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A Bio-Bibliographical Account of
TWO RARE ZENGER IMPRINTS
and the Published Sermons of
Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, Minister
of the Raritan Churches

By VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

DR. PALTSITS, an honorary Litt.D. of Rutgers and one of the most distinguished scholars this country has produced in the field of United States history, began his career with the Lenox Library in 1888, became chief of the division of American history of the New York Public Library in 1916, and retired from the latter post—only to continue his scholarly labors—in 1941. His many other offices in the Public Library and as State Historian of New York, together with an incomplete list of publications, fill ninety lines in the latest edition of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA. We are fortunate in having an article from Dr. Paltsits for inclusion in the JOURNAL.

THE purpose of this study is to describe technically a very rare collection of two sermons in Dutch printed at New York by John Peter Zenger in 1729, and also by him in 1731 in an English translation, extended to five sermons, both of which are possessed by the University's Library. In further elucidation biographical sketches are presented of the three persons concerned—author, translator, and printer; also a check-list of Domine Frelinghuysen's sermons that are known to have been printed.

The two Zenger items fully described (see facsimiles) are, *Een trouwhertig vertoog van Een waare Rechtrveerdige, in tegenstellinge*

EEN TROUWHERTIG

VERTOOG

VAN

Een waare Rechtvoerdige,

IN TEGENSTELLINGE VAN

Een Godloose Sondaar.

Voorgesteld IN

Twee Predikation,

Over 1 Pet. IV. 18.

Door *Dr. Theodorus Jacobus Frilinghuisen*, Predikant der Gereformeerde Gemeentens op de
RARIËAN.

Uitgegeven volgens de Vermaaning van den
Prophet *Jesaias*, Cap. III. 10. 11.

Segget den Rechtvoerdigen dat het [hem] wel gaan sal, dat in de Frucht haarer Werken zullen teten. Wie den Godloosen, het sal [hem] quaasijk gaan want de Yergeldinge sner banden sal hem geschieden.

Nieuw-York, Gedrukt voor *S. Gerritsen*, en *J. D. Poy*, by *John Peter Zenger*, MDCXXIX.

A CLEAR

DEMONSTRATION

OF A

Righteous and Ungodly Man,

in their

Frame, Way and End.

CONTAINING five excellent Sermons, preached in the *Dutch Tongue* by the Reverend *Theod. Jac. Frilinghuisen*, Minister of the Holy Gospel at *Raraton*, in *New-Jersey*. And now translated into *Englisch*, by a Wellwisher to *Zion's* Prosperity.



NEW-YORK,
Printed for the Publisher by *John Peter Zenger*.
MDCCCXXI

van Een Godloose Sondaar, consisting of two sermons on the text of I Peter IV: 18. These two sermons are the first two in the English translated collection, extended by the addition of three more, with the title: *A clear demonstration of a Righteous and Ungodly Man, in their Frame, Way and End.*

EEN TROUWHERTIG VERTOOG

Collation: Title, on verso an eight-line verse on New Netherland, one leaf; text of "Eerste Predikatie," pp. [3]-30; text of "Tweede Predikatie," pp. 31-59, with errata on verso of p. 59.

Signatures: A-C in eights, D in four, E in two. The Rutgers copy lacks pp. 5-6 (sig. A3), which has been supplied by negative photostat from the perfect copy now in The New York Public Library. Attention is called to the printer's misdating the title-page as MDCXXIX for MDCCXXIX. Rutherford's *John Peter Zenger* (New York, 1904) recorded only the N.Y.P.L. copy, which was bought by the Lenox Library on August 1, 1876. Another copy was shown in The Bradford Exhibition at the Grolier Club in 1893 (*Hand List*, no. 97, on p. 35).

A CLEAR DEMONSTRATION

Collation: Two blank leaves; title, verso blank, one leaf; "The Preface," pp. [i] - ix, by H. Visscher; "The Contents," p. [x]; text of "A Faithful Demonstration, &c. The First Sermon," pp. [1]-30; Sermon II, pp. [31]-61; p. 62 blank; Sermon III, "A Mirrour that Flatereth not," half-title on p. 63, with p. 64 blank, text, pp. [65]-95; p. 96 blank; Sermon IV, [half-title on p. 97, with p. 98 blank,] text pp. [99]-128; Sermon V, "concerning the Lord's Supper," half-title on p. 129, with p. 130 blank, text, pp. [131]-156; "Errata," (1), verso blank.

Signatures: Preliminary undesignated signature in eight leaves, the first two blank; A-K in eights, last leaf probably a blank.

This is a composite description derived from the two only copies known, both imperfect, in the Rutgers University Library and the American Antiquarian Society. The Rutgers copy lacks pp. 31-34, 79-80, 95 (mutilated), 97-144. The Antiquarian Society's copy lacks last leaf of preface (ix), and pp. 1-2, 31-32, 45-50, half of 65-66, 81-82, 97-98, 111-112, and 155-156. Both copies lack pp. 31-32, 97-98, and 111-112. The New York Public Library made negative photostats from both copies to form a copy minus only the three above cited lacking leaves, and provided also positive photostats as a cooperative gift to Rutgers and the Antiquarian Society of the parts that could be supplied from one to the other.

This collection of *A clear demonstration*, translated by Hendrick Visscher (Fisher), has the only contemporary English versions of any

of Domine Frelinghuysen's Dutch publications. It was not till the year 1856 that a full body of his sermons appeared in English, "prefaced by a Sketch of the Author's Life, by Rev. William Demarest. With an Introduction by the Rev. Thomas DeWitt, D.D.," issued at New York by the Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church at 337 Broadway; and these translations were independently made, without knowing that five of the sermons had been printed in English by Zenger in 1731. The Visscher (Fisher) translations have a more contemporary affinity to the Dutch originals. In the Demarest collection, we think, there are sacrifices of doctrinal implication to literary and later English thinking. Visscher preserves also more of the Bible citations. But it would really be necessary to make a more critical comparison and analysis of the two English versions with the Dutch texts to come to a more definite conclusion, and that is a task for the theologian rather than for the bibliographer.

A closer analysis is now given of *A clear demonstration*, of texts and titles of each of the five sermons, followed by the titles given to each in the Demarest volume, and the pages where in the latter they are found, namely:

"Sermon I. Text I Pet. IV, 18. And if the Righteous scarcely be sarved," pp. 1-30.¹

"Sermon II. I Pet. IV, 18. . . . Where shall the ungodly and Sinner appear," pp. 31-61.²

"Sermon III. Prov. XIV, 12. There is a Way that seemeth right unto a man: But the end thereof are the Ways of Death," pp. 65-95.³

"Sermon IV. Is. LXVI, 2. But to this man will I loost [*sic for* look], even to him that is poor, and of a Contrite Spirit, and trembleth at my Word," pp. 99-128.⁴

"Sermon V. I Cor. XI, 29. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body," pp. 131-156.⁵

¹ Demarest, pp. 99-124, "The righteous scarcely saved."

² Demarest, pp. 125-150, "The miserable end of the ungodly."

³ Not in Demarest, perhaps because never printed in Dutch or otherwise known in 1856.

⁴ Demarest, pp. 25-49, "The poor and contrite God's temple, and accepted at his table."

⁵ Demarest, pp. 51-70, "The acceptable communicant, in relation to those who are entitled to the Holy Supper, on the 30th Lord's Day of the Heidelberg Catechism."

Of the foregoing five sermons, the first and second are translated from *Een trouwhertig verhoog*, printed by Zenger in 1729 for S. Geritsen, and J. DePuy. The third sermon on Proverbs XIV:12, has not been found elsewhere, either in Dutch or English. The fourth sermon is from the Dutch edition of *Drie Predicatieën*, printed at New York by William Bradford in 1721, the first one of the three; and the fifth sermon is from the second one in the Bradford publication.

In his preface to *A clear demonstration*, the translator, Hendrick Visscher (Fisher) in addressing the "Discreet Reader," alludes to "this learned Age" and reflects on "the numerous Quantity of Books, (and who knows how many fruitless ones)," that it "hath heaped upon one another," together with "the great Remissness among Professors in reading, especially Books of this Nature," and so he was quite unwilling to have these translations of his published. But he finally succumbed to "the incessant Desire of some, and the obliging Importunity of others . . . to commit them to the Press." And he was not even optimistic of "a general Reception."

His estimate of Domine Frelinghuysen's method of preaching is (pp. v-vi), that "he has always thought it more proper and his Duty, to express himself in such plain manner, as he might be best understood by his Auditors, even by those of the meanest Capacity, And although his manner of Preaching is not to stuff up his Sermons with eloquent Expressions, such as are Men's Composing, yet his fluency of Preaching is well known, and his exceeding Talent, of drawing one Matter out of another; thereby discovering the State and Condition of his Auditors to themselves (as Experience can plainly evidence, and) as by the following Discourses may sufficiently appear: But in this as in a great many more Translations, the Grace and Fluency of the Stile of the Original is much lost in the Translation, which the Translator is Sorry to say, in this is occasioned by his Want of Letters and Practice in such Cases, this being the first Time that he ever took in Hand to translate, yet he hath, as far as his Capacity would allow, kept to the Substance of the Matter."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

THE AUTHOR

THEODORUS JACOBUS FRELINGHUYSEN, as his patronymic is now spelled by his descendants, has been a historical figure of New Jersey and New York, and on the printed page, for more than two centuries.⁶

The ancestry of Domine Frelinghuysen, founder of the American branch, was of the so-called Dutch-Westphalian "border families" that lived in Germany, but "were entirely Dutch in culture, blood, religion and sympathies, during the time of the Dutch Republic."⁷ The family's original seat is "the Manor and hamlet of Frielinghuysen, near the small city of Beckum, in Westphalia, in the former Bishopric of Munster"; but the family was Saxon in its derivation, from the "freelings," as Saxon freeholders were designated from the time of Charlemagne. The Manor from the year 1202 "had its own jurisdiction and Theodoricus De Frilinghausen, Lord of the Manor, also held many other feudal rights." The patronymic existed in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries in and around the borders of Westphalia, in such places as Dortmund, Soest, and Wealre near Eyndhoven, and had various spellings.

Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen was born in Wolfenbuettel, Brunswick, Germany, in 1691, son of the Rev. Johannes Henricus Frelinghuysen, pastor of the Reformed Church of Lingen on the Ems, Hanover. He prepared for the ministry at the Reformed Seminary of Lingen. He was ordained at Emden in East Friesland in 1717, by Domine Johannes Brunius, and settled at Emden, being a member of the Coetus there. In *Eccles. Rec. N.Y.*, of June 5, 1718, it is said he was "formerly minister of Lochimer Voorwerk, in East Friesland, now Co-Rector of Enckhuysen." These connections are not clear, since it has been generally stated that he remained in the Emden pastorate from 1717 to 1719; and at the time (June 5, 1718) that the call for him from the Raritan was considered by the Classis of Amsterdam, it is recorded that "he handed in . . . an excellent testimonial from the Coetus of Emden." He was certified to America

⁶ Only a brief synthesis of his career is given here, in collation of a considerable body of material, which, for the benefit of some future biographer is recorded at the end of the sketch, as is done also with respect to the sketches of Fisher and Zenger.

⁷ Louis P. de Boer, *op. cit. infra*, from whose researches this paragraph is a summary.

by the Synod of Embderland and also commended by the Classis of Amsterdam.

Frelinghuysen sailed for America in the ship "King George," Captain Jacobus Goelet, master, and arrived in the City of New York in January, 1720, where he was received by the Dutch clergy, and on the seventeenth of that month he preached in the Collegiate Church of the city. In a few days he was off for his ministry on the Raritan, where he preached for the first time on January 31st. His eventual parish embraced all the Dutch congregations in an area of some three hundred square miles at New Brunswick, Three Mile River, Six Mile Run (now Franklin Park), Raritan (now Somerville), North Branch (now Readington), and perhaps Harlingen (Millstone)—a region that has been called the "Garden of the Dutch Church" in New Jersey. His quiet entry into the field of his American ministry had forebodings yet unrevealed to him.

Dr. Demarest⁸ has pictured for us the pageantry of his presence, thus: "Into the valley of the Raritan, into the life of the Dutch settled everywhere through it, and to the charge of churches by that time organized came the Reverend Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen in 1720. In him lay the promise of the church and its institutions. He was destined to play a singularly far-reaching part not only in the life of that church wherever found in New Jersey and New York and in the general religious life of his time. In him, his spirit, his new-world ideals, is found the birth of the movement that was in time to bring forth a college and a theological seminary for an American church. He was a hundred percent American for his time and was a path-finder for a Reformed Church of the Netherlands passing on into a Reformed Church in America."

We have a further objective appraisal of the Domine's personality by Dr. Demarest,⁹ namely: "He was vigorous, courageous, talented, devoted. He pressed the truth of the gospel without fear or favor, demanded a vital Christian experience in officers and members of the church and exalted the work of the Holy Spirit in regenerating and sanctifying men and making them fit partakers of the Supper of the Lord. So outspoken was he, so uncompromising in his words, compelled it seemed to him by the formal and superficial sort of religion

⁸ *Hist. Rutgers College*, p. 23.

⁹ *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5.

that had come to prevail among confessors of the faith, that bitter controversy and opposition rose in the church at Raritan, causing him grave discomfort and even a secession from the church. But he never yielded place and served through ill report and good report to the end. He was in the foremost group of the evangelical movement of his time, an associate of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield and the Tennents in the Great Awakening."

The sermons of Domine Frelinghuysen and the *Klagte* or Complaint of his opponents by Tobias Boel, a lawyer and brother of Domine Henricus Boel of the City of New York, and the other publications in the controversy and secession, printed by Bradford or Zenger, and one by them jointly, are shown in the check-list, *infra*. The history of the "Controversy" or "Rebellion"—a split into two parties of the Reformed Dutch Church in America, has been fully treated by the Rev. Abraham Messler, Judge James J. Bergen, and the Rev. William Stockton Cranmer (see sources, *infra*) from different standpoints. Limitations of space preclude a fuller recital here of the matter. Suffice it to say, that he won out despite slanders and attempts to shut him out of his churches, "so that he had to preach in barns in 1725,"¹⁰ and to withstand a lawsuit instituted to eject him, and as well endure complaints lodged against him to the Classis of Amsterdam. In the judgment of the Rev. Talbot W. Chambers (see sources, *infra*), he "never yielded, but maintained to the last the spirit exhibited in the declaration of one of his early discourses: 'I would sooner die a thousand deaths than not preach the truth.'"

The one death that had to come to him history leaves obscured, though it could not have been earlier than October 1747, or later than April 1748, and probably took place during the late winter of 1747-1748; because a letter from the Consistory of the New Brunswick Church, whose pulpit was vacant, was read at a session of Coetus in New York, on April 26, 1748, requesting speed in the examination for ordination of Johannes Leydt, a theological student wanted as a candidate to fill the vacancy in the congregations of New Brunswick and Six Mile Run, to which he was assigned later in that year.

Domine Frelinghuysen died perhaps at his home in Three Mile River, aged about fifty-seven years, and was interred near his home in a little churchyard, since expanded and called Elm Ridge Ceme-

¹⁰ Corwin, *op. cit.*, 1866, p. 31, note.

tery in Middlesex County; but just as the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown, even so the exact spot of his last resting place is uncertain; though there is now a monument in that cemetery in his memory, that was erected by descendants in 1884. According to the promise of Holy Writ, his good works followed him. He had married Eva, daughter of Albert Terhune, of Flatbush, Long Island. They had five sons, all of whom became ministers of the Gospel, and two daughters, both of whom were married to clergymen.¹¹

THE TRANSLATOR

HENDRICK FISHER, JR., the anglicized form he used longest in life as a patronymic, earlier in life wrote his name Fisser, the Dutch pro-

¹¹ Sources: The primary source, which covers documentary and other material extending from Frelinghuysen's ordination in 1718 until his death in 1748, is found through vol. VII Index, by E. T. Corwin (Albany, 1916), pp. 174-176, of Dr. Corwin's monumental researches, the *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*. There are two studies on the "Controversy" or "Rebellion" at Raritan in 1723. One is a "resumé of the history," derived mostly from *Eccles. Rec.*, and is important from the legalistic understanding, by Judge James J. Bergen, in *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, vol. 3 (1914), pp. 173-184, 241-249; and the other also in the *Quarterly*, considered as supplementary to Bergen in vol. 5 (1916), pp. 81-89, by the Rev. William Stockton Cranmer, is based on a theological point of view.

For a general study of Domine Frelinghuysen's life and the history of the Raritan churches, and the revivals of religion, Dr. Abraham Messler's contributions are factually of almost primary value. They embrace his *Forty Years at Raritan* (N.Y. 1873), pp. 22, 26-30, 163-165; his *Brief History of the Raritan Church*, and *Centennial History of Somerset County*, all of which are more or less inter-related.

The principal secondary sources are these: For the Frelinghuysen family history, Louis P. de Boer's researches in *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, vol. II (1926-7), pp. 11-13, for new data; T. F. Chambers's *The Early Germans of New Jersey* (1895), pp. 378-384, on descendants; and E. F. McPike's *Tales of our Forefathers* (1898), pp. 78 ff. The *Historical Discourse of the Millstone Church*, by Corwin (1866), pp. 29-34, makes clear the distinction between the Coetus or evangelical party of which the Domine was a founder in 1738, and the Conferentie, representing rigid formalism, which bitterly opposed him. In Dr. W. H. S. Demarest's handsome *History of Rutgers College* (1924), pp. 23-30, the relationship of "The American Movement in the Dutch Reformed Church" to the founding of Queens College is made clear, with respect to the Frelinghuysen influence in the inception of the idea. R. H. Steele's *Historical Discourse of the New Brunswick Church* (1867) has some interest; so has H. P. Thompson's *History of the Readington Church* (1882), pp. 5-7, 9-14, 17, 25, 27, 64, 133, for collating with the implications of others. Of occasional supplementary use are Corwin's *Manual of Ref. Church*, 4th ed. (1902), pp. 472-477; E. H. Keator's anniversary discourse of the Six Mile Run Church (1910); T. W. Chambers's *Memoir of Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen* (1863), pp. 13-16, and the periodicals, *Christian Intelligencer* (1850, 1853, 1854); *Our Home*, vol. I (1873), p. 56; and *Somerset County Hist. Quarterly*, vols. 3-5, and 7 (1914-1918).

nunciation of Visscher or Visser.—*Eccles. Rec. N.Y.*, III: 2211. He was the son of Hendrick Visscher, a Palatine, who is said to have gone as a refugee to Holland, and about 1703 emigrated to New Jersey, where he died on October 17, 1749, as a septuagenarian. Who was the mother of the younger Hendrick, and were there other children of his parents? These are things unknown. Indeed, though the father resided for some forty-six years along the Raritan, his life-story is a mystery. Not so with his distinguished son, who, born about 1697 in the Palatinate, had accompanied his father to America. It is on the researches of the late A. Van Doren Honeyman (see sources, *infra*) that one must depend most for a summary of the career of this fine man and patriot.

Of his education, in the sparsely settled interior of New Jersey, no record remains. There are no facts known of his childhood or youth. No doubt he was self-educated, and throughout his years he advanced toward higher learning. At least more is known about the old homestead on the Raritan below Bound Brook, where father and son lived and died, one of the historic houses of New Jersey surviving until our time (see sources, *infra*: Honeyman, Messler, Demarest).

Hendrick Fisher, Jr. married early in life, in 1721 or 1722, Lebytje, Lisabet, or Elizabeth Bries, believed to have been a daughter of Volkert Hendricksen Bries and Neeltje Jans of Brooklyn, New York. They had fourteen children—eight sons and six daughters. It was at this period, August 11, 1721, that he became a member of Domine Frelinghuysen's church at New Brunswick, and was soon a deacon, and an elder from 1727, and repeatedly chosen anew for half a century to that office, which made him admissible to sit in Consistory or in Coetus as a delegate. All his life he was a religious man. Domine Frelinghuysen was his religious teacher, and he was a faithful follower. As his years increased, says Honeyman, "he became a pronounced pietist in the best sense of that word; not a rapturous, mystic Pietist," but "an evangelist, a lay preacher"; and he was one of those whom his pastor had early consecrated as a "helper" in his ministry of the churches, and for lay preaching in 1736. In the latter office Fisher frequently preached, and catechised children. In 1738, at the first Convention of the Dutch churches of the Coetus or liberal party, that met in the City of New York, he was recognized as an Elder from Raritan. And again, when in 1771 a plan of union of the factions

occurred, he was influential in bringing the union about, and participated actively on important committees. He was an incorporator and named a first trustee in the charter of incorporation that George the Second granted to the five churches as "one body politick and corporate in deed and fact," on June 7, 1753, and was the first president of the Board.

Since Fisher had been naturalized about 1738, he was able to hold public office, and in 1745 was chosen to sit in the provincial assembly of New Jersey, in which he served for thirty years. He was a member of the Stamp Act Congress of 1765. He was active in the Committee of Correspondence of New Jersey in 1775, during the Lexington alarm; and was in that year president of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey. For many years he sat also as judge of various courts. All these public and political services for justice and liberty brought to him the appellation of "the Samuel Adams of Somerset."

In the interest of education his services were no less pronounced. The influence of Domine Frelinghuysen wrought in him. The mantle fallen from his friend and pastor on him in 1748, made him the most active layman in promoting the founding of Queens College. "To the college plan," says Dr. Demarest, "he gave himself fully, gave his interest, effort, and influence. To this may be ascribed in no small degree the final strength of the college movement in the Raritan Valley. He became first president of the Board of Trustees."

Hendrick Fisher had lived long enough to participate in the preliminary events of the American Revolution, but the grand climacteric of life came upon him, and he was not able to see its fruition. He died in his home on August 16, 1779, "in the 82nd year of his age," and was interred in the family graveyard on his farm, where "a plain brown upright slab" told of his death. There is, of course, the significant memorial tablet in Old Queen's building, erected by the Society of Colonial Wars of New Jersey in the one hundred and fiftieth year of the college's anniversary.¹²

¹² Sources: The best study with respect to research and in exemplifying the varied career of Fisher, is by A. Van Doren Honeyman: "Hendrick Fisher—The Real German-American," in *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, vol. 8 (1919), pp. 1-17, 154-160. Dr. Honeyman, in *Northwestern New Jersey*, vol. I (1927), opp. p. 254, gives a picture of Fisher's house below Bound Brook. There are references to him in Corwin's index to *Eccles. Rec. N.Y.* These works may also be compared: Abraham Messler's *Forty Years at Raritan* (1873), pp. 318 ff.; *Centennial History* (1878), pp. 56-58, and his *First*

THE PRINTER

JOHN PETER ZENGER, printer and journalist, was born in the Palatinate, Germany, in 1697. His family had taken refuge in England, and when he was thirteen years of age his family emigrated to New York in a large company of Palatines, transported in 1710 to America as colonists of the British Crown. His father died on shipboard on the way over, so John Peter, a sister, and a younger brother became the care of their widowed mother.

Governor Robert Hunter of New York, having made provision for the care of distressed immigrant Palatines and their children, in 1711 ratified articles of apprenticeship for a period of eight years for John Peter Zenger to the pioneer printer William Bradford (1663-1752). Zenger, after completing his term with Bradford, went to Kent County, Maryland, where he sought to set up a printery of his own; and there he was made a denizen by naturalization papers. In 1725, however, he was back in New York, assisting Bradford in setting up the Dutch controversial tract of the New York lawyer, Tobias Boel, the *Klagte* or Complaint against Domine Frelinghuysen, which tract is the only one in which the names of Bradford and Zenger appear jointly in an imprint. When Zenger returned to the employ of Bradford in 1725, it was no doubt to assist him in the printing of Bradford's *New-York Gazette*, begun in the autumn of that year as the first newspaper of New York. Other products of Zenger's press alone, that were writings of Domine Frelinghuysen, or relate to the controversy in which he was involved, are listed *infra* in the Check-list.

In 1726 Zenger set up a printery of his own on Manhattan Island in Smith (now William) Street. In November, 1733, he began there the second newspaper of the Province, *The New-York Weekly Journal*, as an organ of the liberal political party that opposed Governor William Cosby's administration, while the *New-York Gazette* of Bradford, his old master, supported the royal governor. In 1734, in order to expand his printing facilities, he removed to Broad Street.

The virtual chief editor of Zenger's newspaper was James Alex-

Things in Old Somerset (1899), pp. 29-30, 47, 60; J. P. Snell's *History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties* (1881), p. 636; and W. H. S. Demarest's *History of Rutgers College* (1924), pp. 35, 56, 61-62, 79.

ander, a Scot, who came to America in 1715, studied law and practiced that profession first at Perth Amboy; then also in the City of New York, and in 1721 he became a member of the Council of New York, and attorney-general and member of the Council of New Jersey in 1723. Alexander was not only learned in the law, possessor of the largest library in New York at this time, but a scholar outside of law and later one of the founders of the American Philosophical Society. Associated with Alexander and Zenger's newspaper, as the chief men in the opposition party, were William Smith the elder, Lewis Morris and his son Lewis, Jr., Rip Van Dam, Vincent Mathews, Gerardus Stuyvesant, and Philip Livingston the third Lord of the Manor.

Governor Cosby had erected a court of exchequer and removed summarily Lewis Morris from the chief justiceship of New York. His arbitrary conduct in this and other matters brought about a revolt among the people of all classes, including the merchants and lawyers, some of the latter being disbarred, among them James Alexander and William Smith.

It is indeed curious that William Bradford, who himself had been the first printer in English-America to make a defense for the liberty of the press in Philadelphia, and had been Zenger's master and later associate, should be now found aiding, or at least abetting, the Cosbytes while Zenger was being hounded by the Governor. Of course, Zenger was legally responsible for what appeared from his press. The Governor and Council ordered certain weekly issues of Zenger's *Journal* to be burned as libellous. Zenger was arrested and put under heavy bail; not able to procure it, he was clapped in prison. Here he was kept incommunicado for several days. For about ten months he was imprisoned. In April term of 1735 he was brought to trial. His counsel, Alexander and Smith had been disbarred. When the case came up again in August, Zenger was represented by Andrew Hamilton, the most astute lawyer of Philadelphia. He demanded the right of the jury to make inquiry into the truth or falsity of the libel charged, and when blocked by the court, he appealed to the jury, who gave a verdict of not guilty.

In a subsequent set-up in the Government, after Cosby was out, Zenger, in 1737, was rewarded with the office of public printer, held ever before by Bradford. Zenger died on July 28, 1746, survived by

his second wife Catharine and six children; one of them from his first marriage, John Peter, Jr., carried on the business for his step-mother or alone until 1751, and soon thereupon the equipment of the printery was advertised for sale.¹³

Check-List of Publications by or Relating to Domine Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen 1715-1747

1715

Frilinghausen, Theodorus Jacobus. Resp., in Neuhaus, Wilhelmus. *Πρόβλημα* *Σεαυρον*, sive De Homine liber; in quo mentis et corporis attributa et effectiones . . . ex ratione sana . . . traduntur. Per disputationes publicas primum . . . editus; nunc vero collectus, etc. Francofurti & Susati, 1715.

From British Museum Catalogue.

1721

Frilinghuisen. Drie Predicatie . . . uitgegevan door eenige van Syn Vrienden. Gedrukt tot Nieu-York by William Bradford in den Jaere 1721.

Gardner A. Sage Library; Library of Congress; New York Public Library, last p. "79" [*sic for 71*] supplied by photostat.

1725

[Boel, Tobias] Klagte van Eenige Leeden der Nederduytse Hervormde Kerk, woonende op Raretans in de Provincie van Nieu-Jersey . . . Uytgegeven door de Gevolmagtigden der gemelde Leeden. Te Nieu-York, Gedrukt by William Bradford en J. Peter Zenger. 1725.

Tobias Boel, a New York lawyer and his brother, Domine Henricus Boel, minister in the City of New York, were both concerned in the setting up of this "Complaint" against Domine Frilinghuisen, so spelled on the title; both became naturalized in New York on July 3, 1718.

A copy is in New York Public Library; exhibited also in 1893 at Grolier Club's Bradford Exhibition, *Hand List*, p. 27, no. 68. Cited also in *Eccles. Rec. N. Y.*, III: 2244 ff., IV: 2317; Sabin, no. 25974; Evans, 2605; Rutherford, p. 137.

¹³ Sources: Livingston Rutherford's *John Peter Zenger His Press, His Trial and a Bibliography of Zenger Imprints . . . also A Reprint of the First Edition of the Trial* (New York, 1904); *Alexander-Zenger Papers, 1734-1737*, described by Victor Hugo Paltsits, in *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, July, 1940, pp. 523-526. These manuscripts recently brought to light add facts hitherto unknown.

1726

Freeman, Bernardus. Verdediging . . . wegens het gene hem voornaamlyk ten Laste gelegd word in zeeker Boek, genaamt Klagte, &c. Te Nieuw-York, Gedrukt by J. Peter Zenger, in't Jaar, MDCCXXVI.

Copy exhibited in 1893 at Grolier Club's Bradford Exhibition, *Hand List*, p. 34, no. 93. Much on Freeman and his "Defence" in *Eccles. Rec. N.Y.*, see vol. VII (Index), pp. 171-2. See also Rutherford, p. 139.

1726

Van Santvoord, Cornelius. Samenspraak over de Klaghte der Raritaners . . . Te Nieuw-York, Gedrukt by J. Peter Zenger, 1726.

Copy owned by late William Nelson is described by Rutherford, p. 138; also in Grolier Club's Bradford Exhibition in 1893, *Hand List*, p. 34, no. 94. On this "Dialogue" on the case of Frelinghuysen, see *Eccles. Rec. N.Y.* IV: 2350, and VII (Index), p. 364.

1729

Frilinghausen. Een Trouwhertig Vertoog . . . Nieuw-York, Gedrukt voor S. Gerritsen, en J. D. Puy, by John Peter Zenger, MDCXXIX [*sic*].

Copies in Rutgers and New York Public Library described *supra*. Exhibited by Grolier Club's Bradford Exhibition, *Hand List*, p. 35, no. 97.

1729

[Frilinghuysen]. Spiegel die niet Vleyt.

This title of a "pamphlet," in Dutch, meaning: "Mirror which does not Flatter," is known only from its citation in the Acts of the Classis of Amsterdam, April 4, 1729, by which it was "examined" and given "approval."—*Eccles. Rec. N.Y.*, vol. IV, pp. 2457-8.

1731

Frilinghuisen. A clear Demonstration . . . New-York, Printed for the Publisher by John Peter Zenger. MDCCXXXI.

Copies, both imperfect, in Rutgers and American Antiquarian Society's libraries, described *supra*.

1736

Frilinghuisen. Een Bundelken Leer-Redenen . . . Uitgegeven door eenige van zyne Welmeenende Vrienden, in Holland. Te Amsterdam, By Johannes Douci . . . MDCCXXXVI.

Copies in Rutgers and New York Public Library. It has been surmised by Corwin and others that this collection of ten sermons had been first printed at New York in 1733. There seems not to be any evidence of such an edition. The surmise seems to have been made because the author's "Preface to the Discerning Reader" in this Amsterdam edition is dated "March 2, 1733." This means that the manuscript was then completed, and only reached Amsterdam later to be printed.

1738

[Frelinghuysen. Two Sermons in Dutch, printed at Utrecht by John Groeningen. Opposite the State House.]

The title as translated in the English collection, by William Demarest, 1856, is: "A Summons to Repentance, to the Inhabitants of that Portion of America denominated New Netherlands [*sic*], now New-York and New-Jersey, on the occasion of an earthquake which occurred on the 7th of December, 1737, about 11 o'clock at night. In two sermons, the first upon Rev. 16: 18, the second upon Job, 9:6. Explained, applied and pronounced by Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen." The "Preface to the Pious Reader" is dated: "Raritan, New-Jersey, Feb. 20, O.S., 1738," and this date is important, because in his preface Frelinghuysen gives the following biographical data, thus (translated): "I am now about forty-six years of age, and already in the twentieth year of my ministry, having been ordained to my office A.D. 1717, at Emden, in East Friesland; but have never, to my knowledge, previously to this, felt an earthquake." Frelinghuysen preached the first sermon at Six Mile Run on Dec. 11, (O.S.), 1737, and the second at North Branch on Dec. 18, (O.S.), 1737.—*Eccles. Rec. N.Y.*, vol. IV, pp. 2698-9.

It is regrettable that due to war conditions no copies of the original Dutch publication could be located abroad.

1747?

Freilinghuysen. Versameling van eenige Keuri-Texten, Meest byzondere geleegentheeden gedaan . . . Gedrukt tot Philadelphia door W. Bradford [n. d.].

Different dates of publication, 1747, 1748, 1749, have been assigned to the collection of four sermons, a pamphlet of pp. vi, 73, in octavo.—Evans, no. 5954; Corwin placed it under 1749, in *Eccles. Rec. N.Y.*, IV: 3047-3049; Demarest's 1856 publication reprinted the sermons in an English translation. The first sermon was preached at Six Mile Run, Jan. 1, 1745; the second in Bucks County, Pa., April 1741; the third at New Brunswick, in 1745, and the fourth "after a severe conflict at Raritan," date not given.

Sermons . . . Translated from the Dutch. And prefaced by a Sketch of the Author's Life, by Rev. William Demarest. With an Introduction by the Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 337 Broadway. 1856.

Divided into four collections, five sermons in the first, ten in the second, two in the third, and four in the fourth—or twenty-one in all. The responsible editor was the Rev. William Demarest (1813-1874), minister at Bound Brook, 1854-1857, and who held other pastorates from 1838-1874.