuation mine. Frequent allusions to the

Ten years later Plockhoy and his wife appeared in Germantown, where they became public charges. Perhaps, having grown old and blind, he was unable to fulfil his obligations in Lewes, and lost his land. As an only resort he turned to his fellow Mennonites, who had just recently established the Germantown settlement, for assistance. His petition was not in vain. The Germantown Court records show that he was treated sympathetically:

> 3rd Session, 25th Day of the 11th Month, 1694/5.
> To the blind man, Cornelis Plockhoy, is granted the citizenship free of charge; and is granted permission to reside at the end of the village on the street from Peter Clever's corner upon a lot one rod broad and twelve rods long whereon shall be built a house with a garden which shall be his as long as he and his wife are living, but upon their death the property with all improvements shall return to the community. It is further decreed that Jan Doeden and William Rittenhuysen shall take a free-will offering for him and shall have charge of the building of the house.
> . . . . . .
> 9th Session, 26th Day of the 1st Month.
> At the end of the Session, the business brought up by Peter Clever was discussed, which concerned Wm. Streyper, who gave an acre of his land to Cornelis Plockhoy for as long as he and his wife are living. Trees shall be planted around the house; and after they have died or have moved, the property shall be evaluated by an impartial committee, its worth determined, and sold. Half shall go to the community, and half to Wm. Streyper; and the latter shall have the right to reclaim the land.[41]

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individuals listed with Plockhoy are found in, Original Land Titles in Delaware Commonly Known as the Duke of York Records, 1646-1679, (Wilmington, Delaware, 1899). Verhoofe was a public surveyor and clerk at the Horekil. Kipshaven was a justice (see below). The Duke of York had deeded the "Territories" of the Delaware River to William Penn as far south as Cape Henlopen, which included the region of the Horekil.

41 The Germantown Bathbuch. The original, in old German script, is preserved in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The last known reference to Plockhoy is dated January 14, 1700, in the will of one John Kipshaven. Kipshaven had taken the oath of allegiance to the English crown along with Plockhoy and others (see above), and had been a justice at the "Whorekil" between 1674 and 1685. The reference, which indicates that he knew Plockhoy as a friend, follows:

> Item. I give and bequeath unto Cornelius Pluckhoy the blind man Twenty Shillings.[42]

After perhaps eighty years of life Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy died among his own people. His death in physical blindness and poverty is an ironical culmination of a life devoted to the relief of the poor and the weak. The rule of his life, as he wrote, was the command of Christ: "If any among you would be greatest, let him be servant of all."[43] What must impress all who read his writings is his sincerity. "For which end," he wrote, "that we may transmit the world unto our posterity in a better condition than we first found it, I have contributed this little."[44]

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42 Edwin Jaquett Sellers, Allied Families of Delaware. (Philadelphia: Lippincott Co., 1901), p. 134.

43 A Way Propounded. p. 1.

44 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations. p. 26.

Chapter V

PLOCKHOY'S REFORM SCHEMES AND IDEAS

I. CONCERNING MAN AND SOCIETY

Plockhoy was not a utopian in the strict sense of the word. He did not wish to build impossible castles in the air, but wanted to apply his schemes to the real life problems which prompted them. "'Tis no Utopia," writes his poet friend, Steendam, "it rests on principles which, for true liberty, prescribes you settled rules."[1] Plockhoy was primarily a reformer. He wished to abolish two offences against man in the society in which he lived: disunity and intolerance in religion, and social injustice. The basis for his reform ideas in these two areas were the same: love, tolerance, and communion as embodied in the teachings of Christ. His remedy for the evils in religion was the eventual establishment of a universal, undenominational Christendom. The first step in the realization of this goal was the separation of church and state, and consequently the abolition of the tithe and set confessions of faith. The second step was to erect in every community a general meeting house for all Christians where the Bible would be the supreme rule and mutual discussion the order of worship. Since men are the creations of a single God, they should behave as brothers toward each other.

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1 Kort en klaer ontwerp. (no pagination).

This concept of the universality of men is central in the reform of social problems as well, although Plockhoy gives up the notion of bringing at once all men together in communion. Now he states: "If we be insufferable to the World, and they be incorrigible or unbetterable as to us, then let us reduce our friendship and society to a few in number, and maintain it in such places as are separate from other men, where we may with less impediment or hindrance, love one another and mind the Wonders of God, eating the bread we shall earn with our own hands, leaving nothing to the body but what its nakedness, hunger, thirst, and weariness calls for."[2] The change in the unit of reform was partially the result of the failure to make any progress in effecting the "general Christian meeting-place." More particularly it was because Plockhoy had become greatly concerned with social as well as religious injustice in the world. He gave up working through the government and began laboring directly with the poor classes in society. Even as he was petitioning the Parliament of the Protectorate for reform in religion he was becoming aware of the social injustice around him. His letter to Parliament of January 24, 1659, ends with the injunction: "Give ear to the poor, for the cry of them is exceeding great in these Nations."[3] In the first paragraph of A Way Propounded he writes of having become aware of the great inequality and disorder among men in the world, "that not only

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2 An Invitation to the Aforementioned Society. pp. 9-10.

3 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations. p. 6.

evil governors or rulers, covetous merchants and tradesmen, lazy, idle, and negligent teachers, and others, have brought all under slavery and thraldom; but also a great number of the common handicraftsmen or laborers, by endeavoring to decline, escape, or cast off the heavy burden, fill all things with lies and deceipt, to the oppressing of the honest and good people, whose consciences cannot bear such practices."[4] His goal was "to set up as in former times righteousness, love, and brotherly sociableness."[5] He would bring the socially downtrodden people into communion with himself and each other to better their lot in a cooperative manner, living apart from the larger society, but remaining economically a part of it. It is interesting to note that social problems of non-members would still be a concern of the society:

> The principal public servants should appoint some commissioners from the colonists who will be charged, at the expense of the society, with the care of all needy widows, orphans, the sick, the old; in short, all impotent men, women and children, especially within the society, without forgetting however to bestow kindness upon all others who are not yet members, and this not in a stingy way, but very liberally, yea, brotherly, in order that the unfortunate will be saved from becoming degraded, but will become instead worthwhile members of society.[6]

Two fundamental ideas in his scheme for a little commonwealth were equality and association. Although these are not mutually exclusive ideas, they shall be considered separately. Association

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4 A Way Propounded. p. 1.

5 Loc. cit.

6 Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants. p. 61.

is a divine state, to be patterned after the Apostolic mode of living. Man is essentially a social being, desiring communion with others; but he reaches the most perfect and blessed state when God by the dispensation of his secret counsel brings him into fellowship with others; and when he would not exchange this union or fellowship for all the riches in the world. But the more divine this state of friendship, the less is it seen on earth. God is the only bond by which men in divine association are tied together without bring unloosed and upon which they resolve to withstand all assaults whatsoever. Nothing comes nearer the divine nature than love, which among true friends creates such an agreement that no secret, no joy, no profit, nor any cross or affliction is undivided, but whatsoever betides either of them is not otherwise than if it were the change of one alone, so that death itself can scarce separate souls so totally united. Christ, by his doctrine and example, instituted a society of mutual love among all members. He required all gifts and means of subsistence in the world to be common, so that all Christendom ought to be merely a certain great fraternity, comprising such as have denied the world and their own lusts, who conspire together in Christ, the sole head and spring of love, doing well to one another, and distribute their goods to those who stand in need. "Oh! that we had this perfection and were answerable to the end of our creation! certainly there would not be such going to law, such intrenching and encroaching upon the bounds of lands, such hiding and close locking up of money, nor

would there be such scraping together of superfluous Estates."[7] If, therefore, God joins some together who endeavor after a life more regular than their former, each having one to whom he may communicate his secrets, a friendly reprover of his errors, a reclaimer of him from the world's allurements, a comforter in adversity, a moderator of joy in prosperity, and in all respects a sharer in that which God hath liberally given, and last of all one ready for all cases and conditions that may happen, these are the happiest of all persons that ever were upon the earth. Nothing is more acceptable and lovely in the universe than harmony and concord which has its origin from God. "Firs, riches, and estates" hinder the divine association among men. They are a burden, causing men to fill their houses with furniture which is not useful, a "trouble to get them, a perplexity to keep them, and a grief to part with them."[8] Their clothes are so dainty and curious that they cannot sit down anywhere without fear of spoiling their apparel. If they have no one to behold their splendor, all is in vain; but if they have spectators, they fear some will lurch, and others filch away from them their belongings. "Shall we never be able to attain this, to choose rather to lay up our estates in the hungry bellies of the poor than in a few bags? We shall be able to do all this if we forget not that our God is the most faithful of all debtors and the most sure of

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7 An Invitation to the Aforementioned Society. p. 2.

8 Ibid., p. 4.

all securities. To how happy an hour are we born if we do enter upon this communion or fellowship!"[9]

Plockhoy's notion of equality was in reality a protest against artificial mechanisms of status in society, such as titles of honor. "The world hath her delight in different degrees of dignities, states, titles, and offices, exalting themselves one above another; but Christ on the contrary will that every one shall perform his office as a member of one and the same body, in which no one exalteth himself or accounteth himself worthier than another."[10] His suspicion of teachers and preachers, as will be seen in the section to follow, concerned their demand, by virtue of their position, for pre-eminance and dominance. In contradiction to the command of Christ who said that if any among you would be greatest, let him be servant of all, in the world they are accompted the greatest who have the most servants, and not they that do the most service to others. If people are to be measured according to the design of nature and the rule of Christ, they should not be accounted worthier than another merely because of their name. "The name of the tongue, is that any more worthy name than the name of the finger? The name of the eye, is that more excellent than the name of the breast? No certainly; that whereby the members are different doth not lift them up. But with us the name of Lord and Gentleman puffeth up, and what else is it but a mere name, the vanity

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9 Ibid., p. 6.

10 Ibid., p. 3.

whereof who sees it not? Yet we delight in such trifles, and give way to them so far, that we will rather hear a lie from a notorious parasite or flatterer, if he be but on our side, than to hear the truth from an honest man, if he cross our interest."[11]

In the ideal society which he envisioned none were to be chosen for leadership on the basis of riches or wealth, but rather for his wisdom. Plockhoy was more emphatic about this in his plan for colonization in America than in England. "Everyone who wishes to enter the society," he wrote, "must seriously and earnestly promise that he will never try to strive for any special power, nor will allow anyone else to make the least efforts in that direction."[12] There is evidence of suspicion on the part of some that he sought to abolish all differences between men in a forced system of communism. His defense of the project serves to clarify his notion of equality:

> Although the first article of Letter "D" poses equality as the basis of our society, we hope that nobody will be so naive, much less malevolent, as to think, inspite of our clear distinction, that we are attempting to remove all differences between persons. This is so far from the truth that we on the contrary believe that to be as impossible as that our fingers would be the same length; for every human being, because of his natural characteristics and special qualities, comprising a universe in himself, will always remain different from others; wherefore they could correctly be considered the greatest fools in the world who try to bring many people under one rule or strict way of life without considering what every man in particular requires for his well-being. This is why in the enactment of all laws for the society

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11 Ibid., p. 4.

12 Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants. p. 30.

> the common welfare should be kept in mind without restricting anyone's personal and natural liberty. But to suppress the individual by force, as is usually practised in the world, is according to our opinion merely deferring the larger evil and making it break out more violently. We want it understood then, concerning our important foundation of equality: namely, that in order to establish a stable Christian civilian society, republic, or commonwealth, an equality (between more and less intelligent, more and less wealthy, male and female, ruler and ruled) must be contrived by reasoning and experience. Furthermore be it known that we fight against all violations of the true foundations of freedom, amongst which we consider: all domineering over members of the society, or exercise of force, moreover all complacent obedience, such as in the Roman Catholic way of imposing upon us, freedom loving Dutchmen.[13]

Plockhoy believed that by the benevolence and patience of God it was man's opportunity, once he had tasted of the bitterness of the world's pleasure, to rid himself of his troubles by treading a path that was not crooked or rugged, but straight and smooth, approaching the truest and highest pitch of all perfection, by participating in a society "whereof we have made mention, which suffereth no pride, riot, excess, uncleanness, unjustice, or any evils which have been portrayed in their native colors; from which society no man that professeth the name of Christ, and practiseth his doctrine, is excluded, of what sect, party, or by what name soever he is called or known."[14]

II. CONCERNING TEACHERS AND PREACHERS

Plockhoy had the highest respect for learning which is stimulated by an earnest desire to know the wonders and secrets of God's

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13 Ibid., p. 29.

14 An Invitation to the Aforementioned Society. p. 12.

universe. But he had a great contempt for a certain class of learned and religious men who claimed to have discovered great truths but were void of the knowledge of the principles of Christian love and forbearance. His ideas concerning teachers and preachers are revealed indirectly in his reform schemes. Religious bigotry, which he hoped to abolish by his first scheme, is nurtured by preachers of a certain faith who attempt to force their doctrines on others. They persuade people so that the people may the more willingly drudge for them, leading them to believe they take care of their souls as if they could love the soul which they cannot see, and have no compassion on the body which they see. Educational bigotry is taught by "lazy, idle, and negligent teachers"[15] who belong to one school of thought and fail to recognize good in other schools. "The Teachers, being Spiritual Captains, would rather (as to the generality) for their own profit have Wars than Peace in Christendom; and therefore they, having made an incurable rent, do set people one against another, which makes it appear that by nature the people are not at so great a distance as they now appear to be."[16] The world is in danger of falling under the dominion of one particular sect or school whose ministers or teachers are "infecting their forms, not only in the public meeting places and houses of the poor or hospitals, but also the universities which have by the subtilty of them in all countries almost lost the name 'universal' by being

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15 A Way Propounded. p. 1.

16 Ibid., p. 12.

misapplied to self-ends and interests."[17] In order to reform these corruptions the magistrates should expel from the colleges all mere humane forms of religion, so that teachers cease to make a trade and merchandise of the things of God. The common people, not perceiving by reason of the great respect which they have for the teachers and preachers that some of them seek only to make themselves great, have occasionally attempted to hold forth the authority of the Scriptures according to their own sense; and when the teachers have introduced matters contrary to their reason, and the people have refused to receive them for truth, they have been constrained from so much as to speak or whisper against it. All true lovers of the common good will labor not only to take out of the world factions, but also all humane inventions or innovations in religion. They will put no trust or affiance in any besides Jesus Christ, nor yet receive anything as truth, but that which they themselves can apprehend to be good and agreeable to his doctrine. Jesus, the only perfect teacher, who has been too long trod under foot by sectarians, ought to be set above all.

Worldly knowledge is not so great a thing as it is commonly esteemed, for as much as under the title and disguise of being learned the very shame of being found ignorant leads, with many subtle inventions and malicious subterfuges, to the hiding of the extent of one's knowledge from the eyes of the common people. If man but brings himself to the touch of the world through travel,

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17 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations, p. 4.

having a free and pure mind, he shall be able to obtain knowledge for himself, excluding the eloquence and prudence of the world, concluding that nothing is to be compared with Christ. As princes are not born to rear up stately pallaces, the learned are not born for the writing of many unprofitable and frivolous books.

> Now I would that they that stand and admire at the fine wits of our age, and the sublime learning of our times, did but consider with me, whether these things which daily please our eyes with their novelty, be indeed such for which we may justly rejoice; or whether on the contrary it were not much better (since they are the cause of so many griefs and troubles in man's life) that we were advised by our learned men to put them away far from us? For what greater fruit of wisdom, or what greater glory of the new revived learning could there possibly be than to bring humane matters to such a posture that we may attribute our well-being and felicity in this life to them under God, that by the wholesome instruction thereof, that which is superfluous might be thrown away, and that which is unprofitable might be cut off, and that we might truly be distinguished from the barbarous and savage peoples, not by Books, nor by Titles of Honor, nor by Universities, but by such morality as Christian Philosophy doth prescribe. Let there come forth from the studies and libraries of our wise men into the light, not a continuation of prosecution of old old errors, or an heaping up of new to the old, but on the contrary, a Rule or Direction for a new and reformed life in Christ. This will demonstrate that we are professors of the best Religion and are imitators of the best life. In the meantime let them not take it ill that we do not make any great account of these Sciences that are void of Christ, that we do not desire to know them; and if we have drunk in any such, yet we desire to unlearn them, and with singleness of heart to become as children who are altogether unaquainted with voluptuousness. In this School of Christ's we hope that neither Divine Mysteries, nor secrets of Nature, nor the contemplation of rare matters, shall be wanting to us, since he formerly hath made it evident by the example of his Apostles and holy men, how powerful he is in teaching, and then especially he opens his unexhaustible treasures when humane Wisdom ceaseth and the skill of the world melteth away.[18]

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18 An Invitation to the Aforementioned Society, pp. 10-1.

In his community Plockhoy made no place for the clergyman. In this relation he wrote: "...it needs to be said that we intend to found a society of people with different convictions, and find it immediately necessary to desist admission to all ministers without exception....For with the accepting of ministers of one denomination many different convictions could not approve, and to admit a minister for each sect would, besides being impossible for a small, struggling society, be a ruinous pest of all peace and concord. Without concord a well organized society can neither be founded nor improved, much less in any possible way be lasting. It is further difficult for us to understand the peculiar benefit which in any way could be derived from a minister for such a society. We are well equipped with the best and least costly of ministers, the Holy Scriptures."[19]

But it is an expression of his respect for knowledge that he made progressive provisions for schools in his society. The masters of arts and sciences comprise one of the four classes of citizens in the society. "We consider it very necessary for the special benefit that there be founded abundant or sufficient schools in the language of the society, for older people as well as for the young, where everything will be taught and determined in the most clear and certain way, by indubitable reasing, derived from certain infallible principles. The experience to be gained from histories, etc., would be not less valuable for older people

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19 Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants, p. 28.

than for the young. Learning of mathematics and the dependent sciences would be of especial utility in our society. It is to be wished that medical science would be put on a much more solid foundation in order to be more safely practised on women and children, and even by women."[20]

The schoolhouse in Plockhoy's colony was to be located in the country. Rich and poor would be taught alike, and those without the society desiring to send their children there were invited to do so. Girls as well as boys were to attend school three hours daily, and for another three hours learn some trade or vocation. School was to be held six days a week, except Sunday. The children were not to be taught any humane forms of religion, but only the writings of the saints, and natural arts, sciences, and languages, that their understandings, before they have the use of reason, be not spoiled. On the contrary it is to be imprinted in them that they ought not in spiritual matters to believe any but those that have the spirit of God, doing miracles as the prophets and apostles, for the faith ought not to depend upon men's words, but upon the power of the wonderful works of God. So doing there will be no foundation for sects, factions, or schisms laid in their hearts. "Our children without doubt, will be of differing opinions, and yet no reason, when they do not hinder the common welfare, to exclude them from the Society. It ought to be considered that most differences (dwelling together) by time, and liberty of speaking, will cease to be."[21]

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20 Ibid., p. 29.

21 A Way Propounded, p. 12.

III. CONCERNING GOVERNORS AND GOVERNMENT

Plockhoy describes his philosophy of government and especially his conception of the ideal governor in his letters to Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth Parliament. And the Kort Verhael contains his own provisions in outline for the ideal government for a small commonwealth.

He bases his notions of government upon the Bible. The power to defend the good against the evil, he argued, is ordained of God, according to Romans 13.

> The power to punish evil doers is ordained of God in all lands, without respect of religion; and whosoever opposeth that power, opposeth the ordinances of God; not that all officers (though they rule ill) are of God, or are his ministers, but those only who administer their office rightly, according to God's will.[22]

Furthermore, in conformance to the command of Christ to give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, "we are to pay taxes and tributes to the magistrates, being in subject under all human ordinances which are not contrary to the will of God."[23] Plockhoy, diverging from Mennonite tenets, approved the use of the "sword" in government "for the protection of the good," and especially for the abolition of arbitrariness in the form of a state-church system or other forms of compulsion in religion, speech, or thought. But he hoped that after the abusers had lost their power, "the sword may return into its right place for which God has ordained it."[24]

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22 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations. p. 24.

23 A Way Propounded. p. 9.

24 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations. p. 18.

From this point Plockhoy begins to define the obligations and limits of good government.

> If the power (to defend the good against the evil) in all Countries be ordained of God, Romans 13., then reason requires that all sorts of people of what Nations soever, being in one Country together, should be protected as well as if any of them severally was in his own: which cannot be except there be a good publick-minded and godly Magistrate, that will suffer all sorts of people in any one Country, as God suffers the same in all Countries of the world; which I expect first in England, and so from thence to breat forth (as a light) to all other Countries and Nations, as having long enough walked (as in the night) by the glimpse of particular lights.[25]

Plockhoy spoke continuously of a "universal magistrate in Christendom." God had destined England, not for a particular, but for a general work. If his scheme was put into operation, he saw the possibility of people of many nations moving to England, where the government would keep its hands out of religion and would be interested solely in protecting the people. "All Christendom...hearing the report of this noble Freedom will begin to tremble, yea, even their silenced children whose mouths have been muzzled by compulsive restraint, will begin to speak; and so in time of need, seeing your free Government, may come to shroud themselves under your wings."[26]

Government should mediate between parties and factions and conflicting opinions in the maintenance of peace and harmony. If a person wishes to be a member of a particular congregation, he has that liberty, the same as others, and may honour the same

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25 Ibid., p. 5.

26 Ibid., p. 15.

with his presence, with his tongue, with his pen, and with his money; but not with the sword or money of the government. Governors should be armed with a "divine foresightfulness and circumspection." They are chosen by all the people and should stand immovable in the center, as moderators, between all sects. They are in regard to their office as treasurers who are entrusted with a sum of money to employ, not for their own or anyone's private advantage, but for the benefit of all who have entrusted the sum to them. If it were the magistrates' work to set up a national religion according to their own will, then the world would be in danger of having as many religions as there be several ways of government in the world; and the magistrates, changing their opinion, the whole national religion must also as often be changed. It is better and belongs especially to the office of magistrate, not to follow the traditions of men, but to disannul such as are destructive and without mercy or are contrary to the law of nature and the revealed will of God. It is also the magistrates' duty to diligently consider what properly belongs to his office before he makes use of his sword. It belongs only to God and Christ to have dominion over consciences, and to the magistrates to prevent any from exercising lordship over the consciences of others. In so doing they would be true maintainers and defenders of liberty, when they use not their power against those who assert their own views, but against those who would compel others to be of their opinions. For this, that is to deal equally in matters of religion with all subjects, is not only

good and pious, but it is also the foundation of good government. If they would remain without usurping their office, magistrates would not make laws in matters of religion, but only against evil deeds to protect the good, to the end that their subjects, from whom they receive taxes and impositions, may be protected in peace, of what religion soever they are. They should not mingle policy and religion, which were ordained for several ends, the one to defend the good men against the evil, and the other to make the evil good.

> There remains only that the Magistrates (for an example to their Subjects) do null all humane commanding and constraining Laws in spiritual matters, that so all plants, which the heavenly Father hath not planted, may (according to the saying of Christ) be rooted up, which will best take effect when the dominion of the Teachers is, through the power of the Governors, come to an end; and their hope of domineering over others cut off. For Magistrates, instead of Lording it over Consciences, ought on the contrary to hinder all Lordship over Consciences, that complaining and murmuring may come to an end, and that the righteous may rejoice.[27] (Plockhoy's italics)

Plockhoy warned the magistrates of the words of Solomon "where he speaks to the kings and rulers of the earth that a sharp judgment shall come upon them that are in high places; for mercy will soon pardon the meanest, but mighty men, not standing in the council of God, shall be mightily tormented."[28] His second letter to Cromwell concluded with a prayer:

> O Lord of all lords and magistrates, teach them that rule as gods in the world to consider that they are but men in Thy eyes; that they may handle their subjects after such a manner as they wish to be handled by Thee in judgment.[29]

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27 Ibid., pp. 25-6. 28 Ibid., p. 2. 29 Ibid., p. 27.

For his own little commonwealth Plockhoy desired democratic self-government (see below). Policy was to be determined by all the members. Laws were to be instituted by common consent and amenable always to discussion and amendment.

> Our rules and laws being few, are to be only for necessity, not to take away anyone's liberty, leaving them always open to the trial of all rational men, that so self-seeking (to be more or above others in natural or spiritual matters) may be discovered and excluded.[30]

Government for his settlement in America became somewhat more elaborate, although still limited in scope:

> Concerning government: in order not to be destroyed or smothered by imposing military disciplinarians before really having begun..., and also in order to attain a divine progress and growth for the common benefit and satisfaction of every settler, they have not been able to contrive anything better...than a civil government with equal voting power, subordinated to the Highest Magistrates, or your A.A., and consequently limited, as set forth in their last and "Still Further Remonstrance," and in the three previous writings, now under correction.[31]

Plockhoy's articles of government will be outlined more in detail in a section to follow.

IV. FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNIVERSAL CHRISTENDOM

The purpose of Plockhoy's first reform project in England was "to raise up an universal Magistrate in Christendom that will suffer all sorts of people, of what Religion soever they are in any one Country as God, the great Magistrate, suffers the same in

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30 A Way Propounded. This paragraph was not in the edition "printed for the author," but was in the "Giles Calvert" editions.

31 Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants. p. 66.

all Countries of the world."[32] Thus he believed that inasmuch as God's Kingdom was universal, i.e., it was applicable to all men, the church and all Christian activities on earth should be tempered by a singleness of procedure and purpose. It wasn't necessary that men accept a common interpretation of the Scriptures. On the contrary a difference of opinion was to be expected; and for that very reason a state-church, which would impose one interpretation and one creed, should be abolished. It was imperative, however, that men attempt to resolve their differences of opinion, not by force or compulsion, but by a free exchange of ideas, "that the weakness or ignorance of some may be remedied by the knowledge of others."[33] If differences could not be resolved in this manner, tolerance of the divergent opinion was necessary. "We must allow that liberty of speaking to others which we desire ourselves, without tying anyone to our opinion ...without stumbling at any differences which do not hinder love and piety."[34] Plockhoy's idea of tolerance is the significant part of his plan. It does not imply an acquiescience to ignorance nor surrender to force. It is simply to insure peaceful relations between men in their search for truth. Plockhoy is alternately filled with hope and fear, hope for the good influence his ideas would have and fear that the servants of the state will be prematurely ensnared by the agents of state-churchism.

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32 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations. title-page.

33 Ibid., p. 22.

34 A Way Propounded. p. 12.

> I have with much cheerfulness beheld the great freedom which this Nation (since the putting down the authority of Bishops) doth enjoy, which I hope by degrees will more prevail in the world to the taking away of all force upon Consciences that men may be led and governed by reason, as men and not as beasts by compulsive power. It is most necessary that the Example of Christ (to reconcile all into one) should be followed: for those that force the Conscience, being not able to bring all under them by worldly power, do commonly manifest their own inclination to be void of Christian love and forebearance by gathering into Sects and Schisms so that besides the great Antichrist, there are many little Antichrists that endeavour to rise up.[35]

By the appellation "Antichrist" Plockhoy alludes to the Romish church, and by "little Antichrists" reference is made to the contemporary Protestant state churches, particularly the Lutheran and Calvinist. "Kings and Princes, who being separated from Popery, have made themselves unworthy of the blessing of Christ by giving honor to the bare name of Luther, Calvin, and others, instead of giving it to Christ."[36]

Plockhoy's religious program was both negative and positive. It is negative in that Cromwell was to avoid the evils of the state-church system of government. Plockhoy writes:

> Let some course be taken that all persons may buy their estates free from Tithes, that thereby henceforth none in all your Dominions may be forced to pay Tithes to the Ministers, for that hath been and is still the chief cause of persecution and discontent in these and other Nations. Suffer by no means (you having respect to the Honor of Christ) that any Confession of Faith be set upon the Throne as equal with the holy Scripture; for Confessions are only to distinguish one Sect from another.[37]

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35 The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these Nations. pp. 6-7.

36 Ibid., p. 20.

37 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

On the positive side, he wrote: "Even though Christendom is divided into divers Sects, a general way of Church-meeting should be instituted for the hearing of God's word read unaltered and unsophisticated, leaving freedom for all Sects, as well the one as the other, to assert their own apprehensions and understandings upon the Lessons of their Master Christ, without being tied to one anothers opinions."[38] There was to be in every community one general Christian assembling place where all would come together for spiritual meditation and an exchange of views concerning Biblical doctrine. This assembling place was to be arranged "in such a form that all people may see one another round-about by the help of seats, rising by steps, having before them convenient leaning-places to read and write upon; also one desk aloft on one side or end to hear the holy Scriptures read at a set time, giving freedom after the reading to all people orderly to confer together concerning the Doctrine and Instruction of their Lord and Master Christ."[39] This program was not to replace individual church activities, for "even as the Jews, being divided into several Sects (as Pharisees, Saduces, Essenes, and Herodians, &c.) met together in one Temple, so we would not deny any particular Congregations of their freedom of peaceable meeting among themselves about the Ordinances of Jesus Christ (as the orders or synagogues of the Jews were not at all infringed) nor bereave the ministers or teachers

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38 Ibid., p. 8.

39 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

of their benefit which they do receive of their own people for their maintenance, for they, having a fit opportunity, may the better bring in their sense with others into this general church-meeting; that so the truth getting enlargement, the bad (that cannot endure the light) may be discovered and made known."[40] In elaboration of his program Plockhoy described the place of the magistrate in the meeting-place. It would be necessary "that the Authority of the magistrate interpose in this general assembly or meeting-place that everyone may speak in their order, may after due warning be ejected till they are better disposed without oppressing them by imprisonment or otherwise."[41] Thus it is observed that although the government was not to dictate the religious faith a man subscribes to, it had a function in the new arrangement. The result of the plan was envisioned as follows:

> Hence when understandings might be so free and uninterrupted, there would not only arise a clearing of the understanding and reforming of the lives of people; but also a yielding, submissive, condescending love: for the wisest and expertest men daily coming thus together to teach and to be taught, it would incline the hearts of those that should behold them one towards another.[42]

It was to be hoped that if Cromwell initiated this sort of a program, other nations of the world, especially those with a state-church system, would follow suit. It is to be an example to "Holland, Denmark, Sweden, France, and other Kingdoms, who seeing there is no force nor constraint used, will easily be brought to a firm bond of Unity."[43] Even those that slander

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40 Ibid., p. 13.

41 Ibid., p. 22.

42 Ibid., p. 14.

43 Ibid., p. 20.

Cromwell for having no religion may perceive that he does only maintain the Christian religion "taking away that shameful reproach that the Magistrates and Ministers in England have brought down the King and Bishops rather to succeed in their places than to bring the people to peace and happiness."[44]

Plockhoy's manner of meeting in common assemblies in which the reading of the Scriptures received a central emphasis was characteristic of the Collegiants, as was seen in Chapter II. It was, in fact, from such collegia that the movement received its name.

V. FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IDEAL COMMUNITY

The totality of techniques which a group of people employs in adapting themselves to the environment is known as their technology.[45] Technologies vary according to the special combinations of principles utilized. The relative complexity of a technology is measured by the degree of specialization, or division of labor, and by the efficiency with which the people amass surplus and interact in concert.

Division of Labor. Plockhoy sought to "bring together a fit, suitable, and well qualified people into one household government or little commonwealth, wherein everyone may keep his property and be employed in some work or other as he shall be fit without being oppressed."[46] The four general classes of members of the

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44 Ibid., p. 5.

45 Eliot Dismore Chapple and Carleton Stevens Coon, Principles of Anthropology. (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), p. 248.

46 A Way Propounded. title-page.

community were (1) husbandmen, (2) handicraftsmen, (3) mariners, and (4) masters of arts and sciences. The society would not probably begin immediately with all four classes. So that it would realize an early profit, the first members should be unmarried persons and craftsmen whose products have an immediate and constant demand, such as weavers, tailors, and shoemakers. There would be an early need for tradesmen to sell the products, although the craftsmen might act as tradesmen in turn selling their own products. Then could be enlisted members from the other occupations. After trade commenced there would be a greater need for staples, and "here now will be use for sheep and kine, not only for their milk and flesh, but also for their wool and skins, &c."[47] This development in the evolution of the society would create a need for husbandmen "for the breeding up of cattle, poultry, &c., and especially for tilling the ground for corn, flax, hemp, &c., &c., also gardiners having skill in gardening, for roots, plants, and orchards, for fruit, flours, and herbs, as well medicinal (for our physicians) as others."[48] This statement denotes the growth of complexity in the whole scheme and the interrelation of the working classes. The husbandman not only provides a source of food but also staples for the craftsmen and medicines for the physicians. For the building of the huge houses the society would need bricklayers, carpenters, and smiths, who after completion of the houses would build ships "not only wherein to fetch and carry

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47 Ibid., p. 4.

48 Loc. cit.

goods to and from the city, but also to catch fish for the society."[49] The work of the carpenters subsequently creates a need for mariners, with whom the society has all things in common while they are in "Flanders, Holland, France and other places"[50] as well as when they are at home. The first of the masters of arts and sciences would begin by keeping books, making schedules, serving as navigators, and the like. Later they would serve their more important function as teachers of "Latin, Greek, Hebrew and other languages, as also physics, music, and other useful things referring all to a good and spiritual end."[51]

Plockhoy listed the types of craftsmen the community would need, seventy-two in the first edition of A Way Propounded, and seventy-seven in the second. These lists, however, were not to be considered complete. To illustrate the degree of specialization among the occupations he distinguished between carpenters and ship-carpenters, brickmakers and bricklayers, brewers and distillers, glassmakers, looking-glassmakers, and spectacle-makers, printers and bookbinders, pinmakers and needlemakers. In each class of workers there would be a need for foremen, to be chosen by lot from among the experienced. They were to work the same number of hours as the others. No one was to have superiority in status, only in role, and then for a limited period of time. Women were to be employed in "housewifery." Children, girls and boys alike, were

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49 Loc. cit.

50 Loc. cit.

51 Loc. cit.

to be in school for three hours daily and for another three hours learn several trades. Besides the basic sciences, boys were to learn ciphering and keeping books of accompts, and girls were to receive instruction in housewifery. Children were further to wait upon their elders at the dining table.

Principles and Techniques. In general the essence of the scheme was to pool all skill and experience in a cooperative enterprise for mutual benefit and happiness. Although it was communistic in the fields of consumption and production, it was primarily a socialistic system in that it was joint-stockism based on trade with and profit from the greater society. Property was not to be communal, in accordance with the "Tenth Commandment" which states explicity that none ought to covet another's goods.

The community was to be started by investments of money, land, and stock by interested individuals who would then act as "fathers" of the society. Whatever anyone had contributed to the company in the way of land, money, or movable goods was put to his credit, but was to receive no interest. There are remarkable provisions in case of death or withdrawal from the society. If a member decides to leave, he may have his property returned with a third of the accrued profit. If a young man or woman leaves the society to become married he shall receive some of the accumulated profit of the household. If there happens to be no profit, the members will give him gifts. If the society is dissolved, all creditors are first to be satisfied and the remaining land and

money divided "among the poor only who have brought nothing to the society, except there be poor kindred of those that (out of love) have given to the stock, such shall have an equal proportion with the others."[52] The writing continues to describe the techniques in detail, including such matters as hours of labor, buildings, personal quarters for families, storehouses, management, trade, finance, schools, and religious activities. It deliberately aimed at the combination of agriculture and industry, with more emphasis, perhaps, on the latter.

Concerning production, six hours a day shall be the rule for all members of the society, either three hours in the morning and three in the afternoon, or (which many might prefer, especially in the hot summer) six hours in the morning, Sundays always excepted in this as in other cases. The hours of work would ordinarily be from 9 a.m. until noon and from 3 p.m. until 6 p.m. The rest of the time is to be used "for the refreshing of their bodies and profitable exercises of the mind."[53] Non-members who work for the society for wages, but are not qualified for membership, are to work twelve hours daily, from 6 a.m. until noon, and from 2 p.m. until 8 p.m.

The location of the society is neither urban nor rural, but a combination of both. With the accumulated stock two large houses are to be built, "one in (or about the) city, *viz.* a warehouse for merchants or tradesmen, another in the country near a

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52 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

river for the husbandmen, handicraftsmen, schoolmasters, and mariners."[54] The urban dwelling is to be primarily a sales building, which might best be described as a sort of department store. It is to be large enough to accommodate twenty to thirty families and places for shops and professional services. It is to be "the foundation of the whole work, not only by reason of the profit that comes by trading, but also because the handicrafts, belonging thereto, depend thereon."[55] The department store will not suffer from competition and will be profitable and expand for three reasons: increasing sales due to low prices, low overhead, and good morale on the part of the workers. The morale will be high because the profit is used for the common good. Furthermore, the margin of profit will be greater because of production on a large scale. The chief men in the city will be tradesmen; but with the tradesmen there will also be some physicians, barbers, and apothecaries. The barbers and physicians, will serve the rich for money and the poor gratis, some going abroad to visit patients, and others staying at home to serve the people that come to them. It is to be hoped that this system will increase the volume of trade, for it will advertise that "we sell all things at a reasonable rate without deceiving any."[56] The city house should also have some women and children who keep everything in order and ready-made, and to act as sales

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54 Ibid., p. 3.

55 Loc. cit.

56 Ibid., p. 4.

clerks.

The country house is to be the center of production and the common residence of the association. It is to be situated along a river with a quay to accommodate the ships. Around the house a moat and drawbridge will protect from thieves and robbers. The drawbridge is to be situated in such a way that "fish may come out of the river into our water and not go out again."[57] In the house itself there are to be private and public rooms: "a chamber and closet for every man and his wife, a great hall to lay everything in order, a place to dress victuals, another to eat together, a third for the children, also cellars to keep meat and drink in, a place for the sick, one for the physicians and chirurgeons, furniture and medicines, one other for all kinds of useful (as well as spiritual) books, maps, and other instruments belonging to liberal arts and sciences, several places for scholars, a place for strangers, &c., who intending to stay any long time, shall do some work, or pay for their lodging and diet."[58] In the actual domestic arrangements joint management would be advantageous in every respect. "25 women in our society, when all things are done orderly, shall have no more business to trouble their heads with than one woman in her own private family."[59] Besides lightening the work, it will be very profitable to employ collective housekeeping. If a hundred families live

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57 Ibid., p. 5.

58 Loc. cit.

59 Ibid., p. 7.

together twenty-five women can do the work which otherwise a hundred would have to do; the other seventy-five could do productive work, which many of them would prefer. And even in other respects economy could be effected. Instead of a hundred fires, perhaps four or five "great fires" only would be required, one in the kitchen, one in the children's room, etc. Everyone shall eat together "sitting at the table in order (as Joseph's brethren) the women over against the men, young men next their Fathers, and maids next their mothers, the young people waiting by turns at the table, that so no one may be respected above the other, neither will it be needful (being assured of one anothers love) to use the ceremonies of putting off the hat, or common drinking to one another, yet not to hinder any man from showing his hearty love to a stranger or otherwise."[60]

Plockhoy combines good business principles and practices with his social concerns. Every six or twelve months an inventory is to be taken and "what is overplus above necessity" will be given to members of the society "so that everyone may have wherewithal to give to the poor or to please his friend."[61] A number of features are designed to attract the bourgeois elements of society. The children of rich people not in the society are invited to come to the household schools. The training of the children of the rich people will be a point of contact and attract

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60 Loc. cit.

61 Ibid., p. 6.

the parents "to buy wares of us." In the city department store some person will necessarily need to decorate and trim garments in the styles of the day. However customers desiring such elaborate clothing will bring the "unnecessary trimmings" to the store as they will not be for sale there. Members of the society will wear no trimmings on their clothing so that in time "vain-glorious men" may be convinced of their folly. In the society apparel is to "be fitted for the body and convenient for the work without being tied to fashion, color, or stuff, only the unnecessary trimmings to be forborn, that God's creatures, which he hath made, be not misused."[62] If anyone wears finer clothing it shall be a sign to the poor that "he hath ability above others to relieve them."[63] This ascetic doctrine should in no way, however, repel customers. If, for instance, a purchaser desired to have articles of clothing trimmed ornamentally, they ought not to offend him by pointing out that finery is sinful. Plockhoy adds humorously that it is certainly a great pity that Adam ate of the tree of knowledge, but we should never be able to cure men of their love of finery except by example. For this reason the refusal to make finery would be impolitic, that if the young people brought up in the association should suddenly have to seek work, they would have much less chance of finding it if they did not know how to make finery.

The government of the society is to be democratic:

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62 Ibid., p. 8.

63 Loc. cit.

> A man about 40 years of age shall be chosen chief governor of the whole society, everyone giving his voice for him, that he judgeth to be fit....None is to rule longer than one [unless reelected] least he domineer in his office, and others, seeking his favor, play the hypocrites....This man having governed one year, a new choice shall be made, with liberty to choose him again that last governed, as well as anybody else, by this means he that hath a mind to continue in the government will have an inducement to rule well.
>
> Here none is to be chosen for his riches or wealth, as we see come to pass in the world (to the ruin of almost of all commonwealths), but for his wisdom. Men and women having the oversight of meat, drink, and other things, shall govern by turns, and in some case some would rather keep to their ordinary work, they shall be passed by, and others put in their stead.[64]

Three of the men "uppermost in the government" will have the keys to the cash box or treasury, which will be locked with three locks. Thus all three men must be present when the chest is opened. "A three-fold cord doth not easily break, saith Solomon."[65]

Workmen will not suffer from the oppression of employers by performing heavy labor and receiving low wages, but instead "the gain of the tradesmen will redound to the benefit and refreshment of the workmen."[66] There will be no need for insurance for all liabilities will be assumed by the society. Tradesmen will not need to worry about risks and losses "for the loss that is suffered lieth upon none in particular."[67] There is no need to make

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64 Ibid., p. 6.

65 Loc. cit.

66 Loc. cit.

67 Ibid., p. 8.

provisions for old age "for the aged will be better looked after than the young, the sick than the healthful, and the children after the death of their parents than before."[68] If any fall sick he will not only have good services from a physician but will be "freed from all worldly incumbrances" pertaining to the well-being of his family. Widows will be cared for along with their children. "Those among us that desire to marry will not so easily (having seen one anothers conversation) be deceived, as they are now in the world."[69] Young people need not get married prematurely, as was but too frequently done, simply in order to avoid slavish dependence on the parents. They might choose their partners for their life with deliberation and with full liberty, as they need not marry members. Thus, the society will be conducive to good family life.

In his plan for the community, as in that for a universal Christendom, Plockhoy advocates the elimination of all denominational differences in religious activities.

> For in spiritual things, we acknowledge none but Christ for head and Master; who of old hath appointed in his church prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, these having through the spirit of God (which led them into all truth) brought forth (and left behind them) the writings of the New Testament, we own for ambassadors, and their words (without any interpretations of men) for our rule and plummet, keeping in remembrance when we meet together, that we must allow that liberty of speaking to others which we desire ourselves without tying anyone to our opinions.[70]

A meeting place with seats in amphitheater form, like in his pre-

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68 Ibid., p. 10.

69 Ibid., p. 11.

70 Ibid., p. 12.

vious plan for common religious assembling places in every community, is to be a part of the structure of the society.

As stated in Chapter IV Plockhoy's plan for a settlement in New Netherland followed his London plan in essence and outline. Some of the differences were necessitated by the new location. The settlement in the New World could not rely as much on trade with the outside world. Agriculture was to become the predominant interest, to ensure almost complete self-sufficiency. Land and livestock was to be owned in common for a period of time only, after which they were to be divided among the members, thereby providing a greater personal initiative to work hard at the beginning. A greater opportunity was given to adventurers who wished not to emigrate but to invest in the enterprise. Government for the society became more important inasmuch as the central government was more remote and had less jurisdiction over them. Since the Dutch West India Company was a slave-trading corporation and Plockhoy's ideas of equality conflicted with the slave principle, an innovation forbidding slavery in the society was made. The New World further necessitated a greater preparation for self-defense than heretofore, especially because of the threat of the Indians. Part of the members of the society should be on guard at all times in readiness to defend the colony. Since the Mennonites, who formed part of the membership, were nonresistant in principle, they were to be exempt from protective service by paying a tax:

> Those who have conscientious objections against the use of arms will be exempt from protective service by paying an annual tax to that part of the society which

> protects it, and whose task it is not only to appoint officers, but also (besides the daily exercises and drills) to provide ammunition and other necessities.[71]

Provision was made for persons remaining at home but who wished to participate in the profits of the colony to invest a sum of money, for which they were to receive "a share in the cattle that is bred, and all other profits which will result from the common labor during the mentioned [first five] years."[72]

Since the members do not wish to have slavery in the settlement, everyone will have to work hard in order that the society may show good progress; but if anybody, because of inattentiveness or injustice, transgressing the common laws or rules, makes himself inacceptable, he will, after being talked to in a friendly way and being warned several times by the supervisors and others, be expelled from the society by a two-thirds majority of the votes. He will receive his share in the profits which were realized during his time, after his share in the loan from the Amsterdam Burgomasters is subtracted. Members may sell their shares in the common land as well as the undivided cattle and all that belongs to the community, or if they wish, to retain their shares in the common interest and provide someone to work in their stead, if the latter is acceptable to the society. If anyone desires to leave before the borrowed money is repaid to the magistrates and return to Holland, he shall always be free to do so, and he and his family shall be transported at the expense of the society, provided he

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71 Kort en klaer ontwerp. (no pagination)

72 Loc. cit.

leaves to the society his share of the undivided land, cattle, and everything else which belongs to the community, taking with him only his personal property, so that the remaining members will not be hindered in the repaying of the borrowed funds to the magistrates of the city of Amsterdam. If anyone desires to move or travel elsewhere on his own expense, to leave the society permanently, he shall be free to do so provided he has repaid his part of the borrowed money and disposed of his share in the common land. Or if he wishes to remain a participant, he may provide a substitute for himself. When this is done, everyone is free to live wherever he wishes.

As a qualification for the exercise of political rights each member of the community was to take the oath (or affirmation in the case of the non-swearing Mennonites) of allegiance and register his name, age, residence, children, occupation, and religious persuasion. Although it was declared that the society was to be composed of persons of different creeds, they were to be Christians. "All eccentric persons such as obstinate papists which are strongly attached to the Roman chair, parasitic Jews, Anglican headstrong Quakers and Puritans, and rash and stupid believers in the millenium, besides all obstinate present-day pretenders to revelation, will have to be carefully averted from this Christian civilian society."[73] The laws and regulations were to be concurred in by at least two-thirds of the members, who should vote by ballot. The same number of votes was to be required for the

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73 Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants. p. 52.

changing or annulling of such laws; and to avoid all chance of rashness, no such alteration could be proposed nor new laws offered unless previously submitted to the officers of the association and such as had been already in authority. Before any enactment could be legally in force it was, moreover, to be approved by the representatives of the city of Amsterdam. To constitute a meeting for the election of town officers, one hundred members were required to be present. Each of these was to write on a ballot the name of the person he considered best qualified for office. The names of the ten having the highest number of votes were to be then sent to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam to select five from the list who were to continue in power for one year. But if it should happen that more than ten had a majority of the votes those who had the least were to draw lots to decide whose names were to be forwarded. In like manner those who were akin by blood were to draw lots to determine which should be dropped, since by the Dutch law no two relatives could sit on the same bench. Should the colony increase an additional town officer was to be allowed for every twenty families. After the first election this nomination was to be held a year in advance, to allow time for the names to be sent to and returned from Holland, in season for the officers elect to enter on the performance of their duties. No magistrate was to be reeligible until after an interval of one year from the expiration of his term of service. The oldest member was to preside over the court at first, after

which the longest in office. The elected magistrates were to be clothed with the general superintendence of the affairs of the colony, and the settlers were, for five years after their arrival, to labor and live in common. They would work in groups of ten men each under supervision of a skilled foreman, working six hours daily on an assigned section of land. The remaining time shall be left to each individual for his private affairs and welfare, for which purpose each person might have a separate piece of land for a vineyard, garden, or playground. After the term of five years the land and stock were to be divided, and each was to receive his proportionate share to provide for the support of his family. Should he afterwards, however, prove dissolute or idle, and fail to maintain those dependent upon him, he was to become subject to expulsion by a vote of two-thirds of his fellow members, and the court was to assume the care of his wife and children. In criminal prosecutions carrying with them capital punishment the proceedings were to be assumed by the Dutch government in New Netherland; but in cases of a less grave character and civil suits below a certain amount, as well as all differences "between man and women, parents and children, servants and masters, man and maid servants,"[74] were to be summarily disposed of by the town magistrates. Whoever refused to abide by the decision was to be fined in the first instance. In case of continued contumacy he was to be deprived of his vote; and for a third offense, expelled. In civil actions beyond a fixed

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74 Ibid., p. 58.

amount an appeal was to be allowed to a court of revision on payment of a certain sum. This court was to be composed of the magistrates who had already been in office, of double the number of those actually on the bench. In case these could not be obtained, then it should comprise 27 persons taken from the general body of settlers, who were to decide the question at issue by a majority of votes. It was a close approach to a jury, and decision was to be final. The laws regulating succession, marriage, the rights of property and personal liberty, were to be those in force in Holland, especially in the city of Amsterdam; but for the performance of their duties the magistrates were not be receive compensation, "not even a stiver." If they did not act for the sake of honor, they were to do so for the love of their fellowmen. Provision was made for the encouragement of marriage among the younger portions of the society, for the comfort of the sick, and support of orphans and paupers.

Plockhoy's proposals for the establishment of his little commonwealth reveal remarkable economic insight and business acumen. He senses the close relationship between religious and economic factors in undertaking such an experiment. As a native of Holland, coming from a predominantly city culture, he discerned the organic connection between agriculture and industry supplemented by commerce. For the social well-being of man his combination of urban and rural living is almost ideal. He avoided extreme isolation, otherworldliness, and asceticism which characterized so many socialistic experiments of his time. The diatribes against organized religion in his writings are easily understood

as part of his Collegiant background. His society has a dual purpose: an economic one and a religious one. The poor are to be helped and a Christian fellowship across denominational lines is to be created. "His ideas must be considered as flickerings of the modern lights of cooperation and socialism."[75]

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75 Irvin Horst, "Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy: An Apostle of the Collegiants," Mennonite Quarterly Review XXIII (July 1949), p. 178.

Chapter VI

CIRCULATION OF THE IDEAS

Between 1700 and the middle of the 20th century Plockhoy's ideas for the reform of society had received little attention. But the writings which he left behind seemingly had wide circulation during the closing decades of the 17th century. Both writings went through several editions, the second probably more than the first. Their influence are found in the publications of two individuals--one in England and one in Holland.

In 1695 John Bellers, from whom Robert Owen admittedly obtained many of his ideas and who was acclaimed by Karl Marx as "a veritable phenomenon in the history of political economy,"[1] published his most important work, Proposals for raising a College of Industry, of all useful Trades and Husbandry, with Profit for the Rich, and plentiful living for the Poor, and a good Education for Youth. In it he suggested the capitalistic organization by private undertakers of groups of five hundred laborers each into cooperative units, which should engage in large-scale enterprise, develop production by cheapening food, eliminate waste, and so make a ten per cent or more profit to the holders of shares. "Any merit," wrote Robert Owen, "due for the discovery calculated to effect more substantial and permanent benefit to mankind than ever

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1 Quoted in, Eduard Bernstein, Cromwell and Communism: Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1930), p. 256.

yet contemplated by the human mind belongs exclusively to John Bellers."[2] But as a later writer has suggested, "Owen post-dated the origination of collectivism."[3] Most of Bellers' ideas were manifest in essentially the same form a generation earlier in Plockhoy's, A Way Propounded. Like Plockhoy, Bellers aimed at the establishment of a working association with joint housekeeping and coordination of the various branches of production and employment, and wherein the members would keep their own property. He called his prospective society, not a workhouse, which sounded too much like a "Bridewell" or a community, which suggested communism, but a college, which indicated voluntary membership. It was a combination of industry and agriculture. More place was given to investments in the college for profit by rich non-members, but no surplus was to be declared until the requirements of the workers have been taken care of. Like Plockhoy, Bellers made a place for teachers and mariners in his society. The similarities in the two writings were suggested by no less an eminent English historian than George Peabody Gooch, who writes: "The resemblance of Bellers' plan to the scheme of Peter Cornelius is too striking to be accidental."[4]

H. P. G. Quack, Dutch socialist writer of the 19th century,

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2 Robert Owen, New View of Society. (London, 1817), p. 14.

3 George Peabody Gooch, The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century. (Cambridge: University Press, 1898), p. 360.

4 Ibid., p. 359.

was greatly interested in the relation between Bellers and Plockhoy, especially since Plockhoy was a Dutchman. Quack pursued an extensive investigation in his own country to discover any possible influence Plockhoy might have had there. It led to the discovery of the publication of 1688 of one Abraham Van Akkeren, entitled, Stichting tot een nodige societeyt....[5] (Establishing a profitable society of brotherly communion, regulated by the rules and word of God in the Bible, comprising people of professions and sciences, tradesmen and handicraftsmen, fishermen, farmers, and other honest people, who in common labor with love, desire to do their work, to prevent the evils that people so commonly foster). "This little book," writes Quack, "was from the beginning to the end a translation of the English writing of Plockhoy."[6] In his critical commentary Quack states that the plagiarized translation was an unfortunate one. The scheme had

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5 Stichting tot een nodige societeyt of broederlijke t'samenwoning, welke den Bybel voor Gods woord, en hares geloofsregel houden, bestaande door menschen van geleertheyd en wetenschappen, neering en werklien, ja vissers, boeren en andere: oprechtende, voor die in vrye gerustheyd met broederlijke liefde, haar koophandel of ambachtswerk willen doen om so veel sonden niet meer te begaan, als men in de gemeene ruymte doet. (Amsterdam: Cornelis Blankaart, 1688).

6 H. P. G. Quack, Beelden en Groepen. (Amsterdam: Van Kampen & Zoon, 1892), p. 240. The first paragraph, translated verbatim from the title page of Plockhoy's, A Way Propounded, follows: "Een weg voor-gestelt, om de Armen, in dese en andere Natien gelukkigte maken, door het to-samen-brengen van bequaam Volk, in een huys-houdings vouvernement, waar in een yder behoud sijn vryheyt, en te werk-gestelt werden in soodanigen arbeyt als sy bequaam zijn, sonder ymand to forseeren, zijnde niet alleen een weg om de Christenden te bevryden van het groot ydel-quaad der menschen, maar cok van alie sulke, welke hebben gesocht, en uyt-gevonden. De practijke, dat sy leeven op den slaffsen-arbeyd van een ander."

been revised in the form of 72 articles, and Plockhoy's original ideas often provokingly altered.

> Were they only errors of style and form! But Van Akkeren has also attempted to improve the original project and has deluded the characteristic ideas of Plockhoy. Not only does he change the working hours of the members of the society from six to ten hours (see Article 4), rearrange the routine of the two houses, city and country...so that the inhabitants move from one to the other from time to time (See Article 24), and stipulate that half the income should be distributed among the members and the other half should go to the community (see Article 72)--but he institutes a modification that alters the whole project. The thing we appreciated so much in Plockhoy was that he severed all relations of his society with the interests of a particular religious sect. Sectarian religion during the 17th century was so characteristic of schemes of collective households and institutions. But Van Akkeren does his utmost to restore the sectarian idea. The society becomes at once a narrow brotherhood....In short, Plockhoy's social plan has once more the old taste of sectarian religion.[7]

Interest in Plockhoy has been generated in more recent times, particularly among socialist writers and politicians. Notable among these are H. P. G. Quack, socialist historian in the Netherlands,[8] John Downie, staunch advocate of cooperatives in Great Britain,[9] and Eduard Bernstein, the father of Revisionist Socialism in Germany. Bernstein sees in Plockhoy an early advocate of many of his own concepts. He especially admires him for his realistic

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7 Ibid., pp. 240-1.

8 Quack's most extensive study is a several volume work entitled, De Socialisten, Personen, en Stelsels. (Amsterdam, Van Kampen & Zoon, 1899). He has written numerous other works, two of which are Studiën en Schetsen and Studiën op Sociaal Gebied.

9 A member of the Cooperative Union Limited (Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester), Downie writes for its official organ, the Cooperative Review. In this periodical was first published his commentary on Plockhoy, entitled, "Pieter Cornelius Plockboy: Pioneer of the First Cooperative Commonwealth, 1659: His Life and Work."

approach, for his contempt for an orthodox religion, and for his attempt to avoid the evils of a communistic society. After having been for more than twenty years a champion of so called "orthodox" Marxism, Bernstein came to the conclusion that many of Marx's views no longer corresponded to the facts of modern social phenomena, and must be replaced by others more in consonance with modern society. Bernstein emphasized the great importance of cooperative associations, and urged the Socialist party in Germany to free itself from revolutionary phraseology and illusory hopes of the immediate downfall of bourgeoise society, and to work hand in hand with all the democratic elements that fight for social reforms.

Other than purely historical interest in Plockhoy in America was stimulated in the early part of the century through the endeavours of the late William Elliot Griffis, minister and writer.[10] On one of his several trips to the Netherlands Griffis, in the name of the Netherlands Society of Philadelphia, placed a bronze memorial tablet honoring Plockhoy in the town hall of Zierikzee. He had the burgomaster and chief men of the city come together on the 19th of September, 1913, and the tablet was unveiled. Before leaving America he had appropriately invited Rev. John W. Bayley, minister of the Germantown, Pennsylvania, Mennonite church, and his

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10 Although not a thorough scholar Griffis was a prolific writer. Two works on the history of the Dutch in America are, The Story of New Netherland (New York, 1909) and The Dutch of the Netherlands in the Making of America (New York, 1921). For his essay on Plockhoy see, The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (New York, 1911), Vol. IX.

Figure 5

BRONZE MEMORIAL TABLET PLACED IN THE TOWN HALL OF ZIERIKZEE BY WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS IN THE NAME OF THE NETHERLANDS SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA

congregation, to the memorial exercises. "I believe your congregation," he wrote, "was the first to make public protest in America against slavery, but Plockhoy was the first individual to do so. He was a Mennonite, and we honor his memory on September 19 at Zierikzee, his birthplace."[11]

An interesting sidelight concerning the personality of Griffis was that most of the historical tablets which he placed in various parts of the world were financed by himself but always in the name of some historical agency or society. The Netherlands Society of Philadelphia today has no record of having ever been responsible for the Plockhoy memorial tablet. Its present Secretary writes:

> My membership in the Netherlands Society of Philadelphia dates from January 23, 1918, and for the last twenty-two years I have been Secretary and Treasurer of it. I believe you are misinformed about our Society ever having hung a memorial tablet in honor of Mr. Plockhoy, anywhere, on any occasion. William E. Griffis was an Associate Member of our Society for many years, until he died many years ago. I knew him and remember him. He was very historically inclined and was always interested in some historical event, person, or paper with reference to it or him, memorial statues of someone, or otherwise. Many of the things that he did were on his own initiative, and individual effort, without having a sponsor. I doubt not that he did what you say and was present at the dedication of the Plockhoy Memorial Tablet, in the Town Hall of Zierikzee, Holland. From what I remember of Mr. Griffis it would be just like him to do exactly as you have indicated.[12]

In an address entitled, "American Gratitude in Bronze," delivered in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel at the annual banquet of

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11 See newspaper article, "Honors abroad for pioneer buried here," Germantown Independent Gazette, September 26, 1913. A Dutch newspaper article which concerns Plockhoy and the memorial exercises in Zierikzee is, "Twee vermaarde Zierikzeeërs in Nieuw Nederland," Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, November 5, 1927.

12 Personal letter from Mr. H. S. J. Sickel, Secretary of the Netherlands Society of Philadelphia, 723 Commercial Trust Building, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

the Holland Society of New York, Griffis reported on his trip to Holland:

> Then we went to the little town called Zierikzee. How sorry I am for Americans who go to the Hague and to Rotterdam and who think they have seen the Netherlands! It is the same with some Englishmen who visit the United States. With all due regard to New York, I do not think New York is typical of the whole United States; and one proof of this assertion is that nearly all the people living on Manhattan Island were not born here. You cannot know a country by simply visiting its large cities. In the United States you must go to the County Fair to see who and what the average American is and what he thinks; he does not take hisopinions from the newspapers; he thinks for himself. And so, it is a good thing when in the Netherlands to go into the little towns like Zierikzee, a town that has a written history of a thousand years.
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> In the beautiful Town Hall--and I wish we had many of them like it in America--we had the Burgomaster and chief men of the city to come together at nine o'clock in the evening (because the tablet had arrived late through mistake) and there, in the best room, the Council Hall, on the nineteenth of September was unveiled the tablet to Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy.
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> Every lady in this room, to say nothing about the men, ought to be interested to know who Plockhoy was. His descendants to-day are among the most cultivated people in the Netherlands.* Plockhoy had the vision of a nobler civilization, and he tried to get Oliver CRomwell to finance a certain scheme of his, which meant the settlement of Delaware. I have nothing against him because he had no use for what we call to-day "capitalists" of a certain kind. It was the city of Amsterdam that finally stood financial sponsor for the enterprise.
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> In Plockhoy's settlement of twenty-five families, instead of twenty-five women over kitchen fires, he had five women to do the cooking and the preparation of the food; five women to attend to the bed linen and bedrooms; and the young mothers to take care of their little babies. All labor in this industrial colony was that of freemen, for Plockhoy's world had no slaves or unpaid toil. The rest of their time, after shortening wisely the hours of manual toil, was devoted to spiritual and intellectual

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* The Mennonites of the Netherlands as a whole might have been referred to, although there is still living today at Ministerpark 14-a, Hilversum, the Netherlands, an individual by name of Pieter Cornelisz Plokhooy, who claims to have descended from the reformer.

culture....in A.D. 1914, in this very hotel and in all large hotels and apartment houses, what is to-day the A.B.C. of practice, such as central lighting, heating, and cooking was the idea of Flockhoy, over two hundred years ago. Then there was not a paved or lighted street in Northern Europe. Furthermore, Flockhoy's was the first voice raised in America against slavery. Surely, we ought to remember his name, and so, in this town of Zierikzee where he was born, we put up this tablet.[13]

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13 Year Book of the Holland Society of New York, 1914., pp. 227-8.

Chapter VII

RETROSPECT AND CONCLUSION

Plockhoy's ultimate goal was religious reformation, the establishment on earth of what he believed to be the "form and doctrine of Christ." This is the central theme of his writings, particularly in his letters to the Cromwells. But it is not this theme which gives his tracts significance. They merit attention rather because of the social, economic, and political ideas which Plockhoy set down in his attempt to point the way towards the establishment of the kind of society on earth which he believed to be in harmony with the teachings of Christ.

These ideas reveal (1) that Plockhoy was possessed with an insight into the nature and prospects of group activity, (2) that he believed in the fundamental principles underlying democratic rule, (3) that he possessed a considerable understanding, not only of human motivation, but of the political and economic processes, (4) that his program of action was designed to meet the needs of his time in a realistic fashion, (5) that he was convinced that the Christian ideal of brotherhood was a workable principle, (6) that within limits "one world" must be achieved. These are the understandings which both link him to and set him apart from his seventeenth century contemporaries, and give him some claim to the distinction of having one of the first-class minds of his period.

In Holland Plockhoy lived in environments in which Anabaptist elements predominated. In many ways his ideas were related to the

doctrine and philosophy of the less radical Anabaptists descended from the Swiss Brethren and closely associated with Menno Simons and his followers. Like the Mennonites Plockhoy sought to restore Christendom to the form of Apostolic times. He pleaded with men to give up their worldly ways and live as the Apostles. They should be in the world, but not of the world. He even advocated that it were better that they separate themselves from society and live in communion with others of like mind, rather than continue to follow their sinful ways. In the new environment the members would live simply, wear simple and practical clothes. The Bible would be their rule, and each one would be responsible to himself in matters of interpretation and to God for his shortcomings. In all of these ways Plockhoy believed as the Mennonites. But in a few respects he differs, and the disimilarities become more apparent and real then the similarities. Plockhoy was ultra-antisectarian, sanctioned the use of force in government, and minimized the importance of baptism as a Christian rite. The Mennonites were a sect, were nonresistant and would have no resort to force, and practised the rite of adult baptism. Plockhoy was one of the many liberals in the church, like Galenus Abrahams de Haan. As such he was a typical product of the crisis of the Mennonite Church of the Netherlands in the 17th century. From the Mennonites in the village of Zierikzee in Zeeland, he probably first learned to oppose sectarian division. He later shared views with the Lammists, who minimized the importance of creeds or strict rules of discipline. Out of the conflict which

divided the Lammists from the Zonists in the Mennonite Church of Amsterdam came a flickering of hope on the part of some Lammists for a universal Christendom. This notion too finds its way into Plockhoy's plans.

Of even greater significance is Plockhoy's affiliation with the Dutch Collegiants. Three Collegiant notions are dominant in his tracts. First was the idea that an absolute tolerance for diverse opinions and views must be maintained, rather than insistence upon uniformity in matters of belief and practice. Second was the belief in freedom of thought, interpretation, and expression in all aspects of life rather than bondage to creeds or confessions of faith. And third was the substitution of reason for complacent acceptance of traditional viewpoints or of those in authority. On the basis of these notions Plockhoy defined the universal Christendom which he wanted Cromwell to inaugurate. It was not to be state supported. It was anti-Calvinist. It had no professional clergy, little organization. The collegia were the prototypes of the common meeting-places he wished to set up in each community. Also from the Collegiants Plockhoy derived the belief that divine truth must be confirmed by signs and miracles.

In addition to the Mennonites and the Collegiants, the Reformateurs seem to have had an influence on Plockhoy. Radical social ideas were considered in the "Sweet Rest," but in the attempt to restore Christianity "once more to a single sheeps fold," as Zoet wrote. There was overlapping of thought between these three

Dutch groups. Indeed there were Mennonites among the Reformateurs, many among the Collegiants, and the latter were eventually totally absorbed in Mennonite congregations.

In England Plockhoy was associated with several Puritan pamphleteers. Similarities of his ideas to those presented by various Puritans of the Left suggests that he should be classified also with this segment of Puritanism. While his first scheme was influenced by conditions in Holland, was religious in nature, and expressed Dutch thought, his second was propogated by conditions in England, was socio-economic in nature, and expressed ideas derived through contact with English reformers. Through Hartlib Plockhoy received encouragement and probably an understanding of the communal arrangement of the households of the Moravian Brethren. He got from them, perhaps, the notion of common labor with limited private property.[1] Communal living was advocated, as was seen, by the Leveller, William Walwyn, and the Digger, Gerrard Winstanley. But certain disimilarities which set Plockhoy apart

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1 Concerning the working arrangement of the community, Plockhoy seems to have borrowed heavily from the Utopia of Sir Thomas More. A disdain for desire and wealth, simple attire, meals taken in common with women on one side of the hall and men on the other, political power vested in a single hand, the importance of an educational system, a six hour work day, the devotion of liesure time to the development of the mind and to healthful recreation, few laws, and the belief in a single supreme Being that made and governs the world, were concepts in Utopia. In regard to religion the people of Utopia are not required to accept a uniform faith. Hence all religious views are tolerated which are not manifestly anti-social. Public worship is so arranged that each can participate readily in accordance with his own feelings, and yet expressive of a common brotherhood. All of these notions are embodied in A Way Propounded.

from the Levellers, the Diggers, and others make it necessary to attach important qualifications to these classifications.

Plockhoy was not a philosopher who attempted to construct a system of ideas. He was rather a man possessed with a zeal for reform, whose writings reflect the intense desire of the reformer to see his projects realized in his own lifetime. Plockhoy's letters to Oliver and Richard Cromwell are persuasive. Logical argument is augmented with appeals to the motives he suspected most leaders of having. But his logic was not faulty. He was able to support his conclusions in a systemmatic fashion. And throughout his letters there are revealed certain insights into the nature of human beings and the society in which he lived, which understandings set him apart from many of the 17th century propagandists.

Plockhoy's ideas are only significant in their historical context. It would not only be un-historical but quite unprofitable to remove them from the 17th century scene and examine them in isolation. What developments in the realm of ideas were occuring during the period in which he wrote? To what extent was his thought representative of that of his contemporaries?

The 17th century was a period of change. Behind it were the centuries of medievalism and the beginning of the Rennaissance. Ahead of it was the intellectual revolution known as the Enlightenment. Many of the developments which started in the 16th century or before reached their zeniths in the 18th century. To a large extent events of the 17th century mark the transition of ideas or

practices from an earlier to a later period. In the events of the 17th century may be detected the change from a moral to a secular outlook in politics and other fields of human interest. The Puritans were products of secularizing tendencies insofar as the Reformation was a result of rationalism and other secularizing forces. They contributed to this trend by their inner disunity and lack of agreement, for they made impossible the compulsion of beliefs that a single, unified church of believers could have exerted upon society, and they thereby freed individuals and groups to call into question with only slight risk the established traditions of the time. There is also apparent in the 17th century a change from an agrarian to an industrial civilization. This change was attended by the rise of the middle class to dominance and the decline of aristocratic power. The 17th century reaped the harvest of 16th century geographical discovery, an age which had opened for the mind vast vistas of exploitation and discovery. People became accustomed to novelty and diversity; they became aware of the possibility of changing institutions in order to attain certain objectives. The rise of science saw the displacement of the Ptolemaic by the Copernican system, and with it a weakening of the theology which had sponsored the Ptolemaic theory. A new faith began to grow, a faith in science. Samuel Hartlib, one of the Interregnum writers and friend of Plockhoy, is an example of a pamphleteer under the influence of the new faith in science.

The latter part of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century saw the flowering of many of these trends. The monolithic

alliance of church and state was shattered. Democratic philosophy gained wide acceptance and with it came the establishment of republican institutions. The pace of industrialism accelerated from the middle of the 18th century on. Humanistic philosophies were formulated by the Lockes in England and by the Voltaires in France. One has only to compare the ideas of Plockhoy and other writers in Puritan England to 18th century doctrines to see that they were in some measure harbingers of the age of Enlightenment to come.

Scholars of Puritanism have differentiated the parties of the Left from the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Erastians. Among the Puritans of the Left are included the Levellers and the Fifth Monarchy Men. While these latter two groups were radically different in many respects, one notable difference being that the Levellers were democratic in outlook while the Fifth Monarchy Men were not, they have a more-or-less common origin (descended from the Anabaptists and Separatists) and they shared a belief in the total separation of church and state. It is on this particular issue that the wide divergence between the Levellers and the Fifth Monarchy Men on the one hand, and the Presbyterians and Independents on the other is noticeable. The Presbyterians stood for the establishment of Presbyterianism and the suppression of all other doctrines. The Independents are found in the center, in that they would accept the formal establishment of Presbyterianism, provided other faiths and churches were tolerated. The Erastians were secularists and willing to settle for any arrangement which would

not be tyrannical or threaten the peace of the nation.

Politically the Presbyterians, Independents, and Puritans of the Left were right, center, and left in that order. The Presbyterians led the attack on absolutism, but they were also opposed to the establishment of the people's sovereignty.. Supported by aristocrats and wealthy merchants the Presbyterians wished only to vest the ultimate political authority in parliament. They were rightist in their intention to preserve the sanctity of property. The Independents differed from the Presbyterians in their desire to provide security, not only against the king, but against Parliament as well. Throughout the struggles during the Puritan Revolution the Independents were often allied with the Levellers; but it was an alliance of expediency more than an alliance of parties agreed on fundamental issues. The Levellers alone extolled the virtues of democracy. On the matter of the status of private property the Levellers were probably closer to the Independents and the Presbyterians than they were to such elements as Winstanley's Diggers, who espoused the cause of economic justice.

Exceptions to every generalization about the character of Puritanism as a whole are easily found. To set forth the principles that Puritans of all kinds accepted is a difficult if not impossible task. One can only suggest similarities in attitude and outlook. It is possible, for example, to assert that all the Puritan elements were determined to erect a community in accordance with their interpretation of God's will, but it is not

possible to find any unanimity on the fundamental teachings of the Gospel that they would have applied in the reform of their society. It is possible to claim that there existed among all Puritan groups a zeal for reform, but it would be unrealistic to argue that their proposals were uniform in kind or in intensity. There is evidence which will indicate a general tendency on the part of all Puritans to distinguish between what were requirements of a worldly society on the one hand, and what were requirements of a Christian society on the other, but there is no evidence to indicate any agreement on the specific obligations of the individual who wished to conform to the Biblical teachings. By-and-large the Puritans were individualistic; but a wide difference is apparent between the Presbyterian, instructed to accept the teachings of Calvin, and the Anabaptist, for whom religion was mostly an affair between each individual and his God.

Our task of isolating commonly accepted points of view, in order that we might have a basis upon which to compare the ideas of Plockhoy with those of his contemporaries, is less difficult when we direct our attention to those groups who were not Presbyterians, Independents, or Erastians. Here a marked similarity begins to be distinguishable. Most of the Puritans of the Left stood for religious toleration. Most of them agreed that a separation of church and state was not only desirable, but indispensable to a peaceful society. Most of the Puritans of the Left derived their dogma from the New Testament, and they combined it with appeals to the law of nature as a reliable basis upon which to found a well-ordered society.

Plockhoy probably felt quite at home with many of the Puritans he met. Most of his ideas and proposals must have found an interested and sympathetic audience in men like Walwyn the Leveller, for they lived in the same climate of opinion. If there was disagreement it hardly could have existed over goals to be achieved. Any variance between Plockhoy and his English Puritan friends must in all probability have centered around the means to be used, rather than the ends to be gained. Or perhaps the differences were only in degree--the extent to which it was desirable to depart from established institutions and practices. Wherein must they have been in agreement? In what respects do his writings indicate differences with the Puritans of the Left?

Upon the major issue of the separation of church and state Plockhoy was definitely aligned with those who advocated the desirability and necessity of separation. Again and again Plockhoy pleads, "Assist not with the sword or money of the Commonwealth any sect or person in particular." What is wrong with the establishment by government of a state church? Plockhoy answers this question, and in doing so reveals one of his underlying beliefs. "If it were the magistrate's work to set up a national ministry, then we should be in danger to have as many religions as there be several ways of government in the world, and the magistrates changing their opinion, the whole national ministry must also as often be changed." Plockhoy espoused the cause of a universal church. In fact, it may be said that this is his principal objective. But he does not believe that the universal church can

be established through compulsion. It will be achieved only when the magistrates will cease to hinder the truth from manifesting itself by its own power. Thus Plockhoy advocates the separation of church and state as the first condition necessary to the establishment of a universal church of believers. In his second letter to Cromwell he advocates not only separation of church and state but the corollary doctrine of free worship. While a universal church was the end Plockhoy hoped would be achieved, he proposed that there should be freedom for all sects. The arguments he used were three in number. In the first place "it belongs only to God and Christ to have dominion over consciences." Second, liberty is a goal in itself. He implies this when he urges the magistrates to prevent "any from exercising Lordship over the consciences of others," because in doing so "they would be true maintainers and defenders of liberty." Third, Plockhoy argues that "to deal equally in matters of religion towards subjects is not only good and pious, but is also the foundation of good government." Religious freedom contributes to good government in that it eliminates the causes of strife which destroy the stability of society and cause the governors to fear that one or another faction will undermine the government.

Like Walwyn, Overton, and other Puritans of the Left Plockhoy often refers to the law of nature as the proper guide for human conduct. In charging Cromwell with his duties and responsibilities he admonished him not to follow the traditions of men, but to examine and repeal the laws which are contrary to the Law of Nature.

Most of the Puritans were inclined to test dogma with logical thought. Nor did the Puritans distinguish between the law of nature and the revealed will of God. They were in complete conformance. The revealed Word provided the fundamental assumptions, the law of nature the logical arguments from those assumptions. With some groups, like the Levellers, the law of nature was the foundation of their political creed. Plockhoy appeals to reason throughout his writings, and notwithstanding his many references to Scripture, he depends primarily upon the "reasonableness" of his ideas.

One of the important contributions of Plockhoy, the Levellers, and other Puritan elements to the history of social and political thought was their recognition of the limitations inherent in the use of force. Force does not contribute to progress and stability, but is rather a hindrance to it. In direct contrast to the Presbyterians Plockhoy argued that it was folly to press a belief upon a man "before he can apprehend it with his own understanding." A man cannot be expected to hold a belief with sincerity and conviction unless he understands and accords with the logic of it. Force excludes the power of the idea itself, and makes ineffective a concept that otherwise might play a positive role. Force tends to defeat the attainment of truth, for truth manifests itself only where an atmosphere of freedom permits free reign to less logical ideas. Plockhoy would have partially agreed with Justice Oliver Wendel Holmes Jr. that truth lies in the power of an idea to get itself accepted on the open market. Plockhoy

believed that freedom of speech and worship were necessary not only to the attainment of truth, but in order that men might become disposed to treat their fellow men with generosity and sympathy. What he was arguing was that as men learn to understand each other's motives, fears, and aspirations they will come to be tolerant and charitable. Perhaps Plockhoy's faith of liberty was naive; but if so, then the efforts of modern organizations working towards international peace and harmony are also naive, for the assumption which underlies most of these efforts is the same one which Plockhoy made. This insight alone gives Plockhoy some claim to recognition.

Plockhoy's writings reveal definite humanitarian impulses. Where he lacks the sophistication of an Overton he posses a genuine concern for human welfare. The hard attitude which is so often attributed to the New England Puritan is not characteristic of Plockhoy. At the end of his first letter to Cromwell is appended the Biblical quotation, "Give ear to the poor, for the cry of them is exceeding great in these Nations." Much of what Plockhoy had to say was simply an elaboration of this theme.

Plockhoy's conception of the proper role of the state quite definitely associates him with the Puritans of the Left. These elements thought the state to be the highest political expression of a society. Government, as the agency of the state, was created to keep the peace and establish public order. But this was as far as government was entitled to go. Its functions were to be largely negative, the restraining of individuals and groups in society who in the absence of restraint would impose their will

upon other individuals and groups. In other words, it was government's responsibility to establish and maintain a condition of liberty.

Plockhoy in no way attempts to construct a theory of the state. He simply sets forth the role of the magistrate, asserting that it was the function of magistrates to act as moderators. He nowhere gives any indication that he believes that government should provide for the general welfare in more material ways. He looks rather to the formation of cooperative societies for the relief of the poor and distressed. His proposals in this matter are found in his writing, A Way Propounded to Make the Poor in these and other Nations Happy.

One of the practices of Plockhoy's time was compulsory tithing. He strongly urged Cromwell to abolish the laws compelling men to tithe, for he thought such laws entirely contrary to reason. He objected to compulsory tithing for many reasons. In the first place, he was by reason of his Collegiant beliefs opposed to a professional ministry. It was his conviction that most ministers sought after riches rather than truth. What is more, he believed that true interpretations of the gospel could only be achieved through the medium of discussion groups which he called assemblies. No one was particularly qualified to give an authoritative interpretation of the meaning of God's word. In the second place, he thought compulsory tithing to be inimical to stable government in that it gave power to church officials which could in many cases be used against the magistrates themselves. Whether or not

Plockhoy, in presenting this argument, was simply using a debator's technique is open to question; but the history of the times indicated only too well the sense of this argument. In the third place, Plockhoy believed that tithes were an intolerable burden upon the poor and should be eliminated for that reason if for no other. His was a social mission--the relief of the distressed. The logical place to begin was by abolishing the compulsory payment of tithes. This particular cause which he promoted in his letters to the Cromwells ties in with his philosophy of government. The magistrates were not to aid any religious group except by maintaining the right of all to exist free from restraint and persecution. It is often suggested that men like Plockhoy only advocated such a negative role for government because they held no real hope of ever controlling government in the interest of their own religious group, and that their theoretical justifications for a government of that kind did not reveal a true interest in liberty for its own sake. This may be true to some extent, but the question is relatively unimportant to the political theorist and historian. What is important is that, irrespective of their true motives, their promotion of the cause of limited government and freedom helped establish the groundwork upon which democratic systems could be founded.

That there is no merit in maintaining methods simply because they have become traditional is also a theme commonly found among Puritan writings. The Puritans were reformers who hoped to gain acceptance for their doctrines. Where the institutions and techniques of the time reinforced the established church and the power of the monarchy it was necessary for them to challenge not

only the church and monarch, but also the myths and customs by which these were sustained. In Plockhoy's writings are to be found admonitions to the magistracy not to follow tradition, but rather to substitute institutions and methods in conformance to what he believed was the law of nature and the revealed will of God.

Plockhoy's writing, A Way Propounded, is chiefly interesting for its description of the cooperative societies he proposed to establish. The work cannot be called a utopia, notwithstanding the fact that he painted a picture of an ideal situation, for his societies were designed to exist in the world of his time. The society would sell its manufactured articles in the markets, competing with others on their own ground. While he proposed that the buildings, land, ships, and tools be owned in common, he made allowances for private property. Not only were the members permitted to have money and own property, they were also entitled to leave the membership when they chose to do so, taking with them what they have contributed plus a fair share of any profits the society had earned.

Plockhoy's interest in the welfare of the poor did not single him out from all other Puritans of the Left. Winstanley and his Diggers are well-known for their efforts to remedy the economic ills of that time. Some interesting comparisons of the ideas of Winstanley and those of Plockhoy can be made. Both appealed to the law of nature, and interpreted that law to entitle all mankind to some means of subsistence. Both affirmed that private property

was one of the main causes of want, abuse, and corruption, though Winstanley more strongly declaimed against it than did Plockhoy. Both would have left family and personal effects untouched in the societies they proposed to create. Both would have regulated their societies through democratic means, though Plockhoy was more specific in his ideas about the kind of democratic institutions and procedures he would have established. Both were violently anti-clergy, attributing to the clergy of the time the perpetuation of tyranny and injustice. But here the similarities in their respective ideas end. Where Winstanley looked upon land as the basis of a sound economic system, Plockhoy looked towards industry. Where Winstanley would have changed the whole society of the time, Plockhoy would have made adjustments to the conditions which prevailed, and proposed rather that an attempt be made to establish decent living through techniques of adaptation. One would have launched a direct assault against the political and economic environment, and in a way did so; the other would have used the prevailing system to the advantage of himself and his followers. In a sense, Winstanley had the makings of a revolutionary, while Plockhoy possessed the temperament of a reformer. The revolutionary appeals through symbols; the reformer persuades by argument. The differences are in the degree of change demanded and the techniques by which such change is to be accomplished.

Modern political scientists will find interesting Plockhoy's proposal to set up general assemblies, because his justification for such assemblies is precisely the theory which underlies the

discussion group method found in democratic states. One of the assumption underlying democratic government is that in the long run conclusions arrived at through the means of free and open discussion are more likely to be valid than those which become public policy in societies where tolerance of discussion does not exist. The right to discuss issues openly permits a diversity of ideas. Where such a diversity exists ideas may be considered for their merit. The criterion of the authority behind the idea yields the criterion of the logic of the idea. Plockhoy defends freedom of discussion on these grounds, and in doing so implies the desirability of a democratic system of government.

That Plockhoy was a republican is beyond question.[2] In the articles which he drew up for the government of his Delaware colony we note the following provisions:

(1) The principal basis or foundation for this society will be an equality for which purpose every man over 24 years of age who wishes to enter the society must seriously and earnestly promise that he will never strive for any special power, nor will allow anyone else to make the least efforts in that direction, but resists this with all possible means.

(2) All rules will be instituted by a majority of two-thirds of the entire society....the votes being case on ballots.

(3) Everyone of the voting colonists, according to his best knowledge, will nominate or choose as head of the colony the one

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2 Republican is defined as one who advocates representative government.

whom he considers the most prominent in means, intelligence, and knowledge.

(4) When the number of colonists increases by twenty men, a public servant shall be elected in order to increase the number of public servants.

(5) The public presiding servant shall be open to criticism on all his actions concerning the public interest as well as to law suits up to one year and six weeks after the expiration of his term of service.

That Plockhoy was a democrat is equally clear. He affirmed the values of liberty, equality, and fraternity. He includes in his colonial articles provisions to insure the responsibility of the governors to the governed. He provides that all laws shall be passed, not in the interest of a few, but in the interest of the whole people. And more revealing is his understanding of the nature of liberty and the benefits which accrue to society in which liberty is a reality.

Unlike many of his Puritan contemporaries Plockhoy promoted the brotherhood of man. He understood brotherhood to mean generosity, kindness, sympathy, and a willingness to work for the relief of human suffering. But he was not free from prejudice. Excluded from his colony were Roman Catholics, "parasitic Jews, headstrong Quakers,and Anglican Puritans, and rash and stupid believers in the millenium." He failed to see that his prejudices contradicted his belief in the brotherhood of man. At least so the record indicates. Had he also combated these animosities his name might now be well known to the students of history. While we cannot forgive him

these hates, we can understand their origin. Plockhoy was struggling against the domination of organized churches, and particularly the rule of the clergy. He dissented against all organized religion; and while he believed in the power of truth to manifest itself where freedom exists, he was unable to make himself rely on this principle alone. It is ironical that a man should have presented such rational arguments for the elimination of force in matters of opinion, and then find himself unable to eliminate force when the opportunity was his.

But social reformers like Plockhoy had their effect. They helped to make the world aware of the vast gulf which separated the values men believe in and the practices they engage in.

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APPENDIX A

AUTHORSHIP OF THE KORT VERHAEL

"The most remarkable of all the contemporary Dutch books appeared...anonymously in 1662."[1] It was the Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants.... The publication was a collection, with two distinct parts and two authors. The first part comprises the preface, the description of New Netherland (Pages 1 to 27) and the postscript (pages 68 to 84). The second part, comprising the Requesten, Vertoogen, and Deductien submitted to the Amsterdam magistrates, and with which this study is concerned, covers pages 28 to 67. A careful comparison of the ideas, style, dates, and places mentioned in the addresses, with the writings which bear Plockhoy's name, leads to the inevitable conclusion that the addresses came indirectly from Plockhoy and his associates, and apply to his New Netherland colony. This is not the first time this conclusion has been made. J. Romeyn Brodhead, who discovered the publication in Holland when he was collecting in European archives materials relating to New York's early history, and E. B. O'Callaghan, were the first to ascribe the direction relation between these addresses and Plockhoy.[2] These scholars were acquainted

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1 Berthold Fernow, "New Netherland or the Dutch in North America: Critical Essay on the Sources of Information," Narratives and Critical History of America, IV. edited by Justin Winsor. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1884), pp. 422-3.

2 John Romeyn Brodhead, History of the State of New York. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1874, pp. 698-9; E. B. O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland, II. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1845), pp. 966-9.

with most of the Dutch publications on colonization and with all of the various attempts at settlement.

Frederik Muller, well-known book-collector and -dealer in Amsterdam in the last century, writes concerning the Kort Verhael:

> This book is written, as appears by No. 1111, by a Mennonite, a certain H.V.Z.M., in behalf of some persons (probably Mennonites) imploring his assistance. It is one of the scarcest of all books on New Netherland. I found only 3 copies in the course of 20 years and sold my last at 200 flor....The writer developed his liberal and economical ideas still further in No. 1111.[3]

No. 1111 mentioned by Muller was the Vrije Politijke Stellingen... (Free Political Aphorisms...).[4] It was written by the same H.V.Z.M. as the Kort Verhael, which according to the author "had been merely a first essay on the means of restoring to Holland the old force, energy, and preponderance."[5] It was printed by P. A. Raep, the "ordinary printer of Mennonite books."[6] It was reprinted in the same year by J. Venckel in Amsterdam. The Kort Verhael was also reprinted in 1665 under a new title: Zeekere Vrye Voorslagen en Versoeken...[7] (Certain Free Propositions and Requests...).

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3 Frederik Muller, Catalogue of Books, Maps, Plates on America. (Amsterdam, 1872), p. 125.

4 Vrije Politijke Stellingen en consideratien van Staat...strekkende tot een ware verbeeteringh van Staat en Kerk. Het eerst deel. (Amsterdam, 1665). (Free Political Aphorisms and Considerations of State serving for a true amelioration of State and Church. The first volume).

5 See Frederik Muller, op.cit., p. 127.

6 Loc. cit.

7 Zeekere Vrye Voorslagen en Versoeken, tot bevordering van een vestandige, voor Hollandt hooghnutte Vrye Volk-Uitzetting in Nieuw-Nederlandt. Alsmeede een by-gevoeght beknopt verhael van Nieuw-Nederlants gelegentheit, enz. Het eerste deel. (Amsterdam, 1665). (Certain Free Propositions and Requests, in favour of a Perpetual and to Holland very useful emigration to New Netherland. With an account of the situation etc. of New Netherland. First Volume).

The only historian to dispute Brodhead and O'Callaghan's conclusion regarding authorship of the addresses to the magistrates in the Kort Verhael was G. M. Asher, who gives five reasons for believing that the latter and Plockhoy's Kort en Klaer Ontwerp applied to different schemes.[8] Asher, whose study was admittedly very cursory, was erroneous in all respects of his arguments. "Perhaps," he admits at the beginning of his discussion, "I may be deceived in many of my first deductions."[9]

(1) Asher argued that the Plockhoy company was to consist of only 25 families, that of the Kort Verhael of not less than 100. On the contrary, the Kort en Klaer Ontwerp also described a settlement of a desired minimum 100 men (see gloss in the contract below), and thus tends to substantiate, rather than reduce, the probability of a common authorship.

(2) "The name of Cornelis Plockhoy," Asher continued, "is not mentioned in the Kort Verhael, and the important Requesten and Vertooghen, containing the fundamental Articles of the Kort Verhael Company, are all signed H.V.Z.M." As stated above, H.V.Z.M. was an agent for Plockhoy and his associates and, as he explained in the first address to the magistrates, wished to remain anonymous. He does not speak of the Plockhoy group, except as his "Masters, Principals, and Clients."

(3) The Plockhoy plan, stated Asher, was based on communistic principles; the Kort Verhael "speaks nowhere of such an intention."

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8 G. M. Asher, A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets Relating to New Netherland. (Amsterdam, 1868), pp. 207-8.

9 Ibid., p. 15.

This argument is ill-founded. The former was based on the same ideas of community organization as the Kort Verhael. (See Articles 50-63).[10]

(4) "The election of a chief," Asher argued, "is one of the express articles of the Plockhoy-manifesto; the entirely opposite principle, that no member is to have a constitutional pre-eminence, is enounced in the Kort Verhael." Plockhoy's appeal for equality was manifest in both writings, as was the provision for a chief. Asher obviously overlooked the latter provision in the Kort Verhael, which is very explicit in Article 15: "Furthermore, everyone of the voting members will, according to his best knowledge, elect as head of the colony the one whom he considers the most prominent in ability and intelligence. The voting will be done on ballots rolled up."

(5) Asher's final argument was that "the conditions granted to Plockhoy on the 9th of June, 1662, containing the engagement of the city of Amsterdam to grant free passage to the emigrants, and a hundred guilders besides to each family, are nowhere mentioned in the Kort Verhael." The addresses, Asher failed to remember, were written and submitted before the contract was drawn up; and reference to a non-existent contract could, therefore, not have been made.

Many similarities in the two writings substantiate a common origin. Both exclude sectarian ministers and substitute Scripture reading and psalm singing. Both strive for equality as the basis

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10 Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlants, pp. 55-57.

for the colony, and grant the right of appeal to the higher magistrates. They exclude certain classes of incompatible persons, and expel members who prove to be incompatible, after personal counseling and upon a two-thirds vote. Both declare the governor ineligible for reelection until one year has elapsed, and warn the governor that he should not be a dictator. Both contain the provision for conscientious believers in nonresistance to pay a tax in lieu of military service. The writings contain identical provisions whereby non-members may become members, the arrangement of working in common for the first five years, a six-hour work day working under the supervision of foremen, and of individuals making good use of their leisure time, perhaps by working a piece of land apart from that which belongs to the community. Both stress modest and practical attire. Perhaps the most remarkable similarity in the two writings is the concern for the care of the aged, sick, widows, and orphans.

The dates on the writings conform to a progression of events leading up to completion of the contract and issuance of the Kort en Klaer Ontwerp, which sought to enlarge the membership prior to embarkation. The addresses in the Kort Verhael dated from November 22, 1661, to May 25, 1662. The contract was dated June 6, 1662, and the middle of September was the tentative date for the departure of the first contingent of settlers. The Kort Verhael was finally published in October, 1662; and about May 5, 1663, the emigrants embarked for America. The place of settlement in New Netherland is the same in both writings, namely, the Horekil, which was the west

bank of the mouth of the Delaware. When speaking of the Horekil, both writings contain the gloss, "Also called Swaanendael." It is difficult to conceive that two completely independent projects could be submitted to the magistrates of Amsterdam, both pertaining to colonization of the same location and time. Both writings, furthermore, contain the same general organization and philosophy, including the same unique admixture of commercial efficiency and enterprise with idealism and social concern. Not only are the ideas of both projects the same but they were quite foreign to the culture of 17th century Holland. As to style, many expressions--such as names and titles, the terms "society," "decisions by a two-thirds majority," "profit by the community,"--are common to both writings.

One of the most significant argument for a common origin is the notice in the second letter of the Kort Verhael to a brief and concise agreement (kort en beknopt onderlingh accoort) to be drafted in which was to be defined the non-political aspects of the project, and the subsequent appearance of Plockhoy's Kort en Klaer Ontwerp.

APPENDIX B

CONTRACT BETWEEN PLOCKHOY AND THE AMSTERDAM BURGOMASTERS*

Burgomasters and Magistrates of the City of Amsterdam:

Because we are at all times disposed to advance this City's Colony in New Netherland, therefore have we, with the knowledge and consent of the 36 Councillors concluded to that end the following agreement with Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy of Zierikzee:

That he, Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy, undertakes to present to us, as soon as possible, the names of 24 men, who, with him, will make a Society of 25 persons, who will agree to depart by the first ship or ships to the aforesaid colony of this City, to reside there and to work at farming, fishing, handicraft, etc., and to be as diligent as possible not only to live comfortably themselves, but also that provision may thereby be made for others to come.

The aforesaid Society of 25 male persons (more or less as they may increase or decrease) shall, for the common welfare and for each individually, take up as much land, provided it belongs to nobody else, at the Horekil [Gloss: also called Swanen-dal] or another part of the Colony, as they are willing and able to cultivate and pasture. These lands, divided and undivided, shall be the property of the aforesaid Society and Colonists to use in whichever way seems best.

The aforesaid Colonists shall enact such rules and laws as they think proper for the peace, harmony, and welfare of the Society, with the provision that each person who feels an injustice can appeal to the higher Magistrates here or there.

The aforesaid Society, and each member individually, shall be exempt from all tithes and taxes, however they may be named, for twenty years.

To the aforesaid 25 persons shall be paid in loan one hundred guilders to provide the needs of each individually and also to cover the cost of transportation (the wives and children being transported at the expense of this city according to the printed Conditions). [Gloss: These conditions--the 25 people and 2,500 guilders on loan to buy tools and other equipment--are only a beginning to enable the Colony to get started. We hope that the

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* This translation was made from the prospectus. For a translation of the contract as it was recorded in the Groot Memorial Register No. 5, fol. 78, see New York Colonial Documents, II, pp. 176-7.

Honorable Burgomasters and the 36 Councillors will extend their loan for the continuation of their colony in New Netherland; that is, to 100 men, 4,000 rijksdaalders, which will enable us to embark with at least 100 capable men or families (and to be better protected against the savages).]

The aforesaid 25 Colonists shall bind themselves as a group to repay the aforesaid 2,500 guilders to this City, according to Articles 21 and 22 of the Conditions recently printed concerning this City's colony.

If one of the 25 aforesaid persons should decide to leave the Society and return to this country, he shall be free to do so, provided he takes only his own personal property and leaves to the Society the undivided land, cattle, and other common property, so the other Colonists can effect the aforesaid repayment. The transportation costs of such an individual shall be paid by the Society from the common treasury as a compensation to him for his labor.

And if any person should decide to move elsewhere at his own expense and retain or sell his share in the common stock, he shall be free to do so, provided he has someone to replace him, or he sells to someone whom the Society will approve and who will participate and help in the common activities.

The aforesaid Society and each member thereof shall further abide in all matters by the aforesaid printed laws, the interpretation of which remains the prerogative of the Burgomasters of this City.

In testimony whereof, we--the Burgomasters and Magistrates aforesaid--affix the seal of this City to these presents, the 9th of June, 1662.

Signed, Wigbolt Slicher

Registered in the Groot Memorial, Volume 5, of the City of Amsterdam.

APPENDIX C

SONNET BY KAREL VERLOOVE

SONNET

To the Supporters of the Mutual Company

or Settlement in

New Netherland

upon the maxim

UNITY MAKES STRENGTH*

While harmony, for the common welfare, is
Indispensible and good, one must carefully watch
That mutual love, with heart and soul and strength,
Remains firm, so that the evil plague
Of discord, strife, and envy does not triumph.
If you will be vigilant for this cause, you shall become
A mighty people, yea the greatest of all time,
And New Netherland will flourish in unity.
Your intentions should spur you to such concord.
Envision the symbol which once enlightened
A people whose power was expressed by arrows.
Remember the valiant lion of the Netherlands.
The arrows have given rise to cities and states.
Unity makes strength, and breeds rest and peace.

Each plays his role.

Karel Verloove

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* This was the motto of the States General of the United Netherlands. The translation was made with no regard for the meter or for the rime of the original.

APPENDIX D

"SPURRING VERSES" BY JACOB STEENDAM*

To the lovers of the colony and brotherhood to be established on the South River of New Netherland, by Peter Cornelison Plockhoy of Zierikzee, with his associates; and the favorable privileges, for that purpose, granted by the Noble Lords Burgomasters of the City of Amsterdam, the 9th of June, 1662.

You poor, who know not how your living to obtain;
You affluent, who seek in mind to be content;
Choose you New Netherland (which no one shall disdain),
Before your time and strength here fruitlessly are spent.
There have you other ends, your labor to incite;
Your work, will gen'rous soils, with usury, requite.

New Netherlands the flow'r, the noblest of all lands;
With richest blessings crowned, where milk and honey flow;
By the most High of All, with doubly lib'ral hands
Endowed; yea, filled up full, with what may thrive and grow.
The air, the earth, the sea, each pregnant with its gift,
The needy, without trouble, from distress to lift.

The birds obscure the sky, so numerous in their flight;
The animals roam wild, and flatten down the ground;
The fish swarm in the waters, and exclude the light;
The oysters there, than which none better can be found,
Are piled up, heap on heap, till islands they attain;
And vegetation clothes the forest, mead, and plain.

You have a portion there which costs not pains nor gold;
But if you labor give, then shall you also share
(With trust in Him who you from want does there uphold)
A rich reward, in time, for all your toil and care,
In cattle, grain, and fruit, and every other thing;
Whereby you always have great cause His praise to sing.

What see you in your houses, towns, and Fatherland?
Is God not over all? the heavens ever wide?
His blessings deck the earth, like bursting veins expand
In floods of treasures o'er, wherever you abide;
Which neither are to monarchies nor duke-doms bound,
They are as well in one, as other country found.

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* Translated by Henry C. Murphy, Anthology of New Netherland. (New York: The Bradford Club, 1865), pp. 68-75.

But there, a living view does always meet your eye,
Of Eden, and the promised land of Jacob's seed;
Who would not, then, in such a formed community
Desire to be a freeman; and the rights decreed
To each and every one, by Amstel's burgher lords,
T'enjoy? and treat with honor what their rule awards?

Communities the groundwork are of every state;
They first the hamlet, village and the city make.
From whence proceeds the commonwealth; whose members, great
Become, an interest in the common welfare take.
'Tis no Utopia; it rests on principles,
Which, for true liberty, prescribes you settled rules.

You will not aliens, in those far lands, appear;
As formerly, in Egypt, e'en was Israel.
Nor have you slavery nor tyranny to fear,
Since Joseph's eyes do see, and on the compass fall.
The civic Fathers who on th' Y perform their labors,*
Are your protectors; and your countrymen are neighbors.

New Netherland's South River,--second Amazon,
For you a pleasure garden on its banks concedes.
Choose you the Swaanendael, where Osset had his throne,**
Or any other spot your avocation needs.
You have the choice of all; and you're left free to choose;
Keep the conditions well, and you have naught to lose.

Discard the base report, unworthy of your ear;
'Tis forged by ignorance and hate and jealous spite,
By those who are its authors, to bedim this fair
Bright morning sun before the laughing noonday light.
An accident may hinder, but not change the plan,
Whose gloss, take that away, you then may fairly scan.

'Twas but an accident, which gives them stuff to slight
That land, which, as I know, no proper rival has;
In order from your purpose they may you affright,
Who there desire to live, before you thither pass.
'Tis groundless, ev'ry one may easily perceive.
Who now neglects the chance, great treasures does he leave.

Jacob Steendam,
noch vaster.

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* The "Y" was the bay on which Amsterdam was situated.

** The story of Ossett and the "base reports" spoken of in the last two stanzas comprises a tragic story. Ossett was commander of one of the first Dutch colonies in New Netherland under the patroonship of David DeVries, who had returned to Holland. When DeVries returned to his colony he found his houses burned and the ground strewn with the skulls and bones of his settlers. He befriended an Indian, who told him the story of the massacre. One of his men had erected a pillar, to which he affixed a tin piece having the emblem or arms of the United Netherlands. An Indian chief took a fancy

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to the glittering sheet and made away with it. Osset convinced the Indian tribe that they had insulted the great Dutch nation; and to make amends the Indians killed the chief. The kinsmen of the dead chief desired revenge. At a time when the colonists were least suspecting attack, the kinsmen descended on the village and murdered thirty-four white men. Thus the first settlement in the "valley of swans" came to an end.